Cultural Laboratory Seoul. Emergence, Narrative and Impact of Culturally Related Landscape Meanings

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CULTURAL LABORATORY SEOUL

Emergence, Narrative and Impact of Culturally Related Landscape Meanings

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CULTURAL LABORATORY SEOUL

Emergence, Narrative and Impact of Culturally Related Landscape Meanings

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presented by

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Abstract

The dissertation *Cultural Laboratory Seoul* examines landscape restoration projects in the South Korean capital Seoul, which have influenced the urban fabric of the Korean capital since the 1980s. The landscape restoration projects have been supported by a paradigm shift from growth-oriented to environment-oriented approaches in Korean urban planning. In this context, the Seoul Metropolitan Government has sought means to convey traditional, historical and natural values through landscape restoration. In consequence, Seoul's landscape elements—mountains, rivers, and valleys—have been cleared of apartment buildings and urban infrastructure, and afterwards have been greened. The challenge in many of these landscape restoration projects, however, has been to convey the traditional landscape meaning of these sites while meeting today's landscape architectural standards and requirements as well as the needs of citizens. In order to gain a deeper understanding of how to deal with these challenges, the dissertation examines existing landscape restoration projects such as the restoration of *Namsan* (1990–2000), the restoration of *Naksan* (1997–2002), and the restoration of *Inwangsan's Suseongdong* Valley (2007–2012). As a result, the dissertation first outlines the social, political, and cultural contexts from which the trend towards landscape restoration has emerged and answers the question of why restoration has become a popular landscape approach in Korean urban planning and landscape architecture. Second, the dissertation analyzes how culturally rooted landscape concepts are translated into the present. By comparing the intertextuality of the landscape—related exhibitions, planning documents, and information brochures—with interviews of municipal officials, practitioners, artists, and citizens affected by the projects, the thesis identifies the transmission, erasure and the reinterpretation of distinct landscape meanings and concepts. The tensions between national and local narratives imbedded in the sites are revealed, especially as related to power structures and prevalent ideologies. Third, the dissertation clarifies the relationship between the narrative, the built space, and the visitor's perception. It explains how the acceptance and appropriation of these projects is influenced by a complex web of meanings, resources, and conflicts grounded upon different cultural and historical interpretations. On this basis, this dissertation argues for a mediating approach in landscape architecture that includes culturally related landscape understandings in the design for the creation of a spatial identity.

Zusammenfassung

Die Dissertation *Kulturlabor Seoul* untersucht Landschaftsrestaurierungsprojekte in Seoul, welche die Stadt seit den 1980er Jahren räumlich transformiert haben. Ein Paradigmenwechsel von wachstumsorientierten hin zu umweltorientierten Planungsansätzen im koreanischen Städtebau führte dazu, dass die Seouler Stadtverwaltung zunehmend Gewicht auf tradierte Landschaftswerte und -bedeutungen legte. Infolgedessen wurden Wohngebäude und urbane Infrastrukturen auf innerstädtischen Bergen, in Tälern und in früheren Flussbetten abgerissen und die Landschaft wiederhergestellt. Der Trend der Landschaftsrestaurierung führte jedoch zu sozialen, kulturellen und planerischen Ambivalenzen, unter anderem auch zu der Herausforderung, tradierte Landschaftsbedeutungen in Einklang mit modernen landschaftsarchitektonischen Standards sowie veränderten Bedürfnissen der Einwohner zu bringen. Um Konfliktpunkte in den Projekten zu identifizieren und besser zu verstehen, untersucht die Dissertation bereits gebaute Projekte in Seoul: die Wiederherstellung des Berges *Namsan* (1990–2000), die Wiederherstellung des Berges *Naksan* (1997–2002) und die Wiederherstellung des Tals *Suseongdong* am Berg *Inwangsan* (2007–2012). Anhand dieser Projekte beleuchtet die Dissertation erstens den historischen, politischen und soziokulturellen Kontext, aus dem sich der Trend der Landschaftsrestaurierung entwickelt hat. Dabei beantwortet sie die Frage, weshalb in Korea eine Wiederherstellung von geschichts- und kulturbezogenen Landschaftselementen zu einem populären Planungsansatz avancierte. Zweitens untersucht die Dissertation, wie kulturell tradierte Landschaftsbedeutungen in die Gegenwart übersetzt wurden. Der Fokus liegt dabei auf der Intertextualität der Landschaft, also auf projektbezogenen Ausstellungskatalogen, Informations- und Planungsdokumenten, die mit Interviews von Stadtbeamten, Planern, Künstlern und Bürgern verglichen wurden. Gezeigt wird dabei die Übertragung, Löschung und Neuinterpretation von Landschaftsbedeutungen, sowie die Spannung zwischen nationalen und lokalen Narrativen, welche Machtstrukturen und Ideologien offenlegen. Drittens analysiert die Dissertation das Verhältnis zwischen den Narrativen, dem gebauten Raum und der Besucherwahrnehmung. Ein komplexes Geflecht von unterschiedlichen Interpretationen, von Ressourcen und Konflikten wird identifiziert, welches die Akzeptanz und die Aneignung dieser Orte nachweislich beeinflusst. Auf Basis dessen plädiert die Dissertation abschließend für einen mediativen Ansatz in der Landschaftsarchitektur, der unterschiedliche geschichts- und kulturbezogene Landschaftsbedeutungen herausarbeitet und stärker in der Planung berücksichtigt, um einen identitätsstiftenden Raum zu schaffen.

초록

본 논문은 1980 년대부터 오늘날까지 대한민국의 수도 서울의 도시경관을 형성해 온 역사문화경관 복원사업들을 분석한다. 한국의 도시계획이 더 이상 성장에만 집중된 것이 아닌, 주변 환경을 고려하는 방식으로 변모함으로써 역사문화경관 복원사업의 흐름 또한 그 영향을 받은 것을 알 수 있다. 이 과정에서 서울특별시는 역사문화경관 복원사업에 전통적, 역사적, 자연적 가치를 특별히 부각시키고자 했다. 그 결과, 서울의 아파트와 도시인프라는 부분적으로 제거되기도 하고, 대신 그곳에 산, 강, 계곡이 살아나게 된다. 하지만 이러한 경관복원사업은 지리적 전통의미를 되살리는 동시에 오늘날의 조경건축 기준과 시민들의 요구사항에도 부합해야 하는 어려움을 겪기도 한다. 본 논문은 남산복원사업(1990–2000), 낙산복원사업(1997–2002), 인왕산 수성동계곡 복원사업(2007–2012)과 같이 서울에 현존하는 역사문화경관 복원사업들의 분석을 통해 이런 난관을 더 현명하게 대처할 수 있는 방안을 마련하고자 한다. 본 논문은 첫째로 이러한 역사문화경관 복원사업의 풍토가 형성된 사회문화적, 정치적, 그리고 문화적 배경을 분석함으로써 오늘날 경관복원사업이 역사적 복원에 중점을 두게 된 이유를 설명하고자 한다. 둘째, 본 논문은 전통조경설계개념이 오늘날에는 어떻게 해석되는지를 살펴본다. 복원사업에 관련된 전시, 계획 자료, 그리고 안내책자에 적힌 내용들과 복원사업 관련 공무원들, 실무자들, 예술가들, 그리고 시민들과 직접 나눈 인터뷰를 대조해 조경의 상호텍스트성을 비교 분석함으로써 이런 독특한 조경의 의미와 개념이 어떻게 전승 또는 도태되고 재해석되는지를 밝히고자 한다. 그 결과, 복원사업에 대한 국가적 네러티브와 지역적 네러티브 사이의 긴장감이 드러남으로써 보이지 않았던 권력구조와 통상적인 이데올로기를 이해할 수 있다. 셋째, 본 논문은 네러티브, 구축된 공간, 그리고 방문자의 평가 사이의 관계를 명확하게 설명한다. 더 나아가 이런 복원사업들이 받아들여지고 채택되기까지 다양한 의미와 자원 그리고 역사적, 문화적 해석의 차이에서 오는 갈등들이 경관복원사업에 복합적으로 미친 영향을 보여주고자 한다. 이를 바탕으로 본 논문은 공간에 새로운 정체성을 불어넣기 위한 방법으로 문화적 이해를 바탕으로 하는 조경설계의 중재적 접근법이 필요하다고 주장한다.

Annotation to Romanization and Translation:

Korean terms have been romanized in this dissertation using the Revised Romanization of 2000. The Revised Romanization is based on the internationally established romanization of McCune/Reischauer, but was slightly modified and introduced as the official language romanization system by the South Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2000. In order to avoid confusion, however, important names or terms were added in the glossary in Hangul. In most Asian cultures it is usual to present the family name before the given name. This thesis uses the culturally appropriate naming system for individual names: Family name last for Western culture names; family name first for Japanese and Koreans. The abstract from English to Korean was translated by Seo Yeon Nho; Korean visitors' statements as well as quotes originally stated or written in Korean or German were translated to English by the author unless otherwise stated.

To Mun, Helge, Florian and Mia

Content

1 PROLOG 11

1.1 Healing Yongsan 12

1.2 Research aim and methodology 17

2 EMERGENCE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION 25

2.1 Paradigm shift towards culture, history and nature 25

2.2 Transformation of the landscape and living environment 28

2.3 Democratization and the call for green space 53

2.4 The growing international attention and the rise of urban parks 58

2.5 Conclusion—the restoration of Seoul's landscapes 71

3 NARRATIVE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION 75

3.1 The restoration of Namsan, 1990–2000 78

3.2 The restoration of Naksan, 1997–2002 98

3.3 The restoration of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley, 2007–2012 110

3.4 Master narrative of landscape restoration 122

3.5 Conclusion—the power of the narrative 148

4 CONTESTED SPACE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION 153

4.1 The concept of mountains in Korea 154

4.2 The concept of parks in Korea 182

4.3 The built spaces: between park and mountain 201

4.4 Conclusion—contested meanings, contested space 212

5 EPILOG 217

5.1 Cultural Laboratory Seoul 218

5.2 Topology and mediating space 221

6 APPENDIX 225

6.1 Glossary 225

6.2 List of interviews, bibliography and image credits 228

6.3 Curriculum Vitae and acknowledgement 248

1 PROLOG

> "The act of healing is developed on three fundamental levels in the transformation of the site: Healing nature – Healing culture – Healing history. […] The essence of the design is the restoration and dramatization of the original topographic ridgeline […]."[1]

On 23 April 2012, after two days of critical discussion of an international jury,[2] the Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs announced the winner of the international competition for the Yongsan Park Master Plan. The first prize was received by West 8 urban design & landscape architecture, IROJE architects & planners and Dong IL Engineering[3] for their design concept that was entitled 'Healing: the Future Park'. With this concept, the winning entry was selected over 47 international competitors in the preliminary round and seven teams in the final round of a two stage competition.[4] The choice was explained as follows: "The jury particularly appreciated the overall framework of the project as well as its relationship to the local urban context. A new vocabulary of nature, respectful of tradition, is produced by creating Korean landscape themes supplemented by technological innovation in ecology, lighting and social media. The jury believes that this project can evolve and adapt in response to expertise of the local community and to deeper cultural values."[5] West 8, IROJE and Dong IL Engineering thus won one of the largest, contemporary urban development and landscape architecture competitions in South Korea.

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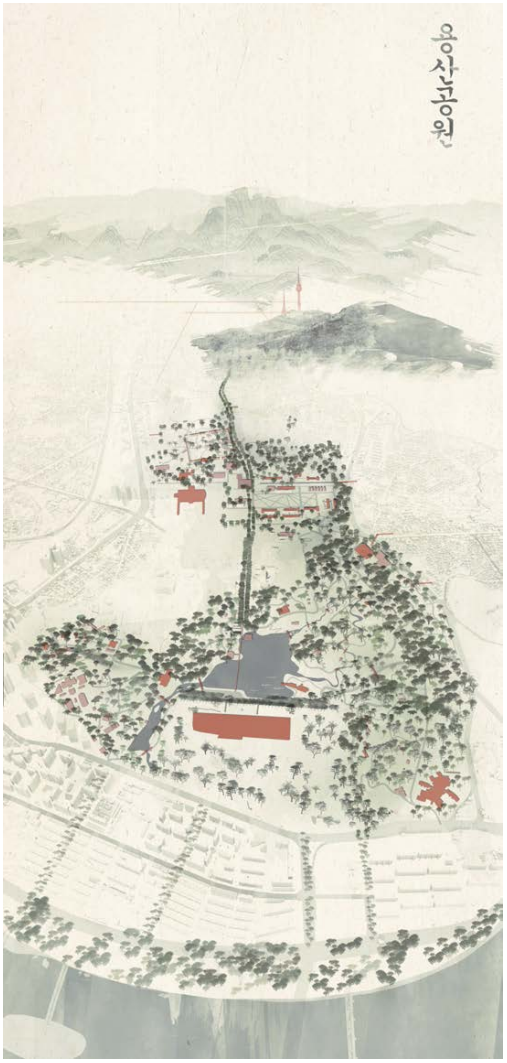
[1] "Project description of Yongsan Park," West 8 Urban Design & Landscape Architecture, http://www.west8.com/projects/all/yongsan_park/pdf, accessed July 20, 2018.

[2] The jury meeting took place from 20–22 April 2012. The jury members included: Christophe Girot (president), Kim Sung-Hong 김성홍, Julia Czerniak, Hu Jie, Charles Waldheim, Richard Weller, Kim Young-Dae 김영대, Song Ho-Keun 송호근, Ohn Yeong-Te 온영태, Kim Ki-Ho 김기호.

[3] The competition team included: West 8 urban design & landscape architecture, IROJE architects & planners, Prof. Kim Nam-choon 김남춘, Prof. Kim Bong-ryol 김봉렬, members of the Cultural Heritage Committee, and DONG IL Engineering Consultants Co., Ltd.

[4] Kim, Yeun-Kum et al., ed., Yongsan Park—International Design Competition [용산공원—용산공원 설계 국제공모 출품작 비평] (Goyang: Namudosi Publisher, 2013), 25.

[5] Association of Environment and Landscape, *Collection of international competition for master plan the Yongsan park Korea* [환경과조경: 용산공원 설계 국제공모 작품집](Seoul: Doseochulpan, 2013), 13.



