

# **History and Conservation of Gardens in Korea**

**Vol. I**

**Thesis submitted for  
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**by**

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## Foreword

How many turning points do have people in their life? We meet uncountable turning points in our life, I think that I have undergone only one important transitional period, even though I have experienced half of my life already. That period was my first visit to England. It was during the summer of 1997 that I was awarded the Student Survey Scholarship and was given prize money to visit historic gardens and buildings in England. This paved the way for my first experience of Europe. Two observations stand out in my mind from my visit to the UK then. Many heritage sites in the UK had been preserved for present and future generations and there were numerous organizations active in conservation. It was particularly their harmonious approach to preservation alongside practical use that was a great eye-opener to me. The National Trust garden I visited at Sissinghurst Castle, for example and the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew are still vivid in my mind for their association of leisure and educational facilities. I remember being very impressed by this and keenly felt the need for this kind of approach to conservation in my country.

Concerned as I was about the status of garden heritage in my own country, I have immersed myself in issues relating to conservation and heritage management. I wrote a Master's thesis at Seoul National University on 'National Trust Organizations' in which I concluded that one country could not accept another country's system without adapting it to local circumstances. Completion of this thesis was difficult as I had to depend largely on foreign literature and learned that it would be difficult to advance the conservation field without the broadening my understanding with ideas and concepts from abroad. Having expressed my concerns about the status of conservation at home, Professor Yoo fired my interest by suggesting that I might consider studying heritage management in the UK. He suggested that I might be able to pursue my academic goals, as well as being able learn from other experts there, in accordance with a Korean view that 'overseas study aims at not only the accumulation of knowledge, but also the association with local specialists and gaining experience in the field of research'. So I came to England to explore transferable conservation methodologies and gain expert knowledge about heritage management. I joined the postgraduate Heritage Management course at Sheffield Hallam University and learned more about international conservation frameworks. I volunteered at the National Trust, researching the history of the garden at Longshaw Lodge, and for more practical work at the Sheffield Botanical Garden.

Despite all this I felt I was not able to acquire the in-depth knowledge required for the



specialized task in Korea and therefore applied to do a research degree at the University of Sheffield. My initial approach was to identify a conservation framework for historic gardens in Korea, but ended up dealing with the issue of needing to define what Korean gardens are, in order to form an understanding of their development over time. Although I always considered that I had a considerable knowledge of Korean gardens, I found I was unable to provide a convincing account of the historic use of gardens that also explained the remoteness of modern Koreans to gardens and gardening. I came to the conclusion that in order to preserve historic gardens effectively, it was important that there should be an appreciation of how gardens had once been the focus of the home and enriched life. With previous research having focused on art historical aspects of garden history, it was thus important to provide a cultural background that would explain how people enjoyed their gardens and why historic gardens are so little recognized. This understanding therefore became a prerequisite for studying the conservation framework.

The question as to why we are so little concerned about our own heritage has been predominant during my research. I initially considered that there might be an answer in improving the education of the public in order to create this understanding of the ancient garden culture. This possibility was only emphasized by a visit of some English friends to my apartment in Sheffield, when their three-year old daughter - used to living in a detached house with garden in Sheffield - asked 'what kind of place' our flat was, showing her incomprehension as to how people could live in a house without garden. As I - like most Koreans - have lived my entire life in flats, I have never considered this an issue, but one's early experience is of course how our cultural expectations are formed, and it is the way in which they are formulated and inherited which determines our values. This therefore emphasized the importance of understanding of how we have come to accept apartments as the norm, thereby forgetting our heritage of single storey houses and gardens.

In putting my beliefs into practice, while carrying out the research for this thesis I also wrote a series of articles for *Environment and Landscape Architecture of Korea*, the only authoritative landscape magazine in Korea. These covered English garden culture, garden designers and gardeners.<sup>1</sup> I also wrote a book entitled *English Flower Shows and Garden Culture* (2006) which was selected as 'the cultural book of the year' that same year by the Ministry of Culture

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<sup>1</sup> Since 2003 eighteen articles published under the series of 'Designers' Gardens' including 'Herold Peto's Gardens in Ilford Manor and Buscot Park', 'Rosemary Verey's Garden in Barnsley House' and 'Ian Hamilton Finlay's Garden in Little Sparta'. As foreign information section, several flower and garden shows in UK were presented such as Chelsea Flower Show, Hampton Court Flower Show and Westonbirt International Festival of Gardens. Add to these the National Garden Scheme was introduced as one of good examples of organization related to gardens in England.

and Tourism of the Republic of Korea; it was revised and enlarged in a new edition in 2008. Through these publications I intended Koreans to aspire to some of the values held in England and to question their own way of life, which is much less sustainable. I was also hoping that my book would encourage Koreans to reflect on their own garden heritage. By working as a research fellow for the Korean Non Government Organization (NGO), Arumjigi (Cultural Keeper) I have further attempted to influence processes by providing specialist advise on the activities of English NGOs in the field of heritage and conservation.

In my understanding of the past as a preparation for the promises of the future, my research in Sheffield has provided tremendous opportunities and brought radical change to my life. Despite the sacrifices it presented to my way of my life it has been a profitable and wholesome experience. It has enabled me to make time to understand Korean gardens, why they are under threat, and consider what needs to be done to preserve them in the future. On my return to Korea I intend to devote myself to the development of conservation of historic gardens, both academically and professionally.

## **Abstract**

An assessment of the conservation of historic gardens in Korea reveals that this is still in a rather rudimentary state; there appears to be a general lack of understanding about historic gardens, about what is important within them and how their value may best be preserved. The official understanding of historic gardens is as tangible artefacts, yet art historical aspects of gardens are rarely a consideration even though there is a basic understanding of significance of these issues. More importantly there appears to be a lack understanding of the importance of the social and cultural context of gardens. This thesis offers seeks to explore this context in order to review modern attitudes to historic gardens and their value, in terms of international and local, cultural and political ethics. The legal framework for garden conservation is subjected to critical review, with suggestions being made as to the way ahead.

Korea has a rich garden heritage, yet modern historical writing fails to explain the economic, social, cultural and political contexts of gardens, or how they were created, improved and maintained. As a result only a few gardens have been officially recognized as heritage; there are only fourteen gardens amongst a total of some 9806 sites designated as tangible cultural heritage. Moreover, in these fourteen cases protection is reliant primarily on the fact that they form the curtilage of a protected building, rather than because of their own value. Thus those historic gardens that have been well preserved owe their state of conservation to the fact that they are included in cultural heritage sites which have been designated on the basis of other elements' perceived value. Another consequence of the value of gardens not being recognized is that their full potential as tourist destinations has not been realized. Without concerted efforts to promote gardens it is unlikely that they will be properly protected. With the majority of people in Korea living high above the ground in apartment buildings, it requires considerable thought as to how they might become interested in historic garden culture. Yet with issues of global warming and sustainability causing increasing concern, energy consuming apartment living is perhaps an outmoded way of life that should be reconsidered. The historic courtyard typology, adapted to local climate conditions, should once again be considered as a model for development. This would also enable a more sustained revival of local garden culture.

This research identifies five ways of developing the conservation of historic gardens in Korea: first, historic gardens must be identified; conservation ethics must be reconsidered so that they take better account of garden heritage, particularly taking account of the proposed Global Landscape Charter; education and academic research is an essential basis for the understanding

of historic gardens' conservation, and must be promoted; and the contribution a revival of garden culture can make to a sustainable future should be recognized. It will be a consequence of the shift in perspective that a greater understanding of the contribution gardens have made, that the high-rise building typology which has dominated Korea's development in the past half-century can be reassessed. Instead of seeing it as a reactive solution, we can gain much from incorporating conservation and its values as part of process which is integral to a sustainable future.

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## List of Abbreviations

CHA	Cultural Heritage Administration
CNDP	10-Year Comprehensive National Development Plan
CPNLCA	Comprehensive Plan of National Land Construction Act
CPA	Cultural Properties Administration
CPPA	Cultural Properties Protection Act
GOTDP	Gyeongju Overall Tourism Development Plan
FYEDP	Five-Year Economic Development Plan
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IMF	The International Monetary Fund
KILA	The Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture
KITLA	The Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture
KLDC	The Korean Landscape Development Corporation
KNUCH	The Korean National University of Cultural Heritage
KRW	Korean Won
LPCPJ	Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties of Japan 1950
MCT	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism
ME	The Ministry of Environment
MLA	Master of Landscape Architecture
NNT	The National Nature Trust
NRICH	National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage
NTCH	The National Trust for Cultural Heritage
NTDP	The New Town Development Project
NTK	The National Trust of Korea
OCP	The Office of Cultural Properties
SHC	Seoul Housing Corporation
SMG	Seoul Metropolitan Government
SWOT	The strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats
TBPA	Traditional Building Preservation Act
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UPA	Urban Planning Act 1962

**Chapter One**

**Introduction**

## Chapter 1. Introduction

During the second half of the twentieth century, Korea developed from a poor, backward, agricultural nation into a modern, industrialized society. Especially during the past four decades there has been buoyant economic development.<sup>1</sup> This rapid development has brought about significant changes in various aspects of Korean society and has had a considerable impact on people's lives. With the overall emphasis on economic development there has been little consideration of various other aspects of life; cultural heritage for one thing has often been compromised as a result of development pressure. Traditional housing has made way for modern high rise apartments. As a result traditional open spaces, courtyards and gardens have suffered as they were demolished to make way for new development. Additionally modern projects rarely make provision for private gardens or courtyards. Because of this absence of gardens, which are no longer usual, there is now a lack of understanding of how they might relate to the present, their values to people and the environment. It has also meant that they have often gone unrecognized and unacknowledged and that, unlike other forms of heritage which have received the necessary official protection, they have been neglected.

This lack of acknowledgement is widespread, both amongst the general public and politicians, but also within the professions. After the restoration of Korean independence in 1945, the nation has favoured modernity over tradition, a wiping out of the unfavourable recent past and the creation of a new image. This vision has been produced with a singular mindset, that of the Corbusian city of high rise buildings within public space. This vision appears to be underwritten by education in planning and architecture, and by landscape architecture too. After its formalization in an Institute in 1972 and through university courses in 1973, Landscape Architecture has been modelled on a primarily American view of the profession, with a focus on public space design. With an emphasis on new design, the issue of garden conservation has been neglected, not really being considered as part of the legacy in debates about the preservation of cultural heritage.

The Korean garden heritage is not only little known nationally, but also internationally. Despite a similar development in China and Japan, Korean gardens are virtually unknown in the West. The emphasis in existing professional literature is on the aesthetics of gardens or their symbolic meaning, and so too with modern landscape designs. Whereas there is now a considerable literature on the conservation of historic buildings and even intangible heritage, this is not the

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<sup>1</sup> Yong-woong Kim, 'Industrialization and Urbanization in Korea', *Korea Journal*, 39/3 (1999), p. 33.

case with gardens. For example there is no authoritative English language history of the historic development of the Korean garden. Thus the profession of landscape architecture is primarily concerned with modern issues and has not considered its historical roots. This lack of interest in the historical context has also affected the conservation of historic gardens. There is little understanding of design principles and fashions within traditional gardens, and therefore little understanding of how historic gardens might best be managed and maintained.

This thesis aims to fill this gap. In order to do so effectively it is a prerequisite that a fuller understanding of the development of gardens and garden culture in Korea from prehistory to the present with an emphasis on political, social, and cultural context should be provided here. This historical context helps to reveal changing values and why historic gardens and garden culture have become vulnerable. It forms the basis for an analysis of the current situation and problems with the recognition and management of historic gardens, and is used, in turn, to identify methodologies which provide effective protection for gardens and to make recommendations as to the development of the current bureaucratic framework.

### Conservation context

Throughout the world, interest in cultural heritage is increasing, as evidenced by the World Heritage Sites that are recognized for their historic and artistic value for all humanity. Both government institutions and specialists responsible for protecting and preserving heritage sites are trying to develop new methods and cultural policies in order to protect cultural properties more effectively. Historic parks and gardens are an especially fragile resource, as they can easily be damaged beyond repair or lost forever.<sup>2</sup> As part of the historic environment they make an important contribution to the national identity, local distinctiveness, and the character of an area.<sup>3</sup> They are also an important resource for education and recreation. Many European countries have introduced new laws or used existing legislation in order to recognize and protect their historic parks and gardens. England, in particular, has established a useful and flexible conservation system for protecting its gardens. The *National Heritage Act 1983* imposed the keeping of a register of historic parks and gardens, as the 'Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest in England'. This was established, and is maintained by, English Heritage. The main purpose of this register is to help ensure that features and qualities of national importance are safeguarded during ongoing management or when any change is being

<sup>2</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Sheena Mackellar Goulty, *Heritage Gardens: Care, conservation and management* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 1.

considered that could affect them.<sup>4</sup>

As a general tendency in modern times, Korean cultural properties have also been subject to various problems, both natural and man-made. Even though man-made problems are neither as sudden nor as unpredictable as natural disasters, they can cause extensive damage through the relatively slow process of neglect. In Korea cultural property is not high on the list of considerations when economic development is paramount. Currently, innumerable properties are left unsupervised and unmanaged. Historic gardens in particular are more seriously under threat than historic buildings and natural heritage sites. This is despite the fact that Korean gardens are a valuable and unique part of its garden heritage.

Fortunately, Korea designated 1997 as the Year of Cultural Heritage in order to increase cultural awareness throughout the country. Heritage is now recognized to be more than a record of the past – it is presented to the public as an integral part of national and local identity both now and for the future. Although Korea is gradually moving away from just preparing an inventory of heritage resources to an integrated and interconnected approach to heritage management, the strongest emphasis has been on built heritage. Efforts have concentrated on preserving the material aspect of individual buildings as the primary entity within a cultural property. An examination of various policies for conservation of cultural properties has shown that they do not encourage or support the conservation of the overall historic environment of the properties they are meant to protect under existing conservation policies.<sup>5</sup> Present policies still contain some problems that need to be reconsidered. Many immovable cultural properties have not been classified and managed within the system of designation. Historic gardens are still under threat because gardens have only had statutory protection since the end of 2007 and the effect of statutory protection cannot yet be seen. Most threats to historic gardens can be traced to legislative, administrative, academic, educational, and practical reasons, such as the absence of identification for some historic sites as historic gardens, the lack of resources, the absence of a long-term national plan, and a lack of specialists in this field. The kernel of the question is that there is no guiding principle for issues relating to historic gardens, either for their owners or for the public, despite the fact that gardens have been recognized as an integral part of national and local identity.

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<sup>4</sup> English Heritage, *The Register of Parks and Gardens* (London: English Heritage Leaflet, 1992); John Pendlebury, *Historic Parks and Gardens and Statutory Protection: Global Urban Research Unit Working Paper No 44* (Newcastle: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1996), pp. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Su-gap Kim, 'The legal system for the conservation of cultural properties', *Law & Society*, 19/1 (2000), p. 69.



## Historic designed landscapes in Korea today

The Korean garden has a long history as a place for growing plants, for entertainment, meditation and as a place for study. It is in the manner in which gardens are designed, laid out and maintained that it is possible to reveal contemporary attitudes towards nature. We might recognize an idealized vision of nature, with the 'natural' garden the predominant 'style', clearly influenced by contemporary philosophies such as Confucianism, Taoism, and *Feng shui*. These have long been shared amongst Far Eastern countries including Korea, China, and Japan. While gardens in the Far East all have a similar basis, they have different ways of representing nature in each of these countries. In simple terms, this might be interpreted as symbolizing nature on a small scale in Japan; in China, the garden represents the re-creation of nature on a large scale; and in Korea, a garden symbolizes 'the perfection of nature' and should present nature, 'just as it is'.<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested that Korean gardens are closer to nature than either those in China or Japan since it appears that the idea of the garden in Korea was based on a well-selected site, which adhered to a number of philosophical and aesthetic criteria, and which was then gradually improved with traditional garden features.

Korea's gardens have usually been described as natural, simple, and unforced. This natural simplicity has been supposed to be a predominant paradigm throughout Korean history, and documentary sources have not distinguished phases in this aspect of the development of the Korean garden. This interpretation is in part a consequence of the survival of a number of gardens from the Joseon dynasty (1392–1897) that are also blessed with an abundance of records held in various archives. This idea of the development of the Korean garden, as one great continuum that 'assimilates' nature and 'obeys the natural laws' is founded, therefore, on a study of gardens from one period, that is the Joseon dynasty, which might be considered as a single phase. In fact the reality was more complicated: during the Joseon dynasty nature was primarily considered as an element with which one might express decorative features, which were meant to be appreciated intellectually rather than sensually. The garden epitomized the eternal aspirations, seeking complete intimacy and harmony with nature and finding the fundamentals of their lives in its rule.<sup>7</sup> The various plants, trees, scenic features, as well as ornaments in a traditional Korean garden, are placed there deliberately, by order of the patron. These garden ornaments, including potted plants, greenhouses, hedges and artificial waterfalls

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<sup>6</sup> Dong-oh Jung, *Cultural History of Oriental Landscape Architecture* (Korea: Chonnam University Press, 1990), p. 2; Kyun Heo, *Korean Traditional Gardens: the world in which classical scholars walked and enjoyed* (Seoul: Different World, 2003), pp. 20-23; Kyung-hyun Min, *Culture of Korean Garden I* (Seoul: Yekyung, 1991), p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Kyun Heo, *Korean Traditional Gardens: the world in which classical scholars walked and enjoyed* (Seoul: Different World, 2003), p. 25.

contradict the perception that only a 'natural simplicity' was accepted in gardens, as they clearly provide a fashionable layer over the natural framework. These features largely determined the appearance and character of gardens and fully expressed contemporary fashions. From historical evidence it is clear that most gardens were designed by upper class garden owners including Confucian scholars, royalty, high officials, and nobility. Historical writing has tended to translate the ideas of these upper class gardens to those of the common people and to present them as such<sup>8</sup>, but there is little or no evidence as to what lower class gardens looked like; there is in fact no surviving evidence of ancient gardens, other than what survives in ancient traditions. There also appears to be no surviving documentation of lower class gardens, as what historical evidence survives relates to rural villas built by scholars in their constituencies after they had been forced out of public office, the variously surviving nature gardens associated with pavilions built in scenic sites and centred on pavilions or similar structures, and royal gardens.

The royal gardens of Changdeokgung Palace or Gyeonghoeru and Hyangwonjeong Pavilions in Gyeongbokgung Palace did not just emphasise the aesthetic appreciation of natural gardens, but were also symbols of the desires of those who constructed them and a realization of their dreams. These desires were embodied in the features incorporated within the gardens, such as name plaques and rock inscriptions for immortals. When placed in a garden these are a manifestation of their owners' or designers' desire for a very long life. The ideology in which these gardens were conceived was shaped by a combination of the indigenous beliefs of tribal communities, imbued with the new imports from China, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Neo-Confucianism.<sup>9</sup>

### **Korean studies of garden history related topics**

Since gaining independence, historic gardens have been variously studied in Korea. Most of these studies are superficial, too general to enable an understanding their subject's true character. There are narratives on predominant philosophies and how they influenced garden design; there is general information on the kinds of trees that were grown. There are brief histories of the making a number of gardens together with descriptions of what they looked like. Some studies have included brief assessments of the cultural significance of gardens. However none of these studies provide an in-depth understanding of gardens which reveals how they were constructed

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<sup>8</sup> Many books about historic gardens created by scholars and aristocrats have made generalisations about Korean gardens based on their own preferences, which cannot be assumed to apply to ordinary people's gardens.

<sup>9</sup> Kyun Heo, *Korean Traditional Gardens: the world in which classical scholars walked and enjoyed* (Seoul: Different World, 2003), p. 27.

and used, what they meant, or information on the various features contained within them.

Modern garden history writing has tended to distinguish historic gardens in eight categories: those associated with palace complexes, country retreats; pavilions in a natural environment; garden homes; Confucian academies; Buddhist temples; royal mausoleum grounds, and villages.<sup>10</sup> These categories have been generally followed, but the various definitions do not provide a clear indication of the subtle distinctions between these categories, which in reality are difficult to tell apart from each other, and they do not take account of the development of sites in the light of their economic, social, cultural, and political contexts. It remains unclear exactly how Korean gardens developed, and for example what fashions there were in the introduction of garden features. Yet despite these obvious shortcomings this typological approach continues to be used by various authors. It is clear however that there is a need for a chronological or art historical treatment. While this cannot be fully completed within this thesis, the historical section provides a first attempt in this direction and is important as a basis for understanding conservation issues.

### **Historic gardens in contemporary society**

Colonial occupation during the first half of the 20th century, followed by the Korean War of the early 1950s, not only rendered the country destitute, but also devastated national morale, not least in that it was then split in two halves. The emphasis of the post-war period in South Korea lay in restoring a sound economic basis for the country's future. This was fully realized with the establishment of a successful industrial economy which realized phenomenal growth especially during the 1970s and 1980s. While this lifted people out of poverty there was a significant environmental cost to this rapid industrial development, which in fact resulted in prolonging the period of identity crisis. Lifestyles became increasingly urban and westernized; through this development Koreans lost touch with traditional values, customs, and their historic environment. During this period historical monuments and relics were lost, damaged, or sold abroad. Sweeping social changes made gardens expensive and difficult to maintain as gardeners found more lucrative work. Traditional cultural expressions and cultural heritage were disregarded as intellectuals' idealized western culture. The fact that during the traditional Joseon dynasty craftsmen and performing artists were regarded as of a lower social class did not help the promotion of national culture during the early postwar years<sup>11</sup>. Traditional skills associated with

<sup>10</sup> IFLA Korea (ed.), *Traditional Landscape Architecture of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyung, 1992); Jae-hoon Chung, *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: Daewonsa, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> Jong-sung Yang, 'Folklore and Cultural Politics in Korea: Intangible Cultural Properties and Living National Treasures', unpublished PhD Thesis, Indiana University, 1994, p. 26.

arts and crafts faced the danger of being lost and forgotten.

In light of this trend, in 1962 the Cultural Property Protection Act (CPPA) was established in order to protect cultural heritage. This reflected new national aspirations and revealed graphically how the past century of Korean modernization had greatly affected society, by drastically changing traditional ways of life. There was a growing recognition that cultural heritage and its conservation was a shared responsibility among various levels of government, professionals, and members of the community. The Cultural Heritage Administration assumed control of all policies and management of the nation's cultural heritage, including archaeological activities, old palaces and relics under its jurisdiction. This office has six research institutes to conduct studies related to the maintenance and discovery of cultural assets including folk art, archaeological surveys, and intangible cultural heritage. However, historic gardens were not adequately recognized as cultural heritage, in contrast to historic buildings for example.

Fortunately, gardens have been included in the latest CPPA provision of 2007 where they are incorporated in the category of scenic sites. This is a nationally acknowledged heritage classification, and thus provides a significant step towards providing a legislative framework for the conservation of historic gardens. Nevertheless, the true nature of gardens remains rather poorly understood in their categorization as scenic sites, because they now tend to be perceived as mere scenery rather than for the traditional cultural characteristics which have been associated with gardens in Korea. This limited awareness about the value of historic gardens is rather vague and as a result there have been few attempts to safeguard them with appropriate means. At the same time however the new profession of landscape architecture has been acknowledged variously in legislation of the early 1960s and the National Land Development Plan from 1972, as well as in the ensuing Five Year Economic Development Plan. As a result of a general lack of understanding and recognition, historic gardens are not systematically included on the national lists of cultural heritage designations, nor are they recognized regionally or locally. Thus Koreans live in a society in which traditional gardens have become irrelevant to modern ways of living; they have not been used for explaining former ways of life; nor have they been exploited as their potential to draw tourists has not been acknowledged. As a result of many historic gardens has been eroded in their detail and traditional ways of maintenance have been lost.

## Terms of reference

### KOREA

The English name for Korea derives from the name of an ancient dynasty 'Goryeo.' By the thirteenth century, Arabian traders had carried this name to European nations. However Korea was known as Chosŏn (Joseon) until the mid-twentieth century to its own people and to its neighbouring countries. When Japan surrendered to the Allied Forces on 15 August 1945, Korea's 35 years of colonial rule came to an end. The country was then divided into a Soviet occupation zone in the north and an American occupation zone in the south.<sup>12</sup> In 1948 the south became *Daehan Minguk* (the Republic of Korea: 大韓民國), meanwhile the north became *Joseon minjujuui inmin gonghwaguk* (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: 朝鮮民主主義人民共和國), adopting the name Joseon (Chosŏn), with its connection to the ancient dynasty. Today, English speakers use the name Korea for both North and South Korea—or its equivalent in other Western languages.<sup>13</sup> In this thesis, there is no division as garden history is narrated, as both north and south share a single history, until the Japanese colonial period, while after 1948 Korea means South Korea if there is no explanation, although Korea has now been divided into two hegemonies.

### Topography

The Korean Peninsula is located between 33 and 43 degrees latitude and 124 and 132 degrees longitude, with a north-south length of about 1,100 kilometres (South Korea measures about 500 kilometres long) and a width of about 210 kilometres. With mountainous areas taking up about 70 percent of the land, the longest series of mountain ranges forms the great backbone of Korean topography to the north and east. It has over 3,000 islands along its southern and western coasts. With a total size of 99,720 square kilometres (about 45 per cent of the total land mass including North and South Korea) and a population of about 48.5 million, South Korea is a densely populated country, with 486 inhabitants per square kilometre. In just over four decades the nation has moved from a predominantly agricultural base to being a nation of city

<sup>12</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp.374–375.

<sup>13</sup> Some controversy exists about the official English language name of the country. In English, the spelling 'Corea' was used almost exclusively until the end of the nineteenth century while 'Korea' only coming into common use at the turn of the twentieth century. This has given rise to a widespread story that says that the name 'Korea' was created by the Japanese around the turn of the century. Since Japan comes after Corea in an alphabetical lineup, the story goes, Japanese nationalists decided to change the spelling. Another story has it that this change occurred because the syllable *ko* (rather than *co*) is found in Japanese. Nevertheless, 'Korea' was used along with 'Corea' in English-language documents very early on. This is widely in favour among nationalists; see: Gi-bong Han & Beom-su Kim, 'Korean Transcription was a Japanese Scheme', *Hankook Ilbo* (28 February 2003); Barbara Demick, 'Breaking the occupation spell', *Los Angeles Times* (18 September 2003).

dwellers, with about 92 percent of the population now living in cities.<sup>14</sup>

### *Climate*

Typically, the Korean climate is characterized by a hot and humid summer and a severely cold winter, despite its location at temperate latitude. The mean January temperature in Seoul hovers around  $-2.5^{\circ}$  and soars to  $25^{\circ}$  in July. Inland, from south to north, the average temperature variation is large. Spring and autumn are shorter than summer and winter, with a large gap in diurnal range. Situated in a monsoon region, Korea's precipitation spreads unevenly throughout the year and throughout the country—about 70 per cent of the total rainfall falls between June and September, with an average of about 500mm in the northern part of North Korea and about 1500mm in the southern part of South Korea.<sup>15</sup>

### *Flora*

Given the range in latitude, Korean flora is varied with a total of 4,596 native plant species including 393 endemic species. With its peninsular configuration and its position at the far east of Eurasia, Korea has a remarkable range of plants, including alpine and a predominant vegetation of temperate plants, as well as subtropical plants which are also found in the southwestern part of Japan. Korean flora is recorded by the National Plants List Committee as a result of collaboration with the Korea National Arboretum and Plant Taxonomic Society of Korea in 2000 and it is available on the Internet as the Korean Plant Names Index (<http://www.koreaplants.go.kr:9101/>).

### *Economy & Environment*

The economy of Korea has rapidly developed since 1962, the date of its first economic development plan. South Korea's GDP (gross domestic product) has achieved the world rank of 13, reaching about US\$970 billion in 2007.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the quality of Korea's environment has continually deteriorated. Despite enactment of an environmental law in 1963, global environmental concerns remain a low priority. For example, the ESI (environmental sustainability index)—a gauge of a long-term environmental aspect of country's practice—ranked Korea 122 among 146 countries in 2005.<sup>17</sup> Recently, however, Korea's situation has

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<sup>14</sup> Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs (<http://www.moct.go.kr/>); All indexes are based on 2007 statics.

<sup>15</sup> Korean Statistical Information Service from Korea National Statistical Office (<http://www.kosis.kr>)

<sup>16</sup> GDP increased by 746 times from US\$1.3 billion in 1953 to US\$ 969.9 billion in 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy, *2005 Environmental Sustainability Index* (Connecticut: Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy, 2005), pp. 4-5; the ESI is a composite index of the overall progress of environmental sustainability. It is based on a set of 22 core indicators, including natural resource endowments, environmental management efforts, and contributions to protection of the global

improved, according to a new index, which is a complement to the ESI—the EPI (environmental performance index).<sup>18</sup> The EPI focuses on a country's current environmental performance. Korea was ranked as 51 among 149 countries, performing well in the Environmental Health arena with scores of over 90. This may have resulted from several ambitious environmental policies and planning initiatives begun in the late 1980s and sustainable development strategies implemented since the Rio-UNCED (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) in 1992. However, poor performance in the Ecosystem Vitality category reduced Korea's rank substantially, as has the rest of the developed world. Some indicators relating to biodiversity and habitat—Effective Conservation and Conservation Risk Index—were particularly important in dropping Korea out of the top one hundred.<sup>19</sup>

### *Brief History & Politics*

Archaeological specimen that is pottery indicate that Paleolithic-age settlements existed in Korean peninsula circa 8000 B.C. Old Joseon founded in 2333 B.C., which historians consider the ancient kingdom of Korea, was based on a bronze culture and consisted of a political federation of walled towns. It declined around the end of the second century B.C. Three states (Goguryeo, Silla, and Baekje) based on an iron culture, which gave their name to the Three Kingdoms period, developed in the southern part of northeastern China and the peninsula. Eventually, in 668 Silla allied with China, but China occupied most of Goguryeo's territory, and Silla was left with control only of land on the Korean peninsula. Thirty years later, the people of Goguryeo established Balhae in the former Goguryeo territory partly on the part of Korean peninsula and on the northeast of Chinese mainland. The period of the North and South Dynasties continued until the fall of Balhae to the Kitans in 926. Three dynasties followed: Goryeo (918–1392), Joseon (1392–1897), and the Great Han Empire (1897–1910) during which Korea existed as a single independent country until the twentieth century. As mentioned above, after 1910, Korea experienced thirty-five years of Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945) but regained its independence following Japan's surrender to the United States in 1945. Following three years of American military rule which also involved Soviet Russia (1945–1948), the

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commons.

<sup>18</sup> The EPI is known as a method of quantifying and numerically benchmarking the environmental performance of a country. It builds on measures with two core environmental protection objectives: Environmental Health (reducing environmental stresses to human health); and Ecosystem Vitality (protecting ecosystems and natural resources). Environmental Health reflects government attention to basic human needs, such as drinking water and sanitation, which is highly correlated with wealth; Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy, *2008 Environmental Performance Index* (Connecticut: Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy, 2008), pp. 8-10.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* Appendix C: Country Profile.

nation was divided into south and north along the 38th parallel. After the Korean War (1950–1953), Korea was again divided, this time with a demilitarized zone between the north and south. Thereafter, South Korea achieved rapid economic growth with per capita income rising to roughly 16 times that of North Korea's. In 1991, South and North Korea both joined the United Nations. In 1993, Kim Young-sam became South Korea's first civilian president following 32 years of military rule. South Korea has joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In June 2000, a historic North-South summit took place between the South's President Kim Dae-jung and the North's leader Kim Jong Il. South Korea today is a fully functioning modern democracy with political stability characterized by a strong presidency under a five-year tenure and a nationwide direct popular vote. However, political corruptions related to every president's relatives have surfaced after their terms. (See Appendix A: Chronology of Korean History.)



<b>Three Kingdoms Period</b> (57B.C.–A.D. 668)	
<b>Goguryeo Kingdom</b> (37 B.C.–A.D. 668)	<b>Baekje Kingdom</b> (18 B.C.–A.D. 660)
<b>Silla Kingdom</b> (57 B.C.–A.D. 668)	
<b>Main Ideology</b>	Seondo (the belief in Immortals: Shamanism)
<b>Introduced Theory</b>	Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Feng-Shui
<b>Main Garden Type</b>	Palace garden, Buddhist temple garden
↓	
<b>Unified Silla Dynasty</b> (A.D. 668–935)	
<b>Main Ideology</b>	Buddhism
<b>Main Garden Type</b>	Palace garden, Buddhist temple garden, Private residential garden
↓	
<b>Goryeo Dynasty</b> (A.D. 918–1392)	
<b>Main Ideology</b>	Buddhism, Confucianism
<b>Introduced Theory</b>	Neo-Confucianism (late 13 <sup>th</sup> century)
<b>Main Garden Type</b>	Palace garden, Buddhist temple garden, Private residential garden, Pavilions in natural environment, <i>Byol-so</i> (Retreating villa) garden
↓	
<b>Joseon Dynasty</b> (A.D. 1392–1910)	
<b>Main Ideology</b>	Neo-Confucianism, The Idea of Seclusion, Feng-Shui Theory
<b>Introduced Theory</b>	Roman Catholicism (18 <sup>th</sup> century), Protestantism (19 <sup>th</sup> century)
<b>Main Garden Type</b>	Palace garden, Private residential garden, <i>Byol-so</i> (Retreating villa) garden, Pavilions in natural environment, Confucian memorial hall
↓	
<b>Colonial Period &amp; Republic of Korea</b> (A.D. 1910–1945), (1945–present)	
The dark age (A.D. 1910-1970) of Korean gardens: the period of extinction of traditional Korean gardens and the introduction of foreign ideology and garden style.	
<b>Main Garden Type</b>	Public park, Botanical and zoological gardens, Arboretum, Open space, Streetscape, Urban space, Cultural landscapes.

Table 1. 1 Chronological Features of Korean gardens

## GARDEN AND GARDEN HISTORY

Any attempt to conserve historic gardens is not helped by the fact that the Korean word for garden is now used for other purposes that have inadvertently provided a distorted meaning. The Korean transcription of the English word 'garden' is '가든', which varies from the Korean word for garden, *Jeongwon* (정원). '가든' is nowadays commonly used as the name for a Korean-style barbecue where food is cooked on gas or charcoal-fired brazier grilles built into each table. As a result '가든' is used in the names of restaurants where this type of cuisine is provided. This is not only so in Korea, but also abroad as for example in the USA. Historic gardens, defined as 'an architectural and horticultural composition of interest to the public from the historical or artistic point of view,'<sup>20</sup> have received little attention not only from the general public, but also professionally; landscape architecture courses may have one or two modules on general garden history, but these do not adequately prepare students for conservation work. Garden history writing itself has not been able to shake off the shackles of nationalism; it is particularly influences from Japan that continue to be seen as negative, even if they had been accomplished prior to the occupation.<sup>21</sup> There is little common sense in this judgment, whereas Western influences seem to have been adopted without question, and Chinese influences have been taken for granted despite the fact there is sometimes little evidence for Chinese influences. It is a fact that Koreans now live in a land that has been reconstructed using Western examples. The term 'historic garden' is rarely used in the garden history of Korea while 'traditional gardens', possibly defined as any garden forms have existed for a long time, is commonly used.

## PARKS

In a similar fashion to the difficulty with the word 'garden', the word 'park (파크)', which is based on an ancient meaning, 'an enclosed piece of land, generally large in area'<sup>22</sup> was primarily associated with places offering accommodation, such as an inn, hostel, or hotel until the 1980s. These contemporary meanings might have affected common perceptions of parks and gardens and have almost certainly led to a reduced consciousness of the original meaning. From the 1990s its original connotation was gradually recovered because of the urbanization with the

<sup>20</sup> Article 1 of the Florence Charter; ICOMOS, *The Florence Charter: Historic Gardens and Landscapes* (London: ICOMOS, 1982); [http://www.international.icomos.org/e\\_floren.htm](http://www.international.icomos.org/e_floren.htm).

<sup>21</sup> People in Korea frequently say, when they realize that there is a lack of preserved cultural heritage or insufficient inherited traditional culture, that it is 'because of the sufferings of the Japanese colonial period'. It seems to be a simple, easy and plausible excuse. In all honesty, Korea has been divested of more tradition and cultural heritage since its independence in 1945 than it was during the colonial period. It is true that no one disputes the bad impact of the colonial times and the damage done then to Korean culture and heritage, but Koreans should examine themselves and consider how they can conserve their own cultural heritage.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Princes Risborough: A Shire Book, 2006), pp. 90-91.

radical transference of housing typology toward high-rise apartments. Parks and green spaces near or within apartment blocks are now one of important indicators through which we can evaluate the living environment.

## LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

A similar redefinition of terms, as with 'garden' and 'park', can be seen in the translation of the Anglo Saxon concept of landscape architecture. The term is translated as *Jokyeong* (조경), which denotes the profession and is best defined as 'the art - or the science, if preferred - of arranging land, together with the spaces and objects upon it, for safe, efficient, healthy, pleasant human use.'<sup>23</sup> During the development boom of the 1960s *Jokyeong* was generally used as an adjective describing plant nurseries located in suburban areas. As a result landscape architecture commonly come to be understood as merely the act of planting trees, rather than the much wider meaning of the term as understood in Anglo-Saxon countries. The profession of landscape architecture however sees itself as a modern one, dealing with large scale planning and all-encompassing urban problems.<sup>24</sup> The garden, with its associations with a hierarchical society and therefore a peasant culture, is seen in this context as backward, out-dated in concept, and therefore old-fashioned. It is clear that the profession has not regarded gardens as a serious topic because of these connotations, and on the other hand it has not recognized their potential role in a sustainable future which addresses global warming, or in their contribution to heritage, for example. The general outcry by Korean landscape architects at the 1992 IFLA conference following a talk by a German delegate who had somehow wrongly perceived that Korean landscape architects appeared to concentrate on gardens rather than landscape architecture,<sup>25</sup> best illustrates how strongly held this rather snooty attitude towards gardens is. There is a real problem in convincing the profession of the value of the various attributes of gardens.

Just before the establishment of landscape architecture departments in Korean universities, the Institute of Korean Landscape Architecture was established in 1972 as an authoritative centerpiece from which to promote and support professional functions including those of

<sup>23</sup> Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. xxi; Tom Turner defined landscape architecture on the basis of Newton's definition, as 'the art of composing landform, water, vegetation, building, paving and climate to make good outdoor space' ([www.gardenvisit.com](http://www.gardenvisit.com)), while the definition offered by the American Society of Landscape Architecture is, 'the profession which applies artistic and scientific principles to the research, planning, design and management of both natural and built environment'. This is the definition that is commonly used in Korea.

<sup>24</sup> Kyung-jin Zoh, 'Re-Inventing Gardens: A Study in Garden Theory', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1994, p. 59.

<sup>25</sup> Ki-ho Jung, 'To set the Korean phenomena of landscaping-gardening relating to landscape', *LOCUS*, 1 (1998), p. 105.

academics, contractors, producers, and others in the profession. In terms of international exchanges and relations, in 1985 it may have been the first act of Kyu-mok Lee, in his capacity as vice-president of the Korean Institute, gave a presentation in the International Federation of Landscape Architects World Congress in Tokyo and Kobe.<sup>26</sup> In 1992 Korean landscape professionals had an opportunity to get to know the global profession and draw their attention to the role of Korea in the international community by hosting the 29<sup>th</sup> International Federation of Landscape Architecture World Congress in Seoul and Gyeongju.

#### TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

A similar difficulty exists in defining the term, 'traditional garden'. A traditional form of landscape architecture, in which the term refers to the remains of any form of designed landscapes, has been used for a long time, for example in the Department of Traditional Landscape Architecture established in the Korean National University of Cultural Heritage in 2000. Recognizing this trend, the Korean Garden Society changed the name of their society to the Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture in 2004 in order to expand their scope to historic landscapes as well as the buildings within the landscape, so the term, 'traditional landscape architecture' now denotes all designed landscapes from the past in Korea.

#### GARDEN CONSERVATION

Despite the rather negative context for a living garden culture there has been a gradual increase in interest in gardens and cultural heritage over the last ten years. This is perhaps best exemplified by the enactment of the Landscape Law in 2007, which gives protection to cultural and historical landscapes, but historic designed landscapes (gardens) are unfortunately still not considered adequately. It is clear from this that in Korean culture the whole issue of 'gardens' is weighed down with preconceptions and inadequate knowledge, and that there is now an urgent need to confront some of these in the light of the threats posed by global warming and environmental degradation.

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<sup>26</sup> Tae-kyung Kim, 'The 20-years history of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture', *Journal of Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 20/4 (1993), p. 107.

## Methodology

By questioning both ethics and practice it is intended that this thesis should take a holistic approach that may contribute in a practical way to the conservation of gardens in Korea. As the issues highlighted in this introduction include the lack of knowledge about historic gardens in Korea and the biased way in which contemporary history has been written, a more objective account was considered to be essential. This is based primarily on a reinterpretation of secondary sources published in Korean; this has been ameliorated by a re-reading of original sources, many of which are now accessible on the web.<sup>27</sup> Additional sources including historical art works, assist in the analysis of historic landscapes in this study. Many paintings were sourced from modern publications in order to study painters,<sup>28</sup> and historical photographs evidenced landscapes from the end of nineteenth century, and were found in relevant publications.<sup>29</sup>

This historical survey is followed by an analysis of the current situation and of problems in the recognition and management of historic gardens. This has been done by investigating attitudes and values towards historic gardens by personal observation and a series of questionnaires. A three case studies, including a World Heritage site, a reconstructed garden which has been restored following archaeological excavation and a privately owned garden serve as a basis to examine the efficiency of the current system. These case studies were carried out by surveying these specific gardens, including writing a history of each site based on former conservation plans and undertaking a visual survey of each site between September 2005 and October 2006. Additionally interviews were carried out with those responsible for management and maintenance. (Appendix D)

The existing legal framework has been analysed by comparing the old and newly amended version of the related acts, such as the Cultural Properties Protection Act, the National Trust Act and the Landscape Law; all this national legislative information can be accessed on the web.<sup>30</sup> Reference has been made to literature and interviews in order to form a critical assessment of the effectiveness of the system. In order to take changing policies and planning practice into account, phone interviews and e-mail correspondence were conducted with officials in the

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<sup>27</sup> See following subheading: CLASSIC SOURCES AND ARCHIVES.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Jun-hyeon Jin, *The Study of Danwon Kim Hong-do* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1999); Won-su Ch'oe, *Korean True-View Landscape: paintings by Chŏng sŏn (1676-1759)* (London: Saffron, 2005).

<sup>29</sup> For example, Eun-suk Park (ed.), *Seoul looking through photos 2* (Seoul: Seoul Dope Story Compilation Committee, 2002); Won-mo Kim & Seong-gil Jeong (ed.), *Korea 100 Years ago in Photographs* (Seoul: Catholic Pub., 1986).

<sup>30</sup> The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>)

Cultural Heritage Administration and in local councils concerning issues and policies that have changed since 2007. Recommendations for the development of the bureaucratic framework are included in the discussion and form the basis of conclusions offered by this thesis. The discussion makes use of a traditional SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis to aid this process.

#### KOREAN ORTHOGRAPHY: HANGEUL AND HANJA

Hangeul, the Korean alphabet, was invented in 1444 and promulgated in 1446 during the reign of King Sejong, and came into widespread use in the early 20th century. The Korean alphabet was originally called *Hunmin jeongeum* (訓民正音), which means ‘the correct sounds for the instruction of the people’. Hanja is comprised of Sino-Korean characters. It was first introduced into Korea from China, probably during the Han Dynasty (202 BC-AD 220) and is still used today, though not so widely now as was the case before the 20th century.

#### ROMANIZATION

Romanization is the practice of writing a non-roman script (such as Korea’s Hangeul) in the Roman alphabet. Rules governing the Romanization of Korean (Hangeul) laid down in 1986 and revised in 2000 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism have gained wide usage in Korea but not abroad because of a lack of awareness.<sup>31</sup> As a result, Hangeul has been transcribed into English in many different ways. An adaptation of McCune-Reischauer<sup>32</sup> was the official system in South Korea from 1984 to 2000, when it was superseded by a new system, called the ‘Revised Romanization of Korean’. The new system has been used throughout this thesis with the exception of the names of books that already had English names and direct quotations from English written sources.<sup>33</sup> The names of Korean classics are Romanized according to the origin of those classics, that is, Romanization treats Korean classics or Chinese classics differently according to their pronunciation. The meanings of book titles are translated in brackets alongside the original text because there are difficulties in identifying meanings and sources based on Romanized books’ names alone. In addition, two versions of Romanization are used in the main glossaries included in Appendix B, which lists literary works, historical events, and

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<sup>31</sup> Many people outside Korea continue to use the McCune-Reischauer system.

<sup>32</sup> In the summer of 1937, two American graduate students invented, almost by chance, a method that could represent the pronunciation of Korean words with the Latin alphabet. Even though they were assisted by leading Korean phonetics scholars of the day, this method bears the names of those two Americans: the McCune-Reischauer system of Korean Romanization. This nearly accidental creation has been the standard method of Korean Romanization in the Western world ever since.

<sup>33</sup> Korean Romanization Reference can be downloaded or viewed on website (<http://www.glossika.com/en/dict/korpin.php>); see more information about the Revised Romanization of Korean 2000 (<http://www.korean.go.kr/eng/index.jsp>).

Korean proper words in the original Korean characters and Chinese characters, transcribing using the new system revised in 2000 and McCune-Reischauer. English translations or explanations are added to increase understanding. In the bibliography, if the English title of books or journals is not provided, original scripts such as Korean, Chinese, and Japanese are provided within the bracket as well.

Korean personal names usually consist of three Korean characters or syllables: two syllables for the given name are followed by a single syllable for the family name. In this thesis, all Korean names are reversed to match the Western sequence rather than keep the original order, and two syllables of the given name are connected by a hyphen (-) in order to avoid confusion in meaning because sometimes second character of the given name is confused as a middle name by the Westerner. Therefore the given name with hyphen or space instead of hyphen whether the first letter of second syllable is a capital or lower case in different sources is same name. For example, there are possible anomalies in the spelling of names i.e. Sang-jun Yoon, Sang-Jun Yoon, Sang jun Yoon and Sang Jun Yoon.

## MEASUREMENT

*Ja* (*cheok*) is a traditional Korean measurement according to the *Cheokgwanbeop* (尺貫法) system. This system takes its name from the unit of measurement (*cheok* or *ja*) and unit of weights (*gwan*), and it came to Korea from China around the 13th century B.C. Its use spread from China to Korea, Japan, and also to South East Asia.<sup>34</sup> The first use of *ja* was to describe a span of about 20 centimetres. In the 15th century there were different versions of *Cheokgwanbeop*: one *ja* for measuring a plot of land was about 20 centimetres; one *ja* for architectural and public works was about 30.3 centimetres; and one *ja* for textiles was about 50 centimetres. These various measurements were standardized to 30.30303 centimetres in 1902. In the period of the Joseon dynasty, two other measurement units were used, *bo* and *kan*. *Bo* is a measurement unit of length equivalent to 6 *ja*, while *kan* is used for length and dimension. *Kan* was used for architectural purposes, and has been used to describe a number of different lengths. For example, it was the length of the space between two pillars, as well as the space between four pillars set roughly at a distance of 1 *kan*, which is generally about 6 *ja*, the same as *bo* – but on some occasions, it is equivalent to 7, 8, or 9 *ja*; for example, in palace buildings 1 *kan* is 8 *ja*. Use of traditional measurements for official purposes was forbidden after 1<sup>st</sup> January 1964, when the *Cheokgwanbeop* system was replaced by the metric system.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Doosan Encyclopedia (<http://www.encyber.com>).

<sup>35</sup> Seong-hwan Jo, *The New Unit System*, (= Seoul: Kimoon dang, 1993), p. 30.

## Sources

### CLASSIC SOURCES AND ARCHIVES

As Chinese culture remained dominant amongst the upper classes in Korea from prehistory until the 1950s, gardening influences were mainly derived from China apart from *Yanghwasorok* (1474) which is the oldest gardening manual existing relating to Korean conditions. This was the only book written specifically about gardens until the 1960s. While there are few garden or gardening related works, references can be found in a whole range of other sources including poetry, travel descriptions, paintings, horticultural and husbandry books. These provide a rich variety of evidence on the topic. The predominant range of available sources means that evidence related to appreciation and perception of gardens proliferates and that there is only scant information on gardening techniques, for example. There are important historic sources to confirm that gardens have been cultivated for a long time; in particular, significant texts such as *Samguk sagi* (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms: 三國史記) in 1145 and *Samgukyusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms: 三國遺史) in 1281, which more importantly covers Korean ancient history up to the early 10<sup>th</sup> century from which we can understand changing social and political aspects of the period.

Ancient materials accessed through the National Library of Korea<sup>36</sup> were consulted in July 2004, October 2005, and August 2007, and in addition, six other archives were used: five of them were accessed on the web and one was visited as follow: Three archives provided Korean classics together with their original Chinese version and Korean translated version; these were available on the Internet. The Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics<sup>37</sup> provided access via the web to historic literature, history books, and anthologies that related to garden culture. For example, *Goryeosa* (The History of Goryeo: 高麗史) written in the mid of 15<sup>th</sup> century and *Goryeosa jeoryo* (The Condensed History of Goryeo: 高麗史節要) written in 1452<sup>38</sup> covering Korean history between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were accessed here. These sources were

<sup>36</sup> The library provides the public with a access to the archives accumulated and preserved since 1945. The library has a collection of almost 6.8 million volumes including humanities and social, natural, and human science. The archives of the library are particularly valuable for searching and inspecting general publications, government publications, and theses. (<http://www.nl.go.kr/>)

<sup>37</sup> The institute was established in 1965, sponsored by government in order to contribute to the succession of traditional culture and promotion of national pride throughout studying, translating, and publishing Korean classics. The institute provides many Korean classics with the original Chinese texts and translated Korean version through its webpage. (<http://www.minchu.or.kr/MAN/index.jsp>)

<sup>38</sup> The *Goryeosa* or *History of Goryeo* is the principal surviving history of Korea's Goryeo Dynasty. It was composed nearly a century after the fall of Goryeo, during the reign of King Sejong. The king ordered a committee of scholars led by Jong-seo Kim (1383-1453) and In-ji Jeong (1396-1478) to compile it, based on primary and secondary sources that are no longer extant. In 1452 *Goryeosa jeoryo* (*The Condensed History of Goryeo: 高麗史節要*) was compiled in strict chronological format in contrast to the annals-treatises-biographies structure of the *Goryeosa* by Jong-seo Kim.



particularly helpful in providing a socio-political context during the Goryeo dynasty. A number of literary compilations provided more general information on life and gardening: *Donggukisanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo: 東國李相國集) written in 1241; *Dongmunseon* (Anthology of Korean Literature: 東文選, 15<sup>th</sup> century); husbandry books such as *Sangayorok* (advice on living in the countryside: 山家要錄) written in the 1450s; and encyclopedic works such as *Jibongyuseol* (Topical Discourses of Jibong: 芝峰類說) written in 1642, *Sallim gyeongje* (Farm Management: 山林經濟) of the early eighteenth century, and *Jeongbo Sallim gyeongje* (Revised Farm Management: 增補山林經濟 1766). The latter source exhibited notable horticultural knowledge in chapters titled 'Growing Flowers', 'Planting Trees' and 'Growing Vegetables', and also included a chapter describing the preferred method for selecting proper places for people to live. *Joseonwangjosillok* (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty: 朝鮮王朝實錄)<sup>39</sup>, a special archive that provides the full text of 1,893 books as Joseon's dynastic annals with the original Chinese text and Korean translation, is available on the Internet and was especially consulted to affirm the dates of special events in specific gardens. The Korean Studies Information Center<sup>40</sup> was accessed on the web for a range of historic sources such as the illustrated manuals of various state events (*Euigwe*) and official papers. The Kyujanggak Archives<sup>41</sup> were consulted in August 2007 for the Annals of Joseon Dynasty and for documents such as *Euigwe*, old maps, and memoirs. The Institute for the International Studies in Myongji University, Seoul, provides material not generally available elsewhere: it contains the best collection of sources about Korea written in western script, particularly relating to the Japanese colonial period, consisting primarily of visitors' accounts. It is now accessed on the web as the Academia Coreana.<sup>42</sup> The Korea Press Foundation provides sources of old newspapers such as *the Independent* and *Korea Daily News* published between the end of

<sup>39</sup> The 472 years of this dynasty are some of the best recorded in the history of mankind and have been acknowledged as such. The documents were published in four copies and held in four separate locations in the nation. The first three reigns were documented in manuscript (fifty-seven manuscripts), but from the fourth reign, the annals were printed with metal and wood blocks. These are the official contemporary records of the longest period of a single Dynasty in the world. This was acknowledged by the UNESCO, who registered them for their significance on the Memory of the World Register in 1997. (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>)

<sup>40</sup> Korean Studies Database is provided by the Academy of Korean Studies through the digitizing of old books, genealogies, and documents, mainly from the royal Jangseogak Library and preserved by prominent noble families across the country since 1999. All of the data can be accessed by anyone, free of charge. (<http://yoksa.aks.ac.kr>)

<sup>41</sup> Originally founded as the royal library in 1776 in the rear garden of Changdeokgung palace by King Jeongjo, the Kyujanggak has not only survived the tumult of court intrigue, invasion, and colonial rule, but has continued to expand. The Kyujanggak collections now contain over 260,000 items, such as The Annals of Joseon Dynasty (Joseon Wangjo Sillok) and the Diary of the Office of Royal Secretaries (Seungjeongwon Ilgi), both designated as UNESCO World Documentary Heritages. ([http://e-kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr/sub\\_index.jsp?ID=GMS](http://e-kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr/sub_index.jsp?ID=GMS))

<sup>42</sup> Academia Coreana by the Institute for the International Studies in Myongji University (<http://www.e-coreana.or.kr/index.jsp>)

nineteenth century and the early twenty century throughout the web as the Old Newspaper Archives.<sup>43</sup>

## MODERN PUBLISHED SOURCES

Korean contemporary published material, covering books, journals, and legislation, was accessed in libraries in Korea. Primary sources written in Korean, such as books about historic gardens, arts, history, modern history and humanities, are generally available in the National Library of Korea and the library of Seoul National University. In particular, the Government Publications Collection in the National Library of Korea contains valuable sources, while many primary and secondary sources written in English are available at the collection of Korean Studies in the University of Sheffield Library, which provided an important resource for this research. Japanese material was consulted in the Meiji University Library in Tokyo in July 2004 and May 2006.

Modern historiography of Korean gardens is less than 40 years old, first emerging at the beginning of the 1960s. The first book in Korean characters that treated garden history was Kuk-byeong Yoon's, *Chowonhak (Landscape Gardening)*<sup>44</sup> (Seoul, 1966) which dealt primarily with landscape architecture, and included a brief historical summary. The first global overview was Yoon's *A History of Landscape Architecture* (1978), which was an account of the development of garden-making over time, covering Europe, Korea, China, and Japan as well as a history of the latest developments in landscape architecture in the West.<sup>45</sup> The year 1978 also marked the date of the first official archaeological investigation of a garden. This investigation was commissioned by the Cultural Properties Protection Committee and covered the grounds of Anapji, a royal palace dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup>

In 1983, the Office of Cultural Properties devised a plan for the conservation of a historic garden for the first time. The Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture was consulted about the conservation of Soswaewon, which is one of the best examples of an aristocratic garden in Korea.<sup>47</sup> In 1989, Byung-rim Yoo, Kee-won Hwang, and Jong-hwa Park in the Environmental Planning Institute, Seoul National University, carried out research to define the prototype of the

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<sup>43</sup> Old Newspaper Archives of Korea Press Foundation (<http://www.kinds.or.kr/>)

<sup>44</sup> Kook-byeong Yoon *et al.*, *Landscape Gardening* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1966).

<sup>45</sup> Kook-byeong Yoon, *A History of Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1978).

<sup>46</sup> The Cultural Properties Protection Committee, *Report of Investigation on Excavation of Anap-pond* (Seoul: Office of Cultural Properties, 1978).

<sup>47</sup> Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, *The Plan of Conservation and Maintenance for Soswaewon* (Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration, 1983).

late Joseon dynasty garden by selecting fourteen gardens as case studies. It was the first attempt to extract national characteristics by interpreting common elements in fourteen gardens through actual survey and measurement, combined with historical research.<sup>48</sup> From the end of the 1980s, publications on the topic gradually increased in number with a series of studies on traditional historic gardens published by Daewonsa Publishing. Written by academics, this included studies on *Pavilions of Korea* (1989), *Anapji* (1989), *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (1990), *Royal Palaces of Korea* (1991), and *Biwon* (1992). At around the same time, there were books offering accounts of the garden history of three Far Eastern countries: Korea, China, and Japan. These had in common in that they followed a treatment of the subject according to the various dynasties.<sup>49</sup> In 1991 Kyung-hyun Min's, *Korean Garden Culture*, published in two volumes, explored the origin and development of the Korean garden, as well as defining the philosophy of garden making. It also did this in a topical treatment according to each dynasty.<sup>50</sup> In the following year, this title was condensed into one volume and translated into English, becoming the first English language title on Korean gardens.<sup>51</sup> In 1999 the IFLA Korea organization compiled a bilingual Korean and English publication on historic gardens in Korea, arranged by type.<sup>52</sup> Professor Jae-hoon Chung, who published a series of articles in the periodical *Environment & Landscape Architecture of Korea*, compiled these into a book entitled *Traditional Garden of Korea* (1996). Most research on historic gardens to date has focused on existing historic gardens physically while studies in garden history concentrate on topical arrangement rather than chronologically narrative approaches.

From the turn of the new millennium, there has been a renewed interest in garden history as shown through research by Korean and Chinese Literature scholars. Unlike earlier studies that focused on existing historic gardens, specific design philosophies and their aesthetics, new approaches have concentrated on analysis of historic literature and attempted to interpret gardens and gardening as a form of cultural, social, and political expression. This has involved much-needed translations of books from the original Chinese into Korean, coinciding with a government sponsored project to translate all works printed in Korea and make them generally accessible. Another strand of research is the investigation of the use of plants, with two notable

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<sup>48</sup> Byung-rim Yoo *et al.*, *Prototype of the Joseon Dynasty Garden in Korea* (Seoul: Seoul National University, 1989).

<sup>49</sup> Dong-oh Jung, *Cultural History of Oriental Landscape Architecture* (Korea: Chonnam University Press, 1990); Yong-gi Kim *et al.*, *The History of Landscape Architecture in the East* (Seoul: Munundang, 1996).

<sup>50</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Culture of Korean Garden 1 & 2* (Seoul: Yekyung, 1991).

<sup>51</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden: the beauty of Korean gardens represents a spiritual world through their historical development* (Seoul: Borim Editions, 1992).

<sup>52</sup> IFLA Korea (ed.), *Traditional Landscape Architecture of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyung, 1992).

titles having been published recently: Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flower Culture* (2004) and Sun Yee, *Study on Planting in Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (2006).<sup>53</sup>

In 2005 a third English language book about Korean historic gardens was published which was also the first one to appear from a foreign publisher.<sup>54</sup> Translated from *Korean Traditional Gardens: The world in which classical scholars walked and enjoyed* written by Kyun Heo had first published in 2003 but was now published under the new title of *Gardens of Korea: Harmony with Intellect and Nature* in 2005. In addition to these sources, the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture has worked to provide a basis for understanding the history, and has compiled a notable resource for understanding the latest history of landscape architecture, which was first presented at the Symposium marking the Institute's 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2002.<sup>55</sup>

There was no dedicated journal for the landscape architecture profession until the establishment of the *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, first issued by the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture in 1972. Before that date there had been some material relevant to gardens or courtyards in the building-related *Review of Architecture and Building Science*, issued by the Architectural Institute of Korea, which had first been issued in June 1955. The *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture* contains a range of authoritative papers on both historic gardens and contemporary landscape architecture. Between 1973 and 2007 there have been 108 studies of designed historic landscapes, of a total of 1162 papers. The majority of what has been published therefore relates to other concerns than landscape architecture; yet it is encouraging to see a gradual increase in interest today: during the first decade after the inception of the journal only twelve designed historic landscapes were included. Similarly conservation issues have been rarely included, with a total of twelve papers over a 30 year period. Of these 12, eleven articles related to traditional villages, cultural landscapes, and historical landscapes<sup>56</sup>, and only one paper is directly relevant to the topic of this thesis: 'A

<sup>53</sup> Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flowers Culture Vol. 1-3*, 2nd edn (Seoul: Nexusbook, 2004); Sun Lee, *Study on Planting in Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006).

<sup>54</sup> Kyun Heo, *Gardens of Korea: Harmony with Intellect and Nature*, trans. Donald L Baker (London: Saffron, 2005).

<sup>55</sup> Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture (ed.) *Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002* (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002).

<sup>56</sup> Sang-sup Shin, 'Research Trends concerning History of Landscape Architecture in the Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture', *The Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 31/5 (2003), pp. 148-151; Seung-bin Im, 'Thirty years' Research on Landscape Architecture', in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang-zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), pp. 26-29.

study on the preservation of a palace garden and the creation of a historic park'<sup>57</sup>. Since 1983 the main organ on historic gardens was the *Journal of the Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*<sup>58</sup>. While this was intended to provide a significant channel for the academic investigation of historic designed landscapes, in practice there have been some issues about its content. Most of the papers do not relate to designed historic landscapes, and the majority (170 out of 231 articles) cover new landscape designs. The majority of a total of 405 articles relate to designed historic landscapes of the Joseon dynasty, due to the abundance of sources for this period. Only about 26 articles (6.4%) are studies on historic gardens before the Joseon Dynasty period. It is also interesting to note the evolution in fashions among the studies: during the 1980s, royal palaces, villages, and temples were the usual subjects, while during the 1990s it were Confucian halls, walled towns, and the historic landscapes which found favour.<sup>59</sup> The *Journal of Architectural History* issued by the Korean Association of Architectural History since 1992 also occasionally contains relevant papers; it is particularly useful on philosophy and conservation practice relating to architectural heritage, but has also occasionally addressed historic gardens.

This thesis has found it beneficial to compare similarities between practice in Korea and Japan, where the journal of the *Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture* is the main quarterly journal that covers general landscape topics, including conservation. In 1953, *Gekkan Bunkazai (Monthly Cultural Heritage)*, sponsored by the Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, was established for the protection and understanding of cultural heritage. Since then it has frequently provided accounts of historic gardens and their conservation. Unlike Korean journals, these journals cannot be accessed on the Internet, but they are available in Meiji University Library, as well as in most university libraries in Japan.

In addition to the above journals, articles in the *Environment & Landscape Architecture of Korea* and in *Landscape Architecture Construction* are important sources providing a more general contemporary context with respect to the development of landscape practice related to the management and maintenance of historic gardens.

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<sup>57</sup> Whee-young Oh, 'A study on the preservation of a palace garden and the creation of a historic park', *The Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 10/1 (1982), pp. 1-8.

<sup>58</sup> Its name was changed from the *Journal of Korean Garden Society* after the name of the society was changed.

<sup>59</sup> Sang-sup Shin, 'Research Trends concerning History of Landscape Architecture in the Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture', *The Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 31/5 (2003), p. 151.

Information on the legal framework has been provided by the Ministry of Government Legislation; the Comprehensive Legal Information Service has been the most elaborate source. It provides access to a variety of Acts, regulations, court cases, and books on jurisprudence. The service is available as an on-line database of legislative information, and the various amended versions of acts can also be inspected.<sup>60</sup>

## INTERVIEWS

Interviews with individuals have provided important empirical data. Interviews were conducted in 2005 with key people involved in the management and maintenance of historic gardens and within the Cultural Heritage Administration in Korea. Nine persons involved with gardens were interviewed between July and September 2005 in a semi-structured manner. Interviews were arranged by request to the interviewees' relations; in Korean culture, if one does not know someone directly it is very hard to establish contact with them.

Five of the interviews were tape-recorded with the interviewee's permission, with the intention of transcribing them while four of interviews were depended upon hand writing.<sup>61</sup> The verbal and written data from the interviews was then transcribed from the tapes and memos with keywords. The main method for analysis was mapping; each interview was examined separately first, and then in relation to the others, as all the interviewees have different experience or have worked in different fields. The material was then corrected with related issues and events described in the various other sources used. The language used in the fieldwork was Korean, and therefore a transcription in the original language is attached in Appendix E with a summary in English in order to make this material available to future researchers. The interviews provided important evidence, particularly in aiding understanding alterations in gardens or of proposed changes in them or in the legal framework.

Professor Jae-hoon Chung, a chair-professor of the Department of Traditional Landscape Architecture in the Korean National University of Cultural Heritage belongs to the first generation of conservation pioneers. He is the author of several books on garden history, notably *Traditional Garden of Korea*, a former administrator in the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea and he has been involved in various conservation projects as a member of the Cultural Properties Committee. He was interviewed in August 2005, focusing on the trends in research in garden history and conservation. Byung-rim Yoo, Professor of the Seoul National University, is

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<sup>60</sup> The Comprehensive Legal Information Service (<http://www.klaw.go.kr/>)

<sup>61</sup> Several interviewees particularly officials did not want to be named or to be tape-recorded, as they felt the issues raised might be sensitive.

former chair of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture and the author of *Prototype of the Joseon Dynasty Garden in Korea*<sup>62</sup> and was particularly engaged in the conservation work for Soswaewan garden in 1983. He was interviewed in July 2005 on attitudes toward gardens and additionally was consulted on September 2006 and October 2007 on related issues. Kee-won Hwang, Professor of the Seoul National University, who is the professional on cultural landscapes and was the vice-president of ICOMOS Korea at that time, was also interviewed in July 2005, particularly focusing on the potential of ICOMOS Korea's activities for garden conservation. Byoung-e Yang, Professor of the Seoul National University, who is the representative of the National Trust of Korea, was interviewed in July 2005 about issues related to the National Trust activities in Korea and their future targets for the conservation of historic gardens.

Hyeon Kang, researcher in the Division of Architectural Studies of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, was interviewed in September 2005 about the affairs of the Research Institute and his Division as well as the priority of historic gardens in the Institute. At the same time, two officials in the Historic and Scenic Sites Bureau and one official in the Heritage Policy Bureau of Cultural Heritage Administration were interviewed, focusing on their particular responsibilities and interests. In September 2005, when Soswaewon garden was visited for its site survey, a member of the Society for the Conservation of Soswaewon Garden was interviewed about conservation practice on the site.

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<sup>62</sup> Byung-rim Yoo *et al.*, *Prototype of the Joseon Dynasty Garden in Korea* (Seoul: Seoul National University, 1989).

**Chapter Two**

**Historical Context:  
A History of Korean Gardens**



## Chapter 2.

# Historical Framework: A History of Korean Gardens

Korea has a long and rich history which is expressed in an abundant cultural heritage.<sup>1</sup> Gardens have been central to Korean culture since ancient times, and a garden culture can be traced back to the period of the Three Kingdoms,<sup>2</sup> not only through archaeological evidence but also in the some of the oldest surviving written records specific to gardening in human history.<sup>3</sup> Koreans consider nature to be a motherly being that takes care of mankind, and it follows that they worked hard, in accordance with the principles of nature, to secure a stable living. Nature was seen as both that comforting maternal figure and an eternal spiritual essence and so the indigenous religion of Korea was centred on the worship of nature: life would not be possible unless the principles of nature were respected.<sup>4</sup> Koreans made gardens to be places which embodied ideological thought as well as to have practical purposes. Gardens have played an important role as inspirational backdrops for writing or painting, and as places of spiritual training for contemplation or self-cultivation through becoming one with nature. But gardens have also been used as places for husbandry and household, growing fruit or medicinal herbs, and to provide pleasurable entertainment. The formation of the identity of the Korean garden played an important part in the development of the ways of life and the ideological values of the Korean people, which are rooted in the Korean natural, social, and political environment as they have gradually changed with the times.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest literary records are scant and also, providing only a limited insight into gardens in

<sup>1</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p.12.

<sup>2</sup> The Three Kingdoms period in Korea consisted of the separate kingdoms of Silla (57 BC–AD 935), which absorbed the other two kingdoms, the Baekje Kingdom (18 BC–AD 660) and the Goguryeo Kingdom (37 BC–AD 668). Each of the three kingdoms had its own unique culture, which were exchanged among themselves and interchanged with the neighbouring geographical region of China. Silla unified the kingdoms of the central and southern part of the peninsula in 668, ushering in the Unified Silla period while the kingdom of Balhae (AD 698–926) succeeded Goguryeo in part of Manchuria and the northern part of the peninsula. However the history of the period of the Three Kingdoms is unclear and mysterious in some parts, for example, the year of establishment is still a matter of controversy.

<sup>3</sup> There were records to make gardens before the period of Three Kingdoms. For example, *Daedong sagang* (大東史綱) written by Kwang Kim published in 1929, says that there was royal garden in B.C. 590 and B.C. 180 however there are no historical references and garden is not ascertained by archaeological evidence; Yong-ki Kim & Jong-hee Choi, 'The Period Considerations for the Landscape Planting in Korean Traditional Garden', *Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture International Edition*, 2 (2004), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Culture of Korean Garden 1*, (Seoul: Yekyung, 1991), pp. 43-44.

<sup>5</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, 'Korean Gardens: Where Man and Nature Become One', *Koreana*, 17/2 (Summer 2003), p. 76.

ancient Korea. There are, however, important texts such as *Samguk sagi* written in 1145, and *Samgukyusa* in 1281, which confirm that gardens have been cultivated for long periods of time; this has also been confirmed by examination of the archaeological remains of various palace gardens. During the Three Kingdoms the predominant indigenous ideological and religious belief was called *Seon gyo* (faith in human immortals: 仙教) and varied marginally within each kingdom;<sup>6</sup> it was later incorporated within the Buddhist faith. This occurred after administrative reforms were adopted and a hierarchical structure introduced, loosely based on that in China. As a result Buddhism was adopted and Confucianism introduced also. Historical records and archaeological remains indicate that there were elaborate, 'artificial' gardens by the time of the Goryeo dynasty when Buddhism prevailed. Contemporary literature, particularly the writings by Gyu-bo Yi (李奎報: 1168–1241) indicate that royalty and nobility liked artificial gardens, that is gardens constructed and maintained by hand where man's 'art' was visible, while the Confucians preferred 'natural' gardens, gardens seemingly untouched by humans.

The philosophy of Neo-Confucianism, introduced in the late thirteenth century, strengthened the idea of the garden as 'nature', the 'natural garden'. The state ideology of the Yi Joseon dynasty replaced Buddhism with Neo-Confucianism, signifying the Chinese influences at the time. The Neo-Confucianism of Zhu Xi (朱喜: 1130–1200) applied the Yi Joseon standard of social organization and behaviour, with prescriptions for successful conduct in both public and private life. Neo-Confucianism had developed through a different Korean school and was sometimes practised more strictly in Korea than in China. It had developed there following the doctrines of Yang Ming Wang (王陽明: 1472–1529) in the Ming dynasty, whereas in Korea the Neo-Confucianism of the Yi Joseon dynasty was based on Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism and developed from the early sixteenth century through the school of Hwang Yi (李滉: 1501–1570). These doctrines determined people's lives in a practical way by promoting self-cultivation of their mind. The refined taste of aristocratic gardens of the previous era was replaced by a striving after simplicity and humble beauty, with qualities of ordinary-ness and steadiness. The Neo-Confucian equivalent of the closely related Tao was the issue of inherent nature: whether or not every human individual was made up of mind and body. This thinking influenced lifestyle and thereby garden making and floriculture, while other philosophies, such as *feng shui* (風水), also provided an important influence that determined the setting of settlements (that is, selecting good places for living and the direction of the arrangement and layout of houses on the site). This forceful conception of nature was held by Song Confucians of China, for whom determining this 'unity between human beings and nature' became the predominant principle of

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<sup>6</sup> See: Duk-whang Kim, *A History of Religions in Korea* (Seoul: Daeji Moonhwa-sa, 1988), pp. 49-70.

garden making during the Yi Joseon dynasty.<sup>7</sup>

Korea's economic development was strong in the second half of the seventeenth century following the second Manchu invasion in 1636, and led to a period of prosperity during the early eighteenth century. Neo-Confucian philosophy was gradually replaced by *Silhak* (Practical Learning: 實學), based on reason and the scientific spirit of criticism. The introduction of Roman Catholicism from the west and of new scientific ideas from China stimulated the reform measures advocated by the new school such as Western learning and Northern learning.<sup>8</sup> It criticized the Zhu Xi doctrine for being opposed to Practical Learning and was interested in science, technology concerning agriculture, and industry. Henceforth, garden making and floriculture were seen as associated with painting and literature. Garden making, potted plants, garden visiting, writing about gardens, and creating imaginary gardens were all in fashion among the aristocracy as prized pastimes or creative activities. This trend extended to the middle classes of the day.

In the late nineteenth century, the development of Korean gardens entered a new phase with the introduction of Western ideas about gardens. Korea was forced to open up its market and establish relationships with foreign countries, especially those of the West. Western consultants played a significant role in the modernization of Korea, including advice on town planning and garden design. Public parks were introduced for the first time, visible evidence of this western influence. In the Korean mind this represented modernity and provided a break with tradition and thereby traditional gardens

This chapter reviews the records of palace gardens in the era of the Three Kingdoms, from scant evidence until the tenth century, and investigates the development of Korean garden culture until the early twentieth century, in chronological order, examining important records, literature, and paintings of political and cultural events.

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<sup>7</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, 'Korean Gardens: Where Man and Nature Become One', *Koreana*, 17/2 (Summer 2003), p. 77.

<sup>8</sup> James Hoare & Susan Pares, *Korea: An Introduction* (London: KPI, 1988), pp. 39-40.

## Palace gardens in the period of the Three Kingdoms

Goguryeo (高句麗) was a state dominated by a warrior aristocracy which moved its capital several times according to both the domestic situation and the military situation in relation to neighbouring states in China. Goguryeo's territories covered North Korea and southern Manchuria. King Dongmyeongseong (東明聖王: r. 37–19 B.C.) established his capital city in Onyeo, a mountain fortress on the east side of Mt. Jolbon (卒本: modern Mt. Wunu in China). Here he built his lofty and magnificent palace and city wall in 34 B.C.<sup>9</sup> An auxiliary palace was added in 18 BC. Soon after the formation of the state, the second ruler, King Yuri (琉璃王: r. 19 B.C.–A.D. 18), moved the capital to Gungnae Fortress (國內城: in modern Ji'an Province in China), where the capital remained for more than four centuries as Goguryeo continued to expand and develop. There was also a palace and gardens, with a government post for caring for the royal gardens.<sup>10</sup> In AD 342, King Gogugwon (故國原王: r. 331–371) moved a few miles away from Gungnae, building a new palace, Winaam Fortress (尉那巖城: the modern name is Hwando, Wandu in Chinese).<sup>11</sup>

Goguryeo, developed as a centralized state and continued outward expansion until reaching the zenith of its power and culture at the end of the sixth century. Belief in immortality and the afterlife influenced several art forms, for example, tomb mural portraits, scenes of contemporary lifestyles and customs, animals symbolic of the four cardinal directions, the lotus flower, celestial beings, the sun and moon spirits, and so on.<sup>12</sup> The murals show that related faiths in this period influenced the creation of outdoor and indoor living spaces. (Figs. 2.2 & 2.3) Without having any significance in terms of beliefs, nature as landscape is a primary source of inspiration, for example in a painting of a hunting scene which was a common subject favoured by royal garden aesthetics. (Fig. 2.1)

<sup>9</sup> Vol. 13 of *Samguksagi*, 'King Dongmyeongseong of the Goguryeo, Annals' in 4th year, in Pu-sik Kim, *Samguk sagi I*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) p. 309.

<sup>10</sup> King Yuri went hunting and did not return to the palace for five days. When the king returned, the highest official, Hyeopbu, remonstrated with him about the king indulging in his pleasure, however, the king became angry. Finally Hyeopbu was relegated to the office of gardener in the royal palace, but later he ran away to another country ('King Yuri of the Goguryeo, Annals' in 22nd year, in Pu-sik Kim, *Samguksagi I*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) p. 313.

<sup>11</sup> These three fortresses and forty tombs were designated as UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2004, entitled the Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Goguryeo Kingdom.

<sup>12</sup> In July 2004 a group of sixty-three Goguryeo tombs decorated with murals, entitled the Complex of Goguryeo Tombs, was designated as a cultural World Heritage Site.





Fig. 2.1 *Suryopdo* (Hunting Scene: 狩獵圖), Detail from the northwest wall of the burial chamber of the Tomb of Dances (the *Muyongchong*) (early fifth century) in Ji'an City, China. This action scene portrays warriors on horseback hunting deer and tigers. Hunting was a very important social activity for the state in Goguryeo times. (Source: Kyung-hee Kim (ed.), *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (Seoul: Jisik sanup Publication, 1980), p. 190.)

Fig. 2.1 *Chosun-gwan Dainin* (Sun spirit and Moon spirit, Chosun Tomb No. 4 (end of the sixth century) in Ji'an City, China; the sun spirit and the moon spirit face each other. The sun spirit is the figure holding up the tripod arrow in the sphere, while the moon spirit holds an orb that contains a head. (Source: Northeast Asian History Foundation, *Koguryo: A Goguryeo Korean Kingdom in Northeast Asia* (Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2007), pp. 72-83.)



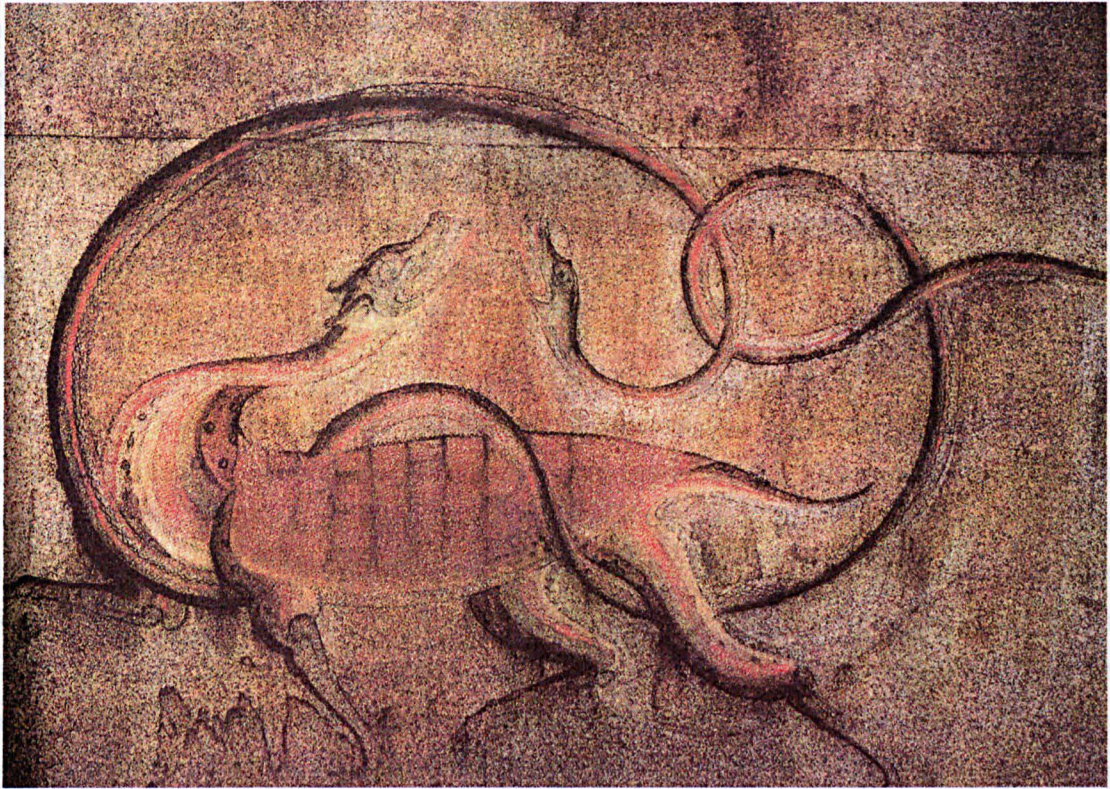


Fig. 2.2 *Hyeonmu* (the Black Warrior: 玄武), north wall of the burial chamber of the Great Tomb of Gangseo (early seventh century) in Pyongyang, North Korea; tomb murals featuring the guardian spirits of the four cardinal directions and the black warrior symbolizing the guardian of the north. (Source: Ho-tae Jeon, *The Dreams of the Living and Hopes of the Dead: Goguryeo Tomb Murals* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2007), p. 92.)

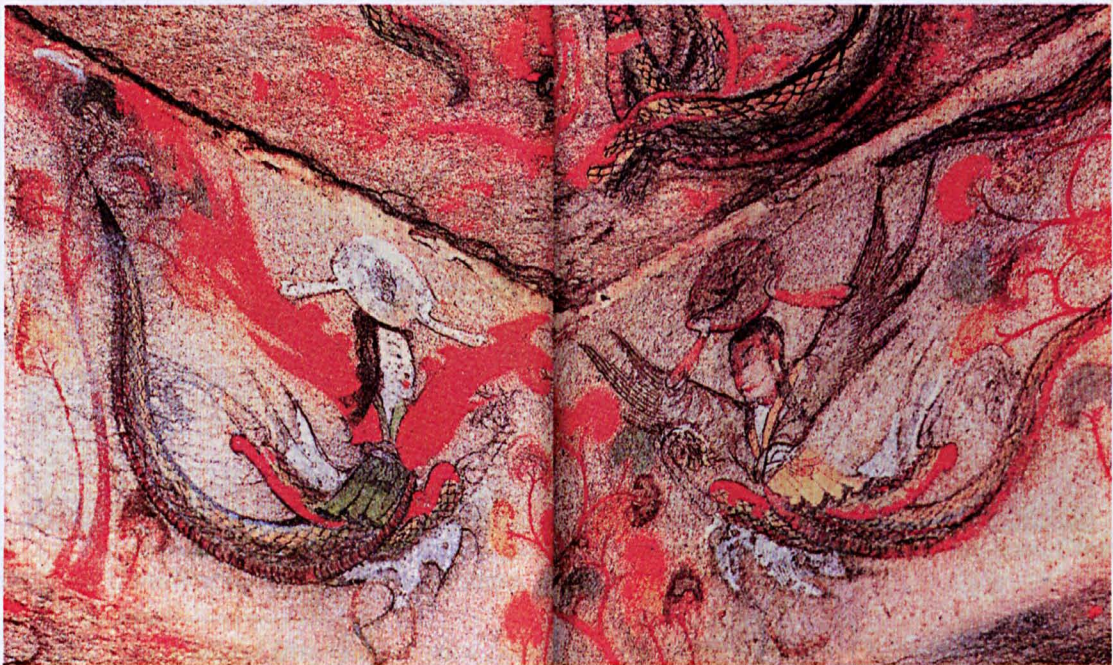


Fig. 2.3 *Haesin gwa Dalsin* (Sun spirit and Moon spirit), Ohoe Tomb No. 4 (end of the sixth century) in Ji'an City, China; the sun spirit and the moon spirit face each other. The sun spirit is the figure holding up the tripod crow in the sphere, while the moon spirit holds an orb that contains a toad. (Source: Northeast Asian History Foundation, *Koguryo: A Glorious Ancient Korean Kingdom in Northeast Asia* (Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2007), pp. 52–53.)



In 427, the fifteenth year of the reign of King Jangsu (長壽王: r. 413–491), the royal court was transferred to Daeseong sanseong (大聖山城), a mountain fortress in the Pyeongyang district (the area of the modern capital of North Korea). Curiously, a new palace, the Anhagkung Palace (安鶴宮), was separately built outside the Daeseong mountain fortress. It seems that the royal family lived in the palace in peace time but stayed in the fortress during times of war. The palace covered an area of approximately 38 square hectares; the outer walls measured 662 metres long. A path c. 2 metres in width followed the inside of the wall. The palace court was divided into two areas, north and south. Three distinctive gardens were created as part of the royal palace. The largest garden, representing mountains and water and measuring about 4 hectares, was located between the south palace and the west gate. The garden consisted of an artificial hill about 4 metres in height, with a pavilion at the top alongside a pond with four islets. The second, a small garden, was sited within the bedchamber buildings complex and consisted of rocks arranged around an oval pond. The third, northern, garden's main feature was an artificial mound measuring 120 metres by 70 metres with a height of 8 metres. (Fig. 2.4) A long stream passed alongside their ridge from north to south reaching a rectangular pond that was located on the southeast corner of the palace complex.<sup>13</sup> (Figs. 2.5 & 2.6) In 552, King Yangwon (陽原王: r. 545–559) constructed the Jangan Fortress (長安城: the modern North Korean capital), and King Pyeongwon (平原王: r. 559–590) moved the seat of government there in 586, where it remained for eighty-three years until the fall of the kingdom.



Fig. 2.4 The artificial mound of the northern garden in Anhagkung Palace. (Source: Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyungsa, 1996), p. 27.)

<sup>13</sup> Dong-oh Jung, *Cultural History of Oriental Landscape Architecture*, (Korea: Chonnam University Press, 1990), pp. 58-60; Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture 1*, (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), pp. 82-83; Kim Il Sung University (ed.), *The Ruins of Goguryeo in Mt. Daeseongsan*, (Pyeong yang: Kim Il Sung University Press, 1973), pp. 258-261; see also Kook-byeong Yoon, 'A Study on Anhagkung's Garden in Goguryeo', *Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 1/4 (1985), pp. 315-320.



