

**Conservation of
Religious Buildings in Use:
Comparative Research into some Philosophical,
Legal and Management Aspects of
the Conservation of English Churches and
Korean Buddhist Temples**

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the different modes of value assessment used to establish an analytical value framework in the conservation of religious buildings in use. It premises the idea that conservation as a social process cannot be practiced with a universal set of principles, so cultural diversity and historical context in terms of defining concepts of authenticity and assessing various values should be considered when establishing a value framework. Comparing English churches and Korean Buddhist temples, the thesis identifies various values of religious buildings and the development of different concepts of authenticity highlighting cultural and historical differences. It examines how aesthetic, informational, associative, religious, and socio-economic values have been chosen as important values to be preserved and how authenticity of form, material, function, setting, and craftsmanship have been defined and strengthened in legal frameworks and decision-makings. In particular, the thesis focuses on the role of tangible and intangible aspects of value and authenticity, arguing that English conservation focuses on tangible and Korean practice on intangible aspects. The thesis then explores how such aspects are manifested in secular and religious controls over English churches and Korean Buddhist temples in use, identifying the problems in terms of criteria for selection of listed (or designated) buildings, and lack of equal recognition between tangible and intangible values in their legal systems. Thereafter, the thesis scrutinises the influence of various modes of value assessment on decision-making at different levels of intervention in six cases: Selby Abbey, Beverley Minster, St Mary's of Beverley, Bulguksa, Seokuram, and Haeinsa. In conclusion, the thesis provides a set of recommendations to solve the problems discussed in the previous chapters and to improve future conservation in terms of making balanced decisions between various values.

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(Source: Thorton, W (1739) *A representation of the north front of the great cross isle of Beverley Minster which overhung four feet beyond its base*, ERAO, PE129/166. scanned from Horrox, R (2000) (ed) *Beverley Minster: an illustrated history*, Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster. p 95)

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Chapter One Introduction

1. 1. Background

Religious buildings and monasteries, past and present, are the outcome of an exceptional investment of time and resources, resulting in a built legacy which establishes them as important cultural assets. In particular, churches and Buddhist temples in contemporary use are unique cultural sites that differ from archaeological sites or museums holding collections of objects, or from the general grouping of historic buildings in use, because they continually preserve their original functions. Such a characteristic of functioning religious buildings is a critical factor in their conservation in two related ways: 1. it generates challenging tasks for conservationists who must consider two often contradictory goals: keeping to original use and the preservation of material remains; 2. the religious community tends to argue that because of its spiritual mission, its buildings should be privileged and removed from secular control for conservation.

First, present conservation principles in England, enshrined and manifested in policy statements such as Planning Policy Guidance note 15 (PPG 15), recognise that the original use of a building is the best use (DoE and DNH 1994, Article 3.10). Yet this principle is paradoxical for religious buildings in use because it is frequently argued that their original use requires alteration to and change of, the fabric to accommodate liturgical change. Such a position is often in tension with the standpoint of some conservationists whose perspective is rooted in the intellectual tradition that they are historical remains which provide important physical evidence of the past or of other conservationists who argue compromising solution for accommodating both religious and secular needs. From a secular perspective, it is often argued that they are sufficiently exceptional that they should be preserved in their historical form for informational purposes, and to satisfy the more intangible emotional needs of a secularised society. From a religious perspective,

churches and Buddhist temples are the physical manifestation of theological ground and containers which accommodate contemporary ritual. The ways in which their duties are discharged are varied and continue to change over time. For example, circumambulation of the main altar in the main hall of Korean Buddhist temples had been a major practice in the Unified Silla Period (668~935), but preaching in the main hall became common practice in the Joseon Period (1392~1910) (Lee Ganggeun 1998, 56). Thus, temples were reordered or rebuilt to suit changing religious practices. An archaeological survey of the base stone of Gakhwangjeon (Enlightenment Hall) in Hwaomsa (Hwaom Temple) in Korea shows that the main altar was laid in the centre whereas in the present building which was rebuilt in 1702 the altar has been pushed to the back of the hall (Lee Ganggeun 1998, 77). Similar changes in the location of liturgical furniture which took place over centuries, can be observed in English churches.

Second, this paradoxical aspect of change and preservation in religious buildings in use has been exacerbated by the fact that religious buildings in use tend to be given more freedom and independence from secular controls than those that have fallen out of use. Ecclesiastical exemption in England and *Jeonton-gsachal-bojonbeop* (Traditional Temple Preservation Act) in Korea provide special privileges to religious communities to focus on the original use for spiritual purposes and allow them more freedom to make internal decisions about their buildings. The decision-making tends to lose the objective perspective in terms of weighing various values in the balance resulting in favouring the demands of religious communities.

Recognizing that both Korean Buddhist temples and English churches share these problems, this research was originally based on a naive presumption at the initial stage, which was that there are cross-cultural patterns of problems in the conservation of religious buildings in use and, therefore, it is possible to construct a set of principles and fixed processes which can be shared between

different cultures and religions. The research had intended to find an ideal model from established English conservation practice as a principal formula to guide Korean conservation to improve the process of decision-making.

However, this presumption was questioned after reviewing recent discussions about assessing values (Avrami *et al* 2000; Baer and Snickars 2001; de la Torre 2002), tests of authenticity (Larsen 1995), and cultural diversity (Wei and Aass 1989; Taylor 2004). These discussions shared two common grounds as important premises: 1. conservation is not a fixed technical practice but a social process to preserve both tangible and intangible values in the most authentic condition; 2. the concept of authenticity and the way of assessing values varies in different places and at different times. These premises caused the presumption of this research to be revised to take account of the proposition that conservation is a culturally and historically diverse social practice which cannot be executed according to universal and normative principles and fixed processes.

One of the most important aspects of conservation as a fluid social process is that various stakeholders assess different values of heritage with the intention of retaining them as far as possible in order to maintain heritage of the best quality of tangible and intangible resources for the wider public to enjoy (ICOMOS-Australia 1999; English Heritage 2006b). The process includes identifying values, verifying significance, providing guidelines for the process of conservation through the legal framework, and executing physical intervention to prevent loss of identified values. The way in which various types of values held by different stakeholders should be identified, followed by culturally specific analysis to assess these values should provide an agreed framework for leading different stakeholders to compromise their contradictory perspectives and goals when making decisions.

1.2. Research questions

Research questions were raised at two different levels: international and regional. This is because standards and techniques in contemporary conservation are ostensibly shared between cultures wishing to learn from one another through the exchange of knowledge, but, at regional level, local traditions and characteristics are often followed, sometimes enshrined in local guidelines and often applied in actual practice.

1.2.1. Research questions from an international perspective

The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, known as the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), was set forth as the cornerstone of post-war conservation practice. As a general rather than detailed guideline, it has crystallized fundamental ideas and international principles of conservation since it was adopted in 1964 becoming the principal reference for the conventions and designating World Heritage Sites in the 1970s and 1980s as well as influencing the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance known as the Burra Charter (ICOMOS-Australia 1999). However, the Venice Charter has been criticised on the grounds that it conceives Eurocentric ideas and practices as a universal principle without considering Asian or other regional approaches. However, its enlightened ideas about the setting of historic buildings and monuments and the importance of authenticity and integrity have stood up well to the rigours of international revisionism.

The Nara Document on Authenticity (1992) was set forth to challenge the Eurocentric approaches resulting in successive regional charters and guidelines such as *Principles for the conservation of heritage sites in China* (ICOMOS-China 2002), and *Hoi-an Protocols for best conservation practice in Asia* (ICOMOS 2005). These documents contributed to the understanding of cultural diversity at an international level as well as providing a useful methodology for western countries to understand cultural difference in

conservation and for non-western countries to outline national guidelines.

However, the problem with regional charters and protocols is that they tend to reiterate previous Eurocentric charters without stipulating regionally-specific conservation principles and practices. One example of their failure to ruminate on local tradition is shown by their understanding of craftsmen and their skills. The role of carpenters and craftsmen in the conservation of a timber building in Asia has been considered more important than that of architects or conservators. In addition, conservation projects provide vital opportunities for craftsmen to sustain their skills. However, the Hoi-an Protocol claimed that ‘safeguarding techniques for the tangible and intangible are fundamentally different’ (ICOMOS 2005, Section E). From such a perspective it excluded craftsmen and their skills from safeguarding tangible remains in particular in the section on ‘Historic urban sites and heritage groups’ and ‘Monuments, buildings and structures’ (ICOMOS 2005, Section I-4 and I-5). It stated that ‘the principle coordinator of a conservation project should be a conservation architect’ but no articles in the protocol mentioned craftsmen and their skills in the preservation of tangible remains. However in Korean conservation practice, for example, there is no such profession of conservation architect and a master carpenter plays the most important role on site. Such a problem of local guidelines and charters is caused by the lack of sufficient discussion about the tension between localised, traditional conservation practice and international standards among local conservators.

The development of regional guidelines without abundant discussion and engagement by local conservators with locally-agreed standards based on both traditional and contemporary value assessment processes can result in another fixed guideline owing much to internationalizing tendencies: the opposite of the intention. These regional charters and guidelines need to produce a unique and relevant framework for assessing and preserving values which can be applicable to their local heritage rather than re-stating the same categories of

various values of western-oriented international charters.

Another useful outcome to discuss cultural diversity was the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) forum on 'Living religious heritage: conserving the sacred', later published as *Conservation of living religious heritage* (Stovel *et al* 2005). The forum aimed at encouraging dialogue between cultures and sharing various perspectives and decision-making processes rather than providing a set of standards or guidelines. It introduced various cases of conservation decision-making regarding religious buildings in use in order to provide various options for solving conflict between the needs of religious communities and those of conservation professionals. The forum highlighted different problems in that it failed to analyse each case thoroughly enough to address the underlying relationship between value assessment and decision-making which is the key aspect to understanding conflict between religious and secular communities in conservation.

In order to contribute to the solution to the above problems, the thesis will pose two research questions at international level. The first question is: Are modes of value assessment and the concept of authenticity culturally different and historically mutable? In order to provide an answer to this, the concept of authenticity will be examined because it plays an important role as 'the essential qualifying factor concerning values' (UNESCO 1994a, Article 10). And the sub-question is: Are concepts of authenticity culturally and historically determined, and to what extent are they different between cultures? Therefore, various aspects of authenticity in terms of form, material, function, setting, and workmanship at different times and in different cultures will be discussed. Thereafter, various types of values of religious buildings in use will be identified and then compared in both historical and cultural dimensions. Such examination and comparison will provide a depth of knowledge of cultural diversity in defining authenticity and in assessing values arguing that this

approach should be discreetly considered when stipulating regional charters and guidelines in future.

The second research question is: Does the mode of value assessment affect decision-making in conservation? It will be answered by analysing methods of different value assessments in establishing legal frameworks and in deciding levels of intervention. The understanding of their relationships will elucidate whether conflict between different stakeholders has arisen in past and present conservations and will provide a set of recommendation as to how compromises can be reached in future decision-making.

In answering these two questions, tangible and intangible aspects will be examined together because they are not separate entities but are closely connected so should be considered together in conservation. The view that the preservation of an intangible aspect secures the preservation of a tangible one or vice versa will be investigated in this thesis contrasting with the *Hoi-an Protocol*. The protocol ignored the close relationship between tangible and intangible aspects stating that ‘intangible cultural heritage is by definition not linked to specific monuments or places, but is stored in the minds of tradition bearers and communities and conserved in the continuity of practice’ (ICOMOS 2005, Section E).

Contrary to the standpoint of the protocol, this thesis will question whether tangible values have been manifested in various architectural forms and styles to reflect intangible aspects, such as different ways of worship and the development of religious theories, and huge problems can be created if they are treated in separate ways. *Daeungjeon* (Hall of Great Hero), for example, reproduces the building in which the historic Buddha (i.e. *Seokgamoni*) preached. It typically enshrines a painting of the *Yeongsan-huisangdo* (Depiction of Dharma Assembly at Vulture Peak) behind the main altar to show his presence in the building which reminds people of his influential teaching at

Yeongsan (Vulture Peak) which was his favourite place to sermonise. In this case, to maintain the tangible setting of the interior *in situ* during the process of conservation influences the preservation of intangible value, which is religious intention.

In particular, intangible aspects of values and authenticity will receive more attention in this research because this is an area which has been studied less than the tangible. Identifying intangible aspects of religious buildings in use and providing examples will be a major element of this thesis, leading to the explicit identification of the different attitudes between cultures. Tangible aspects, such as form, design, and material are the visible output of intangible ones, such as craftsmanship, theological intention, and harmonious interaction with surrounding nature. Symbolic meaning, with surrounding nature as in *pungsu* (*feng-shui* in Chinese) theory, or socio-political aspects such as national identity, might be deemed intangible values. These values, which are closely connected with people's emotions and skills, are difficult to visualize, and therefore are often ignored in conservation as they are not clearly defined and identified during the initial stages. They can be divided into two groups: original and subsequently ascribed.

Original intangible aspects, such as outstanding craftsmanship and theological intention, have been attributed to religious buildings from their initial phase and their originality and quality can be evaluated in terms of form, setting, workmanship, function, and material. On the other hand emotional, nationalistic or patriotic attachments to the building added by later generations, can be called subsequently ascribed intangible aspects of values. They can be removed and replaced subject to the choice and social experience of different groups of peoples and different generations. Prevailing categories of authenticity such as original form, setting, workmanship, function, and material, are not necessarily indicative of later values. The understanding of subsequent social and historical contexts is essential if judgements about the

validity of later aspects, both tangible and intangible, are to be made. This is the reason why this research establishes its first objective, which is to analyse the reasons for changing attitudes to assessing values and the concept of authenticity by scrutinising cultural and historical contexts of decision-making.

The methods of weighing various values and the concept of authenticity in the conservation of religious buildings in use are strongly influenced by traditional and culturally specific ways of thinking about the past, the use of materials, the changing economic situation, traumatic experiences in history, political agendas, and religious belief and practice. For example, Buddhist philosophy is much based on the concept of material impermanence and it emphasizes spiritual enlightenment encouraging meditation so spiritual aspects such as craftsmanship or the significance of living quarters of renowned monks tends to be an important consideration in the preservation of temples. On the other hand, Christianity traditionally takes physical manifestations, such as the resurrection of Christ, as important and various kinds of ceremony such as the Eucharist and baptism as important religious practice so is concerned with the form of physical remains which can visibly discharge Christian philosophy and belief.

1.2.2. Research questions from a regional perspective

Given that social and historical contexts play an important role in changing assessments of values and authenticity, it is necessary to understand the details of these factors before the broader research questions can meaningfully be asked. Therefore, the following section provides an overview of conservation history in England and Korea in order to then address contemporary problems.

The history and problems of conservation of religious buildings in England

In the wake of the Romantic movement and the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution and economic growth, the development of road and railway

facilities, and the expansion of tourism, England became one of the leading countries in Europe interested in the preservation, restoration, and conservation of buildings, monuments and objects. In addition, the relationships between intellectual movements, such as the Oxford and Cambridge Movements, and new institutions, such as the National Trust and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), with their innovative activities for preservation, provided a rich ground on which to debate the principles and philosophies of conservation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, churches became a focal point in the discussions of the period. There is now a wide range of writing on the history and principles of conservation (Fawcett 1976; Tschudi-Madsen 1976; Miele 1992; Denslagen 1994; Miele 1995; Hunter 1996; Jokilehto 1999; Earl 2001; Miele 2005).

By the second half of the twentieth century the issues were different and conservation had to face the task of post-war reconstruction as well as the destruction of the old for the new. In the process of reshaping cities and towns after the war, the conservation movement needed to fight or compromise with new economic demands and development. Concurrent with these broader issues, many religious buildings, local parish churches in particular, became redundant and suffered from vandalism due to the decrease in church populations and lack of funding for their proper maintenance. Many of them had to be either demolished or pressed into new uses such as centres for the elderly, private houses, offices, or restaurants.

Founded on this long history and development of conservation theory, technical and material research over recent decades has provided a rich opportunity to preserve many buildings in England. The conservation movement is currently examining its philosophy and previous principles and making revisions based on contemporary interests.

Two intellectual streams of contemporary discussion by secular authority are

‘sustainability’ (English Heritage 1997; English Heritage 2000a) and ‘public values’ (English Heritage 2006a; English Heritage 2006b) in an attempt to ensure the secure transmission of material remains and the value of the built environment to future generations while providing current benefit to the majority of people and the various stakeholders. A key aspect of these discussions is a holistic and inclusive approach to the identification of both tangible and intangible values in order to capture them not only for contemporary stakeholders but also for future ones. For Anglican communities in England, which occupy and own a major group of heritage buildings, the need to take an analytic and objective attitude toward value assessments respecting not only religious but also secular perspectives, does not always seem easy.

A fundamental problem for religious communities is their lack of understanding of the core issue that the continuity of a church as a building rests not only with the physical maintenance of its fabric but also on the way of placing religion in a fast-changing contemporary society and developing its spiritual role in a secularized one. Over-reacting to the different attitudes of conservators, religious communities sometimes tend to attribute the problems of church conservation to the age of their building or to the ignorance of conservators who restrict the freedom of re-ordering as opposed to accepting that the theological failures of the contemporary generation have resulted in a decrease of religious practice and hence a funding problem. An example of this attitude is not difficult to find. Giles (1996) complains that church buildings are totally unfit for contemporary forms of worship and argues that thorough-going re-ordering of the historic fabric is essential, rather than accepting that the historic values of the building constitute part of its theological value.

Funding remains a critical issue to be tackled by both secular and religious communities. Although the scheme of state aid started to provide grants for

parish churches in 1977, it requires that more than half of the necessary conservation cost should be provided by the religious community (Cooper 2004, 30) which might not be able to do so.

The history and problems of conservation of religious buildings in Korea

Before the modern concepts of ‘monument’ and ‘conservation’ were adopted in Korea in the early part of the twentieth century, buildings were repaired when age or damage had severely limited their use. It was the Japanese colonial government (1910 ~ 1945) which recognised the importance of traditional buildings as material evidence of history to be protected, not so much as an expression of honest appreciation of their inherent value but rather as a means to a political end (Hwang Suyeong 1997a, 335-336). The Japanese authority surveyed and dismantled many Korean wooden buildings, studied them and then reconstructed or refurbished them in Japanese style for political purposes as well as for their relevance to the study of Japanese buildings. These depredations were followed by the Korean War (1950 ~ 1953) which destroyed many Buddhist temples and valuable monuments (Hwang Suyeong 1997b, 344).

The priority of the Korean government, after the colonial period and the Korean War, was to recover national identity. Conservation was focused on the recovery and reconstruction of destroyed monuments and the protection of the remaining buildings and ancient ruins. The buildings first chosen for attention were mainly in the capital cities of previous dynasties from the period of the Three Kingdoms (AD 18~668). They were seen as representative of the beauty and style of each period in architectural history and were chosen in order to resurrect the lineage of Korean dynasties and prove the continuity of their long history. In addition, the newly independent government reshaped the designation system and reconstituted a legal framework, though still based on the colonial model (O Setak 2005, 38). The standing of conservation after the Korean War meant that technical development was considered more

important than philosophical establishment and this resulted in a lack of discussion of conservation philosophy and principles.

Economic development in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as political stability in the early 1990s, provided both leisure time and comfortable incomes, allowing Korean people to travel and visit historical sites. Lately this trend has been encouraged by the popular publications of such luminaries as Hongjun Yu (Yu Hongjun 1993; 1994; 1997), an art historian and a former chief administrator of the Cultural Heritage Administration. His books drew enormous public attention, becoming bestsellers in the middle of the 1990s, which made historical sites and monuments popular places to visit and to protect. The conservation of these sites became an important issue not only for the Korean government but also for the public. In addition, tourism, since the hosting of the Olympic Games in 1988, became an important factor in conservation planning and decision-making. Buddhist temples, which were major sites of interest, began to receive many more visitors which has increased income from public donations, and funding from Buddhist or government authorities for reconstruction or new construction in the historic temple compounds in order to accommodate increasing religious and secular activities.

A serious problem in Korean conservation is the lack of local conservation principles, which developed because of the focus on conservation technique and scientific analysis of material. Discussion of the principles of conservation are restricted to a few pioneers of such writing who introduced international standards (Baek Seunggil 1968; Lee Taenyeong 1981) understanding the importance of collaboration with international organizations such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), ICCROM, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and other foreign institutions. No philosophical development and empirical studies on identifying and assessing values have been published yet. Instead, material-based western conservation has been accepted without

considering that it might not be an ideal approach to apply to a set of traditional practices that takes a different view of the spiritual importance of craftsmanship. Similar to other areas of modern studies which were introduced to Korea in the nineteenth century such as economic theories of capitalism, democracy and socialism in politics, and scientific knowledge, concepts of heritage and conservation of material remains were newly introduced as part of a modern way of thinking and social practice in the early twentieth century. This has led Korean conservators for the last fifty years since the Japanese colonial period (1910 ~ 1945) and the Korean War (1950 ~ 1953) to believe that western conservation practice and principles can provide unchallenged models for Korean conservation.

Because Korean conservators have remained so committed to the idea that western studies in conservation could provide an applicable and well-developed model for their practice, Korean conservation has lost an opportunity to modernize its unique traditional value framework or to foster autonomous tools of value assessment from its own cultural perspective. One aspect that this thesis will emphasise is the reason why the assessment of various values has not been well balanced and why the concept of authenticity in Korea is not understood as fluid but as fixed. As a result the hierarchy of values in Korea was re-shaped in a short period of time: from the practical and use values of traditional Buddhism to age and associative values focusing on the recovery of national history and identity. Decisions on conservation were made in the context of a materialistic attitude focusing on original form rather than introducing a balance with spiritual aspects, and have ignored the intangible aspects of conservation such as craftsmanship or religious philosophy expressed in a building. The focus on the preservation of material remains has led Korean conservators to concentrate on conservation science rather than theory. The first full-length book about conservation science was published in the early 1990s (Choe Gwangnam 1991), although there have been many short articles in several journals since the 1950s. Since the early

1990s there have been other similar books (Sawada 1997; Lee Naeok 2000) but not one on conservation theory or principles has been published in Korea. There has been no attempt to develop a theory that is more adaptable to Korean materials, forms, and cultural contexts on the basis of western ideas which have permeated Korean conservation.

The meaning of *bojon-cheolhak* (conservation philosophy) in Korea has been understood as a list of statements and fixed rules which western conservators had developed. It is assumed that these provide a culturally-neutral framework ready to be applied to all different cases rather than a process of flexible, intellectual, and painstaking discussions for finding a way to balanced decision-making between various values and stakeholders case by case. Conservators have obligated themselves to be faithful to international guidelines and charters in their training (The National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 1994), but no one has discussed the issues of how Korean material and cultural context conflict with them and how Korean *bojon-cheolhak* should be modified to respect both international principles and Korean context.

The absence of culturally sensitive conservation principles and the misconception of *bojon-cheolhak* has generated a problem within the legislation, such as *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (Cultural Properties Protection Act) and *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (Traditional Temple Preservation Act), confusing conservators and related professionals with ambiguous and contradictory statements. Excessive dependence on the government's custodianship and funding for the conservation of nationally and locally designated religious buildings has deterred the Buddhist authority from developing and nurturing a self-governing body with a role to play in decision-making. The poor quality and lack of knowledge of the self-governing committees on conservation, which execute decision-making for undesignated buildings in temples, has caused a problem in the preservation of setting and

the maintenance of harmony between designated and undesignated buildings. In the conservation of designated buildings, a secular perspective of value assessment was considered more important than a religious one whereas the opposite has been the case for undesignated ones, which often causes a loss of authenticity of setting as manifested in the intended composition of various buildings in a temple.

Research questions at regional level

In order to solve the above mentioned problems of English and Korean conservation, this thesis asks two questions at regional level, making them the third and fourth research questions. The third research question is: Is there a point of compromise in different value assessments by different stakeholders, in particular, by religious and secular authorities? As the premise stated at the beginning of this chapter, it is not possible to have ideal frameworks of value assessment. However, this thesis will put forward to find solutions for contemporary English and Korean problems by suggesting that they can be solved if conflicting aspects of authenticity are balanced and the various values are equally respected without a distinctive hierarchy between them and if the dichotomy between religious and secular value assessment is removed. Separate solutions will be suggested for English churches and Korean Buddhist temples based on the problems they face within different social and historical contexts of value assessment frameworks.

The fourth question is: Can the frameworks of value assessment for one society provide useful lessons for another and can they enlighten each other in areas which they have not previously considered? This thesis will argue that there are different approaches toward value assessment in the establishment of legal process and the exercise of theoretical and legal frameworks in actual practice which can be usefully exchanged between English and Korean conservation practice in order to solve their problems.

1.3. Previous studies on identifying and assessing values

Two early considerations of values by SPAB (1877) and Riegl (1903) need to be mentioned because they provide a basic framework of value discussion at the beginning of modern conservation. Morris, in the *Manifesto* on the founding of SPAB in 1877, specified 'artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, substantial and any work that educated, artistic people would think it worthwhile to argue about at all' as worth protecting (SPAB 1877). His typology of values emphasised the emotional attachment to buildings and objects. In addition, it limited stakeholders to a small group of elite people who were educated and artistic. This perspective brought later criticisms (Hewison 1987, 140; Barthel 1996, 33) of the notion that only a small elite group of people who had historical knowledge and an aesthetic appreciation could participate in the decision-making and discussion about the planning of conservation. Riegl's writing (1903) took an analytic and systematic approach toward values. Noting that monuments in antiquity were mainly intentional, he divided values into commemorative and contemporary values whilst analyzing the conflict between them.

Since the above two writers presented their various typologies of value, different ways of defining and categorising the value of cultural assets have been suggested by different authors over the last two decades. Lipe (1984) discussed associative/symbolic, informational, aesthetic, and economic values. Fielden and Jokilehto (1998, 17) defined the value of world heritage sites in terms of cultural and contemporary socio-economic values. English Heritage, in the 1997 discussion document, identified cultural, educational and academic, economic, resource, recreational, and aesthetic values (English Heritage 1997, 4). Throsby (2000) included aesthetic (beauty, harmony), spiritual (understanding, enlightenment, insight), social (connection with others, a sense of identity), historical (connection with the past), and symbolic (a repository or conveyor of meaning) values within a cultural value of artwork. Mason (2002) divided the values into two: socio-cultural and economic. Socio-

cultural values include historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious, and aesthetic values. Economic values, by his definition, contain use (market), non-use (nonmarket), existence, option, and bequest values.

The importance of recent value writings (Lipe 1984; Allison *et al* 1996; English Heritage 1997; Hutter and Rizzo 1997; Mason 1999; Avrami *et al* 2000; de la Torre 2002; English Heritage 2006a; English Heritage 2006b) is not examined here in the detailed typologies of different values but it is worth while stating that the broader shift of interest has been made in their response to changes in contemporary societies and to reflect their complexity. Major shifts of interest can be summarized in two ways: 1. identifying economic values; 2. focusing on intangible values and re-assessing them in the light of value research into cultural and social contexts satisfying a wider range of different stakeholders.

Analyzing economic aspects has been an important concern in the discussion since the 1990s (Hutter and Rizzo 1997; Allison *et al* 1996; Mason 1999; Throsby 2000). With the development of cities and the increasing role of heritage in tourism, which influences decisions about conservation, economic value has appeared to be a major interest in the study of heritage value over the last ten years. The Getty report, *Economics and heritage conservation* (Mason 1999), published to report a meeting in the previous year, adopted a methodology of economic studies in order to set up a framework for measuring the economic value of heritage. Based on the problem that heritage cannot be valued simply in terms of price, the report tried to unify economic value with cultural value which included 'historical meaning, symbolic and spiritual values, political functions, aesthetic qualities, and the capacity of heritage to help communities negotiate and form their identity' (Mason 1999, 10).

If the 1999 Getty report focused on economic value and its relationship with cultural values from the economists' perspective, the 2000 report, *Values and*

heritage conservation (Avrami *et al* 2000). dealt with how cultural and economic values are formed in conservation and who assesses these values. As a new perspective reflecting recent changes in, and development of, conservation it established various stakeholders as important factors in deciding what and how to conserve. A third Getty report, *Assessing the values of cultural heritage* (de la Torre 2002), focused on the methodologies for the assessment of cultural values which are identified, articulated and established as of cultural significance. It discussed a multidisciplinary methodology of assessing values in terms of anthropological and ethnographic, economic and environmental perspectives.

In England, the public, who not only enjoy the benefits but pay for the financial support of conservation, have become a focal point in recent discussions. *A future for our past?* (1996) by Brisbane and Wood, a discussion document *Sustaining the historic environment: new perspectives on the future* (English Heritage 1997), and *Power of place* (English Heritage 2000a) put various stakeholders within the social and local community context at the centre of discussion on conservation, based on the understanding that the concepts of place and cultural significance are closely related to the benefits for the people who interpret, appreciate, and use heritage.

Inspired by Moore's 1995 publication, *Creating public value: strategic management in government*, English policy formulation has focused on 'public value' (Cabinet Office Strategy Unit 2002; Demos 2004; Jowell 2004; English Heritage 2006a; English Heritage 2006b). This concept of 'public value' has emerged from the renewed emphasis on the importance of social and cultural contexts in the historic environment. Based on the recognition of the social and cultural context of heritage, which includes a valuable contribution from the public as well as benefits for them, the focus of heritage has been on how non-specialists value, use, and interact with material remains.

In 2004, the Secretary of State with responsibilities for heritage, Tessa Jowell, entered the debate with a personal essay entitled *Government and the value of culture* which she followed up in 2005 with a discussion of the historic environment, *Better places to live - government, identity and the value of the historic and built environment*. These two essays signalled government engagement at the level of rhetoric, if not financial support, for the idea of the significance of culture in terms of public and cultural value. The idea is closely related to the issue of funding because much of the funding for conservation, and other cultural expenses, comes from central government sources, so public interest and values should be a major concern in conservation. The report, *Challenge and change: HLF and cultural value*, in the same year, defined and examined intrinsic and instrumental aspects of public value (Demos 2004). The report clearly showed that interest moved from 'seeing the definition of value as something driven by experts on behalf of society, to one that recognises the importance of wider public participation' (Demos 2004, 41). It defined public value as 'the value added by government and the public sector in its widest sense' (Demos 2004, 28). It argued that public value is expressed by people visiting and using places as well as volunteering in an active way and the concept includes the processes of value-creation by the public.

The latest conference and publication by English Heritage, *Capturing the public value of heritage*, in 2006, is the outcome of further development of the concept (English Heritage 2006b). Encouraged by the Secretary of State that 'we need to explore all aesthetic, community, evidential and historical values and add to them in order to see how they might be part of a public value framework for heritage' (Jowell 2006, 11), the public value framework for the conference was articulated from three aspects: intrinsic, instrumental and institutional values (English Heritage 2006b, 21). Intrinsic value is the value of heritage itself which is experienced by the individual intellectually, emotionally and spiritually. Instrumental value refers to 'those ancillary

effects of heritage where it is used to achieve a social or economic purpose' (John Holden as cited in English Heritage 2006b, 21). Institutional value relates to 'the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public' (English Heritage 2006b, 15). Understanding that these three sets are mixed and reinforce each other and that various methodologies will be needed to identify, express and communicate the particular manifestations of cultural value, the conference invited different groups of people to examine how public value, which is defined as 'responsiveness to refined preferences', could be measured and to develop ideas for its application in practice.

Through continuing discussion and publication, English Heritage argues that it has found a working answer to the fundamental question of 'whose heritage and whose values' (English Heritage 2006a). *Conservation Principles: Policies and Guidance* (English Heritage 2008a) is a recent outcome to set out practical principles in assessing values and managing change to a place. Public value discussions surmise that preservation has to respond to what the public values because it is the heritage of the public. In addition, recent discussion implies that conservation methods should correspond to public value and the rationale for choosing the method should be focused on maximum public benefit.

At present, English Heritage's approach is in the early stage of defining and forming an idea of public value in heritage and conservation. Compared to classical value theories, this framework is challenging, suggesting an innovative approach intended to divert interest to the wider public for their benefit. It is inspiring because it satisfies a new demand which concerns and attracts the wider public in a fast changing contemporary society. Being at an initial stage, English Heritage needs to encourage deeper discussion and define the meaning of 'public' and 'public value' in heritage conservation clearly because the definition, and range, of public is not clear enough at present. In

addition, the terminology of intrinsic, instrumental, and institutional value does not deliver easily understandable meaning to a wider audience. It needs to consider that there will be different types of stakeholders or public and that the type of public will vary for different categories of heritage, such as historic houses, religious buildings, or industrial sites. On the other hand, it is necessary to examine how a public value framework can be practically applied. Again, numerous case studies of each type of heritage should be conducted in order to formulate a practical and applicable value theory. Considering the need for practical case studies, this thesis will provide a useful resource on how historically and culturally varied a public assessment of the value of religious buildings in use might be.

1.4. Research focus and methodology

1.4.1. Analysis of three aspects of conservation: theoretical, legal and management

In order to provide answers about how and why value assessments are different in different cultures at different times, it is necessary to analyse how value frameworks are theoretically formed, legally reflected, and actually applied. The main chapters address theoretical, legal and management aspects in sequence because they are closely related to each other as parts of a whole process. Identifying and assessing values with reliable resources by defining tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity is an important part of the theoretical approach because they influence the framing of a legal system that helps to maximize contemporary values and control certain activities which can degrade existing values. Both theoretical and legal aspects are critical in conservation practice providing guidelines for planning, decision-making, funding and levels of intervention.

In terms of theory, the thesis will focus on historical and cultural contexts of conservation of religious buildings in use within which is set a subsequent consideration of legal and management differences between England and

Korea. The historical development of conservation is first examined. Given that there is no analytical study of conservation history in Korea yet, this thesis will contribute not only to Korean conservation but also to an English understanding of the Asian context of conservation history and practice. By examining value assessment and definition of authenticity in conservation history it is important to address the issue that different values may conflict, and different elements of authenticity are considered important in decision-making resulting in unbalanced decisions in actual practice. In the study of cultural difference, it is important to argue that a set of value frameworks and authenticity in one culture is not always compatible to that of another. This problem is caused by intrinsic characteristics which are socially and culturally determined in different historical contexts. Such assumptions will be tested by examining whether culturally determined intrinsic characteristics affect different set of value frameworks in the conservation of religious buildings in use.

The legal system is the formal statement which is drafted based on conservation principles and philosophy, regulating what to preserve and how decisions for the level of intervention are to be made. Reflecting the assessment of values at the time of drafting, it provides standard processes and policy guidelines for conservators and related professionals. To achieve a proper understanding of, and comprehensive recommendations for, the problems concerning the legal aspects of the conservation of religious buildings in use, this study examines two kinds of legal systems, secular and religious, because they represent different perspectives of value assessment. Each legal system has its own policies, laws, recommendations and guidelines for the proper preservation of religious assets. Sometimes, government regulations drive a wide and superficial swathe through the issues of conservation of cultural assets, whereas religious organizations have detailed and specific principles and guidelines concerning religious buildings. It is important that they work as complementarily as they can, so the analysis will

be focused on whether secular and legal frameworks are complementary in respecting various values.

The section on management aspects will include many practical issues, such as planning and the actual practices of conservation which the philosophical and legal aspects directly influence. Therefore, the thesis will focus on how different principles and legal systems influence decisions and the level of intervention and how conservation practice can be improved in terms of preserving various values. By comparing English and Korean cases with similar levels of intervention, social and cultural contexts will be examined and analysed in pursuit of recommendations for improving decision-making and solving problems.

1.4.2. Rationale of comparison and case studies

In order to conduct a practical analysis of value assessment, the thesis will report on comparative research on English churches and Korean Buddhist temples. The necessity of comparative research of conservation practice in various cultures was addressed at the 2003 ICCROM forum of living religious heritage (Stovel *et al* 2005). Stovel argued that comparative research rather than setting out prescriptive international principles should be encouraged for the conservation of living religious heritage (Stovel 2005, 3). This approach would allow conservators to share different problems and knowledge in managing changing requirements in contemporary conservation.

Considering that comparative studies of two different cultures and religions are very few, it aims to provide a depth of empirical study to examine how and why the framework of value assessment varies in different cultures and at different times reinforcing the argument that each culture has to consider its social and historical context in decision-making. Given the circumstance that none of the English sources are available in Korean and vice versa, this comparative research when translated into Korean will provide a mutual

understanding of conservation theory, the legal framework, and management issues. The Korean notion of intangible aspects of authenticity may provide useful suggestions for English conservators to improve their theoretical and legal frameworks in future. In similar ways, the English notion of fluid authenticity and the enthusiastic discussions on developing conservation theory may encourage Korean conservators to construct applicable local principles through debates and discussion rather than indiscriminately following Eurocentric philosophy.

The comparative studies are drawn largely from detailed work on six English and Korean case studies of religious buildings in use. The three English churches are Selby Abbey, Beverley Minster, and St Mary's church, Beverley and the three Korean Buddhist temples are Bulguksa (literally Temple of Buddha's Nation), Seokuram (Seokul Grotto), and Haeinsa (literally Temple of Reflection on a Calm Sea). Details of each site and its conservation are to be found in the Site Gazetteer at the end of the main text.

In selecting these cases, the thesis has limited its scope to the Church of England and the Jogye Order because they are the largest religious group in each country. The Jogye Order became the biggest Buddhist order in Korea in the 1960s when its unmarried monks took over most temples from 'Japanized' married monks in a series of events known as the Purification Movement. Both the Church of England and the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism operate a united organisation of churches and temples with centralized control of the legal system and systematic cooperation so that a symmetrical comparison was feasible. In addition, to a certain extent both organisations enjoy independent control of their buildings from secular control.

The English churches have been selected from amongst the greater parish churches rather than cathedrals which have separate legal and management systems, and, for consistency, the thesis concentrates on one region of each

country, which will be Yorkshire and Gyeongsang Province as shown in Figure 1.1 and 1.2. In addition, there is mention of several more temples (-sa in Korean) such as Sudeoksa, Bongjeongsa, Buseoksa, and Muwisa as well as several architectural buildings in Pyeongyang and Seoul, which are the North and South Korean capital cities, to help understand the historical and social context.

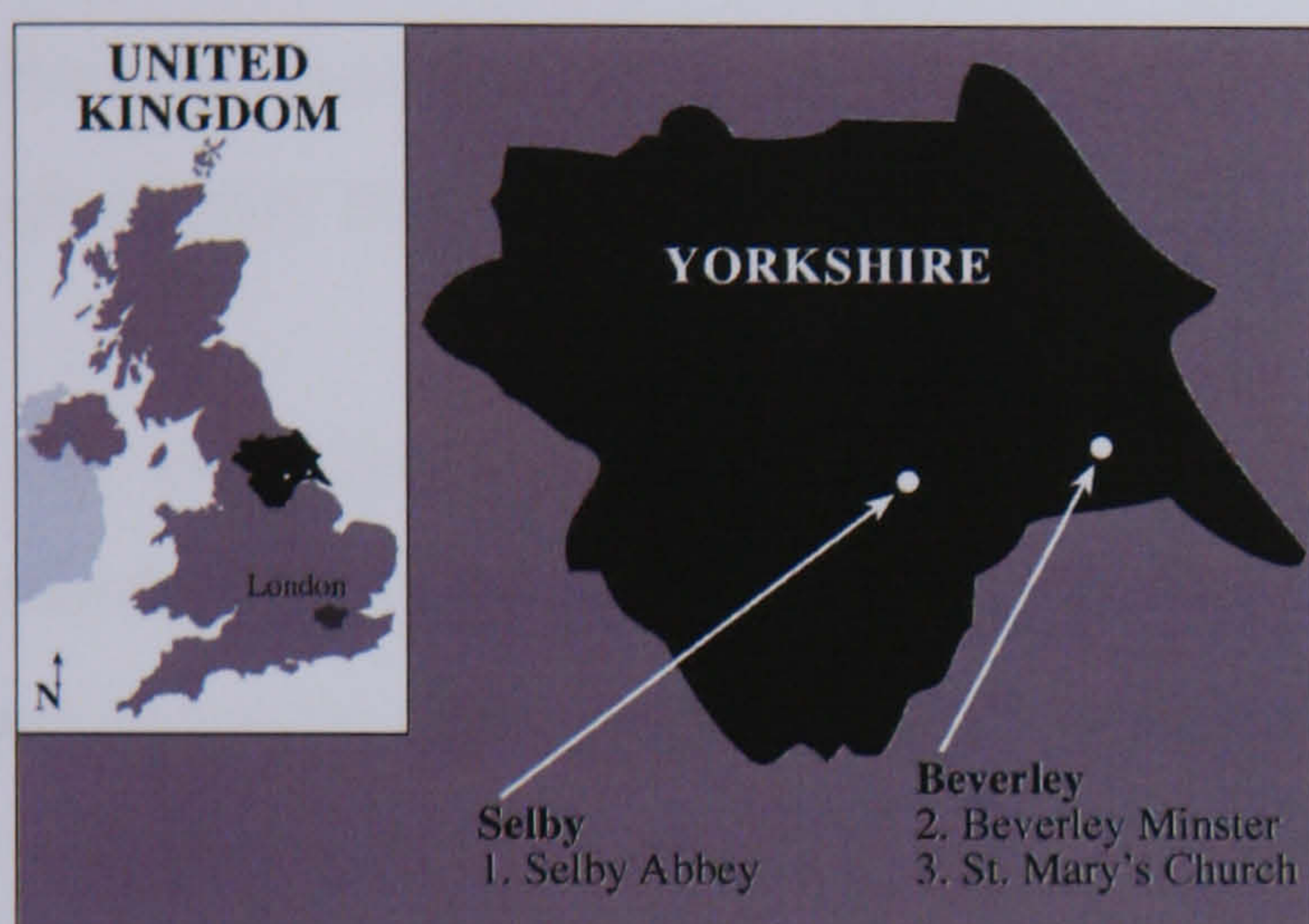


Figure 1.1. Location of English Cases



Figure 1.2. Location of Korean Cases



Figure 1.3. Location of other Korean cases

Selby Abbey and Beverley Minster have contrasting economic settings. Selby Abbey, which is now a parish church although formerly it was the Abbey church, is located in a former mining town and is less known as a tourist destination than Beverley Minster, which is the successor of a house of secular canons and a con-cathedral, is in fact the parish church of St. John and St. Martin. With the parish church of St Mary it is located in a wealthier town which attracts many tourists to its historic buildings and race-course.

Haeinsa has a training school for monks and a meditation centre for both laity and monks, but, being located in the middle of the remote Gaya Mountain, it attracts smaller numbers of tourists than other temples in tourist destinations such as Bulguksa. Bulguksa is located in one of the popular tourist destinations, Gyeongju, which used to be a capital city during the Silla (57~668) and Unified Silla Period (668~935) and has abundant historic monuments and sites. Like St Mary, Beverley and Beverley Minster, Bulguksa and Seokuram are co-located so their historical and physical settings are closely connected.

The main focus of this research is on the architectural components of the various sites, of both the interior and exterior fabric, including attached architectural features such as wall sculptures and stained glass in churches and wall paintings in Buddhist temples. In addition, the topographical setting in relation to the surrounding environment or buildings is considered where it affects intangible aspects of authenticity. For example, houses can have an impact on the setting of a church while geographical features such as mountains and streams surrounding a Buddhist temple have significance in terms of *pungsu* theory. The inclusion of objects in the scope of the research other than the buildings and their geographical setting is decided separately for English and Korean cases based on their religious characteristics and cultural contexts. For English cases, furnishings such as choir screens, altar reredoses, and fonts are included where they show a representative example of decision-making in a particular period because of their impact on the use of the building for religious purposes. However, organs are excluded because they require separate research on conservation in relation to church music. Because a Korean Buddhist temple is composed of many buildings with different functions with religious meaning, this research deals not only with individual buildings which display architectural importance but also with the interactive relationships between buildings in terms of the theological intention of their arrangement.

A multidisciplinary approach is the key methodology of this thesis examining how cultural and historical contexts are related in conservation in England and Korea. In particular, the thesis takes the anthropological approach. Such an approach consists of two ways: 1. examination of the intellectual establishment of each culture in terms of the way of recognising the past, defining authenticity, and identifying significance of a building; 2. analysis of the way in which the intellectual establishment affects the decision of what and how to preserve. A similar approach has been practiced in recent studies (Lipe 1984; Avrami *et al* 2000; de la Torre 2002). As Lipe argued that cultural resource values of heritage in society could be established ‘in particular contexts such as society’s economy, its aesthetic standards, its traditional or common knowledge and the kinds of formal research it supports or has access to’ (1984, 2), social changes and historic developments such as nationalism, tourism with economic growth, and religious aspiration have influenced the two countries in their decision-making and value assessments. On the other hand, cultural and religious differences and different perspectives on the weight of each value differentiate the practice of one country from that of the other and this will be considered in the comparison of cases.

1.4.3. Primary and secondary sources

In order to understand the historical development of value assessment, this thesis will examine both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources for English cases are faculty applications, unpublished ecclesiastical records of discussions, reports and drawings by architects, and correspondence concerning decision-making, which are preserved in the Bothwick Institute of Archives (previously Bothwick Institute of Historical Research) at the University of York (BIHR), East Riding Archive Office (ERAO, previously the Humberside County Record Office), The National Monuments Record (NMR), and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). In addition, it will include an analysis of ecclesiastical exemption, letters and suggestions by amenity societies during policy consultations and correspondence which

was circulated in advance of the successive legislative changes and is preserved in the National Archives at Kew (NA) and the Council for the Care of Churches (CCC). Secondary sources include published books and articles which provide different viewpoints of successive generations to show the fluidity of value assessments. They also provide important information to help understand the history of conservation when primary sources are absent or not available.

In the case of Korean Buddhist temples, there are fewer primary and secondary sources than for English cases. Until the early twentieth century, construction and repair work was recorded on paper or on the wooden components of a building. This will be described in more detail in chapter 2. They are *sajeokgi* (temple record), *joongsugi* (reconstruction record of an individual building or a group of buildings), and *sangryangmun* (record placed on a beam and other wooden components). *Sajeokgi* and *joongsugi* have been preserved in the temples and most of them are published by research institutes and temple authorities with a translation from the Chinese characters. *Sangryangmun* which, in many cases, have been found during the dismantling of a building, are published in conservation reports. In addition, in the case of temples which had national importance, discussion and debates on funding from the royal family or reconstruction after fire have been logged in royal records such as *Joseon-wangjo-silok* (*The annals of the Joseon Dynasty*) and *uigwe* (the royal protocols of the Joseon Dynasty). *Joseon-wangjo-silok* is translated and is accessible on the government website (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>).

Understanding conservation during the Japanese colonial period (1910~1945) is another challenge because the Japanese authorities who own documents have been reluctant to release them to the public. However, photographic records of *Joseon-gojeok-dobo* (*Survey report of old remains in Korea*) which were published from 1915 to 1936 by *Joseon-chongdokbu* (the office of the

governor general of Korea) provide some evidence of the time. In addition, two recent PhD theses by Hyeon Gang (2005) and Jaeguk Kim (2007) provide useful information on the conservation practice of the period.

To understand conservation practice after the Korean War (1950~1953), published conservation reports were examined as primary sources because, unlike English practice, government institutes or contracted conservation companies tend to publish a conservation report containing details of works such as the budget, brief records of discussions in the process of decision-making, use of materials, the conservation process, and techniques. However, it is difficult to find any records for the works of undesignated buildings in a temple so for these this thesis will depend on secondary sources such as newspaper articles and published sources. Decisions on the conservation of an undesignated building are made by the temple authority in most cases or by local government in the few cases when they provide funding, but both of them are reluctant to release any information to the public.

Secondary sources for Korean cases include newspaper articles and writings in academic and non-academic journals. Despite suppression by the Japanese authorities during the colonial period, Korean newspapers such as *Dong-a-ilbo* (*Eastern Asian Daily Newspaper*), *Daehan-maeil-sinbo* (*Korean Daily Newspaper*), *Hwangseong-sinmun* (*Empire's Voice Newspaper*) played an important role in publicising the opinions of Korean people about the policies of the colonial authority. Newspaper and magazine articles after the Korean War were a useful source for understanding public perspectives toward value assessment and decision-making. Many writings by Buddhist monks in monthly temple magazines, *Haein* for example, were a valuable source by which to appreciate the different perspective of the religious community from that of secular society.

To date there is no research about value assessment which compares

conservation of the buildings of two different religions dealing with legal and management aspects together. None of the English materials mentioned above have been introduced to Korea and Korean ones are not available in English. This research will contribute to international understanding of cultural diversity in conservation, providing a depth of knowledge for the drafting of future guidelines and charters. And this is an objective of the research.

1.5. Outline of chapters

Chapter 2 will examine the history of conservation in England and Korea in order to provide relevant background information for understanding the cultural and historical contexts. It will consider how the use of terminology and its meaning has evolved in England and Korea as changing attitudes have favoured different values. It will delineate when and how the development of English terminology from restoration to preservation to conservation reflected changing attitudes and how traditional terminology such as *joongsu* (re-repair), *joonggeon* (re-construct), and *joongchang* (re-open) was replaced by modern terminology such as *bojon* (conservation), *bokwon* (restoration), and *suri* (repair) in Korea.

Chapter 3 will examine cultural differences in defining authenticity of form, material, workmanship, function and setting and their influence in identifying entities of five categories of value: aesthetic, informational, associative (emotional), religious, and socio-economic. It will illustrate cultural differences in concepts of authenticity and their impact on conflicting aspects of values. In particular, the chapter will focus on intangible aspects of value and authenticity and their cultural differences in terms of discharging theology and other religious attitudes toward material culture, expressing cultural beliefs such as *punsu* theory and the role of craftsmanship.

Chapter 4 will explore how identified values and the concept of authenticity

discussed in chapter 3 have been embedded in both the secular and religious legal systems as guidelines to regulate conservation practices. By comparing criteria for selection of listing in England and designation in Korea, the first part of the chapter will claim that the English secular legal framework has reduced the significance of the intangible aspect of values in list descriptions. In addition, it will argue that Korean criteria are less specific than English ones causing confusion and inconsistency of selection which is the result of discord in valuing tangible and intangible values. However, the legal framework for the protection of craftsmanship in Korea will provide some suggestions to secure craftsmanship in England. In the second part of the chapter, the religious legal system will be examined by analyzing problems of English ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the Korean *Jeonton-sachal-bojonbeop* (Traditional Temple Preservation Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (Sacred Treasure Preservation Measure). In particular, it will address the problem of lack of efficiency in being complementary with the secular framework. In addition, it will raise the problem of the internal decision-making process and the subjectivity that favours the values of religious communities.

Chapter 5 will take actual cases to understand how the values and authenticity of the philosophical and legal aspects influence decision-making and conservation practice. The first part of the chapter will raise the problem of funding. Thereafter it will examine four different levels of intervention: repair and restoration, reconstruction, re-creation and new construction, and maintenance, arguing that English conservation philosophy has broadened its perspective to consider intangible aspects and, conversely, the Korean one has expanded to embrace great concern about material remains because of an influx of different international attitudes, although it is argued that the changes have not fully permeated into actual practice in either country and both have problems. It will be argued that conflict between religious and secular communities in both countries has resulted from disproportion in the assessment of various values. In English cases, it has been caused by

religious versus historical and informational values. In Korean cases, on the other hand, the thesis will argue that the problems lie in dealing with intangible aspects: focusing on subsequently ascribed intangible aspects such as national identity but ignoring original ones such as religious intention.

Chapter 6 will state the conclusions of the thesis by providing recommendations for action. Based on the findings in previous chapters, it will suggest different recommendations suitable for English and Korean conservation.

Chapter Two The historical context of value assessment in England and Korea

2.1. Introduction

To begin with, it is necessary to examine the history of English and Korean conservation in detail for two reasons. One is that the historical context will provide essential background information which will help to understand how value assessment has changed in England and Korea. The other is that comparing the historical contexts of the two cultures will provide information regarding their cultural contexts, which will be an essential factor to be considered, for the identification of differences in notions of authenticity and value assessment between them in chapter 3.

There is no need to examine the whole history of conservation in this thesis which is outside its scope and has been addressed by others (Tschudi-Madsen 1976; Miele 1992; Denslagen 1994; Jokilehto 1999). Instead it will take changing terminology as the common thread for an explicit understanding of changing attitudes. Values are vital factors when deciding what, and how, to preserve. If a change of value framework impacts on decision-making and changing attitudes in decision-making result in changing terminology for an activity, then it can be argued that a change of terminology signals a shift in the value framework. Therefore, it is worthwhile examining vocabulary change in conservation.

This chapter will examine the origin and change of use of three English words: restoration, conservation and preservation and six Korean ones: *jungchang* (open again), *junggeon* (construct again), *jungsu* (repair again), *bojon* (conservation or preservation), *suri* (repair), and *bokwon* (restoration or reconstruction). It will explain how each of these words was selected and subsequently replaced by another in the development of ideas and actual practice in England and Korea. The chapter will confine the definitions and

their use in the area of architectural monuments, not to objects or art works in general, because in many cases the terminology used in the area of conservation for art works has a different meaning and history of use.

Section 2.2 will delineate the shift in terminology in England from restoration and preservation to conservation. English conservation experienced slow changes in terminology over two hundred years in the process of developing modern concepts of conservation and material preservation through discussion, whereas Korea has a different historical context which will be examined in section 2.3. Section 2.2 will show why the term *restoration* rather than *conservation* is still in use for religious buildings in use and that this implies that functional value is an utmost priority in religious practice which conflicts with the interests of conservators.

Section 2.3 will develop an argument discussed in the section 1.2.2 of chapter 1 about the dominance and influence of western conservation. It will examine how the introduction and dominance of a western approach has influenced Korean terminology and practice, replacing traditional vocabulary without consideration of its compatibility with local practice. By scrutinising the traumatic experience of recognising the significance of the past and physical remains during the Japanese colonial period (1910~1945), this section, in particular, will address the historical context which caused the two problems addressed in the section 1.2.2 of chapter 1: a lack of value studies in Korea and a drastic shift of focus away from the intangible and toward the tangible.

2.2. A historical analysis of changing terminologies in English conservation: *preservation, restoration and conservation*

It is difficult to identify exactly when and how the terms *restoration*, *preservation*, and *conservation* came to be adopted in architectural practice. But by examining changes of meaning, and the addition of new meanings, of each word in various dictionaries and writings in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, it is possible to understand which words were adopted first in architectural practice for the activity of repairing an old building (in the early stages of the modern conservation movement) and which began to appear in architecture, or art related, dictionaries in later times.

The 1755 edition of *A dictionary of the English language* by Johnson included the words *conservation*, *preservation* and *restoration* but without considering their application to the specific activity of building, suggesting that these words were not commonly used in an architectural sense in the eighteenth century. However, it defined *repair* as ‘to restore after injury or dilapidation’ noting its application to both church and house.

Once *conservation*, *preservation*, and *restoration* were adopted and developed in meaning in architectural practice, they began to appear in dictionaries in the twentieth century. The term *preservation*, regarding the care of architecture, was not included in an art or architectural dictionary until the 1959 edition of *Encyclopaedia of world art*. It defined the preservation of art works as ‘the sum of all the measures taken by a community to guarantee the survival and public enjoyment of art works and other objects’ (Anon 1959, 688). On the other hand, it arranged *restoration* and *conservation* together, defining them as ‘an activity dealing with extending the life of a work of art and restoring its appearance’ suggesting that they were used together, referring to the same activity, until the middle of the twentieth century. Even many contemporary sources, such as the 1996 edition of *The dictionary of art* (Turner 1996), described *conservation* and *restoration* as interchangeable words under the activity of preservation.

It is difficult to assert that the semantic changes coincided neatly with changing practice, from restoration and preservation into conservation, because these three words are still in use in many writings and retain various definitions. However, from a close examination of writings from the nineteenth century to

the present, the trend has been to use the word *restoration*, then *preservation* and finally *conservation*. *Restoration* was used most commonly until early in the twentieth century, and then *preservation*, even though it did not completely replace *restoration*, became another expression for such processes in the middle of the century. Thereafter *conservation* appeared often and slowly replaced *restoration* in many cases. Much of the literature (Fitch 1990, 46; Oddy 1994, 4; Brereton 1995, 5-6; Muñoz Viñas 2005, 16-21) uses *restoration* to describe an activity to recover the original status or reproduce missing parts so it is interesting to note that most quinquennial reports of church buildings use *restoration* as referring broadly to all aspects of necessary work.

Used to describe many processes of preservation, the word *restoration* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries covered various levels of intervention and many practices without any specific principle or limitation. *Restoration* described activities ranging from the simple re-arrangement of the fittings of a church to 'the introduction of a completely new set of fittings and fixtures and of decorative features which never existed before' (Anon 1873, 672) or even to a total reconstruction of a part of the building. With increasing concern about the destructive aspects of *restoration* and the need for a clear definition of the meaning of the word, much literature in the second half of the nineteenth century focused on identifying what *restoration* meant and how word and practice needed to be corrected and improved (Street 1861; Anon 1865; Anon 1873; Stevenson 1877). Through observation and analysis of prevailing practices, many writers and architects described what contemporary practitioners meant by the word and then proposed an applicable rationale for the use of *restoration* in order to improve the practice and re-define the word. This specifically semantic discussion has not taken place in Korea.

To begin with, it is interesting to compare how those central figures Scott, Ruskin and Freeman used the word *restoration* in the middle of the nineteenth century. Their contributions have been discussed in detail elsewhere (e.g.

Jokilehto 1999), so only a brief overview is presented here. For George Gilbert Scott, *restoration* of a church was understood as a practical and social necessity while showing faithful reverence to an old building which served a contemporary religious function (1850, 52-71). As Mason and Shacklock have pointed out, Scott condemned the Ruskinian position 'not because of its advocacy of demolition or decay in preference to wholesale restoration...but because it simply ignored the practical requirements of architecture' (1995, 10). Like many other ecclesiologists and pro-restoration architects, Scott defined *restoration* as a process by which churches recovered their ritual and architectural significance and he considered their religious and aesthetic values as the most important factors to consider. However, in describing conservation principles and authenticity, he took a conservative view arguing for the least intervention respecting the remains of different styles. It is interesting to examine his contradictory position when defining *restoration* and authenticity and this will be discussed in chapter 3. In addition, chapter 5 will contain a discussion about how his preference for religious and aesthetic values conflicts with other values in his practice.

In contrast to Scott's perspective, Ruskin was a strong opponent of all restoration, arguing that it was an ignorant and deceiving imitation and destructive of the sacred and creative spirit of art. By respecting the creative work of the first builder and craftsman as the true spirit of the building and the traces of later additions as a testimony of spiritual greatness, he protested against any restoration which was 'the most total destruction which a building can suffer... a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed' (Ruskin 1849, 353). His ideas and approach greatly influenced William Morris who founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and redefined the principle of restoration as being the requirement 'to stave off decay by daily care' (SPAB 1877, 158).

Edmund Freeman (1846) stood in the middle of two extremes. He agreed with

Scott in recognizing restoration as a necessity for buildings in use with respect to their functional value. However, adopting some Ruskinian ideas, he proposed minimum intervention whilst retaining as much as possible. His choice of 'conservative mode', which recommended the exact copy of the previous style in the replacement of components, respected both functional and historical value so that the building could continue in its religious function and preserve different traces of later additions (Freeman 1851, 422). However, his approach towards historical value was different from that of Ruskin. Freeman implied that a copy of the previous style could be ascribed the same value as the original whereas Ruskin asserted that the spirit of the previous craftsman could never be restored in a copy (Freeman 1851, 422).

While the debates on restoration accelerated in the second half of the nineteenth century, the first appearance of *restoration* in a dictionary was in the five-volume *Dictionary of Architecture* which was published by Architectural Publication Society between 1848 and 1892. Rather than defining the meaning of the word, it listed various occurrences which indirectly explained the meaning of restoration rather than giving a dictionary-type definition, suggesting that a definition of the word had not been agreed to by contemporaries.

The increasing voice of anti-restoration with the recognition of the importance of age and the informational value of heritage in the second half of the century meant that, at the time of the foundation of the SPAB in 1877, anti-restoration began to gain wider support than restoration in on-going debates. As it became important to protect and respect evidence of alterations in anti-restoration movements, the word *restoration* took on a pejorative meaning because the actual practice of restoration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had involved great change and intervention, as well as reversal, in order to regain a state which did not formerly exist, as many examples by Wyatt and Scott show in practice. Morris used the word *protection* in the

Manifesto stating that ‘we plead...to put protection in the place of restoration...and hand our ancient buildings down instructive and venerable to those that come after us’ (SPAB 1877, 158).

Thus the word *preservation*, implying a principle of minimum intervention, appeared often in early twentieth century writings to replace *restoration*. William Douglas Carøe argued that tragedy could be caused by restoration and favoured the new idea of preservation which would correct the destructive aspects of restoration. He advocated ‘the sense of preservation’ which was ‘gradually making headway... to show us and the future what had been wrecked under the hungry wave of restoration’ (Carøe 1902, 388). The change of attitude which was ‘the shift from repair by imitation to preservation by self-effacement’ ushered in a principle to respect the historical evidence of building. (Mason and Shacklock 1995, 15). Sir Frank Baines, architect in charge of ancient monuments and historic buildings at the Office of Works in the early years of the twentieth century, rejected all forms of restoration, replacement, renovation or renewal and defined preservation as ‘a method involving the retention of the building or monument in a sound static condition without any material addition thereto or subtraction therefrom’ (1923, 104). He argued a principle of minimum intervention and maximum retention of historical evidence. John Summerson argued that preservation was a neutral concept which was at its worst when it led by imagination and misunderstanding and at its best when it respected an ‘aesthetic and literary value’ (1941, 24). By the middle of the century, it became clear that the word *restoration* had become so loaded with pejorative meaning that it was replaced by the word *preservation*.

William Harvey in the preface of his book, *The preservation of St. Paul's Cathedral and other famous buildings*, used the word *preservation* as a general term but he advocated *conservation* (1925, vii). He argued that *preservation* was ‘alternated with the so-called *restoration* of ancient building by the

illogical process of demolishing and rebuilding' and advocated *conservation* which aimed at 'the retention of the historic building, sound and whole, by means and methods scientifically devised and inconspicuously applied to meet the needs of the case in the most complete manner possible'. Unlike previous writers, he also indicated that *conservation* should be carried out by scientific methods, and as these were developed and adopted the word *conservation* came to be recognized as more professional. Even as *preservation* came to be accepted in the middle of the century, the word *conservation* makes its first serious appearance. His son, John Harvey, used the word *conservation* instead of *preservation* in a paper in *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* in 1954 and more writers came to prefer *conservation* to the word *preservation*.

The word *conservation* has become the dominant term for the activity over the last fifty years, placing *preservation* and *restoration* in subordinate categories as methods of approach. The Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) put equal importance on *conservation* and *restoration* recognising both practices were to safeguard monuments 'no less as works of art than as historical evidence' (Article 3). Whereas the aim of *conservation* described in the charter is to maintain monuments on a permanent basis (Article 4), that of *restoration* was not to achieve 'unity of style' (Article 11) but rather the 'historical, archaeological or aesthetic value' (Article 9) which satisfied the need and purpose of conservation. The Burra Charter (ICOMOS-Australia 1999), a more recent document, used *conservation* in its broader sense and its meaning became narrower and specific. It defined conservation as 'all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance.' The charter defined *preservation* as a passive method to 'maintain the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration' (Article 1.6) whereas *restoration* was an aggressive means to 'return the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material' (Article 1.7).

Interestingly, unlike the literature on conservation of secular buildings such as houses and public buildings or non-functional religious buildings like ruins, many writings related to church buildings have retained the word *restoration* to the present day. Pamphlets for church restoration appeals, quinquennial inspection reports and diocesan documents all use the word *restoration*, where *preservation* or *conservation* might be expected in a contemporary context. A possible explanation rests in an argument made in the 19th century regarding the function of historic buildings. From the beginning of the restoration and anti-restoration debate, many writers, such as Sir George Gilbert Scott and Edward Augustus Freeman, have categorized monuments into several groups founded on contemporary use in order to suggest an appropriate conservation attitude based on the function of each group. They divided monuments into two categories, ‘living’ which were functional, and ‘dead’ which were not. This approach was internationally agreed by the Sixth International Congress of Architects in Madrid, Spain in 1904. The resolution, after discussion on ‘The preservation and restoration of architectural monuments’, provided a relevant example of how the word *preservation* was taking on a broader meaning referring to the action of protection of a monument no longer in active use, and the word *restoration* was confined to ‘living’ monuments as one of various preservation activities (Locke 1904, 344).

Based on this classification of buildings by utility and the application of different principles accordingly, churches in use belong to the group of living monuments and thus could be restored instead of being preserved. This meant that *restoration*, which included re-gaining a loss, reproducing the original or replacing an original with new work, was acceptable for churches in use whereas only *preservation* was appropriate to dead monuments. This implies that functional and religious values were seen to be more important than historical or informational ones for churches in use. The word *restoration* has remained to describe the activity of conservation of churches in use in England.

2.3. A historical analysis of changing terminologies in Korean conservation: 重創, 重建, 重修, 補修, 修理, 保全, 保存, 復原

The study of the origin and use of conservation terminology in Korea has not been of interest to Korean conservators. Although many conservators recognize that it is necessary to agree on consistency for terms which refer to the specific activities of restoration, conservation, repair and reconstruction, the subject has not been discussed in any published form. The reason for this may be historical: having experienced much destruction of monuments and traditional buildings during the Japanese colonial period, the three years of the Korean War and new construction in the process of rapid economic growth over the last fifty years, the practical and technical study of the treatment of materials and structures has been a greater priority than the consideration of the basic principles or philosophy of the long-term protection of Korean heritage.

Now that technical competence in Korean conservation has been achieved, some conservators are beginning to consider the need to unify terminology and define meaning clearly when referring to different levels of intervention. A recent international conference on the reconstruction of the Hwangryongsa, (held by the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties in April of 2006) showed the necessity of reviewing and re-defining terminology in the absence of basic semantic agreement. Hwangryongsa is a ninth century temple site in Gyeongju City, the capital of the Silla (57 BC ~ 668) and the Unified Silla (668~935) Kingdoms. It is an archaeological site: some evidence of foundations remains, but no upstanding fabric. The conference was convened to debate the desirability of re-creating the temple superstructure, based on written accounts and analogous surviving temples of the same date. In the discussion session, an architectural historian and conservator, Donghyeon Kim, suggested that construction on the ruined site should be called *jungchang* (literally construction again to re-open a place) not *hokwon* (restoration) which regains the original form. He argued that for a Korean wooden building which had been destroyed without record other than the

archaeological footprint, it is not possible to restore its original structure and style, making it inappropriate to call the construction of such a building *bokwon*, the term widely used by conservators till now.

In order to re-define the meaning of various terminologies and use appropriate words to refer to specific activities in conservation, it is necessary to examine how the activity has been defined and used in the history of Korean conservation. It is important to analyse the different underlying values attributed to heritage and to tease out the shift of attitude toward conservation from one term to another until the point is reached where it is necessary to re-define a word in the present context. There is a substantial number of historical sources such as records and royal documents in Korea which might enable us to define a meaning, trace an origin, and study the use of terminology. The use and meaning of various terms, which appeared in early literature, vary considerably with the criteria and level of intervention of modern terms because present concepts and terms have been extensively influenced in the twentieth century by Japanese and western terminologies and the concept of conservation. However, clarifying and analysing various early terms and attitudes toward buildings will be necessary to understand the different values and approaches between the past and present which will be discussed later. In addition, such early background helps to provide useful suggestions for appropriate terminology for a specifically Korean building conservation practice today.

This section will observe how the spiritual substance of a building was more respected than material aspects before the modern concept of conservation was introduced to Korea and how the latter became more important in the twentieth century. The first part of this section will examine traditional terminologies. These hardly changed from their original meaning for centuries and the use of terms persisted in records from the fourteenth into the twentieth centuries of the Joseon Period (1392~1910). so this part will deal with historical records

and documents of that period. The second part will discuss the change in modern values and concepts and the adoption of new terms during and after the Japanese colonial period up to the present to argue that the material substance of a building became as important to preserve as the spiritual one. It will demonstrate that the beginning of the twentieth century, when the influx of political, cultural and social influences from Japan and western countries started in Korea, was a pivotal moment in the use of these terms and the assessment of the tangible values of historic buildings with the adoption of the concept of heritage.

2.3.1. Traditional terminology in Korea

Records regarding the construction and repair of buildings in the Joseon Dynasty appear in two categories: 1. official dynasty records and the diaries of kings written by royal historians; 2. written, printed or engraved records in Buddhist temples and Confucian schools. Major official dynasty records are contained in the *uigwe* (the royal protocols of the Joseon Dynasty) and *Joseon-wangjo-sillok* (The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty). The *uigwe* documents special events or projects such as the construction or repair of palaces and other royal buildings, the location of royal tombs, preparation and protocols of royal marriages, funerals and coronations as recorded through the temporary government office set up to administer the occasion, the *dogam* (Figure 2.1). The *uigwe* present a unique record of

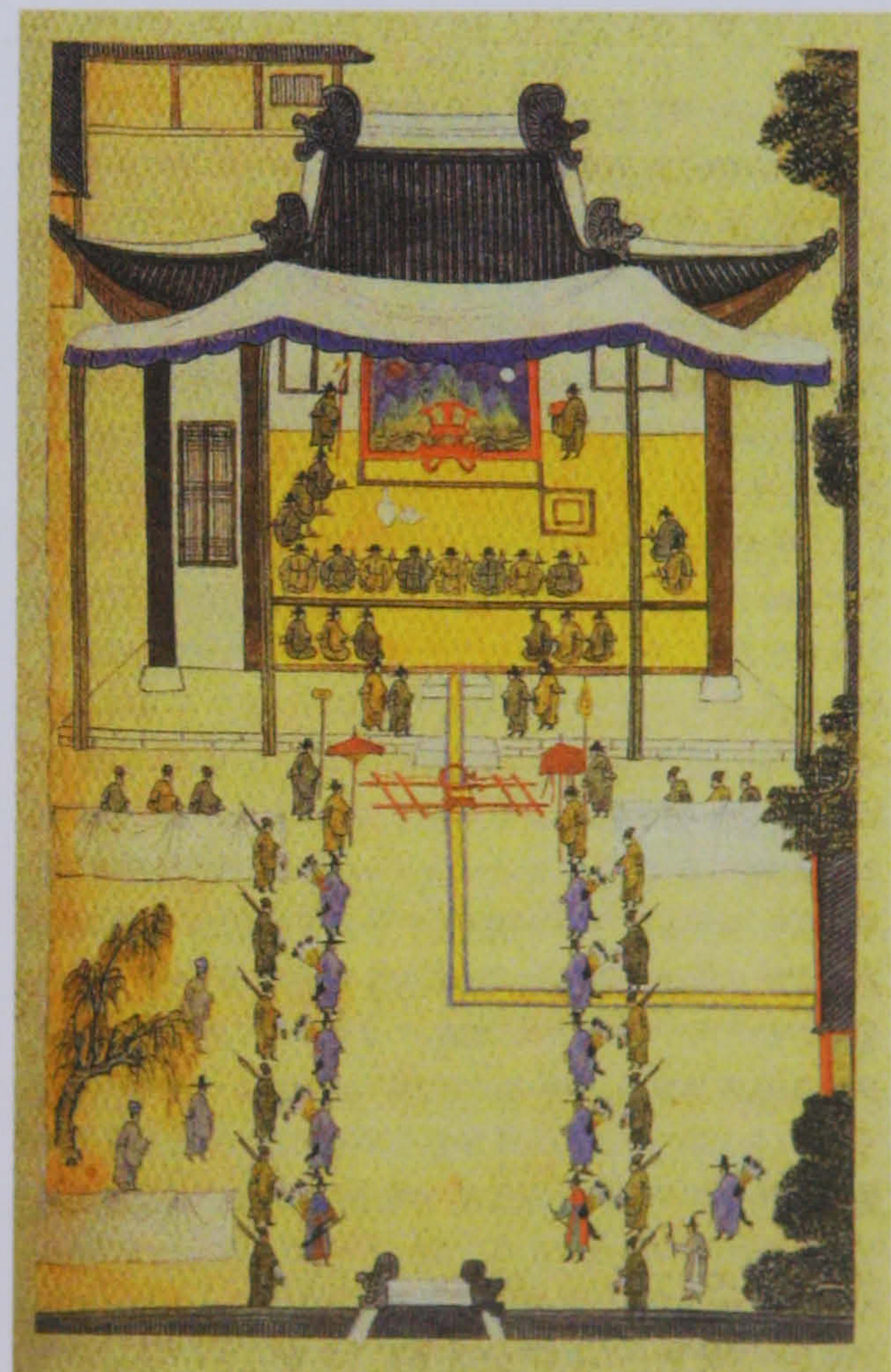


Figure 2.1 A scene showing the provision of food and drink in the 1765 *Soojak-uigwe*

the details of procedures, labour, costs and drawings. Among them, about 40 *uigwe* refer to the construction and repair of royal buildings and they date from the early seventeenth to the twentieth century. A special ceremony was performed for each important step of construction such as preparing the foundations, putting in a corner stone, erecting a pillar or raising a ridge beam. Because architectural construction was regarded as a ceremony in all kinds of building work, all royal construction and repair projects were recorded as part of *uigwe*.

On the other hand, there was change and development of the contents and style of *uigwe* in the middle of the eighteenth century. Among 40 *uigwe* between 1608 and 1910, the first one to have a plan of a project is the 1752 *Uisomyo-uigwe* (*The*

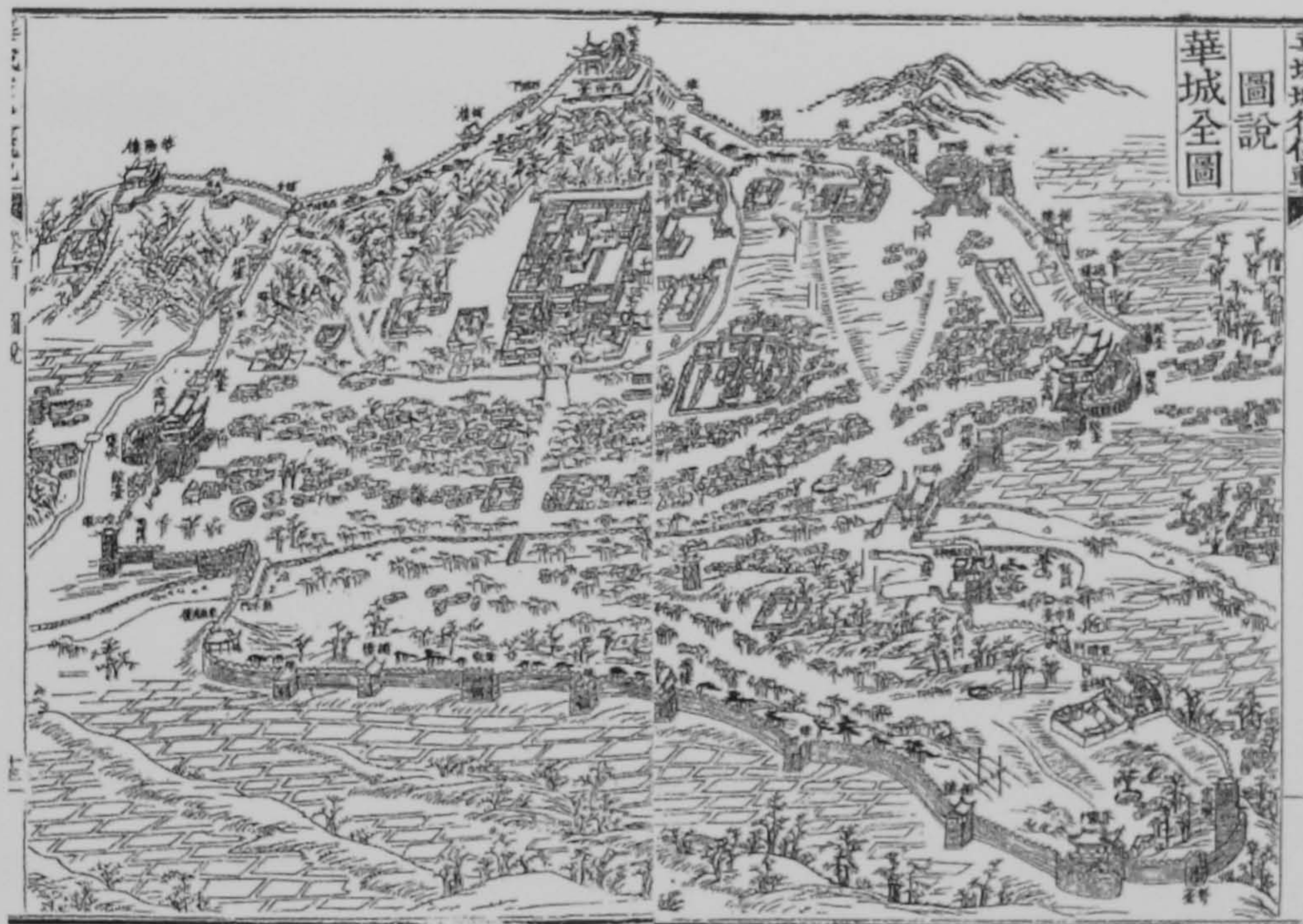


Figure 2.2. The master plan of Hwaseong Fortress in the 1796 *Hwaseong-seongyeog-uigwe*

royal protocol of Uiso tomb) (Han Yeongu 2005, 292). All *uigwe* after this included plans and drawings and the 1796 *Hwaseong-seongyeog-uigwe* (*The royal protocol on the construction of Hwaseong fortress*) included a separate section of drawings and plans (Figure 2.2). It included drawings not only of the construction process and style of each building but also of newly invented tools and equipment used in the construction. Later it provided a major resource for the reconstruction of the fortress in the 1970s. The change in recording architectural projects in the middle of the eighteenth century shows that the processes of architecture were becoming more scientific and analytic.

Joseon-wangjo-sillok (*The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*) comprises 1893 books. They record daily activities in palace books for 472 years from the beginning of the reign of the first King, Taejo, of 1392 to the last recorded year, 1863. Each was recorded by royal historiographers on a daily basis and was printed from wooden blocks to make several copies for preservation in each royal library. Besides political and diplomatic matters, they include discussions between the king and his cabinet regarding permission for the construction and repair of various kinds of buildings as well as decisions for allotting a government budget to them.

Records in Buddhist temples and Confucian schools are written records, wooden block printings and engravings on stone, providing a history of construction, damage or reconstruction of temples and schools. The most useful and accurate records among them are those written on paper or on wooden elements of the building which are found during the dismantling of a building for repair. By contrast, remaining records preserved in the temples were often re-written in later periods based on unconfirmed information or verbally transmitted stories. Written records, however, found in a building provide the contemporary information which was recorded at the time of completion of the work.

Jungsugi, which means the record of repair, or *jungchanggi*, the re-opening of the building or temple, are written on paper or on a wooden component. *Sangryang-mun*, which literally means the record of putting a ridge beam in the building, is written on the wooden surface of the ridge beam or purlin with a brush and it marks the completion of construction (Figure 2.3). These provide useful information such as damage by fire or age and the purpose, schedule and process of construction or repair with the list of donors (including the size of their gifts), carpenters and administrative monks. In addition, *sajeokgi*, the record of the history of a temple, provides the details of the first opening, construction, repair and fire including *jungsugi* and *jungchanggi*. In some

cases, they are less accurate than those more directly associated with the building.

In order to understand the complicated use of traditional terminologies in various records and documents, this thesis will suggest that the substance of building,

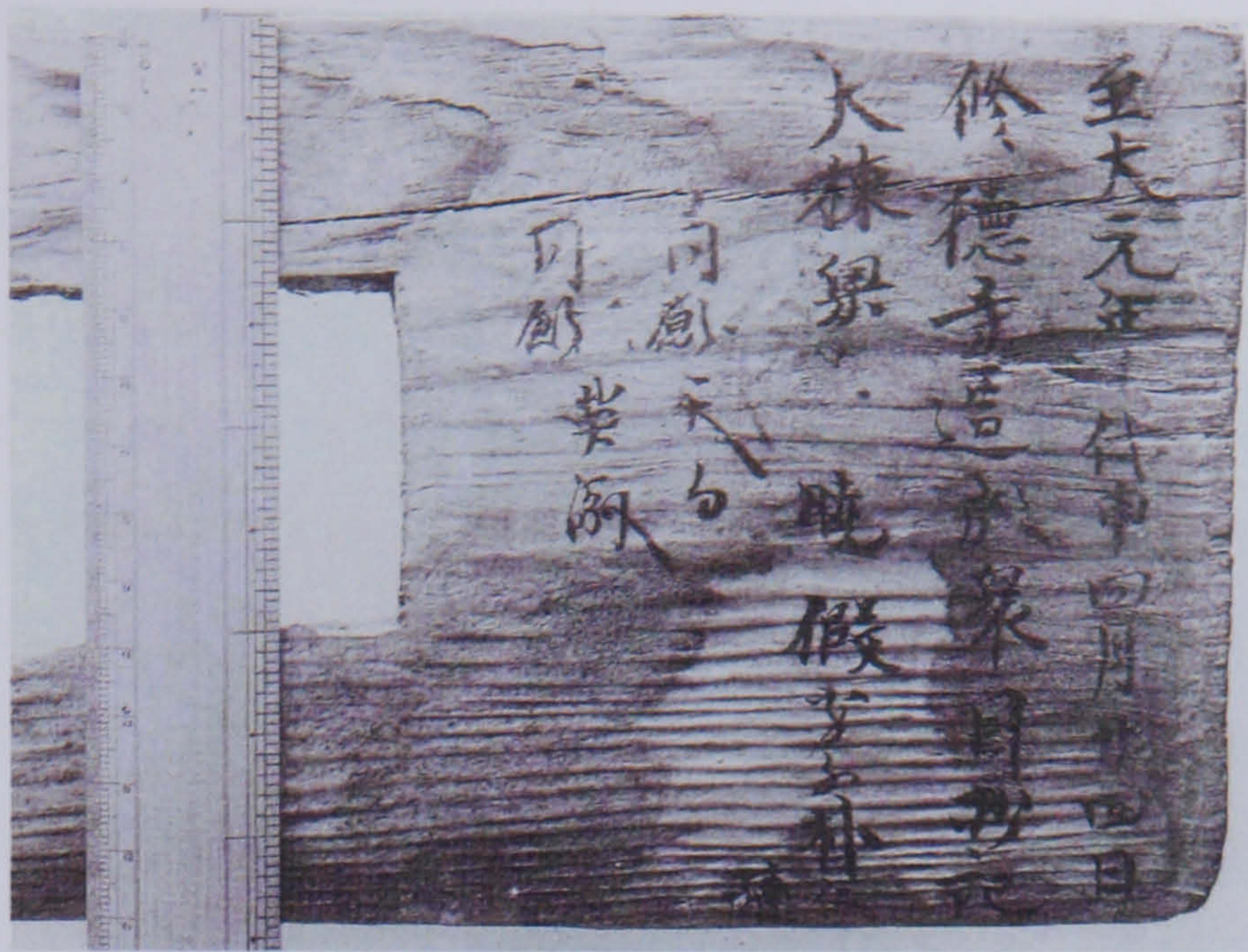


Figure 2.3. Sanryangmun found on the purlin of Daeungjeon of Sudeoksa

according to the traditional concept in Korea, was composed of two distinctive aspects: spiritual and material, and the meaning and use of traditional terminologies were based on the different weights of those two aspects. In other words, the traditional approach toward architecture was more focused on its spiritual substance than the material, the reason for which will be analysed in detail in chapter 3 in relation to authenticity of material. Materials were considered as physical tools to express spiritual and philosophical aspects, so they could be replaced, repaired, and renewed if it was necessary for the preservation and restoration of the original spirit and philosophy.

An explicit example which illustrates this attitude is the 1435 record of *Joseon-wangjo-sillok* (*Joseon-wangjo-sillok*, Sejong 68/17(1435)/05/21-004) under the reign of King Sejong, the fourth king of the Joseon Dynasty, who respected the spirit of the royal family, in obedience to the Confucian ethic of respect for the ancestors, by repairing a building which was built and repaired by previous kings and royal families. The record shows that the king insisted on the repair and reconstruction of a building in the Buddhist temple of Heungcheonsa in order to respect the will of a previous king, rather than for religious purposes (*Joseon-wangjo-sillok*, Sejong 68/17(1435)/05/21-004). A principal policy of

the Joseon Dynasty was to introduce Confucianism in place of Buddhism which was dominant in the previous dynasty but had been deeply connected with the state and become corrupt causing many social problems. Confucianism replaced Buddhism as the dominant philosophy of the new dynasty, yet the king ordered work on the Buddhist temple, arguing that ‘I decided to repair a Tapjeon (Hall of stupa)...The building was built by King Taejo, who was the first king of the dynasty, and he asked his grandson, King Taejong, to maintain it properly and ensure that it not be destroyed, and my father asked me to keep his grandfather’s will. Then how can I not repair it when I heard that the building had deteriorated and tilted?’ (*Joseon-wangjo-sillok*, Sejong 68/17(1435)/05/21-004). As an ethical son he had to follow his forefathers’ will which was based on Confucian principle but he faced cabinet opposition because it conflicted with the dynastic policy to abolish Buddhism. Finally the cabinet and the king agreed a compromise solution which was to allot funds from the budget of the government, but not in the name of the king and his order (*Joseon-wangjo-sillok*, Sejong 68/17(1435)/05/21-004).

A seventeenth-century case of reconstruction shows that material aspects, such as form and style, were simply decided by practical and economic factors. The style of the previous building was preferred not because that was respected for its artistic intent or historical value but because it was more efficient to reconstruct in the same style on the previous base. The 1616 volume of the Annals records that, when King Kwanghae allowed The Institution of Construction to decide on the style of pillar during the repair of the hall called Moonjeongjeon, the cabinet insisted that the king order them to preserve the building in its original form (*Joseon-wangjo-sillok*, Kwanghae 100/08(1616)/02/30-002). They pleaded that ‘If the building is replaced with round pillars, all existing base stones for the rectangular pillars will need to be replaced. Otherwise, the construction would require more labour and money...it is sensible for the building to be preserved with its original shape of pillars’. The reason for keeping the previous style of the building in the repair process

of dismantling and reassembling that the cabinet argued for, came from considerations of cost and economic aspects not from respect for historical value or original artistic intent.

In addition, it is hard to find evidence that a building was respected for its historical value or as an aesthetic monument or as part of the national identity except in the case of preserving a royal building constructed by a previous king based on the Confucian ethics alluded to above. Instead, a building was considered as a functional facility or a symbolic object of a contemporary dynasty so that it was preserved in a practical way through repair or reconstruction.

Most official documents and writings by members of the upper class during the Joseon Period (1392~1910) used Chinese characters even though Korea's own alphabet was invented in the fifteenth century. The Korean alphabet was only used in letters between aristocratic women and in novels for the general population. Unlike Korean letters, Chinese characters are ideographic, each one has an independent meaning, and can be combined with other characters in order to emphasize a meaning or create a new one. This makes it more difficult to clarify the meaning and use of traditional terminologies.

Single Chinese characters which appeared often in the records are verbs, *seon* (繕: repair), *su* (修: repair), *geon* (建: construct), *chang* (創: open or construct) and *bok* (復: restore). These characters are combined with other characters to make nouns or verbs which clarify a specific meaning or add a new meaning, such as: *suri* (修理: repair), *bosu* (補修: repair), *jungsu* (重修: re-repair), *junggeon* (重建: reconstruction), *jungchang* (重創: re-open or reconstruct), *bokwon* (復原 or 復元: regain or restore the original form or status). There are also *bojon* (保存: conservation) and *bojeon* (保全: preservation) which were first used in the early twentieth century in the field of building preservation.