1 | Healing Yongsan: Image of the Master Plan of Yongsan Park (© West 8 + Iroje Architects & Planners + Dong IL Engineering)

1.1 Healing Yongsan

The competition for the master plan for Yongsan Park was determined by the history of the site and its prominent location within the capital. Yongsan Park is envisioned to be on the site of the *U.S. Army Garrison-Yongsan* in Seoul's district *Yongsan-gu*. It will contain an area of around 243 hectare in the geographic center of Seoul. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the garrison compound was located on the southern periphery of the city. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that Seoul expanded massively to the south. As a result, the garrison site became centrally located in Seoul.

The site is associated with a long legacy of power struggles. Due to its strategic location between the *Hangang* (Han river) and the city center, the site has a long history of military use. For instance, it was occupied by Chinese Qing troops in 1882, and Japanese troops during the

first Japan-Chinese War (1894–95) as well as during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905).[6] The site continued to be occupied by the Japanese from 1906 to 1908, when the Japanese Military Command and the twentieth Division of the Imperial Japanese Army transformed a vast area of the Yongsan-gu into their logistics base citing the Japan-Korea Treaty of 23 February 1904.[7] This treaty gave the Japanese government the power to occupy strategic installations or facilities in Korea in order to defend the country against third parties.[8] In the Korean capital, an area of 3,800,000 square meter was taken over by Japanese soldiers and declared a garrison territory.[9] The Korean inhabitants in this area were relocated. The Japanese colonial government established modern road, bridge, and railway lines and turned the area into a central military and infrastructural hub. At the end of Japanese colonial rule, the garrison site[10] was taken over by the U.S. Army 7th Infantry Division of the 24th Corp in September 1945.[11] After the relocation of the headquarters of the U.S. Armed Forces to Yongsan in 1952, the site was renamed *Yongsan Army Post*, and remained—apart from minor changes—under U.S. control.[12] The garrison is still in service to this day, although the U.S. government agreed to withdraw its forces from the area back in 1988.[13] On August 14, 1988, the New York Times wrote in an article: "With the coming of the Seoul Olympics this September, a time when South Korea can showcase its extraordinary economic growth, many Koreans find Yongsan a humiliating reminder of the days when the United States loomed at the center of everything—politics, defense, culture."[14] At that time, the newspaper already mentioned plans by the Korean government to convert parts of the garrison into a park for the people of Seoul. However, the relocation of the United States Forces Korea (USFK) to United States Army Garrison-Humphreys which is located near the cities of *Anjeong-ri* and *Pyeongtaek* is full of administrative, political and financial obstacles. For this reason, the construction of Yongsan

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[6] Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs, *General Basic Plan for the Creation and Zoning of the Yongsan Park* (Gwacheon: MLTM, 2011), 11.

[7] Hwang, Taejin. "Militarized Landscapes of Yongsan. From Japanese Imperial to little Americas in Early Cold War Korea," *Korea Journal, Vol. 58, No.1* (2018):127.

[8] Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Division of International Law, Korea treaties and agreements* (Washington: The Endowment, 1921), 36.

[9] Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs, *General Basic Plan for Yongsan Park*, 11.

[10] The garrison was also called 'Camp Seobingo' which goes back to the function of the place as a western ice storage during the Joseon dynasty.

[11] Hwang, "Militarized Landscapes of Yongsan," 128.

[12] Between 1947 and 1949, American troops withdrew from this site, but returned with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 (Hwang, "Militarized Landscapes of Yongsan," 134).

[13] Han, Dong-soo. "The Meaning and Value of the Yongsan Park Exhibition," In *Yongsan Park—Tracing the Memory of a Century* [용산공원—지난세기의기억과흔적을넘어], edited by Seoul Metropolitan Government (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015), 79.

[14] Chira, Susann, "In Heart of Seoul, an Unwanted U.S. Presence," *The New York Times*, August 14, 1988.

Park has not yet begun. The competition, however, stressed the vision of "reenacting the national symbol and the local identity through the restored landscape."[15] Yongsan Park, according to the competition documents, was based on a desire for an "open national park in which nature, culture, history, and the future come into harmony."[16] Thus, a central component of the competition task was the integration and promotion of Korean history, nature and culture, which is formulated as major aim in the competition brief:

> "1) Historicity and Localness: A park that sublimates and re-creates the historical and local uniqueness of its location
> 2) Ecological Values: A healthy park that restores the ecological values
> 3) Urban and Cultural Potential: A park that leads the production of the future urban culture."[17]

In fact, Yongsan Park is largely symbolic in nature, and signifies both a material and an emotional recovery. Yongsan thus follows a series of landscape architecture projects that share the same missions of recovering and reviving Korean history, nature, and culture. These projects express the desire for a familiar natural environment, given the situation that Seoul has lost its traditional relationship with nature and its spatial identity due to social, cultural, and historical ruptures. In this regard, several landscape restoration projects have been planned and implemented with the aim of recovering and restoring inner-urban landscape elements, such as mountains, rivers and valleys in Seoul since the late 1980s. For this purpose, a number of industrial facilities, transport and military infrastructure, and residential buildings have been demolished. Example projects include the Restoration of Namsan, the Restoration of Naksan, the Restoration of Suseongdong Valley, the Restoration of Cheonggyecheon Stream, and many more. Due to its enormous spatial, temporal and political dimensions, however, Yongsan Park can be described as the apex of this restoration trend. Yongsan Park's special position, in comparison to other landscape restoration projects due to the above-mentioned characteristics, clearly demonstrates that the idea of landscape restoration in Seoul is still a topic of great relevance today.

[15] Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs, *General Basic Plan for Yongsan Park*, 61–62.
[16] Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs, *General Basic Plan for Yongsan Park*, 60.
[17] Ibid.

2 | Image of Yongsan garrison (© Kim Insu)

The term 'restoration' was new in the context of Korean urban planning and only gradually had to be established in the planning context, explains the urban and regional planning theorist Myung Rae Cho.[18] He states that "urban planners had to literally spell out that restoration of Cheonggyecheon meant turning the covered Cheonggyecheon back into its original stream, or the re-naturalization of Cheonggyecheon."[19] There is still no consistent terminology for these projects. In scientific documents, the same projects are called 'restoration,' 'rehabilitation,' 'remediation' or 'renaissance.' This thesis primarily employs the term 'restoration' because it is used in official documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Landscape restorations are defined in this thesis as landscape architecture projects that aim to recover landscape elements in a historical, cultural and natural way. The term 'restoration' derives from the Latin word *restaurare* (to bring back a condition, repair, rebuild, renew). In the context of architecture and landscape architecture, this term is used primarily within a discourse on the protection and preservation of cultural assets and cultural heritage, and often associated with the Venice Charter of 1964. The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Ensembles, as the Venice Charter is officially called, has a decisive influence on international institutions,[20] and defines principles and guidelines for cultural heritage and historical monuments, including standards for restoration:

> "Article 9: The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument."[21]

In Seoul, the term 'restoration' is used for a wide range of projects, ranging from accurate reconstruction to the retrieval of intangible values. It is a translation of the Korean word *bogwon* which denotes in the context of architecture and landscape architecture "to restore to the

[18] Cho, Myung-Rae. "The politics of urban nature restoration. The case of Cheonggyecheon restoration in Seoul, Korea," *International Development Planning Review* 32-2 (2010):150.
[19] Ibid.
[20] For instance: International Council on Monuments and Sites ICOMOS.
[21] ICOMOS, *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (The Venice Charter) (Venice: ICOMOS, 1964), https://www.icomos.org, accessed on November 29, 2017.

original state."[22] However, unlike buildings, which often have a specific starting point, in most cases there is no precise reference point in landscape, as the natural environment is in a constant state of flux. Thus, identifying specific layers and meanings of the past, and translating them into the present, has been a constant challenge for landscape architects. The abstract objective of landscape restoration inevitably leads to the questions of which traces should be considered and which should be omitted, and how culturally related meanings and values can be translated into contemporary planning? The detailed examination of these questions seems even more important as the restoration projects reflect the hierarchical relationships between different groups of people who argue over the state of nature to be restored.[23] Thus, approaches in landscape restoration projects range from reconstructions of historic elements to physical collages of historic and cultural relics. They range from pursuing 'nature's rights' to replicating nature, and from 're-wilding' (return to wildness) to 're-gardening' (reconstruction as garden).[24] Seen as a whole, this mix of approaches has transformed Seoul into a 'cultural laboratory' where culturally related 'design experiments' are carried out. This special situation in Seoul is used as the starting point for this research.

1.2 Research aim and methodology

This research is based on the hypothesis that the investigation of Seoul's restored landscapes opens up a new approach to landscape restoration. The research delves into how culturally related landscape meanings have been translated into current planning in order to create a cultural identity and how this can be improved upon. The aim of the research is:

1) to establish an understanding of the landscape restoration trend,
2) to expand on concepts of specific translation mechanisms,
3) to deepen sensitivity to different culturally related landscape meanings.

The research uses case studies as the foundation for the hermeneutic interpretation of the landscape. This thesis combines a mix of methods including document research, field studies,

[22] Depending on the context, the term bog-won has a wide range of different meanings, including 'to be polite and to the smile', 'turning the war time system into a normal system' and 'ceremonial act'.
[23] Cf. Cho, "The politics of urban nature restoration," 147–148.
[24] Cho, "The politics of urban nature restoration," 147; Hall, Markus, "Comparing damages: Italian and American concepts of restoration," In *Methods and Approaches in Forest History*, ed. Mauro Agnoletti, Steven Anderson (Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing, 2000), 171.

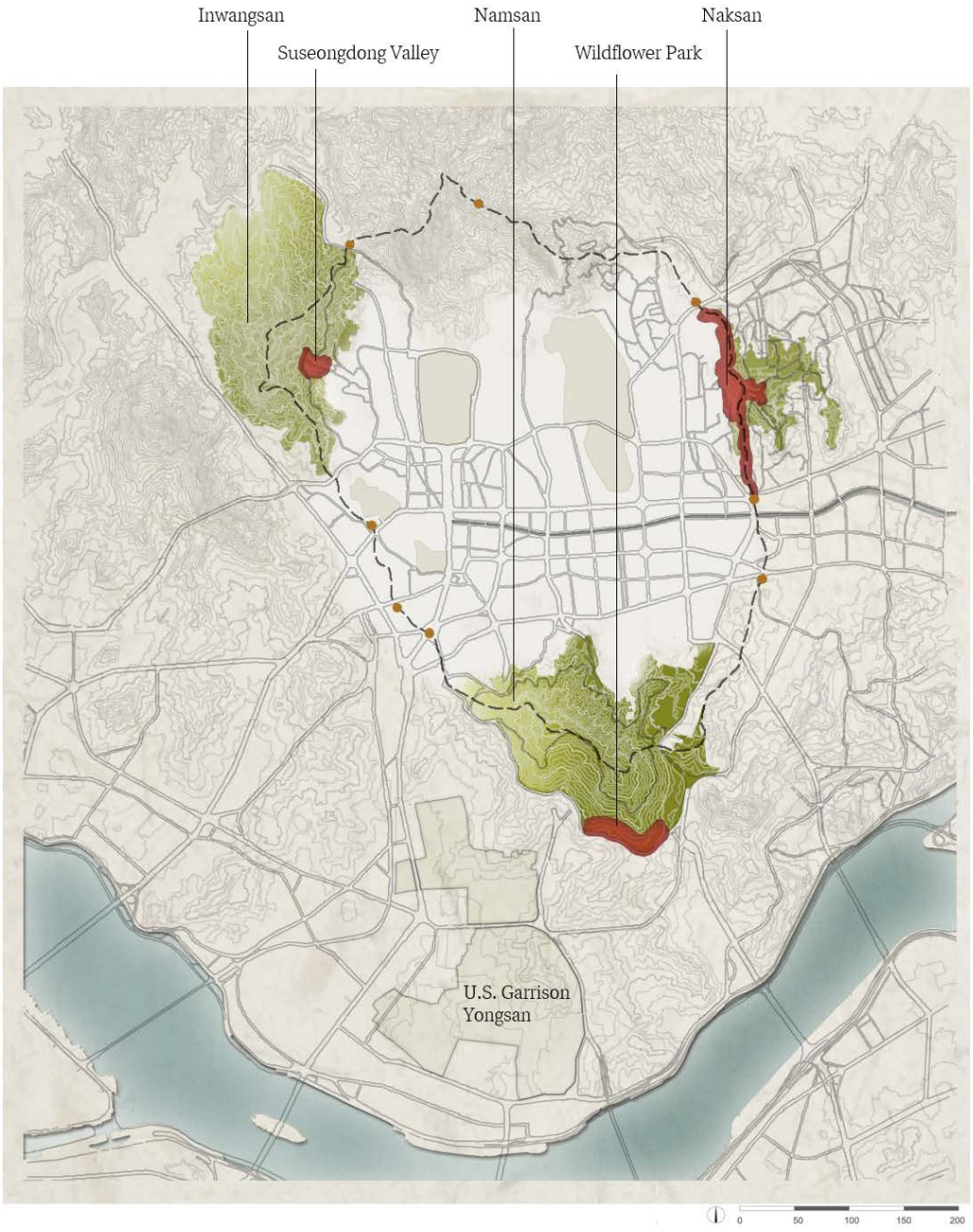
and qualitative interviews. The methodology was chosen in order to create a large frame of reference within which research outcomes can be compared and classified. The conducted research includes six research residencies ranging from a few weeks to several months in Seoul as well as a close exchange with Korean universities, among them the University of Seoul, the Seoul National University, and the Hanyang University. In order to obtain a profound understanding of the relevant mechanisms, policies, practices, and power structures that constitute the larger field of the landscape restoration, this research involved the study of primary sources (including historical planning documents, presentation texts, and legal documents) as well as secondary sources (academic literature). An extensive literature and document analysis that supplements the field studies, the in-situ observations, and qualitative interviews was carried out in Korea. The field studies followed an approach developed in the field of landscape architecture by Christophe Girot and Elena Cogato Lanza, which explores a site in terms of specific qualities and a "narration of discovery". Furthermore, stories of the site are gathered that express "the sedimentation and temporal development of the spatial, material and symbolic reality of a site."[25] The sites in Seoul were not only explored, mapped and sketched, but were examined through participant observation following the methods of empirical social research.[26] Participant observation comprises a field strategy that mixes document analysis, direct participation and observation, introspection, and interviews.[27] In the course of the research, a total of seventy qualitative interviews were conducted with different focus groups (planners, officials of the municipality, visitors, former residents etc.) between 2016 and 2018. Twenty-six of those interviews were semi-structured expert interviews with researchers, activists, landscape architects and officials of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, who were addressed through gatekeepers. Forty-four narrative interviews were conducted with former residents, and activists, and park visitors. The visitor interviews were held on-site of the case study area at different times (on different weekdays at the morning, at noon and in the evening) in order to meet different target groups. The interviewees were of different genders and of various ages, ranging from twenty to ninety years. In fact, the focus of this research lies not on representative findings, but on individual perceptions, beliefs and behavior of people. This research thus enters the field of subjectivity and selection. The research follows interpretative methods of qualitative social research, and aims not to verify certain knowledge,

[25] Cogato Lanza, Elena; Girot, Christophe. "One Square Kilometer of Well-Being. Notes on Visual Experimentation in the Contemporary Urban Landscape," *Oase #98* (2017): 85–86.