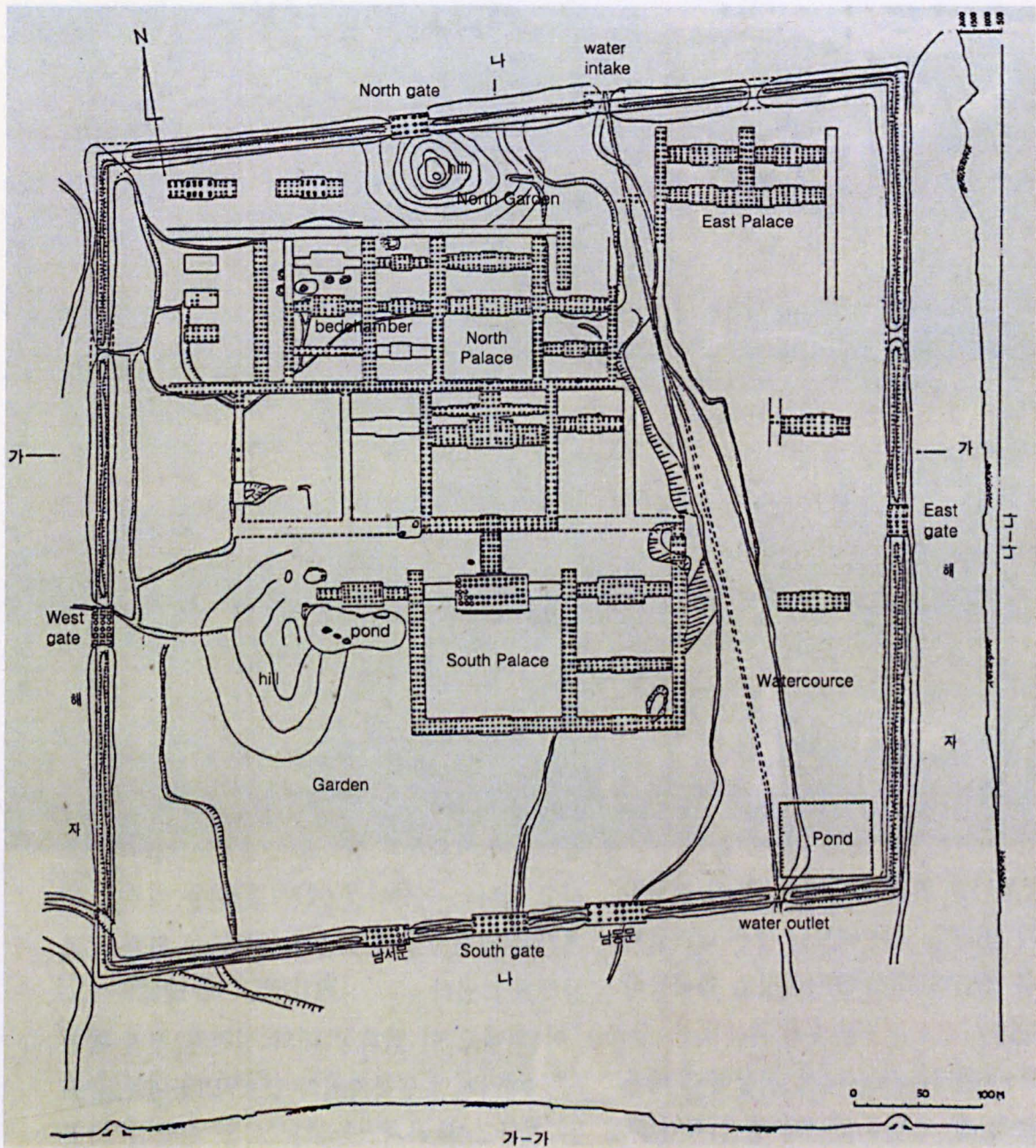


Fig. 2.5 The survey map of the ruins of Anhakgung Palace in Goguryeo, excavated between 1958 and 1971, by Kim Il Sung University, North Korea. (Source: Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyungsa, 1996), p. 26.)



The second native Korean kingdom, Baekje (百濟), emerged in the first century B.C. in the area of modern Seoul. From the late fourth century A.D., Baekje promoted the development of both Confucianism and Buddhism, which were introduced from Goguryeo and India, respectively.



Fig. 2.6 Aerial view of Anhakgung Palace taken in 1970 during the archaeological excavation. (Source: Koguryo Research Foundation (ed.), *A Report on the Joint Inter-Korean Archaeological Survey of Anhakgung* (Seoul: Koguryo Research Foundation, 2006), p. 253.)

<sup>14</sup> Pu-uk Kim, *Saenguk sagi II*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) p. 512.

<sup>15</sup> Joo-yeon Chung, *Traditional Gardens of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyoung, 1996), pp. 56-59; Pu-uk Kim, *Saenguk sagi II*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) pp. 549-550.

<sup>16</sup> Pu-uk Kim, *Saenguk sagi I*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) p. 64.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

The second native Korean kingdom, Baekje (百濟), emerged in the first century B.C. in the area of modern Seoul. From the late fourth century A.D., Baekje promoted the development of both Confucianism and Buddhism, which were introduced from Goguryeo and India, respectively. This dynasty also enjoyed natural landscapes under the influence of the introduced religions, with the indigenous shamanism. (Fig. 2.7) In A.D. 391, during the reign of King Jinsa (辰斯王: r. 385–392), a pond and an artificial mound were constructed, and rare birds and plants were raised there.<sup>14</sup> The capital of the Baekje Kingdom was forced to move southward twice, in 475 and in 537, under continual military pressure from Goguryeo, which involved the construction of a new palace in each instance. There is evidence in both literature and archaeological remains that the Baekje Kingdom had even grander gardens than its predecessor. In 500, King Munju (文周王: r. 475–477) built Imnyugak (臨流閣), fifteen metres high, with a pond in the eastern part of palace. After the second transfer of the capital from Ungjinseong (熊津城) to Sabiseong (泗比城), in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Mu (武王, the thirtieth king of the Baekje Kingdom: r. 600–641), a pond was created to the south of the royal palace; the water supply was located 8 kilometres away. Willow trees were planted along all four banks of the pond, which had a miniature island in the centre. A pavilion named *Manghaejeong* (the sea-watching pavilion: 望海亭) was built beside the pond.<sup>15</sup>

In 36 BC, the founding monarch of Silla (新羅), the third ancient Korean kingdom that emerged in the first century B.C., Park Hyeokgeose (朴赫居世: r. 58 BC–AD 4), built Geum Fortress (金城) as the capital city (modern Gyeongju, South Korea)<sup>16</sup> and constructed the palace five years later.<sup>17</sup> In A.D. 101, King Pasa Isageum (婆娑尼師今: r. 80–112) built the Wol Fortress (月城) to the south of Geum Fortress.<sup>18</sup> However, Silla was less developed in political and cultural terms in the early period compared with Goguryeo and Baekje, because of Silla's conservatism and territorial conditions. For example, Silla did not embrace Buddhism until 535, approximately one hundred and fifty years later than Goguryeo and Baekje. However, Silla succeeded in destroying Baekje in 660 by a military alliance with the Tang dynasty, and then achieved unification of the peninsula in 668 by overpowering Goguryeo in a similar fashion. Subsequently, Silla was compelled to wage an eight-year war against the Tang dynasty, their erstwhile ally, because the latter evinced the ambition to assimilate Silla as well. The triumph of Silla in this Sino-Korean war in 676 led to peace and prosperity during the Unified Silla

<sup>14</sup> Pu-sik Kim, *Samguk sagi II*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) p. 512.

<sup>15</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyung, 1996), pp. 56–59; Pu-sik Kim, *Samguk sagi II*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) pp. 549–550.

<sup>16</sup> Pu-sik Kim, *Samguk sagi I*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) p. 64.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.



period.<sup>19</sup>

Even though Silla was at war with the Tang dynasty in China, work continued on the palace and gardens. An entry in 674 records that King Munmu (文武王, the thirtieth king of the Silla Kingdom: r. 661–681) built the East Palace and Wolji pond (月池) of Imhaejeon Hall (hall ‘adjacent to the sea’: 臨海殿) site: ‘a pond was made with mountain-islands, flowering plants were grown, and rare birds and strange animals were raised in the palace.’<sup>20</sup> This was drained for excavation in 1975, and restoration was undertaken in 1980.<sup>21</sup> The artificial pond had, along its 1330-metre-long shore, five buildings, each situated so as to command a full view of the pond. Wolji pond has curved embankments on the northern and eastern sides, somewhat resembling the national shoreline. The southern end was perfectly straight while the western side was angular. All of the four sides were constructed with faced stones. In the middle of the pond were three small islands, and on the shore and around the islands were artificial beaches made of rocks.<sup>22</sup> (Figs. 2.8 & 2.9) Another important historic landscape of the Silla era in Gyeongju is in the southern valley of Mt. Namsan, at the site of the Poseokjeong pavilion (鮑石亭), believed to have been built in the eighth century as an auxiliary palace.<sup>23</sup> A water channel defines an abalone-shaped area. It is believed to have been a water channel in which wine cups floated during royal feasts; however, another opinion, that the water channel represented some holy structure rather than a floating-cup stream, is preferred today. This historic landscape site seems to have been a lovely sight, with thick bamboo groves, beautiful streams, and dense woods of pine and zelkova trees.<sup>24</sup>

Appealing to both the high and low in Silla society, Buddhism became a national cult during the Unified Silla period. With the establishment of a National Confucian College in 682, Confucianism received special patronage from Silla’s rulers. Many scholars, monks, and merchants travelled to China in search of truth, fame, and fortune. One was Chi-won Choi (崔致遠: b. 857), a scholar and official of the Unified Silla dynasty, who studied from 869 and

<sup>19</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp.69-71.

<sup>20</sup> Pu-sik Kim, *Samguk sagi I*, trans. Kang-lae Lee (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1998) p. 201; Kook-beyong Yoon, *A History of Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: Il Cho Kak, 1978), p. 228; Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyung, 1996), p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> This palace complex is discussed in Chapter 8 as one of the case studies.

<sup>22</sup> Dong-oh Jung, *Cultural History of Oriental Landscape Architecture* (Korea: Chonnam University Press, 1990), p. 69; Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), pp. 107-108.

<sup>23</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyung, 1996), pp. 48-49; Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), p. 111.

<sup>24</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyung, 1996), p. 50.

passed his civil service examination under the Tang dynasty in 874. After Choi returned to the Silla court in 885, he became dissatisfied with the chaotic realities of society and withdrew from his social position to nature in the mountains and the sea, where he lived in a 'retreat villa,' *Byeol-seo* (別墅), a humble countryside house with a garden of pine trees and bamboo.<sup>25</sup> It is recorded in Korean garden history of a *Byeol-seo*, which means naturalistic garden in the countryside, perhaps made because this garden involved the secluded life of Chi-won Choi.<sup>26</sup>

When Silla reached the height of its prosperity in the eighth century, the capital, Kyongju, consisted of 178,936 houses within 1,360 districts, fifty-five main streets, and thirty-five manor houses. The aristocracy enjoyed spending the four seasons in different houses; these were *Tongya* house (東野宅) for spring, *Kokyang* house (谷良宅) for summer, *Kuchi* house (仇知宅) for autumn, and *Kai* house (加伊宅) for winter.<sup>27</sup> 'House' here could be interpreted in several ways, but it is generally taken to mean a villa and pleasure area to which the aristocrats resorted for each of the four seasons, because the literal meaning of *Tongya* is the 'east field' and *Kokyang* is 'fine valley.' On the other hand, it might be that there were four famous aristocratic houses suitable for each season, because one character of each house name means a family name: *Tong* for spring house, *Kok* for summer, *Ku* for autumn, and *I* for winter. In any case, it seems that aristocrats appreciated the peak of each season in different houses.

<sup>25</sup> Jae-keun Lee, 'A Study on the Retreating Villa (Byeol Seo) Garden in Choson Dynasty', unpublished PhD thesis, SungKyunKwan University, 1992, pp. 39-40.

<sup>26</sup> Yong-gi Kim *et al.*, *The History of Landscape Architecture in the East* (Seoul: Munundang, 1996), p. 217.

<sup>27</sup> Ilyon, *Samgukyusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms: 1281), trans. Tae-hung Ha & Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972), p. 48.





Fig. 2.7 *Sansusangyeongmunjeon* (Tile with Relief Landscape Designs: 山水山景紋埴); Baekje (first half of the seventh century), Treasure No. 343, Buyeo National Museum, South Chungcheong Province; rounded peaks in units of three stand above angular rock formations in the foreground and at the side. Pine trees grow on the peaks. Clouds fill the upper part of the tile. (Source: Kyung-hee Kim (ed.), *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (Seoul: Jisik sanup Publication, 1980), p. 40.)



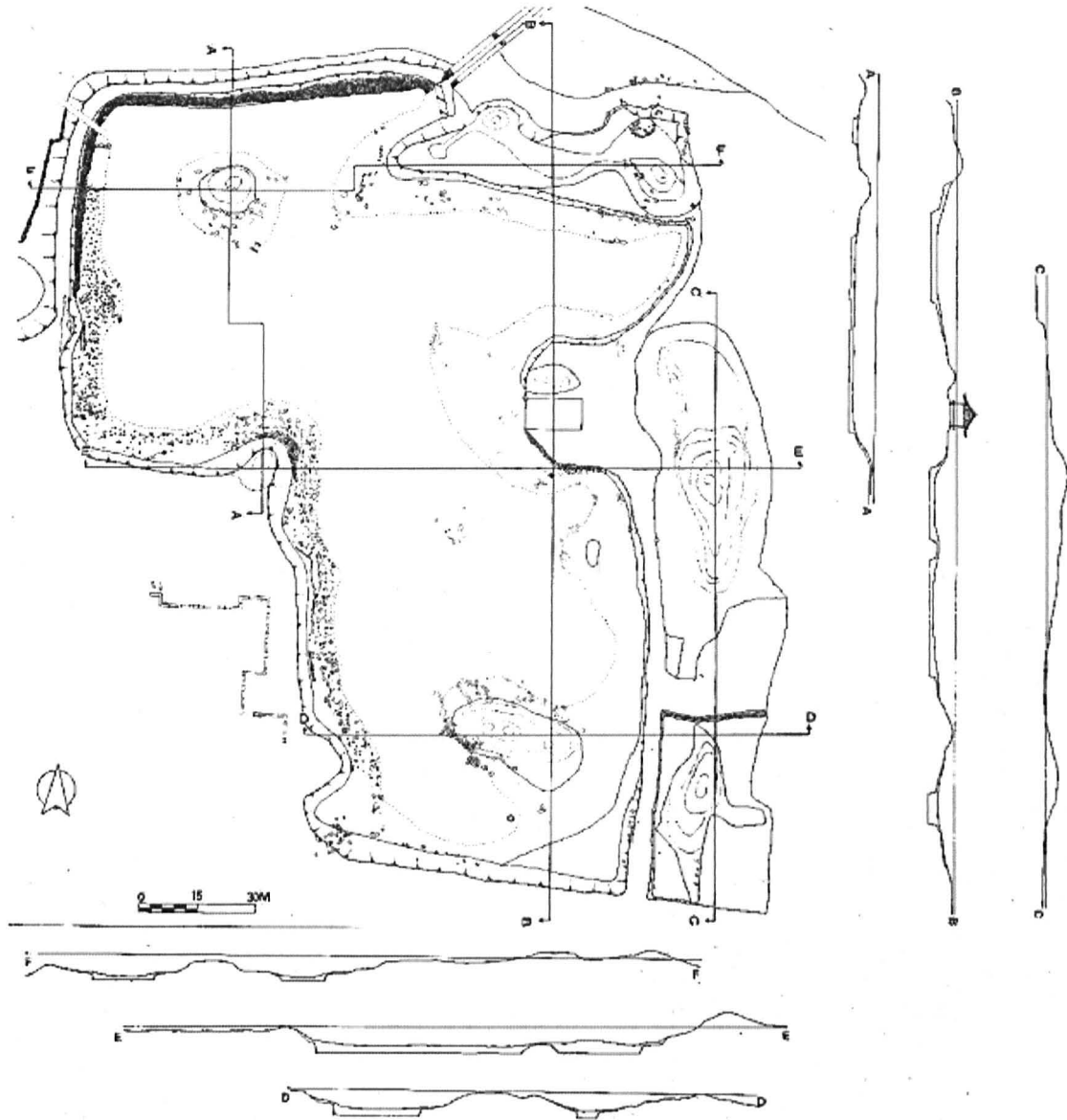


Fig. 2.8 The surveyed plan of the Imhaejeon Hall site before the archaeological excavation. (Source: The Cultural Properties Protection Committee, *Report of the Investigation of the Excavation of Anapji-pond* (Seoul: Office of Cultural Properties, 1978), illustration no. 2.)





Fig. 2.9 Aerial view of Anapji after the restoration work. (Source: The Cultural Properties Protection Committee, *Report of the Investigation of the Excavation of Anapji-pond* (Seoul: Office of Cultural Properties, 1978), plate no. 1.)



## Garden culture of the Goryeo dynasty

By about A.D. 890, Silla was on the point of collapse, with new kingdoms emerging in the old Baekje and the southern area of the old Goguryeo (the Later Three Kingdoms). One such rebellion in neo-Goguryeo led to the emergence of a soldier, Geon Wang. He became King Taejo (太祖: r. 918–943) as the founder of a dynasty. In 918, he set up his capital at Songak<sup>28</sup> in accordance with geomancy and called his kingdom Goryeo (高麗). He created a unified kingdom which embraced not only the Later Three Kingdoms (in 935) but also annexed part of Balhae (渤海)<sup>29</sup> (in 928) as well. His generosity toward the former ruling classes of his disparate kingdom helped him to portray Goryeo as the legitimate successor to the traditions of the former kingdoms. This period occupies a special place in Korean history because not only for the first time did the majority of modern Korea come under one ruler, but also because the Western name Korea, or La Corée and its variants, is derived from Goryeo.<sup>30</sup> Its name was derived from that of the old kingdom Goguryeo. Goguryeo was frequently called Goryeo during its heyday and even after the kingdom had fallen, and the name Goryeo was then resurrected by the new dynasty in the tenth century.<sup>31</sup>

The court of Goryeo was initially controlled by local magnates closely tied to the royal family in a feudal system. They controlled most of the land and the economy, and supplied most of the leadership of the Buddhist temples. Similarly to previous dynasties, Buddhism was the state religion in Goryeo, and Confucianism became the state ideology. The early Goryeo kings adopted such Chinese bureaucratic institutions as the Six Ministries and the civil service examination system in 958.<sup>32</sup> There were three types of examinations: the Composition Examination (*Jesulgwa*: 製述科) tested skills in various literary forms, the Classics Examination (*Myeonggyeonggwa*: 明經科) tested candidates' knowledge of Chinese classics, and the Miscellaneous Examination (*Japgwa*: 雜科) tested their knowledge of law, medicine, divination, and geomancy. Buddhism and Confucianism worked side by side and enjoyed

<sup>28</sup> Modern Gaeseong, which is a city in North Hwanghaedo province in North Korea.

<sup>29</sup> After thirty years of the fall of Goguryeo, Balhae (698-926) was established by a former Goguryeo general as a successor state of Goguryeo.

<sup>30</sup> James Hoare & Susan Pares, *Korea: An Introduction* (London: KPI, 1988), p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> Keith Pratt, *Everlasting Flower: A History of Korea* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), pp. 85-87.

<sup>32</sup> King Gwangjong established the civil examination system as part of his effort to consolidate monarchical control over the state. He was assisted by a Chinese advisor, Shuang Ji, who was an official of the Later Zhou dynasty that controlled northern China just prior to the reunification under the Song dynasty. He came to Korea in 956 as part of a Later Zhou embassy, fell ill, and stayed behind. Apparently impressed by his erudition and administrative knowledge, Gwangjong persuaded him to stay on in Korea as an advisor; Michael J. Seth, *A Concise History of Korea: From the Neolithic Period through the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), p. 80.



harmonious relations until the late period of the Goryeo dynasty.<sup>33</sup>

For nearly five centuries, arts and culture flourished under the patronage of the Goryeo aristocracy, whose taste for luxury and refinement was unprecedented in the country's history. Buddhist arts flourished as Buddhism blossomed as well, for example, extraordinary celadon ceramics, Buddhist paintings and sculptures, illustrated sutras, ritual implements, metal crafts, and lacquer wares.<sup>34</sup> These kinds of artistic sensibility would influence garden making.

The garden culture of the early Goryeo period, which aspired to recreate nature with flowing streams and rock arrangements, perpetuated established garden traditions. However, from the middle of the Goryeo period, luxurious and artistic gardens were created in royal palaces, in Buddhist temples, and in aristocratic houses, as a result of friendly diplomatic, commercial, and cultural relationships with the Song (宋) dynasty in China. During this period, various pavilions were built either in a natural setting or within gardens, and the villa garden was also popular in aristocratic society in its summer houses. In the late period of Goryeo, the *Byeol-seo* (retreat villa) also became a popular kind of garden, after the emergence of the *Sadaebu* (the literati: 士大夫), who were educated in classical Confucianism. *Byeol-seo* was preferred by those Confucian scholars who left politics and retired to hermitages in the countryside or to Confucian schools. There were more than 1,000 detached gardens in the natural style during this period.<sup>35</sup>

For almost two hundred years, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, civilian aristocratic families possessed absolute power over the country. Their estates were large and luxurious. For example, Chi-yang Kim (金致陽: d. 1009), the king's maternal relative, who assumed the helm of the country during the reign of King Mokjong (穆宗: r. 998–1009) built a house of 300 *kan*<sup>36</sup> with a huge garden planted with various flowers and trees and a large pond.<sup>37</sup>

### Palace gardens during the Goryeo dynasty

A sophisticated gardening culture flourished during the Goryeo dynasty in which a range of royal gardens were made in the main palace, known as Manwoldae Palace (Full Moon Palace: 滿月臺), and several auxiliary palaces were built. Geomancy had a great influence on the

<sup>33</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 118.

<sup>34</sup> Michael J. Seth, *A Concise History of Korea* (Oxford: Rowman Littlefield Publishers, 2006), pp. 90-91.

<sup>35</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), p. 176.

<sup>36</sup> One *kan* is generally about 6 *ja*, about 180 centimetres.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

founding of the capital. Geomancy required that the capital be positioned between a mountain to the north and a river to the south. The elements of the capital city were arranged with the government offices, altars, schools, and market and so on. on the south-north and east-west axes, as described in the section on the foundation of a nation in the *Jurye* (Rites of Zhou: 周禮).<sup>38</sup>

The main palace buildings were positioned along the north-south axis. To enhance the grandeur of the palace buildings they were built on a raised floor on a terraced hill, differing in this from the palaces of former dynasties, which were arranged on a level with the natural ground.<sup>39</sup> The main gate of the palace was Seungpyeongmun (昇平門). The royal grove was located between the main gate and Sinbongmun (神鳳門) gate alongside which there was another gate, Changhapmun (闔闔門). To the north of this gate, ascending four stone steps, was Hoegyongmun (會慶門), which was the main gate of Hoegyongjeon (the Audience Hall: 會慶殿). Inside the gate, the courtyard was covered with flagstones, with Hoegyongjeon on the far top surrounded by a corridor providing access to the gate. Immediately behind the Audience Hall was Janghwajeon (長和殿), where royal treasures were kept. Wondeokjeon (the king's office: 元德殿) was located on an upper terrace to the north of the Janghwajeon. To the rear of Wondeokjeon, from Janggyeongjeon (one of the king's palace buildings: 長慶殿), a garden opened to the north with additional buildings, including the Sangchunjeong (賞春亭) pavilion and Palseonjeon (八仙殿). On the west side of Wondeokjeon, there were bed-chamber quarters, including Geondeokjeon (a reception room for envoys: 乾德殿). The palace garden, which consisted of a pond, pavilions, a waterfall and an artificial grove, were on the east side of the main quarters of the palace.<sup>40</sup>

One of the main features in the palace garden was the artificial mountain. In the garden around Cheongyeongak (a place for the discussion of scriptures: 清讌閣) tower, an artificial mountain was created by piling up numerous rocks and digging a pond at the edge of courtyard, filled with water drawn from other bodies of water in the garden. The idea represented by the garden

<sup>38</sup> Yong-gi Kim et al., *The History of Landscape Architecture in the East*, (Seoul: Munundang, 1996), p. 69; The Rites of Zhou is the first part of the Book of Rites which is one of Five Classics. It presents the government system of the Zhou dynasty (10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.-256 B.C.) in China as a complete system of national institute.

<sup>39</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden: the beauty of Korean gardens represents a spiritual world through their historical development* (Seoul: Borim Editions, 1992), p. 113.

<sup>40</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyung, 1996), p. 17; Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), pp. 148-149; Young hwal Yoon, 'A Study on the Garden in Goryeo Dynasty (II)', *Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 2/5 (1989), pp. 53-54; Manwoldae Palace was excavated and examined after the restoration of independence to Korea in 1945 by the government of DPRK.

was that this mountain had several lofty peaks and clear water flowing in all directions.<sup>41</sup> The East Pond, to the east of the audience hall, was wide enough for large groups to enjoy boating. This body of water was in a natural style, using existing geographical features. There were additional pavilions and towers, positioned around the pond, as well as an artificial rock mountain on the slope. The kings often held banquets in this royal garden, and in 1070, for example, King Munjong (文宗: r. 1046–1083) gave feasts of homage to flowers in the Sangchunjeong pavilion, which was surrounded by rich peony blossoms in the spring and the fine perfume of chrysanthemums in the autumn. Here he sometimes composed and recited poems with his retainers.<sup>42</sup> In 1113, two flower gardens and a tower, enclosed with a wall, were also created in the southwest part of the palace. Flowering plants were collected from private houses and transplanted into the flower gardens. In this addition, a not inconsiderable sum from the Privy Purse was spent on purchasing flowering trees from merchants of the Song dynasty in China.<sup>43</sup> The royal gardens were managed through *Naewonseo* (內園署), the body charged with managing the royal gardens and the gardens in government buildings, established during the reign of King Munjong as well as a type of occupation, called '*Wonjeong* (園丁),' a professional gardener in charge of growing flowering plants and managing the gardens.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, there were numerous secondary palaces and royal villas in addition to the main palace. Among the many generations of Goryeo kings, King Uijong (毅宗, the eighteenth king

<sup>41</sup> Dong-oh Jung, *Cultural History of Oriental Landscape Architecture* (Korea: Chonnam University Press, 1990), p. 117; 'Cheongyeongak-gi' in Vol. 64 of *Dongmunseon*: '欄楯之外 疊石成山 庭除之際 引水爲沼 嶸嶸萬狀 清淨四澈'; *Dongmunseon* (*Anthology of Korean Literature: 東文選*) is a selection from past generations of numerous works of poetry and prose written by Koreans in Chinese. It was compiled by Geo-jeong Seo (1420-1488) with 130 volumes in the first edition in 1478 and an additional 23 volumes in the subsequent enlarged edition.

<sup>42</sup> Dong-oh Jung, *Cultural History of Oriental Landscape Architecture* (Korea: Chonnam University Press, 1990), pp. 116-117; Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture*, (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), p. 150; The East Pond was frequently referred in the *Goryeosa* (*The History of Goryeo: 高麗史*) from the 5<sup>th</sup> king (in the late tenth century) to the 31<sup>st</sup> king (in the mid of fourteenth century); The *Goryeosa* or *History of Goryeo* is the principal surviving history of Korea's Goryeo Dynasty. It was composed nearly a century after the fall of Goryeo, during the reign of King Sejong. The king ordered a committee of scholars led by Jong-seo Kim (1383-1453) and In-ji Jeong (1396-1478) to compile it, based on primary and secondary sources that are no longer extant.

<sup>43</sup> Vol. 8 of 'King Yejong (r. 1105-1122) Chronicles 2' in *Goryeosa jeoryo* reported that on February of 8<sup>th</sup> year of his reign (according to the lunar calendar): '置花園二于宮南西, 時, 宦寺, 競以奢侈媚王, 起臺榭, 峻垣牆, 括民家花草, 移栽其中, 以爲不足, 又購於宋商, 費內帑金幣不貲, 且於京外, 多作寺院, 窮極土木, 物論喧騰, 既而, 二園, 俱廢.'; See: Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>); In 1452 *Goryeosa jeoryo* (*The Condensed History of Goryeo: 高麗史節要*) was compiled in strict chronological format in contrast to the annals-treatises-biographies structure of the *Goryeosa* by Jong-seo Kim.

<sup>44</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), p. 157; Kuk-byeong Yoon, 'A Study on the Garden terms in Goryeo dynasty', *The Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 1/1 (1985), p. 38.

of the Goryeo dynasty: r. 1127–1173) had a particular preference for seeking pleasure and beauty. Described therefore as a hedonist, he devoted himself to erecting a great number of detached palaces, royal gardens, and pavilions. In 1152, a eunuch named Eon-mun Yoon collected oddly shaped rocks and erected artificial mountains and a small pavilion called Mansujeong (萬壽亭) in the north garden of Suchanggung (壽昌宮) Palace, one of the secondary palaces. The walls of the pavilion were decorated with golden silk, which captivated visitors.<sup>45</sup> In 1156, the Yangseongjeong (養性亭) pavilion was erected beside Seongubo (a medical institution: 善求寶), and oddly shaped stones and well-known flowers were collected and arranged decoratively around the pavilion.<sup>46</sup> By the following year, an auxiliary palace was completed east of the main palace. Several houses of the aristocracy were also used as secondary palaces. The Daepyeongjeong (大平亭) pavilion was constructed on the site where fifty commoners' houses were demolished, and a pond with the Gwallanjeong (觀瀾亭) pavilion was created to the south of the Daepyeongjeong pavilion. The Yangijeong (養怡亭) pavilion, with fine celadon porcelain roof tiles, which was criticized as an excessive luxury by officials, was placed north of the pond, and the Yanghwajeong pavilion, with a roof covered with bamboo palm (*Rhapis excelsa* Henry ex Rehder), was erected south of the pond. High areas mounds or eminences called *Hwanhuidae* (歡喜臺) and *Miseongdae* (美成臺) were created using precious stones. There were fairyland mountains made of oddly shaped stones and an artificial waterfall, Bichon (飛泉), which was fed from a great distance.<sup>47</sup>

In 1167, a summer house, Jungmijeong (衆美亭), was built in the southern part of Cheongryeongjae,<sup>48</sup> where a stream ran to the south, near the new summer house. The banks of the stream were made up of mud and rocks. A reed bed was created, and ducks were introduced, all of which created that this is a quasi-theatrical miniature representation of the mood of a river

<sup>45</sup> Vol. 11 on April 1152 (according to the lunar calendar) of 'King Uijong (r. 1146-1176) Chronicles' in *Goryeosa jeoryo*: '宴萬壽亭, 至曉乃罷, 先是, 內侍尹彥文, 聚怪石, 築假山于壽昌宮北園, 構小亭其側, 號曰萬壽, 以黃綾被壁, 窮極奢侈, 眩奪人目, 宴將罷, 假山頽, 牝雞鳴。'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>46</sup> Vol. 11 on October 1156 stated that "... 初, 王, 於大內東北隅, 起一閣, 扁曰冲虛, 金碧鮮明, 華飾絕麗, 又於內閣別室, 居善藥, 意欲廣治衆病, 扁曰善救寶, 又構亭其側, 聚怪石名花, 扁曰養性。"; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>47</sup> Vol. 11 on April 1157 (according to the lunar calendar) of 'King Uijong Chronicles' in *Goryeosa jeoryo*: '夏四月, 闕東離宮成, 宮曰壽德, 殿曰天寧, 又以侍中王冲第, 爲安昌宮, 參政金正純第, 爲靜和宮, 平章事度弼第, 爲連昌宮, 樞密副使金巨公第, 爲瑞豐宮, 又毀民家五十餘區, 作大平亭, 命太子書額, 旁植名花異果, 奇麗珍玩之物, 布列左右, 亭南鑿池, 作觀瀾亭, 其北, 構養怡亭, 蓋以青瓷, 南構養和亭, 蓋以椽, 又磨玉石, 築歡喜, 美成二臺, 聚怪石, 作仙山, 引遠水, 爲飛泉, 窮極侈麗, ...'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>48</sup> Cheongryeongjae (淸寧齋) was an annex to Hyeonhwasa (玄化寺), a Buddhist temple located in Gyeonggi-do Province, for the king.

and lake filled countryside. A little boy was ordered to sing a fisherman's song on a boat floating on the pond to help simulate the environment of rivers and lakes.<sup>49</sup> The Manchunjeong (萬春亭) pavilion was built in Panjeokyo (板積窯), where a brook meandered to south of the pavilion, and pine trees, bamboo, and other flowering trees were planted around the pavilion. There were Geumhwa Bridge (錦花橋) and seven more small pavilions; four of them had plaques that identified them as Yeongdeokjeong (靈德亭), Surakdang (壽樂堂), Seonbyeokjae (鮮碧齋), and Okganjeong (玉竿亭). The king's boat, used for boating excursions, was stunningly decorated with beautifully colored silk.<sup>50</sup>

### Political background in the twelfth century and the gardens of dictators

In the early twelfth century, a couple of attempted coups, by Ja-gyeonm Yi (李資謙) in 1126 and Cheong Myo (妙淸) in 1135, caused the power of the royal authority to weaken. In 1170, a group of military officials who were discontented with having lower positions than civilians, politically and economically, launched a coup and succeeded under General Chung-bu Chong (鄭仲夫). The coup led to a hundred years of military rule where effective power rested with a succession of generals. The initial phase of this period was characterized by chronic inability in the leadership class and social disturbance. The situation stabilized in 1196 with the emergence of General Chung-heon Choi (崔忠獻: 1149–1219), who positioned himself by eliminating his rivals and suppressing peasant rebellions. His family consequently ruled the country as the Choi regime for sixty-two years until 1258, with the hereditary title of director of decree enactment.<sup>51</sup> The despot Chung-heon Choi built a huge estate and garden that might easily be mistaken for a royal garden. In order to create his garden, hundreds of commoners' houses were demolished.<sup>52</sup> He was a great gardener and plant man, introducing numerous wild plants and garden plants from China. His garden's splendour was not only derived from exotic flowers, strange grasses,

<sup>49</sup> Vol. 11 on March 1167 (according to the lunar calendar) of 'King Uijong Chronicles' in *Goryeosa jeoryo*: '王, 微行, 至全身窟, 設羅漢齋, 還玄化寺, 與李公升, 許洪材, 覺倪等, 泛舟衆美亭南池, 酣飲極歡, 先是, 清寧齋南麓, 構丁字閣, 扁曰衆美亭, 亭之南澗, 築土石貯水, 岸上作茅亭, 鳧鴈蘆葦, 宛如江湖之狀, 泛舟其中, 令小僮, 棹歌漁唱, 以恣遊觀, ...'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>50</sup> Vol. 11 on April 1167: '以河清節, 幸萬春亭, 宴宰樞侍臣於延興殿, 大樂署管絃坊, 備綵棚樽花, 獻仙桃, 拋毬樂等, 聲伎之戲, 又泛舟亭南浦, 沿流上下, 相與唱和, 至夜乃罷, 亭在板積窯內, 有殿曰, 延興, 南有澗盤迴, 左右植松竹花草, 又有茅亭草樓, 凡七, 有額者四曰, 靈德亭, 壽樂堂, 鮮碧齋, 玉竿亭, 橋曰錦花, 門曰水德, 其御船, 飾以錦繡, 爲流連之樂, 凡三年而成, 皆朴懷俊, 劉莊, 白善淵, 從史而爲之也.'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>51</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp. 139-142.

<sup>52</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), p. 180.



beautiful trees, and valuable fruits being kept alive through the winter, but also in that plants blossomed when the summer had gone. Such unseasonal flourishing was due to the fact that he understood their requirements and knew how to take care of them. Gyu-bo Yi<sup>53</sup> paid tribute to Chung-heon Choi saying, “thinking of it, is it because the plants know that the land honours to treat them in great respect, or that nature helps in some aspects?”<sup>54</sup> There were several interesting pavilions in his garden. One of the pavilions was positioned on high ground: from it one might see all types of views, both natural scenery, as if the pavilion were located in the countryside, and scenes of the capital city. There was a pavilion with a green roof that looked as if the plants inside had penetrated the roof, as if they sprung out on the roof,<sup>55</sup> although its purpose was different from that of a modern, ecological, one.

His son, U Choi (崔誼: d. 1249), the second ruler of the Choi government, also created a garden on a large scale, for which a site was prepared by demolishing hundreds of houses. There was a recreation ground of hundreds of *bo* [one *bo* was about 1.75 metres] in size of one side intended for playing *Gyeokgu* (a horse-riding ball game: 擊毬). Mobilized soldiers planted pine and fir trees there.<sup>56</sup> A huge tower was built to the south of his apartments, which could be occupied by almost one thousand guests, while a hundred wagons could be parked under the tower. The tower was decorated at its posts with gems and embossed with a design of horses. There was a shrine in the east part of the tower, where U Choi installed an image of Buddha, and an area for playing *Gyeokgu* was located south of the tower. The area was about 400 *bo* enclosed by a wall.<sup>57</sup> A cruciform house was added west of the main house. The walls of the room were decorated with mirrors in order to reflect the configuration and changes of everything inside and outside, to be enjoyed by those people sitting in the room. The garden was designed to be full of peach and apricot blossoms and the fragrance of flowers and orchids in the spring, while cool summers could be passed in the shade with the clear sound of the wind through pine trees and Korean white pines.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Gyu-bo Yi was conscientious, did not interfere with the rights and privileges of others, and served as a model civil official in the Choi government (1196–1258). His writings are compiled in the *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo: total 41 volumes) in 1241 and *Dongguk isanggukhujiip* (Following Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo: total 12 volumes) in 1242, which were compiled by his son Han Yi.

<sup>54</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, ‘Jinganghu Mojeong-gi (a note on the pavilion for Chung-heon Choi)’ in Vol. 23 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), p. 181.

<sup>57</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, ‘Daeru-gi (a note on the huge tower for U Choi)’ in Vol. 24 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>58</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, ‘Sipjagak-gi (a note on the cruciform house for U Choi)’ in Vol. 24 of *Dongguk isanggukjip*

### A new garden style by the master Gyu-bo Yi (1168–1241)

The records on gardens in some works of literature provide some insight into garden features and the guiding principles of historic gardens of the Goryeo dynasty. Among the documents, the *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo: 東國李相國集), the collection of works written by Gyu-bo Yi, includes descriptions of many gardens of his acquaintances as well as one that was made with his own hands. He was a famous scholar-official, a high-ranking politician, Confucian, and government minister all at once. He wrote thousands of poems, notes, and various kinds of writings. He used to be called Samhokho, which means that he delighted in poetry, liquor, and *Geomungo* (a Korean zither-like instrument with six strings). Various luxurious gardens of men in power or aristocrats are described in his literary writings; however, he preferred natural scenery or natural-looking gardens to artificially decorated gardens.

In 1194, Yi had a garden with a thatched cottage separate from the house outside the capital city. Yi divided his garden into an upper garden and a lower garden. The area of the upper garden was nine times bigger than the lower garden, which was about 10 *bo* or 17.5 metres in length and width. In his writings he tells us that he was not always satisfied that his servants cared properly for the gardens even though there were nine servants.<sup>59</sup> In the end, Yi took care of the lower garden himself instead of rebuking his servants for their idleness, because the lower garden was small enough for him to manage on his own. It appears that he preferred to appreciate nature and to take care of his garden as a place for appreciating the surrounding landscape rather than to create an artificial or ornamental garden. The garden was allowed to overgrow, and then the grass was mown as flat as a *Baduk* (Japanese: *Go* and Chinese: *Weiqi*) board, with less cut grass on the low ground and more at a higher level. After his efforts, Yi strolled or reclined on the grass to enjoy the surrounding nature.<sup>60</sup> Another example illustrates his taste in a garden, a poem that depicts the village and its natural surroundings as well as his

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(Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>59</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, 'Chodangisowon-gi (a note on the care of the small garden in a thatched cottage: 草堂理小園記)' in Vol. 23 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>60</sup> Ibid: '城東之草堂。有上園下園。上園縱三十步。橫如之。下園。縱橫纔十許步。步則依古算田法而計之也。每夏五六月。茂草競秀。至持人腰。而猶不使之翦之也。家有矮奴三羸僮五。見之不能無愧。以鈍鋤一事更相刮薙。纔三四步而輟。閱旬日。又理他處。則草生前所理處。蒼然葦然矣。又旬日。復理蒼然葦然者。則草又生後所理處。蒼葦然滋茂矣。如是而終不能盡去焉。此予之督役弛。而奴之用力怠故也。遂蕘而不詰。乃自理下之小園。小園力足勝。故遂去怠奴。而躬自理之。剗薙榴籬。增卑落高。使平如棋局之面焉。於是葛衣紗帽。徒倚乎其。竹簟石枕。偃臥乎其中。林影散地。清風自來。兒牽我衣。我撫兒項。熙熙怡怡。足以遣日。此亦閑居者之一場樂地也。'

garden and how to enjoy them:

I came to stay in Aenggye  
 I could see the Kongyong pass from the wooden balcony  
 The fir trees are luxuriant in the south alley  
 The green pine trees cover the low walls  
 The field is full to the brim with mulberry trees and hemp  
 The fence reminds me of a mountain village  
 ... ..  
 Plant the green bamboo next to the peach tree  
 Protect the flowery fragrance by uprooting the thorn bush  
 I get to resemble Liu Yu who loves tea  
 I want to be like Fan Chi learning the plough  
 I was to spend time with the conviviality pleasantly  
 End my days with an open mind  
 The broken walls have become full of moss  
 The empty gardens are overgrown with weeds  
 ... ..  
 Wearing a black hat halfway  
 I drink more wine in jade cups  
 Bright moon low in the sky after much conversation  
 The blue mountain getting dark when a game of Baduk is over  
 When watering a herb garden for medicinal plants, water from a single well  
 Planting cucumber seedlings, I will care for a garden as well  
 ... ..  
 A breeze blows outside the bamboo blind  
 The sunlight is warm under the eaves  
 Orioles sing beautiful songs  
 Butterflies see their hope flowering in flowers  
 Thou, please be sure to come here  
 You can peacefully escape a troubled world.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden Culture* (Seoul: Ye Kyung, 1991), pp. 176-177; Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Garden: the beauty of Korean gardens represents a spiritual world through their historical development* (Seoul: Borim Editions, 1992), p. 123; Vol. 5 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo): ‘鶯溪來卜宅 鶴嶺正當軒 老檜森南巷 青松覆小垣 桑麻饒野壘 籬落似山村 ...  
 ... .. 傍桃栽翠竹 剪棘護芳蓀 漸作顛茶陸 甘爲學圃樊 沈酣消日月 曠坦老乾坤 壞壁頑苔合 空庭旅草繁  
 ... .. 半脫烏紗帽 頻斟白玉樽 語闌明月側 棋罷碧山昏 灌藥常同井 移瓜欲共園 ... .. 箔外風微  
 颺 簷前日正暄 鶯調啼柳舌 蝶雪戀花冤 來往君何憚 猶堪避世喧.’

This poem shows us that his philosophy of life involved a search for a simple and humble life in order to assimilate into nature. In this garden, bamboo, peach trees, flowering plants, and herbs would be planted in harmony with the mountain landscape. Yi's desire for this life was expressed in comparing it to the life of Chinese Confucians such as Liu Yu<sup>62</sup> and Fan Chi.<sup>63</sup> This suggests that Yi was influenced by Confucianism even though he was Buddhist.

Even though he was wealthy enough to create grand and luxurious gardens, Yi assumed a critical attitude toward luxurious and unnatural gardens as well as factitious elements, criticizing artificial rock mountains in particular, after visiting the garden of his acquaintance, Son:

... However, no matter how much effort they put into altering the landscape, the product of their labours will not even come close to the sort of beauty nature itself provides. It is not that they do not realize that an imitation is never as good as the real thing. The problem is deeper than that. They do not understand that, no matter how many rare flowers, unusual trees, priceless birds, and strange animals they collect for their garden, the sort of power they wield can never create a scene which can awe a viewer as much as a large tall boulder can. If they want to bring such a boulder into their garden, they would have to attack it with a chisel and knife, breaking it into pieces small enough to fit into a cart that a horse could then pull. If they did that, then all that would be left of that awe-inspiring boulder would be some pebbles and broken pieces of rock. If they took what they could fit in that cart and piled them up in their garden, instead of an impressive boulder, all they would have would be the same sort of artificial mound made up of a bunch of strange rocks like those mentioned in the previous paragraph. They would not be able to duplicate the impressive appearance of that boulder in its natural state.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Liu Yu (陸羽: 733-804) was a Chinese Confucian in Tang Dynasty. He wrote the classic work on tea and has been named as the God of Tea to tea merchants.

<sup>63</sup> Fan Chi (樊遲) was one of Confucius' disciples who nicely cultivated a vegetable garden.

<sup>64</sup> Kyun Heo, *Gardens of Korea: Harmony with Intellect and Nature*, trans. Donald L. Baker (London: Saffron, 2005), pp. 22-23; Gyu-bo Yi, 'Sonbiseonaengcheonjeong-gi (a note on the cold spring pavilion of Secretary Son: 孫秘書冷泉亭記)' in Vol. 24 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo): '信妙矣. 然未若造物者之所曾開闢. 嶙峋奇秀天然之狀也. 彼亦非不識假之不似真也. 然富貴所能致者. 如奇花異木珍禽奇獸之類是已. 其若巖石之巍峨磊礫者. 權力所不能來也. 強欲致焉. 當用巨鑿利刀. 片截段剖. 車載馬馱. 然後似可矣. 苟如是. 特碎石與散礫耳. 雖積而高之. 其與向之累怪石爲山者無別矣. 寧復有嶙峋奇秀天然之舊狀耶. ...'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

However, ornamental gardens seem to be the favoured garden type until the thirteenth century. Son, who was a vice-director in Biseoseong,<sup>65</sup> built a new house with an ornamental garden north of the city. One distinctive feature of this garden was that the owner asked senior scholar-officials or eminent writers to name a house or pavilion. Son asked Gyu-bo Yi to name the pavilion and describe the garden. Yi's description depicts that there were variously shaped rocks as well as spring water and a winding water course from which the water flowed from the spring in Son's garden:

There is a pavilion [large enough] that ten people can sit on the floor, clearness is alike the house in the mountain. This place is for spending time peacefully and taking a stroll comfortably. I have visited a lot of homes of the rich and powerful, and have noticed that they like their gardens to have a lot of twists and turns in them. They also like to dig holes in the ground and then pile up the dirt they dug up on top of some rocks they have gathered and create the appearance that their garden is spotted with natural hills with various strange shapes.<sup>66</sup>

Chu-bu Park, another one of Yi's friends, asked Yi to dedicate the house, naming it 'Yoogadang (有嘉堂),' which literally means 'the house blessed with beauty,' because Yi wished Park's home to be replete with delightful and auspicious events. Eighteen different kinds of cymbidiums (*Cymbidium goeringii* (Rchb.f.) Rchb.f.) with yellow and white flowers were planted around the house, and more than forty bamboo plants formed a dense arrangement. There were so many rare and mysterious flowering plants that it seemed impossible to describe all the flowers.<sup>67</sup>

Gyu-bo Yi visited another garden which was to become famous for its scenery, located north of Gaeseong, the capital city. The garden was created by Eung-jae (應才), reputed to be a master of all things, who was known to propagate and graft flowers and trees. However, the scenery

<sup>65</sup> Biseoseong (秘書省) was a government office being in charge of preparing a memorial address offered at memorial services and managing royal archives. Its name was changed from Naeseoseong (內書省) in 995 and changed to Biseogam (秘書監) in 1298.

<sup>66</sup> Kyun Heo, *Gardens of Korea: Harmony with Intellect and Nature*, trans. Donald L. Baker (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 22; Gyu-bo Yi, 'Sonbiseonaengcheonjeong-gi' in Vol. 24 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo): '芸臺亞監孫君. 卜新宅于城北之某里. 有巨巖高可數丈. 形若削鐵者. 巉巖然蒼蒼然. 自廳事之北. 彌于東隅. 其下有冷泉. 泫然流出. 渟成一泓. 澄湛可愛. 附廳事之東. 架以小亭. 可坐十許人. 蕭洒如山齋. 是遊讌閑適之所也. 予觀貴人之居多矣. 其飾林園. 必以怪石之盤窪癭瘤者. 累之爲山. 效衡霍之奇...'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>67</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, 'ParkChubuYoogadang-gi' (a note on the house of Chu bu Park, Yoogadang: 朴樞府有嘉堂記) in Vol. 11 of *Dongguk isanggukhujiip* (Following Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).



could not be seen from the front of the house; this feature could only be seen from the garden, which was decorated with numerous flowers. The owner asked Yi to describe the garden, and Yi wrote that:

... the area of the garden was approximately 56 square metres. Famous shrubs were in line, of which their width was neither too close not touching anything else nor too distant, so that all the plants were planted in order by levelling out the width between each plant. There was the flower bed that was planted with a variety of flowers, which were rare in the world. Some flowers were about to blossom and others had already fallen off, so that all were both on the soil and in the woods, which were mingled. Because flowers give attractions like these, I could not even think of leaving the place. Sitting on the grass for a long time and leaving the flower garden, a bit to the north there were stone embankments, flat like a chess board and neat, so it was not necessary to bring a mat. The grapevine winding up the tree and hanging toward the bottom is lovely because it looked like the *Yeongrak* [beaded necklace decorated with pearl, jade or metal for Buddhist saints]. Down from the tree, water was flowing from a crevice in the rocks, and it was so fresh and nice, finally making a little pond. Young reeds grew.<sup>68</sup>

Creative and experimental pavilions were designed in gardens and the natural landscape. In 1199, a special mobile pavilion on four wheels, referred to as 'Saryunjeong (四輪亭),' was designed by Gyu-bo Yi. The purpose of the pavilion was to avoid the annoyance of having to move things separately by putting them into the pavilion and moving that instead, in search of shade or scenic spots in the open air. A short essay entitled 'Saryunjeong-gi' (a note on four-wheeled pavilions), written in 1201, gives a detailed description of the pavilion, revealing details such as its construction, scale, and materials. The pavilion was erected on four wheels. The length of each of the four sides of the pavilion was 6 *ja*<sup>69</sup> or 2.1 metres. There were two crossbeams and four posts. The rafters were made of bamboo, and were covered by bamboo matting in order to lighten the pavilion. A parapet was installed on all four sides. The overall external appearance of the pavilion can be deduced from the painting *Autumnal Landscape* by

<sup>68</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, 'Tongjae-gi (a note on Tongjae: 通齋記)' in Vol. 23 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo): '則園方可四十步許。有珍木名菓。植爭立。昵不相侵。離不至迂。是皆生之均疏數而序植者也。別爲塢以居衆花。花各數十種。皆世所罕見。或方開或已落。映林繡地。交錯糾紛。日萼紅。張麗華之嬌醉也。露葩濕。楊貴妃之始浴也。風枝舉。趙飛燕之體輕也。落者如慎夫人之却座。覆者如李夫人之掩被。以花之論乎目如此。愛之不能移去。藉草良久而後起。自花塢而少北。有石臺平如局。又潔淨可不席而坐。蒲桃之緣樹下垂者。如纓珞然可愛。下有石井。味極清甘。洩而爲小泓。有稚葦戰戰始生。'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>); Yi did not mention when he wrote this note within text.

<sup>69</sup> By Goryeo Measure, 1 *ja* was about 35.4 cm.

Bang-woon Lee (b. 1761), which depicts a two-wheeled pavilion on the bottom of the left side. While this was painted in the eighteenth century, it is probably not dissimilar from earlier pavilions, and is obviously part of a tradition. (Fig. 2.10) Yi constructed this moving pavilion especially so that he could entertain friends with readings and writing, sharing tea and wine, playing *Baduk*, and strumming a *Geomungo* (Korean instrument) in the open air. This was in order to prevent frequent removal to different places to find shade, while carrying books, pillows, liquor bottles, tea utensils, and instruments, which would have been very inconvenient. A child servant was ordered to pull the pavilion, but when he was exhausted, the master and guests took turns pulling the pavilion.

Another feature was that the floor was divided into nine squares, like a checkerboard, with each square measuring 2 *ja* square. The pavilion was designed for a gathering of six friends, the maximum but also the ideal occupancy. Six friends might include a singer, a *Geomungo* player, two *Baduk* players, a monk well versed in poetry, and the host. The remaining squares were for the *Baduk* board in the centre, the entrance, and a space for instruments and tea utensils, for example.<sup>70</sup> Yi defined the meaning of each part of the pavilion with a metaphysical account that the four wheels meant the four seasons; 6 *ja* of the length of one of the sides of the pavilion meant six energies<sup>71</sup>; the two crossbeams and four posts symbolized the pillar of the state by helping the king's affairs.<sup>72</sup> It symbolizes the immanent meanings of universal order, which is the Taoist view of nature.<sup>73</sup>

Gyu-bo Yi was not fettered by tradition or bound to custom, unlike a Confucian, who tried to find knowledge from ancient sages. He was progressive and creative.<sup>74</sup> However, unfortunately it appears that Yi did not actually build the pavilion due to several events that intervened although he planned to build it several times. In the introduction to his essay 'Saryunjeong-gi

<sup>70</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, 'Saryunjeong-gi (a note on four wheels pavilion: 四輪亭記)' in Vol. 23 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>71</sup> Six energies in the space between heaven and earth: shade (negative: *Yin*), sun (positive: *Yang*), wind, rain, darkness and brightness.

<sup>72</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, 'Saryunjeong-gi (a note on four wheels pavilion)' in Vol. 23 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>73</sup> Hyoung-soon Hong & Won-ho Lee, 'Experimental Spirit in Pavilion Culture of the end of Goryeo: Focusing on Sa Ryun Jeong Gi (四輪亭記) of Gyu-bo Lee (李奎報)', *Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture International Edition*, 4 (2006), p. 32.

<sup>74</sup> When someone asked him if there was any case of a moving pavilion in the past, he refuted that it was merely choosing suitable things and why we should seek to find something from tradition or convention; Ibid.

(四輪亭記), Yi states his reason that for writing it is that: 'I was appointed provincial governor when I planned to make a mobile pavilion in 1199, and after leaving office, I spent time taking care of my mother; therefore I had no time to build the pavilion.'<sup>75</sup> He thus wrote an essay in order to record a detailed description of the four-wheeled pavilion because of his concern that his plans for the pavilion would be buried in oblivion.

Another impressive pavilion, made to resemble a boat decorated with drawings kept afloat when viewed from afar, was built on the water in a Buddhist temple in the early thirteenth century. Near the temple, at a place where the water made tranquil ripples, the cornerstones for the pavilion were placed under the rippling water the pavilion was constructed on them with a reed-thatched roof. After Yi visited this pavilion, someone questioned whether a pavilion was necessary for monks in a temple. Yi insisted that the kind of landscape which could be seen from the pavilion could be purifying for the mind and the spirit of the monks; therefore, it could not be said that to construct a pavilion was extravagant or that it deviated from Buddha's teaching. Yi described this landscape in 1223:

In the spring, shoals of seemingly a number of fish swim, which are easy to count thanks to the transparency of the water when bending over the water and looking inside. Half the leaves of the trees fall around the autumn between August and September, and we have frosts happen. The water is so lucid that the tree is reflected on the ripples upside down, which is dazzling as if the silks are being washed on the centre of the river so that makes the pavilion a great scenic spot.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, 'Saryunjeong-gi (a note on four wheels pavilion)' in Vol. 23 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo); Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>76</sup> Gyu-bo Yi, 'Hyeoksangin Neungpajeong-gi (a note on the Neungpa pavilion: 赫上人凌波亭記)' in Vol. 24 of *Dongguk isanggukjip* (Collected Works of Minister Yi of Goryeo): '至如春水漫, 日光涵明. 有魚可數百尾遊泳族戲. 俯鑑之了了然可數. 或涼秋八九月時. 木葉半脫. 霜落水清. 丹楓夾岸. 倒映波上. 爛然若濯錦江中. 此皆水亭所以為勝也.'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).





Fig. 2.10 *Chugyeongsansudo* (Autumnal Landscape: 秋景山水圖) by Bang-woon Lee (eighteenth Century), Korea, Seoul National University Museum. This painting depicts a two-wheeled pavilion on the bottom of the left side; therefore, a four-wheeled pavilion can be deduced from it. (Source: Sun Yee, *Study on Planting in Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006), p. 101.)



## Mongol invasions and emergence of the *Sadaebu* (the literati officials) in the thirteenth century

The invasion of the Mongols at the beginning of the thirteenth century was associated with boundary changes in Asia, with Korea being no exception. The Mongol domination of Goryeo followed their conquest of northern China and Eurasia. They invaded Goryeo for the first time in 1231. In the following year, the court was temporarily moved to Ganghwa Island for a time in order to avoid the occupation of the royal court and resist armed aggression by the Mongols. As the military government concluded that the Mongols' weakness was their fear of the sea and they had no experience with naval warfare, this proved a safe location, not only for the military but also for the upper classes; a palace and government offices were built in 1232 and 1234. Almost all the amenities from the former capital were now recreated on the island with the same names they had had in Gaeseong, the capital city.<sup>77</sup>

The Goryeo's military dictators successfully withstood six Mongol invasions in some thirty years. Meanwhile, high-level officials enjoyed an abundant and luxurious lifestyle, much as they had in Gaeseong, while the people on the mainland suffered occupation by the Mongolian military and Mongol taxation. Mongolian troops destroyed many cities and cultural treasures, especially in Gyeongju, the capital city of the former dynasty, which was breached in 1238. After overthrowing the military dictatorship in 1258, in 1270 the court of Goryeo surrendered to the Mongols, and Gaeseong was restored as the capital city. While Mongol hegemony brought misery and humiliation to the Korean people, Mongol rule also provided new cultural associations; for example, in 1288 Hyang An (安珣: 1243–1306) introduced Neo-Confucianism, which became the state orthodoxy of the Joseon dynasty.<sup>78</sup> Ik-jeom Moon (文益漸: 1329–1398), a civilian official, brought cotton seeds when he returned from the Yuan dynasty as an envoy in 1363.<sup>79</sup>

In this relatively peaceful period, members of powerful pro-Mongol families participated in the deliberations of the Privy Council, and the royal family enjoyed events in their gardens and continued to build new ones. In 1289, when the king and the princess gave a banquet during the *Dano* Festival (on the fifth day of the fifth month of the year according to the lunar calendar: 端午) and they watched *Gyeokgu* (horse-riding ball game), the peony blossoms had already fallen.

<sup>77</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, tran. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp. 147-149.

<sup>78</sup> Chai-sik Chung, 'Confucian Tradition and Values: Implications for Conflict in Modern Korea', in *Religions in Korea: Belief and Cultural Values*, edited by Earl H. Phillips & Eui-young Yu (Los Angeles: California State University, 1982), pp. 99-116 (p. 100).

<sup>79</sup> Michael J. Seth, *A Concise History of Korea: From the Neolithic Period through the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Rowman Littlefield Publishers, 2006), p. 110.



Therefore, artificial peony flowers made of coloured beeswax were attached to the trees to add to the splendid atmosphere.<sup>80</sup> Artificial and cut flowers were used to decorate all of the palace grounds. (Fig. 2.11) In 1343, King Chung hae (忠惠王) ordered the construction of a belvedere for royal banqueting in Sungkyo Temple and ordered the Great General to plant flowering trees in Sungkyo garden.<sup>81</sup> In 1373, the king ordered Hwawonpalgakjeon Hall to be built in a muddy gravel field and to be planted with flowering trees in preparation for a royal banquet.<sup>82</sup>

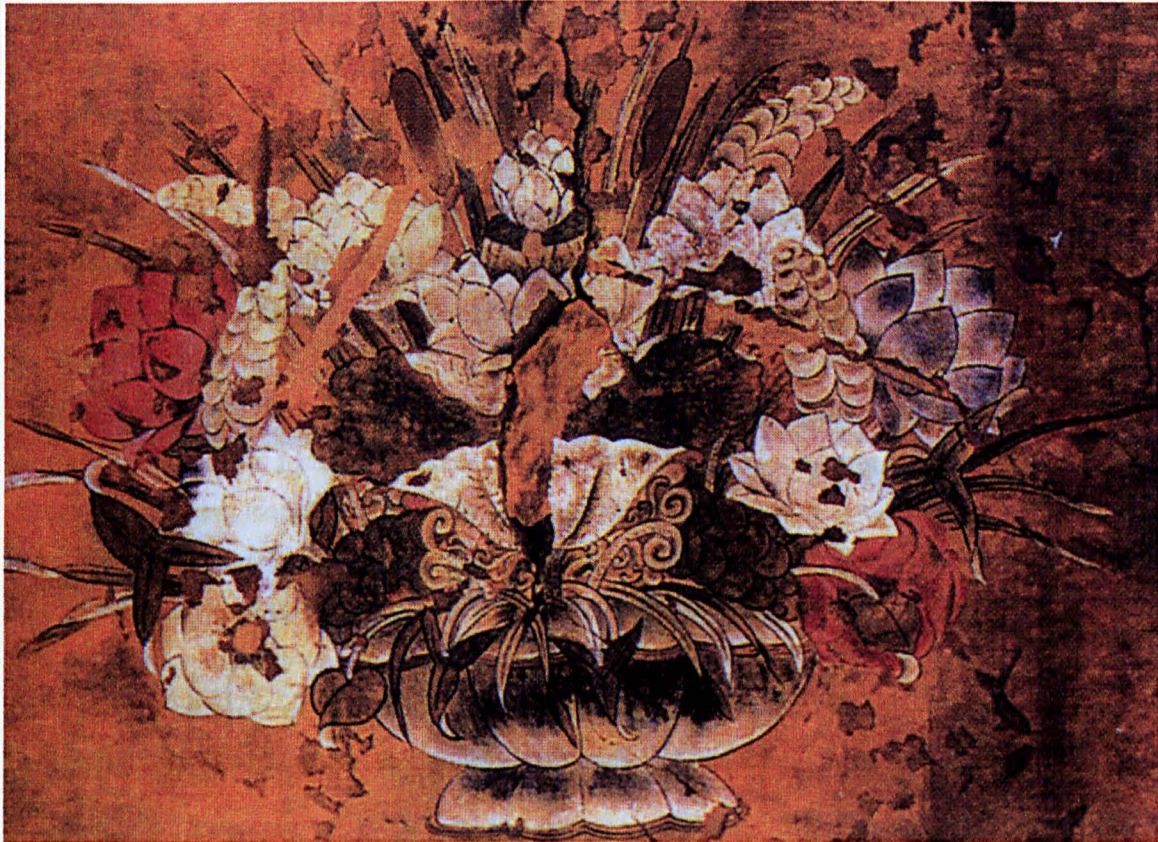


Fig. 2.11 *Suhwado* (水花圖): Mural painting in Sudeok Temple (修德寺) depicts a flower arrangement consisting of lotus flowers, cattails, reeds, etc. (1308) (Source: Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flower Culture*, Vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Seoul: Nexusbook, 2004), p. 154.)

<sup>80</sup> Vol. 21 of 'King Chung ryeol (r. 1274-1308) Chronicles' in *Goryeosa jeoryo* reported that in May in the 15<sup>th</sup> year of his reign (according to the lunar calendar): '端午, 王及公主, 宴于涼樓, 觀擊毬, 時, 牡丹花落盡, 以綵蠟作花, 綴於枝條'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>81</sup> Vol. 25 of 'King Chung hae (r. 1331, 1340-1344) Chronicles' in *Goryeosa jeoryo* reported that in February (according to the lunar calendar): '命大護軍朴良衍, 種花木於崇教園, 先是就崇教寺蓮池旁, 起樓以爲遊宴之所, 嬖臣宋明理, 勸之也'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>)

<sup>82</sup> Vol. 29 of 'King Gongmin (r. 1351-1374) Chronicles' in *Goryeosa jeoryo* reported that in June (according to the lunar calendar): '作花園八角殿於泥岷, 周植花木, 以備宴遊'; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>)



## Political background in the fourteenth century: creation of a new dynasty

The fourteenth century was a period of significant change in Korean history, when the existing Goryeo dynasty political system was thoroughly shaken. A new, pro-Ming, bureaucratic class known as the *Sinheung Sadaebu* (new literati officials: 新興士大夫) emerged, and came into conflict with the powerful pro-Mongol families. The *Sinheung Sadaebu* wielded increasing power and planned government reforms, incorporating Neo-Confucianism into their political doctrine. This new class was composed of not only educated knowledgeable men but also men who were adept in the administration of the affairs of government. They had originally appeared following the disintegration of the aristocratic government during the period of military rule (1170–1258). After the collapse of military rule, they came to perform an ever more important political role as followers of Confucian doctrine increasingly came to power after the introduction of Neo-Confucianism. In late Goryeo, Buddhism became corrupt and caused social problems, and it thus began to be strongly criticized by literati officials as well.<sup>83</sup>

General Seong-gye Yi (李成桂: 1335–1408) had earned a reputation as a hero in the late fourteenth century in a string of successful campaigns against Chinese rebel bandits, Mongol predators, Jurzhen marauders, and Japanese pirates. Seong-gye Yi, marching his army back from Wihwa Island in 1388, ousted the reigning Goryeo's king and the leading officials responsible for the court's anti-Ming policy. In 1392, he succeeded in overthrowing the pro-Mongol Goryeo dynasty and founded a new, pro-Ming dynasty, called the Yi Joseon dynasty. He had the active support of literati officials, imbued with Neo-Confucianism. The kings of the Yi Joseon dynasty made Seoul their capital, while Neo-Confucianism became the official state creed.<sup>84</sup>

In Joseon society, commoners (*Pyeongmin*: 平民) and low-born people (*Cheonmin*: 賤民), including slaves, were ruled by a civilian aristocratic caste (*Yangban*: 兩班). There was a small group of hereditary functionaries, called 'middle people' who provided the *yangban* officials with professional services in such matters as medicine, foreign languages, computation, painting, and the science of divination. In terms of their number and influence, they were comparable to, but did not possess the same position as, the bourgeoisie in the west. These 'middle people' maintained a philosophical emphasis on agriculture. With agriculture the most important industry, in royal discussions on governing, the notion that 'food is the heaven of the people'

<sup>83</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 160.

<sup>84</sup> Andrew C. Nahm, *Introduction to Korean History and Culture* (New Jersey: Hollym, 1993), pp. 99-100; Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea* (Seoul: Eul-Yoo, 1970), pp. 203-205.

came to be frequently discussed. In the Neo-Confucian ruler's discourse, therefore, agricultural administration occupied a category of the greatest importance.<sup>85</sup>

Joseon attained high socio-political stability by promoting Neo-Confucianism-oriented education in public and private schools scattered across the country. Educational institutions in the Joseon era included the National Confucian College (*Seonggyun-gwan*: 成均館) in Seoul, public (*Hyanggyo*: 鄉校) and private academies (*Seowon*: 書院) in the provinces, and numerous private elementary tutorial schools (*Seodang*: 書堂). These schools trained future candidates for the civil service examination. The Confucian-oriented education in these schools contributed to transforming Joseon into a model Confucian state. It was in this intellectual environment that Joseon produced eminent philosophers like Zhu Xi.<sup>86</sup>

Even though the Five Classics<sup>87</sup> associated with Confucius formed the core curriculum in the education of Korean literati for a long time, the Five Classics intensified their influence with the Four Books<sup>88</sup> that, more than ever before, were made the core of the official curriculum for the civil service examinations while the *Sohak* (Elementary Learning: 小學)<sup>89</sup> was an important source for younger students as it served as an introduction to the Four Books. These teachings outlined ways of realizing self-cultivation, regulating the family, ordering the state, and bringing peace to the world through nourishing the basics of learning in the everyday affairs of life.

## Garden making under Neo-Confucianism in the Joseon dynasty

Gardens continued to be of major importance to aristocratic culture in the Yi Joseon dynasty; however, the form or idea of the garden was different from before, as with other branches of art. The mostly adopted state ideology of Neo-Confucianism meant that the long-established

<sup>85</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 173.

<sup>86</sup> Michael J. Seth, *A Concise History of Korea: From the Neolithic Period through the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Rowman Littlefield Publishers, 2006), pp. 132-134.

<sup>87</sup> The Five Classics is a corpus of five ancient Chinese books used by Confucianism as the basis of studies. They are: *Yeokgyeong* (Classic of Changes: 易經), for teaching one about Yin and Yang; *Sigyeong* (Classic of Poetry: 詩經), useful for guiding one's moods; *Yegi* (Classic of Rite: 禮記) for guiding one's behaviour; *Seogyeong* (Classic of History: 書經) for guiding one's affairs; and *Chunchu* (Spring and Autumn Annals: 春秋) for guiding one about designations and duties.

<sup>88</sup> The Four Books: *Daehak* (the Great Learning: 大學); *Jungyong* (the Doctrine of the Mean: 中庸); *Noneo* (the Analects of Confucius: 論語); and *Maengja* (the Mencius: 孟子), are Chinese classic texts that Zhu Xi selected, in the Song dynasty, as an introduction to Confucianism.

<sup>89</sup> It was compiled by Liu Zicheng, a disciple of Zhu Xi, at his master's behest that the teachings of the three ancient Chinese kingdoms of Xia, Shang, and Zhou be revived.

Buddhism and Shamanism were strongly repressed. Buddhism was so intensively persecuted that only 242 temples remained active in the country; they were located in mountainous areas. This was less than a quarter of the number of temples in existence during the era of the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392).<sup>90</sup> While this was a disadvantage for the development of sculpture and architecture, pictorial art bloomed as never before. Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism provided the Yi Joseon standard of social organization and behaviour such as prescriptions for successful conduct in both public and private life. This was the case since it was not abstract or speculative metaphysics, but rather practical, moral, and educational in its institutional applications and in its emphasis on formalities of ceremony, etiquette, ranks, and hierarchical social structure. Sometimes the rules were even more strictly applied than in China.<sup>91</sup> In the case of building, for example, various restrictions were placed on the size of houses for people of different classes.

Through the influence of Neo-Confucianism, the refined aristocratic taste of the previous era was replaced by the characteristics of unsophisticated, simple, and humble beauty with the qualities of commonness and steadiness. In addition to social, cultural, political, and educational beliefs, Neo-Confucianism borrowed some ideas from Taoism, which encouraged a closer relationship between human beings and nature. In association with early Asian cosmology such as the *yin-yang* principle, Taoism asserted that man finds a relaxed and natural life only when in harmony with nature and, further, that such harmony with nature would promote goodwill with others, grant personal integrity, and encourage sincerity and spontaneity. Taoism contends that human beings and nature should co-exist harmoniously, and on the question of inherent nature, that every human individual is made up of mind and body.<sup>92</sup> As a result, Neo-Confucianism's view of nature and its ideas influenced garden making mainly in promoting the representation of a practical lifestyle, while some of the other philosophies, for example, immortality and *feng shui* remained basic influences. Therefore, a garden could be expressed as having a natural look, as a harmonious environment cleverly composed by both artificial constructions and natural phenomena.

Although gardens were usually designed by garden owners who were scholars, literati, aristocrats, and priests, certain patterns were common to the gardens because the gardens were influenced by the beliefs of the social hierarchy under Neo-Confucianism and geomancy. The

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<sup>90</sup> Kyung-hyun Min, *Culture of Korean Garden I* (Seoul: Yekyung, 1991), p. 237; Kyung-hyun Min, *Korean Gardens* (Seoul: Borim, 1992), p. 140.

<sup>91</sup> Andrew C. Nahm, *Introduction to Korean History and Culture* (New Jersey: Hollym, 1993), pp. 107-112.

<sup>92</sup> Byung-rim Yoo *et al.*, *Prototype of the Joseon Dynasty Garden in Korea* (Seoul: Seoul National University, 1989), pp. 6-9.

common formation of Korean residential gardens is based on the form of a house which reflected Confucianism norms. The house was composed of outer quarters for the men of the family (*Sarangchae*: 舍廊軒), inner quarters for the women and children (*Anchae*: 內舍) and servants' quarters (*Haengrangchae*: 行廊舍), each surrounded by low stone walls. Then there were inner and outer courtyards.<sup>93</sup> Another general feature was a rectangular pond with a circular islet that was generally located in the outer courtyard or in front of a pavilion, with the symbolic meaning that the rectangular-shaped pond represented earth or *yin* while the round-shaped islet meant heaven or *yang*.<sup>94</sup> Based on topography, the back gardens at the rear of dwellings or other buildings usually had flower terraces where the space met the hill, since the building was constructed on a terrace created by cutting into a sloped hill. (Fig. 2.12) Terraces on the rising slope of the backyard were constructed rectilinearly, with stepped stone terraces that decorated with flowering plants, stone boxes, and chimneys. These also served as stairs connecting the lower and upper parts of the rear garden.<sup>95</sup>

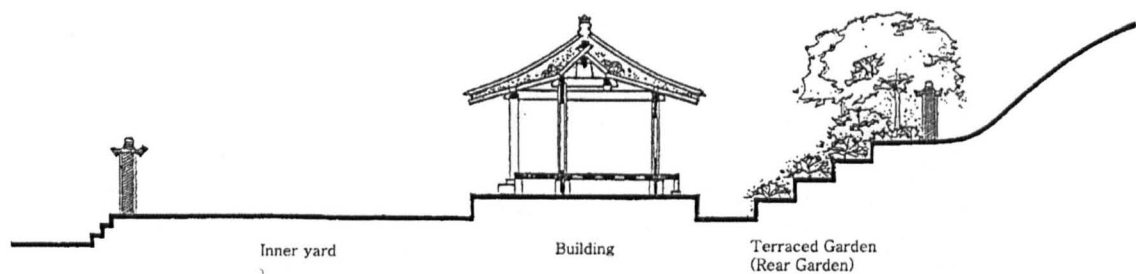


Fig. 2.12 Hypothetical cross section showing features of a typical upper class garden. (Source: From Toshiro Inaji, *The Garden as Architecture* (New York: Kodansha International, 1998), p. 167.)

During the Yi Joseon dynasty, the literati loved flowers but used plants based on their symbolic meanings and appearance. Higher ranking was given to preferred plants, and these plants were grouped and classified, because under Neo-Confucianism one gained knowledge through the study of things, rather than appreciating beauty in itself. The plants represented basic Confucian values such as loyalty, fidelity, and endurance. For example, the Four Gracious Plants (*Sagunja*: 四君子), alternately called the Four Gentlemanly Plants, consist of plum blossoms, cultivated or wild orchids, chrysanthemums, and bamboo. The Four Gracious Plants originally were Confucian symbols for the four qualities of a learned man. The plum blossoms represented

<sup>93</sup> Kee-won Hwang, 'Residential Garden in Korea', in *Traditional Landscape Architecture of Korea*, edited by IFLA Korean Committee (Seoul: Chokyung, 1992), pp. 73-108 (pp. 82-86).

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>95</sup> Yong-gi Kim *et al.*, *The History of Landscape Architecture in the East* (Seoul: Munundang, 1996), pp. 188-189.



courage, the orchid stood for refinement, the chrysanthemum was a sign of a productive and fruitful life, and bamboo represented integrity.<sup>96</sup>



Fig. 2.13 *Gosa gwansu do* (Sage Looking at Water: 高士觀水圖) by Hee an Kang (1417–1464); National Museum of Korea, Seoul. The central theme of this painting is the scholar who is free from distraction and is contemplating nature. (Source: Roderick Whitfield and Young-sook Pak (eds.), *Korean Art Treasures* (Seoul: Yekyong Publication, 1986), p. 56.)

<sup>96</sup> Kee-won Hwang, 'Residential Garden in Korea', in *Traditional Landscape Architecture of Korea*, edited by IFLA Korean Committee (Seoul: Chokyung, 1992), pp. 73-108 (pp. 98-100); Sun Yee, *Study on planting in Korean traditional landscape architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006), pp. 382-387.



## The garden culture of the early years of the Joseon dynasty (fifteenth century)

Right through the fifteenth century, Korean society did not permit full-blown adoption of Neo-Confucianism. The meritorious elites of the new dynasty were preoccupied with urgent tasks such as tackling internal and external problems that had accumulated since the late period of Goryeo dynasty, establishing new administrative systems and institutions in the wake of change in the dynasty, and enhancing the wealth and military strength of the country. In an effort to resolve such issues, the elite were interested in the different versions of Confucianism and even embraced Buddhism, Taoism, and folk beliefs as well. Meanwhile, sciences and arts flourished in what was a golden era in Korean history, particularly under the reign of King Sejong (世宗: r. 1418–1450). This ruler promoted the 1443 invention of *Hangeul* or *Hangul*, the Korean native written language, by establishing *Jiphyeonjeon* (Hall of Worthies: 集賢殿), a royal research institute, and invented several scientific apparatuses such as the pluviometer in 1441 and the water clock and sundial in 1434. Numerous husbandry and medical books hugely advancing horticulture were the main fruits of this period.<sup>97</sup>

### THE EARLIEST BOOK REGARDING GARDENING

While Korean characters were invented in the fifteenth century, the Chinese script remained dominant among the upper classes in Korea until the first half of the twentieth century. Gardening influences were mainly derived from Chinese sources, apart from *Yangwhasorok* (Short Record on Growing Flowers: 養花小錄), which, though written in Chinese, relates to Korean conditions. It is one of the most significant books on gardening from the early Joseon dynasty, published in 1474, which can be described as the earliest extant manual of horticulture in Korea. Written by Hee-an Kang (姜希顔: 1417–1464), the book covers the properties and cultivation of some sixteen plant species (see appendix C).

Hee-an Kang was a literati-official who passed the civil service examination in 1441 and then served in various posts, and was involved in the compilation of several books such as *Donggukjeongun* (Dictionary of Proper Korean Pronunciation: 東國正韻) and Annotation of *Yongbieocheonga* (Songs of Flying Dragons: 龍飛御天歌). One of his posts put him in charge of matters related to art and literature at court. He was considered the master scholar painter of his time, and he considered himself a poet, painter, and master calligrapher. His calligraphy was adopted as a printing type in the early Joseon period. *Yangwhasorok*, now largely forgotten, was

<sup>97</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, tran. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp. 192-193.



published ten years after the author died<sup>98</sup> as the fourth volume in *Jinsansego* (The Collection of Three Generations of the Kang Family's Work: 晉山世稿) by Hee-maeng Kang,<sup>99</sup> Hee-an Kang's younger brother. The four volumes of *Jinsansego* cover the personal history of and poems by Hee-maeng Kang's family members: his grandfather, father, and elder brother (Hee-an Kang), and *Yanghwasorok*. Explaining why he included his brother's gardening treatise within this set of literary works, Hee-maeng Kang noted (in the preface) that:

I visited his [Hee-an Kang's] garden again nine years later after his death. The garden was overgrown with grass because of a lack of upkeep, and all the flowers and trees had lost their structure. As I indulged in reminiscences by wandering from place to place in the garden, I was unable to control my sentiments. Therefore, I looked for *Yanghwasorok* and added this as volume four to *Jinsansego*. I wish the future generations to know his virtue and to feel his desire through reading it.<sup>100</sup>

Hee-an Kang's book was exceptional, even unique, among Confucian works because at the time it was ethically taboo for the literati to grow flowers and to write about methods of their care, as 'being addicted to things that cause the will to be damaged' (*Wanmulsangji*: 玩物喪志). However, Hee-an Kang approached plants from a Neo-Confucian point of view, with Zhu Xi's interpretation of *Gyeongmulchiji* (when the principle of things is investigated as far as possible, knowledge comes: 格物致知) rather than the appreciation of the flowers' external features. He seemed to express his Neo-Confucianism ideology through the humanization of nature after growing conscious of something as seen in his comment: 'When a tree or a clump of grass is closely observed, it has a genial sentiment and deep thought, how much more should we human beings be!'<sup>101</sup> However, even then he could not take care of flowers during his heyday. He started to be interested in caring for flowering plants and gardening when he was relegated to a lesser post in 1449; he took care of flowers all day because he had no other responsibilities.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>98</sup> When it was written is not known exactly, but can be intimated from the introduction which states: "... I started to take care of flowers in 1449...", so it must have been written a few years after 1449 and before 1464; Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), p. 20; this edition includes the original Chinese text and a modern translation.

<sup>99</sup> Hee-maeng Kang (姜希孟: 1424–1483) was the high ranking scholar-official during the reign of Seongjong (r. 1469–1494). After he retired he wrote a comprehensive treatise on agricultural practice entitled *Geumyang jamnok* (Notes on farming in Geumyang County: 衿陽雜錄) (1482). It was based on his personal experiences and published in both Chinese and Korean characters; Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 195.

<sup>100</sup> Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), pp. 16-17.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>102</sup> He was appointed to the position of *Donnyeongbu*, which took charge of promoting friendly relationships among royal relatives; Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), p. 20.

Kang observed that each plant was divided into two sections; he reviewed information about the plant from twenty-six other sources from Korea and China and explained how to plant the plants in pots, including the characteristics of the plants from his own experience, observation, and knowledge.<sup>103</sup> (Fig. 2.14) The section on Japanese azaleas provided only Kang's opinion because the Japanese azalea had been introduced from Japan only in 1441, and the plant's cultivation, hardiness, and propagation were not yet known.<sup>104</sup> The order of each section for each species was related to the time they were first cultivated, that is, when Kang mastered the nature of the plants and identified the best growing methods for each individual species, after which he recorded the information. More interesting is that for sixteen plants explanations were given regarding when or how to pot them, with an additional section on 'how to plant flowers and trees in pots.' The practical advice for fourteen of the total of sixteen plants mentioned that those plants required indoor environments where the temperature and watering could be controlled. He mentioned four plants should be grown in a cob house or 'Towu (土宇)' while the other ten merely needed to be 'inside.'<sup>105</sup> In separate sections, *Yanghwasorok* also describes 'how to force flowers,' 'features that all flowers dislike,' 'facts that can be learned from flowers and trees,' 'how to grow flowers,' 'how to arrange pots as a display,' 'the safekeeping of plants in winter,' and some reasons 'why we grow flowers.' It seems later to have inspired several horticulture books, for example, *Sallim gyeongje* (山林經濟: early eighteenth century) that quoted from most parts of *Yanghwasorok*. It was also introduced to Japan and had some influence upon the improvement of gardening and horticulture there.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> There are some margins on the top of each page in which are interpolated his opinions based on his experiences in order to distinguish it from the other part, which selected from other sources, excepting Japanese azalea.

<sup>104</sup> Some potted Japanese azaleas were presented to King Sejong (r. 1418–1450) in 1441 by a Japanese envoy. The king ordered *Sangnimwon* (the body charged with managing the royal gardens) to transplant the flowers into the royal gardens. They were not known to the public, nobody recognized the flowers at that time but Kang was able to obtain some roots because the king was his maternal uncle-in-law. He experimented with Japanese azalea, planting both in earth and in pots in order to know its cultivation, hardiness and propagation; Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), p. 95.

<sup>105</sup> Sang-jun Yoon & Jan Woudstra, 'Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: the Earliest Documented Greenhouses', *Garden History*, 35/1 (2007), pp. 74-75.

<sup>106</sup> Mathoka and Ono's manuscripts (1724) of *Yanghwasorok* exist in Japan today; Ho-chol Lee, 'Passion for flowers and trees of 15th century in Yangwhasorok', *Studies on the history of Korean Agriculture*, 3/1 (2004), pp. 159-163.



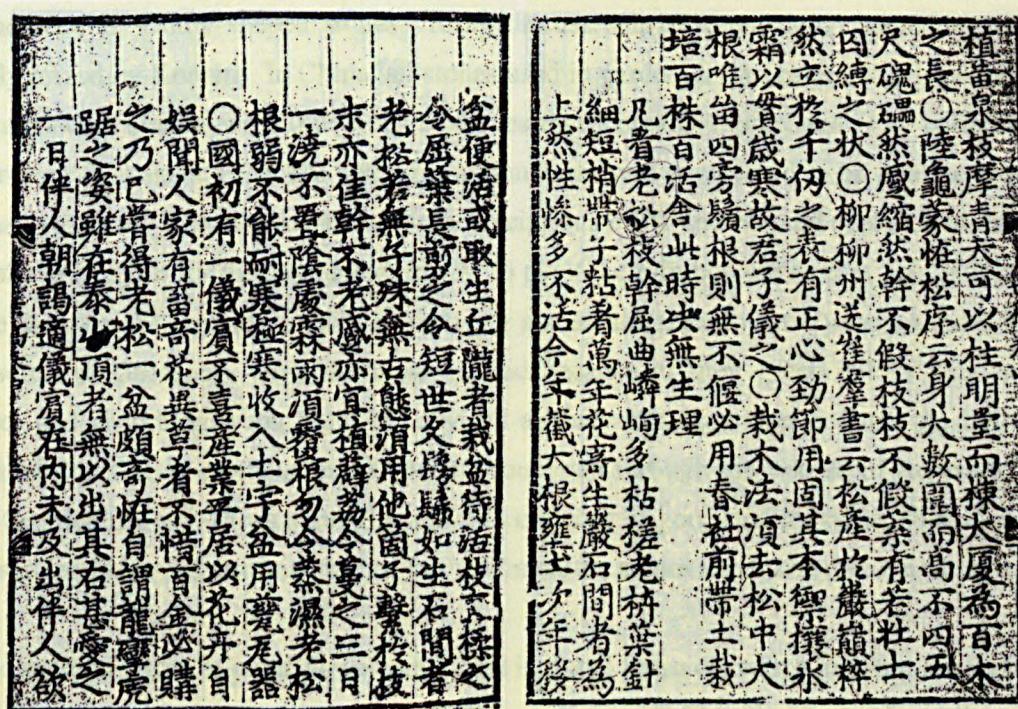


Fig. 2.14 Facsimile of the original text of a part of 'Japanese red pine' in *Yanghwasorok*; the order of writing is from right to left. (Source: Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), pp. 204-205.)



Fig. 2.15 *Jeolmaesapbyeongdo* (Putting Cuttings of a Japanese Apricot in a Vase: 折梅插瓶圖), Hee-an Kang. The National Folk Museum of Korea, Seoul. This picture, painted by the author of *Yanghwasorok*, depicts two young boys cutting branches off a Japanese apricot and putting them in a gourd vase. This kind of activity seems to have been enjoyed in the early spring before the Japanese apricot flowered. In order to appreciate the flowering inside. (Source: Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flower Culture*, Vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Seoul: Nexusbook, 2004), p. 203.)



In the section 'Oddly shaped stones,' Kang discusses in reverent detail something that was highly prized by Koreans. In China, all stones used in garden design came from lakes or the sea as water-worn stones, while the kinds of stones that Koreans appreciated were collected from mountains. The shape of stones taken from mountains was considered to be like the mountains themselves, rising above one another with precipitous cliffs and pointed peaks. It is interesting that the preference for displaying stones was to plant them in porcelain plant pots rather than to place them on the ground directly. *Chimhyang* stones, unearthed near Gyeongcheon Temple to the south of Gaeseong, were the most desired because of their green colour with beautiful shapes and absorbing water well. He advised against drilling a hole because the hole would break up the texture of the stone, so water would run through the middle of stone and not be able to reach the top. Moss naturally grows in crevices of good-quality stone, so stones should not be decorated with artificial things. In the winter, the stones should be dried in the sun.<sup>107</sup>

In the section, 'How to plant flowers and trees in pots,' Kang discusses in detail the method for making compost and fertilizer, referring to *Geogapilyong* (居家必用),<sup>108</sup> a book published in the Yuan dynasty of the Mongol empire, along with his own practical experience. Manure compost is suggested for use in flower pots. The process of producing compost was described as follows: mud was taken in winter from a ditch located in a sunny place that had dried out in the sun. Then the mud was passed through a sieve, and liquid manure sprinkled over the top. After this process was repeated three or four times, alternate layers of hay mixed with dry wood and manure compost were burned. After burning the residue formed the desired compost, which was to be used for planting flowers in the first month of the year (according to the lunar calendar). This process of making compost would have left a mixture that was odourless, without pathogens and containing potassium from wood ash. To make several different liquid manures, Kang advises that *Bisu* (肥水) is a clear supernatant made from excrement in water to enable the nutrients to soak out. Horse excrement or silk-worm droppings might be used in the same manner; alternatively, chicken or goose feathers were steeped in water and strained, or long-stored water blended with the lees of rice wine. Liquid manure was recommended for daily application fertilization, which should be stopped when seeds sprouted, a flower burst into bloom, and trees bore fruit, because fertilizing may burn the tender roots and cause the plant to shed blossoms or fruit. On these occasions, pure water should be given every morning and evening. Kang advised that in order to force flowering plants to bloom, they should be potted during March and April (according to the lunar calendar) in order to inhibit root growth. Kang

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<sup>107</sup> Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwatorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), pp. 111-114.