Both *seon* and *su* mean repair. The 1572 stone engraving of the reconstruction of Hwamsa (Hwam Temple), which was surveyed and translated from Chinese characters to Korean by the Department of Cultural Administration, recorded that ‘if we repair (*seon*) the distorted, re-erect the leaning, and re-fill the missing component regularly in order to maintain and repair it as new, it will not be destroyed’ (CHA 1985. 131). The *Joseon-wangjo-sillok* on February 16, 1440 in King Sejong’s reign shows the use of *su* as well as the combination *seonsu* (*Joseon-wangjo-sillok*, Sejong 88/22(1440)/02/16-004). It recorded that King Sejong had sent a letter to a local officer ‘to repair (*su*) a building of the Haeinsa as soon as possible because it was re-built by King Taejo, the first king of the dynasty’, but the building in the temple was still in poor condition without repair (*Joseon-wangjo-sillok*, Sejong 88/22(1440)/02/16-004). King Sejong ordered the chief inspector of Gyeongsang-do (Gyeongsang Province) to inspect the matter in general and report the reason for negligence. He also ordered him to ‘repair (*seonsu*) the building as soon as possible’.

Combining *seon* with *yeong* (營: manage or construct), *yeongseon* means a construction or repair and *yeonggeon*, combining *yeong* and *geon*, means new construction or reconstruction. *Su* combines with other characters such as *ri* (理: manage or control), *bo* (補: help or make-up) and *gae* (改: correct or repair) to make the noun *suri*, *bosu*, *sugae*, or *subo*. All these words mean any kind of repair, but *sugae* and *subo* appear in few writings only. It is assumed that a single character, such as *su* or *bo*, was preferred to combined words, yet *suri* and *bosu* became more common than a single character in the twentieth century because using a single character was normal in a Chinese sentence on an official document whereas a combined word in Korean was more common in modern usage.

When comparing the use of words in dynastic or government records with temple or school records, it is interesting to define the meaning of *yeongseon*

and *suri* in the fifteenth century. *Gyeonggook-daejeon* (1470) was the record of the legal system, the principles of government and the ceremonial procedure of royal affairs. It proposed that ‘an appointed local officer should take care of a government building and he should report to the ministry it belongs to when the building is leaking and deteriorating’ (Yun Gukil 1998, 471). Then the ministry should execute an immediate inspection (Yun Gukil 1998, 471). If the inspection suggests repairs (*yeongseon*) for the building, they should report to the king. In the case of a small repair (*suri*), they need only inform the local inspector’ (Yun Gukil 1998, 472). It can thus be assumed that *yeongseon* was greater intervention in a building, such as an extension or a change in style. In addition, *yeongseon* appears in the government documents and writings whereas it is not found in the temple or other writings so far examined. This suggests that *yeongseon* was the more royal term which did not appear in non-royal projects. On the other hand, *suri* had wider use in both royal and other projects.

The earliest official use of *suri* in *uigwe* is in the 1633 *Changgyeonggung-suridogam-uigwe* (*The record of ceremony of repair of Changgyeong Palace*). Bearing in mind that the *uigwe* recorded new construction, reconstruction and repair of the palace, *suri* was used for referring to various kinds of architectural construction and repair so that a palace could serve its function properly. The *uigwe* recorded reconstruction and repair of buildings in Changgyeong Palace which were burnt down or damaged during the 1623 Injo Restoration when King Kwanghae was replaced by King Injo (Han Yeongu 2005, 106).

Literally, *geon* means construct or build and *chang* means open, start or construct. Combined with a character *jung* (again or repeatedly), *junggeon* means reconstruction and *jungchang* means both re-opening a place and reconstruction. Another combination is *jungsu* which means re-repair. With *jungchang* and *junggeon*, *jungsu* appears often in the writings because each building gets a record of *jungchang* (re-opening), *junggeon* (reconstruction) or

jungsu (re-repair) whenever the work starts and finishes. In the context of these records, the concept of *jungchang* as re-opening a place involves various activities so that it can cause confusion when trying to define the word clearly. The concept of re-opening a place is broad and general. In some cases, it means re-opening after a total reconstruction of the whole temple compound or a single building and in others its meaning is restricted to a small repair of a single building. The term *jungchang* (re-opening) could refer to a completely new construction on the original site, the repair of a damaged part, the extension of an existing building, redecoration for a new function or reconstruction after a fire. In other cases, a whole temple compound could be *jungchang* after reconstruction of all the buildings after a war or a fire. Given that the use of the word is extensive, the nature of the activity should be defined in terms of its intention. *Jungchang* aimed at recovering the original function of the place so that the work included a range of intervention to enable a building to serve its proper purpose.

The use of *junggeon* and *jungsu*, respecting their literal meanings, occurs in many records. The 1856 record of *junggeon* of the house which was built for an aristocrat, Deok-lin Jo (1658~1737), after an 1853 fire, illustrates a common meaning of the word. When the building was completed, a reconstruction after the fire, it was recorded that ‘the new house followed the same style and measurement but in a different orientation.’ (CHA 1991, 206) For the use of *jungsu*, the 1832 record of the repair of the Myeongryun shrine in Sosu Confucian School recorded that ‘it was a great shame for Confucians to look on the building which was leaking, dirty and had deteriorated. Many local Confucians urged prevention of further deterioration, so the school hurried to repair (*jungsu*) the roof and wooden rafters’.

Different from the literal meaning and general use of these words, many writings used *junggeon*, *jungchang* and *jungsu* all together to refer to an activity without distinguishing a specific meaning. In order to *jungchang* a

place or a building, it is necessary to execute *junggeon* or *jungsu* which is a more practical and clearer concept than *jungchang*. In many cases, *jungchang* was used for the same practice as *junggeon*. It was used for *jungsu* as well. The 1738 record of *jungchang* in Ssangyesa in Eunjin (CHA 1991, 71-78) shows that the word was used with the same meaning as *junggeon*. It used the word *jungchang* in the construction of a building where ‘the temple authority drew a design of a building and erected pillars two years later. It completed the construction (*jungchang*) in the same year’ (CHA 1991, 77). On the other hand, the 1753 record of *jungchang* in Chamdangsa (CHA 1991, 113-124) used the word as meaning the same as *jungsu*. It recorded that ‘some part of the building had deteriorated and collapsed so that it needs to be renewed. The appointed craftsman made a list of timber components to replace. He did not waste any re-usable components and followed exactly same size as previously’ (CHA 1991, 119).

The use of these three words without differentiation appears frequently in the records. Many writings show that *junggeon* is used for re-assembling after dismantling and replacing damaged components of a building which focuses on a repair. *Jungsu* in some records refers to a reconstruction of a damaged building, identical in meaning to *junggeon*. For example, the 1491 record of *jungsu* in Haeinsa described the reconstruction of several buildings and repair of other buildings in the temple (Lee Jaechang *et al* 1993, 18-23). The record used *jungsu* instead of *junggeon* for a reconstruction without differentiating in terminology.

The Chinese character *bok* as a verb, meaning ‘to restore’ or ‘to recover’, conveys a wide and implicit concept referring to any kind of activity to restore a destroyed, single building or several buildings in a whole temple compound. Rather than meaning the restoration of physical aspects such as form and style, the implication of the word was more focused on the recovery of the spiritual aspect of a place or a building. The 1484 record of *Josen-wangjo-sillok*

(Seongjong 163/15(1484)/02/26-002) provides a representative example of the character. When the king tried to repair and reconstruct several buildings in Anamsa, Myeong-sung Lee, who was a member of one of his cabinets, opposed the plan arguing that ‘once the king supports re-opening the temple, they will continue to construct buildings every year to restore (*bok*) a temple on the ruined site. Then farmers who have grown rice and vegetables in the ruined temple will lose their land for living. If the king executes the plan, it cannot be said that is an appropriate decision of a wise king.’ The 1906 *Sajeokgi of Gyeonbongsa* (Anon 1906a, 50) recording ‘...the temple was reconstructed (*bok*) after a fire and collapsed buildings repaired (*su*) so that it could become a magnificent temple...’ shows that the single character *bok* had been used without combination with other characters up to the beginning of the twentieth century before the Japanese colonial period.

From observation of the terms and approaches in the records used in this research, repair and reconstruction were the major approaches when dealing with buildings until the late nineteenth century. It was considered correct that a building fulfilled its function and use rather than be regarded as an aesthetic or historical object. In order to do this, it had to be maintained and repaired, made structurally safe, or reconstructed when destroyed. The fact that there are only *su*, *seon*, *suri*, *jungchang*, *junggeon* and *jungsu*, which imply practical activity concerning functional purposes, in most records before the beginning of the twentieth century proves that repair and reconstruction were the common approaches towards a building.

2.3.2. Modern terminology and value in Korea: the importance of Japanese influence

Modern terminologies which appeared after the introduction of modern conservation are *bokwon* and *hojon*. Combined with *won* which means an original, the word *bokwon* means to restore as it was. Since the word cannot be found in the extant records from before the colonial period, it is assumed

that the word was imported by the Japanese and became common during their reign. The newspaper, *Dong-a-ilbo* (literally *East Asian newspaper*), carried a report (Anon 1930b, 2) on a Japanese architectural historian, Huzisima Gaisiro, who drew a reconstructed (*bokwon*) plan of the original ancient Gyeongju city which was the capital of the Silla Dynasty (57 BC~ 661) during the Three Kingdoms Period (100 BC ~ 668) and Unified Silla Period (661~935). The same newspaper (Anon 1932b, 3) reported that ‘Professor Huzisima Gaisiro of Tokyo Imperial University started the reconstruction (*bokwon*) of a five-storied stupa of Tapjeong-ri in Gyeongju city which was damaged and deserted.’ Considering that the meaning of the word *bokwon* in this source is not the reconstruction of a lost stupa but the repair of a damaged one, the word was used to refer to both repair and restore to an original state.

Both *bojon* and *bojeon*, which existed with the general meaning ‘preserving’, were adopted in the field of building conservation in the twentieth century, and can be translated as ‘preservation’ or ‘conservation’. Literally, *bojon* means to protect or to maintain its existence or remains and *bojeon* to protect or to maintain in safety. The 2001 edition of *Minjung essence Korean dictionary* defines both *bojon* and *bojeon* as heritage-related terms without differentiation of meaning (Anon 2001d, 1101 and 1103). Yet, *bojon* is translated into *conservation* and *bojeon* into *preservation* in English at present, and *bojeon* is less used than *bojon*. Because both words and meanings, which became common in the Japanese colonial period, were newly adopted, they meant all kinds of interventions and activities in order to protect buildings, monuments and objects. *Bojon*, which is currently regarded as the most appropriate word consistent with the contemporary meaning of the word *conservation*, has changed its meaning from protection to conservation.

It is worthwhile examining the historical background and political situation of Korea in the twentieth century before discussing the change in modern terminology because the changes, both in approach toward buildings and in

terminology, began in the late nineteenth century when Korea experienced social, political and cultural change, strongly influenced by Japan. After the Joseon Dynasty and the Japanese government signed the Ganghwa Treaty of Amity in 1876, the Joseon Dynasty opened their ports so that Japanese business and culture could penetrate into Korea. It brought immense and fast social change as well as an influx of western culture brought by the Japanese who had started their modernization and industrialization slightly earlier than Korea. Once the Joseon Dynasty opened their ports after lengthy isolation, the western powers rushed to open trade links. America signed a trade treaty with Korea in 1882, with the mediation of China who wished to restrain the expansion of Japanese power in Asia, followed by Great Britain and Germany (1883), Russia (1884) and France (1886). Western countries competed to gain political and diplomatic positions in Korea before other countries, including Japan. By 1910 when Japanese colonial rule started, many aspects of various western cultures, not only material ones such as trains, telephones, construction materials and styles of building but also non-material ones such as literature, philosophy, religious belief, the education system and social standards, had been introduced by western Christian missionaries, diplomats, businessmen, reporters and travellers. On the other hand, Korea struggled to establish its own position by taking advantage of western civilization without falling victim to the westerners and sent a delegation to Japan in order to learn from Japanese modernization (Kim Djunkil 2005, 99-110).

It is not clear when a concept of heritage with cultural value was generated or introduced in Korea. Yet, it is clear that the political and social change which was brought about by western cultures was considered as a loss of traditional spirit and the concern about the situation drew Korean people's attention to their physical remains. In his recent study, Gang assumed that the change in attitude toward a building from having a use value to having a cultural value happened in the early twentieth century. Korea started to recognize them as objects which would help to preserve national identity and

heritage for future generations before the Japanese colonial period started (Gang Hyeon 2005, 30-31). The Gwanriseo (Office responsible for the management of temples, forests, and fortresses until the end of the Joseon Period) under the Gungnaebu (Department of Internal Affairs of the Palace) of the Joseon Dynasty introduced *Gungnae-sachal-hyeonhaeng-saechik* (*The detailed regulation of management of domestic temples*) in 1902 announcing that each temple should record Buddhist objects, stupas, and buildings (Gang Hyeon 2005, 198). Gang pointed out that the 1902 regulation implied a shift in assumption of value to religious buildings, which were privately owned, when used by the public and it provided a logical reason to rationalize the intervention of government authority over religious buildings so that they could be protected from destruction and trade (Gang Hyeon 2005, 31). The regulation required each temple to make and keep an inventory of buildings, stone monuments and other objects for their protection and maintenance.

Another example to show a new interest in their physical remains is writings about Korean history, tradition, art and architecture in several newspapers and magazines in order to re-define national identity and re-assert the excellence and uniqueness of a fading Korean culture. Buddhist temples and monuments were considered as representative physical remains to remind Korean peoples of their cultural identity. As an example, a series giving a short history of 52 Buddhist temples and surrounding monuments was introduced in the newspaper *Hwangseong-sinmun* (*Empire's Voice Newspaper* (published by an unknown Korean from 1898)) from April 2, 1906 to December 7, 1906 (Anon 1906b). Another example was 'An ancient stupa in Gyeongseong (Seoul)' published in a 1907 magazine called *Seowoo* (*Western Friend*). This reported that 'the Japanese tried to move it in order to bring it to Japan, but failed to do because of the weight' (Anon 1907d, 36). It is believed that these articles were written in order to urge Korean people to understand the value of their national heritage, to protect it from Japanese plunder and also to record the valuable remains of the temples, since the Korean government was not capable

of protecting the cultural heritage due to the political crisis. The conflicts between Korean and Japanese peoples on the removal of monuments became worse after the Japanese colonial period started in 1910.

With the help of the growing interest in, and knowledge of, history and art some Korean people came to realize the importance of the remaining monuments in their villages or towns. However, the growth of interest stimulated an increase in the monetary value of monuments and objects, thus attracting robbers and private collectors so that many objects from the temples were stolen by both Korean and Japanese illegal traders. In many cases, newspapers reported that the Korean local community strongly opposed and resisted Japanese activities to remove local Korean monuments, such as stupas and Buddhist objects, from remote villages and at the sites of ruined and existing temples where the Korean government could not provide protection. Two newspapers, *Daehan-maeil-sinbo* (*Korean Daily Newspaper*) (published by the British journalist, Ernest Thomas Bethell (1872~1909) from 1904) and *Hwangseong-sinmun*, were major publications which protested about the Japanese invasion and encouraged Korean traditions and political rights (Pratt 2006, 212). Later they both became public newspapers representing the Japanese colonial government after being purchased by the Japanese in 1910.

Daehan-maeil-sinbo (Anon 1907a, 2; Anon 1907b, 3) reported the details of how one Japanese minister moved Gyeongcheonsa (Gyeongcheon Temple) Stupa, which was the most symbolic monument containing sacred relics in the temple, from a ruined site to Japan. The opposition of Korean local people increased asking for its return, but the Japanese authority claimed in a press conference that a Korean royal presented the stupa to Japan as a marriage gift from a Korean prince (Anon 1907c, 1). An article in *Daehan-maeil-sinbo* (Anon 1910a, 2), just before the colonial regime started, reported a rumour that the Japanese were planning to move the *Palman-daejang-gyeong* (Tripitaka Koreana: eighty thousand wooden blocks of Buddhist scriptures in Haeinsa

which will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.4.5) to Japan. As a reaction against the rumour, *Hwangseong-sinmun* wrote of the excellence of *Palman-daejang-gyeong* on 1 April, 1910 (Anon 1910b, 2) and argued on 10 April (Anon 1910c, 2) that the Korean people ought to protect their heritage from the Japanese.

Around this period, the word *bojon* (conservation) as a modern concept appeared. One example was in *Hwangseong-sinmun* on 24 October, 1909 (Anon 1909, 2) when the Korean government recognised the problem and announced their plan to solve it at a government level. The article reported that ‘buildings in shrines and temples are splendid and they keep many precious objects. Now Gungnaebu (Department of Internal Affairs of the Palace) says it is necessary to protect (*bojon*) them [from further destruction and illegal removal]. They plan to introduce a measure to preserve them.’ (Yu Geunja and Lee Jinok 1999, 226) However, the measure was strongly influenced by the Japanese authorities who had an underlying motive in studying and protecting Buddhist assets, mainly so that they could take control of Korean Buddhism in preparation for colonization. With the agreement of the Korean government, a Japanese Buddhist monk was allocated to each Korean Buddhist temple as an adviser (Anon 1908a, 2).

The meaning of the word *bojon*, as used in this example, seems to be preservation or protection. It shows that the Korean people began to realize the necessity for the preservation of monuments, being at an early stage in the development of the modern concept of conservation. It was a direct response of the Korean people to a political threat from hostile Japanese power. Before the plan for setting up a legal framework was announced, the Korean government sent government officials to research objects, properties and land which were owned by shrines and temples. In 1909, in a situation where Japanese intervention in the Korean government was becoming stronger and more powerful, the Section of Shrines and Temples in Gungnaebu (Department

of Internal Affairs of the Palace) appointed several government officers to investigate temples in each province in order to list properties and objects as well as to inspect the general state of maintenance. It was ordered by the Japanese government that Korean inspectors had to bring one Japanese officer to each inspection because of the agreement on intervention between Korea and Japan. The fact that the responsibility for *bojon* in the colonial administration stayed for so long in the hands of the police, shows that the word *bojon* was understood mainly as an activity for protection from loss, theft and destruction. But the purpose of protecting Korean monuments differed between the Japanese and the Koreans. The Koreans tried to protect their national monuments from destruction, damage, and illegal smuggling by the Japanese in order to preserve a sense of national identity. Japan, on the other hand, needed to protect them from both Korean and Japanese illegal excavation or trade in order to use Korean monuments as a resource for studying their arts as well as manipulating them. Thus, the word *bojon*, until the end of the colonial period, meant protection, preservation and prevention from stealing, destroying and illegal trading.

Before continuing to describe the change in meaning of word and activity in the first half of the twentieth century, it is necessary to examine how the Japanese formed the concept of *bozon* (*hazon* in Japanese: the meaning of the word comprises all activities for the preservation of an object from documentation to actual intervention (Gutschow 1998, 7)) at the end of the nineteenth century and developed it in the early twentieth century (The history of Japanese conservation was illustrated in *Hozon: architectural and urban conservation in Japan* (Gutschow 1998)). The Japanese colonial government was the leading authority in deciding what to conserve and in producing a legislative framework in Korea in the first half of the century. The urgent and important slogan for the Meiji government (1868~1911) was modernization which also meant westernization. For them, western countries such as America and those in Europe were civilized and developed countries which

had accomplished an industrial revolution and possessed civilized cultures. Once they realized that fast modernization was a key to developing their country, the government strongly focused on exchanges and learning from the west.

In 1871, the Meiji government organized a delegation to America and Europe with almost half of the core members of the cabinet as well as students and attendants. They visited twelve countries in America and Europe to establish foreign relationships and to learn about their bureaucratic systems and civilized cultures (Lee Seongsi 2001, 201). In addition, there were 3,000 specialists in many fields from Europe and America in Japan at the invitation of the government to provide the Meiji state with knowledge and guidance in political, economic, military, scientific, academic and cultural areas (Coaldrake 1996, 216).

Among the many European engineers and architects who were invited to practise modern architecture in Japan, was a young British architect, Josiah Conder (1852~1920) who trained under Thomas Roger Smith (1830~1903) and William Burges (1827~1881) and held the Soane Prize in 1876. He came to Japan in 1877 by invitation of the Meiji government and designed Rokumeikan (Deer Cry Pavilion) which was built as accommodation for foreign visitors and their social activities such as parties and charity bazaars. With many other western-style buildings, it showed the culmination of the early Meiji government's ideology of architectural representation which was to build a modern nation and to show that Japan was a country worthy of being treated as an equal among other developed nations (Watanabe 1996, 1-2). Conder worked as a professor of architecture at the Imperial College of Engineering and the Repair Division of the Ministry of Public Works. Regarded as a father of Japanese western architecture, he taught many Japanese architectural students including Kingo Tatsuno (1854~1919), who later became the head of the Department of Architecture at the Tokyo Imperial University (later the

University of Tokyo) and a teacher of Chuta Ito (1867~1954) who established a theory of Japanese architectural history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Ito became a major architect with Tadashi Sekino (1868~1935) and came to survey Korean architecture by order of the Japanese colonial government in the early twentieth century.

As Wendelken has explained, after the completion of Rokumeikan between 1883 and 1887, the Japanese architectural community questioned the earlier uncritical adoption of European styles and influenced the Meiji government to call for an ideological return to Japanese antiquity in order to strengthen national identity (1996, 3). One result of this realization was to educate and train Japanese in indigenous architecture and associated techniques at university. Kingo Tatsuno, after his short study in England, invited Kigo Kiyoyoshi (unknown ~ 1915), who was a master carpenter, to teach traditional techniques of wooden buildings in 1889 at Tokyo Imperial University. The course provided great knowledge of traditional Japanese architecture and carpentry so that many architectural students had a chance to learn about not only western but also domestic architecture. Similar in sentiment to western countries such as France and England, the Japanese government believed that religious shrines and temples represented a national character and distinctive style and expressed their national identity so that the ancient shrines and temples of the Nara and Kyoto areas became important as national symbols (Wendelken 1996, 3).

Both Shinto and Buddhist temples suffered impoverishment because of the confiscation of their lands in 1871 by the Meiji government. Furthermore, many Buddhist temples in the area were destroyed during the anti-Buddhist violence of 1868 by Shinto priests. The Japanese government announced a decree for the protection of antiquities in 1871 but buildings were not included. The first government action toward the protection of architectural heritage was the re-distribution of interest from funds collected from temples and shrines for

their upkeep from 1880 and for state Shinto shrines from 1874. Since the allocation of money from 1880, some Buddhist temples and the state Shinto shrines had enjoyed government protection and money for their maintenance and preservation. However, the funds were not enough for the proper repair or conservation of their buildings. On the other hand, the word *hizon* appeared in Japanese when the government started to allot funds for the preservation of ancient shrines and temples (*koshaji hizon kin* in Japanese) in 1880.

Since the word *hizon* appeared and the funds for preservation were set up, the western concept of the word *hizon* and the practice had been whole-heartedly adopted as a norm of architectural practice. Comparing two English-Japanese dictionaries published in 1880 and 1928, the development of the term *preservation* is distinctive. *The English and Japanese Dictionary* (Anon 1880, 778) translates *hizon* into ‘protection and preservation of a property’ whereas the 1928 *Sanseido encyclopaedic English-Japanese dictionary* defines it as ‘the preservation of ancient buildings and ancient manuscripts’ (Anon 1928). In order to represent national identity through Shinto and Buddhist temples, the Japanese government needed to legislate for the protection of religious buildings and collect much information about their architectural heritage and artistic objects. Several surveys were carried out on more than 200,000 objects between 1888 and 1897 and an inventory of all buildings in ancient shrines and temples between 1892 and 1893. In 1897 the government enacted the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines. The surveys, under the guidance of Tenshin Okakura (1863~1913) and Ernest Fenollosa (1853~1908), who were major figures in the preservation of Japanese art in the Meiji Period, provided an evaluation of each object and building and so compiled a basic list of heritage to be protected. The resource of the national survey was based primarily on the academic research conducted by students such as Chuta Ito, Tadashi Sekino, and the master carpenter, Kigo (Wendelken 1996, 32). Both Ito and Sekino were trained in

both western and Japanese architecture at the Tokyo Imperial University and they were students of Kigo. Their academic survey of 38 shrines and temples in the Nara and Kyoto area between 1889 and 1891 for their own training, provided an important resource for the national survey (Wendelken 1996, 32). Their research contributed not only to the legislation of 1897 but also to the methodology of surveying and architectural study in the early stages of Japanese studies in architectural history. Thereafter, the survey provided them with an important example on which to base a similar undertaking in Korea by the order of the colonial government in the early twentieth century.

The major change to the 1871 decree enacted by the 1897 law can be summarized by two things: one is the inclusion of architectural heritage and the other is a listing system which adopted different grades based on importance. Key factors of the change resulted from the development of the architectural study of traditional wooden buildings at institutional level and from knowledge about heritage management gained during the international tour to western countries. The academic study of architectural history emphasised the importance of traditional architecture as a national symbol and it defined a national style. As technical knowledge of materials and components grew, and as knowledgeable architects and historians emerged, so they could identify which buildings should be preserved and how. In addition, those countries which had a longer history in the preservation of heritage suggested ways of organizing management systems such as listing and methodologies to fulfil the task.

A similar approach to that of the contemporary European movement toward their buildings, recognizing them as historical evidence and as elements of national pride, existed. One leading architectural historian and restorer, Chuta Ito, argued in his writing in the middle of the 1890s,

‘It is necessary and meaningful to preserve religious temples and building in

order to show our pride in having such a long history not only because they represent an excellence of national culture but also they provide an historical evidence of our nation as a strong dynasty succeeding imperial lineage. Therefore it is an urgent task for the government to submit a draft to preserve our historical remains..... and it is necessary to seek for passing (a law) so that shrines and Buddhist temples do not disappear but remain as examples of national architecture' (cited in Gang Hyeon 2005, 38).

Similar to those contemporary European countries who favoured reconstruction by restoring to a preferred period and style, Japan favoured restoration to the original form, before it was later altered, in order to regain its age value. The earliest style was regarded by contemporaries as the best because it proved a long history and civilized tradition. A year after the 1897 law was enacted, conservation of a hall in Shin-yakushi-ji (literally New Temple of Medicine Buddha) Buddhist temple in Nara started. It was the first instance of total dismantling and reassembling in modern Japanese conservation and the declared goal was to recover the original form of the first phase (Enders and Gutschow 1998, 34).

The architectural study and discussion of the preservation of monuments during the period of rapid social reform and modernization provided a basis for modern conservation practice in Korea which began as Japanese-interpreted western conservation during the colonial period. When Japan began colonizing neighbouring countries, art and heritage were one of the tools used to show their superior history and civilized culture as a ruler so that they could legitimize the colonization.

The Japanese government sent Tadashi Sekino to Korea in 1902, even before the start of the colonial regime in 1910, to make a general survey of objects and monuments. Following the instructions of the Japanese government, his main concern in his comparative methodology was to identify those buildings or

heritage assets which could help the architectural study of Japanese building. Therefore, after he finished a broad and general survey of buildings and remains in 1910, Joseon-chongdokbu (the Office of the Governor General of Korea) executed a systematic archaeological survey from 1911 to 1935, publishing 15 volumes of the *Joseon-gojeok-dobo* (*Survey of old remains in Korea* (Joseon-chongdokbu 1911-1935) which contained photographs and a brief report on each site.

In his continuing survey until his death in 1935, Sekino showed a Japanese attitude toward Korean heritage which was different from that toward Japanese heritage. For domestic buildings, he adopted historical and aesthetic values when assessing which buildings should be preserved. As a leading scholar during the survey, Sekino focused on the excavation of remains of the ancient period with the aim of providing more knowledge of Japanese ancient monuments under Chinese influence in Korea and Japan. The preservation, as opposed to the investigation, of monuments was not considered an issue, as it was in Japan. Instead, Japanese authorities intentionally encouraged archaeological studies of Korea in order to amplify their own cultural heritage studies, and explicitly not to reinforce any nationalistic sentiments among the Korean peoples. Although his motivation was directed by a hostile political regime that sought to discredit Korean architectural achievements, the systematic survey and the quality of the photographic records have been helpful in providing a bedrock on which later Korean scholarship could be based. His record collection of now destroyed or altered monuments is preserved in the archive of the University of Tokyo.

In the report titled *Architecture and art in Korea* (Sekino 1904), Sekino continually compared Korean and Japanese buildings of a similar period with Chinese buildings in order to show that Korean building was neither superior to, nor different from, the Japanese in style but was less creative. For example, in part of the description of the composition of buildings in Bulguksa, which

was built in the eighth century of the Unified Silla Period, he stated that ‘I believe there are no differences in building composition between a Buddhist temple of the Unified Silla Period and one of the Nara Period (710~794, which was contemporary to the Unified Silla Period). It is not necessary to note that the Unified Silla Period temple copied the composition of Tang Dynasty (618~907) temple the same as the Nara temple did’ (Sekino 1904. 66).

During the colonial period, the historical and informational value of Japanese architectural studies and colonial propaganda played an important role in the assessment of buildings. Many buildings, such as Seokuram which is a Buddhist grotto of the eighth century (Figure 2.4) in Gyeongjusi (Gyeongju city) as well as Muryangsujeon (Hall of Buddha of Infinite Life dating to 1376) and Josadang (Memorial Shrine for the Deceased Venerables dating to 1377) in Buseoksa (Buseok Temple), were dismantled for comparative research with Japanese architecture disguised under the name of preservation. Seokuram was the only cave temple in Korea. The Japanese authorities became interested in the grotto in terms of technique of structure and aesthetic aspects which could be related to Japanese sculptures of the same period. Muryangsujeon and Josadang in Buseoksa were two of the remaining earliest buildings in Korea which could provide important information for the study of Japanese architectural history. In the process of re-assembly, Japanese doors and flooring systems were installed so that it complied with their architectural styles. Japanese architectural and art historians, who came to Korea as part of the government’s survey, argued that Korean art and architecture were not worthy of appreciation because they were aesthetically inferior to those of the Japanese. This cultural propaganda was part of a political move to persuade Koreans to submit to justifiable colonization by a civilized and superior nation, Japan.

The contrast in the assessment of traditional buildings between Japanese and Korean scholars showed that they understood and described Korean

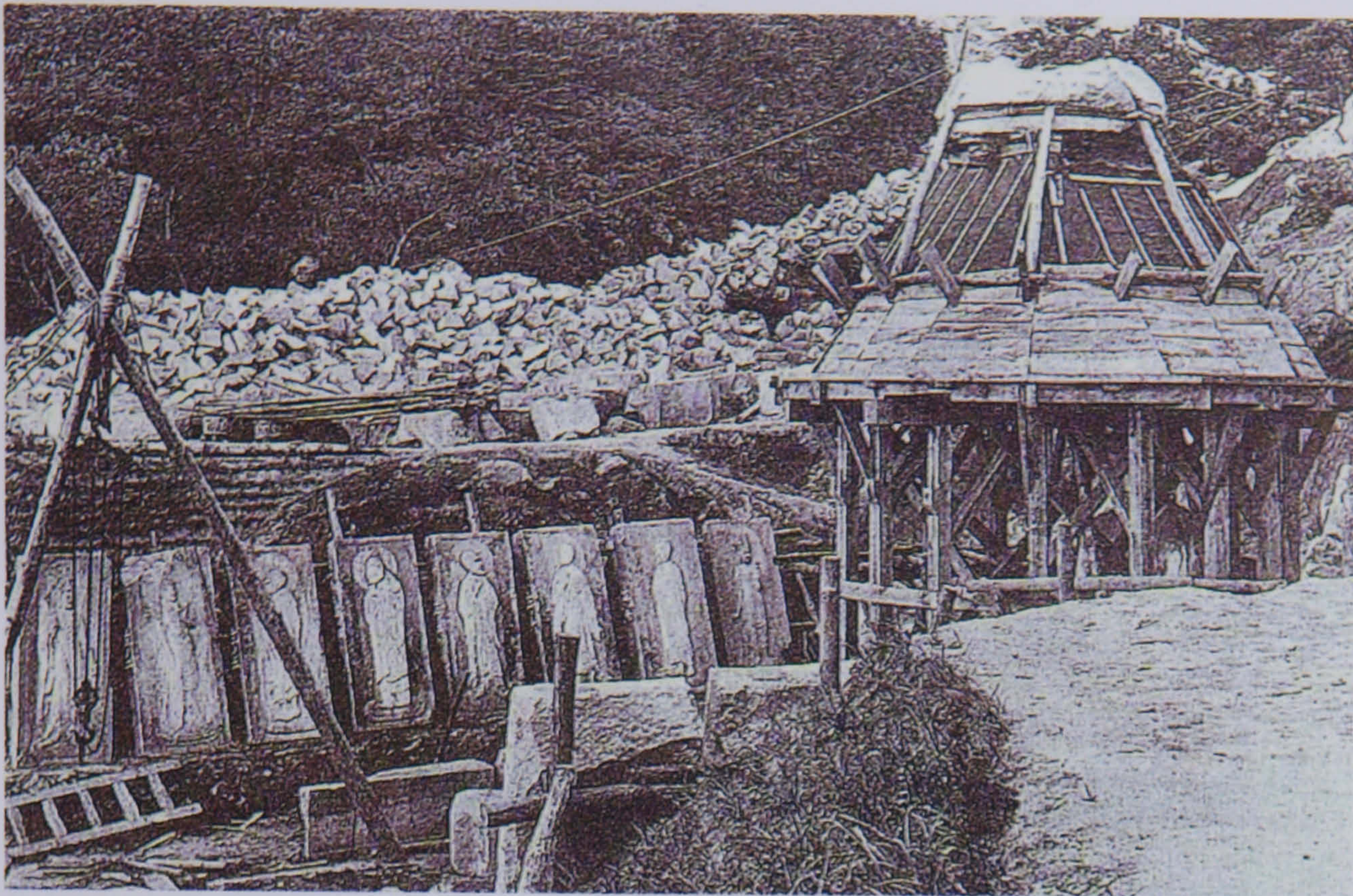


Figure 2.4 Seokuram during the work of dismantling in 1920s

architecture in different ways. In Sekino's *Architecture and art in Korea* (1904), which was his first published survey in Korea, he under-rated Korean architecture, a typical colonial approach. He described Korean architecture as inferior in style and structure to Japanese. Throughout his writing, Sekino argued for the inferiority of Korean aesthetic taste and structure. In his conclusions, he tried to relate architecture to the nature of the Korean people in order to prove that it was necessary for Japan to enlighten inferior Korea.

'Even though the main halls and gates of Changdeok and Gyeongbok Palaces followed strict architectural standard [in form] and look huge in size, they cannot be compared with a Chinese palace of its size. Actually the rest of the buildings such as the living quarters and pavilion in the palace (other than the main halls and gates) are small and narrow.... The houses of common people are very small so that they can contain only one person. The nature of Korean people is not mighty nor colossal but narrow-minded and weak. Several big buildings in rare instances originate not from their nature but

from the influence of other countries' (Sekino 1904, 466).

The Korean art historian, Jonghong Park, argued for a contrasting interpretation of the nature of the Korean people in the second article of eleven published in *A study of Korean art history* from 1922 to 1923. He explained,

'The nature of the Korean people was much influenced by a characteristic of a vastness of continent which has spectacular mountains and vast fields. Those natural characteristics created [influenced] Korean arts. In some respects they learned and copied international style, but they developed their own artistic style and form. As a result, [the Koreans'] cheerful, delicate and beautiful natures were reflected in their artistic styles' (Park Jonghong 1922, 4).

In addition, even though Sekino knew well how much Japanese and Korean architecture influenced each other, and that much of Japanese architectural style came from a Korean interpretation of Chinese architecture, he intentionally denied this claiming. He argued that 'there was no influence from Korean architecture to Japanese one during the Chinese Tang Period (618~907) because transportation between the two countries was not well established' (Sekino 1904, 469). He continued that 'during the Japanese invasion (1592~1595) of Korea, we brought some trophies and they helped our architectural measurement system, but there was nothing to learn from Korea because Japan was more advanced at that time being at the culmination of the Momoyama Period (1573~1603)' (Sekino 1904, 469). In addition, he undervalued buildings of the Joseon Period yet favoured stone monuments of an earlier one. It seems that he and the Japanese authorities deliberately assigned greater value to the remains of the Three Kingdoms Period, the Unified Silla and Goryeo Periods, because they showed more similarity with Japanese art, whereas they undervalued Joseon art and architecture in order to

prove that the artistic and architectural skills inherited from the Joseon Period were not worth preserving.

In Sekino's paper for the World Engineering Congress held in Tokyo in 1929, he provided clear evidence that he positioned Japanese architecture as superior in rank by comparing it with remaining traditional Korean and Chinese buildings in terms of age and quantity. This was so that he could promote the excellence of Japanese architecture at international conferences, placing Japan on an equal footing as western countries participating in the congress. He stated at the beginning of his published paper from the conference,

'Then one might marvel that so many architectural antiquities should have been preserved at any rate in this country (Japan) in spite of the inimical effects of its climate upon the main material, timber. Again, this wonder will grow upon comparison with China and Korea. In these countries advanced wooden architecture existed no less early than in Japan...In fact, neither China nor Korea boasts a single wooden building aged ten centuries, whereas in Japan those of ten to thirteen centuries' standing number more than thirty' (Sekino 1931, 22).

As one of the reasons for the preservation of many old buildings in Japan, he posited that it was because Japan was 'the nation ever since its very beginning to live under a single Imperial dynasty with its pure lineage' (Sekino 1931, 22). He stated that 'all the ancient buildings and other antiquities left us are more or less valuable as landmarks of national progress, or as examples of the art of bygone days, but the oldest specimens are to be found most profusely among the class of shrines and temples' (Sekino 1931, 23) and he understood that each building from a different period provided traces of history. However, age was more important for him as it proved the long history of 'its pure lineage'. The consequent importance he argued for age value was deeply rooted and influential in Korean architectural assessment during the colonial period and

even after independence.

In contrast, a Korean architectural historian Yuseop Go, in his unpublished writing in 1932, later edited by Donghyeon Kim and titled *A manuscript of Korean architectural history* in 1999, argued that a different aesthetic point of view should be taken into consideration for examining each period respecting a change of artistic intention and aesthetic taste of contemporaries. Unlike Sekino, he did not favour a specific period but described the characteristics of each one and he did not take the size of the building as an important factor to interpret the nature of Korean people. In reply to Sekino's critique of the small size of Korean buildings, he asserted that 'the Korean architectural plan was much influenced by the Chinese symmetrical system....However Korea did not produce the same size of plan and construction as the Chinese. Some people argued that the size is an important matter. But size is no more important than a symmetrical system in the architectural plan' (Go Yuseop 1932, 16). He stated that the aesthetic taste of Korean architecture was expressed in the different style of roof (Go Yuseop 1932, 16-21).

The contrasting assessment of Korean historical buildings by Korean and Japanese scholars strongly influenced, and was reflected by, the conservation movement and practice. Based on this contrasting approach, the Japanese word *hazon* and the Korean *bojon* meant a different activity and purpose in Japan and Korea. As the ruling body over Korean monuments, the Japanese colonial government aimed at selective *hazon* (protection) of a few monuments in order to use them as a resource for political propaganda and academic research to benefit Japan or as a practical use for colonial purposes such as offices. As a conquered and suppressed nation at risk of losing its identity, Korean scholars and a small group of the intelligentsia protested at the Japanese attitude of *hazon* toward Korean monuments and tried to educate and attract the Korean people's attention to *bojon* of exemplary buildings which represented the Korean spirit and reinforced their identity.

Another aspect of historical sites and their *bojon* in the colonial period was their economic value through tourism. Many Japanese came to Gyeongjusi (Gyeongju City) and Geumgangsan (Geumgang Mountains) for holidays and sightseeing so that historical temples and sites became popular places to visit (Anon 1930a, 2). In order to provide attractive monuments on the site, several temples such as Bulguksa and Seokuram were quickly repaired, with tourist facilities such as roads and accommodation. Writing in support of the re-organization of Gaeseong-gojeok-bojonhoe (Gaeseong Historical Sites Preservation Society) in 1932, *Dong-a-ilbo* critically commented that ‘Gaeseong city announced that they are trying to provide various facilities in order to make it famous as a tourist place within the year, but they concentrate only on the construction of a modern tourist city destroying the landscape without executing the proper maintenance and preservation of historical sites and monuments’ (Anon 1932a, 7). The writer urged that the re-organization of the preservation society of the city should encourage an active pressure group to prevent a tourist-driven approach toward historical sites.

Various preservation societies for historical cities and national parks, which had existed since the 1910s and had been set up under the auspices of the Japanese colonial power, assumed an important role in fundraising for preservation and planning conservation practice as a local activity. However, it is not clear whether their intention was purely focused on preservation or disguised to help the promotion of Japanese cultural policy in the form of tourism for Japanese nationals. Resistance to this tendency is illustrated by Yuseop Go when he urged the Gaeseong-gojeok-bojonhoe (Gaeseong Historical Sites Preservation Society) to focus on the preservation of historical sites and education for local people instead of encouraging tourism. It is clear that there existed problems with some societies in the form of tension between preservation for educational (and implicitly Korean nationalist) purposes and tourism (with its overtones of Japanese nationalism) (Go Yuseop 1936). Such Japanese policy altered many iconic heritages in short period of time without

sensible research and recording and the subsequent problems after their practice in Seokuram, for example, will be examined in section 5.3.1.2 of chapter 5.

In 1916 a legal framework for the conservation of historical sites and objects was set up in Korea by the colonial government. Based on the Japanese publication 'Suggestions for the preservation of historical remains' in *Sahak-japji (Journal of Historical Studies)* by the historian, Katsumi Kuroita (1874~1946) in 1912, the Japanese colonial government announced *Gojeok-yumul-bojon-gyuchik* (Rules of Preservation for Ancient Sites and Objects) in 1916, three years earlier than the equivalent in Japan, the 1919 *Sajeok-myeongseung-cheonyeonginyeonmul-bojonbeop* (Preservation Law for Historical and Spectacular Sites and Species in Danger of Extinction). It is assumed that Kuroita's views on the preservation of heritage had been influenced by a research trip to Europe between 1908 and 1910, visiting numerous museums and archaeological sites and studying conservation methods. His experience and knowledge from the trip strongly influenced the formation of the idea of conservation and the setting up of a legal framework in 1916.

The Japanese authority used two separate terminologies for Korean and Japanese sites. The 1916 order of *bojon* for ancient sites and remains used the word 'ancient' for Korean sites, but the law for *bojon* of historical sites, spectacular sites, and rare species in danger of extinction, which was enacted in 1919 for Japanese monuments, used the term 'historical' (Dakaki 2004, 185). Both terminologies, which were for ancient and historical sites, respected the importance of their age value. The difference between them was the assessment of value. The Japanese authority regarded their monuments as historically meaningful heritage whereas they implied that Korean monuments were merely old sites with age value. In addition, the terms of designation were different. For the highest category of designation for their own

monuments, the Japanese used ‘national treasure’ whereas ‘treasure’ was used for Korean monuments. This clearly shows that they imposed an historical value with a nationally important meaning on their indigenous monuments but described the Korean ones as simply old remains without national importance. It is possible to presume that this attitude provided a rationale to change Korean monuments for the purpose of political, economic and practical use in *bojon*.

In the process of developing new activities through continuing discussion, the concept of *wonhyeong* (original form) appeared in some writings (Kwon Deokkyu 1921; Anon 1922; Anon 1939). This will be examined with details of various meanings and uses in the 1920s and 1930s in section 3.2.4.1 of chapter 3. Given that the spiritual substance of royal palaces, shrines, and Buddhist temples was removed by the Japanese colonial authority, it became an important issue for contemporaries to preserve the monuments’ original status as only surviving remains symbolizing Korean identity. However, the meaning of *wonhyeong* in *bojon* was not clearly identified so that it was used with a different meaning in each case.

Much commentary in the 1920s criticized Japanese intentions and policy for historical sites and called for a careful and sensible approach. For example, the editorial column of *Dong-a-ilbo* on 13 November 1926 (Anon 1926a) argued that ‘historical sites are valuable as a historical trace so that it is very dangerous to discriminate between various historical sites based on political views.’ It continued to argue that ‘the Japanese approach in many examples towards historical sites originated not from a Korean’s affectionate eye towards monuments and sites but from a foreigner’s view which observes the sites and objects as an aesthetic entertainment.’ A series of editorials in *Dong-a-ilbo* (Anon 1926b), which encouraged national spirit and identity under the Japanese suppression, pointed out that the intention of the Japanese policy of preservation lay in material research for their purposes, without respecting

Korean spiritual values so that their preservation practice led to destruction and a radical change of heritage.

The academic or educational values assessed by Korean writers were different from the Japanese interpretation of them. As a ruling authority, the Japanese approach toward Korean buildings played an influential role in their preservation. The Japanese colonial principle and standard of *bojon* projects, based on their different value assessment from Japanese architecture, were applied in actual conservation practices for Korean buildings. Korean architectural historians and related professionals were intentionally excluded and they were prevented from expressing their ideas and principles. The Japanese were boldly experimental in choosing both method and materials. Portland cement was used for many monuments such as the Seokuram grotto and various stone stupas, which caused many problems later. The academic value of Korean building meant an experimental value to the Japanese. Total dismantling to repair a building was a common method of conservation practice for Korean buildings in order to understand the details of structure and technique. Total dismantling was a rare practice for Japanese buildings. In the early stages of adopting new materials from western countries and methods such as total dismantling in conservation practice, Japan preferred to experiment on Korean rather than Japanese buildings.

It can be argued that total dismantling was traditionally a common method in Japanese and Korean timber buildings when they needed repair, therefore it could be justified in conservation practice. However, that argument misses an important point in that the value implicit in traditionally repaired buildings was different from that in modern conservation. At a time when practical and functional aspects took important positions in building, dismantling was a common method of repairing structural problems or providing the components for another building. Once *bojon* became an important and necessary activity in modern society, buildings as material evidence representing national

identity were re-assessed with age and academic values and they were considered as important aspects to preserve in *bojon*.

Japan, which was influenced by western practice, realized the importance of preserving the original form, structure, style and material, yet those aspects were not considered to be essential in the conservation of Korean buildings. In many cases such as Seokuram (in 1913), Buseoksa (in 1916), and Sudeoksa (in 1937), they dismantled buildings not for the purpose of repair but to research the structure. Given that they preferred dismantling and using new materials such as Portland cement, Korean buildings were considered as examples on which to practise new conservation techniques and materials. During the dismantling of Josadang (Memorial Shrine for the Deceased Venerable) in Buseoksa, six wall paintings were dismantled and stored in a wooden box after reinforcement with lime mortar which was a newly introduced material from Europe (Figure 2.5).



Figure 2.5 Wall paintings of Josadang of Buseoksa after the Japanese dismantling and displayed in Muryansujeon

During the Japanese colonial period, traditional terminologies such as *jungsu*, *junggeon*, *jungchang*, *yeongseon*, *suseon* had been sustained. *The unabridged Korean-English dictionary* (1931) by James Gale, who was a Scottish Canadian and came to Korea as a missionary, defined these words but there was no indication that the modern concept of conservation was meant. Those words were translated into English as ‘repair’(Gale 1931, 898, 1081, 1357, and

1360). The reason why the dictionary did not reflect the introduction of modern concepts of conservation is that the official language during the colonial period was Japanese and the development of Korean terminologies was prevented.

The use of terminology after independence changed with the influx of international theories and concepts as well as with the growing interest of the public in heritage. *Bojon*, which still retains its wide use but changed its meaning from simple protection to an extensive range of activities with scientific analysis and legal frameworks, *suri* which refers to all kinds of repair activity, and *bokwon* which aligns with a popular attitude towards recovering lost national heritage, are the three main terms which have been commonly used for the last half century. Traditional words such as *junggeon*, *jungsu*, and *jungchang* have been disappearing slowly because they contain some dissonant meanings for modern conservation principles. The basic concept of traditional words premises the acceptance of changes of original material and form in order to retain the desired function, a course of action which is generally discredited in modern conservation. In modern conservation practice in Korea, functional and use values have become less important than informational value and the value of original authentic materials.

After independence, Korea went through another period of destruction of historical sites during the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. The priority after the war was to recover those monuments suffering from bomb destruction and vandalism, and, after cessation, the Ministry of Education started the survey and repair of historical buildings. Based on knowledge from the practices of the colonial period, the first total dismantling was executed in Muwisa to conserve the wall paintings and solve the structural problems of the building in 1956. After the work, the Ministry of Education published the first conservation report *The suri report of Geuknakjeon (Western Paradise Hall) in Muwisa* (Kim Jaewon *et al* 1958). The word *suri*, which was used in rare

cases in records of the Joseon Period as discussed above, was used in the title and content to refer to the activity of repair to the building.

Since then, *bosu* and *suri* (repair) have become common terms referring to all kinds of repair work for historical buildings in Korea. *Bojon*, which was preferred in the colonial period, extended its meaning with a modern approach to refer to a general activity to protect and preserve involving scientific analysis and repair, and heritage management and policy. If the main purpose in the colonial period was protection and preservation of a historical building, the purpose of most practice after the Korean War was the solving of structural problems and recovery from destruction during the war. However, there were different terminologies which referred to different activities without clear definitions. The first law, called *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (Cultural Properties Protection Act) (CHA 1962a), enacted in 1962 by the Korean government and based on Japanese law in the colonial period, used the word protection which is *boho* in Korean. It is presumed that *boho* was chosen to refer to the wider activity of protection, preservation, restoration and conservation. The word is still in use in present act.

In the practice of recovery from destruction of material evidence and loss of national identity, *bokwon* (restoration and reconstruction) was one approach supported in many theoretical writings and practical cases. It means to restore original status, specifically before the change by the Japanese and destruction in the war. *Suri*, in a broad sense, includes the practice of total or partial *bokwon*. For example, in the *suri* of the Muwisa in 1956, the floor of Geuknakjeon (Hall of Western Paradise) recovered its original tile floor from under the later wooden floor of the late Joseon Period, based on the survey conducted during dismantling. However, the word *bokwon* was not clearly defined by unified rules and principles in practice because the concept of *wonhyeong* (original form) was not defined clearly and it was generally not possible to restore structures to their original form due to a lack of evidence.

In many cases, *bokwon* meant to reconstruct with speculation because there was no evidence to recreate the original form. Despite these problems, *suri* and *bokwon* played a major part in conservation in Korea because of the social value of historical buildings, mainly as material evidence of national identity.

There has been a change of view regarding *bokwon* and its relationship with *bojon*. Until the 1970s, *bokwon* focused on the aesthetic value of original form before later additions or change. In the 1980s, the discussion of use value appeared as a major issue in *bokwon*. In his 1985 article, Donguk Kim argued that architectural *bojon* should respect not only its aesthetic and informational values but also its use value after *bokwon* (Kim Donguk 1985, 113). For a long-term *bojon*, he took as an example a *bokwon* project in Gyeongbokgung (Gyeongbok Palace) where many royal buildings were destroyed by the Japanese in order to convert it into a zoo. He urged that *bokwon* had to consider not only the aesthetic reconstruction of each building and preservation of its original form but also the reconstruction of the surrounding landscape and spiritual atmosphere as a whole, as well as its management for use by contemporaries and future generations (Kim Donguk 1985, 113)

Bojon, which was widely used in the Japanese colonial period but rarely used in the 1950s, re-appeared with the recognition of modern conservation practice. With the introduction of the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), western conservation practice and theory proliferated in Korea. The concepts of reversibility, conservation not restoration, and differentiating new material from old were introduced in the 1970s and 1980s after participation in international conferences and exchanges. Western principles and concepts formed a new definition of *bojon*. With growing interest in material evidence from the past being influenced by western theory and ideas, *bojon* referred not only to protection but also to embracing logical decision-making, the proper use of reversible methods, and scientific analysis in order to deliver inherited

remains to the next generation as found.

Government textbooks for conservation training courses for Buddhist monks and temple wardens were published in 1969 and continued in 1971 and 1973 (CHA 1969; 1971; 1973). It is interesting to note that the 1969 edition used *boho*, which means protection instead of *suri* or *bojon* in the title. Thereafter, the 1971 textbook first used *bojon* in a title: *Bojon and management of cultural heritage for the purpose of training Buddhist monks*. It contained government guidelines for *bojon* and the management of historical buildings and objects owned by a Buddhist temple because Buddhist institutions did not have the appropriate skills to organize conservation guidelines and training for themselves.

Since then, *bojon* has become a word to embrace all kinds of activity for the conservation of historical buildings and objects. Yunsik Yang stated in his recent article that *bojon* includes ‘survey, research, *suri*, and *bokwon*’, and *bojon* became a more formal term to refer to conservation in compliance with western concepts and use (Yang Yunsik 2003, 157). However, *bojon* has been often preferred to combine with *gwahak* (science) so that *bojon* can be misunderstood as ‘conservation science’. On the other hand, *suri* and *bosu* are still widely used in conservation reports to refer to any kind of repair practice.

The shift of meaning in Korean terminology and attitudes toward material remains after modern conservation was introduced to Korea in the early nineteenth century highlights two problems: 1. the lack of consistent use of various terminologies in contemporary conservation; 2. the lack of philosophical discussion to find a balance between traditional and modern practice. As mentioned at the beginning of section 2.3 on the discussion of terminology at Hwangryongsa conference, the use of terminology is not compatible with the activity. The meaning of an activity in western

terminologies (ICOMOS 1964; BSI 1998; English Heritage 2001) such as conservation, restoration, and preservation, is different from that in Korean. Therefore, Korean terminologies need to be re-defined to reflect traditional ways of building practice and the characteristics of wooden buildings so that each one accords with a specific activity. In order to do that, it is necessary to re-examine traditional practices and attitudes toward material remains and their change in modern practice and set out the principles which can be applied to actual work.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the historical dimension of conservation which is one of the two important tools, with cultural diversity of chapter 3, that this research uses in identifying whether value assessments are different. Focusing on the change of attitude and development of conservation practice in England and Korea, it has provided the historical context which will be referred to as an essential resource in the following chapters.

An important aspect, which has been addressed in the first part of the chapter, is that the approach to religious buildings in use in England has been developed by two opposing intellectual arguments, one which favours restoration or aggressive intervention to a building to enhance its religious use and stylistic ambition (an attitude supported by religious communities including church architects), and the other which argues for the importance of historical, emotional, aesthetic, and informational values rather than religious value and the contemporary aesthetic aspiration. The anti-restoration movement of Ruskin and Morris was a reaction against over-restoration to restrain the religious groups and their appointed architects who were over-enthusiastic in changing and removing historic layers of a building in favour of religious value. Dominated by the anti-restoration movement, preservation in the early twentieth century focused on the retention of historical evidence.

However, the protest which resulted in changes of attitude from restoration to preservation and conservation has not entirely altered the religious standpoint. The polemic to recognise churches as a living heritage played an important role in the successful attempt to attain exemption of church buildings in use from secular control in the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act. In addition, the use of the word *restoration* instead of *conservation* in religious buildings in use may be one manifestation of this attitude. Such a religious attitude, which causes conflict with secular bodies, will be scrutinised in the following chapters in terms of assessing various values, formulating legal frameworks, making decisions, and conservation practice.

The key finding in the second part of this chapter is that Korea experienced the uprooting of traditional attitudes toward buildings which emphasised utility and the importance of craftsmanship in the process of modernizing conservation, which imported the concept of a material-centred approach. The use of traditional terms such as *jungchang*, *jungsu*, and *junggeon* in section 2.3.1 demonstrates that buildings were mainly repaired for functional purposes or ethical reasons in a few cases, in connection with royal families as exemplified by the repair of Heungcheonsa. The replacement of them by modern terminology, *bokwon*, *suri*, *bosoo*, and *bojon* in section 2.3.2 indicates the importance given to material remains as a physical embodiment of national history and identity. Having experienced the destruction and change of buildings for the distortion of cultural identity and for research purposes by the Japanese colonial authority, Korean conservation could not foster a modern concept of conservation on the basis of traditional practice. Instead, conservators, whether they wanted or not, followed a monolithic approach to restore lost identity and history by restoring the earliest form without identifying various values attributed to a building and developing a balanced value framework. Destruction during the Korean War led Korean conservators to confine their interest to scientific studies and analysis for the repair of damaged buildings.

The next chapter will examine cultural context, the second factor to make value assessment different, by identifying different entities of each value on the basis of concepts of authenticity and how the historical context of both English and Korean conservation examined in this chapter has influenced or generated cultural difference. By re-identifying each value and by re-examining the ambivalent aspects between different values, the chapter will address the conflict between religious and secular approaches at present in English conservation and establish a set of possible recommendations to improve their conflicting perspectives. In particular, the religious value which has been placed in a contraposition with historical and informational values will be re-examined not only in terms of religious but also secular perspectives in order to find a compromise solution for the conflict in England. It will also construct a framework to connect spirit-based traditional conservation and material-based modern conservation in Korea by analysing the role of intangible aspects of aesthetic values in a complex relationship with authenticity of form, material, craftsmanship, and setting, which have been ignored in the decision-making of modern conservation.

Chapter Three Authenticity and typology of values in the conservation of religious buildings in use

3.1. Introduction

This chapter identifies concepts of authenticity and proposes a typology of values of religious buildings in use. Although churches and Buddhist temples share similar elements of values because of their spiritual role as a functioning religion and historical significance within an important heritage asset in society, they may also differ because of their distinctive theology and social beliefs. This chapter will explore whether there are similarities in the substance of the values ascribed to churches and Buddhist temples. Based on the historical context in chapter 2, this chapter will provide substantial information about the cultural context when assessing the implications of different attitudes toward value assessment in the English and Korean legal frameworks in chapter 4 and decision-making in chapter 5.

Authenticity plays an important role in identifying and assessing values because it is understood to provide reliable information, albeit of varying types. Therefore, this chapter will examine various aspects of authenticity first before identifying the substance of each value. Both in the east and the west, authenticity is seen as the principal goal in conservation. However, definitions vary widely and the word applies to different values in different ways in different societies at different times. This fluidity may enhance existing values or create new ones (or do both). Taking Lowenthal's argument (1995), Muñoz Viñas advocated the 'subjectivity' of authenticity and decision-making (2005, 91-113). He argued that 'acts of taste', by which he means conservation as an activity of taste at different times and in different cultures, are an indispensable and essential aspect of conservation, so that the subjective judgement of authenticity is 'prerequisite for conservation to be acceptable' (2005, 113). His perspective has been demonstrated in the history of conservation from George Gilbert Scott in the nineteenth century who took

Gothic as an ideal style to later generations who advocated the retention of evidence of change through time. The Nara conference in 1994 (Larsen 1995) provided theoretical and practical grounds for the full recognition of the subjectivity of authenticity and value assessment.

Section 3.2 will examine the fluid definitions and different concepts of authenticity in the conservation of religious buildings and their role in verifying the credibility of various values within the contrasting cultural dimensions of England and Korea. This section focuses particularly on the varying roles of tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity in forming an overall notion of authenticity in the two countries. Various aspects of authenticity will be examined in terms of form, material, workmanship, function, and setting. They were selected from the categories suggested in the Nara conference; form and design, material and substance, tradition and technique, use and function, location and setting, and spirit and feeling as criteria of authenticity (Larsen 1995, xxiii). The UNESCO *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* (Fielden and Jokilehto 1998), which divided authenticity into materials, design, workmanship, and setting, did not include authenticity of function, but it is an important aspect of authenticity which may sit in considerable tension with authenticity of fabric, with one acting to the detriment of the other. This thesis, therefore, includes it in the criteria of authenticity as the Nara document did. However, authenticity of spirit and feeling exists in all other criteria so this thesis will discuss it as part of each criterion rather than dealing with it as a separate one.

Section 3.2.1 will deal with the origin of the word by tracing the historical development of the western concept of authenticity. Section 3.2.2 will examine changes in the period-based concept of authenticity and section 3.3.3 will identify whether differences and conflicts exist between England and Korea resulting from different definitions and interpretations of authenticity. Section 3.2.4 will focus on the role of each category of authenticity in

identifying and evaluating various values. Section 3.2.4.1 will examine authenticity of form in terms of the timeline of ‘original form’ and analyze the differences between the two countries. This section, in particular, will examine the way how the concept of authenticity of form has changed within the historical spectrum which was discussed in chapter 2: the historical impetus of shifting from restoration to preservation and conservation in England which was argued in section 2.2 and the historical development from the traditional way of repairing a building to the modern way of restoring buildings in Korea. Section 3.2.4.2 will discuss reasons why the stone-based western approach conflicts with eastern timber building conservation, to the extent that material authenticity is differently understood in the context of religious, cultural and historical aspects. Section 3.2.4.3 will argue that authenticity of function has appeared to be a critical aspect in both English and Korean conservation in terms of functional continuity which often conflicts with other aspects of authenticity. On authenticity of workmanship in section 3.2.4.4, the ways in which workmanship is recognized and respected in England and Korea will be compared. Lastly, section 3.2.4.5 will discuss the importance of authenticity of setting in Korea and how this is becoming an increasingly important factor in English cases.

Section 3.3 identifies five values which are attributed to religious buildings in use: aesthetic, informational, associative (emotional), religious, and socio-economic. The selection of values was made based on previous studies by Lipe (1984), ICCROM (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998), and the Getty Conservation Institute (Avrami *et al* 2000; de la Torre 2002). This was to prevent segmentation of the whole into too many different kinds of value because each value connects closely with others and shares overlapping characteristics and to include all types of traditional and contemporary value. In subsequent chapters of this thesis, the terminology of each value will be used in the way that is defined and described here. In addition, this section will address the conflicting aspects of different values, which give rise to

disagreements among conservators and religious communities in interpreting legal frameworks and making management decisions which will be separately discussed further in chapters 4 and 5.

3.2. Authenticity in its historical and cultural dimensions

3.2.1. The origin of the word

The word 'authentic' derives from the Greek *authentikos*, and the Latin *authentic-us* meaning 'of first hand authority and original' (Oxford English Dictionary 1991, 795). The word was used in the sixteenth century meaning original, first-hand as opposed to copied. By the eighteenth century, this sense of genuineness was specifically defined as proceeding from an author and seen in opposition to counterfeit and forgery (Oxford English Dictionary 1991, 796). In order to supply the strong demand for Greek sculpture in western cultures and for ancient bronzes, jades and paintings in eastern culture, various fakes were manufactured and authenticity became a major concern when verifying an original artwork and artefacts from copies (Jones 1990, 119). The introduction of the primacy of the individual as the source of an understanding of authenticity in western thinking is critical compared with the importance of group practice of regional art and architectural schools in that of the east.

In the west, this Enlightenment concept can be contrasted with the situation in medieval Europe where something was understood as authentic when authority claimed it as such: there was no need for scientific or material evidence or proof of authorship. Related closely to supernatural and magical experience, religious faith alone proved the authenticity of relics and objects in medieval times (Lowenthal 1995, 126). In Asia, similarly, most Buddhists accepted it as fact if a temple authority claimed that a *stupa* in their temple contained real *sarira* of Seokgamoni Buddha (Historical Buddha): remains such as bones, teeth, and cremated elements of his body. According to the *Nirvana Sutra* which described Seokgamoni Buddha's life, teaching, and death, disciples

gathered remains after the cremation and distributed them to eight neighbouring countries to build the first eight Buddhist *stupas*, each containing a relic (Dammucham 2002, 523-6). The names of the eight countries in the sutra did not correspond to known geographical locations so it was impossible to identify where they were on a map. Thus people believed a religious authority who proclaimed a *stupa* as authentic, because it was not possible to question the veracity of the claimant, and because opening the *stupa* was strictly forbidden within the religious faith.

The concept of authenticity that dominates today has developed with Romanticism and modernization since the eighteenth century (Jokilehto 1995, 19; Taylor 1992, 25-29). In both eastern and western cultures it permeates art; connoisseurship distinguishes an original from a forgery, so the focal point of authenticity is its originality and the genuineness of a specific author or artist, and time.

3.2.2. Changing notions of period-based authenticity over time

In changing notions of authenticity over time, the selection of an authentic phase within the historical life of a building has played an important role (Lowenthal 1995, 128-129; Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 16). The precise nature of the goal of authenticity has changed depending on whether the definition hinged on a frozen moment of time, often associated with a particular architect, or with the passage of time, through which the whole history of the building may be traced. Such differing notions of authenticity have influenced practice, resulting in different outcomes.

The period-based authenticity of early nineteenth century conservation in England was based on a notion of frozen time, resulting in the restoration of the earliest phase of a building's construction, or an ideal style as defined by contemporary taste. The shift from restoring a frozen moment to the notion of respecting the passage of time began with the 'anti-scrape' movement of the

Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) and the change has led to an attitude which seeks in practice to conserve all traces of time from initial construction to the present day. However, this notion has been questioned by recent movements. Richard Giles, author of *Re-pitching the tent* (1996), extends the time line into contemporary or future change and addition, especially in religious buildings in use, claiming that a functioning building has to change to meet the demand of contemporary ritual and theology. This third trend is attracting much attention among religious communities who primarily use their buildings for their original function. Taking baptismal fonts as an example, Canon Paul Jenkins, in a recent lecture at the University of York, advocated Giles's position and suggested that Anglican churches should take a much more flexible approach toward creating new space for contemporary ritual (Jenkins 2006).

Overall the trend has moved from the first position and shifted into the second and third approaches in England, which will be discussed in detail in the following section. However, the Korean approach still strongly adheres to the restoration of the earliest phase in actual practice even though there is agreement in principle with the notion of respecting the passage of time in a structure. The problem of this approach will be addressed in section 3.2.4 in terms of historical and cultural texts. Therefore, it is not possible to move on to discuss period-based authenticity without addressing the issue of cultural difference in the definition of authenticity.

3.2.3. Cultural differences in the establishment of criteria for authenticity

Recent recognition of the need to understand cultural diversity in authenticity has diverted attention from a western-based to an eastern-based approach. The *Nara Document on Authenticity*, adopted at the 1994 Nara conference, provided a turning point in framing a diversified approach to authenticity based on cultural differences (UNESCO 1994a). The perspective of Asians such as Ito, who argued that the meaning of authenticity needs to be more flexible by

taking into account natural, social, and religious factors of different cultures (Ito 1995, 38-41), has influenced prevailing international standards and principles in terms of deeper understanding and acceptance of cultural diversity in conservation. The Nara Document stated that ‘the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural context to which they belong’ (Larsen 1995, xxiii).

Another part of this recent line of reasoning which deserves further consideration is the approach to intangible aspects of authenticity. This is the core aspect in conserving tangible remains of heritage in many cultures, such as Asian and African, as well as the indigenous heritage of America, Australia and New Zealand. UNESCO’s *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage* (2003) acknowledged the significance of intangible cultural heritage as ‘a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development’ and it recognised that it helps ‘communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals...to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity’ (UNESCO 2003, 1). The *Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage* recognised ‘the interdependence of elements of the tangible and intangible heritage of communities and groups’ calling for the need to protect them together, taking into account their interdependence and differences (UNESCO 2004, 1). However, given that such interdependence has yet to be considered or studied enough in conservation, this section on identifying cultural differences of authenticity, in particular in terms of the significance of intangible aspects, will provide a practical account to develop these recent discussions.

It is difficult to find a comparable Korean word to translate authentic or authenticity. Ito claimed that ‘the Japanese language, and probably many other Asian languages, have no proper word for authenticity, but has only new equivalent words for it which do not make a one-to-one correspondence’ at the

Nara conference (Ito 1995, 35). The closest Korean word for authentic is *jin*, which originated from the Chinese. It means truthful, honest, sincere, and genuine. To translate the term 'original', *won* is the more comparable word in Korean.

Besides genuineness, truthfulness and creativeness are important aspects of *jin*. Yet within the perception of *jin* creativeness is understood in a different way from the western concept of authenticity. The difference can be demonstrated more clearly by comparing the meaning of 'a copy' in English and Korean. In English, as the opposite to authentic work, 'copy' or 'fake' are common words. They mean a forgery or counterfeit stressing the negative implication of an intention to mislead and for the sake of monetary profit in the worst case. In Korea, making a copy or imitating an original has been a well-established genre of genuine painting as a creative work. There are three different ways of copying: *im*, *mo*, and *bang*. Literally, all three words mean copy. Baeksa Hwang (1079~1118), who was a Chinese scholar and painter during the Song Dynasty (960~1279), described the difference between *im* and *mo*. He defined that '*im* is to place a paper next to an old and respectful painting and to copy, and *mo* is to put a thin paper on a painting textbook and to copy the details' (Hwang Baeksa 11th century, 33). Both *im* and *mo* were more a way of practice than a creative work. *Bang* is to understand the sublime spirit of an original painting and to follow its artistic intent in a creative way. Such a sublime spirit was not only an aesthetic aspect but also demonstrated wisdom, sincerity, filial piety, and loyalty toward ancestors, parents, king and nation.

Beginners started by practising *im*, with *mo* as a next step. They could practice *bang* after they had fully learnt the basic technique and mental attitude through *im* and *mo* so that they expressed the noble spirit of respected painters in creative ways. Not only professional painters but the aristocracy had to practise these three steps. To be qualified as a proper scholar and retainer to serve the people and the king, they had to train their personality by practising

painting and calligraphy in the method of *bang*. Far from carrying the negative implications of a copy and fake in western culture, *im*, *mo*, and *bang* were the proper genre of creative and authentic work in China and Korea because they copied not the form but rather the spirit of a masterpiece.

Most *bang* painting tends not to have much similarity in style and form with the original. For example, *Bang Kungwang Huang lands-cape* (Figure 3.2) by Yeong-yun Lee (1561~1611) is different from the original, *Landscape* (Figure 3.1) by Kungwang Huang (1279~ 1368), in composition and style. Lee, who preferred to *bang* Huang's painting throughout his life, interpreted Huang's spiritual aspect in expressing mountains, rivers, and landscape and copied it in his own creative style and composition.



Figure 3.1 Landscape painting by Kungwang Huang

In a similar way, architectural authenticity in Korea developed a spirit-based perspective. Wei and Aass's analysis of the difference in approach between western and Chinese practice provides a helpful explanation to apply to the Korean case. They argued that the Chinese practice of rebuilding, enlarging and restoring places emphasis on 'the passage of time which has respected the spirit of place rather than on the details of the architecture' (Wei and Aass 1989, 6). Chinese philosophy understood that heaven and humanity are one entity so that the emphasis was 'not on differences between appearances or the extrinsic form of things, but rather on the underlying universal commonalities' so that artistic works were 'simply vehicles for communicating deeper meaning' (Wei and Aass 1989, 8). According to this approach, restoration of

a building could be recognized as an authentic work if the present-day craftsman and carpenter could deeply comprehend its artistic quality and intent to embody religious spirituality and meaning, and work with a skilful hand and a sincere attitude. Craftsmanship has been recognized not only as a quality of physical skill but also as a spiritual intelligence and sense.

Along with craftsmanship, setting is another essential factor in the composition of authenticity of Korean Buddhist temples. The arrangement of buildings in a temple compound is decided by Buddhist theology of space which will be explained in 3.2.4.5. *Pungsu* (*fengshui* in Chinese) theory is another important factor in deciding the size and location of a building. The location of each building is carefully chosen to reproduce the Buddha's higher realm of ideal space as described in Buddhist scriptures, as well as to harmonize with surrounding nature.



Figure 3.2 Landscape painting by Yeongyun Lee

3.2.4. Criteria of authenticity and different approaches in England and Korea

3.2.4.1. Authenticity in form

UNESCO's operational guideline states that authenticity in form lies in 'elements or aspects in which the artistic, architectural, engineering or functional design of the heritage resource and its setting are manifest' (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 67). The issue raised by this is that of the interpretation of those elements and aspects in deciding on authentic form because, as we have seen above, the timeframe taken for such interpretation is not absolute but relative, changing over time and between cultures.

The gap between eastern and western conservation in defining and applying an authentic form has been exacerbated by their different conservation histories and social contexts. In particular, the definition of 'original form' in England and Korea exemplifies the gap resulting from different cultural and social contexts. 'Original form' or 'original appearance' in England has changed its definition from the earliest or ideal form into a form that respects the passage of time and this change has been reflected in conservation. However, the definition of *wonhyeong* (original form) in Korea has remained unchanged, always meaning the earliest form of a building's construction, and this has resulted in confusion in conservation when the ideal goal of restoring the earliest form was not practically possible, due to lack of information.

The central aim of nineteenth century conservation in England was to recover the 'original appearance' of a building. Many restorers searched for authenticity by recovering the 'original appearance' and they aimed to find the original style and structure. Without knowing the exact earliest form and style, original style became equated with ideal style which was based on contemporary knowledge and speculation about past work. The passage of time was ignored and a specific, or frozen time, decided upon. In their quest to redeem the long-lost authenticity of a building, many restorers in the

nineteenth century removed later additions to ancient churches in order to idealize Gothic 'purity' (Lowenthal 1995, 129).

Much influenced by A.W. Pugin, the Cambridge Camden Society, and the Oxford movement in terms of liturgical principle, arrangement of interiors, and the architectural style of a building, authenticity in church buildings during the first half of the nineteenth century aimed at restoring a frozen time which was believed to be perfect, ideal, and original. A. W. Pugin's influence on Gothic Revival was significant not only in the construction of new churches but also in the restoration of the old. In his *Apology for the present revival of Christian architecture in England* (1843), he considered Gothic as 'suitable for some purposes - melancholy, and therefore fit for religious buildings, a style that an architect of the day should be acquainted with, in order to please those who admire old things' (Pugin 1843, 2). The architectural revival to him was a religious revival, which was a Catholic revival. He recognised Gothic not as one of various styles from which an architect might choose but as the embodiment of 'true Christian feeling' (Williams 1958, 131). He also believed that the art of a period was an important factor in judging the quality of the society that produced it.

The Cambridge Camden Society, whose definition of restoration was 'to recover the original appearance, which has been lost by decay, accident, or ill-judged alteration', believed that to restore 'original appearance' was to regain authenticity (Anon 1842, 65). It encouraged many contemporary restorations in that way stating that,

'We must, either from existing evidences or from supposition, recover the original scheme of the edifice as conceived by the first builder, or as begun by him and developed by his immediate successors: or, on the other hand, must retain the additions or alterations of subsequent ages, repairing them when needing it, or even carrying out perhaps more fully the idea which

dictated them` (Anon 1842, 65).

Sir George Gilbert Scott, who played an important role in pursuing and exemplifying the present-day understanding of authenticity in conservation of churches, had a ‘strained but symbiotic’ relationship with the Cambridge Camden Society (Stamp 2000, 173) and he was also influenced by A. W. Pugin’s writings (Scott 1879, 87). Both the society and Pugin influenced Scott’s approach to the restoration of churches in an ideal Gothic style which was believed authentic at that time. In his writing he always positioned himself ‘on the side of conservatism’ (Scott 1850, 26; Scott 1879, 358) but he did not hesitate to remove later additions for the sake of ideal style and ‘original appearance’ in practice. It is not clear, then, precisely how he identified himself as a conservative unless we understand the original meaning of ‘conservative’ school. As *The Ecclesiologist* defined it, it was to ‘reproduce in repairing a building the exact details of every piece of ancient work which presents itself at the time the reparation is taken in hand; Norman, First-Pointed, Middle-Pointed, Tudor work are equally respected’ (Anon 1847, 162). In other words, ‘conservatism’ respected the passage of time up to the Tudor style but did not necessarily pay equal respect to later periods. In compliance with the definition of ‘conservatism’ by *The Ecclesiologist*, Scott generally, but not always, respected different styles if they were not later than the Tudor period but he was bold in destroying elements from the later periods.

There is an ambivalence between Scott’s theory and practice which makes it hard to appreciate what his understanding of authenticity was. In his lecture to the Buckinghamshire Architectural and Archaeological Society in 1848, he pointed out that authenticity of a building is damaged by any kind of restoration,

‘A restored church appears to lose all its truthfulness, and to become as little authentic, as an example of ancient art, as if it had been rebuilt on a new

design. The restorer too often preserves only just what he fancies, and alters even that if it does not quite suit his taste. He adds what features his caprice dictates and removes such as do not happen to please him. without the smallest consideration that the building should be treated with more veneration than if it had been erected yesterday. It is against this system of so-called restoration, a system which threatens to deprive us of all authentic examples of the humbler forms of this sacred art, that I wish to take this opportunity of PROTESTING' (Scott 1848, 21).

In practice, however, his restoration in Beverley Minster was selective in the styles chosen. He removed post-Tudor additions in order to recover 'original appearance' in accordance with the 'conservative' approach described above. Details of his work will be discussed in section 5.3.1 in chapter 5 in relation to the way his aesthetic standpoint influenced the level of intervention.

Scott 'had a real love and knowledge of mediaeval art, which was not past to him, but real and immediate - a living style with standards of absolute beauty in the perfection of design that could be recreated' (Stamp 1981, 96). Ruskin and Morris, by contrast, 'admired the texture and patina of old stone and the vigour of ancient craftsmanship' and believed that the authenticity of old buildings lay in the cumulative trace of time and previous generations (Stamp 1981, 96). The manifesto drafted by William Morris for the SPAB in 1877 clearly stated that conservation had to respect the historical layers of different styles and forms of a building.

'... a church of the eleventh century might be added to or altered...but every change, whatever history it destroyed, left history in the gap, and was alive with the spirit of the deeds done midst its fashioning...But those who make changes wrought in our day under the name of Restoration, while professing to bring back a building to the best time of its history, have no guide but each his own individual whim to point out to them what is admirable and what

contemptible...so that the appearance of antiquity is taken away from such old parts of the fabric as are left, and there is no laying to rest in the spectator the suspicion of what may have been lost; and in short, a feeble and lifeless forgery is the final result of all the wasted labour' (SPAB 1877).

Despite strong opposition from the religious, such as the Dean of Canterbury, who needed their church buildings for daily worship and wished to change both form and style for contemporary purposes (Thompson 1977, 70), there is no doubt that the SPAB's ideal became general in the twentieth century. Thus many churches, such as Westminster Abbey and city churches in York, were protected from drastic change as well as small churches at Blythburgh, Edington, and Fairford which were repaired instead of being restored (Thompson 1977, 71). As 'a clear statement of the principles of repair accepted within English Heritage', which appears in the foreword to the second edition, Brereton's *The repair of historic buildings* (1995) stated,

'The authenticity of an historic building or monument depends crucially on the integrity of its fabric and on its design, which may be original or may incorporate different periods of addition and alteration. The unnecessary replacement of historic fabric, no matter how carefully the work is carried out, will have an adverse effect on the appearance of a building or monument, will seriously diminish its authenticity, and will significantly reduce its value as a source of historical information' (Brereton 1995, 2).

The dominance of SPAB's influence for almost a century has recently been challenged, for example in the English Heritage document, *Conservation Principles: Policies and Guidance* (English Heritage 2008a). The flexible approach toward 'change of significant place' of the document will be discussed in section 4.2.1 of chapter 4. The notion of authenticity of form is evolving through recent conservation work on religious buildings in use, especially when a badly deteriorated component needs to be replaced but is

impossible to reproduce exactly. My fieldwork observations in the case of Selby Abbey showed that where several gargoyles and a label stop in the choir bays were replaced with new designs during conservation work in 2004 (Figure 3.3 and 3.4), the time line of authenticity of form is not limited to the past but stretches to the present and future practices. New gargoyles were designed based on surviving shape and historical reference but reflected contemporary creativeness (Purcell Miller Tritton/Martin Stancliffe Architects 2004) More enterprisingly, one label stop showed the carved face of David Hope who was retiring as Archbishop of York after ten years service (Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.3 Drawing for a new gargoyle in Selby Abbey



Figure 3.4 A new gargoyle in Selby Abbey



Figure 3.5 A new label stop of the former Archbishop of York in Selby Abbey

The Korean concept of original form has been developed from a different perspective to the English one. The concept of *wonhyeong* (original form) has been understood as the earliest form since the early stage of modern conservation and it has never changed in actual practice. The meaning first appeared during the Japanese colonial period, became solid after the Korean War in the process of reformulating national identity but, once the

definition was fixed, has not been discussed despite changes in western conservation theory adopted in Korean guidelines, thus producing a philosophical disjunction in Korean practice.

In actual practice, during the early years of the twentieth century, the concept of *wonhyeong* was used and interpreted in various ways but quickly began to establish its meaning as the earliest form. The earliest writing mentioning *wonhyeong* is found in the 1921 article by Deokyu Kwon entitled 'Travelogue in Gyeongju' in a monthly magazine called *Gaebyeok*. This criticised the Japanese conservation programme of 1915 in Seokuram Grotto which caused irreversible damage during the process of dismantling and reassembling. The top of the dome was plastered in Portland cement and the order of the sculptures was changed. In his critique, Kwon implicitly defines *wongyeong* as the earliest phase of construction,

'They [the Japanese authority] continue to plaster with cement on the surface of sculptures in order to prevent further damage by leaking in the grotto. So, they become whiter and do not look old. But, in my opinion, it is necessary to re-repair and restore into *wonhyeong* in order to solve the fundamental problem. When it [heritage] loses *wonhyeong* during repair, it [repair] becomes re-creation and does not achieve the purpose of *bojon* of historical sites' (Kwon Deokyu 1921, 72).

In the same way, an article in the daily newspaper *Dong-a-ilbo* in 1922 reported '*Bojon* Sajikdan as *wonhyeong*' (Anon 1922, 3). Sajikdan in the city of Seoul was a shrine to accommodate the state altar for land and crops where an annual ritual for the gods of land and grain was held by the king for a successful harvest. The building stood in the centre of a huge compound with gardens. In accordance with the Confucian design of the capital city, the compound was located on the left side of the royal palace completing a symmetrical design with Jongmyo, the royal shrine, on the right, a Confucian

royal shrine dedicated to the previous kings of the Joseon Dynasty. The colonial authority planned to convert the compound of Sajikdan into a sports stadium demolishing the shrine in the centre. However, they faced strong public opposition (Anon 1921, 3) so they announced the preservation of the shrine as it was but used the surrounding area for sports and leisure facilities instead (Anon 1922, 3). *Wonhyeong* in the article is clearly used to mean to preserve as it was. However, Sajikdan, which was a core part of the whole complex with gardens and service buildings, was protected from losing its *wonhyeong* but it lost its context in the setting of the surrounding landscape and its original use.

A 1939 article in the same newspaper used *wonhyeong* in a confusing way. It reported, ‘Completion of reconstruction of Daedongmun (Daedong gate in Pyongyang, the present capital city of North Korea): no change from *wonhyeong*, but partial change’ (Anon 1939, 4). During the total dismantling and re-assembling of the gate, the Japanese authorities removed a wooden floor from both the left and right sides of the first floor as well as all wooden floors on the second floor. The newspaper used the word in an ambiguous way reporting that ‘there was no change in its *wonhyeong* but much change in several parts of the building’ (Figure 3.6). It seems, then, that they used *wonhyeong* to describe a case where a building kept a similar appearance to its original one after a repair or restoration, yet it was not necessarily important to preserve or restore elements precisely in every detail.



Figure 3.6 *Dong-a-ilbo* newspaper (5 August 1939)

The enthusiasm for finding the earliest form continued in the 1960s and 1970s. Sungnyemun (literally sungnye means ‘to esteem civility’), which was the south gate of old Seoul (Figure 3.7), had lost the city walls to both right and left when the Japanese authority constructed a road leaving the gate marooned on a traffic island (Figure 3.8). During the Korean War, part of the roof was destroyed by a bomb. After a minimum repair to the roof in 1952 and 1953, the Korean government planned to restore its *wonhyeong* in 1961 (Anon 1961, 2). The original plan was to restore it to its earliest form of the fourteenth century but this was impossible to identify due to later changes and additions (Lee Ganggeun 2002, 228). In 2008, the gate was totally destroyed by an arson attack and it was decided to restore it, which issue will be discussed in section 4.3.1.2 of chapter 4. Whether the form should be the earliest or latest one before the fire will be an important element in the decision-making process.



Figure 3.7 Sungnyemun in 1904



Figure 3.8 Sungnyemun marooned on a traffic island

Geungnakjeon (Hall of Western Paradise) in Bongjeongsa in Gyeongsangbukdo (North Gyeongsang province) in the south-east of the country was restored to its earliest form and style with information found in the 1970s. During its total dismantling from 1972 to 1975, a written record of a 1363 repair of the roof of the building was found under a crossbeam identifying it as the oldest building still extant in Korea. It had three pairs of typical Joseon

Period (1392~1910) hinged doors with traditional paper on the front, one pair in each bay, but in the restoration project the central pair were changed to the Goryeo Period (935~1392) in appearance with a timber door without paper and the side doors were each replaced by a lattice window (Figure 3.9 and 3.10). In addition, the floor of the building was restored as a tile floor because the partial remains of the tile floor of the Goryeo Period were exposed under a wooden floor of the Joseon Period. The changes during conservation brought a recovery of authentic form and style to the building, but resulted in less light to the inside than hinged doors and a colder floor than the wooden one which is not compatible with contemporary ritual despite the fact that the building is still in daily use as part of an active monastery.