[26] Flick, Uwe, *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung* [Qualitative Research] (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2017).

[27] Flick, Uwe, *Qualitative Forschung. Theorie, Methoden, Anwendung in Psychologie und Sozialwissenschaften* [Qualitative Research] (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1995), 157.

but to discover new relations.[28] As case studies, three mountains were selected: namely the restoration of Namsan, the restoration of Naksan, and the restoration of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley.



3 | Overview of Case Studies (© Susann Ahn, 2019)

[28] Reuber, Paul; Pfaffenbach, Carmella, *Methoden der empirischen Humangeographie. Beobachtung und Befragung* [Methods of empiric research in Human Geography. Observation and Interviews] (Braunschweig: Westermann, 2005), 107.

The temporal premise of this thesis derived from a project period between 1980 and 2012. The case studies were selected through a catalogue of criteria which includes location, size, concept, completion period, and cultural relevance of a restoration project, as well as the access to relevant sources. The following description is intended to give only a brief overview of the three case studies. A detailed introduction follows in part 3 "Narrative of Landscape Restoration" and part 4 "Contested Space of Landscape Restoration".

The restoration of Namsan

The southern founding mountain of Seoul, called Namsan, was restored in the 1990s. The area of the mountain lies within the jurisdiction of the two districts, Jung-gu and Yongsan-gu. The mountain has an elliptical shape with two peaks (270.8 meter and 243 meter).[29] From the western summit, three ridges run to Namdaemun, Pil-dong and Yongsan, while from the eastern summit, two ridges run to Jangchung-dong and Hannam-dong. Around 2,898,350 square meters of Namsan have been restored as Namsan Park. Namsan Park is divided into four Urban Parks and one Urban Nature Park. This work focuses in particular on one of the four urban parks, the Namsan Wildflower Park, which opened in 1997.

The restoration of Naksan

The eastern founding mountain of Seoul is called Naksan. The area of the mountain lies within the jurisdiction of Jongno-gu and Seongbuk-gu. With a height of 124.4 meter it is the smallest of the four inner mountains of Seoul. The 198,387 square meter large park borders on the four neighborhoods Dongsung-dong, Changsin-dong, Ihwa-dong and Samseong-dong. The mountain has been restored as Naksan Park and opened to the public in 2002.

The restoration of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley

Suseongdong Valley is a part of the eastern mountainside of Inwangsan which is the western foundation mountain of Seoul. The western part of Inwangsan is situated in the district Seodaemun-gu, while the eastern part of the mountain is in Jongno-gu. With a height of 339.8 meter, Inwangsan is the second highest of the four inner mountains. Suseongdong Valley has been restored and opened to the public in 2012.

[29] The height of the mountain varies according to different documents: In Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration (1991:10), the mountain peak is indicated with a height of 265 meter, while in the 2030 Seoul Urban Plan (2014:19) it is indicated with a height of 262 meter. In CAD maps of the Seoul Metropolitan Government (2016) it is indicated with a height of 270,8 meter.

In its scientific orientation, this research is follows works from the fields of cultural geography, cultural studies, and landscape studies, such as the post-structural research of Nancy Duncan & James Duncan and Peirce F. Lewis, in which the landscape is seen as a text, i.e. as a system of signs, in which power relations manifest themselves and which is subjected to a social and cultural production of meanings. Following the notion that landscape is "a historically and culturally specific way of seeing,"[30] the reading and interpretation of the landscape becomes crucial for this research. This often includes the act of translation, and raises the question of translatability. *Translation* implies *per definitionem* "any act of change from one place, position, condition, medium, or language."[31] It also implies that these differences can be related to each other. The word 'translation' derives from the Latin word *translatio* which is a combination of the word *trans* (across or beyond) and *lātus* (carry) and means that something can be carried across or even beyond. The philosopher Walter Benjamin once claimed, in his foreword to *Baudelaire's Tableaux Parisiens*, that the "task of the translator consists in finding the particular intention toward the target language which produces in that language the echo of the original."[32] Translation as 'echo of the original' seems to be even more challenging if the original or the source involves a certain amount of vagueness, or dissolves the closer you look or listen, as post-structuralists argue. In landscape restoration projects, the original is more than questionable, as it is subject to a distinct definition which is affected by matters of time, language, and culture.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of how to deal with challenging translations in landscape restoration projects, this thesis analyzes the motives of landscape restoration, the mechanism of translation, and the resulting space. More precisely, part 2 of this thesis investigates the emergence of the idea of landscape restoration in Seoul, thus giving answers to the question why landscape restoration projects have become a popular planning approach in Korea (see chapter 2.1–2.5). Part 3 deals with the question of how traditional and culturally rooted landscape meanings and values are transferred to the present within landscape restoration projects om the basis of three case studies (see chapter 3.1–2.5). The translation mechanisms are investigated using theoretical frameworks in particularly of geographers, historians, and linguists. Part 4 examines the outcome of restoration projects and asks what kind of meanings are created within restoration projects (see chapter 4.1–4.4).

[30] Duncan, Nancy and Duncan, James, "Doing Landscape Interpretation," In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, ed. Dydia DeLyser et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2010), 236.

[31] Akcan, Esra, *Architecture in Translation* (London: Duke University Press), 8.

[32] Benjamin, Walter, "Task of a Translator," In *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 1: 1913-1926*, ed. Markus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 258.

Based on the analysis depicted in part 2 to 4, the final remarks in part 5 lead to a topological and mediative approach for dealing with the challenges of landscape restoration projects, which might be a starting point for further development in both landscape theory and practice.

4 | Gyeongbokgung, 19th century (© Cultural Heritage Administration, 2009)

PART 2

EMERGENCE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION

2.1 Paradigm shift towards culture, history and nature

2.2 Transformation of the landscape and living environment

2.2.1 Geomantic foundation of Seoul

2.2.2 The beginnings of urban expansion

2.2.3 The era of rapid industrialization and urbanization

2.3 Democratization and the call for green space

2.3.1 1987 June-uprisings and the power of the people

2.3.2 Struggle for citizen's needs

2.3.3 Towards greening the city

2.4 The growing international attention and the rise of urban parks

2.4.1 International events and the upswing of urban parks

2.4.2 The Olympic Park and the beginnings of landscape restoration

2.4.3 Alignment of Seoul's planning policy with environmental trends

2.5 Conclusion—the restoration of Seoul's landscapes

2 EMERGENCE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION

At the end of the twentieth century, the attitude towards the landscape in the south Korean capital Seoul changed. Whereas previously there had been an urban development policy of relentless growth, greater efforts were made to improve the urban environment.[33] Quality of life was prioritized over building development, "establishing an era of culture and environment"[34] as the Seoul Metropolitan Government points out. In doing so, politicians and planners distanced themselves from the post-war period and the era of rapid urbanization that changed the cities and landscapes of Korea between 1960 and 1980. The architecture critic Peter G. Rowe describes the transition in Seoul as "a turning point in discourse about the city—official and otherwise—from an ambivalence about public projects to an optimistic forward-looking attitude, from a focus on relatively functional matters to broader issues about lifestyle and livability, and from simply managing urban affairs to actively promoting public good."[35] Especially in the field of landscape architecture, the change became evident due to major financial and political efforts that were made to restore the mountains, rivers, and valleys of the megacity Seoul.

2.1 Paradigm shift towards culture, history and nature

> "Seoul was in a stage of transition, shifting from a developmental city to a post- or neo-developmental city, where environmental and cultural issues shaped the priority agenda for urban restructuring policy."[36]

A number of experts locate this paradigm shift from quantity to quality oriented urban planning approaches in the 1990s.[37] This was a period in which—for the first time in almost three

[33] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Urban Planning of Seoul* (Seoul: Department of Urban Planning, 2009), 11.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Rowe, Peter; Kim, Sae-hoon, and Jung, Sang-hoon Jung, ed., *A City and Its Stream: An Appraisal of the Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project and Its Environs in Seoul, South Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 2010), 17.
[36] Cho, "The politics of urban nature restoration," 150.
[37] Cf. Rii, Hae Un; Ahn, Jae-Seob, "Urbanization and its Impact on Seoul," In *Urbanization, East Asia and Habitat II. UN NGO policy series No. 2*, edited by Ian Douglas and Shu-Li Huang (Taipei: Chung-hua Institution for Economic Research, 2002), 65; Peter, Kim, and Jung, ed., *A City and Its Stream*, 31; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Urban Planning of Seoul*, 11; Cho, "The politics of urban nature restoration," 147; Erpenstein,

decades—a civilian[38] without a military background was elected president of South Korea. However, the following chapters argue that in fact, the paradigm shift had emerged already in the 1980s, a time marked by political and socio-cultural changes. This becomes apparent in the examination of official urban planning documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, such as the *Report of Seoul City Planning History* from 1991. In chronological order, this report provides information about parks, both envisioned and actually built in Seoul, and identifies a significant increase in public parks and green spaces in that city in the 1980s.[39]

5 | Cover of Seoul City Planning History 1991 (© Seoul Metropolitan Government)

A legal planning foundation for an improvement of living conditions was created by the *Urban Park Act,* which went into effect on January 4, 1980.[40] The Act commences with the words "the purpose of this Act is to form pleasant and comfortable urban environment".[41] Since then, the Urban Park Act has been amended twenty-eight times to reach its present form as the *Act on Urban Parks, Green Areas*, and has been responsible for major restructurings of the urban fabric.[42] In the beginning, however, the Seoul Metropolitan Government had enormous difficulties with the implementation and execution of this law. This resulted in delays of the construction of public parks and green spaces in Seoul, which are bundled under the umbrella

Annette, "Conflict Management in Urban Planning. The Restoration of the Ch'ŏnggyech'ŏn River in Seoul," In *Korea 2010: Politics, Economy and Society*, ed. Rüdiger Frank et al. (Boston: Brill Publishing, 2010), 85.

[38] Kim Young-sam was president of South Korea from 1993 to 1998.

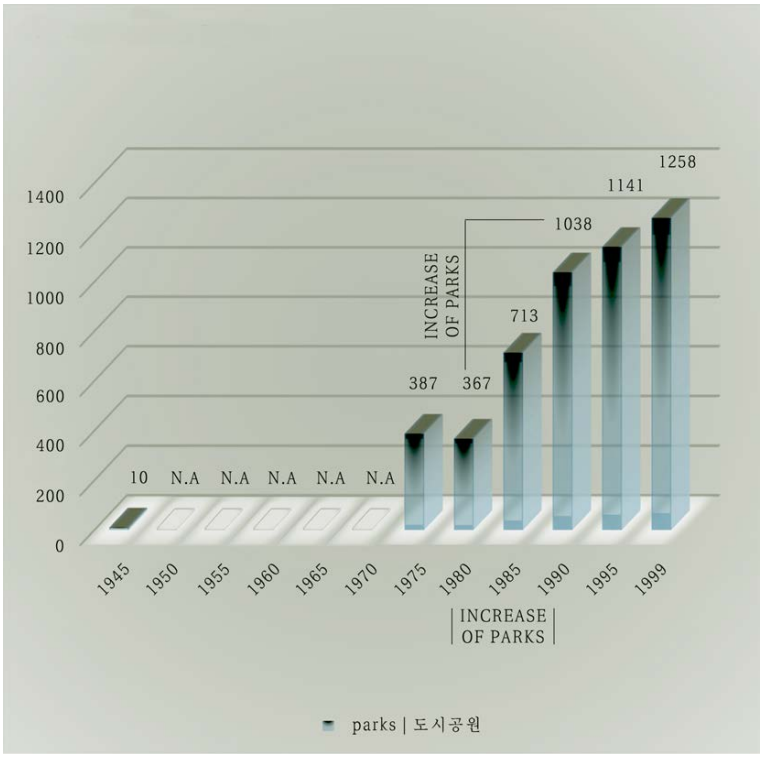
[39] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul Urban Planning History* [서울특별시. 서울도시계획연혁도] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1991), 497, 503.

[40] Urban Park Act, History Record, 1980. Korean Legislation Research Institute, http://elaw.klri.re.kr (accessed on April 1, 2018).

[41] Urban Park Act, History Record, 1980.

[42] Ibid.

term *dosi-gongwon,* which literally means 'urban park'. Nevertheless, the number of urban parks in Seoul tripled from 367 to 1,038 built parks in the decade between 1980 and 1990 alone.[43] Between 1983 and 1989, the number of parks particularly climbed from 596 to 974.[44]



6 | Increase of parks in Seoul 1945–1999 (© Susann Ahn, 2019, based on data of Seoul City Planning History 1991 & Seoul Parks Data and Annual Statistics)

This substantial increase is all the more amazing considering the fact that it took place despite rising land prices and the growing influence of investors, who were interested in a flourishing building development.[45] The development of urban parks has, however, benefited from the fact that from 1995 onwards, the Seoul Metropolitan Government has had its own administration for urban planning.[46] In order to get areas for further parks and green spaces within the metropolitan area, not only were landscape zones at the periphery secured, but also numerous residential buildings, industrial facilities, and transport areas in the city center were converted

[43] Kim, Won-Ju, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," In *Seoul Solution for Urban Development. Housing Environment*, ed. Seoul Metropolitan Government (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015), 132.
[44] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul Urban Planning History*, 498, 504.
[45] For detailed studies on building pressure and rising land prices see: Kim, Sung Hong et al., ed., *The Far Game. Constraints Sparking Creativity* (Seoul: Space Books, 2016), 43.
[46] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Urban Planning of Seoul*, 11.

into parks in accordance to the concept of *landscape restoration*. The concept of restoring landscape elements is quite a common phenomenon, especially in rapidly urbanized countries, but in the case of South Korea, it was also linked to distinct historical, social, and political transformations that shaped the country in the twentieth century.