<sup>108</sup> Chinese pronunciation is *Jujia biyong*.

suggested a simple way of producing compost in which any kind of fertile soil was sieved and mixed with liquid manure and dried out a couple of times, in which case it did not matter that compost was not burnt. Liquid manure from horse excrement was considered to be better than any other when used to mature flowering plants. Kang believed that any flower could be forced in two or three days through fertilizing with liquid manure from horse excrement.<sup>109</sup>

The manner of display was also discussed. It was important to arrange a display place that was both shady and sunny. Generally, flower pots were arranged according to the plants' height, with small ones in front and tall ones at the back, on stands made of tiles or bricks. However, some plants that do not tolerate dry conditions such as pomegranate (*Punica granatum* L.), gardenia (*Gardenia augusta* Merr.), camellia (*Camellia japonica* L.), and the China rose (*Rosa chinensis* Jacq.) should, after shedding their flowers, be buried in the earth with their pots; the rim of the pots was to be fixed at the level of the earth in order to take 'earth energy.' A new idea was that *Deungjwa* was recommended as a stand for displaying pots and decorating the garden, though it had originally been designed as a chair positioned between pavilions.<sup>110</sup>

The most notable section in *Yanghwasorok* is the recommendation for 'how to keep plants in winter' through the construction of a 'Towu' or cob house (comparable to an orangery), and without any heating. Kang recommended that 'the building should be positioned in a sunny, high and dry location. South-facing windows should be big enough to enable plants in pots to be taken through, and to enable the earth energy to flow, a reference to contemporary *feng shui*. Management was also explained with the recommendation that the process of taking the plants inside should be gradual, with the plants only moved in before night frosts and then outdoors again. With mild weather the windows were to be opened, whereas in cold weather the whole house was to be covered with a thick straw mat in order to prevent frost damage to plants. In spring, windows were to be opened as frequently as possible during mild spells and the use of straw mats was to be reduced, till the plants were finally moved out on *Hansik*, the 105<sup>th</sup> day after the winter solstice when sacrificial food was offered at ancestral tombs.'<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> '凡花用馬糞浸水澆之三四日開者次日盡開: Water soaked out from horse droppings is given to any flowering plant. Flowers can come out splendidly the following day though flowers could bloom passing three or four days later'; Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), p. 116.

<sup>110</sup> 排花盆法: '瓦花盆須擇陰陽備處花木高大者宜後行短小可上埴上者宜前列花盆皆置瓦甃甃乃佳然石榴梔字山茶四季等惡燥者花謝後須掘地理盆與地面相齊以受地氣世俗列甃坐不雙雖雙列亦無妨甃坐本人亭謝間坐底物事世人每置花盆以為庭實未和始自何時'; Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999), p. 119.

<sup>111</sup> '收藏法凡造土宇擇向陽高燥處築之,向南作一窓令不陝隘以便出納以通地氣,收藏亦勿太早須經霜二三次收入乃可,天氣溫和時莫令閉窓若遇極寒用苫厚蓋勿致凍傷,立春後常不蓋閉過

A heated greenhouse was described in the 1450s in *Sangayorok* (Advice on Living in the Countryside: 山家要錄)<sup>112</sup>, a work written by Soon-ui Jeon,<sup>113</sup> who was a royal physician, that was aimed at the aristocrat and which presented 'important advice for living in the countryside.' The book includes guidance on the construction of a greenhouse, along with other important advice for the nobility living in the countryside.<sup>114</sup>

*Sangayorok* is divided into two sections: agricultural techniques and living techniques. The contents of the agricultural techniques section consists of six areas: sericulture, growing fruit trees, growing trees, growing vegetables, dyeing plants and medical herbs, and livestock husbandry. This section is similar to *Nongsangjibyo* (農桑輯要),<sup>115</sup> a husbandry manual published in the thirteenth century during the Goryeo dynasty.<sup>116</sup> This section seems to have summarized *Nongsangjibyo*. On the other hand, the section on the living techniques could be the earliest information on cookery known in Korea. The contents consist of a great number of instructions for methods of cookery and food storage, the process of dyeing, and a method for discriminating between an auspicious day and an inauspicious day for making clothes. The book

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寒食出: A *Towu* [cob house] should be built in a high, dry, sunny place. Install a window, facing south. It should be big enough to enable going in and out, and in order to allow earth energy to flow. Plants should not be taken in too early. This happens only after two or three night frosts: When the climate is mild, do not close the window. However, when it is very cold, cover the cob house with a thick straw mat in order to prevent the plants from being damaged by frost: After the onset of spring, do not continually make use of straw mats or close the windows. When Hansik has passed, carry all plants out of the cob house'; Hee-an Kang, *Yanghwasorok*, trans. Yun-hui Seo & Gyeong-rok Lee (Seoul: Nurwa, 1999). pp. 120, 151; Sang-jun Yoon & Jan Woudstra, 'Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: the Earliest Documented Greenhouses', *Garden History*, 35/1 (2007), p. 69.

<sup>112</sup> *Sangayorok* was reproduced manually; the one known surviving copy of this treatise is a copy of original. This volume was rediscovered in an antique bookshop in Seoul in 2000 and was acquired by the archives of the Society of Raising Our Culture in Seoul.

<sup>113</sup> Soon-ui Jeon was a physician to the royal family from the reign of King Sejong to that of King Sejo in the 1450s. Starting his career as the physician who controlled the royal meals, he rose to the position of royal attending physician, and as a result had a profound knowledge of medicine as well as food and drink. His wide knowledge was recorded in *Uibangyuchi* (1477), one volume of an oriental medical encyclopedia that ultimately totaled 266 volumes. He also wrote *Sikryochanyo* (1460), the oldest Korean manual on dietary treatment.

<sup>114</sup> Sang-jun Yoon & Jan Woudstra, 'Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: the Earliest Documented Greenhouses', *Garden History*, 35/1 (2007), p. 69.

<sup>115</sup> *Nongsangjibyo*, a husbandry book, was originally published in 1286 in the Mongol empire, Yuan Dynasty; it was republished in the Goryeo Dynasty, but this version did not include all the plants referred to in the original text. The selection made appears to be of those plants that were suitable for Korean conditions.

<sup>116</sup> Soon-ui Jeon, *Sangayorok, a series of Korean version of old agricultural manuals: 8* (Seoul: Rural Development Administration, 2004). pp. 9-14; Young-jin Kim, 'Nongsangjibyo and Sangayorok', *Studies on the history of Korean Agriculture*, 2/1 (2003), pp. 7-8; Young-jin Kim & Eun-mi Hong, 'The Social Status of Editors and External Characteristics of Korean Agricultural Manuals', *Studies on the history of Korean Agriculture*, 2/2 (2003), p. 29.



also contains very important information on how to build a greenhouse, in the chapter on the method of cultivation of vegetables in winter. This is described in the middle of the ‘living techniques’ section, between the subjects of food storage and types of gruel meals.<sup>117</sup>

It is remarkable that the heating system of the greenhouse is a duplex heating system, the same strategy used with modern technology, with both underground and air heating. The following is a transcription and translation of the original text about how to build a greenhouse: (Fig. 2.16)

*Dongjeolyangchae*: A method for vegetable cultivation in winter.

- Decide on the size of the greenhouse randomly, but build a wall on three sides and use oil-coated Korean paper covering the internal wall surfaces.
- Make windows all south-facing and [use] oil-coated Korean paper to cover the windows.
- Lay the *Ondol* [Korean underfloor heating system, same as hypocaust] carefully at the bottom lest smoke leaks out from the floor.
- Pile one and half *ja* (*cheok*) [*one ja* equals c. 30.3 cm] of compost on top of the *Ondol* and then a spring vegetable can be cultivated.
- Ensure that no drafts come in the evening and at night, when it is very cold, by using straw mats to cover the windows. When it becomes warmer, remove the mats.
- Water every day, as if wet with dew. Maintain the indoor temperature and humidity as warm and moist in order to prevent soil from turning white [that is, dry].
- Heat the *Ondol* by using a fireplace in the external walls and place a water-filled cauldron above the fire hole so that the steam can enter the greenhouse to maintain a warm temperature in the morning and evening.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Sang-jun Yoon & Jan Woudstra, ‘Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: the Earliest Documented Greenhouses’, *Garden History*, 35/1 (2007), pp. 69-70.

<sup>118</sup> 冬節養菜: 造家大小任意 三面築蔽 塗紙油之. 南面皆作箭窓 塗紙油之. 造竣勿令煙生. 突上積土一尺半 許春菜皆可栽植. 於夕令溫勿使入風氣 天極寒則厚編飛令掩窓 日暖時則撤去日. 日酒水如露 房內常令溫和 有潤氣勿令土白乾 又云. 作園於築外掛釜於壁內朝夕 使釜中水氣薰扁房內’; Soon-ui Jeon, *Sangayorok, a series of Korean versions of old agricultural manuals*: 8, (Seoul: Rural Development Administration, 2004), p. 115; Sang-jun Yoon & Jan Woudstra, ‘Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: the Earliest Documented Greenhouses’, *Garden History*, 35/1 (2007), pp. 82-83.

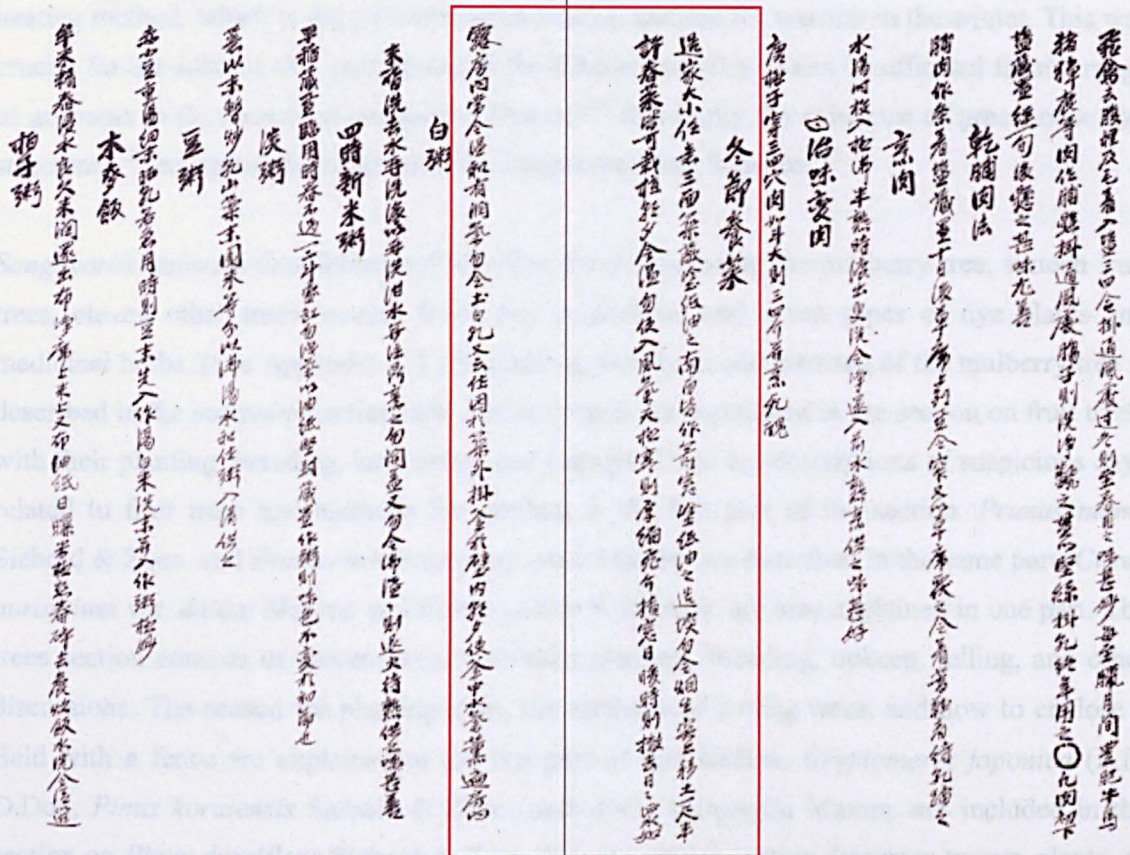


Fig. 2.16 Facsimile of the original text of "Growing vegetables in the winter" from *Sangayorok* (1450s). (Source: Soon-ui Jeon, *Sangayorok, A series of Korean Versions of Old Agricultural Manuals*: 8 (Seoul: Rural Development Administration, 2004), pp. 204-205.)

The *Dongjeolyangchae* technology described in *Sangayorok* possessed three important characteristics that constitute a greenhouse: lighting, heating, and humidification. On the one hand, the first feature is that it used the oil-coated Korean paper, *Hanji*,<sup>119</sup> for ventilation and penetration of sunlight into the greenhouse, by which the temperature and humidity could be controlled on the inside. The second important characteristic is to use the *Ondol* (溫突)<sup>120</sup> as a

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 71. *Hanji* is Korean traditional paper made from bark of a kind of 'paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia kazinoki*)'. The history of *Hanji* started in 5th century. The reason why it stands out among other Korean papers is the fact that it is made of 100% pure mulberry, which makes the paper fibres very durable and sturdy while keeping its surface smooth. It also consists of multiple layers.

<sup>120</sup> *Ondol* is a traditional Korean underfloor heating system especially for a chamber, similar in principle to a Roman hypocaust. The main components are a fireplace located below floor level, a heated floor underlaid by horizontal smoke passages, ducts and a vertical chimney to provide a draft. The heated floor is supported by stone piers, covered by stone slabs, with a clay layer laid on it and an impervious layer such as oiled paper added onto the clay layer; Ky-bum Jung, 'A Flow Distribution of Traditional Ondol', *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea*, 9/4 (1993), pp. 81-87; Myeong-seok Yeo *et al*, 'A Study on the Historical Changes and Evolution of Traditional Ondol', *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea*, 11/1 (1995), pp. 93-103; Young-taik Choi, 'Ondol: A Uniquely Korean Lifestyle', in *Korean Cultural Heritage Volume IV: Traditional Lifestyle*, edited by Joung-won Kim (Seoul: Korea Foundation, 1997), pp. 102-103; Sang-jun Yoon & Jan Woudstra, 'Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: the Earliest Documented Greenhouses', *Garden History*, 35/1 (2007), p. 72.



heating method, which is the typical Korean heating method for warmth in the winter. This was crucial for the success of a greenhouse in the fifteenth century. It can be affirmed from a range of accounts in the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*<sup>121</sup> that imply the existence of greenhouse-like structures,<sup>122</sup> constructed and managed by Jangwonseo and Saposeo.<sup>123</sup>

*Sangayorok* includes descriptions of fifty-five plants, including the mulberry tree, sixteen fruit trees, eleven other trees, twenty fruits and vegetables, and seven types of dye plants and medicinal herbs. (See Appendix C.) The planting, breeding, and growing of the mulberry tree is described in the section on sericulture. Sixteen plants are mentioned in the section on fruit trees, with their planting, breeding, harvesting, and storage. There are descriptions of auspicious days related to fruit trees and methods for grafting in the last part of the section. *Prunus mume* Siebold & Zucc. and *Prunus armeniaca* var. *ansu* Maxim. are described in the same part. *Citrus aurantium* var. *daidai* Makino and *Citrus unshiu* S. Marcov. are also explained in one part. The trees section consists of eleven trees, with their planting, breeding, upkeep, felling, and other discussions. The season for planting trees, the methods of cutting trees, and how to enclose a field with a fence are explained in the last part of this section. *Cryptomeria japonica* (L.f.) D. Don, *Pinus koraiensis* Siebold & Zucc., and *Abies holophylla* Maxim. are included in the section on *Pinus densiflora* Siebold & Zucc. The vegetables section discusses twenty plants, of which some are fruits. It is organized with sections on the planting location, the sowing season, sowing methods, fertilizer, removing weeds, and auspicious days for these activities.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> This collection comprises 1893 books covering 472 years of the history of the dynasty (National Treasures No. 151), from the reign of King Taejo (r. 1392–1398), the founder, to the reign of King Cheoljong (r. 1849–1863). These are official contemporary records of the longest period of a single dynasty in the world. This was acknowledged by UNESCO, which registered them for their significance to the documentary heritage in the Memory of the World Register in 1997.

<sup>122</sup> *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* provides further examples that refer to blooms or growing vegetables in winter, for example Jangwonseo and Saposeo were ordered to build a cob house on the 20 July 1505 (date referred to the lunar calendar) in order to grow various vegetables during the winter, including Korean angelica sprouts (*Angelica gigas* Nakai): “如辛甘菜等諸種蔬菜, 令掌苑署司園署, 築土宇, 過冬培養”; more examples see: Sang-jun Yoon & Jan Woudstra, ‘Advanced Horticultural Techniques in Korea: the Earliest Documented Greenhouses’, *Garden History*, 35/1 (2007), pp. 68–69.

<sup>123</sup> Jangwonseo (掌苑署) was the body charged with managing the royal fruit garden, cultivation of flowering plants while Saposeo (司園署) was the section of the royal household in charge of growing vegetables and crops; more information about Jangwonseo see: Young-ok Jeon & Byoung-e Yang, ‘A Study on the Function of “Chang-Won-Seo as a Government Organization in charge of Landscape Architecture during Chosun-Dynasty’, *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 24/4 (1997), pp. 85–95.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

## PAVILIONS IN NATURAL SURROUNDINGS

In the early period of the Joseon dynasty, some historic aspects of garden culture from the Goryeo dynasty were still enjoyed by the royal family, for example, watching *Gyeokgu* (a horse-riding ball game) and appreciating peony blossoms.<sup>125</sup> The prosperity and peaceful period of the early Joseon dynasty led to a new flourishing of pavilion construction. The fondness for pavilions in a natural environment was transmitted from the former dynasty, Goryeo, where they were advanced as a natural garden type in the Joseon dynasty. They were a symbol of cultivated people, or of power; therefore, most of the esteemed elites and scholar officials desired to have their own pavilion-gardens. Locations along the Han River in Seoul were fashionable for the construction of pavilions. In 1463, King Sejo (世祖: r. 1455–1468) issued a royal ordinance prohibiting the building of pavilions or belvederes on the official grounds of all provinces and villages, because he considered them a social malady. He believed that officials spent so much time in pavilions that it led the men to neglect their official duties.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, in 1481 King Seongjong (宣宗: r. 1469–1494) ordered the removal of a series of pavilions along the Han River.<sup>127</sup> The order originated in an incident with Myeong-hoe Han<sup>128</sup> (韓明澮: 1415–1487), a high-ranking scholar official and a former prime minister. He owned the Apgujeong pavilion on the southern shore of the Han, otherwise known as Apgujeong-dong in modern Seoul. This pavilion was moved there from Yeouido Island in 1476 and was a meeting place for high-ranking scholar officials of the day.<sup>129</sup> The north and south shores of the Han River, called *Dongho* or East Lake, were a particularly famous area with numerous pavilions along the north

<sup>125</sup> Vol. 23 of the 'King Taejong (r. 1400-1418) Chronicles', in *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, on 1 April 1412 (according to lunar calendar): '... 迎上王于廣延樓, 設宴賞牡丹, 且觀打毬 ...'; The official website of the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>).

<sup>126</sup> Vol. 31 of the 'King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) Chronicles', in *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, on 3 September 1463 (according to lunar calendar): '傳于工曹曰: “諸道、諸邑勿營樓閣”'; The official website of the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>).

<sup>127</sup> Vol. 130 of the 'King Seongjong (r. 1469-1494) Chronicles', in *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, on 25 June 1481 (according to lunar calendar): '... . . . “既不設宴, 又何補簷? 今當大旱, 不可肆志遊觀, 吾意以爲‘此亭當撤去也’ 天使若說此亭風景之美于中原, 則後之奉使于我國者, 必皆遊觀, 是開弊端也。且聞構亭江上, 以爲遊觀之所者多, 吾不以爲美也。明日設畫捧杯于濟川亭, 而勿令帳幔於(鴨鷗亭) [狎鷗亭], 可也” ... . . . 傳于承政院曰: “予未知江濱作亭者某某也。今天使遊狎鷗亭, 必沿江歷歷偏遊, 而後乃已, 後之奉使而來者, 必皆效此遊覽, 其弊寧有既耶? 我國濟川亭之景, 中朝人自古知之, 喜雨亭, 世宗於大旱, 偶幸此亭, 適遇靈雨, 仍賜名作記, 此二亭, 則可不壞也, 其餘新構之亭, 一切撤去, 以防後弊且明日畫捧杯, 設於濟川亭, 而狎鷗亭, 則但使遊觀可也” ... . . .'; The official website of the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>).

<sup>128</sup> Myeong-hoe Han was a powerful courtier in King Sejo's reign (r. 1455–1468). He played a key role in that Prince Su yang became King Sejo who usurped the crown from his young nephew, King Danjong (r. 1452–1455) and staged a purge against a conspiracy to restore King Danjong. He became the father-in-law of next two kings, Yejong (r. 1468–1469) and Seongjong (r. 1469–1494).

<sup>129</sup> Jong-mook Lee, *Cultural Spaces in the Joseon Dynasty I: A prosperous and peaceful age and its breaking* (Seoul: Humanist, 2006), pp. 149-152.

side of the river. When Chinese envoys visited in 1481, Han requested royal permission to give a banquet in the Apgujeong pavilion. However, the king rejected this request because he felt a private banquet was inappropriate, and there was no precedent for it.<sup>130</sup> He ordered the demolition of private pavilions alongside the Han River, saying that this was to prevent the abuse of hospitality by Chinese envoys, but more likely because he wanted to maintain his power.

In the era of the Goryeo dynasty, as mentioned above, the style of pavilion building and its decoration was taken into consideration within the natural landscape setting whereas during the Joseon dynasty, the natural environment became the most important quintessence for the design of pavilion gardens, and the buildings remained simple. This type of pavilion remained so popular that the number of pavilions reached 664 in the early period of the dynasty and had reached 2,906 by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>131</sup>

Pavilions (*jeongja*: 亭子) or two-storey belvederes (*lu*: 樓) were built in order to enjoy the scenery of these nature-gardens, it became fashionable to make universe-garden, in which large distance were used to generate a sense of unapproachability. Thus, it is sometimes possible only to contemplate the landscape paintings, 'the painting of mountains and water.' (Fig. 2.17) It goes without saying that pavilions were built within one's garden in order to appreciate the landscape inside and outside the garden; however, they were mostly built in the middle of a beautiful natural setting, surrounded by mountains and waters, and this played an important role in making such incorporation possible. This concept is different from the typical definition of a garden, in that it has beautiful natural scenery that can be incorporated into the garden for visitors to enjoy and appreciate. These were places used for the appreciation of nature, not only for enjoying and resting but also for thinking, reading, or educating the young and discussion among scholars.

The pavilions and belvederes appear to be similar to each other, but they were different in design terms, style, and use. Pavilions were normally built for private use, with various shaped floor plans such as rectangles, cross shapes, fan shapes, hexagons, and octagons, and had at least one room. Belvederes were constructed mostly by the heads of local governments and served as administration areas for official events and entertainment. Belvederes had rectangular

<sup>130</sup> Vol. 130 of the 'King Seongjong (r. 1469-1494) Chronicles', in *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, on 25 June 1481 (according to lunar calendar); The official website of the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>).

<sup>131</sup> Gye-bok Ahn, 'Nu, Jung, Dae: The Base of Landscape-strolling Garden', *Journal of the Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 22/4 (2004), p. 97.



floor plans for one room only with open sides like a gazebo.<sup>132</sup>

The scenery surrounding these pavilions gradually improved. (Fig. 2.18) The borrowed landscape was enhanced by five principal strategies:<sup>133</sup> involving bringing the distant landscape to the site of the pavilion (conversing landscape); viewing various landscapes from the pavilion (multiple landscapes); surrounding pavilions with natural elements such as greenery, water, and mountain, and enclosed by them (panorama: surrounding-scape); bringing the surrounding landscape into the pavilions (adopted landscape); and by selecting eight scenic landscapes<sup>134</sup> near the pavilions as subjects for poems by poets who visited the pavilions. Poems were used to introduce the landscape to visitors, who did not always visit at the ideal times, and aimed to help visitors to imagine and enjoy past or future scenes.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Gye-bok Ahn, 'Korean Pavilions', in *Traditional Landscape Architecture of Korea*, edited by IFLA Korean Committee (Seoul: Chokyung, 1992), pp. 143-172 (pp. 148-149).

<sup>133</sup> Emptiness inside building is the most basic concept used in the natural landscape treatment of the *Jeong* and *Lu* in Korea.

<sup>134</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: Daewonsa, 1998), p. 112.

<sup>135</sup> Gye-bok Ahn, 'Korean Pavilions', in *Traditional Landscape Architecture of Korea*, edited by IFLA Korean Committee (Seoul: Chokyung, 1992), pp. 143-172 (p. 149).



Fig. 2.17 *Eight Views of the Four Seasons (Late Spring)* is one of the views in the picture album containing eight views that represent the change of seasons around the pavilion by Kyon An (fifteenth century), Seoul, National Museum of Korea. (Source: Hwi-joon Ahn (ed.), *Korean Traditional Art* (Seoul: Hexa Communication, 1995), p. 85.)

*Playing with the Moon* (月日遊). (Source: Kyon An, *Gardens of Korea: Harmonizing with Nature*, trans. Donald L. Baker (London: Saifou, 2005), p. 134.)





Fig. 2.18 *Nongwoljeong* (Pavilion for Playing with the Moon: 弄月亭). (Source: Kyun Heo, *Gardens of Korea: Harmony with Intellect and Nature*, trans. Donald L. Baker (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 136.)



## Country retreats in the sixteenth century

Until the end of the fifteenth century, society was dominated by esteemed elites who had helped to establish the Joseon dynasty and to usurp the throne in 1455. At the same time, the rural Neo-Confucian literati had emerged in the central government. In an effort to eliminate social hypocrisies through Neo-Confucian ideals and institutions, the literati censored corrupt and illegal acts committed by the elite, campaigned to restore the local government advisory committee, propagated village codes, and established private academies. Neo-Confucianism emerged on the central stage as an ideological weapon to attack the establishment dominated by the esteemed elite.<sup>136</sup> However, the antagonism between the esteemed elites and the Neo-Confucian literati led to a series of political convulsions known as the literati purges that saw the literati defeated and purged four times from 1498 to 1545.<sup>137</sup> Victimized in this series of four purges, the literati placed the blame for their failure on the king's lack of scholarship, which caused him to give up the authority to rule himself. Subject to continual suppression by the meritorious elites, the literati realized they would never achieve their ideals in the central bureaucracy; however, the literati finally gained political power during the later period of King Myeongjong's reign (明宗: r. 1545–1567).<sup>138</sup> Neo-Confucianism was widely established throughout society, and the rustic literati came to lead both the ideology and politics of the time. By then, self-cultivation was directly related to the very practice of learning as well as social and political practice. Particularly, Hwang Yi<sup>139</sup> made a decisive contribution in firmly implementing Zhu Xi-centred Neo-Confucianism, and then the teachings of Hwang Yi and I Yi (李珥: 1536–1584)<sup>140</sup> of Zhu Xi-centred Neo-Confucianism finally gained the upper hand in

<sup>136</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 204.

<sup>137</sup> It is well-established that the literati purges, the biggest political tragedy in the middle of Joseon society, happened as part of changes in the main political power. The literati or *Sarim*, orthodox Neo-Confucians in rural areas, challenged meritorious elites or the *Hungu* in central government. The literati purges took place four times within less than fifty years: *Muo Sahwa* or History Purge in 1498; *Gapja Sahwa* or the Purge of 1504; *Gimyo Sahwa* or the Purge of 1519; and *Ulsa Sahwa* or the Purge of 1545; For more information about the political situation in the four purges see: Michael C. Kalton (ed.), *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning by Yi T'oegye* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 9-14.

<sup>138</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 208.

<sup>139</sup> Hwang Yi, better known by his honorific name T'oegye, was the foremost Neo-Confucian philosopher and religious leader of the mid Joseon period. He was also active as a diplomat and educator. His fully balanced and integral grasp of the complex philosophical Neo-Confucian synthesis woven by Zhu Xi marks the tradition's arrival at full maturity in Korea. He helped shape the character of Korean Confucianism through his creative interpretation of Zhu Xi's teaching; Michael C. Kalton (ed.), *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning by Yi T'oegye* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 14-19.

<sup>140</sup> I Yi, whose penname is Yulgok, was one of the most prominent Confucians with Hwang Yi in the mid Joseon period.

Joseon society. However, factional politics were evident from this time until the end of this dynasty, and divisive splits were driven by questions about political issues, moral qualifications, or royal succession.<sup>141</sup>

Due to a series of political tragedies and factional strife, many literati retired to rural areas and concentrated their efforts on preparing themselves for a better future through exploring Neo-Confucianism more deeply, teaching disciples, and establishing private academies based on the home towns in their regions. In other words, the literati paid more attention to academic pursuits than governmental ones and to the theoretical aspects of Neo-Confucianism rather than the practical ones. As a result, the literati prepared country villas as a place to which they might retreat for a rustic life. These also served as places of homecoming after their resignations from government offices. Although country retreats first appeared during the Unified Silla era and became popular during the era of the Goryeo dynasty, the practice of building country retreats became prevalent from the end of the fifteenth century (the Joseon dynasty) because of the particular political situation. In addition, the scholar-literati generally built their retreat gardens rather late in life after retiring or while living in exile. Some Confucian scholars, were tormented by their doubts about politics, chose to retire to a hermitage in the countryside or the mountains. They spent their time creating gardens and growing flowers as well as reading, writing, and teaching.

For example, San-bo Yang (梁山甫: 1503–1557) studied in Seoul when he was fifteen years old as a disciple of the Neo-Confucian scholar official Gwang-jo Jo (趙光祖: 1482–1519). Two years later, Yang passed the civil service examination and served in the government as the minister of audits and inspections; however, he realized that his future in the world of Neo-Confucian scholar officials was over, because his master was poisoned while in exile due to *Gimyo Sahwa* (己卯士禍), the Literati Purge of 1519. Yang renounced his position, which he regarded as a mark of the success of his studies as a scholar official in the central government and retired to nature in his hometown of Jigok-ri, Nam-myeon, Damyang-gun in South Jeolla province. He started to build *Soswaewon* (瀟灑園) (Fig. 2.19) for his self-imposed exile in the 1530s and spent the rest of his life there within nature, composing lyrics. As a Neo-Confucian, Yang venerated Chinese Confucians such as Zhu Xi, Tao Yuanming (陶淵明: 365-427), and Zhou Dunyi (周敦頤: 1017-1073) highly. He especially followed Zhu Xi's example of achievement of a secluded life in nature, *Muijeongsa* (武夷精舍),<sup>142</sup> which was a Utopia to the

<sup>141</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp. 208-209.

<sup>142</sup> Chinese pronunciation is *Wuyijingshe*.



literati of the Joseon dynasty and was affected by Tao's ballad, *Gwigeoraesa* (Return to Hometown: 歸去來辭)<sup>143</sup> and Zhou's essay, *Aeryeonseol* (On the Love of Lotus: 愛蓮說).<sup>144</sup> Moreover the names of the two main buildings, Jewoldang (Clear Moon Hall: 霽月堂) and Gwangpunggak (Refreshing Breeze Pavilion: 光風閣) stemmed from the calligrapher Huang Tingjian's (黃庭堅: 1045–1105) comment to the philosopher Zhou that: 'Spending time with him was as refreshing as feeling a cool breeze on your skin while looking at the clear moon in the sky after the rain has stopped.'<sup>145</sup>

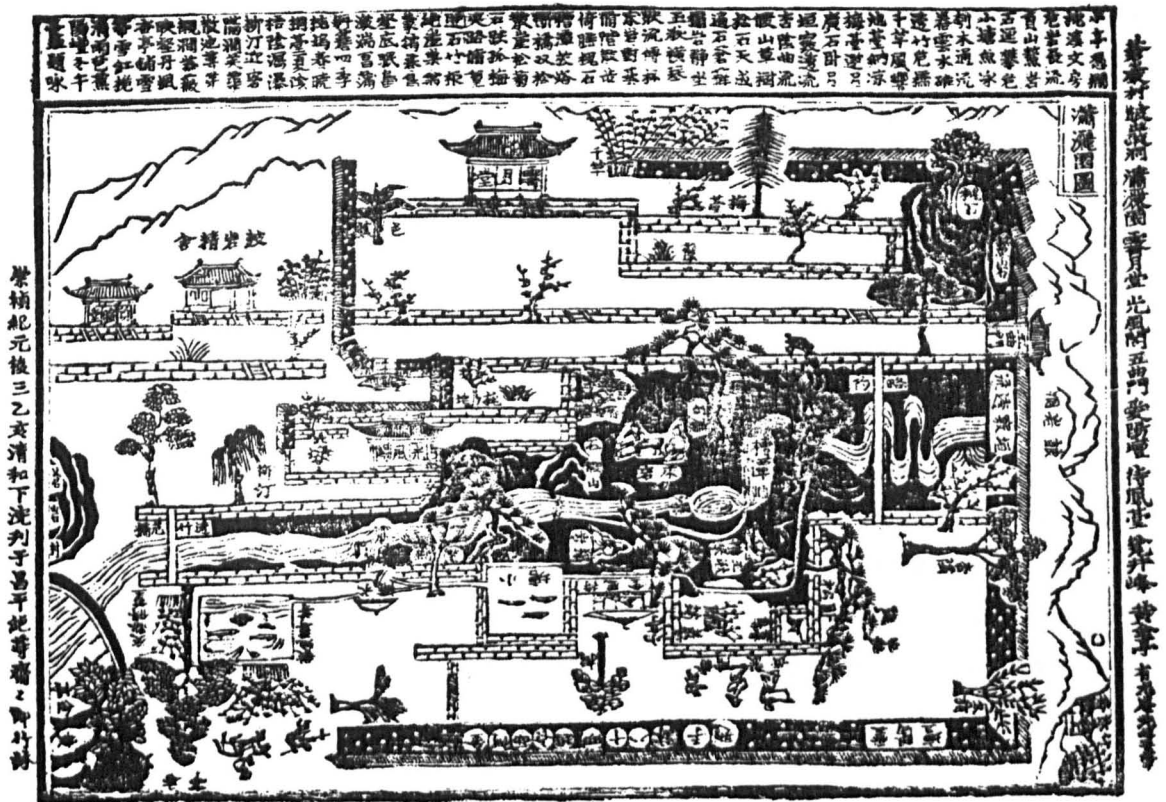


Fig. 2.19 The Xylograph of Soswaewon in 1775. This is the oldest surviving plan of Soswaewon. The plan shows the topography, ornaments, and trees, but the shrubs and lower plants were not drawn. The plan is 36 centimetres by 24 centimetres. Forty-eight poetic verses were engraved at the top of the plan. The printing carved on the wood plate that expressed the figure of the Soswaewon remains. (Source: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, *The Plan of Conservation and Maintenance for Soswaewon* (Seoul: Office of Cultural Properties, 1983), p. 20.)

<sup>143</sup> Chinese pronunciation is *Guiqulaici*; it is one of the famous Tao texts which is about tasting the natural atmosphere when he returned to his hometown after resigning governmental post.

<sup>144</sup> Chinese pronunciation is *Ailianshuo*; '... It emerges from muddy dirt but is not contaminated; it responds modestly above the clear water; hollow inside and straight outside, its stems do not straggle or branch. Its subtle perfume pervades the air far and wide. Resting there with its radiant purity, the lotus is something to be appreciated from a distance, not profaned by intimate approach.'; Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 192.

<sup>145</sup> Young-gull Kwon, *Space Syntactics in Korea, China and Japan: in search of genetic prototype for space* (Seoul: Kukje Publishing House, 2006), pp. 119-120; Kyun Heo, *Gardens of Korea: Harmony with Intellect and Nature* (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 91.

Another example is that of Eon-jeok Yi (李彦迪: 1491–1553), a Neo-Confucian who served in a series of government posts from 1514 but resigned his office after unsuccessfully opposing the government. In 1531, the next year of his homecoming, Yi built a house on Mt. Jaok, in North Gyeongsang province, later called Dongnakdang (獨樂堂), in order to train disciples and study Neo-Confucianism. This area was blessed with a natural environment in which there were five scenic spots composed of level plateaux called Tagyeongdae (Washing hat-strings plateau: 濯纓臺), Gwaneodae (a plateau for observing fish: 觀魚臺), Yeonggwidae (詠歸臺: a plateau for singing about returning home), Sesimdae (a plateau for cleansing the mind: 洗心臺), and Jeungsimdae (檜心臺) in the area of Dongnakdang.<sup>146</sup> Yi added two more buildings, Jeonggwanae (靜觀齋) and the Gyejeong (溪亭) pavilion, and planted pine trees and bamboo with a variety of flowers in the front and the rear of the pavilion. He left many literary works, having lived in Dongnakdang for seven years until he returned to government work in 1527. After he passed away, Dongnakdang and the Gyejeong pavilion became known as a memorial to his philosophy of purifying the spirit.<sup>147</sup>

The country retreat (*Byeol-seo*) would be defined as a house remote from the primary residence in secluded countryside with attractive natural scenery that provided seclusion or withdrawal from the chaotic life of the period.<sup>148</sup> The country retreat generally reflected the ethics and morality of Neo-Confucianism and was a place which reflected their desire to walk in the footsteps of the lives of some great masters of Confucianism in China; for example, the achievements of Zhu Xi's life in seclusion within nature created a great longing for the life of Neo-Confucians in the Yi Joseon dynasty. Country retreat gardens were prominent until the end of the nineteenth century.

### Gestation of a new paradigm after the foreign invasions

In the seventeenth century, the Neo-Confucian literati affirmed their leadership despite internal and external disturbances. Between 1592 and 1598, the Hideyoshi invasions took place, followed by the Manchurian invasions of 1627 and 1636. Joseon repelled the Japanese invaders by mobilizing volunteer guerrilla forces and a naval force and securing military aid from the

<sup>146</sup> Jong-mook Lee, *Cultural Spaces in the Joseon Dynasty 2: Homecoming after one's resignation from a government office and satisfaction with one's lot* (Seoul: Humanist, 2006), p. 149; Kyun Heo, *Gardens of Korea: Harmony with Intellect and Nature* (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 152.

<sup>147</sup> Jong-mook Lee, *Cultural Spaces in the Joseon Dynasty 2: Homecoming after one's resignation from a government office and satisfaction with one's lot* (Seoul: Humanist, 2006), pp. 147-151.

<sup>148</sup> Jae-geun Lee, 'A study on the Retreating Villa (Byol-so) Garden in Joseon Dynasty', unpublished PhD thesis, SungKyunKwan University, 1992, p. 39.

Ming dynasty. The damage caused by the Hideyoshi invasions had hardly been repaired when the country was attacked by the Manchus. Joseon remained a faithful tributary toward the Manchus, who organized the Qing dynasty in Beijing in 1644. Almost all of the big cities, including Seoul, were battered by the Japanese and Manchus and flattened by the Korean War. Royal palaces were burned down during the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592.<sup>149</sup> As a result, there was a reexamination the role of Neo-Confucianism as the dominant ideology and many other ideas advanced in that period, such as those of the philosophy of Wang, Yangming, the Taoist teachings of Laozi (老子) and Zhuangzi (莊子), and the harmonious fusion of the three major philosophies of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, along with Zhu Xi-centred Neo-Confucianism. Meanwhile, the political leadership concentrated on Neo-Confucianism's approach to righteousness, justice, and socio-economic matters, more than its philosophical aspects. However, Korean society started a gradual process of change from an agriculture-oriented society to a commerce- and industry-oriented one. Neo-Confucianism failed to cope successfully with the resultant social changes, resulting in deepened socio-economic contradictions.<sup>150</sup> As a response, a new school of Practical Learning arose in an attempt to resolve these contradictions.

Koreans explored a political and social order capable of building a new, independent nation-state and intellectual tradition and identity. *Silhak*, as a movement that had indigenous roots in seventeenth-century Korea, was greatly broadened and strengthened by outside influences, and finally became the dominant intellectual current of the times by the second half of the eighteenth century under two enlightened kings, Yeongjo (英祖: r. 1724–1776) and Jeongjo (正祖: r. 1777–1800).<sup>151</sup> Criticizing Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism, the school of *Silhak* advocated 'pragmatic statecraft,' 'improvement of lives through practical utilization,' and 'seeking truth from facts.'<sup>152</sup> Practical Learning gave impetus to a variety of fields, including literature, painting, science, philosophy, and social phenomena. Idealistic ways of thinking were dissolved, and concerns about material things greatly increased. Intellectuals in this period were eagerly absorbed in the studies of trivial things in everyday life, which previously had been regarded as things too humble for scholars. They turned their attention away from metaphysical idealism, and searched for encyclopaedic knowledge of trivial things with great curiosity. The development of city cultures based on the economic changes made big changes in the intellectuals' lifestyle.

<sup>149</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp. 209-217.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>151</sup> Keith Pratt, *Everlasting Flower: A History of Korea* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), p. 144.

<sup>152</sup> Sa-soon Yoon, *Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning* (Seoul: Samin Publishers, 1998), pp. 37-42.

With the introduction of Roman Catholicism in the seventeenth century, *Silhak*, along with *Seohak* (西學), or Western Learning, contributed to the development and spread of ideas that stimulated the gradual modernization of Korea. The Korean envoys visiting Beijing came under the influence of 'Western Learning' early in the seventeenth century. Religious and scientific tracts written by Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit missionary stationed in Beijing, for example, were brought home by Korean envoys as early as 1608. By 1620, a variety of information regarding Europe and Western civilization found its way into Korean writings. A Korean royal prince, Prince Soheon (昭顯世子: 1612–1645), befriended the famous German Jesuit scientist, Adam Schall von Bell, while he was in Beijing as a hostage. The prince brought home many sundry gadgets and books related to Western science and Christianity in 1644.<sup>153</sup> The information thus gained about the West gave rise to Western Learning among the *yangban* scholars who had been dismissed from political authority.

### **Horticultural records in husbandry books and encyclopedias in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries**

After publication of the earliest known husbandry book in Korea, *Nongsajigseol* (Plain Words on Agriculture: 農事直說) in 1429, more than 250 husbandry books were published during the Joseon dynasty.<sup>154</sup> Most of these focused on cultivating cereals such as rice and barley, while several important husbandry books were published to stimulate recovery from the devastation of a series of wars in the mid-seventeenth century, covering a wider range of plants. Works such as *Jibongyuseol* in 1642, *Saekyeong* in 1676, *Sallim gyeongje* and *Jeongbo Sallim gyeongje* in the eighteenth century had chapters on horticulture, for example, 'Growing Flowers,' 'Planting Trees,' or 'Growing Vegetables,' and included a chapter describing the method for selecting proper places for people to live. These books were encyclopedic, based on the *Silhak* (Practical Learning) movement, rather than on the traditional husbandry book, and were produced by *Silhak* scholars. These set the standard for later *Silhak* scholars in the way the books were structured and produced.

The earliest encyclopedic collection in 1614 was written by one of the forerunners of the school of *Silhak*, Su-gwang Yi (李晔光: 1563–1628) whose 'brush' name was Jibong. He wrote

<sup>153</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, tran. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp. 239-240; Duk-whang Kim, *A History of Religions in Korea* (Seoul: Daeji Moonhwa-sa, 1988), pp. 276-277.

<sup>154</sup> Kwon-yawl Chang, 'Old References Related to Agriculture', *Journal of Gyeongsang National University*, 30/2 (1991), p. 107.



*Jibongyuseol* in twenty books, basing his work on observations of practice in China, through making three journeys as an envoy to the Qing dynasty court. The work therefore covered examples from neighbouring countries as well as those from the West on various topics, including astronomy, geography, governance, government posts, writing, fauna and flora, and the history of Korea.<sup>155</sup> He also introduced ‘Western Learning,’ that is, Christianity and Western science. He brought home religious and scientific tracts written by Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit missionary stationed in Beijing, as early as 1608.<sup>156</sup> It is remarkable proof that the information thus gained about the West gave rise to learning something from the West, so-called Western Learning, complementing the movement of ‘Practical Learning’ among Confucian scholars. *Jibongyuseol* may have affected the introduction of Western knowledge to the whole *yangban* society because he influenced society by serving in several posts in the government, including as under-secretary.<sup>157</sup>

In the chapter on flowers and trees in *Jibongyuseol*, Su-gwang Yi included the selection of important plants. He described a total of forty-six plants (see appendix C), including ten flowering trees, four kinds of bamboo, twelve trees, and twenty herbaceous plants. Several vernacular names are mentioned for each plant; for example, the ginkgo tree is usually called ‘Eunhaeng,’ but it was also called ‘Apgaksu’ (duck foot tree: 鴨脚樹) because the shape of the leaf resembles a webbed foot.<sup>158</sup>

Not long after, in 1676, *Saekyeong*<sup>159</sup> by Se-dang Pak<sup>160</sup> appeared, which dealt with the

<sup>155</sup> Dae hoe Ahn, ‘Jibongyuseol by Yi, Su-kwang and the Tradition of the Bibliographical Study on the National Objects in the Late Choson’, *Journal of Chin Tan Society*, 98 (2004), pp. 269-273; Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 236.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 239; Duk-whang Kim, *A History of Religions in Korea* (Seoul: Daeji Moonhwa-sa, 1988), p. 276.

<sup>157</sup> Dae hoe Ahn, ‘Jibongyuseol by Yi, Su-kwang and the Tradition of the Bibliographical Study on the National Objects in the Late Choson’, *Journal of Chin Tan Society*, 98 (2004), p. 277.

<sup>158</sup> Sun Yee, *Study on planting in Korean traditional landscape architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006), p. 610.

<sup>159</sup> The method of growing plants describes 51 plants consisting of 11 fruit trees, 9 trees, 23 fruits and vegetables, and 8 flowers and herbs (See Appendix C).

<sup>160</sup> Se-dang Pak (朴世堂: 1629-1703) whose ‘brush’ name is Seogye (西溪) was a literatus official. He won the first place in the higher civil service examination in 1669. He levelled criticism at a status system because of the idle life of the literati and insisted on social and political reforms however he retired to Seokcheondong due to antipathy against factional strife when he was in his forties. Pak’s major work in this area is his *Sabyeonnok* (Thoughtful Elucidations: 思辨錄) in 1703, in which he presented an exegesis of the Four Books, the Book of History, and the Classic of Songs. He dared to question Zhu Xi’s scholarly authority. Not only did he deviate from Zhu Xi’s interpretations, but through his own analysis of the Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu he offered a fresh view from the perspective of Taoist thought. Finally, as a result of this book, he was condemned for heterodoxy and was proclaimed a *Samun nanjeok* (traitor to Confucian

cultivation of fruit trees, the raising of livestock, horticulture, irrigation, and weather. In the early eighteenth century, Man-seon Hong (洪萬選: 1643–1715) in *Sallim gyeongje* (Farm Management) criticized Zhu Xi-centred Neo-Confucianism and developed the school of *Silhak*, advocating the ‘improvement of lives through practical utilization.’ *Sallim gyeongje* is organized into four volumes, four books, and sixteen chapters, which consisted of sixteen important things for living in the countryside. While the work is an original text, it borrowed heavily from past literature, for example, *Jibongyuseol* and *Saekyeong*, which have sections on horticulture, and the fifteenth-century *Yanghwasorok* (Short Record on Growing Flowers: 1474). These directly influenced *Sallim gyeongje* in chapters on *Bokgeoseo* (Record of the Selection of Habitable Places: 卜居書, chapter one of book one), *Chipo* (Cultivating Vegetables: 治圃, chapter four of book one), *Jongsu* (Planting Trees: 種樹, chapter one of book two), and *Yanghwa* (Growing Flowers: 養花, chapter two of book two).

The *Bokgeoseo* chapter provides information on creating living spaces under several subheadings: the selection of habitable places, living room, rooms, kitchen, well, gate, toilet, wall and hedge, and mill. The chapter describes the surroundings of a dwelling house that presage good or bad fortune for the household and offers recommendations for performing necessary work. In general, such auspicious or ideal places to live corresponded to physical configurations in the four cardinal directions: running water on the left side (east), a long pathway on the right side (west), a pond in front (south), and a hill at the back (north). But neither watercourses nor roads should run directly toward a house. These geographic features illustrated the *feng shui* ideas that were symbolized by the guardians of the direction, the four directorial animals: the blue dragon to the east, the white tiger to the west, the red bird to the south, and the black tortoise to the north. However, few places, especially in urban areas, lived up to these ideals, and to make up for inadequacies, trees might be substituted for these ideal features. Peach and willow trees, planted on the east side of the house, acted as a substitute for running water representing the blue dragon. Common gardenia and elm, Japanese apricot and Chinese jujube, and Japanese cherry trees and apricots corresponded to the white tiger, the red birds, and the black tortoise, respectively.<sup>161</sup> In this way, a perfect site might be created.<sup>162</sup>

Plants were selected for the garden strictly by means of the dictates of *feng shui* and customs.

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culture) and he died in the course of exile in 1703.

<sup>161</sup> ‘Bokgeoseo’ in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.; Dong-su Jang, ‘A Study on BiBo Fengshui Techniques of Traditional Urban Landscape in the Case of the Grove of ChoSan and Pool Bank’, *Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture (English Version)*, 3 (December 2005), pp. 43-44.

Plants were divided between those that were propitious and would bring good fortune, or those that were portentous and might bring misfortune, according to species, planting location, directions, and symbolic meaning. For example, a big tree was not to be planted near the front of the main hall (a wooden-floored room: 大廳) because disease is ceaseless and planting one in the middle of a courtyard might cause loss of property. Moreover, if a tree had been planted in the middle of a courtyard, this might result in a disaster. The tree casts so much shade that the house would continually be dark, and therefore it had a bad effect upon the indoor environment and human health. A large tree might also cause structural problems to the house. There was also a notion that a tree in front of a door would block energy or be bad luck. If the tree was huge and physically blocked easy access to the gate, this would be considered a problem. Furthermore, it was believed that big trees possessed spirits, so there was a need to be careful about what type of tree was planted and whether or not it should ever be uprooted. On the other hand, in an auspicious case, a pagoda tree in the middle gate area meant that prosperity would be received throughout the next three generations, and elm trees in the rear of a house would protect the home from all kinds of evil spirits.<sup>163</sup>

The latter part of the *Bokgeoseo* chapter contained descriptions of two gardens that reflected the ideals of Korean Neo-Confucians, namely Yongdo<sup>164</sup> Villa and the Gumun<sup>165</sup> Garden, both created by Gwang-il Park<sup>166</sup> and modified by Dong-eon Yi.<sup>167</sup> (Fig. 2.20) The layouts of these

<sup>163</sup> 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).

<sup>164</sup> *Yongdo* (龍圖) implies *Hado* (河圖), in Chinese called *Ho Tu*, that is the pattern of the 55 spots on the back of a mythical dragon which arose out of the Yellow River in the time of the mythical ruler Fu Xi in prehistoric China. It becomes the basis of the Eight Trigrams which is the standard type attributed to Fu Xi, called the sequence of Earlier Heaven of Eight Trigrams; from 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics: <http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>; Jung-young Lee, 'The Book of Change and Korean Thought', in *Religions in Korea: Belief and Cultural Values*, edited by Earl H. Phillips & Eui-young Yu (Los Angeles: California State University, 1982), pp. 1-24 (p. 7).

<sup>165</sup> *Gumun* (龜文) means *Nakseo* (洛書), in Chinese called *Lo Shu*, that is the nine grid scute pattern of the 45 marks on the shell of the mysterious turtle which emerged from the Lo River during a flood, when the prehistoric China Emperor Yu was governing. It also becomes the basis of the Eight Trigrams which is the standard form ascribed to King Wen, king of Zhou, called the sequence of Later Heaven of Eight Trigrams; from 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics: <http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>; Jung-young Lee, 'The Book of Change and Korean Thought', in *Religions in Korea: Belief and Cultural Values*, edited by Earl H. Phillips & Eui-young Yu (Los Angeles: California State University, 1982), pp. 1-24 (p. 8).

<sup>166</sup> Gwang-il Park (朴光一: 1655–1723) whose 'brush' name is Sonjae (遜齋) was a Neo-Confucian scholar. Even though several governmental posts were recommended, he refused courteously on all occasions. He then lived in seclusion in Mt Jiri writing several books including the 'Collection of Sonjae's Work' (遜齋集).

<sup>167</sup> Dong-eon Yi (李東彦: 1662–1708) was a literatus official who passed the civil service examination in 1693. In 1708 he was involved in an absurd event and died in prison.

two gardens were compared with the two versions of the Eight Trigrams in connection with the *Ho Tu* Diagram (with the sequence of Earlier Heaven) and the *Lo Shu* Diagram (with the sequence of Later Heaven).<sup>168</sup> *Ho Tu* and *Lo Shu* were part of the most ancient Chinese mathematical and divinatory traditions, the *Book of Changes (I Ching)*.<sup>169</sup> This, in conjunction with the Eight Trigrams, was an important emblem in *feng shui*, the theory of divination based on topography concerned with the placement of objects in relation to the flow of natural energy (*qi*) and are associated with the *yin-yang* and the five elements.<sup>170</sup>

The plan for Yongdo Villa was originally described in *Yongmunjeongsadogi* (Illustrated Record of Yongmun Cloister: 龍文精舍圖記) and was included in a collection of the works of Gwang-il Park. When his old friend, Dong-eon Yi, read it, he realized that it was the first time *Ho Tu* and the sequence of the Eight Trigrams had been adopted in garden design. He modified the plan for Yongdo Villa according to the ancient form of *Ho Tu*, and created the Gumun Garden based on *Lo Shu* connecting with the sequence of Later Heaven of the Eight Trigrams, thus providing a set of examples of the two basic ancient beliefs. However, these gardens were not physically realized, which was explained by Yi, who stated why the description of two gardens was included in *Sallim gyeongje* as follows:

In the future, I would like to live in a leisurely way appreciating the relationship to the adoption of the sequence of Earlier Heaven and Later Heaven, by making two places separately; however, in retrospect I am not sure my dream will come true because I am very old and poor. Therefore, I want those admirable works, which never existed, to be accomplished by some other group in the world... Sa-joong Hong [the second name of Man-seon Hong] inserted garden plans in the section of 'Bokgeoseo' [record on the selection of habitable places] in the *Sallim gyeongje* after he examined the plans, which means the Villa and the Garden could be realized in the near future.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>168</sup> The sequence of Earlier Heaven of the Eight Trigrams was interpreted by Fu Xi as the four directions and four diagonal directions of the *Ho Tu* and the sequence of Later Heaven of the Eight Trigrams was interpreted by King Wen as the four directions and four diagonal directions incorporating the four seasons and five elements. It is said that the Earlier Heaven refers to the archetypal order of things before creation, whereas the Later Heaven refers to the order of change in the manifest world; 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics: <http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>.

<sup>169</sup> *I Ching* (Book of Changes) has been one of Confucian texts as one of the Five Classics. Its symbolic manifestations of the real universe are a fundamental and core idea for Neo-Confucianism. The Neo-Confucians' fascination with cosmology grew out of the rediscovery and reinterpretation of the *I Ching*.

<sup>170</sup> Hong-key Yoon, 'An Analysis of Korea Geomancy Tales', *Asian Folklore Studies*, 34/1 (1975), pp. 22-23; Griffin Dix, 'Economic, Social and Cultural Effects of the Geomancy of House Sites', in *Religions in Korea: Belief and Cultural Values*, edited by Earl H. Phillips & Eui-young Yu (Los Angeles: California State University, 1982), pp. 43-57 (p. 53).

<sup>171</sup> 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics: <http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>.

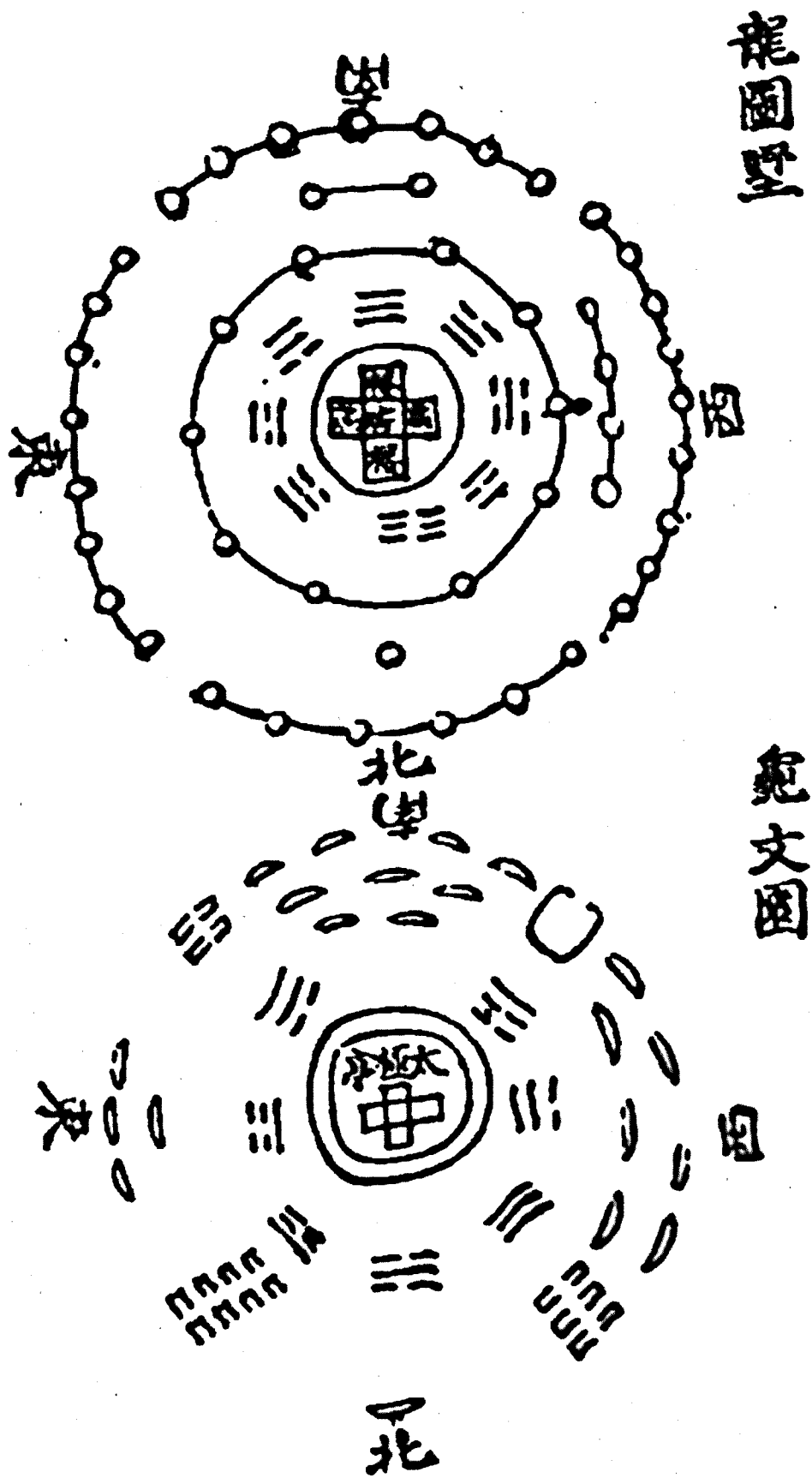


Fig. 2.20 Yongdo Villa (top) and the Gumun Garden (bottom) in *Sallim gyeongje* (early eighteenth century). (Source: The chapter 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje* (<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>).



In building Yongdo Villa and the Gumun Garden, *Ho Tu*'s and *Lo Shu*'s numbers and their locations were to have been considered: two flat and spacious grounds near water were to have been selected. The plan for Yongdo Villa proposed that a central circular podium be built 3 *cheok*<sup>172</sup> (about 90 centimetres) high and 5 *bo*<sup>173</sup> (about 9 metres) diameter. The house has a cruciform ground-plan with five floor spaces, seats at the centre, and three steps on the edge of the podium in eight directions, each one representing one of the eight primary trigrams, consisting of straight and broken steps, which presents the sequence of Earlier Heaven. (Fig. 2.21)

Numbers to their particular meanings are a crucial point to understand of the nature of the Book of Changes.<sup>174</sup> According to numbers' meaning of *Ho Tu*, an odd number interprets heavenly number while an even number does an earthly number. Therefore when numbers are called, 'Heaven' and 'Earth' are usually construed with each number as positioning as a prefix. The five spaces of the house are symbolic of the number of 'Heaven five.' The centre of the room and four sides for the belvedere represent five agencies; each space is 1 square *kan*.<sup>175</sup> A courtyard is positioned in the lower ground. Then ten raised planters are laid in a circle on the boundary of the courtyard, representing the number of the Earth.<sup>176</sup> One to nine raised planters are located outside the ten planters in the four cardinal directions in double layers according to the original form of *Ho Tu* rather than the modern form. (Figs. 2.22 & 2.23) The well or pond, which represented the number of 'Heaven one,' is north of the ten raised planters. A pair of raised

<sup>172</sup> *Cheok* is traditional measurement unit, the same as the *ja* which is about 30.3cm.

<sup>173</sup> One *Bo* is the same as 6 *ja*.

<sup>174</sup> "Number one is the symbol for the absolute, expressed in the idea of the Great Ultimate, which later became very important in the development of Neo-Confucianism. This Great Ultimate produces two, *Yin* and *Yang* (*Yang* is heaven or light while *Yin* is earth or dark). The symbol of two forms the relational and ontological basis of change. Two always works through three, which is symbolized by three powers, or *Samjae*, the powers of heaven, earth and man which become the functional basis of change. The *Samjae* with *yin* and *yang* produce eight trigrams, or *Palkwae*, which represent the complete archetypes of the cosmos. When these trigrams are mutually combined 64 hexagrams are produced in the Book of Changes (*I Ching*). Number four is also important because of four images, or *Sasang*, which express the actual pattern of the changing process from *yin* to *yang* and from *yang* to *yin*. The number five represents five agencies (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water), the basic aggregate of the universe. They appear in the *Ho Tu* and *Lo Shu*. As long as one believes in the *Ho Tu* and *Lo Shu* as the bases for the formulation of the Book of Changes, the *Yin-Yang* and five agencies are inseparably related to the understanding of the book"; Jung-young Lee, 'The Book of Change and Korean Thought', in *Religions in Korea: Belief and Cultural Values*, edited by Earl H. Phillips & Eui-young Yu (Los Angeles: California State University, 1982), pp. 1-24 (p. 9).

<sup>175</sup> *kan*: A unit of measurement, referring to the space created by four pillars set roughly at a distance of 1 *kan* which is generally about 6 *ja*, the same as *bo* but on some occasions it is equivalent to 7, 8 or 9 *ja*. For example, in the palace building 1 *kan* is 8 *ja*.

<sup>176</sup> Cary F. Baynes (trans.), *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1968), pp. 308-311.

planters, which are located south of the ten raised planters, is symbolic of 'Earth two.' Three and four planters stand as a symbol for 'Heaven three' in the east and 'Earth four' in the west respectively, and then on the outer of these series of raised planters, more raised planters are in a circle in all directions. Six raised planters in the north, seven in the south, eight in the east, and nine in the west represent 'Earth six,' 'Heaven seven,' 'Earth eight,' and 'Heaven nine,' respectively. Therefore, the total number of terraces and spaces in the house is fifty-five, the total number of *Ho Tu*.

It is notable that the selection of plants and planting locations was also determined by similar criteria. Ten evergreens are selected, representing one for each number from one to ten. Bamboo (*Phyllostachys bambusoides* Siebold & Zucc.) is planted around the house and snake's beards (*Liriope muscari* L.H. Bailey) along the edge of the well. All raised planters are planted with one tree per one raised planter. Oriental thuja (*Thuja orientalis* L.) is planted in the ten raised planters of the inner circle with the purpose of serving as screening. Two Korean larches (*Larix koreana* Nakai) are planted in two raised planters to the south representing the main gate. Box trees (*Buxus microphylla* var. *koreana* Nakai) and Japanese umbrella pines (*Pinus densiflora* for. *multicaulis* Uyeki) were in the three raised planters to the east and on four raised planters to the west, six Korean pines (*Pinus koraiensis* Siebold & Zucc.) in six raised planters in the far north, Chinese junipers (*Juniperus chinensis* L.) in seven raised planters in the far south, Manchurian fir (*Abies holophylla* Maxim.) in eight outer raised planters to east, and Japanese red pines (*Pinus densiflora* Siebold & Zucc.) in nine raised planters in the far west.<sup>177</sup> There may be special reasons or meanings through which these plants formed a counterpart of each number; however, the meanings are not known. It appears that the designer intended to express his integrity and fidelity to Neo-Confucian ethics by means of ten evergreens. (Fig. 2.24)

<sup>177</sup> 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics

(<http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp>); "爲墅與園 象河洛位數而經營之 須擇有水平廣地二所 其一 中築圓壇 高三尺 方可五步許 構十字閣於其上 爲間五而中置房 四面有樓 象天五也 壇邊八面 爲階三等 而或連或斷 象先天八卦也 下有庭 庭畔列築十墩 而周圍之 象地十也 墩直北 開井或池 象天一也 墩之南有雙墩 象地二也 東三西四 天三地四之象也 又環其外 北六南七 東八西九 形如圓陣者 乃地六天七地八天九之象也 河圖五十有五之數 足爲擬種十長青於其上 閣之隅皆種竹 內周十墩 列種側柏爲屏 北一井邊 種麥門冬 南二墩 種赤木作門 東三種黃楊 西四種真松 外北植海松六株 東八檜而西九松 南七則紫檀也 是爲龍圖墅 ...而池種各色蓮及荳蒲菱蓴之屬..."

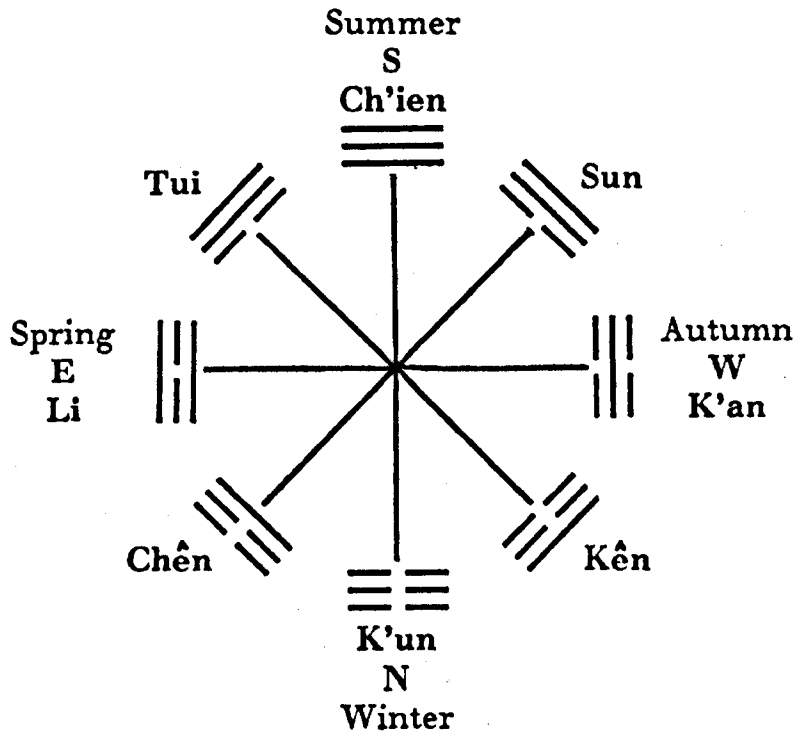
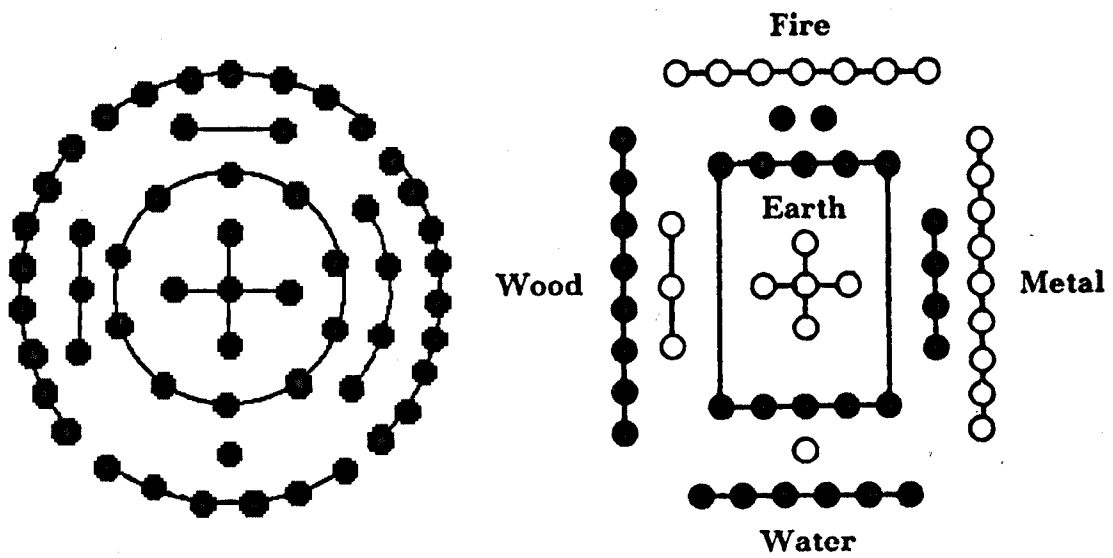


Fig. 2.21 The sequence of Earlier Heaven: Fu Xi's Eight Trigrams. (Source: Cary F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1968), p. 266.)



Figs. 2.22 and 2.23 The original form (left) and modern form of *Ho Tu*. (Source: Cary F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968), p. 309.)

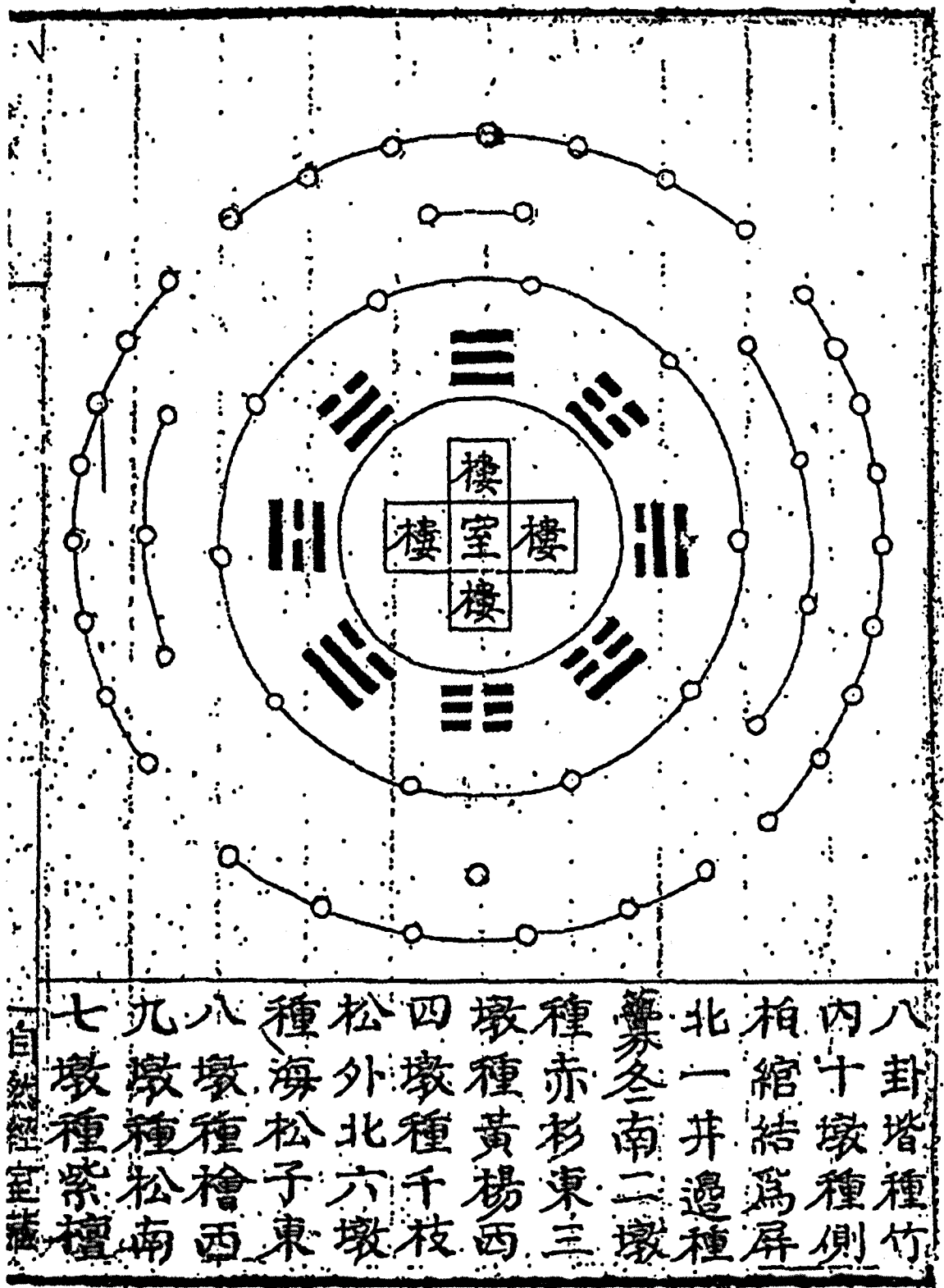


Fig. 2.24 Yongdo Villa in *Imwon gyeongjeji* (early nineteenth century): The overall layout was adapted from *Ho Tu* with the sequence of the Earlier Heaven of Eight Trigrams; ten evergreens are planted in each terrace representing a *Ho Tu* number. This was an early nineteenth-century version of Yongdo Villa based on the early eighteenth-century version in *Sallim gyeongje*. (Source: Dae-hoe Ahn, *To Build a House between Mountains and Water* (Korea: Dolbegae, 2005), p. 39.)

Another proposal for the Gumun Garden is characterized by *Lo Shu* with the sequence of the Later Heaven of Eight Trigrams and an island, 5 *bo* in diameter with four ponds in the centre surrounded by four ponds. The *Taegeuk* Pavilion (Pavilion of the Great Absolute: 太極亭) is built in the middle of the island. The pavilion measures 2 *kan* square, with a 1-*kan* square room in the centre and half a *kan* of narrow side wooden floor in the four directions. The island encloses four ponds laid in four embankments in the diagonal directions. This area represents the number five, which added one island to four ponds. As at Yongdo Villa, the ponds are surrounded by three-step stairs covered by lawn on eight sides, each one representing one of the eight primary trigrams, but it is represented in the order of the Late Heaven sequence.<sup>178</sup> (Fig 2.25)

On the outside of the stairs are a series of raised planters, from one to nine, located in the eight directions according to the number of *Lo Shu*, forty-five. An odd number of half-moon-shaped raised planters are located in the four cardinal directions; however, in contrast, an even number of raised planters are located on the four diagonal directions with a pair of convex-shaped terraces. It looks like an oval but is broken in the middle because the odd numbers symbolize *yang* and mean the cardinal directions while the even numbers symbolize *yin* and mean the diagonal directions.<sup>179</sup> The shape of the raised planters follows the ancient form of *Lo Shu* rather than the modern one. (Figs. 2.26 & 2.27) The position of each number is also likened to a human body. On the north side, there is one half-moon shape raised planter symbolizing a 'foot' or 'step.' In this way, there are three raised planters on the east side, one on the inside but smaller two on outside slightly, meaning the 'left three.' On the west side, there are seven raised planters, three on the inside but smaller and four on the outside, meaning the 'right seven.' Nine raised planters on the south side are arranged with two on the inside, three in the middle, and four on the outside so that the size of the raised planters become smaller to the outside. It represents the 'top' or 'head nine.' There are two on the southwest and four on the southeast, which symbolize two and four, meaning 'shoulder,' and six on the northwest and eight on the northeast, which represent six and eight, meaning 'legs.' Lotuses, day lilies, reed maces, water chestnuts, and water shield plants are planted in the ponds, and forty-two kinds of plants (see Appendix C) are planted around the eight trigrams stairs and on raised planters in the four directions and diagonal directions, according to one's inclination.<sup>180</sup> (Fig. 2.28)

<sup>178</sup> 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics ([www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp](http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp)).

<sup>179</sup> Cary F. Baynes (trans.), *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 308.

<sup>180</sup> 'Bokgeoseo' in *Sallim gyeongje*; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics ([www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp](http://www.itkc.or.kr/Main/index.jsp)); '其二中置圓島方可五步設太極亭中房一間而四退半間也'



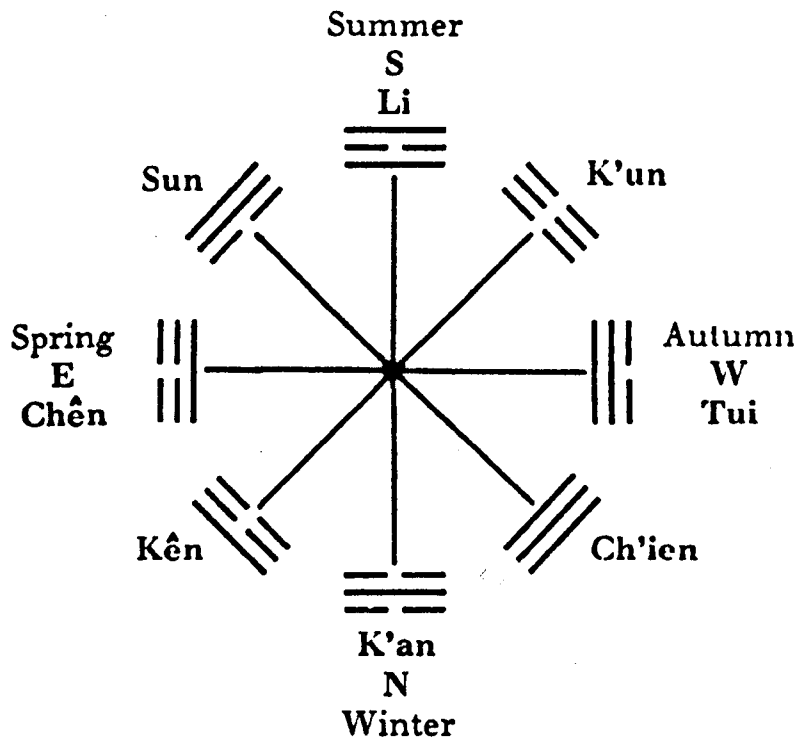
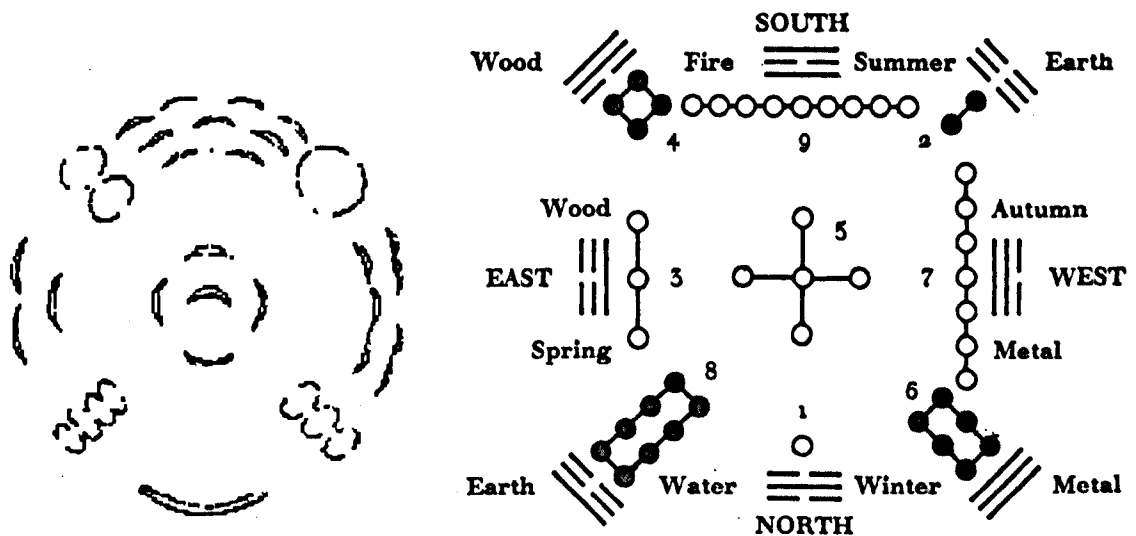


Fig. 2.25 The sequence of Later Heaven: Wen Wang's Eight Trigrams. (Source: Cary F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 266.)



Figs. 2.26 and 2.27 The ancient form of *Lo Shu* (left) and modern form of *Lo Shu*: the four directions and four diagonal directions of *Lo Shu* connected with the sequence of Later Heaven of eight trigrams of the *Book of Changes* incorporating the four seasons and five elements. (Source: Cary F. Baynes, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 310.)

繞以一水而隔築間方分作四池合島而為中五之數八面各築莎階三層作後天八卦  
 外北築如半月樣而虛中乃履一也東築如是者內一外二而稍小左三也西築內三外四而又小右七也  
 南築內二中三外四而加小載九也西南間兩彎相向而脊實東南則有四二四為肩之象西北六東北八  
 六八為足之象也此為洛書四十五數而池種各色蓮及荳蒲菱蓴之屬八卦階暨四正四隅之上  
 花卉果木隨意栽之是為龜文園也。

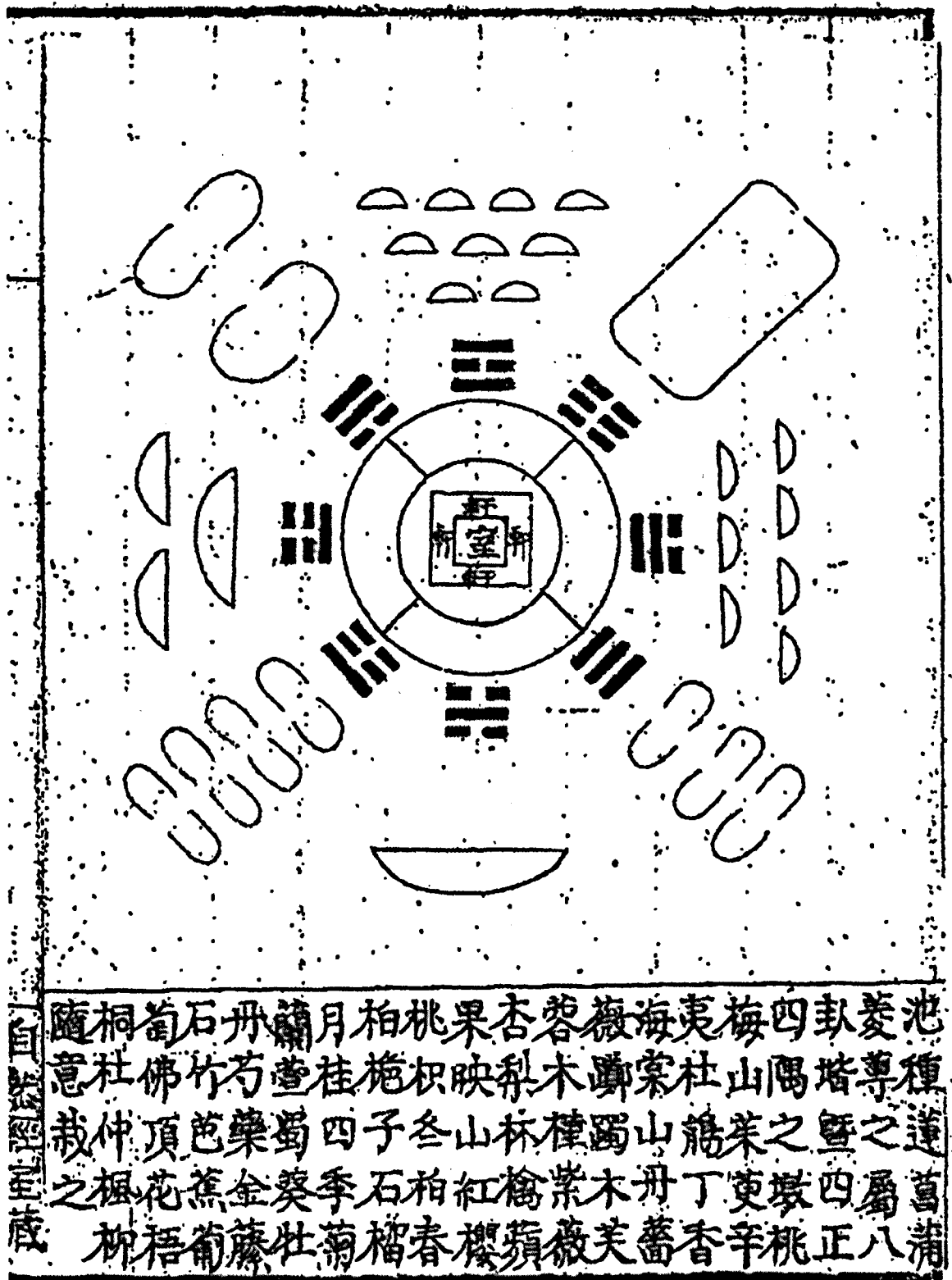


Fig. 2.28 The Gumun Garden in *Imwon gyeongjeji* (early nineteenth century): The garden layout is applied from *Lo Shu* with the sequence of the Later Heaven of Eight Trigrams, and forty-seven kinds of flowers and trees planted around ponds and on the terraces. This was the early nineteenth-century version of the Gumun Garden based on the early eighteenth-century version in *Sallim gyeongje*. (Source: Dae-hoe Ahn, *To Build a House between Mountains and Water* (Korea: Dolbegae, 2005), p. 41.)