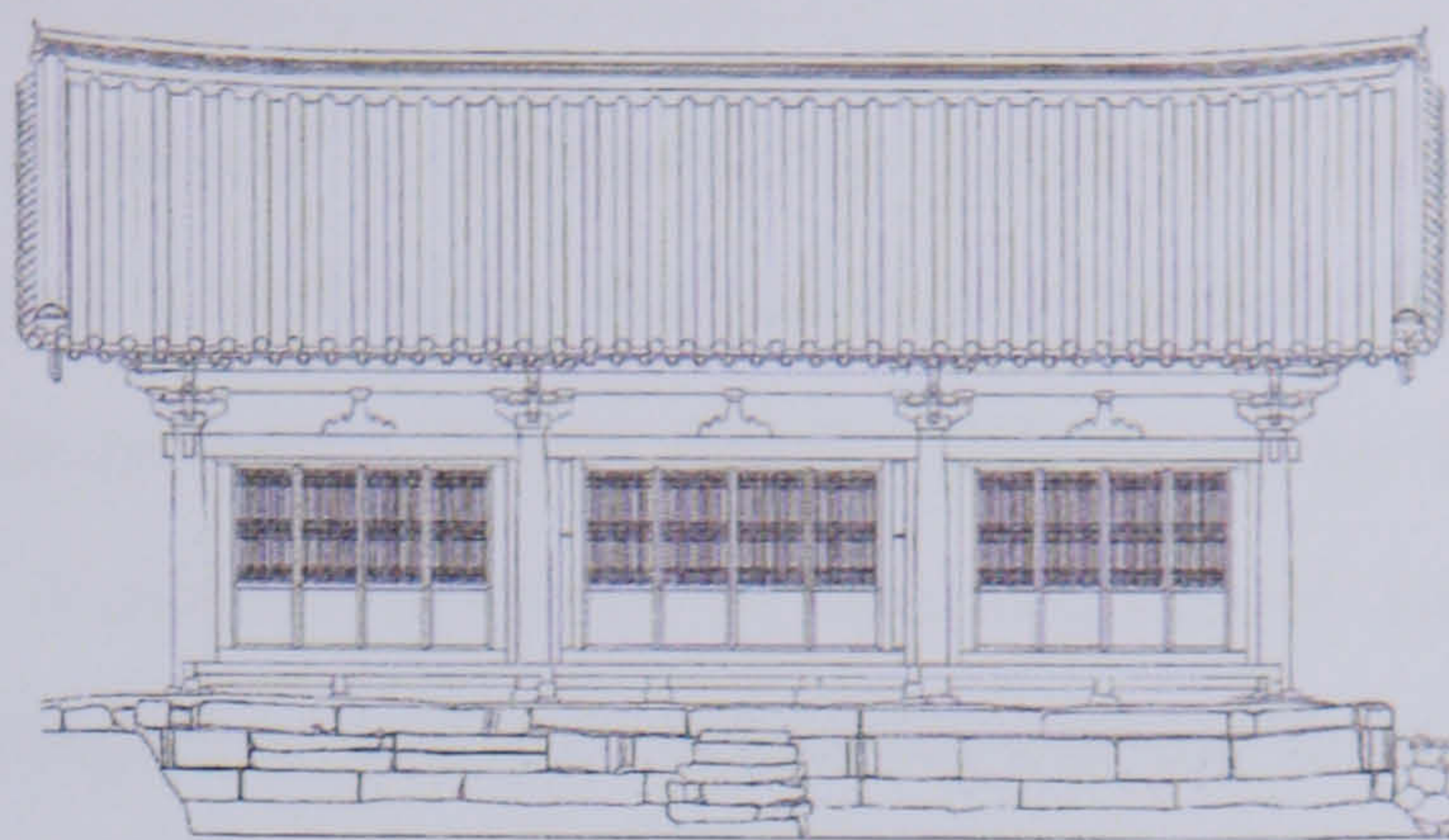


Figure 3.9 Front elevation of Geuknakjeon in Bongjeongsa(before alteration)

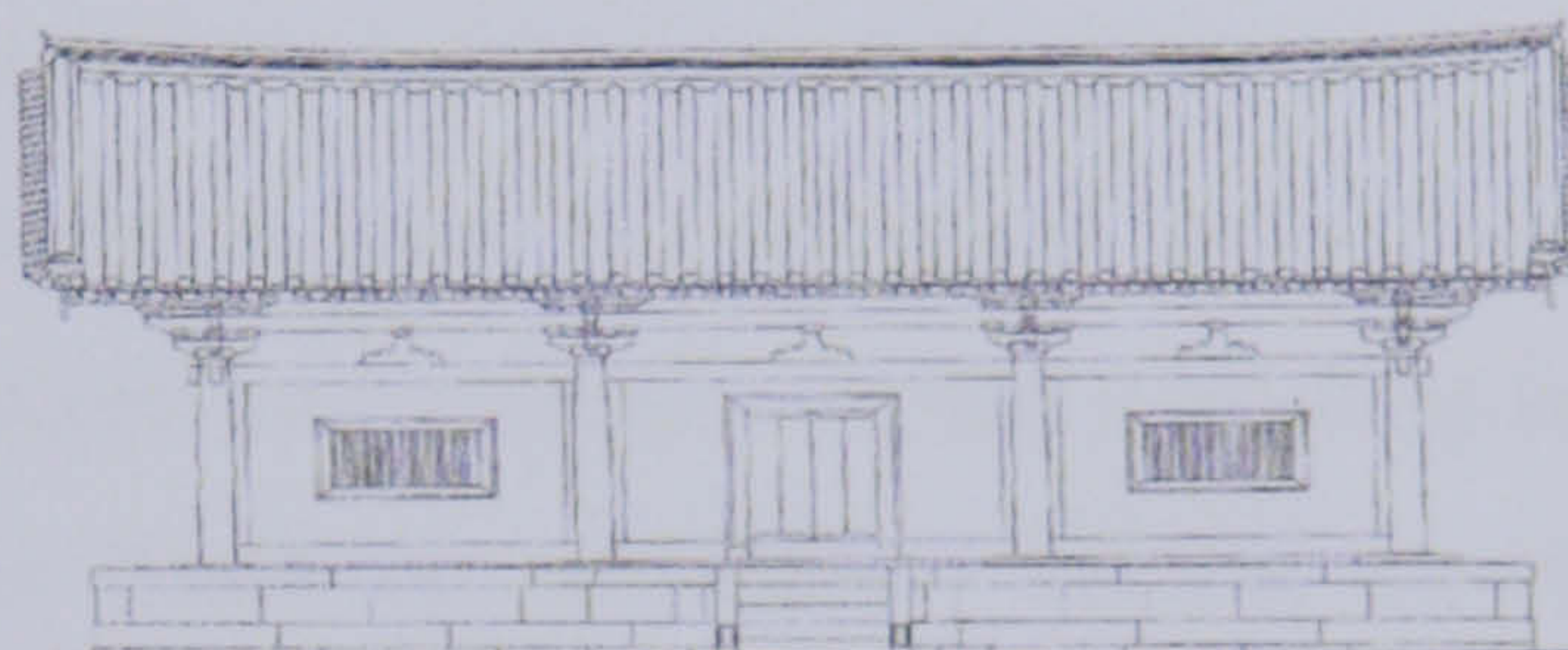


Figure 3.10 Front elevation of Geuknakjeon in Bongjeongsa (after alteration)

The constant passion for recovering *wonhyeong* has dominated Korean studies of architectural history and conservation. In many cases it has been difficult to identify the earlier or the earliest form, yet where there is enough evidence to reconstruct with the earliest form, this has been preferred in conservation practice.

The reason why authenticity of form in Korea has preferred the earliest form

can be explained in two ways. One is the constant demand to build a national identity after the Japanese colonial period as examined in detail in 2.3.2 of chapter 2. Compared with Japan and China, Korea has relatively few buildings earlier than the thirteenth century. Being deeply influenced by the western attitude toward material evidence as proof of the dignity of long tradition and history, the Koreans longed to find and restore the earliest form of their historic buildings in order to prove their identity and proud history. It has been a national task for several decades. However, this attitude has been questioned recently by scholars and conservators who recognize the limitations of restoring the earliest form and understand international principles and guidelines, like Ganggeun Lee, a young and leading architectural historian who examined the architectural style and conservation history of Sungnyemun. He has argued that decisions for restoration have to be made after careful discussion, leaving open the possibility of new evidence, so that a building may be restored to an original form not based on speculation but on accurate analysis, thus opposing speculative restoration to an earlier phase (Lee Ganggeun 2002, 232).

The other reason concerns technical and structural aspects of timber building in Korea. Many buildings have been reconstructed or re-built on the site of a previous building using an existing platform and foundation stones. In these cases a building was constructed on an earlier period platform and foundation stones with later period styles of pillars, walls, brackets, and roof, resulting in structural problems. Examination of the exposed foundation levels of ruined sites showed that the central bay in buildings of the Unified Silla Period (669~935) was much wider than the side bays whereas the later Joseon style had bays of equal width. The width of each bay was decided by the upper parts of a building, such as the number of storeys, the bracket systems, and roof styles. Analyzing the structural problems of Daeungjeon and Geuknakjeon in Bulguksa, both of which are suffering from subsidence of the central bay because its greater width carries a heavier load, Bongryeol Kim argued that the

1970s reconstruction of other buildings should have been executed in the style of the Unified Silla Period (Kim Bongryeol 1999a, 4-6). This, however, would raise the problem that the precise appearance of the superstructure of buildings of the Unified Silla Period is unknown. The desire to restore the earliest form cannot be achieved in actual practice in most cases due to a lack of evidence.

The 2005 revised edition of *Munhwajae-pyojunsuri-sibangseo* (Principal Guidelines and Standard of Conservation of Cultural Properties, first adopted in 1974, revised in 1994 and 2005, see section 4.1 of Chapter 4) by the Cultural Heritage Administration fails to discuss these issues, and the use of the word *wonhyeong* without clear definition could cause more confusion in practice (CHA 2005). This results from a lack of conservation philosophy in Korea as described in 1.2.2 of chapter 1. Nonetheless, it is the only theoretical and practical guideline from the government for conservators to decide the level of intervention and it should be applied in every conservation project. The meaning of *wonhyeong* is not clearly defined, yet it is used as one of six conservation principles described in one page (among 351 pages in total) in the 2005 edition. It states that ‘it is a primary principle to preserve *wonhyeong* in *suri* (which was intended to mean conservation referring to all kinds of intervention to cultural properties) and ... *Suri* should be executed in previous style’ (CHA 2005, 41). Without further description of what ‘previous style’ means, it continued to state that ‘all historical evidence and traces of changes during repairs in the past should be recorded and preserved without removal, alteration and disguise’ resulting in further ambiguity of the meaning of *wonhyeong* (CHA 2005, 41).

3.2.4.2. Authenticity in material

Authenticity of material needs to be examined in two areas: the attitude toward the material remains of an earlier period before conservation and the choice of new material being used for repair and replacement. These areas demonstrate

conflicting aspects of western-based principles of authenticity of material when they are applied to assessing values for Korean conservation providing an important cultural context for the argument that different criteria and principles of material authenticity should be set in England and Korea.

The emphasis on material evidence, which lies at the foundation of modern conservation, influenced eastern practice in the process of modernization of Asian countries. Preservation of material evidence reflected 'the global diffusion of nationalism and capitalism' making material remains 'precious symbols of power and icons of identity' in both western and eastern cultures (Lowenthal 1989, 67). However, the western material-focused approach has been challenged more strongly in eastern conservation practice over the last thirty years than any other period in its conservation history. The critique was focused on the validity of the western approach based on stone and lime when applied to Asian techniques of building in wood and clay (Tschudi-Madsen 1985; Larsen 1994). The main argument was the fact that the different nature of different materials had resulted in various modes of practice in each culture and these differences caused conflict when the one was applied to the other.

The reason why the western approach toward material authenticity conflicts with the eastern practice cannot simply be assigned to the contrasting natures of different materials: stone with its invulnerability and longevity versus wood, vulnerable to decay, moisture and fire. Comparing the nature of different materials should not be considered as the means of solving conflict between the different approaches but should be taken as the first step towards understanding the difference. In addition, the choice of different materials in England and Korea (or the west and the east) may depend not only on the local availability of the materials but also on the beliefs about tangible and intangible elements. It can be argued that clay and timber in Korea and stone and lime in England became major building materials because of their availability, yet this simple approach cannot explain why stone has not been used in the construction of

contemporary buildings in Korea even though there were many quarries of granite to supply sufficient building materials.

Ryckmans' examination (1986) offers an interesting approach to understanding different attitudes toward physical remains between Chinese and western cultures. He argues that Chinese architecture is made of perishable and fragile materials embodying the belief that nothing tangible can avoid a nature of decay and therefore eternity should not inhabit the building but the builder (Ryckmans 1986, 4). From this perspective, authenticity of material can be achieved only with the consideration of authenticity of workmanship. In addition, the attitude toward material remains in Buddhism is much influenced by an important didactic concept, the Three Dharma Seals: impermanence, non-self, and ultimate enlightenment. Impermanence, in the Buddhist context, means that everything changes and nothing is permanent. Buddhist understanding of space and physical remains is imbued with this attitude and recognises that a Buddhist temple is not an eternal but a constantly changing space. Therefore, if stone and lime are felicitous materials in England to express an eternity in a monument or a building, timber and clay are the ones to express its impermanence in Korea demanding regular replacement and repair.

In England, the concept of material authenticity remains an important aspect of authenticity. However, the rigid principle of preserving all materials from the past has been challenged by a demand to be more flexible, in particular for a functioning building where there has to be compromise with a need for change for continuous use. What is becoming important is continuity of form, of material and of setting instead of complete preservation of the fabric, frozen in time (Lowenthal 1989, 69). Therefore, with a view to the maximum preservation of existing components, material authenticity allows inevitable change and replacement with new elements of the same material as the original. Given the strong principle of reversibility, PPG 15, which is a principal guideline in English conservation, indicates that there is in practice a strong

presumption against using irreversible materials, such as synthetic resins or acrylic binders, simply in order to retain as much as possible of the authentic fabric (DoE and DNH 1994, Annex C).

The Japanese interpretation of the western concept of authenticity of material and form was imported to Korea and deeply rooted in principle without any consideration of the nature of local material. Such an approach has caused problems by losing not only material authenticity but also authenticity of function and form for several decades. The example of the first conservation project after the Korean War, Geuknakjeon (Hall of Western Paradise) of Muwisa, shows how western concepts of authenticity of material were adopted without careful consideration of their validity and yet were not reflected in actual practice. *The suri report of Geuknakjeon in Muwisa*, which was published in 1958 after conservation of the building in 1956, states that,

‘ [After dismantling] we decided to re-use as many as possible of the remaining wood components and to replace only badly rotten or damaged components with new ones. All the replaced components copied the previous form and style and were carved with the same kind of material and technique as best as we could’ (Kim Jaewon *et al* 1958, 43-44).

However, in actual practice, several parts of a later addition in the Joseon Period had been removed and replaced by work in an earlier style and in new materials: timber floors were stripped off and replaced with tiles and triangular wind shield boards in the gable end were removed (Kim Jaewon *et al* 1958, 44-45). The conservation team was confident that they had enough material evidence to establish the accuracy of their reproduction of the earlier style and that provided the rationale for changing those parts back to their ‘original status’. For example, broken pieces of tile were found underneath the floorboards during dismantling, therefore there was no hesitation to replace the timber floor with a tile one. Paradoxically, the tile floor was replaced by a

timber floor again at some point before the 1978 conservation project began (Ministry of Culture 1984, 13), presumably to reinstate the former insulation for monks and worshippers during services. Most rituals in the early Joseon Period, when the building was constructed, took place outside so that there was no need for a timber floor. When indoor services became more common in the late Joseon Period, a tradition which survives today, the tile floors were converted to timber to keep worshippers warm. Similarly, in the case noted above of the timber floor of Geuknakjeon at Bongjeongsa being replaced by tiles (The National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 1992, 167), which are still *in situ*, the result is that fewer services are held in the building due to the problem of insulation. The case suggests that, in practice, authenticity of material and form was interpreted to mean a frozen phase of a building rather than the retention of evidence of the history of the structure.

The focus on restoring the earliest phase of a building initiated a burst of research into conservation science in the late 1960s in Korea. The imbalance of research into the principles of conservation philosophy on the one hand and practical science on the other has made the problem in authenticity of material worse. An article in *Dong-a-ilbo* in 1968 argued that all researchers who undertook government research into prevailing international conservation practice agreed that 'the best means of preservation is to do nothing' (Anon 1968, 5).

Nevertheless, other evidence suggests that they admired the new trend in many western countries for scientific research that analyzed the original material and developed alternative materials for consolidation and repair. The conservation of wall paintings in Geumsan temple in 1993 provides an example. The three-storey main hall of the temple, Hall of Miruk (Future Buddha), which has interior wall paintings of 1897 and exterior ones of 1946, was dismantled in 1992 for the repair of structural problems. In traditional practice, it is difficult for the clay wall to be put back into a building for two

reasons: the means of attaching the panel to the wooden members of the building, and the heavier weight after reassembly because of the weight of new roof tiles. In order to prevent the loss of wall paintings from the building (see Figure 2.17 for a similar case of wall paintings in Buseoksa), the conservation team decided to use the western techniques, *stacco* and *strappo*. These involved the removal of existing clay from between the two sides of the paint layers and the insertion of a metal frame into the space to hold the weight when the wall went back into the building (Institute of Korean Art History 1993, 18-19). There was no scientific evidence regarding the suitability of this western technique to Korean wall painting, but it has been never used since due to a concern about long-term damage to the paintings. This shows that authenticity of material in Korean conservation is not always favourable either to authenticity of form on the one hand or workmanship on the other, causing a dilemma in choosing one over the other when decision-making. Without introducing new material to the wall paintings, it is not possible to conserve authentic form. With new material, on the other hand, it is possible to preserve the form but not authentic workmanship.

3.2.4.3. Authenticity in function

Authenticity in function in religious buildings has been problematic because it often conflicts with that of form, material, and setting in both England and Korea. For the last several decades religious buildings have been asked to evolve along with changes to both ritual and secular services in contemporary society not only for religious purposes but also for educational and practical ones for visitors and the local community. They are constantly encouraged to re-order the interior, mostly English churches, or to construct a new building, mostly Korean Buddhist temples, resulting in a loss of authenticity in design, material and setting and devaluing historical values.

Richard Giles' *Repitching the tent* (1996) represents the radical approach of a religious community toward a church building. A church which had

remained unchanged for the last 100 years' cannot fulfil contemporary mission as long as it ceases 'to speak clearly of a present reality, and instead convey a mumbled message of a glorious, though faded past' (Giles 1996, 59). He argues that churches are 'not primarily architectural forms' but 'theological statements in stone or brick about the living community of faith...that is continually developing and changing' (Giles 1996, 235). Reordering a church for him, and the religious community, may be an essential demand for religious inspiration and mission in a pluralist society rather than a matter of modern convenience such as a toilet and kitchen. However, there is no explicit evidence or analytical studies to show the degree of the unsuitability of historic churches for modern worship. In other words, there is no compelling theological rationale for the argument other than the various changes to services over the latter periods of the twentieth century, but this alone cannot be sufficient to convince that fabric changes made to satisfy contemporary styles of worship are essential to sustain authenticity of function.

The extension of the time-line in defining authenticity to the present and future as discussed in section 3.2.2 can be argued by the religious community as a reason for changing the fabric to accommodate contemporary liturgy. However, the church does not limit its justification for changes to the fabric and furnishings of churches on the grounds of liturgy alone. In its attempts to extend its mission and find relevance in a largely secular society, it has recently looked towards the needs of the non-worshipping community for a venue for meetings, courses and concerts. The debate reported recently in the Observer on the removal of pews from a member of listed churches (St Andrew, Kildwick; St Edmund, Mansfield Woodhouse; St Andrew, Ogbourne) highlights some of the paradoxes of this position (Davies 2008, 20). Here the church authorities are arguing for flexibility to allow secular uses, but the local secular communities seem to consider that the historical and educational values of the church fabric outweigh this functional potential and are strongly opposed to the proposal. They are generally supported by the amenity societies.

Korean Buddhist temples have been under similar tension for the last three decades. After post-war reconstruction in the 1960s and 1970s, construction of new buildings in order to accommodate an increasing number of rituals and a larger population in historical temple compounds increased in the 1980s and 1990s. The trend, to make things worse, has been misused by abbots of 29 *bonsa* (major temples of the Jogye Order which is comparable to the English diocese of the Church of England) as a political tool to ensure promotion to a higher position within the ruling organization of the Jogye Order.

Hyangjeok, who is a monk and formerly an editor of the journal *Haein*, urged the following in 1987 regarding over-enthusiasm for new construction,

‘It is a kind of commercialism if we construct a huge building with over-decoration in the name of religion...It would be a proper rationale if we restore a historical building properly and add a functional building for practical and missionary purposes making a harmony with the existing context...Furthermore, it would be destructive construction if an abbot plans a new construction for the sake of his ambitious achievement’ (Hyangjeok 1987, 5).

However, the 1908 living quarters of Haeinsa, where the journal was published, were replaced by new buildings with modern facilities in 1991 and the 1824 Gukwangru increased in size in 1993. In addition, the temple planned in 1996 to build a separate complex for training monks and laymen in the temple precinct to commemorate the 1200th anniversary of its foundation (Wontaek 1996, 18) but faced a huge campaign to stop the plan. The details of the works of the 1990s at Haeinsa and the heated debates against the plan will be discussed in section 5.3.2 of chapter 5.

3.2.4.4. Authenticity in workmanship

Authenticity in workmanship is one of the important intangible aspects of

authenticity which has received less attention in western conservation. Both western and eastern crafts have experienced a crisis in terms of ensuring the continuity of skills and traditional knowledge after industrialization in the modern period. As a result, it has become very difficult to verify what comprises authentic workmanship in conservation. Recent discussion has been focused on the low numbers of craftsmen and loss of skills so that the solution has been to look for an increase in training facilities and financial support (ICCROM 2004; The National Heritage Training Group 2005). There is no discussion considering how authenticity of workmanship has to be re-defined and verified in modern conservation. It is difficult and arguably unachievable to restore old skills without regard to modern development in skills and techniques. Also, it is not possible to re-introduce previous training systems without considering modern standards of education.

Given this situation, a comparison of the historical and cultural contexts of workmanship in England and Korea in terms of the concepts and development of practice provides a useful opportunity to learn from their differences and to find an applicable solution to the problem of reconstructing authentic workmanship in contemporary conservation. Considering that contemporary practice involves not only craftsmen such as carpenters and carvers but also architects and art historians, this thesis will examine workmanship and professional practice across this broader range of professions.

In general, the meaning of 'craftsmanship' in England has focused on practical skills and techniques rather than spirit and devotion. With the development of individualism, craftsmen came to be recognized distinctively through their individual work during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Workmen in Beverley Minster each had a specific job area that they specialized in: Nicholas Hawksmoor as an architect, William Thornton as a joiner-carver, Joseph Bagnall as a plasterer (Horrox 2000, 99-100). The cooperative but equal contribution to the work in hand of the knowledge and skills of each is shown

in the process of decision making and practice that took place (Horrox 2000, 99-100). For example, the problem of the north transept, which was leaning outwards, was solved by a discussion between the architect and a craftsman. Hawksmoor, a great architect who was at the height of his career, realized that his knowledge of structures was insufficient to take full charge of the restoration project so he invited Thornton, who was a joiner-carver running a local family firm, to share the

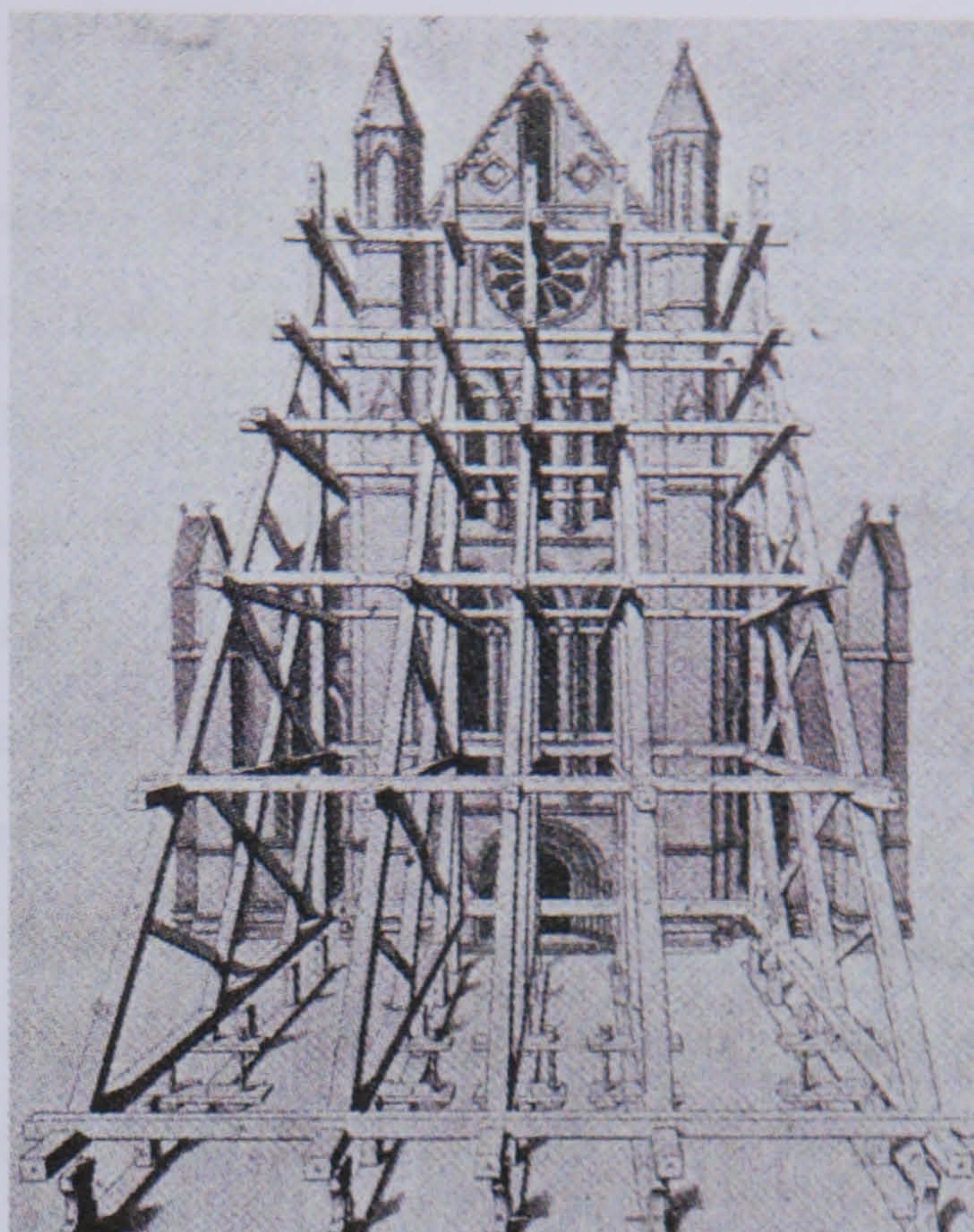


Figure 3.11 Thornton's timber truss for repairing the north transept of Beverley Minster

commission of the reparation of Beverley Minster (Hall 1993, 14). When they encountered the structural problem of the north transept, which had been caused by the medieval central tower, it was Thornton who devised a scheme to push the leaning wall back to the vertical with a timber truss (Horrox 2000, 99) (Figure 3.11).

By the nineteenth century, architects had developed their profession and repositioned themselves as the authoritative group in conservation. Architects' skill in design, knowledge of architectural history and style, and management expertise were preferred to that of craftsmen. The growth of their work and authority in architectural practice was a crucial factor in the weakening of the professional role of the craftsmen in construction and conservation. This caused difficulties in developing the craftsmen's traditional knowledge and skills to adjust to modern practice. The equal power and contribution between craftsmen and architects in conservation broke down and the centre of

power moved to the architect.

Individualism in crafts and architecture influenced the nineteenth-century training system. Passing on of skills took place in one-to-one relationships between teacher and student. Therefore, in the case of architects, they learned their skills both from textbooks and by starting their career in a well-established architectural firm becoming independent in their own practice only after several years. Likewise, craft skills were passed from master to apprentice. By contrast the majority of twentieth century architects and craftsmen were trained in institutions and this caused a problem with a lack of actual experience on site. Trainee craftsmen and architects did not receive as much practical experience as in a traditional apprenticeship in a family or workshop training system (Hill 1995, 9).

The eastern attitude understands craftsmanship as an important factor in establishing authenticity, privileging it over the preservation of materials and relics. Critical to this is the importance of replicating the work and spirit of a preceding generation (Lowenthal 1989, 73) in the belief that eternity does reside not in the material remains but in the workmanship as argued in 3.2.4.2. From this perspective, it is important to pass on the skills and spirit of the workmen through generations. Therefore, craftsmanship in Korea has been deeply rooted in a mode of training that emphasized spiritual devotion and education through the cooperation of group-working based on a close relationship between senior and junior craftsmen. Thus, spirituality and group-working have been key aspects in providing authentic workmanship.

It is interesting to examine how spirituality and group-working are closely inter-related for Korean craftsmen. Such group working in Buddhist buildings, in particular, were executed by craftsmen monks. A literal meaning of *dogu*, which is a Korean word for tool (also occurring in Japanese where it shares the same Chinese character), is 'the way of the tool' (Coaldrake 1990, 4).

The word was used widely referring to any tool for all kinds of production as well as religious objects for ritual purposes. In particular, *dogu* meant ‘any objects that aid enlightenment’ in Buddhism so that it included clothing and other equipment for the priestly way of life, such as a prayer cushion for meditation and a bowl for begging (Coaldrake 1990, 4). The requirement for a ritual at each important step during re-assembly after total dismantling shows an emphasis on the spiritual aspects of workmanship and is still executed in contemporary conservation, so it should be considered as an essential part of authentic workmanship in Korea. The date of four important ceremonies: ground-breaking, locating the corner-stone, pillar-setting, and putting in a main beam with a construction record, is carefully chosen based on the Book of Changes, a Chinese text which describes an ancient system of cosmology to identify an order of possible events. All the site craftsmen and related workmen have to gather for each ceremony with various foods such as fruit, a head of a pig, and dried cod (Figure 3.12).



Figure 3.12. Sangryang (putting in a main beam) ceremony with foods

Traditionally, most masters and assistant carpenters who participated in the construction and repair of Buddhist temples in the Goryeo and Joseon periods were ordained monks and the same was true of the creation of Buddhist paintings, sculptures, and other wooden objects (Kim Donguk 1999, 13). Considering that some master carpenters served as abbots in the temples where they worked as a carpenter, their status in the temple was highly respected. For example, Gyemuk, who was a master carpenter in the reconstruction of several buildings in Songkwangsa, served as an abbot of the temple in 1826

(Seo Chisang and Kim Sunil 1990, 88). Carpenter monks believed that their work and service for a temple was a process of accumulation of favourable karma so that they would be rewarded with a better life when they were reincarnated (Jang Sunyong 1996, 406). They lived together in the temple where a strict hierarchy was observed by the religious community. In the pyramid of the building profession, the most powerful authority was that of a *dopyeonsu* who was a director of workmen or clerk of works, generally appointed from one of the master carpenters. Leading five to twelve *pyeonsu* who were in charge of one specific skill being responsible for thirty to one hundred workmen in each group, *dopyeonsu* took full charge of various tasks in design, construction, administration, finance, and management of all processes from beginning to completion (Kim Donguk 1999, 11). *Dopyeonsu* had a wide range of knowledge of the work of the plasterer, metal worker, carver, carpenter, and draughtsman.

Training and working were executed within this pyramid of workmen who had to respect the authority of the strict hierarchy within the group. This process is recorded in the memoir of Huihan Bae (1907~1997), who was a National Intangible Heritage. He explained that he started to learn his work when he was fourteen years old under a Japanese carpenter (Lee Sangryong 1981, 9). Three years later, he decided to become an apprentice of a Korean master carpenter, Wonsik Choi, in order to learn the Korean way of craftsmanship. Without being paid for the first three years, he at first undertook errands as lowly as cleaning equipment. Exceptionally, it did not take a long time for him to have a chance to participate in actual building work and soon he began to assist his master in the reconstruction of Daejojeon, the living quarters of the queen, in Changdeokgung (Changdeok palace) in the 1920s (Lee Sangryong 1981, 27). By establishing a close relationship with his master, Bae could acquire his knowledge and insight in order to understand his intention and spirit. Regional schools of carpenters learnt from a master carpenter and they worked and stayed together day and night on different projects so that they

could gain intimate knowledge of the details of the master's personality and that of their colleagues. It was believed that such a close relationship provided the opportunity to imbibe the spirit of the master and, that by learning his knowledge and skills in this way, students would become the spiritual, as well as the practical, successors of their master. This is a different approach to the more instrumentalist one in the west where apprenticeship has focused on attaining practical skills and technique.

Compared with the English situation, Korea experienced a drastic shifting of the role from carpenter to other professions without a transitional period. During the Japanese colonial period, the authoritative role of the Korean master carpenter had been completely set aside and replaced by Japanese architectural historians. Because most conservation was executed by the Japanese authorities, Korean carpenters and craftsman lost any opportunity to adjust and to develop their traditional skills in modern conservation practice. Japanese architectural historians, or architects, who were university trained and had acquired some of the traditional builders' technical expertise in the use of wood, consolidated their position in conservation from the 1890s into the twentieth century (Wendelken 1996, 28). With experience and knowledge obtained from Japanese buildings they led architectural conservation in Korea from the 1910s. There were only a few Korean carpenters who participated in these conservation programmes and their roles were limited. Furthermore, no opportunity was given to Korean architectural historians to learn traditional skills in actual conservation practice. During the colonial period, many Japanese tools had been introduced and this caused confusion with Korean toolsets and many Japanese architectural terms replaced Korean ones.

The enactment of the designation of Intangible Cultural Property in 1964 provided a protective measure at government level for the preservation of the skills of craftsmen. The process of designation and protection within the legal framework will be discussed in chapter 4. This measure aimed at preserving

neither materials nor relics but the processes of manufacture. However, it is difficult to verify how much knowledge is based on Korean traditional tools and skills without Japanese influence. A recent criticism over the inclusion of Japanese tools in the 2004 *Munhwajae-pyojunsuri-sibangseo* (Principal Guidelines and Standard of Conservation of Cultural Properties) shows an example of the difficulties in re-establishing authentic workmanship. Rangi Kim strongly recommended that the Korean government remove Japanese tools from a list of traditional equipment in the principal guidelines (Kim Rangi 2004).

3.2.4.5. Authenticity in setting

Setting is a recent aspect of authenticity in western conservation compared with other criteria of authenticity. The recognition of its importance appeared in the Venice Charter (1964) stating that ‘the conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale’ (ICOMOS 1964, Article 6) and this idea was emphasised in the Burra Charter (first adopted in 1979 with revisions in 1981, 1988, and 1999) which re-stated ‘conservation requires the maintenance of an appropriate visual setting, e.g. form, scale, colour, texture and materials’ (ICOMOS-Australia 1999, Article 8). Its importance began to be realised in England in the 1980s. The Department of the Environment Circular 8/87 (updated by PPG 15 in 1994) stated,

‘The setting of a building of special architectural or historic interest is often an essential feature of its character, especially if a garden or grounds have been laid out as an integral part of the design and layout of a listed house.....The “setting” of a building may be limited to the immediate surroundings of the building, but often may include land some distance from it...A proposed high or bulky building might also affect the setting of a listed building some distance away. The character and appearance of a conservation area could be affected by proposed development outside the designated area but visible from it’ (DoE 1987, para. 25 & para. 27).

PPG 15 sustained the above attitude of Circular 8/87 in paragraphs 2.16 and 2.17 with few changes of words. The recognition of the importance of setting for religious buildings has increased and the trend was reflected in *New work in historic places of worship* (2003) by English Heritage. It identified significance of setting as,

‘Many churches lie at the heart of an historic landscape or townscape and may indeed provide their focal point. An assessment should be made of the contribution that the church makes to its local setting, identifying key views, positive features that should be preserved or enhanced and negative features where improvements might be made’ (English Heritage 2003, 5).

Morton argued that the setting of Durham Cathedral is the relationship between topography and townscape (1997, 22). The location of the building overlooking the town surrounded by the River Wear forming a natural moat produces its unique setting and provides identity to both town and cathedral (Figure 3.13). Changes to surrounding buildings or new construction near the cathedral would detach from views of it from a distance. As long ago as the post-war period, Thomas Sharpe successfully argued for the refusal of planning



Figure 3.13 View of Durham Cathedral

permission for a town centre power station on the grounds that it would be a distracting to the setting of the cathedral and castle (Stansfield 1981, 160).

The two most influential aspects of authenticity in the setting of Korean buildings (especially in Buddhist temples) are *pungsu* and religious theory. *Pungsu* theory, which was introduced to Korea in the late Unified Silla period between the eighth and ninth centuries, has been practised as a dominant guideline for choosing the location and size of building, and arranging various buildings in palaces, Confucian schools, Buddhist temples, government buildings, and secular houses. It has aimed at harmonizing man-made structures with the natural environment by maintaining a balance of five elements: fire, water, wood, gold, and earth.

According to the principles of *pungsu*, the locations of royal tombs and palaces and of Buddhist temples were deliberately selected based on geographical form and the levels of energy of the pre-described five elements. Many places were not perfect in *pungsu* terms and this could be mitigated by the layout of buildings or by the specific naming of a building in a few cases. For example, Seoul had one geographical defect when it was chosen by the Venerable Moohak (1327~1405) as the capital of the Joseon Dynasty (Figure 3.14). The eastern hill enclosing the core area of the city was relatively lower than the northern,



Figure 3.14 The 18th century map of Seoul

southern, and western hills. Instead of looking for another place to locate the capital city, the Joseon Dynasty decided to solve the defect by naming the eastern gate which was to be built in front of the hill. Different from the three other inner gates which had three Chinese characters in their names, the eastern one was given four characters and included an additional *ji* which meant ‘of’ as a common meaning and ‘mountain’ as a secondary one. In name, then, the lower eastern hill became a mountain.

Religious theory in Buddhist temples plays an important role in arranging buildings and other monuments such as *stupa*, lanterns, and *budo* (*stupas* for monks) in order to express various lands of the Buddhas as described in *sutras* (Kim Bongryeol 1999b, 63-66). This is an important aspect of aesthetic value. In Korean temples, the form and composition of the buildings strongly depend on the theological stance of different Buddhist schools and their sutras. In some cases such as in Bulguksa and Tongdosa, several religious doctrines of different schools are mixed in a single temple, but divided into separate spaces.

Bulguksa in Gyeongjusi (Gyeongju city) provides a representative example. The temple is divided into five areas: three dedicated to the different Buddhas (blue, red, and green in Figure 3.15) such as Seokgamoni (Historical Buddha), Amita (Buddha of

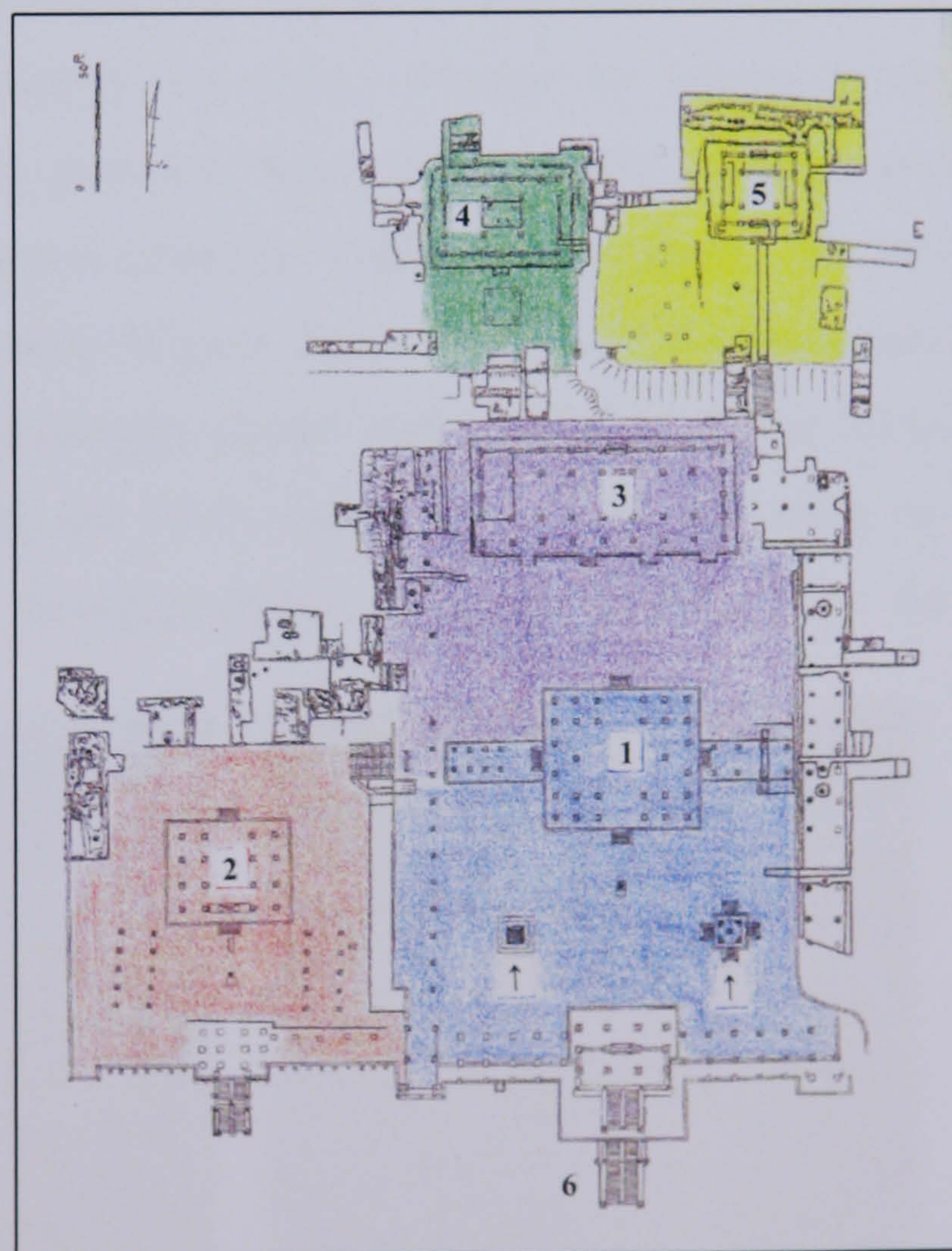


Figure 3.15 Ground plan of Bulguksa after excavation

Western Paradise), and Birojana (Cosmic Buddha) and one area (yellow in the figure) to Gwaneumbosal (Bodhisattva of Compassion) and one area (purple in the figure) for the lecture hall. Each area followed the relevant texts faithfully in its design. In particular, two front areas (blue and red in the figure) represent the well-known lands of Seokgamoni and Amita Buddhas. The land of Seokgamoni Buddha (blue in the figure) was



Figure 3.16 Land of Seokgamoni in Bulguksa

designed based on the Beophwagyeong (Lotus Sutra, the Doctrine of Seokgamoni Buddha) which demands two *stupas* (marked by arrows in the blue area): Dabo (literally ‘many jewelled’ but it denotes Dabo buddha) and Seokgamoni in front of Daeungjeon (literally ‘Hall of Great Hero’, the hall where Seokgamoni Buddha re-sides) (Figure 3.16). In front of Seokgamoni’s land, was a pond beyond the Yeonhwagyo (Lotus bridge, No 6 in Figure 3.15), and both were discovered during the 1970s excavation. This ensemble represents Chilbo-yeonmot (the Seven-jewelled pond) as described in the



Figure 3.17 Land of Amita Buddha in Bulguksa

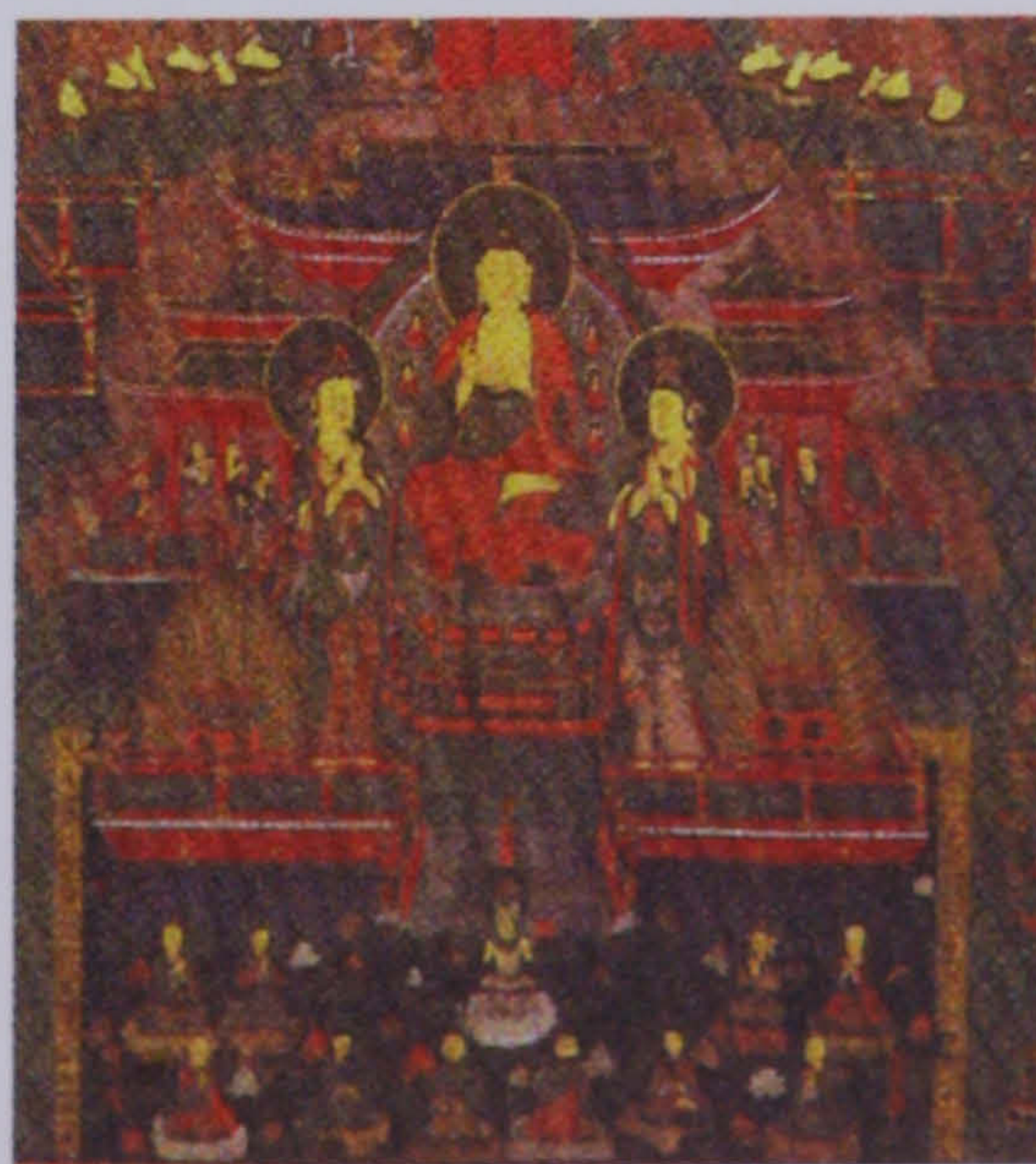


Figure 3.18 Gwan-muryangsu-gyeong-byunsangdo

Buddhist sutra (Figure 3.17 and 3.18).

In addition, the land of Amita Buddha (red in Figure 3.15) is disposed on the western side of Seokgamoni's land. This area does not have a *stupa* for containing cremated remains because the Hwaomgyeong (Avatamsaka Sutra, the Doctrine of Amita Buddha) stated that Amita Buddha would not enter a *pari-nirvana* (ultimate enlightenment) until he had helped the last human being to be enlightened (Kim Bongryeol 1999a, 26).

The special relationship of the physical layout of a temple to Buddhist theology is an important factor of authentic setting. Buddhism takes three essential aspects nominating three temples to correspond to each aspect: Tongdosa for *bul* (Buddha), Haeinsa for *beop* (Dharma: Buddha's teaching), and Songkwangsa for *seung* (Shangha: monks). As the temple of the Buddha's teaching, Haeinsa preserves *Palman-daejanggyeong* (literally 'eighty thousand blocks of Tripitaka'). This is composed of three parts: *gyeong* (Buddha's preaching), *rul* (religious precepts for Buddhists) and *ron* (interpretation or discussion about Buddha's teaching) and they are recognized as the most complete compilation among remaining *daejanggyeong* (Tripitaka) in Tibet, Japan, Thailand, and India.

The woodblocks were carved in order to defeat the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century and they symbolize a religious defender protecting the nation (Figure 3.19). The depositories for the 81,340 wooden blocks are composed of four buildings which enclose a courtyard in the centre. The two main buildings, which stand parallel to one another, were built in the sixteenth century, later than the woodblocks (Figure 3.20). Being specially designed for ventilation in order to preserve the wooden printing blocks as long as possible, they are located at the highest point of the temple compound (Fig 3.21). The location at the highest point is practical but more importantly it is symbolic by expressing its identity as a Dharma temple.



Figure 3.19 Woodblocks of Tripitaka Koreana in Haeinsa



Figure 3.20 Depository buildings for storage of Tripitaka Koreana in Haeinsa



Figure 3.21 Aerial view of Haeinsa

Another important factor in identifying differences in authenticity of setting between England and Korea is the relationship of the viewer to the building. The focus of a Korean temple lies in the viewer's perspective when he/she is sitting in the building. The hall of a Buddhist temple is oriented by the

Buddha's view and the directions defined as 'left' and 'right' are decided not by geographical direction but in relation to the position of his seat. For example, if the seated Buddha faces south, then the perceived direction of left, in and out of the hall will be the east. This perspective contrasts with the setting of Durham cathedral whose absolute east-west orientation is perceived by the viewer from the exterior whereas the disposition of a Korean temple is from the Buddha's viewpoint, ascertained from inside the building. Such perspective in Korea made the outer landscape important when considering the construction of a temple.

3.3. A typology of values of religious buildings

3.3.1. Aesthetic value

Article 2.2 of The Burra Charter (ICOMOS-Australia 1988) states that aesthetic value 'includes aspects of sensory perception for which criteria can and should be stated. Such criteria may include consideration of the form, scale, colour, texture and material of the fabric', each of which are evaluated in terms of authenticity of form, material, and workmanship. In identifying this as *Kunstwollen* or 'art value', Riegl noted that it is a relative rather than an absolute value which changes over time depending on contemporary aesthetic taste (1903, 23). It can be appreciated in as far as it corresponds to the modern *Kunstwollen* (Riegl 1903, 42). The criterion of aesthetic value is based upon a subjective perception that is conditioned and influenced by 'preferences and standards specific to the observer's culture and taste' (Lipe 1984, 7). The font cover in Beverley Minster (Figure 3.22), carved by William Thornton (1670~1721) during Hawksmoor's restoration in the eighteenth century, has been assessed by different tastes of later generations both favourably and unfavourably. Whereas Johnson deprecated it as the 'climax of absurdity' (1825, 54) and Hiatt as 'an inappropriate canopy of elaborately-carved oak' (1898, 116).

With the cultural and historical fluidity of aesthetic taste, another aspect to be

taken into account in religious buildings is religious intention and its fluidity which decide the form and subsequent alteration of a building. Artistic intention in the case of religious buildings is to convey religious philosophy and doctrine not only in the building but also in concert with paintings, sculpture, and artefacts it contains, as a whole, expressing the perceived comprehensive aesthetic value of that space. They reflect both aspects of contemporary religious intention, such as the doctrinal changes, and worshippers' consequent perception, of the specific text and tradition of the time. In other words, the choice of theme, colour, and material is determined not only by the architect's artistic perception and talent but also by established religious belief and theory. Therefore, it is essential to understand the theological development of the religion in question in order to identify and assess the aesthetic value of each religious building.



Figure 3.22 Font cover in Beverley Minster

The cross form of a church building symbolizes the crucifixion of Jesus at the core of the Christian religion. Inner spaces of a church are intentionally separated into a sanctuary, the preserve of the priest surrounded by the choir which glorifies God's omniscience, and the nave, for the congregation. The longitudinal axis is east-west except where topography prevents it. East and south are the favoured sides rather than north and west and the congregation faces eastward towards the sanctuary. The east window depicts God's

important teachings.

For Buddhist buildings, authenticity of setting of section 3.2.4.5 provides an important tool to assess aesthetic value because the composition of the buildings and their orientation follow a carefully considered theological form. In this case, authenticity of setting becomes a major aspect to be considered in assessing aesthetic value in the case of Buddhist temples. In context, Article 2.3.2 of *Principles for the conservation of heritage sites in China* (ICOMOS-China 2002, 16) provides a helpful definition of aesthetic value (called ‘artistic value’ in the principles) of Buddhist temples. It defines ‘artistic value’ to include ‘spatial composition, building style, decoration, and aesthetic form’.

In contrast to Korean Buddhist temples where particular co-locations of buildings are critical, the English church in the nineteenth century tended to focus on specific architectural styles to express religious philosophy. As examined in section 3.2.4.1, the Gothic Revival, in particular Pugin’s recognition of Gothic as an ideal style for a church, was massively influential in assessing aesthetic value in nineteenth century restoration. This religious and cultural context provides an important perspective of understanding aesthetic value.

On the other hand, aesthetic value is closely connected with associative or emotional values (which will be discussed in a later section) in the sense that it expresses a culturally-validated sense of beauty affecting a common emotional identity. In another sense, it is also linked with informational value because it provides historical information on the taste and style of earlier eras for research and education.

3.3.2. Informational Value

The informational value of religious buildings in this thesis takes a wider definition to include all kinds of historical and technical information for

understanding the past and educating people in terms of society, religion, art, and technology. Lipe explains that all heritage has 'some power to inform us about the past' (1984, 6). This thesis takes historical value, a category ubiquitously occurring in all typologies of heritage values, as one aspect of informational value. The Burra Charter categorizes it as historic value which provides 'the history of aesthetics, science and society' (ICOMOS-Australia 1988, 17).

The informational value of a religious building has two aspects: research and education. As Grenville argued (1993), the former is a precondition of the latter, as well as of others such as associative and economic values, helping them to increase their quality and weight. First, informational value provides useful knowledge for the study of the history of society, art, religion, folklore, anthropology, economics and many other disciplines. In particular, all surviving religious buildings and their artworks, as tangible assets, are the raw materials for research in religious art history and social history. Thousands of paintings, sculptures, and buildings have survived to provide material sources for art historians in the study of the aesthetics and development of churches and Buddhist temples over the centuries. In addition, various kinds of records of the construction of buildings and the fabric of the buildings themselves provide much information for research into the social and economic context of certain periods. For example, various architectural styles such as the Romanesque and Gothic in churches provide important information for studying the change of architectural style over the centuries. With the buildings, any surviving account books showing the consumption of material and use of labour during construction or repair provide wider information for understanding the social and economic aspects.

Second, pure academic research provides direct information to educate the public, increasing associative and economic value. School textbooks and guidebooks which contain academic findings provide useful information for

students and visitors and they are updated based on further research. The 1730 *gwaebul* (a huge scroll painting) in Unheungsa (Figure 3.23), which had been designated as a Local Tangible Object since 1972, was re-designated as a Treasure in 2001 after national research on large scroll paintings by the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties. This is an ongoing project since 1992 publishing three volumes of reports (of the National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 1992, 2000, 2004) along with additional



Figure 3.23 The 1730 *gwaebul* in Unheungsa

scholarship on the eighteenth century monk painter, Uigyeom, who painted *gwaebuls* for Cheonggoksa (1722) and Gaeamsa (1749) (Lee, Eunhui 1991; An Gwisuk 1994; An Gwisuk 1995). The upgrading of designation will increase its eligibility for government grants and public recognition will be increased to attract more visitors to the annual Yeongsanjae (Ritual at Vulture Peak) when the *gwaebul* is brought from the main hall and hung in the courtyard.

3.3.3. Associative (Emotional) value

At the heart of the value of heritage is its ability to serve as a tangible or intangible link to the past in a way that written or narrated histories cannot (Lipe 1984, 4). Associative value is defined and assessed within specific social and cultural contexts, and in a particular historical dimension, by different stakeholders with both material and psychological connections such

as national identity and community affiliation. It is called 'social value' in the Burra Charter (ICOMOS-Australia 1988, 17) which states it 'embraces the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group.' It is a value which provides 'connection with others and a sense of identity' in Throsby's definition (Throsby 2000, 29). It is 'identity value' and 'distinctiveness value' which are two typologies with intrinsic value in Mattinson's definition, 'delivering a sense of identity on a personal, community, regional or national level' and 'a key spontaneous value for heritage, viewed as extremely important because it is closely linked to personal and cultural identity' (Mattinson 2006, 89). It is worthwhile to examine both local and national aspects of associative value.

At a national level, the place of worship has significance in forming its identity beyond its users, although the proportion of the population which practices religion is fairly low in both England and Korea. According to a statistic of the Church of England published in a research-based booklet, *Churchgoing Today* (2006), 22 % of the British population are 'Anglican members' and another 25% have 'Anglican affiliation' (Barley 2006, 4). Since it was introduced in the first century, Buddhism was the national religion in the Three Kingdom Period, Unified Sila Period, and Koryo Dynasty. Although the national religion of the Josen Dynasty changed to Confucianism, it has been recognised as the historical religion of Korea. This is the reason why many foreigners conceive of Korea as a country with a Buddhist identity even though Buddhists account for 43% of the Korean religious population and Christians 55.1 % as of 2005 (total of religious observers within Korean population is 53.1%) (Korean Statistical Information Centre website, <http://www.kosis.kr/>). Christian and Buddhist cultures and beliefs, therefore, provide a national identity for England and Korea and their architectural remains provide an iconic cultural experience for both religious and non-religious communities strengthening social solidarity and other such intangible associations.

Experiencing traumatic national accidents such as the death of Diana, Princess of Wales and the 7/7 bomb attack, English people tend to visit church in memory of the dead and for reconciliation with a hopeful future. Buddhist temples are popular places to visit for parents on the national university entrance examination day to pray for better academic results for their children.

In that sense, both English churches and Korean Buddhist temples are the chosen historical buildings to represent their culture and history. A 2003 survey, sponsored by the Archbishops' Council and English Heritage, found that 86% (among respondents) had been into a church building in the previous year and 58% agreed with the statement 'a place of worship makes our neighbourhood a better place to live' while 11 % disagreed (Church of England website, <http://www.cofe.anglican.org/news/pr1506.html>). A website created to promote and identify iconic aspects of Britishness, includes parish churches because 'the parish church has been at the centre of town and village life in England...altered the landscape of our communities, providing spiritual comfort as well as a place to meet and celebrate' (ICONS website, <http://www.icons.org.uk/theicons/collection/collection/parish-church>). In Korea, the annual Lotus Lantern festival on Buddha's birthday (8 April in the lunar calendar) is a major festival in Seoul which removes all cars in the Jongro (Jong street), the busiest street downtown, for the lantern parade as a highlight of the festival.

Associative value at the local level provides a sense of belonging to the local community with personal and local memories and identity. A campaign that emphasises associative value at the local community level in England is 'Common Ground'. Through these publications, *Common ground rules for local distinctiveness* (Clifford and King 1993) and *From place to PLACE: maps and parish maps* (Clifford and King 1996), the campaign promotes emotional engagement with physical places and encourages local people to participate in preserving identity by conserving tangible remains. A 'place'

for them is understood as a complex combination of the nature, architecture, social history, literature, and associations which make local communities distinctive (Clifford and King 1993, 7). In terms of the above definitions and characteristics, associative value has been assessed by present-day people rather than as was intended by the builder and, therefore, the historical and cultural context of contemporaries should be considered when assessing this value.

The associative value of church and Buddhist temple as a defining element of each culture at both local and national level provides a basis for instrumental economic value. Every travel guidebook and government-operated tourist information centre recommends hundreds of churches and Buddhist temples for domestic and foreign tourists. The Church Tourism Association launched a vision called 'Sacred Britain Action Plan: Places of Worship and Tourism Destination Experience' at the 2006 convention aimed at 'making churches and places of worship a 'must see' part of exploring Britain's destinations' (Church Tourism Association website, <http://www.churchestourismassociation.info/index.php?option=comcontent&task=view&id=13&Itemid=35>). The Korean government, for example, cooperated with the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism to organize and advertise the 'Temple Stay Program', and this attracted many foreign tourists during the World Cup games in Korea and Japan in 2002. It was the first commercial program to allow tourists to stay and experience temple life. Over 50 temples and hundreds of volunteers provided rooms, temple tours, tea ceremonies and ink rubbings for visitors during the World Cup games from June to August in 2002. The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism extended this program into regular events for selected temples and 36,962 people participated in the program at 36 Buddhist temples in 2004 (Anon 2005b). It also brought income to the participating temples which are supported financially by the government. In 2007, the equivalent of £ 8 million was provided in subsidies by the Korean Government (Anon 2007g).

3.3.4. Religious Value

The importance of religious value in living religious buildings tends to be emphasised in decision-making process, but the substance and entity of the value needs to be re-defined before its importance is privileged over that of other values. From a narrow perspective, religious value is confined to the religious role for the community that worships regularly in the building. From a wider perspective, its role includes an extended spiritual influence on the non-religious community, an influence this thesis argues should be recognized during the decision-making.

Wijesuriya (2005, 31) argued that ‘sacredness is the inherited value that makes religious heritage different from other types of heritage’ so that the religious value carried by the tangible heritage embodying Buddha and his teaching can be sustained by the continuous renewal of physical remains. In England, this over-riding religious value and the use of buildings by the religious community was fully recognized and privileged in the Ecclesiastical Exemption in England which the Archbishop of Canterbury secured for the Church of England in the 1913 Ancient Monuments Act, while this perspective remains prevalent within the Church of England it is less understandable to the non-religious (Grenville 1988, 1). However, English law recognises ‘sacred place’ where religious belief is manifested as a place belonging to an identifiable person or interest group not as a holy place belonging to deities which needs to involve metaphysical jurisdiction (Edge 2002, 164). In other words, the sacredness of a certain physical place is established by people not by a god and the way of appointing the place sacred is not objective but subjective and is executed by a religious group (Edge 2002, 165). Therefore it is hard for non-believers to accept it as important when defining religious value.

Instead of accepting sacredness as a purely religious value, this thesis seeks to understand the role of religion in secular communities as part of the definition of religious value. Given that they provide memorial places for the important

moments of life, such as baptisms, marriages, or funerals, churches and Buddhist temples are places for both the living and the dead and their spiritual role extends not only to the religious community but also to non-religious people who participate in these ceremonies. The 2005 survey by Opinion Research Business on behalf of the Church of England and English Heritage revealed that 21% of people who participated in a baptism in the previous year were non-Christian with 28 % at a memorial service for someone who had died, 36 % at a wedding, and 37 % a funeral (Opinion Research Business 2005, 45).

In Buddhist culture, after the funeral, the memory and spirit of the deceased remain in the religious space, following cremation or burial. The Yeongsan (Vulture Peak) ritual in Unheungsa, which is an example of this kind of tradition of Buddhism, was started after the Japanese invasion of 1592~1595 to commemorate the monks and lay soldiers who died for the nation during the war. This annual ceremony was exceptionally well supported by the local government during the Joseon Dynasty and it still enables villagers to meet the spirits of dead patriots and their ancestors and to accumulate better karma. It attracts religious and non-religious communities (Figure 3.24).

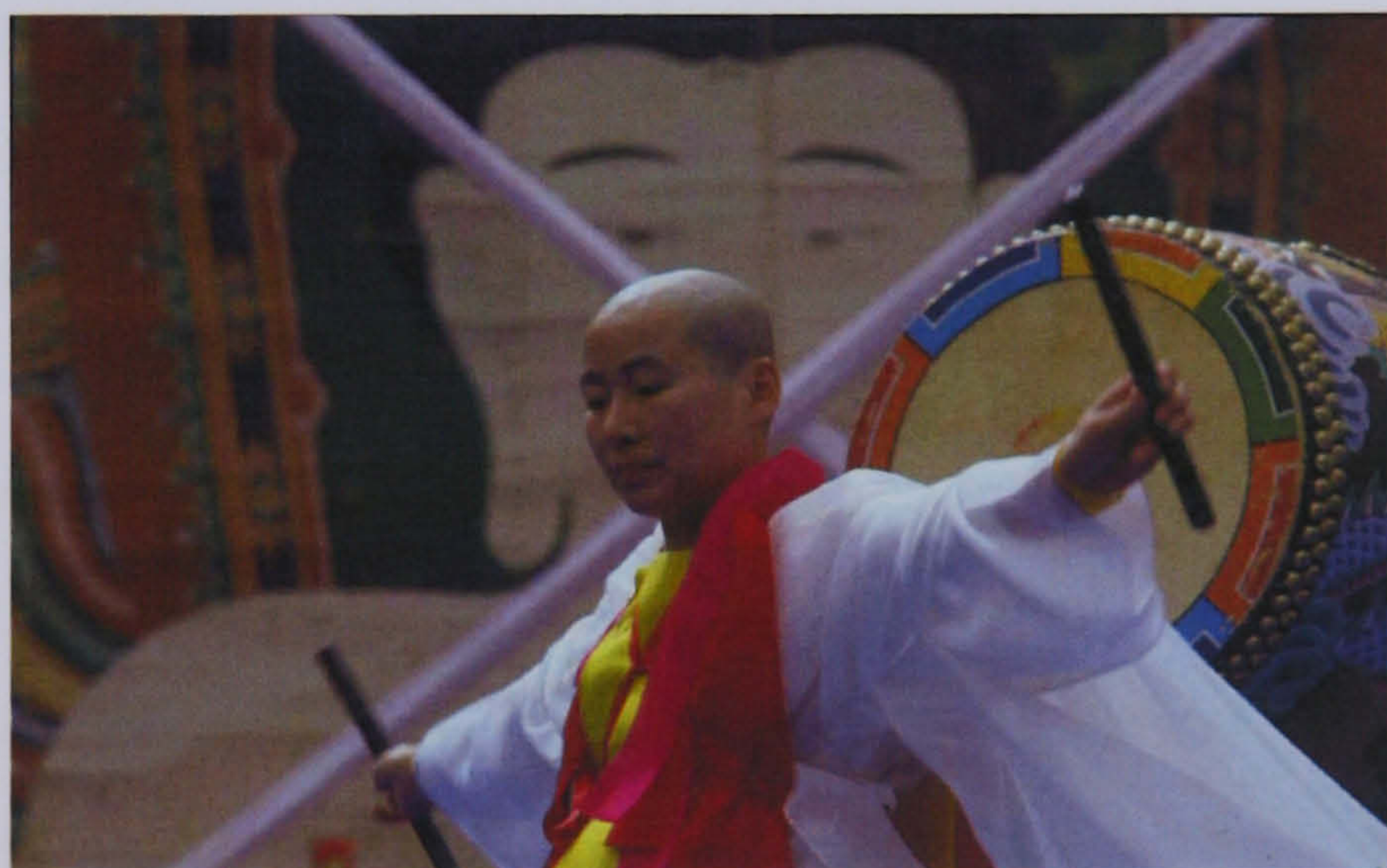


Figure 3.24 Yeongsan ritual with Gwaebul in Unheungsa

In addition, it is not difficult to find examples where religious buildings have provided a spiritual ‘comfort zone’ in both England and Korea. According to the 2005 Opinion Research Business research mentioned above, 7 % of non-Christians had visited a church in the previous year to ‘seek a quiet space’ (Opinion Research Business 2005, 46). Many non-religious people in Korea

participate in the ‘Temple Stay’ program which was mentioned in 3.3.3. Geumsansa, for example, attracted 78 % of non-Buddhists among total participants in the program in 2006 (<http://sansa.geumsansa.org/proposal/guide02.asp>). The 2004 statistic by the Department of the Temple Stay program of the Jogye Order revealed that more than 36% of the total participants in 2004 experienced the program during July and August, the summer holiday season in Korea, which means that many Korean people choose a spiritual holiday in Buddhist temples (Anon 2005b).

Given that this extended role to the non-religious community is not possible without the continuity of religious practice and service, it is important to sustain religious function. In such a perspective, religious communities tend to argue that churches and Buddhist temples have to be modified and transformed in line with the development of liturgy and theology, but this attitude can generate conflict with the secular community who believe that religious buildings should be recognized as part of their historical and cultural assets. The former places religious value and use as important aspects, whereas the latter values historical and architectural aspects.

The conflicts between historical and religious value in the conservation of Korean Buddhist temples manifest themselves in different attitudes toward designated and non-designated buildings in a temple. Historical and architectural values are more appreciated in a designated building because it is perceived as public heritage whereas religious value (or use value) is preferred for an un-designated one because it is categorized as a private object exclusively for the religious community.

3.3.5. Socio-economic Value

The sources of the socio-economic value of religious buildings are their religious use, tourism, and amenities. The economic aspect concerns not only monetary values but also intangible ones which are not readily measurable.

For example, the monetary value of volunteers' service and contribution to churches and Buddhist temples is one economic aspect which it is difficult to quantify. However, in England at least, the political capital to be extracted by the voluntary sector is so great that methodologies for capturing volunteer value have been developed (see, for instance, Institute for Volunteering Research website, <http://www.ivr.org.uk/vivahelpguide.htm>).

As for a visible and direct economic contribution, the religious use of temples and churches, such as the daily or annual rituals and their educational programmes, brings donations and incomes. For Buddhist temples, it is a major resource which provides the living expenses of the Buddhist monks and enables them to operate and maintain their temple. In addition, the massive ritual at special events involves various commercial activities on the part of the local community which provides food, candles, and other offerings. For many churches, appeals for restoration to regular attendants at the services result in direct contributions to expenses.

Tourism and cultural activities are direct sources of socio-economic value. To attract visitors, churches and Buddhist temples organize music concerts, performances of Buddhist dance in many temples, and group tours to visit several churches and temples of the same province. These cultural activities encourage people to have more interest in their religious buildings and to donate to them for construction and conservation. Their socio-economic value has a high potential to develop because of their traditional and religious identities.

As an indirect economic influence, English churches and Korean Buddhist temples with their monastic life provide pleasant environments and preserve a diverse ecological system within the landscape. Many parish churches in small villages or cities are landmarks of natural beauty providing a green and natural environment (Figure 3.25). A local independent charity organisation,

Caring for God's Acre in Hereford Diocese, values the environmental aspects of the churchyard. It states that 'the churchyard contains a rich diversity of plants and animals...and is a peaceful and tranquil place for quiet reflection' (Caring for God's Acre website, <http://www.caringforgodsacre.co.uk/?pageid=2>).



Figure 3.25 The graveyard of Todmorden Unitarian Church in West Yorkshire

Most temples in Korea are located deep in mountain valleys so that they provide a profound sense of calm for visitors. There are 313 Buddhist temples within the 14 National Parks (Anon 2007b) and there would be more in total if those within the 22 Provincial Parks were included (Figure 3.26). In addition, their monastic life contributes to the ecological balance. For example, Balwoo-gongyang, the monastic way of having a meal, encourages people to take only the appropriate amount of food in their bowls and so avoid waste (Figure 3.27). This way of eating does not produce any contaminated water because there is no need to wash the dishes after a meal.



Figure 3.26 Naesosa in its National Park setting

The socio-economic value of the temple, in some cases, is closely related to

created intangible values, resulting in emotional attachments which were not necessarily intended by the builders. Several temples, such as Gatbawi in Daegusi (Daegu City), succeed in attracting more people to visit and donate money because they are known as places with a greater religious power to invoke the Buddha's response.

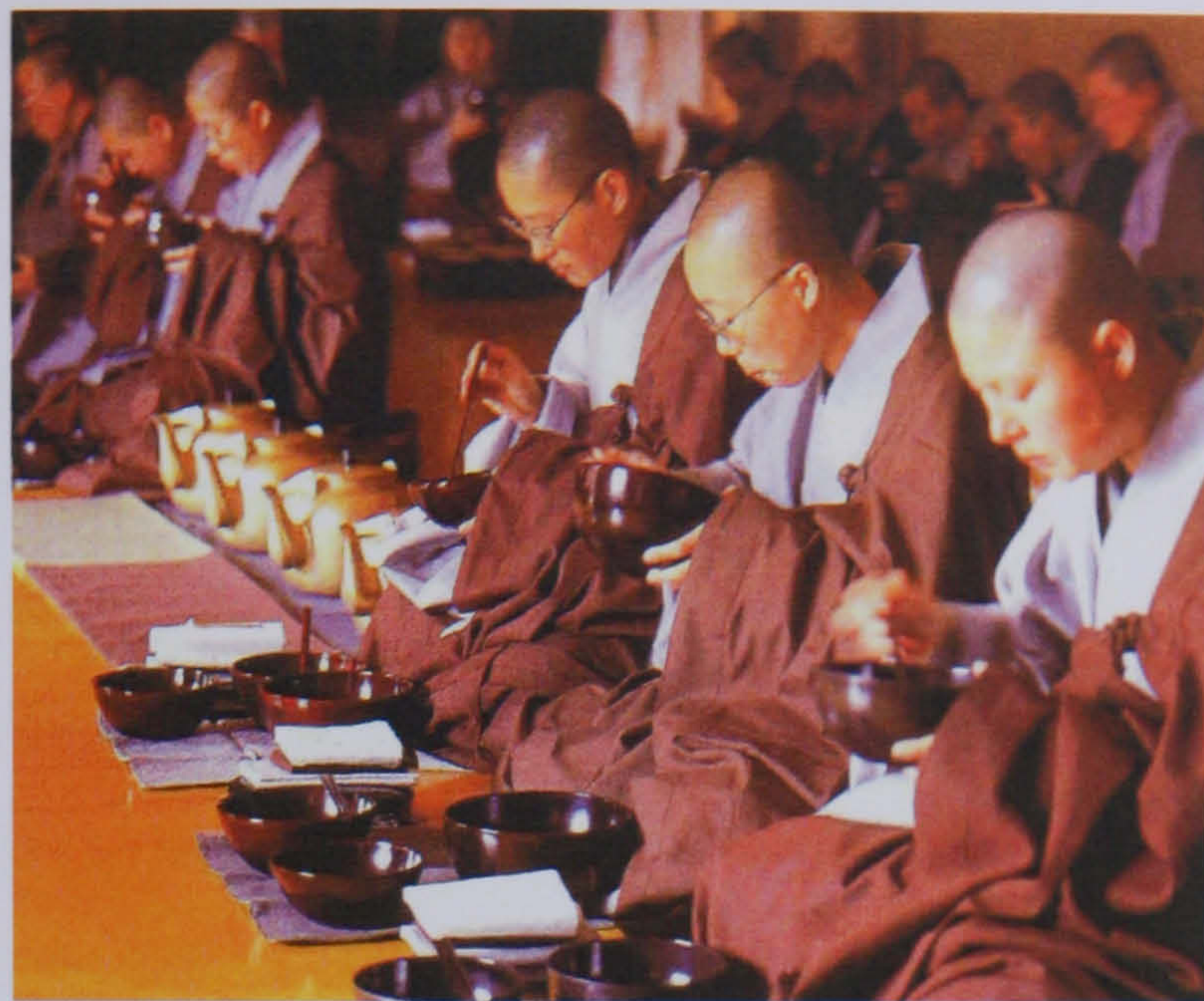


Figure 3.27 Balwoo-gongyang of Buddhist nuns

Tongdosa, Haeinsa, and Songkwangsa which are known as Temples of the Three-jewels attract more tourists because of their importance to Korean Buddhism and their aesthetic value.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has identified the ways in which aesthetic, informational, religious, associative, and socio-economic values are ascribed to religious buildings in use by discussing the tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity of form, material, function, workmanship and setting. It scrutinised the first research question addressed in chapter 1, which was 'are the modes of value assessment and concepts of authenticity culturally and historically mutable?'. Discussions on the historical development of concepts of authenticity in this chapter presented evidence that concepts of authenticity are historically mutable. Such evidence partially answered the first research question. The historical context of conservation in chapter 2 provided an analytical tool to understand different concepts of 'original form' and associative value in England and Korea in this chapter.

The first part of this chapter examined different concepts of authenticity

developed in England and Korea. Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 displayed contrasting aspects of the traditional concept of authenticity in the two countries. The English concept was developed to distinguish an original work from a copy or a forgery, explicitly differentiating the one from the other. The Korean concept took the spiritual-based perspective so that authentic work could be reproduced by copying the spirit of an original work, yet simultaneously it itself could be recognised as an original work. The concept of an authentic work in architectural conservation in England changed from the work of a moment frozen in time to that of the passage of time, whereas the concept in Korea remained without change.

The influence of such different attitudes of traditional and modern concepts of the word 'authenticity' to each area of authenticity was examined in section 3.2.4. First, the concept of authenticity of form in the nineteenth century in England meant an earliest or an ideal form as displayed in the statements of Scott and the Cambridge Camden Society. The attitude in the twentieth century changed to include all traces of different periods, strongly influenced by SPAB's argument. However, the Korean notion of 'original form' meant earliest form and the meaning remained unchanged in the twentieth century, as shown in the cases of Sungnyemun and Bongjungsa. Second, the use of different materials - such as stone and timber - and different perceptions about material remains in England and Korea played an important role in preserving material remains of earlier periods and replacing them by new ones. The vulnerability of timber buildings and the Buddhist didactic concept of material impermanence in Korea were important factors for conservators in developing the different concept of authenticity of material from that in England. In addition, conservators believed that authenticity of material could be achieved with the consideration of authentic workmanship. Third, the section on authenticity of function argued that the criteria of authentic function of a religious building should be extended to local activities and academic and educational use for non-religious communities. However, when the alteration

of a building for local activities conflicts with the continuity of educational and academic use, the decision should not necessarily be made in favour of the former. Fourth, the section on authenticity of workmanship dealt with different ways of practicing craftsmanship: individualism and academic training in English construction; group working and site training in Korean. In particular, pursuing spiritual continuity in Korea rather than material permanence made craftsmanship important, and privileged the continuity of skills rather than architectural style. It argued that such difference should be considered in revival of authentic craftsmanship. Fifth, the section on authenticity of setting discussed the significance of *pungsu* and religious theory in Korea. It argued that topography and geographical form which were considered in the location of a temple should be considered in the conservation of setting with the theological intention which was discharged in the arrangement of buildings as shown in Bulguksa and Haeinsa.

Section 3.3 examined the influence of tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity on various values. First, the aesthetic value of Buddhist temples is much influenced by intangible aspects of authenticity compared with that of English churches. Craftsmanship, religious theology, and *pungsu* theory appear to be important issues in temples. Such intangible factors which were manifested in tangible factors such as the size and arrangement of buildings, and the use of land and the surrounding nature in positioning groups of buildings and monuments should be recognised in assessing aesthetic value in Korea. By contrast, architectural style and material form dominates in England when assessing the aesthetic value of churches. Second, the informational value of material remains such as written documents, records, and special architectural style of the built fabric in churches and Buddhist temples provides data for academic research and public education in understanding architectural and social history as well as scientific knowledge and building technique. Third, it argued that associative value is formed not only by resources of authenticity but also by individual and group experience

of society and its history. However, the sense of belonging to the local community and national identity that churches and Buddhist temples provide cannot be sustained without the conservation of authentic form, material, and function. Fourth, in identifying religious value, the chapter argued that the religious use for a church, which conflicts with the preservation of information and aesthetic values, is only a part of religious value and that the spiritual role for the non-religious community should also be considered. The rate of non-Christians' visits to churches in England and of non-Buddhists' participation in 'Temple Stay' programs showed the significance of religious value for non-religious communities. Fifth, it argued that socio-economic value should be assessed not only by monetary value, but also by non-monetary ones, which contribute to the ecological system and local amenity.

Based on the varied aspects of each value identified in this chapter, the next two chapters will analyse how those values have been assessed in different ways in legal frameworks and actual conservation practices. The different aspects of each value identified in this chapter will provide an analytical framework of cultural context and their differences between England and Korea. The notions of period-based authenticity in section 3.2.2 and the way of valuing associative value and emotional attachment to religious buildings in conservation history in section 3.3.3 will provide another useful framework of historical context in understanding whether value assessment changes over time and between cultures. In addition, the next chapters will suggest in what way conflicting aspects of various values between religious and associative ones in the Korean case in Bongjeongsa described in 3.2.4.2 and between aesthetic and informational ones in the English case of Beverley Minster described in section 3.3 might be solved in order to prevent loss of the various values.

Chapter Four Law and guidelines

4.1. Introduction

Legal instruments such as acts and regulations, and policy documents such as guidance notes and circulars, provide practical guidelines which are applied to various stages of conservation from recognizing the value of a building, to setting up a plan for protection, and executing conservation practice. These documents are a manifestation of prevailing conservation theory and principle, imbued with contemporary attitudes towards values and authenticity. The role of government as the most influential and responsible body for dealing with the conservation of heritage, is therefore critical to this analysis.

This chapter will examine how culturally different concepts of authenticity and values discussed in chapter 3 have been codified in the English and Korean legal systems. In particular, the chapter will focus on the way in which tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity and value have been considered in their secular and religious systems, and on the procedures that those frameworks set up to encourage objective decision-making. It will consider whether such frameworks respect both secular and religious perspectives and encourage compromise where values conflict.

Section 4.2 will offer a brief history of the legal systems in England and Korea in order to understand the historical context of their control over religious buildings.

Section 4.3 will examine the secular systems focusing on the attitude toward weighting tangible and intangible values of religious buildings in use. In particular it will scrutinise the criteria of selection for listing or designation. Two sets of official instruction to investigators for listing drafted in 1946 and the 1982, and PPG15 (1994) in England, and *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (Cultural Properties Protection Guidance, first enacted in 1964 and last revised in 2008, hereafter CPP Guidance) in Korea will be examined. Korean

secular legal frameworks for cultural properties are composed of four different legal statements: *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (Cultural Properties Protection Act, first enacted in 1962 and last revised in 2008, hereafter CPP Act), *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (Cultural Properties Protection Regulation, first enacted in 1962 and last revised in 2008, hereafter CPP Regulation), *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance), and *Munhwajae-pyojunsuri-sibangseo* (Principal Guidelines and Standard of Conservation of Cultural Properties, hereafter Principal Guidelines and Standard of CCP). *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) is enacted in the Parliament and it provides general principles of protection and designation of cultural properties. *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (CPP Regulation) operates as an order of the president and it provides guidelines of applying the Act in practice providing a management framework for preserving tangible and intangible heritage and a certification system of conservators. The last two provide similar set of guidance to that of PPG15 which is a set of statement of government policies for identifying and protecting historic buildings, and conservation areas. *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance), which operates as an order of the Minister of Culture, Tourism, and Sport, provides statements of criteria and procedures for designating cultural properties, levels of intervention for preserving them, and a training system for the continuity of craft skills of designated human cultural properties. *Munhwajae-pyojunsuri-sibangseo* (Principal Guidelines and Standard of CCP) is a set of statements of practical guidance, drafted by the Cultural Heritage Administration to conservators, for each process in repairing a timber-building in terms of inspecting, selection of repair method, site management, dismantling a building, and on-site health and safety. Unlike England, there are no separate statements to instruct investigators for designation in Korea. Therefore the criteria of selection for listing (or designating) in two sets of instruction which are the 1946 *Instructions to Investigators* and the 1982 instruction as well as in PPG15 should be compared with those in *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance).

Section 4.4 will examine the religious jurisdictions (the Faculty Jurisdiction) for conserving buildings: the arrangement for ecclesiastical exemption in England and *Jeontongsachal-bojonbeop* (Traditional Temple Preservation Act, first enacted in 1987 and last revised in 2008, hereafter TTP Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (Sacred Treasure Preservation Measure, first enacted in 1972 and last revised in 2005, hereafter STP Measure) in Korea.

4.2. Overview of the secular and religious legal systems in England and Korea

This section will review only the most important changes in the development of the legal frameworks in Korea and England because they are thoroughly addressed elsewhere. Detailed studies of the history of the English system (Delafons 1997; Mynors 1999; Pendlebury 2001), of listing (Acworth *et al* 1970; Robertson 1993; Harvey 1994a; Harvey 1994b; Saint 1996), and of ecclesiastical exemption (Bulmer-Thomas 1973; Bulmer-Thomas 1981) are available. The development of *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act), *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (CPP Regulation), *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) have recently been examined (O Setak 2005).

4.2.1. England

The first time that an English government acknowledged responsibility and legislated for the protection, although not the conservation, of national monuments was with the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882. However, it excluded inhabited houses, ecclesiastical buildings in use, ruined buildings and other sites that formed part of a castle or abbey so that the Act in effect applied only to archaeological sites (Delafons 1997, 24-25). The 1900 Ancient Monument Amendment Act included buildings that were not inhabited with the consent of the owner (Boulting 1976, 18). The Ancient Monuments Acts of 1913 introduced for the first time the concept of a preservation order (HMSO 1913, Section 6-(1)).

Since the Ancient Monuments Protection Act was introduced in 1882, the Church of England has resisted placing churches under the protection of the state system. During the discussion about the Ancient Monuments Act of 1913, there were debates in favour of the inclusion of church buildings into the state legal system to protect them against over-restoration, neglect or the sale of church treasures (Bulmer-Thomas 1973, 105-108). The proposal that churches should be brought within the scope of the act was resisted on behalf of the Church of England in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davison, who promised that their procedures would improve. As a result ecclesiastical exemption was formally introduced in the Ancient Monuments Act of 1913. Each diocese was empowered to set up an Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches (DAC) to advise the diocesan chancellor on deciding faculty petitions (the ecclesiastical equivalent of planning permission or listed building consent), and it became mandatory in 1938. In 1922 a central advisory body known as the Council for the Care of Churches was established to encourage sound conservation of historic churches and support DACs.

The 1932 Town and Country Planning Act empowered a local authority to make an order with respect to any building in its area, directing that the building could not be demolished without its consent (HMSO 1932, Section 17-(1)). This provision, known as a building preservation order, extended to inhabited houses but no mechanisms for identifying or listing buildings were produced (HMSO 1932, Section 12-(1)-(d)). The Town and Country Planning Act was revised in 1944 providing a provision for the listing of buildings of special architectural or historic interest which began in 1946 (HMSO 1945, Section 42). Churches were included in these lists so that they were identified as being of special interest but were not subject to secular control.

The Historic Buildings Council for England was set up by the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act of 1953 in order to advise on grants payable under the Act to owners of buildings (HMSO 1953, Section 4-(1)).

The Town and Country Planning Act 1968 established a procedure for listed building consent so that it became necessary for anyone who wanted to alter a listed building to obtain consent from the local authority (HMSO 1968. Section 40-(4)). Before the act was introduced demolition or alteration of a listed building was not under planning control but a building preservation order. Ecclesiastical buildings in use were exempt from this control (HMSO 1968. Section 41-(1)-(a)), but since they already had to apply for a faculty, it could be argued that the church was more advanced in this respect than civil society.

The Town and Country Planning (Amendment) Act 1972 made provision for owners in a conservation area to obtain conservation area consent not for alterations but for demolition of any building whether listed or not (HMSO 1972, Section 8-(2)). A small scale alteration, which is classed as permitted development, can be carried out without planning permission. An Article 4 direction, which can withdraw a permitted development right, can be made by the local authority when the character of a conservation area could be threatened, meaning planning permission will be required. Many churches are pivotal to the character of their associated conservation areas, while not being directly subject to the legislation. However, all churches are subject to ordinary planning permission for external extensions.

The Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, referred to as English Heritage, was created out of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (a part of the Department of the Environment) by the National Heritage Act 1983 (HMSO 1983. Section 32-38). It has responsibilities for listing and scheduling, and for scheduled monument consent. Although it does not grant listed building consent (this is done at local government level), it does give advice to government at national and local level on the discharge of this duty. It inherited the guardianship of about 400 historic buildings and archaeological sites from the Department of the Environment and is the government's principal advisor on heritage matters.

In recognition of the extension of state aid for the repair of churches in 1976, the Faculty Jurisdiction Commission was set up in 1980 to review internal control over churches, and published its report *The continuing care of churches and cathedrals* in 1984 (CoE 1984). Its recommendations brought about changes in the Faculty Jurisdiction Amendment Rules in 1987 which allows English Heritage to be a petitioner in faculty applications, thus introducing a measure of external conservation expertise. The Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure of 1991 further included local authorities and amenity bodies as consulting bodies within the faculty jurisdiction (CoE 1991, Schedule 1). The Faculty Jurisdiction Rules of 2000 added a requirement to provide Statement of Significance and a Statement of Needs when submitting a petition for a faculty for the work of significant change to a listed church (CoE 2000, Article 3(3)), which will be discussed in detail in section 4.4.1.

The scope of exemption of the Ecclesiastical Exemption (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Order of 1994 includes ‘any church building, any object or structure within a church building, any object or structure fixed to the exterior of a church building, and any object or structure within the curtilage of a church building which, although not fixed to that building, forms part of the land, unless the object or structure is itself a listed building’ (HMSO 1994, Article 5 (1)). The extension of a listed church if it is used as a place of worship and any structure fixed to the outside of it needs planning permission but does not require listed building consent. Instead, all alteration and work on a church, except *de minimis* work, needs a faculty of a diocese in place. *De minimis* work, which is trivial repairs or replacements, such as ‘maintenance and cleaning of churchyards, introduction or removal of moveable items, and the repair and maintenance of certain areas of church fabric and boundary walls so long as the appearance and structure is not affected and the costs are minimal’ (Fairclough 2002, 2), does not require a faculty and the chancellor of each diocese is required to provide guidance concerning such work (Macmorran and Briden 2001, 14).

In 1997 the Secretary of State appointed John Newman to review the workings of ecclesiastical exemption and the report *A review of the ecclesiastical exemption from listed building controls* was produced in 1997 recommending the continuity of ecclesiastical exemption with improvements to the internal controls. The present procedures for a church in use by the Church of England are described in three legal statements: the Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure of 1991, Faculty Jurisdiction Rules of 2000, and the Code of Practice for the Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure of 1991 (hereafter 'the Code of Practice').

Alongside legislation, government policy in the form first of Circulars and latterly as Planning Policy Guidance notes, provided by the Secretary of State, gives procedural advice to local authorities. PPG 15: Planning and the Historic Environment (DoE and DNH 1994) was issued jointly by the Department of the Environment and the Department of National Heritage in 1994 replacing Circular 8/87: Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas (DoE 1987) with improvements. At present, PPG 15 provides practical guidelines for the implementation of current legislation for planning and conservation, with the Town and Country Planning Act of 1990 (HMSO 1990b) and the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Area) Act of 1990 (HMSO 1990a).