2.2 Transformation of the landscape and living environment

> "Looking at the skylines of tall buildings in Korea today, it is hard to believe that it was one of the world's poorest nations only half a century ago."[47]

In South Korea—as in many other countries—the industrialization process had a profound impact on the environment and living conditions. In fact, the emergence of landscape restoration projects was a reaction to the far-reaching transformations of twentieth century Korea. The traditional agricultural society of the Joseon dynasty (1302–1910), with its modest living spaces and strict social hierarchies that had lasted for more than five hundred years, dissolved into a differentiated and fragmented industrial society in the course of three generations.

2.2.1 Geomantic foundation of Seoul

In ancient times, the Korean peninsula was the target of power struggles and invasions from neighboring countries due to its geographical position as a bridge between the Japanese islands and the Asian continent. After years of struggles and intertwined conflicts with surrounding rulers, especially the Mongol Yuan dynasty, the Goryeo dynasty that was established in 935 and ruled the Korean peninsula until 1392. General *Yi Seong-Gye*, also named king Taejo, came to power with a *coup d'état* and subsequently founded the Joseon dynasty. He adopted the old name *Joseon*, which has been used around 37 BC for Northwest Korea and parts of Manchuria. During the Joseon dynasty, the administration was centralized, arts and sciences were promoted, and Confucianism was introduced as philosophy and moral teaching. However, the majority of the population in Joseon dynasty, which mostly depended on agricultural activities, was organized in a decentralized manner within the country. Until 1875, a little less than

[47] Kim, Sung Hong, and Schmal, Peter Cachola, ed., *Contemporary Korean Architecture. Megacity Network* (Berlin: Jovis, 2007), 43.

201,000 inhabitants lived in the capital Seoul.[48] In fact, the number of inhabitants and the urban structure of Seoul had hardly changed since its foundation in 1394. The four inner mountains Bugaksan, Inwangsan, Namsan and Naksan—which were connected by Seoul's city wall—were still regarded as spatial references and highly appreciated landmarks by the citizens as they had influenced the foundation of the city. The mountains of Seoul, wrapped in dense forest with weathered granite rocks looking out from a thicket here and there, created a strong sense of identity for the inhabitants. The mountains of Seoul not only offered a defense against intruders and the elements, but also carried mythical and a religious significance.[49] Traditionally, mountains were regarded in Korea as "sacred representatives of nature"[50] and as abodes of guardian spirits. The spatial structure of Seoul was based on the teachings of *pungsu-jiri,* Korean geomancy. *Pungsu-jiri* originated in the Chinese *fengshui* and includes equally the "art of wind and water."[51] Strictly speaking, geomancy is described by the cultural geographer and geomancy expert Hong-key Yoon as "a comprehensive system of conceptualizing the physical environment that regulated human ecology by influencing man to select auspicious environments and build harmonious structures (e.g. graves, gardens, houses, and cities) on them."[52] In other words, the teachings of *pungsu-jiri* define relationships between topography, housing and personal well-being. The teachings also influence the understanding of space and nature, since the teachings have been part of people's everyday lives over generations—sometimes as superstition, sometimes as spatial rule or sometimes as political propaganda. In this manner "the idea of geomancy reflects a deep association between culture and the environment in East Asia"[53] writes Yoon, and stresses moreover, "geomancy has had an ecologically favorable impact on the environment and has been one of the most important elements controlling Korean's relationship with the environment."[54] The impact of *pungsu-jiri* is observable in the layout of Seoul. In accordance with the teachings of *pungsu-jiri*, the *Gyeongbokgung* (Gyeongbok palace*)*, the largest of the five royal palaces, was built in the most auspicious place protected by the mountains Bugaksan and Inwangsan.[55]

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[48] Shin, Michael D., ed., *Korean History in Maps. From Prehistory to the Twenty-first Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 99.

[49] Ryu, Je-Hun, *Reading the Korean Cultural Landscape* (New Jersey: Hollym International Corp., 2000), 229.

[50] ["Der Berg gilt als ein heiliger Vertreter der Natur"]Lee, Ju-Hyoung, *Walderholung in Korea und in Deutschland* [Forest recovery in Korea and Germany] (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2010), 48.

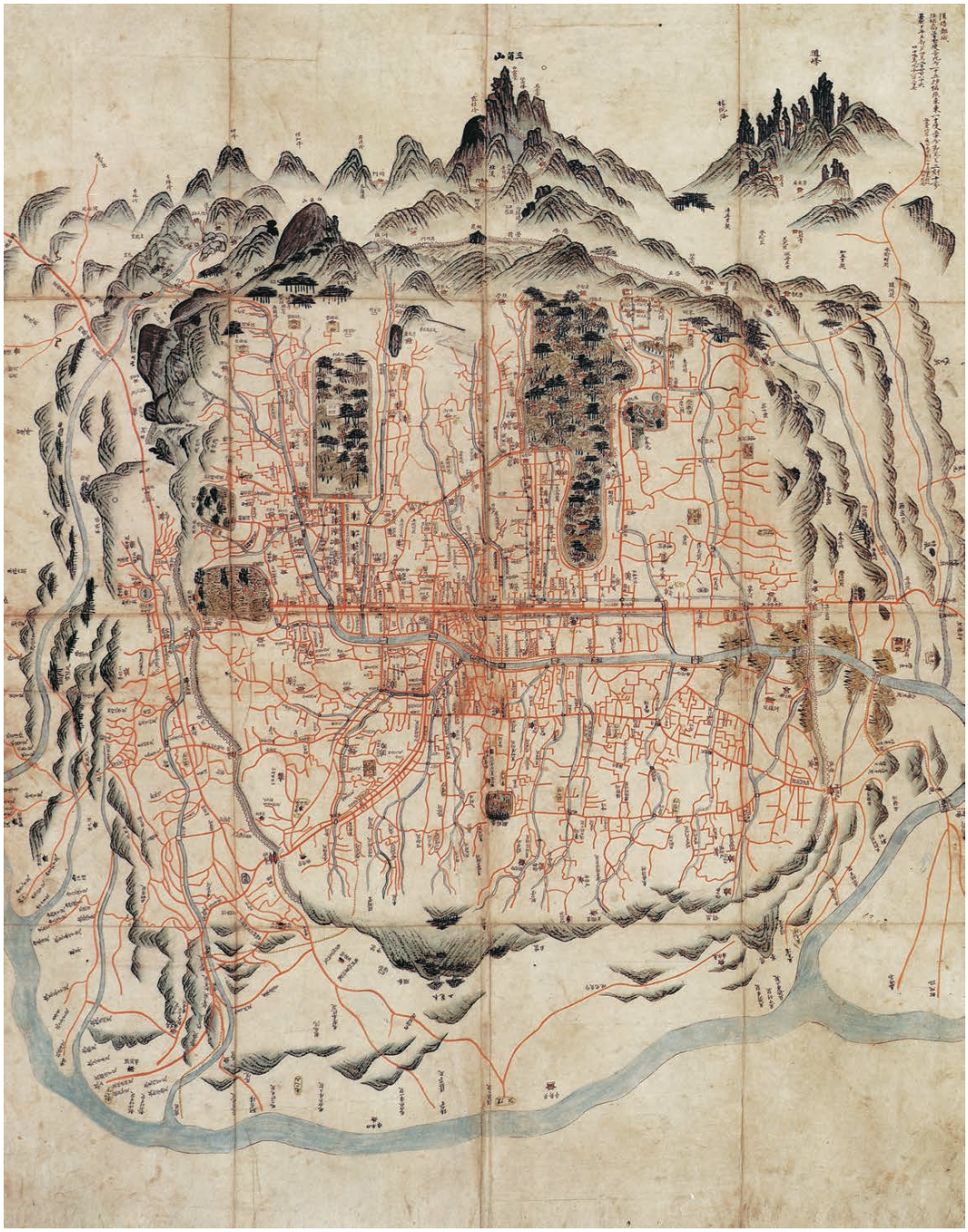
[51] Chijun, Muraxama, "Chosen no Fusui" [Korean Geomancy] (Seoul: Chosen Shotofu, 1931), In Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea,* 17.

[52] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea,* 12.

[53] Ibid.*,* 8.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Palaces in Seoul: Gyeongbokgung, Changdeokgung, Changgyeonggung, Deoksugung und Gyeonghuigung.



7 | Map of Seoul, Hanyang doseongdo, 18th century (Hoam Art Museum)

The royal court was the top of society and thus situated at the best location following the rules for *pungsu-jiri*. *Gyeongbokgung* (Gyeongbok palace) formed the initial point of a north–south running street axis, which is today called *Sejongdaero*. During the Joseon dynasty the most important ministries were situated on this street, among them the ministry of military affairs, ministry of punishments, ministry for construction and forest, the city administration, and the ministry of taxation.[56] This area was mainly referred to a group called *yangban* consisting of bureaucrats for state affairs and officers for military that held besides the royal court huge political influence and had a high social status. Towards the end of the dynasty, ordinary people could theoretically rise in yangban circles by passing a state examination and receiving a position from the king, but in reality, this was granted only to very few. In general, yangbans received special privileges, including tax remissions and exemption from compulsory service.[57] Their power and wealth were not only expressed by rank and territory, but also by the number of slaves they owned.[58] However, already in the first years of the Joseon dynasty, a building regulation was developed that regulated the size of the yangban estates in accordance to royal rank.[59] Nevertheless, many yangbans had large residences either in the immediate neighborhoods surrounding the royal palace or in the countryside.[60] This north–south axis hits the *Jongno Street* perpendicularly. Predominantly, administrative and government buildings as well as markets were located at *Jongno Street*. This strict urban layout also reflected the hierarchical social order of the Joseon dynasty. The social system was rather impermeable during Joseon dynasty, so the people generally remained within their social status system.

Beside the royal family, the elitist group—consisting of bureaucrats for state affairs and officers for military affairs—was called yangban. The *jungin* or *ikyo* were ranked under the yangban in the Joseon dynasty. These group included doctors, translators, astronomers, accountants, and writers.[61] The *jungin* group represented only a small percentage of the people compared to ordinary citizens. The majority of the Korean population consisted of ordinary citizens known as *yangin.* This group including farmers, craftsmen and merchants. Social and

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[56] Cultural Heritage Administration, *Basic Plan of Gyeongbokgung Restoration* [문화재청: 경복궁 복원기본계획] (Daejon: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2009).

[57] Seth, Michael, *A History of Korea, From Antiquity to Present* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 166.

[58] Palais, James B., *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions. Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the Late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 118.

[59] Yun, Jieheerah, *Globalizing Seoul. The City's Cultural and Urban Change*. Planning, History and Environment Series (London: Routledge, 2017), 22–23; Shin, *Korean History in Maps*, 25.

[60] Eckert, Carter et al., Korea Old and New. A History (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers for Harvard University Press, 1990), 109.

[61] Ibid.

occupational status was usually passed on from generation to generation. In general, farmers were bound by law to the land of their birth. Even in the late nineteenth century, most *yangin* lived—as generations before had—in simple, low, thatched houses with clay walls and stomped earth floors. In the lowest social order, below the *yangin,* stood the slaves, mostly consisting of outcasts and "lower" professions such as butchers or shamans according to the social perception of that time. This group was called *cheonmin*. The *cheonmin* status was inherited, and it was not until 1718 that the government first allowed slaves to buy property and gain higher status. Up to thirty percent of the Korean population was made up of slaves.[62] Although, the almost unbreakable division between the different social groups was eased by an emerging entrepreneurship in the transition to the nineteenth century, the traditional social structures, which had been consolidated for over five hundred years, did not change significantly until the beginning of the twentieth century.[63]

2.2.2 The beginnings of urban expansion

It is difficult to determine the starting point for the industrialization process in Korea, because—unlike in Europe—the industrialization process in Korea cannot be linked to distinct technological inventions. It is rather the result of political power factors. In fact, the political economist Alice Amsden argues that the industrialization process in Korea was not triggered by inventions and innovations, but occurred on the basis of learning and was highly determined by governmental institutions.[64] Furthermore, industrialization process in Korea was anything but homogeneous. According to Amsden, it can be divided into two stages, which differ from each other in speed, driving forces and dimension.[65] Hence, this thesis considers the period from 1876 to 1945 as the first phase of industrialization. This denotes a rather slow industrial development, mainly influenced by the Japanese expansion policy. The second phase of industrialization is referred to a period between 1961 and 1988, which was controlled by the governments under Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan. This period is characterized by rapid urbanization.[66] Often, an industrialization process is—from the viewpoint of the population—

[62] Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions*, 118, 249.

[63] King, Betty L., "Japanese Colonialism and Korean Economic Development, 1910-1945", in *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia 13:3* (1975):3.

[64] Amsden, Alice, *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 4, 8.

[65] Ibid., 6.

[66] This description does not include the government period of President Choi Kyu-ha, who served only one year from 1979 to 1980.

associated with inconceivable progressions, increasing insecurity, and growing detachment from familiar structures. These insecurities are even more profound when such a process is mostly externally imposed by an occupying power, as was the case in Korea. Although it is difficult to determine an exact starting point, it can be said that one event decisively boosted Korea's industrialization, namely the forced opening of Korean ports in 1876.