It seems that these two gardens were to make ideal places for thinking, meditating, and studying for Confucian scholars as they pondered the materialization of the cosmology of the *Book of Changes*, one of the ancient Confucian classics, rather than study of Zhu Xi's doctrines. To build a house in a central position in order to appreciate the surrounding landscape seems to be a new experiment in the integration of garden design with Confucianism ideology. Two garden plans were also inserted in a new edition of *Sallim gyeongje*, revised and enlarged by Jung-rim Yu in 1766, called *Jeungbo Sallim gyeongje* (Revised Farm Management), with lists of plants. In the early nineteenth century, the whole section was also referred to in *Imwon gyeongjeji* (Sixteen Treatises on the Development of Nature and the Comforting of the People: 林園經濟志) written by Yu-gu Seo (1764–1845).

### **A mature culture from the latter half of the eighteenth century**

The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were the period in which Korea went through critical phases of a cultural renaissance in its history. This period constitutes a passage in later Joseon dynasty history which is comparable in some ways to that earlier time in the Joseon dynasty, especially under the enlightened rule of Yeongjo and Jeongjo, when scholarship and culture was promoted. As a result of an era of peace and prosperity, interest in gardening was booming in the centre of Seoul, Gaeseong, and Pyeongyang. Floriculture and gardening were popular among intellectuals and the aristocracy, so much so that the pastime became one of their distinctive occupations. This phenomenon differed from that in former times, when men interested in flowers were warned about being addicted to things, 'because the will is damaged.' Politics, education, and the Confucian classics had been the only things considered worthwhile among the classical scholars, but this changed so that the cultivation of plants was appreciated in itself, which marks a transition in the intellectual paradigm. At the same time, there was an enormous amount of writing on gardens in the form of descriptions of specific gardens, poems about gardens made after visiting or making them, or about social events that took place within the gardens. Additionally, there were a wide range of comments on garden features and the appropriate way to behave in gardens. Various gardens appeared in various published works. The name of a garden was normally drawn from its principal feature or summarized as the spiritual meaning and feeling of the garden, as well as representing the name of the owner, for example, Lee Garden or the Garden of Mr. Lee, or a simple name denoting the location.<sup>181</sup> In addition, writing depicting imaginary gardens became popular among the literati. Paintings also represented gardens in reality and imagination through the real landscape paintings and genre paintings.

<sup>181</sup> Min Jung, 'Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), p. 47.

## FLORICULTURE FLOURISHES

Commercial horticulture did not begin until the first half of the eighteenth century although the Annals of the Joseon dynasty and *Yanghwasorok* refer to places for growing plants in the early fifteenth century. As floriculture became popular in the latter half of the eighteenth century, trading flowers became a new profession. Japanese apricots were grafted upon grotesque stumps, three different chrysanthemums were planted in one pot, pomegranates were cultivated to bear enormous amount of fruits, Japanese red pines were planted in flowerpots as bonsai, and various peach trees were often on sale. Likewise, the daffodil, introduced to Korea in the eighteenth century from China, was imported in large numbers soon after the flower's introduction. It has been stated that daffodils (*Narcissus tazetta* var. *chinensis* Roem.) grew naturally on Jeju Island<sup>182</sup> namely as *Geumjanokdae* meant a gold cup and jade saucer. This had been unknown on the mainland,<sup>183</sup> with the new imports deemed very exotic. The daffodil became very popular in Korea, and inflated prices were paid by aristocrats who competed for the flowers. This development was similar to the Dutch tulipomania in the seventeenth century, and similarly, the government prohibited the trading in daffodils by law.<sup>184</sup>

Nevertheless, there were no organized markets for house plants. Such plants were generally available only from growers who were contracted to grow certain plants, or from street merchants. These traders brought tender plants such as camellias, common gardenias, crepe myrtles, chusan palms, Japanese azaleas, and citron trees to Seoul from the south.<sup>185</sup> In Seoul, there were well-known places on the outskirts of the city where potted plants might be acquired. The growers of these flowers were generally former low-level officials, or were poorer, while some came to this as a hobby and made it a profession. There were reputable cultivators for Japanese apricots, Japanese red pines, and chrysanthemums. Potted plants were also used as valuable gifts, or sometimes as bribes. Ok Yi (李钰: 1760–1812), a Confucian scholar, presented one episode that occurred in Baekunpil:

There was a military official. At that time, he wanted to build a new relationship with the prime minister, but the official failed because he did not have something to attract

<sup>182</sup> Jeju Island is 149 kilometres (by the shortest sea route) from the southern coast of the Korean peninsula.

<sup>183</sup> When Jeong-hui Kim (1786–1856), a high-ranking civil servant and artist, who established a new style of calligraphy called Chusa style (named after his brush name), was exiled to Jeju Island in 1840, he found a striking scene of fields covered with native daffodils being depicted as 'endlessness'. They were recognized not as horticultural or ornamental plants but as wildflowers by the inhabitants; Il-pyeong Mun, *Thoughts in fields of flowers*, trans. Min Jung (Seoul: Taehaksa, 2005), p. 151.

<sup>184</sup> Jeong-hui Kim, *Wangdang-jeonjip* (Wandang's Complete Works) Vol. 10, trans. Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Seoul: Sol publishing co, 1998), p. 190.

<sup>185</sup> Ok Yi, *Backunpil* (白雲筆), p. 75; from Min Jung, 'Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), p. 56.

the minister's interest. Sooner or later, the prime minister asked about Japanese apricots. The official told the prime minister he would bring some of those that he already had in his house. After that, he searched all around the city, but no shops were selling any Japanese apricots. Eventually, in the late evening, he heard that an old man, Mr. Lee, was cultivating the Japanese apricot in the west side of the city. The official visited Mr. Lee, knocked on the door, and explained, 'I am a Japanese apricot maniac and want to have a look.' Opening the main door, he saw that there were two rare potted Japanese apricots. The official asked him to give him one of those; consequently, the old man stared at the official for a long time and said, 'You had better carry it gently, but you must not be the person who wants to relish it.' The old man ordered two of his servants to carry the Japanese apricot to the main road for him. And just before the official left, Mr. Lee said, 'Do not let me know where the flower is taken to. I will miss it.'<sup>186</sup>

The potted Japanese red pine or pine bonsai became an object of desire, and therefore a status symbol. For the wealthy aristocrat, price was not a problem. However, pine trees were often left to wither because buyers did not know how to properly care for the trees, despite the fact that pine trees are very resilient. They continued to be purchased without further attempts to learn to take care of them, which showed the accumulation of wealth in Korea at the time. The poet Su-sam Jo (趙秀三: 1762–1849) described this kind of climate in the late eighteenth century in *Maebunsongjaseol* (the story about the seller of potted pine trees: 賣盆松者說):

There is someone who sells the pine trees in a flowerpot. The stem looks like a dragon, is uneven, and leaves bend downwards a bit askew. The bark is red but is becoming fissured and scaly with blue colour. Blue mosses are here and there, and it is planted very flat. At first sight, I realise that it more than one hundred years old. It is displayed on the stone step, and I thought it would cost more than 20 or 30 *geum*. The rich do not care about its price and fight for it to achieve it at any cost. But in less than a month the stump had become firewood. Then people are going in and out constantly again seeking a new one. Because the pine trees are drought-tolerant, they survive in a dry place for a long time without changing any colour; therefore, people do not notice easily.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Ok Yi, *Baekunpil* (白雲筆), p. 75; from Min Jung, 'Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), p. 58.

<sup>187</sup> Su-sam Jo, *Chujaejip* (秋齋集), p. 532; from Min Jung, 'Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), p. 59.





Fig. 2.29 *Manjeoljaeonggyeong* (left) is one panel of 'Genre painting screens' (anonymous, early nineteenth century), France, Musée Guimet. A *yangban* (noble) are playing a kind of board game in an outer courtyard after harvesting; three potted chrysanthemums with a wine jar and alfresco lunch are near the playing place. There is a flower bed planted with mother chrysanthemums and a pomegranate along the wall, and two potted, oddly shaped stones are decorated on the bed. Mother chrysanthemums are also planted under an old tree. (Source: Sun Yee, *Study on Planting in Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006), p. 429.)





Fig. 2.30 *Hoeholnye* (Marriage Ceremony: 回婚禮) (right) is one of a six-panel folding screen, *Damwa Hong Gye-hui Pyeongsanengdo* (The Painting of Lifetime for Damwa Hong Gye-hui: 淡窩 洪啓禧 平生圖) by Hong do Kim (eighteenth century), Seoul, National Museum of Korea; there is a flower bed planted with chrysanthemums along one wall in the outer courtyard. (Source: Jun-hyeon Jin, *The Study of Danwon Kim Hong-do* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1999), p. 368.)



One of the most popular plants in Seoul was the chrysanthemum. Good-quality chrysanthemums, particularly, were planted in flowerpots. Chrysanthemums had been loved as potted plants for some centuries but became really popular after the 1750s. Chrysanthemums also became appreciated for their sentimental value and association with death. Even peddlers offered chrysanthemums for sale on the street; the calls touting their wares echoed. There was a reputable grower of chrysanthemums who developed horticultural techniques which controlled the advance and delaying of flowering, as well as the raising of different-sized flowers and those with other colours. I-cheon Kang (姜彝天: 1769–1801), a literatus official, presented this cultivator's techniques and his reputation in *Ihwagwanchonghwa* (梨花館叢話) as follows:

... in Yeohang, there was an old man called Mr. Kim. He was very good at cultivating chrysanthemums; he could control the flowering time. He had grown one as small as a fingernail. It looked so pure and beautiful. He made it as long about one *ja*, made the flower huge, made the flower appear black like it had been lacquered; also, he knew how to mix different flowers together and grow them on a single stem. He earned a lot of money from them because many rich people wanted his chrysanthemums. The methods were a well-kept secret; unfortunately, however, they were not transmitted to the next generation.<sup>188</sup>

There were many different kinds of chrysanthemums. Ok Yi stated that the number of kinds of chrysanthemums amounted to 110 kinds that were commonly available, while Jeong-hui Kim (金正喜: 1786–1856) stated that there were 163 kinds. There were additional chrysanthemums introduced from Japan, but these were criticized as being unseemly with the exception of one kind, which was obtained from Japan in 1834 by Neung-suk Sim (沈能淑: 1782–1840), a master writer. He loved it and wrote that it was worthy of the highest admiration. It was called *Baekunta* (白雲朵) 'white cloud,' which referred to the shape of its blossom, which was similar in size to peonies, and round, flat, and thick: 'it resembles carved mother-of-pearl in thousands of layers covering the silk. The colour of the flower is shiny like crystal or jade. It was not too white, but clear and dim at the same time.'<sup>189</sup>

There were several treatises advising on care for chrysanthemums. Those cultivating chrysanthemums usually took great pains to consider the effects of hot sunshine or sudden rain.

<sup>188</sup> I-cheon Kang (1769–1801), 'Ihwagwanchonghwa' (梨花館叢話) in *Ihwagwanchongseo* (梨花館叢書); from Min Jung, 'Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), p. 63.

<sup>189</sup> Neung-suk Sim, 'Baekunta-gi' (a note on Baekunta: 白雲朵記) in *Huojiga* (後吾知可) vol. 4; from Hye-sun Kang, 'Ancient literati's appreciation of chrysanthemums' *Literature and Interpretation*, 25 (2003), pp. 9–10.

Especially rare and well-known kinds were more difficult to grow than common chrysanthemums, which determined their price. According to *Yanggukseol* (Document of Growing Chrysanthemums: 養菊說), written by Bon-hak Yu (柳本學: b. 1770):

It is known that cultivating chrysanthemums is difficult, but cultivating them in the flowerpot is even tougher. If you know how to grow them well, they will have high stems and look magnificent; if not, it will look awful, like a mugwort. The method is that when you plant them, use oily soil and remove rough sand, and softly pound it into small pieces to put it inside the pot. You should also kill all the bugs and earthworms. The good soil you can acquire is usually the black one from the cabbage patch in Military Training Command. Any other soil can also be used by grinding it up.<sup>190</sup>

Chrysanthemums were also used as a herb and for table use, for example, mother chrysanthemums (*Chrysanthemum indicum* L.), one of the earliest to bloom. This was planted in plenty in the open ground for a good harvest. In spring, they were eaten as vegetables; in summer, they were used to make soup; in autumn, they were used to make tea or mixed with rice cakes.<sup>191</sup>

As floriculture became more popular, it even extended to the methods of making artificial flowers from paper or beeswax. *Yunhoemae-sipjeon* (Ten Records about the Reincarnation of the Japanese Apricot: 輪回梅十箋) by Deok-mu Yi (李德懋: 1741–1793), a *Silhak* scholar, describes a method for making artificial Japanese apricot flowers. As a Northerner and a scholar in *Gyujanggak* (the Royal Library: 奎章閣), he was known as an expert able to answer all questions about plants and the mania for Japanese apricots. Deuk-gong Yu (柳得恭: 1749–1807) respected Yi as ‘his vast set of notes and lists reveals the breadth of his knowledge.’ Yi explained how to make artificial Japanese apricots from beeswax with illustrations of petals, calyxes, stamens and pistils, branches, and flowers. There was also advice about how to arrange this in a vase. (Figs. 2.31 & 2.32) The method of making artificial Japanese apricots from Korean paper was also explained:

Engrave the petal of a Japanese apricot on a seal stone or ink stone not too deep or thin. And cut white Korean paper in the size of a butterfly’s wing, put some saliva on, to stick it on the stone and press it with clean cotton. Then, the wet paper would be glued to the stone on the carved area. And then, hold it upside down and burn; hence, it dries

<sup>190</sup> Bon-hak Yu, ‘Yanggukseol’ (Document of growing chrysanthemums 養菊說) in *Munammungo* (問庵文藁); from Min Jung, ‘Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century’, *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), pp. 62-63.

<sup>191</sup> Ok Yi, *Backunpil* (白雲筆); from Min Jung, ‘Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century’, *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), p. 64.

quickly. Afterwards, cut the verge of the flower and raise the tail and then it becomes a petal. Finally, pierce the stamen and a pistil under the calyx and lacquer while holding it upside down.<sup>192</sup>

The main reason Yi wrote *Yunhoemae-sipjeon* was that he wanted to appreciate Japanese apricots all year round because he was not satisfied with the short flowering season alone. *Yunhoemae* refers to an understanding of the reincarnation of the Japanese apricot flower because the sequence for making an *ume* blossom (bees collect honey from *ume* flowers and build a honeycomb, the honeycomb becomes beeswax, and then beeswax becomes flowers again is the same as Buddhist transmigration. Artificial flowering Japanese apricot trees were traded and were even provided with warranty documents promising refunds if the Japanese apricot was unworthy or it was considered inelegant.<sup>193</sup>

Artificial flowers were also well illustrated in *Uigwe* (The Royal Protocols of the Joseon Dynasty: 儀軌). *Uigwe* are official contemporary records with text and illustrations of the major ceremonies performed by the royal court and state ministers of the Joseon dynasty, covering a period of more than 500 years. The *Uigwe* recorded examples of ceremonies and rites from previous reigns so as to minimize trial-and-error by subsequent courts. Thus, *Uigwe* provided a record of all the important state rituals performed by the court or the government, such as information on the preparatory procedures, expenses, participants, description of the ceremony procedures, and rewards associated with the events. Most *Uigwe* were documented in manuscript form, but some were type-printed versions.<sup>194</sup> Several kinds of artificial flowers, for example, stuck on the ground (Fig. 2.33) and arranged in dragon-decorated vases reaching about 2.95 metres in height (Fig. 2.34), were illustrated in *Wonhaeng Eulmyo Jeongli Uigwe* (園行乙卯整理儀軌), which was published to record the sixtieth birthday celebration of King Jeongjo's mother in 1795.<sup>195</sup> *Jinjak Uigwe* (Protocol at Royal Feasts: 進爵儀軌) of 1828<sup>196</sup> includes

<sup>192</sup> Deok-mu Yi, *Cheongjangwanjeonseo vol. 58* (The collection of Cheongjangwan: 靑莊館全書), trans. Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Seoul: Sol publishing co, 1997), p. 219.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>194</sup> This was acknowledged by UNESCO, which registered them for their significance in the Memory of the World Register in 2007, including 3430 volumes in 833 types. Those prepared for special reference for the royal inspection were distinguished by their silk covers and special bindings. However most of the books prepared for royal reference were plundered from the Kyujanggak annex (外奎章閣) by French forces during the French Invasion of Ganghwa Island (丙寅洋擾) in 1866. It was revealed first time in 1975 that 297 books are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

<sup>195</sup> Mun-sik Kim & Byung-joo Shin, *Uigwe: The Flower of Historical Documentation in the Joseon Dynasty* (Korea: Dolbegae, 2005), pp. 221-222.

<sup>196</sup> This protocol recorded royal banquet in order to celebrate the fortieth birthday of Queen Sunwon (1789–1857) who was the wife of King Sunjo (r. 1800–1834)'s.



details on the decoration of artificial flowers for traditional events of song and dance at the royal court for a special occasion.<sup>197</sup> (Fig. 2.35) *Jinyeon Uigwe* (Chronicle of Royal Court Banquets: 進宴儀軌) of 1902 explains the manner of preparing royal banquets, with illustrations of twenty-two artificial flowers, and describes their figures and purposes.<sup>198</sup>

As a result of seeking and pursuing the beauty of objects, Deok-mu Yi appreciated the silhouettes of chrysanthemums and painted them as well. When he happened to see a shadow of a chrysanthemum on a window paper, he suddenly realized the flower's beauty and transcribed the flower's silhouette on the window paper. Yak-yong Jeong<sup>199</sup> (丁若鏞: 1762–1836) took pleasure from appreciating the chrysanthemum even at night. He defined four distinctive points of the chrysanthemum that signify the characteristics: the long flowering time in late autumn, fragrance, beautiful but not voluptuous, and clear but not chilly. In addition, Jeong enjoyed making shadow pictures of the chrysanthemums in his garden reflected by candlelight on the wall. Jeong was full of admiration for the chrysanthemum's curious silhouettes as he felt they were like a black-and-white painting.<sup>200</sup> These were the innovations and fashions that characterized culture in the eighteenth century. Interest in flowers also signified a general increase in attention to material objects encouraged by active cultural exchanges with China and Japan and increasing urbanization.

<sup>197</sup> Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flowers Culture Vol. 2*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Seoul: Nexusbook, 2004), p. 191.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>199</sup> Yak-yong Jeong was a foremost representative of Korea's *Silhak* (Practical Learning) movement and creator of a theistic Confucian philosophy. Born in 1762 in present-day Namyangju, Gyeonggi Province, Jeong Yag-yong passed the civil service examination at 27. After a series of official posts including those of a court academician, analyst, secret royal commissioner, magistrate of Goksan, royal secretary, and councillor of the Board of Punishment, he was exiled for 18 years on account of his involvement in the Persecution of Catholics in 1801. Nevertheless, he penned some 500 volumes on *Silhak*; 232 studies on Confucian classics; Admonitions on Governing the People, *Gyeongse Yupyo* (Treatise on Good Government: 經世遺表), and *Heumheum Sinseo* (Towards New Jurisprudence: 欽欽新書); and numerous outstanding verse and prose works during the period of banishment. Moreover he wrote several notes on gardens and his pastimes related to flowers. For more about him see Sunghae Kim, 'Chŏng Yagyong (Tasan): Creative Bridge between the East and the West', in *Confucian Philosophy in Korea*, edited by Haechang Choung and Hyong-jo Han (Seoul: Academy of Korean Studies, 1996), pp. 213–291; Mark Setton, *Chŏng Yagyong: Korea's Challenge to Orthodox Neo-Confucianism* (Albany: State University of New York Press), 1997.

<sup>200</sup> Yak-yong Jeong, 'Gugyeongsiseo' (菊影詩序), in *The Selection of Yeoyudang's Collection: Series of Thaeaksa selection of prose writings no. 105*, trans. Mu-yeong Park (Seoul: Thaeaksa, 2001), pp. 63–66.

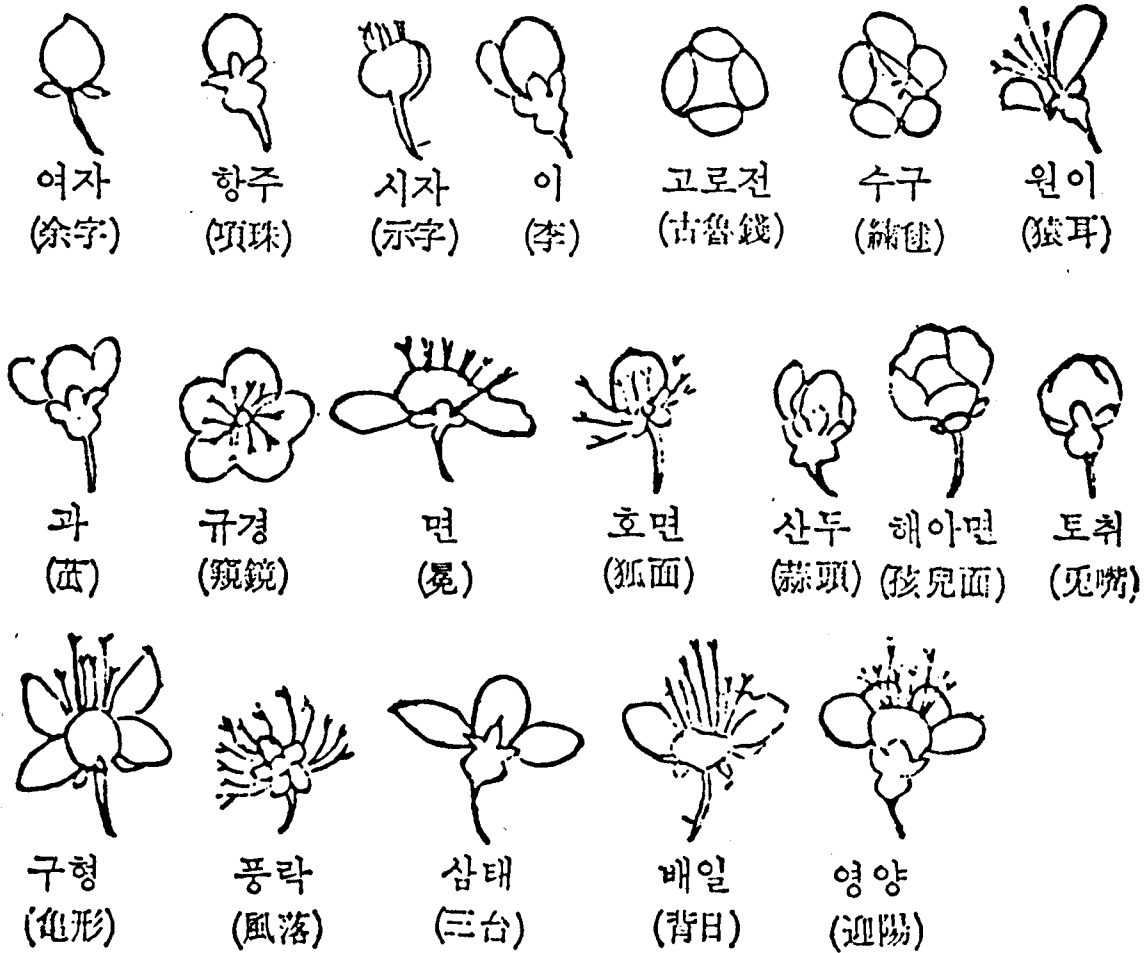


Fig. 2.31 Several types of Japanese apricot blossoms. (Source: Deok-mu Yi, *Cheongjanggwanjeonseo (The Collection of Cheongjanggwan)*, trans. Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Seoul: Sol Publishing Co., 1997), p. 218.)

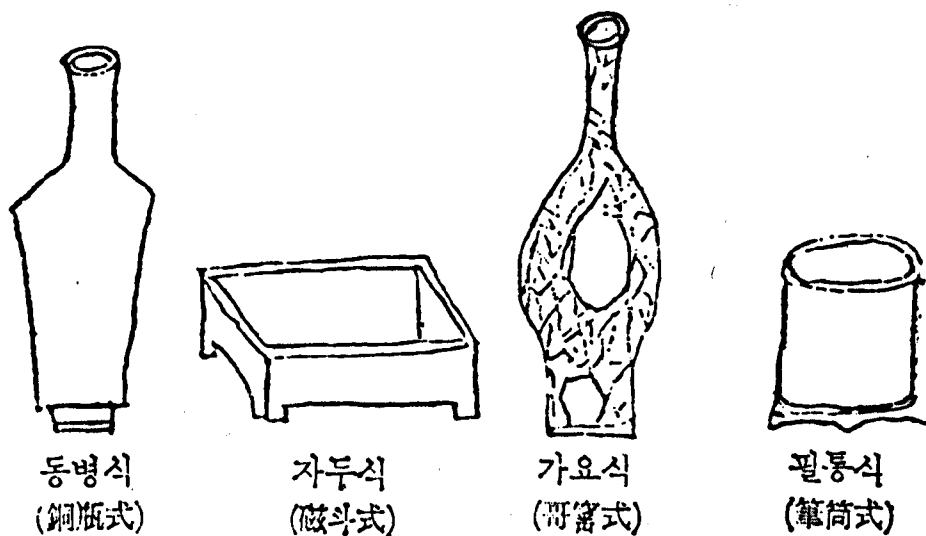


Fig. 2.32 Flower vases based on arrangement styles. (Source: Deok-mu Yi, *Cheongjanggwanjeonseo (The Collection of Cheongjanggwan)*, trans. Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Seoul: Sol Publishing Co., 1997), p. 221.)



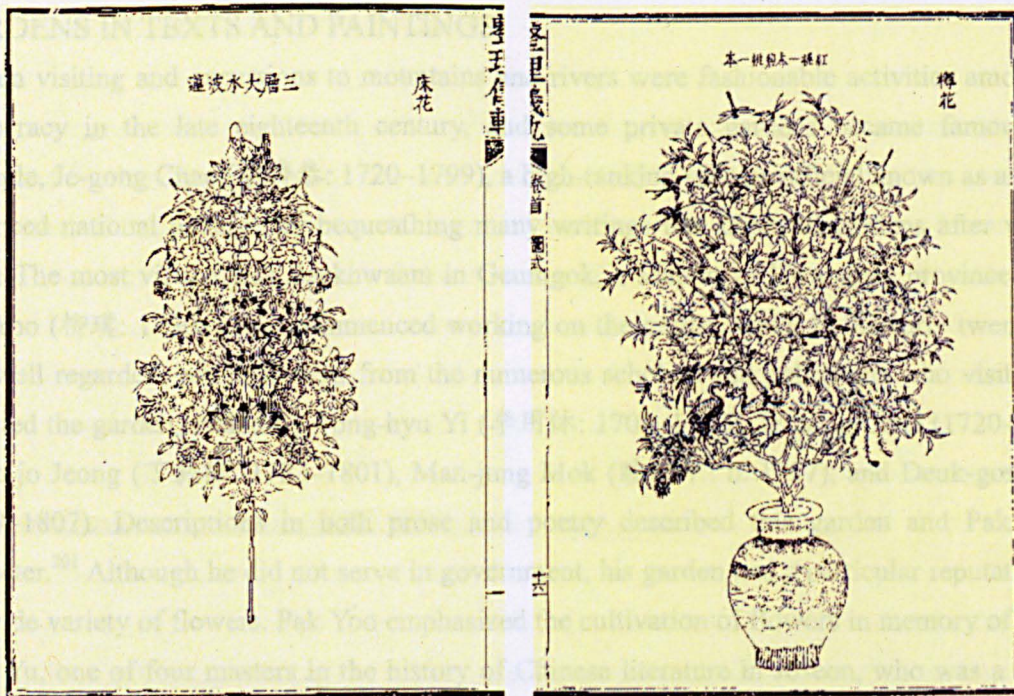


Fig. 2.33 Sanghwa (床花) (left): Artificial flowers stuck in the ground for decoration during a royal feast for the sixtieth birthday celebration of King Jeongjo’s mother in 1795, in *Wonhaeng Eulmyo Jeongli Uigwe*. (Source: Mun-sik Kim & Byung-joo Shin, *Uigwe: The Flower of Historical Documentation in the Joseon Dynasty* (Korea: Dolbegae, 2005), p. 221.)

Fig. 2.34 Junhwa (樽花) (right): These artificial flowers were decorated in dragon-printed vases that reached about 2.95 m in height during a royal feast for the sixtieth birthday celebration of King Jeongjo’s mother, in *Wonhaeng Eulmyo Jeongli Uigwe*. (Source: Mun-sik Kim & Byung-joo Shin, *Uigwe: The Flower of Historical Documentation in the Joseon Dynasty* (Korea: Dolbegae, 2005), p. 221.)

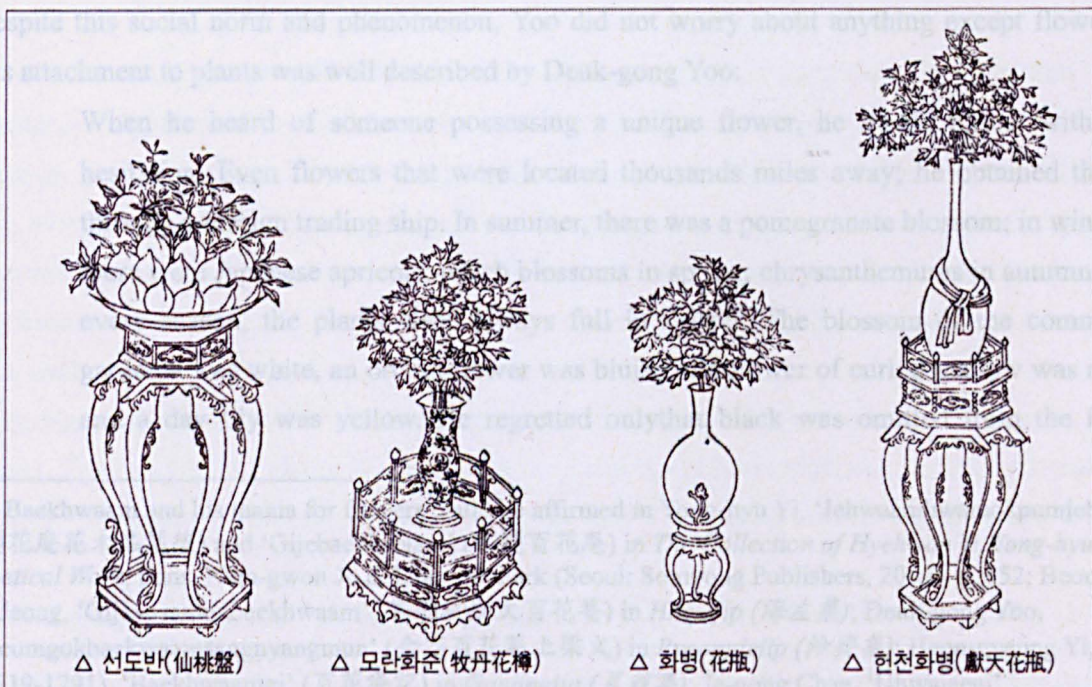


Fig. 2.35 Decorations using artificial flowers for a traditional song-and-dance event at the royal court, in *Jinjak Uigwe* (Protocol at Royal Feasts) of 1828. (Source: Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flower Culture*, Vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Seoul: Nexusbook, 2004), p. 191.)



## GARDENS IN TEXTS AND PAINTINGS

Garden visiting and excursions to mountains and rivers were fashionable activities among the aristocracy in the late eighteenth century, and some private gardens became famous. For example, Je-gong Chae (蔡濟恭: 1720–1799), a high-ranking scholar official known as a master, enhanced national prestige by bequeathing many writings that depicted gardens after visiting there. The most visited was Baekhwaam in Geumgok, a seaport in Hwanghae province where Pak Yoo (柳璞: 1730–1787) commenced working on the garden while in his early twenties. It was well regarded, which is clear from the numerous scholars and politicians who visited and depicted the garden, including Yong-hyu Yi (李用休: 1708–1782), Je-gong Chae (1720–1799), Beom-jo Jeong (丁範祖: 1723–1801), Man-jung Mok (睦萬中: b. 1727), and Deuk-gong Yoo (1749–1807). Descriptions in both prose and poetry described this garden and Pak Yoo's character.<sup>201</sup> Although he did not serve in government, his garden had a particular reputation for the wide variety of flowers. Pak Yoo emphasized the cultivation of flowers in memory of Deuk-gong Yu, one of four masters in the history of Chinese literature in Joseon, who was a distant relative. He had been known for his unusual collection of flowers, which contradicted contemporary philosophy, which was still dominated by Zhu Xi-centred Neo-Confucianism, which discouraged adherence to material objects. There is an analectic story that shows the social genius of that time. Ji-hong Chae (1683–1741), the Neo-Confucian scholar, took care of many flowers in the garden and composed poems after appreciating them. However, he insisted that his activity was not for appreciating things but for observing the intrinsic nature of things. Despite this social norm and phenomenon, Yoo did not worry about anything except flowers. His attachment to plants was well described by Deuk-gong Yoo:

When he heard of someone possessing a unique flower, he would buy it without hesitation. Even flowers that were located thousands miles away; he obtained them through a foreign trading ship. In summer, there was a pomegranate blossom; in winter, there were Japanese apricots; peach blossoms in spring; chrysanthemums in autumn; in every season, the plants were always full in flower. The blossom of the common gardenia was white, an orchid flower was bluish, the flower of curled mallow was red, and a day lily was yellow. He regretted only that black was omitted from the five

<sup>201</sup> Baekhwaam and his mania for flowers could be affirmed in Yong-hyu Yi, 'Jehwaamhwamokpumjehu' (題花庵花木品第後) and 'Gijebaekhwaam' (寄題百花庵) in *The Collection of Hyehwan Yi, Yong-hyu's Poetical Work*, trans. Nam-gwon Jo & Dong-uk Park (Seoul: Somyong Publishers, 2002), p. 152; Beom-jo Jeong, 'Gijeyusamunbaekhwaam' (寄題柳斯文百花菴) in *Haejejeip* (海左集); Deuk-gong Yoo, 'Geumgokbaekwaamsangnyangmun' (金谷百花菴上梁文) in *Ryeongjejeip* (泠齋集); Heon-gyeong Yi, (1719-1791), 'Baekhwaamgi' (百花庵記) in *Ganongjip* (艮翁集); Je-gong Chae, 'Uhwajaegi' (寓花齋記) in *Beonamjip* (樊巖集); Man-jung Mok, 'Baekhwaamgi' (百花庵記) in *Yeowaseonsaengjip* (餘窩先生集); See: Min Jung, 'Yoo Bak, the author of Wha-am Gugok and the book Wha-am Surok', *Studies in Korea Classical Poetry*, 14 (2003), pp. 101-131.

cardinal colours.<sup>202</sup>

In the latter years of his life, Pak Yoo wrote an important text for understanding the gardening culture of the late eighteenth century, *Hwaamsurok* (花菴隨錄), based on his experience and observation of flowers in his garden. This book includes poems he received from famous poets of his day and articles on the scenery of Baekhwaam (百花菴). He explained of his garden that:

I have collected a hundred different kinds of flowers from all seasons. I planted large ones in the earth and placed small ones in flowerpots and put them all together in the middle of Baekhwaam. I then lay reclined on there and enjoyed life with forgetting reality through making an idea. I trained the mind staidly by appreciating Japanese apricots and chrysanthemums. And, far away, Japanese azaleas had taken a dignity from their figures. I seem to take brides when I look at peonies and cherries. Common gardenias and camellias, their elegantly beautiful look seems to fall into the hands. Pomegranates refresh our soul. Japanese bananas and oddly-shaped stones are in the garden, treated as a celebrated mountain. Ancient nostalgia could be imagined from pine trees, and bamboo embody the military character of the country. Mix them and call it companions. Lotus flowers look like facing Zhou wu shu [Zhou Dunyi: 1017–1073, Chinese Confucian scholar], which is respectful. Extraordinary and old things become our teachers, and fresh and clear things become our friends. Plants that have many flowers are regarded as our guests.<sup>203</sup>

*Hwa pum pyeong non* (花品評論) is a commentary on twenty-two flowers that are metaphorically likened to people or birds. For example, *Hosta plantaginea* Asch. is compared to a clever Buddhist acolyte, and *Pyrus pyrifolia* Nakai to an elegant lady. The author, Pak Yoo also evaluated forty-five kinds of plants, classifying each one into nine categories (see Appendix C) while making an additional comment on each flower that he regarded as friends; for example, the Japanese apricot that flowers in spring was appreciated as an old friend while a plant that flowered in December was perceived as an eccentric friend. The work is called *Hwamok gudeungpumje* (Nine Grades of Flowering Plants: 花木九等品第), and each grade includes five plants. The first class is plants of the highest taste and the greatest elegance, including Japanese apricot, chrysanthemum, lotus, bamboo, and pine tree. The second class is plants of abundance

<sup>202</sup> Deuk-gong Yoo, 'Geumgokbaekwaamsangnyangmun' (金谷百花菴上梁文) in *Hwaamsurok* p.41; from Min Jung, 'Yoo Bak, the author of Wha-am Gugok and the book Wha-am Surok', *Studies in Korea Classical Poetry*, 14 (2003), pp. 120-121; Min Jung, 'Gardening hobby of the intellectuals, writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Journal of Korean Literature in Hanmun*, 35 (2005), p. 40.

<sup>203</sup> Deuk-gong Yoo, *Hwaam-gi* (花庵記) in *Hwaamsurok* p. 41; from Min Jung, 'Yoo Bak, the author of Wha-am Gugok and the book Wha-am Surok', *Studies in Korea Classical Poetry*, 14 (2003), p. 120.



and they represent honour. The third class and fourth class represent elegance. The fifth and sixth classes have many flowers, and the seventh, eighth, and ninth classes have separate merits. *Yanghwasorok* appeared in the mid-fifteenth century. It was followed by *Hwaamsurok*, which has new material as well as containing the texts of the older works, nine grades of flowering plants by the author of *Yanghwasorok*. Moreover it contained works, *Hwa am gu gok* (花菴九曲) and *Mae nong gok* (梅農曲), which have great meaning for the history of the traditional Korean ode *Sijo* (時調).



Fig. 2.36 *Dokseoyeoga* (Repose after Reading: 讀書餘暇) by Seon Jeong (eighteenth century); Kan song Museum. It depicts a scholar resting after reading. He is looking at a peony planted in a pot. (Source: Won-su Ch'oe, *Korean True-view Landscape: paintings by Chŏng sŏn (1676-1759)* (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 247.)



Gardens were also important living spaces for urban life despite having relatively small plots. The drive toward centralization, with Seoul as the centre of politics and culture, became stronger in the mid-eighteenth century, and the desire to settle in the surrounding area increased. People preferred proximity to the city to living in rural districts, as had been usual in the Joseon dynasty. However, this was not allowed for all aristocrats or scholar officials because of their economic and political situations. Some had a small dwelling without a courtyard; even so, some did not want to leave the capital city. Yak-yong Jeong (1762–1836) built a garden in his house when he had lived just inside the south gate in Seoul. This district was a very busy urban district, and his house was in a kind of urban style with a small open courtyard. Jeong always lusted after nature so he arranged his courtyard so that there was space for growing plants, so that he could experience a taste of nature. One half of the courtyard was planted with flowers, including several kinds of chrysanthemums. Jeong described the kinds of flowers he had:

The pomegranates' leaves are large and rather thick. The sweet fruited ones are called Japanese dwarf pomegranates. I have four trees. The stems that are upright and have no lateral branches and those that are round and resemble a circular tray on the top are a pair. Certain pomegranates have only flowers and no fruit, which are known as flowering pomegranates, of which I have one. Also, I have two Japanese apricot trees. But people enjoy using old peach or apricot trees with the roots all rotten, to carve them to look like oddly-shaped stones and attach a little branch from a Japanese apricot tree but I think they are peculiar. I believe that good trees should have healthy roots and stems, and thick branches because flowers are lovely. I have two common gardenias. Du Fu [Chinese poet] said, "If you compare common gardenias with other trees, in fact, there are not many of them in the world. It is very rare kind." I have a camellia. I have four bunched-flowered narcissus in one flowerpot. I have a Japanese banana as big as a cushion in size. I have two Chinese parasol trees, which are two years old. I have one *Manhyang* [one of the famous species of chrysanthemum], and I have many different kinds of chrysanthemums in eighteen flowerpots. I have one pot of confederate rose. To protect the flowers from the servants passing by, I built a fence made out of bamboo resembling rafters in the northeast.<sup>204</sup>

The continuing urbanization encouraged the literati to write about their houses, gardens, and environment by describing imaginary gardens that reflected nature in a nostalgic manner. In 1756, Gyeong-jong Yu (柳慶種: 1714–1784) wrote about what an imaginary garden meant to him:

<sup>204</sup> Yak-yong Jeong, 'Juknanwhamok-gi' (a note on bamboos, orchids, flowers and trees: 竹蘭花木記) in *The Selection of Yeoyudang's Collection: Series of Thaeaksa selection of prose writings no. 105*, trans. Mu-yeong Park (Seoul: Thaeaksa, 2001), pp. 60-61.

The imaginary garden is what we dream about garden in our minds with a preliminary form. Is it necessary to create an imaginary garden before I make one of my own? I think that it is so realistic. People who have their own garden do not have the imaginary garden in their mind. Similarly, people who create their own imaginary garden do not have their real garden. Both situations have problems. It is better to be the latter people rather than the former one nevertheless. However, this distinction is pointless because there is only one life. Why bother to own your house? Is it worth distinguishing between fantasy and reality?<sup>205</sup>

The creation of imaginary gardens was due to the ardent desire to own a residence, and was also an substitution activity for those intellectuals who dreamt of having property. There were therefore no boundaries or limitations in the design and construction of these imaginary properties. There are two kinds of writing about imaginary gardens: one is a description of an ideal residence for one's own use in short essays; the other characteristically describes various manor houses with a boundless landscape park.<sup>206</sup> These literary representations of gardens are revealing of the taste and preference in garden styles at this time. It was influenced by *Jangjiu yuanji* (將就園記), the description of the imaginary garden in the Ming dynasty written by Huang, Zhouxing (黃周星), which was widely read by late eighteenth-century literati as a source of inspiration. It was variously referred to by such eminent scholars as Yak-yong Jeong, Gil-ju Hong (洪吉周: 1786–1841), and Yoo-gu Seo (徐有榘: 1764–1845). Jeong and Hong were particularly influenced by the notion of a dualistic garden, two gardens *Jang yuan* (將園) and *Jiu yuan* (就園), which produced a holistic complement to life and the appreciation of nature. Seo quoted the whole of *Jangjiu yuanji* in his work *Imwongyeongjeji* (Sixteen Treatises on the Development of Nature and the Comforting of the People).<sup>207</sup>

One of the best examples of imaginary gardens is contained in a short essay by Yak-yong Jeong, 'Jehwangsangyuincheop (題黃裳幽人帖).' When Jeong was sent into exile in Gangjin in South Jeolla province in 1801, Sang Hwang, one of his disciples, asked Jeong how to build a hermit residence. Although he had lived in Dasan Chodang,<sup>208</sup> a simple country retreat with rectangular

<sup>205</sup> Gyeong-jong Yu, *Uiwongi* (意園記); from Dae-hoe Ahn, 'Housing Culture in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the Imaginary Garden', *Journal of Chin Tan Society*, 97 (2004), p. 124.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122-124.

<sup>208</sup> Designated as Historical Site No. 107, this house was a place of exile for Yak-yong Jeong. The name of this house was from his penname, Dasan. Of 18 years in exile he spent 10 years there, devoting himself to teaching and writing. The original thatched cottage was a mountain pavilion for Haenam Yun's clan, his maternal relations. It was torn down in the 1930s but was reconstructed in 1957 with a tiled roof, ironically because his followers changed the roofing materials to pay tribute to the memory of his spirit.

pond in a healthy natural environment, Jeong responded by expressing his long-cherished dream of a property within an extensive setting. The property was divided into inner and outer areas, with gardens adopting the structure of *Jangjiu yuanji*. The retreat was vividly depicted:

When you choose a site for living, it must have a beautiful view of the mountains and bodies of water, but it is better to have one with mountains and a stream, rather than with a river. The entrance to a village should have a steep cliff. When you enter a little way, the blessed land should make your eyes open and happy. Build a thatched cottage in the middle of the geographic features on the way of the full south aspect using a compass. Decorate the house sophisticatedly... two bookstands with more than thirteen hundred books covering all subjects put in a room... In front of the garden, build a low wall around with some *ja* [about 30.3 cm] height. Various flowerpots are placed inside the wall. Prepare good-quality pomegranates and common gardenias, but chrysanthemums should be there the most. It needs forty-eight different kinds before you can call it a collection. On the right side of garden, make a pond, but it should not be over scores of feet from the walls. Grow some lotus flowers in the pond and some crucian carp, too. Cut bamboo in half to irrigate the water from the mountains to the pond and let the overflowing water go to the kitchen garden ... A little away off the house, some cucumbers or sweet potatoes could be planted on the edge of the kitchen garden, but several thousands of roses would be better for a hedge because when people come to see the garden between late spring and early summer, it will give a great scent. On the left side of the garden, construct a twig gate using white bamboo woven together. When you go outside the gate, walk fifty steps up the hill; there should be a stream over the rocks. Build a thatched pavilion by that stream, and the railings should be made out of bamboo. There are many bamboo trees around the house. If the branches come inside, the eaves do not cut them. Take a hundred steps by the stream; create a hundred patches of fertile paddy fields. When you walk toward the field and see well-grown rice plants, then you will feel a joy of living with no touch of mundane world. However, do not do the job yourself. If you go further, you will see an embankment of size of 5 or 6 *ri* [2 or 2.4 km] in circumference. Inside, it is full of lotuses and fox nuts. Build a sampan; float it on the water by the moonlight with calligraphers. Play a bamboo flute and *Geomungo* [a Korean zither-like instrument with six strings], and get drunk by the time you went around the embankment few times. Further away from the embankment, you will find a Buddhist temple. A famous monk lives there; you can study the Zen cult, read poems, even have a drink unbound to precepts. Quite often, it is fun to talk to him and enjoy forgetting reality ... Some pine trees behind the house look like the shapes of dragon and tiger fighting each other,



... on the east of the pine trees, make a small kitchen garden, and plant ginseng, Chinese bellflower, Korean angelica, and Cnidium. At the north, there is a twig gate. Entering the gate, there is a small thatched house with a 3 *kan*-sized silkworm-raising room. Install seven-floor areas to grow silkworms.<sup>209</sup>

This essay reveals the scholar's desire for a rustic and comfortable life that is sophisticated, representing everything from selecting the best place to decorating a room. Potted flowers are placed inside the low circular wall that provides the boundaries of the garden. A variety of flowers are planted in the garden, including forty-eight species of chrysanthemums. The pond situated on one side of the garden is irrigated by a mountain stream through a bamboo conduit. A kitchen garden is enclosed by a hedge. In the outer garden, a simple pavilion is near the stream, and a bamboo grove surrounds the pavilion. A paddy field and small lake for boating are essential facilities. A garden for growing culinary herbs and a silkworm-raising building are located in the outer garden. This countryside manor has the appearance of an ornamental farm, enabling full enjoyment of rural life that is self-sufficient and independent from urban life. Particularly, the library adjoining the garden is an important space for a scholar to engage in personal study and self-cultivation. (Fig. 2.37)



Fig. 2.37 *Chaektakmumbangdo* (Books and Scholar's Utensils: 冊卓文房圖); an eight-fold screen by Hyong-rok Yi (early nineteenth century), Seoul, Hoam Art Museum; this painting shows a bookshelf displayed with a scholar's necessities. (Source: Yeong-dae Park, *One Hundred of Our Paintings* (Seoul: Hyeonamsa, 2002), pp. 396-397.)

<sup>209</sup> Yak-yong Jeong, 'Jehwangsangyuincheop (題黃裳幽人帖)' in *The Selection of Yeoyudang's Collection: Series of Thaehaksa selection of prose writings no. 105*, trans. Mu-yeong Park (Seoul: Thaehaksa, 2001), pp. 99-103.



Yong-hyu Yi also designed an imaginary garden, and when he visited the gardens of Mr. Seo and Mr. Yeom in Gogok valley in Mt. Inhwang, on the outskirts of Seoul, he realized that they corresponded to what he had intended. He was envious of Seo's accomplishment for two reasons: first, for the presence of a hermitage house providing a taste of rural life, and as a contrast to have one in the capital city. In *Gugogyugeogi* (A Note on the Life of a Hermitage in Gugok Valley: 九曲幽居記), Yi dreamed about an ideal property consisting of a couple of houses in a secluded and tranquil area of the city rather than in the countryside. *Geomungo* (a Korean zither-like instrument), books, a wine barrel, and a *Baduk* board are important features in a man's room. The kitchen garden is to one side of the courtyard, where vegetables and culinary herbs are grown for his family's table. Trellises with beans and vines create separate areas for resting in the shade and enjoying the cool breeze. The flowers blossom consecutively in the various seasons without any attempt to obtain anything that is difficult to get, or grotesque stones. It is important to maintain good relationships with neighbours. Therefore, a bamboo gate is set in the partition wall for coming and going. This description shows the prevalent attitude among most of the literati and politicians, who desired a beautiful rustic environment and close contact with nature as a self-sufficient setting, but did not want to live outside Seoul.<sup>210</sup>

Hon Jang (張混: 1759–1828),<sup>211</sup> a middle-class literatus, imagined his residence in a real place, namely just outside Ongnyudong village at the foot of Mt. Inhwang. The name of the proposed property was lieom and is described in *Pyeongsaengji* (The Intention of Lifetime: 平生志).<sup>212</sup> The fact that he calculates the costs of the land and construction suggests that he may have intended this to have been more than just an imaginary project. The garden is sophisticated, particularly with respect to the planting. For example, he proposes planting a greenery pagoda tree in front of the door to shade the house; a Chinese parasol tree west of the living room is intended to cast shadows when bathing in moonlight; a folding screen made out of Korean pine placed on the right side of the outer court is to cover the door; and a Japanese banana is planted so as to be able to enjoy to the sound of rain. Other plants, too, are positioned for specific purposes. Mulberry trees, for example, are placed under the wall, roses of Sharon in between mulberry trees, and sweetbriar are intended to fill the space. Wolfberries and roses are planted in the wall's corner that visually supports them. In the outer courtyard a Japanese apricot is planted, while peonies and Chinese roses are planted in the inner courtyard. Pomegranates and

<sup>210</sup> Dae-hoe Ahn, 'Aesthetics of Yi, Yong hyu's Short Essays', in *Subjects of Short Essays in the late Joseon Dynasty*, edited by Dae hoe Ahn (Seoul: Thaeaksa, 2003), pp. 261-292 (pp. 281-282).

<sup>211</sup> He engaged in publishing of government documents and was deputy official in *Gyujanggak* (Royal Library). It is with his post in the Royal Library that he was able to associate with the gentry of the day.

<sup>212</sup> Hon Jang, *Pyeongsaengji* (平生志) in Dae-hoe Ahn, 'Hon Jang's Short Essays', *The Contemporary Poetry*, (December 2003) pp. 262-272.

chrysanthemums occur in both the inner and outer courtyards. China pinks and cockscombs should be planted so as to spread around stone steps in the inner courtyard. Downy cherries are planted around the southwest of the inner courtyard. Korean rhododendron, royal azalea, and Chinese magnolias are planted on the hills one after the other. Bugle plants should occur all around on the hills. Outside this area, peaches and apricots should be there. Chinese apples, Korean pines, and Japanese chestnuts are planted in sunny spots.<sup>213</sup> A total of twenty-six flowers and trees were suggested to be planted in the inner and outer courtyards and around the property. It is interesting that only one plant, the pagoda tree, also appears in the planting scheme in *Sallim gyeongje* in the early eighteenth century, and there its purpose is different. It seems that Hon Jang disregarded *feng shui* principles in his planting scheme. He made recommendations about the routine of daily life, the interior, and landscaping around the property in the appendix of *Pyeongsaengi*. Jang owned a house called Ieom, but it is not clear whether he realized his desire.<sup>214</sup>

As opposed to the more literal descriptions of imaginary gardens, paintings depicting them provided more rustic and metaphysical representations. Even though Seon Jeong (鄭敎: 1676-1759)<sup>215</sup> is renowned as an exponent of true to real-life views in landscape painting,<sup>216</sup> he did draw an imaginary garden set in a landscape. This can be seen as a desire to provide a rustic setting that was not achieved in reality. *Nosanchodang* (Rustic Hut in the Lu Mountains: 蘆山草堂) depicts a distant mountain view of a waterfall behind a thatched hut, in which a sitting gentleman enjoys the view of the landscape. In the garden, there are large Chinese junipers and a lotus pond with a crane, representing longevity, strolling along the edge. A walk surrounded by dense pine trees in the foreground leads the eye across a small bridge, past a lotus pond, and to the simple thatched mountain hut. (Fig. 2.38) Mount Lu with its waterfall in Chinghsi province

<sup>213</sup> Dae-hoe Ahn, 'Housing Culture in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the Imaginary Garden', *Journal of Chin Tan Society*, 97 (2004), p. 132.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>215</sup> Seon Jeong worked for an official painting agency exclusively responsible for the portraits of royal families and aristocrats.

<sup>216</sup> Korean paintings of the period of the late Joseon dynasty were inspired by Chinese Southern School paintings of the Ming and Qing dynasty and by Western styles through China. Despite the pervasive influence of Ming and Qing masters, however, Korean painters also derived new techniques and drew inspiration from their environment, with the result that national traits in their work became even more clearly defined. With the widespread self-recognition and the advent of the movement for 'Practical Learning', which encouraged progressive ideas, more painters based their landscapes upon Korean scenes and subjects. This trend was especially apparent during the reigns of the eighteenth-century kings, Yeongjo and Jeongjo. Although landscape paintings based on actual scenes had been done as early as the Goryeo period and continued to the mid-Joseon period, the landscapes of Seon Jeong (1676-1759) and his followers reveal a distinctly new style indigenous to Korea; Song-mi Yi, *Korean Landscape Painting: Continuity and Innovation through the Ages* (Seoul: Hollym, 2006), pp. 97-100.



in China was a noted tourist destination. It appears that Jeong imagined building a rustic cottage with then a famous landscape resembling the Chinese location expressed by his desire to both appreciate this famous landscape and appropriate this scene with a simple and humble Korean garden, perhaps as a naturalistic expression.



Fig. 2.38 *Nosanchodang* (Rustic Hut in the Lu Mountains: 蘆山草堂, eighteenth century) is an imaginary painting in which Seon Jeong depicted his wish to live in a famous landscape. (Source: Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flower Culture*, Vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Seoul: Nexusbook, 2004), p. 210.)



In 1740, Seon Jeong, at the request of Chun-jae Yi (1692–1761), the minister of finance, was asked to paint a realistic scene of a small pavilion, in order to commemorate his forty-ninth birthday. The pavilion was located in the western garden of his home, on the east hill of Mt. Inwang (to the west of the modern-day presidential residence, the Blue House). When he finished his rear garden in 1740, Yi asked his friend Hyeong-myeong Jo (1690–1752) to name the pavilion. Jo suggested that the name of the pavilion should be *Samseungjeong*, or Three-superlatives pavilion. It was recommended that the three superlatives consisted of landscape, painting, and poem; one was that its main character was about open landscape overlooking the capital, which was satisfied (Fig. 2.39); for the two others, he should ask Seon Jeong for a painting and Byeong-yeon Yi (李秉淵: 1671-1751) for a poem. Having Seon Jeong's painting with Byeong-yeon Yi's poem became something of a status symbol for the cultivated elite, and the pair were commissioned by politicians and aristocrats to depict other remarkable landscapes. Jo explained why three superlatives should be required:

From the flowers in the gentle wind to the moonlight shining on the snow, all the beauties of the four seasons are contained in poems and paintings. What poetry cannot express, is in the paintings, and what painting cannot depict, is in the poetry. They need each other and cannot do without each other. The outstanding aspect of this pavilion is because it has met these two gentlemen, making *Samseung*.<sup>217</sup>

The garden is simple, but it is situated in an ideal, open location. The pavilion is equipped with *ondol* (a heating system), open to the south and east in order to view the entire the city. In addition to a rectangular pond adorned with water lilies, water chestnuts add to the aesthetic appeal of the garden. Dense stands of old pine trees shelter the garden on either side, providing a feeling of seclusion and depth. In the middle of this pinetum, steps ascend from the main house to the rear garden, and individual flowers and bamboo are planted in the courtyard. Chun-jae Yi preserves the ambient natural scenery, in accordance with Confucians' view of nature. (Fig. 2.40) This pavilion is well described in a poem by Byeong-yeon Yi as follows:

The view is wide open, but the viewpoint is deeply hidden;  
Pines and cedars grow naturally, with no need for planting.  
When did this gentleman first come here to open the woods?  
When did stringed instruments add to the harmonies of cliffs and streams?  
A thatched hut is enough to lodge the exhilaration of rising mist,  
The Western Garden too is within the courtyard of the house.  
The brick-lined pond is enough for a cultivated mind,

<sup>217</sup> Hyeon-myeong Jo's essay, 'On the pavilion in the Western Garden'; from Won-su Ch'oe, *Korean True-View Landscape: paintings by Chŏng sŏn (1676-1759)* (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 276.



The bright moon and the fresh breeze come free of charge.<sup>218</sup>

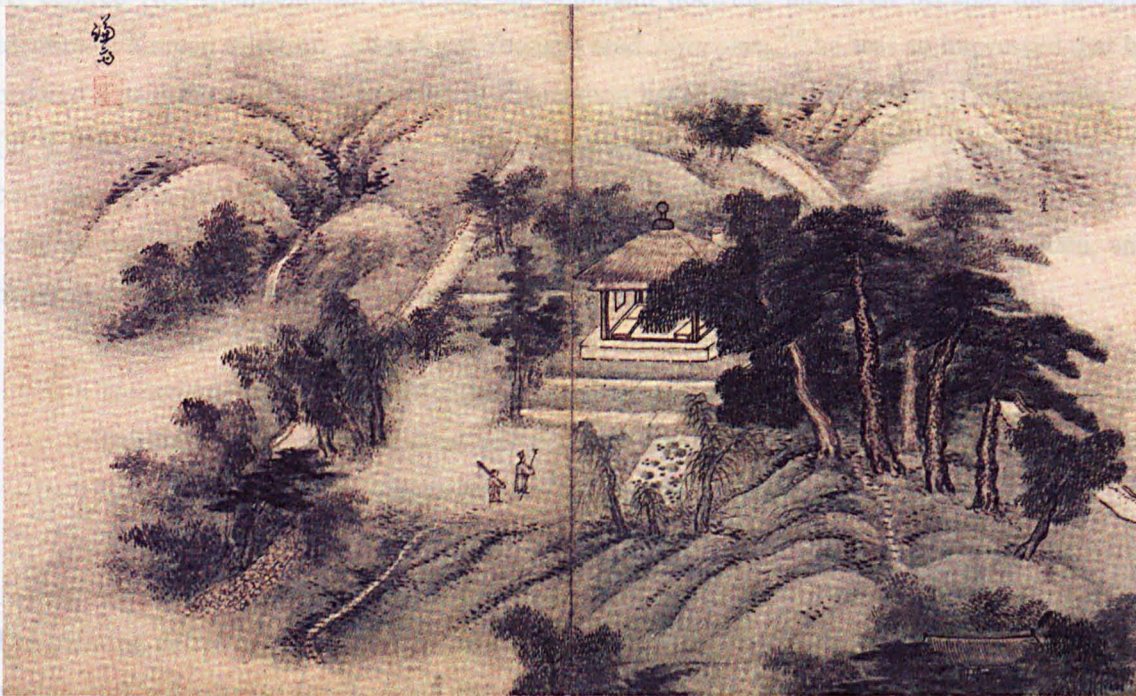


Fig. 2.39 *Samseungjeong* (Three-superlatives Pavilion in the Western Garden: 三勝亭) by Seon Jeong in 1740, Seoul, Chung, Hwan kook Collection. (Source: Won-su Ch'oe, *Korean True-View Landscape: paintings by Chŏng sŏn (1676-1759)* (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 277.)



Fig. 2.40 *Samseungjomang* (View of Three Superlatives: 三勝眺望) by Seon Jeong in 1740, Seoul, Chung, Hwan kook Collection. (Source: Won-su Ch'oe, *Korean True-View Landscape: paintings by Chŏng sŏn (1676-1759)* (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 279.)

<sup>218</sup> Won-su Ch'oe, *Korean True-View Landscape: paintings by Chŏng sŏn (1676-1759)*, (London: Saffron, 2005), p. 278.



Even though there were several movements adopting new ideas in the seventeenth century, Zhu Xi-centred Neo-Confucianism was still the dominant doctrine, and even became the integral identity of Korean tradition. After King Yeongjo read *Jujaoryu*,<sup>219</sup> he was so impressed that he ordered a painting of Zhu Xi's garden in Zhangzhou based on the description of Myoamdogi<sup>220</sup> (茆菴圖記) in *Jujaoryu*.<sup>221</sup> The garden represented the doctrine of Neo-Confucianism, particularly its numbers and trigrams, which are the main point of the *Book of Changes*. The painting consisted of three parts: the king's composition, original texts about the garden, and painting. It accurately reflected the order of the king as:

After the king composed Namgang Myoamdogi, he gave it to the Counsellor of Hongmungwan [Office of Special counselors: 弘文館] and ordered paint as “the painting must consist of three parts; king's composition should be on upper part; the text about garden in *Jujaoryu* should be written on the middle part; and Myoamdo should be painted on the lower part.”<sup>222</sup>

The painting delicately depicted Zhu Xi's description with King Yeongjo's interpretation of the garden within his house for shooting arrows. The overall design took the shape of the Chinese character ‘井’ meaning a well, because the garden was divided into nine areas representing the trigrams of the *Book of Changes*. In the middle of the garden, there is a stone platform for discourse, which is the core area of the garden, a thatched cottage in the upper part, and a thatched roof pavilion in the lower part. Hexagrams in the *Book of Changes* are represented in the painting. There are three windows and one door represented by hexagrams in the thatched cottage. Even though two hexagrams, T'ai (泰) and Fu (復) are expressed in the painting, the original text states four hexagrams consisted of T'ai, P'i (否), Po (剝), and Fu. These hexagrams symbolize peace, stagnation, splitting apart, and the turning point, respectively.<sup>223</sup> In selecting

<sup>219</sup> Chinese pronunciation is *Zhuziyulei* (the Analects of Zhu Xi: 朱子語類)

<sup>220</sup> Chinese pronunciation is *Maoantuji*

<sup>221</sup> Sun Lee, *Study on Planting in Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006), p. 606.

<sup>222</sup> Vol. 64 of the 'King Yeongjo (r. 1469-1494) Chronicles', in *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, on 2 September 1746 (according to lunar calendar); 上召見儒臣, 製下南康《茆菴圖記》, 仍教曰: “畫本定爲三層, 御製書上層, 語類本文書中層, 《茆菴圖》則畫于下層也。”; from the official website of the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (<http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>); it also recorded in Vol. 1008 of the *Seungjeongwon Ilgi* (The Diaries of the Royal Secretariat: 承政院日記) on 2 September 1746 (according to lunar calendar); 初二日巳時, 上御歡慶殿。… 上下親製南康茆菴圖記于尹汲曰, 篇字以編字改書之, 御製則副學親書之, 其下書職名及臣某, 而畫本定爲三層, 御製書于上層, 語類本文, 書于中層, 茆菴圖則畫于下層, 可也。…; from the official webpage of the *Seungjeongwon Ilgi* (<http://sjw.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp>); *Seungjeongwon Ilgi* has been registered on the Memory of the World International Register in 2001 as the largest amount of authentic historic recordings and state secrets of the Joseon Dynasty from the 17th century to the early 20th century.

<sup>223</sup> Cary F. Baynes (trans.), *I Ching or Book of Changes*, reissued (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 48-

space between these and hexagrams, Zhu Xi seems to suggest that there is nothing to be eternally sustained; in other words, everything follows the rise and fall together with prosperity and decay.<sup>224</sup>

Planting was also carefully associated with a number of trees and their location by King Yeongjo, although there was no mention of them in Zhu Xi's texts. Six species, but four in Zhu Xi's documents, were selected for planting: peach trees (*Prunus persica* (L.) Batsch), plum trees (*Prunus salicina* Lindl.), and Japanese apricot (*Prunus mume* Siebold & Zucc.) in the garden while bamboo (*Phyllostachys bambusoides* Siebold & Zucc.), pine trees (*Pinus densiflora* Siebold & Zucc.), and a thuja tree (*Thuja orientalis* L.) were planted along the border.

There were a total of eighteen trees consisting of four Japanese apricots, five plum trees, and six peach trees. The trees were asymmetrically planted with nine trees on the left and six trees on the right. As trigrams, number six is *yin*, representing variability made by broken lines while number nine is *yang*, representing variability made by straight lines.<sup>225</sup> Moreover, the king sought to perfect the harmony of *yin* and *yang* by matching with the number of trees and their location that nine trees are planted on the left or west means *yin* and six trees are planted on the right or east means *yang* to create an ideal garden by illustrating harmony or balance of *yin* and *yang* as the Great Ultimate. In addition, there was no mention of pine trees and a thuja tree in the original text, but the king ordered two pine trees and a thuja tree to be painted in the bottom of painting so as to represent number one and two in the *Book of Changes*.<sup>226</sup> It is possible to interpret these two numbers here in two ways. It seems that one thuja symbolizes the Great Ultimate, and the two pines represent *yin* and *yang*, which is the starting point of the universe. Another seems to implicate a contrasting concept: that one thuja expresses *yang*, man, or a straight line of trigram while the two pines signify *yin*, woman, or a broken line of trigram. Therefore, these two produce all things by harmonizing through encountering frictions and changes.<sup>227</sup> (Fig. 2.41)

King Yeongjo commissioned the painting in order to assure himself of and realize the teachings

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100.

<sup>224</sup> Hyoung-soon Hong, 'Metaphor of Explanatory Drawing of Garden in Jang-Joo-Myo-Am-Do', *The Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 26/1 (2008), p. 7.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

<sup>226</sup> Jung-young Lee, 'The Book of Change and Korean Thought', in *Religions in Korea: Belief and Cultural Values*, edited by Earl H. Phillips & Eui-young Yu (Los Angeles: California State University, 1982), pp. 1-24 (p. 9).

<sup>227</sup> Hyoung-soon Hong, 'Metaphor of Explanatory Drawing of Garden in Jang-Joo-Myo-Am-Do', *The Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 26/1 (2008), p. 6.

of Zhu Xi in *Jujaeoryu* as a ruling doctrine. Zhu Xi's preaching was a logical cause of the King's commission as he said that "in the garden there are nine fundamental principles for ruling the universe together with the shapes of eight trigrams and the method of eight formation to divide a world into nine states."<sup>228</sup>



Fig. 2.41 *Jangjumoamdo* (漳州節菴圖) is the painting that depicts Zhu Xi's garden in Zhangzhou interpreted by King Yeongjo. (Source: Sun Yee, *Study on Planting in Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006), p. 608.)

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.



It is important to note that Korean gardens were inextricably tied to Korean landscape paintings, as well as the literature of the day, and the paintings suggest that the formal and ornamental formed important features in gardens, as well as in nature. Contemporary features of gardens included the lotus pond, ornamental stones, terraces, beds along the wall, and potted plants. Genre paintings provided evidence of events in the garden as well as its physical structure. Hong-do Kim (金弘道: b. 1745) painted many humorous scenes from actual life, and his paintings depicted gardens, ornaments, and landscapes;<sup>229</sup> in particular, *Danwondo* shows his house and garden. (Fig. 2.42) Yun-bok Sin (申潤福: b. 1758), an erotic painter, meanwhile painted romantic love scenes depicting men and women, unique in the history of Josean dynasty art, especially within the Neo-Confucian context. The subjects of his scenes were members of the upper class and were usually depicted as enjoying themselves in the gardens or in the fields.<sup>230</sup> Lotus blossoms are important elements of his painting, which gave some examples about lotus ponds in the courtyard. For example, *Yeondangyayu* (Amusement beside a Lotus Pond: 蓮塘野遊) depicts noblemen dallying with female entertainers beside a lotus pond in an inner courtyard. (Figs. 2.43 & 2.44)

Following the changing cycle of the seasons, Hong-do Kim depicted well-observed scenes from the daily life of the aristocracy during the eighteenth century. One panel portrays men and women attending to their affairs; on the left of this painting, there are a pond edge and rocks with a bamboo railing along a garden wall. (Fig. 2.45) It is remarkable because there is a quickset screen, mainly made from the usages of the bamboo espalier, for dividing spaces, called *Chybyong* (翠屏) in Korean.<sup>231</sup> (Figs. 2.45 & 2.46) A number of paintings show that *Chybyong* was one of the characteristic garden facilities in upper-class houses in the eighteenth century. (Figs. 2.47 & 2.48)

<sup>229</sup> Song-mi Yi, *Korean Landscape Painting: Continuity and Innovation through the Ages* (Seoul: Hollym, 2006), pp. 122-125.

<sup>230</sup> Robert Whitfield & Young-sook Pak (ed.), *Korean Art Treasures* (Seoul: Yekyong Publications, 1986), p. 39.

<sup>231</sup> Chinese cases were defined as a floral screen or trellis by Maggie Keswick.





Fig. 2.42 *Danwondo* (The Painting of Danwon House: 檀園圖) by Hong-do Kim (1784). This painting depicts his garden consisting of a rectangular pond and decorated with an oddly shaped rock. (Source: Sang-hee Lee, *The History of Korean Flower Culture*, Vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Seoul: Nexusbook, 2004), p. 210.)





Fig. 2.43 *Cheonggeumsangnyeon* (Amusement beside a Lotus Pond: 聽琴賞蓮) by Yun-bok Sin (between the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries), Seoul, Kansong Art Museum. (Source: Robert Whitfield & Young-sook Pak (ed.), *Korean Art Treasures* (Seoul: Yekyong Publications, 1986), p. 39.)



Fig. 2.44 *Yeondangyeoin* (Woman in a Lotus Pond: 蓮塘女人) by Yun-bok Sin (between the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century), Seoul, National Museum of Korea. A woman seated on narrow wooden floor holds a string instrument and a tobacco pipe. (Source: Woo-cheol Lee, *Standard Illustrations of Korea Plants* (Seoul: Academic Publishers, 1996), p. 26.)





Fig. 2.45 *Huwonyuyeon* (Party in the Rear Garden: 後園遊宴) (left) shows a quickset screen in the garden of an aristocrat's house; this painting is the third panel of an eight-panel folding screen, 'Four seasons genre painting screens' by Hong-do Kim (eighteenth century), France, Musée Guimet. (Source: Dae-hoe Ahn, *To Build a House between Mountains and Water* (Seoul: Dolbegae, 2005), p. 340.)





Fig. 2.46 *Samilyuga* (Visit of Successful Examinee to Examiners and Relatives for Three Days: 三日遊街) (right) is one panel of a six-panel folding screen, *Damwa Hong Gye-hui Pyeongsanengdo*' (The Painting of Lifetime for Damwa Hong Gye-hui: 淡窩洪啓禧平生圖) by Hong-do Kim (eighteenth century), Seoul, National Museum of Korea. There is a quickset screen in front of the house. (Source: Jun-hyeon Jin, *The Study of Danwon Kim Hong-do* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1999), p. 362.)



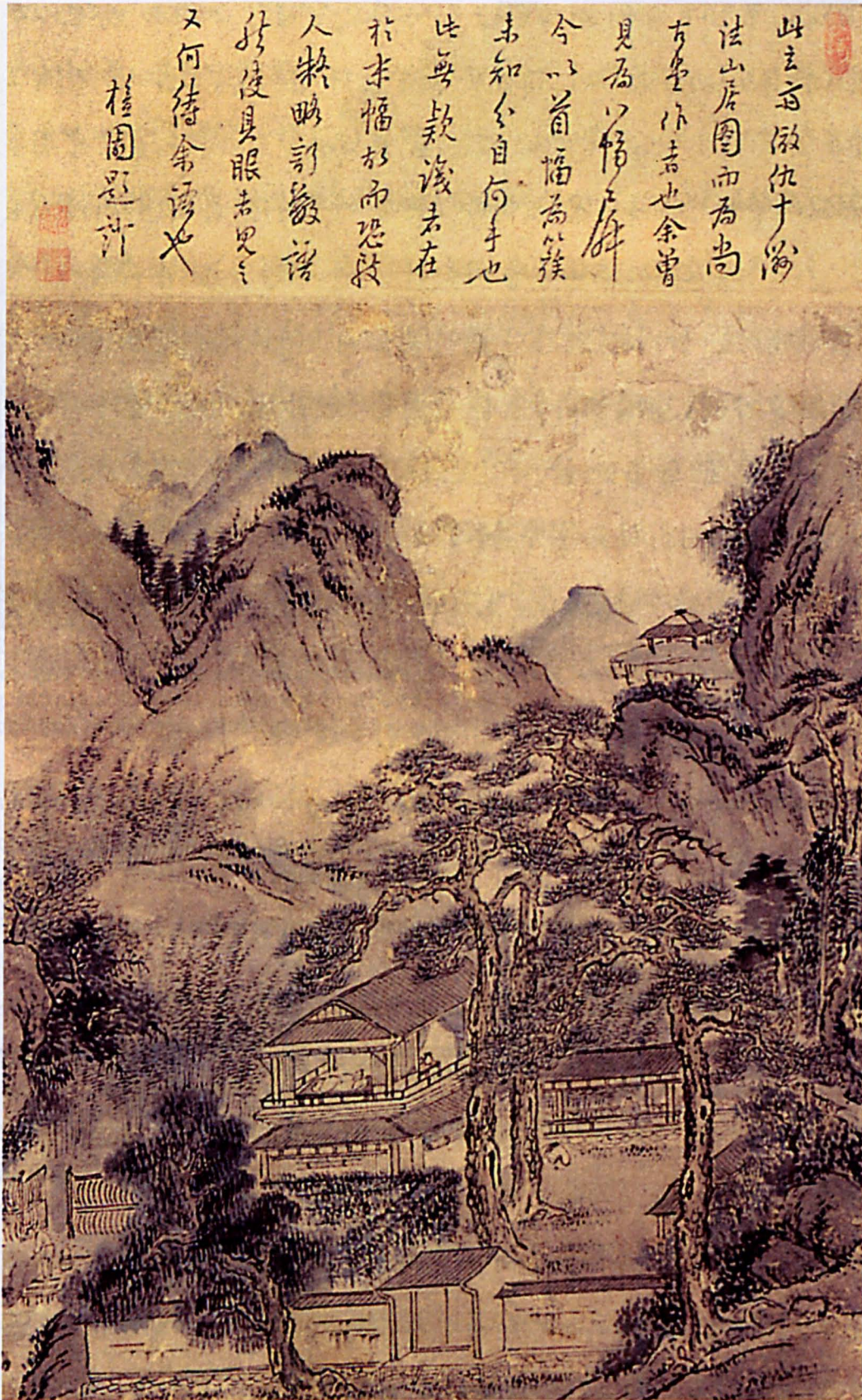


Fig. 2.47 *Sansudo* (Landscape Painting: 山水圖) by Sa-jeong Sim (1707-1769), Seoul, National Museum of Korea. A quickset screen installed in the corner of a courtyard that leads to a rear garden. (Source: Ju-seok Oh, *Yi In-mun's Gangsan mujindo* (Seoul: Shingu Munhwasa, 2006), p. 54.)





Fig. 2.48 *Yeonjeongsueop* (Teaching at the Lotus Pond: 蓮亭授業) in *Gosongyosucheop* (古松流水帖) by In-mun Yi (1745–1821); Seoul, National Museum of Korea. There is a hedge to the left of the lotus pond along the edge of the pond garden with an arch gate. (Source: Ju-seok Oh, *Yi In-mun's Gangsan mujindo* (Seoul: Shingu Munhwasa, 2006), p. 162.)

Such a feature made with bamboo can be found in eight areas on a plan for the Changdeokgung Palace. One of the main gardens in the royal garden at Changdeokgung Palace (the Palace of Illustrious Virtue: 昌德宮) is Buyongji (芙蓉池) pond. A screen divides the space into *Gyujanggak* (Royal Library: 奎章閣) and Buyongji pond. (Figs. 2.49 & 2.50) In the Junghuidang (重熙堂) area, quickset screens either divided the space into compartments or were intended to block views as was done at the side doors. (Fig. 2.51) Screens were also used at the area of Ongnyucheon (玉流川) in Changdeokgung Palace, which included a floral screen in a slightly curved shape. (Fig. 2.52) However, this structure disappeared at the end of the nineteenth century as the palace was not maintained and fell into ruin because dynastic power had by then declined.<sup>232</sup>

Fig. 2.49 *Gyujanggakdo* (奎章閣圖) by Hong-do Kim (1760), Seoul, National Museum of Korea. This painting, painted just after the completion, shows a quickset screen between Gyujanggak and Buyongji pond in Changdeokgung Palace. (Source: Jong-seok Choi, *Reading of Donggwanin* (Seoul: Changdeokgung Office 2005), p. 124.)

<sup>232</sup> The floral screens have now been confirmed by archaeological evidence.





Fig. 2.49 *Gyujanggakdo* (奎章閣圖) by Hong-do Kim (1760), Seoul, National Museum of Korea. This painting, painted just after the completion, shows a quickset screen between Gyujanggak and Buyongji pond in Changdeokkung Palace. (Source: Jong-deok Choi, *Reading of Donggwoldo* (Seoul: Changdeokkung Office: 2005), p. 124.)



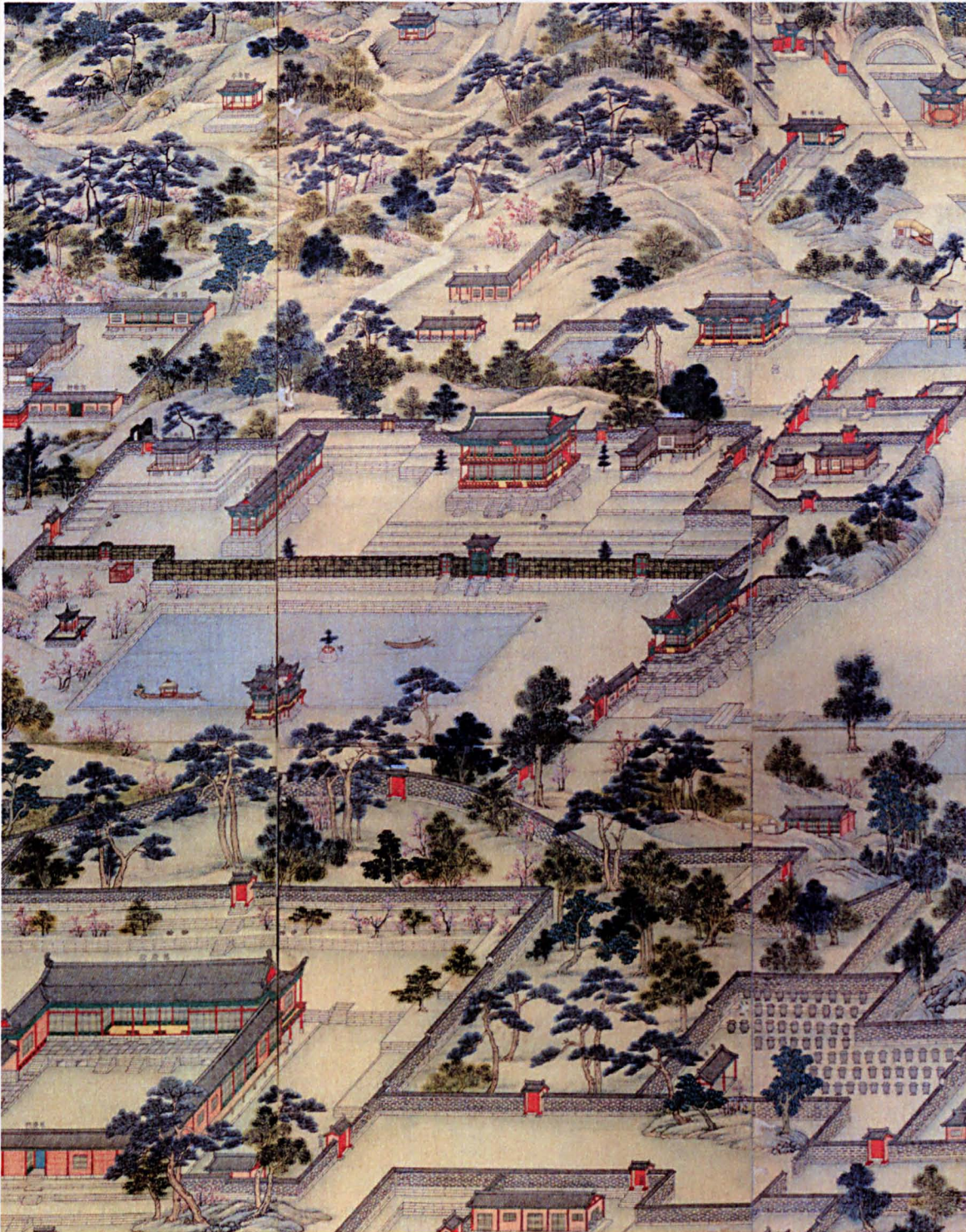


Fig. 2.50 'The Area of Buyongji pond' in Donggwoldo (*Map of the Eastern Palace*), a sixteen-fold screen (1824–1830), Seoul, Korean University Museum; This map, which was about 70 years later than *Gyujanggakdo*, also shows a quickset screen in the royal garden which installed between Buyongji pond and *Gyujanggak*. (Source: Jong-deok Choi, *Reading of Donggwoldo* (Seoul: Changdeokkung Office: 2005), p. 117.)



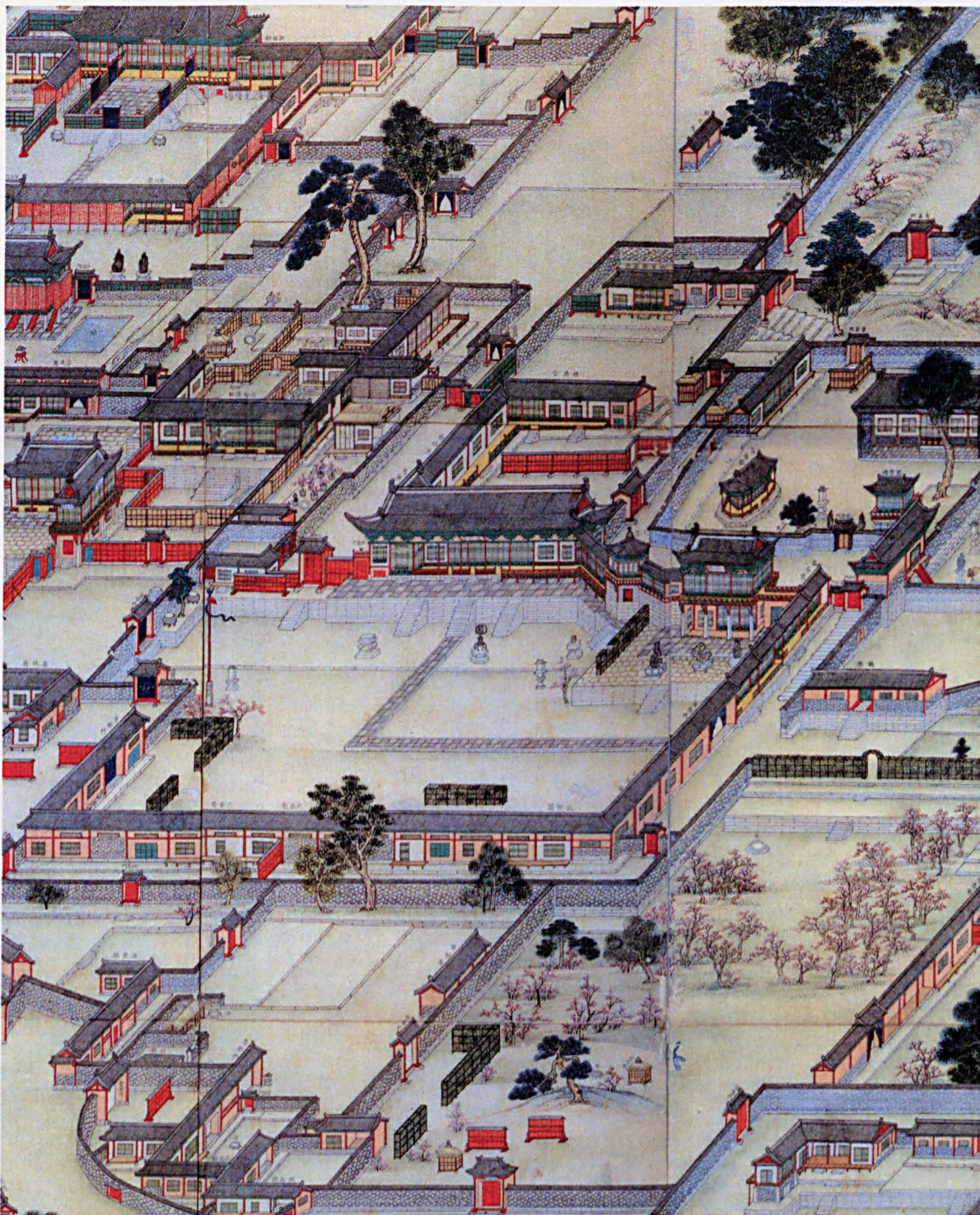


Fig. 2.51 'The Area of Junghuidang' in *Donggwoldo* (*Map of the Eastern Palace: 東闕圖*), a sixteen-fold screen (1824–1830), Seoul, Korean University Museum; It also shows a quickset screen in the courtyards of Junghuidang which was built in 1782 as the palace of the Crown Prince Munhyo. The screen was installed on the left side of the front court of *Sojuhaplul* (小宙合樓) to block view from main courtyard. In the courtyard, there are astronomical implements such as a sundial, a rain gauge and a flag for gauging wind direction. The screen also installed as a hedge on the north side of the orchard garden which was on the southeast part of *Junghuidang* area. This area was converted to build *Nakseonjae* (樂善齋) in 1847 as a residence for a widowed queen and concubines (Source: Jong-deok Choi, *Reading of Donggwoldo* (Seoul: Changdeokgung Office: 2005), p. 152.)