In March 2007 the Department for Culture, Media, and Sports published a White Paper, *Heritage protection for the 21st century* suggesting that English Heritage should take over responsibility for listing from the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS 2007, 8), creating a single system of listing, scheduling, and registering. At the time of writing, a new Heritage Protection Act is in the process of being drafted, but this will not revoke the Ecclesiastical Exemption. English Heritage published *Conservation Principles* in 2008 to set out a logical and consistent approach to making decisions and offering guidance about the historic environment (English Heritage 2008a, 7). It set out a process of assessing heritage significance and policies and guidance of

managing change to significant places. As displayed in defining *conservation* as ‘the process of managing change to a significant place in its setting in ways that will best sustain its heritage values’, the document challenged SPAB’s perspective discussed in section 3.2.4.1 of chapter 3 in terms of recognising changes in conservation of historic environment. During the final consultation, the SPAB expressed concern that such an attitude of the English Heritage’s document could be used by developers to justify intervention (Venning 2007, 2). In order to prevent such problem, it is necessary for English Heritage to draft further documents to provide explicit guidance on how the document can be applied in decision-making (Venning 2007, 2).

4.2.2. Korea

The Korean legislation is diverse and complex. I will refer throughout this chapter to the Korean names of legal instruments and policy guidance, but to ease the difficulties for English readers will provide an abbreviated translation in brackets.

The first piece of legislation related to protection of cultural properties in Korea was *Sachalryeong* (the Buddhist Temples (and objects) Regulation (for preservation)) which was enacted in 1911, a year after the Japanese colonial period had begun (Joseon-chongdokbu 1911). It ruled that any temple which wanted to sell, alter, or trade had to obtain permission from the colonial authority, and provided legal grounds for the Japanese to remove many monuments and objects from Korea to Japan. In 1916 the colonial authority established *Gojeok-yumul-bojon-gyuchik* (Rules of Preservation for Ancient Sites and Objects) (Joseon-chongdokbu 1916) in order to make a list of sites, monuments, and objects and protect them from illegal excavation, under control of the local police department. In the same year the colonial authority set up the *Gojeok-josa-wiwonhoe* (Commission for the Survey of Ancient Sites) for surveying, listing, and managing conservation. Based on *Sajeok-myeongseung-cheonnyeon-ginyeommul-bojon-ryeong* (The Historical Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Species Preservation Regulation) of 1919

and the National Treasures Preservation Act of 1929, which were enacted in Japan, the colonial authority established *Bomul-gojeok-myeongseung-cheonnyeon-ginyeommul-bojon-ryeong* (Treasures, Ancient Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Species Preservation Regulation) (Joseon-chongdokbu 1933) introducing a designation system in Korea. It also provided financial grants for conservation.

The Ministry of Education set up the Office of Cultural Properties in 1961 in order to provide systematic management, signalling the end of the colonial legal system whose 1933 Regulation remained for nearly thirty years until it was replaced by *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) in 1962. The Korean government had limited time to draft the new act because the Act of 1933 was due to be abolished in January of 1962 under the Special Act for Abolition or Alteration of Colonial Legislation. The drafters used the Japanese Cultural Properties Protection Act of 1950 as a standard and copied it in terms of categories of designation and procedures of conservation. Four categories: Tangible objects, Intangible objects, Monuments, and Folklore materials, were proposed for designation and the Ministry of Education took responsibility for designation, excavation, and conservation. In the same year *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (CPP Regulation) was drafted in order to explain further details if an article in the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) needed to be clarified. In 1964, *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) was announced to provide practical guidelines and details for actual practice. *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) has been revised 32 times since the first was enacted in 1962, *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (CPP Regulation) 37 times and *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) 34 times. The last revisions of all of them were made in 2008.

The revised *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 1970 clarified the function of *Munhwajae-wiwonhoe* (the Committee of Cultural Property), which was established in 1960 as an advisory body on designation and conservation to the Ministry of Culture, and took over the function of protection of cultural

properties from the Ministry of Education (CHA 1970, Article 3 to 6). It also revised the categories of designation (CHA 1970, Article 7 to 10), by dividing cultural properties into National and Local Cultural Properties. In addition, it established a provision for designating a person, so called, '*ingan-munhwajae* (human cultural property)', who retained traditional skills in both craftsmanship and performing arts whereas the previous act designated ceremony and technique only (CHA 1970, Article 8).

In 1984, *Jeontong-geonjomul-bojonbeop* (Traditional Buildings Conservation Act) was established in order to protect vernacular buildings which had been excluded from designation and were likely to be demolished because of increasing demand for the improvement of housing in the 1970s (CHA 1984). Influenced by the provision of conservation areas by the Japanese Cultural Properties Protection Act of 1975, it aimed at protecting with separate legislation those elements of the architectural heritage which were assessed as less valuable than a designated building but worth preserving as a group. However, it was abolished in 1999 in the face of sustained opposition to the intervention by government over private rights and because of the unfeasibility of regulation that compromised modern housing standards (O Setak 2005, 148).

As an internal control, the Jogye Order introduced *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) in 1972 in order to preserve the Buddhist heritage (including all undesignated assets) on the grounds that it consists of objects of worship (Jogye Order 1972). It aimed at the promotion of a high standard of conservation and maintenance through the advice of a conservation committee which all temples could call upon. It was revised in 2005 introducing regulation of temple museums for the preservation of movable objects (Jogye Order 1972, Article 16 to 19).

In an attempt by the Korean government to recognise the importance of Buddhist temples and objects as a living heritage, *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) was enacted in 1987 (CHA 1987) and *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop-*

sihaeng-ryeong (Traditional Temple Preservation Regulation, last revised in 2008, hereafter TTP Regulation) in 1988 (CHA 1988a). The origins of *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) are found in the enactment of *Sachalryeong* (Buddhist Temples Regulation) of 1911 by the Japanese colonial authority (Joseon-chongdokbu 1911) which changed its name to *Bulgyo-jaesan-gwallibeop* (Buddhist Assets Management Act) in 1962 (Ministry of Education 1962). Compared with *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act), it focuses on the preservation of groups of buildings and their settings in designated traditional temples, not only in terms of religious services for the public but also to preserve the religious way of living and practice of Buddhist monks and nuns. The Act has been revised 14 times and the Regulation 12 times. The 2004 revision of the act extended the preservation area of a traditional temple, to the so-called ‘Preserved area for historical and cultural significance’, in order to restrict the construction of new buildings and roads within a buffer zone so that it can preserve its visual integrity and the setting (CHA 2004, Article 6-2).

In 2001, the revised *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) introduced a listing system for the first time in order to encourage the protection of buildings and monuments in private ownership (CHA 2001a, Article 42). Prior to the listing, the Cultural Heritage Administration executed a national survey of 5,020 buildings, which had historical importance but were undesignated, from 2002 to 2005 and listed 244 in 2005 with the agreement of the owners (Kim Rangi 2006, 4). It focused primarily on the protection of relatively recent buildings which were built during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in both traditional and western styles. Repair and alteration to the interior of a listed building can be executed without reporting to the Cultural Heritage Administration, but alteration of more than a quarter of the exterior space requires a report before execution. Property tax can be reduced and repair of a listed building can be funded by the government.

The present secular legal frameworks (last revision in brackets) to control

designation and work on a designated building are *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) (CHA 2008c), *Munhwajae-bogobeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (CPP Regulation) (CHA 2008e), *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) (CHA 2008d), and *Munhwajae-pyojunsuri-sibangseo* (Principal Guidelines and Standard of CCP) (CHA 2005). The secular legal framework to control designation and conservation of a designated Buddhist temple is *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) (CHA 2008a) and *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (TTP Regulation) (CHA 2008b). The present religious legal frameworks to control Buddhist temples and buildings are *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) (Jogye Order 2005).

4.3. The secular system

4.3.1. Listing and designation

The fundamental difference between English listing and the Korean designation (and listing) system can be examined from three perspectives: the criteria of selection, the grading system, and the designation of intangible heritage. The English system of listing has been set up for buildings only and other monuments, objects, and archaeological sites are dealt with under different systems; scheduling for ancient monuments, the non-statutory register of historic parks and gardens, and the non-statutory register of historic battlefields. The Korean legal system is unified to handle all kinds of material remains as well as intangible traditions. The English White Paper of 2007, *Heritage protection for the 21st century*, announced that the heritage protection system in England planned to develop a unified system, similar in essence to the Korean legal system, covering various kinds of heritage in a single register. In addition, the Korean system provides both designation and listing. The state has less responsibility for conservation and funding for listed buildings, than for designated ones, respecting private rights.

In England, as of January 2007, 371,828 buildings have been listed of which 341,732, 92%, are Grade II. 20,971, 5.6%, are listed as Grade II* and 9,125 entries, 2.4%, are Grade I (NMR 2007). Among 16,200 Church of England

churches, over half of the buildings date from before the Reformation and most of them are listed, with a further 4,500 post-Reformation buildings (Mynors 1999, 359). The same grading system as the secular one has been used since 1977 but the proportions are different (Mynors 1999, 360). As of 2003, there are 4,200 Church of England parish churches listed as Grade I, which is 34.5 %, another 4,200, or 34.5 %, listed as Grade II*, and 3,800, 31 % as Grade II (Cooper 2004, 16). Churches represent 45 % of all Grade I listed buildings.

In Korea, as of 2005 there are 393 buildings and objects designated as National Treasures. Of these, 9 are secular buildings, and 13 are Buddhist buildings. Among 1,416 entries at Treasure level there are 63 Buddhist buildings, which is 52 % of 119 buildings in this group (CHA 2006, 392-395). As of 2006 there are 926 Traditional Temples among all 22,000 Buddhist temples in Korea and 743 temples (81 %) of all Traditional Temples belong to the Jogye Order (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2007, 476).

4.3.1.1. English listing system and churches

This section focuses on the method of assessing intangible values compared with tangible ones in the criteria of selection for listing enshrined in two official legal statements to instruct investigators for listing which were drafted in 1946 and in 1982, and PPG 15. The section argues that the significance of intangible values was respected in the 1946 *Instructions to Investigators*, yet such recognition was not reflected in writing a list description. In addition, the later instructions of the 1980s included a category to address intangible aspects, but failed to maintain a positive attitude toward intangible aspects in re-writing outdated list descriptions.

The criteria of selection of the 1946 instructions focused on two values: architectural and historic. These two values were defined not only in terms of their tangible aspects but also in terms of the intangible. In defining historic value, in particular, it took an extensive approach towards intangible aspects arguing for the importance of personal attachments, and the group value of

buildings. The Supplementary Lists for Grade 3 buildings included buildings which 'contribute to a general effect that the planning authority ought in the preparation and administration of its plan to regard such effect as an asset worth trying to keep' (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1946, 18). A group of buildings which have 'cumulative group or character value' could be included in the list (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1946, 13). Such approaches were recognised in the Civic Amenity Act of 1967 and PPG 15 which introduced criteria of local interest. Evidential value in the 1946 Instructions included 'an accidental or pictorial architectural group where a row of separately planned and built houses blend together into a group which in its wholeness gives a greater value' (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1946, 11-12). It also referred to intangible aspects of a listed building such as 'sentimental interest arising from a particular event or a particular person' at individual, local or national levels (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1946, 14). It recognised that 'old buildings have the power to kindle the historical imagination in a way denied to documents which supplement them' (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1946, 14).

This recognition of intangible aspects in the Instructions was an enlightened and useful approach in identifying the special values of religious buildings in use which should have been carefully considered in the listing of churches in the 1950s. However, the listing inspectors failed to weigh intangible values such as sentimental aspects. None of the list descriptions for churches between 1950 and 1953 which was reviewed for this research described such intangible values (NA, HLG 103/105~108). The Council for the Care of Churches and diocesan authorities did not consider the significance of those aspects of religious buildings when they were given an opportunity to correct the list description or to provide additional information during their consultation on the provisional lists of churches. None of the letters from the Church Commissioners (in collaboration with diocesan authorities) to the secretary of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government during the consultation between 1950 and 1955 attempted to add information about

intangible aspects (all letters from diocesan authorities in the file HLG 103/104 and HLG 103/105 in the National Archive). One example that illustrates the problem is a comment about St. Peter's church in Mansfield where the information added included only the date of the tower and some historical facts about having been a royal manor (NA, HLG 103/104, letter dated June 29, 1955).

It is clear that the religious authorities such as the Church Commissioners' and the Council for the Care of Churches did not address the issue of intangible value in the early years of listing. *A brief deputation of church commissioners to the minister* dated 2 January 1950 demonstrates that Church Commissioners were concerned only with the tangible aspects of historical and architectural values. This letter to Lewis Silkin, the Minister of Town and Country Planning recommended that the criteria for listing churches should be age, architectural merit or the outstanding work of famous architects (NA, HLG 103/24). There is no attempt to argue for religious value as defined in section 3.3.4, socio-economic value or associative values. In addition a letter dated April 27, 1950 from the Commissioners to each diocesan authority instructed that any representations to the Ministry should be 'confined to architectural or historic considerations'. It stated that the representation 'must relate to matters of a physical and not a functional character' (NA, HLG 103/24). In other words, the religious function, although the reason for exemption from the effects of listing, was explicitly excluded by the Commissioners from the criteria.

Before this section discusses the consequence of the Commissioners approach to the drafting of list descriptions, it is important to examine the role and use of the list description. Although it is a lengthy statement to reproduce here, it is necessary to quote an important part of the 1946 Instructions which explained the role and use of the state lists. It stated,

'There are two principal uses to which the lists will immediately be put, and it

will be certainly be helpful if these and their slightly differing respective requirements are constantly borne in mind. The first use is that of guiding planning authorities generally in the preparation of their long term plans and the guidance of the Minister in accepting and criticising these plans. In such a case it will be important to look, not merely at the individual merits of the listed buildings taken one by one, but at their relation to the general architectural character of the area in which they stand and at their distribution in relation to the growing needs of other factors in the life of the town, such as traffic, housing and industrial development. The other type of case in which lists will constantly be use is that in which a threat arises sporadically to an individual building of merit and interest...In these cases the building's relation to its context will often have to be ascertained and borne in mind, but quite apart from that it will be necessary first of all to know simply what the building is, to the demolition or alteration of which exception is taken, and how much effort its quality justifies' (Ministry of Town and Country Planning 1946, 7-8).

Notwithstanding this clear advice, the list description, the only public statement of listing, developed in such a way that it did not make explicit the reason for designation. It described only tangible aspects without the intangible aspects of the building. In the case of churches, religious and associative values and the significance of their setting and function for religious and secular communities in national and local terms were clearly implicit factors in the decision to list, yet the list description mentioned only the physical aspects of architectural details and such historical facts as were seen to be important. In addition, many churches such as Beverley Minster (listed in 1950), St Mary's Beverley (listed in 1950), and Selby Abbey (listed in 1953) were listed without a listing description. The 1951 provisional list for Selby Abbey recorded that the church was a 'Parish Church of the Benedictine monastery founded under the patronage of William the Conqueror. Chiefly 12th and 14 centuries. Selby Abbey and St. Mary's Abbey at York had the only mitred abbots north of the Trent' (Ministry of Local Government and Planning 1951). The 1968

state list recorded Beverley Minster as '13th, 14th and 15th centuries' (Ministry of Local Government and Planning 1968). These were the earliest list descriptions for the churches which could be obtained from the National Monument Record Office after examining files and document of listing at National Archive at Kew, local authorities of Selby and Beverley, and the parish churches. Lengthy list descriptions for the churches with an important architectural and historical information were made in the 1980s after the new instructions for investigators were published, but even these concentrated on physical attributes and raw historical data without explaining their significance to a non-specialist audience.

The 1988 list description for Beverley Minster in the Site Gazetteer (section I-2-(4)) is an example. It contains information on the architectural forms and styles, stained glass, and the principal architects of the restoration in the nineteenth century, but makes no attempt to explain the relative significance of the church in its wider topographical and intellectual contexts.

The failure to preserve the setting of Beverley Minster in 1981 and St Mary's Beverley in 1983 are examples of the lack of weight placed on by local planning authority in preserving intangible aspect of the listed buildings. When the setting of the minster was threatened by the construction of houses to the south-east side of the church and when a plan for a new parish hall to the north side of St Mary's Beverley was approved in 1984 (see chapter 5 for a full discussion), there was no element in list description to protect the setting the churches against the destruction of their historical and townscape setting.

As circulars and instructions developed in the 1970s and 1980s, the 'sentimental interest' and 'historical imagination' of the 1946 instructions were played down, and more tangible and/or legally definable aspects were privileged. However, they provided a process of including some of intangible aspects, such as settings and relative values. The principles of selection in Circular 102 74 extended the time period for listed buildings from 1914 to

1939 (Delafons 1997, 202). The selection was focused on four aspects: 1. special value within certain types, either for architectural or planning reasons or for illustrating social and economic history; 2. technological innovation or virtuosity; 3. association with well-known characters or events; 4. group value, especially as examples of town planning. It is important to note that although these criteria implied a clear process of the ranking of relative values, this exercise was never reflected in the substance of list descriptions, making the rationale for designation completely opaque to many end users of the lists. This has encouraged a view that tangible aspects of historic buildings contain an intrinsic absolute value, which in turn leads to many impasses in conservation debates. Circular 8/87 re-defined grading: Grade I were buildings of exceptional interest, Grade II* particularly important buildings of more than special interest, Grade II buildings of special interest which warranted every effort being made to preserve them (DoE 1987, Appendix 1).

The 1982 instructions to inspectors on the re-survey of the 1980s focused on drafting detailed descriptions of tangible aspects of a listed building in terms of age, material, architectural style, and visual settings as a group (DAMHB 1982). The general principles for selection of churches described in section 2.5a focused on age, architectural style, remaining fittings of the interior, and historical aspects. Interestingly the general consideration of the criteria recognised that very often a church contributes as an integral part of its area, whether as part of a planned scheme or an unplanned group;

‘The church should not be considered entirely in isolation. Sometimes the decision whether or not to list a church and the choice of grading will be affected by its group value and or its setting. These considerations may be taken almost as the rule in country villages, a village church nearly always occupies an ancient site and has a topographical importance and land-mark value...The list description should make clear the reasons for a particular grading whether it is for architectural quality, for historical value, for rarity, or for its contribution to the rural or urban scene. The list description

should leave no doubt why the building has been listed'(DAMHB 1982, Section 2.5a).

However, the actual list descriptions rarely reflected this final stipulation. That in section I-4 of Site gazetteer of St Mary's in Tadcaster, North Yorkshire which was listed in 1985 is an example. The reason can be explained by the lack of correspondence between the general principles in section 2 and guidance for field and office practices in section 3. Section 3 which provides detailed guidance for selection and the writing of a list description did not reflect the above idea of general principles. Eleven headings, under the mnemonic 'B Damp Fishes' were required: building type, date/s, architect/craftsman/patron, materials, plan/style, facades, interior, subsidiary features, history, and extra information (DAMHB 1982, section 3.3e). All headings were details of historical and architectural information without emotional, associative, or functional significance so that the revised description of Beverley Minster contained only the physical aspect of the buildings. Although the final category of 'extra information' could be used for describing such kinds of significance, it rarely was.

Thereafter, PPG 15 restated the principles of selection of the circular as architectural interest, historic interest, close historical association, and group value (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 6.10) but sustained the attitude toward tangible and intangible aspects. It extended the timeline to embrace candidate buildings which were less than 30 years old. The consultation document, *Revisions to principles of selection for listing buildings: Planning Policy Guidance Note 15 Consultation Paper* drafted in 2005 as part of the Heritage Protection Review that culminated in the White Paper, aimed at the criteria for listing buildings being very detailed providing practical guidelines of 20 different building types (DCMS 2005, 7). These have now been adopted and are available via the English Heritage website (http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/upload/pdf/Listed_buildingsfinal.pdf).

This last revision identifies a place of worship as a place ‘to provide a dignified setting for worship and to act as a shelter for the congregation’, for the first time formally identifying religious value and authenticity of function (DCMS 2005, 28). The revised criteria introduced intangible approaches to include the significance of ‘setting and historic associations *that are special to the community*’ which had been ignored in the listing of a church (DCMS 2005, 28). However it remains uncertain how such criteria will be identified and reflected in the list description and how the quality of being ‘*special to the community*’ will be assessed. English Heritage launched the Inspired campaign in 2006 in order to improve their support to religious community for the sustainable conservation of a religious building and the first solution that they suggested was to re-write out-dated list descriptions so that religious community can clearly understand the significance of a building and make an acceptable plan for changes to ‘fit their purposes’. In revising list descriptions, adding intangible aspects remains an important matter for consideration.

4.3.1.2. The Korean designation system and Buddhist temples

Japanese influence on the Korean designation system became deeply rooted during the Japanese colonial period and this continued after independence. The framework for the designation system, such as classification and procedures of selection, was sustained but the criteria for selection and the grading system were changed when the first *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) was enacted in 1962 (CHA 1962a).

The Japanese colonial authority started designating in 1916 based on *Gojeokgeub-yumul-bojon-gyuchik* (Ancient Sites and Objects Preservation Guidance) (Joseon-chongdokbu 1916) but it focused on objects rather than buildings. Gang has commented that the neglect of the importance of buildings by the Japanese authorities was much influenced by the biased assessment of Tadashi Sekino towards Korean architecture, shown in his survey between 1909 and 1912 (Gang Hyeon 2005, 44).

Sekino's survey included buildings, archaeological sites, monuments, and objects assessing them into four grades: *gap*, *eul*, *byeong*, and *jeong* (1 to 4 Chinese numbering system) in order to prioritize *bojon*. The first two grades were recognized to be worthy of preserving but *byeong* was less important and *jeong* was 'the least worth of preservation' which meant that the Japanese authority did not need to pay attention to preservation of this grade (Gang Hyeon 2005, 44). Among 1,309 items surveyed the number of buildings was 670. Among a total of 141 *gap* and 410 *eul* there were only 15 *gap* and 140 *eul* buildings (Gang Hyeon 2005, 48-52). Sekino's criteria for grading buildings were focused on two aspects: the academic value of a building which favoured the study of Japanese architectural history and surprisingly to western eyes the use value as the local office of the colonial authority (Gang Hyeon 2005, 54). His assessment lacked the associative aspects such as historical events or the national interests of Korea. A building which retained useful information for a comparative study with Japanese architectural history or which was suitable for use by the colonial authority was recognized to be worth preserving.

The criteria for selection in the 1933 *Bomul-gojeok-myeongseung-cheonnyeong-ginyeommul-bojon-ryeong* (Treasures, Ancient Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Species Preservation Regulation) focused on those remains which were regarded as physical evidence of history, an important example of art, and/or a resource for academic research (Joseon-chongdokbu 1933, Article 1). The first designation in 1933 provided no separate category for buildings among the four classifications: Treasure, Ancient Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Species so, instead, they were classified as Treasures or Ancient Sites. Treasure included palaces, gates, shrines, schools, government offices, inns, pavilions, Buddhist temples, and stations and were selected based on age, techniques, association with historical persons, and evidence of historical development (Joseon-chongdokbu 1933, Article 1). Ancient Sites included places of faith and ritual, military bases, bridges and tombs, which focused on archaeological sites.

Formulated during his survey between 1909 and 1912 by the order of the Japanese government, Sekino's prejudiced view that the technique and size of Korean buildings were not worthy of appreciation, influenced the attitude towards designation resulting in only a few old buildings being classed as Treasure (Sekino 1904, 45-59; Sekino 1931, 22). The 1943 statistics showed that there were 71 designated timber buildings among 419 Treasures and 79 architectural sites among 145 Ancient Sites (Gang Hyeon 2005, 92).

The Korean government's *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 1962 changed the categories of cultural properties into four groups: Tangible, Intangible, Monuments, and Folklore Materials (CHA 1962a, Article 7 to 9). Since the act was enacted, these categories have not changed. The contents and grading of each category for designation are as described in Table 1.

The criteria for selection of each category are slightly different: Tangible and Intangible Cultural Properties include historical and artistic values; Monuments had historical, artistic, informational, and scenic values; Folklore Materials have informational value in understanding a traditional way of life and development. The Committee of Cultural Properties decides on selection and grading and on consequent conservation plans. *Munhwajae-wiwonhoe-gyujeong* (The Committee of Cultural Property Regulation), which was first enacted in 1962 (CHA 1962b), regulates the composition of the Committee and its roles. The latest revision of *Munhwajae-wiwonhoe-gyujeong* (The Committee of Cultural Property Regulation) in 2008 states that there are 11 sub-committees for designation: National Treasure, Architectural building, Movable object, Historical site, Performing intangible cultural property, Craft skill intangible cultural property, Natural monument of rare species, Archaeological site, Modern building, Folklore material, and Site of scenic beauty (CHA 2008f, Article 5).

Category	Contents	Grading or classification
Tangible Cultural Properties	buildings, books, documents, sculptures, paintings, artefacts	National Treasure
		Treasure
Intangible Cultural Properties	plays, dances, music, craft skills	Important Intangible Cultural Property
Monuments	tombs, archaeological sites of palaces, castles, walls, and kilns, natural species of trees, plants, animals, and minerals	Historic Site *
		Site of Scenic Beauty *
		Natural Monument
Folklore Materials	objects for rituals, garments, cooking wares	Important Folklore Material

Table 1 Contents and grading of designation in 1962

* If a site meets both categories of Historic Site and Site of Scenic Beauty, it can be designated as ‘Historic Site and Site of Scenic Beauty’: for example Bulguk temple is designated as ‘Historic Site and Site of Scenic Beauty No. 1’ (note that the number does not imply relative importance but relates to the order in which assets were designated).

First, it is worth reviewing the criteria for Intangible Cultural Properties which is a unique system compared with the English legal framework, in particular the protection of craftsmanship and skills. The designation of Intangible Cultural Properties was set up in the first *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 1962 in order to protect traditional art, music, dance, and crafts skills, as well living skills such as cooking methods. In the 1970 revision of the act, it became possible to designate a person with those skills.

Intangible Cultural Properties are divided into two categories: Art and Craft.

Art includes music, dance, play, ritual, and martial arts and Craft includes crafts and cooking skills. As of 2008, there are 48 different crafts skill which are designated as Intangible Cultural Properties including three construction-related skills, *daemok-jang* (master carpenter), *somok-jang* (carpenter), and *dancheong-jang* (painter of cosmic design on wooden components). The protection of intangible heritage is ensured through five modes: designation, supporting transmission of traditions and practices, assisting performance and exhibition, supporting training, and documentation of skills and techniques (Gang Gyeonghwan 2005, 2). *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) designates the skill itself and a skilled person or group of people (CHA 2008c, Article 6). A successive system to train craftsmen is drafted in *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-ryeong* (CPP Regulation). It divides three different levels before becoming a designated as a living human treasure: advanced students (CHA 2008e, Article 26), graduates (CHA 2008e, Article 24), and assistant instructors (CHA 2008e, Article 25), who all receive financial support from the government. In addition, honorary living human treasures who are unable to continue his work due to illness or age and who are not supported by any pension program after the retirement receive the minimum living expenses for the living from the government (Yim Dawnhee 2005, 3). As of 2008, numbers of designated persons and registered trainers, graduates, and trainees (including advanced students) are as in Table 2.

	Designated craftsman	Assistant trainer	Graduates	Trainee
Master carpenter	3	2	51	4
Painter	1	7	20	2
Carpenter	1	2	15	0

Table 2. Number of designated craftsmen and registered trainers, graduates, and trainees as of 2008

The first *Munwhajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 1962 stated that ‘an important intangible cultural property can be designated’ (CHA 1962a, Article 5) such as

Yeongsanjae (The ritual at Vulture Peak) which is one of the most popular Buddhist rituals to remind Buddha's preaching in Yeongsan (Vulture Peak). The criteria for designation in *Munwhajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance), which had never changed until the last revision in 2008, are ambiguous without detailed statements. It states that the criteria of designating an intangible cultural property are historic, academic, and artistic values of local distinctiveness (CHA 2008d, Appendix I), but no further details to explain the definition and substance of those values. In addition, there are no instructions on designation for investigators or examiners to identify those values and to assess the quality to designate unlike the two English instructions of 1947 and the 1980s or a public statement of criteria as in PPG15.

Second, it is worthwhile examining the criteria of National Treasure and Treasure of Tangible Cultural Properties which include architectural buildings of *Munhwajae-bobeop* (CPP Act). Article 7-1 of the 1962 act stated that 'the Minister of Education can designate an important property as a Treasure among objects within the category of Tangible Cultural Properties based on the advice of the Committee of Cultural Properties' (CHA 1962a). Thereafter, Article 7-2 noted that 'the minister can designate valuable and rare Treasure in terms of human cultural development National Treasures' (CHA 1962a).

Whereas *Munwhajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 1962 empowered the government to designate Treasures and National Treasures and drafted basic guidelines for designation, *Munwhajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) of 1964 was supposed to provide clearer and detailed criteria of selection for each category when it was first drafted but it failed to do so. In addition the criteria have never been revised since the first edition despite 34 revisions up to 2008. Article 3-1 of *Munwhajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) 1964 stated that 'timber buildings [for designation] include buildings, stupas, gates of castles, corridors which enclose certain areas of a compound, shrines, schools, pavilions, Confucian schools, local offices, inns, and houses, and any building which has historical, academic, aesthetic, technical values among

them can be designated as Treasure' (CHA 1964). Article 4 of the same guidance specified five criteria of designation for National Treasure: 1. outstanding historical, academic, and aesthetic values; 2. an old and representative example of the period it belongs to; 3. an outstanding example of fine decoration and techniques which is rare in other cultural properties; 4. outstanding form, quality, material, and use; 5. related to a famous historical person or made by him (CHA 1964).

Nevertheless, although *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) and *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) have attempted to revise other matters, such as systematic support through funding for Intangible Cultural Properties and the establishment of a heritage-specialising institution, the criteria for selection and grading of designated properties for both Tangible and Intangible Cultural Properties has not changed since the first *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 1962 and *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) of 1964. Thus, current criteria do not reflect changes in values and attitudes over more than forty years and do not provide practical and specific guidelines for selection for designation. The criteria for selection are not flexible or inclusive enough to consider the particular characteristics of each category and different aspects of their significance so the assessment of Buddhist temples and other buildings remains under the same guidance for selection. As a result it is not possible in designation to recognise the way in which aesthetic/architectural intention are expressed religious theory through the disposition of buildings, and listing a building cannot protect the relationship between buildings in the religious sense. Although the significance of such relationships has been recognised in recent studies of architectural history providing new information on the tangible expression of religious theory in Buddhist temples (Kim Bongryeol 1989; Kim Hongsik 1995; Kim Bongryeol 1999c), the legal framework has not reflected such perspective.

In addition there are no detailed criteria for the category of Treasure in the

guidance while those for National Treasure are too abstract without specific description, so decisions depend on the professional but personal knowledge and taste of the Committee of Cultural Properties. A weekly magazine *Jugandong-a* (literally Weekly Eastern Asia) reported that an anonymous member of the committee claimed that ‘a decision of grading strongly depends on a personal decision of a specific member in the Committee’ which means the criteria of selection can change when new members are appointed (Anon 2001a, 63). The article also reported that several present and former members of the Committee claimed that ‘many National Treasures and Treasures do not meet a sufficient standard in their qualities and values to be worth designating to the grade’ (Anon 2001a, 62). Such problems were confirmed in the 2003 survey of 152 former and present commissioners of the Committee of Cultural Properties who served between 1997 and 2003. The survey revealed that 10 % of the commissioners believed that there are commissioners in the Committee whose professional knowledge is not adequate to qualify them to sit (Kim Hongryeol 2004, 410). In such circumstances, the Cultural Heritage Administration needs to provide a systematic description of guidelines for members of the Committee of Cultural Properties to enable them to assess and decide a grade of designation.

Furthermore, the role of age in designation is not clearly identified. The reason why the Korean legal system refers to ‘old’ without a specific date range can be explained by the dominance of age value from the Korean perspective, with an obsession about ‘old’ buildings which support national history and pride as discussed in section 3.2.4.1 of chapter 3. They are simply identified as distinct from modern buildings, especially those built during the Japanese colonial period in different styles, both western and Japanese, which have not been recognized as an important part of the heritage needing to be preserved. Modern buildings are not designated but can only be registered under the revised *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 2001, which brings them under minimum control of alteration by local and central government (CHA 2001a, Article 42). To protect all periods of the nation’s history, the date range has to

be specified and extended to include modern buildings and the range of values of each heritage group has to be identified in detail.

Recent debates about National Treasure No. 1 provide an example of the result of the accumulation of the above problems. It also shows a failure of understanding regarding assessed values in designation and significance of grading not only by the public but also by the Cultural Heritage Administration, the responsible authority for designation.

Sungnyemun, a south gate of old Seoul during the Joseon Period which lost its setting as explained in 3.2.4.1 in chapter 3 (Figure 3.10 and 3.11), was designated as Treasure no. 1 during the Japanese colonial period and was converted into National Treasure No. 1 in 1955. The Board of Audit and Inspection of Korea, even though it is not responsible for any issues regarding cultural properties, in 2005 claimed that the Cultural Heritage Administration should de-designate Sungnyemun from National Treasure No. 1 because it was not of sufficient quality to be the first in the designation list (Anon 2005c). The underlying meaning of 'sufficient quality' implied that the building should be older than Joseon Period and of outstanding aesthetic quality, but this interpretation was ill-judged, given that the understanding of the values of the building were based on an abstract description of criteria of selection favouring age in grading. Encouraged by the claim, public opinion imposed a meaningless symbolism on the number of designation and the Cultural Heritage Administration announced that they would consider an amendment (Anon 2005d). However, the number was merely a serial number for administration as Hwijun An, a director of the Committee of the Committee of Cultural Properties, argued during re-examination of its designation (Anon 2005e). Because Korean people tend to place great significance on No. 1, both the public and the Cultural Heritage Administration questioned the rationale of designating it the first number, even though it had no symbolic meaning.

However both the public and the government demonstrated a deep emotional attachment toward the building when the timber part of the building was totally destroyed by arson in February in 2008 (Figure 4.1). Next morning, more than a thousand people from different regions came to the site and some of them left white chrysanthemums which stand for condolence for the dead (Figure 4.2) (Anon 2008a). This shows how the Korean people were attached emotionally to the building, partly because of its significance of National Treasure No. 1. The Cultural Heritage Administration announced that they



Figure 4.1 Sungnyemun after fire

would restore the building with the detailed drawings which were produced in 2006. The debate to de-designate the building had faded out and the Cultural Heritage Administration confirmed that it will keep the same status even after restoration which is planned to finish in 2013 (Anon 2008b).



Figure 4.2 Sungnyemun with white chrysanthemums

4.3.2. Tangible and intangible aspects of value and authenticity in the present legal framework: PPG 15 and *Munhwajae-bohobeop*(CPP Act) and *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik*(CPP Guidance) of 2008

The previous section focused on the criteria of listing and designation. This section will examine how tangible and intangible aspects are embedded in PPG 15 and *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) which are the present guidance documents to enshrine a holistic attitude toward conservation in England and Korea. It will also examine different methods of stewardship in the English and Korean legal systems.

In respect of attitudes towards authenticity, it will argue that PPG 15 regards authenticity in conservation as a flexible and changing notion whereas *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) and *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) understand it, especially in the notion of authenticity of form, as frozen in time. In addition, PPG 15 focuses on tangible heritage protecting physical remains whereas *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) embraces both tangible and intangible heritage in its classification. Thus, *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) classifies craftsmen and their skills as a separate group to be designated and preserved in the same way as tangible heritage is protected. However, I will argue that PPG 15 regards intangible aspects as a part of tangible remains so encouraging their protection, especially in terms of setting and the emotional association with historic environment. In contrast, *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act), although it recognises that the setting of physical remains and their relationship with other neighbouring buildings or monuments are essential aspects of heritage protection, has ignored intangible aspects of tangible remains.

Regarding methods of stewardship and responsibility for heritage protection within the legal system, it will be shown that PPG 15 distributes various responsibilities not only to English Heritage but also to local planning authorities, amenity bodies, religious denominations, and the public for control and management of conservation as well as various funding bodies for

subsidising funding. In contrast, *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) centralizes the responsibility in the government for designating, planning, and executing conservation as well as subsidising funding, while it places the local authority as a subordinate body to help with supervision of conservation practice and to provide partial funding.

4.3.2.1. Authenticity in PPG 15 and CPPA

The key aspect of the present English legal system concerned with heritage protection is a holistic perspective towards an individual building in relation to the concept of ‘historic environment’ which has been an essential approach for the last fifteen years. Historic environment in PPG 15 embraces ‘all those aspects of the country that reflect the shaping hand of human history’ (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 6.1) so the understanding and appreciation of it ‘stretches beyond buildings to the spaces and semi-natural features’ (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 6.2).

From the perspective of preserving the historic environment, PPG 15 recognizes not only the intrinsic value of an individual building but also its contextual influence in relation to other buildings and communities. The first paragraph of Part I of PPG 15 clarifies the importance of the physical aspect of heritage stating that ‘the physical survivals of our past are to be valued and protected for their own sake, as a central part of our cultural heritage and our sense of national identity’. Thereafter the same paragraph identifies the importance of the associative aspect of physical remains in formulating ‘historic environment’. It states that those physical remains enhance ‘the familiar and cherished local scene’ and sustain ‘the sense of local distinctiveness which is so important an aspect of the character and appearance of our towns, villages and countryside’ (DoE and DNH 1994, para 1.1).

The emphasis on the ‘historic environment’ in the legal system attempts to ensure that planning and conservation are in a cooperative, not hostile, relationship stating ‘planning is an important instrument for protecting and

enhancing the environment in town and country, and preserving the built and natural heritage' (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 1.2). It also understands that historic buildings are dynamic and changing stating that 'the historic environment of England is all-pervasive, and it cannot in practice be preserved unchanged' (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 1.3). PPG 15 sustains the importance of setting in Circular 8/87 as 'an essential part of the building's character' (para. 2.16) taking a wider definition of setting which includes not only 'ancillary land' but also 'land some distance from it [a historic building]' (para. 2.17). Therefore, listed building consent is to be reviewed in terms of 'the particular physical features of the building' as well as 'the building's setting and its contribution to the local scene' (para. 3.5).

The first article of the 1962 *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) (which is unchanged in the latest revision in 2008) identifies the purpose of conservation as 'this act aims at contributing to the cultural improvement of the people (Korean) and the development of the culture of mankind by protecting cultural properties, perpetuating our culture, and utilizing them' (CHA 1962a, Article 1). Thereafter, it explains only one principle of conservation, management, and use which is 'a conservation of *wonhyeong* (original form)' without a definition of the word (CHA 1962a, Article 2.2). As explained in 3.2.1 of chapter 3, it is probable that *wonhyeong* (original form) within the act means the earliest form in fixed time.

There is no article to describe the importance of setting or its protection in the act. Instead, Article 8 provides that the administration of the Cultural Heritage Administration is responsible for designating a 'protective area' [which encloses a historic property] or 'protective object' [nearby historic building, monument, or object] (CHA 1962a, Article 8), but it does not require that it respects the contextual aspect of a single historic building within the surrounding historic environment. The Korean legal system regards a cultural property as a separate entity detached from the surrounding area and unrelated to other buildings because conservation is not a part of planning but a separate

task. However, considering that setting in architectural property, especially in Buddhist temples, is an essential part of authenticity as discussed in section 3.2.4.5, the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) should have defined setting and established a provision that the disposition of the buildings surrounding a designated building must be protected.

Another difference from the English legal system is that the Korean act designates craftsmanship as a separate category of intangible heritage apart from tangible heritage (CHA 2008c, Article 2). However, there is no provision for connecting a designated intangible property with the conservation of a tangible property. The certification of conservators and conservation companies, which will be described in the following section on stewardship, and the designation of craftsmen operate separately. Given this situation, the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) needs to encourage the active involvement of a designated intangible property in the conservation of a designated tangible property in future.

4.3.2.2. Stewardship

PPG15 apportions responsibility to the government and English Heritage as the body to build an infra-structure of designation, consultation, policy making, and education (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 1.3 and 1.5) as well as to provide 'specialist advice at the preparation stage' (para 2.10) while the local authority is responsible for planning, assisting owners and public, and providing practical advice in compliance with the government's policy (para. 1.6). It imposes great responsibility on local authorities stating that 'the government urges local authorities to maintain and strengthen their commitment to stewardship of the historic environment, and to reflect it in their policies and their allocation of resources...Above all, local authorities should ensure that they can call on sufficient specialist conservation advice, whether individually or jointly, to inform their decision-making and to assist owners and other members of the public' (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 1.6). In addition, it realizes that 'historic environment cannot be preserved unless there is broad

public support and understanding' so it extends the notion of stewardship from central and local authorities to embrace business, voluntary bodies, churches and individual citizens as owners and users of, and visitors to historic buildings (DoE and DNH 1994, para. 1.7; Airs 1996, 63).

Such distribution and sharing of responsibility would be constructive if all responsible bodies were sufficiently proficient to accomplish their tasks at different stages of conservation. For that, it is important for the central authority to devise efficient procedures and guidelines to attune the different perspectives of various bodies, such as religious denominations, local authorities, amenity societies, and the various funding and consulting bodies. In particular, it is important for local planning authorities to understand architectural and historic significance as well as religious needs in deciding planning permission for a church. However, the recent publication of English Heritage, *Understanding historic buildings: policy and guidance for local planning authorities* (English Heritage 2008b), which set out to provide practical guidance on the way of understanding the significance of an historic building and of its constituent parts, has dealt with principles and cases of secular buildings alone without considering religious buildings. In order for local authorities to play an important role in executing informed planning, it is necessary for the English Heritage to provide them a set of guidance to identify the significance of religious buildings.

In Korea the stewardship for heritage is centralized by the government having full responsibility for designated tangible and intangible heritage elements. The Cultural Heritage Administration, the Committee of Cultural Properties, and National Research Institute for Cultural Properties represent central authority and are responsible for designation, drafting comprehensive policy, planning of conservation and funding, and providing professional and practical advice for treatment.

The government's role under the Act extends to the management of a

certification system for conservators and conservation companies who alone are licensed to undertake conservation of designated national cultural properties. The Korean legal system describes details of the process of certifying conservators and conservation companies in the act, regulations, and guidance. Article 7-5 of the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 2008 clarifies that ‘the administrator of Cultural Heritage Administration operates an annual test for the examination of qualifications in conservation of cultural properties’ (CHA 2008c, Article 7-5). Once an individual or company has passed this test, there is no requirement for periodic re-registration or updating of skills. Article 8-4 of the *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) of 2008 states that ‘a company which registers for any contract for conservation has to employ a full-time licensed conservator’ (CHA 2008d, Article 8-4). The provision that a national or local authority, which initiates a contract of conservation, can set up a Committee for Technical Advice to provide professional advice to a conservator or a conservation company was introduced in the revised *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) of 2001 (CHA 2001b, Article 11-3). The Committee is composed of seven members: six experts who are recommended by the Cultural Heritage Administration and a responsible civil conservation officer who is appointed by the Cultural Heritage Administrator (CHA 2001b, Article 11-3). It provides helpful technical advice when a contractor does not have professional knowledge. However, there is no specific regulation that advice to contractors should be decided on in the meeting of the committee, which means that the contractor can seek individual advice of the committee members. When a contractor asks for advice from several members, they are often confused because each of them has different principles and opinions (Go Juhwan (a manager of Sambu Construction, a conservation company in Korea) pers. comm. March 2007).

For subsidizing funding for conservation of a designated property, the central and local government take full responsibility. Article 28 in *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) 2008 provides that ‘the Government can provide a full or

partial amount of expenses for conservation'(CHA 2008c, Article 28). The funding covers any cost for protection, repair, and recording for both tangible and intangible properties.

Government-focused policy within the legal system can provide intensive and powerful control for the protection of nationally recognized heritage. However, this approach can confine responsibility to central government, which makes it less likely to reflect the changing concepts of value and authenticity from the public and private sector's viewpoints. In each case, it is difficult to set up detailed guidelines reflecting changing local need and perception toward the heritage. In particular, the variations in aesthetic/religious value between designated and undesignated buildings in Buddhist temples demand the formulation of a consistent principle for their conservation. However, the lack of communication between central and local governments or between them and a temple authority can result in the losing of such values. In addition, the certification system for conservators and conservation companies ensures a high standard of conservation practice for a designated heritage but it does not encourage traditional group-based workmanship which was distinctive in the practice of monk craftsmen. In order to combat this problem, the Cultural Heritage Administration needs to attract a wider range of public involvement so that the responsibility can be shared with the government and conservation principles of local and central government can be consistent. In addition, it has to consider the way that the legal system can adopt the traditional ways of training and practice combined with contemporary ones in order to re-construct authentic workmanship for designated heritage in the future.

4.4. Religious systems

4.4.1. The operation of Faculty Jurisdiction in England

While both systems acknowledge the importance of historic and architectural values as central, the church tends to make a special case for the religious importance of the buildings. In granting consent for a listed building, the

secular legal system is concerned with the balance between the need for economic growth and the protection of the historic environment, whereas the ecclesiastical measures for a faculty respect the function and use of the historic building as a centre of worship and mission (Baker 1999, 101). Developers in the secular system have to prove the economic foundation of their arguments for change to a building: in the case of the church, the corresponding religious arguments are taken as read in every case.

Both religious and secular perspectives on value assessment in church buildings are important and should be respected so that, ideally, a way is found to implement a balanced approach within the legal system. If the religious and secular legal frameworks can complement each other in keeping the balance when assessing the various values ascribed to religious buildings in use, it would be even better for preservation of a building. A debate on the inclusion of church buildings in use under the control of the secular legal system should be focused on an examination as to whether the present ecclesiastical system is efficient enough to secure both religious and secular values in decision-making.

This section will focus on whether ecclesiastical measures provide efficient legal frameworks for objective decision-making and whether they are complementary to the secular legal frameworks in terms of reconciling the conflicting aspects of various values. It will argue that religious legal frameworks have enshrined the idea that a church in use should be recognised as a physical manifestation of contemporary theology and as a place for worship and mission but the problem in making objective decisions has not been entirely solved because religious authorities and communities have not appreciated historical and architectural values in practice.

The religious standpoint is clearly expressed in the Care of Churches and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure 1991, emphasising 'the role of a church as a local centre of worship and mission' (CoE 1991, para. 1). In addition, the

Code of Practice re-confirms that ‘churches are not only “historic monuments” they exist for a purpose - the worship of God and the mission of His Church’ (CoE 1993, para. 3). In order to fulfil the purpose of worship and mission, a church needs to ‘affirm religious purpose and attract others to share in faith and liturgy’ (Baker 1999, 101). It is important to understand for both religious and secular bodies that losing religious function in a church and making it ‘a museum for the benefit of academics and tourists’ may lead to ‘much greater loss of historic and architectural value in the long term’ (Kent 1999, 2). Therefore, the role of the Faculty Jurisdiction is not only to advocate religious value in conservation but also to guide both religious and secular authorities to take a compromising approach in decision-making when their needs conflict.

In order that religious legal frameworks stand in a complementary position with the secular ones it is necessary for religious authority to understand that religious, historical, and architectural values are not mutually exclusive, but inclusive as much as possible because maintaining a church in use cannot be achieved without preserving architectural and historical values.

The church has been criticised about the lack of objectivity in assessing various values. Recommendations from amenity societies during a consultation for the improvement of the Faculty Jurisdiction after the approval of the extension of state grants to cover parish churches raised the problem. In a letter dated June 25 1980, SPAB raised the criticism that the system failed to control ‘aesthetic and architectural matters satisfactorily at all times’ (NA, HLG126/2216). In another letter dated July 8, 1980, the Georgian Society raised the same problem stating that ‘a Chancellor allowed “pastoral reasons” to outweigh architectural and historical consideration in dealing with alterations’ recommending that DACs should be given power to make decisions in repairing and altering a church (NA, HLG126/2216). After the consultation and internal review of the Faculty Jurisdiction, the internal procedures of the Faculty Jurisdiction were improved to include secular authorities and amenity societies to ensure a more objective approach to

decision-making.

These criticisms about lack of objectivity in decision-making continued through the ensuing years. Newman, in his 1997 review of Ecclesiastical Exemption, claimed that the principal reason why the exempt denominations accept secular planning controls but wish to retain their exemption from listed building controls was to enable them to alter interior arrangements as they needed (1997, 17). From the same perspective as that of Newman, Delafons noted that ‘the ecclesiastical exemption leaves wide scope for misconceived internal alterations that are not caught by planning control and may escape the surveillance of the Church’s Advisory Committee’ (1997, 129). In response to a government consultation document *The future of ecclesiastical exemption* (DCMS 2004), the Institute of Historic Building Conservation (IHBC) pointed out that ‘the Church of England’s system for dealing with serious disputes about proposals is unwieldy and often seen as biased towards the church’s own interests’ (Chetwyn 2004, 2).

However, in theory, the extent of control of the ecclesiastical procedure is greater than the listed building control especially in respect of the interior of a building and objects. The Diocesan Advisory Committee is composed of a chairman, possibly three archdeacons of the diocese who always sit on the committee, two people from the diocesan synod, and less than ten other people appointed after consultation with English Heritage, the relevant associations of the local authority, and the National Amenity Societies. The committee reviews various alterations, repairs, extensions, and additions to the interior as well as the re-arrangement of objects. Considering that a faculty needs to be granted for most proposals of alteration of the interior and the removal of each item of furnishing and object, the detailed range of work and change to the interior of a church is examined and controlled by the DAC over a much greater range of works than within the secular system. However, some advisory committees lose a balanced perspective of the various values and tend to become self-interested bodies which tend to make decisions in favour of the

religious perspective, so that historical and architectural values are undervalued. This continuing unease about the quality of objective decision-making despite improvements in procedure, suggests that the causes are not to be found in defects in the procedures of decision-making. Another cause of the problem might be an underlying attitude of religious communities toward architectural and historic values. Religious authorities profess the significance of architectural and historic values, but in practice they tend to favour religious one. A complaining letter from the Archdeacon of Exeter to a local MP, Sir Peter Mills, in 1984 about the nature of the state grant provides a relevant example of the attitude (NA, HLG126/2180). He complained that 'the taxpayer would prefer to see more weight given to pastoral considerations than to the architectural and historic interest of the buildings in the distribution of grants'. He argued that state funds should be given based on the importance of the religious role demonstrating a fundamental misunderstanding about the nature of the state grant for the conservation of church buildings in terms of historic and architectural values. Even though he understood that the state grant was for the preservation of architectural and historic importance, he failed to appreciate the role of the state in the care of churches and that of religious authorities on pastoral matters.

Inconsistencies within the Code of Practice (CoE 1993) serve also to illustrate the tensions between religious values as against heritage significance. Article 6 of the Code of Practice clarifies the importance of both religious and secular values of a church and the ecclesiastical legal framework needed to respect it. It states that 'this (exemption) leaves it with greater flexibility to use its buildings so as to meet the needs of the living church, while at the same time giving due weight to all the various 'heritage' considerations' (CoE 1993, Article 6). However, article 112 of the Code of Practice, which explains the guiding principles of the DAC, focuses on the religious aspects of the church building. It states that the Faculty Jurisdiction Measure 1991 'requires the advisory committee and any sub-committees to have regard to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; this is an obvious aspect of the general

requirement to have due regard to the church's role as a local centre of worship and mission' implying that religious legal framework concerns religious value only when taking care of churches (CoE 1993, Article 112).

These tensions are explicitly addressed in the Faculty Jurisdiction Rules of 2000 which require that any proposal which brings significant changes to a listed church should provide the advisory committee with a 'Statement of Significance' and 'Statement of Needs' (CoE 2000, Article 3(3)). Two publications provide lucid guidelines how to draft them: *Statements of Significance and Need Guidance for parish* by the Council for the Care of Churches (CCC 2002, revised in 2007) and *New work in historic places of worship* (2003) by English Heritage.

The Council for the Care of Churches' guidance (CCC 2002, revised in 2007) states that the Statement of Significance needs to explain the holistic overview as well as particular parts of the church affected by the proposed scheme providing architectural and artistic information of exterior and interior and historic facts associated with the church. The Statement of Needs should set out why the needs of the parish cannot be met without making changes to the building in order to assist in its worship and mission providing information about religious practice, population and contemporary needs.

The English Heritage guidance is particularly important because it recognises the religious function explicitly and counter-balances it against historic and architectural significance. It states that listing 'creates a presumption in favour of the preservation of the building but does not in itself rule out the possibility of change' (English Heritage 2003, 2). In so recognising the requirements of a church for the continuity of religious use, it set out the principal guidelines which could be applied when considering proposals for the alteration or extension of a church in terms of identifying significance and determining needs. It states that 'community, setting, site, architectural and historical development, fabric, and furnishings' should be considered in

identifying significance (English Heritage 2003, 5). It also states that it is necessary to establish the nature of the need at an early stage of any work and it should be identified whether the changes proposed are essential for the continuity of religious use or merely desirable (English Heritage 2003, 5).

These two statements can be useful documents for both petitioners and decision-making bodies in terms of identifying various values from both secular and religious perspectives and compromising their conflicting values. However, they can be used to justify a change to a listed church to satisfy the ill-judged aspirations of the religious community. There is no detailed guidelines for the decision-making body on how to decide whether the needs for a change are essential for the continuous use of a church or not. In particular, there are no guidelines on how the decision should be made when religious needs conflicts with informational and historical values.

A new publication, *Conservation management plans guidance for major churches* (CCC 2007), follows a similar one for cathedrals was published in 2002 by the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England. It sets out to design a systematic framework to identify tangible and intangible values. As shown in the pilot case of St Mary's, Totnes in Devon (Totnes and Bridgetown PCC 2007), it attempts to identify historical and architectural significance in detail as well as to address contemporary needs and problems for a church to adapt its mission and service. It aims at setting out a long term management plan.

An earlier example is the *Conservation Plan for Selby Abbey* (Purcell Miller Tritton 2002) which was drafted before the CCC 2007 guidance was published, and dealt only with historical and architectural information. By contrast the Totnes Plan looked also at the significance of intangible aspects in relation to the town and local community at a detailed level. However, a conservation management plan for a parish church which suffers from financial problems would be difficult to commission without financial support from secular communities. In addition, it is important to consider its merit and usefulness

in circumstances where the list description and Statements of Significance and Needs contain similar or duplicated information.

4.4.2. *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) in Korea

Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop (TTP Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) are two legal systems for the protection of Korean Buddhist temples and objects: the former has been enacted and is controlled by the Korean government and the latter does not have the force of law and is administered by the Jogye Order. Ideally the former considers a temple as a complex of related buildings and aims to protect its religious value and settings. The latter encourages appropriate management of immovable and movable assets of a temple. This section will argue that these legal frameworks aim to protect the intangible aspects of a temple, in particular, religious value and function, but the procedures to achieve these goals are not systematic enough to make for objective decision-making.

Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop (TTP Act) was enacted in 1987 replacing *Bulgyojaesan-gwanribeop* (Buddhist Assets Maintenance Act) of 1962. In order to provide clearer guidelines, *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop-sihaengryeong* (TTP Regulation) explains further details of several provisions of *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act). After consultations with monks, scholars, and art-related professionals, a minister of the Ministry of Cultural and Tourism can designate a *Jeontong-sachal* (Traditional temple) based on four criteria which are that it: 1. shows an important characteristic of a specific period; 2. has information for an understanding of Buddhism, culture, art, and architecture; 3. is a representative example to show that the origin and development of Korean culture possesses distinctive historical characteristics; 4. possesses other cultural value worth designating (CHA 2008b, Article 3). The criteria of selection are not confined to the significance of physical remains but also to the role and position of a temple, whether it has been the home of a famous monk and his students, or the location of special historical events, or of a distinctive

religious practice.

The positive aspect of *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) is that it balances the weakness of the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) which deals with only single buildings and excludes undesignated ones. It also includes the surrounding area as a holistic asset to preserve authenticity of setting. It divides the temple, including the surrounding area, into four (Figure 4.3): 1. Temple compound; 2. Preserved area for traditional temple; 3. Temple-owned land; 4. Preserved area for historical and cultural significance, in order to regulate different levels of restriction (CHA 2008a, Article 2 and 6).

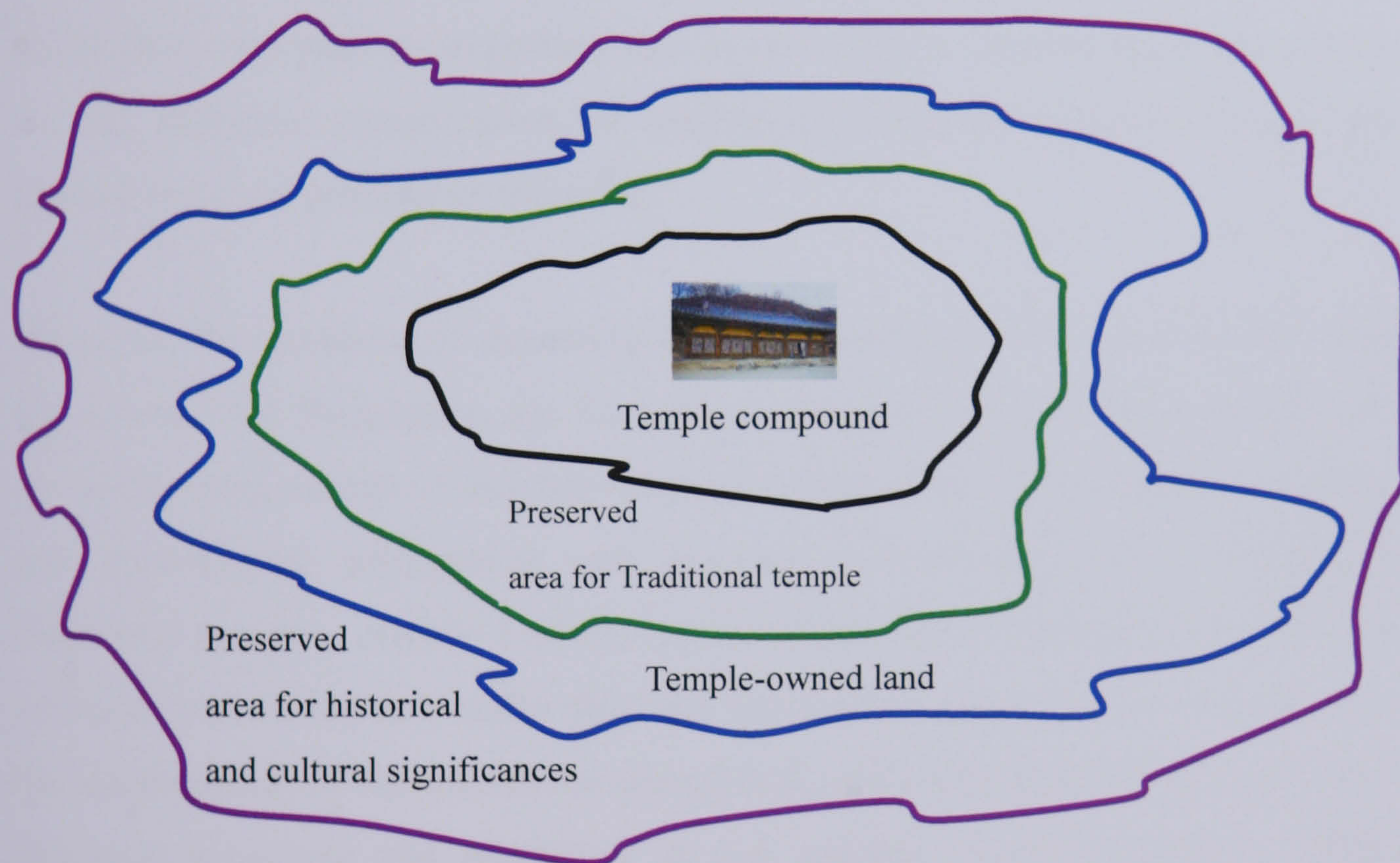


Figure 4.3 Four areas of a designated Traditional Temple

A Preserved area, which necessarily should be identified at the time of designation, is the essential area for the preservation of traditional buildings and landscape for religious observation within the curtilage of the temple compound. It restricts any new construction or alteration except for the purposes of dissemination of Buddhism, preservation or improvement of a traditional temple, and other religious activities providing benefits to the public

(CHA 2008b, Article 3-2). A Preserved area for historical and cultural significance, whose designation is optional by later application by an abbot, includes a wider area than the immediate environs of the temple to within 500 meters away from temple-owned land and it restricts construction of roads and railroads and the development of amenities for visitor which can interrupt religious practice and activities (CHA 2008b, Article 7-2).

In addition, *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) does not provide the appropriate framework to create the balance between development and preservation which is essential for a living temple. In such circumstances, *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) and *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop-sihaengryeong* (TTP Regulation) can play an important role in providing a suitable legal framework for the effective conservation of traditional Buddhist temples if they are applied in actual practice as intended.

However, the problem of *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) is that both the Act and the Regulation are focused on the restriction of development and on secular judgements of the relevance of religious activities instead of guiding and encouraging affirmative and practical conservation of a designated traditional temple. Article 1 of the Act of 2008, which attempts to provide the principal aim of the act, states that ‘the purpose of the Act is to contribute to the development of our culture by preserving traditional temples which possess historical meanings and contribute to our cultural inheritance’(CHA 2008a, Article 1). However, there is no further explanation of the various values assessed in a traditional temple and no rationale why they have to be respected and preserved and how this can be achieved. Instead, the Act concentrates on the procedures for the government’s control over the internal management matters of Buddhist temples, such as loans or removal of objects from the temple (CHA 2008a, Article 6).

Seongbo-bojonbeop (STP Measure) was enacted in 1972 and the latest amendment was made in 2005. It defines *seongbo* (literally sacred treasure) as

the ‘output of Buddhist culture’ including both tangible remains and intangible rituals which have ‘historical and aesthetic values’ (Jogye Order 2005, Article 2). The measure appoints an abbot as a responsible person for the maintenance and conservation of *seongbo* (Jogye Order 2005, Article 3) and it provides that the headquarters of the Jogye Order can establish a conservation committee of *seongbo* (Jogye Order 2005, Article 7). *Seongbo-bojon-wiwonhoe-ryeong* (The Conservation Committee of *Seongbo* Regulation) 2007, which was first enacted in 1998, states that an executive director of administration of the Jogye Order, a head of the committee, or a request from one third of the committee members can call for a meeting of a conservation committee of *seongbo* for decisions on new constructions, repairs, extensions, and alterations of buildings of *Jeontong-sachal* (Traditional temples) and outdoor monuments (Jogye Order 2007a, Article 10-1-1), excavation (Jogye Order 2007a, Article 10-1-2), construction of a temple museum (Jogye Order 2007a, Article 10-1-3), and the conservation, loan, removal, and restoration of movable objects (Jogye Order 2007a, Article 10-1-4).

Similar to *Jeontonsachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act), the positive aspect of *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) is that it protects both designated and undesignated buildings and objects based on the perspective that all religious buildings and objects are produced for worship so that it is possible to set out a conservation plan for a temple from a wider perspective, considering an undesignated building with a designated one. This is an effective system which is not paralleled in the secular system. The criteria of *seongbo* (sacred treasure) in *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) include all kinds of religious objects. *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) of 2005 identifies four criteria of *seongbo* (sacred treasure): 1. Buddhist sculptures, architecture, stupas, written records, calligraphy, painting, artefacts, and other objects which were made for worship and have historical and aesthetic values; 2. Buddhist ritual, dance, music, performance, literature, and craft skills; 3. ruins, sites, monumental remains; 4. Buddhist robes and cookery equipment (Jogye Order 2005, Article 2).

However, both systems bestow over-responsibility on the abbot which can lead to misuse of his authority and responsibility. *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) of 2008 states that ‘being a manager of (the conservation of) the temple, the abbot of (a designated) Traditional temple should preserve and maintain a temple with sincere care’ (CHA 2008a, Article 5). Article 7 states that ‘an abbot should make a list of properties’ and Article 8 notes that he can conduct missionary work, social welfare facilities, and other business for public benefit if they satisfy the Buddhist faith and philosophy’ (CHA 2008a). Article 5-1 of *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) of 2005 (Jogye Order 2005) provides a provision from the same perspective as *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) bestowing full responsibility for management and conservation of *seongbo* (sacred treasure) on an abbot. An example of the problems these provisions can cause is given by the case of an abbot who embezzled a conservation grant, which will be explained in section 5.2.1 of chapter 5.

In addition, the procedure for decision-making is not systematic enough to encourage an objective and balanced perspective. An advisory committee can be set up in each city or province under the revised Act of 2005 in order to provide advice on decisions about the designation of a temple, a Preserved Area, and a Preserved Area for History and Culture, the construction of roads, railways, and buildings for commercial use, and quarrying within a Preserved Area for History and Culture (CHA 2008a, Article 4-3). It is composed of up to nine members, with a minimum of five, who have a great deal of knowledge and experience in history, traditional culture, and Buddhist architecture and art, appointed after consultation with an elected leader of the local and municipal authority (CHA 2008a, Article 4-3). *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop-sihaengryeong* (TTP Regulation) of 2008 specifies that five members of the committee should be appointed from abbots of temples in the same province as the one to which the designated temple belongs (CHA 2008b, Article 6-2). In such cases, it might lose the balance of members from the secular and religious communities, so that the committee can decide a matter in favour of the religious interests.

Furthermore the calling of committee meetings for obtaining a consultation about, or permission for, works of *seongbo* (sacred treasure) is not compulsory but optional which can be made by request. Considering that most abbots of Buddhist temples are administrators rather than people who have professional knowledge of architecture and conservation, *Seonbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) needs to include a provision that consulting about advice or obtaining permission from the committee should be executed before the work begins.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined different value assessments in the secular and religious legal frameworks for religious building in use in England and Korea. It focused on the way in which the different history of conservation in England and Korea discussed in chapter 2, as well as of culturally different attitudes toward various values and authenticity as discussed in chapter 3, have influenced their legal frameworks.

The English philosophy in secular and religious legal framework has moved forward toward diverse approach weighting equally to tangible and intangible values: the secular one has taken more account on intangible values placed by the users, such as associative and religious values; the religious one has recognised the significance of architectural and historic values placing them as an important aspect to counter-balance against religious value. As discussed in section 4.3.1.1, the change of secular perspective was observed in the two instructions of 1946 and of 1982 as well as in PPG 15: the 1946 Instruction stated ‘sentimental interest of associative value’; the 1982 one offered a category of ‘extra information’; the 2005 *Planning Policy Guidance Note 15 Consultation Paper* defined a place of worship as a place ‘to provide a dignified setting for worship and to act as a shelter for the congregation’ and stated the significance of ‘setting and historic associations that are special to the community’. In addition, *New Work in Historic Places of Worship* (2003) explicitly recognised religious need and requirement as an important aspect to be identified in considering changing a church. The religious framework, on

the contrary, has taken historic and architectural values important in the Code of Practice for the Care of Churches (1991) by weighting to all the various heritage consideration; the Faculty Jurisdiction Rules of 2000 by changing the process of application for a church authority to provide Statement of Significance and Need in order to make them balance between religious requirements and the significance of tangible aspects of informational and architectural values. However, such a balanced approach toward tangible and intangible values in theory has not filtered through the list description and decision-making.

First, a list description, which is a statement of secular perspective on the value of a church, failed to recognise the significance of setting and associative and religious values even though two Instructions to Investigators for listing of 1946 and 1982 and PPG15 attempted to include both tangible and intangible values as inclusively as possible. List descriptions have been a reference in drafting a Statement of Significance but are not effective as statements which identify the intangible significance of a listed church because they lack a clear statement of intangible significance, such as associative and religious importance. Second, the Faculty Jurisdiction and the Code of Practice acknowledged the significance of architectural and historic values in theory, but a religious authority tends to favour religious ones in making a decision. Tangible values of a church to religious communities have not performed as competing elements against religious requirements or pastoral needs in decision-makings.

The Korean secular legal framework recognises intangible aspects as an important element to protect so that it has a separate designation system for tangible and intangible heritage. The enactment of the designation of Intangible Cultural Property in 1964 provided a protective measure at government level for the preservation of the skills of craftsmen. This measure aimed at preserving neither materials nor relics but the processes of manufacture. However, legal frameworks do not demand that the designated

craftsmen should be employed in designated building conservation schemes.

In addition, the criteria for selection and grading for designation of both tangible and intangible cultural properties in the Korean system are not specific and less clear when compared with the English ones. The present Act, Regulation, and Guidance have failed to identify various values of different categories of designation and have not provided clear guidelines for selection for designation. As a result, decisions on designation have been strongly influenced by the personal tastes of leading members of the Committee of Cultural Properties over time. In addition, it has overweighted the preservation of the earliest form in listing which has been the result of conservation history in Korea as discussed in chapter 2. The problem is that the Korean legal framework has not recognised the fluidity of authenticity and it has not reflected value assessment from a Korean perspective.

Jeontongsachal-bojonbeop (TTP Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) could work effectively with the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) because the former system deals with all buildings within a temple together, whereas the latter focuses on nationally recognized buildings. *Jeontongsachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) are aimed at preserving the architectural unity of theological manifestation in the designated and undesignated buildings. However, these legal frameworks tend to encourage over-intensive reconstruction and construction of new buildings. As a result, a unique religious setting has been expunged from a Buddhist temple. Therefore, the secular system has to work with the Jogye Order to help them set up detailed guidelines which can be practically applied in objective decision making.

The chapter compared the concept of authenticity in PPG 15 with *Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Regulation). The historical and cultural difference of defining authenticity has influenced separately these statements: the concept of authenticity in PPG 15 recognised the fluidity of authentic form

stating that ‘the historic environment of England is all-pervasive, and it cannot in practice be preserved unchanged’; Korean one, on the contrary, took the fixed range of time defining *wonhyeong* (original form) as the earliest form.

The chapter also examined the level of control governments exercise over religious buildings in use. PPG 15, the principal secular guidance in England, imposes more responsibility on local authorities, but such distribution and sharing of responsibility between central and local government tends to be a problem when the local authority fails to build up professional knowledge or to balance conservation with the various needs of the local and religious communities. In particular, recent publication for the local planning authority, *Understanding historic buildings: policy and guidance for local planning authorities* (English Heritage 2008b), dealt only secular buildings without providing guidelines and examples of churches, which should be considered in future publication. On the other hand, *Munwhajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of Korea provides intensive and powerful control for the protection of nationally recognized heritage relegating a local authority to a minor player in the conservation of designated buildings. There is no training program or guidelines for a local planning authority. Such approach resulted in the lack of communication between the central and local authorities and has caused problems in preserving local distinctiveness of a designated building.

Based on the findings in this chapter, the next chapter will examine how different attitudes in the secular and religious legal systems have influenced actual decision-making. In addition it will examine the way the level of control which English and Korean governments exercise has resulted in culturally different approaches in actual practice: decisions and conservation practices for English churches are often made in favour of religious demands because the levels of state control are minimal whereas those for Korean Buddhist temples have brought radically different attitudes towards a designated and undesignated buildings.

Chapter Five Management aspects of conservation

5.1. Introduction

Taking six cases of different levels of intervention in Selby Abbey, St Mary's Beverley, Beverley Minster, Haeinsa, Seokuram, and Bulguksa, this chapter will deal with the detail of value assessment in actual conservation practice in England and Korea focusing on how philosophical and legal aspects have influenced that practice. This chapter will focus on the second research question, which is 'does the mode of value assessment affect decision-making?' In particular the key perspective will be to scrutinise ways in which tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity and value have played a role in making a decision and managing conservation practice. The historical and cultural contexts discussed in chapters 2 and 3, and the legal systems of chapter 4, will be re-considered as important elements in this analysis of different value assessments in English and Korean cases. By scrutinising the different levels of intervention in each case, it will suggest pathways to understanding 'whether there is a point of compromise in different value assessments by different stakeholders', which is the third research question.

Section 5.2 will discuss several important management aspects: funding and certification systems and their problems which have not been dealt with in previous chapters. If the historical and cultural contexts are theoretical factors in deciding the level of intervention, funding and certification systems are practical factors which influence the extent of work and the quality of conservation practice. This section will examine the different methods of funding and the certification systems for the repair and preservation of religious buildings in use in England and Korea and their problems.

Section 5.3 will divide the various levels of intervention into four: repair, reconstruction, recreation/new construction, and maintenance/preventive conservation. This section will examine how the cases of those different

levels of intervention in England and Korea favoured specific values over others, losing the balance between various values in decision-making. The English cases focus on the preservation of material remains whereas the Korean cases concentrate on intangible aspects of authenticity but faced problems dealing with material remains. This generated a similar attitude to that of the nineteenth century English practice of recovering the ideal form, influenced by the western concept of authenticity which has permeated eastern conservation culture.

On the other hand, influenced by the eastern concept of authenticity, especially since the Nara Conference dealt with the issue, English conservation philosophy has broadened its perspective to consider intangible aspects particularly those concerned with the economic value, use of, and benefit to, the wider range of the public, and the setting of the heritage asset (English Heritage 2000a). Nevertheless, the chapter will argue that the shift in approach has not fully permeated through to actual practice because the legal frameworks failed to recognise the significance of various aspects of intangible values. It will conclude with an analysis of the problem in each case for assessing various values and recommendations for solving the problem that might enable both countries to establish balanced decision-making process in future practice.

5.2. Funding and planning

5.2.1. Funding

Churches in England were not given state grants for the repair of their buildings until 1977 when the Scheme of State Aid was set up to provide grants for churches with the agreement that a listed church would not be demolished without notifying the Secretary of State for the Environment (Delafons 1997, 124). The huge and ever-expanding expense of church conservation was a major reason why the Church of England had to accept grants and a measure of control by the state.

According to the Funds for Historic Buildings directory of grant-giving agencies, there are 142 bodies which may provide funding for a church in religious use in England and Wales as of 2007 and 38 bodies which provide funding to churches in the Yorkshire region (www.fundsforhistoricbuildings.org). A major report into the funding of parish churches was published in 2004 by Trevor Cooper, the Chairman of the Ecclesiological Society, drawing on evidence from the last quarter of the twentieth century and the opening years of the twenty-first. It provides much useful data. In 2001 £ 86 million was spent in total for repair of churches in use of which only £ 36 million came from large grant-making bodies, leaving £ 50 million to be provided by church congregations in England and Wales (Cooper 2004, 30). In 2002 English Heritage, the Heritage Lottery Fund, and CADW were the funding bodies which supported the largest grants for church repair (excluding cathedrals) in England and Wales, jointly providing £ 21 million. Garfield Weston, a private grant-giving charity, provided £ 3.5 million, the Historic Churches Preservation Trust £ 1.5 million, and county trusts £ 1.4 million along with £ 6 million VAT reclaimed and £ 2 million from landfill (Cooper 2004, 30). The proportion of self-funding by the church itself for repair had not been reduced causing a problem of shortfall. Of the £ 101 million spent on repairs in 2003, about £ 40 million came from granting bodies and £ 60 million from church congregations (<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/inspired/server/show/nav.9560>).

Cooper stated that 'English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund provides around 65% of the cost of repairs on average when it makes a grant' but they are mostly for larger projects (Cooper 2004, 30). He claimed that it has been suggested that it is easier for churches to find money for big projects than for smaller ones (Cooper 2004, 32) and, indeed, the scheme for Repair Grants for Places of Worship in England, jointly funded by English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund, does not consider supporting repairs less than £ 10,000.

Such criteria generate two problems. One is that it may encourage churches to extend their scheme to increase the size of project so that it tends to include not only necessary repair work but also excessive work such as over-cleaning for aesthetic purposes. The other is that the majority of local churches which need a smaller amount of money are excluded from the grant by English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund and they have to find other funding bodies or depend for their income on the congregation. In many cases these churches do not have an expert to find a grant for repairs, fill out different forms for various funding bodies, and manage a complicated procedure, so they find it difficult to manage fund-raising for the necessary repairs to their churches.

A further area for improvement might be to provide a small amount of money for the regular maintenance of a church. *An assessment of the needs of listed places of worship in use across the UK*, which was undertaken on behalf of the Heritage Lottery Fund and English Heritage, pointed out that 'it tends to be easier to attract grants for high profile repair work than for routine maintenance work, yet the fact remains that a significant proportion of the work necessary to keep a church in sound condition comes under the heading of "maintenance" rather than "repair" ' (Jeremy Eckstein Associates 2001, 3). The present grants by English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund are limited to repair work.

In such situations it will be interesting to examine the future outcome of English Heritage's new programme to grant funds for basic maintenance such as clearing gutters, downpipes, and drains and writing a brief report on further work to be done. The project is a part of English Heritage's Inspired! program and two Church of England dioceses of London and St Edmundsbury were supported as a pilot scheme (<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/inspired/server.php?show=ConWebDoc.6431&navId=9547&PHPSESSID=8c4393826975f5b2538e1980b65960d7>). Considering that regular maintenance can

reduce the cost of repair of a church, the grant scheme would act as a strong incentive for the maintenance work to keep a church open. Such help should prevent extensive repair work and reduce the shortfall between the total cost of repairs and grants in future. The overall costs of the repair and maintenance within the present pilot programme for the two dioceses needs to be compared over period of years with costs in comparable dioceses with no regular maintenance work in order to analyze precisely how much expenditure can be reduced in the long term by regular maintenance.

Korean Buddhist temples in the Joseon period experienced traumatic difficulty in obtaining sufficient funds for maintenance, conservation, and reconstruction when the dynasty curtailed, and later suspended, all state grants for Buddhist temples due to the conversion of the state religion from Buddhism to Confucianism in 1392. Throughout the Joseon period, only a few temples, such as Bongeunsa, Bongseongsa, and Hoiamsa, were supported financially by female members of the royal family or by government because they were appointed for conducting regular memorial services for the deceased kings. Most other temples had managed their financial difficulties with private donations and payments to Buddhist monks who worked in government construction projects. As described in section 2.3.1 of chapter 2, Buddhist temples mainly focused on repair and reconstruction after the Japanese invasion (1592~1595). With the influx of Japanese Buddhism and the control by Japanese monks over major monasteries during the colonial period, the celibate Korean Buddhist monks lost financial and administrative control which was handed over to married Korean or Japanese monks. The acute conflict between married and celibate monks after the Korean War was solved in 1962 by the Supreme Court, with the support of the government, awarding the celibates title to all major monasteries which were formerly occupied by the married monks during the Japanese colonial period (Buswell 1992, 32). The Jogye Order of celibate monks regained most traditional temples, their objects, and lands which could bring in income to maintain temples and monastic

practice leaving a few small urban temples to the Taego Order of married monks.

The funding for maintenance, repair, and conservation for a Buddhist temple in Korea mainly comes from two directions: one from central and local government and the other from the Buddhist congregation and the headquarters of the order. The first category applies to those temples which own a designated building or an object. Since designation began with the enactment of the *Bomul-gojeok-myeongseung-cheonnyeon-ginyeommul-bojon-ryeong* (Treasures, Ancient Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Species Preservation Regulation) in 1933, designated buildings have enjoyed one hundred per cent grants for maintenance and repair. The grant scheme for preservation of designated properties in Article 6 of the regulation of 1933 (Joseon-chongdokbu 1933) was sustained throughout all revisions of *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act). Article 39 of *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 2008 ensures that either central or local government provides relevant funding to maintain, protect, repair, and survey a designated cultural property. Article 39-2 of the Act states that the Cultural Heritage Administration can control work for repair and related works if it is funded by government (CHA 2008c). According to the statistics provided by a local MP of Gyeongju (Gyeongju city), Jongbok Jeong, for the parliamentary audit in 2006, £ 85.5 million was provided by central and local government for maintenance, repair and conservation of designated properties in 2005 in total and £ 9.6 million was subsidised to Buddhist temples and objects which comprises 11.2% of the government's heritage budget (<http://www.jungjongbok.or.kr> consulted on 27 November 2006). The Jogye order stated that they needed £ 44.1 million in 2006 for 68 temples which own a nationally designated property (Anon 2007d). The total cost for all temples of the order was not known.

In order to decide whether more grants should be provided for the conservation of Buddhist temples or not, it is necessary for the Korean government to define

the extent of their responsibility to the designated buildings in temples. The criteria in Article 39-1 of *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 2008 for selecting works to be grant-aided, are not specific. In particular, Article 39-1-1, stating that ‘the government can provide grants to owners or a responsible organization for management [or taking care] of a designated property’ (CHA 2008c), is problematic. It means that the fund can subsidise not only conservation of a designated building but also work on surrounding buildings where they, and the natural landscape, are considered to be a necessary part of a desirable conservation. It also includes construction of living quarters for monks responsible for maintenance. The intention behind the government’s funding of the work on surrounding buildings is to preserve the designated building within its wider context, in the belief that it is important to preserve it not as an independent building but as part of the historical and religious setting. However, it remains an important task to confirm that such work has been carried out to the designated building as intended and executed properly to desirable conservation standards. Although the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) has required that the grant should be returned to the government if the grant-aided work is used for unauthorised work since 1962, it has been a serious problem that government grants have been spent on the alteration of surrounding buildings or the development of a monastery for the sake of an abbot’s aspirations without understanding the importance of the setting of a designated building.

The construction of a new pavilion in Sudeoksa provides an example of the problem. In front of Daeungjeon (Hall of Great Hero), which is the main hall of the temple (Figure 5.1) and the second oldest timber building (dated 1308) in Korea, Sudeoksa constructed the Hwangharu (Hwangha Pavilion) in 1986 with a grant equivalent to £ 90,000 in total from central and local government (CHA 1988b, 24). The pavilion with a seven-bay front was designed for occasional services with a huge congregation or for temporary exhibitions.

The criteria for the work included the landscaping of the surroundings of the pavilion so the fund was used for the construction of an artificial pond in the front (Figure 5.2). The project was completed in 1992. However, a new abbot, Beopjang, who was appointed in 1992, launched a ten-year scheme for restoring the temple in 1993 (Sudeoksa 2002, 65) and the pavilion was replaced by a new one in 1996 (Sudeoksa 2002, 77) (Figure 5.3). The temple's rationale for replacement was that 'the 1992 building was so massive and tall that it distracted from the dignity of the main hall behind it' (Sudeoksa 2002, 129). In addition, the pond was backfilled and grassed over because



Figure 5.1 Daeungjeon of Sudeoksa



Figure 5.2 Hwangharu in Sudeoksa constructed in 1992

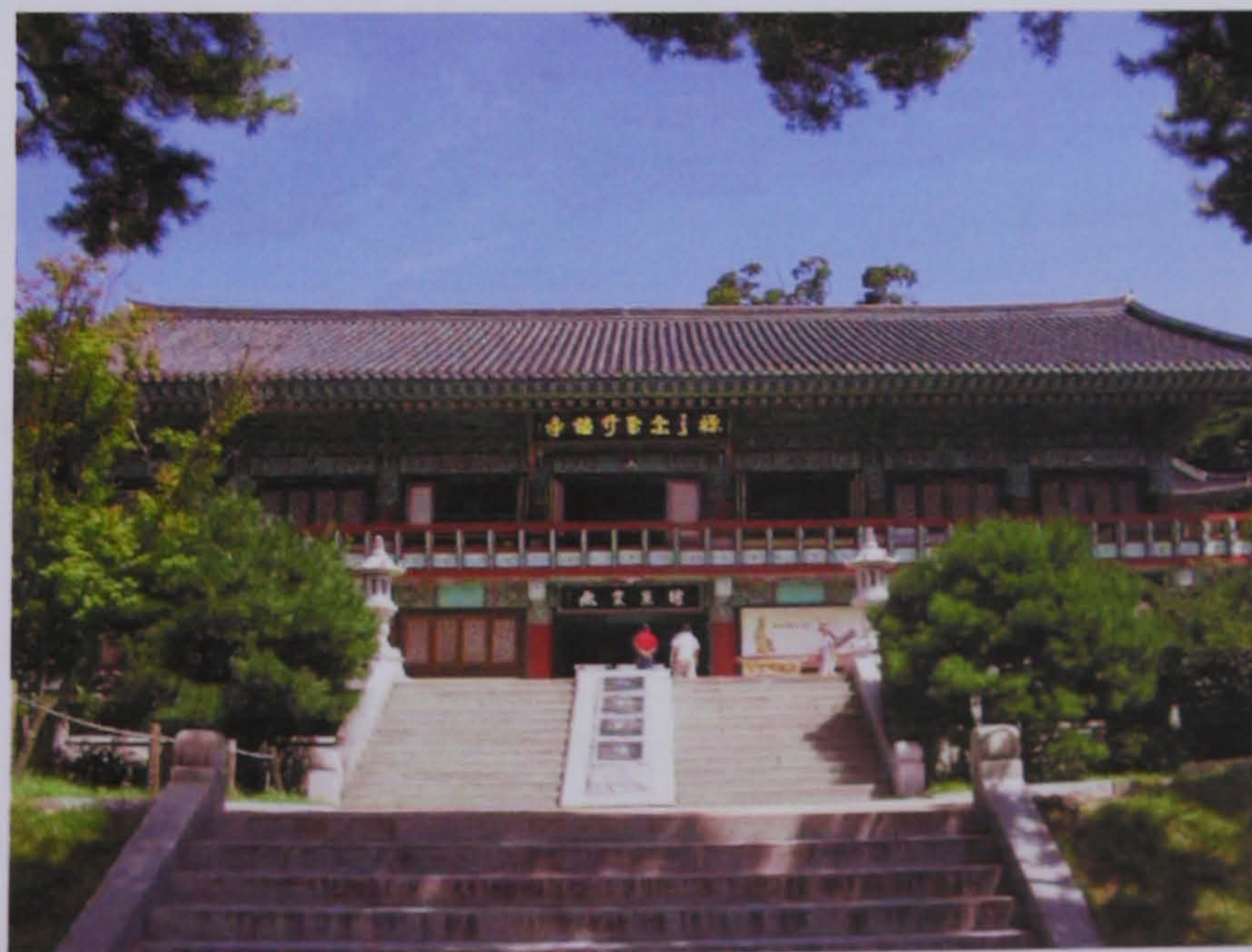


Figure 5.3 New Hwangharu in Sudeoksa

the temple authority regarded it as a Japanese method of landscape (Sudeoksa 2002, 129).

Agreeing with the temple's plan to reduce the size of the new pavilion, the Cultural Heritage Administration approved the reduction in size of the new pavilion from a seven-bay to a five-bay one and the lowering of the ground level by two or three meters and government funding was granted (Sudeoksa 2002, 118). However, the temple changed the scheme and built nine bays on the ground floor and seven bays on the first floor in 1996. In its defence, the temple explained that the pavilion was to be established as a museum so it needed a bigger space to facilitate an office and warehouse (Sudeoksa 2002, 131). There is no record about whether the government authorised the change of the scheme nor about whether the fund was returned to the government. In addition, the temple built two buildings, a nursery school and engine room on the left and right side of the pavilion. Sudeoksa took advantage of the problem of the criteria of the state grant by abusing government support for the temple which has one of the oldest timber buildings in Korea, altering existing buildings and constructing new ones resulting in the destruction of the traditional setting. This case also raises the concern that Buddhist temples spend their grants for purposes that have not been approved. And they demolished a building created with £ 90,000 of government funds in 1986.

The lack of detailed guidelines, to define the nature of the proposed work and strengthen a system of close inspection of purpose, has caused discrepancies between government policy and public understanding. For example, two news reports by the major TV channel of Munhwa Broadcasting Company criticised Woljeongsa, which had diverted government grants for conservation of a designated nine-storey stone stupa towards the repair and construction of living quarters for the monks, (20 February 2007, News Desk of MBC) and Dopiansa, which had spent money on the reconstruction of Museoljeon (lecture hall) instead of on the repair of a designated Buddha image in the main hall (21

February 2007, News Today of MBC). In response to the news report, the Cultural Heritage Administration confirmed that ‘the money was granted for the work of the living quarters and lecture hall because those works needed to be executed for the monks who have taken care of the designated stupa and it was a legal decision based on *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act)’ (http://cha.korea.kr/cha/jsp/cha1_branch.jsp?action=news_view&property=sec_1&id=155178563&currPage=3&category=). In addition, the headquarters of the Jogye Order argued that the use of government grants in both temples was legal (Jogye Order 2007b). Despite the grants from the government and the spending by the temple being legally operated, it is difficult to justify the decision-making and the work. If it is legal to grant government funds for the construction of a new building for the people who take care of a designated building, then the same benefits should be available to everyone who takes care of other designated buildings, which is not realistically possible.