Opening of Korean ports

The opening of Korean ports cannot be considered separately from a long isolation policy growing Japanese influence in Korea. In fact, isolation had shaped Korea's foreign policy relations for more than two hundred years. Since 1637, after the second invasion of the Manchus, Korea's contacts with other countries were mostly limited to trade with a few neighboring countries.[67] The isolation policy became more severe as the interest of Western countries steadily increased at the beginning of the nineteenth century. English and German traders as well as French and American soldiers were all decisively rejected, in some cases using military force.[68] In addition to Western powers, Korean neighbors—in particular Japan, China and Russia—wanted to secure and expand their spheres of influence on the Korean peninsula. Japan wanted to be internationally recognized as an advanced, imperialist state. In Japan, the political revolution in 1868, known as the *Meiji Restoration*, ended the *Tokugawa Shogunate* and the Edo period (1603–1868). The aim of the Meiji period government (1868–1912) was to industrialize and modernize the country. For this, the Japanese government started restructuring and modernizing its political system along the lines of Western models. This included a pursuance of an expansionist foreign policy. Korea, as a geographical bridge to the continent, was of strategic importance in this policy. Japan wanted to secure Korea against Russian and Chinese interests. Overcoming Korea's isolationist policy, however, proved to be quite challenging. Thwarted military actions forced Japan to rely on diplomatic relationships.[69]

Eventually, after king Gojong's assumption of rulership in 1873, Japan's diplomatic efforts paid off. King Gojong who was now the ruler of Joseon dynasty, was much more receptive to opening up the country and moving closer to Japan than his predecessors. Eventually, intensive inner-political pressure and external pressure from Japan led to his

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[67] Seth, *A History of Korea*, 222.

[68] In 1832 ships of English traders appeared off the coast of Chungcheong. In 1866, seven warships under the French flag seized weapons from the Korean island *Ganghwa*. Subsequently, the Prussian adventurer Ernst J. Oppert tried to establish a trading relationship with Korea, but was rejected in 1868. Three years later, in 1871, five U.S. warships were sent to Korea to force the opening of the ports, but were unsuccessful (Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New*, 194–195.)

[69] Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New*, 198–201.

signing of the *Treaty of Ganghwa* in February 1876, which opened the Korean ports of Busan, Incheon, and Wonsan to Japanese trade.[70] This treaty effectively ended Korea's policy of isolation, which had been in effect for more than two hundred years. Japan had already abandoned its policy of isolation twenty-three years earlier due to the economic and military pressure of Western powers. The *Treaty of Ganghwa* listed both Korea and Japan as autonomous nations in order to distance Korea from the historically constituted influence of China.[71] The treaty also allowed Japan "to survey Korean waters [...], to reside in treaty ports, and gave the Japanese the right of extraterritoriality; that is, Japanese in Korea would be subject to Japanese laws and courts".[72] In the end, this treaty had enormous impact on the transformation of the Korean economy.

First steps towards modernization

At the end of the nineteenth century, Korea took its first steps towards modernization, a "change that takes place in almost all parts of society when it is industrialized,"[73] according to the definition of the sociologist Max Pechmann. This change not only effects economics, but also politics, education, tradition, and religion. In Korea, the interest in modernizing the country rose during the reign of Joseon's king Gojong. The king's interest in modernizing his country was stimulated by his fascination for new, technological developments. In 1893, for instance, he arranged the installation of the first telephone connection in Korea within his palace, even though he and his servants were initially not quite comfortable with hearing voices from a distance. At first, it was even believed that it would be possible to talk via a telephone line with dead ancestors.[74] The king initiated modernization measures and reforms throughout the country, despite concerns of the traditional faction and protests of the peasantry. These measures triggered serious conflicts in the early 1890s between parts of the population who joined together in the *Donghak-peasant movement* and the ruling government. The *Donghak-peasant movement* sought a return to neo-Confucian morality and political structures of the Joseon dynasty, as well as to push back cultural and modern influences from Japan and Western countries. King Gojong, however, held to his modernization course. In addition to reforms in the

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[70] Chung, Young-lob, *Korea Under Siege, 1876–1945: Capital Formation and Economic Transformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 42.

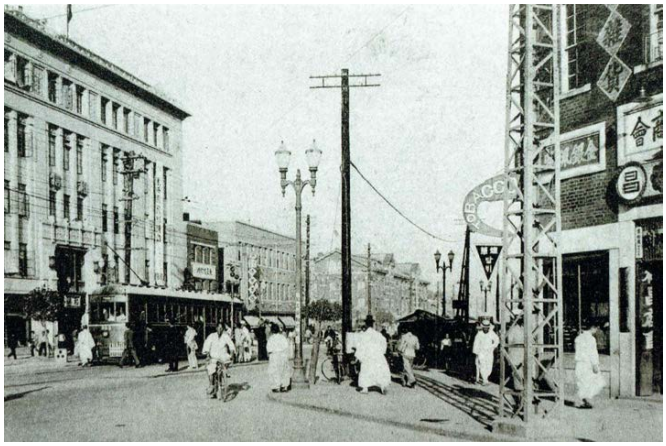
[71] Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New*, 201.

[72] Seth, *A History of Korea*, 249.

[73] Pechmann, Max, "Korea's Question of Modernization. A research of the process of modernization in the years 1876-1945," Dissertation, (Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, 2007), 12. http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de, accessed on July 3, 2018.

[74] Göthel, Ingeborg, *Der Untergang des alten Korea* [The fall of ancient Korea] (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1996), 131–132.

education, economic, military, financial, health and administrative sectors, Gojong initiated the building of the first power plant in Korea in order to supply the palace and the capital's main streets with sufficient electric light. The necessary technical expertise was acquired during expeditions to Japan, China, the United States of America, and Europe in the 1880s (see chapter 4.2.1). To build the power plant in Korea, engineers from the United States of America were specially invited. Two years and six months after the power plant had been ordered at Edison Lamp Company, there was electric light in Korea for the first time.[75] Just as in many other countries of the world, the supply of electrical power had a major impact on the urban environment and the city planning. In 1898, for instance, the construction of the first electric tram line started in Seoul introducing a modern system of public transportation to Korea.



8 | Jongno street with electric light (© Seoul Museum of History)

At that time, Korea also sought to equalize its position with the Chinese and Japanese empires to demonstrate its independence and autonomy. For this reason, king Gojong crowned himself emperor in August 1897.[76] As emperor of the *Great Korean Empire*, he was also spiritual leader, and thus empowered "to sacrifice directly to heaven and not, as before, only to the spirits of the earth and the harvest".[77] A temple—following the design style of the Temple of Heaven in Beijing—was built on a hill next to the Korean royal palace especially for this offering ceremony. In contrast to common Korean royal buildings, which normally had a two-step terrace, the temple was now enthroned on a three-step terrace. According to the historian Ingeborg Göthel,

[75] Nam, Moon-Hyon. "Early History of Electrical Engineering in Korea: Edison and First Electric Lighting in the Kingdom of Korea." *Paper presented at Singapore 2000: Promoting the History of EE*, Singapore, January 23–26, 2000, 2–5.

[76] Göthel, *Der Untergang des alten Korea* [The fall of ancient Korea], 125.

[77] Ibid.

the three-step terrace gave expression to the threefold nature of heaven, earth, and the world of mortals.[78] However, the appointment of an emperor did not bring Korea an equal status with its neighboring countries China and Japan.

Japanese had continually increased its influence in Korea since the *Treaty of Ganghwa*. Already in the mid–1890s, a large number of the trading companies in Busan, Incheon and Wonsan were under Japanese leadership and 72 percent of the ships in these ports were sailing under the Japanese flag.[79] The American missionary and contemporary witness Bezaleel Hulbert (1863–1949)[80] describes the political situation in Korea in 1906 in a diplomatic manner as follows: "Topographically Korea lies with her face toward China and her back toward Japan."[81] In the end, despite official complaints, larger and smaller resistance movements and Korean guerrilla groups against the Japanese, Korea was incorporated into the Japanese Empire as a Japanese colony with the *Japan-Korean Annexation Treaty* on August 22, 1910. Japan thus received "full control over the symbolic topography not just of Seoul, but of the entire peninsula."[82]

Industrialization during the colonial period

During the Japanese occupation, the modernization and industrialization efforts, which had first started under the government of emperor Gojong, were expanded as part of Japan's expansion policy. Japan's role in the modernization process in Korea is, however, a controversially debated topic in scientific circles.[83] It is still unclear whether the modernization process in Korea is primarily based on endogenous factors respectively internal causes, or on exogenous factors respectively the influence of the Japanese occupying power, as Max Pechmann

[78] Ibid., 125–132.

[79] Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New*, 215.

[80] As an American missionary and journalist, Bezaleel Hulbert (1863–1949) examined the landscape, social and political conditions on the Korean peninsula at a time shortly before the Japanese occupation. Although his descriptions are marked by his strong affection for Korea, they provide a multifaceted insight into the Korean way of living at the time.

[81] Hulbert, Homer Bezaleel, *The Passing of Korea* (London: William Heinemann, 1906), 10.

[82] Henry, A. Todd, "Respatializing Chosŏn's Royal Capital: The Politics of Japanese Urban Reforms in Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919," In *Sitings. A Critical Approaches to Korean Geography*, ed. Timothy Tangherlini and Sallie Yea (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 22.

[83] A wide range of literature deals with the modernization of Korea and discusses the influence of Japan: among others, Sin, Gi-Wook and Robinson, Michael, ed., *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961); King, Betty L., "Japanese Colonialism and Korean Economic Development, 1910-1945", in *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia 13:3* (1975); Myers, Ramon H. and Peattie, Mark R., ed., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984; Amsden, *Asia's Next Giant*; Chung, *Korea Under Siege*; Pechmann, "Korea's Question of Modernization"; Kwon, Nayoung Aimee, *Intimate empire: collaboration and colonial modernity in Korea and Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

discusses in his research.[84] However, it is clear that "central to the concerns of Japanese colonial policy [⋯] were the economic consolidation of the empire and the integration of its colonial economies,"[85] as is shown by the Japanologist Mark Peattie in a compendium on the Japanese colonial empire published by the Japanese scholarly association in 1934. The Japanese colonies were supposed to contribute to the economic power and self-sufficiency of Japan. To achieve this goal, the Japanese government invested in the modernization of Korean agriculture, fisheries, forestry, mining, and manufacturing. Many of the obtained products were exported to Japan. For both economic and military purposes, Japan also invested in the expansion of the Korean infrastructure. Seaports, roads, bridges, railway lines, dams and canal systems underwent systematic expansion and modernization measures. At the same time, modern factories, and communication systems, as well as trade and financial systems were established in Korea.[86] Production increased noticeably between 1911 and 1940—although only in the individual economic sectors that served the expansion policy.[87] It was mainly the Japanese population that benefited from economic growth and the distribution of products and goods. The majority of the Korean population remained poor and even suffered temporarily from famine. Although higher yields were achieved under Japanese leadership in the agricultural sector, for example in rice production, most of the products were shipped to Japan nonetheless. Japan did not confine itself to the transformation of economic sectors, but was also striving for institutional control of social structures as well as the communication and financial system.[88] In order to gain control over a society, Japan initiated massive changes in cultural and educational policy. "The colonial government issued an education ordinance in August 1911, which stated that the purpose of education in Korea was to produce 'loyal and obedient' and useful subjects of the Japanese emperor," explains the historian Andrew C. Nahm.[89] For instance, Korean history, geography and language lessons were forbidden in school. This has been confirmed by an eyewitness, who was interviewed for this research. Born in 1936, he remembers that "during the Japanese colonial rule it was not allowed to speak Korean in school. At the beginning of the month, all student in our class received a small

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[84] Pechmann, "Korea's Question of Modernization," 3.

[85] Peattie, Mark R., "Japanese Attitudes Toward Colonialism," In *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 120.

[86] Ho, Samuel Pao-San, "Colonialism and Development: Korea, Taiwan, and Kwantung," In The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 351–352, 357.

[87] Mason, Edward et al., *The Economic and Social Modernization of the Republic of Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1980), 76.

[88] King, "Japanese Colonialism and Korean Economic Development, 1910-1945," 3, 18, 20.

[89] Nahm, Andrew C., *Korea: Tradition & Transformation, A History of Korean People* (Seoul: Hollym, 1996), 250.

booklet of tickets from our teacher. Whenever we spoke Korean instead of Japanese, a ticket was torn out of the booklet. And at the end of the month, our teacher checked the remaining tickets. We were punished for each missing one."[90] Language control also became apparent in public media. Korean newspapers, with few exceptions, were temporarily banned and subjected to strict censorship. In addition, many names were changed, for instance Korea itself was declared a Japanese province and renamed 'Chōsen', and Seoul was renamed 'Keijō'. Not only were the country and the cities transformed, but also Korean inhabitants received Japanese names. For many people, the banning of the Korean language and the conversion of names initiated a loss of identity.

The beginnings of urbanization

Although the population figures before 1925 are rather sparse, figures of the *Population and Development Studies Center* show a distinct increase in Seoul's population during the Japanese colonial period.[91] By 1944, there were already 824,976 people living within an area of 134 square kilometers.[92] Numerous Japanese migrants came to Korea and settled in Seoul since the Japanese governor general, as well as the main centers for Japanese trade, industry, and consumer products were located there. Many of the migrants were engineers, bankers or administrative staff, frequently from the Japanese middle class. They introduced a Japanese-Western way of living including dressing in Western-style suits. Among them were enthusiastic supporters of modern mass culture and of new forms of entertainment, such as cinemas, department stores and cafés. According to Japanologist Katarzyna Cwiertka, who studied the records of the *Keijō's Chamber of Commerce*, more than 250 establishments, including Japanese-style restaurants, cafés, bars, as well as Korean, Western and Chinese-style restaurants were located in Seoul in 1939.[93] However, many activities for entertainment, recreation, consumption and leisure were only available to the Japanese clientele, as there was a strict separation between Korean and Japanese inhabitants in everyday life. An exception to this were the streets and public squares, as Cwiertka explains: "The growing public space of the colonial city increasingly provided a setting for encounters, if not transaction: a world in which the boundaries of the colonial framework could be temporarily transcended."[94]

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[90] Interview 160205_GEN_LOC (00:10:25)

[91] Kwon, Tai Hwan et al., *The Population of Korea*, C.I.C.R.E.D. Series, (Seoul: The Population and Development Studies Center Seoul National University, 1975), 10.

[92] Ibid., 146.

[93] Cwiertka, Katarzyna J., *Cuisine, Colonialism and Cold War: Food in Twentieth-Century Korea* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 33–36.

[94] Cwiertka, *Cuisine, Colonialism and Cold War: Food in Twentieth-Century Korea,* 36.