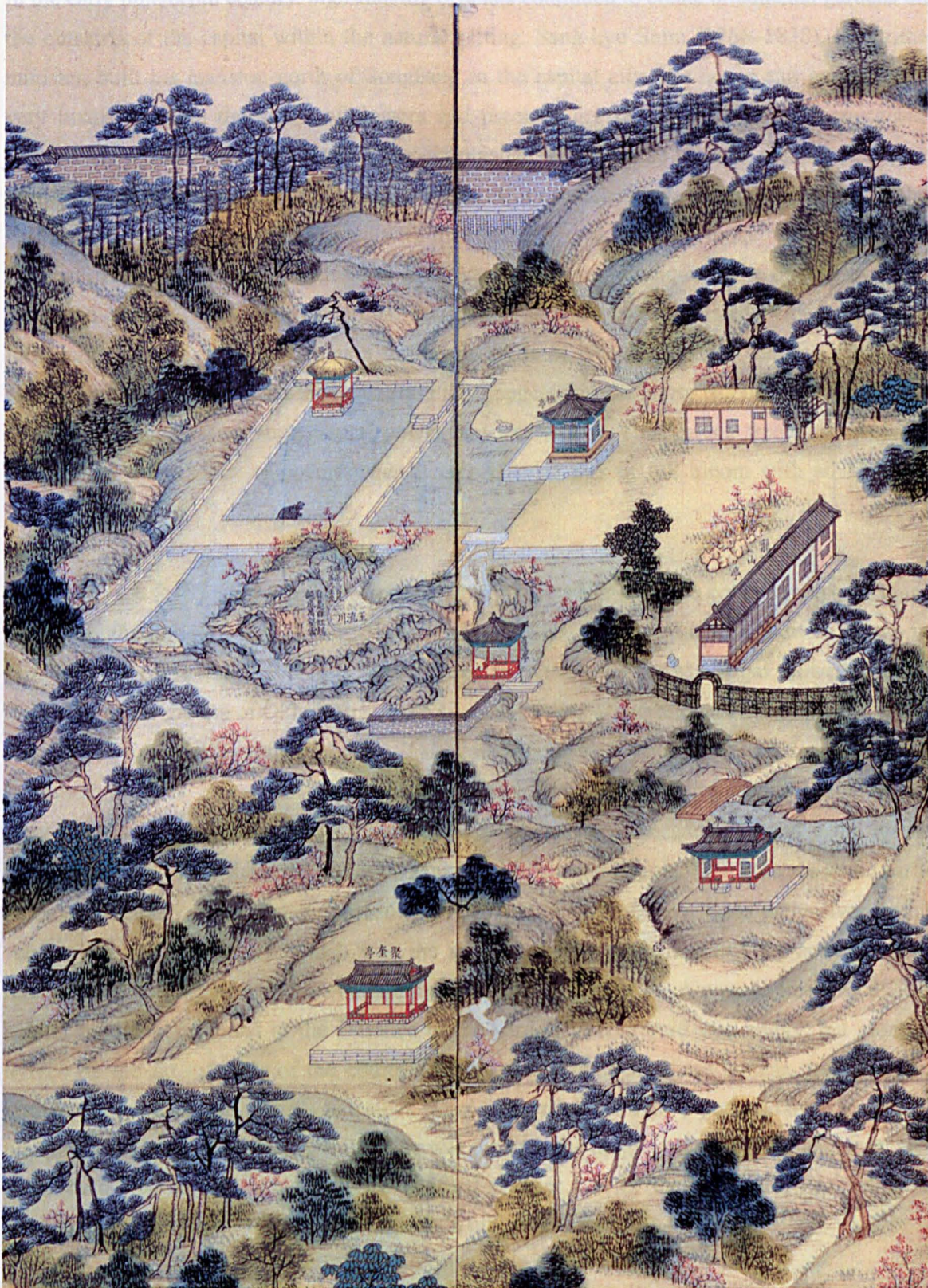


Fig. 2.52 'The Area of Ongnyucheon' in Donggwoldo (*Map of the Eastern Palace*) a sixteen-fold screen (1824–1830), Seoul, Korean University Museum; It also shows a quickset screen in the royal garden; in particular, it has a curved line shape with an arch gate on the south of Nongsanjeong (籠山亭). (Source: Jong-deok Choi, *Reading of Donggwoldo* (Seoul: Changdeokgung Office: 2005), p. 126.)



In the early nineteenth century, high-ranking officials continued to create ornamental gardens on the outskirts of the capital within the natural setting. Sang-kyu Shim (1766–1838), the prime minister, built his mansion north of Songhang in the capital city. His house and garden were very luxurious, with thousands of flowers and precious grasses. A palm tree (*Trachycarpus fortunei* H. Wendl.) reached up to a gatepost planted with Chinese trumpet creeper (*Campsis grandiflora* K. Schum.), and there was a conservatory attached to a separate building in the garden. The house was also decorated with innovative figures in which looks mattered most in the terrestrial world. A room with glass walls, decorated with a unique frame of windows and decorated railing, was an innovation. Inside, the house was decorated with rare home furnishings and accessories such as a flat bench made of ivory (an exotic feature), a bamboo blind, a curtain, a table, and a fancy mattress that suggest that the house has been designed for a Taoist hermit possessing supernatural power and eternal life. This garden frequently was the background for a series of poems when it in particular was in full bloom with all kinds of flowers.<sup>233</sup>

Okhojeong (玉壺亭) was built for Jo-soon Kim (金祖淳: 1765–1832), a contemporary of Sang-kyu Shim, the father-in-law of King Sunjo (純祖: r. 1800–1834); and it was likewise shown in *Okhojeongdo* (玉壺亭圖).<sup>234</sup> (Fig. 2.53) A stream from the valley of Mt. Pugak flowed through the centre of the garden of Okhojeong, and a simple stepping-stone bridge was installed over the stream, providing entry to the house. This estate consisted of five areas: Haengrangchae (servants' quarters closest to the entrance), Sarangchae (men's quarters with a courtyard), Anchae (women's quarters with a courtyard), Byeolwon (separate gardens), and a hill at the back (pinetum). These show the typical organization of private houses for aristocrats in the early nineteenth century. After visitors passed through Haengrangchae, they found themselves in the yard of the men's quarters, which was the master's living area, intended for activities like reading and sleeping as well as entertaining areas for men's guests. A pagoda tree was placed behind the hedges planted at the entrance to the yard. The courtyard was empty, but along a terrace on the far left side of the courtyard there was a male Japanese banana, tree peonies, herbaceous peonies, and orchids as well as water lilies in basins. Flowerpots and dwarfed potted plants were also placed there. A vine trellis was made at the upper part of the embankment, and an orchard was created behind the trellis. In the upper part of the courtyard, peonies were planted on the three stair terraces built against a hill. (Fig. 2.54)

<sup>233</sup> Dae-hoe Ahn, 'Housing Culture in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the Imaginary Garden', *Journal of Chin Tan Society*, 97 (2004), p. 116.

<sup>234</sup> The drawing is an anonymously-done colour picture 150 centimetres long and 280 centimetres wide.

In the innermost part of the house, there were quarters for the women, which enclosed by Saranchae and walls. There were two courtyards; one was enclosed by buildings and totally empty space, which played a role connecting the different rooms. The other formed the rear garden, which was a secret area for the women. There were separate buildings for the women's toilet, terraces, and two straw-thatched pavilions called *Chukjeong* (竹亭) and *Sanbanlu* (山半樓). *Chukjeong* was built with bamboo with open sides like a gazebo on one side of the six stairs of terraces while *Sanbanlu* was built with timber with doors on all sides was on the top of the rear garden. (Fig. 2.55) This space was quiet and elegant as the most private outdoor space providing living space for the women and children.

On the left side of the rear garden, there was the Byeolwon, which was a separate garden from the main living space, connecting it to the courtyard of the men's quarters. It played a role as place for rising above the world, finding of ego, and developing meditation. There was a large rock on which '*Okhodongcheon* (玉壺洞泉)' was inscribed, which meant 'a pure world of immortals.' A rectilinear pond was created at the bottom of the rock, and water was brought to the pond through a wooden gutter. A rectangular flagstone was placed in the pond and used as an island in the pond. There was a round spring next to the pond. The straw-thatched pavilion was built near the pond. Maple trees were planted at the left side of the straw-thatched pavilion. This garden space was named the maple terrace, and it is thought that this space was mainly used for enjoying the autumn leaves. (Fig. 2.55) On the lower part of the maple terrace, there was another yard with a tiled-roof pavilion called *Cheobunjeong* (疊雲亭), which meant 'pavilion of clouds upon clouds.' This yard was a simple and empty space from which to appreciate the sky and clouds, decorated only with a hedge planted on the hillside in order to detach from the pinetum. There were a pathway and stairs on the left side. There was a potted odd-shaped rock on the corner of the yard, and separate terrace for planting *Maximowiczia chinensis* Rupr. connected to the courtyard of the men's quarters was on the near of the pavilion.

Finally, there was an area of ancient pine forest that was incorporated in the garden. It is thought that one took a walk in the forest and enjoyed the beauty of nature itself, whereas in a garden, that created space was to appreciate natural elements or touch of nature. On the top of the mountain, there was only one human touch in this area, a precipitous wall of rock on which three characters were written: '*Ilgwanseok* (日觀石),' meaning as rock receiving sunshine were inscribed. Okhojeong, a highly prized aristocrat's garden was added up feel the profundity of garden by the perfect spatial harmony between the artificial garden space and the surrounding nature.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>235</sup> Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyungsa, 1996), pp. 347-354; Sun Yee,



Fig. 2.53 *Okhojeongdo* (玉壺亭圖), the house of the prime minister is a notable estate for the high classes (1815). (Source: Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyungsa, 1996), pp. 347-348.)

*Study on Planting in Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp^mind.media, 2006), pp. 322-323.



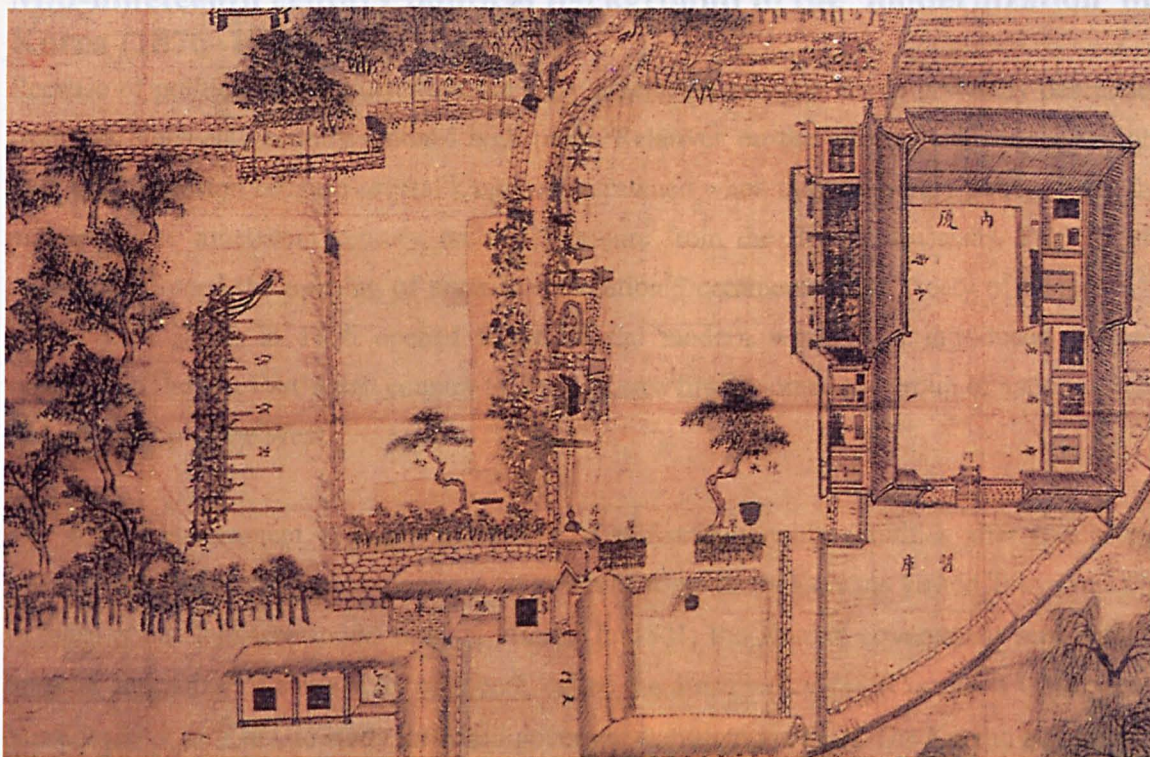


Fig. 2.54 Detail of the men's courtyard in Okhojeong. (Source: Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyungsa, 1996), pp. 347-348.)

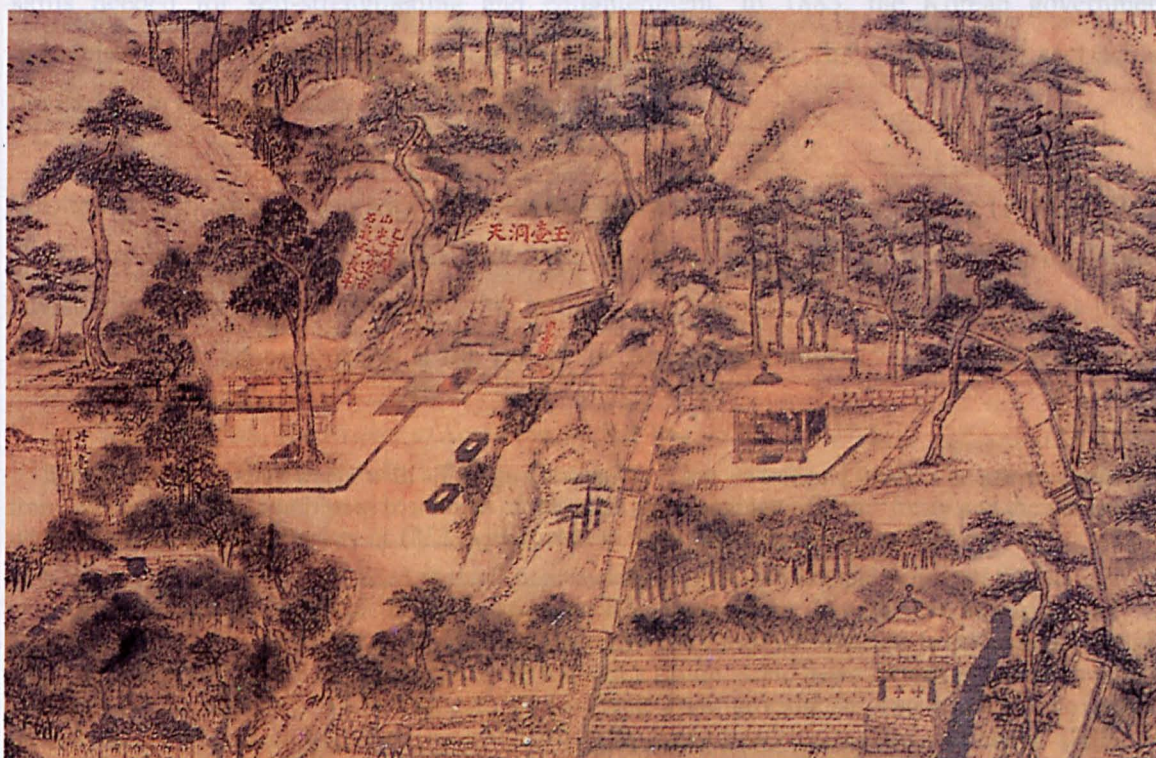


Fig. 2.55 Detail of the rear gardens of Okhojeong. (Source: Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyungsa, 1996), pp. 347-348.)



## Mid-nineteenth century political background to the ‘modernization’ of Korea (1876–1910)

Because of political uncertainty from the early nineteenth century, Korea gradually descended from her eighteenth-century cultural high point. Relatives on the queen’s side began to fight over the succession because several kings were crowned when they were very young.<sup>236</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century, external pressure from the British, Russians, French, and Americans forced the opening of ports to international commerce. The Treaty of Kanghwa<sup>237</sup> signed with Japan in 1876 opened Korea to the modern world, and introduced Western influences. The last East Asian country to do so, Korea finally joined the group of nations which had opened up to the West.

The Joseon government engaged in a flurry of self-strengthening activities after concluding treaties with Japan and Western nations. A group of some thirty Koreans visited Tokyo in 1876 to learn about Japanese modernization efforts. In 1881, the Korean government sent another mission consisting of some sixty members, called the *Sinsa yuramdan* (Courtier’s Observation Mission: 紳士遊覽團), to study the Meiji government system in Japan. The Korean government simultaneously sent forty students and artisans, called the *Yeongseonsa* (Emissary Dispatched to Qing Dynasty China: 領選使) to China in the same year in order to assimilate methods and skills needed for self-strengthening and enlightenment. In 1883, the Korean government dispatched an eight-man roving mission to the United States, the first such mission sent across the Pacific in Korean history.

Western-style modernization was a direct result of the treaty, with King Kojong (高宗: r. 1863–1907) striving to do this by means of Korean observers going abroad to study, with foreign advisors and missionaries as consultants, in order to modernize the administrative system and thus recover the nation’s power at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>238</sup> After this, Korea went

<sup>236</sup> See: Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea* (Seoul: Eul-Yoo, 1970), pp.337-339.

<sup>237</sup> It was the first modern treaty with a foreign country but it was an unequal treaty. The growing pressure from Western powers, manifested in a series of reluctant port openings with this treaty and then others with America, Britain, Germany in 1882, with Russia in 1884 and with France in 1886.

<sup>238</sup> King Kojong (r. 1863–1907) tried to implement various political, social, and economic measures to modernize the country, for enrich the nation and consolidate the military. In particular, he returned to Kyounggung Palace (its name changed to Deoksugung Palace in 1907) adjacent to the Russian legation on 20 February, 1897, after staying a year in the Russian legation. Amid harsh foreign intervention and royal family’s weakening power, the king decided to create a new government system and change in the official name of the nation from the Joseon Dynasty to the Great Han Empire (Daehan Empire: 1897–1910), also known as the Period of Enlightenment, on 12 August 1897. The Great Han Empire’s theory of modernization was progress from ‘Eastern ways, Western machines’ (*Dongdo seogi-ron*), which insists that Koreans should introduce Western modern techniques while cherishing the country’s traditional systems and thoughts, designed by Yun-sik Kim (1835–1922), politician and scholar, in the 1880s. Emperor Kojong accommodated Western civilization in his eagerness to build a foundation for the

through a marked cultural and social change, and after 1896 the capital city, Seoul, was transformed into a modern city. The infrastructure was refashioned to create clean, wide streets, urban parks, an electric lighting system, trams, and railways.

This period has also been regarded as the starting point of modern landscape architecture in Korea, with the introduction of parks and cemeteries. Parks were established as an important priority at the same time the ports were opened and signified a recognition of modern social requirements.<sup>239</sup>

### Western taste introduced through the garden at the British Legation

Even though the Korean government opened its ports to foreign nations in 1876, foreign nationals were not permitted to reside in the capital city, but were allowed to live in three open port cities: Incheon, Pusan, and Wonsan. After the 1882 commercial treaty with the UK was approved, diplomat officials were allowed to reside in Seoul. In 1883, a property was selected for the British Legation by the first British consul-general to Korea, G. W. Aston, with the assistance of the governor of Seoul.<sup>240</sup> The compound in Jeong Dong near the American Legation consisted of six traditional buildings: a stable, large barn, and several small houses for servants that were used as a residence for Aston's family, as well as for official duties. The existing garden was transformed with minimum effort to provide for this changed usage, with the alterations reflecting English tastes of 1884. A vice-consul, William Richard Carles, who lived in Korea between 1884 and 1885 depicted the consulate-general's garden as follows:

... By knocking down some division walls, and introducing more sunlight into the grounds, and laying part of them down in turf, the compound had assumed the air of a very pretty garden, in which crab trees, paulownias, hawthorn, and lilac bushes flourished luxuriantly.<sup>241</sup>

This appears to be the first garden in Korea influenced by Western taste in what was a fusion of

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country's modernization; Tae jin Lee, 'The Nature of Seoul's Development into a Modern City during the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *The Journal of Seoul Studies*, 4 (1995), pp. 21-27.

<sup>239</sup> In-Jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 201.

<sup>240</sup> Public Record Office (PRO), Works 10/389, Aston to Parkes, accounts no. 1, 30 May 1884; Diplomatic Documents of Old Korea, British series vol. 1, (Seoul, 1968), pp. 33-34; J. E. Hoare, *The British Embassy Compound Seoul 1884-1984* (Seoul: Korean-British Society, 1984), pp. 18-21; Gap deug Kim, 'A Study of the Foreign Quarter and Architecture of Jeong-Dong Seoul in the Late Korean Empire Era', unpublished PhD thesis, Pusan National University, 2003, p. 29.

<sup>241</sup> William Richard Carles, *Life in Corea* (London: Macmillan, 1888), p. 103.



English and traditional Korean garden features (Figs. 2.56 & 2.57). Despite the attractive gardens, the buildings became a maintenance problem after Aston's health failed in 1885. The buildings were old and unsanitary, and were found to be inappropriate for the Western lifestyle as the buildings were located at some distance from each other. Therefore, Aston and his replacement, Mr. Walter Hillier, complained about the open nature of the buildings,<sup>242</sup> with Hillier reporting that the condition of buildings was poor, noting that there was nothing to be gained by repairing the existing buildings, and that new buildings were required.<sup>243</sup> Construction work for new, two-storey Italianate buildings started in May 1890 and was completed two years later.<sup>244</sup> (Fig 2.58) After this, the traditional Korean houses were demolished, and their location incorporated in the new gardens, designed by Hillier, an accomplished gardener with a good sense of design. He incorporated flower beds, a tennis lawn, a greenhouse, and new gardens on new terraces created at the locations of the former buildings.<sup>245</sup> This new garden was of importance because this is where the lawn was first introduced in Korea. When Cavendish visited the new consul-general in 1891, he noted that:

... the offices are a little farther down the slope, separated from the house by a terrace and lawn-tennis ground. Mr. Hillier, who is an enthusiastic botanist, had many lovely plants and flowers in a small greenhouse, and had laid out the ground already available with much taste and care; his fruit-trees were promising well, and the previous season he had had a large crop of strawberries. The original Consular buildings, a cluster of Korean houses, were to be pulled down when the new ones were finished and their sites turned into [a] garden.<sup>246</sup>

The house of the consulate-general was described by various travellers' writings as it was a well-known venue for foreign communities and government dignitaries of Korea. Such was the house's popularity that King Kojong requested that F. J. Marshall, the designer<sup>247</sup> of the British

<sup>242</sup> J. E. Hoare, *The British Embassy Compound Seoul 1884-1984* (Seoul: Korean-British Society, 1984), p. 22.

<sup>243</sup> PRO, Works 10/389, FO to Treasury, B 954, 19 February 1889.

<sup>244</sup> J. E. Hoare, *The British Embassy Compound Seoul 1884-1984* (Seoul: Korean-British Society, 1984), pp. 27-30; J. E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British Embassies in Japan, China and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (Surrey: Curzon, 1999), pp. 180-182. The construction of the British Legation was under the Office of Works in Shanghai, one of the branches of the Office of Works in Britain which was in charge of all the British official buildings in East Asian region. Thus red bricks and ferroconcrete were used for the first time in the construction of a building in Korea; See PRO, Works 10/389, Marshall to London, no. 1469, 2 July 1890.

<sup>245</sup> J. E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British Embassies in Japan, China and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (Surrey: Curzon, 1999), p. 183.

<sup>246</sup> Alfred Edward John Cavendish, *Korea and the sacred White Mountain: being a brief account of a journey in Korea in 1891* (London: G. Philip & Son, 1894), pp. 30-31

<sup>247</sup> The design and supervision of the work was under F. J. Marshall who was an official of the Office of

legation's building, assist with the construction of a similar building in the palace compound. The American Consul was also interested in the buildings of the British legation as the American legation still used a compound of Korean buildings.<sup>248</sup> The British Legation also became a venue for garden parties; at one such party on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, foreign children were given a warm welcome by British ones.<sup>249</sup> It was through such events that the garden influenced Korean dignitaries, who were also introduced to the tennis court here, the first one in Korea. The tennis court was created on the site of one of the traditional Korean houses and in doing so required minimum change to prepare the area for this purpose. Tennis parties were held every Thursday and were open to foreigners, with King Kojong and Queen Min humorously observing that such strenuous exercise was better undertaken by servants.<sup>250</sup>

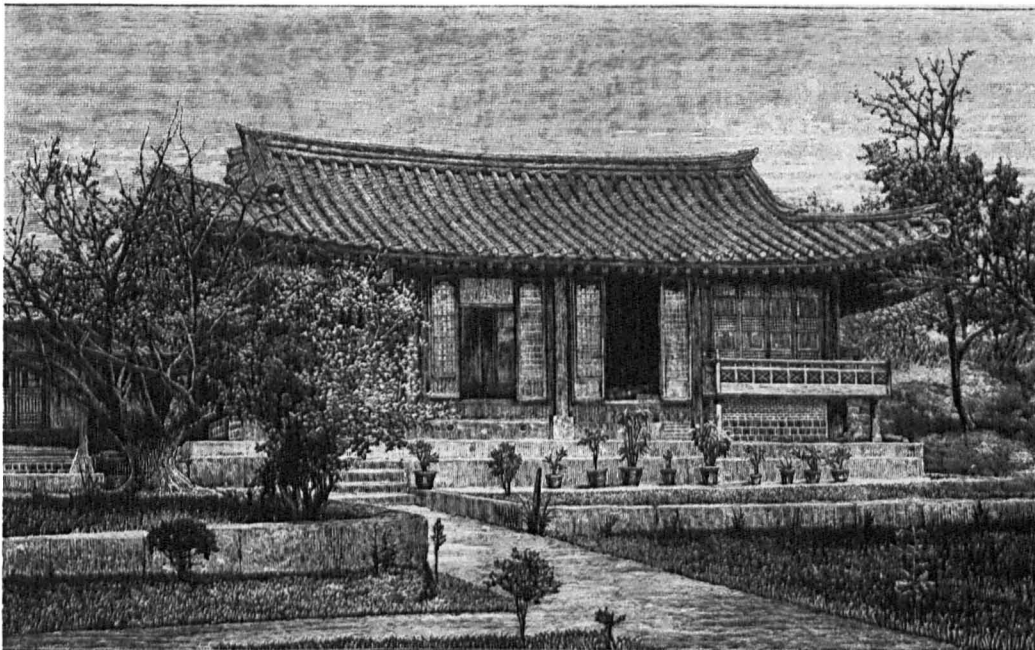


Fig. 2.56 Garden of the British consulate-general in Seoul. (Source: William Richard Carles, *Life in Corea* (London: Macmillan, 1888), n.p.)

Works in Shanghai. The superintendents of the erection were James Scoot and C. W. Coupbell, they were officials in the British Legation, who spoke Korean properly; See: PRO, Works 10/389, Marshall to London, no. 1469, 2 July 1890; Gap-deug Kim & Soon-il Kim, 'The Study on the Construction Process of the British Legation, Seoul in the latter era of the Choson Dynasty', *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea (Planning and Design)*, 18/10 (2002), p. 135.

<sup>248</sup> J. E. Hoare, *The British Embassy Compound Seoul 1884-1984* (Seoul: Korean-British Society, 1984), p. 31.

<sup>249</sup> Local Items, *The Independent*, 24 June 1897, p. 3; J. E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British Embassies in Japan, China and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (Surrey: Curzon, 1999), p. 183.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183; 'Though there appears to be no evidence for the charming story that King Kojong and Queen Min, viewing tennis being played next door to their palace, wondered why these important foreigners did not get their servants to undertake such strenuous exercise'; Local Items, *The Independent*, 8 July 1897, pp. 2-3; J. E. Hoare, *The British Embassy Compound Seoul 1884-1984* (Seoul: Korean-British Society, 1984), p. 32.



Fig. 2.57 Original British Legation Buildings, late 1880s; the courtyard was covered by the lawn (Hillier Collection). (Source: J. E. Hoare, *The British Embassy Compound Seoul 1884-1984* (Seoul: Korean-British Society, 1984), p. 23.)

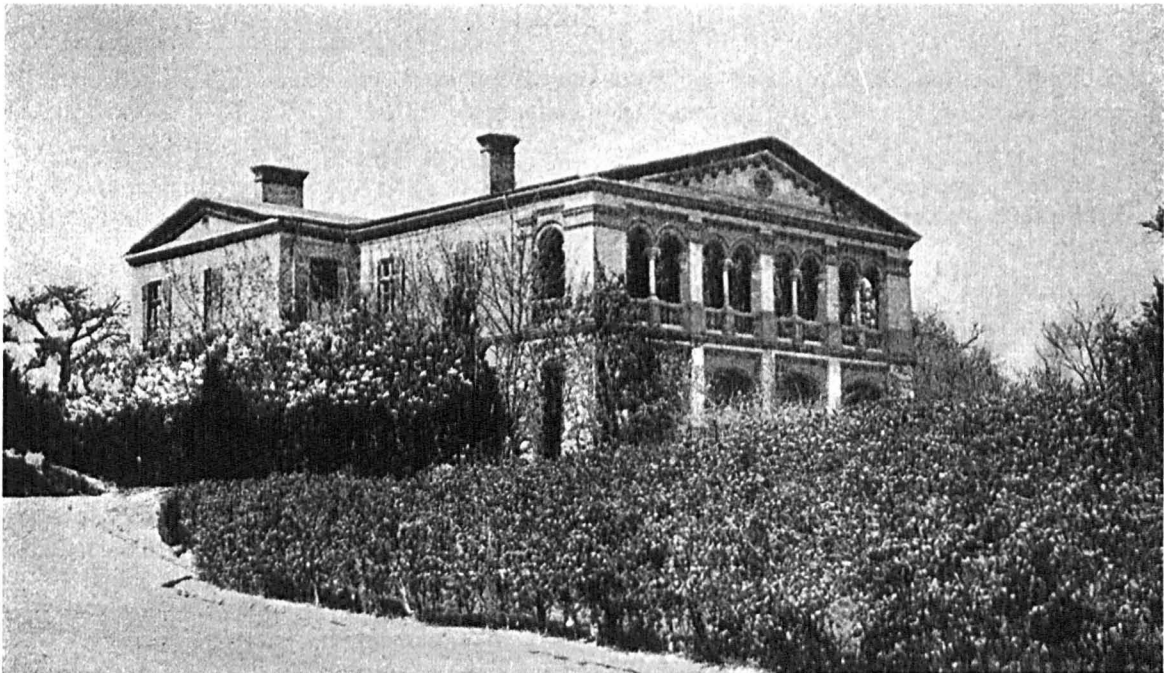


Fig. 2.58 British Legation in Seoul after completion. (Source: Angus Hamilton, *Korea* (London: Heinemann, 1904), p. 88.)



## The first park and Western-style cemetery in Korea

As soon as the ports opened to the West and foreigners came to live in the country, there was a requirement for convenient spaces to meet, and to provide the entertainment to which they were accustomed in the West but which was not available in Korea. In 1888, a Russian civil engineer, Afanasij I. S. Samatin (b. 1860), designed the first public park in Incheon.<sup>251</sup> It was originally named the 'Park of All Nations' (Manguk Park) because it was a public space for the American, English, Russian, Japanese, and Chinese residents of the city (Fig. 2.59). In 1914, the City of Incheon took ownership of the park when Japan colonized the country and renamed it West Park. It was given its original name again at independence in 1945, but was officially renamed Freedom Park (Jayu Park) after the statue of U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, the hero of the Incheon Landing in the Korean War on 15 September 1950, was placed there in 1957.<sup>252</sup> In time, the various foreign residences that surrounded the park disappeared, and the park was gradually transformed.

The nation's first Western-style cemetery was established in July 1890 in Seoul when the Korean government granted Dr Horace Allen<sup>253</sup> a plot of land for the burial of John Heron, a Presbyterian missionary. This was Seoul's Foreigners' Cemetery (*Yanghwajin*), which, as the name suggests, was solely intended for foreigners, now with a total of 555 graves of persons from sixteen nations.<sup>254</sup> The cemetery doubled as a public park and is the location of the oldest foreign church community in Korea.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>251</sup> Jong-heon Jin & Sung-hee Shin, 'Selective Restoration of the "Past" for the Reconstruction of Urban Identity: in case of "The Public Garden" Restoration Plan in Incheon City', *The Geographical Journal of Korea*, 40/2(2006), p. 243.

<sup>252</sup> In-jae Lee & Jin-beom Sim, *A study on the site planning and the fundamental conception for the creative restoration plan of Park of All Nations* (Incheon: Incheon Development Institute, 2004), pp. 11-12.

<sup>253</sup> Dr Horace Newton Allen, the first Protestant missionary to arrive in Seoul in 1884, became in 1887 an adviser to the Korean court and subsequently became Secretary and then Minister of the American Legation in Korea where he served for fifteen crucial years.

<sup>254</sup> As its most famous epitaph states, 'I would rather be buried in Korea than in Westminster Abbey'. With those words, Homer Hulbert (1863-1949), who was a missionary and worked for the restoration of Korea's sovereignty, proved the value of friendship many foreigners formed with Koreans and their native countries. There are numerous graves of famous foreigners: Earnest Thomas Bethell (1872-1909) who supported Korea's independence movement; Franz von Eckert (1852-1916), who created an early national anthem for Korea; Charles William LeGendre (1836-1899) and Clarence R. Greathouse (1846-1899), both important American advisers in the late Joseon Dynasty, and a number of missionaries such as Horace Grand Underwood (1859-1916), Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858-1902) and John William Heron (1855-1890); Ho cheol Sin, *Missionaries in Yanghwajin* (Seoul: Yanghwajin Missionary Society, 2003), pp. 30-50.

<sup>255</sup> Ho-cheol Sin, *Missionaries in Yanghwajin* (Seoul: Yanghwajin Missionary Society, 2003), pp. 17-29; see also: Seung-tae Kim, 'Review on the process of establishment for Yanghwajin, Foreigner's Cemetery', *The Institute for Korean Church History News*, 74 (April, 2006), pp. 5-12.





Fig. 2.59 Villa belonging to James Johnston in Park of All Nations in 1905. (Source: In-jae Lee & Jin-beom Sim, *A Study on the Site Planning and the Fundamental Conception for the Creative Restoration Plan of the Park of All Nations* (Incheon: Incheon Development Institute, 2004), p. 18.)

### Independence Park as the first park planned by citizen

By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a growing interest in Western culture, which was explored by enlightened Koreans, such as Gil-jun Yu (兪吉濬: 1856–1914) and Jae-pil Seo (徐載弼: 1864–1951),<sup>256</sup> who studied in America. Social reformers who endeavoured to enlighten Korea had independently observed the changes in culture and dramatic growth of cities in the West. In particular, in 1885 on his return from America through a tour of Europe, Gil-jun Yoo published *Seoyu gyeonmun* (Observations on a Journey to the West: 西遊見聞),<sup>257</sup> which is an introduction to world science in the West. He was one of the members of *Sinsa yuramdan* (紳士遊覽團), the mission of inspection of Japanese modernization in 1881, and he stayed after the four-month inspection tour in Japan to study as a student abroad at state expense. After studying in Japan, he studied in America as well, and was the first student to do so in both countries. This book described life in Western cities for the first time, including the idea of public parks from America and Europe; the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont in Paris was given as an example of how these parks improved life for the citizens. The background to the construction of Central Park in

<sup>256</sup> English name is Philip Jaisohn (1864–1951). He founded the Independence Club (1896) and published a newspaper, *The Independent* (1896), to promote national independence and the diffusion of liberal democracy. It was the first civilian newspaper written in Korean while other Korean newspapers continued to use Chinese characters.

<sup>257</sup> The book introduced encyclopedic knowledge and Western taxonomy, contributed to forming a conceptual grid in the social mental sphere and also introduced Western cities in Europe and America.



New York was given as an example of urban reform, as well as green spaces in Chicago and Boston. While Gil jun Yu had to flee Japan due to the failure of the Gabo Reform (*Gabogaeongjang*: 甲午更張, 1894–1895),<sup>258</sup> his book continued to inform changes during the Great Han Empire.<sup>259</sup>

Meanwhile, Jae-pil Seo, a reformer influenced by America, launched the Independence Club in 1896 to promote modernization. After Seo passed the civil service examination, he studied at the Youth Academy in Tokyo in 1882. He returned to work in the Korean government as the commandant of the military academy; however, he escaped to Japan in 1885 because of his involvement in a failed revolt for the modernization of Korea, called *Gapsinjeongbyeon*<sup>260</sup> (the Gapsin coup in 1884: 甲申政變). After arriving in America as a political refugee, he became an American citizen in 1890 and graduated from medical school in 1892. He initiated another social reform when he returned to Korea in January 1896; however, his initiative was refused by the government. He then published a newspaper, *The Independent*,<sup>261</sup> on 7 April 1896 as an alternative method of promoting the reform movement (Figs. 2.60 & 2.61).

During the latter half of the 1890s, the requirement for public parks became a prominent issue that was championed by *The Independent*. Rather than addressing the issue directly, Seo suggested the construction of an Independence Gate dedicated to the king. After receiving consent from the king,<sup>262</sup> Seo then suggested the cabinet give permission for the creation of a public park in the vicinity of the Independence Gate.<sup>263</sup> These two projects were intended to promote and encourage national independence as a symbol of national pride.<sup>264</sup> The newspaper

<sup>258</sup> The unusually drastic measures of the Gabo Reform of 1894 were carried out by a government operating under the protective wing of the Japanese armed forces, an external source of authority that was in no way restrained by domestic social and political forces; see: James B. Palais, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 285.

<sup>259</sup> Oe-soon Ahn, 'A study on Yu Kil-Joon's overseas experiences and nature of cultural accommodation: harmony of traditionality and modernity', *The Korean Cultural Studies*, 11 (2006), pp. 157-197; *Hwangseong sinmun* (Imperial Capital News) 2 October & 5 November, 1898.

<sup>260</sup> In 1884 a small band of progressive young cadres led by Ok-gyun Kim (1851–1894), Yeong-hyo Park (1861–1939), Yeong-sik Hong (1855–1884), Kwang-bum Seo (1859–1897) and Jae-pil Seo staged a coup to drive out from the royal court the entrenched conservative forces led by Queen Min and her nephew Yeong-ik Min (1860–1914).

<sup>261</sup> *The Independent* was the first newspaper using the Korean alphabet as opposed to the Chinese characters that dominated the Korean culture, so that all social classes can read it, with alternate pages in English.

<sup>262</sup> "Today we rejoice in the fact that the King has decide to erect upon the ruins of the arch outside the West Gate, a new one to be entitled Independence Arch."; Editorial, *The Independent* (20 June 1896), p. 4.

<sup>263</sup> Vipran Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteen-Century Korea: Enlighten and the Independence Club* (Berkeley CA: Center for Korean Studies, 1988), pp. 111-112.

<sup>264</sup> "This arch means not independence from China alone but from Japan, from Russia and from all



was used to launch an appeal for funds in order to create the park and build the gate. The newspaper also published several discourses on the importance of public parks and related issues of health and leisure. As he wrote in *The Independent*:

We note in our vernacular columns of this issue that an attempt is to be made at a public park for Seoul. A mass meeting is called of Korean officials at the hall of the Privy Council to discuss ways and means for carrying out the project. The spot proposed for the park, while not an ideal one, seems to us to be a thoroughly good one both for its topography and its situation. There is no doubt that there is room between Mo-Wha-Kwan and the Peking Pass for a very beautiful park and one that will be the most accessible for the largest number of people. As we look at the site today, it looks stony and bare and cheerless enough; but imagine the stream confined between neat stone walls and spanned at intervals by bridges, a line of willows along either side with a fine drive beneath them where either carriages or bicycles could be used; then with the land on either side the stream back to hills, and perhaps part way up their sides, smoothed off, planted here and there with deciduous trees and shrubs, with walks or drives winding in and out, we should have something very like a park. The principal object of interest would of course be the arch, which is to take the place of the one pulled down in 1894. Then there must be a band-stand for the use of the military band which the Korean army ought to be able to furnish one of these days. If there were even one good drive in the vicinity of Seoul, we should soon see carriages come in, and there would be one form of recreation added to the small list from which the foreigners at present have to select.<sup>265</sup>

In order to advance the projects, Korean officials met frequently, establishing the Independence Club on 2 July 1896 in order to construct the Independence Gate.<sup>266</sup> They put the public park

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European powers. Not that she could stand against them in the brunt of war but that she is so situated that the interests of peace, of humanity, of progress demand for her and will secure to her the enjoyment of an integral position among the powers of the East. ... may future generations point to it and to the sovereign at whose hand it was reared with feelings similar to those with which Englishmen, Americans, Frenchmen, and others point to those events which mark the glorious achievements of their progenitors." ; Editorial, *The Independent* (20 June 1896), p.4.

<sup>265</sup> Editorial, *The Independent* (2 July 1896), p. 4.

<sup>266</sup> The construction of the Independence Gate designed by Seo, with the assistance of a Russian architect named Sabatin, as a reduced and modified version of the Arc de Triomphe of Paris for lack of funds, was entrusted to Ui seok Sim, a well-known architect-engineer of Korea who was also a member of the club's secretariat; See: Vipin Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club* (Berkeley CA: Center for Korean Studies, 1988), pp. 113-114; Yong-ha Shin, 'The Movement and Thought of Seo, Jae-pil's Independence Club', in *Seo, Jae pil and his Time*, edited by the Society for the Remembrance to Jae-pil Seo (Seoul: The Society for the Remembrance of Jae pil Seo, 2003), pp. 131-132.

project under the direction of Dr. Seo. The park soon became known as Independence Park at the suggestion of the club, which organized the committee, elected a president and members, while the club was in charge of the building from determining the master plan and fundraising for its construction cost.<sup>267</sup> The construction of the park would be organized by Dr. Seo, *The Independent* noted that:

A mass meeting will be called by the Korean Officials at the Office of the Privy council this afternoon for the purpose of discussing the feasibility of making a public park in Mo-Wha-Kwan, outside the West gate. The park will be called ‘독립 공원디’ or Independence Park, in which an arch will be erected to commemorate the Independence of Korea. The park will be fixed up by private contributions from the citizens. We consider this as the sign of a progressive spirit that instills into the brains of Korean Officials. We hope the movement will meet great success as this is the first evidence of a growth of public spirit in Korea.<sup>268</sup>

Several Korean officials had a mass meeting in the new Foreign Office for the purpose of establishing a public park outside the West gate. The meeting was a great success in every particular. Everybody present was enthusiastic over the project and the contribution was entirely voluntary, and it amounted to \$ 500 in one sitting. It was a good beginning and if every official or private individual in the country possesses the same public spirit as these men there would not be any difficulty of raising several thousand dollars in a few days. They all seem to be delighted with the idea of erecting an arch as the mark of Korea's independence, and the park will be known by the same name – *Independence Park*. They elected officers to supervise the work, and plan out the park. President, Gen. An Kyeng Su; Secretary, Hon. Yi Cha Yun; and Treasurer, Gen. An Kyeng Su. An Executive Committee of nine were elected with His Excellency Yi Wan Yong as Chairman; and a Working Committee of ten were also appointed. The executive Committee will investigate the grounds in a few days and a definite plan of laying out the grounds will be arranged. Dr. Philip Jaisohn will act as adviser in the arrangements and general plan of the park. It is hoped that some foreign residents will take interest in the matter and help and encourage the public spirit that has begun to move in the hearts of the more enlightened Koreans. Of course financial aid is needed

<sup>267</sup> Young-seon Jung, ‘Reminiscence about thirty years history of landscape architecture’, in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang-zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), p. 113; Several discourses and fund-raising advertisements appeared in *the Independent*: issues were on 4 July, 7 July, 11 August and 3 September 1896.

<sup>268</sup> Brief Notice, *The Independent* (2 July 1896), p. 4.

more than anything else.<sup>269</sup>

On 21 November 1896, the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone of Independence Gate was held; thousands of people attended, occupying the road that leads from the city to the grounds of the park. Many Korean officials and most of the Westerners who lived in Seoul were invited by the Independence Club for this occasion.<sup>270</sup> The gate was completed on 20 November 1897 and cost more US\$4,000; an additional US\$2,000 was spent on repairing Independence Hall, previously known as Mo-Wha-Kwan, in order to prepare it as the headquarters for the club. This was finished in May 1897; it opened on 23 May and was celebrated with a ceremony of the hanging of a plaque written by His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince. The repair of the hall, however, had caused a financial deficit through which the project could not be completed as planned, with the public park left unfinished and abandoned for a further three years until it was finally transformed into farmland, and the organization was formally disbanded at Christmas 1899.<sup>271</sup> (Fig. 2.62) Independence Park was the first public park to be created by the people, but no longer survives today with features having been moved and the area built up.<sup>272</sup>

<sup>269</sup> Brief Notice, *The Independent* (4 July 1896), p. 4.

<sup>270</sup> Local Item, *The Independent* (24 November 1896), p. 4; Henry G. Appenzeller & Geo. Heber Jones, 'The Independence Club', *The Korean Repository*, V/8&9 (1898), pp. 281-287 (pp. 285-286).

<sup>271</sup> Henry G. Appenzeller & Geo. Heber Jones, 'The Independence Club', *The Korean Repository*, V/8&9 (1898), pp. 281-287 (p. 286); Vipin Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club* (Berkeley CA: Center for Korean Studies, 1988), p. 144; Yong-ha Shin, 'The Movement and Thought of Seo, Jae-pil's Independence Club', in *Seo, Jae pil and his time*, edited by the Society for the Remembrance of Jae-pil Seo (Seoul: The Society for the Remembrance of Jae-pil Seo, 2003), pp. 136-138.

<sup>272</sup> In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 19; Sin-yong Kang, *Modern History of Korean City Park* (Seoul: Jogyeong, 1999), pp. 44-45; moreover, the Independence Gate was moved to 70 metres toward the northwest from its original location in 1979 owing to road-building under the urban planning.



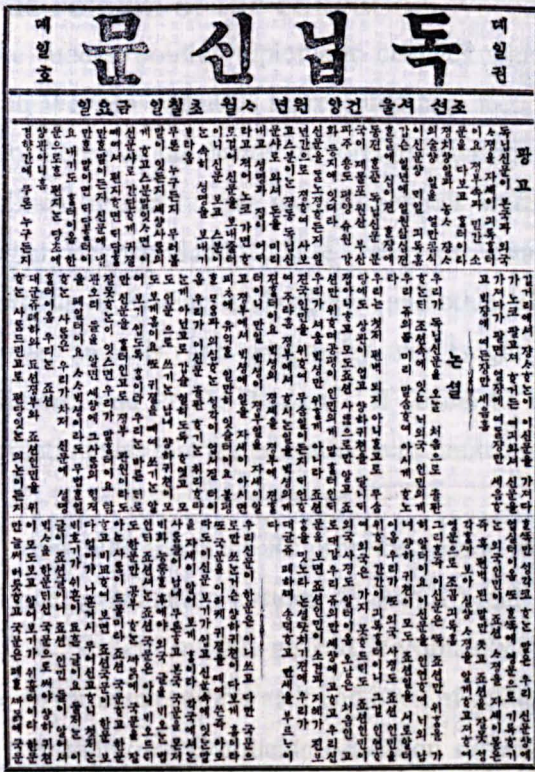


Fig. 2.60 and Fig. 2.61 The first issue of *The Independent* with the Korean version (left) and the English version (right) on 7 April 1896. (Source: Byeong-hun Ahn (ed.), *The Independent 1* (Seoul: LG Sangnam Press Foundation, 1996), pp. 1 & 4.)

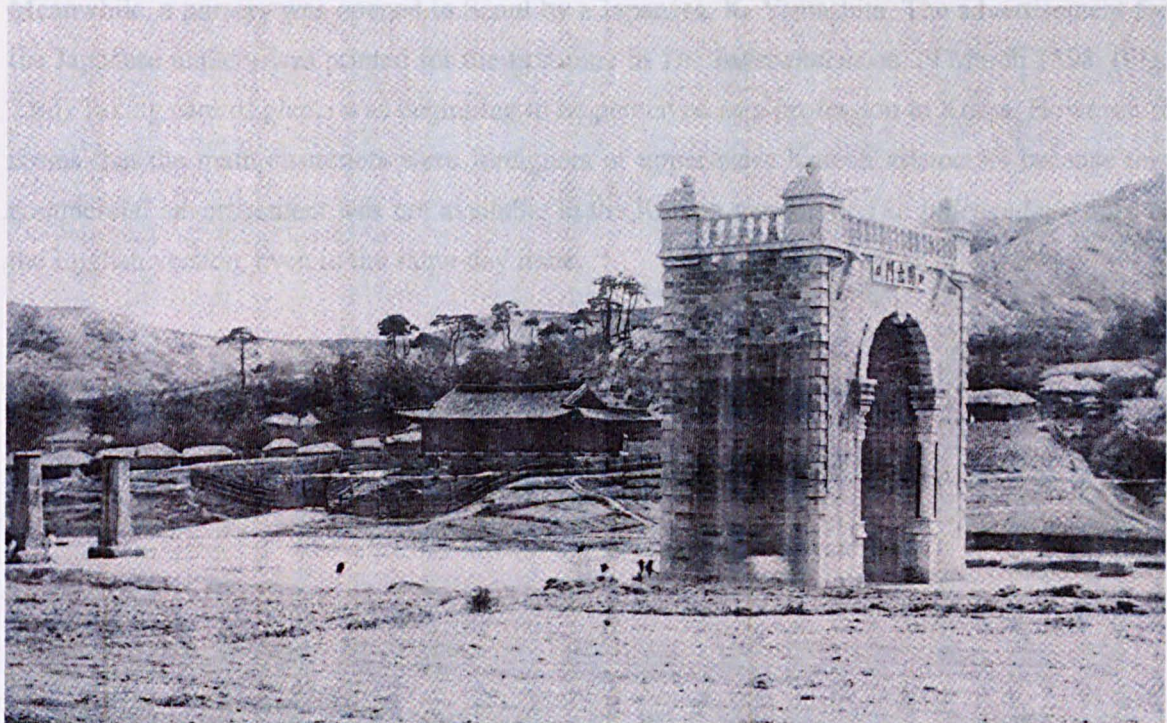


Fig. 2.62 Independence Gate and Park shortly after the completion of construction work on 20 November 1897. Independence Park was not completed at that time. (Source: Byeong-hun Ahn (ed.), *The Independent* (Seoul: LG Sangnam Press Foundation, 1996), p. vi.)



### The reform of the education system and the advent of professions

The sudden politico-diplomatic changes which the new treaties of commerce and friendship with Western countries represented had been preceded by the introduction of Christian beliefs into Korea at the hands of foreign missionaries. It was as result of their efforts and out of political necessity that modern schools were established. In 1886, *Yugyeong gongwon* (The Royal English School: 育英公院) was established to educate the sons of the aristocratic *yangban* in the English language, and other Western knowledge on such subjects as flowers and plants, animals, and geography was taught by Americans Homer Bezaleel Hulbert, G. W. Gilmore, and D. A. Bunker.<sup>273</sup> It seems to be the first modern education on plants, but its limitation was that the education was limited to students of the nobility.

In 1894, with the Gabo Reform, the Joseon royal government abolished *Gwageo jedo* (the civil service examination system: 科擧制度) and tried to change the old educational systems and follow Western models instead. Fortunately, this failed because the aristocracy did not follow the government reform as it had been instigated by the Japanese; the aristocracy remained loyal to the traditional Confucian education system.<sup>274</sup> Schools, including vocational ones, were run privately by Christian missionaries and Korean patriotic leaders. The first public education on plants was provided by the Agriculture, Industry and Commerce School established in 1904.

Meanwhile, a nursery was opened in Seoul by a Japanese, K. Yamashita. The advertisement for the Japanese nursery was printed for the first time in *The Independent* on 29 March 1898. (Fig. 2.63) Taking care of plants was beginning to be perceived as a profession in Korea. However, it seems that the main customers were foreigners or upper-class Korean aristocrats because this commercial advertisement was not available in the Korean version of *The Independent*, only in the English version, even in the same-day issue.

<sup>273</sup> Jong-chol Kim, *Education and Development: Some Essays and Thoughts on Korean Education* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1985), pp. 156-157.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid. p. 157; Jeong-kyu Lee, *Historic Factors Influencing Korean Higher Education* (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2000), pp. 41-42.

is, Semolina almonds and Hazelnuts;  
lensed and unsweetened milk, assorted.  
le raisins and currants per lb.  
ussian and Egyptian Cigarettes.

**F. Bijno.**

Proprietor,  
graphic Address. Bijno-Seoul.

**TSUJI & CO.**

Chinkokai, Seoul.  
have just received the following goods:—  
blankets; Ladies' and gentlemen's stock-  
Gentlemen's gloves; hats; neckties;  
handkerchiefs, over-shoes and toilet art-  
of various kinds.  
are getting the new goods at moderate prices and  
arantee their best quality. Inspection is solicited.  
6.

April. As his visit will be limited to two  
or three weeks patients desiring appoint-  
ments are requested to address him as soon  
as possible to 53, Concussion, Kobe, Japan.  
During his stay at Seoul, Dr. Slade will see  
patients at the Seoul Hotel.  
3-3-6.

**K. YAMASHITA.**

HORTICULTURIST.

The only expert florist and landscape  
gardener in Seoul.

25,000 fruit, flower and shade trees have  
been imported from Japan. You will find  
a most complete collection of rare and beau-  
tiful trees in his gardens. Orders prompt-  
ly executed. Gardens situated in Pildong,  
below the Japanese legation.

Inspection solicited.

3-27-4.

Fig. 2.63 The first advertisement for a nursery in the *Independent* by a Japanese in 29 March 1898 (part) (Source: Byeong-hun Ahn (ed.), *The Independent 1* (Seoul: LG Sangnam Press Foundation, 1996.))

**Tapgol Park and urban planning**

After coming to power, King Kojong attempted a range of modernizations, known as the *Kwangmu* Reform,<sup>275</sup> re-naming Korea the Great Han Empire and initiating dramatic changes in Seoul.<sup>276</sup> Washington, DC, was the model for a radial road plan for the development of Seoul, especially the repair and construction of roads with Kyoungungung Palace as the focal point for a radial road system. Jeong-yang Pak (朴定陽: 1841–1904) was impressed by American urban environments when he resided in Washington, DC, as the first ambassador, with his follower Chae-yeon Yi (李采淵), from 1887. Development projects in Seoul such as the repair of roads and waterways, construction of new buildings and parks, and public infrastructure were launched in 1896 by Chae-yeon Yi<sup>277</sup> and Jeong-yang Pak, who played a key role in carrying out

<sup>275</sup> Kwangmu is the name of an era in the Great Han Empire. In order to maintain its position as an independent nation in the face of the contesting powers of the West in 1897, the Joseon Dynasty renamed itself as Daehan jeguk (大韓帝國) or the Great Han Empire, and undertook modernizing reform, called the Kwangmu reform (光武改革). The historical significance of this reform is great because it was prompted by the realization that Korea, too, had to prepare for the revolutionary changes of the time. The Kwangmu reform was aimed at modernizing and westernizing Korea as a late starter in the industrial revolution.

<sup>276</sup> 'Dr. Allen, now U.S. Minister to Korea, said that the last four months of 1896 had seen more alterations than the previous twelve years of his residence in the country, and the three months of my last visit brought something new every week.'; Isabella L. Bishop, *Korea and her Neighbours* Vol. 2, (London: John Murray, 1898), pp. 275-276.



actual reforms based on their experiences in America.<sup>278</sup>

These were executed by John McLeavy Brown,<sup>279</sup> the English barrister who served as the commissioner of Korean customs and as a financial advisor to the Korean government, and Chae-yeon Yi, the mayor of Seoul. Yi and McLeavy Brown<sup>280</sup> frequently worked together to survey the opportunities open to them, and were actively engaged in the modernization of Seoul with considerable changes taking place almost immediately in the environment of Seoul. In 1897, a Mrs. Bishop described changes that had occurred even between two visits to Seoul:

This extraordinary metamorphosis was the work of four months, and is due to the energy and capacity of the Chief Commissioner of Customs, ably seconded by the capable and intelligent Governor of the city, Ye Cha Yun [Chae-yeon Yi], who had acquainted himself with the working of municipal affairs in Washington, and who with a rare modesty refused to take any credit to himself for the city improvements, saying that it was all due to Mr. M'Leavy Brown.

Old Seoul, with its festering alleys, its winter accumulations of every species of filth, its ankle-deep mud ... is being fast improved off the face of the earth. Yet it is chiefly a restoration, for the dark, narrow alleys which lingered on till the autumn of 1896 were but the result of gradual encroachments on broad roadways.<sup>281</sup>

McLeavy Brown's proposal included a park on the east side of Seoul, Tapgol Park, on the site of a Buddhist temple named 'Heungboksa (興福寺)' in the Goryeo era and 'Wongaksa (圓覺寺)' in the Joseon dynasty, but which had been redundant for some time and was covered by a shantytown area. The site faced one of the two main streets of Seoul, Jongno, the east-west arterial road, and was located in the centre of a thriving market area not far from the town centre. The aim of the park was to restore the compounds of Wongaksa temple, and the park was to

<sup>277</sup> He was an enlightened person who had lived in America with the first Korean Ambassador to the United States and served as the Mayor of Seoul from October 1896. He was dismissed from his position on 4 November, 1898 and reinstatement and dismissal from same position were frequently reiterated thereafter; *The Independent*, 9 November, 11 November, 8 December, 19 December and 27 December, 1898, and 23 September, 1899.

<sup>278</sup> Tae-jin Yi, 'Seoul at the Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Urban Development Based on Western Models', *Korea Journal*, 39/3 (1999), pp. 105-106.

<sup>279</sup> John McLeavy Brown was well-known as Baek, Tag-an (柏卓安), his Korean name. He was the fifth Chief Commissioner (1893-1905), sent to Korean Customs by the Chinese Chief Commissioner, Robert Hart. He envisioned making Seoul into one of the most modern and best maintained cities in the Far East through the establishment of wide streets, trolley cars, water treatment plants, telephone and electricity. He also suggested establishing a Western-style park in Seoul that would also protect and preserve a huge eleven-storey stone pagoda.

<sup>280</sup> Brief notice, *The Independent* (6 April 1897), p. 3.

<sup>281</sup> Isabella L. Bishop, *Korea and her Neighbours* Vol. 2, (London: John Murray, 1898), pp. 265-266.

serve as a place for public gatherings and leisure activities. The park soon became a focus of activities, as the location of the Declaration of Independence on 1 March 1919 (Samil Independence Movement) and was initially named Pagoda Park as a result of the many stone monuments and pagodas, but it was officially restored to 'Tapgol Park'<sup>282</sup> in 1992. Tapgol Park was the first Western-style public park in Seoul, and was completed by March 1899. *The Independent* reports questioned the removal of all the houses.<sup>283</sup> (Figs. 2.64 & 2.66) A currently unknown designer proposed a park in the shape of a turtle.<sup>284</sup> (Fig. 2.66) The works were executed not by the Ministry of Home Affairs as would be usual, but by the Ministry of Education, which, on 21 March 1899, stated that:

The Privy Council has suspended the order by which the Ministry of Home Affairs was to have bulldozed hundreds of houses in preparing the ground for the park at Tapgol because it would cause damage to property and give rise to unrest amongst the people. As a result the residents will not be scattered by the removal of their houses.<sup>285</sup>



Fig. 2.64 The pagoda of Wongaksa Temple and its vicinity were occupied by a large number of houses in 1897. (Source: Won-mo Kim & Seong-gil Jeong (ed.), *Korea 100 Years ago in Photographs* (Seoul: Catholic Pub., 1986), p. 100.)

<sup>282</sup> The pagoda was built in 1467 and damaged during the seventeenth-century Japanese invasion. It is now designated as the National Treasure No. 2. The site was designated as Historic Site No. 354 in 1991.

<sup>283</sup> Brief Notice, *The Independent* (16 March 1899), p. 3.

<sup>284</sup> Brief Notice, *The Independent* (12 April 1899), p. 3.

<sup>285</sup> Gyujanggak Archives, Collection of the State Council Documents, Reference (照會) Vol. 1, reference (照會) no. 46 (31 March, 1899); <http://e-kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr/index.jsp>





Fig. 2.65 Pagoda of Wongaksa Temple at Tapgol Park in 1904; commoners' houses were demolished, and once the site was flattened, it was enclosed with a brick wall. (Source: Won-mo Kim & Seong-gil Jeong (ed.), *Korea 100 Years ago in Photographs* (Seoul: Catholic Pub., 1986), p. 100.)



Fig. 2.66 Aerial view of Tapgol Park in 1930; its overall design takes the shape of a turtle. (Source: Eun-suk Park (ed.), *Seoul Looking through Photos 2* (Seoul: Seoul Dope Story Compilation Committee, 2002), p. 167.)



The Japanese also completed several parks in their places of residence in Korean cities, while gradually enhancing Japan's position in Korea. East Park (Dong Park) was created by the Japanese in the area of the Japanese settlement of Incheon in 1893. Hwaseongdae Park was also constructed by the Japanese in 1897 in order to celebrate a victory of the Sino-Japanese war (1894–1895). The park was located on the northern side of Mt. Namsan in Seoul, amongst the Japanese residential quarter. The Japanese government leased an area of 1 hectare, and construction work for pathways began in July. The first Japanese shrine was built in the park precinct in 1898. In the early days after completion of the park, it was a very simple landscape park with Japanese apricot trees.<sup>286</sup> Later, several park features and monuments were added, such as the monument for the victory of the Sino-Japanese in 1899, a Music Hall donated by the Gyeongbu Railway Company in 1905, a rest spot and water fountain (1907); a second rest spot and toilets were added, and after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese Government-General was established in the park; it was used as the headquarters for the control of Korea.<sup>287</sup>

### The development of the new palace

Seokjojeon Hall (石造殿) was designed by an English architect, G. R. Harding, at the Kyounggung Palace (慶運宮, later became Deoksugung Palace) compound in 1900. The hall was erected at King Kojong's request for a Western-style building emulating the British Legation. This resulted in a neo-classical building with a Western-style garden and a fountain in the middle of a symmetrically positioned pond. Four bronze seals were positioned around the edge of the basin, the first-ever water fountain in Korea.<sup>288</sup> (Fig. 2.67) Seokjojeon had been a seminal project in the introduction of Western-style garden design, and was visible evidence of the cultural exchange.

With Kyounggung Palace repaired and expanded after King Kojong returned from the Russian Legation in 1897, the other royal palaces started to decline. For example, Henry Savage-Landor, who arrived in Seoul in 1890, vividly showed that the palace complexes, which were the main palace, Gyeongbokgung (景福宮) Palace and the east palace, Changdeokgung Palace, were abandoned.<sup>289</sup> The palace gardens, except those at Kyounggung Palace, were not

<sup>286</sup> Sin-yong Kang, *Modern History of Korean City Park* (Seoul: Jogyong, 1999), pp. 37-38.

<sup>287</sup> In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, pp. 20-21.

<sup>288</sup> Byoung-e Yang *et al.*, *The Landscape of Seoul* (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1997), p. 51.

<sup>289</sup> Henry Savage-Landor, *Corea or Cho-sen: The Land of Morning Calm* (William Heinemann: London, 1895), pp. 212-214.



maintained and managed (Figs. 2.68 & 2.69) because the Yi Joseon dynasty was weak and Korea was now a pawn in the world's power politics, suffering economic difficulty, and Lowell described the unkempt royal garden in Changdeokgung Palace as 'the artistic touch of neglect.'<sup>290</sup>



Fig. 2.67 Seokjojeon after completion in 1910. (Source: Eun-suk Park (ed.), *Seoul Looking through Photos 2* (Seoul: Seoul Dope Story Compilation Committee, 2002), p. 246.)

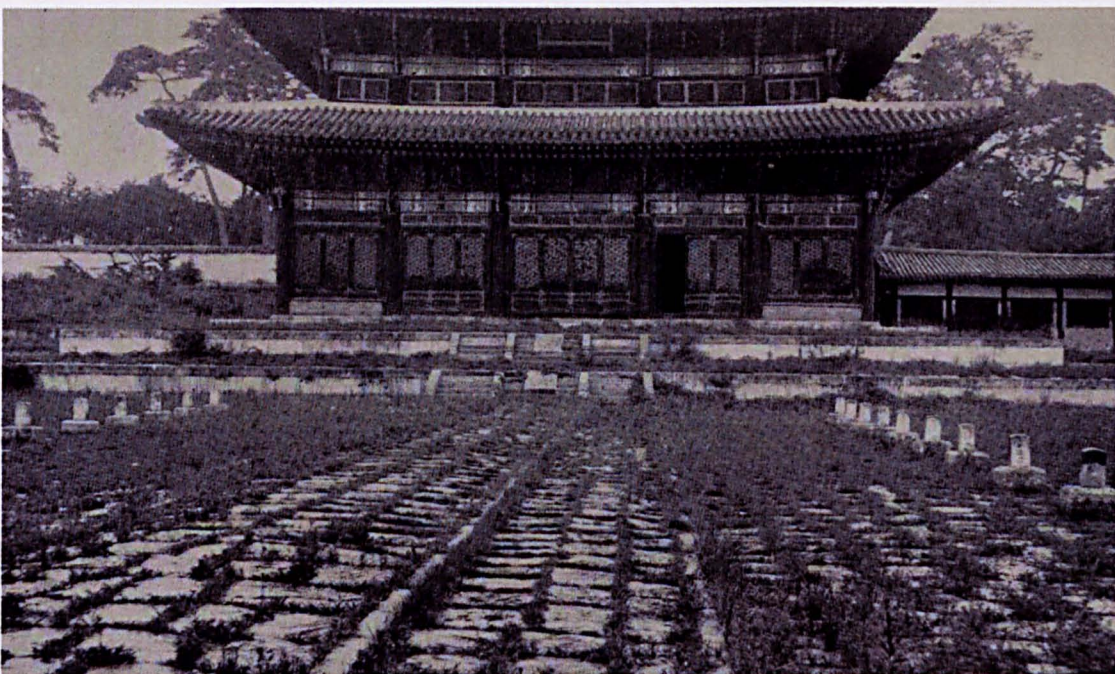


Fig. 2.68 Unmanaged condition of the Audience Hall in Gyeongbokgung Palace in the early twentieth century. (Source: Frederick Arthur McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), n.p.)

<sup>290</sup> Percival Lowell, *Choson, The Land of the Morning Calm: A Sketch of Korea* (Boston: Ticknor & Co, 1884), pp. 297-298.



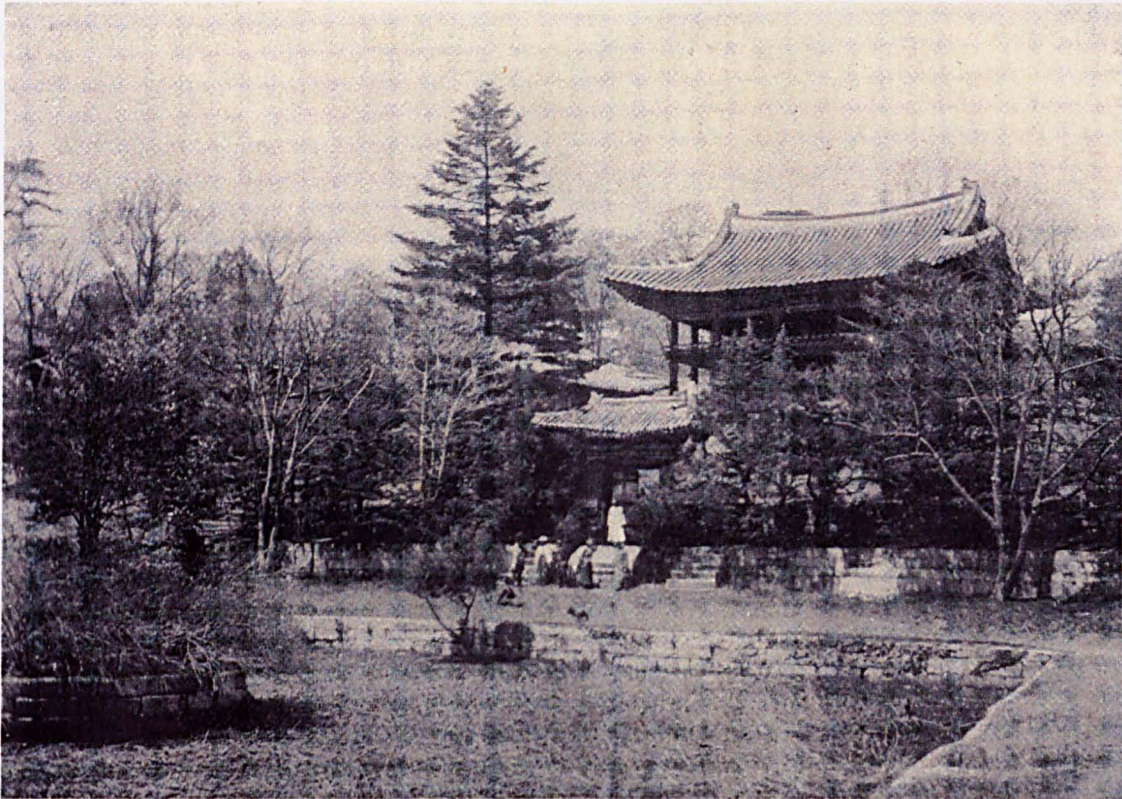


Fig. 2.69 Juhapru and Buyongji pond in the Garden of Changdeokgung Palace at the end of the nineteenth century, with trees overgrown and the pond dried up. (Source: Emile Bourdaret, *En Corée* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1904), p. 205.)

Chapter Three  
Attitudes and Values  
regarding Historic Gardens



**Chapter Three**

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## Chapter 3.

### Attitudes and Values regarding Historic Gardens

Throughout its history, gardens in Korea have developed as an integral part of the living environment. The evolving relationship between man and nature is at the heart of issues relating to gardens: it is an enormous subject and the development of diverse garden styles reflects Korea's rich and varied political, philosophical, social and cultural life. Those whose gardens have been recorded, or which have survived, are the upper classes, royalty, aristocrats, scholars and officials, who lived in palaces and temples as well as private houses and retreat villas. The meanings of gardens are structured by personal practice, often reflecting relationships with family and friends that produce complex and personalised connections with nature.

Korean gardens have, for the most part, followed the reason and providence of nature in selecting a site. One typical example of the formation which has been favoured for a house is to have a mountain behind and a river in front, in accordance with the concept of *feng shui*.<sup>1</sup> The Confucian family norm was reflected in the layout of the house, always staid and proper with the *Sarangche* (men's quarter) in a central position flanked by other quarters or rooms, their layout and form following set regulations. Several different sized courtyards were built for these spaces, creating different scenic areas that contrasted with and complemented each other. Neo-Confucianism had been accepted as the social norm, with its concept of the natural garden, as a philosophical basis for the Korean garden since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Advanced horticultural techniques, that is greenhouses and potted plants, were developed under the concept of *Gyeongmulchiji* ('when the principle of things is investigated as far as possible, knowledge comes'). Natural gardens with pavilions and gardens in retreat villas were developed under the social and political aspects of life. The arrangements of trigrams and hexagrams described in the *Book of Changes* are highly contrived in gardens whilst appearing to be natural. Since the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, gardening and floriculture have been gradually developed in diverse ways among intellectuals and the aristocracy. During this time there has been a transition between intellectual paradigms, a re-examination of Neo-Confucianism at the same time as practical learning accompanying the introduction of Roman Catholicism from the West. This balancing between cultures has been particularly evident as Korea has endeavoured to achieve social and economic recovery in modern times.

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<sup>1</sup> The mountain behind serves as a windshield against cold seasonal winds, which having water pass through or flow along a house site or village from the back to the front meant easy access to water, the key to life. It also meant having an open front landscape. In laying out a house, it was preferred to have the house face the south or the southeast. This is a layout stressing energy conservation. Through more solar energy and sunshine, the energy saved in a house may be increased.

Old Korean gardens were inextricably tied to the contemporary arts of landscape painting and poetry: both painting and garden were actual graphical representations, whereas literature provided an expression of what might be seen through textual representation. Western concepts of designed landscapes were introduced from the late 19th century, that is public parks and lawn covered grounds, after Korea opened its ports. From this time the characteristics desired in gardens have changed. There has been a development of geographical-feature arranging techniques, changes to and mixtures of the materials and garden types often emphasizing a garden's decorative beauty. The concept of emptiness being a desirable quality in the courtyard changed to a desire for fullness, while attitudes towards enjoying gardens, which had in the past included staying calm there, a passive enjoyment of looking and thinking both intellectually and emotionally, changed to a more active idea of how to enjoy a garden, moving or walking in it and enjoying specific objects.

Korea's decline from the middle of the nineteenth century eventually led to its annexation by Japan in 1910. During the 35 years of colonial rule that followed, the Korean language was banned as well as other aspects of Korean culture. Korean traditional culture and language were eliminated; Korean names were changed in an attempt to subsume Koreans into Japanese culture. Throughout the Japanese colonial period, Korean efforts to build on its earlier achievements in modernizing society could not develop autonomously or be transmitted to Korean society. During this period, Korea was rapidly modernized and several novelties were introduced, for example, the botanical garden from the West and cherry trees from Japan. Cherry-blossom viewing parties were promoted by the Japanese, who did not respect Korean culture or tradition. Korean archaeology and historic monuments were investigated and represented, but from a Japanese perspective.

With the establishment of an independent Korean national government in 1948, lists of 'national treasures' were compiled, which included not only ancient works of art, artefacts and pieces of architecture, but also forms of dance, folk drama, music and craftsmanship that had been handed down from generation to generation. However, it wasn't long before Korea was once again engulfed in a civil war that lasted five years. Throughout these years, its cultural heritage suffered from neglect, and Koreans were unable to express their own culture. At the same time, extended rural families split into nuclear urban households, and the strict Confucian ethics that had governed Koreans' behaviour in the previous century became increasingly irrelevant to society.



To deal with these changes in society, the consequence of industrialization and foreign influences, the government put great emphasis on reviving the essence of ancestral wisdom and culture. The Office of Cultural Properties (OCP) was established in order to coordinate efforts; Koreans began to rediscover a cultural heritage that had been either forgotten or neglected. Reflecting increasing concerns about the protection, preservation and promotion of national arts and traditions, in 1962 the government promulgated the Cultural Properties Protection Act (CPPA), which has been amended many times, to strengthen control over the threats from deliberate destruction and theft, economic development, and expanding urbanization. However, economic development has been a hot political issue and even when conflict arises between economic development and the preservation of cultural heritage, the economic argument has almost invariably prevailed.

The economic development of South Korea after its independence is notable since the country was long dependent on foreign aid, but the country has now transformed itself into an economic powerhouse. However, cultural considerations have not kept pace with economic ones. Policies for the preservation of cultural heritage have gradually emerged from the CPPA, but general attitudes have nevertheless remained unfavourable to the conservation of cultural heritage. Historic gardens, in particular, have been neglected, while knowledge of their cultural value and living garden culture has receded and almost threatens to disappear from daily life and pass into history. In contrast, landscape architecture based on modern design has grown rapidly along with economic development.

In the light of this situation, this chapter examines the development of garden history as an academic pursuit, landscape architecture and the conservation of cultural heritage in order to understand how and why Korean historic gardens are under threat. In line with these considerations, this chapter introduces the recent development of landscape architecture and education in order to understand the present state of historic gardens, and it reviews the historiography of gardens and designed landscapes. Perceptions of and attitudes towards cultural heritage at various levels are also discussed by reviewing certain events. The legal framework is also reviewed, providing a historical overview of cultural heritage protection in general.

## The period of Japanese rule (1905–1945)

When Japan waged war with Russia between 1904 and 1905 in order to secure exclusive control over the Korean peninsula, it achieved this finally with the signing of *Eulsa joyak* (the Protectorate Treaty) in 1905<sup>2</sup> which made Japan the dominant power in NE Asia. With this treaty, Japan achieved supremacy in Korea's affairs and began to consolidate its power by removing foreign advisors in the Korean government's service. Like most of the Western advisors and staff, John McLeavy Brown<sup>3</sup>, a special advisor on economic affairs, left Korea in 1905. The efforts towards modernization in all fields, which had started to make an impact, were frustrated as a result.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of the exploitation of natural resources and industrial growth required for Japanese military purposes, a period of rapid economic development followed. There was also extensive urbanization, with residential quarters being established by the Japanese army, including those in several public parks: in Nanam City in Hamgyeongbuk-do Province, Jinhae City in Gyeongsangnam-do Province and Dalseong Park in Daegu City in 1907. Additionally, the cherry tree was the symbol of the new order, being planted in new military cities along avenues and in parks everywhere. Meanwhile, public parks for the Japanese were built in the vicinity of Japanese settlements in twelve cities during that time.<sup>5</sup> Along with urbanization, the royal palace also faced sudden changes. When King Sunjong was crowned after King Kojong resigned his throne under Japanese pressure in 1908, Hirobumi Ito, the first Japanese Resident-General,<sup>6</sup> created a zoological and botanical garden with three greenhouses at Changgyeonggung Palace (昌慶宮) (Fig. 3.1) on the pretext of comforting King Sunjong's grief about the resignation of his father King Kojong.

By 1910, Korea had become internally powerless and isolated internationally because of the impact of Japan's control. Every endeavour, such as appealing to the world and turning to

<sup>2</sup> Thus *Eulsa neugyak* was validated despite the illegal nature of the whole proceeding. Often referred to in English as the 'Protectorate Treaty', Koreans know it simply as the Treaty of 1905.

<sup>3</sup> John McLeavy Brown was actively engaged as a foreign advisor to the Korean government in spite of the fact that his financial corruption was disclosed; see chapter 2, pp. 154-155; and about his corruption see: Hyun-sook Kim, 'The Politics of Foreign Advisors in Korea (1882-1904)', unpublished PhD thesis, Ewha Woman's University, 1988, pp. 186-229.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew C. Nahm, *Introduction to Korean History and Culture* (Seoul: Hollym, 1993), pp. 170-172; Hyun-Sook Kim, 'The Politics of Foreign Advisors in Korea: with special references to J. McLeavy Brown', unpublished MA dissertation, Ewha Woman's University, 1988, pp. 86-87.

<sup>5</sup> Jeong-mok Son, *A Study on the Urban Planning in the Japanese Colonial Period in Korea* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1990), pp. 93-96; In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 23; see also: Sin-yong Kang, *Modern History of Korean City Parks* (Seoul: Jogyeong, 1999), pp. 55-80.

<sup>6</sup> The title was changed to Governor-General in 1910.

terrorism through a resistance movement in order to keep Korea's sovereignty, failed and Korea was finally subjected to Japanese colonial rule in 1910, the first time the whole country had come under foreign rule. Coming as it did at the time when the Koreans were preparing themselves for reforms, Japanese rule had the effect of impeding Korea's self-generated modernization. Korea was ruled directly from Tokyo through a governor-general appointed by the Japanese emperor. Under Japanese colonial rule, Korea was rapidly modernized, but this was done without much respect for Korean culture, tradition or taste. The Japanese colonial government was concerned about emerging nationalism, and in their attempt to destroy the culture they destroyed Korean books, re-wrote Korean history and banned the use of the Korean language.<sup>7</sup> As a result of this 'Cultural Rule', national heritage, including historic gardens and historic buildings, was not a priority and it suffered as a result.

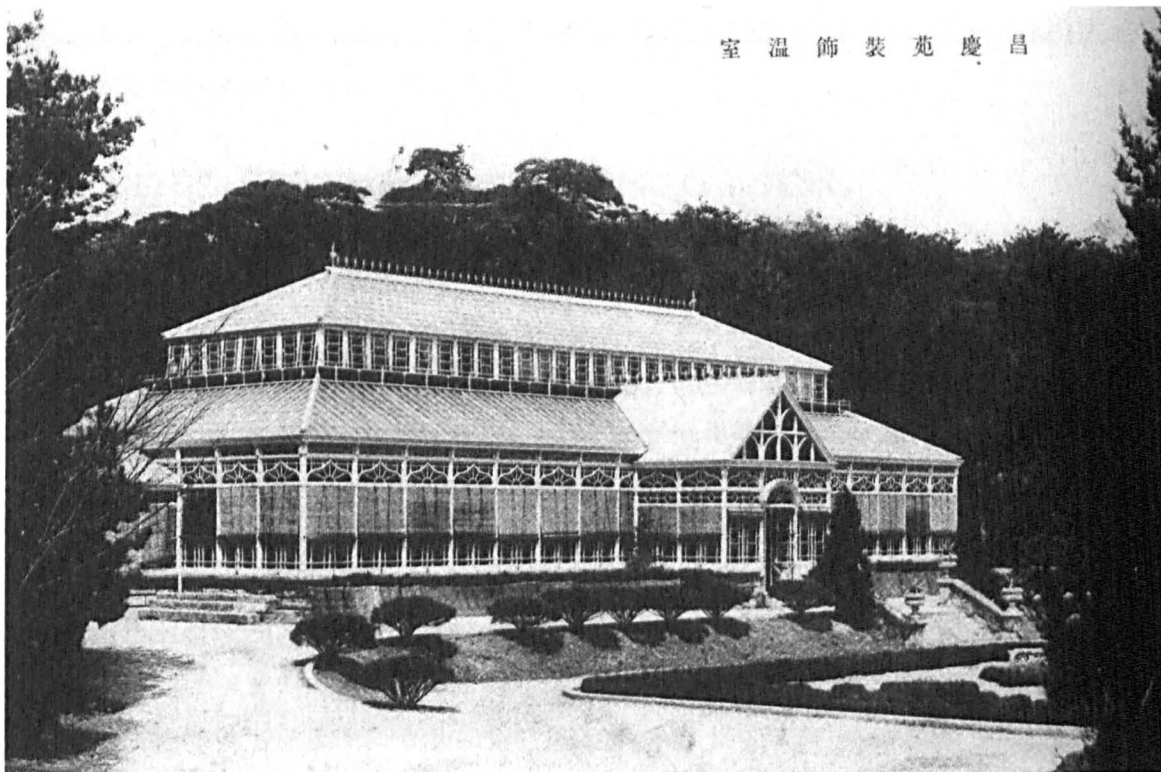


Fig. 3.1 Main greenhouse of botanical garden at Changgyeonggung Palace that the governor-general created for King Sunjong, This photograph was taken after completion in 1910. (Source: Sun Yee, *Study on planting in Korean traditional landscape architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp mind.media, 1996), p. 176.)

### JAPANESE VERSUS NATIONAL CULTURAL POLICIES

Japan ruled Korea through the mechanism of a governor-general headed by a military governor-general. During its initial phase (1910–1919), the governor-general ruled with a gendarmerie-police system, depriving the Koreans of all forms of civic freedom. The nationwide mass

<sup>7</sup> DJun-kil Kim, *The History of Korea* (London: Greenwood Press, 2005), pp. 130-132.



demonstrations of the Koreans against the Japanese regime in March 1919, which are now celebrated as the March 1<sup>st</sup> Movement, compelled the Japanese to relax their harsh rule.<sup>8</sup> During the second phase of colonial rule (1919–1935), the Governor-General permitted Koreans limited freedoms of expression and assembly. As a result, three Korean newspapers appeared as well as a Korean political party comprising both rightist and leftist nationalists. It was during this time that the first modern colleges were formed with public or private funding. This phase of limited freedom gave way to the third and last phase of Japanese rule (1935–1945), which was characterized by the ruthless exploitation of Korean resources, both human and material, as part of a campaign to support Japan's war efforts in Manchuria (after 1932), mainland China (after 1937) and the Pacific (after 1941).<sup>9</sup> The Japanese colonial masters compelled the Koreans to use the Japanese language, to adopt Japanese-style names and to worship regularly at Shinto shrines in order to force Koreans to cooperate in the Japanese war efforts as much as possible. All in all, the ruthless measures the Japanese colonial rulers administered to the Koreans had the effect of stimulating a resistant Korean nationalism.<sup>10</sup>

#### AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION AND MAKING GARDENS

During the nineteenth century, there were no courses teaching landscape gardening in Korea, but in 1906 agricultural education emerged as an independent subject with the founding of the Agriculture, Industry and Commerce School known as *Suwon Nonglim hakgyo* (Agriculture and Forestry School in Suwon: 水源農林學教). In 1908, the Private School Ordinance placed all private schools under Japanese control, as a first step to the annexation of Korea. In 1909, the Occupational School Ordinance placed vocational education under Japanese control, and in keeping with Japanese cultural policy, several agricultural schools were established in the country. The Agriculture and Forestry School in Suwon was promoted to the status of college in 1918 and then divided into two departments, agriculture and forestry, in 1922.<sup>11</sup>

Because they were able to supply plants as a product of vocational education, several forestry experimental stations were established around the 1920s. In 1913, the Government-General designated the *Gwangneung* (光陵) royal mausoleum forest for forestry trials and transferred it to the control of the *Hongneung* (洪陵) forestry experimental station in 1924. The latter had

<sup>8</sup> Man-gil Kang, *A History of Contemporary Korea* (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2005), pp. 149-150.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.; Hyun-hee Lee et al., *New History of Korea* (Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 2003), pp. 626-627.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew C. Nahm, *Introduction to Korean History and Culture* (Seoul: Hollym, 1993), pp. 191-193.

<sup>11</sup> Se-bin Kim, 'The Meaning and Tasks of Centennial of Forestry Education', *Sallim (Forest)*, (June 2006), p. 52; Jong-chol Kim, *Education and Development: Some Essays and Thoughts on Korean Education* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1985), pp. 158-159.

been built in 1922 as the first arboretum in Korea.<sup>12</sup> The role of the *Hongneung* station was to take charge of surveying plants, growing trees and undertaking landscaping work, for example anti-erosion measures using trees. Based on the experiences of these stations, several nurseries were established by people who had worked and trained in the forestry experimental stations and also by Japanese horticulturalists. During the Japanese colonial period, the main suppliers and consumers of ornamental plants in Korea were Japanese.<sup>13</sup>

Gardens continued to be built for both Japanese and Korean owners during this time and these gardens clearly displayed their national features. This was a transitional period for historic gardens, evident in characteristics such as changes to soft and hard landscape materials as well as spatial characteristics based on the traditional setting of the Korean residence.<sup>14</sup> Japanese residents would build their gardens in the traditional Japanese manner with rockeries, stepping stones and topiary using *Juniperus chinensis* 'Kaizuka' (Fig. 3.2). Meanwhile, the upper-class Koreans would create gardens around their houses or villas based on Korean traditional styles but introducing foreign garden features and elements that reflected the kind of foreign culture experienced by the owners. For example, the private house of the fourth president, Yun, Bo-seon (1897–1990, r. 1960–1962)<sup>15</sup>, was originally built in 1870, while the garden was created by Yun from 1932 after he returned from the UK, where he had studied archaeology at Edinburgh University.<sup>16</sup> The garden represented a compromise between Korean and Western ideas and practices, introducing such features as the lawn, pond and stone paved pathways (Fig. 3.3). These features would have been influenced by English garden culture, which Yun had experienced during his stay in Britain. This garden was well maintained because gardening was one of Yun's favourite pastimes, and he remained withdrawn in his house until Korea re-gained independence.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Hongneung Arboretum ([http://tree.kfri.go.kr/hong\\_reung/intro/history.asp](http://tree.kfri.go.kr/hong_reung/intro/history.asp)); The history of Korea National Arboretum (<http://www.kna.go.kr/>)

<sup>13</sup> Hyun-goo Han, 'The Story of the Landscape Architecture Profession from 1945 to 1973', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 31 (March 2007), pp. 154-159.