Looked at from a similar perspective as above, *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) has caused the same problem. It has stated that ‘central or local government can subsidize funding necessary for the preservation and maintenance of *Jeontong-sachal* (designated traditional temple)’ since it was enacted (CHA 1987, Article 14; CHA 2008a, Article 19). In order to implement *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) which intends to encourage conservation of designated buildings and temples as a whole, thereby respecting their setting and to be complementary to *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) as discussed in section 4.4.2, the criteria of the grant and the area of work should be improved. The criteria should define the clear and realistic extent of the work, and the work should be checked while in progress, then this would prevent grants from being spent on constructions and alterations to the temple damaging to the authenticity of its setting.

The second category of financial support for conservation of Buddhist temples

includes public donations, grants by the headquarters of the order, and entrance fees. Public donation includes daily donations to a box in each hall of a monastery, regular tithes by the congregation, and spot donations for specific projects. A grant by the headquarters of the order is decided and subsidised after the examination of an application. Entrance fees are composed of two types: those for the opportunity to appreciate a designated cultural property owned by a temple and occasional entrance fees for a special exhibition in a temple museum. *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) has permitted that an owner of a designated property can charge an entrance fee and decide on the amount (CHA 1962, Article 36; CHA 2008c, Article 44). In addition, eighteen temples which own a designated property within a National Park used to collect the entrance fee to the park on behalf of the National Parks of Korea with the fee for the designated cultural property. A portion of the money was given to National Parks of Korea. Some temples share roads used by mountain climbers and they had ticket offices at the entrance of each National Park where they collected both entrance fees together. They collected from mountain climbers who did not make temple visits and therefore enjoyed additional income.

However, after fees for national parks were abolished at the end of 2006, they had to move the office to the entrance of the temple compound and collect temple entrance fees for designated properties only. To make the situation worse, Buddhist temples came under pressure to abolish the entrance fee for designated properties because there are many climbers who only pass through the temples without intending to look at them. On July 8 2007, campaigners gathered and demonstrated against paying the entrance fee for designated properties in front of the ticket office of Sinheungsa, which is located in one of the most popular National Parks, Seolak Mountain National Park, after the temple authority increased the entrance fee from £ 1.00 to £ 1.40 (Anon 2007f). Even though this is legal for the owner when they open to the public. Buddhist temples will face more tension if they do not solve this problem and it

will bring in less income for temples resulting in a negative impact on sourcing expenses for repair and conservation.

A report in a Buddhist newspaper (Anon 2007b) estimated that the total cost of repair and maintenance of the 67 temples which collect entrance fees within and outside a National Park was £ 42.4 million in 2005. Income from the entrance fee was £ 17 million and from government grants was £ 21.4 million leaving a £ 4 million shortfall. Disputing the article, Pandong Kim from the headquarters of the Jogye Order argued in an interview with the same newspaper (Anon 2007d) that the shortfall was over £ 12 million and that there was no reliable data about it. It is not possible to make a parallel comparison with the case of English churches because there are no clear equivalent statistics. However, it is possible to have a general idea about the degree of need. Comparing the shortfall for English churches of around 60 % as stated above, the percentage of Korea's shortfall for those 67 temples (if it supposes that the newspaper's report on the statistic are more trustworthy than Kim's) is less than 10 % which is much less than that of England. Even with Kim's data it is still less than the English shortfall of 28 %.

Scrutinizing the conflict between the religious community, the government, and the public, the problem has originated from two issues: 1. public misunderstanding of the concept and various categories of designated heritage; 2. distrust between the public and Buddhist administration regarding the way of spending the money in the temple.

First, the Buddhist temple which has any kind of designated heritage can collect entrance fees, but the public are not aware of the various categories, such as Natural Monument and Historic Sites and Site of Scenic Beauty. If a plant or an animal which is designated as a Natural Monument is found within a temple, the temple can collect the fee when they open the place to the public. In addition, the term Historic Site and Site of Scenic Beauty designates not a

single structure but a wider area. For example, the area of Bulguksa which is designated as a Historic Site and Site of Scenic Beauty (designation No. 1) comprises the whole temple compound and surrounding area (which is not officially specified in the designation). At present, the headquarters of the Jogye Order is considering various solutions to the issue (Sangjun Park (a senior administrator in the Department of Heritage of the headquarters of the Jogye Order) pers. comm. July 15, 2007): 1. set up a plan to educate the public about the categories of designation which the Buddhist temples own and their private right to collect the entrance fees; 2. abolish their entrance fee system in order to share their heritage with the public. In both cases, it is necessary to cooperate with the Korean government and the Cultural Heritage Administration. In particular in the case of no entrance fee, the headquarters of the Jogye Order might need to acquire grant aid from the government to solve the problem of increased shortfall or to find a source for self-funding.

Second, the major argument by those who campaigned to abolish the entrance fee for designated properties raised the deeply rooted practice of Buddhist temple authorities not revealing details of income from the entrance fee and its use (Anon 2007a). Buddhist temples have been reluctant to open their financial records to the public and, even within the precinct, only a few administrative monks have this privilege. There are no accurate data about how much each temple needs for maintenance and conservation of its buildings and properties and how different categories of income contribute to expenses. In a public debate held on 13 February 2007 with various invited campaigning organizations, the Jogye Order argued that the fees constituted an essential fund for maintenance and conservation (Anon 2007f). They would not welcome government proposals to provide larger grants in the event of the abolition of the entrance fee system as this would bring more government control and the temples would need to open their financial records to the public (Anon 2007c), echoing some of the misgivings expressed by the Church of England (see above).

A secretive attitude towards financial matters has resulted in several cases of fraud which have built up deep distrust between Buddhist temples and the public. The Beomosa authority embezzled £11 million from the £35 million which was granted for maintenance and repair of designated properties but they were sentenced to return only £8.5 million to the government (Anon 2007h). The abbot of Eunhaesa, Beopta, was sentenced to two years in prison for the embezzlement of £1 million which was part of a grant for the construction of the temple museum in 2007 (Anon 2007e).

As long as the Jogye Order keeps secret the details of the annual budget, total income, and detailed financial records without re-building trust with the public who pay them for repairs, the problem will be exacerbated and the tension between them will increase, which will result in less income from the government and public in the future. In order to solve the problem, it is necessary to improve the level of control and objectivity of the Management Committees, which are compulsory in each temple according to the revised Buddhist Measure of the Jogye Order of 1994, but there are only a few temples which have one. The English DAC system, where there are external members of the committee who exercise a degree of control over the Church of England's works, can provide a positive model that the Jogye Order could adopt and modify to suit their system. *Sachal-unyeong-wiwonhoebeop* (Temple Management Committee Measure) states that the committee be composed of seven to thirty commissioners (Jogye Order 1994, Article 3) and the head commissioner should be an abbot (Jogye Order 1994, Article 3). Other commissioners should be appointed by the recommendation of the abbot (Jogye Order 1994, Article 3). In such a situation, the committee is not capable of being objective when deciding financial and administrative matters, therefore they should revise the provision so that the committee can be completely independent and objective when decision making.

5.2.2. Accreditation / Certifying system

It is argued by some that the accreditation system introduced in 2003 by English Heritage, has further aggravated the problems faced by churches. This scheme has implemented a register of Architects Accredited in Building Conservation for all architects working on buildings which receive English Heritage grants. Any church architect who is involved in a grant-aided project needs to have conservation accreditation.

The criteria for accreditation include a long list of qualifications, such as proven quality of work, understanding of conservation philosophies and principles, management skills with projects and clients, knowledge of technical solutions, materials, workmanship, architectural history, the legal system, and research, recording, and communication skills (Institute of Conservation 2008, 15). A discussion paper for RIBA Practice Committee, *Problems with AABC-Architects Accredited in Building Conservation* has argued that 'the advent of compulsory accreditation and unreasonable requirements of the accreditation regime has significantly reduced the number of architects and practices who are now able to undertake English Heritage grant-aided conservation work despite many having a proven capability of doing so' (Phillips 2005, 2). English Heritage encourages local governments, the National Trust, and the Church of England to insist on accreditation.

In order not to be excluded from an English Heritage grant, or those of other bodies which might adopt the accreditation scheme in future, any local parish church which extensively depends on grants rather than resources such as donations and restoration appeals, has to have an accredited architect. An architect from a large practice has more opportunity to attain accreditation than an individual or small practice 'because different people working on a project in a large practice can all include it in their portfolios, concealing the true extent of their involvement which may be limited' (Phillips 2005, 6). In such cases, he argues, a church tends to hesitate to appoint a local architect from a

small practice who is not accredited but possibly more qualified with a better understanding of the church than an architect of a large firm who is accredited but has less knowledge of the local history, materials, and craftsmen of the church.

In the long term, the accreditation scheme might contribute to the improvement of standards of conservation practice and professional qualification as it intends. However, the practicalities of its implementation suggest that it may be having the unintended consequence of debarring highly experienced, local, small practice architects. Furthermore, it cannot be said to be positive if it deprives a parish church of the chance to pursue a grant which is an essential factor in its conservation.

The aim of the certification system for conservators and conservation companies in Korea is similar to the English accreditation system in that both systems intend to improve the quality of conservation practice, but the problem of the Korean certification system is different from the English one. Article 18 of *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) of 2008 regulates that a designated heritage asset should be repaired by a person or a company who is certificated by the government. There are two different qualifications: 1. *suri-gisulja* (skilled repair technician); 2. *suri-gineungja* (repair technician). *Suri-gisulja* should carry out those technical matters of conservation with professional knowledge and supervise *suri-gineungja* (CHA 2008c, Article 18-2-1). *Suri-gineungja* should be responsible for technical works of conservation under the supervision of *suri-gisulja* (CHA 2008c, Article 18-8-1). In the case of a company which could apply for certification, it is compulsory to hire a full-time *suri-gisulja* and *suri-gineungja* (CHA 2008d, Appendix 3). The problem of the Korean certification system is that a *suri-gisulja* and a *suri-gineungja* often do not participate in the actual conservation work but simply provide their names to the company to be certified and get paid for doing so. This affects the quality of conservation work and therefore the government needs to

emphasise close supervision in the matter.

5.3. Levels of intervention

This section examines four different levels of intervention: 1. Repair and restoration; 2. Reconstruction; 3. New construction; 4. Maintenance and preventive conservation (refer Definition for the meaning of these terms). Repair is defined as work to solve structural problems or to repair damaged or deteriorated parts of a building whereas restoration seeks to recover the ideal or earliest form. Both reconstruction and new construction aim to extend a space for a functional purpose or economic value but they are different in that reconstruction is to replace the existing building of new design whereas new construction is to create new space. Maintenance and preventive conservation are the least interventionist and involve looking after a building carefully for contemporary use and to preventing further damage.

5.3.1. Repair; *bosu(or suri)* and restoration; *bokwon*

As inseparable practices even though the intentions of the two different activities are dissimilar, repair and restoration have co-existed in English and Korean conservation since before modern conservation philosophy established clear principles, separating them and discouraging drastic restoration or passive damage by neglect. The cases of Beverley Minster, Selby Abbey, Bulguksa, and Seokuram provide examples of conservation which began with the aim of repairing defective and damaged parts of a building but soon extended into restoration in order to recover the earliest form, pursue a certain style in favour of a present-day taste, or regain a long-lost national identity.

This section will show how such attitudes were influenced by historical and cultural contexts making their decisions and works favouring specific values. It will examine how the changes in terminology and development of notions of authenticity which were discussed in chapters 2 and 3 have influenced the actual practice of restoration and which values have played an important role.

It will consider how the authenticity in the historical life of a building discussed in section 3.2.2 of chapter 3 was fixed to a specific period in these cases. It will contend that the English cases of Beverley Minster and Selby Abbey emphasised aesthetic and religious values pursuing ideal form and style in their restorations whereas the Korean ones of Seokuram and Bulguksa focused on associative values aiming at the recovery of national identity by restoring the earliest form and setting.

5.3.1.1. Aesthetic value and English restoration

The repair and restoration of Beverley Minster (Figure 5.4) in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries provides a clear example of contrasting attitudes toward medieval fabric. The eighteenth century restorers understood ‘Gothick’ as classical proportion with Gothic decoration. The aesthetics



Figure 5.4 Beverley Minster

of the eighteenth century restoration work by Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661~1736) and William Thornton (1675~1721) acknowledged the importance of ‘Gothick’ as part of a harmonious mixture of various styles. However, this approach was greatly criticised in the nineteenth century when the Gothic had come to be understood as a genuine and ideal style for a building and its contents and by the early 1830s church buildings were committed to it (Brooks 1999, 229). In order to address this aesthetic shift most earlier work, other than Gothic, was removed and the Gothic style was reproduced by the nineteenth century restorers. Such aesthetic value was orchestrated with functional need or religious requirements in the restoration. Informational values, inherent in the fabric to the extent that it manifests social

and architectural history as defined in section 3.3.2, had to be compromised for the contemporaries' aesthetic and religious taste and no attention was paid to them had been made in the restoration of Beverley Minster. Restoration was a way of achieving the contemporary aesthetic aspiration in the eighteenth and nineteenth century rather than a means of preserving the evidence of the passage of time.

The north transept of the minster had a structural problem with cracks in the early eighteenth century (Hall 1993, 13). Hawksmoor appealed for financial support.

'The occasion of making these remarks and publishing these plates happens from the present ruinous condition of several points of the fabric, which being left with sufficient from the dissolution until this time, has little or no repair so that the north east side of the great cross aisle is in so ill a condition...To restore which to a solid repair, upwards of a sum of £3,500...and for which the supplying of the further sum, the benevolence of all well disposed Christians upon which the carrying out, and perfecting the good necessary work must entirely depend, and is humbly implored' (Whiteing 1950, 3).

The results of the appeal were so successful that once those structural problems were solved by Thornton's technical invention as examined in section 3.2.4.4 in chapter 3, the excessive level of donations made an ambitious scheme possible for Hawksmoor and Thornton, who collaborated during the conservation from 1716 to 1730 to restore and re-furnish the nave and choir. Details of the work are described in I-2-(3) in the Site Gazetteer. Their aesthetic ambition and choice of various styles of baroque, rococo, and gothic were fulfilled in new altar rails, altar screen, stone screen between the choir and the nave, galleries in the nave, and font cover.

The excellence of their work was appreciated by one of Hawksmoor's contemporaries, Thomas Gent. In his book *The ancient and modern history of the loyal town of Rippon* (1733) which added Beverley Minster as one of the afterthoughts in 'Travels into other parts of Yorkshire', he praised the work in progress stating that,

'To describe all its present beauties...the altar, built after the *Corinthian* order...The place called *sanctum sanctorum*, handsomely paved with stones of two colours...The screen of fine white Roche-Abbey stone, dividing the choir from the western part of the church, done after the old gothick order: the new pulpit, desk, and cover of the font of aggate stone...the nicely contrived Seats, with neat galleries for the parishioners in the side isles, of the Doric order supported by pillars of wood, without any damage to those of stone, which uphold the church: The large effigies of the four evangelists...with their proper emblems beneath, which adorn the inner side of the great west door; up to which, on the outer, are new and handsome round steps of fair and white stone: To tell how wonderfully the late ingenious Mr. Thornton of York, contrived an engine to screw up the perpendicular wall aforesaid, that before hung over 3 feet and a half: How a great part of the large cross...was nobly rebuilt...Truly, to give all these their just encomiums, would swell my volume to a greater degree, than designed' (Gent 1733, 91-92).

In contrast, Arthur Young criticised the same work forty years later. After he visited, around 1770 when the Gothic began to be recognised as the most suitable style for a church building, he expressed his disapproval of the mixed styles of the stone choir screen, gates, and figures stating that,

'The minster, for gothic architecture, is a very light and beautiful building, and kept in good repair; but its modern decorators appear to have had ideas of neither beauty nor propriety; for, with true taste, they have given the

venerable pile just such an entrance as you would imagine for a cake-house...These gentlemen (screen, gates, and two figures) have carried their Grecian ideas into the very choir of a Gothic cathedral' (Young 1771,148).

For him, the minster should have been pure gothic without different architectural styles and the timeline of authentic form should have been halted at medieval times. Such an attitude was driven by the preference for a specific style and it shows that the aesthetic value of a church was an important concern for contemporaries when deciding on an appropriate church for divine service, which is an interesting aspect to be compared to the Korean attitude in the following section.

Young's view persisted into the nineteenth century, when gothic was favoured as an ideal style for a church. It clearly shows how the serial restorations by Rickman and Scott and others throughout the nineteenth century and until the beginning of the twentieth century rested on a rationale for their restorations which removed the works of the eighteenth century and replaced them with gothic works. Hawksmoor's choir screen (Figure 5.5) was regarded as 'the horrid mixture of Italian work with gothic...and the production of corrupt taste and a false idea of magnificence' (Glynne 1825, 457). Nineteenth century aesthetic taste deprecated the baroque font cover (Figure 3.25) as 'a remaining specimen of the absurd taste which characterized the period' (Poulson 1829, 686). The

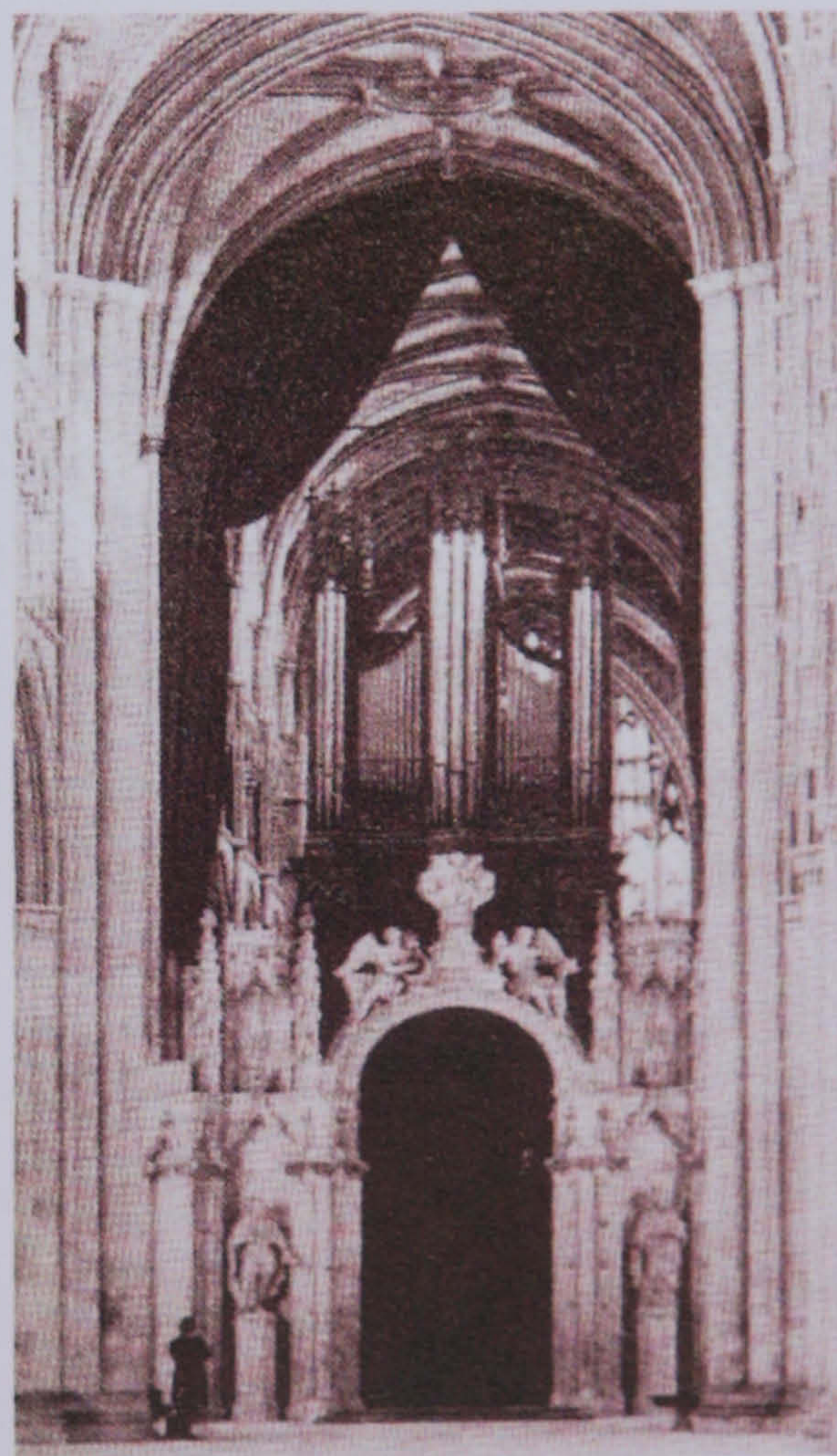


Figure 5.5 Hawksmoor's choir screen in Beverley Minster

mixture of various styles other than gothic was regarded as an interruption of the unity of an ideal style. Johnson's assessment in 1825 provides a clear example of this view,

'These plans [the eighteenth century restoration] unfortunately were to be carried into effect at a time when there was little reason to expect, that in the construction of the proposed embellishments and additions, any attention would be exerted to make them harmonize with the building in which they were to be placed. Our ancestors in the former part of the last century, and in that before it, despising gothic architecture, and blind to all its beauties, neglected rather than destroyed the remains of it in England. They built up Grecian altars and altar-pieces, and galleries, in gothic churches and chapels and these strange improper things of their erection and invention seem to have been the only objects of their admiration...Every thing was formed on Grecian models, the galleries were supported by Doric pillars, and adorned with Doric triglyphs. Before the older altar-screen, was placed a wooden one of Grecian work, on which stood eight beautiful Corinthian pillars, supporting a splendid triumphal arch, surmounted by a magnificent gilded eagle. The pulpit, the reading-desk, the cover for the font, all made at the same time, were all in the same taste; and by way of climax of absurdity, an entrance-screen into the choir was erected, in which the Grecian and pointed styles were mixed together, and a kind of non-descript monster was produced, referable to no species of architecture' (Johnson 1825, 52-54).

His criticism was reproduced word for word in Oliver's *The history and antiquities of the town and minster of Beverley* (1829, 242) and Allen's *A new complete history of the county of York* (1832, 146) confirming the attitude of deprecation toward the works of the previous century. Those elements deemed to be of unsatisfactory style were removed in the 1820s and 1870s. The restoration in the 1820s removed all previous fittings of a different style such as the altar screen in the choir, galleries in the nave, and the dome of the

central tower (Figure 5.6) in order to make it fit for ‘divine service’ (Allen 1832, 147).

However, none of the removals was executed to answer liturgical needs and the above remarks by Johnson did not justify the removal of them on the grounds of religious service either.

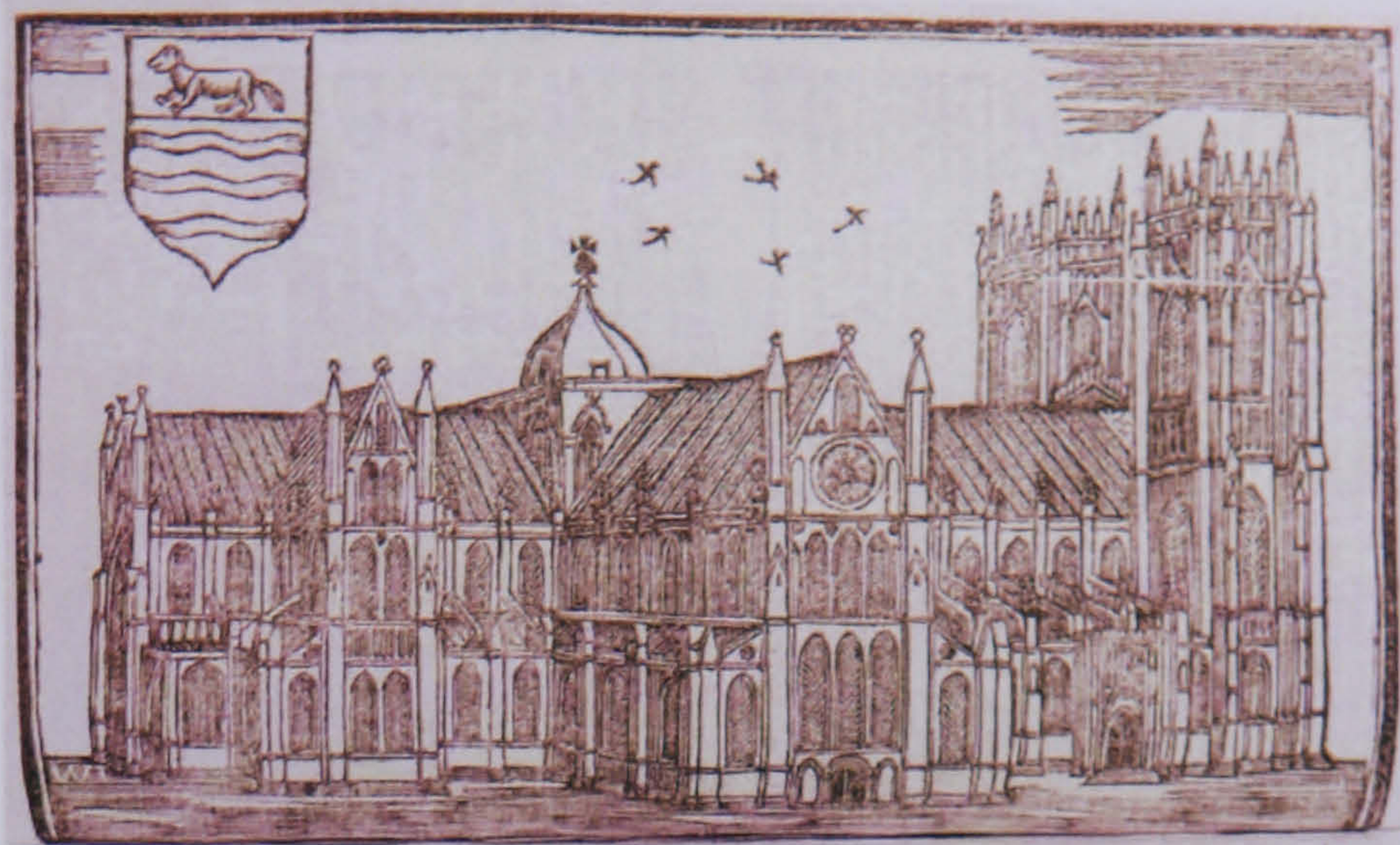


Figure 5.6 Hawksmoor’s dome of Beverley Minster which was removed in the 1820s.

On the restoration of the 1820s, Poulson recorded that there was strong opposition to the new plan by the architect Thomas Rickman (1776~1841) but the proposal to remove the galleries and refit the choir was finally



Figure 5.7 Stone reredos in Beverley Minster by Thomas Rickman in the 1820s

approved. Hawksmoor’s wooden altar screen was removed and the stone reredos was restored (Figure 5.7). Poulson praised and justified the work stating that,

‘It cannot be supposed that even the opposers of this measure can feel otherwise than gratified at the alteration, which has rendered the interior of the building so complete. The choir is found amply sufficient for containing

with comfort the largest congregation that assembles there; and the beauty of the nave is thus laid open, with its infinity of sculptured details, affording to the eye of the man of taste and discrimination a treat seldom to be met with' (Poulson 1829, 682).

During his restoration, from 1866 until his death in 1878, Sir George Gilbert Scott removed many Georgian fittings in the choir. Hawksmoor's stone choir screen of 1781 (Figure 5.5) was taken down in 1875, transported to various gardens in Lincolnshire, and replaced by a wooden one (Figure 5.8) (Hall 2000, 105). He designed a stone screen (Figure 5.9) but this was not executed and the reason why is not recorded. It is assumed that he tried to restore the Gothic stone screen using the existing statues of St John of Beverley and Athelstan by William Collins (1721~1793) which were placed on the left and right of the central arch of the choir screen by Nicholas Hawksmoor in the eighteenth century. Scott's design was changed and re-submitted to be built in wood, which was approved, so that sound and sight could be opened up between the choir and the nave and the screen could suit the changes in music and the size of the organ. His design was executed later by his son, John Oldrid Scott (1841~1913), after his death. Part of Hawksmoor's choir screen was preserved: the pair of wrought iron gates in the north aisle of the choir (Figure 5.10) and statues of Athelstan and St John at either side of the south door in the nave.

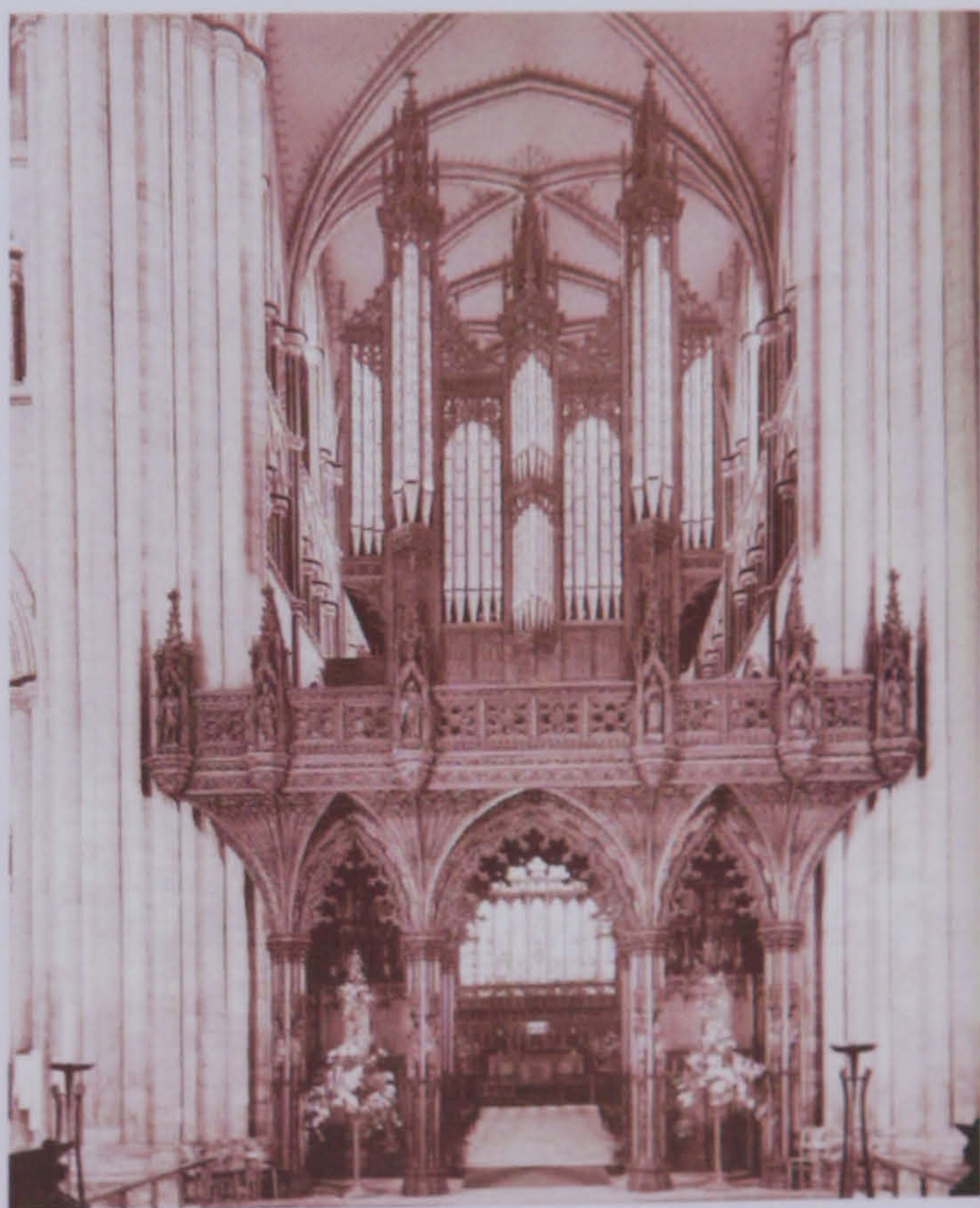


Figure 5.8 Scott's choir screen in Beverley Minster

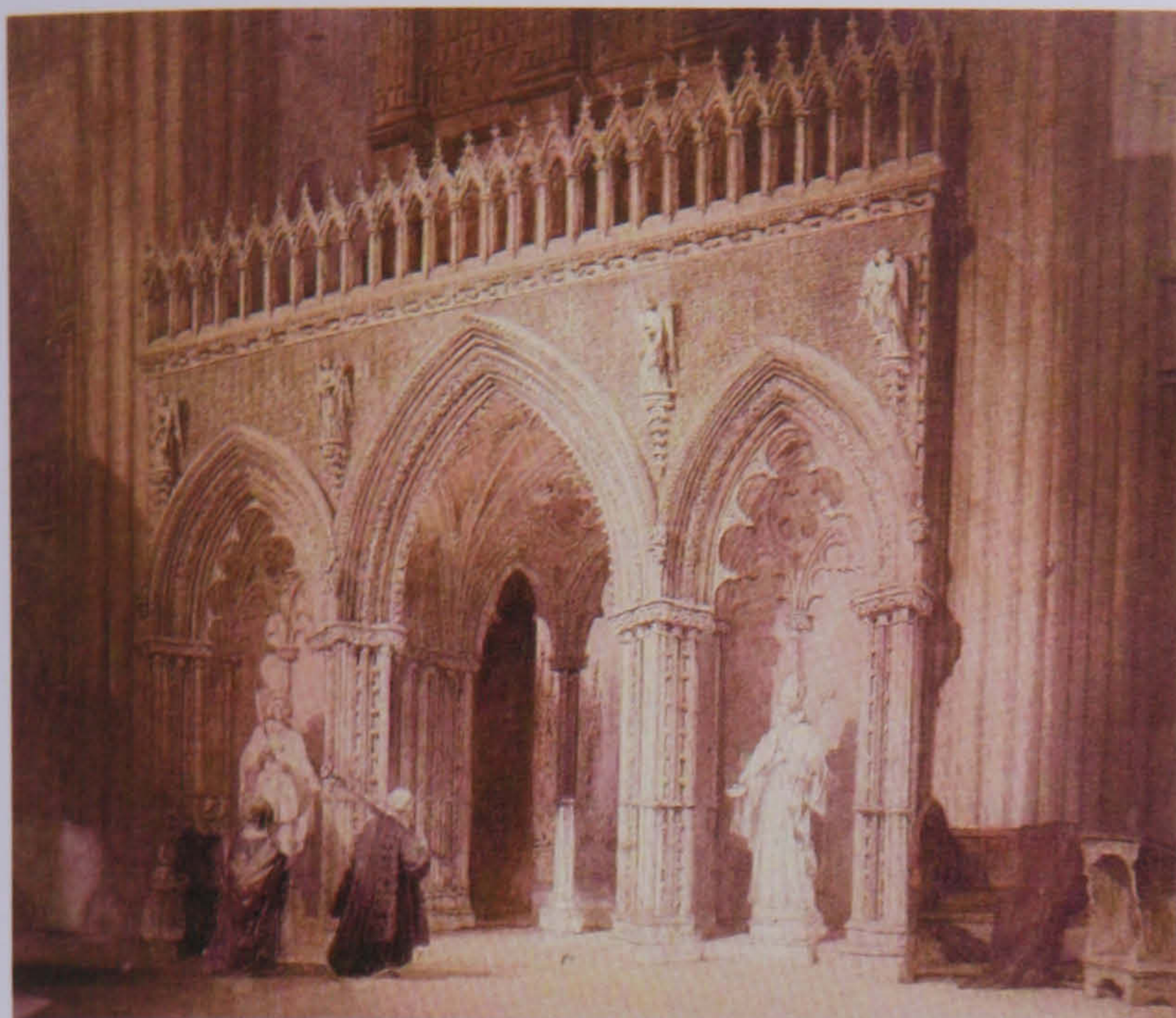


Figure 5.9 Scott's original design of the choir screen in Beverley Minster



Figure 5.10 Wrought iron gate in Beverley Minster

Scott also removed pews in the transepts and the galleries in the choir aisles. The 1826 altar-rails and pulpit introduced during Thomas Rickman's restoration, which had replaced Hawksmoor's work, were replaced again by Scott with newly designed ones. However, he retained several Georgian elements due to lack of money, such as the west doors by William Thornton in the eighteenth century and the baroque-style font cover of 1713 (Figure 3 25). Such practice directly contradicts his statement in his lecture to the Buckinghamshire Architectural and Archaeological Society in 1848, which was discussed in section 3.2.4.1 of chapter 3. On the contrary, although he professed to disapprove of an architect's attitude toward a building to preserve that which he liked but to remove that which did not suit his taste, the decision about the choir screen and iron gates, altar rails, pulpit, and pews in the transept was made based on his own aesthetic taste. In addition, his practice was not consistent with his wish to protect against restoration which 'deprives all authentic examples of the humbler forms of sacred art' (Scott 1848, 21).

Such a contradiction resulted from a different understanding of aesthetic value in its relation to religious value: Scott separated aesthetic value from religious

need in his practice whereas the Cambridge Camden Society understood the former as an important medium to feed the latter. Different from his definition of restoration 'as a practical and social necessity' to change an old building to serve a contemporary religious function (Scot 1850, 52), his restoration was not for religious need but for his or his client's aesthetic aspiration. By contrast, while the Cambridge Camden Society recognised a church as 'a living vessel of faith, emblems of fundamental Christian truth as these have been revealed through history' (Miele 2000, 285), they argued that in order for the living church to convey an articulated approach to worship, it should have internally consistent architectural styles. The society considered the accuracy and perfection of form and style of the time when the building was built to be more important for religious practice than the preservation of original work so they preferred to have a reproduction of the accurate form of the earliest style, derived from the archaeological evidence of the fabric rather than the damaged or deteriorated original fabric.

This nineteenth century attitude towards restoration was tackled from the late nineteenth century onwards by a changing approach which valued material remains and recognized their historical significance. The aesthetic enthusiasm and desire of restorers for completing unfinished medieval plans brought about controversy which generated confrontation between those groups for and against contemporary restoration. The plan to place statues in the altar reredos and the niches of the west front of Beverley Minster in 1897, as well as the surrounding niches of the west doors in 1907, is a good example of the cause of such conflict but the final decision was made in favour of aesthetic perfectionism. Despite strong opposition from SPAB, which sent a letter to the vicar asking him 'to consider whether such a proceeding could add to the beauty, the interest, or the solemnity of the building, or afford any aid to the devotional feelings of those who worship within its walls' (SPAB 1897, 18), the plan for filling the 177 niches on the west front (Figure 5.11) in 1907 gained local support (Neave 2000, 85). Finally, the plan was executed.

Support for the SPAB position came a few years later in a letter to *The Yorkshire Observer* by an anonymous writer, which strongly criticised the work: ‘the front of the building was made to resemble the front of a wild beast show, or a fat woman show at one of the fairs, by the insertion in the niches of enormous turnip-headed and hideous caricatures’ (Anon 1914).



Figure 5.11 West front of Beverley Minster

For the 1890 work in Selby Abbey, similar protests by the SPAB and several anti-restoration protesters

were registered about the restoration of the medieval stained glass of the east window and the rebuilding of the central tower and adjacent parts of the building (SPAB 1890, 48-49). A considerable portion of the medieval stained glass of the window was in the possession of the churchwarden and the authorities of the abbey decided to restore the window believing that sufficient fragments survived (Morrell 1867, 201-202). However, such a decision was optimistic if Morrell’s description was accurate that ‘the erection of a gallery in the Lady Chapel at the Music Festival of 1827 resulted in serious damage to the noble east window and a severe hail-storm about twenty years ago completed its destruction; some of the fragments of which were recently inserted in one of the windows in the vestry’ (Morrell 1867, 201-202). It was inevitable that a considerable number of missing pieces would have to be reproduced. The SPAB’s recommendation was ‘to re-lead on the spot instead of incurring the risk of loss or damage by sending it to London’ without introducing a modern reproduction of the missing parts (SPAB 1890, 49).

However, the church authority ignored their advice and the windows were sent to London for repair and reproduction. A recent examination in 2004 by Keith Barley reported that only several pieces are medieval stained glass and the rest belongs to the Victorian period (Figure 5.12) (evidence presented during a monthly site meeting in Selby Abbey on 20 October 2004).

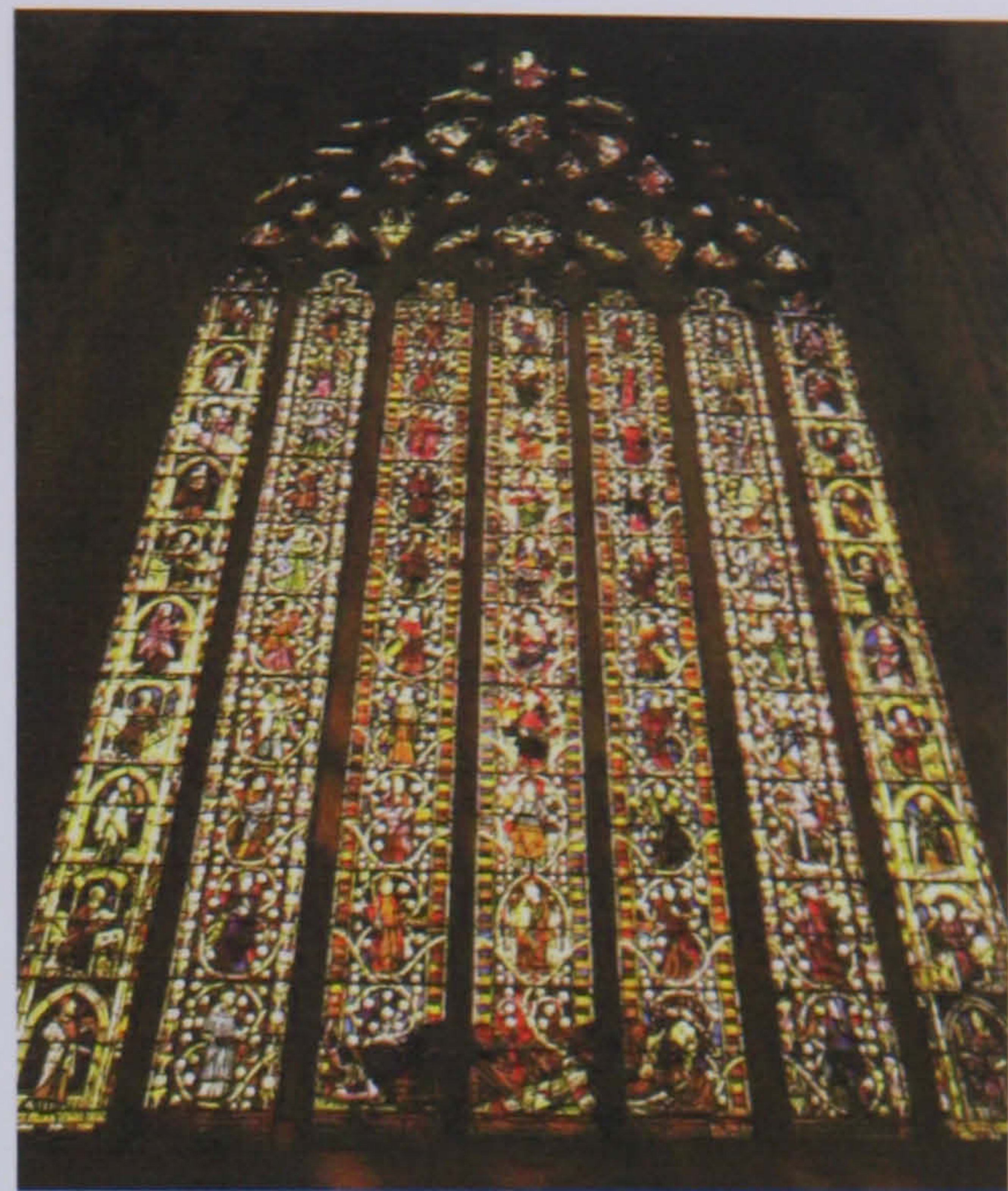


Figure 5.12 East window of Selby Abbey

A further example of controversy surrounding the restoration is that of the

central tower and associated areas of the abbey. After the fall of the central tower in 1690 (Figure 5.13), which damaged the south transept and several bays of the north side of the choir, it was rebuilt in 1701 with two bays of the clerestory and aisle in 1702 in the style of the period (Figure 5.14). The south transept remained a ruin. John Oldrid Scott, who succeeded to the work of



Figure 5.13 Central tower of Selby Abbey before the fall in 1690



Figure 5.14 Central tower of Selby Abbey between 1890 and 1902

his father, Sir George Gilbert Scott, after his death, proposed the restoration of these parts in the 1880s. He rebuilt two bays of the clerestory and the aisle of the choir in 1890 in a decorated style 'to match the remaining bays of the aisle' (Anon 1896, 2), which was the same approach for reproduction as that of the Cambridge Camden Society. However, the work was criticised by the architect, Charles Hodges, who said that 'the design of the windows has been copied from those adjoining the sacristy, instead of one of a different character being adopted. Thus the history of the building has been falsified' (1893, 365). His emphasis on authenticity reflected the changing attitude and recognised that the original work was not possible to copy. After a visit to the abbey in 1890, SPAB expressed their concern about 'purely ornamental restoration work of a most undesirable description' and urged the avoidance of the rebuilding of the central tower (SPAB 1890, 49).

The secretary of SPAB, Thackeray Turner, sent a letter to the *Yorkshire Herald* on January 28 of 1902 arguing the impossibility of reproducing a Norman tower. He advocated the significance of informational value and argued that the authenticity of the craftsmanship of the Norman Period could not be reproduced by copying the form. He stated,

'From the account of the (public) meeting it may be gathered that there is a great desire to have a Norman tower. If such a thing could be had by paying for it the desire would be both reasonable and praiseworthy, but to suppose that a tower made in imitation of Norman is a Norman tower is obviously absurd, and people who believe that we can manufacture Norman work either never have looked at the many attempts which have already been made in different parts of the country or else they must be behind to the true value of Norman work. The characteristics of such work are that each stone bears evidence of the individual craft of its worker, and where such stones are in good preservation it is fascinating to study the individual tooling; and again where ziz-zag ornament is used the stones will be found of different sizes and

the ornament adapted to the size of each stone. It is absolutely impossible for such work to be done now' (quoted in SPAB 1902, 38-39).

This argument did not gain support from the local community or the religious authority after the 1906 fire, when the argument for reconstruction of the central tower remained strong. *The Builder* argued that,

'It had been determined (whether wisely or not depends on the view people take of restoration) to rebuild it anew in the style of the adjacent architecture of the choir...As Selby was not a ruined abbey, but a building in actual use as the parish church of the district (for which use it was appointed in 1618), the intention to restore it is of course perfectly laudable and in fact one may say, inevitable...The church authorities will no doubt receive the best advice on this question from their architect, Mr. J. Oldrid Scott, who we are quite sure will take the most conservative view possible in regard to the treatment of the building' (Anon 1906c, 486).

A week later the same journal was reassured that the design of the tower by Scott (Figure 5.15) was 'a reproduction of an old drawing in existence before its fall in the seventeenth century' and 'it would be desirable to carry out the design' (Anon 1906d, 509). After the restoration of the tower (Figure 5.16) *The Builder* praised it for its 'loftier and somewhat highly ornate Early English storey' (Anon 1911, 215).

The restoration of the south transept of Selby Abbey provides a clearer example of the nineteenth century desire for aesthetic perfectionism. *The Builder* reported that 'the vicar of Selby gave reasons why this (south transept) should be rebuilt, and a resolution was unanimously passed that the south transept should be rebuilt as a memorial of the Archbishop of York' (Anon 1908b, 598). It is not known what was the vicar's rationale but it is possible to speculate that there was a strong aesthetic standpoint. *The Builder* argued



Figure 5.15 Design of the central tower of Selby Abbey by J.O. Scott



Figure 5.16 Central tower of Selby Abbey at present

that,

‘The artistic necessity for the rebuilding (of the south transept) is hardly deniable, but the question of the style in which it should be carried out is one which opens a wide field for discussions. The original transept belonged to the Norman church, and had an apse towards the east... No representation of it in its original state exists, for the structure destroyed in the seventeenth century, and known from a contemporary drawing, had been remodelled at the end of the fifteenth century, and contained a large Perpendicular window. Mr J. Oldrid Scott does not propose any restitution of previous work in this case, but has made a design harmonising with the rich and beautiful Decorated work of the choir’ (Anon 1911, 215).

John Oldrid Scott expressed his standpoint about the necessity of the work when he was asked to write the preface of a book *The story of Selby Abbey: from rise to restoration* (1912) by William Scott. He explained that,

‘Selby needs no longer be ashamed of its crippled elevation. There can be no doubt as to the great architectural gain to the noble building. The original transept was Norman in style, but it has been considerably altered, as old drawings show, by the insertion of later windows and other features. As all had perished, there seemed to be no reason for trying to reproduce the transept in the form it had before the fall of the tower. On the whole, it was thought best to make a new design more or less on the lines of the beautiful fourteenth century choir, the ground plan alone of the original transept being adhered to’ (Scott 1912, viii).

On the other hand, interest in the nineteenth century extended to material authenticity. *The Builder* argued that the destroyed roof and groining of the choir should be restored in stone not in wood. It suggested that,

‘The timber groining was never more than a cheap substitute for the stone vaulting originally contemplated, and that was abandoned simply because insufficient funds were available at the time of building...Since the ready destruction of the timber contributed so largely to the damage done in the abbey choir it would be wise to employ stone for this portion of the restoration, and thus for the first time to realise the conception of the original designer’ (Anon 1906e, 532).

The restoration described above in Beverley Minster and Selby Abbey illustrates how the emphasis on aesthetic value by restorers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century had been practised. The arguments by SPAB regarding the work on those churches displays that such an attitude was challenged by the shift to prioritise of historical (informational) value in the late nineteenth century. Informational value, which includes all kinds of historical and technical information for understanding the past and educating people as defined in section 3.3.2, was strongly argued by SPAB but its influence was too feeble to change the attitude towards making decisions until

the early twentieth century. However, English conservation, while the slow process of changing attitudes has continued, has recognized the significance of the passage of time and has come to value historical evidence, thus changing the emphasis from the restoration of the building at a frozen moment in time to the preservation of various styles from different times as the evidence of change.

In contrast to the English experience, the next section will argue that the Korean practice of restoration, from a cultural and historical context, remains at that stage which favours earliest form as the authentic form.

5.3.1.2. Associative value and Korean restoration

Associative value, which is the intangible attachment to tangible remains establishing national identity, community affiliation, and cultural sentiments as defined in section 3.3.3, has been the most important value in deciding what and how to preserve in Korea. The restoration of Seokuram and Bulguksa after the Japanese colonial period demonstrates contemporary attitudes toward associative value aiming at the recovery of national identity in Korean conservation by restoring the earliest form.

Seokuram was designated a National Treasure in 1962. None of the individual buildings in Bukguksa was designated a National Treasure. But seven monuments and objects in the temple such as two seated Buddhas, Dabotap (Dabo Stupa), Seokgatap (Seoka Stupa), Cheongun-baekun-gyo (Blue Cloud and White Cloud Bridges), Yeonhwa-chilbo-gyo (Lotus and Seven Jewelled Bridges), and relics from Seokgatap were designated as National Treasures in 1962 and the whole temple compound was designated as a Historic Site and Site of Scenic Beauty in 1963. Having been iconic examples of heritage for the Korean peoples representing the nation's architectural and religious excellence, these two temples have been at the centre of public and academic interest in terms of original form, material and

technique, and have experienced tremendous alteration reflecting the weight of associative values in the history of Korean restoration.

Both cases show some similarity with the restoration of Selby Abbey and Beverley Minster in aspiring to the original form and extending the repair into restoration, but the value and authenticity pursued in the Korean cases is closely related to national identity rather than aesthetic value or contemporary taste. This is different to the English cases.

The detailed process of work in both cases was published by the Cultural Heritage Administration after completion including a summary of the meetings of the Restoration Committee, archaeological surveys, and photographic records of before and after the work (CHA 1967; CHA 1976). There are few materials written in English, yet there is one short English summary at the end of the Cultural Heritage Administration's report on Bulguksa (CHA 1976, 463-5) and a section of Hongjun Yu's accounts on both restorations were published in English (Yu Hongjun 1999). Before examining work at the two sites in the second half of the twentieth century, it is worthwhile analysing the objective of colonial restoration in these cases in order to understand the origin of the attitude towards restoration after independence.

Seokuram was an example of conservation work during the Japanese colonial period in Korea, which brought much criticism from Korean scholars who accused the Japanese of technical mistakes, which caused leakage problems, and of colonialist motives, which worked against the spirit of sensible and sincere conservation (Hwang Suyeong 1956; Nam Cheonu 1990, 161-168; Yu Hongjun 1994, 176-182). These arguments were supported by the fact that the decision was made quickly and the period of work was short, without any of the detailed survey or recording that the Japanese were in the habit of producing when dealing with their own heritage. Criticism was focused, however, on the damaging Japanese practice of using cement on the dome

which was intended to prevent moisture problems on the surface of the sculptures, but in fact had the opposite effect, and structural change of the antechamber in the absence of an analysis of the reasons for and intentions of the work. As argued in section 2.3.2 of chapter 2, one possible reason for the expedition of the work was the importance of economic and political perspectives.

Tourism, after the colonial government was set up in 1910, was actively encouraged by the Japanese government and it is arguable that this was a deliberate policy designed to draw many Japanese to the colony and encourage them to visit and migrate to Korea to take over economic and cultural control. Gyeongju was a historical city with a close relationship with Japanese ancient history but it was also a short geographical distance from Busan where the Japanese could arrive by regular liner and was a suitable place to implement the policy.

In 1924 a writer who travelled through Gyeongju city provided interesting information about restaurants in the front of Bulguksa stating that ‘rich tourists bring geishas to Bulguksa restaurant to eat as much Japanese food as they could, but poor tourists like me have no choice but to eat in Korean restaurant’ (Anon 1924, 61). The fact that there were various choices of restaurants as he stated, suggests that possibly it had been a while since Bulguksa, with Seokuram, had become a popular places for tourists. A guidebook, *Enjoyable Gyeongju*, was published in 1934 (Daepanyukchon 1934) including photos and short pieces of information about various sites for the tourists. In 1936, a tourist information leaflet, *Introduction to the ancient site of Gyeongju, a capital city of the Silla period* was published (Cha Suncheol 2007) (Figure 5.17), which suggests that the city became popular in the 1930s.

In promoting the city to make a major tourist attraction, *Gyeongju-gojeok-bojonhoi* (Gyeongju Historical Sites Preservation Society), which had been

founded by the local community in 1911, played an important role. They focused on two activities: to encourage tourism and to preserve historical sites. Many similar preservation societies were founded in other cities after the enactment of the 1933 *Joseon-bomul-myeongseung-cheonnyeonginyeommul-bojonryeong* (Treasures, Ancient sites, Place of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Species Preservation Regulation of Korea) but their two aims were not always mutually enhancing. As detailed by Yuseop Go in *Joseonilbo* (*Joseon Daily News*) in 1936, their activities often brought from the local community ‘a negative reaction to their unpleasant activities such as commercial advertisement more than providing accurate information on historical sites’ (Go Yuseop 1936, 404).



Figure 5.17 The 1936 tourist information leaflet of Bulguksa

Seokuram was a principal site to visit in Gyeongju, hence the major works undertaken there early in the Japanese regime. As noted above, this campaign was hurriedly undertaken and the use of concrete resulted in drainage problems that persisted well after the withdrawal of the Japanese in 1945 (Figure 5.18, 5.19, 5.20, 5.21, and 5.22). The practice by the Japanese authority is examined in detail in section II-2-(2) of the Site Gazetteer.

The major aim of subsequent remedial work at Seokuram in the 1960s was to solve the moisture problem on the surface of the interior. The project committee decided on a double dome with cement to enclose the grotto in similar fashion to the work undertaken by the Japanese authority and to fortify the drainage pipes for the springs under the floor to keep ground water from

seeping in (Cultural Heritage Administration 1967, 30-32). Thereafter, the committee discussed restoring it to its original form (Cultural Heritage Administration 1967, 33-35). The debates in the late 1960s on the original form after the repair campaign of 1961 to 1964, provide a convincing argument that Korean conservation aimed at the recovery of national identity by restoring the earliest form. The details of the debate are described in section II-2-(3) of the Site Gazetteer. In summary, the questions on the original form focused on three areas: 1. the wooden structure of the ante-chamber; 2. the array of figures



Figure 5.18 Seokuram before the 1910s restoration



Figure 5.19 Seokuram after the 1910s restoration



Figure 5.20 Main Buddha of Seokuram before the 1910s restoration

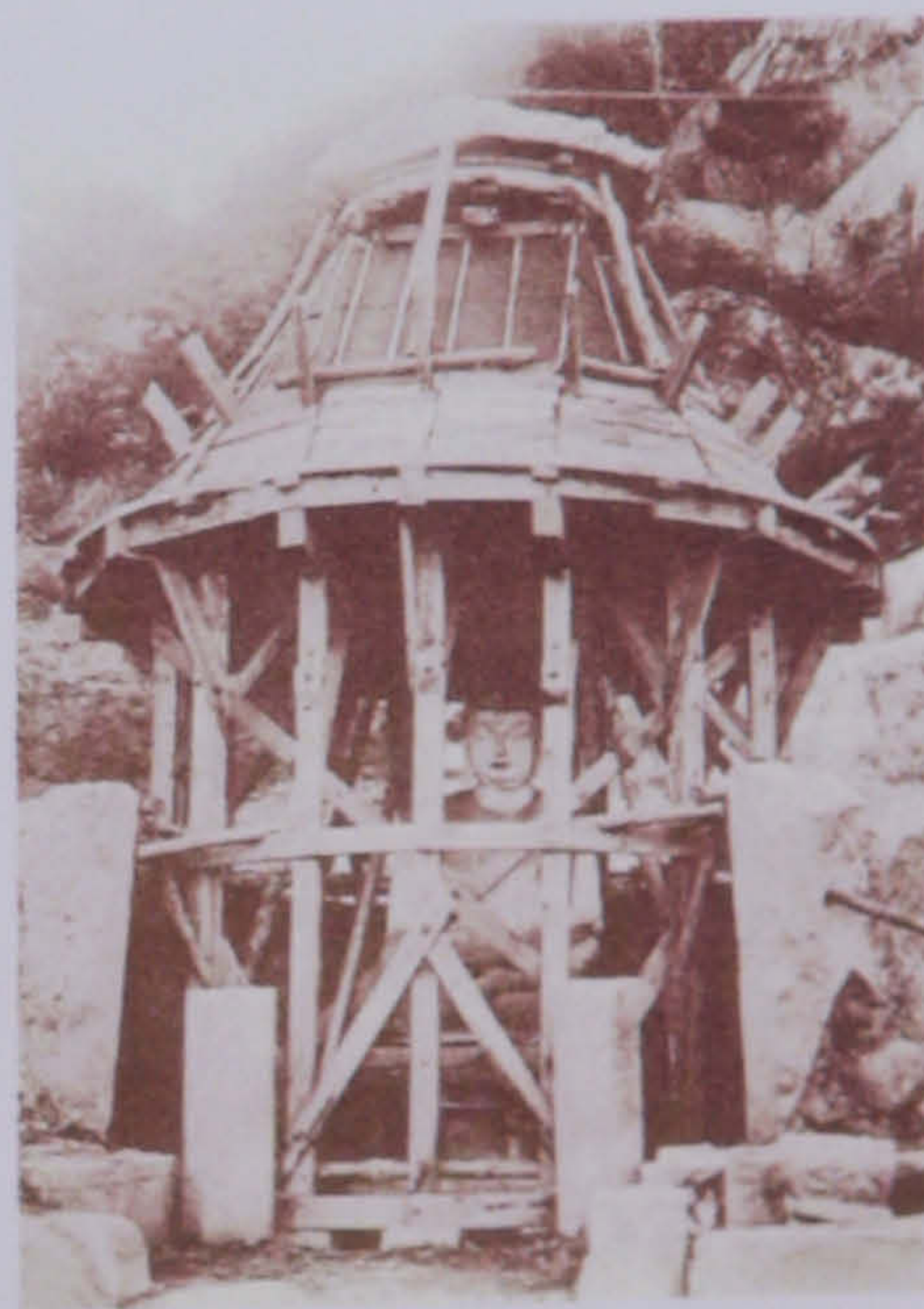


Figure 5.21 Main Buddha during the 1910s restoration

in the entrance; 3. the window at the front of the dome.



Figure 5.22 Main Buddha of Seokuram after the 1910s restoration



Figure 5.23 Present wooden structure of Seokuram which was added in the 1960s

First, the wooden structure was added (Figure 5.23) during the 1960s restoration for two reasons: 1. roof-tiles which were found during the excavation before the restoration provided evidence of a previous wooden structure; 2. protection of the sculptures from the strong ocean wind which had caused deterioration. However, a physicist, Dr. Cheonu Nam, who independently studied the scientific technique of the structure of Seokuram, argued that the wooden structure was not part of the original plan and had blocked the natural flow of the wind causing further damage to the sculptures (Nam Cheonu 1968, 238).

Second, the arrangement of the foremost two figures on the left and right side of the entrance wall, which had four guardians each side, was altered during the 1960s restoration (Figure 5.24, 5.25, and 5.26). Two figures which originally faced inward were changed and displayed in two even rows. Dr. Cheonu Nam and an art historian, Wonryong Kim, who participated in the 1960s restoration as an appointed supervisor, opposed the alteration (Nam Cheonu 1968, 43; CHA 1967, 109).

Third, Dr. Cheonu Nam suggested that there was a window at the front of the dome which should be restored so that the grotto could be ventilated as intended (1968, 240-242).

The debate on the 'original form' regarding the above changes divided scholars into two groups: one supported the alterations of the 1960s restoration and the other opposed it. In particular, the wooden structure above the ante-chamber has been an extremely sensitive subject in the debate. The restoration authority, including Suyeong Hwang, strongly advocated the existence of a wooden structure providing archaeological findings such as roof tiles and metal nails (CHA 1967, 103). However, there was no evidence that the roof tiles

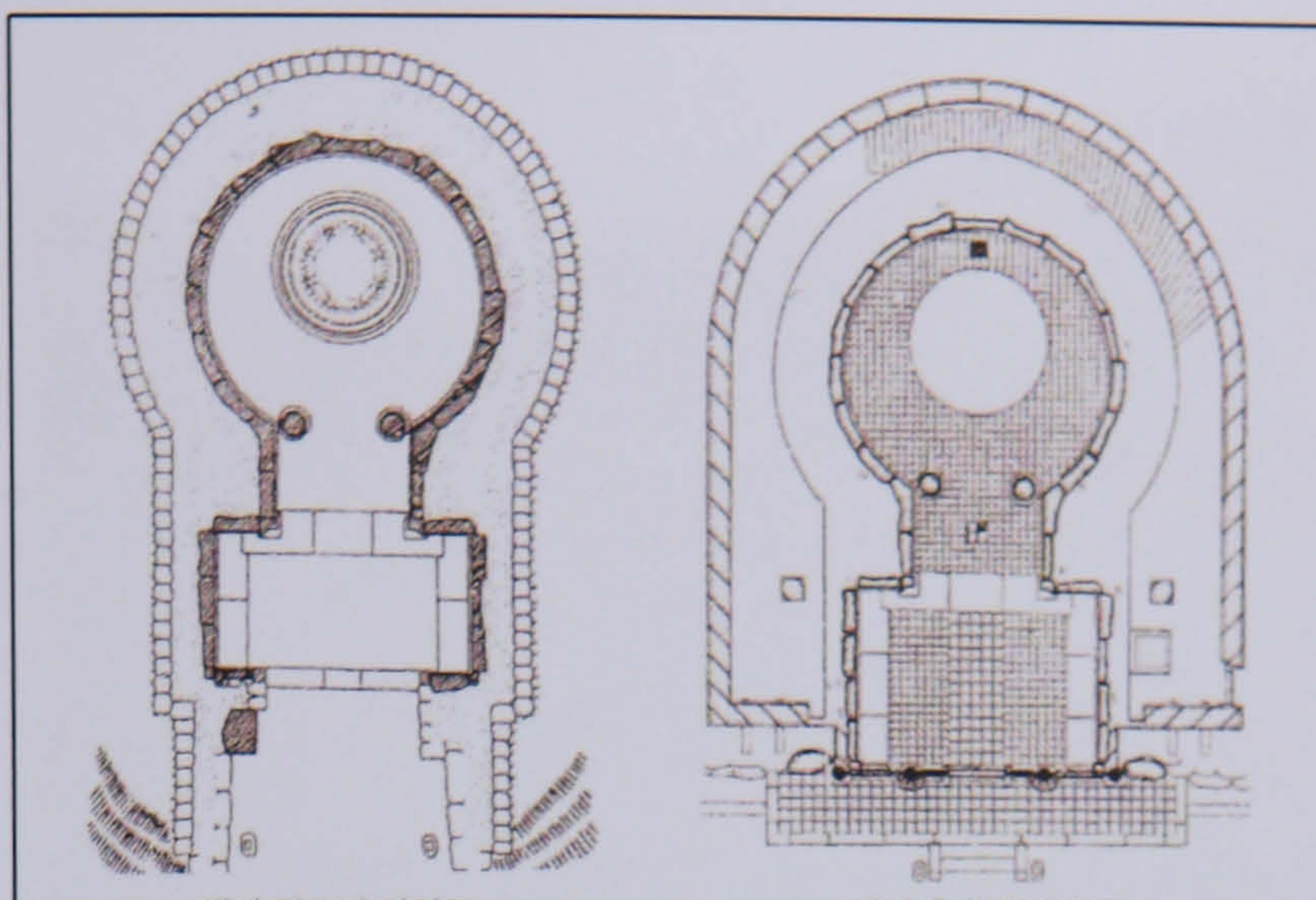


Figure 5.24 Plans before and after the change of location of two guardians



Figure 5.25 Guardians before the alteration



Figure 5.26 Present arrangement of Figure 5.25

were used in the wooden structure of the antechamber, so they cannot be taken as evidence that there was a wooden structure. Recently Jaesin Yun (2000, 128-129) suggested that the roof tiles were for protection from water coming into the main chamber based on a photograph taken before the Japanese restoration (Figure 5.27).



Figure 5.27 Roof tiles on the dome of the main chamber before the 1910s restoration

On the other hand, the scientists used scientific theory rather than material evidence to prove the earliest form. In order to support his theory that the wooden structure in the antechamber was not part of the earliest form and the decision on making another cement dome was a mistake (Figure 5.28 and 5.29), Cheonu Nam argued that the grotto had a natural circulation system of moisture and wind, so it did not need to have a wooden structure in the ante-

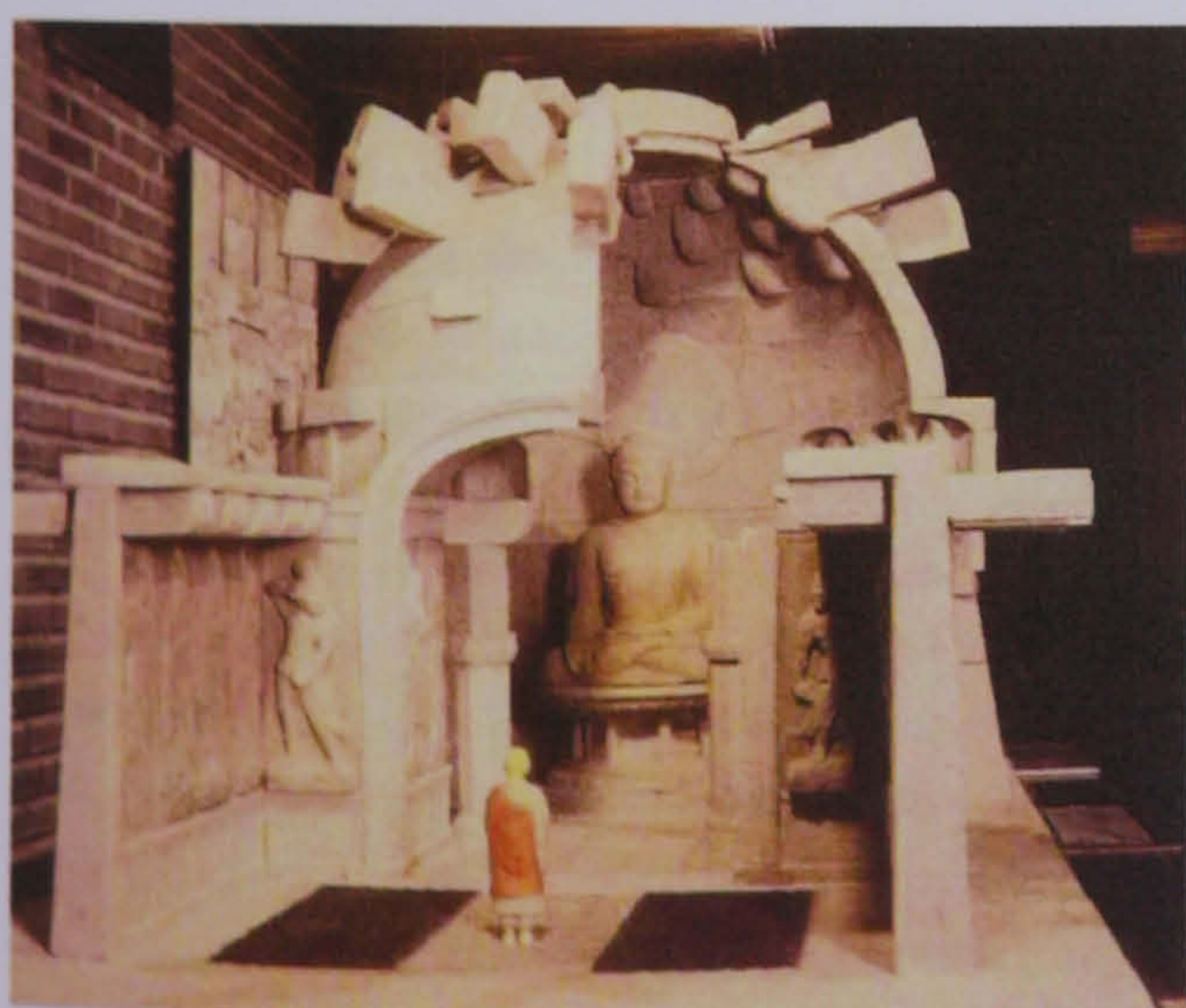


Figure 5.28 Replica showing the original dome of the main chamber

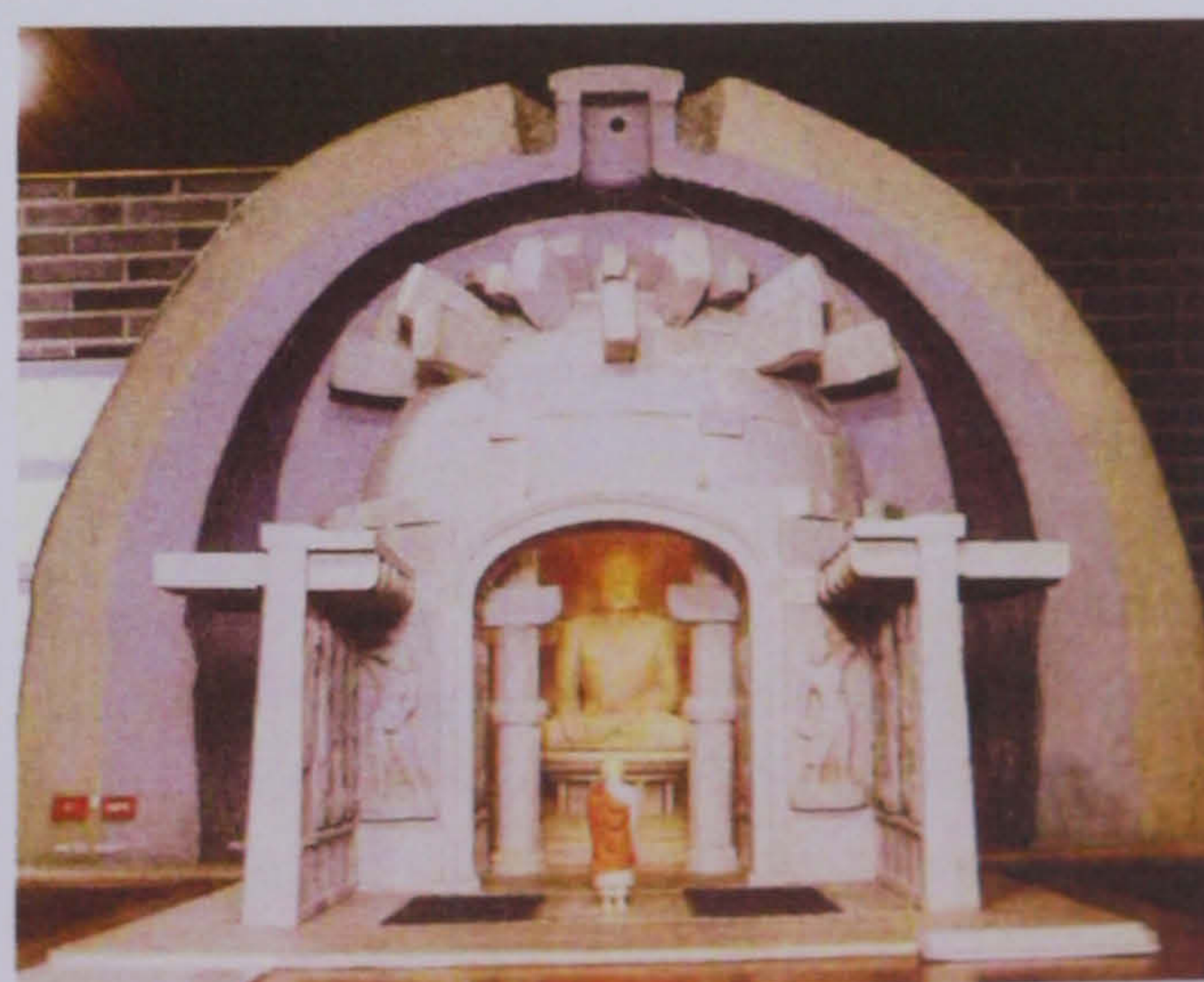


Figure 5.29 Replica showing cement additions with double layers

chamber. However, he had no physical evidence to prove his theory.

Debate about the original form (which is the earliest form in this case) has been continuous for the last half century and it seems unlikely to come to a satisfactory conclusion in the absence of any hard evidence to prove the theories of either side. In such circumstances, the focus should perhaps be shifted from the original form to the best way to preserve the present-day form. Analysis of the decision making of the 1960s restoration authority suggests a somewhat emotional approach to national identity. Suyeong Hwang and Yeonghun Shin, both of whom had acted as on-site supervisor during the 1960s restoration, demonstrated an emotional response to solving the problems caused by the Japanese restoration. To them, recovering the original form was a national task to respect the ancestors' sublime spirit. In a publication of 1964 Suyeong Hwang, who was a Buddhist art historian as well as a full-time advisor during the restoration as a commissioner of The Committee of National Treasure, Ancient Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and National Species Preservation, was explicit in his view that the repair of the grotto was an essential mission of great pride which had been spiritually handed down from previous generations. He stated that,

'Even though Seokuram had been neglected and decayed from time to time, our ancestors had perpetuated a light of Buddhist spirit with an occasional donation and they had repaired it for the protection of sacred sculptures. Thus, if anyone says it [the fact it had been preserved] was a miracle, he is an ignorant person who does not understand the spirit of the preservation that has descended from our ancestors...The survey and repair [for the last several years] should be understood as an opportunity to re-discover and re-assess our heritage by us [Korean people]' (Hwang Suyeong 1964, 127).

Agreeing with the ideas of the opposing group against the 1960s restoration, Hongjun Yu, the country's best-known art historian and the former chief

administrator of The Cultural Heritage Administration, claimed that the restorers of the 1960s were ignorant of scientific technique in the grotto and characterised the opposing groups in an extreme way stating that,

‘Looking at the debate over this issue, I discovered something very interesting and important. Scientists like Dr. Yi Taenyeong and Nam Cheonu had faith in the Silla people’s scientific outlook. It must be noted that unlike the mechanistic science of the twentieth century, Silla’s sophisticated science utilized natural principles. For this reason, scientists tend to agree that the only way to solve the problems of Seokuram is to restore it to its original form. However, art historians, archaeologists and administrators, i.e., those who don’t fully understand science, felt that some technique or device of modern science could surely save the grotto’ (Yu Hongjun 1999, 230).

However, the main problem was that the conservators did not realise that the most important thing was to consider not what was the earliest form but how they could preserve the grotto in its current state in the absence of hard evidence about the first phase. They had to face the fact that the grotto had been lost in its original form by the Japanese restoration which was irreversible. The grotto had been altered too much by its dismantling under the Japanese colonial authority and there were not enough documents to help restore it because of the failure to undertake a thorough survey before work began. The authenticity of material, form and technique had been lost by the time Korean scholars looked for the earliest form in the 1960s. After the inspection of the grotto in 1963, Wongryong Kim, who was an art historian and a supervisor of the restoration with Suyeong Hwang, pointed out the impossibility of restoring the earliest form and strongly opposed the plan for the alteration of the arrangement of figures in the entrance (CHA 1967, 109). He argued in the committee meeting in 1963 stating that,

‘There is no clear evidence [about what the original form was], so we should preserve it as it is rather than deciding this kind of an important matter without thorough consideration...If we intend to rearrange two figures in two even rows during the present restoration as Suyeong Hwang’s suggests, there should be undeniable evidence or records to support the assumption. Due to the lack of evidence in the present situation, we cannot decide on work which none of us can be responsible for with certainty, thus, we had better preserve it as it is’ (CHA 1967, 109).

At the 1991 Conference of National Specialists on the Scientific Preservation of Seokuram, he recollected the 1960s restoration with regret and made an interesting suggestion stating that,

‘Whenever I think about the world treasure known as Seokuram, I feel troubled. I still have doubts as to whether the restoration should have been done, and I also feel that I should do something about these problems. The assumption that there was definitely a wooden antechamber is a modern idea. In terms of Silla times, I think this is problematic. As scholars, I feel that we should have strong convictions...In conclusion, I would like to suggest that all the people currently associated with the Seokuram project be removed. Since there are many excellent young scholars in Korea, let some new people form a committee and take a fresh look at the grotto...We can start afresh, assess possibilities and take things in a new direction’ (quoted in Yu Hongjun 1999, 256).

His recollection implies the error of the previous restoration which aimed at finding the original form but damaged the existing one. His suggestion can be interpreted in two ways: either take a different perspective to find the earliest form or abandon the enthusiasm which was shown by the previous generation and preserve without further alteration. In the light of his standpoint in the 1963 committee meeting, it seems that his 1991 recollection implies the latter.

For the first generation who took over the responsibility of looking after the monument from the Japanese authority, identifying the original form and restoring it in Seokuram's case became more important than for any other altered heritage because it was the most iconic heritage asset whose original form had been distorted by the Japanese, foreign invaders. Therefore, this altered heritage had to be returned to its original form. Kim's recollection pointed out that Korean restoration needed to realize that it is difficult, if not impossible, to restore the earliest form and to find a new direction for conservation without delusional enthusiasm.

If the contemporaries who executed the restoration adopted the more fluid English concept of authenticity, as discussed in section 3.2.2 and 3.2.4 of chapter 3, the decision could be made in different ways, focusing on conservation to prevent further damage rather than restoring it to a form which was based on improvable assumptions. It also could protect the religious value allowing it to serve its original function rather than restricting people entering the grotto by putting a glass window in front of the corridor and only allowing authorised monks to enter for daily ritual. The failure to establish the fluid concept of authenticity and emotional attachment to the earliest form led to the grotto losing its religious function and changed religious and aesthetic experience of the visitors.

The restoration of Bulguksa was less controversial during its restoration in the 1970s (Figure 3.18) but underlined the more complicated issue of pursuing different values and authenticity than was the case in Seokuram. It might be argued that the purpose of restoring the temple to recover national identity was achieved, yet nationalist-fervour drove the restoration authority, including the temple administrators and scholars, to achieve an authenticity of form, material, technique, function, and setting. From the beginning of the work, the purpose of the restoration was very clear according to the summary in English at the end of the *Bokwon report of Bulguksa* (CHA 1976). It stated that,

‘The grand old temple of Bulguksa has been reconstructed largely true to its original forms and styles through a four-year-long work. It now boasts its imposing figure symbolizing the patriotic and nationalistic Buddhism of Silla people. In years to come, it will continue to stand as a tribute to the nation’s concerted efforts to achieve unification and prosperity for which both the Silla people and present-day Koreans are striving hard’ (CHA 1976, 465).

The above statement shows the two goals of the restoration which were political and economic. The 1960s and 1970s were times when Korea had great need for political stabilization and economic growth after the Korean War. Those two aspects had to be achieved and at the expense of freedom of speech and private rights. President Jeonghee Park, a former army general became president through a military coup d’etat in 1961 and remained, effectively as a dictator, until his assassination in 1979. His economic ambition was focused on rebuilding the infrastructure and developing heavy industries for export such as shipbuilding, steel, and cars. At the same time, he focused on rebuilding a national identity encouraging Korean spirit and culture. Amongst his methods of gaining political support by using national identity, his administration encouraged excavation of historically iconic sites such as royal tombs and the restoration of Buddhist temples and Confucian schools which were recognized as places representing the Korean spirit. The purpose of these cultural projects extended to matters of national security. The first part of the *Bokwon report of Bulguksa* (CHA 1976) specified the aim and meaning of the project stating that,

‘The Unified Silla period is the golden age of culture in our history...The representative cultural heritage sites of the period are Seokuram and Bulguksa. Therefore, they are the essence of our cultural heritage as well as religious places with a Buddhist spirit protecting the nation. Unfortunately, however, Bulguksa experienced destruction by the Japanese Invasion (1592~1595) and thereafter only certain buildings such as Daeungjeon (Hall

of Great Hero), Geuknakjeon (Hall of Western Paradise), Jahamun (Purple Mist Gate), and Jongru (Bell Pavilion) remained so that it could not recover its splendid and decorative appearance from the old period. President Jeonghee Park, who was sympathetic about the temple, ordered the restoration in order to preserve our heritage and to resuscitate patriotism encouraging people to love our nation and to foster a spirit of protection of it...Three major meanings of the restoration are; 1. the preservation of our cultural heritage; 2. the perpetuation of the spirit to protect our nation; 3. the foundation of the basic ground to spread our traditional and intelligent culture' (CHA 1976, 17).

It is difficult to understand why the rationale of the restoration extended to the spirit of 'national security and protection' and how this should be related to the architectural aspect of the temple and its restoration. The attitude might have originated from the circumstances of the time. In the 1970s national security continued to cause anxiety after the Korean War, the anti-communists were highly motivated and the government encouraged the patriotism of the people by restoring an important but damaged Buddhist temple. Hongjun Yu, the former chief administrator of The Cultural Heritage Administration, viewed the underlying ambition of the restoration from a different perspective. He has interpreted the restoration as driven by an individual's ambition rather than public demand and that individual was the military dictator, General Jeonghee Park. Yu criticised the restoration of Bulguksa and Seokuram because they showed examples of work encouraged by a president's political ambition rather than by society's desire for national identity and patriotism after experiencing the loss and destruction of national dignity and confidence. He argued that,

'Park fully used the symbolism of cultural treasures. Indeed, he had been interested in historical artefacts from early on. Projects directly undertaken under the direction of 'His excellency' include the restoration of Bulguksa temple,...and plans for moving the Haeinsa Temple sutra repository.

During these projects, Park would typically give his personal instructions concerning each detail...In the end, his excessive interest and interference in the 1960s restoration of Seokuram caused the grotto to suffer yet another disgrace. We can now look back with regret at the period's events, but at the time, the project was pursued with zeal as an expression of the dictator's strong convictions' (Yu Hongjun 1999, 243).

However, notwithstanding Yu's view, the recovery of national identity was not merely an individual passion but the desire of the public. Instead, it might be more precise to suggest that the government used the restoration of the two sites as a political tool to satisfy the desire of the public for the recovery of national identity and to gain their political support. The time when these restorations were executed was one when an interest in tourism and academic research was increasing. Bulguksa has been the most popular place for school trips so that there is no Korean 'who has finished the minimum required years of schooling and still does not know about Bulguksa temple' (Yu Hongjun 1999, 47). It provided much on-site interpretation to help understand the

development of the two stupas in front of the main hall (Figure 5.30) and the relationship between architecture and Buddhist cosmology. However, the archaeological sites were covered with created buildings so the opportunity for pure academic studies in future disappeared. It is important to examine how



Figure 5.30 Seoka and Dabo stupas in front of Daeungheon of Bulguksa

the restoration helped to recover national identity, facilitate tourism, and

provide informational resources to the public at the expense of authenticity of form, function, technique, material, and setting.

The failure of authenticity of form and setting is the result of the lack of a consistent principle in deciding the style of other restored buildings, including Birojeon (Hall of Cosmic Buddha), Museoljeon (literally meaning the Hall of No Words which was used for the education of monks and laymen), Gwaneumjeon (Hall of the Bodhisattva of Compassion), and the corridors enclosing two different realms of Buddha. This inconsistency of style and form of the restored buildings has often been criticised by later architectural historians (Lee Ganggeun 1997, 78; Kim Bonggeon 1999, 8; Kim Bongryeol 1999a, 5).

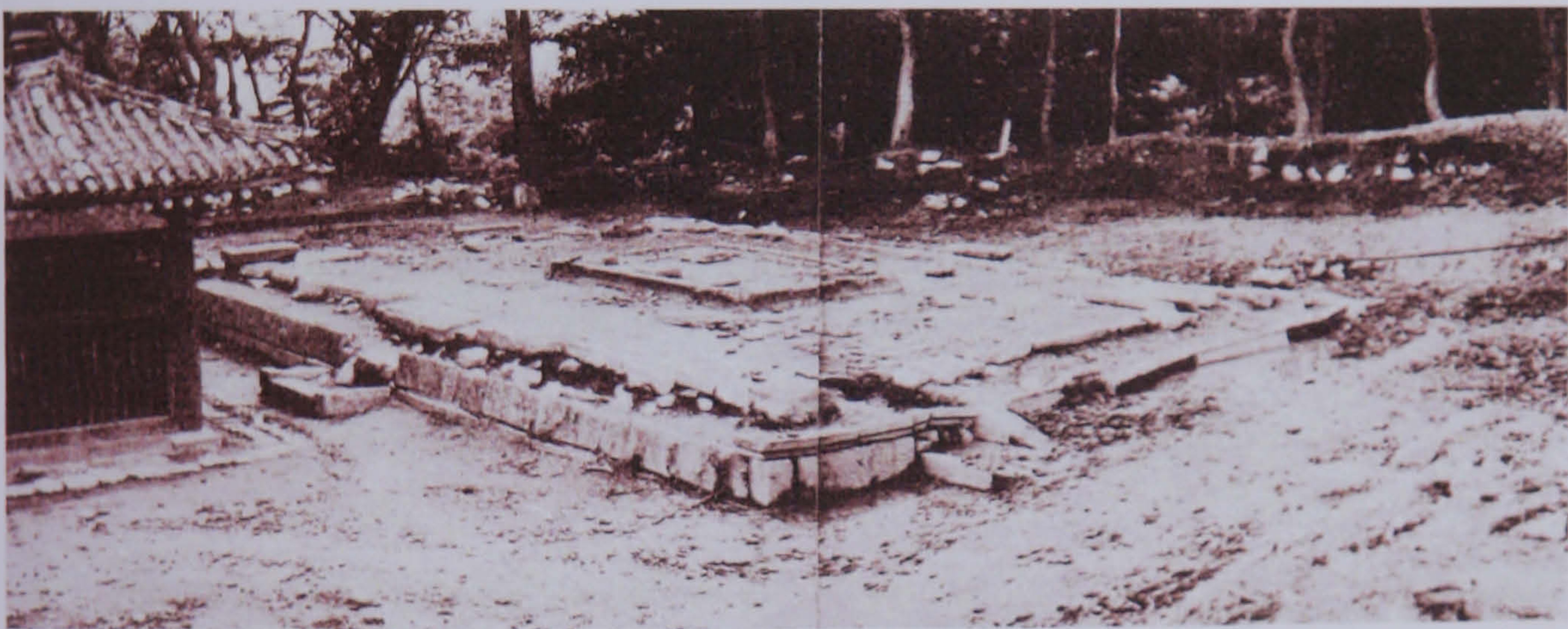


Figure 5.31 The site of Birojeon of Bulguksa during excavation

Archaeological excavation provided evidence that the sites of Birojeon, Museoljeon, and Gwaneumjeon belonged to the Silla period but the corridors revealed evidence of a mixture of Silla and Joseon periods (CHA 1976, 48-59). The site of Birojeon showed the earliest technique of placing foundation stones, while Museoljeon and Gwaneumjeon demonstrated later techniques (CHA 1976, 182-186) (Figure 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33). Due to the lack of information about the superstructure of Silla buildings in the absence of any remaining buildings of the period, it was not possible to reconstruct one in the earliest



Figure 5.32 The site of Museoljeon of Bulguksa after excavation



Figure 5.33 The site of Gwaneumjeon of Bulguksa after excavation

form and style. Thus the restoration committee decided to restore the three buildings with a Goryeo or Joseon upper structure on the Silla base stones (CHA 1976, 182-186). They aimed at restoring the earliest form of each building but in reality they had to compromise because of the impossibility of the work and decided on a combination of period and style which might never have existed before.