From the middle of the 1930s, the population of Seoul increased two and a half times; in 1935 Seoul had 312,587 inhabitants, in 1940 already 775,162.[95] South of the historic center of Seoul—near the Japanese garrison in Yongsan district—a purely Japanese suburb was developed. Larger factories and workshops settled at the riverside of the *Hangang* near the railway bridge, and smaller industrial companies and factories settled in front of the eastern gate, while Korean residential areas developed in the west.[96] In order to manage the urban influx, the Japanese government used modern planning instruments; in 1934, the first *City Planning Ordinance of Chōsen* was enacted, followed by a *Street planning Ordinance of Chōsen*, and a *Land-use plan* in 1939. For Seoul, a *Keijō (Gyeongseong) Town Plan* was issued which divided the city into residential, commercial and industrial zones. At that time, the urban fabric of Seoul underwent major transformations as significant political, economic, and military functions of the city were reorganized by the Japanese government. During this reorganization, it was decided that the *Jongno-gu* district would become the political and administrative center, *Jung-gu* district the economic and commercial center, and *Yongsan-gu* district the military center. Between *Namsan* and the *Hangang*, the military base in Yongsan-gu was considerably enlarged by the Japanese Imperial Army, while at the same time the city itself expanded beyond the historic city walls largely through construction of new Japanese residential areas.[97]

The colonial politics not only assimilated the areas of economy, urban planning, language and education, but also manifested themselves on a symbolic level in Seoul. *Gyeongbokgung*, the royal palace and a symbol of the Korean dynasty, for example, became the site for the new Japanese government building—a modern, representative building—and icon of Japanese power. Other areas of the palace were transformed into a zoo, which was perceived by many Koreans as a national humiliation. Moreover, not only were buildings used as symbols, but also the landscape of Seoul.

On *Namsan*, the southern mountain of Seoul, the major Shintō shrine was erected. By many Koreans, this event was perceived as religious-territorial occupation (see chapter 3.1.2). The attempt of the Japanese to supersede linguistic, religious, spatial and cultural symbols resulted in a national trauma among Koreans, which is still noticeable today, as will become clear in the following parts of this work.

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[95] Kwon, *The Population of Korea*, 146.

[96] Dege, Eckart, "Seoul—Von der Metropole zur Metropolregion" [Seoul—From the Metropolis to the Metropolitan Region], *Geographische Rundschau 52* (2000):4–5.

[97] Seoul Metropolitan Government. Urban Planning of Seoul, 10, 20.

9 | Citizens rejoicing the liberation (© National Archives of Korea)

2.2.3 The era of rapid industrialization and urbanization

After nearly thirty-five years, the Japanese colonial period in Korea ended with Japan's capitulation on August 15, 1945. The official announcement of the surrender by the Japanese Emperor via radio not only marked the end of the Second World War in the Asia-Pacific region, but also led to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Korea. However, Korea hardly had any time to stabilize economically, politically, or socially after the Japanese were forced to leave the country. When the end of Japanese colonial rule in Korea became imminent, the victorious powers of the Second World War began to make plans for Korea's future. Already on August 14—one day before Japan's official surrender—Soviet troops arrived in the north-eastern part of Korea and began to systematically occupy the country.[98] On September 8, U.S. forces also landed in Korea, however, the American occupation was "marked by confusion of purpose, lack of preparation and planning, mixed signals from Washington, and the more open and chaotic politics of the South,"[99] as the historian Michael Seth points out. Contrary to the hopes of many Koreans, the fate of Korea was not self-determined but rather by power struggles between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Already in 1946, it was foreseeable that there would be different zones within the country. Ultimately, only three years after the liberation of

[98] Seth, *A History of Korea*, 308–309.

[99] Seth, *A History of Korea*, 311.

Korea, two different governments were formed in Korea as a result of different ideological regimes under influence of the protagonists of the Cold War. On August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) was formally established. Less than a month later, on September 9, 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) was also formally established.[100] Tensions between the two resulted in the Korean War, which devastated the country from 1950 to 1953. The war brought new destruction and misery to the entire country, leaving the Korean population in poverty. At the end of the war, nearly ten percent of the Korean population was dead, wounded, or missing. In the end, the separation of the country destroyed family structures and further eroded the already battered Korean national spirit.

In the years following the Korean War, a new social and political stability had to be rebuilt, but widespread corruption within the authoritarian government of Rhee Syngman ruined many attempts. Rhee Syngman was forced to resign after the so-called *April Revolution*, also known as the April 19 Revolution in 1960. The uprisings mostly led by university and high school students,[101] forced Rhee Syngman's abdication, and a transitional government was established. Since the industrialization of Korea was heavily reliant on state institutions, the chaos caused by the war, political unrest and changing governments in the period after Japanese colonial rule profoundly affected the industrialization process and economic growth of Korea. Roughly speaking, this time represents an economic caesura. As a consequence, many social scientists divide the industrialization process in Korea into two phases, as explained at the beginning: a first industrialization phase after the opening of the ports until the end of the Japanese colonial period in 1945, and a second industrialization phase starting in the 1960s, when Park Chung-hee came into office.

Industrialization under Park Chung-hee

The driving force behind the second industrialization phase was the forceful and ambitious policy on exports and economy of the South Korean government under General Park Chung-hee. In 1961, Park overthrew the South Korean transitional government[102] with a military coup, and was elected as South Korean president in 1963. He remained in office until his assassination in 1979. Park's goal was to bring South Korea out of poverty and destruction, and

[100] Nahm, *Korea: Tradition & Transformation*, 366.

[101] Seth, *A History of Korea*, 373–376.

[102] The post-war government in South Korea began to divide the government period into different republics. The first republic was from 1948–1960, the second republic from 1960–1961. When Park Chung-hee came into office, he proclaimed the third republic, which lasted from 1963–1972. The fourth republic was from 1972–1981, predominantly under the government of Park Chung-hee. The fifth republic began with the military coup of Chun Doo-hwan from 1981–1987, the sixth republic begins in 1987 and lasts today.

transform it into "an independent, autonomous sovereign state, economically and militarily."[103] To achieve his goals, he issued the *First Five-Year Plan* (1962–1966) and *Second Five-Year Plan* (1967–1971).[104] Like Chinese role-models, the *Five-Year Plan* in Korea represented a planning instrument for future-oriented economic development. It defined economic orientations, investments, and resources. The slogan of the First Five-Year Plan was 'self-reliant economy', and displayed Park's "desire to free the nation from its economic dependence on the United States,"[105] argues the historian Michael Seth. The plan included an ambitious export policy to strengthen the country's economic power. Since South Korea had few mineral resources but a large workforce, the Korean government promoted international exports of labor-intensive products such as textiles, clothing, and shoes. This resulted in economic growth being shouldered by the working class. Thus, worker regularly endured extremely long working hours, unhealthy working conditions (especially in the textile industry), lack of social benefits, minimal income, and oppression of anti-government labor unions.[106] In the end, Korean workers during that time "really sacrificed themselves for the sake of national economic development."[107] Despite growing exasperation in civil society with the authoritarian regime and precarious living conditions, Park Chung-hee succeeded in amending the constitution in a public referendum in 1972. This was the beginning of the *fourth Republic*. Prior to this, the post-war government in South Korea had begun to divide government periods into different republics. The *first republic* was from 1948–1960, and the *second republic* from 1960–1961 during the postwar government. When Park Chung-hee came into office, he proclaimed the *third republic*, which lasted from 1963 until 1972. At the beginning of the fourth Republic, which lasted from 1972–1981, Park Chung-hee introduced the *Yusin system*.[108] The *Yusin system* was a series of measures designed to strengthen Park's economic and political position, and to reduce dependency on the United States. Already during the Korean War, the U.S. government had gained considerable influence as a military protective power. After the Korean War, the U.S. influence further increased. On the one hand, the United States helped with financial aid, investments in infrastructure, and technical assistance. They also had a significant impact on the education

[103] Kim, Hyung-A, *Korea's Development under Park Chung-Hee. Rapid industrialization, 1961–79* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1.

[104] Between 1962 and 1996 there were seven different five-year plans to structure and manage the economic development in South Korea.

[105] Seth, *A History of Korea*, 384.

[106] Kim, Jae-Won and Amberg, Sonja Tsi Hae, "Labor Relations during the Korean Civil Government," In *South Korea: Challenging Globalization and the Post-Crisis Reforms*, ed. Young-Chan Kim, Doo-Jin Kim, and Young Jun Kim (Oxford: Chandos, 2008), 87.

[107] Rii and Ahn, "Urbanization and its Impact on Seoul," 51.

[108] Kim, *Korea's Development under Park Chung-Hee*, xiii, 2.

system, consumers' behavior, language, and music. On the other hand, they heavily interfered in political affairs. As the historian Michael Seth stats, between 1960 and 1980 the United States "absorbed the majority of the country's exports."[109] Therefore, when U.S President Richard Nixon announce the Nixon Doctrine[110] in July 1969, it caused considerable anxiety. The Nixon Doctrine stated that the U.S. would not perpetually provide protection, but leave—in specific cases—the main responsibility for their defense to the allied states themselves.[111] This doctrine disconcerted the Korean government and increased pressure on Park Chung-hee. In order to strengthen his political, economic, and military sovereignty, Park changed the country's economic direction in the *Third Five-Year Plan* (1972–1976) towards Heavy and Chemical Industries (HCI). Large Korean business enterprises, called *Chaebol*, became a significant driver in the industrialization process, and supported Park's policy of aggressive industrialization policy. At the end of the 1970s,[112] Park Chung-hee's aggressive growth policy had led to enormous economic development, but at the same time had created structural and social imbalances.

Emergence of an urban giant

When Park Chung-hee became president in the 1960s, he not only pursued an ambitious economic policy, but also closely tied an urbanization policy to it. Already in his first Five-Year Plan, he actively included a migration strategy. Since the economic upswing required many workers to be centrally organized, Seoul was to play a leading role in the country's urbanization policy. In fact, between 1960 and 1970, the population of Seoul more than doubled from 2,445,402 to 5,422,735 inhabitants.[113]

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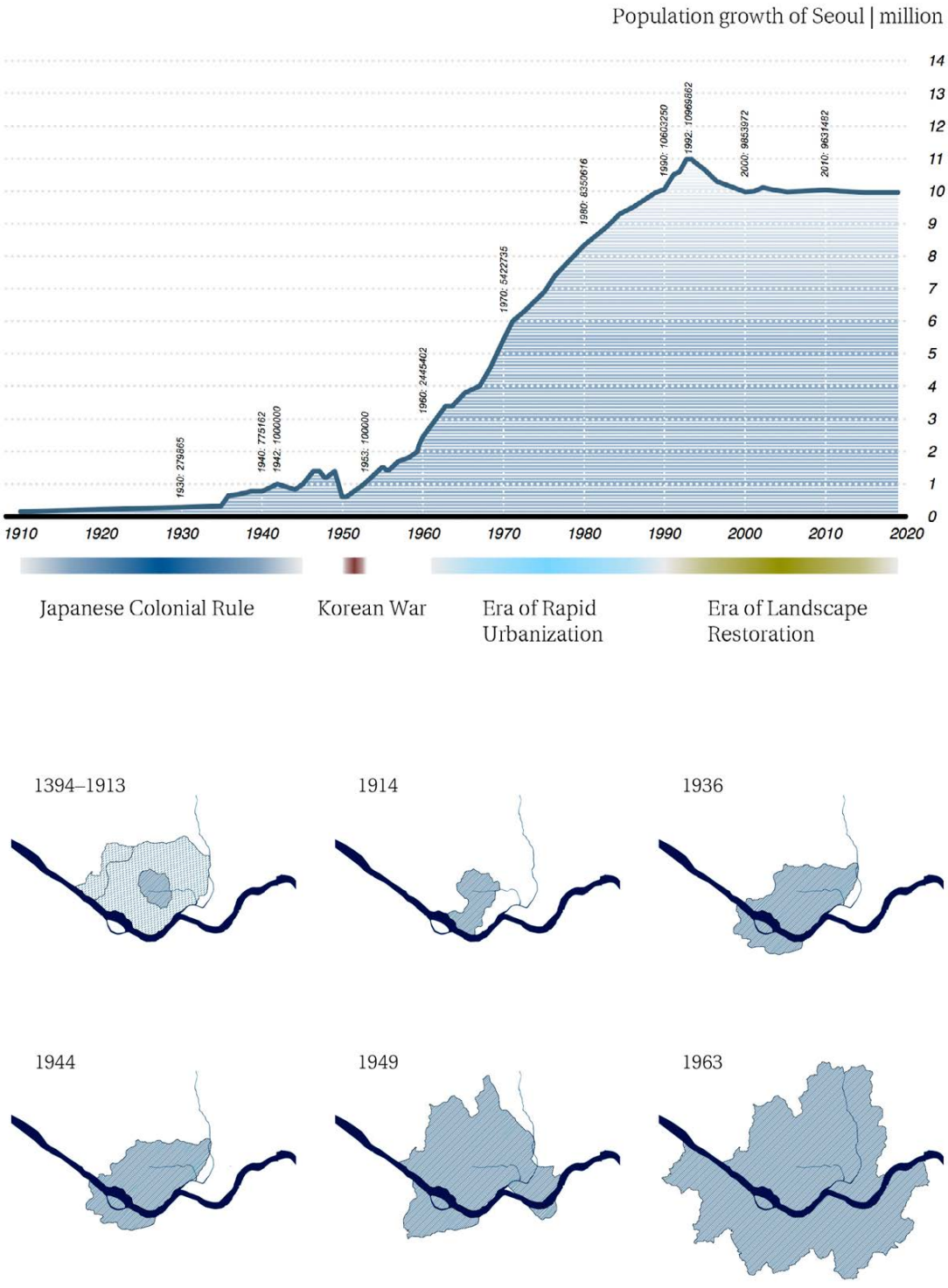
[109] Seth, *A History of Korea*, 386.

[110] Also known as Guam Doctrine.

[111] Nam, Joo-Hong, *America's Commitment to South Korea: The First Decade of the Nixon Doctrine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–66.