<sup>14</sup> Won-ho Lee & Yong-ki Kim, 'A Study on the Traditional Aspects in Designing Elements of Korean Gardens that Reflected during Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century to Mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century', *The Journal of the Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 24/2 (2006), pp. 59-60.

<sup>15</sup> The Former Korean Presidents on National Archives of Korea website (<http://152.99.195.57/president/index.html>)

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Jun-man Gang, *Korean modern history: 1960s, vol.1* (Seoul: Inmul and Sasang, 2004), pp. 77-78.





Fig. 3.2 The Japanese garden of Hukuda's house in Jinhae, South Gyeongsang Province, postcard dating from the Japanese colonial period (Source: Sun Yee, *Study on planting in Korean traditional landscape architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp mind.media, 1996), p. 174.)



Fig. 3.3 A detached house with rectangular pond in the middle of the lawn at Bo-seon Yun's house (Source: Jae-hoon Chung, *Traditional Garden of Korea* (Seoul: Chokyungsa, 1996), p. 343.)



## THE LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT ESTABLISHED BY THE JAPANESE

The initiation of cultural heritage management in Korea can be traced to the Rule for the Confucian School's Property Management which was established in 1910 under Japanese influence. This was the first modern legislation for cultural heritage conservation in South Korea, enacted just before the colonization of Korea.<sup>18</sup> At this time Neo-Confucianism was the national ideology in Korea, and the Confucian school maintained a strong influence on spiritual and cultural life. In 1911, the Buddhist Temple Control Decree was introduced by the new Japanese government-general of Korea.<sup>19</sup> It placed the Japanese governor-general in control of Korean Buddhist temples and their properties and of the disposal of temple property. In practice, however, it merely served as a legal device that allowed the governor-general to dispose of all Korean cultural property. The Japanese government-general sent considerable amounts of Korean temple property to Japan under the umbrella of this decree.<sup>20</sup>

Shortly afterwards, the Japanese colonial government enacted comprehensive legislation for the protection of cultural properties. Governor-General's Ordinance, Rule No. 52, Rule for the Preservation of Remains of Historical Value 1916 was aimed at the facilitation of field surveys, and further legislation strengthened control of cultural heritage during the colonial period.<sup>21</sup> This statute contained a description of the various kinds of historic and archaeological properties, procedures for their survey and the inventory of important cultural properties, and regulations for reporting the discovery of archaeological heritage. Following this, the Joseon Treasure, Ancient Remains, Scenic Beauty and National Monuments Preservation Decree 1933, which covered historical remains in a more complete and systematic way<sup>22</sup>, was added to the legislation as Governor-General's Ordinance, Decree No. 6 of the Japanese colonial government. This decree superseded the Rule for the Preservation of Remains of Historical Value 1916. The Decree of 1933 contained 24 articles and additional rules, the object being preservation and expansion of areas of scenic beauty and natural monuments as well as historic remains and

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<sup>18</sup> Su-gap Kim, 'The amendment of the Protection of Cultural Properties Act in 1982 and the amendment history hereafter – focused on controversies', *Law Research*, Vol. 13 (2002), p. 91.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 92; Su-gap Kim, 'The legal system for the conservation of cultural properties', *Law & Society*, 19/1 (2000), p. 64.

<sup>20</sup> Se-tag Oh, 'The Policy for Cultural Property in the Japanese Colonial Period', *Cultural Property*, 29 (1996), pp. 255-276.

<sup>21</sup> Mun-gyo Jung, *Cultural Property Administration and Policy*, (Seoul: Jisik, 2000), pp. 59-62; Seung-jin Chung, 'Architectural Conservation in the East Asian Cultural Context with Special Reference to Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1998, pp. 181-182; Su-gap Kim, 'The amendment of the Protection of Cultural Properties Act in 1982 and the amendment history hereafter – focused on controversies', *Law Research*, 13 (2002), pp. 92-93.

<sup>22</sup> Sang-woo Han, 'Cultural Heritage Management in Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2001, p.71.

places.<sup>23</sup> It was based on Japanese legislation, the Law for the Preservation of National Treasures (1929) and the Law for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments (1919).<sup>24</sup>

In fact, the legislation during the colonial period was not specifically intended to protect Korean culture, since the main goals of Japanese colonial cultural policy were the eradication of Korean culture and the imposition on Korea of Japanese values. The Japanese colonial government used the legislative system as a means of plundering Korean heritage. Such legislation allowed the Japanese to survey the full range of Korean heritage and thus pillage it more easily. Many items of Korean cultural heritage thus suffered serious damage, destruction and political distortion.<sup>25</sup>

### JAPANESE POLICIES RELATING TO HISTORIC DESIGNED LANDSCAPES

The Japanese policies caused considerable damage to the various palace complexes of the Joseon Dynasty. The opening of the zoological and botanical garden of the royal family at Changgyeonggung Palace to the public in 1910 meant that various features were added, including large numbers of cherry trees, and the museum for royal relics and a Japanese-style pavilion on the edge of Chundangji pond (春塘池). These new additions diminished the significance of the palace, while various buildings were destroyed as part of a concerted effort to eradicate Korean culture. Changgyeonggung Palace was ultimately downgraded from a palace complex to a public park, Changgyeongwon (Fig. 3.4). During the colonial period, this became a major tourist attraction for its cherry blossom, with the director of the Botanical and Zoological Gardens, Mr. Shimokoriyama, escorting his visitors from the West around it. One of the special attractions for the Japanese became the 'cherry-blossom viewing party' at night, called 'night cherry', when electric lights were installed in all the blossoming trees and along the rows of trees. They were greatly admired by visitors both Korean and Japanese at the time.<sup>26</sup>

Gyeongbokgung Palace (景福宮), the main palace, was another historic site chosen for redevelopment in Seoul. The colonial government organized an exhibition, on the pretext of celebrating industrialization and enlightenment, in order to rationalize colonial rule and to further consolidate the assimilation of Koreans. For fifty days from 11 September 1915,

<sup>23</sup> Se-tag Oh, 'The Policy for Cultural Property in the Japanese Colonial Period', *Cultural Property*, 29 (1996), p. 258.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 263; Su-gap Kim, 'The present condition and improvement method of preservation policy for cultural properties', *Law and Society*, 7/1 (1995), p. 167.

<sup>25</sup> Kyun Kim, 'The American Struggle for Korean Minds: U.S. Cultural Policy and Occupied Korea', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1995, pp. 13-31; Sang-woo Han, 'Cultural Heritage Management in Korea', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Minnesota, 2001, p. 68-69.

<sup>26</sup> Sten Bergman, *In Korean Wilds and Villages* (London: John Gifford Limited, 1938), p. 34 & p. 162.

Gyeongbokgung Palace was the venue for the Joseon Industrial Exhibition which commemorated the fifth anniversary of 'Inauguration of the New Administration'. This location was significant because it associated commercial excellence with political propaganda.<sup>27</sup> Hundreds of buildings in the Gyeongbokgung Palace complex were torn down in order to prepare for the exhibition. One of the buildings, Jaseondang (資善堂),<sup>28</sup> was bought by Baron Okura, a Japanese trader who had the building dismantled and rebuilt as his house in Tokyo.<sup>29</sup> New buildings were positioned in the palace grounds for the exhibition, including a new art gallery with a formal Western-style garden in front of it (Fig. 3.5 & 3.6).

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<sup>27</sup> Jeong-mok Son, *A Study on the Urban Societies in the Japanese Colonial Period in Korea* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1996), pp. 525-526; Tae-woong Kim, 'Chosen Industrial Exhibition and the political propaganda of Japanese Imperialism in 1915', *The Journal of Seoul Studies*, 18 (2002), pp. 140-142.

<sup>28</sup> Jaseondang was a residential house for the Crown Prince in Gyeongbokgung Palace.

<sup>29</sup> Jaseondang was used as an art gallery named Joseon Hall. The place where the architect Frank Lloyd Wright experienced the Korean under-floor heating system, *Ondol*, in Japan in 1914 was in Jaseondang. He was very impressed with the under-floor heating system from only one night's experience, and after that he applied the system to buildings, improving it with his own modern methods. He played an important role in spreading it widely in the USA; Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Natural House* (London: Pitman, 1971), pp. 98-101; Nam-ung Kim *et al.*, 'A Study on Frank Lloyd Wright's Experience with the Korean Traditional Floor Heating System Ondol, Its Application Process in His Architectural Works and Meanings', *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea (Planning and Design)*, 21/9 (2005), pp. 155-166.





Fig. 3.4 Aerial view of cherry blossoms in the Changgyeonggung Palace complex in 1924; the palace had been open to the public since its completion in October 1910. (Source: Eun-suk Park (ed.), *Seoul looking through photos 2*, (Seoul: Seoul Dope Story Compilation Committee, 2002), p. 31.)



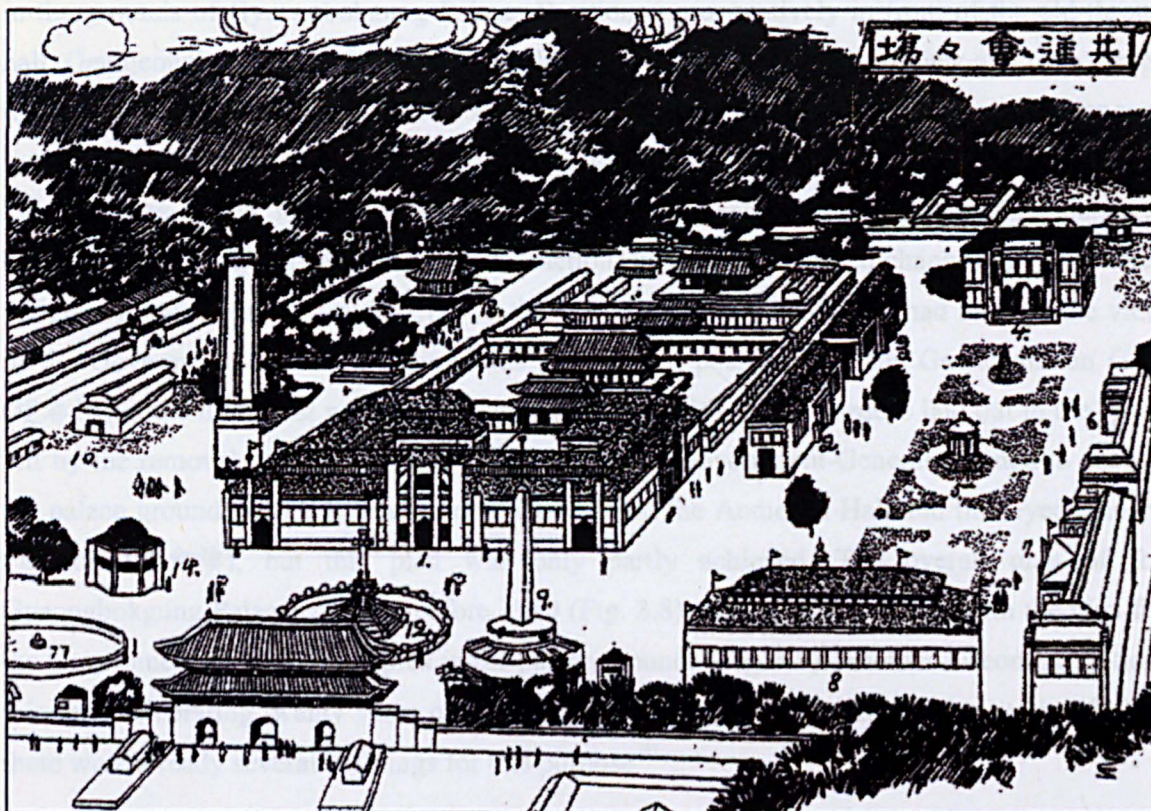


Fig. 3.5 The grounds of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition were set up on the main palace, Gyeongbokgung Palace, in 1915. (Source: *Korea Daily News*, 9 March 1915.)

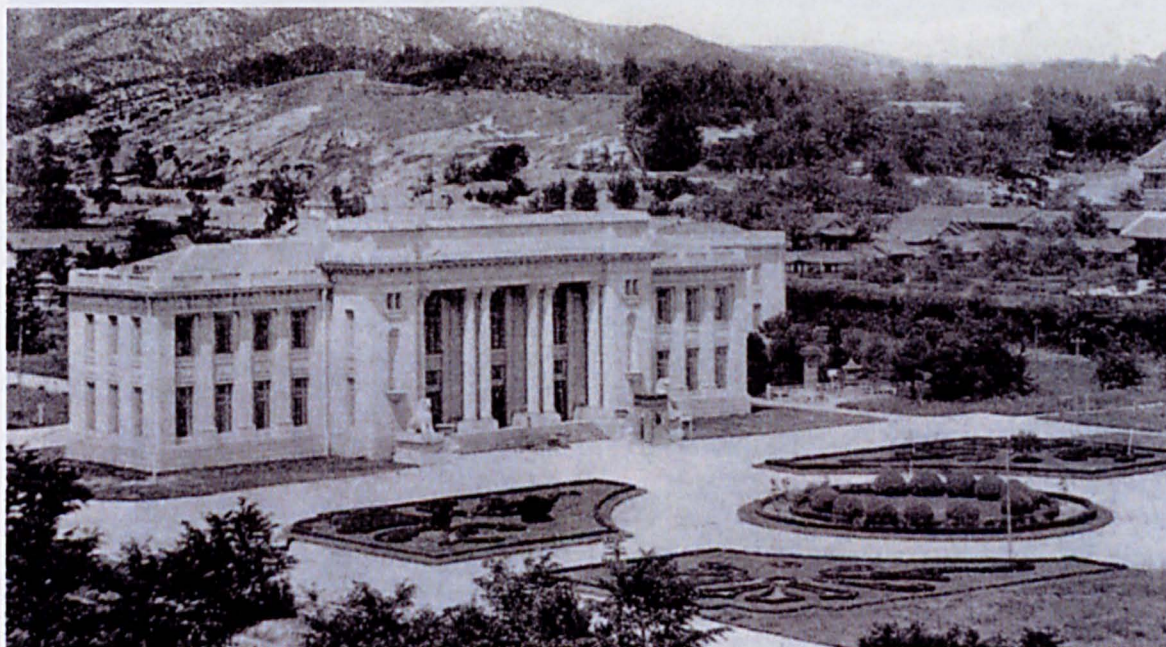


Fig. 3.6 The art gallery with a formal Western-style front yard was created for the exhibition in the Gyeongbokgung Palace complex in 1915. (Source: Eun-suk Park (ed.), *Seoul looking through photos 2*, (Seoul: Seoul Dope Story Compilation Committee, 2002), p. 275.)



After the Joseon Industrial Exhibition, a new building was erected for the Japanese government in the grounds of Gyeongbokgung Palace. Positioned provocatively in front of the old throne hall, Geunjeongjeon (謹政殿), it was intended both to hide the hall from view and to interrupt the flow of *feng shui* energy from Mt. Bukhansan along the north-south arterial road, Sejongno, towards Mt. Namsan. This building, commissioned from the German architect, George de Lalande, was begun in 1916 and completed in 1926, and was an imposing neo-classical building.<sup>30</sup> The issue was its location and function. Its location required changes in 1927, when the great Kwanghwamun Gate (光化門), the main gate of the palace that had blocked the view of the Government-General building, was moved to a position near the Geonchunmun Gate (建春門) in the northwest wall of the palace complex, with formal gardens laid out in the space left by the removal of the gate (Fig. 3.7). Initially the Government-General planned to change the palace grounds into a formal garden, leaving just the Audience Hall and the Gyeonghoeru Pavilion (慶會樓), but this plan was only partly achieved. The overall plan of the Gyeongbokgung Palace complex before 1910 (Fig. 3.8) is in striking contrast with the plan for the Government-General's complex in the palace grounds (Fig. 3.9). Another Joseon Exhibition, this time celebrating twenty years of the colonial government, was held on the site in 1929 as there were already several buildings for this purpose.<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 3.7 Aerial view of the Government-General complex for the Joseon Exhibition in 1929. The complex was converted from the Gyeongbokgung Palace between 1916 and 1926. (Source: Eun-suk Park (ed.), *Seoul looking through photos 2*, (Seoul: Seoul Dope Story Compilation Committee, 2002), p. 158.)

<sup>30</sup> Keith Pratt, *Everlasting Flower: A History of Korea* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), p. 214.

<sup>31</sup> Min-jeong Cheon, 'Study on Chosun Exhibition (1929) under the rule of Japanese Imperialism', unpublished MA dissertation, SungKyunKwan University, 2003, p. 71.



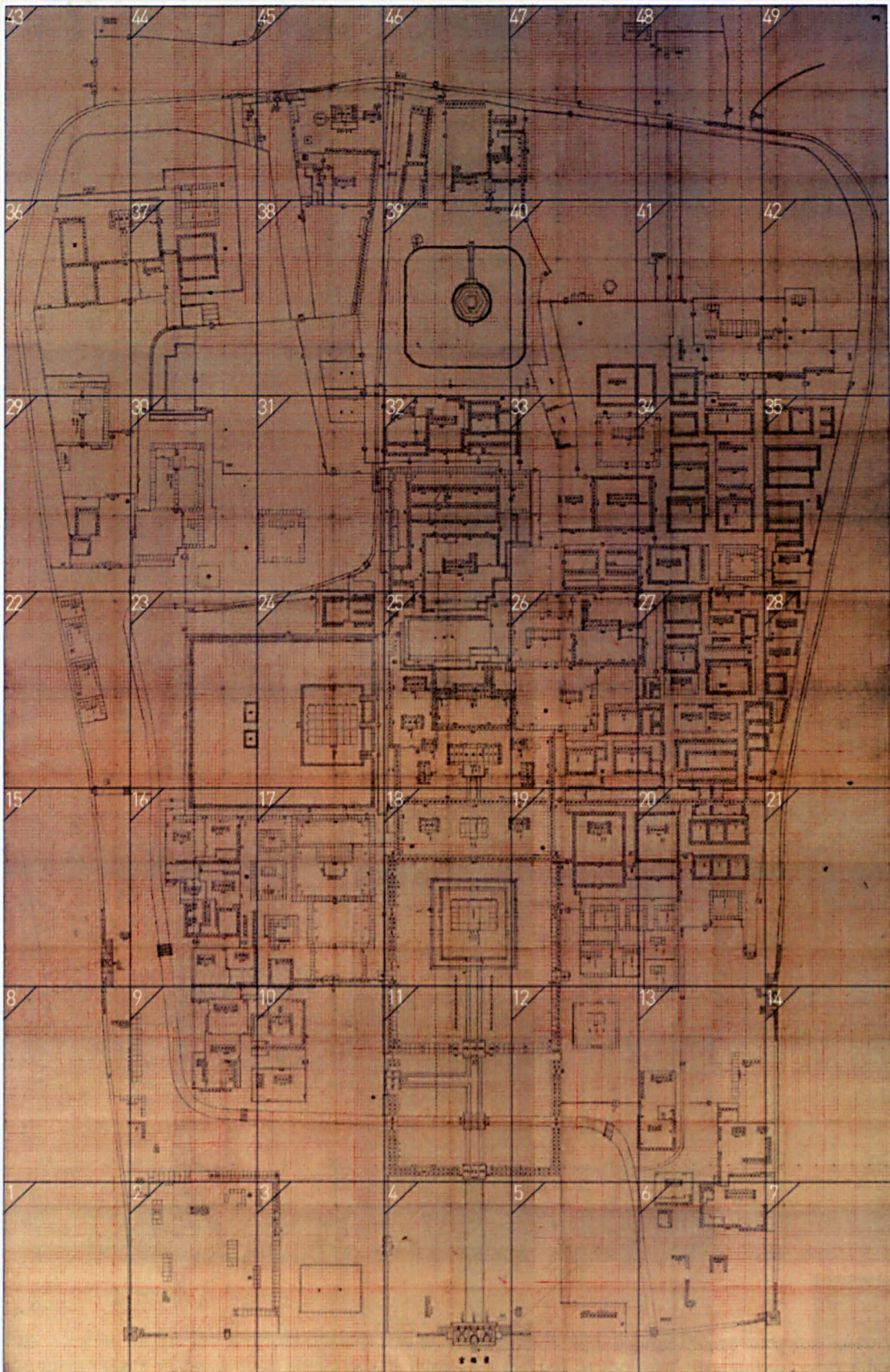


Fig. 3.8 Bukgwoldohyeong (The plan of the North Palace: 北闕圖形) circa 1907, Seoul, Seoul National University; Bukwol (North Palace) is another name of Gyeongbokgung Palace complex (Source: Kang-geun Lee et al., Bukgwoldohyeong, (Korea: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2006), p. 9.)



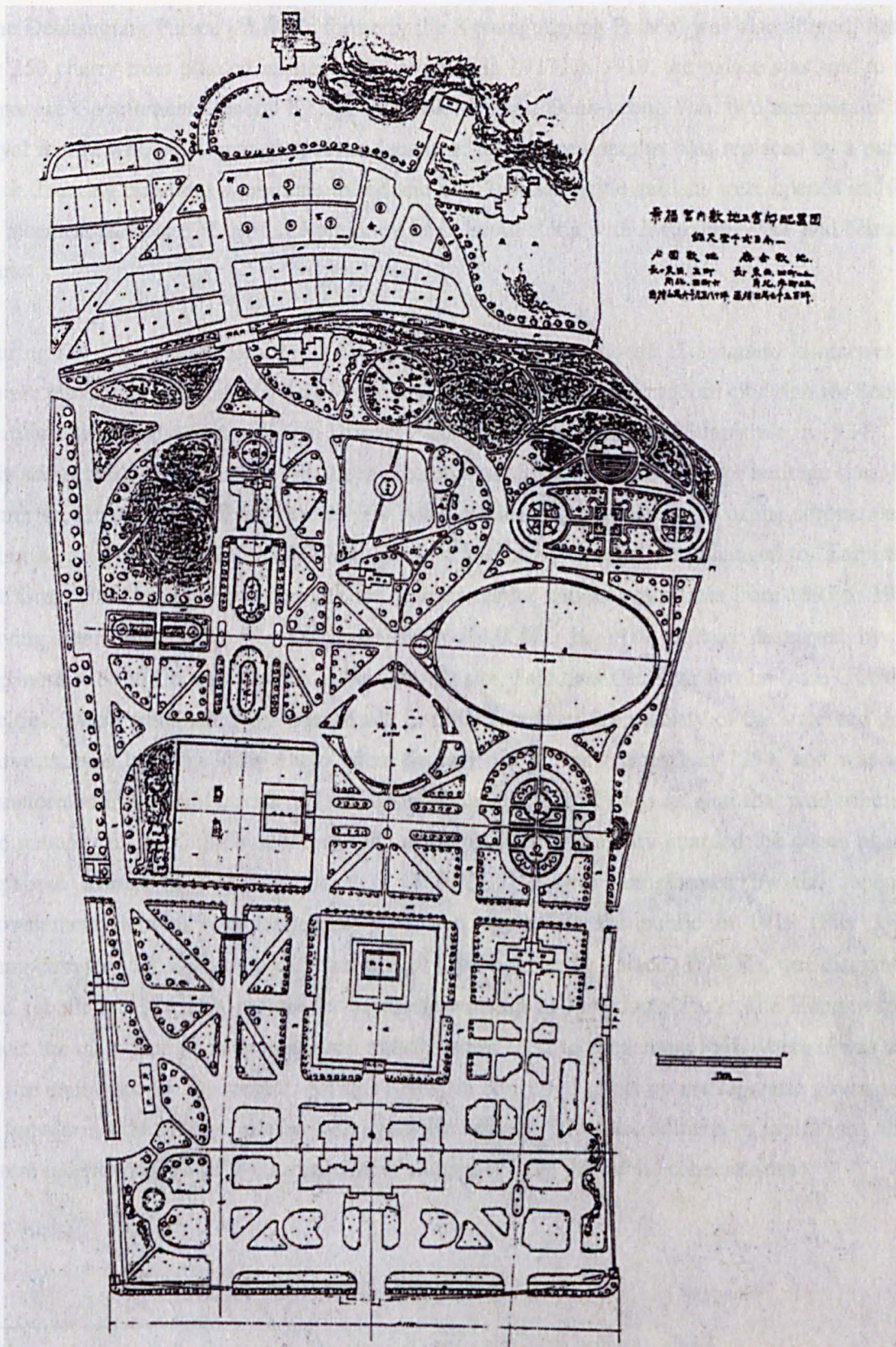


Fig. 3.9 Plan of the Government-General complex on the Gyeongbokgung Palace complex, circa 1920s; the main palace of the Joseon Dynasty was used as a symbol of the rule of colonization; the Japanese planned to transform the palace grounds into the Government-General complex, keeping only two original palace buildings, Geunjeongjeon and Gyeonghieru. (Source: Sun Yee, *Study on planting in Korean traditional landscape architecture* (Seoul: forest.camp mind.media, 1996), p. 162.)



The Deoksugung Palace (德壽宮: formerly the Kyoungungung Palace) was also altered, firstly by 250 cherry trees planted in the palace grounds in 1913. In 1919, the palace was sold to the Japanese Government-General by Byeong-seok Min and Deok-yeong Yun, two members of the royal family who collaborated with the Japanese: the palace complex was replaced by a public park. Existing buildings were demolished and new Japanese-style gardens were opened in 1933 as a central park, one of the three major parks in Seoul along with Jangchung Park and Namsan Park.<sup>32</sup>

During the Japanese occupation, 140 places comprising a total of 13.8 square kilometres of public parks were designed in Seoul as part of an effort to create 'a modern city plan for Seoul', particularly after the Joseon Urban District Planning Act, enacted by the Japanese in 1934.<sup>33</sup> By this stage, public parks had already been created from former national holy or heritage sites. For example, Hwangudan (園丘壇), the New Altar of Heaven, was the venue of the coronation of King Kojong on 12 October 1897. At this time, the name 'Joseon' was changed to 'Empire of the Great Han', and this was the site for ceremonies for national sacrifices from 1897 to 1910, having been transferred there from Sajikdan (社稷壇). In 1914, it was destroyed by the Japanese and the Chosun Hotel was built on the site. Sajikdan, the Altar for the State Guardian Deities, where ritual offerings were made in order to ensure the security of the state and good harvests, was built by King Taejo when he laid out the new capital in 1394, and was also transformed into a public park in 1924. Jangchungdan (獎忠壇) was an altar that paid tribute to the memory of the Cabinet members and soldiers killed when they guarded the queen against Japanese troops in *Eulmi sabyeon* (乙未事變).<sup>34</sup> It was transformed by the Japanese Government-General into Jangchung Park and opened to the public in 1919 (Fig. 3.10). Sungjeongjeon (崇政殿), the audience hall of Gyeonghuigung Palace (慶熙宮), was dismantled and rebuilt in 1926 as a temple for Japanese worship in Jangchung Park. The Honghwamun Gate, the main gate of the palace, was transferred in 1932 to Jangchung Park where it was used as the main gate for the temple. All this reveals a concerted effort by the Japanese government to transform exactly those places with symbolic value for Korean traditions or aspirations about future independence and to eliminate them altogether from the public consciousness.

<sup>32</sup> Chung-dong Kim, *Jeong dong and Deoksugung* (Seoul: Baleon, 2004), p. 233.

<sup>33</sup> In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished Ph.D thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 23

<sup>34</sup> It refers to the brutal assassination of Queen Myeongseong by the Japanese on 8 October 1895. A Japanese official named Miura Goro, in league with a pro-Japanese group, conspired to murder the queen.





Fig. 3.10 Jangchung Park was an altar built in 1910 where it served sacrificial rites for patriotic martyrs to the queen. It was changed into a public park in the 1920s (Source: Won mo Kim & Seong-gil Jeong (eds), *Korea 100 Years ago in Photographs* (Seoul: Catholic Pub., 1986), p. 97.)

### **Collision and recovery: between the liberation and the Third Republic (1945-1971)**

Although liberation from Japanese colonial rule came in 1945, the tribulations of Koreans were not over yet. These difficulties were caused not by the campaign for liberation of the nation but by the residual results of the victory of the Allied Forces in World War II. Shortly after regaining independence, on 24 August 1945, US President Truman authorized a line of demarcation in Korea to ease the surrender of Japanese forces on the peninsula. Soviet forces accepted the surrender of Japanese troops north of the 38th parallel, while US forces received the surrender of troops in the south.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, in the Moscow Conference in December 1945, a four-power trusteeship<sup>36</sup> was agreed to oversee Korea for a maximum of five years under the supervision of the United Nations.<sup>37</sup> However due to an ideological quarrel, this trusteeship brought political upheaval<sup>38</sup> and resulted in the division of the country. With a democratic south and a communist

<sup>35</sup> Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), pp.374-375.

<sup>36</sup> The trusteeship consisted of the United Nations, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China.

<sup>37</sup> Man-gil Kang, *A History of Contemporary Korea*, (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 1994), pp. 181-182.

<sup>38</sup> There were many different political parties after the liberation, and all endeavoured to establish a united nation and were opposed to placing Korea under trusteeship, but the Korean Communist Party, supported

north, the two parts have since been governed independently as the Republic of Korea (south) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (north). In August 1948, the first Korean government was inaugurated in the south with a presidential system that took over power from the US military.<sup>39</sup> As a legitimate successor of ancient Korea, the nation of South Korea started off with a resolution to pursue democracy and develop itself.

The issue of legitimate succession caused a dispute which in 1950 led to the outbreak of the Korean War with a North Korean invasion across the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. The fighting stopped in 1953, but left ruination and did not end the military threat against the Republic of Korea.<sup>40</sup> After the signing of the armistice, political and economic issues dominated Korean society. Anticommunism and money were the only good things in people's minds in the aftermath of the war. The Korean economy grew gradually; however, Korea would depend on economic aid, mainly from the United States, until the mid-1960s. Much of this foreign aid was used for national defence expenditures and to import necessities of life<sup>41</sup> rather than for the rebuilding the economy or for cultural purposes. Under the junta which came to power after a military coup in 1961, the Five-Year Economic Development Plan (FYEDP) was launched in 1962. Its essential features were plans for escaping chronic poverty and the modernization of the industrial structure in order to build a self-sustaining economy. However, Korea made slow progress during the initial period of the first FYEDP, and foreign currency reserves declined to the verge of a financial crisis.<sup>42</sup> As a result, the FYEDP was scaled down and the third government's development policies turned towards Korea becoming an industrial nation, focusing on export-oriented industrial expansion. Therefore, during the second FYEDP from 1967, Korea's manufacturing industry started to export and to develop rapidly.<sup>43</sup>

This period saw an ideological dispute for hegemony, and the national power was concentrated on nation building and economic development with foreign aid, which in turn brought about

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by the Soviet Union, suddenly accepted the trusteeship. All the parties failed to lead Korea as one country.

<sup>39</sup> Kenneth B. Lee, *Korea and East Asia: the story of a phoenix*, (London: Praeger, 1997), p. 174; Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1984), p. 379; Man-gil Kang, *A History of Contemporary Korea*, (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 1994), p. 186.

<sup>40</sup> For more information about the Korean War see: Man-gil Kang, *A History of Contemporary Korea*, (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 1994), pp. 187-197.

<sup>41</sup> Kenneth B. Lee, *Korea and East Asia: the story of a phoenix*, (London: Praeger, 1997), p. 191

<sup>42</sup> Dong-myeong Shin, *Social and Economic Policies in Korea*, (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 55-56.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*; During the third FYEDP (1972–1976) Korea attained an average annual growth rate of 11.2 per cent and the annual average growth rate was 9.2 per cent during the period of the fourth FYEDP (1977–1981).

violent conflicts between absolute state power and the movement for democracy.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, cultural heritage or re-building the national identity was not the main socio-political issue during this period, despite the government recognizing this necessity from the 1960s.

### HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE PLIGHT OF LANDSCAPE GARDENING

In 1946, the Korean government acknowledged that higher education was essential to sustain industrial expansion and economic development.<sup>45</sup> The government's challenge was to modernize Korea without encouraging Koreans to identify too strongly with old traditions. There was also a concern about Korea's readiness to face unexpected challenges and changes in the world economy. These concerns were reflected in the education policy which was developed in the period following the Second World War. On 22 August 1946, Seoul National University was founded by a reorganization of Gyeongseong Imperial University, which had been established in 1926 under Japanese rule.<sup>46</sup> The reorganisation merged Gyeongseong Imperial University with several other colleges, for example, the Agriculture and Forestry School in Suwon which became the new institution's Agriculture Department. This university was the first to provide comprehensive higher education to the public in Korea, using American universities as a model, an indication of the influence of the US military government.<sup>47</sup>

The first course in landscape gardening in Korea was offered by the Department of Architecture at Seoul National University in 1946. During 1947 and 1948, a landscape gardening module was offered in the Department of Forestry at the university. In 1958, a landscape gardening design module was established. By the 1960s, courses in landscape gardening were offered in the Departments of Forestry and Horticulture in several universities established in a series of radical reforms of higher education under the military government.<sup>48</sup> Landscape gardening in university education at that time concerned itself with contemporary design rather than examining historic gardening. Professional contracts available for landscape gardeners were primarily for university campuses and government buildings, and imitated the formal geometric layouts of European examples.<sup>49</sup> After liberation, landscape gardening was taught by scholars of the younger generation who had mostly been trained in the arts of forestry and horticulture and

<sup>44</sup> Kenneth B. Lee, *Korea and East Asia: the story of a phoenix*, (London: Praeger, 1997), p. 191.

<sup>45</sup> Jeong-kyu Lee, *Historic Factors Influencing Korean Higher Education*, (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company: 2000), pp. 54-55.

<sup>46</sup> Jong-chol Kim, 'Historical Development', in *Higher Education in Korea*, edited by John C. Weidman and Namgi Park (London: Falmer Press, 2000), p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>48</sup> Hak-beom Kim, 'The Quickening Period and Growing of Landscape Architecture', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 30 (February 2007), pp. 125-126.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.



were interested in modern principles, and who had no interest or tradition in the study of Korean garden history and historic gardens.

### THE ROLE OF NURSERIES IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

In the public sector, landscape projects and landscape management were handled by local governments under guidance of those trained in forestry and civil engineering. Additional staff members were appointed through the ancient civil examination system and were not necessarily trained in specific topics. For example, in the administrative work of the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG), civil engineers took charge of park planning, construction and management, while foresters were responsible for the management of vegetation.<sup>50</sup> In the private sector, most 'landscaping' work was done by small, old fashioned firms operated by a few staff members who had been trained in related fields, such as horticulture and silviculture during this period. The nursery sector played a primary role in laying out private gardens, as well as in providing the ornamental plants. There were three types of nurseries engaged in the landscape business. The first were nurseries supplying mature ornamental trees, as established by the Japanese during the colonial period and taken over by Koreans after independence. The second were tree nurseries, which changed their business from focusing on cultivating young trees for afforestation to the cultivation of garden trees. The third were flower nurseries which expanded into selling garden trees. Through these nurseries, many kinds of garden trees were imported, mainly from Japan.<sup>51</sup> After the mid-1960s, the landscape business surged as a result of the booming economy. Landscape gardening was associated with planting mature Chinese junipers and the professional standard and value of gardening decreased. Expensive ornamental trees became a symbol of success and an ostentatious means of displaying wealth, without having any of the value which would have been expected by practitioners of traditional or contemporary gardening who had trained elsewhere. Many new nurseries opened as a result of increased demand; however, these nurseries were largely trade nurseries and did not deal with the propagation of existing plants.<sup>52</sup>

### FORMULATING KOREAN LEGISLATION

After the restoration of independence in 1945, Korea regained control of its cultural heritage. However, it took years before the Korean government was able to replace the legislation imposed by the Japanese colonial ordinances (1933). The Japanese laws still influenced most

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<sup>50</sup> In-jae Park, 'Precious Stories of Landscape Architecture in Seoul', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 30 (February 2007), pp. 138-145.

<sup>51</sup> Hyun-goo Han, 'The Story of the Landscape Architecture Profession from 1945 to 1973', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 31 (March 2007), pp. 154-159.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

fields of Korean legislation because the structure of the Japanese colonization bureaucratic system remained, and all Korean administrative offices were modelled on the Japanese system. The Ordinances of 1933 were finally exchanged in 1962 following the enactment of the Cultural Properties Protection Act (CPPA) by the military regime of Park, Chung-hee.<sup>53</sup>

In 1945, the Royal Household Affairs Office was charged with the management of cultural properties and was reorganized in June 1955 to become the Former Royal Household Properties Office. Its main policies focused on managing movable artifacts, as had been the agenda of the Japanese colonial ordinances, and not, therefore, on buildings or gardens. South Korea was unable to formulate its own cultural heritage management programme, owing to a continuing unsettled political and economic climate, the absence of financial resources and of suitably trained professionals. There had been substantial damage to immovable heritage sites during the Korean War (1950–1953), throwing the management of cultural heritage into turmoil.

When the CPPA came into force in 1962, following the founding of the Office of Cultural Properties (OCP) in October 1961 under the direction of the Ministry of Education,<sup>54</sup> it dealt with the management and preservation of cultural heritage. The CPPA aimed to develop and improve the cultural level of mankind by taking responsibility for various cultural legacies and their conservation. The CPPA had seven chapters and 73 articles providing for the protection of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Although the Korean government abolished all Japanese colonial legislation and then established the CPPA, the idea of protection and fundamental methodology continued to follow Japanese models. Japanese law influenced Korean law, not only because of the continuation of the colonial bureaucracy<sup>55</sup>, but also because the new Japan served as a successful model of post-war economic and social development. With its Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties 1950, Japan became the first nation to establish national legislation for the protection of tangible and intangible cultural properties, and the CPPA was modelled on this Japanese law.<sup>56</sup> This can be illustrated by the fact that, like the Japanese laws, elements of nature, such as animals and plants, were included as cultural heritage. Cultural activities and the natural environment were considered to have a close relationship,

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<sup>53</sup> Se-tag Oh, 'The Policy for Cultural Property in the Japanese Colonial Period', *Cultural Property*, 29 (1996), p.269; Su-gap Kim, 'The amendment of the Protection of Cultural Properties Act in 1982 and the amendment history hereafter – focused on controversies', *Law Research* Vol 13 (2002), p. 92.

<sup>54</sup> The OCP has since gone through various face-lifts, such as renaming itself the Ministry of Culture and Information in 1968.

<sup>55</sup> That is, after the colonial period, Korean administrators continued to follow the style and patterns they had been taught.

<sup>56</sup> Jong-sung Yang, 'Folklore and Cultural Politics in Korea: Intangible Cultural Properties and Living National Treasures', unpublished Ph.D thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1994, p. 50.

since human activities are influenced by historical, cultural, and social factors and the natural environment to which a human being belongs.<sup>57</sup> The notion of 'cultural properties' in the CPPA was very similar to that in Japanese law. Though the Western European legal definition of 'cultural properties' defines them as 'formed by human activity', Korea and Japan see cultural properties either as man-made or natural.<sup>58</sup> Along with the CPPA, the Buddhism Properties Management Act and the Confucian School Property Act were promulgated in order to cover the preservation and management of important traditional Buddhist temples and Confucian schools because these two types of cultural heritage were recognized to have once been predominant aspects of Korean traditional culture.

### LACK OF AN ETHICAL APPROACH

During the Korean War, a large number of historic sites were destroyed and, until 1962, there were no proper systems in place for the protection of immovable cultural heritage. Despite the enactment of the CPPA, historic environments were still under threat because the legal framework for the preservation of cultural heritage was focused on movable artifacts and buildings, and there was no concept of the cultural importance of place. Therefore, cultural or historic landscapes, including historic gardens, were totally ignored. The perception of cultural heritage was rather restrictive at this time. Simply planting trees or flowers was understood as cultural heritage management, but its significance in a physical sense was underestimated or misunderstood. For example, in 1954, under the Policy for the Capital Reconstruction<sup>59</sup>, the government decided to reconstruct the war damaged Changgyeongwon botanical and zoological park which was one of palaces of the Joseon Dynasty, despite the fact that President Lee, Seung-man was opposed to this on the grounds that he considered its layout had been intended by the Japanese to degrade the authority of the Joseon Dynasty. President Lee insisted that the botanical and zoological park should be laid out in the suburbs, but he finally had to agree to the reconstruction on the same site due to a lack of financial resources.<sup>60</sup>

In 1955, the Urban Planning Commission of Seoul City, established in 1949, insisted that

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<sup>57</sup> The Secretariat of the National Assembly, 'The Actual Conditions of the Protection of Cultural Properties in Korea', *Legislative Research Monthly*, 176 (1989), pp. 167-168.

<sup>58</sup> Jun-gyu Gil, 'A concept and requisite for cultural properties', *Public Law Research*, 30/1 (2001), p. 289; Su-gap Kim, 'The present condition and improvement method of preservation policy for cultural properties', *Law and Society*, 7/1 (1995), pp. 167-169.

<sup>59</sup> This policy consisted of 12 items for the purpose of rebuilding postwar Seoul including the reconstruction of Changgyeongwon botanical and zoological park, creating municipal parks in Mt Namsan and Mt Bukhansan, and the preservation of historical remains.

<sup>60</sup> In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 46.



Jongmyo (Royal Shrine: 宗廟) was the best place for a new building for the National Assembly among five proposed sites<sup>61</sup>, but this was overruled by the president so that the site could be preserved. This decision was a good one, as forty years later Jongmyo was designated as a World Heritage site. Under the Urban Planning Act 1962 (UPA)<sup>62</sup>, royal palaces were designated as neighbourhood parks, including Changdeokgung Palace, Gyeongbokgung Palace and Jongmyo. According to this act, the grounds of royal palaces received the same treatment as modern neighbourhood parks, even though specific and appropriate management measures would have been required. This meant that historic sites were not valued over modern sites. The Koreans in the government of this period failed to honour royal palaces because they failed to understand their significance, their cultural importance, just as had been done by the Japanese colonial government.

Another good example of attitudes and values towards cultural heritage sites in this period is that of Tapgol Park in Seoul. In 1967, a new shopping area was built enclosing Tapgol Park. The projects were justified as a way of repairing and improving the historic site. Although the CPPA was already established, planning permission was given by the Seoul Metropolitan Government on the grounds that the historic site would be repaired. An estimated 80 per cent of the total cost of the project was spent on the new project, consisting of 178 shops,<sup>63</sup> (Fig. 3.11) which provided an inappropriate setting for the park. Tapgol Park was important for its symbolic meaning for the independence movement during the Japanese colonial period; it was important as the first modern park using the Western concept of a public park in Korea and it was also noted for its remarkable design in the shape of a turtle.<sup>64</sup> Improving the planning made it apparent that its importance as a historical environment had not been fully recognized. Appropriate ways of conserving the site were therefore not understood (Fig. 3.12).

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<sup>61</sup> Five proposed sites were Jongmyo, Sajikdan, Jangchungdan, Mt Namsan, and Jungangcheong (former Government-General building in Japanese colonial period), but all candidates were historic sites. Finally Mt Namsan was selected for the site of the National Assembly; In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 43.

<sup>62</sup> The Urban Planning Act 1962 prescribed four kinds parks; grand park, neighbourhood park, children's park and cemetery park, while the Parks Act 1967 provided types of park as; natural, common, neighbourhood, street, children and cemetery.

<sup>63</sup> In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, pp. 53-56; compare Fig. 2.66 in chapter 2.

<sup>64</sup> See chapter 2, p. 156.

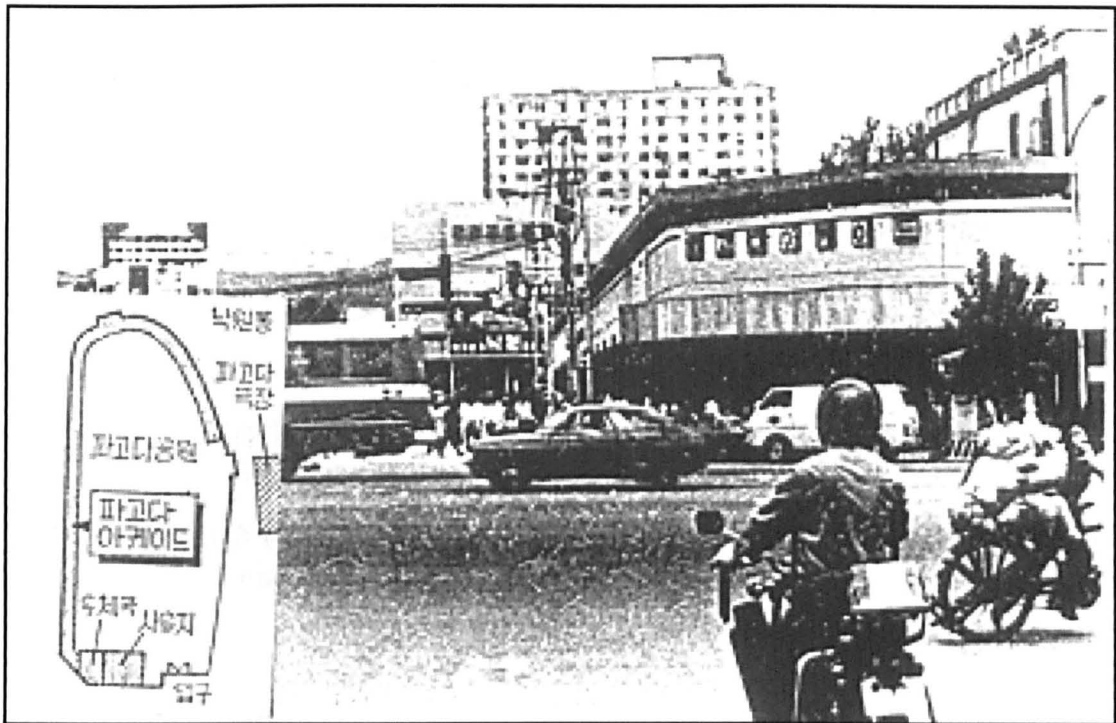


Fig. 3.11 The front view of arcade which enclosed Tapgol Park in 1967. Passers-by could not recognize the park from the street. (Source: In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished Ph.D thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 55.)

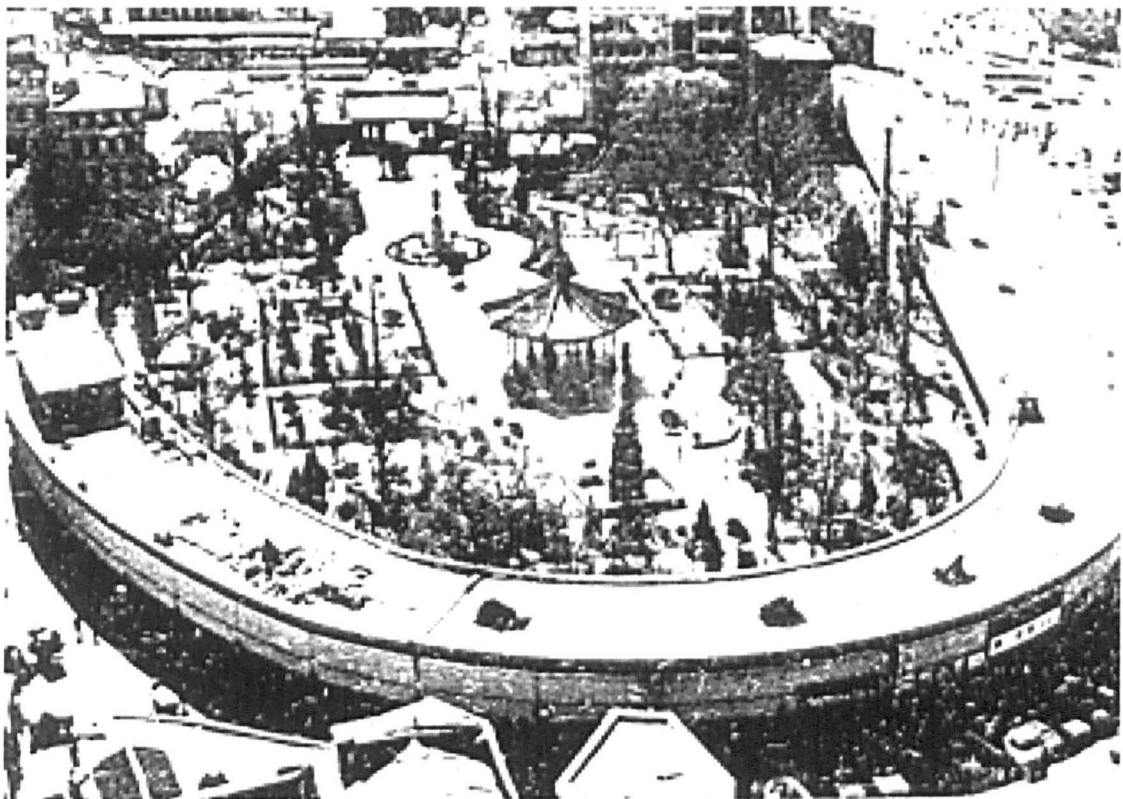


Fig. 3.12 A bird's-eye view of Tapgol Park from the rear after the completion of the arcade in 1967; its original design in the shape of a turtle no longer exists. (Source: In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished Ph.D thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 55.)

### The age of developmentalism: 1972–1996

In 1972, the Fourth Republic emerged through the reform of the Constitution by President Park, Chung-hee. The Korean economy continued to develop, especially heavy industry, under the third and fourth phases of the FYEDP.<sup>65</sup> As a result of rapid economic growth, demand for urban land and housing increased. Over a period of twenty years, Korea had been transformed from an agrarian society into an urbanized industrial society with over 87.8% of its population residing in urban areas in 1995<sup>66</sup>, bringing problems of clear separation between areas in which people of different economic circumstances live, regional disparities in economic growth and an enormous wave of migration from rural to urban areas. Apart from the FYEDP, the first 10-Year Comprehensive National Development Plan (CNDP) was launched in 1972 as a cornerstone of the nation's official planning policy, aiming at balanced patterns of urban growth and regional development, and economic development. The aim of the plan was not entirely achieved and problems stemming from the industrialization and urbanization of Korea continued from this time. The most characteristic housing in Korea became high-density tower blocks which meant an alienation from gardens and gardening.

In the post-colonial and post-war enthusiasm for national rehabilitation under the abnormal political conditions of national division, every field of Korean life was evaluated in terms of its relevance in projecting a modern image and pursuing economic growth. Landscape design helped to create this image, progressing quickly from the notion of landscape gardening to landscape architecture by the early 1970s. A number of land development projects were planned and carried out under the CNDP along with the first ten-year afforestation plan from 1973. These included, for example, development of infrastructure for industry such as highway construction and accelerating construction of housing and control of land use, such as the designation of greenbelts around metropolitan areas, based on the Urban Planning Act of 1971.

Exclusive development of areas around cities caused stress on the cultural heritage. There were provisions for cultural heritage in the first and the second CNDP, which showed that the value of cultural heritage was more widely acknowledged; the government was now seen to be responsible for protecting endangered historic buildings. The government took the power to designate conservation areas and to make provisional designations to defend the future value of cultural heritage.<sup>67</sup> Studies to ascertain the condition of cultural heritage were to be conducted:

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<sup>65</sup> Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), p. 316.

<sup>66</sup> The rate of urbanization in Korea reached 80.8% in 2005; Korean Statistical Information Service (<http://www.kosis.kr>).

<sup>67</sup> The Korean Government, *The Comprehensive National Development Plan: 1972–1981*, (Seoul: The



six 'cultural areas' would be set up; and nationalization of cultural heritage in private ownership was promoted. Nevertheless, the third CNDP, published in 1992, assessed the condition of cultural heritage as being at a breaking point with damage becoming worse because of the lack of maintenance.<sup>68</sup> The new political strategy for cultural heritage in the third CNDP was that the conservation and the utilization of cultural heritage sites as leisure facilities should be considered. Historical consciousness was to be promoted through activities for the conservation of cultural heritage so that its development and traditions could be perpetuated.<sup>69</sup> In brief, the sheer scale of rapid unbalanced development caused serious side-effects for the historic and natural environment.

### THE RISE OF THE PROFESSION OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT

As a result of preparing the Gyeongju Overall Tourism Development Plan (GOTDP) in 1971 and launching the first CNDP in 1972, there was increased demand for landscape architects. Whee-young Oh<sup>70</sup> was a Korean landscape architect who had been working for the Greenspace Management Agency of the Illinois State Government in Chicago after graduating with a Master of Landscape Architecture (MLA) Degree from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Oh visited Korea in 1970 and gave a special presentation about the scope of landscape architecture to President Park and some of the Cabinet ministers in Cheong Wa Dae (the office of the President of the Republic of Korea: 青瓦臺). After this presentation, President Park requested that Whee-young Oh make another presentation to all officials in the Ministry of Works and the Seoul Metropolitan Government and that he should provide a professional review the GOTDP, after investigating in Gyeongju district with an official in the OCP, Jae-hoon Chung.<sup>71</sup>

President Park, Chung-hee (r. 1961–1979) was thus instrumental in the process of promoting, landscape architecture as a strategic tool for implementing his political policy of economic

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Korean Government, 1971), pp. 107-109; The Korean Government, *The Second Comprehensive National Development Plan: 1982–1991*, (Seoul: The Korean Government, 1982), p. 84.

<sup>68</sup> The Korean Government, *The Third Comprehensive National Development Plan: 1992–2001*, (Seoul: The Korean Government, 1992), p. 53.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. p. 55.

<sup>70</sup> Whee-young Oh was one of the pioneers of modern landscape architecture in Korea, and is regarded as a first-generation landscape architect in Korea. He is now Professor of Landscape Architecture in Sangmyung University and is the editor of *The Environment and Landscape Architecture of Korea*, which is the only vertical publication for landscape architecture in Korea.

<sup>71</sup> Jae-hoon Chung was the director of the Bureau of Cultural Properties between 1986 and 1993. He is now a professor in the Department of Traditional Landscape Architecture in the Korean National University of Cultural Heritage and a member of the committee of the Cultural Property Council; Hak-beom Kim, 'The Quickening Period and Growing of Landscape Architecture', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 30 (February 2007), p. 124.

development and nationalism.<sup>72</sup> Park truly provided the new profession with a sound foundation which was integral to the new planning system. The Presidential Secretariat recognized that there was surging demand for landscape architecture professionals in order to carry out the GOTDP harmoniously and efficiently under the terms of the CNDP. The government tried to recruit Whee-young Oh after his return to the USA and finally succeeded when he was appointed to the post of secretary in charge of landscape architecture in the Presidential Secretariat in 1972.<sup>73</sup>

Prior to Oh's return to Korea, a special seminar for landscape architecture had already been organized, including 39 professionals from various fields who discussed various issues related to landscape architecture with contemporary conditions, controversies and aims. There was an argument about what was meant by the terms 'landscape gardening' and 'landscape architecture'. As a result of the discussion, landscape architecture was interpreted to imply a much broader meaning than landscape gardening, and it was regarded as the proper term to express the modern concept.<sup>74</sup> Whee-young Oh started to work with the records of this seminar. As a secretary for the President, Oh supported the establishment of landscape architecture courses in universities and government bodies and he also played a leading part in many government-run businesses. The chief presidential secretary in those days, Kim, Jeong-ryeom, reflected on the active role of Oh as follows:

...He supported the establishment of the Graduate School of Environmental Studies for the Master of Landscape Architecture degree in the Seoul National University and the landscape architecture department at the Seoul National University and Yeungnam University in order to promote and develop the landscape architectural profession in 1973. ...The licence system for the work of landscape architecture was also founded by him. He assisted with the setting up of the Korean Landscape Architecture Corporation and the creation of departments of landscape architecture in several public corporations such as Korea Highway Corporation, Korea Land Corporation, Korea Tourism Organization and local governments.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Jeong-hann Pae, 'Park, Chung-Hee's Thoughts on Landscape Architecture', *The Journal of the Korean Landscape Architecture Institute*, 31/4 (2003), pp. 16-17.

<sup>73</sup> Hak-beom Kim, 'The Quickening Period and Growing of Landscape Architecture', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 30 (February 2007), p. 124; Whee-young Oh, 'The story behind the development of contemporary landscape architecture in Korea (1)', *Environment & Landscape Architecture of Korea*, 141 (January, 2000), pp. 48-50.

<sup>74</sup> Whee-young Oh, 'The story behind the development of contemporary landscape architecture in Korea (1)', *Environment & Landscape Architecture of Korea*, 141 (January, 2000), pp. 50-51.

<sup>75</sup> Jeong-ryeom Kim, *Ah! Park, Chung-hee*, (Seoul: Jungang M&B, 1997), p. 57.

In 1974, the Korean Landscape Development Corporation (KLDC) was established as a *quango*<sup>76</sup> in order to undertake landscape consulting, planning and construction in private and public spheres. This was the only landscape consultancy that covered a broader range including planning, design, construction research, and administration divisions.<sup>77</sup> The KLDC was responsible for numerous projects, particularly strategic planning projects including strategies for historic parks in cultural heritage sites as well as for apartment complexes. Initially the KLDC was also responsible for the practical implementation of landscape projects in the public sector. However, it was privatized in the early 1980s after complaints that it monopolized government projects and that, as a public company, it received preferential treatment.<sup>78</sup>

The government's strategy regarding the conservation and improvement of cultural heritage sites might be seen as supporting the nationalist policies of President Park from the middle of the 1960s. An interest in historic designed landscapes increased with the discovery of the Imhaejeon Hall site in Gyeongju (a seventh-century royal palace garden), revealed by the GOTDP in 1975. Thereafter, conservation projects on many cultural heritage sites tended to occur in tandem with their development as leisure complexes.<sup>79</sup>

#### LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The term 'landscape architecture' was first used as a name for a module within environmental design courses at Hongik University in 1972. The next year, both Seoul National University and Yeungnam University established courses with that name. These programmes offered a four-year Bachelor of Science in Landscape Architecture in the Agricultural Faculty.<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile, an MLA degree was established by the Presidential Decree No. 6476 at the Graduate School of Environmental Studies at the Seoul National University.<sup>81</sup> This degree was established to

<sup>76</sup> Quasi-autonomous national governmental organization.

<sup>77</sup> Jung-sang Woo, 'My Fruitful Labours for a Period of 38 years in Landscape Architecture', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 36 (August 2007), pp. 108-113.

<sup>78</sup> Whee-young Oh, 'The story behind the development of contemporary landscape architecture in Korea: The establishment of the Korean Landscape Development Corporation', *Environment & Landscape Architecture of Korea*, 146 (June, 2000), pp. 33-35.

<sup>79</sup> In an interview with Prof. Jae-hoon Chung, he pointed out that the excavation and restoration of Anapji was a turning point in the increasing recognition of historic designed landscapes.

<sup>80</sup> The department of landscape architecture in Yeungnam University was initially established in the engineering faculty but next year the department belonged to the faculty of agriculture.

<sup>81</sup> Byoung-e Yang, 'The Establishment of the Department of Landscape Architecture and the Founding of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 33 (May 2007), p. 143; Kee-won Hwang, 'Thirty-years history of landscape architectural education in Korea: retrospects and prospects', in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang-zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), p. 59; Tai-ho Kang, 'Tendencies toward modern landscape architecture in Korea', in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang-zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean



encourage the field of landscape architecture by training landscape architects in the shortest possible time, as the needs of the times dictated. As a result of this policy, the MLA in the Graduate School of Environmental Studies at Seoul National University played a primary role in establishing the professional field of landscape architecture through the trained graduates it produced.<sup>82</sup> By 1980, fifteen universities had courses in landscape architecture. However, as a consequence of the urgent necessity of the period, the curriculum focused on planning and designing modern spaces, in particular in urban areas. At this initial stage, the curriculum was benchmarked against the curriculums of American and Japanese universities. *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* by Henry Vincent Hubbard & Theodora Kimball<sup>83</sup> was introduced as a textbook and in 1974 it was translated into Korean, entitled *Jogyeonghak Gaeron*, by Il-gu Lee & Whee-young Oh.<sup>84</sup> During the 1970s, practicality was recognized as one of the important aspects of the curriculum, with an internship programme that offered authorized credits if a student had worked in the practical field for a certain period of time. The KLDC played an important role as a medium for in-service training, but after the privatization of the KLDC the internship programme was discontinued.<sup>85</sup>

Several months earlier than the foundation of landscape architecture departments in higher education, the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture (KILA) was established, a professional body representing landscape architects. The purpose of the institute was to promote knowledge, education and technology in landscape architecture. Through an annual meeting, symposiums, regular conferences and publications, the institute provides opportunities for communication among landscape architecture educators, students and practitioners, and supports the academic field of landscape architecture, the landscape construction industry and its culture. The KILA published the first issue of its *Journal of the Korea Institute of Landscape Architecture* in October 1973 and publishes it six times annually. Apart from the journal, the

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Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), pp. 141-143.

<sup>82</sup> Ja-ho Choi, 'Founding of the Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Seoul National University', *Landscape Architecture Construction*, 37 (September 2007), pp. 118-121.

<sup>83</sup> Henry Vincent Hubbard & Theodora Kimball, *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917).

<sup>84</sup> Henry Vincent Hubbard & Theodora Kimball, *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design*, trans. Il-gu Lee & Whee-young Oh, (Seoul: Daehan Printing & Publishing Co., 1974); Whee-young Oh, 'The behind story of development of contemporary landscape architecture in Korea (3): The first ground for the education of Landscape Architecture - the Graduate School of Environmental Studies in the Seoul National University', *Environment & Landscape Architecture of Korea*, 143 (March, 2000), pp. 32-33.

<sup>85</sup> Kee-won Hwang, 'Thirty-years history of landscape architectural education in Korea: retrospects and prospects', in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang-zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), pp. 63-64.

*Volumes of Proceedings of Academic Conferences* are published twice annually, including research papers presented during conferences.<sup>86</sup>

The 1980s were a pivotal period for key developments in garden history due to the establishment of the Korean Garden Society, the only academic organization that concentrates on traditional landscape architecture and deals with the heritage of historic garden culture and developments within contemporary landscape architecture. The origins of the organization can be traced to the Society for Research into Korean Garden Culture established in 1980 by Professor Min, Kyung-hyun. The society<sup>87</sup> reorganized in 1982 with Professor Min as the leader. In 1985, the *Journal of the Korean Garden Society* was founded to concentrate on case studies of particular sites and historical theories of garden design.<sup>88</sup> The publication of the first issue of the *Journal* heralded an increasing interest in this as an academic topic.

#### THE WIDENING SCOPE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE CPPA

By 1996, the CPPA had been amended fourteen times in order to bring the law for the protection of the nation's cultural heritage into line with changing practice. The revision of the CPPA in 1970 required individuals, including foreigners, who owned or kept important cultural assets classified as national treasures, to register them with the OCP. This revision of the CPPA was designed to preserve the nation's cultural heritage better, and prevent artefacts from being removed from the country. In 1972, the Five-Year Cultural Properties Renovation Plan was launched for the repair and maintenance of cultural heritage sites. Priority was given to work on conserving the cultural heritage of the Silla Dynasty, including excavation of ancient tombs, restoration of the designated cultural heritage sites and collection of scattered cultural artefacts and historical remains. Anapji, a seventh-century royal palace garden, was excavated and restored. The 1973 amendment of the CPPA focused on controlling illegal excavation of cultural remains and prescribed penalties for such action. If archaeological remains were revealed when any construction work was in progress, the developer was obliged to bear the expenses of excavation. Such work had caused damage to many archaeological remains, especially small finds, which were ignored by contractors who wanted to avoid the extra expense involved in dealing with them properly.

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<sup>86</sup> Seung-bin Im, 'Thirty years' Research on Landscape Architecture', in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), p. 24.

<sup>87</sup> The Korean Garden Society changed its name once more to the Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture (KITLA) in 2004.

<sup>88</sup> This journal mainly focuses on research of Korean garden history and historic designed landscape, therefore most of articles relate to these topics.

Since the 1980s, the value of cultural heritage in Korea has continued to grow in importance. This signals a break from the earlier policies which placed economic development above all else in an attempt to strengthen the dictatorship and the military regime in the eyes of Korea's policy makers.<sup>89</sup> Heritage conservation had been secondary in national strategy. The seventh revision of the CPPA of 1982 was a large-scale amendment, the result of many discussions regarding the conservation of cultural heritage and its value. It expanded the scope of the notion of cultural heritage, especially the concept of cultural property, which was changed from describing an object to describing a place. This was the starting point from which cultural heritage was understood as a place rather than as individual buildings or artefacts. However, historic gardens were not yet considered cultural heritage despite this change in concept. The designation system was also changed to a more systematic one, with three categories: state-designated; city- and province-designated; and cultural heritage materials and was inspired by Japan's 1975 revision of their Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. In 1984, the Traditional Building Preservation Act (TBPA) was enacted in order to preserve important historic buildings. This was a response to constant threats to those buildings that had not yet been designated as historic under the provisions of the CPPA. The TBPA covered districts of traditional buildings as well as individual buildings, but there was still no provision for the preservation of historic gardens or cover for those connected with historic buildings. In 1987, the Buddhism Properties Management Act was replaced by the Traditional Temple Preservation Act, strengthening the position in regard to the preservation and management of important traditional temples.

During the 1990s, the CPPA amendments reflected people's opinions and the consolidation of the role of the state. The thirteenth revision in 1995 directed that the excavation expenses which arose from construction work should be borne partially by national or local governments in order to encourage construction companies to report archaeological finds voluntarily. The fourteenth revision in 1995 relaxed the regulation of entrance fees at cultural heritage sites so that owners could decide the entrance fee themselves. In 1995, three cultural heritage sites—the Seokguram Grotto (石窟庵), Pulkuk Buddhist Temple (佛國寺) and the Haein Buddhist Temple (海印寺) with its Tripitaka Koreana (大藏經板) consisting of over 80,000 wooden printing plates—were the first sites in Korea to be listed as UNESCO World Heritage sites.

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<sup>89</sup> Seung-tae Nam Guong, 'The protection of cultural properties and the right to protect one's environment of historical culture', *Institute of Asia-Pacific Public Law*, 4 (1997), pp. 53-54.



## THE NEW COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

Korea's modern cities appeared in the post-war period and, as a result of the shortage of land and increasing prices within a developing country, there had been no alternative but to opt for high-rise buildings as the dominant type of development. This had constituted a remarkable change from the traditional building typology, based as it was on having both indoor and outdoor at ground level. President Park, Chung-hee initiated a New Community Movement (*Saemaeul* Movement)<sup>90</sup> in 1970. The purpose of this nationwide campaign was to improve the quality of rural life through projects undertaken by the villagers themselves, with government assistance in order to eliminate the gap between Korea's cities and rural villages. The campaign aimed to achieve national survival and a revitalization of the land. The New Community Movement's focus was later shifted towards projects designed to raise agricultural productivity, as well as projects designed to make the cities larger with heavily concentrated populations.<sup>91</sup> The government promoted a standardized solution for rural housing as a way to provide improved living conditions.<sup>92</sup> This contributed to improving and modernizing the living environment, but it failed to take account of cultural identities and values in rural and urban areas. It affected the egalitarian ethos of the traditional Korean village and interfered with the development of traditional gardens. Korea missed the opportunity to reclaim the living environment gradually from an historic environment to a modernized one. Since it meant that historic gardens were now considered as museums, they did not develop in parallel to the country's economic growth.

On the other hand, visible archaeological sites and monuments could be preserved and reconstructed because such sites were useful in promoting patriotic perceptions.<sup>93</sup> One of President Park's interests was in Korean cultural property, and he supported ongoing archaeological excavations in Gyeongju, the capital city for almost one thousand years. There were two main concerns expressed by the president. The first was the necessity to cope with the

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<sup>90</sup> In many respects, the New Community Movement resembled the Rural Development Movement Campaign of the Japanese colonial government during the 1930s.

<sup>91</sup> Kenneth B. Lee, *Korea and East Asia: the story of a phoenix*, (London: Praeger, 1997), p. 195; Vincent S.R. Brandt & Man-gap Lee, 'Community Development in the Republic of Korea', in *Community Development*, edited by Ronald Dore & Zoë Mars (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 47-136 (p. 59).

<sup>92</sup> See: Ho-sang Jeon and Sang -hae Lee, 'A Study on Standard Farm-House Design of Samaul Undong in the 1970s, during the period of Rural Modernization', *Proceedings of Academic Conference of the Architectural Institute of Korea*, 21/1, (2001), pp. 301-304.

<sup>93</sup> The nationalist rhetoric at that time emphasized that the reconstruction of cultural properties was to promote the three patriotic goals of restoring Korean racial traditions, reviving the national spirit and overcoming national disasters through cultural education; Hyung-il Pai, 'The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies', *Korean Studies*, 25/1 (2001), p. 86.

effects of rapid economic development on the environment due to land reclamation, afforestation and newly constructed motorways. But he also recognized that cultural heritage sites could be used to assert the legitimacy of his political hegemony; he had come to power through a military coup. He initiated a range of projects executed by the OCP in the 1960s and 1970s. These focused on memorializing designated birthplaces of national heroes, battlefields and historic residences by dedicating historic parks and ancestral shrines.<sup>94</sup> Interestingly, he considered landscape architecture as capable of delivering this legitimacy, and conservation projects at cultural heritage sites became an important source of work for landscape architects. However, the main purpose of emphasizing the preservation of historical parks was to promote the development of Korean nationalism. Extensive studies through excavation or documentary research in order to ascertain the authenticity or prototype of Korean historic gardens were not fully considered. This presidential ideology, supporting tradition and history but not rooted in careful study of the authenticity, produced new but enigmatic landscapes. Tradition was not used as a guide for design philosophies or concepts, and the ideal landscape was not pursued from an authentic Korean ethnic tradition. 'Restored' gardens presented new notions of what was Korean, but these were mainly based on a European pastoral ideal.<sup>95</sup>

A notable example of the adoption of a foreign ideology in representing an ancient Korean landscape is the case of the Hyeonchungsa Shrine (remains of Admiral Yi Sunsin in Asan: 顯忠祠)<sup>96</sup>. This became a sanctuary in 1966, after which it was repaired and proclaimed as Historical Site No. 155. This shrine served to commemorate a hero's loyalty to the nation, his righteousness and admirable feats. Landscape architects were employed in 1974 to add a new pond and greatly enlarge the park around the shrine.<sup>97</sup> President Park's successors adopted similar political strategies towards cultural heritage and focused on promoting Korea's military heroes and battle sites in order to enhance their own prestige and historical legitimacy. After more than 30 years of close ties to military dictatorships, the OCP had evolved into a complex hierarchical organization with an inordinate amount of legislative and executive control over

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp. 86-87.

<sup>95</sup> Jeong-hann Pae, 'Park, Chung-Hee's Thoughts on Landscape Architecture', *The Journal of the Korean Landscape Architecture Institute*, 31/4 (2003), pp. 19-21.

<sup>96</sup> Hyeonchungsa Shrine was built in 1706, on the orders of King Sukjong at the site of the house where General Yi Sunsin lived until he passed the state military examination, to pay tribute to the memory of the General who rendered meritorious achievements during the Japanese Invasion of 1592 (*Imjin waeran*: 任辰倭亂) and it was named Hyeonchungsa Shrine in 1707. Though well-maintained during the next 200 years, the shrine was abandoned during the Japanese colonial period. Its present appearance is the result of the restoration of 1967.

<sup>97</sup> This is a result of the interview with Jae-hoon Chung.



official cultural projects.<sup>98</sup>

In the early 1980s, there was growing criticism about the poor-quality modern development that enclosed and obstructed access to Tapgol Park, one of Korea's holy places. After many protests, the 1960s shopping precinct was finally demolished in 1983 and Tapgol Park was restored.<sup>99</sup> However, this 'restoration' project did not reinstate the original form of the park (Fig. 3.13) despite the fact that historical sources were available to do so, showing that the historical significance of the old site was not fully understood. This raises questions about contemporary Korean attitudes to, or vision or perception of, authenticity and the value of historic designed landscapes.



Fig. 3.13 Present layout of Tapgol Park. The boundary and layout is different from that which existed before the construction of the building in 1967; compare this with Figure 2.66 in chapter 2; from Google Earth.

<sup>98</sup> Hyung-il Pai, 'The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese' Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies', *Korean Studies*, 25/1 (2001), p. 86.

<sup>99</sup> In-jae Park, 'A Study of the History of Parks System Transformation of Seoul, Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, Sang Myung University, 2002, p. 56.



### APARTMENTS: AS A SYMBOL FOR A MODERN LIFE STYLE

Due to continuing economic development, particularly after the launching of the FYEDP and the CNDP in the early 1970s, housing experts and the government concluded that high-density residential development was required. The government promoted apartment blocks as a means of improving living environments and supplying more housing. Housing typology is an important factor in determining the way people live but the primary objective at this time was to solve the housing problem. Remarkably few people advised against this trend, but there was one exception, an article, 'Housing and Garden', that criticized apartment typology as the only solution for affordable housing and insisted on the importance of the garden as part a home not just the building itself.<sup>100</sup> Within the political community, where short-term solutions were a priority, mass-produced apartment housing was seen as the solution, forcing a change from the traditional urban typology of gardens and courtyards.

While high-rise apartment buildings were almost nonexistent before 1960, according to the 1995 national census, the portion of apartments in the housing stock was then about 37.7 per cent, having increased from 0.8 per cent in 1970, 7.0 per cent in 1980 and 22.1 per cent in 1990.<sup>101</sup> Housing densities in metropolitan areas increased sharply between 1990 and 2000 because the governments between 1988 and 1992 had launched a drive to build 'two million new dwellings' by constructing new towns and cities. This even led to the erection of apartment buildings in rural areas, supposedly because rural dwellers preferred modern heating, kitchens and security available under the government's supply-oriented housing policy,<sup>102</sup> despite the fact that there was no shortage of land in the countryside. Apartments were made fashionable because they symbolized an affluent, modern lifestyle. But they caused a loss of local identity since they did not reflect local conditions or provide regional distinctiveness. Housing supply has always been a hot political issue; however, consistent and effective planning and management of land have been lacking in Korea, which has led to housing development without consideration for the cultural context and natural environment. Official indicators of housing conditions have been concerned to record the ratio between housing supply and demand, or the presence of facilities such as modern kitchens, flush toilets, tap water and electricity<sup>103</sup>, without concern for the environment or outdoor spaces. Garden culture has disappeared from daily life

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<sup>100</sup> Kun-yong Ahn, 'Housing and Garden', *Journal of Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 2/1 (1974), pp. 43-44.

<sup>101</sup> Jae-young Son *et al.*, 'Changing Conditions and Quality of Housing', *Social Indicators Research*, 62/63 (2003), p. 212; Korean Statistical Information Service (<http://www.kosis.kr>).

<sup>102</sup> The Housing Supply Ratio (HSR) is the basic data for formulating housing policies in Korea and HSR reached 100% in 2006.

<sup>103</sup> Seong-kyu Ha, 'Urban Growth and Housing Development in Korea: A Critical Overview', *Korea Journal*, 39/3 (1999), p. 73.

as fast as apartment housing has increased in Korea. As a result of apartment blocks becoming the favourite building typology, Korea has lost not only traditional family structures but also the intricate relationship between house and garden.

### **The Year of Cultural Heritage 1997**

Although economic development and urbanization are still dominant features in Korean society, recognition of cultural heritage as an issue by the public and in government policies has been much more profound in the past ten years than ever before in the twentieth century. Korea's designation in 1997 of a Year of Cultural Heritage created a greater cultural awareness: the importance of Korea's heritage was more clearly acknowledged by the government, which promulgated a Cultural Heritage Charter as a result of activities in 1997. Changdeokgung Palace and the Jongmyo Royal Shrine were added to the UNESCO list of World Heritage sites in the same year. This recognition boosted perceptions of the importance of heritage in Korea and increased morale and pride in things Korean. However, the level of care required could not be sustained as Korea was caught in the monetary crisis of the mid-1990s and aided by loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).<sup>104</sup> The government focused on financial and economic reform, and did not have the funds to continue their support for policies relating to cultural heritage. Fortunately, a recovery was achieved within a relatively short period, but it had the effect of re-enforcing the dominance of economic factors in the formation of policy, rather than encouraging a more balanced approach to economic, social and cultural policies. Today, various shortcomings in the field of conservation of built heritage still exist. Five main problem areas have been identified: deficiency of awareness about practical use and reuse; the isolation of heritage assets for preservation; centralized government planning; insufficient cooperation and administration after planning; and a lack of research and experience.<sup>105</sup> Far more of Korea's priceless cultural heritage has been damaged by a lack of proper care, rather than through policies, legislation and systems or their absence. The importance of new development is still dominant in Korean society and cultural heritage conservation is not a hot political issue in itself, merely an issue about indispensable things.

At the end of 2007, historic gardens were finally recognized by law as heritage. This marks a starting point for the proper conservation of Korean historic gardens, though there are many issues to be resolved.

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<sup>104</sup> Dong-chul Cho, 'Recovering from the Crisis: Where Does the Korean Economy Stand?', *Korea Journal*, 39/3 (1999), p. 184.

<sup>105</sup> Sung-jin Kim, *Utilizing Traditional Houses and Villages as Tourism Resources in a Sustainable Way*, (Seoul: Korea Tourism Research Institute, 2001) p. 57.

## THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the issues is how to recognize historic landscapes in landscape education. At present, 46 colleges and universities in Korea offer 73 undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in landscape architecture that are accredited by the Ordinance of College Enrolment.<sup>106</sup> Korea is one of the world's leading countries in terms of the number of university departments of landscape architecture per capita. However, due to the influence of American education, curricula have focused on the planning and design of landscape projects. Since the 1980s, the practical aspects of landscape architecture have not been a priority and there is no provision for apprenticeships. Moreover, there is no gardening tutorial in horticultural other than at university level.<sup>107</sup>

Even though landscape architecture departments are well established at universities, there is no recognized qualification in garden conservation or garden history. The only way to study these subjects at university level is to take a research degree with a thesis subject relating to historic gardens, garden history or garden conservation. Horticultural courses are offered by various universities; however, they mainly focus on scientific and commercial approaches to plant cultivation. Curriculum and research topics have not focused on historic gardens, or even on modern gardens. Garden history is minor subject in the field of landscape studies. The academic curriculum has taken no notice of historic gardens and historic designed landscapes. In the general four-year bachelor degree programmes, there are only two modules regarding historic gardens or the history of landscape architecture, even though there has been a tendency in recent years for professors to reinterpret the theories and concepts of landscape for the Korean context, paying attention to distinctive regional and cultural characteristics. Generally, the study of historic designed landscape represents only 5.6% in the whole curriculum of landscape architecture courses. On the other hand, design and planning subjects make up 53.3% of the curriculum and plants and planting design 25.9%.<sup>108</sup> The curriculum is biased towards modern design and planning modules; in addition, ecology and urbanism has begun to affect these modules.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Nong-oh Kim, 'The Change of Country Landscapes and the Development Process of Learned Circles of Landscape Architecture in Korea', in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang-zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), pp. 122-125.

<sup>107</sup> In an interview with Prof. Byung-rim Yoo, he noted that the universities' education has contributed in no way to development of garden culture.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. pp. 125-128.

<sup>109</sup> Kee-won Hwang, 'Thirty-years history of landscape architectural education in Korea: restropects and prospects', in *Symposium of Landscape Architecture of Korea: 1972-2002 at the Sejong Center*, chaired by Sang-zoon Kwon (Seoul: Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, 2002), p. 64.



In conclusion, there is no well-rounded curriculum in which historical and contemporary thoughts are united. This situation has not been improved because it is hard to find any reviews which discuss the inadequacy of education about the historic designed landscapes. Even though there have been several voices reviewing curriculums for education in landscape architecture, particularly during the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the KILA, major issues still focus on professional education for modern landscape architects rather than on the lack of traditional subjects. Efforts to investigate Korean identity or tradition are insufficient.<sup>110</sup>

There is no current programme to qualify as a gardener, despite the many landscape architectural courses in Korea. The lack of serious consideration of gardening as an option, whether in higher, secondary or technical education, is a real issue in managing our inheritance and in the redevelopment of our traditional garden culture. The general public also does not have any opportunity to learn about garden culture, gardening or historic gardens, as there are no public lectures, continuing education programmes or short courses at a university or other institution.<sup>111</sup>

#### PROGRAMMES FOR HISTORIC DESIGNED LANDSCAPES

As a result of the recognition that there is a lacuna in universities' curriculum, a department for traditional landscape was launched at the Korean National University of Cultural Heritage (KNUCH). It aims to address the differences between historical and contemporary thought, between indigenous and foreign thought, and emerges from an awareness of the need for specialized education on historic gardens and traditional landscape architecture. Along with the improvement in the economy in recent years, there has been a growing appreciation of the role of culture in Korean life. At the same time, increasing numbers of excavated archaeological sites, more conservation and repair of cultural remains due to extensive land development, have revealed that there is a shortage in specialists with knowledge of how to deal properly with

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<sup>110</sup> Sang-chul Choi, 'An Analysis of Curricula in the Korean Education of Landscape Architecture', *Journal of Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 3/2 (1975), pp. 59-67; Hong-mo Yang, 'A study on the direction and the standard curriculum for the undergraduate education of landscape architecture in Korea', *Journal of Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 10/2 (1982), pp. 27-46; Kee-won Hwang, 'Agenda for Landscape Architecture Education in Korea: Its Structure and Major Issues', *Journal of Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 11/1 (1983), pp. 1-10; Yong-ki Kim, 'A Study on the Undergraduate Education of Landscape Architecture in Korea', *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 11/1 (1983), pp. 1-12; Bong-won Ahn, 'A Study on the Improvement Suggestion of Landscape Architectural Experiment and Practice in University Education', *Journal of Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 11/1 (1983), pp. 23-33.

<sup>111</sup> In an interview with Prof. Byung-rim Yoo, he pointed out that there is no medium to educate or to promote garden culture to the public.

cultural heritage. It was because of concerns about this shortage that led to the establishment of KNUCH by Presidential Decree 14982 in 2000. Its purpose is to train specialists who can manage Korea's cultural heritage in a scientifically and professionally responsible manner. The university launched two courses: Traditional Landscape Architecture and Cultural Properties Management. In 2002, four more courses commenced: Traditional Arts and Crafts, Traditional Architecture, Archaeology and Conservation Science. All of these courses are aimed at those who wish to specialize in working with cultural heritage; postgraduate research courses have not yet been established. The four-year Traditional Landscape Architecture curriculum mixes general education in traditional thinking and ideas, cultural assets and traditional notions of aesthetics with research into various methods through which traditional landscapes can be modernized, as well as teaching basic theories and the practical aspects of traditional landscape architecture. The curriculum aims to provide substantive technical and professional competence through learning how to plan, design, construct, supervise, and manage different types of traditional landscape architecture.<sup>112</sup> However, the curriculum contains no teaching related to conservation philosophies and policies, or international standards or trends.

The first six students of this course graduated on March 2004. Currently, there are thirty-seven alumni; however, it is difficult to determine the full extent of the fields where they have contributed to traditional landscape architecture or historic gardens in the private sector or government, as they work mainly in contemporary landscape firms.<sup>113</sup> It is likely that the university will be able to play a prominent role in the future by educating professionals in the field of historic designed landscapes and in the study of historic gardens, but only if the

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<sup>112</sup> The curriculum consists of 46 subjects: Field Practice I, II; Introduction to Landscape Architecture; Drawing Techniques of Landscape Architecture; Landscape Architecture Design I, II; Landscape Planning; History of Korean Landscape Architecture; Landscape Dendrology and Practice I, II; Readings of Landscape Architecture Documents; Landscape Archaeology and Practice; Landscape Design Practice; Traditional Landscape Planning; History of Eastern Landscape Architecture; Computer-aided Design I, II; Cultural Properties Survey of Landscape Architecture I, II; Materials and Construction of Traditional Landscape Architecture; Aesthetics of Traditional Landscape Architecture; Construction and Engineering of Landscape Architecture; Contemporary Landscape Architecture Design I, II; Historical Relics Landscape Architecture Design I, II; History of Western Landscape Architecture; Planting Design; Soil Science; Field Practice of Cultural Properties; Construction and Cost Estimating of Landscape Architecture; Landscape Management of Cultural Properties; Environmental Ecology; Wood Physiology; Topics in Nature Properties, Topics in Cultural Properties; Architectural Design and Thesis for Graduation; Stylistics of Korean Landscape Architecture; Plant Pathology and Pesticides; Geographic Information System of Cultural Properties; Historical Landscape Conservation; Landscape architecture Internship; Cultural Properties Internship; Traditional Landscape Analysis; Utilization of Cultural Properties; <http://tla.nuch.ac.kr/nuch.html?NUCH=D0401>.

<sup>113</sup> Ten alumni have been engaged in design companies; four work in the civil service; four are on postgraduate courses; seven practise as contractors. It is not known whether they engage in work related to traditional or modern landscape architecture; The Korean National University of Cultural Heritage (<http://tla.nuch.ac.kr/nuch.html?NUCH=D0402>: December 2007); more details about statistics of alumni were requested but the request was rejected on the grounds that this was private information.

curriculum is reinforced with teaching about conservation theories and international issues and trends.<sup>114</sup>

Along with the few university curriculums dealing with historic landscapes, there is another reason why research into historic landscapes is limited. They are not amongst the main research objectives of the national institutes. The National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH) was established in 1969 in order to research cultural heritage and consists of two administrative divisions and seven research divisions. The Division of Architectural Studies aims at providing basic source material as a foundation for studies of traditional building culture and to provide academic and technical support for the conservation of traditional architecture. In this regard, the division should also conduct research on historic gardens and designed landscapes, but this has not been done.<sup>115</sup> On 6 April 2006, the Natural Heritage Division was established in the NRICH to take charge of research on natural heritage. In 2007, scenic sites became one of the research aims for this division because scenic sites had been embraced within the natural heritage division of the CHA. The division consists of nine staff, with two members responsible for scenic sites and traditional landscape architecture, but no one is qualified in historic gardens or landscape architecture. One position was recently changed so that a researcher in landscape architecture, instead of one qualified in botany, would be employed; however, their tasks are too numerous, being focused not only on historic designed landscapes but also on all kinds of scenic sites.<sup>116</sup>

#### THE CULTURAL HERITAGE CHARTER AND AMENDMENT OF THE CPPA REFLECTING SOCIAL DEMANDS

The government's endeavours to protect the cultural heritage have been strengthened under the aegis of the CHA, and many revisions of the CPPA have been enacted to consolidate government control of cultural heritage. At the recommendation of the organizing committee for the Year of Culture programmes for 1997, the government instituted a charter for cultural heritage. This five-point charter with a preamble includes chapters describing the preservation of cultural assets, protection from development projects and powers to halt vandalism and illegal excavation of cultural properties. The whole text of the Charter is as follows:

##### Cultural Heritage Charter

A nation's cultural heritage embodies its intellectual and spiritual contributions to the

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<sup>114</sup> The Korean National University of Cultural Heritage (<http://tla.nuch.ac.kr/nuch.html?NUCH=D0402>: December 2007).