The design for the reconstruction of Birojeon (Figure 5.34) adopted the styles of three earliest remaining buildings from Sudeoksa (Figure 5.35), Buseoksa (Figure 5.36), and Bongjeongsa (Figure 5.37) and the Gaeksa gate in Gangreung, which belongs to the late Goryeo and early Joseon periods.



Figure 5.34 Birjeon of Bulguksa after construction



Figure 5.35 Daeungjeon of Sudeoksa



Figure 5.36. Muryangsujeon of Buseoksa



Figure 5.37 Geuknakjeon of Bongjeongsa

The design of Museoljeon (Figure 5.38) followed the middle of the Joseon period according to the photographic evidence which was taken before the Japanese repairs in 1924 (Figure 5.39), notwithstanding the fact that its foundation stones were earlier in style than Gwaneumjeon which was restored in the early Joseon style. The form shown in the pre-1924 photograph was mixed with the styles of two other buildings from Gaesimsa (Figure 5.40) and Muwisa (Figure 5.41) and this resulted in a building with a gabled roof and pillar-top bracket system (CHA 1976, 111). Bonggeon Kim, an architectural historian and the director of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, pointed out that the restoration made a single building of various styles (Kim Bonggeon, 1999, 9).



Figure 5.38 Museoljeon of Bulguksa after construction



Figure 5.39 Museoljeon behind Daeungjeon during the Japanese colonial period



Figure 5.40 Daeungjeon of Gaesimsa



Figure 5.41 Geuknakbojeon of Muwisa

After the restoration Bulguksa became a museum of various architectural styles. It is interesting to note that the restoration report stated that ‘the conglomerate of wooden buildings which were redesigned and reconstructed on Bulguksa precinct will constitute a sort of museum of wooden architecture where various styles of Korean wooden architecture can be observed all at once’ (CHA 1976, 464). Considering that Bulguksa is not only a tourist site but also a historical and educational place, the restoration authority should have provided a clear chronological principle in deciding form and style. The restored buildings are neither the earliest form nor the last form before they were destroyed. They were built in new styles and forms, which had never existed, created by modern restorers.

With regard to the function of each restored building, the restoration has failed to provide a proper balance between the original and contemporary ritual. Museoljeon, originally used as a lecture hall, is now a temporary exhibition and shop for visitors. The original ground plan of Birojeon and Gwaneumjeon was suitable for rituals of the Silla period. The disposition of four inner columns in the centre space behind the main altar in each building was designed for circumambulation and only a few people were present in the building during a service, leaving the majority outside (Figure 5.42). However, the present ritual, which was changed in the Joseon period, needs to accommodate many people so the main altar is now placed at the back of the building allowing enough space in the front for a large congregation.

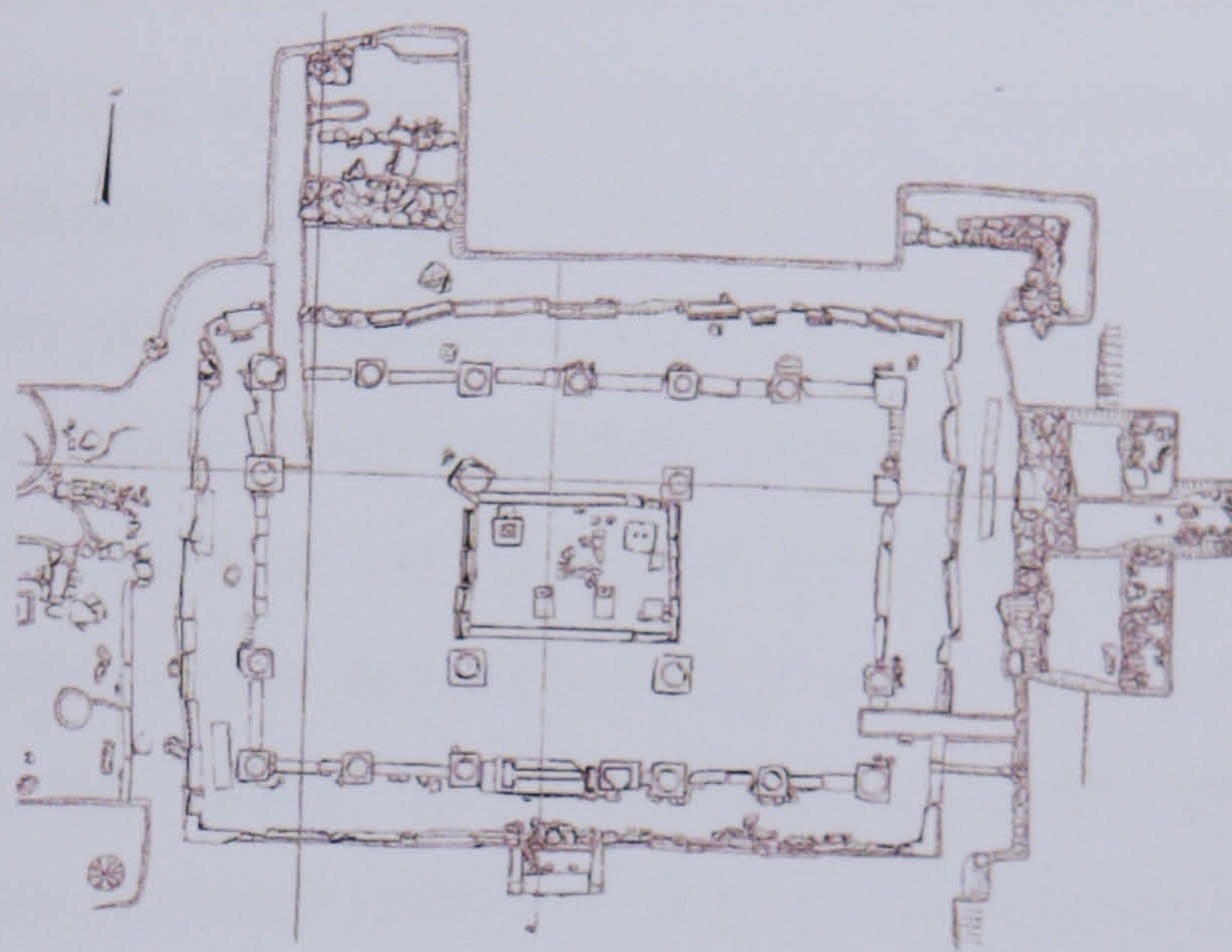


Figure 5.42 Ground plan of Birojeon of Bulguksa after excavation

The lack of clear principle and guidelines probably resulted from the failure to balance various values with rational decision-making between the various groups involved in the project. It is difficult to understand what kind of discussion and decision-making process took place because there are no surviving minutes of the committee meetings. But, presumably, government influence was strongly felt in deciding guidelines because of the structure of the restoration committee which was the decision-making body.

The restoration advisory committee was set up for the work and it was composed of three groups: 1. executive board; 2. sub-committee for research;

and 3. sub-committee for planning and design (CHA 1976, 25). The executive board was composed of financial contributors of conglomerates who were encouraged to donate money by the government. The initial budget for restoration was calculated at £130,500 which was supported by public donation and the government decided later to grant £70,600 for additional costs (Anon 1971). Most of the public donation came from the conglomerate companies. The sub-committee for research consisted of archaeologists and art historians, and that for planning and design of architects, architectural historians, and draftsmen. Decisions were made by the executive board with advice from two sub-committees and the board was strongly influenced by government interest. The government aimed at gaining political support by attracting public interest and this purpose was supported by the restoration whereas scholars, such as archaeologists and architectural historians, were enthusiastic about looking for the earliest form but failed to advise and persuade the government to apply practical guidelines from the perspective of conservation. In addition, the restoration took only four years from 1969 to 1973 (detailed process is described in Site Gazetteer) and this was not enough time to consider all the various values and principles in the reconstruction of this huge site.

The decision on the restoration of the pond and the change to the visitor's route provide clear examples of the different interests of the government and scholars. It shows that the convenience of the tourists was more valued than the quality of their experience. The location of Gupumyeonji (Nine Grades Lotus Pond), in front of the two sets of staircases called Yeonhwa-Chilbo (Lotus Flower and Seven Jewelled) and Cheongun-Baekun (Blue Cloud and White Cloud) Bridges, had been known since the survey during the Japanese colonial period had been executed in the 1920s. The excavation in 1969 proved that the oval pond measured 39.5 meters from east to west and 25.5 meters from north to south and was 2 to 3 meters deep (CHA 1976, 69) (Figure 5.43 and 5.44). As described in 3.2.4.5 of chapter 3, it was an essential part of the unique setting

of the temple to visualize the Buddhist landscape described in the sutra. The pond was significant not only physically but also symbolically in relating the names and their meanings. ‘Bulguk’ means ‘Buddha land’ and the pavilion ‘Beomyeongru’, at the top of the middle of the two staircases, means ‘Floating Reflection Pavilion’ (Figure 5.45).

When the preparatory survey for the restoration commenced in 1969, the initial plan included the restoration of the pond after the excavation (Anon 1969). A leading art historian, Hongseop Jin, asserted that the restoration of the pond should be accurately executed in terms of the size and location based on the archaeological survey (Jin Hongseop 1969, 146). However, at the meeting to establish the detailed plan of the restoration, the committee decided not to restore the pond based on concerns that the existing trees and excavated remains might be disturbed and inconvenience caused to the



Figure 5.43 The site of Gupumyeonji

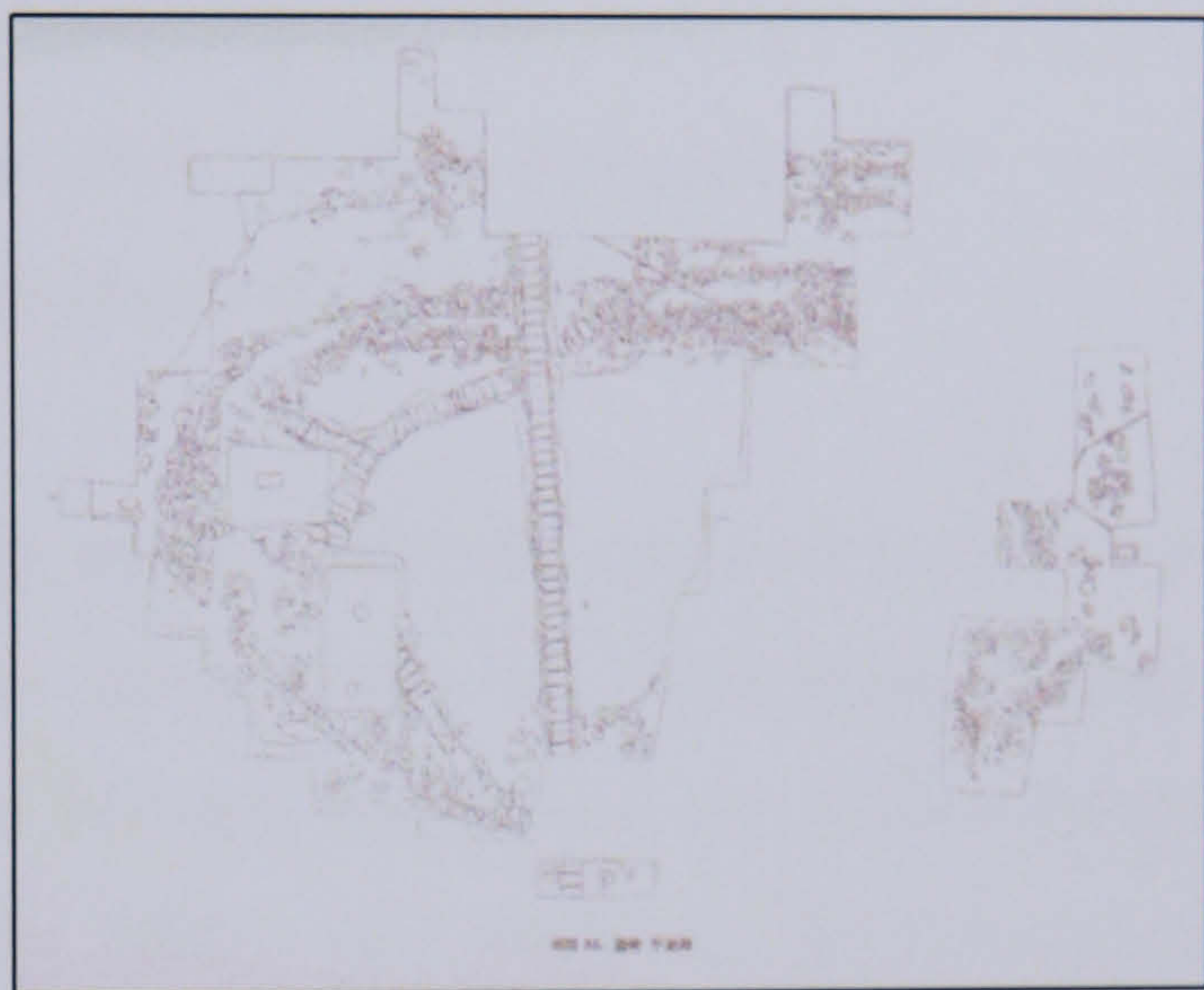


Figure 5.44 Ground plan of the pond



Figure 5.45 Beomyeongru

movement of huge numbers of tourists (CHA 1976, 18).

On the other hand the original route for entering the main courtyard, via the staircases, was diverted into one through the side door on the right of the main hall area. The restoration committee was concerned that the huge influx of tourists would damage the staircases. The significance of this visual experience of entering the temple to understanding its religious meaning and architectural intent was sacrificed in favour of the protection of the staircases from erosion by thousands of feet. Both decisions, on the pond and the route, have been criticised by many scholars claiming that the pond and the original route should be restored (Han Samgeon 1999, 25; Kim Bonggeon 1999, 11; Yu Hongjun 1999, 96-98), but this has never been re-considered.

Authenticity of material was another matter that the restoration failed to achieve. Most timbers used in the construction of Museoljeon, Gwan-eumjeon, and Birojeon were imported because there were not enough native trees of sufficient size (CHA 1976, 188). In addition, Beomyeong-ru

(Floating Reflection Pavilion) was dismantled and replaced by a new building of larger size (Figure 5.46 and 5.47). The sub-committee made the decision because 'it was not possible to connect the previous Beomyeongru with the restored corridor because of the different height' and 'the existing building

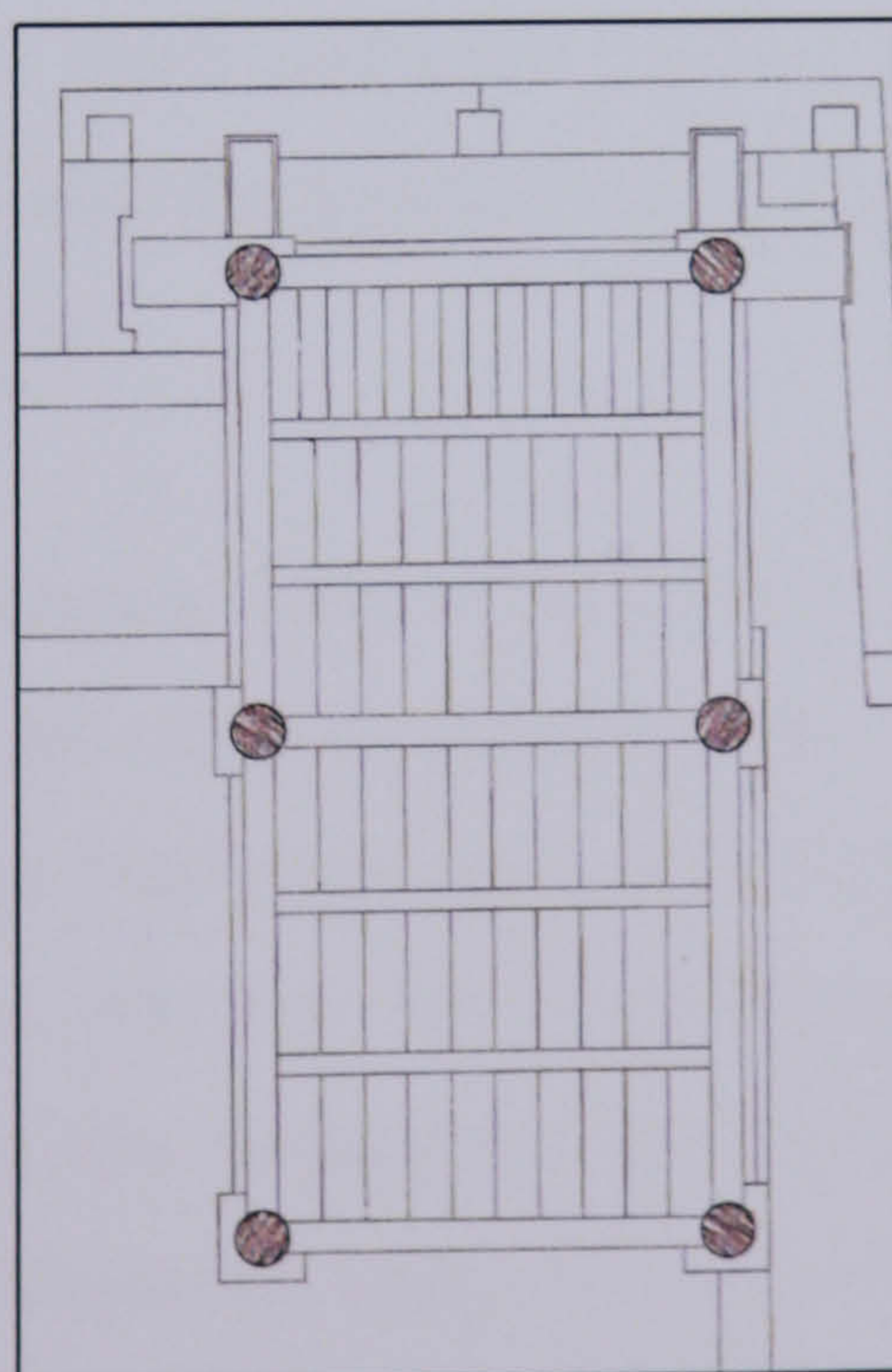


Figure 5.46 Plan of Beomyeongru of Bukguksa before extension

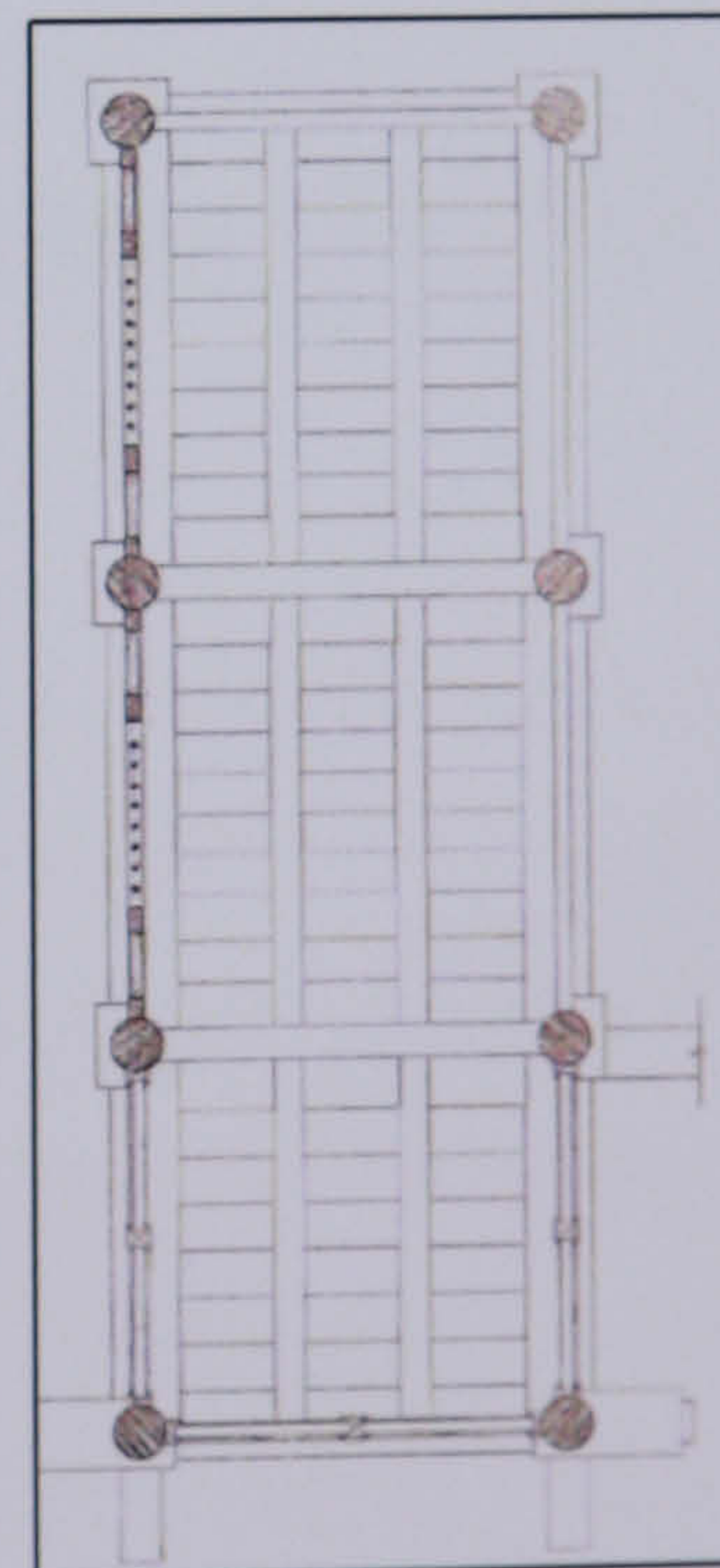


Figure 5.47 Plan of Beomyeongru after extension

which had two bays in front are different from the description of three bays in *Bulguksa-kogeumchanggi* (The old and present *joongchang* record of Bulguksa which was recorded in 1740)' (CHA 1976, 136). The restoration committee decided to dismantle it and reassemble it on another site in the temple compound (CHA, 166). However, the building was never reassembled on another site nor have any of the components from the building been re-used in the new building.

The restoration of Bulguksa contributed to the recovery of national identity in providing tangible evidence of something to be proud of and for Korean people to show their heritage by recreating the long-lost buildings and some part of the settings of the original temple. It generated economic value and associative values as the government intended. However, the informational value and the authenticity of archaeological remains of each reconstructed building was buried by pseudo-original buildings which never existed in any period of the temple's history. In addition, religious value and the authenticity of function of the way to access the temple and of contemporary ritual practice in Museoljeon were ignored. Such problems resulted from not only the fixed concept of authenticity but also the problem of the legal framework addressed in section 4.3.1.2 of chapter 4.

The buildings and archaeological sites of the temple were not designated but the temple compound was as a Historic Site and Site of Scenic View of which the criteria of designation in *Munwhajaebohobeop* (CPP Act) were not specific and the significance of the site was not identified when it was designated. Such legal status allowed the restoration authority to establish a special committee for the work without the supervision of the Committee of Cultural Properties so that the decisions were made in favour of the government's objectives. It is interesting to note that it became a World Heritage Site in 1995 although the restoration was executed with conjecture.

5.3.2. Reconstruction; *joonggeon*

Given that Korean Buddhist temples are composed of various elements of theology, and surrounding nature, their conservation needs to respect the fact that their value lies not only in the historical, aesthetic, and religious significance of individual buildings but also in the holistic interaction and functional intention of the buildings and their carefully considered disposition, displaying their religious, historical, and environmental context. However, reconstruction in Korea has shown contrasting attitudes towards designated buildings, nationally and locally, and undesignated ones. This attitude has resulted in the disruption of the original relationship between buildings in Korean temples. Whereas work on designated buildings has been confined to minor repairs with minimum intervention in principle, that on undesignated buildings has been less restrictive and allowed reconstruction with new designs and materials. Problems are caused by different levels of control and the standard of various legal controls such as the *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act), *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act), and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure), which regulate Buddhist temples. This section will examine how separate legal frameworks between designated and undesignated buildings in a Buddhist temple, examined in sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.4.2, has made it difficult for conservators and temple authorities to preserve authentic setting and aesthetic and informational values.

While reconstruction in many cases has preserved the arrangement of buildings because one individual building replaces another existing one, thus respecting the significance of the location of each building, it has often ignored both the theological interaction and the detailed setting between buildings. In addition, the informational value embodied in the chronological development of each building has given way to the functional need of religious activity with new buildings of contemporary form, material, and size. The desire to increase the religious population and activities of the temple for financial reasons and reputation has resulted in the so-called 'bigger building syndrome'. In some

cases a change of function has led to the alteration of the original form and design of the building during reconstruction.

An example of such problems is the reconstruction of the undesignated buildings of the 1980s and the 1990s in Haeinsa, the home of the Tripitaka Koreana, a set of scriptures on woodblocks of international significance and central importance to the Buddhist faith (Figure 3.19 and 3.20). The historical information of the woodblock and the significance of its setting between the repository and other buildings were examined in section 3.2.4.5 of chapter 3.

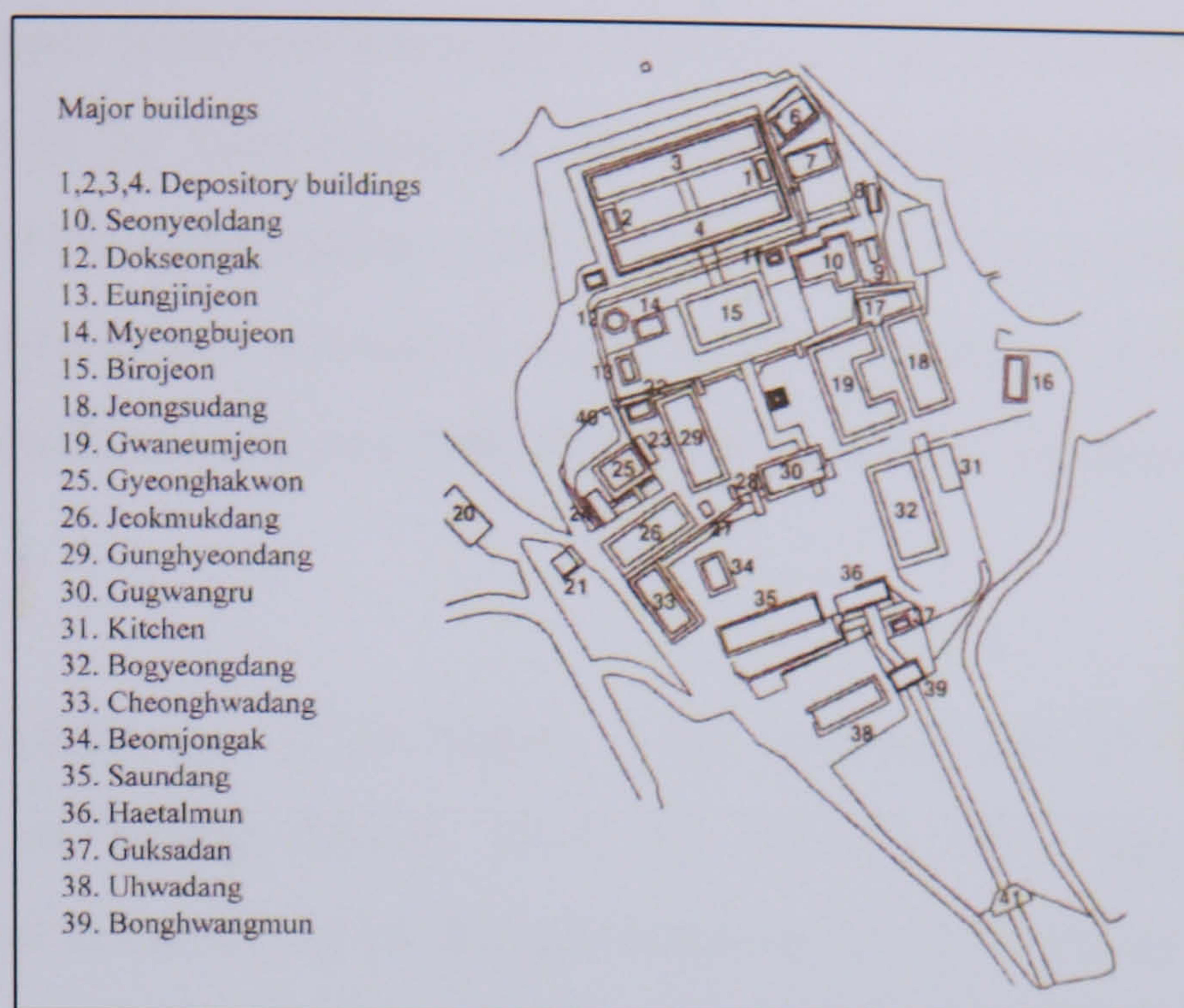


Figure 5.48 Plan of Haeinsa

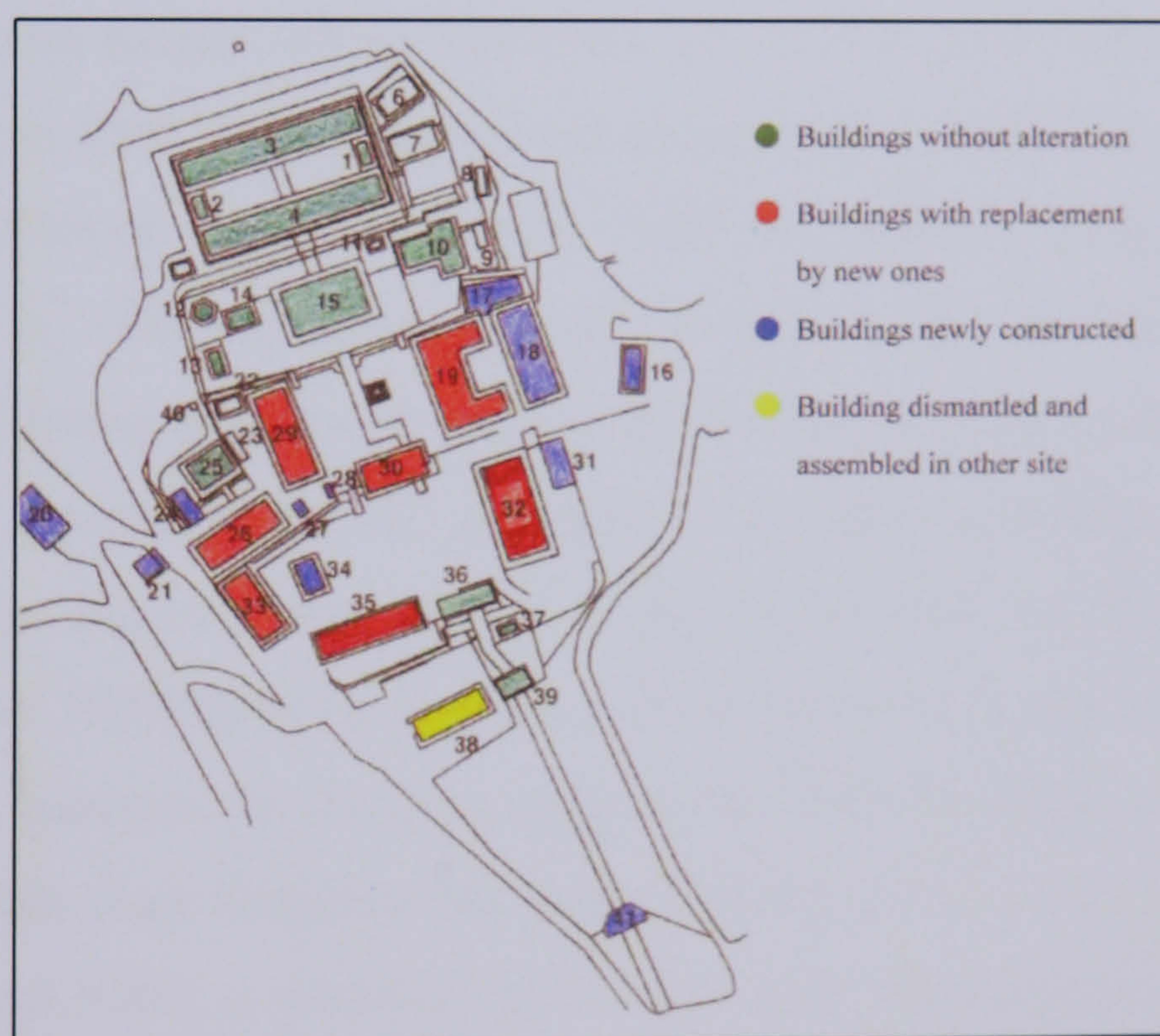


Figure 5.49 Plan of Haeinsa with marking of reconstruction

During the 1980s and 1990s, six undesignated buildings in the first and second courtyards were replaced by new ones, four in the 1980s and two in the 1990s, while four designated buildings, namely the fifteenth century repository of the

woodblock library on the upper terrace of the temple, Birojeon (Hall of Cosmic Buddha, main hall of 1818) in the main courtyard, Gyeonghakwon (School for Learning Sutra of 1892) and Bonghwangmun (Gate of Phoenix of 1821) at the entrance, were repaired without any attempt at reconstruction (Figure 5.49). Among six old buildings replaced, only one was preserved in another location without destruction.

Bogyeongdang (Assembly Hall, no 32 in Figure 5.48) replaced the 1817 Myeongwoldang (Shrine of Bright Moon, used for lectures and large congregations) which moved to the left of the Bonghwangmun (no 38 in Figure 5.48) and changed its name into Uhwadang in 1982 (Lee Sanghae and Jeong Giyong 2002, 23). The new bigger building was built of cement to resemble a timber structure. The present temple office, Saundang (no 35 in Figure 5.48), replaced the 1939 building in 1984 (Lee Sanghae and Jeong Giyong 2002, 22). Jeokmukdang (Shrine of Silence, no 26 in Figure 5.48), the abbot's living quarters, was constructed in 1989 replacing several buildings used for rice cleaning, warehousing, and living quarters for trainee monks (Lee Sanghae and Jeong Giyong 2002, 25). Located to the left and right of the main courtyard, Gunghyeon-dang (no 29 in Figure 5.48), which is the lecture hall for the monks' school, replaced the 1908 building in 1988 and Gwaneumjeon (no 19 in Figure 5.48), the living quarters for monks, replaced the 1908 building in 1991 with steel and concrete (Lee Sanghae and Jeong Giyong 2002, 24-25). Gugwangru (no 30 in Figure 5.48), a pavilion for lectures and congregations, was built in 1818 but replaced by a new building in 1993 (Lee Sanghae and Jeong Giyong 2002, 23).

Bigger in size than the previous buildings, the new buildings have failed to preserve the aesthetic beauty relating to the surrounding buildings. For example, Bogyeongdang, seemingly a single storey at the front but actually two storeys at the back, has failed to preserve the aesthetic beauty relating to the surrounding buildings because of its size (Wontaek 1986, 9). Before the

works were executed, Hyangjeok expressed a concern about the preference for bigger buildings of the contemporary temple authority as quoted in section 3.2.4.3 of chapter 3. However, his concern was ignored in the decision-making. After the work, a leading Buddhist art historian, Ubang Gang, criticised 'bigger building syndrome' in his 1999 article 'Regarding reconstruction: a plea to monks' stating that,

'The beautiful and secluded atmosphere of our Buddhist temples has disappeared because of ignorant construction. Buddhist temples are building a main hall and a lecture hall bigger and bigger like a modern theatre, so they do not harmonize with existing buildings' (Gang Ubang 1999, 17).

Being of two storeys at the front but one at the back, the 1818 Gukwangru played an important role leading visitors into the main courtyard (Figure 5.52). Originally every bay of the first floor of the building had neither exterior walls or windows so that it could be used to accommodate people in a special ceremony held in the main courtyard, as shown in the photo taken in the Japanese colonial period (Figure 5.50). The photo published in the book *Haeinsa* (Lee, Jaechang *et al* 1993, 66) shows that a window was added to each bay of the first floor in order to use the building as a museum and for exhibitions. (Figure 5.51) It had a gate in the second bay from the right of the ground floor so that visitors had to enter the right side of the courtyard. It was intentionally designed for them to pay respect to the stupa on that side before moving on to the central pavement leading to the main hall, Birojeon (Lee, Sanghae 2001, 32-33) (Figure 5.52).

The new Gugwangru changed the original route. The second bay from the right of the previous building had no doors nor closed space but provided instead a pathway to enter the main courtyard through the building. The new building closed the second bay from the right so visitors have to enter the main



Figure 5.50 Gukwangru of Haeinsa during the Japanese colonial period



Figure 5.51 Gukwangru after the addition of windows in the first floor



Figure 5.52 Main courtyard after passing Gukwangru



Figure 5.53 New Gukwangru

courtyard passing by the right and left side of the building (Figure 5.53). The 1818 building after the 1817 fire respected the location of the door which preserved the original route (Lee Sanghae 2001, 33). The painting by Yunkyeom Kim (1711~1775) shows that the building before the fire had the same route (Figure 5.54).

However, the 1993 reconstruction ignored the authenticity of material, setting, and function which was examined in section 3.2.4 of chapter 3, affecting its informational and religious values. By removing a sound building, original material of historic value demonstrating early construction technique was lost; by changing the original route, the original setting for the intended religious

experience of visitors discussed in section 3.2.4.5 of chapter 3 was altered; and by changing the use of the building, its original function to accommodate the congregation participating in outdoor rituals in the courtyard in front of the main hall disappeared. This lack of understanding of the relationship between building and courtyard



Figure 5.54 The 18th century painting of Haeinsa by Yun-gyeom Kim

has been criticised (Lee Sanghae 2001, 32; Kim Bongryeol 2002, 7) and the failure of the compromise between the preservation of the original setting and present-day functional need has been pointed out (Woncheol 1993, 5).

It is difficult to understand the rationale of the replacement, the process of decision-making and the source of funding of the reconstruction due to the absence of detailed documents. By examining a retrospective article by a Buddhist monk of the temple, Wontaek, who took an important role as chief administrator during the period of reconstruction, later a director of the temple museum, it can be assumed that it was part of a long-term development plan to regain important status as a Dharma temple for a small group of administrative monks of the temple. He stated that,

‘When I was appointed to be a chief administrator, I was full of thoughts to achieve, so called, the second foundation by developing the site of the previous primary school. But soon I concluded that it is not possible to dream of an extravagant plan with such a poor financial status, as with much difficulty, it could barely manage the daily expenses. There were many

buildings which had deteriorated, so I was busy repairing them. Thus my ambition disappeared as an impossible dream to raise enough money to accomplish the twelve year development plan [the construction of a religious and cultural complex on the site of the primary school which was commenced in 1990 for the commemoration of the 1200th anniversary of the first foundation of the temple] ' (Wontaek 1996, 19).

In such a difficult financial situation, the temple managed the reconstruction of six buildings. There are no details of the source of the funding, which exemplifies the problem of the secretive attitude toward financial sources and the status of the religious authority which was argued in section 5.2.1 of this chapter. Reviewing the list of grants by central and local governments in *The annual statistic of conservation of cultural properties* published by Cultural Heritage Administration between 1981 and 1989, it is clear that no government funds had been allocated to the temple for the work. They depended for the full amount of the cost on public donations which probably resulted in the reconstruction being strongly influenced by the wishes of the rich donors. Hyeongong, a Buddhist monk from Baekyangsa, particularly criticised the implications of private donations by politicians for reconstruction. He noted that,

'...We need to review reconstructions which were executed in Buddhist temples. Surely, there were many reconstructions from sincere and devoted donors. However, we have seen many works that have been donated to by the relatives and friends of politicians [who expected political support from the Buddhist community] providing unethical money to the temple administrators and local officers. We have seen many Buddhist monks who are acquainted with relatives or friends of politicians who have been recognized as a highly-respected monk or a capable administrator' (Hyeongong 1988, 7).

After the completion of the reconstruction of six buildings at Haeinsa in 1993, a Buddhist monk in the temple, Woncheol, criticised the work. By comparing two contrasting attitudes toward a building, which are ‘restoration as it was’ and ‘alteration based on functional need’, his insightful arguments suggested that both attitudes could be compromised by a logical rationale reflecting the practical and aesthetic needs of present-day religious practice (Woncheol 1993, 5). He noted that alteration of an existing building for modern convenience should be executed only where the rationale of the work is strongly convincing and reasonable. However, the desire to expand the temple with many huge buildings has developed into building separate complexes for religious and secular activities adjacent to the temple without providing any evidence for the necessity of the work. This will be examined in the next section.

5.3.3. Re-creation and new construction; *singeon*

The plan of construction of a new parish hall in St. Mary’s Church, Beverley (Figure 5.55) faced strong opposition from the local community in 1983. In a letter to the Parochial Church Council dated April 2, 1984 Richard Wilson, a local resident, sent a letter opposing the plan on the ground that the new construction would affect the original function of the church and the aesthetic value of the surrounding area. His argument is directly relevant and useful, so it is helpful to set out here the seven points that he suggested the parish re-consider.



Figure 5.55 St Mary’s Church, Beverley

‘1. Even though it is possible to raise enough funds for building a new parish hall, we should not be spending the money on this construction and leaving a beautifully constructed Gothic building (St. Mary’s) locked. It is against the historical use of the church and a waste of the building.

2. Instead of spending £ 200,000 on the construction we can use the money on the existing building to make it warmer.

3. St Mary’s is in good condition so we should concentrate on using our existing building, then on restoration such as Beverley Minster focused on.

4. Considering the increase of the youth problem around the church and the level of vandalism it is better to plan more practical projects such as setting up a youth centre or old people’s meeting place.

5. If the church community really needs a place for coffee and social meetings, they can utilize other buildings, underused rooms and halls in the town for the care of the existing building as well as the upkeep and success of other people’s ventures.

6. The church is one of a complex of many buildings such as the nursery school, health centre and a fine old manor house. The site where the new parish hall is to be located in the plan is valuable space which provides a quiet moment for rest amongst the surrounding building complex, therefore it should be retained as open space.

7. There is a need for prudence and extensive discussion before a decision can be made and a plan executed. The details of the plan should be published in the church magazine so that everyone can understand it and express their opinions. Ideas should be discussed with other organizations such as the county and district councils and the Council for the Care of Churches to ensure a broadly supported and rational decision’ (Wilson 1984).

His argument pointed out two important issues of conservation in identifying the tensions between the conservationist who tries to preserve the building as it is and the religious community which seeks a place for social activities by constructing a new building. First, he argued for the sound condition of the

original building and its possible use as a social space. Second, he argued against building a church hall out of respect for the spiritual function of the open space that the church had provided. However, it seems that the church authority did not respond to his representations by clarifying their position or initiating public discussion. In addition they did not seek any advice of the Council for the Care of Churches or other expert bodies.

In 1986, when the planning application was handed to the Council, the local community was clearly divided into two opposing groups. During the public inquiry in 1986 it was revealed that six out of the seven letters representing community opinion received by Beverley Council were against the proposal. (Anon 1986). Even though the church claimed that they reported all discussions in the parish magazine and during regular services from the beginning of the scheme, the group against the plan, who were not regular church-goers, urged the church to hold a public meeting. In a letter to the local newspaper, *Beverley and District Star*, Richard Wilson argued that the plan should have been 'openly displayed and widely discussed with the general public, relevant advisory bodies, and members of the congregation at large' so that the local people could air their views (Wilson 1986b). In a letter to the same newspaper, Elizabeth Cooper, who opposed the plan publicly, criticized the fact that it was initiated and carried forward by only a few people in authority, intentionally excluding the residents, churchgoers and other groups who expressed their objective opinion or were against the plan (Cooper 1986). She criticised the statement of the Rev. Janicker, the Minster curate, to the newspaper of 'just who do you think you are to tell us what we can and cannot do with our churches?'

Richard Wilson, who consistently expressed his opposition, sent another letter dated October 14, 1986 asking twenty questions to be answered by the church. His suggestions to the church were grouped into four areas: 1. to communicate with the council and residents and to respond to their demands because the

church is one of the key buildings which define the appearance of the town; 2. to disclose details of all financial aspects such as the cost and expected rental income, the fundraising plan for construction and the sharing of money for the conservation of the existing medieval church fabric; 3. to put more effort into the conservation and utilization of existing buildings; 4. to solve the problem of exhumation and re-burials as well as the proper excavation of the site where the new hall was to be situated (Wilson 1986a).

It is difficult to find a clear standpoint of the church authorities to such criticisms. However, Richard Giles' argument in favour of 'a gathering place' provides a glimpse of their attitude. He pointed out that,

'In the creation of a gathering place, it is essential to declare war on the 'church hall syndrome' which imprisons our communities in zones of environmental deprivation amidst broken furniture, torn curtains and bare boards, all experienced to full effect beneath the unforgiving glare of fluorescent lights. No wonder we Christians sometimes feel at a disadvantage in this world' (Giles 1996, 164).

It took almost ten years to make the final decision to execute the work and the new hall opened in 1994. English attitudes have shifted since the 1980s and 1990s bringing more tolerance of the conversion of parts of the church itself to social space, thus disrupting the sacred space inside the church and its precinct. The parish hall currently provides a place for more than two or three meetings per day on average, bringing income to the church (Frank Purkiss (the church hall manager) pers. comm. July 2007) (Figure 5.56). Different from the church authority's argument, the hall is more frequently used for non-religious activities such as social meetings and dance lessons than religious ones.

Rather than reaching a conclusion on whether the construction was worthwhile or not, it is more important to assess whether the perspectives of the religious

and non-religious communities were considered and respected in the decision-making. The tensions between the ‘direct’ and the ‘indirect’ users of religious buildings, that is the faith groups and the non-religious citizens who nonetheless appreciate the aesthetic and amenity value of the church building, were an important aspect in making a decision.

Although Wilson’s arguments were worth considering, the decision was made in favour of religious ‘need’, which was claimed to be the use of the hall then, but secular activities are more frequently held at present. As a result of the construction of the hall, the open space to the north side of the church was replaced by it decreasing the value of the authentic setting of the church. The loss of the setting is not the result of the ignorance on the part of the church authority but also the lack of requisition of its significance in the secular legal framework. The listing description of St Mary’s



Figure 5.56 Interior of the parish hall of St Mary’s, Beverley



Figure 5.57 The parish hall and St Mary’s, Beverley

Beverley, which is reproduced in section I-3-(4) of the Site gazetteer, did not play an important role in protecting the amenity of the building, which used to provide a quiet space for visitors in the busy town centre. Today, the small space between the church and the hall provides a space for anti-social activities and vandalism (Frank Purkiss pers. comm. July 2007) (Figure 5.57).

The plan for the construction of a religious and cultural complex in a separate area adjacent to the main compound of Haeinsa displays a similar set of attitudes to the case of St Mary's, Beverley. It shows that the temple authority ignored the original function of the existing building by separating religious activities from secular ones.

In 1996, the temple authority announced 'A project for a religious and cultural complex' (Wontaek 1996, 18). The main purpose of the project was to expand the temple with a long-term development plan to celebrate the 1200th anniversary of foundation and to separate the religious space for monks from the secular one for lay communities. The project included three steps of construction: 1. a training centre, an assembly hall and a museum for lay people; 2. a new school for the monks and an international meditation centre for foreign monks; 3. various accommodation facilities for pilgrims and a resort for holidays (Wontaek 1996, 18). Mugwan, a chief administrator monk of the temple in 1997, explained the aim of the work stating,

'As the form [trend] of the faith is changing with the passage of time, Korean Buddhism of the 21st century needs to renew the temple and its cultural space in order to accept the contemporary demands of our times. Haeinsa should build a 'Haein Religious and Cultural Complex' as the second foundation of the monastery in order to meet the contemporary religious demand separating it from the existing compound which needs to be preserved as a monastery for religious activities and meditation of the ordained monks' (Mugwan 1997, 12-13).

As part of the first step, the temple authority planned to build the world's largest Buddha, 43 meters high and 41 meters wide, on the site of the primary school to satisfy the request of a rich anonymous donor, widely presumed to be a leading politician, in 2001 (Figure 5.58). As soon as the temple announced the plan, strong criticism came from both religious and secular groups against

it. It was criticised as an unnecessary project 'to destroy originality and traditional religious practice' (Anon 2001b), 'a violent abuse' and 'a greedy thought for the sake of monetary profit by transforming the temple into a tourist site' (Seong Nakju 2001, 8-9), and 'not worthy of its cost, both artistically and technologically' (Anon 2001c). An instant survey by the Korean Buddhism Information Centre, carried out on 4

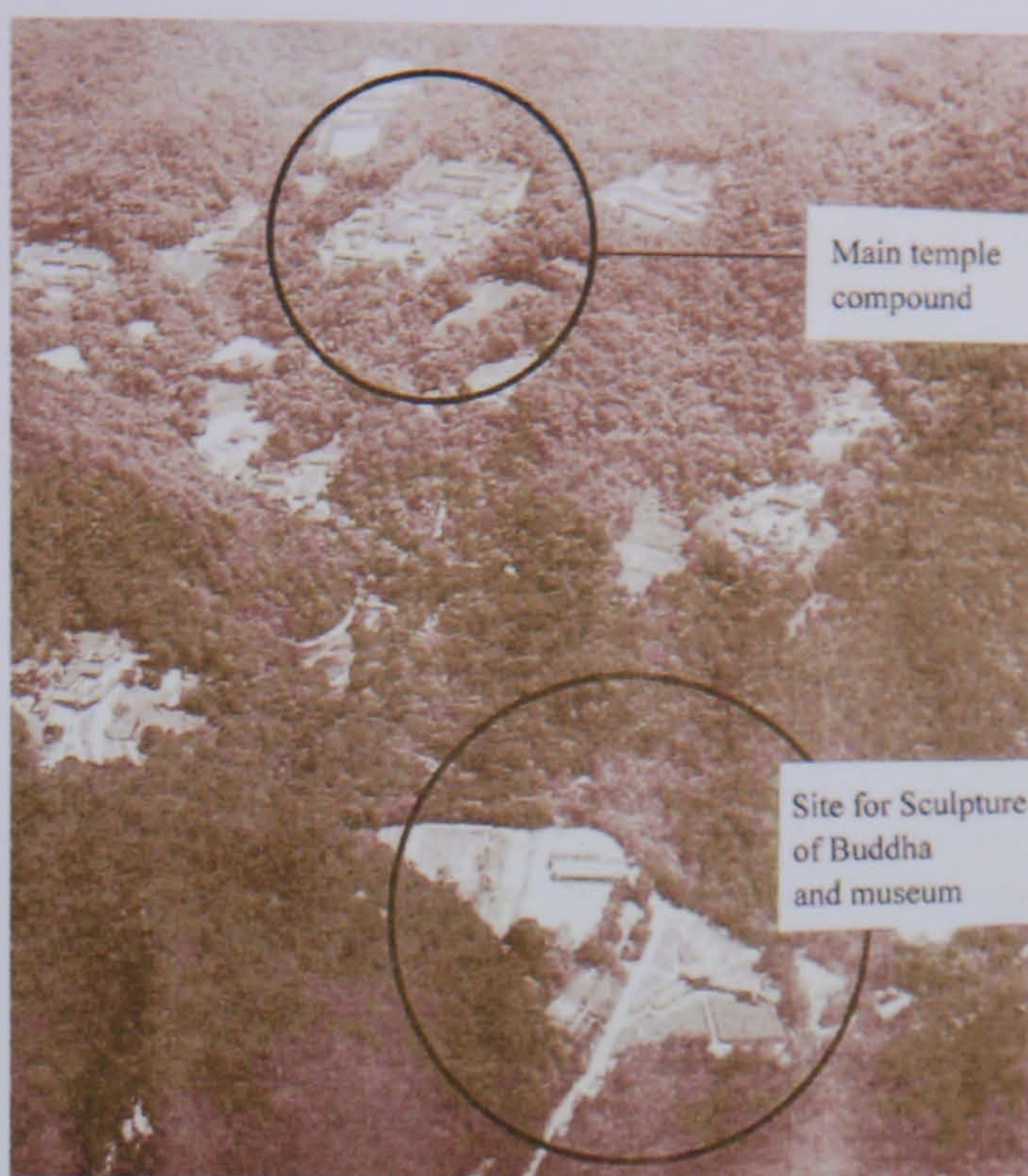


Figure 5.58 Map of location of the site for new Buddha in Haeinsa

June 2001 showed that the public supported the criticism of the plan (<http://www.budgate.net/Scripts/poll/pollist.asp?page=6>). 91.12 % of 563 voters responded that the project should be reconsidered. In response, the temple authority explained that 'Haien temple has played a central role to provide a space for monks but the space for the lay community was insufficient, so the project for the Buddha and other buildings has been planned to solve the problem' (Anon 2001b).

The debate between the temple authority and a group of religious and lay people against the plan became a serious conflict when Sugyeong, a Buddhist monk in Silsangsa(Silsang temple), suggested reconsideration of the project using strong and harsh language against the Buddhist monks of Haeinsa. Two of his four arguments are worth quoting here,

'Firstly, if Haeinsa would like to make itself the best temple, I wish they would change their interest from the biggest Buddha, which symbolizes secularization of Buddhism, to a proper recognition of the value, and creative conservation of, the wooden blocks of the Tripitaka Koreana which are a

unique heritage in the whole world. Secondly, if they are sincerely devoted to transform the temple to the best temple for Buddhist practice, the temple authority should concentrate on building the place by practising Buddhist teachings not by constructing the best or largest Buddha image which encourages materialism' (Sugyeong 2001).

Faced with strong opposition, the temple authority announced a reduction in size of the Buddha to 33m high in 2002 and finally cancelled the project at the end of the year (Anon 2002c). On the other hand, a museum was completed in the same year in front of the site for the Buddha (Figure 5.59). Thereafter, the



Figure 5.59 Museum in front of the site for new Buddha in Haeinsa

temple authority announced that they would continue to build a religious and cultural complex, as well as Naewon hermitage as living quarters for the abbot, on the site 100 metres away from the repository buildings on the top of the temple (Anon 2004a). Faced with strong opposition by sixteen institutions, including the Jogyejong-joongang-sindohoe (the central lay community of the Jogye order) and environmental groups, the temple authority cancelled the plan for Naewon hermitage in 2004 (Anon 2004b). In addition, the plan for a cultural and religious complex had been tackled during the public meeting held in Haeinsa in December of 2004. Participants from both religious and lay communities agreed on the need to improve the space for religious practice by the monks in Haeinsa, but recommended solving the problem in different ways without new construction (Anon 2005a).

Plans by Haeinsa over several years show that new construction has been

problematic for religious and secular communities. The religious community has been concerned by the invasion of religious space for the monks by secular activities and tourists. They intended to solve the problem by separating the former from the latter by creating a new compound adjacent to the original monastery. However, this ignores the original and traditional function of the temple which had been designed to combine religious and secular activities in a single monastery. Arguments raised by opposition groups during the debates show that the temple misunderstood the real 'contemporary demand of our times' which Mugwan stated above (Mugwan 1997, 12).

5.3.4. Maintenance; *yooji* or preventive conservation;

The importance of maintenance has been argued many times in England from the nineteenth century to the present but actual practice has not fully appreciated its importance. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Ruskin argued that 'the principle of modern times is to neglect buildings first, and restore them afterwards. Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them' (1849, 356). His standpoint is extant in PPG 15 where the financial benefit of maintenance is emphasized. It states,

'Regular maintenance and repair are the key to the preservation of historic buildings. Modest expenditure on repairs keeps a building weathertight, and routine maintenance can prevent much more expensive work becoming necessary at a later date...Major problems are very often the result of neglect and, if tackled earlier, can be prevented or reduced in scale. Regular inspection is invaluable' (DoE and DNH 1994, para 7.1).

However, regular maintenance has existed in principle but not in actual practice since it receives little financial or legal support. In 1998 Allan criticised the fact that the 'quinquennial inspection system of the Church of England focuses on repairs rather than maintenance, which is often skimmed or ignored, causing the need for further repairs' (Allan 1998, 3). In response to

this problem, Maintain Our Heritage was formed in 1999 to promote wider understanding and adoption of maintenance. It executed the Bath Area Pilot from 2002 to 2003 in order to demonstrate a possible maintenance system with 72 buildings, including places of worship, supported by the Bath Preservation Trust, the Esmee Fairbairn Foundation, and English Heritage. In the conclusion of the final report *Historic building maintenance: a pilot inspection service*, it stated that 'there appears to be scope for a not-for-profit maintenance inspection service targeted at particular sectors such as places of worship' (MoH 2003, 16). However, there is no such organisation five years after it was recommended.

Two major obstacles to regular maintenance for a parish church with a small congregation are a lack of funding and the absence of a systematic framework to encourage maintenance. Selby Abbey presents both problems. The abbey, which has a population of 5,700 in its parish, has struggled to manage daily expenses for maintenance. The *Selby Times* reported that the abbey needs £ 500 a day to keep the building open and pay for the staff (Gledhill 2004) but it does not have an endowment fund for running costs (Purcell Miller Tritton 2002, 33). There are no grants available for maintenance by major grant bodies such as English Heritage/Heritage Lottery Fund and the Architectural Heritage Fund. Their grants are generally available for urgent repairs (Cooper 2004, 27). English Heritage's ongoing pilot programme for a maintenance grant will take a long time to set up an actual framework for supporting maintenance. *The Selby Abbey conservation plan (final version)* stated that 'the on-going and routine maintenance of roofs, gutters, rainwater goods, drains, windows, floors, churchyard, is essential to keep the building wind and watertight and ensure its long term survival' (Purcell Miller Tritton 2002, 38). However, statements like this are commonplace in quinquennial reports without a practical plan or systematic framework to introduce actual maintenance practice. As Cooper has noted 'there is too much emphasis on inspection and reporting, rather than immediate maintenance and on-the-spot

work' (Cooper 2004, 28), and quinquennial inspection has aimed at major repair and restoration.

Maintenance of religious buildings in use in Korea has not been considered as an important part of conservation by conservators and the public because active interventions such as restoration and reconstruction have always been preferred. Because there are residential monks and lay peoples in a Buddhist temple, cleaning and minor repairs on doors and walls has been executed by them. However, it is necessary to provide a training programme to educate users about technical and historical aspects of the buildings so that their maintenance can be efficiently executed. Combined with a training programme, a timber building monitoring system which was proposed by Jang would provide more systematic and professional maintenance for religious buildings in use (Jang Heondeok 2003, 153).

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter examined how the mode of value assessment which has been dictated by different cultural and historical contexts, by various definitions of authenticity and by previous and current legal systems, affects decision-making. Taking six cases of Selby Abbey, Beverley Minster, St Mary's Beverley, Haeinsa, Bulguksa, and Seokuram, the chapter focused on how the mode of value assessments in different cultural and historical contexts with various definitions of authenticity and legal systems have influenced decision-making and actual practice.

The first part of the chapter examined the source of funding for the conservation of churches and Buddhist temples because funding is an important factor in deciding the level of intervention in conservation. Section 5.2.1 argued that English churches have experienced difficulties in obtaining enough funds to maintain and repair their buildings, encouraging a minimum amount of work. The problem to be solved in future is that the present criteria

for Heritage Lottery Fund funding makes it easier for churches to find money for big projects than for smaller ones so local churches which need a small amount have to find other funding sources or depend for their income on the congregation. In contrast, Korean Buddhist temples have enjoyed sufficient funds to conserve designated buildings from central and local governments, and undesignated ones from donations and entrance fees, so often they lost the balance between respecting the earlier fabric and building afresh, being over enthusiastic in constructing new buildings and re-building existing ones on a larger scale thereby destroying the harmonious setting with other buildings in the temple. The intangible aspects of religious theory manifested in the relative sizes and co-locations of buildings in the temple compound were ignored in the practice of Sudeoksa as a result of the ambition of administration monks abusing the government funds. What is required is transparency in their finance: clarity in their explanation of their financial need and detailed reports of spending grants expenditure.

The second part of this chapter examined the various levels of intervention of repair, restoration, reconstruction, new construction, and maintenance and the way that they illustrate the outcome of different values in historical and cultural contexts. Section 5.3.1 examined the repair of Selby Abbey, Beverley Minster, Seokuram and Bulguksa which extended the works to the restoration of ideal or the earliest form. The section discussed one explicit difference between English and Korean practice, namely the matter of deciding on a period and style in their restoration. The examples of Selby Abbey and Beverley Minster displayed that a timeline in English conservation has shifted from a frozen moment in time to one in which fabric history is visible. Such change has slowly been reflected in actual practice. In contrast to English cases, Korean conservation, which was displayed in the restoration of buildings in Bulkuksa and of the earliest form at Seokuram, has concentrated on the recovery of national identity. Bulguksa showed that there was no consistent principle to deciding on the architectural form of each restored building. The

conservators had recognised the temple as a tourist attraction or a place to display political ambition rather than as a living religious site. As a result, the pond was not restored and the original route to enter the temple was changed in order to preserve the original stone stairs leading the movement of tourists to a changed route. In the process of pursuing the earliest form in Seokuram, the significance of authenticity of form and function was not adequately addressed in making decisions, and the informational value, which may provide archaeological evidence for future research, was underrated.

Section 5.3.2 discussed the problem of reconstruction of undesignated buildings in Haeinsa which devalued authenticity of setting and aesthetic harmony in their relation to the designated ones. This section examined the way how the temple authority abused their rights to alter undesignated buildings by replacing them not because they needed space for contemporary religious practice but because a small group of administrative monks wanted to renew the temple to enhance its status as a Dharma temple.

Section 5.3.3 examined the two cases of new construction: a church hall in St Mary's Beverley and a building for the lay community in Haeinsa. Both cases illustrated that the religious authority ostensibly argued the need of space for religious activity but envisaged that new construction would bring economic benefit to them. The church hall in St Mary's, Beverley ignored the significance of a religious building for non-religious community in terms of its amenity and authenticity of setting and failed to find a balance between conflicting values. The temple authority of Haeinsa ignored the original function of the existing compound, which has been used for religious practice by laymen and monks, by separating them, but faced strong opposition of religious and secular communities. The plan has been put on hold but remains a possibility to be executed in future.

Section 5.3.4 argued the significance of maintenance to reduce the costs of

major repair work. As displayed in the case of Selby Abbey which has difficulty in managing the expenses for maintenance, English churches need financial support for regular maintenance work. Korean Buddhist temples, although they are regularly cleaned and receive minor repairs from residential laymen and monks, need to set up a regular inspection system with scientific and professional knowledge.

The influence of different modes of value assessment on decision-making in English and Korean cases examined in this chapter, illustrates the outcome of different attitudes toward tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity and the value of different historical and cultural contexts. It also displays the problem of legal controls in England and Korea. The conclusion of this thesis will summarise the historical and cultural differences in attitudes towards authenticity and values and the problems of legal frameworks and unbalanced decision-making between conflicting values. It will conclude by providing a set of recommendations by which both English and Korean conservators can learn to improve their practice in order to find the point of compromise in different value assessments.

Chapter Six Conclusion

The conservation of religious buildings in use in England and Korea has displayed a distinctive mode of value assessment by each of the two groups of stakeholders, the religious and secular communities. Problems and dilemmas have been caused by their conflicting requirements: a religious one to alter a building to accommodate the contemporary mode of worship and mission, versus a secular one to conserve it by retaining its architectural and historical significance as much as possible. For those to whom religion is a practised belief, the form and iconography of a building is a physical manifestation of the present-day theology which may be altered when the form of religious service and practice changes. In contrast, the non-religious community recognise the building as a tangible asset to link them with the past, affirming their sense of national and local identity, so they tend to argue to preserve it as they inherited it from the previous generation.

This thesis originally had set out to understand a framework of English value assessment and conservation principles for religious buildings in use, in order to provide them as an ideal set of guidelines for the conservation of Korean Buddhist temples which has addressed a similar tension between religious and secular communities. It was premised on the assumption that there is an established set of cross-cultural principles which can be applied in Korean conservation. However, this assumption was called into question at the outset, when Korean and English histories of conservation and their cases were compared and it was realised that there are culturally different attitudes toward the concept of authenticity and value assessment which has permeated conservation principles and resulted in different decision-making. The presupposition of this research to be tested had therefore to be revised to reflect the fact that conservation is a culturally and historically diverse social process of preserving various values, which cannot be executed under universal and normative principles. Four research questions were set out. The first

research question was: Are modes of value assessment and the concept of authenticity culturally different and historically mutable? The second one was: Does the mode affect decision-making in conservation? The third one was: Is there a point of compromise in different value assessments by different stakeholder? The fourth one was: Can the frameworks of value assessment for one society provide useful lessons for another and can they enlighten each other in areas which they have not previously considered?

The scope of this research set out to examine three areas: concepts of authenticity and various values; the legal framework; and decision-making for various levels of intervention. In order to undertake empirical studies, three major Anglican parish churches in Yorkshire and three major Jogye Order Buddhist temples in Gyeongsang Province were selected. All three English churches are Grade I listed and are located in town centres attracting both religious and secular visitors. They exhibit a typical history of English conservation which experienced restoration as aesthetic unity in the nineteenth century, in its turn challenged by the anti-restoration movement, and which has operated regular inspections and repairs in the twentieth century and has addressed modern problems such as funding or a loss of an original setting. In the same way, the three Korean temples are designated as *Jeontong-sachal* (Traditional Temple) and have displayed a typical history of Korean conservation by restoring the earliest form and which have encountered problems of destroying unique ways of discharging religious and *pungsu* theories in the arrangement of designated and undesignated buildings caused by the enthusiastic approach of temple authorities towards reconstruction and new construction.

Chapters 2 and 3 focused on the first research question by examining historical changes and cultural diversities of value assessment and concepts of authenticity. In England, restoration during the nineteenth century, which valued aesthetic completeness, was challenged by movements for preserving

different periods of material remains, and for conservation to respect a range of values for various stakeholders, and this became a principal approach in the twentieth century. However, there has also been the perspective that a religious building in use is a 'living' monument, and it has been argued that a church could be restored instead of being preserved or conserved. Such a perspective recognised the functional and religious values as more important than the architectural and historical ones. In Korea, the change of terminology from *jungsu* (re-repair), *junggeon* (re-construct), and *jungchang* (re-open) to *bokwon* (regain or restore the original form), *bosu* (repair), and *bojon* (conservation) displayed a radical change in building conservation from traditional to modern methods. The use of terminology in *Joseon-wangjosillok* (The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty) and several temple records revealed that a building was traditionally repaired, renewed, or replaced rather than being restored to a specific architectural style or form. Such an approach stemmed from the idea that a building was a physical tool to express spiritual beliefs rather than an object which carried an intrinsic value in its material elements. Traditional practice was replaced by the western concept of conservation, which valued the significance of preserving material remains. Because they had lost tangible elements to attest to a cultural identity during the Japanese Colonial Period when many iconic buildings were altered by the Japanese colonial authority for its own political purposes and for tourism, Korean conservators discerned that restoring the earliest form of a building was the most effective way to recover the pride and identity of the nation. This attitude became embedded in Korean conservation without questioning how material-based conservation principles should be modified before being applied to Korean conservation. As a result, Korean conservators failed to establish localised principles of conservation.

Chapter 3 examined different concepts of authenticity of form, material, function, workmanship, and setting and identified tangible and intangible aspects of aesthetic, informational, associative, religious and socio-economic

values attributed to religious building in use. It argued that the foundation of the English notion of authenticity was based on the originality and the genuineness of a work by a specific artist whereas that of Korea was based on the sublime spirit. *Bang* (to copy) was an advanced level of training to become a painter in Korea. Its method was to copy a painting of a master painter with a view to learning about the noble spirit of the painter rather than emulating his artistic form and style.

Contrasting attitudes toward authentic form, material, workmanship, and setting played an important role in conceptualising aesthetic value in churches and Buddhist temples. English restoration of the nineteenth century chose a fixed period dictated by contemporary aesthetic taste but this was challenged to include different layers of previous interventions. Subsequently it has been argued that the present and future intervention should be considered as authentic form. Examples of these three different approaches were displayed in Pugin's and Scott's theory; SPAB's anti-restoration movement; and Richard Giles' publication. The Korean notion of *wonhyeong* (original form) which meant the earliest form has never been revised and the enthusiasm to restore it has never been dampened as displayed in the case of Namdaemun (South Gate) and Geungnakjeon (Hall of Western Paradise) in Bongjeongsa. The causes of such an attitude were explained in two ways: a need for tangible evidence to recover a forfeited national identity, and the structural aspect of a timber building where an existing platform and foundation stones were used in the conservation.

The attitude toward material and workmanship highlighted additional examples of contrasting approaches in England and Korea. The use of wood, which was vulnerable to decay, moisture and fire compared to stone, embodied the belief that nothing tangible can be permanent and therefore the eternity of a building inhered in the transmission of workmanship. However, the introduction of new material, such as Portland cement to preserve tangible

elements during the Japanese Colonial Period, relegated the traditional practice of using local materials and technique, and restoration of a tile floor by stripping off the timber one after the Korean War disturbed the original function of a building.

While setting is a recent interest in England in terms of visual significance for the focal building in the town, Korean *pungsu* and religious theory have been historically recognised as imperative elements in deciding the location of a temple and the placing of each building. The conceptual defect of surrounding nature was addressed by adding a Chinese character to the name of Heunginjimun (East Gate) or by placing a stupa away from the central axis of the main courtyard to protect against the power of an inflammable mountain in Haeinsa. Also the deliberate disposition to express two realms of Amita and Seokamoni Buddhas created the unique layout of the buildings in Bulguksa.

Chapters 4 and 5 focused on the second research question by scrutinising how the mode of value assessment discussed in chapters 2 and 3 affected the legal frameworks and decision-making. The methods of weighing tangible and intangible aspects of values were examined in these chapters and addressed the problem that in neither the secular and religious legal frameworks is the balance satisfactorily addressed.

Chapter 4 examined the secular and religious legal frameworks in England and Korea. The ecclesiastical exemption in England, which advocated religious value, placed conservation of churches under the control of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Although it has improved its internal procedures by inviting members of secular bodies such as English Heritage and amenity societies to sit as consultants, and by requiring a church authority to submit explicit Statements of Significance and Need when altering a church, it fails to ensure objective decision-making. On the other hand, the list description, which is an essential document to refer to when drafting the Statement of Significance,

concerns a building's architectural and historical significance alone. Although the instructions to listing investigators in the 1940s and 1980s provided guidelines to articulate both tangible and intangible aspects of a building, listing descriptions often fail to record the intangible aspects, such as associative, socio-economic, and religious values. Such problems of the legal frameworks in England resulted in the loss of authentic setting and local amenities as displayed in the construction of houses and the new church hall alongside Beverley Minster and St Mary's, Beverley respectively.

In Korea the criteria of designation in *Munhwajaebohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik* (CPP Guidance) were not specific, causing problems of subjective judgement by members of the Committee of Cultural Properties. It failed to stipulate various values, which generated confusion in understanding the significance of a designated building as shown in the case of the debate of National Treasure No.1. *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Measure) theoretically intended to conserve religious value and setting but over-endowed the abbot with power so that they tended to abuse their authority by pursuing personal ambition. Ideally, *Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) should be complementary with *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) because the former recognises the significance of preserving designated and undesignated buildings together, whereas the latter controls a designated one alone. However, it failed to set out an interactive means to protect them with the similar level of control as *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act).

Chapter 5 examined how different modes of value assessment influenced different levels of intervention for repair, restoration, reconstruction, new construction, and maintenance. Restoration for aesthetic aspiration in the case of Beverley Minster displayed contradicting aspects of Scott's practice and theory: he argued for a conservative approach and functional value in theory, which was discussed in chapter 3, but removed non-gothic style works by Hawksmoor and Thornton. The decision was made purely for contemporary

aesthetic taste rather than functional need, this contradicting his theory. However, such an attitude was challenged during the restoration of the central tower in Selby Abbey by the SPAB which advocated the spirit of the craftsman embedded in the original material and its informational value, an idea which became a signpost to changes in attitude in the twentieth century. The restoration works at Seokuram and Bulguksa illustrated how the Japanese intervention for tourism (discussed in chapter 2), which caused later conservation to be preoccupied with *wonhyeong* (original form) as the earliest form (discussed in chapter 3), played an important role in making decisions in these cases. The decision to add a wooden structure and to change the arrangement of the foremost two figures of the entrance wall in Seokuram, as well as to reconstruct Birojeon (Hall of Cosmic Buddha), Museoljeon (Hall of No Words), Gwaneumjeon (Hall of Bodhisattva of Compassion) and the corridors in Bukguksa, showed that the conservators were dedicated to recovering tangible elements of national identity without any archaeological evidence but ignored both informational and religious values.

The case of the reconstruction of undesignated buildings in Haeinsa highlighted the failure of the legal system to separate the control of undesignated buildings from that of designated ones. It resulted in the loss of an idiosyncratic layout which had enriched the aesthetic value of the temple. A similar attitude on the part of the temple authority was displayed in the plan for the construction of a religious and cultural complex to separate the religious practices of monks and laymen, which traditionally were combined in the temple. The construction of a new hall at St Mary's, Beverley was discussed as an English example of misunderstanding of the need for space of a religious community, which has resulted in frequent secular rather than religious use, for activities which should not necessarily be held at the church hall but could be held in other empty places in the town centre. These cases brought economic benefit to the religious community but the socio-economic value of a local amenity and authentic setting were expunged.

The problems addressed in chapter 4 and 5 resulted from a lack of equilibrium in privileging some values and marginalising others. Such a problem can be solved by devising a balanced value framework. However, given that a religious building in use is a living heritage which constantly poses conflicting aspects of values of conservation, it is not an easy task to find a balance. In such a perspective, a set of recommendations to improve present conservation in order to promote balanced decision-making can be established by comparing the English and Korean attitudes towards value assessment and their legal frameworks, which corresponds to the fourth research question.

First, in both English and Korean conservation of religious buildings in use, tangible and intangible aspects of authenticity and various values should be carefully identified in each case before assessing the overall weight of significance. The identification of detailed elements of each value and various aspects of authenticity, as examined in chapters 2 and 3, will provide a practical checklist in deciding the relative significance of one value compared to the other. Such effort will enable conservators to make an equitable decision when faced with the contradictory perspectives of various stakeholders.

In English cases, religious value should be carefully examined with acknowledgement of its spiritual role for the non-religious community and it should not be compromised in favour of religious service and mission alone. Authenticity of setting should be clearly identified in the list description and in Statements of Significance with explicit statements so that associative and socio-economic values can be equally respected alongside religious value. The definition of authenticity of function, when it does not confine its meaning to the use of religious service and mission but includes secular use for education and academic research, will no longer be a conflicting element in assessing informational value.

In Korean cases, the traditional concept of authenticity and the significance of the spiritual aspect of a building should be thoroughly re-examined, and thereafter modern concepts of conservation and material-based principles should be tailored to fit the local mode of value assessment. In addition, conservators should moderate an over-enthusiastic attitude toward the earliest form recognising that it is not possible to establish the original architectural form with archaeological evidence alone in the case of a timber building. They have to endeavour to define a present-day concept of authenticity on the basis of acknowledging its fluidity and subjectivity.

Second, legal frameworks should be improved by paying more attention to intangible aspects of values in England and by establishing a consistent level of control between designated and undesignated buildings in Korea. Although the English secular system values intangible aspects, such as the significance of setting in establishing a local identity and providing spiritual repose, such aspects have not been delineated in list descriptions. A list description needs to be reviewed and updated regularly so that it can play an important role as a principal statement by elucidating various aspects of values to be considered in the present-day conservation. In addition, traditional craft skill, which is an essential aspect of authenticity for enriching aesthetic and informational values, should be safeguarded by legal protection. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England, which tends to favour of the religious viewpoint, should encourage a church authority to appreciate the significance of the informational and socio-economic values of a church for the non-religious community, which provides a prerequisite resource for education and academic research. Such a widening of religious perspective will improve the possibility of objective decision-making.

The area which requires immediate improvement in Korean legal frameworks is the criteria for designating tangible and intangible heritage as National Treasure and Treasure. In contrast, the English legal frameworks, such as

PPG15 and *Conservation Principles* (English Heritage 2008), provide an exemplary model when revising the criteria. A detailed set of standards to designate Korean buildings and the values ascribed to them should be set out. For continuity of craftsmanship, the training and education systems of *Munhwajaeboho-beop* (CPP Act) have to establish a system for trained craftsmen to participate in conservation so that craftsmanship can be practised on site as a 'living' tradition. Such a system will provide an opportunity for conservators to learn from traditional techniques and materials and adapt them to modern ones. In addition, *Jeontongsachal-bojonbeop* (TTP Act) and *Seongbo-bojonbeop* (STP Act) need to be re-drafted to control undesignated buildings to a similar standard of control as designated ones of *Munhwajae-bohobeop* (CPP Act) so that a temple can preserve a meaningful layout of buildings in a deliberate setting with surrounding nature.

Third, funding is an area to be improved in England and Korea. In England, access to a small grants scheme for repair and maintenance of a church is required, thus forestalling expensive high profile conservation work. Such a perspective is acknowledged by English Heritage through the Inspired! campaign and maintenance program, but these should operate with 'a serious commitment to increase spending' as SPAB argued (Venning 2006, 2). In order to solve the problem of abusing local and central government grants in Korea, it is necessary to obligate a temple authority to expose their financial status and display detailed sources of income and expenditure with accurate figures of amounts when state funding is granted.

Fourth, Korean Buddhist temples need to improve their procedures for executing conservation by appointing an architect or a conservator who takes on the responsibility of regular inspection and management of a conservation project. English systems of executing a quinquennial inspection, the appointing of a church architect, and the procedure of obtaining advice from a Diocesan Advisory Committee could provide a practical model to help

establish a similar system in Korea. In addition, it is important to provide a regular training course for Buddhist monks who are responsible for administrative work, maintenance and cleaning. A professional knowledge of conservation, in particular in terms of principles and value assessment, will be necessary for administrative monks who manage interventions to undesignated buildings. Given that monks who reside in a temple and engage in looking after a building are valuable human resources, a regular training program will provide an opportunity for them to attain both theoretical and technical knowledge of conservation.

In summary, the answers to the four research questions are: 1. Modes of value assessment and the concept of authenticity are culturally different and historically mutable. Both culturally and historically different ways of recognising intangible and tangible aspects of a religious building have influenced the development of different concepts of authenticity and different modes of value assessment in England and Korea. Different ways of respecting historical layers of the fabric and traumatic experiences of national history were further factors that influenced the changes; 2. Such cultural differences and historical changes have been embodied in legal frameworks and have affected decision-making; 3. There is a point of compromise in the different value assessments of different stakeholders that respects both tangible and intangible aspects of values; 4. The frameworks of value assessment for one society can provide useful lessons for another. As listed areas for improvements suggested in the previous paragraphs, English and Korean conservation practices can learn each other to improve their legal frameworks and conservation procedures.

By examining various tangible and intangible aspects of values and different concepts of authenticity, this thesis has provided a set of comparative examples of different modes of value assessments. By analysing the influence of different modes of value assessment on legal frameworks and decision-making

in exemplary cases, it has established an analytical tool to understand the value framework of a society and suggested a set of recommendations to improve practice. However, the examination of six cases of religious buildings in use, from thousands of Buddhist temples and churches, might have illuminated only a few modes of value assessment with a limited understanding. Recommendations which have been made in this research will not be prescriptive to all religious buildings in use, and they should be reinforced by more evidence in succeeding studies. Therefore this research is not conclusive, but a continual one which should be furthered with additional case studies from various perspectives.

In addition, the extensive scope of this research left several areas to be developed in future studies. The political aspects of changing heritage policy and of granting public funds for conservation in England and Korea are important factors to be considered in value frameworks in future research. In addition, the contracting process and method of carrying out the work are other areas to be thoroughly examined. By participating in the monthly site meetings on conservation in Selby Abbey, I was given an opportunity to observe the entire process of several phases of the scheme. However, an analytical perspective on the problems of contracting and detailed decision-making processes on site has not been formulated due to my lack of knowledge in such areas in England. Therefore, this area will be examined in future after further research when it can be compared with that of Korean conservation.

As a concluding remark, it is important to note that various values ascribed to heritage cannot be quantified by numbers but could be subjectively assessed with relative appraisal in society. Only continuous efforts to re-define the concepts of authenticity, to identify changing values, and to find a compromise among conflicting aspects of value assessment in a changing society will bring the utmost benefit of heritage to the public.

Site Gazetteer

Introduction

The gazetteer describes the details of conservation history and current issues of six cases referred to in the thesis including an example of a list description of 1980s of St Mary's Church, Tadcaster. These cases include three English churches: Selby Abbey, Beverley Minster, Beverley St Mary and three Korean Buddhist temples: Bulkuk Temple and Seokuram, and Haeinsa (Figure 1.1 and 1.2).

The description of each case includes a brief history of the construction and reconstruction of church or temple, the architectural details of the exterior and interior of churches and temple buildings followed by descriptions of major conservation schemes from the nineteenth century to the present or a longer period when it is relevant to understand historical context.

I. English churches

1. Selby Abbey

(1) General information

First constructed in 1069 and a parish church in 1618, Selby Abbey (Figure 6.1) is the only Yorkshire abbey church to survive the Reformation intact. The earliest fabric remaining belongs to the twelfth century. The Abbey was built primarily of magnesian limestone



Figure 6.1 Selby Abbey

from Monk Fryston, but various other stones have been used over the years for

repairs and alterations and recent restoration work has used another local magnesian limestone supplied by Tadcaster Building Limestone from their Highmoor Quarry in Tadcaster. The total length of the present church is about 300 feet and it has an eight-bay nave, north and south aisles, a crossing tower, north and south transepts and a seven-bay chancel (Figure 6.2). The

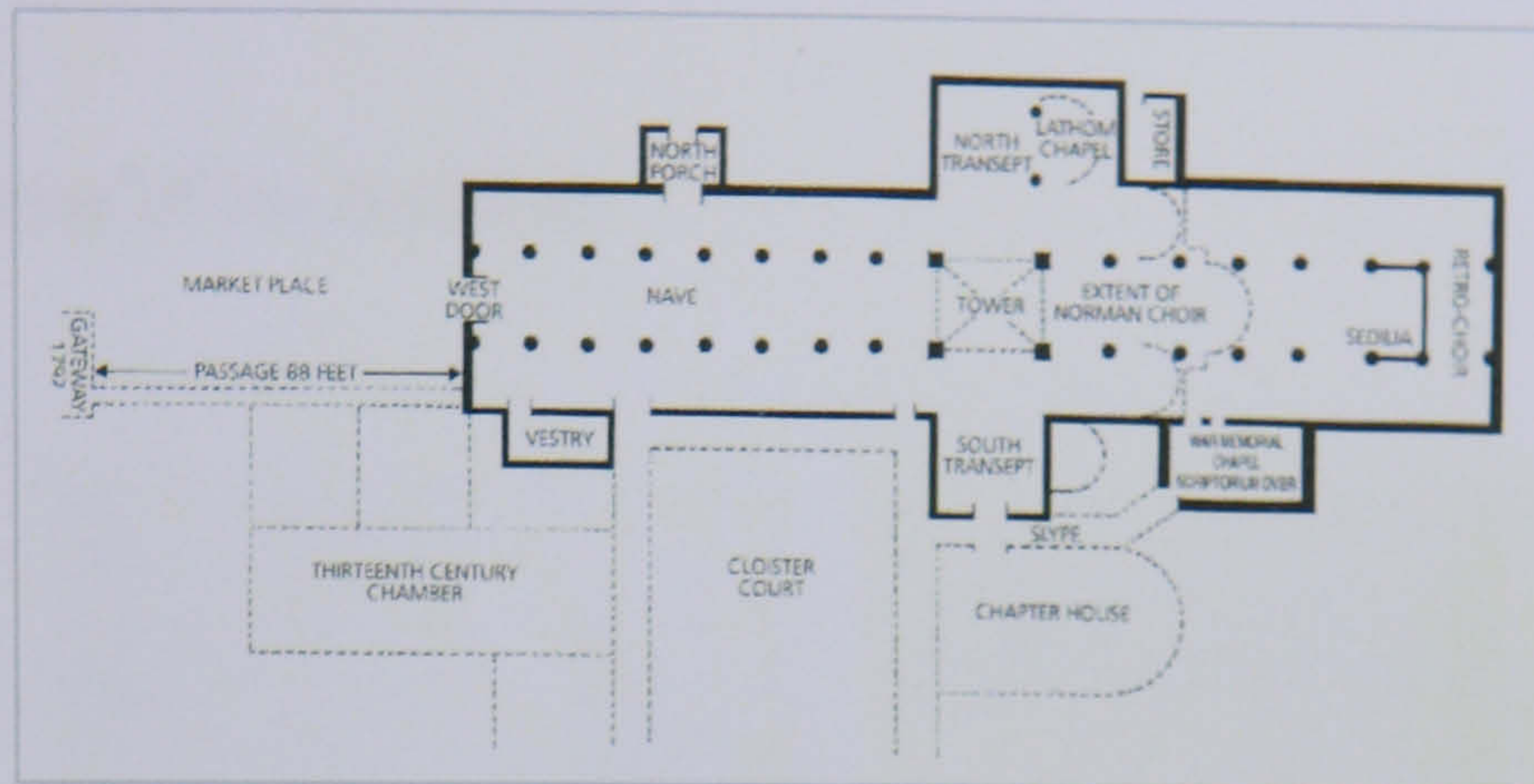


Figure 6.2 Ground plan of Selby Abbey

The abbey is surrounded by a churchyard, formerly part of the monastic precinct. To the north side of the churchyard, there is the Hawden Institute, presently the parish hall, which was constructed in 1924 as a young men's club, and for parish meetings. The whole complex lies within the Selby Conservation Area. The abbey is listed as Grade I.

After the collapse of the tower in the seventeenth century, the church suffered over time without major restoration and experienced a decline in church attendance. Services were held in the choir, and the nave was bricked up with a plastered wall and used as a store until the 1860s.

Major restorations were conducted by Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811~1878) between 1871 and 1873 and his second son, John Oldrid Scott (1841~1913) between 1889 and 1890, but a fire damaged the whole church in 1906. After the fire several schemes of conservation cleaned the interior and exterior and refurnished most wooden furnishings. Repairs to the roof and stained glass were executed with the help of donations and funds from national appeals in the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, the Abbey has undergone regular maintenance and several conservation projects such as repairing stained glass and stonework in the 1990s. Started in 2002, Selby Abbey is currently the

subject of a major new campaign of cleaning and repairing both interior and exterior masonry. It was recognised by the World Monument Fund as being in danger and was included in their 2002 watch list of 101 sites worldwide.