[112] Park Chung-hee was murdered on 26 October 1979. Choi Kyu-Ha was in office for less than a year, when he was replaced by Chun Doo-hwan in a military coup. Chun was then elected president in 1980 and proclaimed the fifth republic that lasted from 1981 to 1987.

[113] The population figures refer only to the city of Seoul, and does not include the Gyeonggi province and Incheon (Korean Statistical Information Service, *Population & households by administrative district for the year 1960 and 1970*, http://kosis.kr, accessed on March 2, 2018).



10 | top: Population growth of Seoul (© Susann Ahn, 2019, based on data of the Population and Development Studies Center Seoul National University; Korean Statistical Information Service; data does not include Incheon and Gyeonggi-do)

11 | bottom: Urban growth of Seoul (© Susann Ahn, 2019, based on data of The Seoul Institute, 2013, Geographical Atlas of Seoul)

Some Koreans returned from abroad after having left the country, voluntarily or involuntarily, during the Japanese colonial period and the Korean War. However, this group made up only a small percentage of the increase in population. Most of the population growth resulted from an internal migration from rural to urban areas.[114] These people, in search of better working and living conditions, left their homes and moved to Seoul from all over the country.

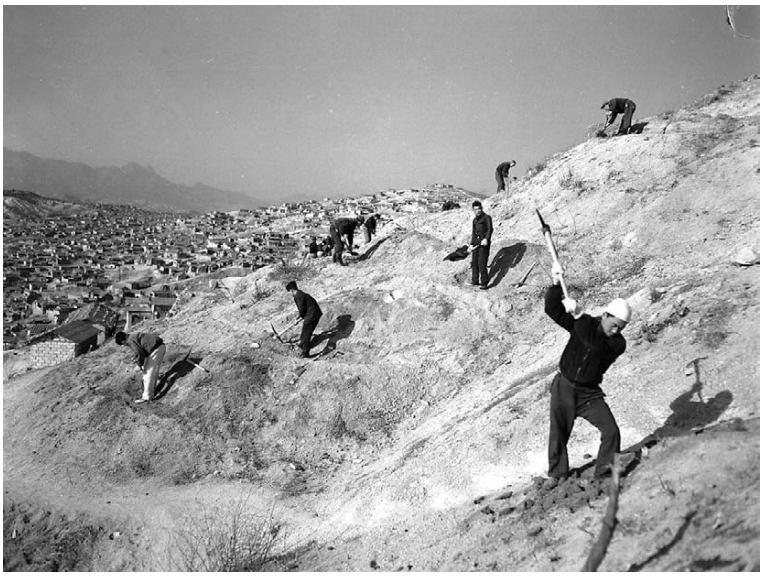
While in 1958 the *Hangang*, Seoul's major river, remained the city's natural boundary in the south in the 1960s, the city extended northwest of the historic city center and also onto the southern bank of the river. In an ambitious search to find more space for housing, traffic areas, industry and commerce, there was relentless building on agricultural land, mountain slopes, and in river valleys, both legally and illegally. Every day, more modern houses were constructed, and new, continuously lengthening streets took up more space in Seoul. The cityscape was under constant change. The first modern urban development plan under the Korean government was the Seoul Plan of 1966. It envisioned a potential population of five million by the year 1985.[115] However, the five million mark was already breached in the 1970s,[116] which caused a great deal of astonishment. About eight hundred new residents came to Seoul every day between 1960 and 1980.[117] According to the Seoul Metropolitan Government, two hundred new houses per day would have been needed to meet the housing demand during this period.

[114] Kwon, *The Population of Korea*, 9, 35.

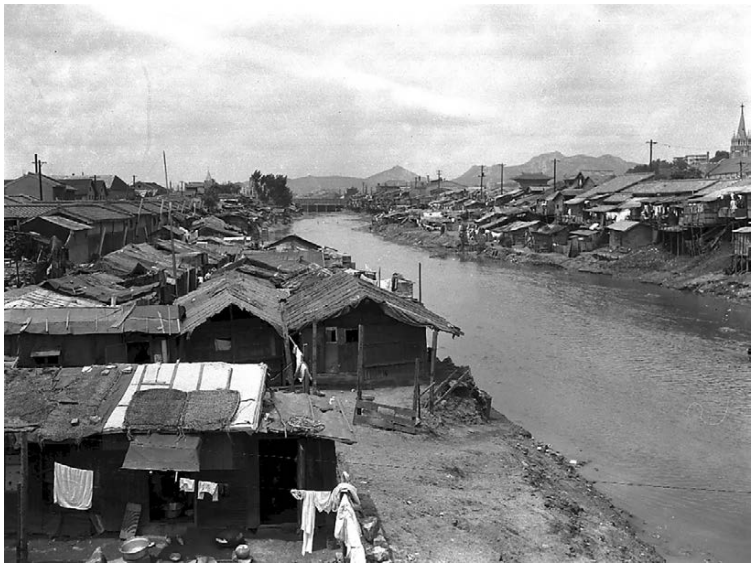
[115] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Urban Planning of Seoul*, 20–24.

[116] Korean Statistical Information Service, *Population & households by administrative district for the year 1960 and 1970*, http://kosis.kr, accessed on March 2, 2018.

[117] Kim, Sung Hong et al., ed., *The Far Game. Constraints Sparking Creativity* (Seoul: Space Books, 2016), 41.



12 | Settling in the mountains, 1963 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)



13 | Settling in riverscapes, 1965 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

14 | Construction work, 1966 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

15 | Image of Seoul, 1968 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

In the 1970s, the Korean government initiated nationwide programs in order to strengthen rural regions and to diminish the rural exodus. One example of such a program was the *Saemaul Undong Movement*, which can be translated as the *New Village Movement*. It was initiated by Park Chung-hee at the beginning of the 1970s in preparation for the Yusin system. The aim was to improve rural infrastructure. Another goal was "to revitalize and rebuild rural communities by inculcating the 'will to work' among villagers and by organizing rural human resources so that they could be channeled into productive activities."[118] With this campaign, Park also aimed to make rural regions more attractive in order to compensate the disequilibrium between rural-agricultural areas and urban-industrial areas. This measure was closely linked to the nationwide reforestation program called *Sanrimnoghwa*.[119] The aim of the program was to reforest bare land to prevent mountain and land erosion and to deal with flooding in agricultural areas. The reason for this was that huge forest areas had been burned down for military reasons during the Korean War. Additionally, especially close to the cities and in mountain areas, massive numbers of trees had been cut for legal and illegal charcoal production, in particularly at the beginning of rapid urbanization. In 1955, only about 35% of the country was covered with forests.[120] After becoming part of the Five-Year Economic Development Plan in 1962, the reforestation measures were further developed in a separate 10-year plan in 1973.[121] Before these efforts were undertaken, Park Chung-hee had visited Germany in 1968. A development aid agreement including financial support, as well as the exchange of knowledge and equipment was reached with Germany for the *Sanrimnoghwa* plan (산림녹화).[122] In order to implement *Sanrimnoghwa*, the Korean government created a strategic plan with tree nurseries, plantations, and a new strategy for energy. The protection of the trees was monitored by official institutions and officers. As a new source of energy, more fossil fuels were to be used to prevent further deforestation. All in all, the *Sanrimnoghwa* program had a positive outcome as South Korea

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[118] Cho, Lee-Jay and Kim, Yoon Hyung, "Major Economic Policies of the Park Administration," In *Economic Development in the Republic of Korea*, ed. Lee-Jay Cho and Yoon Hyung Kim (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), 24.

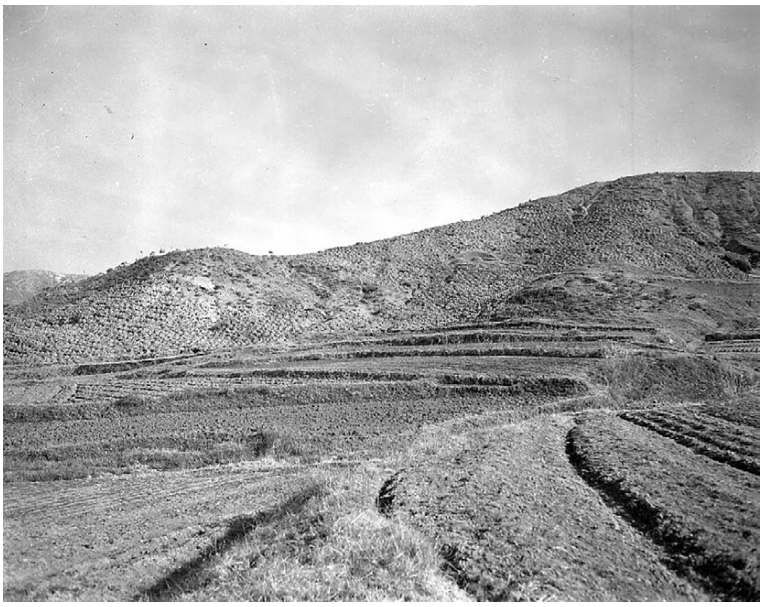
[119] Korea Forest Service, *Leveraging public programs with socio-economic and development objectives to support conservation and restoration of ecosystems: lessons learned from the Republic of Korea's National Reforestation Program* (Daejon: Korea Forest Service, 2014), 21.

[120] Bae, Jae Soo; Joo, Rin Won, and Lee, Ki Bong, ed., *Causes of Forest Degradation and Drivers of Forest Recovery in South Korea* [배재수, 주린원, 이가봉한국의 산림녹화 성공의 요인] (Seoul: Korea Forest Research Institute, 2010), 27.

[121] Korea Forest Service, *Leveraging public programs with socio-economic and development objectives*, 8, 11.

[122]Agreement for Forest Greening Project between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, No. 501, Ministry of Government Administration, 1974, 5–6.

achieved having high forest coverage in comparison to other countries at the beginning of the twenty-first century.[123]



16 | Bare mountains in Korea, 1958 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

Apart from strengthening rural regions, a green belt policy was established in the 1970s in order to tackle the seemingly uncontrollable influx of people into Seoul.[124] The idea of a green belt as a spatial planning instrument to regulate urban growth originated from *Abercrombie's Greater London Plan* (1944) and the *National Capital Region Development Plan of Tokyo* (1958). The Seoul Metropolitan Government adapted the concept and proposed a ten-kilometer broad ring shaped green area, about 15 kilometers away from *Seoul City Hall*. Several extensions were made so that at its completion the green belt covered an area of about 1566 square kilometers. Nevertheless, it should be noted that it has been slightly reduced since then. The green belt was designated as a *Development Restriction Zone* by the *Town Planning Act* in 1971 and the *National Comprehensive Physical Plan* (1972–81).[125] Some researchers argue, however, that the green belt was not primarily designed for environmental protection.[126] It was rather a legal

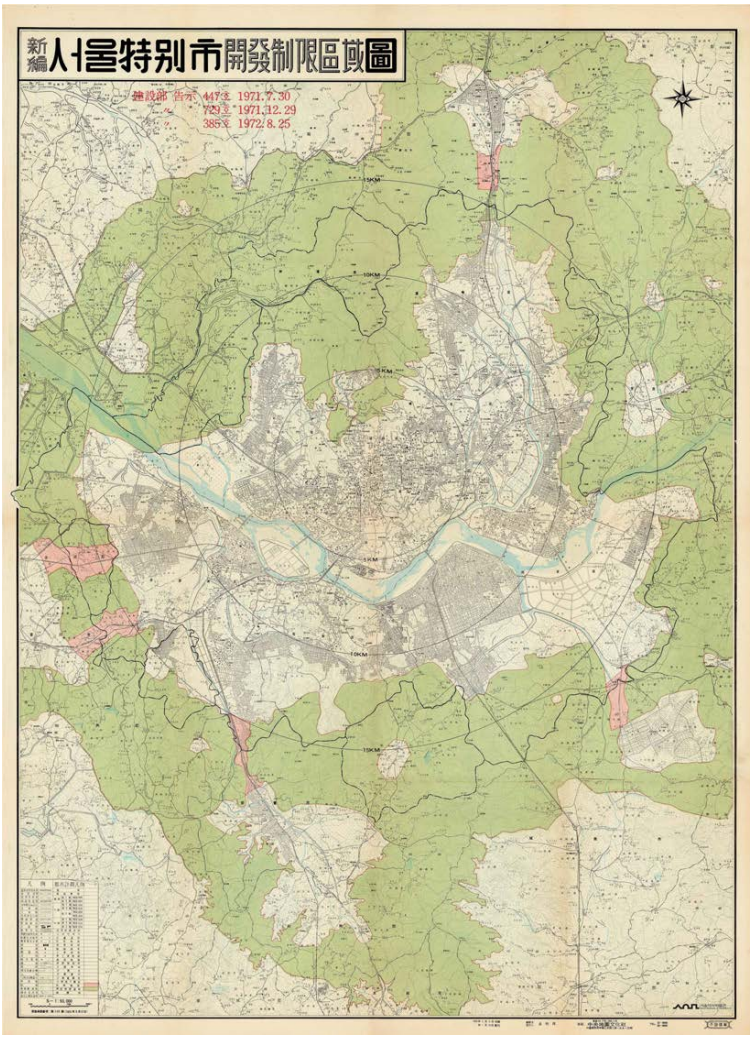
[123] Korea Forest Service, *Leveraging public programs with socio-economic and development objectives*, 24, 36.

[124] Bae, Chang-Hee Christine, "Korea's Greenbelts: Impacts and Options for Change," *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal, Vol. 7, No. 3* (1998):488.

[125] Bae, "Korea's Greenbelts: Impacts and Options for Change," 470, 482, 488.