<sup>115</sup> Interview with researcher in the Department of Architecture in the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, conducted in September 2005.

<sup>116</sup> National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (<http://www.nricp.go.kr/>)



civilization of mankind. Cultural properties, whether tangible or intangible, represent both the essence and the basis of national culture. Our Korean cultural heritage is even more dear to us because they have survived various unfortunate chapters of our long history. Our ongoing efforts to understand, explore and nurture this cultural heritage deepen the love of our country and of our fellow countrymen. All of us must work together to protect our historic relics and their surroundings from being damaged or destroyed, since once damaged, cultural heritage can never be restored to its original condition. We thus proclaim this Cultural Heritage Charter, committing ourselves to the supreme task of handing on to future generations, our spiritual and physical assets as they were handed down to us by our ancestors.

1. Cultural heritage must be preserved in its original condition.
2. Cultural heritage, as well as its surroundings, must be protected from indiscriminate development.
3. Cultural heritage must never be destroyed, stolen, or illegally traded under any circumstances, for it is beyond material value.
4. The value of our cultural heritage must be taught and widely propagated through education at home, in school and in society.
5. All of us must contribute to preserving, developing and transmitting our glorious national culture.

8 December 1997<sup>117</sup>

In contrast, in 1997 the National Assembly failed to pass revisions to the CPPA which attempted to mandate that all development should be preceded by an investigation into cultural assets. In 1999, its sixteenth revision, Article 1 of the CPPA, on the aims of the CPPA, was amended to reflect the Cultural Heritage Charter and a new provision on the principle of protection was added. The OCP was raised in importance. The requirement that any development over 30,000 square metres in area should be preceded by archaeological investigation, which had been rejected in 1997, was re-introduced. In 2001, the registration system, the Registered Cultural Properties System, enforced the preservation of modern cultural heritage, especially for buildings, as a consequence of a consultant's report in 1999.<sup>118</sup> A provision for criminal penalties for any development company failing to carry out an investigation was added in 2002, and the scope of registered cultural properties was expanded. Rather than being defined as

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<sup>117</sup> Cultural Heritage Administration (<http://www.cha.go.kr>).

<sup>118</sup> Institute of Industrial Science in Cheongju University, *A Study on the planning for the preservation and application of Modern Cultural Heritage*, (Daejeon: Cultural Heritage Administration, 1999).

buildings, the amended CPPA recognized designated places as historic sites. Properties of living culture and movable cultural properties were added in 2005, but gardens were still not yet considered for registration in their own right. In 2007, gardens were finally recognized as heritage in law under the limited category of 'scenic sites' through the amendment of the Enforcement Regulation of the CPPA. This was the result of outsourced research, *A Study for re-classifying 'Wonji' as designation type of cultural properties*<sup>119</sup>, which sought to redefine vague notions of *Wonji*<sup>120</sup> as garden heritage in the CPPA, a reflection of increasing concern about the concept of landscape. Even now the law does not provide for conservation policies or standards for historic gardens, even though this amendment marks a milestone by recognizing historic gardens as heritage in law.

### THE RISE OF CONCERN ABOUT LANDSCAPES

Toward the turn of the new millennium, many professionals were looking at landscapes as their research agenda. Therefore the importance of landscapes and the necessity of landscape management and planning became prominent issues for urban and national planning. As a result, Korea implemented the Landscape Law in May 2007. It consists of five chapters including general provisions, landscape planning, landscape projects, landscape agreements, and landscape committees. The law does not fully advocate the concept of cultural landscape in World Heritage and gardens have not yet been understood as cultural landscapes. In terms of landscapes related to historic gardens, the law could be the legal basis for the planning of landscape zones for the outskirts of cultural properties in a Landscape Control Zone, and historical and cultural aesthetic zones in a Aesthetic Control Zone provided by the Act on Planning and Use of National Territory.<sup>121</sup> Article 8 of the Landscape Law provides these two kinds of zone as a basis for landscape planning. It may require some time before gardens are recognized as a designed landscape deserving of inclusion in the category cultural landscapes, but historic gardens seem to have been considered as a distinct issue from cultural landscapes because only a short time has passed since landscapes became a matter of national importance.

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<sup>119</sup> Sangmyeong University-Industry Cooperation, *A Study for re-classifying 'Wonji' as designation type of cultural properties*, (Daejeon: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2006).

<sup>120</sup> *Wonji* was one of elements to the designation criteria of 'historic sites' and 'scenic sites'. This research reviews on next chapter.

<sup>121</sup> The Act on Planning and Use of National Territory was newly established in 2002 by the integration of existing the Urban Planning Act and the Act on Management for Use of National Territory and it stipulates the Landscape Control Zone and Aesthetics Control Zone in article 37, the Designation of Land-use Zone. There are five subcategories: natural landscape; landscape of urban boundary; landscape for outskirts of cultural properties; waterside landscape; and town landscape for the Landscape Control Zone and three subcategories: central aesthetics; historical and cultural aesthetics; and general aesthetics for the Aesthetic Control Zone. The one is used for national land and the other is for urban area; Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

Before the new millennium a few leading scholars carried out some research on landscapes,<sup>122</sup> but it was Japan that led studies of individual landscapes and the example of the Landscape Law implemented in Japan in June 2004 meant that the plight of landscapes in Korea became to be better understood. Another influence from Japan was the registration system implemented in 2001, which was copied in Korea rather than the one recommended by UNESCO for the inscription of World Heritage Cultural Sites. This meant that Korean terms within the field of cultural landscapes have not been properly adapted to national variations.

### ORGANIZATIONS' ACTIVITIES FOR HISTORIC GARDENS

The Korean Garden Society changed its name once more to the Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture (KITLA) in 2004, because it had been argued that the meaning of 'garden' was too limited to describe all designed landscapes of former times. The name of the society's journal was changed to the *Journal of the Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*. The KITLA has contributed to defining the cultural value of historic gardens and discovery of hidden heritage gardens through professional activities such as publishing the journal, holding conferences and academic exchanges with neighbouring countries. Despite the KITLA playing a vital role in promoting historic environments, historic designed landscapes have not become a serious topic for landscape architecture.<sup>123</sup>

Apart from the KITLA, there are no other organizations or institutes studying historic gardens, or dedicated to the conservation of historic gardens. This is despite the view of various individuals that Korean cultural heritage is at risk due to low awareness of its importance and poor enforcement of national policies. From the late 1990s, pressure to conserve cultural heritage has been a main focus of people's movements and various organizations and campaigns have been initiated by those concerned about the historic environment. These campaigns have not been very effective yet and are still their infancy.<sup>124</sup>

On January 2000, the National Trust of Korea (NTK)<sup>125</sup> was established to manage Korea's valuable historical and cultural resources. In 2006, the National Trust Act for Cultural Heritage

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<sup>122</sup> This is revealed by the interview with Prof. Kee-won Hwang who is one of the leading scholars in studying landscape. He pointed out that the study of cultural landscapes in Korea has flourished since Japan tried to enact their Landscape Law.

<sup>123</sup> In an interview with Prof. Byung-rim Yoo, he said that the KITLA has contributed to the study of garden history; however he pointed out that its activity is insufficient.

<sup>124</sup> Seong-kyu Ha, 'The role of NGOs for low-income groups in Korean society', *Environment and Urbanization*, 14/1 (2002), pp. 222-223.

<sup>125</sup> The National Trust Movement for the cultural heritage was launched in 2002 with the establishment of a special committee for cultural heritage within the organization of the NTK. The foundation, 'the National Trust Cultural Heritage Fund', was established in 2004.



and Natural Environment Assets was passed in the National Assembly as a result of the activity and endeavours of the NTK; it has been in effect since March 2007. A member of the Korean establishment claim that 'Korea may be the first nation enacting a National Trust Act within such a short time, which reflects the nation's strong desire to build a civil movement for the protection of natural and cultural heritage'<sup>126</sup>. However, there is a problem with the type of National Trust which has been created in Korea. The act stipulates the establishment of new organizations in its Article 3<sup>127</sup>. Therefore, there are three organizations. The NTK is an NGO, which was established in 2000, and the others, the National Trust for Cultural Heritage (NTCH) and the National Nature Trust (NNT), are quasi-governmental organizations under legal protection.<sup>128</sup> The establishment of these organizations was the consequence of a bureaucratic approach to the management of cultural and natural heritage as being the responsibility of the Ministry of Environment (ME) and the Cultural Heritage Administration, rather than, for example, concern for the authenticity of cultural and natural heritage in a Korean context.<sup>129</sup>

NGOs could be an important catalyst for enabling societies to protect their heritage and to bridge the gap between government policies and reality. There is also an important role for an NGO to fill in inspiring awareness and encouraging public education at the civic level. The

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<sup>126</sup> Myung-rae Cho, 'Building Civic Trust in a State-led Society: The Enactment of National Trust Act in Korea and After', in *the 12th International Conference of National Trusts* (New Delhi: INTACH, 2007).

<sup>127</sup> Article 3 in the National Trust Act for Cultural Heritage and Natural Environment Assets, Act No. 9037. 28 Mar. 2008.

<sup>128</sup> The government's support is restricted to ordinary expenditure for those organizations; for example, the NTCH is assisted with about £100,000 (KRW 200m) working expenses a year by the CHA.

<sup>129</sup> In 2006, the ME initiated the act according to the draft of the National Trust Act, which was commissioned by the NTK. During the time of preparation of the act, there were serious controversies between conservationists with interests in environmental and cultural heritage, and conflicts between the ME and the CHA about the main role of the National Trust activities. Finally, the National Trust organization was divided into two bodies. Basically NGOs or NPOs are stipulated in articles 32 and 97 of the Civil Law and their establishment and operation are controlled under the Act on the Establishment and Operation of Public-Service Corporation. Any NGO or NPO should obtain permission to establish as a foundation or a corporation aggregate from the one of 28 government bodies according to regulation of each body; for example, the NTK and the NNT were established by the Regulation on the Establishment and Supervision of Non-Profit Corporation under the auspices of the Ministry of Environment while the NTCH was founded by the Regulation on the Establishment and Supervision of Non-Profit Corporation under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Cultural Heritage Administration. These two bodies already appeared contradictory, as these organizations deal with same field, despite being separated into cultural and natural field. For example, the National Nature Trust initiated seven trust programmes: the Great Baekdu Mountains; Coastline; De-militarized Zone; the Jeju Island Gotjawal; Riversides and wetlands; Family Mountains and Community Forest; Rural village. However, some programmes of the NTK may be duplicated by the NTCH. It is natural that it is hard to clearly divide these organizations by the concepts of natural and cultural. The last two programmes of the NNT are mainly related to cultural heritage, with surrounding natural environments, and the concept of family mountains and community forest is already included in the concept of the rural village as a setting for village or cultural landscapes. It would not be necessary or possible to consider these concepts separately.

conservation of historic gardens could also expect to be achieved throughout the activities of an NGO, but people are still looking at things superficially. A more important issue when other experiences are investigated is how the Trust successfully overcame such difficulties at each stage of its development and what were the main issues in its history, rather than how much heritage it preserved. It could be said that the civil society movement for the historic environment is still in the earliest of stages in Korea.<sup>130</sup> This means that Korea has the chance to develop organizations which can assist with the conservation of historic gardens, particularly in raising awareness and the understanding of the contents, scope and significance of historic gardens in the near future.

### HIGH-RISE APARTMENTS VERSUS COURTYARD TYPOLOGY

Until recently, attitudes and perceptions of cultural heritage have been gradually developed in a legislative framework and amongst the general public. Upon investigation, however, attitudes towards where it is best, or appropriate, to live, which are the foundation for attitudes toward maintaining, promoting and developing historic gardens have been getting worse in terms of keeping a garden culture in people's life. Housing policy today is still oriented towards the supply of apartments, even though the environment and ecology are perceived as important issues for people's quality of life. Apartment-based urban development (or redevelopment) has been carried out under the veil of 'environmentally friendly development', 'introduction of an eco-based index', 'securing sufficient greenery', 'the extensive use of environmentally friendly materials' and so on.<sup>131</sup> Paradoxically, these slogans reveal that open spaces in and around apartment complexes are considered to be an important indicator for quality of the living environment. Hence it appears that high-rise developments have contributed somewhat to expanding the public's and government's appreciation of landscape architecture in a quantitative respect.

According to the 2005 national census, the proportion of housing stock in apartments was up to about 52.75 per cent, having increased from 37.7 per cent in 1995.<sup>132</sup> The rate almost doubled during this ten-year period because new apartment buildings in new urban developments and

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<sup>130</sup> In an interview with Prof. Byoung-e Yang as the representative of the NTK, he spoke about the activities of the National Trust in Korea and its potential.

<sup>131</sup> Seoul Metropolitan Government ([http://english.seoul.go.kr/gover/initiatives/inti\\_03devel.htm](http://english.seoul.go.kr/gover/initiatives/inti_03devel.htm)).

<sup>132</sup> Between 1995 and 2000, apartments accounted for 81 per cent of new housing construction, much higher than the 29 per cent recorded during the later half of the 1970s. Over two-thirds (67.8%) of total housing stock is now multi-unit dwelling buildings including apartments, town houses, tenement-houses, residential units in office buildings and so on; from Jae-young Son et al., 'Changing Conditions and Quality of Housing', *Social Indicators Research*, 62/63 (2003), p. 212; Korean Statistical Information Service (<http://www.kosis.kr>).

redevelopment districts had been released into the housing stock. Likewise, for the ratios of housing types in Seoul, multi-household housing was approximately 81.0 per cent, including 54.2 per cent apartment buildings<sup>133</sup> (Fig. 3.14). Even though the ratio of detached houses had declined from 87.0 per cent in 1980 to 24.8 per cent in 2005 (Seoul declined from 70.0 to 9.0 per cent during same period), the total number of detached houses stayed between 400,000 and 470,000, while the total number of tenement houses and town houses increased from 1,070,528 in 1995 to 1,787,721 in 2005<sup>134</sup>. Many detached houses in urban areas were converted into flats as a result of an amendment to the provision about the floor-space index in the Architecture Act. Homeowners eager to cash in on their property are selling their detached houses to developers who construct flats or communal houses. Now highly concentrated housing has become the prevalent form of housing in the cities and suburbs of Korea. The majority of detached-houses-with-gardens have generally survived in poor environments located in old areas of the cities or suburbs and in enclaves occupied by the rich, such as countryside villas or cottages and luxury housing estates.<sup>135</sup>

Even though most architects have been indignant about the architectural penury in the housing sector, in fact elite architects have circumvented the critical issue of apartment-dominated housing policy. They have been indifferent to housing issues, especially the apartment housing issue, arguing that apartment housing has already put down roots in the housing market, and therefore it is impossible to present a transparent counter-argument to this trend.<sup>136</sup> In fact, some critics note the lack of concern about traditional architecture and warn of the side-effects of high-rise housing, but their voices have been stifled by economic values. Landscape architects have also been negligent in promoting an individual garden culture in modern Korean society; indeed, they seem to be delighted with this trend because of the growing market of landscape architecture in the grounds of apartment complexes. Private gardens are beginning to be perceived as the exclusive domain of the rich or those who live in the countryside.

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<sup>133</sup> Korean Statistical Information Service (<http://www.kosis.kr>).

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Jae-young Son *et al.*, 'Changing Conditions and Quality of Housing', *Social Indicators Research*, 62/63 (2003), pp. 212-213.

<sup>136</sup> Valérie Gelézeau, *The Republic of Apartments (Séoul, ville géante, cités radieuses)*, trans. Hye-yeon Gil (Seoul: Humanist, 2007), pp. 110-111.





Fig. 3.14 Aerial view of residential apartment buildings in Daechi-dong, Seoul.

As a result, the majority of Korea's people lead their lives without their own outdoor spaces. Moreover, this trend is expected to continue in the future, as the ratio of apartment dwellings to houses is increasing. It seems that people will follow this general trend because there will be no alternative form of housing. One of the most notable examples in terms of the redevelopment of a residential area is in Seoul. In 2002, Mayor Lee, Myung-bak, currently the president of Korea, launched the New Town Development Project (NTDP) which redeveloped a number of districts in the northern part of Seoul, the area which had formed the old town and been Korea's capital city for more than 600 years. Three redevelopments were envisaged,<sup>137</sup> together forming Eunpyeong New Town, a model new town which receives direct investment from the SMG through its subsidiary, Seoul Housing Corporation (SHC). The plan is to bulldoze the entire district, consisting of detached houses, and to redevelop it with residential high-rise buildings. New facilities and communities will be established within existing urban spaces, rather than merely adding infrastructure and improving the living environment within an existing urban structure, irrespective of whether these are well-organized villages and communities with satisfied residents. The residential planning is also based on almost 100 per cent high-rise apartment housing stock (Fig. 3.15). Detached houses were demolished to make way for the new town, and there seems to be no intention to preserve the house-and-garden concept.

<sup>137</sup> In 2002, three districts were designated as a model new town, twelve districts were designated as a second new town in November 2003, and eleven districts as third new town in December 2005.



How the SMG plans its new town project is evident in the centre of Eunpyeong New Town district. The Hanyang Housing Complex, an estate of single-storey detached houses, consists of 214 households built in 1979.<sup>138</sup> The complex provided a variety of green spaces, with small private gardens, communal allotments and children's playgrounds (Fig. 3.16–3.18). As a result, Hanyang was renowned as a unique village in Seoul with living gardens and a communal culture. It was designated as the first 'beautiful village' by the SMG in 1996.<sup>139</sup>



Fig. 3.15 The master plan of Eunpyeong New Town; from the homepage of Eunpyeong New Town ([http://www.i-sh.co.kr/e\\_newtown/index.jsp](http://www.i-sh.co.kr/e_newtown/index.jsp))

<sup>138</sup> It consists of monotonous house types covering an area of 165 square metres and with a floor space of 92.4 square metres repeated throughout the complex; Seong-tae Hong, 'The Hanyang Housing Complex and Eco-cultural Society', *ECO*, 10/2 (2006), pp. 46-48.

<sup>139</sup> At the completion of Hanyang Housing Complex it was in very poor condition in terms of infrastructure such as the drainage system, electricity and water supply, even though the complex was newly built. At the time of its construction, the emphasis was on its external appearance because President Park ordered the construction of the Hanyang Housing Complex, which was prepared for visiting representatives of North Korea in order to make an ostentatious display of South Korean economic strength. Local residents had to purchase these stereotyped houses, but they had improved the poor quality infrastructure themselves, created gardens individually and shaped community culture over 25 years; *Ibid.* p. 49.





Fig. 3.16 House in Hanyang housing complex, enclosed by pruning *Juniperus chinensis* 'Kaizuka'  
 (Source: from [http://cafe.naver.com/foreverhy.cafe?iframe\\_url=/ArticleRead.nhn%3Farticleid=50](http://cafe.naver.com/foreverhy.cafe?iframe_url=/ArticleRead.nhn%3Farticleid=50))



Fig. 3.17 Houses in Hanyang housing complex, hedged by yew trees without gate  
 (Source: <http://blog.naver.com/pkwuk36/30004938450>)



Fig. 3.18 Hanyang housing complex: Communal allotment in vacant lot  
 (Source: <http://blog.naver.com/pkwuk36/30004938450>)



By the order of Mayor Lee it was listed for demolition under the NTDP. After the announcement of the Eunpyeong New Town development, more than 90 per cent of Hanyang's residents protested that they did not want their houses to be redeveloped,<sup>140</sup> but finally the government used legal force to expropriate all properties and land within the Eunpyeong New Town planning district. Every endeavour to preserve the Hanyang housing complex was rejected and after winning the election in 2006, Mayor Oh, Se-hoon, as the successor to Mayor Lee, finally decided to proceed with the demolition.<sup>141</sup> The government insisted that if the complex survived, the effective value of the new town would depreciate because of disharmony with the developed surroundings, and that the current living environment of the complex was poor. The residents claimed that one of the main reasons they had tried to retain the complex was that the living environment was better than any other residential area, and they wanted to live in a detached house rather than in an apartment because of the fresh air, good neighbours, a well-organized community, and the ability to see the changes of season.<sup>142</sup>

The NTDP was intended to make a profit for the developer rather than improve the original

<sup>140</sup> Initially the government announced that existing housing districts in good condition, such as the Hanyang Housing Complex, would be spared. This complex was formally included within the new town district in August 2003 although the government still stated positively that the complex would survive. In January 2005 the residents appealed for the right to construct a new complex of detached houses in another location, but in August the government responded: 'The phase in which residents' intentions, retention of complex or building a new complex could be approved are already passed and now there is only one resolution which should be legal standard.' At this time the residents missed the opportunity to appeal under the Administrative Litigation Act (Under Article 20 of the Administration Litigation Act of 2002, administrative litigation could be instituted within 90 days after the disposition is known and even it is not known, administrative litigation could be not instituted after one year. In the case of public development, the developer could forcibly purchase properties if there is no legal control; Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>)).

<sup>141</sup> The planning decision caused a citizens' movement to develop for the protection of Hanyang in 2005. As a result of the citizens' movement, the issue received wider publicity, but this could not reverse the decision for the new development. In May 2006, the Seoul Metropolitan Government executively satisfied all conditions to demolish this healthy community, consisting of single-storey detached houses with gardens. The slogan for the new town was: 'Resort type, ecological garden city' even though upon completion the new town was expected to contain less than 50 per cent of the green spaces that existing before. In January 2006 there was an attempt to register the Hanyang Housing Complex as Modern Cultural Heritage because the complex had historical, sociological and cultural value. Even though it had only 25 years of history, the complex is a crucial place for the modern history of Korean gardens to affirm how to establish garden culture in a period of radical development and how to develop garden culture in modern society. It was the first case to apply for the registration of Modern Cultural Heritage at the owners' own motion since the inception of the system in 2001; Seong-tae Hong, 'The Hanyang Housing Complex and Eco-cultural Society', *ECO*, 10/2 (2006), p. 52; The homepage of Eunpyeong New Town ([http://i-sh.co.kr/e\\_newtown/index.jsp](http://i-sh.co.kr/e_newtown/index.jsp)); Seong-ken Shin, 'Hanyang housing complex: please, leave it well alone', *Hangyerye* 21, 596 (8 February 2006), (e-source from <ftp://h21.hani.co.kr/section-021118000/2006/02/021118000200602080596021.html>)).

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. pp. 56-63; Seong-ken Shin, 'Hanyang housing complex: please, leave it well alone', *Hangyerye* 21, 596 (8 February 2006); e-source from <ftp://h21.hani.co.kr/section-021118000/2006/02/021118000200602080596021.html>.

residents' housing welfare, and such housing primarily benefited the middle-income groups who could afford to buy a new apartment unit in a new town. In fact, the ratio of original low-income residents resettling in previous examples of redevelopment in their districts was about 10 per cent after completion of a new town.<sup>143</sup> About 100 million pounds (KRW 200 billion) net profit is expected just from redeveloping the area of the Hanyang Housing Complex for the SMG and SHC<sup>144</sup> and there will be more taxpayers after constructing high-rise apartment housing. New towns provide an increasing opportunity for investment in apartments. This is especially true among the middle class, who tend to believe that ownership of an apartment symbolizes belonging to the middle class.<sup>145</sup> The Korean word for detached house, 'Dandok juteak', does not carry the same connotations of middle-class security and attainment of a house of one's own as the corresponding English word 'detached house'. The Korean equivalent refers to becoming an owner of an esteemed and spacious apartment unit. Recently, high-rise compound buildings, large scale mixed-use high-rise apartments with residential and commercial buildings which maximize developers' profits, have been promoted for their status.<sup>146</sup>

Urban development is a continuous process of transformation from the past to the future, and urban regeneration is an issue of urban development. It considers the rehabilitation of existing structures, redevelopment of existing building and sites, or the re-use of urban land according to local, social and cultural traditions when planning the development on the transformation of a site. A new town project might aim to solve the problems of disparity between different areas, improve the quality of citizens' lives and establish urban infrastructure to satisfy the living requirements of an urban regeneration, but in the case of the Eunpyeong New Town project, it focused on establishing an 'apartment-centred community' as a new city rather than as a 'human-centred community' by improving the urban environment in terms of existing structures.<sup>147</sup> Seoul Housing Corporation announced that there would be a variety of types of housing, but this is limited by the variety of types of apartment buildings with various

<sup>143</sup> Seong-kyu Ha, 'Housing Poverty and Directions of Housing Welfare in Seoul', *Urban Studies*, No. 2 (1996), pp. 111-112.

<sup>144</sup> Seong-tae Hong, 'The Hanyang Housing Complex and Eco-cultural Society', *ECO*, 10/2 (2006), pp. 60-61; Seong-ken Shin, 'Hanyang housing complex: please, leave it well alone', *Hangyerye* 21, 596 (8 February 2006); e-source from [ftp://h21.hani.co.kr/section-021118000/2006/02/021118000200602080596021.html](http://h21.hani.co.kr/section-021118000/2006/02/021118000200602080596021.html).

<sup>145</sup> For more information about the perception of an apartment as a symbol of middle class status in Korea see: Valérie Gelézeau, *Séoul, ville géante, cités radieuses*, trans. Hye-yeon Gil (Seoul: Humanist, 2007), pp. 113-149.

<sup>146</sup> Most building companies have their own brand names for apartment housing and mixed-use residential and commercial building.

<sup>147</sup> Seoul Metropolitan Government ([http://english.seoul.go.kr/gover/initiatives/inti\\_03devel.htm](http://english.seoul.go.kr/gover/initiatives/inti_03devel.htm)).

façades.<sup>148</sup> If it is true that the living environment of the detached house and garden typology is poor in the Hanyang Housing Complex, why not rehabilitate or renovate, rather than redevelop and erase everything? The Hanyang Housing Complex was renowned as an environmentally friendly district, designated as a 'beautiful village' and its demolition has several important implications. On the whole, it could be concluded that economic value is still the predominant paradigm, especially at the level of policy-makers and housing suppliers, although this affects users and limits their choices.

### RECREATING TRADITION IN MODERN CONTEXT

Because of the switch to apartments as a dominant housing typology, demand for the services of the landscape architecture profession and the job market for landscape architecture has grown significantly. The work generated involves designing outdoor spaces for apartment complexes, public open spaces, parks, and urban planning, rather than designing private gardens for detached houses.<sup>149</sup> In the light of these circumstances, traditional garden elements have frequently been modified so as to be capable of inclusion in the design of modern landscapes. For example, traditional outdoor elements have been adopted in spaces within apartment complexes for residents' relaxation and strolling. Fortunately, there is now concern to provide adequate outdoor spaces, which are an important criteria of quality of life, and there is a demand for improvements in qualitative aspects of housing as a result of the increase in living standards.

Outdoor spaces often incorporate a pond with a pavilion or with a stream, a characteristic feature inspired by historic gardens which has found a regular place in modern landscape design (Fig. 3.19). But the inclusion of this stereotype features in designs for parks and apartment complexes, as though it can, on its own, bring contact with tradition into modern spaces, is unsatisfactory. Most of these designs are questionable, especially in terms of their authenticity.<sup>150</sup> There is a positive aspect to this attempt to introduce historic garden elements into modern landscaping, but the worry is that the public may form a distorted impression of Korean gardens through these modern interpretations or fused spaces, because these are the sites with which they have the most contact in daily life. These two types, whether authentic or fused with others, seem to have become settled and regarded as an archetype of historic Korean

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<sup>148</sup> The homepage of Eunpyeong New Town ([http://i-sh.co.kr/e\\_newtown/index.jsp](http://i-sh.co.kr/e_newtown/index.jsp)).

<sup>149</sup> Tong-mahn Ahn, 'Landscaping a Fast Growth' *IFLA Newsletter*, 68 (December 2006), pp. 2-3.

<sup>150</sup> The trend of adopting historic garden elements into modern landscaping may be understood as a 'kitsch' modification of traditional landscape elements. The cultural phenomenon of kitsch is analysed focusing on inadequacy/incoherence elements; accumulated/excessive elements; conventional comfort/nostalgic elements; exaggeration elements; amusable satisfaction elements; and mosaic cultural elements; Hyung-soon Hong *et al.*, 'Kitsch Modification of the Traditional Landscape Elements and Its Appearance', *Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 20/4 (2002), pp. 66-78.



gardens in the public's mind, because there is no mass medium which provides sound information about historic gardens or even modern gardening culture.



Fig. 3.19 In the central square of an apartment complex, there is a rectangular pond with a square islet and a traditional pavilion. This is a contemporary design which modifies one of the representative historic garden features but combines it with other modern elements, such as stepping stones, which is not a Korean tradition; from Seok-bum Son, 'Gaenary Prugio Apartment Complex of Yeoksam-dong in Seoul', *Environment & Landscape Architecture of Korea*, 223 (November 2006), p. 70.

It is debatable whether designers are conscious of whether the 'traditional' elements they incorporate in their designs are in fact vernacular or introduced. If designers were able to distinguish between those elements, it could be said to be a valid attempt at good design, yet designers often adopt these elements without such consciousness. Many Japanese features, for example, are adopted in Korean gardens in modern landscape architecture. In particular, when walls, stone embankments and streams are constructed angling inwards, it is a typical Japanese gardening tradition, while Korean gardens traditionally used perpendicular layouts. Several Japanese features have been included in designs under the name of Korean gardens without the designers' awareness.



## CHANGING ATTITUDES REGARDING THE RECOGNITION OF GARDENS

In August 2003, the five-day working week bill was passed by the National Assembly. The system was first launched in the public sector, the finance sector and companies with over 1,000 workers, which switched from a six-day to a five-day working week from the beginning of July 2004. The system was also introduced to companies with 300 to 999 employees from 1 July 2005 and the small firms were phased in over the following years. It will finally be enforced everywhere by 2011. According to this legislation, the legal working hours of Korean employees will gradually be reduced from 44 hours to 40 hours a week.<sup>151</sup> This has had an immediate effect on the social environment and people's life styles. As a result of shorter working hours, people can spend more time and money on their leisure activities. However, gardening does not rate highly among these leisure activities. Gardening has never been a popular pastime and is not likely to become so now, particularly as detached houses with any kind of garden today make up less than 30 per cent of housing in the nation. As a consequence of apartment culture, there is no 'do it yourself' or garden market. For example, in 2005, the British retailer B&Q opened branches in Korea, aiming at a new market for DIY and gardening. These failed due to a stagnant market and in 2007 B&Q subsequently withdrew from Korea. It is a totally different social phenomenon compared with England and even Japan. Gardening is one of the favourite pastimes in both of these countries, with a well developed DIY and gardening market as a result of the presence of houses with gardens.<sup>152</sup>

There is, however, some growth in interest in gardening in Korea, as a reaction to the increasing monotony which results from having high-rise as the main type of housing. There remains a desire for gardens and gardening in apartment housing that is being expressed not only through a few potted plants on a balcony, but making an elegant miniature garden within the balcony space outside the living room, typically 1.5 to 2 metres wide. This kind of indoor space in apartment houses is increasingly popular, providing an alternative to a private garden as well as supplying air moisture and freshness with natural elements (Figs. 3.20 & 3.21)<sup>153</sup>. Demand for

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<sup>151</sup> Soh-yeong Kim, 'Korean labor law reform: evaluation and future prospects', in *Legal Reform in Korea*, edited by Tom Ginsburg (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. 134-147 (pp. 144-145).

<sup>152</sup> In 2006, in England 82 per cent of the housing stock was house or bungalow, where it is possible to have a garden, and Japan also had 56.5 per cent detached houses in 2003. In Japan, the gardening industry is faced with an enthusiastic ageing population who consider this a hobby and a favoured use of leisure time. Gardening was ranked fifth among the pastimes by circulation (32.4 million persons) and share of population and also ranked in third position by average frequency in 2005; FPCJ, *Facts and Figures of Japan 2007*, (Japan: FPCJ, 2007), p. 176. ([http://fpcj.jp/old/e/mres/publication/ff/index\\_07.html](http://fpcj.jp/old/e/mres/publication/ff/index_07.html)); Director-General for Policy Planning & Statistical Research and Training Institute, *Japanese Statistical Yearbook*, (Japan, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2003) (<http://www.stat.go.jp/English/data/nenkan/1431-18.htm>); Department for Communities and Local Government, *Housing statistics 2007*, (London: DCLG, 2008), p. 6.

<sup>153</sup> Dong-kum Han *et al.*, 'Apartment residents' perception and the current use pattern of the indoor



the detached house-and-garden concept on the urban fringe, which Koreans generally call 'Idyllic housing' or 'Suburban-style housing', has generally increased as a result of the side-effects of apartment housing, for example, Sick Building Syndrome, increasing leisure time and the prevailing concept of 'well-being'. Gardens are increasingly perceived as a kind of living space which answers quality of life issues that are of increasing concern, along with other environmental matters. In fact, according to a survey on desirable dwellings, 'Idyllic housing' occupied the highest position, with 42 per cent of respondents saying they would prefer it.<sup>154</sup>



Fig. 3.20 & 3.21 Indoor gardens in the balcony space of apartment units, an expression of a demand for garden space implying a desire for nature in daily life. (Sources: Seong-hyeon Lee & So-hui Kim, *Indoor gardens for apartments & green interior*, (Seoul: Chokyung, 2007), p. 44 & p. 119.)

Since the early 1990s, cultural heritage tourism has been promoted in Korea, partly due to the popularity of *My Exploration of the Cultural Heritage*<sup>155</sup> which featured cultural heritage sites across the country, and since then cultural heritage sites have once more become popular tourist destinations. As a result of the five-day working week, people have more leisure time and are increasingly interested in visiting cultural heritage sites, historic gardens or arboretums on day trips. The number of visitors at specific historic sites dramatically increased between 2004 and 2005. For example, the total number of visitors in the royal palace garden of the Imhaejeon Hall

garden', *Journal of the Korean Society of Living Environmental System*, 13/1 (2006), p. 67.

<sup>154</sup> Chang-bae Park, 'Why citizens try to go to the countryside', *Property Appraisers*, 71 (2006), p. 45.

<sup>155</sup> This book is about introducing the cultural properties through the country; Hong-june Yoo, *My Exploration of the Cultural Heritage Vol.1 - 3*, (Seoul: Changbi Publishers, 1997).



(Anapji) was 170,143 in 2004, but reached 382,699 in 2005 and 594,871 in 2007. Although the Garden of Morning Calm, a modern arboretum, became a famous tourist destination after it was used as a film location in 1997, its visitor numbers increased threefold between 2004 and 2005. One representative Korean garden, Changdeokgung royal palace, increased its visitors from 685,694 in 2004 to about 800,000 in 2006. Despite the introduction of an admission fee in 2005, visitor numbers in Soswaewon have gradually increased from 171,091 to 322,364 in 2007.<sup>156</sup> These statistics confirm that the number of Koreans interested in historic gardens as tourist destinations has increased dramatically over the past few years because of the reduction of working hours and growing interest in different ways of spending spare time. However, garden visiting is limited to a few representative historic gardens, because most historic gardens have not been maintained adequately and have not been developed as tourist destinations.

Along with increasing the social demand for cultural heritage, the public's perception of some famous historic gardens changed. In 2003, in developing the global theme of World Heritage in Korea, the Korean National Commission for UNESCO researched what kind of cultural heritage should be nominated for listing as World Heritage and surveyed public opinion about cultural heritage sites. A key finding of the survey's results was that historic gardens are perceived as one of the representative features of Korean cultural heritage and that cultural landscapes are highly valued, more so than separated cultural heritage sites. The most favourite categories were traditional villages, selected by 67.3 per cent of respondents. Historic gardens were selected by 40.4 per cent of respondents. In naming favourite sites, respondents chose Anapji and Soswaewon. The Relics of Yun, Seondo in Bogildo Island ranked ninth within all categories of this questionnaire. Among nine categories chosen as favourite sites by more than 40 per cent of respondents, seven were cultural landscapes and over 50 per cent of all categories selected by more than 30 per cent of respondents were also related to the cultural landscape.<sup>157</sup>

It is believed that cultural heritage is an important indicator of aspects of national identity and that it can be embodied in tourist destinations. According to another survey, over 80.4 per cent of respondents agreed that cultural heritage was an indicator of national cultural identity which affects perceptions of Korea in other countries of the world global competitiveness. The survey shows historic environments are considered an important factor for national representation in the future. In this survey, 58.2 per cent of Koreans answered that their culture was excellent or were asked Korean cultural heritage willing to tourist attractions in a similar way to developed

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<sup>156</sup> Statistics of Tourism (<http://www.tour.go.kr>)

<sup>157</sup> Hye-eun Lee & Kee-won Hwang, *A Research on Developing Global Theme of World Heritage*, (Seoul: Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 2003), pp. 37-43.

countries of heritage tourism. However, respondents regarded national cultural policy and policies relating to heritage and cultural tourism as substandard. Moreover, 57 per cent of respondents answered that the CPPA might be not competent to manage cultural properties as tourist destinations. They thought the act did not help to conserve historic environments properly or to develop cultural and heritage tourism; it was a restrictive policy which intervened the development of tourism – 69.6 per cent of respondents answered affirmatively on the need for improving the CPPA to encourage cultural and heritage tourism, and 74.9 per cent believed in the need for an organization exclusively for the care and promotion of heritage assets. This indicates that people want to expand their cultural experiences and feel the necessity to revise the CPPA, and shows that the current situation does not satisfy their cultural demands.<sup>158</sup>

### THE PROTECTION OF EXCAVATION REMAINS OF GARDENS

Although gardens are hard to maintain as an inanimate artefact, historic gardens are often involved in archaeological sites, whether as ‘hardscaping’ garden features or ‘softscaping’ garden components.<sup>159</sup> After the archaeological excavation for Anapji (the eastern royal palace garden in the Silla dynasty: 57 B.C.–A.D. 935) in 1975, which was the first large-scale project linking archeology with garden restoration work, reconstruction was completed in 1980. Since then, numerous excavation projects have been completed, but in most cases they have not progressed into conservation projects as this would require a long-term commitment. Excavations have contributed to examinations of what a Korean garden was, what the archetype of the Korean garden was, and in the light of the findings there has been a more objective reassessment of garden design in Korea. But garden archaeology has not been considered as the basis for conservation projects.

In the light of this limited use of garden archaeology in conservation projects, the greatest dilemma is the management of buried historic gardens after excavation, which should be considered more seriously. Two recent significant archaeological excavations of garden sites suggest that the defining feature of the garden in the eighth century was the pond. The pond garden at Yonggang-dong, Gyeongju City in the Unified Silla period, was excavated between September 1998 and April 1999, while the pond garden in Guhwang-dong was excavated from 1999 to 2004. The ponds of these two gardens were characterized by their shore edging, with a

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<sup>158</sup> Hyeon woo Park, ‘A study on the behavior and perception of tourists and residents towards the Cultural Properties Protection Act and use of cultural assets’, unpublished MA dissertation, Dongguk University, 2001, pp. 114-119.

<sup>159</sup> Chris Currie, *Garden Archaeology: Practical Handbooks in Archaeology No. 17*, (London: Council for British Archaeology, 2005), p. 2.



winding and varied shoreline to the ponds and the islands<sup>160</sup> (Fig. 3.22). However, Yonggang-dong site has been totally neglected and threatened after the excavation project, despite the fact that it was designated as a historic site at the national-designated level in 1999. Even though the ground was covered by topsoil after the archaeological excavation, the site has been occupied by neighbouring residents as allotments, ground was torn up and most of the stones of the reinforcing structure around the pond have been removed and used to mark the boundaries of fields. Officially the site manager is the Gyeongju City Council, but there is only a simple white panel informing that the site has been designated as national cultural heritage (Fig. 3.23).



Fig. 3.22 Aerial view of the site after excavation. (Sources: Yonggang-dong; from Young Nam Institute of Cultural Property, *Yonggang-dong pond remains in Gyeongju*, (Korea: Young Nam Institute of Cultural Property, 2001), p. 181.)

<sup>160</sup> The pond garden in Yonggang-dong had an island which seems to have been connected to the garden with a bridge. The sites of small buildings are located in the east and southeast part of the garden. There are the remains of a stream in the southeast to connect with the building site. The stone structure of the island, along the shore, peculiarly, is not built of piles of horizontal stone pieces but of standing ones. The excavated site is an area of about 1468 square metres. The garden remains were partially revealed because the surrounding area was already occupied by buildings and roads. Although so far it is not clear whether those pond gardens were the part of a royal villa, temples or the residences of nobles, this is a very important archaeological garden site which reveals the garden features and culture from more than 1200 years ago; Ji-soung Beak & Jin-ho Ha, 'An Archaeological Study on the Spatial Structure of the Pond Garden in Yonggang-dong, Gyeongju-city in the Unified Shilla Period', *The Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 20/3 (2002), p. 38.



relatively unimportant one in the administration of local governments.<sup>160</sup>



Fig. 3.23 The condition of the site in August 2004, after the excavation; even though all area was covered by earth, archaeological garden features were destroyed by growing vegetables, stones from pond embankment have been re-used as field boundaries.

### CULTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND THE REALITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLITICS

According to a questionnaire survey of local government officials, conducted in 2002 by Byeong-gug Jeong, a member of the National Assembly, 84.6 per cent of officials had no experience related to cultural heritage affairs in their previous posts. In terms of the duration of their care of cultural heritage, most officials were rather inexperienced: 21 per cent of officials had experience of less than one year and 76 per cent had worked for cultural heritage less than 4 years, because the principle of Korean executive posts is rotation<sup>161</sup> and most officials were recruited by civil examinations with no regard to specialization.<sup>162</sup> Only 14.5 per cent of officials were satisfied with their position because a post in charge of cultural heritage is a

<sup>161</sup> Officials who have worked in a certain post for a certain period of time must take another post which is not regarded as having any connection and relevance to the previous post. This could be good for the individual career and to prevent corruption and complacency within the administrative structure but it can be bad for the specific field of administration that needs specialism and experience.

<sup>162</sup> In an interview with official in the CHA, he argued about the recruit system and officials' duty in the Historic and Scenic Sites Bureau.

relatively unimportant one in the administration of local governments.<sup>163</sup>

The controversy over the Bukchon district of Seoul is a good example of how officials understand and approach conservation of cultural heritage as a living heritage. Although the issue in this case is not directly related to historic gardens, this disputed area is very important for the study of historic gardens as well as for the buildings which are the main concern here, especially gardens in urban traditional housing since the early twentieth century. The Bukchon district, located between Gyeongbokgung Palace, Changdeokgung Palace and the royal ancestral shrine, was known as a residential quarter with relatively large estates for high-ranking officials since the Joseon Dynasty. At the beginning of the twentieth century, after the collapse of the social hierarchy, this district was transformed into groups of small-scale traditional Korean-style houses (*hanok*: 韓屋) and the houses that remain in Bukchon today were mostly renovated around the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>164</sup> As a result, the district is a unique area in which to study the transition from the courtyard gardens of noble houses in a hierarchical society to the houses of ordinary people in modern society. It is an important resource which shows how the courtyards have been changed, enjoyed and maintained, whatever their size and type.

The district was designated as local cultural heritage in 1977, under the special care of the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) for Groups of Historic Buildings Act 1984. This Act was repealed in 1991 because owners were opposed to the designation of their houses as it curtailed their property rights and caused inconvenience. After that, the number of traditional buildings declined from 1,518 in 1985 to 942 in 2000, despite the fact that this district remained as a 'historical and cultural aesthetic zone' under the Urban Planning Act (UPA). In 2001, the SMG sponsored a detailed survey and planning strategy document to provide guidelines for the preservation and conservation of the unique value of Bukchon. This was underpinned with an elaborate architectural survey of the surviving traditional houses and funds for restoration work using traditional materials and techniques as far as possible. Under the new system, the registered *hanok* may be supported by government grants and long-term loans for 'repair and redecoration'.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Byeong-gug Jeong, 'A Proposal for the Conservation Policy of Cultural Properties in Korea', *The material of parliamentary inspection of the administration in Culture and Tourism Committee*, 2002, p. 9; Yang-soon Im, 'A Study of the Cultural Properties Renovation and Conservation of the Government', unpublished MA dissertation, Yonsei University, 2005, pp. 96-97.

<sup>164</sup> Seoul Development Institute, *The Plan for the conservation of the Bukchon Village*, (Seoul; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2001), p. 13; In-ho Song & Young-soo Kim, 'A study on the change of the building appearances according to the change of conservation policies and urban fabric in Bukchon of Seoul, since 1980s', *Journal of Architectural History*, 15/3 (2006), p. 99.

<sup>165</sup> Seoul Development Institute, *The Plan for the conservation of the Bukchon Village*, (Seoul; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2001), pp. 62-67.



The reality contradicted the official intention. This matter was raised as an issue by David Kilburn, a British citizen who has lived in Bukchon since 1988. He complained publicly that nearly all the original *hanoks* had been demolished, with the help of government funds allocated to preserve them. One neighbour, according to Kilburn, was given a government grant and a low interest loan, however, in 2004 the funds were used to completely demolish the traditional house and construct a new two-storey building with non-traditional materials, such as reinforced concrete, steel and aluminium window frames (Fig. 3.24 & 3.25), and a general business licence for a restaurant had also been issued, despite the fact that this is a residential area.<sup>166</sup> These projects were approved by the SMG and the Jongno-gu local government with the officials asserting that there were no proper regulations governing these matters because it was not designated as cultural heritage and this work was in keeping with the result of consultancy and within their interpretation of the laws and regulations applicable, despite the fact that such work was expressly prohibited in *The Plan for the Conservation of the Bukchon Village*.<sup>167</sup>

In regard to the neighbouring house, Kilburn asserted that the new building was two storeys and was not a traditional Korean-style house which would be one storey with a basement. Jaho Company, the developer who got permission from both the Jongno-gu office and the Seoul Metropolitan Government, said that the house seemed to be a two storey building to the layman, but was in fact architecturally a one storey building. The builder and the government used more flexible definitions of *hanok* and an official in the SMG insisted that there were no two storeyed traditional houses in the Bukchon district as far as he knew. Traditional houses were being transformed to the cubic shape of a new style building without a courtyard (Fig. 3.26). Another historic house opposite Kilburn's house was demolished without permission and reconstruction started on 10 March 2006 when this work was stopped by order of the local government authority whose official judged it illegal. However, the next administrative order just required payment of a fine of about 100 pounds (KRW 200,000). There are no regulations which state how to proceed after illegal demolitions of *hanok*. Almost all the houses on Kilburn's street have been renovated under the name of improvement, so that he is now the last owner to oppose such reconstruction work.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Jane Cooper, 'Concrete mania destroys Korean culture', *Korean Herald* (12 October 2005), p. 16.

<sup>167</sup> Seoul Development Institute, *The Plan for the conservation of the Bukchon Village*, (Seoul; Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2001), pp. 326-338.

<sup>168</sup> Jane Cooper, 'Expat struggles to save traditional homes', *Korea Herald* (29 March 2006); David Kilburn, 'Government stops illegal construction at Kahoi-Dong 31-37', <http://www.kahoidong.com/3137.htm>.





Fig. 3.24 A new building replacing a traditional single-storey hanok that had stood on the site since the 1920s. (Sources: Jane Cooper & Hyun-joo Jin, 'Traditional architecture threatened by controversial 'restoration' efforts', *Korean Herald* (4 January 2006), p. 3.)



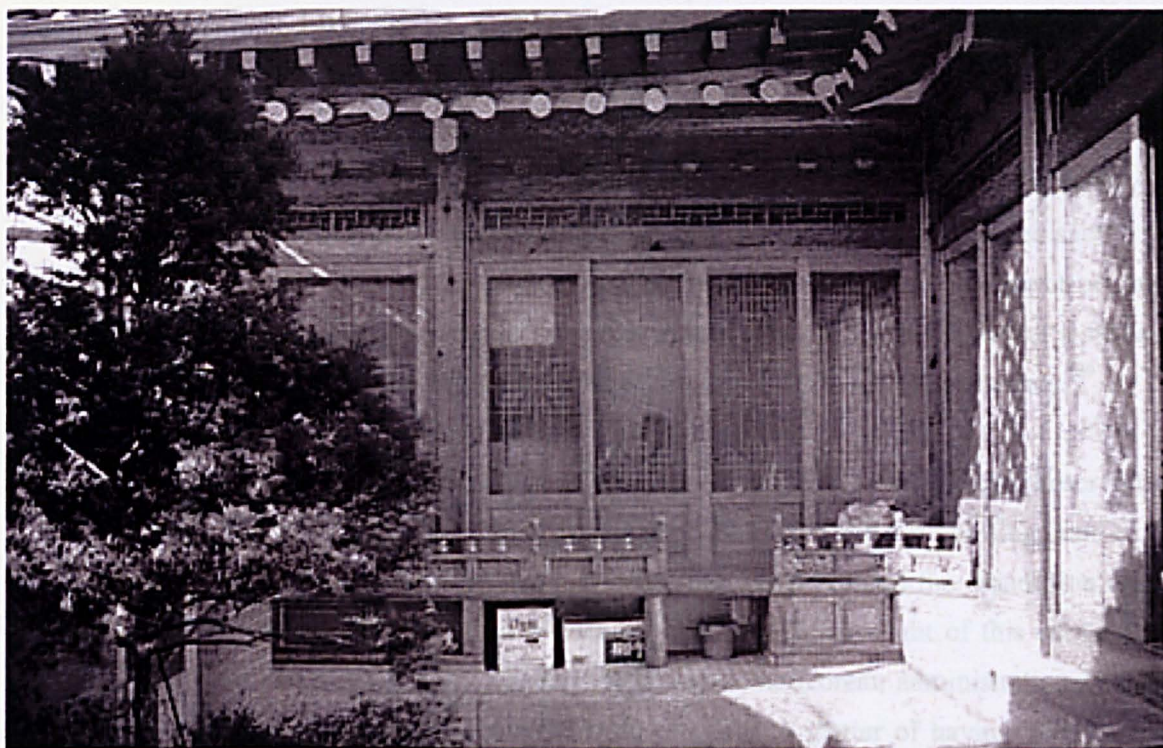


Fig. 3.25 House maintained in its traditional setting with courtyard until or in 2001, Kahoi-Dong 31-95. (Sources: <http://www.kahoidong.com/restorationk.html>)



Fig.3.26 The first floor of the building is a concrete construction and the timber framed house rests atop; to the officials the traditional style tiled roof was the defining criteria upon which planning consent was given either (Source: Sin-jae Yoo, 'The Case of the Deformed Hanok', <http://www.kahoidong.com/hank20070327e.html>)

It thus seems that the local government authority has focused on keeping a traditional style tiled roof under the name of preserving a historic landscape, whether or not such traditional-style buildings are authentic. Therefore it is clear that officials had misunderstood the nature of the plan and its implication. The issue is whether the area of historic houses in Seoul from early in the last century could be preserved with authenticity rather than whether new houses should be permitted if they merely reflected historical styles by having a tiled roof. One might perhaps criticize Kilburn for interfering with national issues, however, in fact it is ironic that it takes a foreigner to value Korean cultural values and lead to the preservation of these treasures.<sup>169</sup>

As a matter of fact, for more than two decades, local government has attempted to preserve the Bukchon district, particularly through preparing a conservation plan and a supporting grant from 2001. However, this interest shown by the authorities has not prevented the demolition of an increasing number of well preserved old residential buildings. In the light of this case study, questions may be asked how rules are implemented within the Korean administration system, and whether district inspectors have done their job properly. A matter of having policies and regulations on paper for conservation is important, of course, but enforcement requires equal consideration to ensure that policy becomes a reality. The government will need to consider how cultural heritage might be conserved properly, both in policy and in reality.

In the light of this event, Kilburn argues that Korea should review its conservation system and reconsider its conservation philosophies:

...South Korea's track record in preserving its own heritage has achieved only mixed results as large amounts of heritage are destroyed every year. For example, although the Changdeokgung Palace has been lovingly restored, the neighbouring Bukchon area is being relentlessly developed as buildings from the last century are demolished even though the area is described as a historic district with preservation status. Within Gahoe-dong, about half the original hanoks have been totally demolished since 2001 and the destruction continues. Regrettably, public money earmarked for preservation and protection has been used to fund totally new buildings where not one single beam or stone from the original remains. The majority of the new buildings are based on reinforced concrete and steel more than the natural materials that give hanoks their special character.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> David Kilburn's campaign to save the authentic flavour of the neighbourhood started almost by accident. A boundary dispute with a neighbour made him want to search out what authorities were responsible for planning and development in the area so that he could seek resolution of the dispute.

<sup>170</sup> David Kilburn, 'The Value of Heritage: The Problem in South Korea'; from <http://www.kahoidong.com/essay01.htm>.



Some are preserved because of their beauty, some because of their construction techniques, some for the insights they provide into social history and the way people once lived. The preservation work involves public money, donations from business, and subscriptions from the general public. There is a broad consensus that this work is just as important as, say, preserving famous works of art because all these manifestations of human skill and creativity help define the culture and traditions of different peoples. It is so sad that these ideas are not well understood in Korea and that important decisions about what, in reality, is done to preserve Korean culture should be left to mid-level bureaucrats, small construction companies, and speculators.<sup>171</sup>

With increased attention and demand for cultural heritage at the beginning of the new millennium, many projects have been planned and carried out at national and local level in order to characterize local identity and to provide cultural places for the public through opening state-designated cultural heritage sites. However, there is a lack of understanding and perception of what cultural heritage is and how to enforce its correct preservation, and its economic management and utilization in reality.

There is another struggle currently under way involving cultural heritage management that reflects the lack of an action plan and a management budget. Recently 'state-designated cultural heritage opening to the public' has emerged as one of the main issues in national politics. The Korean government has endeavoured to open some valuable heritage sites, such as Gyeonghoiru in Gyeongbokgung Palace, the last part of the Royal Garden in Changdeokgung Palace and the City Wall in Mt. Bukak to the public. However, the policy of 'giving back the heritage sites to the citizens' was the result of too much political interest in cultural heritage, and interest of the wrong sort: it seemed to be only interesting as a way of showing off. Opening such sites may be a good idea, but ideas without guidelines or maintenance regulations and action plans lead to man-made disasters.

The current level of the management for historic gardens could be compared with the management of national treasures. Recently, Sungnyemun Gate<sup>172</sup>, officially Korea's No. 1 national treasure dating from 1398, was destroyed by fire. It was opened to the public in March 2006 with the construction of a square in front of the gate, without any precautionary

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<sup>171</sup> David Kilburn, 'The Destruction of Kahoi Dong'; from [http://www.kahoidong.com/index\\_e.shtm](http://www.kahoidong.com/index_e.shtm).

<sup>172</sup> Sungnyemun Gate ('Cherishing morality and etiquette'), also called Namdaemun Great (South gate), was built in 1398, rebuilt in 1447 and renovated several times, the last being in 1960.

measures.<sup>173</sup> After about one year, a concerned member of the public attempted to warn the authorities about the risk of arson. Young-hoon Kim, a Korean student, posted a message on the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on 24 February 2007: ‘Near Sungnyemun, I heard some homeless people say, “Burn it down”. There is no guard at the gate, no protection at all. It was good to open the gate to the public, but it is extremely vulnerable. ... Please do not answer my piece from your desk but go out to the very site. ...’ His appeal was clearly disregarded. There was no report about the management status of Sungnyemun before it was burnt down; afterwards it was used as a shelter by vagrants who used to break in and sleep on the first floor.<sup>174</sup>

Disappointingly, the government’s response was to return the gate to normal as soon as possible, and termed it ‘restoration’. It said that reconstruction will begin soon after the piles of debris are moved; therefore, Sungnyemun will be able to regain its original form in an estimated three years or less, based on a detailed architectural survey made in 2006 and a repair report from the 1960s.<sup>175</sup> Remarkably, it was decided to rebuild the gate on the very next day after the arson. However, there are many critical opinions of the government’s attitude after this incident; many Koreans are concerned about the rush to reconstruction and feel that the government should use the burnt-out gate for educational purposes. It was suggested that the debris should be left and used as a lesson to visitors, at least for a while.<sup>176</sup>

The next day after this tragedy, an emergency Cabinet meeting convened and agreed to reconstruct the gate as soon as possible. It was also agreed that examination and measures for the conservation of 124 other ‘timber building treasures’ should be launched. One anticipates

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<sup>173</sup> Hong-june Yoo, Cultural Heritage Administrator, being responsible for the management of all cultural heritage, was not free from criticism because he was enjoying the privileges of his position by having a barbecue at historic site no. 195, Hyojongdaewangleung (King Hyojong’s tomb) in May 2007, contrary to the CPPA which states that any kind of cooking is prohibited within 500 metres of designated cultural heritage. In an official announcement, Yoo responded that ‘eating some food after sacrificial ritual is tradition’ and ‘we just followed a custom’. However this response is pointless because the issue was not having food in designated cultural heritage site but making a fire there; Jin Yoon, KBS News 9, Korea Broadcasting System (KBS), 16 May 2007.

<sup>174</sup> *The Chosun Ilbo* (11 February 2008)

[http://www.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2008/02/11/2008021100781.html](http://www.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/02/11/2008021100781.html)

<sup>175</sup> Mi-hye Ko, ‘A blaze took the 600-years old National Treasure in a moment’, *Yonhap News Agency* (12 February 2008),

[http://app.yonhapnews.co.kr/yna/basic/article/Search/YIBW\\_showSearchArticle.aspx?searchpart=article&searchtext=%ec%88%ad%eb%a1%80%eb%ac%b8&contents\\_id=AKR20080211134400005&search=1](http://app.yonhapnews.co.kr/yna/basic/article/Search/YIBW_showSearchArticle.aspx?searchpart=article&searchtext=%ec%88%ad%eb%a1%80%eb%ac%b8&contents_id=AKR20080211134400005&search=1)

<sup>176</sup> The government dumped debris such as roof tiles and smoke-blackened timber on a landfill site even before the investigation. The government insisted that there were only valueless things that could not be reused, but in the landfill there were timbers more than one metre in length with just some smoke damage, and many intact tiles which seemed to be more than several hundred years old.

that governmental policies will focus on preparing protective equipment for the designated timber treasures, rather than establishing comprehensive measures and overall policies for the conservation of cultural heritage, because this has been habitual practice in administration structure. One more question arises here: it is questionable if effective protective facilities such as anti-fire measures could be successfully completed because this time there was a change of regime in Korea. This incident symbolized the detrimental side-effects of the Korean economic growth-oriented development policy, because the motivation to start the fire was that the arsonist was aggrieved at being offered insufficient compensation for the land from which he was displaced to enable a development company to built apartment housing.<sup>177</sup>

### **The analysis of attitudes and values**

The following is an analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) to identify the main issues in respect of the existing arrangements to cultural heritage sites and their environment where it affects the conservation of historic designed landscapes. This is a good method through which to establish where Korean historic gardens are today, and where they could be in the future. The weaknesses and threats outlined in the SWOT analysis represent a diagnosis of the situation, the most evident risks facing Korea currently and those of the near future. In fact, they embody the negative variations of possible future progress and are, indeed, warning signs.

The most positive feature of historic gardens in Korea is that Korea has a long history of traditional gardens, more than two thousand years reasonably well documented. Koreans are also ethically and spiritually rather proud and patriotic about their culture. In addition, education in relation to modern gardens for landscape architects has been well established and there is a special education programme for traditional landscape architecture. In terms of the legislative framework, the CPPA has established the protection of cultural heritage, and gardens are now stipulated in the CPPA as one of the designation criteria for the category of scenic sites. Another good factor has been Korea's economic growth and relatively stable political life.

On the other hand, there are several weaknesses that interfere with a development of historic gardens and their care. The major areas of weakness for historic gardens include the academic curriculum, academic research, legal structures, official planning, and urban development. The most significant weakness is that formal education in landscape architecture has an unbalanced

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<sup>177</sup> Jennifer Veale, 'Can Korea Protect Its Historical Sites?', *The Times online* (13 February 2008) (<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1712836,00.html>).



curriculum which provides an incomplete understanding of the development of the Korean garden, and favours modernity over tradition. The study of Korean garden history has not yet achieved a focused distinctive image, and advocates of historic gardens have not yet come to terms with the importance of identifying and promoting their excellent characteristics. Essentially there is currently insufficient knowledge to support measures in historic gardens as an important part of national heritage as well as a lack of traditional skills, perhaps even an absence of skills through which gardens can be managed and understood. The result of inactive academic circles related to historic gardens leads to a lack of a system of identification and recording of historic designed landscapes, insufficient understanding of the components that constitute historic gardens and a lack of understanding what their essence is. As a result, the legal structure is still insufficient to protect historic designed landscapes, even though gardens now fall under the provisions of the CPPA. Moreover, there have been many conservation plans but official plan policies are not always followed as intended by consultants. The biggest weakness for the conservation of historic gardens is that there is a rush to destroy and remove traditional houses and garden developments, replacing them with apartment blocks, thus destroying the remnants of garden culture. It causes a public perception that heritage interests are at odds with economic progress.

The potential opportunities are derived from the strengths, when applied to the purpose of development of historic garden conservation. To address the insufficient legal protection, it may be possible to integrate historic gardens within the main legal system. Heritage policy could be integrated with development interests to achieve a balanced review of proposals affecting heritage sites. Unnecessary conflict between heritage and development interests could be reduced by closer attention to comprehensive policies for heritage and national land development. Historic gardens should be further explored to determine their significance, to understand why they are important and to learn how to deal with them. The biggest opportunity is that there is a growing interest in cultural heritage as understanding of the gardens' historic significance and value to tourism increases. Public attitudes are generally elevated, as for example in the growing concern about the living environment, increasing awareness and appreciation of local heritage and its national importance. Economic growth and changes in social environment could contribute to the improvement of the public's attitude and would increase the value of heritage sites. Economic growth could also increase the number of middle-class people who can demand and pay for gardens as their new pastime. Along with economic growth, the most important change has been the decrease in working hours, which will support an increasing base of potential demand (interest) for gardening and garden visits. There is also growing demand in the tourism marketplace for cultural tourism, so historic gardens could be

attractive tourist destinations. More could be done to evaluate the potential economic benefit of heritage sites as tourism opportunities. There are a growing number of grass-root organizations that promote cultural heritage so historic gardens could be positioned as one of their targets.

The threats are primarily the existing weaknesses, which if not addressed adequately might hinder the development of historic garden conservation in the future. Essentially there is no formal training on the maintenance of historic gardens in Korea; parks and gardens are often managed by people with insufficient knowledge and inappropriate backgrounds because the necessary specialisms are not acknowledged or valued by officials. There are insufficient professionals involved in the administration of historic gardens or other cultural heritage sites, either in local or central government, especially lower-level local authorities. There is also no effective agency or medium to promote historic gardens and they are not yet considered to be suitable objectives for grass-root organizations. The biggest threat to the conservation of historic gardens is that decreasing funding from national and local levels for the conservation of cultural heritage could affect the status of historic gardens. This threat obstructs a long-term focus on historic garden conservation, and makes it difficult to clearly define a vision for the future which can be promoted. This difficulty in agreeing a long-term vision also means that it is impossible to prepare a master plan which must include provision for surveillance and maintenance. Maintenance must include the whole property with its different components managed by multi-disciplinary professional groups that are not yet available, even in government agencies. Policy-makers still rely on short-term planning; politicians use issues relating to cultural heritage as a public pledge, but when they keep their promise it is usually with insufficient investment of resources and maintenance with short-term planning without understanding and appreciating local heritage and strengths.

Nevertheless, above all things, the most important of all these threats is that gardens may disappear as a living landscape, and gardening as a part of daily life. Increasing demand for housing could result in a continuation of the policy to mainly develop apartment housing. High-rise new residential redevelopment could squeeze out courtyard typology housing, which would result in gardens vanishing from daily life. The government and developers assert that height is necessary in order to increase density in urban areas but this trend has spread to suburban development. Affordable efforts are needed to help preserve the small traditional villages and detached housing districts and to avoid major redevelopment projects that are not consistent with the local character. Economic values still dominate Korea's state-led society in all fields of the national life. The government fails to arbitrate fairly between conservation and development, or to balance these two ideologies. It even appears that the government's policies and

administration favour development measured only by tangible achievement at least in terms of land development and housing sector.



**Chapter Four**  
**Legal Framework for**  
**the Conservation of Historic Gardens**

## Chapter 4.

### Legal Framework for the Conservation of Historic Gardens

The legislative framework in which they are made is an important indicator for understanding the conservation of historic gardens or designed landscape. In a state-led national society, particularly, it is significant if the law states that something is to be listed for its protection. Responding to the risks inherent in the on-going process of modernization, the government of South Korea enacted the Cultural Properties Protection Act (CPPA) in 1962 for the protection of cultural heritage. This reflected a national aspiration for the future as well as showing how greatly the preceding century of modernization had affected Korean society, drastically changing its way of life. The CPPA has been amended thirty-two times between 1962 and the first quarter of 2008 to remedy practical problems and to respond to new issues, such as the rapid increase in the number of cultural heritage sites in need of rescue and care, the paucity of international attention, cultural heritage management, and so on.

Nevertheless, South Korea has not protected and managed its historic gardens adequately as part of its cultural heritage. Historic gardens have been classified rather vaguely in the CPPA, unlike historic buildings which are well defined. The only term to be found in the CPPA that related to historic gardens prior to 2007 is *Wonji* (園池), which literally means garden pond; this is just one example within the designation criteria for 'historic sites' and 'scenic sites'.

'Gardens' were finally included in the provisions of the CPPA through an amendment in 2007, which introduced a place for them amongst 'scenic sites'. The characteristics of gardens are, therefore, still rather limited in the CPPA, perhaps because they tend to be perceived as 'natural heritage'. It appears that historic gardens are perceived as only having value as 'scenery', or as 'landscape'. It is as though *Wonji* is the sole characteristic of historic gardens in Korea rather than just one of their important characteristics. Gardens have recently become the responsibility of the Natural Heritage Division of the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA).

There are only fourteen sites identified specifically as 'gardens' by the CHA that are designated as cultural heritage under five different categories.<sup>1</sup> Protection for most historic gardens is mainly dependent on their place as elements within a site, protective area or the curtilage of a building where the garden is a component of a larger whole. It seems that most historic gardens that have been conserved well owe their survival to the fact that they are included in cultural heritage sites; however, these gardens have not been identified as important constituents of

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<sup>1</sup> See Table 4.6.

cultural heritage in their own right. In contrast to the concern for historic buildings, historic gardens and designed landscapes have been left defenceless, without the protection of the law. Fortunately, Korea has taken a first but significant step towards conservation of historic gardens through the amendment to the CPPA in 2007. But there remains an urgent need for a coherent government policy which respects the importance of historic gardens and landscape. New guidance to include the principles of management of historic gardens should be prepared which encompasses conservation planning for historic gardens with historical, aesthetic, and academic value as well as cultural and economic value.

This chapter presents the Korean legislation on cultural heritage protection in order to examine issues relating to, and the limitations upon the conservation of historic gardens. It reviews the administrative structure and its contents, and evaluates the current status of historic gardens within the CPPA. Japanese law is reviewed in relation to historic gardens to compare it with the Korean situation, because the Japanese law has been a highly influential source for the Korean legislature. The limitations on the protection of historic gardens under the present legislation are discussed. In addition, this chapter investigates reasons for the amendment of the CPPA in 2007 and how that amendment affected and what it reflected with respect to historic gardens.

### **Overview of legislative framework for conservation of cultural heritage**

Cultural heritage management in South Korea is governed by a number of statutes such as the CPPA in 1962, the Confucian School Property Act (1962), the Independence Memorial Hall Establishment Act (1986), the Traditional Temple Preservation Act (1987), and the Museum and Art Museum Promotion Act (1991). In addition, there are several statutes for the national planning framework such as the Building Act and the Forest Act, all enacted in 1961, the Framework Act on National Territory<sup>2</sup> and the Act on Planning and Use of National Territory<sup>3</sup> enacted in 2002, and the National Park Act (1980) and the Act on Urban Park and Green Spaces (2005),<sup>4</sup> which stipulate the heritage related to the field of each act. The Natural Environment Conservation Act (1991) and the National Trust Act for Cultural Heritage and Natural Environment Assets (2006) also stipulate cultural or natural heritage that is defined in the CPPA. Insights into current cultural heritage management practices in South Korea can be gained through an examination that the provisions of the CPPA govern the relationships between all the

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<sup>2</sup> This act was established instead of abolishing the Comprehensive Plan of National Land Construction Act (1963) in 2002.

<sup>3</sup> The Urban Planning Act (1961) and the Act on Management for Use of National Territory (1972) were unified into this act in 2002.

<sup>4</sup> The name of this act was changed from the Urban Park Act (1980), expanding the scope of the act.



other statutes.

The CPPA currently consists of eight chapters, 117 articles and appendices, and is accompanied by an 'Enforcement Decree' and an 'Enforcement Regulation' (Table 4.1). The CPPA asserts that its purpose is to preserve and restore precious cultural properties and thus to safeguard the cultural heritage of the Korean people, as well as to contribute to the cultural advancement of mankind. It also aims to ensure that traditional forms of Korean culture will be preserved or revitalized while the rest of Korean society, particularly its economy, continues to change and grow (Article 1). It provides a definition of cultural property in general in Article 2, namely:

'Cultural Properties' in Korea refers to cultural materials handed down for generations which are considered to have great historical, artistic, or academic value.<sup>5</sup>

The basic principle of protection of cultural heritage is also defined in Article 3 as:

The basic principle of preserving, managing and utilizing cultural heritage is to maintain its original form.<sup>6</sup>

Cultural heritage in Korea is mainly classified in terms of its national or local significance as four designations: nationally designated cultural heritage (state-designated heritage); city- or provincial-designated cultural heritage (city or province-designated heritage); Cultural Heritage Materials designated under provincial regulation (cultural heritage materials); and registered cultural heritage from the modern era, specifying the materials of construction (registered cultural heritage).

In the case of state-designated heritage and city- or province-designated heritage, the CPPA classifies cultural heritage into four major categories: tangible heritage (buildings and artefacts); intangible heritage; monuments in the form of historic and scenic sites, natural monuments, and archaeological remains; and important folklore materials (Table 4.2).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Article 2 in the CPPA of 2007 (Act no. 8346); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

Structure of the CPPA	Summary
Chapter 1 (General Provision) Articles 1-4	Defines the purpose of this act, provides definitions of cultural heritage and of designated cultural heritage, and establishes a Committee on Cultural Heritage.
Chapter 2 (State-Designated Cultural Heritage) Articles 5-46	Provides the criteria that define a 'State-Designated Cultural Heritage' and outlines the process that must be followed to assign a property to this category. The chapter describes a designation of protective objects and protection areas for the protection of nationally designated cultural heritage and explains the administration and protection methods and their processes.
Chapter 3 (Registered Cultural Properties) Articles 47-53	Defines the registered cultural heritage.
Chapter 4 (Buried Cultural Heritage) Articles 54-65	Provides guidelines for the recovery of buried cultural heritage through excavation and for the disposition and reporting of new discoveries.
Chapter 5 (Special Provisions Concerning State-owned Cultural Heritage) Articles 66-70	Elucidates the right of management of state-owned cultural heritage and prohibits conveyance and private rights to state-owned cultural heritage.
Chapter 6 (City and Province Designated Cultural Heritage) Articles 71-75	Provisions relating to city- and province-designated cultural heritage.
Chapter 7 (Supplementary Rules) Articles 76-100	Covers a variety of supplementary topics, including the protection of cultural heritage in emergency situations and during construction work; cultural heritage transactions; national assistance for the education of professionals related to cultural heritage; export prohibition; and the protection of foreign cultural heritage.
Chapter 8 (Penal Regulations) Articles 101-117	Includes provisions to penalize individuals and institutions that violate the rules of this act.

Table 4.1 Summary of the CPPA

Main Designation Categories	Features
Tangible heritage	This term refers to tangible cultural products that have substantial historic or artistic value such as buildings, books and printed materials, fine arts, sculptures, and objects of craft work.
Intangible heritage	This term refers to living intangible cultural assets handed down from generation to generation in areas such as theatre, dance, and artisanship.
Monuments	This term refers to archaeological sites, architectural sites, historic sites, and areas of natural and scenic beauty, as well as natural heritage such as endangered flora and fauna. <sup>8</sup> Sites may be classified as historic, scenic, historic and scenic, or monument.
Folklore materials	This term refers to items indispensable to understanding the traditions of the national way of life such as housing, clothing, religious functions, and annual rites.

Table 4.2 Four main classifications of designated cultural heritage

These classifications are made by the Administrator of the CHA after consultation with, and approval by, the Cultural Properties Committee (CPC: Articles 5-9 of the CPPA, Table 4.2). A further classification is available for state-designated heritage as 'treasures' and 'national treasures'. The Administrator may classify 'treasures' from among important cultural properties classified as tangible heritage, and also may classify 'national treasures', which are treasures having outstanding value and rarity.

If there is an imminent threat to a particular cultural heritage item or site that is deemed valuable enough to be protected, the Administrator can declare a provisional designation of that item or site as an 'important cultural heritage' for six months.<sup>9</sup> The Administrator may also designate 'protective structure' or 'protective areas' around sites designated as state-designated heritage if they need special care.<sup>10</sup> This procedure was introduced in the CPPA amendment of 2000, which allowed the declaration of a conservation area within a certain radius from the outer boundary<sup>11</sup> of a designated cultural heritage site to provide protection against construction

<sup>8</sup> It is increasingly recognized that historic sites and scenic beauty have substantial historical and academic value, and also have important artistic and tourist value. Flora and fauna include habitat, breeding places, and places of origin that have significant academic value; <http://www.ocp.go.kr>.

<sup>9</sup> Article 14 of the CPPA of 2007 (Act No. 8346); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>10</sup> Article 9 of the CPPA of 2007 (Act No. 8346); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>11</sup> This refers to the outer boundary of the protected areas, in cases where they are designated; if they are not designated, it refers to the protruding corners of eaves of building or site boundary.



works.<sup>12</sup> The scope of such areas is defined by municipal ordinance, which is determined by the mayor or provincial governor in consultation with the Administrator of the CHA. Any change to this perimeter is subject to the permission of the Administrator.<sup>13</sup>

### The administrative framework for cultural heritage

The Office of Cultural Properties has gone through various facelifts, for example renaming itself the Ministry of Culture and Information in 1968, as the Ministry of Culture in 1989, the Ministry of Culture and Sports in 1993, and then as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) in 1998. The Office of Cultural Properties was upgraded to the position of an independent agency, called the Cultural Properties Administration within the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, as a result of the reorganization of government which followed an amendment to the Government Organization Act in May 1999. In 2004 the Cultural Properties Administration was raised to the status of a vice-ministry to strengthen its capacity and to reflect its importance within the government administration. Recently, its official English name has been changed to the Cultural Heritage Administration, not an exact translation of its Korean name, to take advantage of the broader meaning of the English term ‘cultural heritage.’ Its Korean name has remained unchanged.<sup>14</sup> The CHA has assumed control of all policies and management of the nation’s cultural heritage. The administrative structure of the CHA is organized into four bureaus: Policy Management & Public Relations; Heritage Policy; Historic & Scenic Sites; and Cultural Heritage. Seventeen prominent cultural institutions are associated with it, such as a research institute, the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, established in 1975, and the regional management offices for royal palaces and royal tombs. In 2007, 249 officials were engaged in the main body of CHA with a budget of 389.9 billion won (about 215 million pounds sterling).<sup>15</sup> Funding consisted of 17.2 billion won (9.5 million pounds sterling) from lottery funds and 4.6 billion won (2.5 million pounds sterling) from the tourism promotion fund, but more than 70 per cent of the budget is composed of national government grants for the

<sup>12</sup> This refers to most local governments’ stipulated conservation areas, which means that any construction work should be deliberated during the planning phase, within a 500-metre radius from the outer boundary of a designated heritage in rural area and 200 metres in urban area in municipal or provincial ordinance. However, this area recently has tended to be reduced from 500 metres to 200 metres in rural areas and from 200 metres to 100 metres in urban areas.

<sup>13</sup> Article 90 of the CPPA of 2007 (Act No. 8346); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>14</sup> The Korean name for administration is used and is the same word as *Munhwajaecheong* (문화재청), which literally means it is cultural property despite its English name being changed to Cultural Heritage Administration, for which the Korean literal translation is *Munhwayusancheong* (문화유산청).

<sup>15</sup> In 2008, a total of 783 officials worked in all organizations of the CHA. It accounted for 0.24 per cent of the total budget of the national government and 24.3 per cent of the cultural budget in 2007.

management of cultural heritage made to be distributed amongst all local government authorities.<sup>16</sup>

Close cooperation between national and local government is essential because cultural properties' maintenance is delegated to local authorities. Moreover, since local authorities have had autonomy in July 1995, they are closely associated with the cultural heritage sites and artefacts, and have a better understanding of preservation in the development of local culture because there has been rising issue about the development of tourist attractions and seeking local identity for local economy. Each local authority is responsible for state-designated cultural heritage management action in its district. Its tasks are to manage city- and province-designated cultural heritage and to consider it when planning processes at local and municipal levels.<sup>17</sup> However, cultural heritage is insufficiently managed. In 2004, an average annual budget allocation for cultural properties in fifteen upper-level governments was 0.598 per cent of the total budget.<sup>18</sup> For example, the budget for the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) increased 43.3 per cent between 2007 and 2008, but the budget for managing cultural properties declined 35 per cent in 2008.<sup>19</sup> To make matters worse low-level local government, which is responsible for management action, has fewer resources. Jung-gu local government authority, which has the responsibility of managing the greatest national treasure of all, Sungnyemun, has not applied for funding for the management of cultural heritage from the SMG for the last two years (2006-2008) because of the complicated

<sup>16</sup> Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea (<http://www.cha.go.kr/index.html>).

<sup>17</sup> "The local governments in Korea are divided into two tiers. The upper-level local governments comprise Seoul Metropolitan City, six other Metropolitan Cities, and nine Provinces. The lower-level local governments comprise 234 *si* (city), *gun* (county), and *gu* (autonomous district). Upper-level local governments not only have their own functions to some extent, but they also serve as an intermediary between the central and lower-level local governments. Their administrative units match one-to-one with ministries of the central government; thus, policies and programmes implemented by a certain ministry can be handled by a corresponding unit in the provincial and metropolitan city governments. This administrative system is similar to that of lower-level local government. Lower-level local governments deliver services to the residents through an administrative district system such as *eup*, *myeon*, *dong* and *gu*. District offices are engaged mainly in routine and simple administrative and social service functions. In relation to intergovernmental relations, local governments depend on the central government for decisions and funding for their roles and functions, organization and personnel, and budgets. Even though their main functions are to implement their own policies and to provide services for their citizen, many of their functions are to implement centrally determined policies and programmes as directed by central government ministries"; Jae-geol Nam, 'The Role of Universities in Regional Innovation System Development: an analysis of government policy and university-industry cooperative relationships in South Korea', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2007, pp. 290-291.

<sup>18</sup> There are 16 metropolitan governments in total. Jeju metropolitan government represents an exception to the average rate because its annual budget for cultural heritage in 2004 was 7.92% of the total budget; Byeong-gug Jeong, 'The necessity to establish the Ministry of Cultural Heritage', *Policy paper of parliamentary inspection in 2005 II*, 2005, p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Jong-eop Im et al. 'The poor management of the National Treasures', *The Hankyoreh* (13 February 2008); from [http://hani.co.kr/arti/society/society\\_general/269197.html](http://hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/269197.html).

bureaucratic procedure. Jung-gu local government allocated just 4200 pounds (KRW 8,160,000) for the management of cultural heritage in this district in 2008.<sup>20</sup>

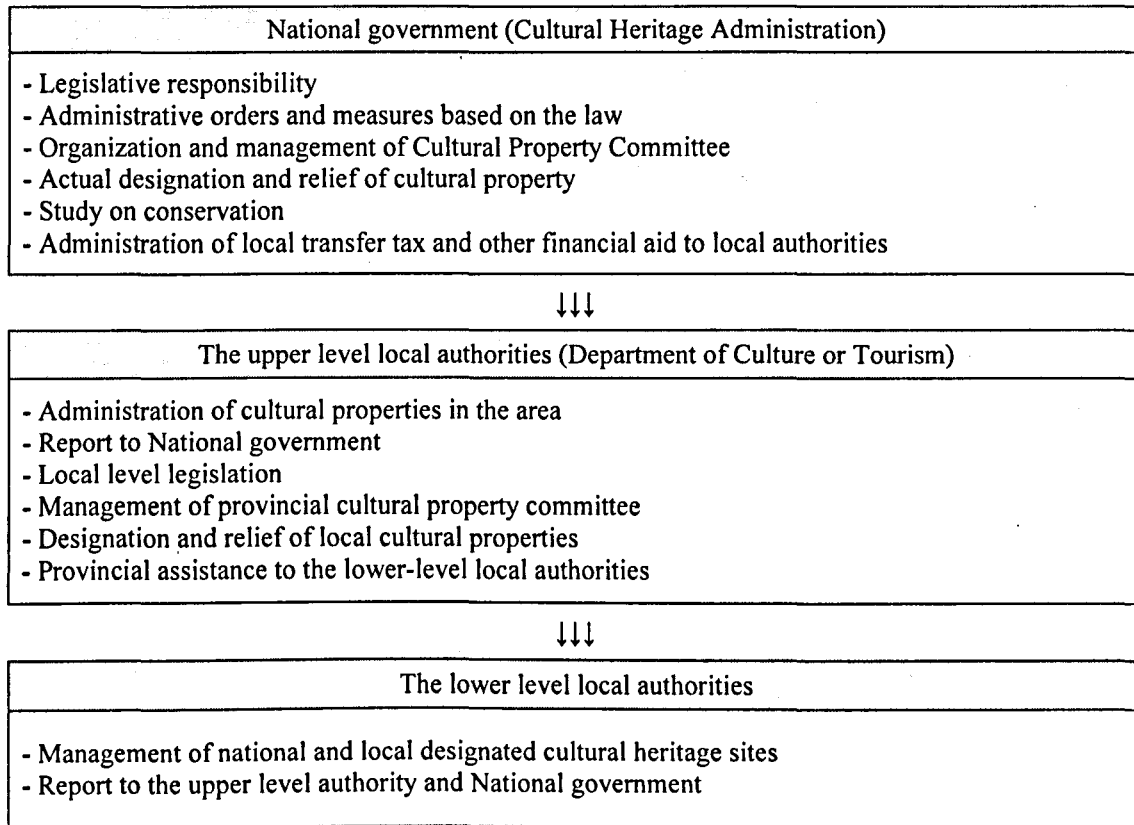


Table 4.3 The heritage management network system

An essential body in the policy-making and administration of cultural properties is the Cultural Properties Committee (CPC), stipulated by the CPPA. Currently, the CPC is organized into eleven committees<sup>21</sup> that reflect the classifications of cultural heritage under the law and the Presidential decree. A total of 120 members are selected for 145 posts, which are filled by prominent academics who are professors and scholars in various fields; curators, consultants, and specialists; and bureaucrats who are heads of relevant government organizations with a two-year tenure for the purpose of deliberating on the matters dealt with by Article 4 of the CPPA. The committee has wide powers to advise the Administrator in respect to the operation of the Act, the designation of cultural properties, the direction of surveys, and the issues on the preservation, management, and utilization of cultural properties.<sup>22</sup> There are also eleven panels

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> The eleven CPCs are: National Treasure Registration; Architecture; Portable Cultural Heritage; Historic Sites; Intangible Cultural Heritage: Arts; Intangible Cultural Heritage: Crafts; Natural Monuments; Buried Cultural Heritage; Modern Cultural Heritage; Folklore Heritage; and Cultural Landscape.

<sup>22</sup> The responsibilities of committee membership are defined in paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the CPPA as follows: designation of state-designated cultural properties has to be deliberated in a committee and also annulment of such designations; designation of a protecting structure or protected area for a state-



comprising 200 members who bring the expertise of eleven academic fields.<sup>23</sup> The role of the panels is to collect, research, and plan the deliberation of cultural heritage matters as the materials to each subcommittee's chairman; panels also have a voice in the competent subcommittee.

### Status of historic gardens as monuments

As mentioned previously, *Wonji*, one of the descriptor for historic sites and scenic sites, has been regarded as a kind of synonym for garden heritage until recently. *Wonji* had been classified in the category of 'scenic sites' as 'scenic spots or garden ponds which possessed a prominent building', from its inception on Article 6 of the Enforcement Regulation of the CPPA in 1964. However, the principal subject seemed to be the building rather than the garden. Sites without a prominent building could not be classified, and this is a measure of the absence of regard for their importance as gardens. In 2007, *Wonji* were specified within the category of scenic sites. In spite of scenic sites having been included in the broad category of 'monument' as sites of cultural heritage from the inception of the CPPA, with the same status as 'historic sites' and 'natural monuments', 'scenic sites' had been under-utilized. There were no designations as scenic sites until the end of 1960 and only seven were designated by 2000.

The CHA announced that historic gardens were to be included in the scenic sites category. *Wonji* was removed from the designation criteria as a result of the Enforcement Regulation amendment of the CPPA the same year.<sup>24</sup> The Administration also reported that twelve historic sites were classified as *Wonji*, of which five possessed superb scenic value characterized by the surrounding natural landscape. These were reassessed and their designation status transformed to scenic sites. The remaining seven were designated as historic sites, having been evaluated as

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designated cultural properties and annulment of such designations; recognition of holders or holding bodies of important intangible cultural properties and annulment of such designations; orders concerning the essential repair and recovery of state-designated cultural properties; permission for alteration of the existing state or export of cultural properties; orders restricting or prohibiting certain actions and establishing, eliminating or removing facilities in order to preserve the environment of state-designated cultural properties; registration of cultural properties and cancellation of such registration; excavation of buried cultural properties; other special or technical matters considered as important to the preservation, management or utilization of state-designated cultural properties; recommendations by the Administrator of Cultural Heritage Administration concerning the designation and management of city and province designated cultural properties or cultural materials; The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>23</sup> The eleven panels consist of Architecture, Arts, History, Historical Books and Records, Archaeology, Folklore and Performing Arts, Modern Culture, Natural Science, Preservation Techniques, Landscape Architecture, and Cultural Landscape.