(2) The exterior and interior of the building

a. The exterior

The oldest part of the abbey is the crossing, parts of the north and south transept, and two bays of the nave built in the twelfth century (Anon 1896, 1). The abbey extended the rest of the bays of the nave by the thirteenth century and completed the choir and eastern front in the fourteenth century.



Figure 6.3 West front of Selby Abbey in 1829

The west doorway has a late Norman portal with water-leaf capitals and arches decorated with crossed zigzag patterns. The west front had no gable until 1873 (Figure 6.3), when Sir George

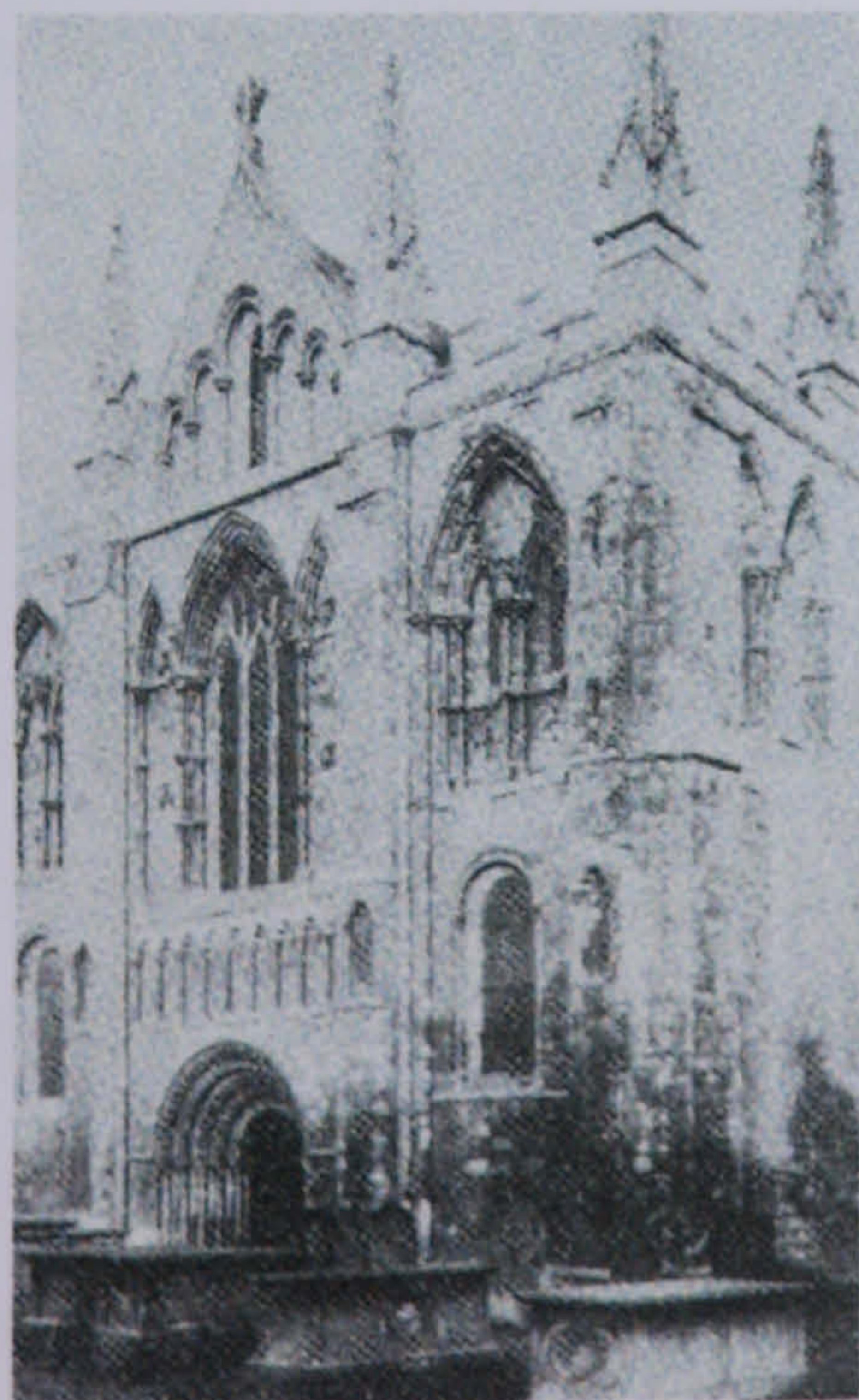


Figure 6.4 West front of Selby Abbey with Scott's gable

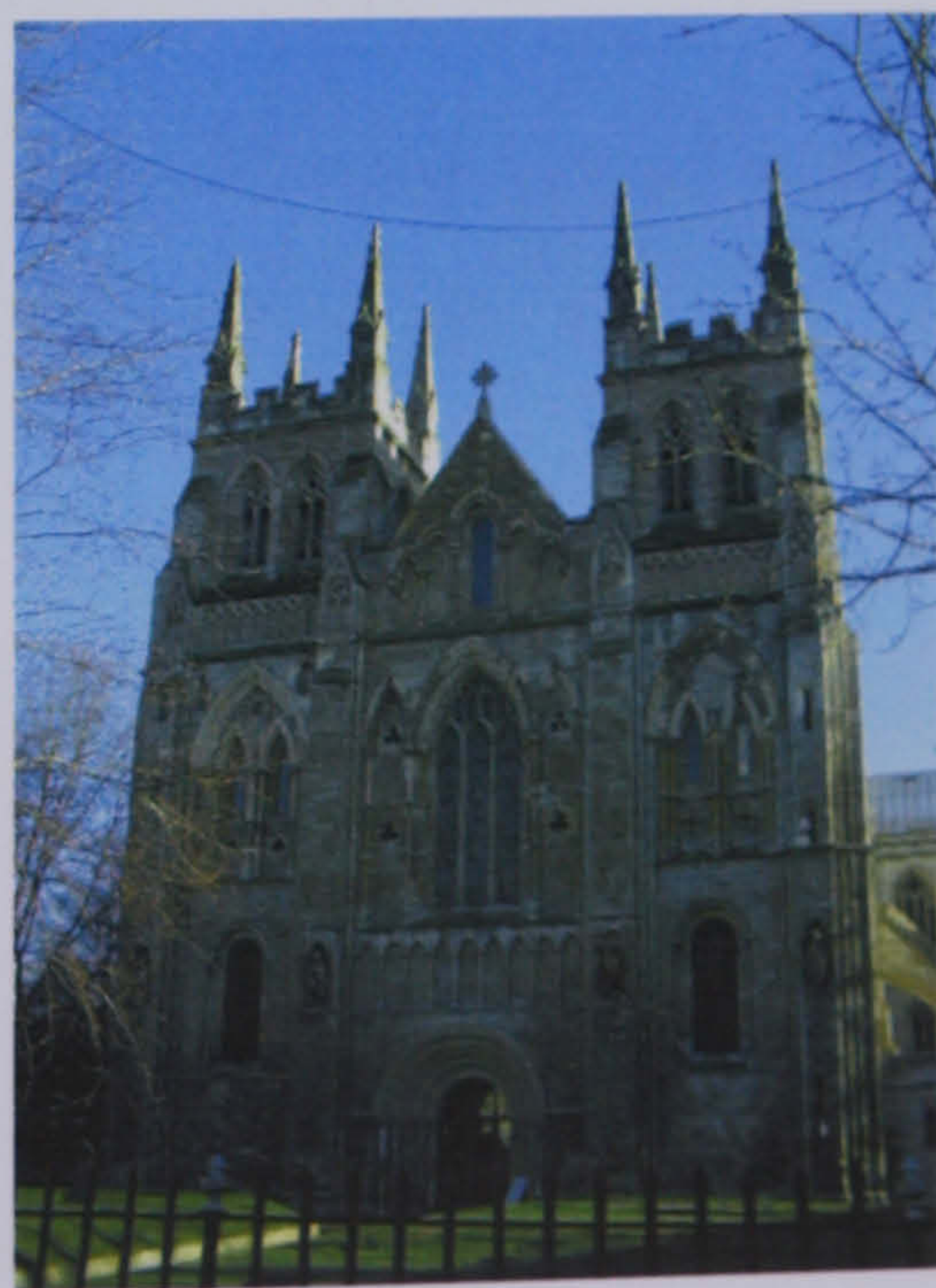


Figure 6.5 West front of Selby Abbey with two towers

Gilbert Scott provided the present one in Early English gable (Figure 6.4). Thereafter, Charles Marriot Oldrid Scott (1880~1952) heightened two west towers in 1935 to the design of his father, John Oldrid Scott (Figure 6.5).

The Abbey had a fine tower (Figure 5.13) of transitional Norman character, half of which fell down in 1690 carrying with it the south transept, which was not rebuilt until the early twentieth century. After the collapse in 1690, the upper level from the nave roof of the central tower was rebuilt in Georgian style in 1701 (Figure 5.14), but lost its upper storey again between 1902 and 1905 (Figure 6.6).



Figure 6.6 South front of Selby Abbey between 1902 and 1905



Figure 6.7 South front of Selby Abbey after rebuilding the central tower in 1909

After the fire of 1906, the upper storey of the tower was re-built by John Oldrid Scott in 1909 (Figure 6.7) so that the present tower has Georgian and Edwardian storeys on a Gothic base.

The south transept was destroyed by the fall of the central tower in 1690 and its reconstruction was conducted in 1912 financed by a donation from William Liversidge, a wealthy local businessman. The west wall of the north transept is one of oldest parts of the Abbey. Attached to the east wall of the north transept, the Latham Chapel, where the 1906 fire started, was underpinned after the fire.

b. The interior

The nave has pillars of different designs and periods (Figure 6.8). Those pillars near the central tower belong to the twelfth century including Abbot Hugh's (1097~1123) pillar which is the second pillar from the tower in the south side of the nave. Attached to the east wall of the northern transept, Latham Chapel was dedicated in 1476 by John Latham, Archbishop of York and later of Canterbury. According to the description by Morrell, the seventh bay was separated

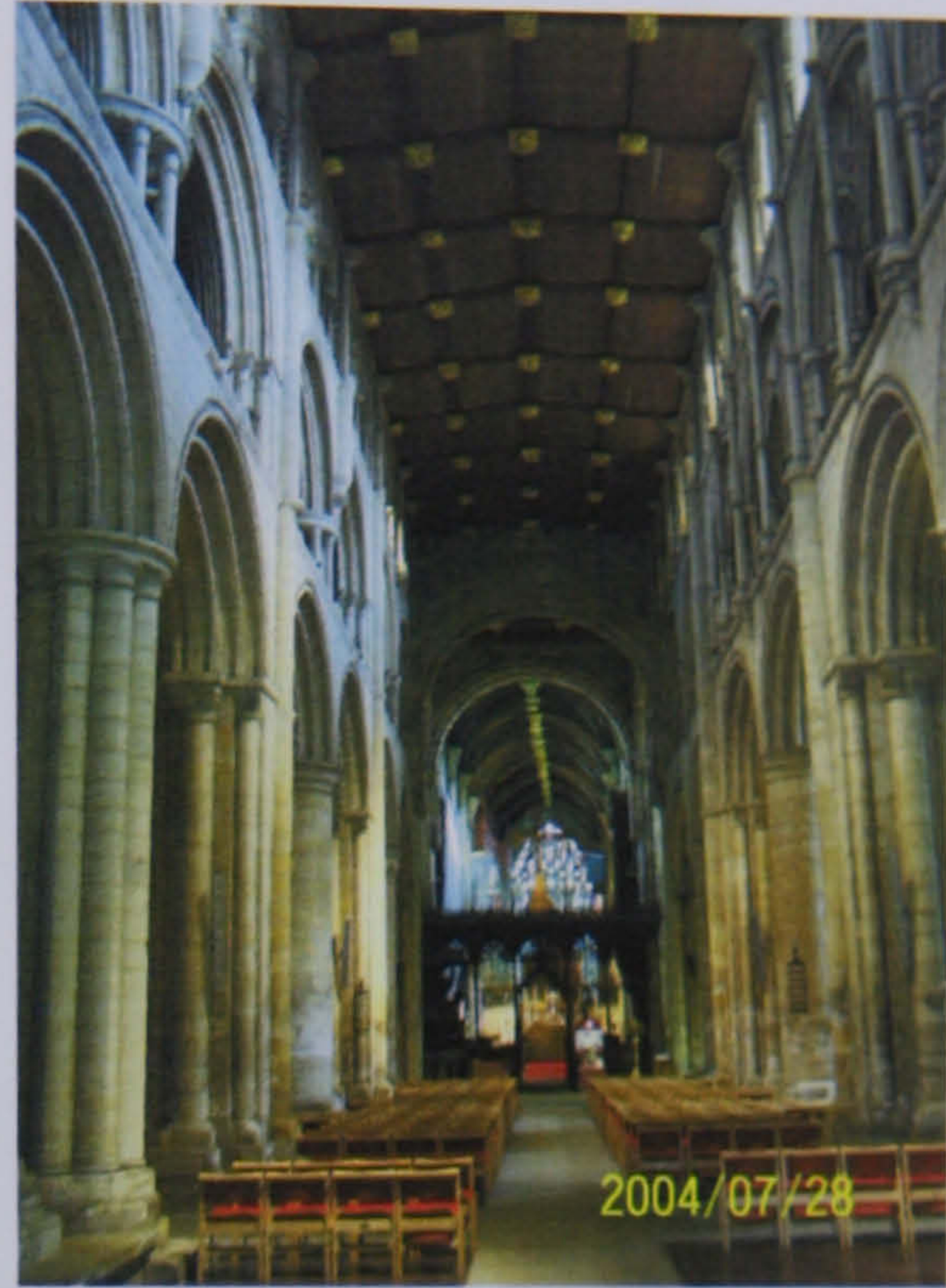


Figure 6.8 Nave of Selby Abbey

from the rest of the choir by a stone screen of about ten feet in height and formed the Lady Chapel (1867, 200). However, it is not known when the Lady Chapel disappeared. Located in the south aisle of the chancel, the sacristy was re-furbished as a war memorial chapel in 1955.

The west window and the second window from the west on the north side of the nave were filled with stained glass in 1866 (Morrell 1867, 203) (Figure 6.9). The east window, depicting the Tree of Jesse (Figure 5.12), lost much of the

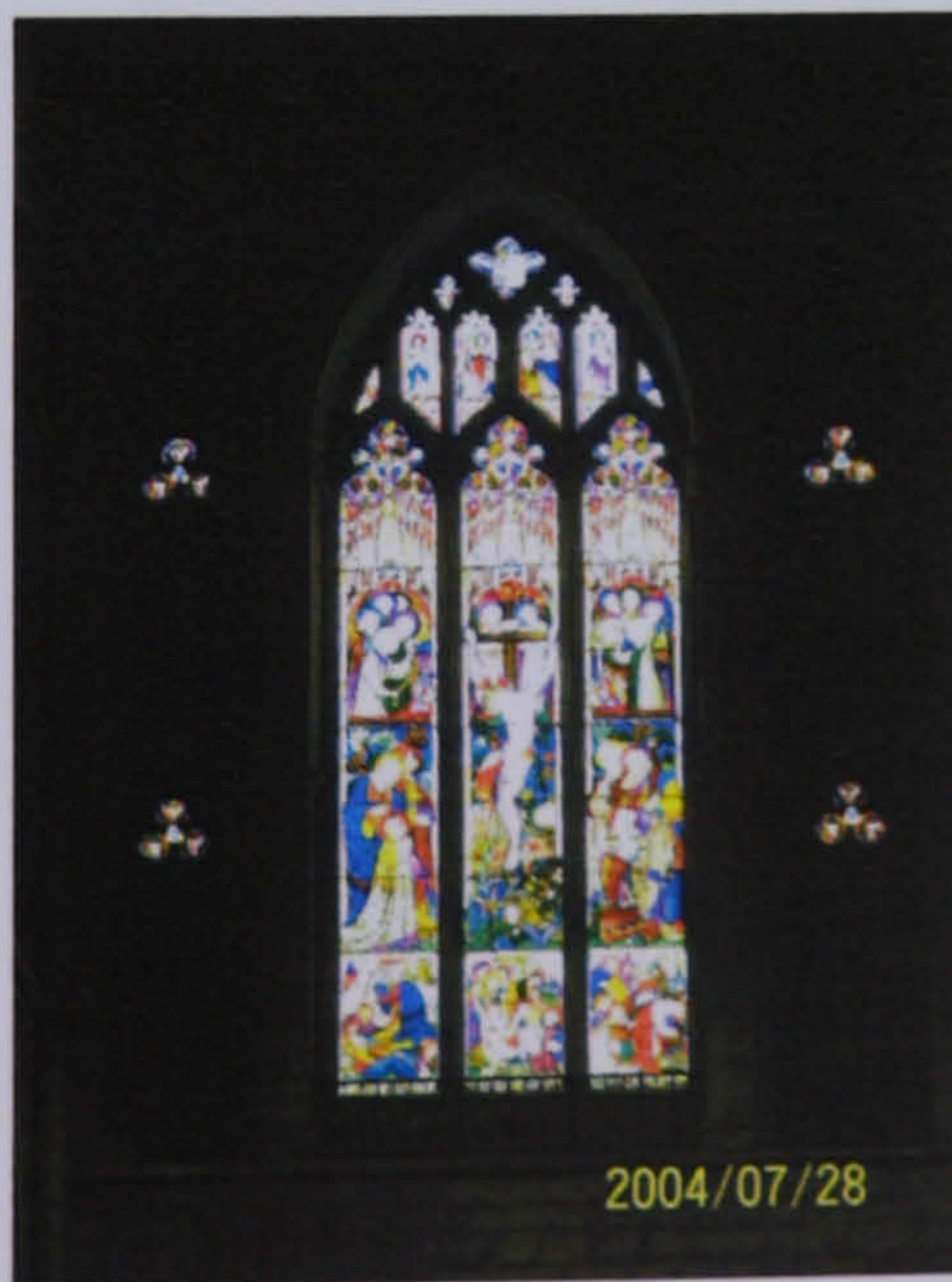


Figure 6.9 The 1866 stained glass window

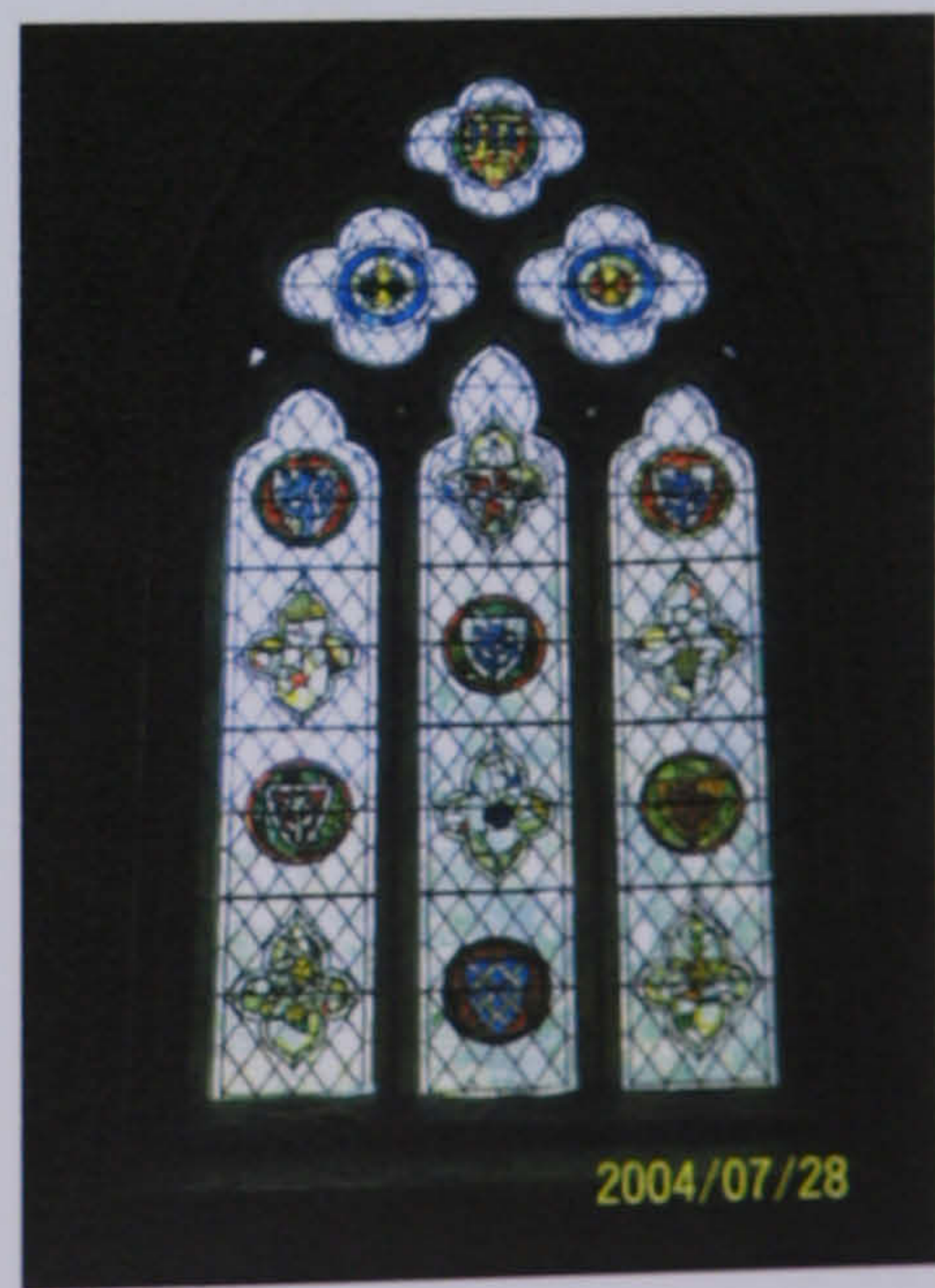


Figure 6.10 Stained glass from Ellerton Priory

original stained glass and was repaired in 1890. The upper east window in the

gable was restored in 1865 at the expense of Lord Londesborough (1805 ~ 1860) who was a politician and the first president of the British Archaeological Association. The third window from the north transept of the north aisle in the nave was moved from Ellerton Priory, located between Selby and Pocklington (Figure 6.10). They were fitted under the direction of Peter Gibson of York Glaziers's Trust in 1984.

The fourteenth century chancel sedilia are made of Caen stone, four sets in number with added 1890s canopies. Dobson assumed that it was probably designed by Henry Yevele (1320~1400) about 1380 (1969, 31). The Norman font has a fifteenth century cover and is located between the north aisle and the nave at the west end. Most of the wooden objects inside the abbey, such as the high altar, reredos, wooden choir-screen, pews and organ, were restored in the late 1900s after the 1906 fire (Figure 6.11).



Figure 6.11 Choir of Selby Abbey

(3) Conservation campaigns

a. Restoration from 1852 to 1869 by Sir George Gilbert Scott

After the fall of the central tower in the seventeenth century, the abbey had deteriorated without major restoration. The nave had not been used for religious services and was blocked from the choir by a wooden screen from floor to ceiling with a doorway and four glazed windows (Cobb 1980, 66) (Figure 6.12). In 1852, the incumbent, F.W. Harper, commenced the restoration of the church 'to improve accommodation for worshippers in the choir' (Morrell 1867, 209). Being appointed as the architect of the abbey, Sir

George Gilbert Scott cleansed the whole of the internal walls of the nave, transept, and choir (Morrell, 1867, 210). Four side galleries of the choir were taken down, and all the pews, pulpit, and reading desk were removed in 1852 (Morrell 1867, 210). He designed and fitted new pews with oak seats in 1852 and a pulpit in 1857. The choir stalls were moved into Latham Chapel (Morrell 1867, 198). All these new wooden works as well as the organ, which had been fitted in 1824, were destroyed in the 1906 fire.

In addition, the ground of the choir was dug up and replaced by concrete to prevent damp and new flooring of stone and wood was laid down (Morrell 1867, 210). The surrounding area of the abbey was excavated to reveal sites of cloister, chapter house, and south

transept in 1867 (Morrell 1867, 210). The wooden screen between the nave and the choir was removed in 1869 to lay open the space from the west to the east end (Cobb 1980, 66) (Figure 6.13). A flat boarded ceiling in the western bay



Figure 6.12 Nave of Selby Abbey looking east in the 1860s



Figure 6.13 Nave of Selby Abbey looking east in the 1870s

of the choir was replaced by a groined one with timber and carved bosses (Morrell 1867, 198). The choir was fitted with stoves and piping (Morrell 1867, 210). The existing brick walls which had covered thirteen clerestory windows of the choir and the upper east window for insulation were removed in 1852 (Morrell 1867, 211).

The east window which had been filled up with brickwork was taken down in 1864 for restoration. Morrell pointed out that the erection of a gallery in the Lady Chapel for the Musical Festival of 1827 resulted in serious damage to the east window (1867, 202), and a severe hail-storm around 1845 shattered it. All stained glass of the window, except that in the tracery lights, was packed in boxes and stored in the triforium of the nave (Hodges 1893, 380). Morrell noted that a considerable portion of the ancient glass of the east window, which was in the possession of the church-wardens, was considered as enough to indicate the design (1867, 201). This window, of which only twenty-four panels had been marked by Moody (1908, 104-105) as 'old' out of seventy in the seven lights of the window after the fire, was repaired at Liversidge's expense in the 1870s.

b. Restoration from 1871 to 1873 by Sir George Gilbert Scott

Sir George Gilbert Scott described the condition of Selby Abbey with great sympathy in his report in 1871 on the damage to the upper parts of the central tower, the south transept, and the western bay of the choir (Scott 1871). The considerable sum of £ 11,900 which was raised in 1871 made it possible to commence the restoration.

The restoration was conducted in four steps: 1. The south aisle; 2. The nave proper, including a high roof over the existing panelled ceiling; 3. The north aisle; 4. The two western towers with leaded spires (Scott 1871, 7).

The vaulting of the south aisle over the six western bays was rebuilt and the

vaulting shafts on the faces of the Norman piers of the nave, which had been cut away at some time unknown, were made up with new stone (Hodges 1893, 373-374). There were two doors on the third and the seventh bays from the west of the south aisle of the nave

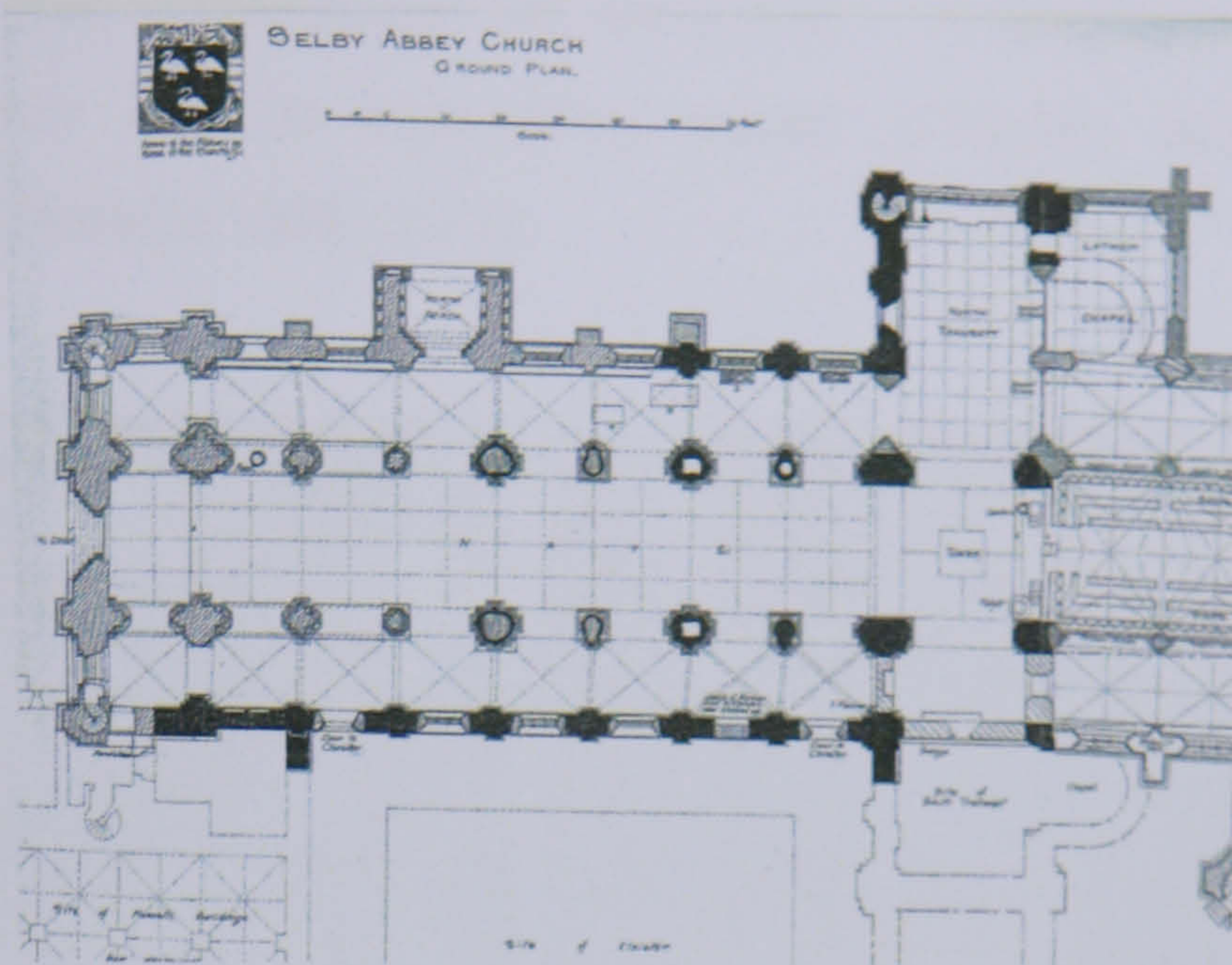


Figure 6.14 Ground plan of the nave of Selby Abbey with the south doorway

before his work but probably they were removed during the work. The plan in *The Builder* (Anon 1896, 12) marked



Figure 6.15 South front after the nave roof was raised

the location of those doors but it stated that ‘the south aisle was rebuilt during the restoration by the late Sir George Gilbert Scott, and there are no traces of the original Norman doorway on the outside’ (Anon 1896, 2) (Figure 6.14). In addition, Scott removed the old roof of the nave and substituted a modern high-pitched roof leaving the ceiling as it was (Hodges 1893, 373) (Figure 6.15). The old low gable at the west front was replaced by a new steeply pitched gable (Hodges 1893, 373).

c. Restoration from 1889 to 1905 by John Oldrid Scott

After the death of Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1878, the work on the abbey had been carried out by John Oldrid Scott, with a local contractor, T.S. Ullathorne. Whereas his father had focused the work on the nave in the previous

restoration, John Oldrid Scott concentrated on the choir. A committee, organized in 1889 to carry out its restoration raised £10,000 from subscriptions and donation (Tweedie 1895, 22-3).

John Oldrid Scott took down and rebuilt the portion of the south transept and adjacent parts which were damaged by the fall of the tower (Hodges 1893, 374).



Figure 6.16 The ceiling of crossing of Selby Abbey before it was opened



Figure 6.17 The ceiling of crossing of Selby Abbey showing the restored wooden vault

All bays of the south aisle and clerestory of the choir between the sacristy and the crossing were re-built (Anon 1896, 3). All the lead on the choir roof was re-cast in the churchyard (Tweedie 1895, 23). He removed the flat plaster ceiling of the western bay of the choir and replaced it with a wooden vault (Cobb 1980, 72) (Figure 6.16 and 6.17). With financial support for the cost of the restoration in the choir from Thomas Holdsworth, a former resident of Selby, John Oldrid Scott laid a marble pavement in the choir in two colours, red and white, in alternate squares (Anon 1891, 154).

In 1890, the stained glass in the tracery of the east window had been taken out and sent to London to be cleaned and releaded with the remaining stained glass of the window which had been kept in boxes (Hodges 1893, 380). The missing parts were reproduced 'to complete the original design, which has been based on that remaining in a much more perfect condition at St. Mary's church, Shrewsbury' (Hodges 1893, 380).

Major works for furnishings during the restoration were the erection of the oak and iron screens, separation of the choir from the aisles, rearrangement of the seats in the choir, moving the pulpit to the crossing and the erection of the organ in the Latham Chapel (Tweedie 1895, 23). In addition, he added the sedilia canopy in 1892 (Dobson 1969, 31) (Figure 6.18 and 6.19).



Figure 6.18 Sedilia of Selby Abbey without canopy



Figure 6.19 Sedilia of Selby Abbey with canopy

d. Restoration from 1906 to 1935 by John Oldrid Scott and Charles Marriot Oldrid Scott

On October 19, 1906, a fire devastated the abbey destroying many parts of the fabric and interior furnishings. Moody described the damage stating that ‘the abbey was left with the choir laid open to the sky, the east window blackened, altar screens and aumbries not a vestige remained, the pillars and mouldings of the choir calcined, no trace of the organ visible, and the shafts of many arches reduced to a shapeless mass’ (Moody



Figure 6.20 Interior of Selby Abbey after the 1906 fire

1908, 85) (Figure 6.20).

After the fire a national appeal was launched and John Oldrid Scott was appointed for the restoration. The nave, being the least damaged part of the building, was the first place for re-roofing, re-flooring and re-seating and was completed within a year of the fire (Scott 1912, 49-51). The marble floor of the chancel and new pavement were laid in the aisles and under the tower, new screens between the choir and the choir aisles were made, the damaged and missing parts of stained glass in the east window were repaired and reproduced by the firm of Messrs. Ward & Hughes of London, and new bells were cast by Messrs. Taylor of Loughborough. The groined oak ceiling of the choir, and the fifteenth century panelled ceilings in the Latham chapel and north transept were re-established from existing drawings. The choir, where most wooden fittings had been lost in the fire, was re-fitted with a reredos and the Abbey re-opened the choir in 1909 for public worship.

As a preliminary to the re-building of the upper part of the central tower and the south transept, the foundation was strengthened. Both south transept and central tower were re-built based on the design proposed in 1897 (Figure 5.15 and 5.16). On the Norman base with its Georgian storey, the upper storey of the tower was re-built in 1909. The reconstruction of the south transept, which was ruined in 1690, was completed in 1912 with money from William Liversidge, who donated money for the reparation of the east window, as a memorial to King Edward VII (Anon 1910d, 619; Anon 1912, 347).

As the final stage of repair work after the fire, the pinnacles were removed from the towers on the west front in order to heighten the towers in 1935 reusing the medieval parapets and pinnacles under the direction of the architect Charles Marriot Oldrid Scott (Farrar 1989, 11). The restoration after the fire took almost 30 years to complete in 1935.

e. Conservation practice between 1935 and 2000

There has been no outstanding change in the design of the building since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century restoration after the 1906 fire. However, there were several conservation projects between 1935 and 2000 in order to maintain the abbey fabric and its objects in fair condition. They included the conversion of the sacristy into a war memorial chapel in 1954, the cleaning of the interior and exterior in the 1970s, insertion of stained glass from Ellerton Priory to the window of the nave aisle in the 1980s and the repairs and modifications to the roof in the 1990s, along with continuous repairs to the stone masonry.

f. Ongoing conservation practice from 2000

Following the latest quinquennial inspection in 2000, a new conservation scheme composed of several phases was set up. The quinquennial inspection report 2000 (Purcell Miller Tritton 2000, 2) recommended that the Parochial Church Council needs to plan for repairs to stonework and glazing, mainly in the west front and the towers, the choir, the transepts and the nave clerestories. The report pointed out that the west front, western towers, pinnacles and roofs were in need of urgent repair. In addition, it noted that the south transept, the Latham Chapel, the north side of the choir and the east end needed repair within five years.

In order to fulfil these recommendations the new scheme was divided into several phases for each section of the building. Phase 1 commenced in 2002 for the west front. Phase 2 began in 2003 for the section between bays 4 and 7 of the northern aisle of the choir including the Latham Chapel neighbouring the north transept. Phase 3, for the section between bay 1 and 3 of the same part of the choir, was executed in 2004. Phase 4 for the east end commenced in 2004 and was completed in 2005. Phase 5, for the section between bay 1 and 3 of the south aisle of the choir, was completed in 2006.

Phase 1 for the west front was focused on cleaning and masonry repairs of the front and towers. The west front was cleaned and the mullions, pinnacles and parapets of two western towers were re-pointed and repaired. In the work of Phase 2 the Latham Chapel and bays 4 to 7 of the choir were cleaned and deteriorated stones were repaired or replaced. Some gargoyles and figures on the parapets which were seriously worn had been replaced by new ones. Phase 3 for bays 1 to 3 of the choir included similar practices to Phase 2. It focused on cleaning off dirt and mosses and the repair of stonework. Each part of the work included replacement of several figures. Based on the examples from figures of the same period and styles in other churches, a commissioned carver, Alan Micklethwaite, designed the replacements and discussed with the architects and the trust of the abbey the final decisions (Purcell Miller Tritton/Martin Stancliffe Architects 2004) (Figure 3.3 and 3.4).

It was estimated that 10 years work would cost around £5 million in total, £500,000 for each phase. For Phase 1 and 2 the Abbey had to appeal for public donations. Since it was listed in the World Monument Watch List in 2001 they obtained grants from the European Heritage Fund, English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund for Phase 3.

(4) List description

THE CRESCENT 1. (north side) 5342 ----- Church of St Mary and St Germain (Selby Abbey) SE 6132 SE 5/1 16.12.52 I GV 2. Parish Church, formerly the church of Selby Abbey, a mitred abbey, one of the three most important Benedictine houses in the north, and (traditionally) the earliest. Founded, according to tradition in 1069. Dissolved 1536. The church was begun by Abbot Hugh de Lacy (1097-1123), and from his campaign date the earlier part of the nave and transepts. The west part of the nave and the lower part of the west front appear to be late C12. The north nave gallery and the upper parts of the west front appear to be mid-C13. The chancel and some of the tracery elsewhere are of later C14 date. The tower collapsed in 1690, and

was repaired circa 1701-2, probably by "Mr Hall, a local builder of some note". The church was restored in 1871-3 by Sir George Gilbert Scott, and again in 1889-90 by J Oldrid Scott. In 1906 a serious fire prompted the most drastic restoration of all, also by J Oldrid Scott, which included a new crossing tower (1908), south transept (circa 1912), and west towers (1935). The following monuments are outstanding. 1. Three mediaeval sarcophagi. The D'Arcy Tomb (south aisle): C15: badly eroded torso, on panelled tomb chest with angels holding shields. A crusader (north nave arcade): late C12 or early C13. A lady (south nave arcade): C14: under life size, with crocketed canopy and four shields. 2. Tomb slabs in south-east corner. Abbot John Shireburn (1368-1407): alabaster. Abbot Lawrence Selby (1486-1504): eroded. Abbot Barwic (1522-6). 3. Various other tomb slabs, of which the most unusual are four dated 1604, 1613 (both in south aisle), 1614 (on north transept west wall), and 1630 (on north aisle wall), which still use black letter inscriptions at this late date. Another is to Frank Raw (buried 31 March 1706), gravestone cutter (south aisle). 4. Three distinguished C17 or early C18 tablets, viz:- Richard Spencer of Leeds (1662-1690) (north aisle): skull and crossbones over. A swagger cartouche with a skull (north aisle): soft limestone: inscription obliterated. Two conjoined oval laurel wreaths framing tablets to Robert Morrit, merchant (died 22 November 1705), and Robert Morrit, his 12 year old son (died 1 May 1704). 5. The following signed neo-classical memorial slabs. To John Dobson (died 6 March 1837) and Mary Dobson (died 18 December 1847): south aisle: signed by W Bradley, Selby. To Ann Elizabeth Morrit of Cawood (died 1 December 1795): north aisle: very finely carved sarcophagus on black ground signed W Mason. To Samuel Staniland (died 28 June 1852) and Betsey Staniland (died 17 July 1852): north aisle: signed by Waudby, York. To Samuel Staniland, mariner, (died 21 April 1800), his wife Dinah (died 27 April 1809), and their sons Thomas Staniland, ship owner (died 6 January 1799), Jonathan Staniland, ship owner (died 24 September 1802), and Stephen Staniland, gentleman (died 9 November 1834): north aisle: signed by W Plows, York. To Thomas Eadon (died 18 June 1835): north aisle: signed by M Taylor York. To John Audus (died

29 January 1809) and Jane Audus (died 23 December 1830): north aisle: large and fine quality, the carving suggests the later date, but the design suggests the earlier date: signed by W Plows, York. To Nicholas Smith (died 19 January 1787) and Eleanor Smith (died 6 September 1816), and other members of their family (no dates): north aisle: signed by Y Plows. York. To Morley Wharrey (died 4 September 1797), his wife Elizabeth (died 31 December 1842), and their daughter Sophia Theresa Buchanan (died 1 August 1877): north aisle: signed by W Plows, York. To the Hawdon siblings, William (died 14 December 1835), Ann (died 9 February 1855), Elizabeth (died 22 August 1825), Sarah (died 19 February 1806), Richard (died 25 October 1852): north aisle: signed by G Bailey, Hull. 6. The grave-diggers alab: south aisle: to John Archer, died 15 September 1768: with a charming doggerel inscription. 7. Various other neo-classical and some Gothic slabs. The principal furnishings are as follows:- Font: apparently C12: very plain, circular, moulded base. Font Cover: C15: wooden: very tall and elaborate: three storeys: traceried openings: crocketed gablets, pinnacles and crocketed spire. Chair: oak: "Yorkshire" type: inscribed "PO 1693 MO": scene on back appears to combine the Ascension and the Resurrection. Lectern: mid C19: brass: good. Screens, Stalls, Organ, and Pulpit: elaborate but conventional Gothic of 1906-9 by J Oldrid Scott. Hatchment: one in south aisle. Chest: mediaeval: a single piece of oak.

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2. Beverley Minster

(1) General information

Built between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the present building has a ten-bay nave and a six-bay chancel (including a smaller transept) with double transepts, with the eastern ones smaller than those at the chief intersection (Figure 5.4). The earliest stonework is of oolitic limestone, probably from quarries at Newbald to the west of Beverley, but the bulk of the building is of magnesian limestone from the Tadcaster area of the West Riding. Brick was

used in the fourteenth century for the nave vaulting.

The significant conservation campaigns in the minster in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were executed in 1716, the 1820s and the 1860s. During the period from 1716 to the 1730s, Nicholas Hawksmoor

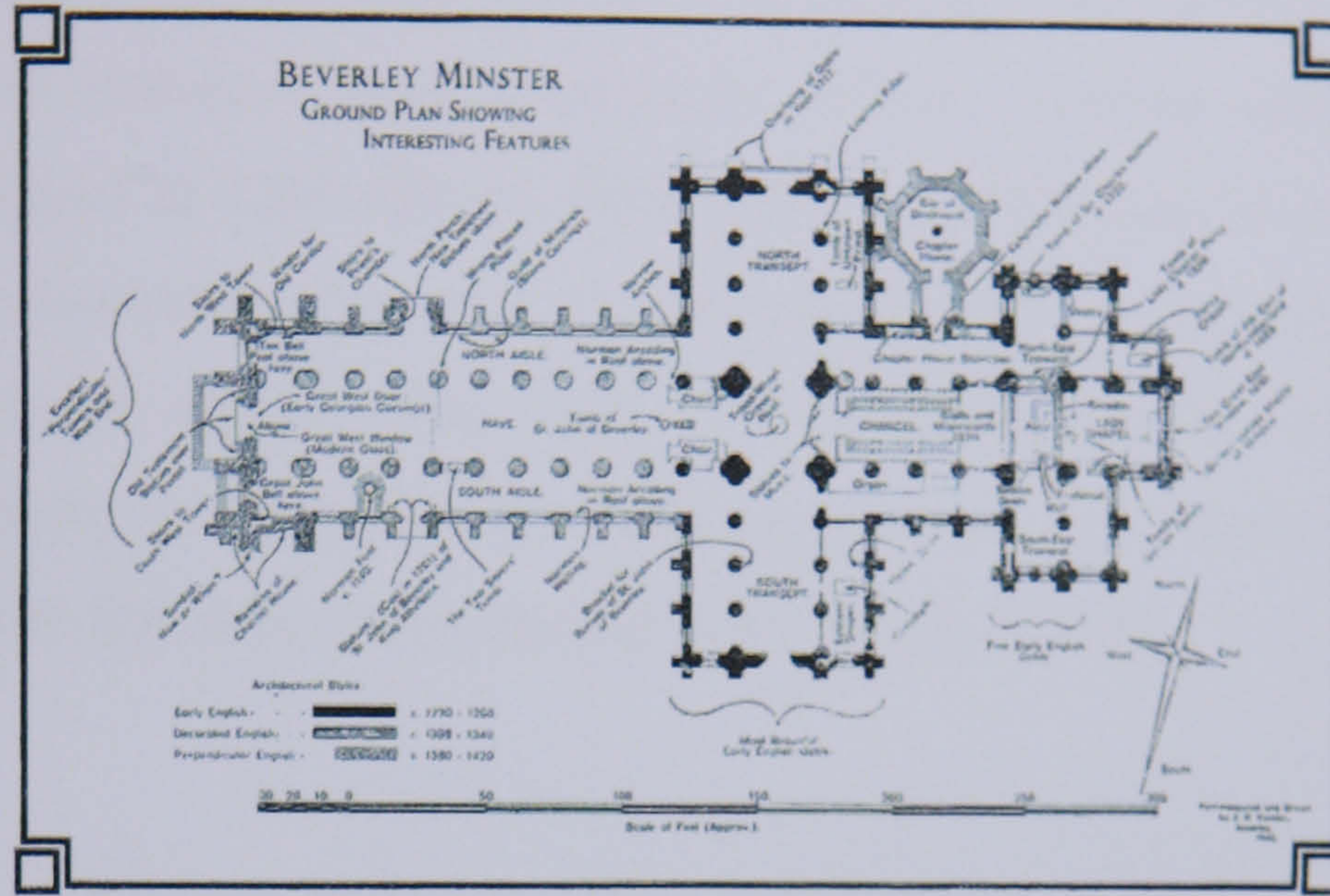


Figure 6.21 Plan of Beverley Minster

(1661~1736), then

the minster architect, and William Thornton, a craftsman from York, took down the upper parts of the transept, levered the north wall back into place, and reconstructed the transept with a timber vault (Barnwell and Horrox 2000, 11). In addition, the present low crossing tower was built, originally surmounted by a cupola, and all the roofs apart from that of the nave were replaced (Barnwell and Horrox 2000, 11). At the same time, the interior of the building was re-ordered, though little remains of that as most of the eighteenth-century furnishings were removed during further campaigns of works in the 1820s and later (Barnwell and Horrox 2000, 11). Between 1866 and 1878 there was a further structural restoration, conducted by Sir George Gilbert Scott, which probably included work on the stabilization of the nave roof (Barnwell and Horrox 2000, 11).

(2) Interior and exterior of building

a. The exterior

The present minster was built after an extensive fire in 1188 and the fall of the central tower in 1213. According to drawings by John Bilson in *Architectural*

Review (1898, 197) the reconstruction after the fall of the central tower began from the east end moving toward the western parts (Figure 6.21). From 1225 to 1245 the eastern end, the part between the east end and the main crossing, and the south and north transepts were constructed in Early English style. The high altar was dedicated in 1260 (Bilson 1898, 197). Construction of the nave began in 1320 in decorated style and it continued to 1349, completing most bays except the north porch. The work was interrupted in the mid fourteenth century, probably as a result of the Black Death, but commenced in 1380 to be completed with the west towers and the west façade in 1430.

b. The interior

The west door, showing the four evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John from right to left, was carved by the Thorntons in the period of Hawksmoor's restoration. The surrounding statuary of the door is the work by the Bakers' between 1909 and 1910. The west window was filled with stained glass, which was formerly fitted in the south, in 1859, and contains a variety of figures and groups referring to the history of Christianity in Yorkshire. The late Norman style font of the twelfth century received its cover in the eighteenth century during the restoration by Hawksmoor.

The reconstruction of the thirteenth century timber roof of the south and north transepts was executed by Hawksmoor and Thornton in the eighteenth century. The organ was first installed in 1769 by John Snetzler and it was restored in 1995. The organ screen was designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott and carved by James Elwell between 1877 and 1880.

The present choir stalls were carved in the early sixteenth century and oak figures were carved to fix in the niches over the choir stalls between 1911 and 1914. The canopies are eighteenth century and the statues early twentieth century. The fourteenth century reredos was badly damaged in the seventeenth century and it was restored between 1825 and 1826. The Percy

Tomb to the north side of the smaller cross dates from the mid-fourteenth century. The fifteenth century east window was filled with the fragments of thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century stained glass in the eighteenth century.

(3) Conservation campaigns

a. The restoration from 1716 to 1740 by Hawksmoor and Thornton

By the late 1710s it became necessary to execute structural repairs to the minster as the gable wall of the north transept was falling away by some four feet and the north transept was in structural danger. In order to examine the status of the building the minster called in Nicholas Hawksmoor to report on the condition of the minster and issued an appeal for its restoration. After the survey in 1716 he described the need for repairs in *An extract of the history of Beverley Minster* with the drawings of a plan. He stated that,

‘...The present beautiful fabrick (*sic*) tho much decayed is what was left at the Dissolution of the monastery... The fabrick (*sic*) is of different work, and not built all at a time, or of the same style, but of an admirable fast and performance after the monastick (*sic*) order; but especially the west front, which is most stupendiously magnificent beautiful and durable. The occasion of making these remarks and publishing these plates, happens from the present ruinous condition of several parts of the fabrick (*sic*), which being left without sufficient revenue, from the Dissolution to this time has had little or no repairs so that the north end of the great cross is in so ill a condition, that it will infallibly fall in a little time, and may probably bring down the choir and other conjoining parts, because such a series of pillars and arches depend upon one another. Besides, the gutters contreforts (a buttress to support and strengthen a wall or terrace), battlements, and windows are much perished. To restore all which to a solid repair, will cost upwards of the sum of £ 3500’ (Hawksmoor 1716).

There are two sets of the record left in the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives in Beverley regarding the restoration by Hawksmoor and Thornton. Hawksmoor's papers include the drawing of the plan of Beverley Minster, the blue print of the plan of Beverley Minster and St Mary, the print of *An extract of the history of Beverley Minster*, and the elevation of the west front. The other set by Thornton contains, sub-titled, 'A representation or view of the north front of the great cross aisle of Beverley Minster which over hung four foot beyond its base and was brought into its place by means of the timber framing here described' and 'A section of the trusses and building' under the main title of *A representation of the north front of the great cross aisle of Beverley Minster which overhung four feet beyond its base* which was printed in 1739 (Thornton 1739).

Several studies by Whiteing (1950), Hall (1993), and Barwell and Horrox (2000) provide more details of what had been executed during Hawksmoor's restoration. The work commenced in 1717 for the restoration of the north gable. In 1718 King George I donated 100 pounds and had consented to the stripping of masonry for three years from the ruins of St Mary's Abbey, York. Those stones can be examined near the base of the north transept gable wall (Hall 1993, 19).

Hawksmoor and Thornton found that the north transept gable was leaning dangerously and it was forced back into position in 1719 using huge timber trusses (Figure 6.22). The most obvious change to the exterior was the new central tower, a brick structure faced with stone with a lead-covered wooden cupola which replaced the old lantern tower (Figure 6.23 and 6.24). By 1722 all roofs except that of the nave had been renewed (Figure 6.26). The wooden treadwheel in the roof above the central crossing which was used for lifting materials was still in situ (Figure 6.25). In 1722 they started plastering the new vaults in the north transept and the first payments for the new pews and galleries in the nave were collected (Hall 1993, 28).

Then all the remaining fragments of medieval glass in the church were gathered and glazed into the lower lights of the east window in 1725. At the same time the interior fittings were extensively Georgianized.

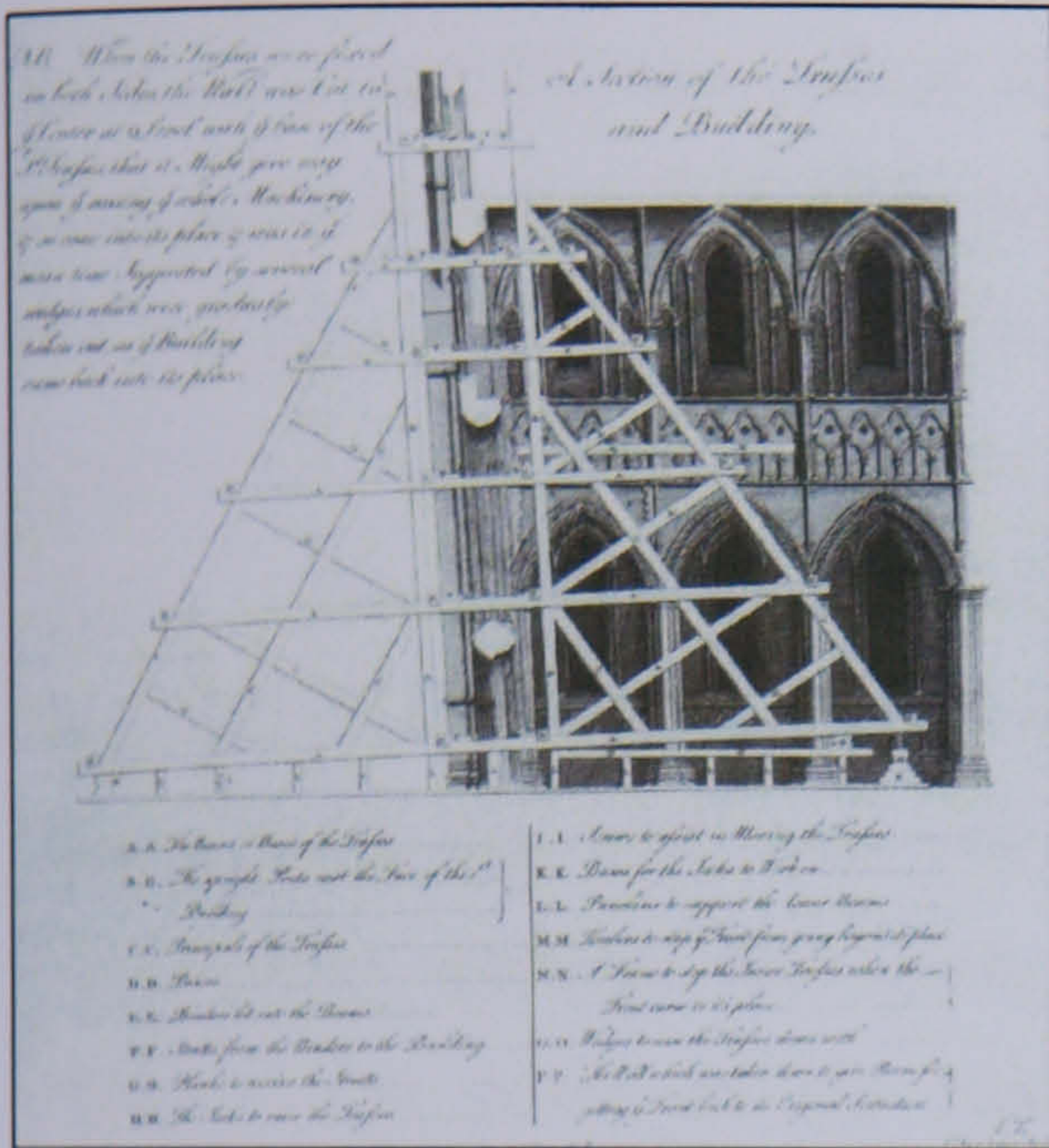


Figure 6.22 Thorton's drawing for the device to force back the north transept into upright position



Figure 6.23 Lantern tower in the 17th century in Beverley Minster



Figure 6.24 Cupola by Hawksmoor in Beverley Minster

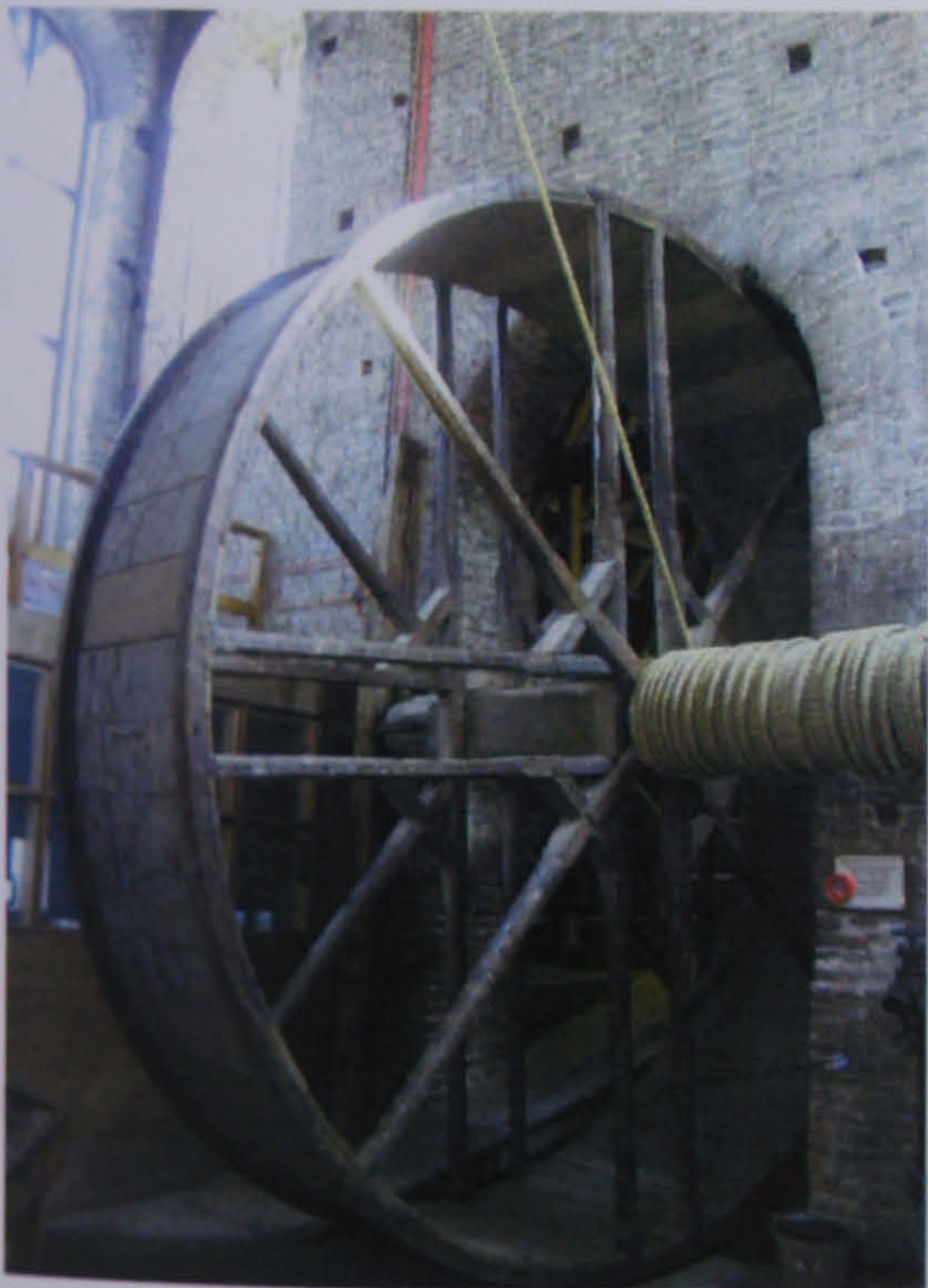


Figure 6.25 Wooden treadwheel above crossing in Beverley Minster



Figure 6.26 Eastern arm roof by Hawksmoor in Beverley Minster

A marble pavement was laid in the choir. An oak altar screen was placed in the choir in front of the old stone altar and altar rails were made in stone with baroque style. A stone screen (Figure 6.27) was built at the entrance to the choir with a pair of wrought iron gates and two figures of St. John of Beverley and King Athelstan to the left and right side of the screen. The galleries, of baroque style with Doric pillars, were erected in the nave and the inner side of the west door was carved in rococo style whereas the south door was Gothic. The cover of the Norman font, pulpit, and altar rail were built in baroque style. However, the majority of Hawksmoor's internal fittings of the 1720s and 1730s were to be destroyed or dispersed by public auction during the successive nineteenth-century campaigns of restoration (Barnwell and Horrox 2000, 92).

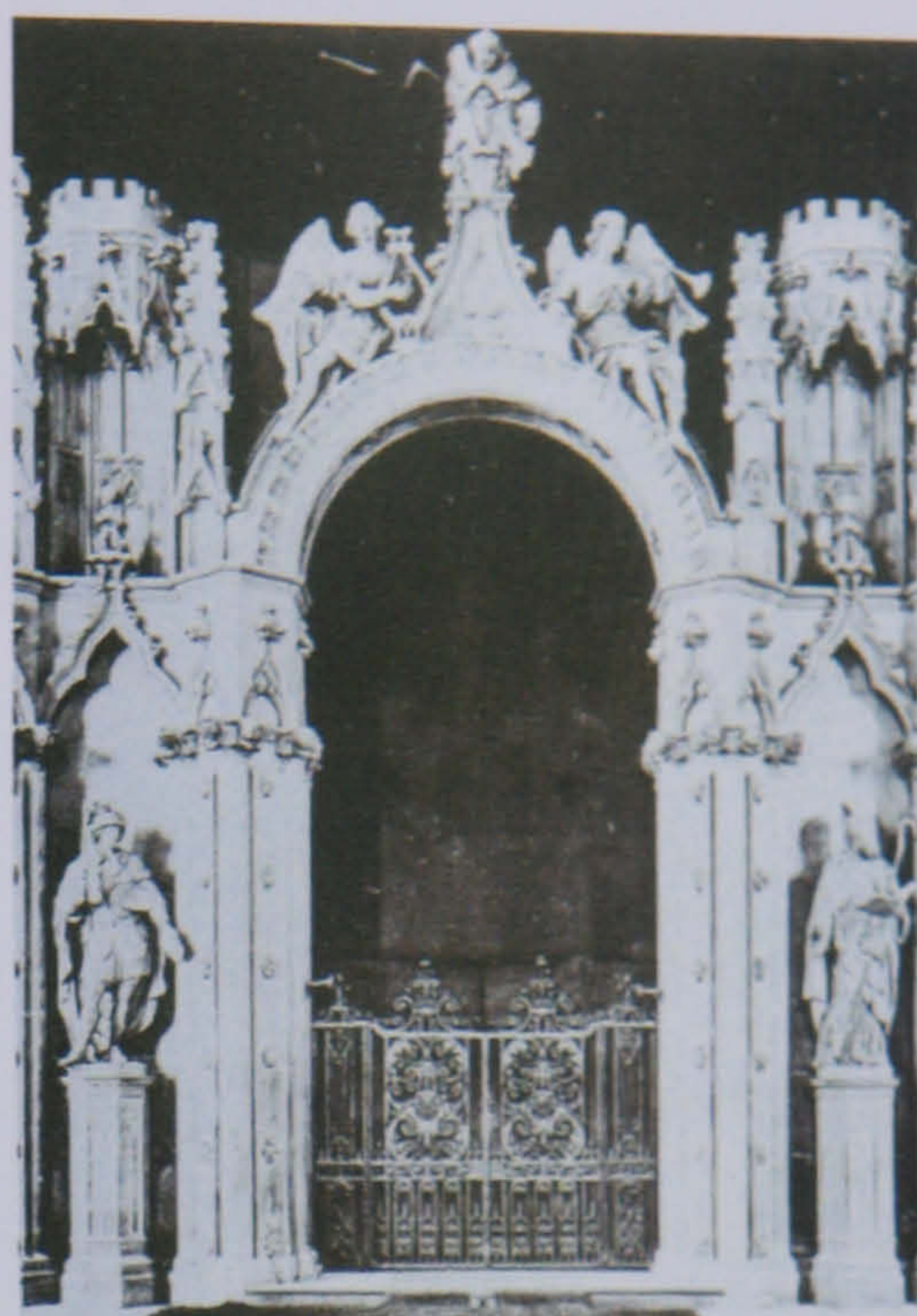


Figure 6.27 Hawksmoor's choir screen in Beverley Minster

The description by Thomas Gent, in his book, is the first record about the restoration which was made close to the period of Hawksmoor's restoration (Gent 1733, 91-92). He examined the interior and described objects which were replaced and refurbished by Hawksmoor and Thornton as reproduced in Chapter 5.

The above observation was augmented by several later studies by Poulson, Oliver, Hiatt, and Pevsner. Poulson's description of 1829 expresses in brief the general idea of that time rather than the details of new objects,

'Mr. Thornton, a carpenter in York, undertook to effect its restoration, by means of huge frame of timber for screwing up the gable end at once, and which he successfully executed. This ingenious contrivance has been

erroneously attributed, by Horace Walpole and others, to Mr. Hawksmoor, who was architect of the minster at the time, but who neither felt nor understood the beauties of Gothic architecture. The floor was taken up and re-laid. The chancel with marble of different colours, placed lozengewise (*sic*), appearing cubical to the eye; the rest of the church with Roach Abbey stone' (Poulson 1829, 678-9).

As to font cover, Poulson criticised that it is 'a remaining specimen of the absurd taste which characterized the period' (1829, 686). On the contrary, Oliver complimented that 'the font cover is richly carved oak, highly decorated with a combination of figures and flowers tastefully disposed in wreaths and festoons' (Poulson 1829, 321). Later writings by Hyatt and Pevsner show another contrasting example. Hyatt claimed that 'the font is an inappropriate canopy of elaborately-carved oak' (1898, 116), but Pevsner stated that it is 'a magnificent piece of metropolitan quality' (2002, 178).

b. The campaign in the 1820s

In 1823 the builder, architect, and renowned antiquarian artist, William Fowler of Winterton, Lincolnshire, drew up a scheme for the restoration (Neave 2000, 78). The choir had been used for services since the nave had been abandoned but used for visitors (Figure 6.28). The plan included removal of pews and galleries in the nave and side aisles (Allen 1832, 147). Opposition from the churchwardens was raised, so a group of the parishioners against the plan sent a petition to the archbishop of York

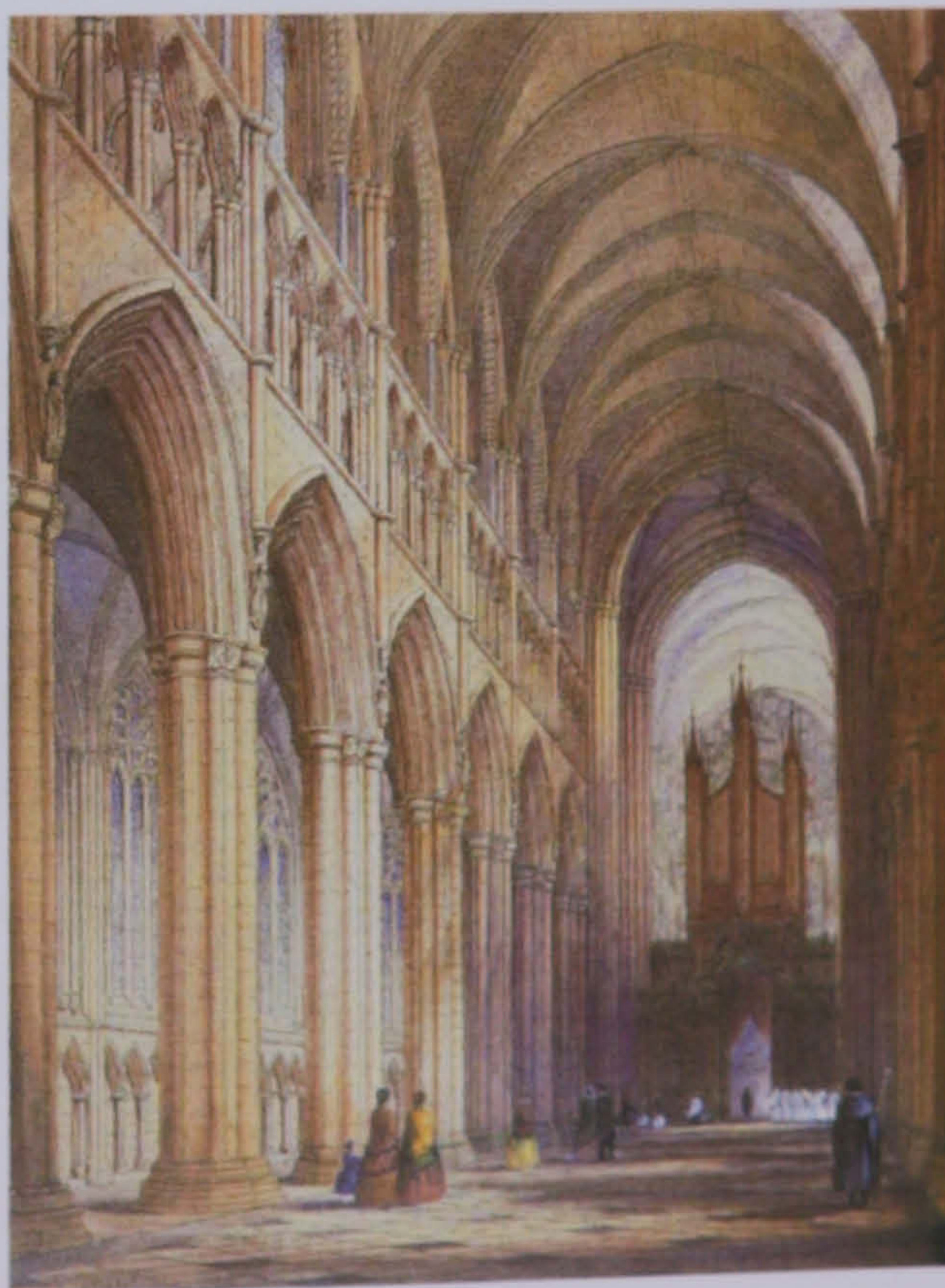
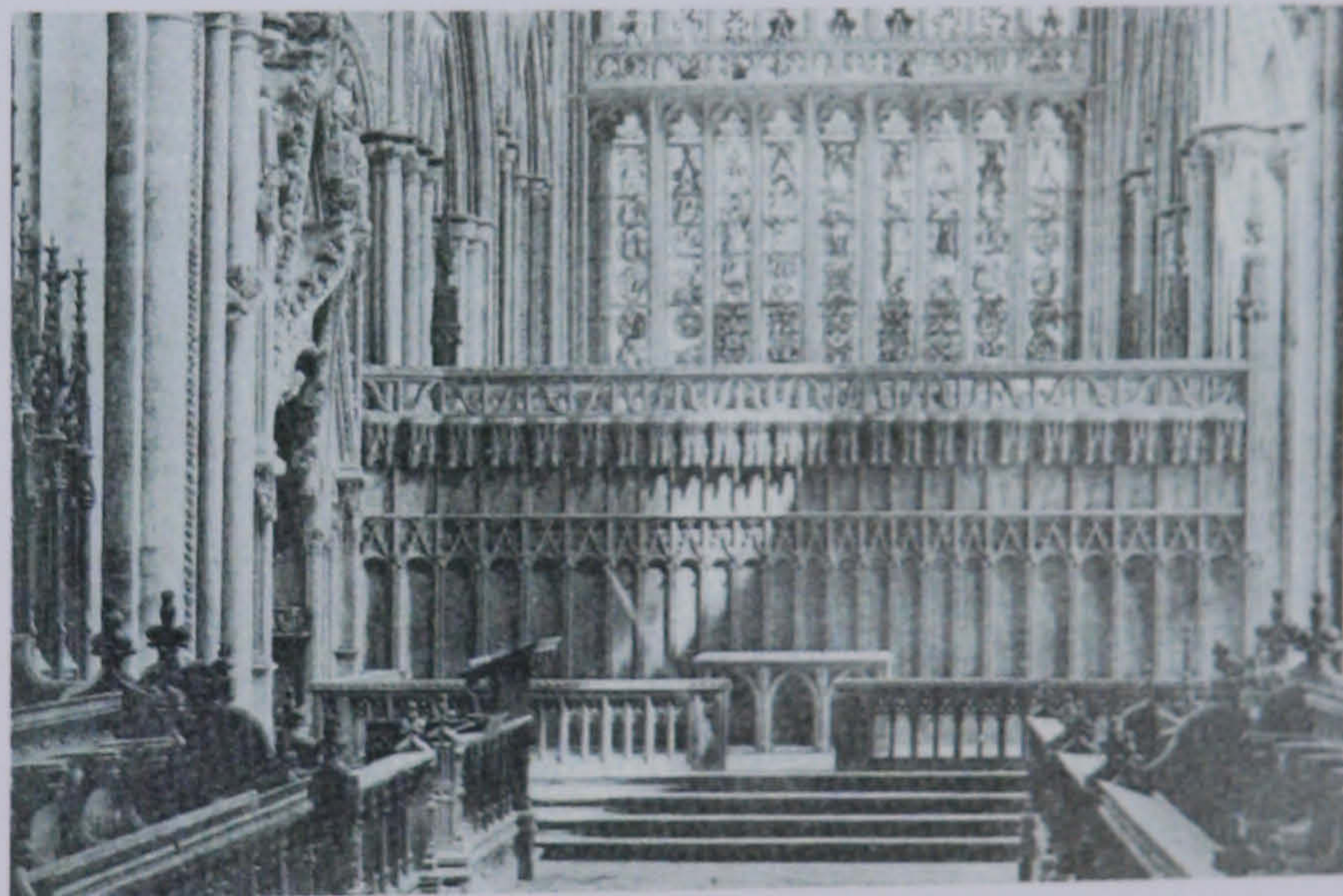


Figure 6.28 The nave of Beverley Minster in 1849

stating the disadvantages of the work (Neave 2000, 78). Due to this opposition, the work was delayed but the problem was resolved 'to fit up the floor of the choir, the side aisles, and south chapel, with seats' and remove the wooden altar-screen restoring the original altar-piece (Allen 1832, 147). The work commenced in May 1824 with designs drawn by the architectural firm of Rickman and Hutchinson of Birmingham (Neave 2000, 78). Rickman and Hutchinson's plans were approved in 1824 and Fowler and his son were put in charge of executing the work (Neave 2000, 78).

The nave was cleared of Hawksmoor's galleries and pews in 1826 and soon afterwards the eighteenth century altar screen was removed and the medieval stone reredos reconstructed by William Comins. The new fittings in the choir included a pulpit and a stone sanctuary wall designed by Fowler and sixteen cast iron pillars supplied by William Crosskill of Beverley which were painted to resemble marble (Figure 6.29). The discarded materials including the columns from the galleries of the nave and altar rails of the choir were sold (Barnwell and Horrox

2000, 78). The whole of the exterior of the building underwent a thorough repair as well. The pinnacles, buttresses and canopies, particularly the north porch, were restored. Hawksmoor's



dome in the central tower was removed in 1824 (Allen 1833, 149).

Figure 6.29 Stone sanctuary wall of Beverley Minster designed by Fowler

c. From 1866 to 1880 by Sir George Gilbert Scott

The Revd Abel Jon Ram, who was appointed in 1840, planned to make alterations to the organ screen with the design of Sir George Gilbert Scott (Neave 2000, 79) (Figure 5.9). Though the necessary stone was purchased the work was not executed because the alterations he made in the choir were not approved of by Archdeacon Wilberforce (Neave 2000, 79). Until the mid-1860s, there were several works in the minster such as construction of clergy and choir vestries under the supervision of the architect J.L. Pearson in 1859 and the regular maintenance of roofs, stonework and windows (Neave 2000, 81).

In 1865 the trustees of the Minster New Fund asked Sir George Gilbert Scott to inspect the minster (Neave 2000, 81). He recommended the removal of the dirt and yellow wash that covered the walls and pillars. Under Scott's supervision the whole of the interior stonework was cleaned and roofs were re-decorated (Neave 2000, 81). Cleaning work began at the west end, completing the nave in 1868, the main transepts in 1870 and the choir, lesser transepts and retrochoir in 1872 (Neave 2000, 81). Most painting of the roof was carried out by William Padgett of Beverley except at the intersection of the lesser transepts above the sanctuary which was executed by Clayton and Bell with the design by Scott (Neave 2000, 81) (Figure 6.30)



Figure 6.30 Painting of the vault of Beverley Minster by William Padgett

The growth of the church population and the success of the temporary use of

the nave while the choir was repaired made the minster authority decide to use the nave permanently for all but Holy Communion and weekday services (Neave 2000, 82). The pews in the lesser transepts and the galleries in the choir aisle were removed and stalls and chairs provided in the nave. The curtains and boarding above Hawksmoor's organ screen and the 1820s stonework above the entrances to the choir aisle were removed (Neave 2000, 82). Changes in the choir were made between 1876 and 1877 when the wooden sedilia were placed in their present position and a marble floor laid (Figure 6.31 and 6.32).



Figure 6.31 Wooden sedilia of the choir of Beverley Minster



Figure 6.32 Marble floor of the choir of Beverley Minster

In 1875, the minster commenced the work of filling over forty of the minster's windows with stained glass depicting scenes from the life of Christ (Neave 2000, 82). Hawksmoor's choir screen was taken down in 1875. The statues of St John of Beverley and Athelstan were moved to the south door of the nave on pedestals designed by Scott. The iron gate in the entrance of the choir became the gate into the north choir aisle (Figure 5.10). It took four years to complete a new choir screen and Scott died before its completion (Figure 6.33).

d. between 1890s to 1960s

The works of the 1890s concentrated on beautifying the building and its interior with structural repair. The work included repair of the north tower in 1892, rebuilding of the embattled parapet between the western towers which were blown



Figure 6.33 Choir screen by Scott

down in a gale just before Christmas 1894, and securing of the Percy Chapel with iron ties and concrete foundations in 1902 (Neave 2000, 84). The iron gates, designed by John Oldrid Scott and made by William Watson of Laundress Lane, were placed at the entrance of the choir in 1890 and the sculptor John Baker of Kennington replaced the early nineteenth-century additions to bosses and capitals of the arcade of the north aisle of the nave (Neave 2000, 84). In 1897 the reredos was filled with twelve statues by N. Hitch of Vauxhall and thirty-six mosaic panels by Powell of Whitefriars, under the superintendence of J.L. Pearson (Neave 2000, 85) (Figure 5.7). In the same year, the plan for putting statues in 177 empty niches on the exterior of the minster was announced with the support of the religious community but faced strong opposition by SPAB which sent a letter to the minster 'asking to consider whether such a proceeding could add to the beauty, the interest, or the solemnity of the building, or afford any aid to the devotional feelings of those who worship within its walls' (1897, 18). The first statue, Queen Victoria, was filled in 1897 and 105 statues were placed in other niches on the exterior between 1897 and 1908 (Neave 2000, 85) (Figure 6.34). The workmanship of three statues was assessed unsatisfactory, Edward VII on the north tower and St Gregory and Wycliffe on the south tower and were replaced in 1918 and 1919 by new ones (Neave 2000, 85). Statues on the west window and west wall of the nave were placed between 1909 and 1910 and 44 statues in the niches over

the choir stalls and the smaller figures in the cornices between 1911 and 1913 (Neave 2000, 85). Finally, 16 statues for the pillars supporting the organ screen were carved to be added in 1918 (Neave 2000, 85). Later, stained glass in two of the fifteen windows in the lesser transepts was inserted.

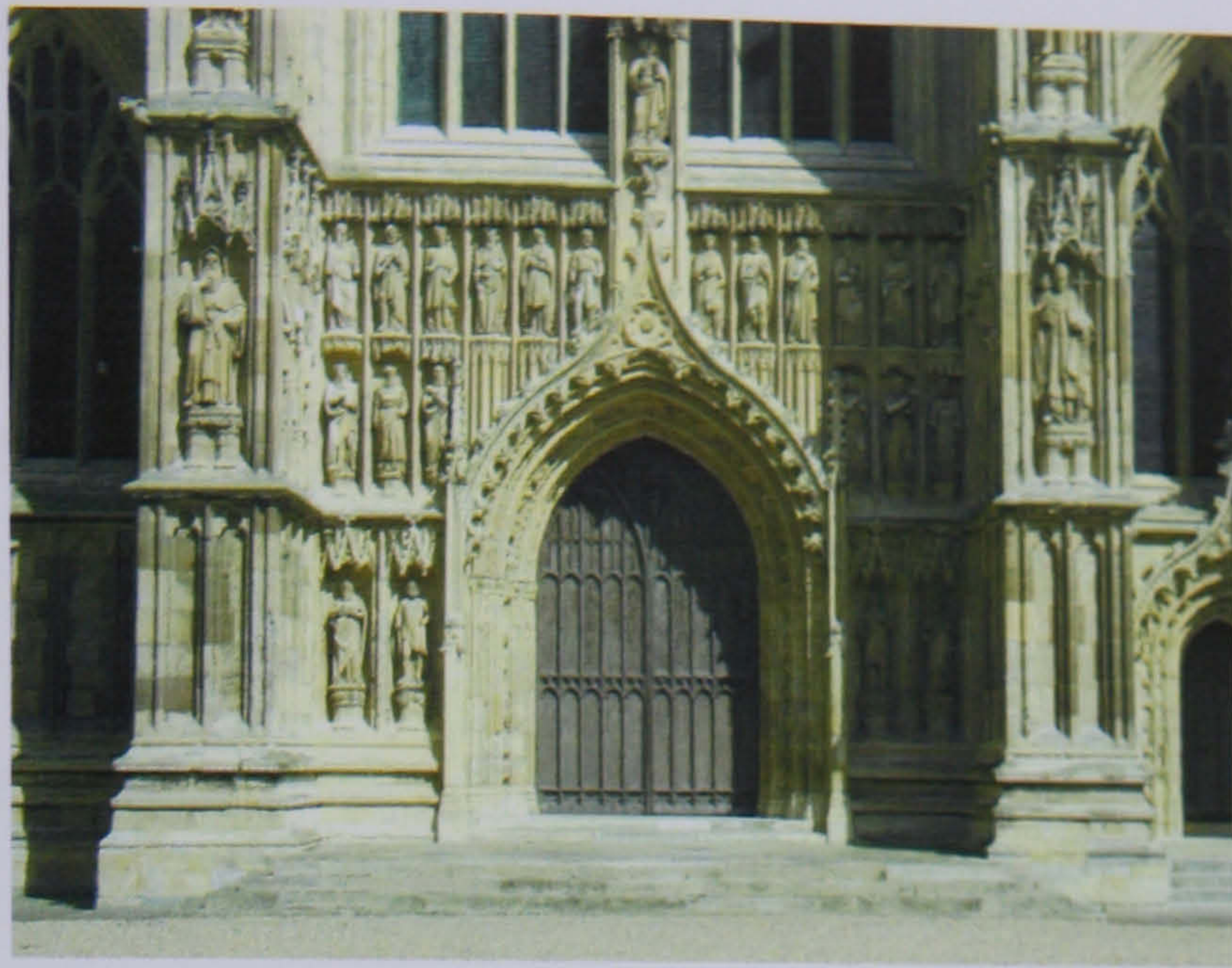


Figure 6.34 West front of Beverley Minster filled with statues

During World War II the stained glass was taken from the east window and stored in Percy Chapel in 1940 and re-fixed in 1945. After the war the attendance at regular service recovered so that the minster community could turn its attention to maintaining and repairing the church building. From 1953 to 1957 the western towers, which were in a bad state of decay, were restored and the whole interior was cleaned (Neave 2000, 87). A restoration appeal catalogue of 1954 described the necessity of repairing pinnacles and parapets of the two western towers and the mullions of the belfry windows (BIHR, FAC 1954/2/21). The work was funded through a restoration appeal, the Trustees of the Minster Old Fund and the Friends of Beverley Minster (Neave 2000, 87). From the 1950s the Friends gathered many members so that they could increase funds steadily to enable more projects to be undertaken.

e. 1970s, 1980s and 1990s

With the financial support of the Friends, the minster started cleaning the exterior of the building and repairing the roof and stonework in 1972 (BIHR, FAC 1972/8). The eastern end of the minster was completed in 1973 and the great transepts and aisles by 1975 (Neave 2000, 87). In the same year the

project was re-examined because of the urgent need for the restoration of the whole building on the advice of the consulting architect (Neave 2000, 88). The plan changed to carry out the repair of decayed stone of the whole building within the next five to ten years. Fund raising events successfully achieved the target amount for the new scheme in two years. The scheme with eight phases of restoration work began in 1976 and was completed in 1987. The soot from the fire on the surface of the fabric in the nave was cleaned off in 1970s. The major work focused on repairing the decayed stone and timber roof and cleaning the exterior.

In 1992 the minster began a long-term project to replace the lead roof of the aisles and the central tower and west tower roofs. From 1992 to 1994, the roof of the central tower was renewed, windows were re-glazed, and the organ was overhauled (BIHR, QR.B.12, 1994). The repairs to the timber roof of the nave aisles and transepts were executed from 1993 to 1994.

g. The present campaign

The Friends of Beverley Minster planned to re-decorate the retrochoir as a place of meditation and prayer in 2000 and choose Helen Whittaker, a stained glass window expert, for the new project (The Friends of Beverley Minster 2003, 11). The plan was approved by the Parochial Church Council, the Diocese Advisory Committee, English Heritage, and the Council for the Care of Churches without opposition (The Friends of Beverley Minster 2003, 11). It included four works: 1. A new stained glass window in the single lancet window of the south wall; 2. Two life-sized



Figure 6.35 New stained glass in the retrochoir of Beverley Minster

sculptured figures close to the north wall; 3. Prayer benches and seating for meditation and prayer; 4. The candle stand. The work started in October 2003 and was completed in 2005 (The Friends of Beverley Minster 2003, 12-13) (Figure 6.35 and 6.36).



Figure 6.36 New sculpture in the retrochoir of Beverley Minster

(4) List description

'Rebuilding of eastern arm commenced c1225. High altar dedicated 1260. Nave c1308-50. North porch and west front c1390-1420. East window c1410-20. North east chapel c1490. Tadcaster magnesian limestone incorporating some oolitic limestone from earlier structure and some chalk. Purbeck shafting to interior. Brick nave vault webbing, plastered. Lead roof. Cruciform plan of 7-bay aisled chancel with square east end and single-bay eastern transepts, aisled to east. 3-bay aisled main transepts. Central tower. 11-bay aisled nave with north porch and twin-towered west front. C13 section has prominent shafted buttresses with flyers. Lancet windows set in shafted arcades with moulded capitals. Bands of blind arcading, sunk quatrefoils and wheel windows to transept ends. Nave: off-set buttresses with gabled niches, crocketed pinnacles and flyers. Curvilinear traceried windows. North porch is panelled with angle buttresses and crocketed pinnacles. Gabled entrance flanked by niches for figures of saints. Embattled parapet with further niches. West front: twin towers with off-set angle buttresses and embattled parapets with crocketed pinnacles flanking west front. The whole adorned with panelling and canopied niches for statues which were provided after 1897. Crocketed ogee gable to west door surmounted by canopied niche. 9-light sub-arcuated west window. Interior: East end: 3 storey elevation. Arcade of heavily moulded arches on clustered piers with keeled or filleted intermediate shafts. Triforium of two superimposed blind arcades. Clerestory lancets set in stepped,

shafted arcade. Dogtooth moulding and Purbeck shafting. Moulded capitals to main elevation, stiff leaf to wall arcades. Quadripartite vaults on shafts descending to corbels in spandrels of arcade. Trefoil-headed wall arcading to aisles, incorporating steps to former chapter house on north side. C14 work continued in similar style with slight changes in details and traceried windows. Fittings: Screen of c1334 designed to carry the shrine of St John and adjoining very fine Percy Tomb. Wood sedilia in similar style of c1345. Anglo Saxon stone seat known as 'Frith Stool'. Choir stalls of c1520 with 68 carved misericords. Screens of c1400. Late C12 Frosterley marble font with cover of 1713. Tread wheel crane above central crossing. Many fine monuments including tomb chest of Henry Percy of 1489 and others of C17-C19. For further description see: Pevsner, N. Yorkshire, East Riding 169-179. RCHM Beverley 7-15, Bilson, J 'Beverley Minster' Architectural Review 3 (1894-1898) 197. Bilson, J 'Beverley Minster': some stray notes' Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 25 1917, 221-235, Hoey, L; 'Beverley Minster in Its 13th Century Context' Journal of Society of Architectural Historians XLIII 1984, 209-224. Transactions of the British Archaeological Association Beverley Minster 1986.' (<http://www.imagesofengland.org.uk/Details/Default.aspx?id=167285&mode=quick>)

3. St. Mary's Church, Beverley

(1) General Information

The plan of the church consists of a chancel of five bays with north and south aisles, a sacristy on the north side of the north aisle of the chancel, transepts north and south with three bays each, a choir vestry with crypt below on the eastern side of the northern arm of the transept, a crossing with central tower and the nave with six bays with north and south aisles having a south porch (Figure 5.55 and 6.37).

The earlier parts of the church were built for the most part of oolitic limestone from Newbald and the later parts, from the second quarter of the fourteenth

century onward, of magnesian limestone from the neighbourhood of Tadcaster (Bilson 1920, 363).

The major conservation campaigns in the nineteenth century were executed by A.W N. Pugin and his son E. W. Pugin, Sir Gilbert Scott and John Bilson. A. W. N. Pugin focused on the conservation of the exterior of the building. With his son E. W. Pugin, he removed the galleries, added flying buttresses to the

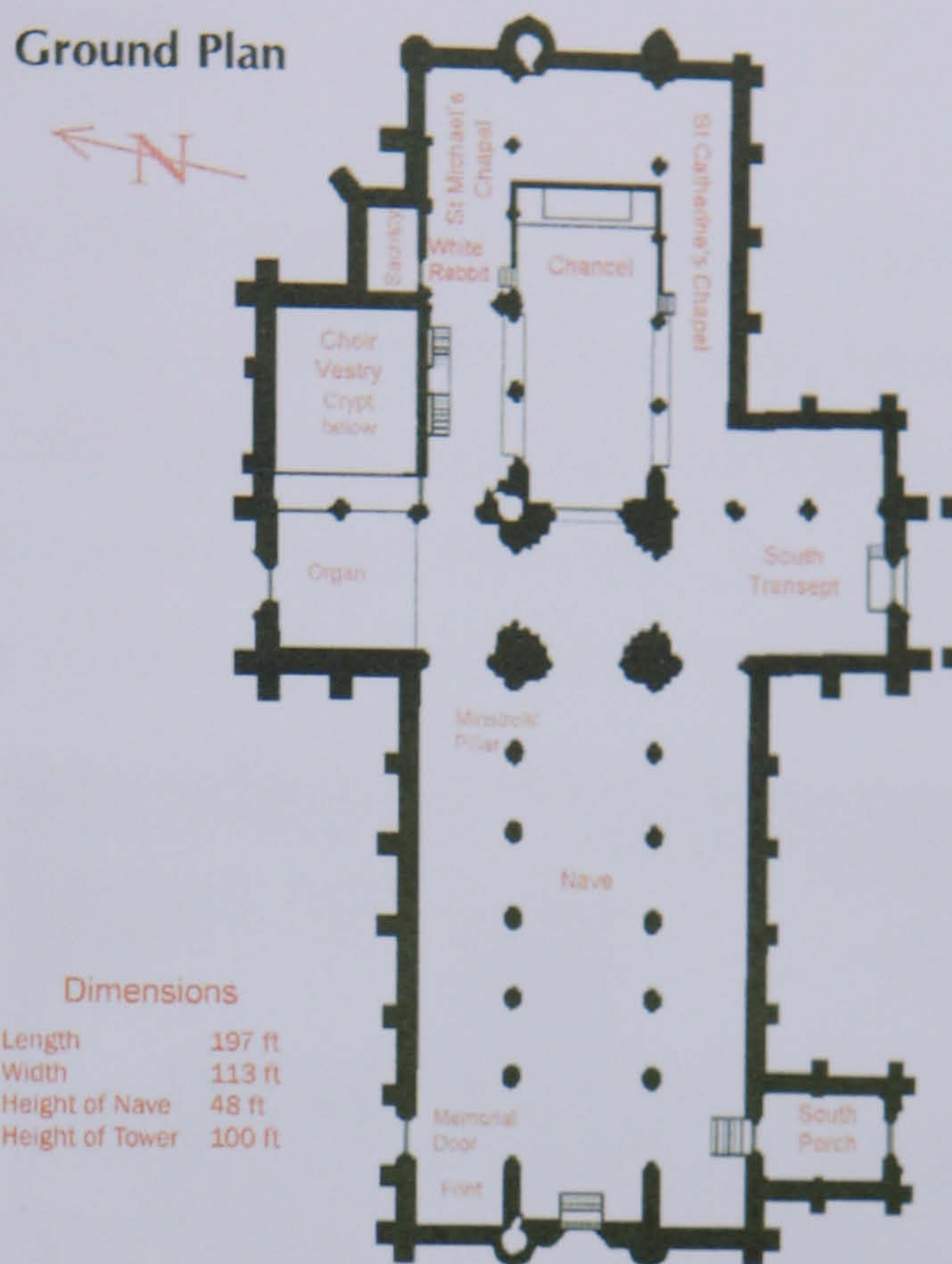


Figure 6.37 Ground plan of St Mary's Church

south transept, replaced tracery for the main window of the west front, and rebuilt the turrets on the west front during conservation practice between 1844 and 1859. After the transept roofs were restored by Cuthbert Brodrick in the 1860s, a general restoration of the building was begun in 1864 by Sir George Gilbert Scott. In the 1890s John Bilson made other changes to the church.

Except for the plan for the organ restoration in 1954 and 1955, the conservation in the twentieth century for St Mary's has been focused on maintenance and repair rather than stylistic and structural change to the interior and the exterior of the fabric. Following the quinquennial inspection in 1969 the conservation campaign in the 1970s started the repair of decayed stone and re-leading of the roofs. Several small schemes for the maintenance of the fabric were continued in the 1980s for each part of the building after the quinquennial inspections in 1977 and 1983. The expensive construction of the new parish hall in 1984 sparked a debate between religious and secular communities.

(2) The exterior and interior of the building

a. The exterior

The construction of the present church began in the twelve century but visible remains from before the thirteenth century are not clear (Pevsner and Neave 2002, 294). The north transept was added probably in the late twelfth century and the south transept in the early thirteenth century (Hope 1955, 10). In the late thirteenth century the nave was rebuilt with aisles and the chancel was built (Hope 1955, 10). The chancel clerestories and the south porch were built in the early fifteenth century and thereafter the transepts were reconstructed with clerestories (Pevsner and Neave 2002, 295). In 1520, the central tower collapsed but was rebuilt between 1520 and 1530 (Pevsner and Neave 2002, 295) (Figure 6.38).



Figure 6.38 St Mary's Church in the 18th century

b. The interior

The wooden ceiling of the nave, which dates from 1520 and contains a great variety of bosses, was restored in 1937 (Hope 1955, 13). The west window of seven lights is in the Perpendicular style and the two aisle windows are of the same style. The sixteenth century font has a 1926 cover (Hope 1955, 16).

The description by Vallance in 1918 provides a clear idea of the original form of the rood screen in the entrance of the chancel (Figure 6.39). He noted that the choir screen had been 'two parallel partitions, standing east and west, connecting the front and back portions, and making a walled passage through the screens from their west doorway to that into the chancel' (1918, 119). These partitions consisted of 'two bays apiece, of which the eastern pair probably formed doorways admitting from the passage-way, right and left, into



Figure 6.39 Choir screen of St Mary's Church in 1918



Figure 6.40 Choir screen of St Mary's Church under eastern arch of crossing in 1918

the caged enclosures under the rood-loft gallery.' (Vallance 1918, 119) However at some unknown date, the loft was taken down and the screen was mutilated by the destruction of about half of each of the side bays, and of the vaulted cove and cornice in order to make it fit a narrower space under the eastern arch of the crossing (Figure 6.40). A. W. Pugin contemplated the restoration of the screen into original form, which was originally double with the loft, during his campaign. However his plan was not executed and taken down by George Gilbert Scott in 1875 and moved into the crypt. The restoration of the rood screen was executed under John Bilson's direction in 1893 (Figure 6.41).



Figure 6.41 Choir screen of St Mary's Church by John Bilson

The screen was restored with the completion of missing parts of the two end bays and vaulted cove and cornice.

The roof of the choir has forty panels with representations of the Kings of England (Hope 1955, 18). The choir stalls are the work of the middle of the fifteenth century (Hope 1955, 18). The pulpit was designed by George Gilbert Scott in 1865. The reredos of the choir was designed by John Oldrid Scott and executed by James Elwell between 1880 and 1881 (Pevsner and Neave 2002, 298).

(3) Conservation Campaigns

a. The campaign by A.W.N Pugin and E.W. Pugin

In the early 1840s A.W.N. Pugin, who was asked to restore St Mary's invited George Myers to inspect the building with him (Figure 6.42). Based on the close survey by Myers, Pugin reported the state of the building and proposed the repair works. In his report



Figure 6.42 St Mary's Church before Pugin's restoration

dated November 2 of 1844 (Pugin 1844, ERAO PE1/731), A.W. Pugin pointed out the problem of the accumulation of soil in the church yard and suggested cutting a trench, six feet wide from the walls of the building, so that the original ground level of the church would appear in the bottom of the trench to be flagged. In addition, he noted that the whole eastern end of the church was rendered unusable by the present arrangement of seats and the rest of the nave and aisles were blocked up with unsightly pews and galleries. He

recommended the removal of the whole of the pews and galleries, replacing them with new oak benches. Also he proposed the opening up of the doorway to the old rood staircase and the removal of the fire place and chimney in the ringing chamber as well as rebuilding the western turrets and the restoration of the chancel screen. Most of his recommendations were executed with the exception of the restoration of the chancel screen.

Important points from his report are as follows (Pugin 1844, ERAO PE1/731).

Defect: The whole eastern end of the church is rendered by the present arrangement of seats, as well as the western part of the nave, while the rest of the nave and aisles are blocked up with unsightly pews and galleries, these are much decayed and in a filthy state entirely destroying the beauty of the fabric and occasion a great loss of space, the pavement for the nave and aisle as also in a very bad state

Remedy: Remove the whole of the present pews and galleries and relay the whole floor of the church hollow with air holes beneath. Seat the nave aisles and transepts with oak benches after ancient models which would contain 1,400 or 1,500 sittings and place the pulpit at the N.W. pillar of great tower.

Defect: The external doors especially those of the transepts are badly fitted, decayed and open at bottom so as to admit a great body of external air rendering the church very cold in windy weather.

Remedy : Fix new doors to transepts, west end and porches, each provided with a small wicket door; fix internal or weather screens round and over each doorway so that the current of air cannot penetrate directly into the building. When this is done and the glazing secured, the eastern portion of the church will be as warm, if not warmer than the present nave.

Defect: A doorway has been cut for the ringers through the main pier of the tower in the NE angle and a fire place has been built in the ringing chamber exceedingly dangerous to the fabric.

Remedy: Open the doorway to the old rood staircase still remaining perfect and build up the new doorway. Remove the fire place and chimney in ringing chamber entirely. It is further suggested to remove the present ceiling under the ringing chamber and open the lanthorn to the body of the church as originally intended to ring the bells from the floor of the church.

Defect: The west end of the church is fast going to decay, and in a few years it will be difficult to restore the ornamental parts accurately. The western turrets especially require speedy attention.

Remedy: Rebuild the western turrets, insert stones where the old ones are defective. Take out the tracery of great west window and replace it by new-restored parapet inside and restore ornamental work generally.

Defect: The screens of chancel which are of beautiful design and execution have been removed from their original positions and set about the church in a mutilated state. The stalls have also been removed and set against the walls of the church and a very offensive altar screen has been set up at the east end during the last century.

Remedy: Restore the screens to their original positions so as to enclose the chancel, replace the stalls in their ancient position in the church after the manner of a cathedral choir. Remove the offensive altar screen and replace it by one in accordance with the beauty of the fabric. Restore painted ceiling of chancel and aisle.

Defect: The roofs are much decayed in parts especially near the wall plates and the lead is in a defective state.

Remedy: Strip the roofs by degrees commencing with the north transept and scarf and bolt-on sound pieces in place of the decayed. Recast the lead and fix the same with a ridge roll instead of the pent manner.

The removal of the pews and galleries and substitution of seats, new doors and weather screen so that the nave and transept of the church may be rendered fit for the celebration of divine service. The new pulpit may be added at any time.

A.W. Pugin's extensive works included new doors, the parapets of the west end of the nave (Figure 6.43), the pinnacles of the central tower and the flying buttresses to the south end of the transept (Figure 6.44) as well as dealing with drainage problems in the church and crypt. The parapets on the upper part of two turrets of the west end of the nave were taken down and replaced by new masonry. In 1851 these old parapets were sold by auction to be moved to collectors gardens. He laid new flooring, provided new seating and a west window in 1850.

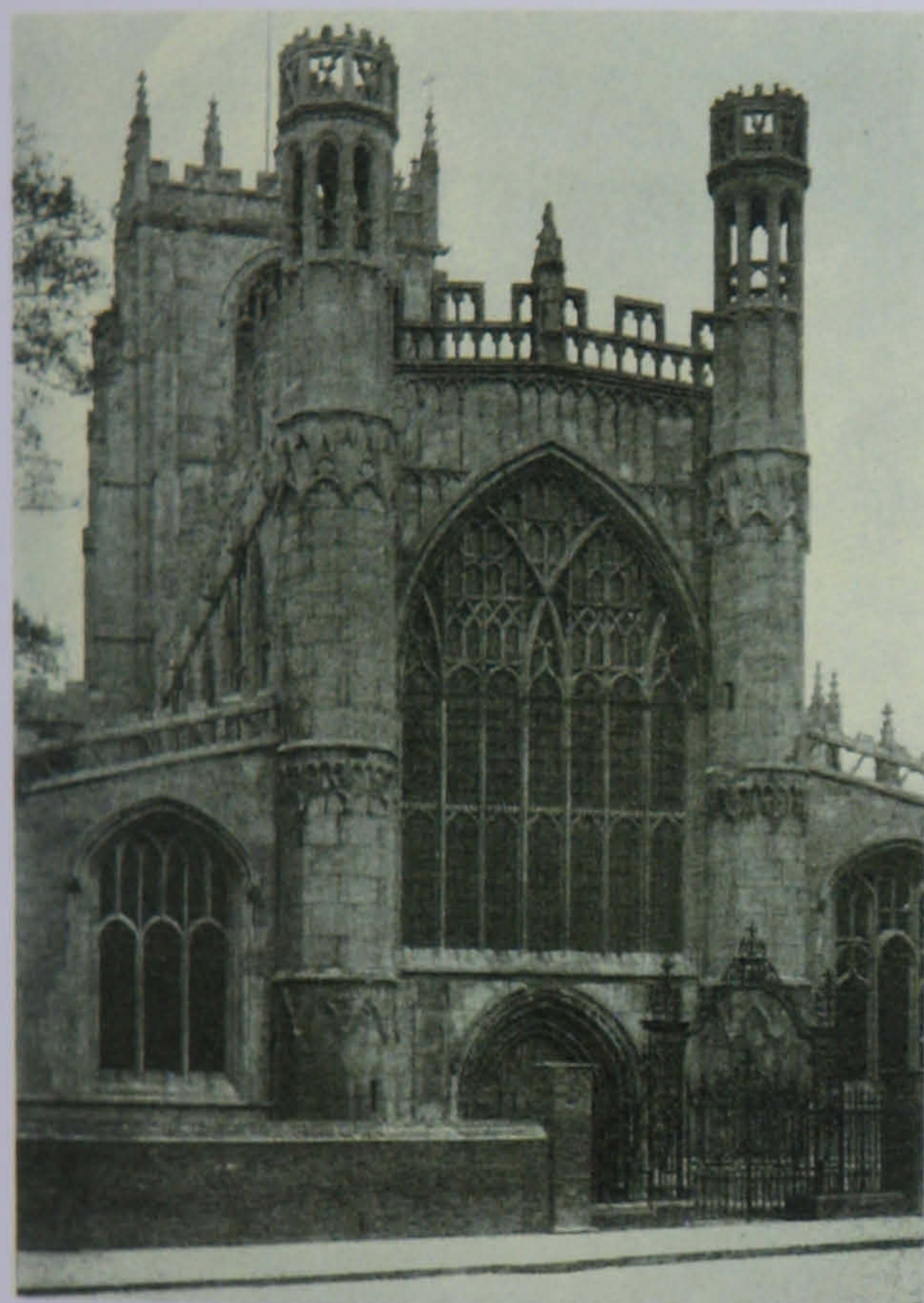


Figure 6.43 West front of St Mary's Church after Pugin's restoration



Figure 6.44 Flying buttress to the end of south transept of St Mary's Church

At the time of his death in 1852 Pugin was still at work, the design of the weathervane for the south west turret being his final work. His son, E.W. Pugin, continued his father's work in the 1850s. About 1853 the flying buttresses were built to support the south transept, and the original tracery of the large south transept window was replaced in the present decorated style from the designs of the younger Pugin. In 1859 E.W. Pugin submitted a plan for the renewing of the church, which was not carried out because of its cost,

and his connection with the church ceased.

b. The campaign by Cuthbert Brodrick, Sir Gilbert Scott and John Bilson
Cuthbert Brodrick, who was appointed architect in 1861, executed conservation work on the roof of the south and north transepts from 1861 to 1863. He directed the roof of the north and south transepts to be taken down in 1861 for repairing and repainting based on his drawings and specification. Bilson described that 'Mr. Cuthbert Brodrick was only appointed architect at the meeting at which tenders for the work were accepted, his share of the work cannot have amounted to more than supervision of work which had already been decided upon when he was appointed... As the cost of carpenter's work on the roof of the south transept was £145, and on the north transept £87(including the taking down), it appears to be more than probable that the roof of the south transept was a new roof' (Bilson 1920, 423).

After Brodrick ceased to work as an architect in 1863 without completing the work on the ceiling, George Gilbert Scott was asked to visit the church to inspect the tracing taken of the chancel roof, and to give his opinion as to the painting and restoration of figures. Based on his recommendation, William Padgett completed the repainting. Scott started a new conservation campaign in 1864 after his plans for refitting the church were approved in that year. He refitted the nave with the present oak pews and the pulpit of his design in 1866 (Figure 6.45). For the crypt he constructed the doorway in its south wall and the steps in the chancel aisle so that it could be entered from the inside of the church. Originally the crypt had an

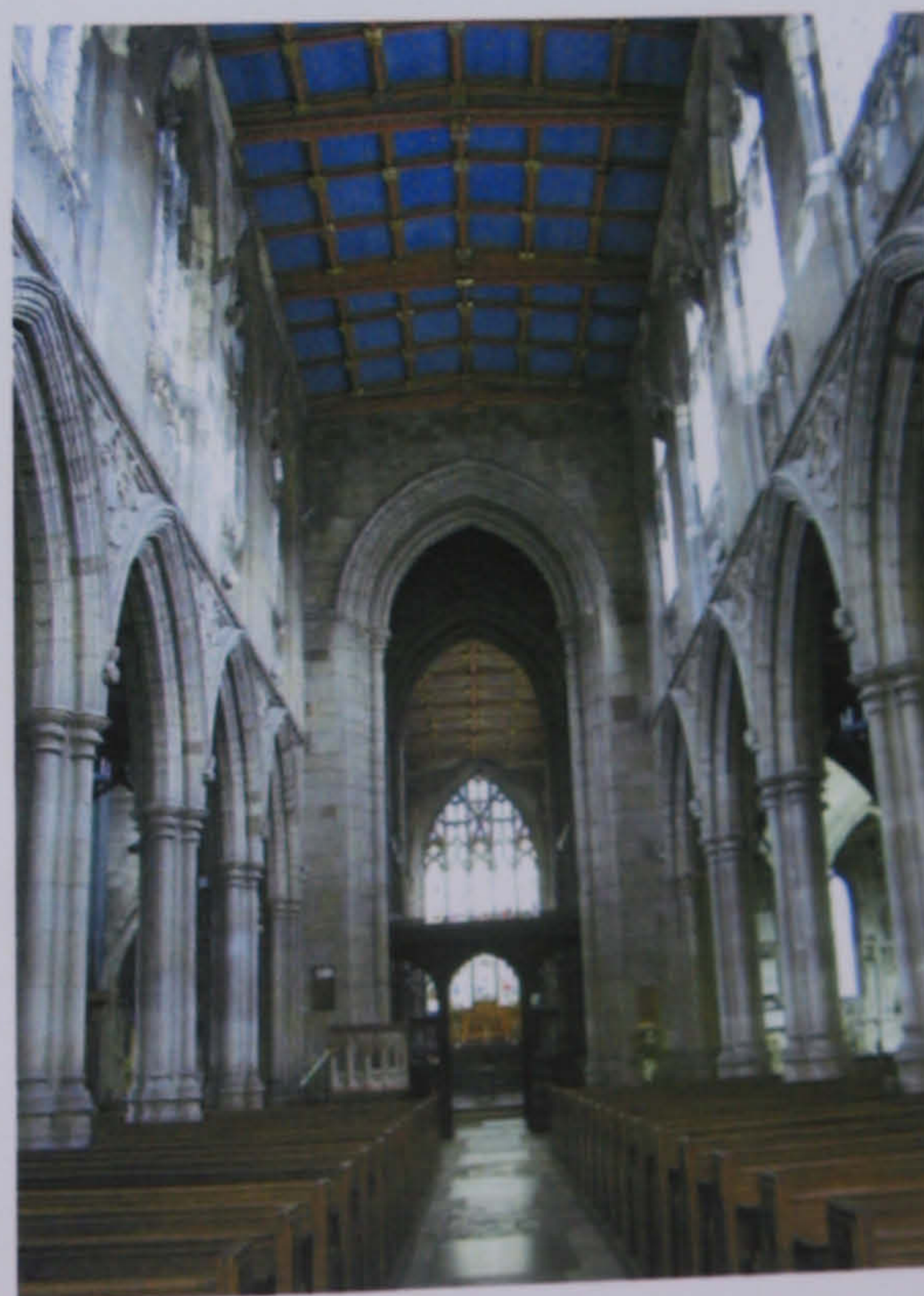


Figure 6.45 Nave of St Mary's Church with pews by G.G.Scott

external doorway in its east wall so that it could be entered only from the outside. He erected the screens to enclose the chancel in the third bay of the north and south arcades. In addition he proposed to carry out the planned restoration of the rood screen which was not executed by A. W. Pugin. However, the plan was opposed by the Archbishop and again failed.

His works were practically completed by the end of 1867, though some minor works were carried out after that date, but the refitting of the chancel was postponed until 1875. In the works of 1875 and 1876, Scott moved the stalls back into the choir, from where they had been removed to the eastern bays of the north and south aisles of the choir. At the same time the western side of the rood screen was taken down for the purpose of restoration, but it had to be moved to the crypt because the incumbent, the Rev. E. Carr Glyn (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough) opposed its replacement. Scott's work was succeeded by his son, John Oldrid Scott, after his death. John Oldrid Scott designed the reredos in the choir in 1881

John Bilson, who was appointed architect after John Oldrid Scott, restored the choir screen in 1893 and placed it at the entrance of the choir under the crossing. In his drawing of the previous screen which was prepared for the restoration (Figure 6.46) the posts AA and BB

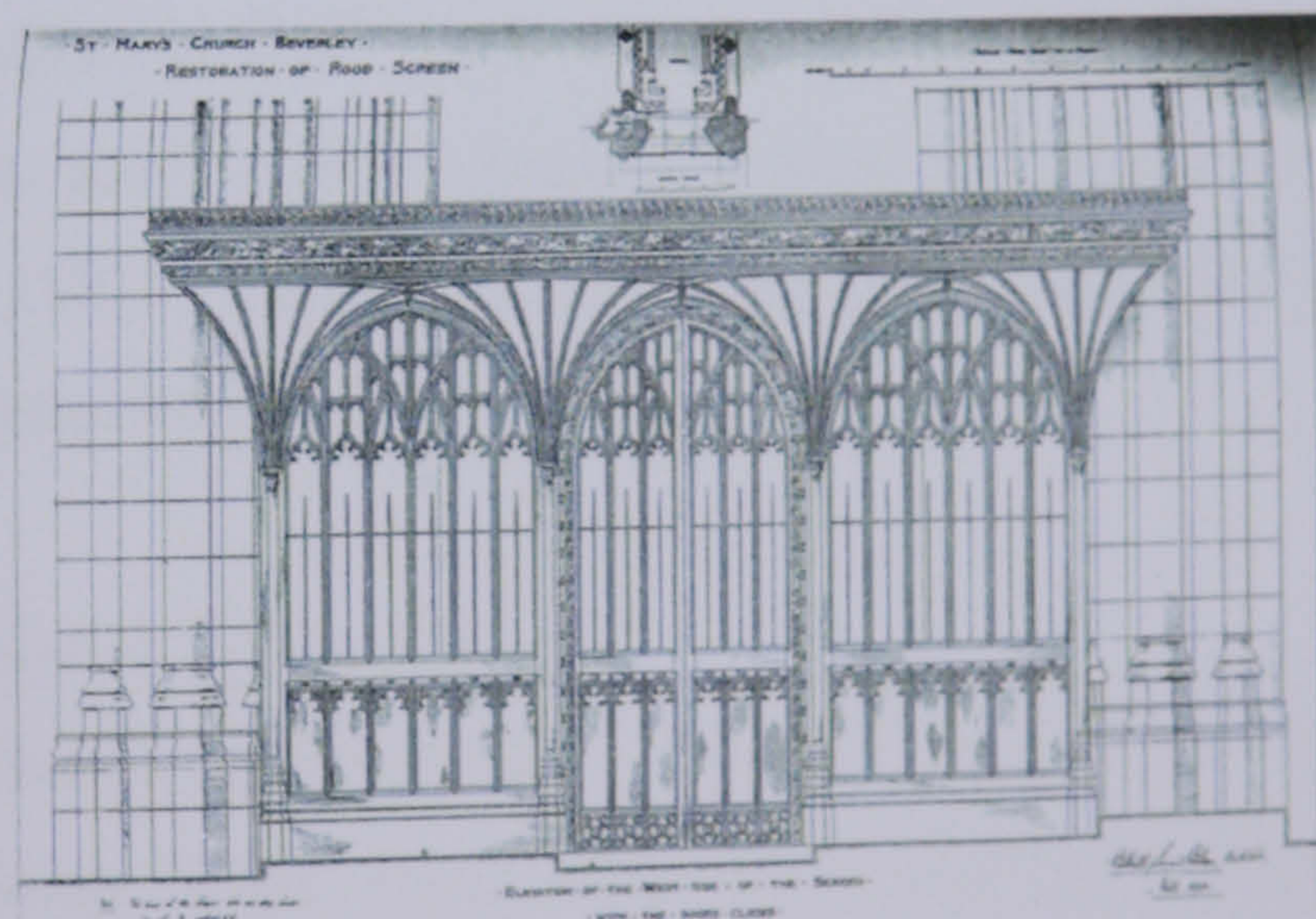


Figure 6.46 Design of choir screen of St Mary's Church

which supported the loft had been preserved in the church (Bilson 1920). He completed the missing parts of the two end bays with the vaulted cove and cornice.

c. The conservation of the roof in the 1930s and organ in the 1950s

The first organ in the church was built in 1792 and placed on the old rood loft at the east end of the nave. This was replaced by a new organ moved into the north transept, which was built by Forster & Andrews of Hull in 1869. The organ case was built by T. C. Lewis of London in 1907 based on the design of Sir George Gilbert Scott. Eric Bell, who played the organ in 1950, initiated the repair of the deteriorated organ in the church and an appeal was launched in 1952 for the funds. The conservation work was completed in 1957.

d. The conservation campaigns of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

From the 1970s to 1990 there were several repair campaigns for the maintenance of the church fabric without alteration. Between 1971 and 1973 the floor of the ringing chamber was repaired and the roof of the south transept and north choir aisle were repaired as the quinquennial report of 1969 had specified. The stonework for the central tower had been executed in 1974 and the work on the south clerestory windows in the nave in 1975.

Based on the quinquennial report in 1977 the doorway to the lantern tower at the west end, the south porch, south aisle of the nave and south transept were repaired between 1980 and 1982. As the quinquennial report suggested in 1983, the east wall of the chancel was repaired in 1984.

e. The construction of a new parish hall in 1980s

In 1983 the PCC started to discuss the construction of a new parish hall at the PCC meeting. The plan soon faced strong opposition from the secular community in Beverley. One opponent, Richard Wilson, sent a letter in April 1984 to the church authority doubting the necessity of a new construction plan in terms of the financial ability of the church, destruction of aesthetic value of the original Gothic building and the lack of necessity for a new building for both religious and secular use (Wilson 1984; 1986, ERAO PE1/T24).

Most opposition came from the lay community, who attended the church regularly as well as non church-goers, whereas groups in favour were composed mainly of the priests and architects of the church. The debate between secular and religious communities had developed in various ways over two years until the plan was permitted ten years later in the early 1990s (Figure 5.56 and 5.57).

(4) Listing Description

TA 0339 BEVERLEY NORTH BAR WITHIN (east side) 9/228 The Parish Church of 1.3.50 St Mary GV I Church. C12 origins, north-east transept chapel c.1280. Otherwise mainly early C14-C15. Tower rebuilt after collapse in 1520 which also necessitated extensive rebuilding of nave. Magnesian limestone. Lead roof. 6-bay aisled nave with west door and south porch. Central tower. 3-bay transepts with SE aisle and NE chapel. 5-bay aisled chancel with square east end and N chapel. West front: polygonal angle buttresses with pierced upper stages flank heavily shafted and moulded west door. West wall panelled above 7-light sub-arcuated Perpendicular window. Openwork parapet. Large south porch with 2-light Y-tracery windows and crocketed ogee gable to entrance. Offset buttresses and embattled parapets throughout. Crocketed pinnacles except to chancel. Intersecting tracery to aisle windows of chancel, S transept and 3 west bays of nave. Perpendicular tracery to clerestory windows and east bays of nave aisle. 5-light sub-arcuated Perpendicular east window. Central tower has oculus to lower stage and 4-light Perpendicular belfry openings. Interior: 2-storey elevation to nave and chancel. Original ceilings, that to chancel dated 1445 with panels depicting 40 English Kings. Early C15 choir stalls with 23 carved misericords. Octagonal marble font of 1530. Several good C18-C19 monuments. Good C19 stained glass including east window by Clayton & Bell and west window made by Hardman to design of A W N Pugin. Principal C19 restorations of 1840s-50s by A W N and E W Pugin and of 1864-7 by Sir Gilbert Scott. For fuller description see: Bilson, J, St Mary's Church, Beverley. Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 25 (1920) 357-436. Pevsner, N. Yorkshire, East Riding 179-183. RCHM Beverley 1982 p.46-7. National Monument Photographs.

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4. List description of St Mary's Church, Kirkgate, Tadcaster, North Yorkshire

SE 4843-4943 TADCASTER WEST KIRKGATE (east side) 8/118 Church of St Mary GV II* Church. Early C14-early C15, taken down in 1875-77, re-erected and raised 1.25 metres to make safe from floods. Magnesian limestone ashlar with Welsh slate roof. 3-stage west tower, 3-bay aisled nave, south porch, 2-bay aisled chancel. Tower. Diagonal buttresses with off-sets surmounted by pinnacles. Round-arched west doorway in moulded surround under hood-moulds with headstops. Above a 5-light window with recut panel tracery under hood-mould with angel stops. South side has badly weathered canopied niche for statue which breaks first floor band. Second stage band. Twin 2-light bell openings to each side with small buttresses with offsets rising between each pair supported by griffins and surmounted by pinnacles battlements and pinnacles. South porch. Diagonal buttresses with offsets surmounted by pinnacles. Pointed arch on double-chamfered surround under hood-mould. Pointed doorway in double-chamfered surround. Nave and aisles. Chamfered plinth. To south aisle and north and south nave clerestory, buttresses to each bay with offsets surmounted by pinnacles. To north aisle the buttresses are single storey. Windows: straight-headed, 3-trefoiled lights. String course with gargoyles and battlements. Chancel. Similar buttresses, battlements and pinnacles to nave. Mainly 3-light, straight-headed windows with Perpendicular tracery, those to south aisle under hood-moulds decorated with badly-weathered fleurons. Pointed doorways to both aisles, to south one under hood-mould, another under re-used Perpendicular traceried window head. One single light window to south aisle. 5-light windows with Perpendicular tracery to east end of chancel and to east end of south aisle. Interior. Nave has north arcade of c1300 with circular piers with moulded capitals and recut double-chamfered arches. To west end of south aisle, a re-erected Norman arch with single order of nook shafts with decorated capitals and chevron moulding to the head, with 2-light

trefoil-headed window inset. Chancel: double-chamfered arcade to south aisle with fleurons to easternmost arch and on the capitals of the octagonal piers and responds. 2 double-chamfered arches to north. Stained glass: remains of medieval glass to west end of south nave aisle. In the east window, Morris glass of c1875-80. South aisle east window by Powell Bros. of Leeds, c1890. North nave aisle, westernmost by Adam and Small of Glasgow, c1879. N Pevsner, North Yorkshire: The West Riding, 1979, p 507.

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II. Korean Buddhist Temples

1. Bulguksa

(1) General Information

Bulguksa, built by Daeseong Kim, the chief minister in the eighth century in honour of his parents, is one of the best known temples in Korea (Figure 6.47). The temple has six national treasures, all of which belong to the eighth century - Seokgatap (Seokga-moni stupa),



Figure 6.47 Aerial view of Bulguksa

Dabotap (Dabo), Cheongungyo (Blue Cloud Bridge), Baegungyo (White Cloud bridge), Yeonhwagyo (Bridge of the Lotus Flower), Chilbogyo (Bridge of the Seven Gems), and two bronze statues of the Amitabha Buddha (Buddha of Western Paradise) and Birojana Buddha (the Cosmic Buddha). In addition, the temple was registered as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1995.

Originally, there was a lake in front of the temple and boats used to float visitors to the staircases which are intended as bridges leading from the secular

world to Jeongto (Pure land) (CHA 1976, 60-69). The two bridges lead to two main lands of Buddha: one is the land of Seokgamoni Buddha (the historical Buddha) (Figure 5.30) and the other of Amita Buddha (the Buddha of western paradise) (Figure 6.48). The main hall of the latter land is Geuknakjeon (Hall of western paradise) which was built in 1750. The main hall of the former land is Daeungjeon (Hall of great hero) which was built in 1765. Behind the area of land of Seokgamoni Buddha, there are a lecture hall, Birojeon (Hall of cosmic Buddha), and Gwaneumjeon (Hall of Bodhisattva of compassion), which were reconstructed from 1970 to 1973 after the excavation of sites in 1969 (Figure 6.49).



Figure 6.48 Land of Amita Buddha of Bulguksa

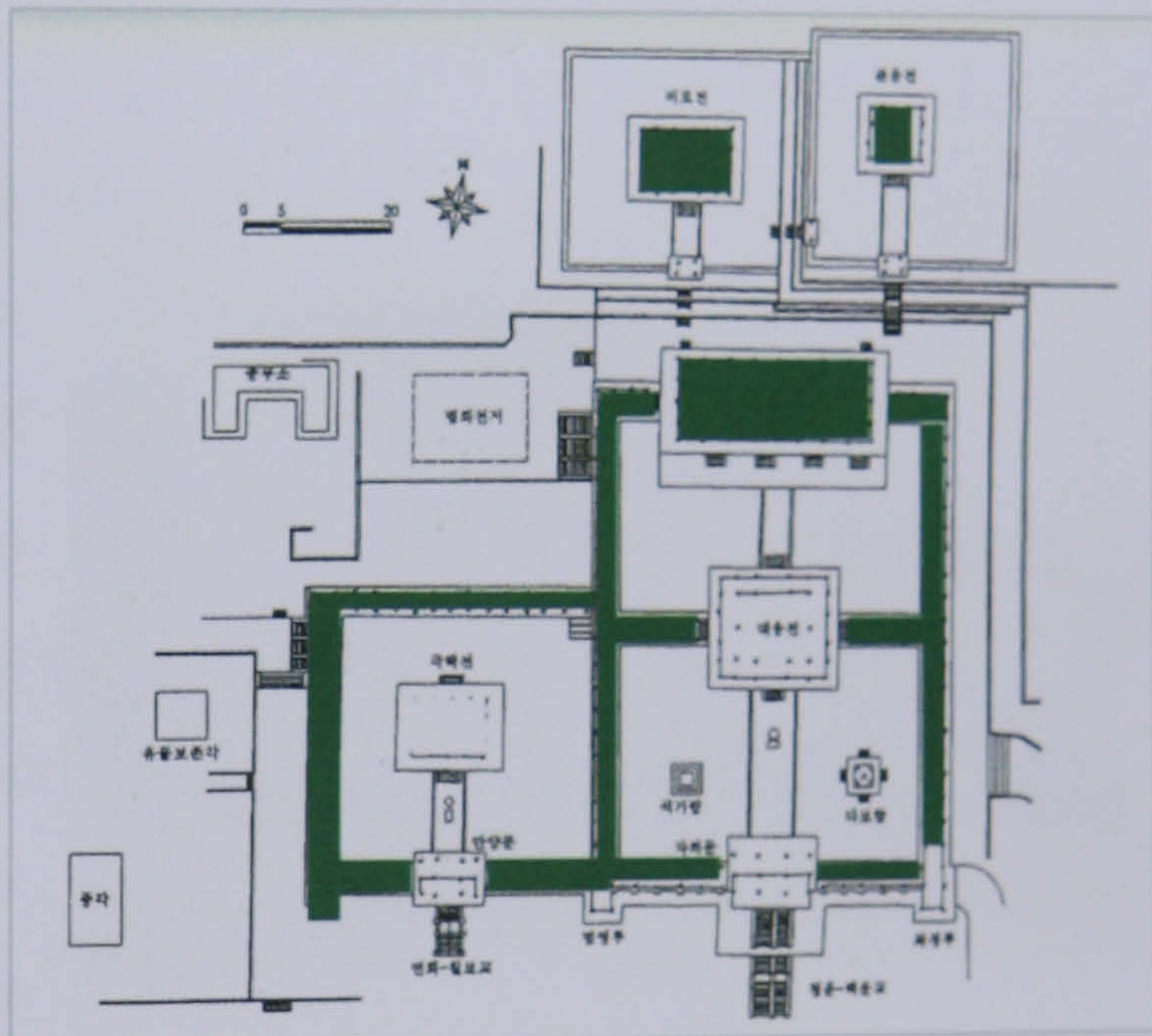


Figure 6.49 Plan of Bulguksa and reconstructed buildings

Like many other Buddhist temples in Korea, Bulkuk temple suffered from financial problems in the late Joseon Dynasty (1392~1910) because of the lack of donations and the decline of the Buddhist population so that the Buddhist community could not afford to repair or maintain their temples. In addition, the temple was devastated by the Japanese invasion (1592~1595) because the temple was one of several temples in Gyeongju which played an important role

as a military base in the front line for soldier monks (Lee Ganggeun 1997, 79). According to *Bulguksa-gogeuunchanggi* (The record of ancient and present construction of Bulguksa) which was recorded in 1740, the temple started reconstruction of many buildings in 1604 after a total destruction in 1594 (CHA 1976, 271-286). The last mention of the temple in an old record of any kind occurs with the repair of Birojeon in 1805. Therefore there is no record describing the condition of the monastery during the nineteenth century. The temple experienced two major restoration projects in 1920s during the Japanese colonial period and in the 1970s, resulting in the present compound.

(2) Conservation Practices

a. Japanese Colonial Period

The first record of the twentieth century about the temple was in 1805, when a Japanese professor of Tokyo Imperial University, Sekino Tadashi (1868~1935), recorded the temple in 1904 in *The art and architecture of Korea: report after the survey of Korean architecture* by order of the Japanese government. The report had dealt with most well-known Korean architecture. The temple was not known to the Japanese Government until 1906. Understanding the importance of the temple, based on his report, the Japanese colonial government conducted a major restoration of the temple in 1924 (Figure 6.50 and 6.51). The



Figure 6.50 Bulguksa before the Japanese restoration



Figure 6.51 Bulguksa after the Japanese restoration

project included the restoration of the stonework and staircases, repair of the Daeungjeon (main hall) and the complete dismantling of the Dabotap. There are several photos left before and after the work without any documentary records regarding what the colonial authority did to the temple during the conservation campaign. Remaining photos show that the project focused on the minimum repair to prevent further deterioration such as the re-assembling of staircases.

In the 1976 *bokwon* report of Bulkuksa, the Cultural Properties Administration assumed that the Japanese authority removed reliquaries from Dabotap during a complete dismantling (1976, 36). In addition, in the letter dated 9 June, 1924 which was sent to the Gyeongju County Governor from Takeuchi during their work, the supervisor of the 1924 project wrote that 'with regard to the disposal of the two Buddha figures discovered when repairing the stupa, the chief of the Educational Bureau has asked that they be sent to be examined. We are therefore sending them to the Religious Affairs Office in Gyeongbok Palace' (CHA 1976, 37). Those two Buddha figures from the stupa disappeared afterwards.

b. Reconstruction in 1970s

After the minor earthquake in August 1966, the Cultural Properties Administration sent a team to examine the damage in September (Anon 1966a). The team, headed by art historian Suyeong Hwang, concluded that the damage was caused not by the earthquake or slow deterioration but from a strong impact in an attempt at lifting and dismantling it to take out reliquaries (Anon 1966b). The local police caught several thieves who evidently took reliquaries (Anon 1966c) and the Cultural Properties Administration planned to repair the damage (Anon 1966d). During the work, the second-storey roof-stone fell, breaking the third-story roof section during its restoration resulting in further damage to the stupa (Anon 1966e).

The reconstruction of the temple in the 1970s, ordered by President Park was a challenging project which required an enormous budget. By the order of President Park in 1969, the Minister of Culture and Information met with top businessmen and management in order to garner support for the restoration campaign (CHA 1976, 17). Meanwhile, a management, research and design committee was formed as a part of the Bulguksa Restoration Committee at that time. With donations from several major companies, excavation proceeded from August to October in 1969. The excavation provided basic information about the composition of the temple compound and revealed base stones of each building (Figure 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33). In addition to many roof tiles and stone components of buildings, the trace of an artificial lake was found in front of the staircases during the excavation.

The actual restoration from the design of each building to the reconstruction of the temple took three and half years from November 1969 to June 1973. The main work of the restoration included reconstruction of three buildings, which are the Gangdang (lecture hall), Gwaneumjeon (Hall of Bodhisattva of compassion), and Birojeon (Hall of cosmic Buddha), and the corridors around Daeungjeon (Hall of Sakyamuni Buddha), and Geuknakjeon (Hall of Buddha of Western Paradise). The restoration of the lake which was found during the excavation was excluded from the reconstruction work. The design specification requested the reconstruction of three buildings in the styles of three periods: the lecture hall in the style of the middle Joseon Dynasty, Gwaneumjeon in the early Joseon style, and Birojeon in the late Goryeo Dynasty (936~1392) style (CHA 1976, 182-5).

2. Seokuram

(1) General Information

Seokuram, located in Toham Mountain near the south-east coast of Korea, is an artificial stone grotto which was built in the eighth century with the support of the court of the Unified Silla Dynasty (668~918) (Figure 6.52). The grotto is

composed of three sections: a rectangular ante-chamber, a corridor for linking the antechamber and main chamber and a round main chamber at the back (Figure 5.28). Forty sculpted Buddhist images in all are depicted here in relief and in the round.

The rectangular antechamber and linking corridor have different groups of guardians such as the eight congregated guardians and four heavenly guardians who belonged to other religions but took refuge with Buddha later to become a guardian to protect the temple (Figure 6.53).

The main chamber contains a seated Buddha in the centre surrounded by ten disciples and several bodhisattvas as in Buddhist cosmology (Figure 6.54). All components and figures of the grotto are made



Figure 6.52 Seokuram from a distance

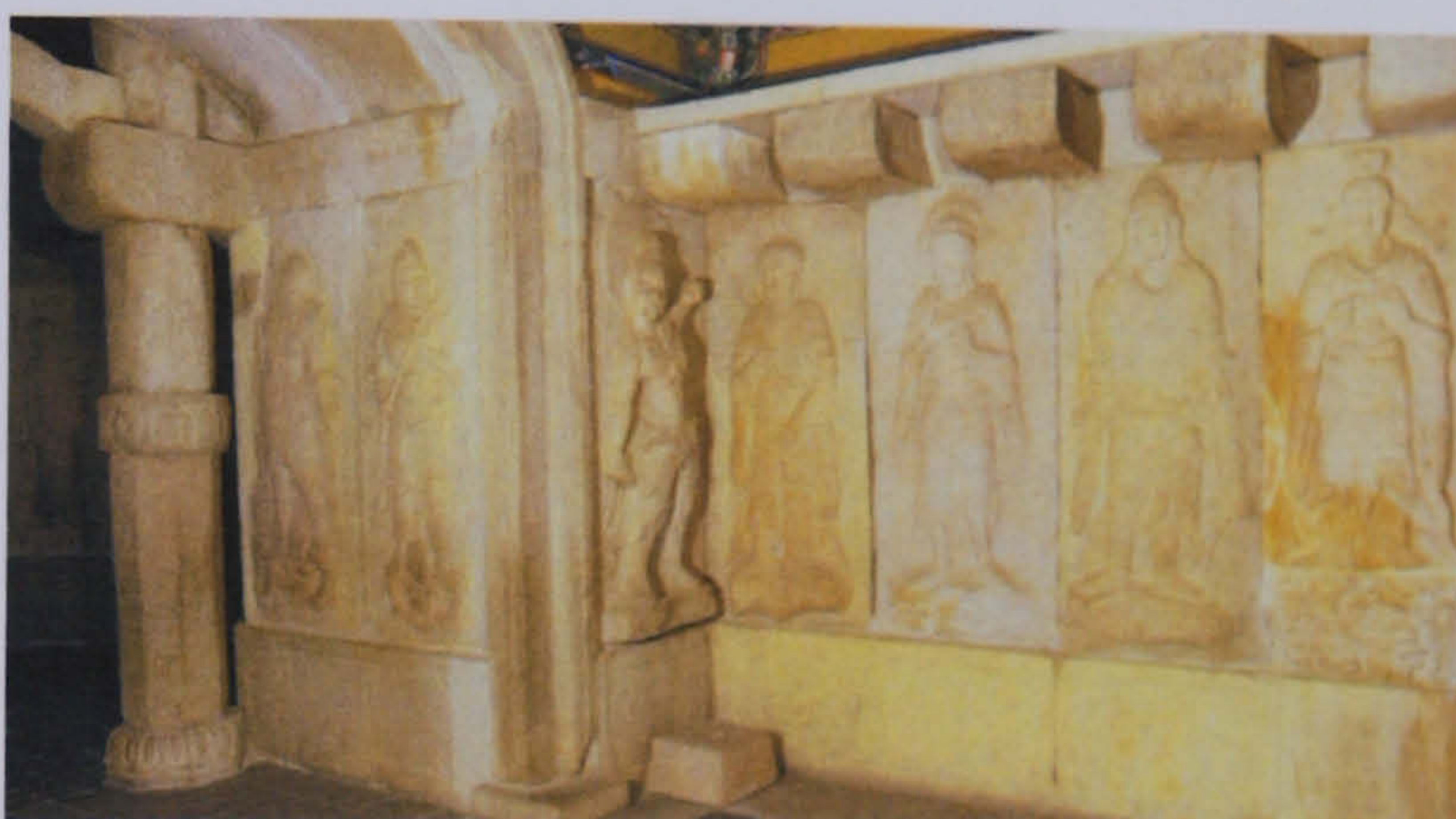


Figure 6.53 Ante-chamber of Seokuram



Figure 6.54 Main chamber of Seokuram

of granite stone. The main chamber preserves its original dome-shaped stone ceiling whereas the rectangular antechamber has a newly built wooden and tiled roof of the 1970s.

With the grotto at the top level of the site, there are several wooden buildings situated at the lower level to the southeast of the grotto for accommodating regular congregations of Buddhist monks and lay people. Some of these structures were built in the eighteenth century, and others are more recent additions to accommodate the many pilgrims who come to this site to pray in modern times (Figure 6.55).



Figure 6.55 Recently constructed living quarters in Seokuram

(2) Conservation history

a. Conservation practice during the Japanese colonial period

Seokuram was excluded in the first survey of ancient architecture in Korea by Sekino Tadashi. The Japanese claimed that it was a Japanese mailman who discovered the grotto and reported to the postmaster (CHA 1967, 14). As soon as the news was delivered to the public, the grotto became a target of Japanese looters and smugglers. Two statues from ten niches of the upper storey of the main chamber disappeared immediately after a Japanese bribed a Korean Buddhist monk in Seokuram (CHA 1967, 14).

The major restorations during the colonial period were executed in 1913, 1917 and 1934 by the colonial government (Figure 6.56). The first restoration practice was started in 1913 after the Japanese colonial government made the first on-site survey of



Figure 6.56 Main Buddha of Seokuram before Japanese restoration

Seokuram in 1912 with other monuments and buildings in the Gyeongju area. The annual report of the survey in 1912 described the condition of the grotto stating that 'a third of the dome-shaped ceiling had fallen in, leaving a hole through which sand from the mountain fell onto the statues' (CHA 1967, 16). Based on the report and agreement by Sekino Tadashi, Terauchi, the Governor-General, ordered the restoration of the site in 1913 to clean the dirt off the surface of the sculptures and to restore the missing part of the dome-shaped ceiling.

Kuniji, a civil engineer who conducted the structural survey of Seokuram, suggested in his report that it should be dismantled and reinforced with cement (CHA 1967, 16). Wooden scaffolding was installed in 1913 and the dismantling work, including the removal of the interior sculptures, was completed in 1914 (Figure 6.57). It is unknown whether the conservation team recorded the arrangement of each sculpture in the grotto before they started.

There is no single record remaining which describes the original arrangement and preservation status of the sculptures.

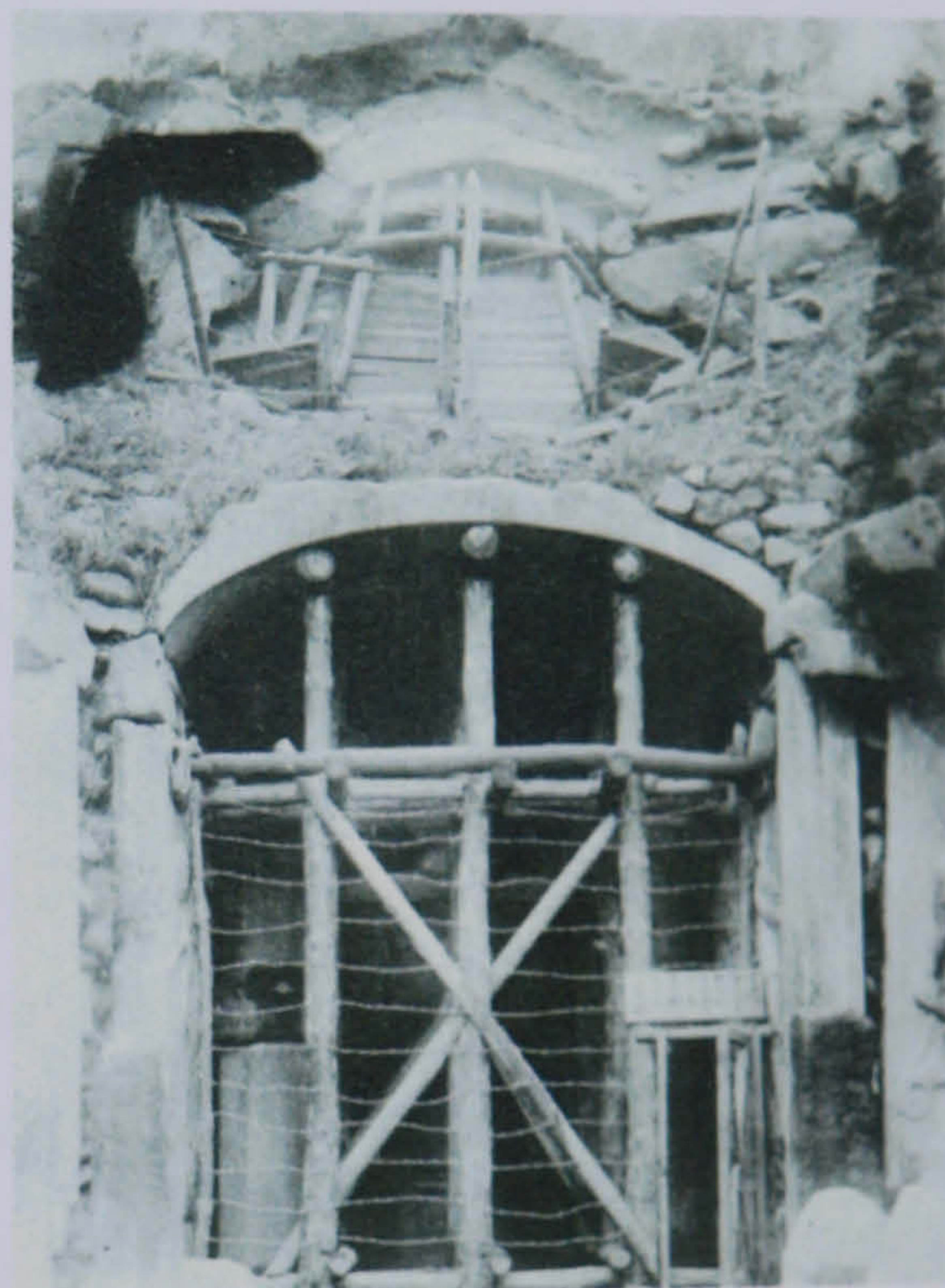


Figure 6.57 Scaffolding for Japanese restoration of Seokuram

In the same year, a conservation team started the work of concrete reinforcement of the base and the exterior of the grotto (Figure 6.58). When the excavation work was begun the workers discovered two springs coming from the stone wall at the back of the grotto. These had originally flowed underneath the grotto's stone floor, reappearing in a stone water-fountain in the chamber. Taeyeong Lee argued that they had been carefully planned by Silla engineers in order to optimise the temperature inside the grotto to prevent the

grotto from becoming damp due to the surrounding landscape and weather (Yu Hongjun 1999, 230). He criticised that the Japanese workmen, unable to understand the sophisticated system, used zinc pipes to drain the water to the outside which brought an interruption of the mechanism controlling the condensation of the grotto (Yu Hongjun 1999, 230).



Figure 6.58 Cement reinforcement on the dome of the main chamber of Seokuram during Japanese restoration

In 1915 the reconstruction of dismantled components was begun by the Japanese colonial authority. The grotto's external wall originally consisted of a double wall of jade and polished stone which surrounded the inner wall in order to allow for sufficient ventilation. However, the conservation team did not have the time and resources to understand the mechanism of the scientific ventilation system before the restoration began. Therefore, it was difficult for them to reconstruct it as it was originally built. Ultimately, lacking the skill and knowledge required to reconstruct it to the original design, the restoration team decided to cover the top of the grotto with double-layered concrete during the reconstruction. One-meter wall of stacked stone was used along with a support panel. This was reinforced by a two meter thick external wall of concrete. Recently introduced in western countries, cement was seen as an ideal material to solve the structural problem of buildings and to repair many monuments. In addition, they found two missing guardians from the eight original in the rectangular antechamber and put them back with the other six guardians during the reconstruction.

The second conservation practice started in 1917 mainly because of the leakage problem inside the grotto. Drainage pipes had to be installed on the outside of the dome to prevent rain water from seeping in, but this failed to solve the leakage problem. The colonial government, therefore, decided to undertake more repair work from 1920 to 1923. During this time waterproof asphalt was applied over the concrete reinforcement on the ceiling. Since the zinc pipes were unable to handle all the water from the springs, a conduit was constructed to drain the water out of the grotto's right side.

In spite of the second restoration, the grotto's moisture problems continued to result in damage from green moss. In 1927, The Governor-General tried to find a way to wash the moss off using steam and a boiler was built for installation. The steam cleaning method was anything but gentle: it used scorching steam from a shower nozzle. A locomotive engineer was called from Gyeongju Station and, after the boiler was fired up, the structure was sprayed with scalding steam. The steam cleaning managed to wash off all the green moss but, with the passing of time, it grew back and the strong method of steam cleaning caused further erosion.

b. Conservation practice after the Colonial period

Seokuram, after independence from Japan, was left with a two-meter-thick concrete wall, incessant moisture and moss and a steam cleaner (Figure 6.59). Even after independence from Japanese rule, the steam cleaning was undertaken in 1946, 1953 and 1957. However, the Gyeongju Educational Board's Janitorial Service who took charge of the cleaning, was in a hurry to finish the work before a group of



Figure 6.59 Main Buddha of Seokuram in 1953

foreign tourists visited the site and ignored regulations concerning the temperature of the steam and the distance requirement. Newspapers soon reported that the grotto was being washed with burning steam and stiff brushes. As a result of the incident, The Cultural Properties Administration, which was then under the Ministry of Education, established the Investigative Committee for Restoration of Seokuram in 1958. After the inspection in the same year, the work started under the new military government in 1961.

Recognized as one of the finest national heritage sites, the grotto garnered much attention from the Korean government and many scholars. The accumulation of moss and the erosion problem stimulated them to study the cause of those problems and to search for solutions. Many Korean scholars shared the assumption that the manner in which the grotto had been reassembled by the Japanese, and their reinforcement of it with cement, were the main causes of the damage to the grotto. They pointed out that the Japanese tore away the natural stone in order to lay a concrete wall in the 1913 restoration and ignored the original ventilating system.

As a first step to solve the problem, the Korean government invited Dr. H. Plenderleith, the head of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, to advise on the restoration of the grotto. He provided two reports to the Korean government before and after the government approved the conservation scheme. The first report suggested that the earth covering the grotto had to be removed in order to see what was causing the moisture and drainage problems. In addition, he recommended protection of the entrance of the grotto with a wooden shelter or roof to prevent moisture on the surface. Based on his recommendation, the Ministry of Education approved the plan and removed the soil. This work was in preparation for the actual restoration work which was to take place in 1964. Realizing his misunderstanding of the mechanism of the natural ventilation system of the cave through several discussions and exchanges of information with Korean scientists, Dr. Plenderleith (1970, 304) corrected his

recommendation in his second report explaining that he could not recommend placing a roof over the entrance or adding a door to the structure. However, the second report was ignored by the Korean authority and the construction plan was fixed. The removal of this wooden structure and the glass wall in the antechamber, which was built during the conservation scheme, was suggested in a third report after he visited Seokuram nine years later (Plenderleith 1970, 304).

The restoration practice from 1961 to 1964 was divided into three parts: survey, preparatory work and main construction. The survey and the preparatory work had been executed from 1961 to 1963 as the first and second steps in 1963. The main restoration and construction work had been undertaken from 1963 to 1964.

The main aim of the project was to eliminate the cause of the moisture and moss. In particular, the plan called for the following:

1. a double dome to prevent water from flowing in; 2. reinforcement of the drainage pipes for the springs under the floor to keep



ground water from seeping in; 3. a wooden antechamber to prevent moist air from entering the structure (Figure 6.60); 4. underground conduits connected to the space between the two domes in order to promote ventilation within the structure; 5. the change of position of the two guardians which are the last pair of figures at the entrance to the antechamber, which formerly faced inwards towards the central Buddha statue, but during reconstruction were moved to their present locations in line with the rest (the blue coloured part in the Figure 5.24).

Figure 6.60 Wooden structure in front of the ante-chamber of Seokuram

(3) The debate on the earliest form and contemporary issues

There is little remaining documentary evidence and few paintings to understand the earliest form by Sihon Jeong (1675~1707), a Confucian scholar and Seon Jeong (1676~1759) (Figure 6.61), a landscape painter. Without detailed description of the grotto, Sihon Jeong recorded in his travelogue of 1688 that,

‘When we finally arrive, Myeonghae from the hermitage greeted us. We sat down for a while, then went up to the stone grotto. There are Buddhist carvings at the entrance - four on one side and five on the other. They are so skillfully carved that they seem to have been created by Heaven itself. The stone gate consists of a stone piece shaped like a rainbow. Inside, there is a large stone Buddha. This majestic figure almost seems to be alive. The base is straight and exquisite. The ceiling stones and other stonework are rounded and stand straight so that there isn’t the slightest leaning. The lines of Buddha statues seem to be alive. These extraordinary and incredible figures are beyond description. Such amazing works are rarely seen. After taking an extensive look around, I went back down to the hermitage’ (Yu Hongjun 1999, 197).

There is no clear evidence that a grotto with wooden roof in Seon Jeong’s painting is Seokuram. Scholars who insisted that the grotto originally had a wooden roof argue that the grotto in his painting is Seokuram. However, the title of the painting is called ‘Golguldo’ meant ‘drawing of Golgul (literally meaning Bone-grotto)’ which can be any other grotto.

Because of the lack of evidence in tracing the original form, the most sensitive debate can be summarized by two issues: 1. the existence of the wooden roof for the ante-chamber and 2. the arrangement of the last two guardians in the entrance. According to the earliest photographic evidence taken during the Japanese colonial period, it does not show any wooden roof. Whereas the

archaeological excavation of the front of the grotto in the 1960s found roof tiles which could provide the evidence that there was a wooden structure in the grotto, the fact that the wooden structure blocks natural ventilation to the grotto causes doubts about its existence.

Two guardians in the entrance are part of a group of eight guardians. According to the photographs after the Japanese conservation the first two guardians from the entrance were facing inward so that they were not standing with the other six guardians in the same row.

They were re-arranged in line with the other figures. It has not been confirmed which arrangement is the earliest form.

In 2002, the Cultural Heritage Administration announced a plan to build a copy of the grotto the same size in the precinct of the grotto for the prevention of further damage and for visitors to touch it and understand at closer range (Anon 2002a). The plan brought strong opposition from the Korean Architectural History Institute and Korean Archaeological Institute as well as from the public demanding a withdrawal of the plan (Anon 2002b; Lee, Sanghae 2002). They argued that building a copy of Seokuram with synthetic material 100 meters away from the original grotto would destroy the authenticity and religious and aesthetic value of Seokuram (Anon 2002b, 2002; Lee, Sanghae 2002, 86). The Cultural Heritage Administration announced the withdrawal of the plan in the same year.

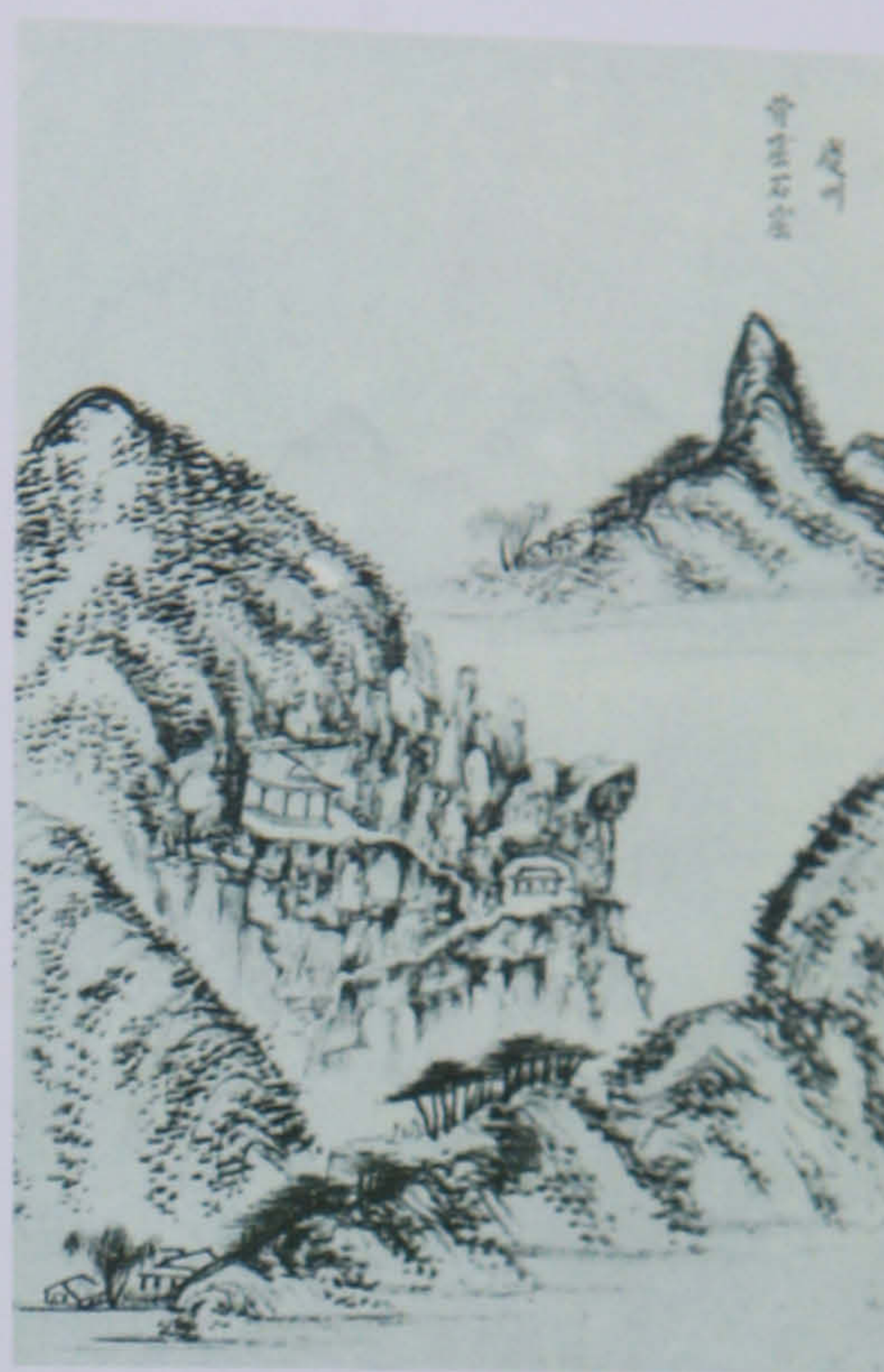


Figure 6.61 Golguldo by Seong Jeong

3. Haeinsa

(1) General Information

Haeinsa (Figure 3.21), first built in the 9th century, is one of the Three Jewels Temples which represent the *bul* (the Buddha: Tongdosa), *beop* (the Dharma - the teaching: Haeinsa) and *seung* (the Shanga - the Buddha's followers such as monks and laity: Songgwangsa). Each temple preserves symbolic objects or an institute. Tongdo temple representing the Buddha has a stupa behind of the main hall and it contains one of many Seokgamoni's real sariras which were remains after cremation, even though it was not scientifically confirmed because the stupa has never been opened since its construction in the seventh century. Songgwangsa representing the Shanga, has the biggest training centre for monks and it is well known as a place which has produced many great monks since its foundation. Haeinsa, as the Dharma temple, preserves a complete set of Buddhist scriptures.

The temple experienced several reconstructions after each fire. Many buildings were reconstructed after the 1817 fire which burnt down the rest of the temple except two depositories. Repeated fires and reconstructions changed the temple many times. Old buildings were replaced by contemporary-style buildings of



Figure 6.62 Aerial view of Haeinsa during the Japanese colonial period

that time in the same place or in different locations, resulting in the change of configuration of the temple (Figure 6.62). In the middle of the Korean War (1950~1953), General Yeong-hwan Kim who was a pilot disobeyed the order to bomb the temple in 1951, a hiding place for communist soldiers, so that the temple escaped total destruction.

The temple was designed to arrange a group of buildings at four different ground-levels based on the symbolic meaning and importance of each group (Figure 5.48). At the lowest level, there are three gates: one pillar, four-guardians, and non-duality Gates. One pillar gate, called Hongha Gate, was first built in 1458 and repaired in 1626, 1802, 1899, and 1940. It is not known how much it has been changed or reconstructed during these several repairs, but the architectural style belongs to the early Joseon period (1392~1910) (Wontaek 1986, 8). It is assumed that there was no stylistic change during several repairs from the construction in 1438. In addition, a comparison photo taken in the Japanese colonial period with one taken in 2003 shows that the latest repair in 1940 had not brought any change in its style, but possibly replaced rotten components by new ones, with repainting after the repair. Four-guardians gate, called Bonghwang Gate, was destroyed by the 1817 fire and rebuilt in 1821 (Lee Jigwan 1992, 194). It houses four-guardians paintings of 1933 which are rare to see sanctified in paintings and not in wooden or stucco sculptures. On the left of the gate there is a building used for living quarters for monks. Dismantled and removed in 1982 from its original location where the present assembly hall stands, the building changed its name from Myeongwoldang to Uhwadang. It was built sometime after the 1817 fire and repaired in 1903, 1918, and 1947. It had been used as a living quarter and changed into an abbot's room and a lecture room during the 1947 repair. Passing through the four-guardians gate and before reaching the non-duality gate, there is a small shrine called Guksadan on the right. This building is a shrine for a natural spirit who protects the temple from a belief in totemism. It is not known when it was built but has a repair record of 1855, 1866, and 1967. Non-duality gate, called Haetalmun, is the last gate to enter a sacred space of Buddha. Since it was destroyed by the 1817 fire, it is unknown when it was built, yet has a record of repair in 1899 and in 1936 (Wontaek 1987, 9). It is used as a shop selling souvenirs and books at present.

At the upper level of the three gates, there is a small courtyard surrounded by a

lecture hall in the north, bell pavilion in the west, a temple office in the south and an assembly hall in the east. The lecture hall, called Gugwangru, is a two-storied building. The original building of 1824 was repaired in 1949, and replaced by a new building of similar style but bigger scale in 1993. Faced with the main hall, it has been used as a place for sitting by participants during outdoor rituals held in a courtyard of the main hall, such as Buddha's birthday and an occasional memorial ritual requested by a rich patron. Bell pavilion was built in 1984. It houses four musical instruments for enlightening all kinds of beings: a Dharma bell for beings in the underworld; a Dharma drum for earth-bound beings; a cloud-shaped gong for airborne creatures; and a wooden fish for water-borne ones. Several trainee monks play them one by one in evening rituals everyday. They had been kept in Gugwangru but were installed in the new bell pavilion after the construction. Behind the bell pavilion there is a building for living quarters, called Cheonghwadang, which was newly built in 1984 replacing a warehouse. A temple office, called Saundang, was newly built in 1984 replacing the 1939 one. An assembly hall, called Bogyongdang, is another new building of 1982 in the same place where Myeongwoldang was. Built with cement not with wood, the ground floor is used as a dining room and living quarters for trainee monks, and the first floor as a lecture hall, conference hall, or a place for special ritual.

Staircases on the left and right of Gugwangru lead to the central courtyard where the main hall, Birojeon, is located in front, a school on the left, and living quarters of monks on the right hand side. Designated as a local tangible heritage of Gyeongsangnam province, Birojeon was built in 1818, after the 1817 fire, with the help of renowned government officer, Nogyeong Kim (1766~1838). During a repair in 1971, two doors were added to the left and right sides of the building and the front eaves stretched out so that there are longer eaves at the front than the back. On the left of Birojeon, there are three nineteenth century buildings: Myeongbujeon (Judgement hall) of 1873, Eungjinjeon (Hall of Arahat) of 1817, and Dokseongak (Hall of Hermit) of

which the construction is unknown. On the right of Birojeon, there is Seonnyeoldang which was built in 1936 and used as an office and living quarters of an abbot. On the left of the central courtyard, there is a building for a school of trainee monks, called Gunghyeondang, which was built in 1988 replacing a previous one. The year of construction of the previous one was unknown, but the repair was executed in 1621 and 1750 as well as being extended in 1903. Behind the school building, there is a library which was built in 1892 and refurbished in 1946. In 1969, it was sanctified with a portrait of great monks and converted into a library in 1976. On the south side of the library there are living quarters of 1989, called Jeongmukdang, accommodating monks who teach in the school. There was a gate called Suwol located in the building (Jeong 1974, 188). A living quarter on the right side of the central court, called Gwaheumjeon, was built in 1991 with metal and concrete replacing a previous building which was constructed after the 1817 fire and repaired in 1908. Behind this building, there is another of 1994 used as living quarters on the first floor and dining room with kitchen on the ground floor.

At the highest location of the temple, there are four depositories: two are long in a row, Sudarajeon in the front and Beopbojeon behind; and two are small between the two long depositories, called Dongseosagango. All are registered as national treasures and house the woodblocks of the Tripitaka Koreana, the Buddhist scripture. Constructed in 1488, with exceptional help from the royal family whose dynasty supported Confucianism but suppressed Buddhism, these oldest buildings in the temple escaped the fires in 1695, 1743, 1763, 1817, and 1871. In order to control temperature and humidity, the location of the buildings was leveled with charcoal, calcium oxide and clay (Seo Jaesik 2001, 59). To maximize ventilation, they have open grill windows. The upper window on the front is large and the lower window is small with the windows at the back of the buildings vice versa so that the air is circulated in the hall naturally. The Tripitaka Koreana, carved between 1236 and 1251 in Seonwon

temple as an act of faith to protect the nation and moved to Haeinsa in 1398, is designated as both a Korean national treasure and a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Altogether there are 81,340 woodblocks divided into 6,791 volumes. Each woodblock measures from 68 to 78 centimeters wide, 24 centimeters long and the thickness of the blocks varies from 2.6 to 4 centimeters, weighing around 2,600 to 3,800 grams (Seo Jaesik 2001, 59). Two small depositories on the left and right sides between the two long depositories house other woodblocks which were carved in the temple during the Goryeo Dynasty (936~1392).

Located on the right side of the temple 500 meters away from the main complex, the current meditation school for monks originally was built for the preservation of the Tripitaka Koreana in the 1970s, according to plans by the Korean government to move all woodblocks into a safe place. The Korean government considered four depositories as unsuitable for the woodblocks because of moisture and space limitations after inspection. However, the government admitted that the new place in the basement of the building was not a suitable place for the woodblocks and decided to preserve them in the original place. Since its construction, the new building has been used as a meditation school for monks.

(2) Conservation history

Beside four depositories which were built in the fifteenth century being the oldest group of buildings in the temple, the rest of the buildings in the temple were built after the 1817 fire. In addition, there was no specific conservation practice conducted on the buildings even in the Japanese colonial period except the four depositories. In order to describe the history of conservation from the Japanese colonial period onwards, it would be appropriate to divide the interventions to the temple into three categories: repair of original buildings, construction of new buildings in empty spaces and new buildings replacing existing buildings (Table 3 and Figure 5.49).

Previous building(year)	New building(year)
Warehouse (unknown)	Cheonghwadang(1984):living quarters for the Abbot
Myeongwoldang (unknown) *	Bogyeongdang (1982):Assembly Hall
Gugwang Pavilion (1824)	Gugwangru (1993)
Gunghyeondang (The 18 th century, extended in 1903)	Gunghyeondang (1988): school for monks
Saundang (1939)	Saundang (1984): temple office
Living quarters for student monks (unknown) Suwolmun (unknown) Samsogul (1892) Warehouse (unknown)	Jeongmukdang (1989) : living quarters for monks
Gwaneumjeon (1908):living quarters	Gwaneumjeon (1991):living quarters **

Table 3. Previous and new buildings in Haeinsa

* Myeongwol Dang was reassembled in a different location to the south-west of the temple.

** Gwaneumjeon was rebuilt in metal and concrete

The repaired buildings include the four depositories and Vairocana Hall. The depositories for woodblocks were repaired by the Japanese colonial government in 1918 and 1937, yet no detailed record of this remains. Conservation schemes after the colonial period were conducted in 1965 to change deteriorated roof tiles, in 1976 to re-paint cosmic designs on the surface of the buildings, and in 1986 and 1995 to change roof tiles. The upper part of Vairocana Hall was dismantled to repair its leaking roof in 1971 and add two doors and extend the front eaves as described above.

During the 1980s and 1990s, new constructions for many buildings in the temple replaced existing buildings. The table above shows the summary of

new buildings.

(3) Contemporary issues

Since Haeinsa in 2001 announced that they would build the 'world's largest seated Buddha in bronze' in the location of a former primary school to the south-west of the temple compound, many opposing opinions have been expressed by both the religious and secular community. However, the authority of the temple insisted on executing the plan at the request of the donor because traditional principle in a Buddhist temple is to follow the wish of donors. But a group of Buddhist monks, such as environmental activists and many scholars, recommended the temple reconsider its decision.

Increasingly strident criticisms, the death of the donor and the delay of approval from the local government made the temple change their plan to that of building a structure for teaching, living, conferences, and meditation for laypeople in order to separate the sacred area for Buddha and monks from secular activities, so that they could protect the traditional temple from further deterioration (Figure 5.58). Despite ongoing discussion, the temple announced that it had decided on the design and planning of the building from open competition in September 2003. Opponent groups composed of both Buddhist and lay communities campaigned against the plan because this project would alter the function of buildings in the main compound and cause ecological destruction of the surrounding landscape. Faced with strong opposition, this plan was finally cancelled.

Appendix Facts on Korea

1. Timeline of Korean history

500, 000 years ago	Paleolithic Age
8,000 BC - 1,000 BC	Neolithic Age
1,000 BC - 100 BC	Bronze Age
18 BC – 668AD	Three Kingdoms Period
	37 BC - 668 Goguryeo Kingdom
	18 BC - 663 Baekjae Kingdom
	57 BC - 668 Silla Kingdom
668 – 935	Unified Silla Period
918 – 1392	Goryeo Period
1392 – 1910	Joseon Period
	1897-1910 Daehan-jaeguk (official name of Joseon Dynasty between the period)
1910 – 1945	Japanese Colonial Period
1945 -	Republic of Korea
1950 – 1953	Korean War

2. Korean Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced to Korea in 372 AD by a Chinese monk, Jeonjin, and became the state religion of the Three Kingdoms and throughout Goryeo Period. Although the Joseon Dynasty converted to Confucianism in 1392, it remained an important religion to the majority of the population. During the Japanese Colonial Period, the structure of different orders and schools of Korean Buddhism was disestablished, and the tradition of celibacy of monks was distracted. The ownership of most Buddhist temples in Korea transferred to married Korean or Japanese monks. After independence, celibate monks regained the ownership of most temples supported by the government which recognised their legitimacy as being the true representatives of the Korean Buddhist tradition. Two orders were established to represent celibate and married monks in 1962: the Jogye and Taego Orders. Total numbers of Buddhist temples in Korea are unknown. As of 2007 there are 2,444 temples

of the Jogye Order and there are 13,576 monks in 25 dioceses. The Jogye Order is administered from a *Chongmuwon* (Headquarter, <http://www.koreanbuddhism.net/>) in Seoul and the Department of Culture executes excavation, survey, and recording of temples as well as provides consultation in terms of conservation of a building, a monument, and an object by request of a temple. The department can call up *Seongbo-wiwonhoe* (Committee for Sacred Objects) to provide advice on conservation, reconstruction, and new construction of a temple and management of objects.

3. Conservation institutions and journals in Korea

The first government organisation to be responsible for the management of cultural properties in Korea after the independence in 1945 from the Japanese colonial authority was *Guhwangsil-samucheong* (The Former Royal Household Office) under the American regime (1945~1948). In 1961 *Munhwajae-gwanriguk* (Cultural Heritage Department) was established to take over the responsibility under the Ministry of Education and the department was transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Information in 1968, which changed its name to Ministry of Culture in 1989, to Ministry of Culture and Sports in 1993 and to Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism in 1998. It separated from the ministry and was elevated to a sub-ministerial organization under the control of the Prime Minister by changing its name to *Munhwajae-cheong* (Cultural Heritage Administration, <http://english.cha.go.kr/>) in 1999 and moved the office from Seoul to Daejeon. It is responsible for designating National Treasure and Treasure of tangible and intangible heritage, and making decisions on grants and the level of intervention for conservation. The National Research Institute of Cultural Properties in Daejeon (<http://www.nrich.go.kr/eng/>), which was established in 1975, has three branch institutes in Buyeo, Gyeongju, and Changwon, which execute surveys, recording, and material analysis of cultural properties and archaeological sites in order to provide academic knowledge and advice on the conservation of any designated objects by request.

Jeontongmunhwa-hakgyo (The National University of Cultural Heritage, http://english.nuch.ac.kr/eng_main.html) was founded in 2000 with six departments: Heritage Management, Traditional Landscape, Arts and Crafts, Archaeology, and Conservation Science. There are seven more universities which have degree courses in Conservation Science in Kunkook, Yongin, Kongju, Gyeongju, Hanseo, Naju and Yewon Universities.

Hanguk-munhwajae-bohojaedan (Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation, <http://www.fpcp.or.kr/fpcp/>), which was founded in 1980 as a non-government organization, aims at the continuity of intangible heritage hosting training courses for traditional cooking, craft skills, and performing arts and executing the recording of intangible heritage.

Hanguk-bojon-kwahakhoe (The Korean Society of Conservation Science of Cultural Properties, <http://www.conservation.or.kr/index.asp>), which was founded in 1991, is the central association of Korean conservators and publishes the *Journal of Conservation Science* biannually which deals with scientific analysis and techniques. Other journals which deal with general issues of architectural conservation are *Munhwajae* (Cultural Property) by the Cultural Heritage Administration and the *Journal of Architectural History* by the Korean Association of Architectural History.

Eight Korean sites are included in the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites (year of inscription in brackets of each site): Haeinsa Temple Janggyeong Panjeon, the Depositories for the *Tripitaka Koreana* Woodblocks (1995); Jongmyo Shrine (1995); Seokuram and Bulguksa (1995); Changdeokgung Palace Complex (1997); Hwaseong Fortess (1997); Gochang, Hwasun, and Ganghwa Dolmen Sites (2000); Gyeongju Historic Areas (2000); Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tubes (2007).

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Glossary (Korean names and words)

Amita Buddha Buddha of Western Paradise

Anamsa Anam temple

Baekyangsa Baekyang temple

Beophwagyeoeng Lotus Sutra

Birojana Cosmic Buddha

Birojeon Hall of Cosmic Buddha

boho protection

bojeon preservation

bojon conservation

bojon-cheolhak conservation philosophy

bok restore

bokwon regain or restore the original form or status

Bonghwangmun Gate of Phoenix

bosu repair

Bulguksa Bulguk temple (literally Temple of Buddha's land)

Bulgyojaesan-gwanribeop Buddhist Assets Maintenance Act

Buseoksa Buseok Temple

Chamdangsa Chamdang Temple

chang open or construct

Cheonggoksa Cheonggok Temple

Cheongun-baekun-gyo Blue Cloud and White Cloud Bridges

Dabo Buddha literally means many jewelled. It refers to Dabo Buddha

Dabotap Dabo stupa

Daehan-jaeguk The official name of Joseon Dynasty between 1897 and 1910

Daejojeon Hall of Great Production, living quarters of a queen in
Changdeokgung

daemok-jang craft skill of master carpenter

Daeungjeon Hall of Great Hero

dangcheong-jang crafts skill of painter of cosmic design on wooden
components

Dogam Supervisor Council of Royal Ceremony

dogu tool or the way of the tool

Dong-a-ilbo Eastern Asian Daily Newspaper

dopyeonsu a director of workmen

Gaeamsa Gaeam Temple

Gaeseong-gojeok-bojonhoe Gaeseong Historical Sites Preservation Society

Gakhwangjeon Enlightenment Hall

gap, eul, byeong, and jeong Chinese numbering system compatible to one, two, three, and four

geon construct

Geuknakjeon Hall of Western Paradise

Gojeok-yumul-bojon-gyuchik Rules of preservation for ancient sites and objects

Gukwangru Gukwang pavilion (literally Nine Lights pavilion)

Gungnaebu Department of Internal Affairs of the Palace (of the Joseon Dynasty)

Gungnae-sachal-hyeonghaeng-saechik The Detailed Regulation of Management of Domestic Temples(1902)

Gupumyeonji Nine Grade Lotus Pond

gwaebul Huge scroll painting

Gwaneum-bosal Bodhisattva of Avalokitesvara

Gwanriseo Office for Management of Temples, Forest, and Fortress

Gyeonbongsa Gyeonbong Temple

Gyeongcheonsa Gyeongcheon Temple

Gyeonghakwon School for Learning Sutra

Gyeongju-gojeok-bojonhoi Gyeongju Historical Sites Preservation Society

Gyeongjusi Gyeongju City

Gyeongsang-bukdo North Gyeongsang Province

Haeinsa Haein temple (literally Temple of Reflection on a Calm Sea)

Haetalmun Hatal Gate

Heungcheonsa Heungcheon Temple

Hwangryongsa Hwangryong Temple

Hwangharu Hwangha Pavilion (literally Hwangha means yellow river)

Hwaomsa Hwaom Temple

Hwaseong-seongyeog-uigwe The royal protocol on the construction of Hwaseong Fortress

Jeontong-geonjomul-bojonbeop Traditional Buildings Conservation Act

Jeontong-sachal-bojonbeop Traditional Temple Preservation Act

jin truthful, honest, sincere, and genuine

Jogye Order Official English name by the order is the Jogye Order of Korean

Buddhism

Josadang Memorial shrine for the deceased venerables

Joseon-bomul-myeongseung-cheonnyeon-ginyeommul-bojonryeong Treasures,
Ancient Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Species
Preservation Regulation of Korea

Joseon-chongdokbu the Office of Governor General of Korea

Joseon-gojeok-dobo Survey Report of Old Remains in Korea

Joseon-wangjo-silok The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty

junggeon re-construct

jungchang re-open or re-construct

jungchanggi the record of jungchang (re-open)

jungsu re-repair

jungsugi the record of jungsu (re-repair)

Muryangsujeon Hall of Buddha of Infinite Life

Munhwajae-bohobeop Cultural Properties Protection Act

Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-gyuchik Cultural Properties Protection Guidance

Munhwajae-bohobeop-sihaeng-ryeong Cultural Properties Protection Regulation

Munhwajae-pyojunsuri-sibangseo Principal guidelines and standard of
conservation of cultural properties

Munhwajae-wiwonhoe Committee of Cultural Property

Nirvana Sutra It is one of the major Mahayana texts which describes Buddha's
final preaching on the last day and night of his death.

Palman-daejang-gyeong Tripitaka Koreana: eighty thousand wooden blocks of
Buddhist scriptures

pungsu It is *feng-shui* in Chinese and the literal meaning is 'wind-water'.
It is an ancient Chinese practice of placement and arrangement
of space to achieve harmony with the environment.

pyeongsu a craftsman who is in charge of one specific skill being responsible
for thirty to one hundred workmen in each group

Sachalryeong Buddhist Temples (and objects) Regulation (for preservation)

sajeokgi the record of the history of a temple

Sanjung-ilgi Travelogue in the middle of mountain written by the Confucian
scholar Sihan Jeong (1649~1707),

sangryang putting in a beam

sangryangmun the record of sangryang (putting in a beam)

Seokgamoni Buddha Historical Buddha

Seokgatap Seokga Stupa

Seokuram Seokul Grotto (literally Stone Grotto)

seon repair

Seongbo-bojonbeop Sacred Treasure Preservation Measure

Songkwangsa Songkwang Temple

somok-jang craft skill of carpenter

su repair

Sudeoksa Sudeok Temple

Sungnyemun Sungnye (literally ‘esteem civility’) Gate (South gate of the old Seoul)

suri repair

suri-gisulja skilled repair technician

suri-gineungja repair technician

Tapjeon Hall of Stupa

Tongdosa Tongdo Temple

Uisomyo-uirwe The royal protocol of Uiso tomb

uirwe the royal protocols (of the Joseon Dynasty)

Unheungsa Unheung Temple

Uigyeom an eighteenth century monk painter

Woljeongsa Woljeong Temple

wonhyeong original form

yeongsan Vulture Peak

yeongsan-huisangdo depiction of Dharma Assembly at Vulture Peak

yeongsanjae ritual at Vulture Peak

Yeonhwa-chilbo-gyo Lotus Flower and Seven Jewelled Bridges

Yongjusa Yongju Temple

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