<sup>24</sup> The Enforcement Regulation of CPPA amended by Ministerial Regulation No. 173, 22 November 2007.

garden ponds meeting the concept of a site possessing high historical and academic value.<sup>25</sup> This important event was the consequence of a consultant's report, 'A Study for Re-classifying *Wonji* as Designation Type of Cultural Properties'.<sup>26</sup> The purpose of this research was to review the designation standard for scenic sites in order to extend designation and protection for them, to evaluate twelve sites in the category of 'historic sites' that are classified as *Wonji*, and to define the term. *Wonji* has several meanings in historical literature because it is expressed by various different Chinese characters. For example, 園地 means garden site or garden remains; 苑地 means the same, but has a more comprehensive meaning than 園地; and 院地 means house remains,<sup>27</sup> but in the CPPA, there is only one Chinese transcription of *Wonji* (園池), which means a garden pond. The designation standard for 'scenic sites' was revised through reviewing each provision and examining the designation systems for scenic sites in neighbouring countries such as Japan, China, and North Korea.<sup>28</sup> Cultural value was implicit in the definition of scenic sites, because, alone among these countries, only Korea designated natural sites as 'scenic sites'. The term 'garden' was stipulated instead of *Wonji* in the CPPA. This was mainly influenced by the Japanese system, because only Japan has understood gardens as one of the prominent components of heritage under the category of 'places of scenic beauty'.

As a result of this research, 'scenic sites' were redefined in the CPPA as places of scenic beauty that possess a high artistic value and superb landscape.<sup>29</sup> Annexed paper 1 of the Enforcement Regulation of the CPPA further classified the designation criteria as follows [emphasis added at no. 3 and 5]:

1. Mountains, hills, plains, plateaus, volcanoes, rivers, sea shores, riversides, islands and other places that possess a superb natural landscape.
2. Places of scenic beauty as habitats of the fauna and flora: places with beautiful plant communities; famous animal habitats having high aesthetic value.
3. Viewpoints overlooking outstanding scenic beauty: scenic spots for sunrise, sunset, sea shores, mountains, rivers and others; *scenic spots consisting of pavilions or belvederes* that are famous places of viewing for villages, towns, cultural remains and others.

<sup>25</sup> The announcement of the designation of cultural heritage on the website of the Cultural Heritage Administration; <http://www.cha.go.kr/>; Korean National Heritage Online; [http://www.heritage.go.kr/cpomfile.do?action=select&optRep=K&cpfi\\_num=2309](http://www.heritage.go.kr/cpomfile.do?action=select&optRep=K&cpfi_num=2309)

<sup>26</sup> University-Industry Cooperation of Sangmyung University, *A Study for Re-classifying Wonji as Designation Type of Cultural Properties* (Daejeon: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2006).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 13-14.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 24-27.

<sup>29</sup> Article 2 in the CPPA of 2007 (Act No. 8346); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

- 4. Natural places of scenic beauty with high historic, cultural, and scenic value such as noted mountains, gorges, channels, capes, swift streams, abysses, waterfalls, lakes and marshes, sandbars and dunes, sources of rivers, springs, rocks, caves and other sites.
- 5. *Prominent buildings or gardens*, places of legends and others which relate to religions, education, living and entertainments: gardens, groves, ponds, reservoirs, cultivated lands, embankments, ports, old roads and others; well-known sites of legends in history, literature, oral tradition and others.
- 6. Sites having high scenic and aesthetic value among the provisions of natural heritage which are applicable to Article 2 in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.<sup>30</sup>

*Wonji*, though, is still one of the designation criteria for historic sites, which are defined as places and facilities of high historical and academic value that are especially worthy of commemoration. Just five sites remain classified as *Wonji* under the category of historic sites. Annexed paper 1 of the Enforcement Regulation of the CPPA defines historic sites as in Table 4.4 below.

Sub-classification	Contents
Prehistoric remains	Shell mounds, dwellings, memorial stones, ancient tombs, and other historic sites that possess a high scientific value for Korea.
Sites of sacrificial rites and faith (religions)	Places of death, altars, Confucian temples and schools, and other historic sites that possess a high scientific value for Korea.
Sites of politics and national defence	Castles, the seats of government, ancient cities, and other historic sites that possess a high scientific value for Korea.
The archaeological remains of industry, transportation, and public works	Old roads, school sites, banks and ditches, and other historic sites that possess a high scientific value for Korea.
Sites of education and social work	Lecture halls, school sites, charitable institutions, and other historic sites that possess a high scientific value for Korea.
Tombs and others	Tombs, stone monuments, old houses, <i>Wonji</i> (garden pond), and other historic sites that possess a high scientific value for Korea.

Table 4.4 The category of the historic sites as referred to in Annexed paper 1 of the Enforcement Regulation of the CPPA

<sup>30</sup> Annexed paper 1 of the Enforcement Regulation of the the CPPA of 2007 (Ministerial Regulation No. 173); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).



At this point, it is clear that the category of scenic sites had been underutilized for the conservation of cultural heritage until 2007. At the same time, historic gardens had not even been perceived as belonging in the category of scenic sites,<sup>31</sup> despite the fact that the CPPA was influenced by Japanese law and used the same categories, under which historic gardens in Japan have been perceived as one of the main descriptors of cultural heritage in historic sites as well as places of scenic beauty. This shows that historic gardens in Korea remain undervalued and are not well understood.

### Japanese legislation framework for historic gardens

Although there are world-renowned Japanese gardens, their care and conservation is not something that has been communicated to the West. However, Japan is the Asian country with the most advanced experience in historic garden conservation. In Japan, there are several hundred well-conserved historic gardens that are defined as ‘living monuments’. Alternatively, they may be classified as a ‘place of scenic beauty’ (*Meishou*) under the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties of Japan (LPCPJ) (1950), which covers 190 historic gardens and seven parks.<sup>32</sup> These are well managed and are favoured tourist destinations.

In the classification of cultural heritage in Japan, historic buildings correspond to ‘Buildings and Other Structures’ in the category of tangible cultural properties, as in Korea, whereas historic gardens are classified and designated as ‘places of scenic beauty’ and ‘historic sites’ in the Monument category under the LPCPJ. According to the definition of monuments, ‘places of scenic beauty’ are defined as places that possess a high artistic or aesthetic scenic value for Japan. As stated in ‘The criteria of designation for Special Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments and Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments’, ‘places of scenic beauty’ is categorized into 11 parts that can then be divided between cultural and natural places of scenic beauty. The former is composed of traditional Japanese gardens and parks which have artistic or scientific values, all of which are manmade, whereas the latter covers mountains, sea shores, lakes, and swamps that have artistic or aesthetic scenic value and are famous for their natural beauty.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Article 9 of the CPPA, enacted by Act No. 961 of 10 January 1962, states that scenic sites are one of the categories of monuments; some revaluation and improvement efforts for cultural properties were carried out, but they always run after that of Japan, with the inclusion of ‘intangible heritage’ in inception and ‘folklore materials’ in 1967, ‘buried cultural properties’ in 1989, ‘registration system’ in 2001, and, in most recent years, ‘cultural landscape’ implemented the Landscape Law in 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan (<http://www.bunka.go.jp/english/>); Hirasawa Tsuyosi, ‘Issues and policy in the management and preservation of historic gardens’, *Gekkan Bunkazai*, No. 511 (2006), p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Makoto Motonaka, ‘The Protection of Gardens and Parks as a Place of Scenic Beauty’, *Gekkan*

In fact, there is no specific classification of 'garden' in the designation of cultural properties in the Japanese law. The Japanese legislature has seen that it would be impossible to name 'garden' as a designated reason for classification, and the independent item 'garden' does not occur in the designation standard for 'places of scenic beauty' and 'historic sites'.<sup>34</sup> Gardens have always existed as a part of the built environment (e.g., nature, landscapes, buildings, other elements of people's life).<sup>35</sup> Historic gardens have been appreciated as belonging under the category of 'places of scenic beauty'; the Japanese have called such sites 'scenic beauty garden' or 'Meishou garden'.

There is another category of historic garden in Japanese law, known as 'site garden'. This term has been used by the Nara Research Institute for Cultural Properties under Dr. Mori since 1945.<sup>36</sup> A 'site garden' is a garden in the vicinity of a historic site, in most cases having been buried under modern archaeological layers. Generally, 'site garden' is divided into two types: buried garden and excavated garden. It is intimately associated with archaeology; it can be regarded as an aspect of garden archaeology. The excavation and conservation of 'site gardens' were greatly encouraged when after 1965 a government subsidy became available for any project related to cultural heritage. This subsidy programme was initiated by the Agency of Cultural Affairs and was put in place through a revision of the law in 1965. According to the main organization for the conservation of historic gardens, the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties at Nara, there are now 321 historic gardens that have been archaeologically investigated.<sup>37</sup> So, historic gardens are recognized as belonging to one of two types: 'scenic beauty or Meishou garden', which are surviving gardens that have been conserved from the past or from the relatively recent Meiji period, and 'site garden', gardens that were lost or destroyed and have been revealed through archaeological excavation.

Japanese endeavours to conserve historic gardens did not begin only in 1950. Places with beautiful natural scenery have long been cherished and preserved by the Japanese people. The

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*Bunkazai*, No. 511 (2006), p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Tomoko Oshima, 'A Statistical Analysis of Gardens Designated as Cultural Properties in Japan', *Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 64/5 (2001), p. 397.

<sup>35</sup> Hirasawa Tsuyosi, 'Issues and policy in the management and preservation of historic gardens', *Gekkan Bunkazai*, No. 511 (2006), pp. 30-31; Amasaki Hiromasa, 'Gardens' Beauty: for their protection', *Gekkan Bunkazai*, No. 511 (2006), p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Takahiro Naka, 'Actual situation and problems of "The site garden" in Kyoto', *Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 56/3 (1992), p. 243.

<sup>37</sup> National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara; Archaeologically Investigated Japanese Gardens Database (<http://mokuren.nabunken.jp/scripts/strieve.exe?USER=NCPGE&PW=NCPGE>).

enactment of the Law for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments in 1919 marked the start of modern conservation work on historic gardens in Japan. The Japanese government assumed responsibility for carrying out conservation work on gardens after this law was enacted. Even though some ancient shrines and temples had been protected by the Ancient Shrines and Temples Preservation Law since 1897, it was not effectively enforced to gardens at shrines or temples as well as other types of immovable cultural heritage. The Society for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments was established in 1910 in response to concerns over the progressive destruction of historic sites, places of scenic beauty, and natural monuments. Concern for the preservation of those sites continued to increase; consequently, the Law for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments was passed in 1919. As an example, the Huruyasiro temple had been designated and protected by the Ancient Shrines and Temples Preservation Law since 1897, but the Huruyasiro temple garden, an example of one of the most historic of Japanese gardens those which belong to Buddhist temples was not protected until the law of 1919.<sup>38</sup> In 1950, the law of 1919 was unified into a single law, the LPCPJ, which remains in force today.

Most historic gardens are included in the official category of ‘place of scenic beauty’, and are thus protected under the LPCPJ. During the last 80 years; more than 190 gardens have been designated as *Meishou* gardens. Around 55 per cent of the places of scenic beauty covered by the law consist of gardens and parks.<sup>39</sup> A large number of these *Meishou* gardens are managed by Buddhist temples; many others are managed by local governments. Nearly one-third of all *Meishou* gardens are located in the Kyoto Prefecture and half of them are located in the Kinki area, including Kyoto.<sup>40</sup> The total registration at local government level includes 1,113 places of scenic beauty: 226 places of scenic beauty are designated at prefecture level and 887 places of scenic beauty are designated at municipality level.<sup>41</sup>

If a garden is designated as a ‘place of scenic beauty’ in Japan, it is not required that the landscape should be preserved exactly, but conservation of landscape takes priority to artistic or

<sup>38</sup> Edagawa Akitoshi, ‘A Study of the Historical Development of Cultural Properties Protection in Japan, in the period before World War II’, *Culture Informatics*, 9/1 (2002), pp. 42-47. (In Japanese)

<sup>39</sup> Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, *An Overview of Japan's Policies on the Protection of Cultural Properties*, (Japan: Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, 2000), p. 17.

<sup>40</sup> Tomoko Oshima, ‘A Statistical Analysis of Gardens Designated as Cultural Properties in Japan’, *Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 64/5 (2001), pp. 400-401.

<sup>41</sup> Masamitsu Hanai, ‘Policies for the Protection of Natural Monuments and Places of Scenic Beauty in Japan’, in *International Conference on the Preservation Policy and International Cooperation of Natural Heritage in North-Eastern Asia at the National Folk Museum of Korea* (Seoul: Cultural Properties Administration, 2000), pp.39-40.



aesthetic value over historic or cultural issues in deciding how it should be managed. Even though the world-famous Japanese gardens such as Kairakuen in Mito, Korakuen in Okayama, and Shukkeien in Hiroshima are reconstructed, but not to their original form, they are designated as places of scenic beauty and even special places of scenic beauty. A number of Japanese historic gardens, including the gardens just mentioned, were destroyed by war damage in 1945 and not restored to their original form. In the period from the inception of the law until 1950, historic gardens were not actively restored or repaired because conservation of cultural heritage was considered to be maintenance of the status quo without regard to the original state or changed form. However, after the LPCPJ came into force in 1950, restoration work became one of the main conservation tools as a methodology in protecting historic sites and places of scenic beauty. In 1954, restoration work on Kairakuen in Mito, a *Meishou* garden, which had been ruined during the war, started. Shortly afterwards, a restoration project was undertaken at Korakuen in Okayama (1957–1965) and at Shukkeien in Hiroshima (1963–1964, 1974).<sup>42</sup>

### **The limitations of the legislation and administrative system for historic gardens**

Regarding Korea, the term ‘garden’ is now included in the Enforcement Regulation of the CPPA; however, the definition and meaning of historic gardens remain restrictive. Moreover, the system seems to be unclear and there appears to be no validity in the designation criteria for historic gardens. For the purpose of garden conservation, any type of historic buildings, historic sites, natural monuments, or folklore materials may be of importance as part of a garden because they are directly related to the sites which should be considered within the broad meaning of ‘garden’ or ‘designed landscape’ under the terms of legislation framework. There are several issues remaining for the conservation of historic gardens.

The main reason for these problems is that there are no criteria for the designation of cultural heritage as a garden, albeit gardens are included in the category of ‘scenic sites’. The designation of cultural heritage depends on designations given in the CPC, but these are sometimes unclear and subjective. This has happened not only to historic gardens, but also to historic buildings and other cultural heritage items. Objective criteria for the designation of cultural heritage are, at the very least, necessary for understanding values, and reasons should be given rather than simply enumerating items as the designation criteria in the Enforcement Regulation of the CPPA. A crucial initial stage is that historic gardens should be identified in

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<sup>42</sup> Nobuhide Nao, ‘Restoration of Kairakuen as a “Historic Sites and Places of Scenic Beauty”’, *Jutaku Kenchiku*, March (2001), pp. 164-168.

order to devise a strategy for classification, whether as gardens or just as appendages to other built heritage sites. In the absence of identification in statutory policy, historic gardens have been under threat from the CPPA and government as well as developers. This is occurring despite the fact that many historic gardens belong to historic buildings, and even though there is a Panel of Landscape Architecture consisting of twelve professionals supporting the CPC. Another misunderstanding of the nature of Korean historic gardens is that the cultural heritage category 'scenic sites' is usually focused on nature as natural landscape, though the cultural values of such sites have also recently begun to be considered.

This kind of limitation is also apparent in the administration system. In the CHA, 'scenic sites', which should have been managed by the bureau of Historic and Scenic Sites – itself consisting of four divisions: Historic Sites and Monuments, Historic Cities, Archaeological Heritage, and Natural Heritage – have also been left relatively unattended, because neither the Natural Heritage Division nor the Historic Sites and Monuments Division have recognised their significance. By recognising the importance of Korea's natural heritage, the Natural Heritage Division has recently taken charge of 'scenic sites' and 'scenic sites' embrace historic gardens as one of designation criteria. Despite this, there is only one official responsible for 'scenic sites' in the Natural Heritage Division.

The classification of cultural heritage is methodologically problematic. Even though the CHA announced in November 2007 that there were to be twelve *Wonji* classified as 'historic sites',<sup>43</sup> only nine sites were actually classified as *Wonji* under 'historic sites' according to Cultural Heritage Database<sup>44</sup>. The Poseokjeong pavilion site was classified as a 'historical event' and Gyerim Forest as a 'site of legends'; there are no ponds at either of these sites (Table 4.5). There are now five 'scenic sites' classified as gardens among thirty-eight 'scenic sites' at the national level; three were transformed from 'historic sites' in January 2008, one in May 2008, and one was newly designated in December 2007. Officially, there should be six gardens designated as 'scenic sites' because five historic gardens were transformed according to the announcement by the CHA. Seongnagwon Garden, one of the five transformed 'historic gardens', is still classified in its former status of 'residential building / houses' rather than as a garden under 'scenic sites'.

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<sup>43</sup> It was affirmed that this status was the result of a request to the CHA in March 2006, April 2007 and March 2008 and the Administration's official announcement on 14 November 2007. However it was so confusing to affirm this status because officials responses were not consensus for example *Wonji* could be perceived as garden heritage, how many *Wonji* classified as historic sites and how many gardens are now designated as scenic sites and so on.

<sup>44</sup> Cultural Heritage Database; [http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search\\_top.jsp](http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search_top.jsp).

Classification	Name of Cultural Properties	Korean term (Chinese)	Kind of Cultural Properties Defined by the CHA	Designated Date	
1	Historic Sites No. 1	Gyeongju Poseokjeongji (Poseokjeong pavilion site in Gyeongju)	경주 포석정지 (慶州 鮑石亭址)	Building sites / Events related to a man/ Historical events / Historical events	1963.01.21
2	Historic Sites No. 19	Gyeongju Gyerim (Gyerim Forest in Gyeongju)	경주 계림 (慶州 鷄林)	Building sites / Religion·Faith / Sites of legends / Sites of legends	1963.01.21
3	Historic Sites No. 135	Gungnamji (Gungnamji Lake)	궁남지 (宮南池)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	1964.06.10
4	Historic Sites No. 138	Seochulji (Seochulji Lake)	서출지 (書出池)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	1964.07.11
5	Historic Sites No. 237	Hamchunwonji (Site of Hamchunwon Garden)	함춘원지 (含春苑址)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	1973.08.14
6	Historic Sites No. 303	Gwanghalluwon (Gwanghallu Garden)	광한루원 (廣寒樓苑)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	1983.07.20 (Date of rescission: 2008.01.08)
7	Historic Sites No. 304	Damyang Soswaewon (Soswaewon Garden in Damyang)	담양 소쇄원 (潭陽 瀟灑園)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	1983.07.20 (Date of rescission: 2008.05.05)
8	Historic Sites No. 368	Bogildo Yunseondo Yujeok (Relics of Yun Seondo in Bogildo Island)	보길도 윤선도 유적 (浦吉島 尹善道 遺蹟)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	1992.01.11 (Date of rescission: 2008.01.08)
9	Historic Sites No. 378	Seongnagwon (Seongnagwon Garden)	성락원 (城樂園)	Building sites / Residential living / Residential buildings / Houses	1992.12.23 (Date of rescission: 2008.01.08)
10	Historic Sites No. 419	Gyeongju Yonggangdong Wonjiyujeok (Building site in Yonggang-dong, Gyeongju)	경주 용강동 원지유적 (慶州 龍江洞 苑址遺蹟)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	1999.12.29
11	Historic Sites No. 462	Seoul Buamdong Baekseokdongcheon Yujeok (Baekseokdongcheon Garden in Buam-dong, Seoul)	서울 부암동 백석동천 (서울 付岩洞 白石洞天)	Building sites / Residential living / Landscape architecture / Garden	2005.03.25 (Date of rescission: 2008.01.08)
12	Historic Sites No. 464	Paju Yongmiri Hyeumwonji (Hyeumwon site in Yongmi-ri, Paju)	파주 용미리 혜음원지 (坡州 龍尾里 惠蔭院址)	Building sites / Politics·Defense / Palaces· Government offices / Government offices	2005.06.13

Table 4.5 The twelve *Wonji* designated as historic sites, which was announced by the CHA in 2007. Note there were only eight sites classified as garden by four stages of subcategories provided by the CHA. The highlighted rows in this table show five transformed sites from ‘historic sites’ to ‘scenic sites’ as a garden; from Cultural Heritage Database ([http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search\\_top.jsp](http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search_top.jsp)).



The classifications, which can include characteristics of cultural heritage, have not been inconsistently. How does it come about that there are three sites included in the list of *Wonji* as 'historic sites' as announced by the CHA, even though they are classified in other subcategories of cultural heritage? What are the standards of the designation? Why has its status not changed if its value was reassessed? It is all very recent, making one asks whether the reclassification is simply taking the single official a while to achieve.

Cultural heritage is divided into four stages or levels by the CHA (see Table 4.5)<sup>45</sup>. Historic gardens have been perceived as 'landscape architecture',<sup>46</sup> which is classified within the category of 'building sites' and the subcategory of 'residential living'. A total of 184 cultural properties were classified under all categories of official designation as 'landscape architecture' in May 2008.<sup>47</sup> Fourteen sites within landscape architecture are classified as 'garden'. The four levels are: building sites; residential living; landscape architecture; garden. Among these fourteen sites, ten are state-designated heritage (four sites are historic sites, five are scenic sites, and one is designated for its folklore material) and four are city- or province-designated heritage (two as monuments and two as cultural heritage materials). These various classifications exist despite the fact that the CPPA provides for 'garden' under the article for the category of 'scenic sites' alone (Table 4.6).

Other historic garden sites are classified as 'pavilion' (building sites/residential living/landscape architecture/pavilion), which means that the focus of cultural heritage is the building itself. Indeed, if a pavilion building has historical or cultural value, it is important to protect it; however, the significance of a pavilion's natural surroundings or cultural landscape seen from the pavilion is at least as significant as the pavilion building itself. In fact, many features of the natural landscape have been eliminated or gradually degraded towards featurelessness, and the cultural landscape has changed rapidly, both because of the expansion of the modern urban area and as a result of the protection afforded to buildings. If such development is allowed to continue in the same way, eventually there will be only historic buildings remaining. This kind of enthusiasm, confined to buildings only, has been exposed in relation to other types of historic

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<sup>45</sup> This four stages of division is by the CHA and provided by on the www as Cultural Heritage Database so four stages are based on original description though there is something written twice; finally accessed on June 2006.

<sup>46</sup> There is a new term used for subcategory under 'Building sites': *Jogyeong geonchuk* (조경건축), which is intended to mean 'landscape architecture', but its literal meaning is 'landscape architecture architecture'. Since Korea was introduced to landscape architecture from the Americas, *Jogyeong* or Landscape architecture generally has been used. It seems that this new term reflects the intensification of an architecturally-based viewpoint about landscape.

<sup>47</sup> Cultural Heritage Database; [http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search\\_top.jsp](http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search_top.jsp).

gardens as well. For example, in 2003 the powerful Typhoon Maemi caused the collapse of the eaves of Gwangpunggak pavilion in Soswaewon garden. The CHA and Damyang local council restored the pavilion roof, and was supported in doing so by the National Treasury. However, there was no survey of storm damage to the garden,<sup>48</sup> even though there is general agreement about the importance of Soswaewon as the representative Korean historic garden among all Koreans: the public, professionals and officials.

	Classification	Name of Cultural Properties	Korean term (Chinese)	Designated Date
1	Historic Sites No. 135	Gungnamji (Gungnamji Lake)	궁남지 (宮南池)	1964.06.10
2	Historic Sites No. 138	Seochulji (Seochulji Lake)	서출지 (書出池)	1964.07.11
3	Historic Sites No. 237	Hamchunwonji (Site of Hamchunwon Garden)	함춘원지 (含春苑址)	1973.08.14
4	Historic Sites No. 419	Gyeongju Yonggangdong Wonjiujeok (Building site in Yonggang-dong, Gyeongju)	경주 용강동 원지유적 (慶州 龍江河 苑址遺蹟)	1999.12.29
5	Scenic Sites No. 25	Suncheon Choyeonjeong Wonrim (Choyeonjeong Garden in Suncheon)	순천 초연정 원림 (順天 超然亭 園林)	2007.12.07
6	Scenic Sites No. 33	Gwanghalluwon (Gwanghallu Garden)	광한루원 (廣寒樓苑)	2008.01.08
7	Scenic Sites No. 40	Damyang Soswaewon (Soswaewon Garden in Damyang)	담양 소쇄원 (潭陽 瀟灑園)	2008.05.02
8	Scenic Sites No. 34	Bogildo Yunseondo Yujeok (Relics of Yun Seondo in Bogildo Island)	보길도 윤선도 유적 (甫吉島 尹善道 遺蹟)	2008.01.08
9	Scenic Sites No. 36	Seoul Buamdong Backseokdongcheon Yujeok (Backseokdongcheon Garden in Buam-dong, Seoul)	서울 부암동 백석동천 (서울 付岩洞 白石洞天)	2008.01.08
10	Important Folklore Materials No. 107-5	Yeonjeong mit Yeonmot (Pond and Pavilion)	연정 및 연못	1979.12.28
11	Gongju City Monument No. 42	Gongju Gongsanseong Yeonji (Lotus pond of Gongsanseong Fortress in Gongju)	공주 공산성 연지 (公州 公山城 蓮池)	1982.12.31
12	Miryang City Monuments No. 166	Miryang Jeogyongji (Jeogyongji pond in Miryang)	밀양 적용지 (密陽 赤龍池)	1997.12.31
13	Mokpo City Cultural Properties Materials No. 165	Yihundong Jeongwon (East garden of Yi Hundong)	이훈동 정원 (李勳東庭園)	1988.03.16
14	Jinju City Cultural Properties Materials No. 176	Yongho Jeongwon (Garden of Yongho)	용호정원 (龍湖庭園)	1990.12.20

Table 4.6 Fourteen sites are classified as ‘Building sites/Residential living/Landscape architecture/Garden’ all designated cultural heritage apart except no. 7, Damyang Soswaewon (Natural heritage / Scenic sites / Cultural landscape / *Wonji*). Numbers 1–10 are state-designated as heritage whereas of the rest, four sites are city- or province-designated heritage; from Cultural Heritage Database ([http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search\\_top.jsp](http://search.cha.go.kr/srch/jsp/search_top.jsp)).

<sup>48</sup> This is a result of the interview with a member of the Society for the Conservation of Soswaewon Garden, conducted in September 2005.

In terms of the legislative framework, there is one more fundamental reason why historic gardens have not been perceived as an important element within cultural heritage: according to the CPPA, landscape architects or garden historians have a low status in any project in comparison with architects. Civil servants qualified through the national examination, irrespective of the subject in which they qualified, are allowed to undertake certain measures such as state-designated heritage for repair, restoration, survey, design, or prevention from damage. There is no directive that enables landscape architects, qualified to work with historic designed landscapes, to participate in survey and design; they are only to deal with planning, construction, archaeological survey, and recording. The CPPA states that anyone who intends to qualify as a survey and design technician must be the holder of an architect's licence under the provisions of the Certified Architects Act.<sup>49</sup> The categories and functions of twelve types of technicians defined in Annexed paper 1 of Enforcement Ordinance are stipulated by Article 17 of the CPPA. The definitions of 'repairing technicians', 'survey and design technicians', 'landscape technicians', and 'plant protection technicians' are as follows:

1. Repairing technicians: shall deal with construction of architecture and civil work; related thereto, historical investigations, archaeological inspections, preparation of reports about certain treatments, and accompanying affairs related them.
3. Survey and design technicians: shall deal with actual survey and designing of cultural properties, apart from the work of actual measurement and designing pertaining to the protection of plants, which falls under the sphere of the work of plant protection technicians under subparagraph 11; related thereto, excluded are archaeological inspections, investigations and thereto related matters.
4. Landscape technicians: shall deal with landscape planning and construction; related thereto, the preparation of reports of archaeological inspections and investigations and of repairing and thereto related matters.
11. Plant protection technicians: shall perform the work of preventing damage to plants by disease and insects, conducting the surgical operation of plants, conditioning soil, installing safeguard facilities and improving environment for the protection of plants; the preparation for reports of diagnosing, actual survey, designing and repairing of plants and thereto related matters.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Article 18 of the CPPA of 2007 (Act No. 8346); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>50</sup> Annexed paper 1, which provides further detail about Article 7.1 of Enforcement Ordinance of the CPPA amended by Presidential Decree No. 20222, 17 August 2007. There are twelve technicians defined by the Act, including Repairing technicians, *Dancheong* (Korean style building decoration of multiple colours) technicians, Survey and design technicians, Landscape technicians, Sculpting technicians, Framing technicians, Lacquering technicians, Gilding technicians, Replication technicians, Scientific preservation technicians, Plants protection technicians, and Stuffing and sampling technicians; The



Therefore a qualified landscape architect as defined under the CPPA has no authority to be involved with the surveying and design of historic designed landscape. Architects are directed to deal with survey and design. The approach to various cultural heritage projects is building-led; therefore designed landscapes in projects are expediently outsourced to consultants because of the lack of specific knowledge about historic designed landscapes by the contracted architects. Even these sub-contracts are sometimes given to unqualified professionals or organizations. With the exception of plant protection technicians, architects alone are authorized to survey and design for the protection of cultural heritage. At this point, it could be said that plant protection technicians have contributed to the conservation of historic gardens, but in practice they have not played a role in conserving historic designed landscapes because their tasks and roles are based on biological treatments to plants which are mainly trees designated as natural monuments<sup>51</sup> and the improvement their ecological environment. Therefore the task of plant protection technicians is limited to managing natural monuments. It would be necessary that a more constructive account of their expertise and of the special expertise that landscape architects' training would bring to the challenge for the conservation of historic designed landscapes.

### **An analysis of the legislative framework**

Strengths and weaknesses in the legislation described here affect the effectiveness and speed with which it can adapt to changes in those areas of landscape and cultural management it is designed to address. Opportunities and threats are evaluated and ranked according to the probability of their occurrence and its impact, which affects both the development and future competitiveness of the historic garden conservation. Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats analysis has been carried out based on an assessment of status of legislation framework for cultural heritage.

A strength of the legislative framework is that Korea has a number of acts regulating cultural heritage. The CHA has control of all policies and the management of the nation's cultural properties, including archaeological activities aimed at discovering cultural relics. All

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Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation  
(<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>51</sup> There are many rites and rituals for tree worship are still existed in Korea as a naive idea. Old gigantic trees are usually located in the entrance or the middle of villages which is regarded as the scared tree for the guardian deity of the village or uses as an arbour for the villagers. This kind of belief and its function are still existed in many Korean rural villages therefore many of them have been designated and conserved as a Natural Monument because of its historical and natural value.

designated cultural heritage is under the jurisdiction of the administration. More importantly, historic gardens now have a statutory right to be protected by the CPPA as scenic sites. Nevertheless, there are weaknesses, inherent limitations or constraints that create strategic disadvantages for garden conservation. One instance is that systematic management for historic gardens is still insufficiently widespread, even where gardens are listed by the CPPA. This problem arises because there are insufficient designation criteria and inadequate recognition of the cultural significance of historic gardens. Another serious issue is the poor maintenance of historic gardens: the absence of education and training for owners, site managers, or of conservation officials for the management of historic gardens, either for their daily care for long-term planning, is important. It is an urgent task to prepare knowledgeable guidance or advice. Korea has developed tunnel vision regarding the situation of garden conservation in the world. It places too much emphasis on the treatment of cultural heritage issues in Japan without fully acquiring Japanese knowledge and practice, rather than looking at international trends, particularly the ICOMOS charters that have been followed on other continents since the 1980s.

However, there are opportunities, favourable conditions in the legislative framework that would enable the legislature to consolidate and strengthen its position. There have been endeavours by the CPPA to reflect increasing interest in cultural heritage and to make up for perceived gaps. It is a good thing that there is a growing interest in cultural and historic landscape as well as a greater awareness of issues concerning 'healthy living'. Threats include the perception of historic gardens by the CPPA as merely scenic sites, which could foster the continuation of a narrow view understanding of Korean gardens, and impede both research and development activities for garden history. The reason why heritage designation is still a subjective issue for the members of the CPC is the absence of specified designation criteria. In the practical field of conservation, the landscape architect has too low statutory authority in comparison with architects, but should be involved with survey and design of historic designed landscapes. These issues could threaten the ability to improve the legislation framework in relation to garden conservation.

**Chapter Five**

**Improving the Framework for  
the Conservation of Historic Landscapes**



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## **Chapter 5.**

# **Improving the Framework for the Conservation of Historic Landscapes**

Korean gardens were well developed for much of her history but garden culture in Korea has been gradually lost in the mists of time, particularly after the Korean War when the country's resources and economy were at low ebb. Starting in the 1970s, Korea has successfully built a strong foundation for economic development. However, it neglected the protection of the historic environment and, more seriously, South Korea has seen the destruction of various legacies of the historic designed landscape. In terms of modern landscape, a taste for it is well established in contemporary society because it has accompanied and been seen as a positive part of economic development; however, there has been a failure to preserve garden culture because of the origin of many gardens as former aristocratic estates which were not converted to public use in spite of the increased demand for parks and green spaces through urbanization, as occurred in Europe. With only a few exceptions, these old garden sites have been the target of economic development, and in most cases they have been redeveloped as modern housing and commercial projects. The threat to both natural and cultural landscapes from the economically-determined dominance of high-rise buildings is a particular problem in Korea, and exemplifies the difficulty of preserving cultural heritage and its environment in urban areas.

Under these circumstances, the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) has been created in legislation designed to conserve cultural heritage. Recently, 'garden' was added to the list of protected entities stipulated in the act governing the CHA's activity. Unfortunately, Korea still faces a harsh reality in respect of historic designed landscapes in particular, because 'gardens' are not included in the act through comprehensive reconsideration of historic designed landscapes or more broadly cultural landscapes, but are only named in the category of designated cultural heritage as scenic sites, without further definition and without any clear criteria of what 'gardens' are or why they deserve protection. That is to say, Korea has taken a first significant step towards the conservation of historic gardens under the legislative framework of 2007 but there is an urgent need for a coherent conservation policy and guidance. Specifically, a model specification for historic gardens, that is a way of recognising, understanding and protecting historic gardens, and then generating a legislative classification for guidance should be prepared through the consideration of such varied aspects of their make-up as historical, aesthetic and academic interest as well as the more restricted scope of their cultural and economic value.

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As discussed above, the present system of conservation for historic gardens is not fully adequate and needs to be improved. This thesis concludes in this chapter with a discussion of how might be improved the framework for the conservation of historic landscapes. Five themes are suggested: identification of historic gardens; the establishment of conservation ethics; the value of historic gardens as cultural landscapes; the educational and academic values of historic gardens; and gardens as living landscape. These themes are intended to support the formulation of a better conservation practice in respect of historic gardens specifically, and for the promotion of garden culture generally in the contemporary society of Korea.

### Identification of historic gardens

As concern about cultural heritage and the necessity of its conservation increases in South Korea, it is said that there is a necessity to organize a new body for the conservation of cultural heritage. For example, it has been suggested that the current status of the CHA as vice-ministry should be brought up to full ministerial level, or that the CHA and the National Museum of Korea should be amalgamated into one centralized organisation.<sup>1</sup> In terms of historic garden conservation, however, such reorganisation is not an important issue; the most important or at least fundamental issue is that the garden should be recognized and identified in the cultural heritage. An important step in the conservation and management of historic gardens would be the assessment of those resources which are deemed to be historic gardens. However, the Cultural Properties Protection Act (CPPA) was not constituted to guide the process of heritage assessment or support the preparation of criteria for historic gardens. Historic Korean gardens have been identified as cultural assets under various categories and it is claimed that they are protected and managed; however, historic gardens have been classified rather vaguely under the same category as historic buildings. They might be one of the types of cultural heritage for which the Historic & Scenic Sites Bureau of the CHA are responsible, but in fact historic gardens have been underestimated both legally and administratively until recently.

Garden heritage has not been specifically addressed and has not been fully integrated under the present legislative system in Korea. The fact that it has often been regarded merely as a context for other built heritage has meant that the need for professionalism in respect of gardens has been underestimated, at least legally. As a matter of fact, there have been several opportunities to improve the status of gardens in the legislative framework for the cultural heritage. Even when the CPPA was amended in 1984 (8<sup>th</sup> revision), historic gardens continued to be neglected,

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<sup>1</sup> Byeong-gug Jeong, 'The necessity to establish the Ministry of Cultural Heritage', *Policy paper of parliamentary inspection in 2005 II*, 2005.

in spite of a revision of the full text. The amended act in 1984 was the beginning of government protection for historic gardens, because the CPPA revised conservation policy 'from spot concept to site (area) concept' which meant that the revised legislation protects both monuments and their surroundings. However, this change merely extended the dimensions of individual cultural properties rather than marking a reassessment of the characteristics of cultural heritage. Most historic gardens belong to other, built, cultural assets and have been regarded as merely appendages to buildings, ignoring the relationship those buildings have with the surrounding environment, so they remain largely neglected.

There are problems, too, with attitudes to the conservation of historic buildings. Despite the formulation of the CPPA, the policy of industrialisation, which was propelled by full-scale economic development plans starting in the 1960s, made the conservation of urban environments and buildings problematic. Because of the unprecedented economic expansion, increasing population and the speed of technological advance, ever-increasing demands were placed upon land for competing uses. These pressures often promoted changes, and these brought with it the destruction of existing things and their replacement by the new. In such a situation, conservation proposals which appeared to run counter to development of the 'quality' of the urban environment were dealt with, not in the context of the whole urban environment<sup>2</sup>, but in a passive dimension. That is, there is conservation of the original form of an individual building's structure which disregards the relationship it has with the surrounding environment.

This intense focus on 'designated cultural properties' causes considerable difficulty. Most efforts to protect and preserve cultural properties are concerned only with this category of heritage. This is perhaps an unintended consequence of the wording used in the CPPA, which concerns properties considered nationally or locally as 'designated' cultural properties. Korea maintains official inventories of two levels of cultural properties: national designation; and city-province designation. Consequently, administrators concerned with fulfilling the letter of the act do not provide legal or administrative support for cultural properties that are not so designated.<sup>3</sup> These are, however, the majority of the cultural properties in the country. Because of this practice, non-designated cultural properties do not receive any state maintenance regarding policies and planning, and are being damaged and destroyed at an alarming rate. This destruction has accelerated with increased development in recent years. The challenge for cultural heritage management in Korea, then, is the development of a more comprehensive

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<sup>2</sup> Seung-jin Chung, 'Architectural Conservation in the East Asian Cultural Context with Special Reference to Korea', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of New South Wales, 1998, pp. 189-190.

<sup>3</sup> Yoo-geun Cho, 'The Present Conditions and Problems of Cultural Properties Management in Korea', *Ancient Culture*, 51 (1998), p 173.



conservation plan that covers all cultural properties, not just designated properties. Consideration should be given to the development of a secondary or supplementary inventory of important cultural properties, which are not currently 'designated' or 'registered' cultural properties, to secure some protection and management for them from national cultural heritage planning for example English practice of 'grading' listed sites is enviable model to make up for a vulnerable point of Korean designation.

The lack of a nationwide inventory is due primarily to the absence of an intensive, systematic, nationwide survey and the dearth of research projects that gather this kind of information.<sup>4</sup> While extensive surveys have been carried out since 1970 as a result of the 1962 act, their results have not been integrated into a national inventory. Such an inventory could be used to search for large-scale patterns in the distribution of particular kinds of sites, and in other projects that have a national rather than a local scope. This kind of information is particularly important in designing and implementing preservation plans, and in the coordination of cultural preservation efforts with land development or other large-scale construction plans. Without such a centralized database, it is difficult to forecast the impact of construction projects on unknown resources, particularly historic gardens.<sup>5</sup> A comprehensive inventory of the distribution of known cultural resources would allow this kind of prediction to be made. An inventory of cultural properties would provide basic information through which we might better understand the extent of Korean cultural heritage. Because a cultural object is a material entity, various environmental and human factors can add to or diminish its cultural value. All cultural properties may be subject to a change in their value, and will need ongoing evaluation. Searching for, identifying, evaluating and re-evaluating elements of national cultural heritage must therefore continue as a part of routine cultural heritage management activities.

Even though there recently have been several attempts to improve the framework for the conservation of cultural heritage, gardens' are still neglected because their sites have not been identified, and they have not been properly distinguished from the buildings sometimes associated with them. The Registered Cultural Properties System prioritizes the conservation of the modern built heritage because properties are assessed for their architectural value even where they also have historic value because they are sited within a designed landscape. In fact, there seems to be a controversial way of regarding the significance of cultural heritage. For example, *A Study on Examples of the Preservation and Utilization of Modern Cultural*

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 178.

<sup>5</sup> This is the result of the interview with Prof. Byung-rim Yoo. He pointed out that the historic gardens inventory should be established as a basis for research and their conservation.

*Heritage*<sup>6</sup>, was published by the CHA in 2006. It surveyed some examples of the registration system in foreign countries including England. However, it reviewed only the 'Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Area) Act'<sup>7</sup>, and the 'Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest in England' was not recognized as an example for the Korean system. As a result, this study approached the registration of cultural properties from a totally architectural base. For example, it gives several registered properties as domestic examples, including Hamyang former forestry experimental station, which was established circa 1917, registered properties no. 37. This was, of course, registered not as a building, but as a planted area of about 3,200 square metres. However, the reason for registration was only the architectural value of its management office building which is now used as the Forestry Information Centre, despite the site having high historical value as a designed landscape. Its significance as a historic designed landscape was not recognized and assessed because of the low profile of 'gardens' and landscape.

A more concrete example is that the CHA has commissioned 'Recording Projects of Important Folklore Materials: Traditional Houses in Korea' from consultant architectural firms<sup>8</sup>, but gardens were not included as part of the recording process; reports merely include ponds, if any exist, and the surrounding environment is recorded without any details relating to their composition and history. It could be said that the conservation field still looks at the traditional house as a building by itself rather than understanding houses as part of a living environment. Despite the fact that both house and garden are inseparably related to each other, especially considering the traditional notion of a garden as the setting for a house and the people living in it, it could be said that architects still approach the house in dichotomous terms, seeing them divided as building and garden, rather than the house as part of a settlement which has many interactive elements.

As the first consideration for the conservation process in respect of historic gardens, they should be compiled within 'a scientific historic gardens inventory' so as not to be undervalued in conservation planning. As matters stand presently, the failure to identify and record historic gardens has caused their significance to go unrecognized despite the inclusion of gardens in the CPPA. Those preparing this inventory must also focus on surveying historic materials in terms of their history and design philosophies, in order to encourage and support the understanding of

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<sup>6</sup> Korean Association of Architectural History, *A Study on Examples of the Preservation and Utilization of Modern Cultural Heritage*, (Daejeon: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. pp. 22-24.

<sup>8</sup> Several architect firms such as Sampoong Engineering Co. and Kumsung Design and Engineering carried out a series of projects, now published as a series of books by the CHA.

their entire range of values.

### **The establishment of conservation ethics**

There is still an absence of either a management plan with a strategic vision or maintenance guidelines with a tactical vision for the historic garden sites in Korea because of the lack of a unified national policy concerning methodology, procedures or guidance for the conservation of cultural heritage. Until now there have only been a few studies of cultural heritage management in Korea. These studies were prepared from an administrative and legislative perspective with immediate, pragmatic goals in mind, mainly to facilitate and enforce the management of important objects of cultural heritage, mainly historic buildings.<sup>9</sup> They were not intended to study the characteristics of Korean cultural heritage management or to survey the theoretical background and the methods and techniques of cultural heritage management. Cultural heritage management studies in Korea have usually adopted a narrow perspective confined to one particular discipline rather than a broad, comprehensive approach. So the conservation of historic gardens has not been realized because they have been considered as merely extensions to the built heritage of lower status. This issue should be approached in a multidisciplinary way from a more comprehensive viewpoint, because historic gardens are not isolated phenomena, but embody important elements of cultural value, especially in the relationship people have had with their natural environment. Various values and social indicators have had an impact on the creation and development of historic gardens, and their conservation links with many different fields, such as archaeology, architecture, history, anthropology, arts, literatures, and so on. Because the process of cultural heritage conservation is not yet systematic, its philosophies, standards, guidance and even its terminology have not been agreed upon socially or academically.

Although the CPPA encouraged Korean communities to identify and bring the cultural heritage they value to attention of the authorities, an evaluation of those efforts reveals that they always lag behind those of Japan. It has long been a pressing issue that modern cultural heritage management in Korea has its origins in the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945).<sup>10</sup> In recent years, too, the heritage management system and programmes in Korea have been strongly influenced by current practices in Japan.<sup>11</sup> While these practices may be suited to that country,

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<sup>9</sup> Yoo-geun Cho, 'The Present Conditions and Problems of Cultural Properties Management in Korea', *Ancient Culture*, 51 (1998), p 175. (In Korean)

<sup>10</sup> Su-gap Kim, 'The legal system for the conservation of cultural properties', *Law & Society*, 19/1 (2000), p. 64 (in Korean).

<sup>11</sup> Sang-woo Han, 'Cultural Heritage Management in South Korea', unpublished PhD Thesis, University



they were formulated without consideration for the unique situation that exists in Korea, and without regard for its particular historical and cultural traditions. Controversy has surrounded the CPPA since 1962. While the act was totally overhauled in 1984, controversy has continued with reference to the original wording of the documents, which is still felt to reflect a Japanese imperialist spirit rather than establishing a truly 'Korean' standpoint. Examples of this problem are provided by the inclusion of the categories of 'intangible heritage,' 'folklore materials', and of 'buried cultural properties' in 1989, the 'registration system' in 2001 and in more recent years, of 'cultural landscape' and the Landscape Law implemented in 2007. When gardens were finally given legal recognition as scenic sites, the measure seemed to have been influenced by the Japanese designation<sup>12</sup> rather than being the product of a consideration of international standards. International approaches to conservation have not been incorporated into workable principles that can address cultural heritage in the current Korean context. In particular, the ICOMOS charters that have been followed on other continents since the 1980s are still ignored in Korea.

For example, as mentioned in chapter 4, there is still a risk that gardens will be vulnerable while they are perceived, and indeed defined, as scenic sites (rather than *Wonji*), because this designation underestimates the importance of other broader cultural characteristics of Korean historic gardens. There are no designation criteria and no planning mechanisms specifically for historic gardens. 'Garden' is included merely as one of the categories for the designation standard of 'scenic sites' in the clause: 'Prominent buildings or gardens, places of legends and the others which are related to religions, education, living and entertainments: gardens, groves, ponds, reservoirs, cultivated lands, embankments...'<sup>13</sup> 'Prominent gardens' cannot include a representative sample of Korean garden heritage, just as it cannot comprise the designation criteria for historic gardens. It is necessary to set more specific designation criteria, in order to facilitate reasoned decision making. The designation of cultural heritage depends on the opinion of members of the Cultural Properties Committees (CPC) and even though their decisions are based on their professional knowledge, there is no objective standard for the designation. Without designation standard, it is possible to result in a lack of consistent measures for the designation of cultural heritage, as it stand now, each appraisal is likely to be based on a

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of Minnesota, p 76.

<sup>12</sup> This would be the result of inaccurate research into the Japanese system. In Japan, historic garden heritage is also considered as constituting historic sites, for example, garden archaeology sites or 'site gardens'.

<sup>13</sup> Annexed paper 1 of the Enforcement Regulation of the the CPPA of 2007 (Ministerial Regulation No. 173); The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

different standard. It is therefore desirable that the professional knowledge of members of the CPC should be calibrated to the minimum criteria, in order to make designation reasons better understanding by professionals and public.

The CPPA is definitely an umbrella for the protection of cultural heritage in Korea; however it is not an adequate guide for conservation planning, nor does it provide the necessary definition of conservation ethics required for evaluating projects. As a result of the absence of these standards or guidance, there are several weaknesses of practice in relation to historic gardens in respect of conservation ethics. For example, during the reconstruction of the Anapji garden, many issues were not considered, not only technically but also philosophically and ethically. Even though the site needed in-depth studies in various areas including national history, garden history, its historic development, as well as social and cultural aspects of the royal family's life there, reconstruction work was carried out in a relatively short period time. Reliable documentation of physical evidence for the royal garden of Imhaejeon Hall site did not exist despite the fact that there were several historic documents that supported its existence such as *Samguksagi* and *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* which could have been used in considering what was required before work commenced. When reconstruction work is done entirely on archaeological evidence it can be difficult to establish the authentic form of its structure above the ground, and where documentary historical evidence is available, it should be used to support the work being done. Once reconstruction of cultural heritage is undertaken, it must be done carefully with consideration of all relevant and available sources of information.

In the case of Soswaewon garden, the site owner and the local council struggled for control of its management. The garden is owned by Jae-young Yang who is the 15<sup>th</sup> descendant of the garden creator. Overall supervisory responsibility rests with the Cultural Heritage Administration while the responsibility of administrative management is delegated to the Department of Culture, Leisure and Tourism of the municipal authority in the county of Damyang as a historic site. Currently, however, the garden is listed under scenic sites, and in fact no one is wholly responsible for Soswaewon garden. Moreover it is not clear whether all staff members are qualified through regular training programmes or not. Under the terms of the statutory protection, all restoration and repair work must be carried out by authorized specialists. Funding for all aspects of the repair and restoration of the site must be provided from the national budget. However, in reality it is quite different. The owner was unable to plan the future management of garden. Problems arose because of an extraordinary increase in the number of visitors from the early 1990s. According to the owner of the garden, visitor numbers are now thought to be at least one million per annum. Because a management plan for visitors

and site has not been achieved up to the present, conditions have rapidly deteriorated in several parts of the garden, and even though the legal management body is the county of Damyang, the council has not provided any day to day maintenance.

Sites of cultural heritage are extremely fragile when there are many visitors. At Soswaewon Garden, visitor traffic has brought much physical disrepair, without there being any conserving activity to protect the garden. According to the present owner, only 40 per cent of the plants recorded in 1983 survive. However, no academic or scientific research has been carried out on visitor impact so no specific evaluation of the type of impact, such as direct or indirect, short-term or long-term, has been established. Periods of garden closure have been proposed by the owner, who insists that the threat to its survival from the sheer volume of people visiting must be controlled, basing his proposal on Article 43, paragraph 2 in the Cultural Properties Protection Act, which states: "The Administrator of Cultural Heritage Administration may, where it is necessary to preserve Nation-designated cultural properties and prevent them from being damaged, restrict the public access to the whole or part of such cultural properties."<sup>14</sup> Periodic closures were also proposed in the 1999 research.<sup>15</sup> However, the local council was active in opposing this proposal because visitors contribute so much to the local economy through expenditure in the surrounding area and region. Soswaewon is one of the main national tourist destinations in the County of Damyang. The council has utilized Soswaewon in order to advertise their region for tourism without any effort to conserve this site.

The visitor capacity of Soswaewon as a heritage site needs to be established in order to determine how many visitors the garden can support without being damaged. Facilities are needed for a greater number of visitors; for example, there is no visitor centre although it was proposed in the 1983 report.<sup>16</sup> There are only two facilities for visitors, parking spaces and toilets outside the site. Damyang County Council has contracted a private organisation to collect parking fees. The toilet facility seems to be in a state of neglect because the responsibility for its management is not clear. It is felt by some that the county council may be using the parking facility merely as a source of revenue for the county. Opening a cultural property to the public was originally defined as a compulsory duty of the owner by the law. The owner cannot close the garden without permission of the director of CHA, but they may charge an admission fee

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<sup>14</sup> The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>).

<sup>15</sup> Korean Architectural Culture Research Institute, *The Integration Planning of Conservation for the Soswaewon and its Surroundings*, (Korea: Myongji University, 1999), pp. 226-227.

<sup>16</sup> Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, *The Plan of Conservation and Maintenance for Soswaewon*, (Seoul: Office of Cultural Properties, 1983), p. 51.



following amendment of the Cultural Properties Protection Act in 1999. Both issues have been continuously addressed since 1999 as part of an appropriate visitor management policy. However, it has been hard to reach a decision because of moral and ethical issues. For more than twenty years, Soswaewon was open to the public without an entrance fee, as was required by law. Now, however, according to Article 44 paragraph 1 in the Cultural Properties Protection Act: “the owner, holder or managing body of a nationally-designated cultural property may collect an admission fee from visitors where they open the cultural property to the public”<sup>17</sup>, so collecting a fee is legally valid. Accordingly, since 2005 the owner of Soswaewon charges a small fee, only 50 pence per person. However, there is debate over which body should collect the admission fee. Soswaewon is a private property but the legal body administering the site is the County of Damyang. In principle, the owner, the County of Damyang and the Cultural Heritage Administration have agreed to charge an entrance fee. In this case, there seems to be a conflict between promoting tourism and protecting cultural property. The problem is aggravated by a lack of understanding of the practical and ethical issues involved amongst the parties.

Despite the lack of any appropriate conservation planning or management strategy for Soswaewon garden, the issue of applying to add it to the UNESCO World Heritage List has been addressed. The County of Damyang has taken an active interest in the right of management since addressing the issue. An application for the garden to be placed on the list was initiated by the Society of Landscape Architects for Cultural Property in 2001. The County of Damyang and the Provincial Government of Jeollanam-do decided to apply to have Soswaewon placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. In spite of this, Soswaewon is still under threat. Controversies and questions continue to swirl about the future of Soswaewon garden.

Another, even more conspicuous, demonstration of the absence of conservation ethics, took place in 1998, when an archaeological investigation in Soswaewon garden was carried out by Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, who had been commissioned to do so by Damyang County Council, the competent authority for such supervisory responsibilities.<sup>18</sup> The investigation area was confined to the south-east corner of the site in order to confirm archaeological evidence of foundations of two buildings. It is difficult to understand why archaeological investigation was not carried out fifteen years ago, despite evidence from research that several buildings had already disappeared by that time. As anyone concerned with matters of architecture or archaeology is aware, archaeological investigations are crucial

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<sup>17</sup> The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>)

<sup>18</sup> Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, Report of Investigation on Excavation of *Damyang Soswaewon*, (Daejeon: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2000).

elements of the process for conservation of historic gardens. The resulting report stated that it was hard to grasp the characteristics of the foundations clearly because of severe damage. It was suggested that the whole site should be investigated in order to establish the condition of the garden.

In comparison with the realities of historic garden conservation in Korea, it is instructive to identify processes and practices in international legal instruments not currently found in South Korea and review them for their relevance to Korean practice. Some Korean experts have pointed out that international administrative systems and procedures offer information that is not contained in the Korean system and thus would be useful examples for historic gardens. They say that ICOMOS charters are worth reviewing, for example the Venice Charter and the Florence Charter, even though there are some criticisms of those charters as being too European-centred.<sup>19</sup> The Florence Charter, whose purpose was to reinforce the Venice Charter, illustrates the application of conservation principles restating the importance of 'living vegetation' in historic gardens. ICOMOS, supported by IFLA, intended the Charter to draw attention to the importance of conserving historic gardens, and the Florence Charter remains the only international charter for their conservation. It acknowledged that historic gardens were monuments in their own right, and not just 'sites'.<sup>20</sup> The historic garden has particular conservation challenges compared with other monuments because the important components of historic gardens are plants, relatively fragile and transient features, certainly compared with buildings, a point which has gone unnoticed in Korea over a long period. The importance of the Florence Charter is its recognition of the special needs of the historic garden, and its provisions are valuable because they propose a deliberative method for the conservation of historic gardens in Korea.

Since its inception, the activities of ICOMOS and the scope of its interests have broadened considerably to overcome some criticisms.<sup>21</sup> Since then, the list of new charters and less important documents such as guidelines and declarations has increased steadily around the world. Various charters have been adopted by the General Assembly of ICOMOS and the ICOMOS National Committees, such as the 'Burra Charter' adopted by Australian ICOMOS in 1981 and revised in 1999<sup>22</sup> as well as the 'Ethical Commitment Statement for ICOMOS

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<sup>19</sup> See: Seung-jin Chung, 'East Asian Values in Historic Conservation', *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 11/1 (2005), pp. 55-70.

<sup>20</sup> ICOMOS, *The Florence Charter: Historic Gardens and Landscapes*, (London: ICOMOS, 1982); [http://www.international.icomos.org/e\\_floren.htm](http://www.international.icomos.org/e_floren.htm)

<sup>21</sup> Francis Golding, 'The Work of ICOMOS UK', *CONTEXT*, 41, p24.

<sup>22</sup> ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*

Members' adopted in Madrid in 2002. In addition, the issues surrounding "setting"<sup>23</sup> that is the broader landscape setting in which heritage elements are found was addressed at the 15<sup>th</sup> General Assembly in China in 2005. Many conservation principles were also addressed in resolutions and declarations of ICOMOS Symposia which have been issued by committees cooperating with other bodies. An example of these include 'The Nara Document on Authenticity' and 'Declaration of San Antonio' dealing with authenticity and 'The Buenos Aires Memorandum on Cultural Landscapes and Historic Gardens' prepared by the ICOMOS-IFLA International Committee on Historic Gardens and Cultural Landscapes in 2001.

The Burra Charter is the national Australian charter that is now internationally recognised as good practice and defines the basic principles and procedures to be followed in the conservation of heritage sites and contains several momentous values. The Burra charter was the first international document to change the traditional concept of heritage from tangible to intangible, moving away from the focus of the Venice Charter on technical expertise and the preservation of historic material, both already implicit in the Korean concept of heritage. "Place" (the term adopted by Australian ICOMOS to describe a heritage site)<sup>24</sup> has a broader sense of heritage, which includes not only a physical sense of significance but also cultural value in a strong relationship with a place. The process of exploring how to combine these two concepts is a valuable experience to be found in Korea. The Burra Charter was the first charter adopted by ICOMOS National Committees and, provides a series of guidelines which deal with cultural significance, conservation policy and procedures for undertaking studies and reports. It defines the basic principles and procedures to be followed in the conservation of heritage places and serves as an explanatory document for local conditions. The Burra Charter is widely accepted and adopted as the standard for best practice in the heritage and conservation field. Although the charter was first written to guide practitioners such as archaeologists, architects, engineers and historians, it is also a useful document for others. The planning process in the Burra Charter clearly shows the general processes of management planning sequences including understanding significance and development policy, and management itself. As such, its model may be used as the framework for a management plan for heritage sites in Korea. In the first

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1999 (Australia: ICOMOS, 1999); <http://www.icomos.org/australia/burra.html>

<sup>23</sup> Setting is defined as the immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive character; ICOMOS, *Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas* (Xian: ICOMOS, 2005); [www.international.icomos.org/charters/xian-declaration.pdf](http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/xian-declaration.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> A place defined in the Article 1 of Burra Charter as site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views; ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999*, (Australia: ICOMOS, 1999); <http://www.icomos.org/australia/burra.html>



phase of planning, the Burra Charter recommends a practitioner or agency to 'secure the place and make it safe', which means implementing maintenance at the site as a primary resource. During the 'understanding significance' phase, intangible information is collected, using documentary and other evidence. The distinctive part of the management process in the Burra Charter is the assessment of 'significance' as well as the attempt to look for evidence of identity. Based on these critical investigations for the significance of a place and its values, management plans which include strategy for site's conservation can be created according to the characteristics of each place.

The aim of the continual process of revision carried out to ICOMOS charters is to ensure that they are living documents and do not become outdated. Recent examples relevant to Asian practice include the 'Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China' were adopted in 2000 and amended in 2004 supported by Australia ICOMOS and the Getty Conservation Institute,<sup>25</sup> and 'Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practices in Asia' was prepared by UNESCO Bangkok in 2005.<sup>26</sup> Both are good models for the Korean framework especially in the light of these country's similar ideological and religious backgrounds. The first mentioned is of great value because it has been prepared for a specific nation's context, while the other is worthwhile in the light of deliberations regarding the Asian situation within the framework of the Nara Document on Authenticity. The Chinese document stipulates several principles including maintenance and management and also contains a detailed conservation process consisting of six steps: identification and investigation; assessment; formal proclamation; preparation of a conservation master plan; implementation of the master plan; and periodic review. The document lays out identification and investigation as the first step in the conservation process of relevant heritage sites which then assesses the sites and sets up the conservation plan. An English-Chinese glossary also provides help with basic sources in order to correlate the terminology used in different languages. The document's protocols point out that cultural heritage reflects philosophies or religions which have changed over time. Specifically Asian issues mentioned include authenticity within cultural diversity; the absence of relevant trained professionals and technicians in practice; radical modernization and urbanization; the risk of potential natural and man-made disasters; and expanding development in rural areas. It also provides methodologies for specific sites consisting of cultural landscapes, archaeological sites, underwater sites, historic urban sites and historic groups, and monuments, buildings and

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<sup>25</sup> Principles for the Conservation of Historic Sites in China  
([http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf\\_publications/china\\_prin\\_2english.pdf](http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/china_prin_2english.pdf))

<sup>26</sup> Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia  
([http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/culture/AAHM/Forum\\_and\\_Workspace/HOI\\_AN\\_PROTOCOLS.pdf](http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/culture/AAHM/Forum_and_Workspace/HOI_AN_PROTOCOLS.pdf))

structures with definitions, concepts, and consideration of the threats to, and tools for the preservation of, authenticity. Four steps are suggested as tools in this process, including identification and documentation, safeguarding authenticity, safeguarding the authenticity of intangible aspects, and heritage authenticity and the community. These documents provide general guidelines for the Asian context, and are good sources for the preparation of each nation's own guidelines within their national context. In Korea, although there is a system of legal protection for cultural heritage, in practice it is not enough to provide effective conservation leadership. Therefore, appropriate guidelines and standards now need to be developed in order to approach cultural heritage conservation more effectively, objectively, and ethically. In the light of the need to embody these concepts, the international standards discussed here would be a good basis upon which Korea could found its own guidelines.

### **Historic gardens as cultural landscapes**

Cultural landscapes, including historic gardens which are inscribed on the World Heritage List, are a very timely subject at present. They attract much attention as the type of heritage which represents unique land use and demonstrates the sustainable coexistence of humankind and nature. In Korea the approach to landscape has now become better integrated, incorporating all the fields dealing with land development including architecture, landscape architecture, urban planning, cultural heritage, and so on. As a result, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the Landscape Law was established in 2007 but it did not identify designed landscapes as a category of Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention<sup>27</sup>.

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the World Heritage Convention) was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 17th session in 1972.<sup>28</sup> The convention proposed a unique standard in that it aimed to survey both cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value on the List of World Heritage and to ensure the proper identification, protection, conservation and presentation of the world's irreplaceable heritage under a single framework. However, until 1992 most of the Cultural Heritage actually inscribed on the List consists of monumental buildings which are works of humankind, whereas Natural Heritages were natural areas remote from human intervention. The 16th meeting of the World Heritage Committee which was held in 1992 made a decision to

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<sup>27</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2005).

<sup>28</sup> Mechtild Rössler, 'Linking Culture and Nature – the Protection of Historic Gardens and Cultural Landscapes under the UNESCO World Heritage Convention', in *Historic Gardens Today*, edited by Michael Rohde and Rainer Schomann (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 2004), pp. 220-227 (p. 222).

officially introduce the concept of cultural landscape as representing the combined works of nature and of man. Accordingly, the Committee revised the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention by adding provisions for inscription of cultural landscape heritage on the World Heritage List reflecting 'outstanding universal value'.<sup>29</sup> The Operational Guidelines categorize cultural landscapes into three main categories according to the degree of naturalness and the degree of human influence upon nature. The main Categories of Cultural Landscapes in the World Heritage Convention are as follows:

The clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man: This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

The organically evolved landscape: This category falls into two sub-categories: (i) a continuing landscape and (ii) a relict (or fossil) landscape. The former is one closely associated with activities such as agriculture, forestry and fishery; the latter is one that constitutes an important element as an integral part of a monument such as a historic site.

The associative cultural landscape: Landscapes with powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.<sup>30</sup>

However, the Landscape Law in Korea seems not to embrace the first and third categories of the World Heritage Convention. In its preparatory stage the law was focused on the landscape in urban areas, then when the law was established the scope of landscape was expanded to accommodate the second category of cultural landscapes listed by the World Heritage Convention. This was mainly because the competent authority for submitting the Landscape Law was the Ministry of Construction and Transportation whose perceptions were rooted in an architectural perspective; as pointed out earlier, much research deals mainly with Japanese characteristics of the Landscape Law due to the influence of Japanese law. However, there is a big difference between Korean and Japanese approaches to landscape in the legislation. In Japan there had already been several attempts to conserve cultural landscape, for example landscape

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. pp. 222-223; Graeme Aplin, 'World Heritage Cultural Landscapes', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 13/6 (2007), pp. 430-432.

<sup>30</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2005), p. 84.



conservation ordinances had been established at the local level since the 1960s and now such ordinances exist in over 450 local councils.<sup>31</sup> Therefore one of the main purposes for establishing the law had been for the national government to support local landscape conservation ordinances. The other main purpose was to complement substantive land use regulations through co-jurisdiction of ministries. Japanese law seems to be focused on the second category of the cultural landscapes of the World Heritage Convention not because of overlooking other categories of cultural landscape but because they understand their weaknesses. Designed landscapes have been well conserved as monuments under the LPCPJ; moreover cultural landscape has been reviewed in terms of each perspective: historic sites; places of scenic beauty; and natural monuments by the Committee on the Preservation, Development, and Utilization of Cultural Landscapes Associated with Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries<sup>32</sup>. More significantly, cultural landscape was defined as one of cultural heritage in Japan throughout the revision of the LPCPJ by the Cultural Affairs Agency at the same time as the establishment of the Landscape Law. In Korea, however, the law followed the contents of the Landscape Law of Japan without having a comprehensive view of the cultural landscape which reflected the Korean context. The definition of 'landscape' in the Landscape Law is limited: 'the term landscape is that substantive elements represent characteristics of local climate formed by nature, human interventions and modes of life'.<sup>33</sup> Unlike Japan, in Korea landscape conservation ordinances exist in only a few areas therefore it is hard to expect any support from or collaboration with local governments. In the light of the legislative framework for the conservation of cultural heritage, even though the Cultural Landscape Committee has been established in the CPC, the CPPA has not been revised to take account of cultural landscape, which has not yet been fully deemed to be an applicable special domain with cultural heritage. The Cultural Landscape Committee is excluded from article 15 of the Enforcement Decree of the Landscape Law which regulates committees related to landscape.<sup>34</sup> It is necessary for the handling of historic gardens by the law to be reviewed, in order to establish appropriate approaches regarding their conservation in terms of the concept of cultural landscape.

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<sup>31</sup> Committee on the Preservation, Development and Utilization of Cultural Landscapes Associated with Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, *The Report of the Study on the Protection of Cultural Landscapes Associated with Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries* (Japan: Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2003), p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> It was established by the Agency for Cultural Affairs in October 2000 for the purpose of investigating issues regarding the preservation, development, and utilization of cultural landscapes in Japan, particularly in relation to Monuments in response to and part of such international and domestic movements encompassing cultural landscapes; *Ibid.* p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Article 2, paragraph 1 of the Landscape Law; The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>)

<sup>34</sup> The Comprehensive Legal Information Service of Korea, Ministry of Government Legislation (<http://www.klaw.go.kr>)

There is a trend that cultural landscape and historic gardens are looked at simultaneously at the international and national level, which could work well in Korea. Besides the World Heritage Convention, whose objective is to protect the heritage of outstanding universal value, there are other international agreements concerning the protection of cultural landscapes and historic gardens such as the Buenos Aires Memorandum on Cultural Landscapes and Historic Gardens<sup>35</sup>, which was prepared by ICOMOS-IFLA International Science Committee on Historic Gardens and Cultural Landscapes in 2001.<sup>36</sup>

As mentioned, the IFLA Cultural Landscapes Committee has provided a useful website to promote and support cultural landscapes. One of goals of the committee is to develop a comprehensive international inventory of cultural landscapes as its first step because the committee recognizes that inventory process is one of the first and best tools for protection. The committee guides advise detailed documentation of a cultural landscape to landscape architects in the form of a check list divided into physical landscape and the intangible values. The committee also provides a worldwide basic inventory register card scheme for cultural landscapes prepared by ICOMOS-IFLA International Scientific Committee. There are two nations' inventories: the Inventory of Heritage Gardens and Parklands, Australia and the Inventory of Historic Gardens in Japan, which provide examples of good practice in the preparation of inventories of historic gardens as cultural landscape.<sup>37</sup>

In addition there are movements to establish multilateral or regional agreements and charters for the protection of cultural landscapes such as the European Landscape Convention, which is in the process of consensus-building; at the national level, the UK established the Cultural Landscapes and Historic Gardens Committee under ICOMOS-UK, for example, both of which are making efforts to incorporate the protection of cultural landscapes with historic parks and gardens in the existing systems for the protection of cultural heritages.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> The Buenos Aires Memorandum on Cultural Landscapes and Historic Gardens (<http://www.international.icomos.org/18thapril/2007/buenos-aires-memorandum.pdf>)

<sup>36</sup> When the Florence Charter on Historic Garden was established in 1982, the name of joint committee was the ICOMOS-IFLA International Committee on Historic Gardens and Sites and then the word 'Sites' was replaced by 'Cultural Landscapes.' In 2006 the name of committee was changed again to the ICOMOS-IFLA International Scientific Committee on Cultural Landscapes because cultural landscapes have been understood with having a wider concept including historic gardens. It would mean that the committee has reflected changes about thinking and concepts of gardens, landscapes and environments.

<sup>37</sup> IFLA Cultural Landscapes Committee (<http://www.iflalc.org/index.html>)

<sup>38</sup> In England the register of parks and gardens is a statutory but advisory document without any legal duty. Recently it is on the process to carry legal binding power throughout unifying all sort of register, list and designation into a single designation regime; Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *Heritage Protection for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Norwich: The Stationary Office, 2007), pp. 11-15.

It could be said that the concept of cultural landscapes, at least partly, has already been considered in the Far Eastern countries, particularly Japan as well as Korea under the name of a place of scenic beauty or scenic sites. Korea has some strength to conserve cultural landscapes in spite of the fact that areas such as the buffer zones and protective areas around cultural heritage sites are not considered as cultural landscapes. Moreover the concept of scenic sites already includes the concept of cultural landscape therefore it may be one of the factors present in the evolution of historic garden conservation through the deliberations on the implications of historic gardens and cultural landscapes. Based on this, the expanded scope of cultural landscape could be a good opportunity to conserve historic gardens in Korea, in particular those associated with pavilions. If this were to occur, then the included surrounding landscapes would regain their inherent value rather than maintaining just the value of their monumental buildings.

As a reason behind the attention paid to the cultural landscapes in Korea, there evidently is the consideration of historic designed landscape under the guide of cultural landscapes ignored, differentiating from that, historic gardens understood simply as scenic sites. It is desirable to incorporate historic gardens into the scope of heritage, as cultural landscapes represent the ensemble of cultural and natural elements of all the interactions that humankind has made with nature through the course of individual daily lives.

### **Educational and academic values for historic gardens**

Education is essential to provide professionals for the conservation of historic gardens and to enhance understanding of history and the materials of historic gardens. In Korea there are not enough professionals in the various disciplines with the correct knowledge and skills related to the conservation of historic designed landscape in regards to both Korean and international matters. Therefore Korea needs to integrate appropriate training within existing educational systems, institutional frameworks, and strengthen its efforts in preparing and distributing practical guidelines and training packages.

There is a need to consolidate the study of historic designed landscapes in the university curriculum. One or two modules on the history of gardens are not enough to encourage or promote the conservation of historic designed landscapes. All the issues of conservation of historic gardens should be present in the core curriculum while university education is the only path for professional development. There is a need for training programmes suitable for all the professionals involved in historic gardens, including educators and administrators. One



immediate measure could be to require responsible people to have adequate training, particularly site managers and those who are responsible for the care of historic gardens. There has been, of course, a department of traditional landscape architecture in the Korean National University of Cultural Heritage (KNUCH) since 2000; however its effectiveness to the field of conservation has not yet been verified because of a lack of transparency regarding its graduates' subsequent careers. Ideally, participants in such studies should be guided through steps in the path of engagement in the field of conservation. Moreover, the postgraduate programmes in KNUCH may now need to concentrate on more practical matters because of the lack of relevant trained professionals and technicians at both the academic level and in practice.

Such programmes should join together with a variety of other fields, including art history, geography, sociology, horticulture, archaeology, architecture, and history because there is insufficient communication between professions and architects tend to interpret cultural heritage in terms of buildings alone. This building-centred culture affects landscape architecture professionals, because they aim to gain the respect of architects, whose profession has higher status. Landscape architects also tend to apply divided measures to cultural heritage in the interest of gaining respect. In addition they tend not to be welcomed by other professionals interpreting historic gardens. Almost all of the Korean records were written in Chinese until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, therefore translation is mandatory for interpreting garden history. It is necessary that academics working in landscape have access to this material.

The value of historic gardens lies not only in their artistic and landscape significance, but also in the historical and social background apparent in the form and structure of the gardens, and even in their existence in a particular location. This would include for example, evidence of use of particular materials or techniques, the local culture, history, and so on. Koreans should free themselves from a narrow-minded approach such as dichotomous measures towards historic gardens, clearly dividing all elements in garden into each field. For the conservation of historic gardens, the idea of history with a wide field of vision needs to be reconsidered. Many things still remain to be discussed and determined in order to be able to advance the actual means of conservation of historic gardens to take a step forward.

It is worth remembering that continuing education in the field of garden culture would contribute to an expansion in attainments and understanding among the public. Garden history or more broadly landscape history as well as gardening programmes are unquestionably necessary to encourage and to promote interest about historic gardens among the public at large. The educational and academic world of landscape architecture should take responsibility for the

conservation of historic gardens through measures to strengthen historical issues, establish new courses, and cooperate with professionals in a variety of other fields.

### **Gardens as living landscapes**

Gardens must be preserved in order to provide vital open space and places for people to reconnect with nature, plant gardens, and peaceful neighbourhoods for generations to come. However, gardens, both historic and modern, generally are not seen as contributing to people's living space, but rather as museum-like; to live, gardens must be used..

There are few who care about gardens, not only because gardening has not been firmly established as a pastime in modern society but also because the physical existence of gardens has disappeared due to the radical change of residential types from detached houses to apartments, currently the main housing type in Korea. The movement of an increasing number of people to urban spaces within high-rise apartment complexes without courtyard typology leads to a crisis for historic gardens in contemporary society. The housing typology has been caused by a supply-oriented housing policy, but now it is increasingly driven by gentrification, which benefits local income and landowners, and boosts economic activity through the building of these apartments. This explains why high-rise development is perceived as being the best use of land by owners and developers.

Strong market forces are involved in gentrification as existing detached houses or communal housings are turned into high-rise apartment blocks by owners, developers, and even politicians. This also eradicates low-income districts, which consist mainly of courtyard-typology housing, under the guise of the improvement of backwater districts. This generates positive circumstances for economic activities; however, it destroys access to other types of housing with gardens as a living landscapes because the gentrification exclusively replaces traditional housing with apartment housing. This trend threatens to make high rise development the universal case rather than offering an alternative to the older housing typology. Today if someone wants to live in a detached house with a garden in Korea, there are only limited alternatives: to live in a detached-house of high cost which enjoys social and cultural infrastructures; or to accept the poor living environment in an urban area or to endure poor social and cultural infrastructure in the countryside.

This kind of gentrification tends to jeopardize the development and tradition of garden culture. Because of urbanization, attention is paid to open or green spaces as important facilities in the

urban environment; however, this leads to overlooking the most natural form of open space, the 'garden'. Open or green spaces could not solve the basic problems of the crisis in garden culture caused by the imbalance in housing typology. In England, there have been concerns that the ratio of apartments or flats in new house building reached over 42 per cent during the last four financial years even though, according to the most recent surveys, about 83 per cent of total housing stock was still house and garden typology.<sup>39</sup> In Korea, on the other hand, until recently there has been no criticism or raising of issues on this matter—with the one exception at the very inception of the transition of the short article, 'Housing and Garden'<sup>40</sup>, criticizing the change of dwelling type to apartments and insisting on the importance of the house with a garden.

## Conclusion

This thesis has looked at examining the development of Korean gardens throughout social, cultural, and political context and modern attitudes and values toward them for the conservation of historic gardens in South Korea. It was motivated by the gap between the conservation framework established for cultural heritage and insufficient knowledge base to support measures in historic gardens, more fundamentally what the Korean garden consisted of and how central gardens are to Korean life. At a more general level, the thesis provides an account of Korean garden history as the basis for a discussion of issues relating to the conservation of historic gardens. At the most abstract level, this research follows developments in the conceptual understanding of garden culture, particularly in terms of its role in the conservation of historic gardens in contemporary society. It has been possible for the first time to undertake a chronological interpretation of Korean garden history, to criticize the conservation framework for cultural heritage in the light of this study of historic gardens and to confront the crisis in national garden culture.

Within its chronicled history, Korea has more than two thousand years of garden history. Garden culture developed in parallel with the cycles of prosperity and decay of each dynasty. Through a combination of such natural elements as rocks, water, trees, and flowers and such artificial elements as architecture, painting, and poetry, designers sought to attain an effect which adhered to the various philosophical principles which dominated from time to time. The ideological base for making gardens can be traced back over many hundred years to the

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<sup>39</sup> Department for Communities and Local Government, *Housing statistics 2007* (London: DCLG, 2008), pp. 1-13.

<sup>40</sup> Kun-yong Ahn, 'Housing and Garden', *Journal of Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture*, 2/1 (1974), pp. 43-44.



philosophical and aesthetic thoughts of primitive indigenous religion, Buddhism and Confucianism, and then Neo-Confucianism. Among these ideas, Neo-Confucianism has had the greatest effect on Korean culture, philosophy, and aesthetic thought. Along with the development of the concept of nature, artificial, and ornamental elements were also enjoyed and developed by aristocratic sophisticates. Aesthetically, Koreans consider gardens together with painting, sculpture, and poetry; through the growing of plants and developing forms of entertaining and appreciation, they have striven to achieve the balance, harmony, proportion and variety in their designs that they consider essential to life. Relatively speaking, quite a large number of historic garden sites, from ancient imperial gardens to those of relatively recent literati gardens, have survived, and of those, mainly gardens which appeared during the Joseon dynasty, and nature gardens. For the most part, these were large scale gardens that were centred on pavilions and similar structures built against the backdrop of naturally existing mountains, valleys, rivers, and the like, and are a legacy left for us to enjoy by Confucian scholars, royalty, high officials, and nobles from the past.

After opening ports in 1876, Korea interacted with many foreign countries that a culture adapted to and at times sought outside influence. As a result several new landscape features and concepts were introduced such as the public park, urban planning, horticultural profession as well as lawn covered courtyard and symmetrical layout as a component. During the Japanese colonial period, many Korean palaces and holy places suffered to torn down or to alter into public spaces without considering their spiritual values and components and contents of Japanese garden were assimilated into gardens either through Japanese or Korean influences.

From 1945, the new Korea was characterized by a modern order established with an orientation toward liberal democracy, breaking with the nation's own cultural and material past. This change included Korean gardens and gardening culture, which were now considered as seeking to nature with minimum human intervention. Formerly gardens were enjoyed by aristocrats, but garden culture was not inherited and historic gardens were neither actively transformed into public parks or preserved as cultural heritage. They just faded into the past, replaced by the modern landscape which was imported from the USA and Japan. The introduction of Western concepts of landscape architecture and the creation of new parks owed much to political considerations particularly under the military dictatorship. However, modern gardens have failed to secure a position in contemporary society even though Western concepts of modern landscape have swept over the country under the chain of logic which emphasized economic development above all else.

The Korean government pursued economic development as a priority, and heritage conservation was secondary in its national strategy. In response to criticism that sudden commercial development would exert a negative influence on cultural heritage sites, the government prepared a legislative framework to prevent negative influences, designed to prevent problematic commercial expansion in heritage-related areas. There has been much progress and an increased interest in cultural heritage and historic environment over the past decade, but until recently the value of historic designed landscapes, especially historic gardens, has not been recognized. This is a result of the radical modernization of society and the redevelopment of housing culture. Even within the field of conservation of cultural heritage, gardens are still not considered as an important cultural asset of their time.

New urban areas tend to be divided into districts which function as small cities of high-rise apartment blocks. Old uptowns are also penetrated by commercial facilities or metamorphosed into totally new areas through new town projects. Korea is now in danger of no longer having historic gardens as they existed in the past, when Koreans could enjoy gardens as living landscape - something that is no longer possible within contemporary life. After all, the perception regarding the value of cultural heritage is always linked with the present way of life. To combat this trend, Koreans must begin thinking of alternative types of settlement typology that combine the different needs of the population. Combined with this tendency, a worsening of the conservation of historic gardens could possibly ensue. In order to conserve historic gardens, it is not enough to study garden history, to improve conservation framework, or to research historic materials and philosophies. The inheritance of living garden culture and the way of enjoying historic gardens should also be conserved, developed, and transmitted to the next generation.

The key finding in respect of historic gardens is that, despite having responsibility for managing an extensive and diverse range of finite cultural properties, local authorities, even the CHA, do not appear to possess clear information about their full extent, character, or condition. This is seen, too, in the absence of comprehensive data on historic gardens. The lack of sufficiently comprehensive information impedes the effective management of historic gardens, and limits the ability of local governments to make informed decisions about their future, whether in terms of development control or more strategic actions.

The main purpose of management planning for historic gardens is to preserve monuments in situ and maintain their cultural significance through systematic interpretation, but in many cases, the management plan is confused with the maintenance policy. Maintenance is not a static or

passive treatment, but should be considered as a preliminary phase to prepare a site for the site management planning process. In many sites of garden heritage in Korea, however, there is no management plan. The erroneous and inadequate maintenance practice supported by local governments only emphasizes the problems faced in this field. A lack of guidance about how to conserve cultural heritage or to plan site management causes more serious problems in private heritage: it even causes trouble between local councils and owners. In the light of this situation, many international conservation initiatives, and particularly the Venice Charter, the Florence Charter and the Burra Charter, are of great interest. They offer substantial models that can be considered in a Korean system, and embody general principles which must be considered even though different cultures have different values and histories.

Some gardens are already covered within the existing framework or are taken care of through flexibilities in the way in which the law is applied. But there still exist many heritage gardens that are not covered by the existing cultural property protection system, or where sufficient care is not provided. The designation of scenic sites and new registration framework still leave gaps. Historic gardens should be considered as cultural landscapes as recommended by international organisations, because there is so much to be gained by conserving cultural heritage through cooperation between local governments and the national government.

At the same time, the conservation of historic gardens needs a broader range of initiatives in terms of scope, method and subject. The conservation of historic gardens cannot be realized when they are considered in isolation. Rather, conservation needs to be approached in a multidisciplinary way from a more comprehensive viewpoint. For example, if the wide range of elements within the historic designed landscape is to be effectively managed, it is essential that these are properly identified and changes fully recorded and monitored. This should be recognized as being particularly important since many of these features, such as buried archaeological remains and standing historic buildings, coincide. Government and the academic community should now conceive policies and prepare guidance which fosters an environment in which historic garden studies can flourish, both for their intrinsic interest and contemporary relevance, and to advance practical understanding and scholarship. Appropriate support must be given by the bodies responsible for higher education funding and research. Programmes for the exchange of experience among practitioners need to be accorded greater priority, and universities and colleges, on their own or in cooperation with governments, should be encouraged to establish centres of specialised study. It is time to persuade government and the heritage industry that only by funding internships and continuous professional development for graduates from properly supported courses will the national heritage be preserved at its proper



standard. What Korea has learned is that in order to conserve its cultural heritage, negotiations and compromises are required from all sides involved: the immediate community; regional and national decision makers; businesses and developers; cultural heritage scholars and related institutions.

The preservation and utilization of cultural heritage can only be possible with the active involvement of not only the CHA but also other relevant ministries and agencies, local governments, industries, NGOs and other private organizations. In this respect, the CHA needs to take the initiative in public outreach activities as a measure to promote preservation and utilization efforts. The question of livability of historic gardens as a heritage and living space should also be raised, along with that of their sustainability, because it has been contended that some of the existing patterns of conservation projects are not sustainable in the long run, economically, environmentally, or culturally because projects are generally based on short-term planning or demands of the occasion.

Having an effective and enabling institutional and policy environment goes a long way toward creating the necessary incentives needed to prioritize heritage conservation. The importance of special conservation plans, zoning controls, and master plans in conserving cultural landscape in broad terms, as well as the need for laws, legislation, rules, and heritage codes should be highlighted. This would be done by using existing organizations and governance structures, but special units, commissions, or agencies could be set up to deal specifically with historic garden conservation, with the full legislative, administrative, and financial backing of government.

All this is essential to understanding the dynamics of the development of Korea's garden culture in history, but a review of Korea's present system for the implementation of garden conservation and its contemporary uses is also required. Prompt, appropriate action is of great importance in regards to the long-time neglect of historic gardens and the consequences of the rapid transition of dwelling type to apartments through urbanization. The success of actions taken will depend on the involvement of all those with a vested interest in historic Korean gardens, from users to practitioners to scholars to administrators alike. A collaborative effort among them will serve to step up efforts towards the achievement of long-term solutions for the future development of historic gardens as well as for the survival of threatened garden culture.

The Republic of Korea seems to always emphasize the cultural responsibility of the nation. When Korea enacted the Constitution in 1948, the cultural nation principle was adopted as the principle for the Constitution and in the 1980 revision the Constitution stated the nation's duty

of developing ethnic culture in article 8. The preamble of the last revision in 1987 starts by stating that “We, the people of Korea, proud of a resplendent history and traditions dating from time immemorial....” and also states in article 9 that “The State shall strive to sustain and develop cultural heritages and to enhance national culture.” Moreover the Constitution stipulates the right to a good environment and the role of the state for housing. Article 35 states that “All citizens shall have the right to a healthy and agreeable environment. The State and all citizens shall endeavour to protect the environment. ... .. The State shall endeavour to ensure comfortable housing for all citizens through housing development policies and the like.” However, there remains a long road ahead so as to put these aspirations into practice.

The question here is no longer whether Korea needs conservation for historic gardens. Rather, we should ask how to prioritize garden conservation as an important aspect of overall conservation planning, and integrate the gardens and garden culture, with all it has to offer, within existing systems so as to support the development of both cultural heritage conservation policies and cultural policies in the best interests of the people of Korea.

As I come to the end of my PhD course, I have found it necessary to signal the importance of ‘garden’ to make life a bit better for myself and the people. There is a large part of me that is concerned to promote the value of life with gardens. The outpouring of demand and emotion is poignant, because it speaks to the starvation Koreans have suffered when it comes to public life for the last thirty years. The demands seem to be loud and urgent because they have been neglected so wilfully for so long. Many of the problems we face right now have their root causes in poor ethical choices we made some time ago, and to view them in any other light is dangerous, delusional and doomed to failure. It is also the preferred way of doing things, because it allows us to shirk responsibilities. In the light of this consciousness, I am going to tackle the issue of garden culture within the Korean context through writing for a professional magazine and academic journals, including as I have done during my PhD course. This activity could be a basic step toward teaching and researching at university in order to devote my life to the field of garden, effectively for the next thirty years. Together with writing, I hope to work with organizations in order to make the most productive contribution I can to the field of cultural heritage conservation.