[126] For instance: Philipp, Conrad, "Die Bedeutung eines Grüngürtels für eine Megacity—Interdisziplinäre Stadtanalyse am Beispiel von Seoul" [The impact of a Green Belt on the urban development of a megacity: Interdisciplinary research on the example of Seoul], Dissertation, (Duisburg: Duisburg-Essen University, 1983), 58, 69.; Bae, "Korea's Greenbelts: Impacts and Options for Change"; Ahn, Susann; Hoh, Yun Kyeong, "The Lost Periphery," *Topos 98* (2017):89–90.

planning instrument to maintain control over urban growth, land speculation, development axes, illegal building, food supply, and for military reasons. In particular, settlement dynamics between Seoul and the boarder to North Korea could be restricted by the green belt regulations.[127] However, the growth of the city could not be stopped. As a matter of fact, Seoul had to cope with a population of 10,603,250 inhabitants by 1990.[128] Contrary to its original objective, the green belt resulted in a leapfrog-development, respectively in the emergence of satellite cities. Five so-called *New Towns*, namely *Bundang, Ilsan, Pyeongchon, Sanbon,* and *Joongdong*, were designated at the beginning of the 1990s and developed into the mid–1990s to alleviate the tense housing shortage.[129]



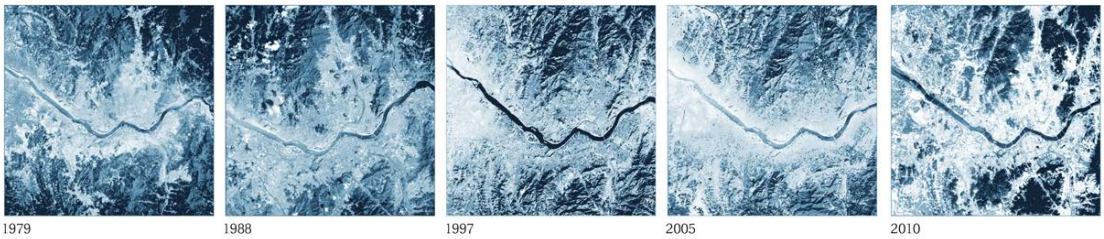
17 | Greenbelt of Seoul, 1975 (© Seoul Museum of History)

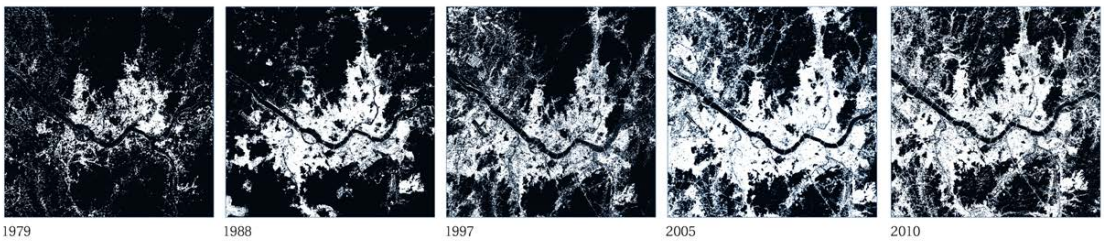
[127] Bae, "Korea's Greenbelts: Impacts and Options for Change," 483–484.

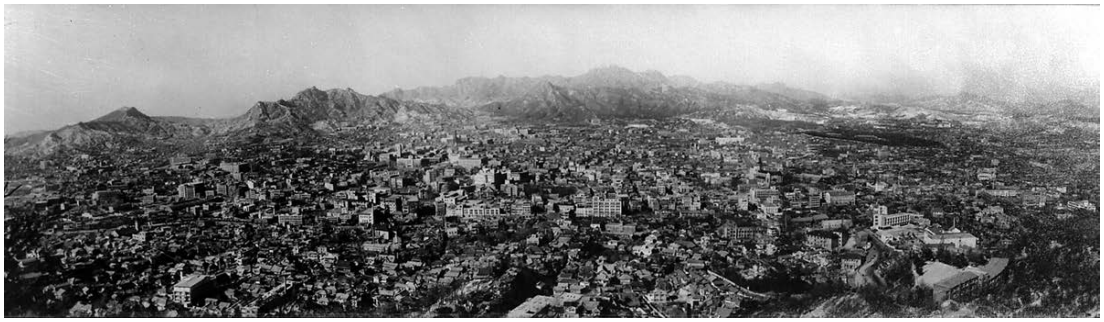
[128] Korean Statistical Information Service, *Population & households by administrative district for the year 1990*, http://kosis.kr, accessed on February 2, 2018.

[129] Lee, Chang-Moo and Ahn, Kun-Hyuck, "Five new towns in the Seoul metropolitan area and their attractions in non-working trips: Implications on self-containment of new towns," *Habitat International Vol. 29* (2005):648.

After the green belt was designated, land prices within the city rose noticeably, which further inflamed land speculation in the long term.[130] The resulting intensification of the struggle for living space in the inner city caused a further densification and thus a decrease in green space. While in the 1960s mainly single-family detached homes and multiple-family houses with not more than five floors dominated the cityscape of Seoul,[131] there was an increase in apartment complexes in the 1980s and 1990s. In the mid–1980s, the height of buildings rapidly increased due to the legalization of "high-rise apartment buildings over 16-stories,"[132] as the architect Kim Sung Hong points out. This led to a verticalization of the living environment.







18 | top: Urban development of Seoul (© The Seoul Institute, 2013, Geographical Atlas of Seoul)
19 | bottom: Panorama of Seoul, 1971 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

[130] Philipp, "Die Bedeutung eines Grüngürtels für eine Megacity," 58.
[131] Kim et al., ed., *The Far Game. Constraints Sparking Creativity*, 49.
[132] Ibid.

After the initial enthusiasm for modernization and urbanization had diminished, the negative consequences of industrialization, modernization and urbanization became apparent, and to some extent overshadowed the positive achievements. Rapid urbanization had led to precarious housing situations, the expansion of informal settlements in previously topographical taboo zones, and to marginal settlements on the fringes of the city. The city had reached its infrastructural and sanitary limits. Although urban infrastructure was constantly being expanded to keep pace with the rapid growth of the city, the Seoul Metropolitan Government was unable to cope with the immense influx of new citizens. In addition, the automobile—as a modern and comfortable means of transport—had come into vogue with increasing prosperity and rising living standards. Although the subway system was introduced in 1974 in Seoul, road construction projects were continuously expanded.[133] In order to cope with the rising flood of cars and buses, gigantic bridge and road construction programs were initiated. The number of cars increased from 99,544 private cars in 1988 to 1,679,727 in 1999.[134] In addition to the resulting emission problems, the city was also struggling with energy, waste, water supply and disposal problems, as well as water quality.

Industrialization and urbanization led to far-reaching changes in everyday life. Within just two and a half generations form 1910 until 1990, people experienced massive changes in the cityscape, the surrounding landscape, social order, ownership status, and living conditions. The city lost its human scale so rapidly that the view of the mountains and the sky became blocked by rising buildings in a very short period of time. Due to rapid urbanization and precipitous changes in living conditions, the citizens of Seoul were overcome. Exhaustion and fatigue resulted from the constant transformation. At the same time, longing for stability, continuity, and orientation increased. Hence, nostalgia for traditional and historical landscape elements—including familiar mountain- and riverscapes—intensified creating an urgent need for green and recreational spaces in a high-density city undergoing social, infrastructural and ecological conflicts of all kinds.

[133] Rii and Ahn, "Urbanization and its Impact on Seoul," 58–50, 62.

[134] Seoul Metropolitan Government, "Statistical Yearbook 1988, 1993, 2000," In Rii and Ahn, "Urbanization and its Impact on Seoul," 58.

20 | Motorization in Seoul, 1970 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

2.3 Democratization and the call for green space

"Economic development often leads to
the transition to democracy"[135]

The civil resistance reached unprecedented force in the Republic of Korea in June 1987. The extent of the demonstrations exceeded all expectations, both of the demonstrators itself as well as of the government of Chun Doo-hwan, against whom the protests were directed. Katsiaficas describes the situation as follows: "The People's presence in the streets was so massive, it posed the possibility of a genuine revolution."[136]

[135] Heo, Uk and Roehrig, Terence, *South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power, and Foreign Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 10.

[136] Katsiaficas, George, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings. Volume 1: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), 279.

2.3.1 1987 June-uprisings and the power of the people

The June Uprisings or *June Struggles*—as these demonstrations in the year 1987 were called—changed power relations in South Korea. In particular, between June 10 and 29, 1987, millions of citizens demonstrated in the streets of Seoul to fight against the arbitrariness of state power and the rigorous regime of the incumbent President Chun Doo-hwan. The protesters were demanding free elections and democratization of the country.[137] In doing so, the citizens opposed the 'administrative democracy' that Park Chung-hee had established when he came to power in the 1960s and which was continued by Chun Doo-hwan, after he was elected president of South Korea in 1980. Originally, Park had argued that Korean people were not yet ready for a true democracy. Therefore, he pursued a transitional period with an 'administrative democracy' led by the military government.[138] Although the concept of *administrative democracy* originally sought to gradually establish democratic factors, the government of Chun Doo-hwan continued to rule the country with authoritarian severity. The fires of resentment in the population could not be quelled even by such social measures as the introduction of the five-day week and holiday payment. Beyond that, a social welfare system had been established which included regulations for medical care, insurance, and pensions in the early 1980s as part of the revision of the Five-Year Plan. However, in reality the daily lives of most citizens were little improved, as the social welfare system and workers' rights programs were quite poorly implemented.[139] With the economic upswing, a new self-understanding had formed within the civil society,[140] for instance, workers now had the courage to assert their demands openly. "They [the workers], together with university students and many leading intellectuals, not only demanded higher wages and better working conditions for workers, but also conducted social

[137] Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings*, 277–279.

[138] Kim, *Korea's Development under Park Chung-Hee*, 75.

[139] Rii and Ahn, "Urbanization and its Impact on Seoul," 58.

[140] There is a vivid discourse in Academia about the definition and the beginning of civil society in Korea. Bruce Cumings assumes that a South Korean civil society did not emerge until the 1980s and 1990s. He argues that there was no civil society in traditional Korea and that the government under Park Chung-hee prevented a civil society. (Cumings, Bruce, *The Origins of the Korean War, Volume 2* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 289). In the contrary, George Katsiaficas criticizes Cuming's for taking a Western view, and defines civil society "a vast web of relationships in ordinary people's everyday lives, not a dependent variable of government or marketplace", and thus opposes Cumings argument. (Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings*, 304-305). In between them, John Duncan positions himself arguing that there have been aspects in Joseon society that were aspects of Confucianism that helped to establish a democratic civil society, while there were also aspects of Confucianism working against it. (Duncan, John, "The problematic modernity of Confucianism: the question of 'civil society' in Chosŏn dynasty Korea," In *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy and the State*, ed. Charles Armstrong (London: Routledge, 2002), 56.)

campaigns for human rights based on democratic principles"[141] explains Kim Hyung-A, who wrote about Korea's contemporary politics and society. The protests usually took place in the streets and public spaces of the cities. At that time in Seoul, many students and workers gathered daily around Seoul City Hall and Myeong-dong Cathedral, accompanied by the sounds of passing cars honking solidarity, supported shouts of protest, and a swaying sea of Korean flags.[142] In the month of June 1987, alone, about 3,362 demonstrations were counted, impacting all the larger cities in South Korea. [143]

The June Uprisings were triggered by an incident that revealed police violence and arbitrary use of state power. During a demonstration on June 9, 1987, student Lee Han-yol was wounded by a police tear gas bomb. He fell into a coma and died a little later.[144] The incident led to a wave of protest and combining of various resistance movements. Already heated by previous protests and uprisings, the ongoing conflict between civil society and the government escalated during these days.

On June 29, 1987, Roh Tae-woo,[145] the presidential candidate of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, presented an eight–point program to incorporate social and democratic reforms and the introduction of a direct presidential election.[146] The *June 29 Declaration*, as it is called, is seen by many researchers as a breakthrough for the democratization of South Korea. The sociologist George describes these protests as the "high point of the national movement for democracy."[147] Less than one year later Roh Tae-woo was elected president and inaugurated on February 25, 1988.

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[141] Kim, *Korea's Development under Park Chung-Hee*, 95.

[142] Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings*, 288.

[143] Chung, Chulhee, "Social movement organizations and the June Uprising," *Korea Journal, Vol. 37:1* (1997):91–92.

[144] Yi, Hee-Young, *Gespiegelte Utopien in einem geteilten Land. Zu politischen Sozialisationen in Korea* [Mirrored Utopias in a Divided Country: Towards Political Socializations in Korea] (Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2006), 76.

[145] Roh Tae-woo was president of South Korea from 1988 to 1993.

[146] Shin, Doh C., *Mass Politics and Culture in Democratizing Korea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3.

[147] Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings*, 279.

2.3.2 Struggle for citizen's needs

In the end, it was unclear what exactly brought Roh Tae-woo to present the *June 29 Declaration*, as he was a friend of Chun Doo-hwan and thus did not represent a clear split with the previous authoritarian regimes.[148] Social scientists debate as to whether Roh Tae-woo initiated democratic reforms as a strategic move to weaken the opposition. They also discuss whether this was a bowing to the enormous pressure from civil society or due more to international pressure.[149] It is assumed that this was due to fear of a power takeover from below, as the *June struggles* slipped away from police control leaving the government with only a choice between reconciliation or military action.[150] In the end, the *June 29 Declaration* by Roh Tae-woo can be seen as an easing of the government that brought a change of policy. However, contrary to expectations of the government, the *June 29 Declaration* did not bring the desired appeasement. In the following months, workers went out on the streets and organized in the *Great Workers Struggle* which aptly names the numerous labor conflicts which occurred "simultaneously nationwide without systematic planning, strategy, or leadership."[151] The demonstrators originated not only from the traditional Korean working-class milieu, but also, to the astonishment of many, from the financial and media sectors. "Every day, well dressed women and men went on strike, especially for the right to free trade union activity,"[152] writes the sociologist Hee-Young Yi. Demands were made for more humane working conditions, higher wages, and the toleration of unions critical to the government. President Roh's entire term in office was characterized by further demonstrations for democratic values, such as the *Citizens Movement* and the *Women Movement*. In 1993, Roh was followed by President Kim Young-sam, who was celebrated for not having a military background and for taking further steps towards democratization. However, his government was criticized as being "opportunistic regarding the issue of confronting and grappling with the authoritarian past".[153] In the end, the Korean democratization movements of the 1980 brought fundamental changes in institutions, social norms and values.[154]

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[148] Kim, Sunhyuk, "Civil Society and Democratization," In Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy and the State, ed. Charles Armstrong (London: Routledge, 2002), 98.

[149] Shin, *Mass Politics and Culture in Democratizing Korea*, 3; Chu, Yun-han; Hu, Fu; Moon; Chung-in, "South Korea and Taiwan: the International Context," in Consolidating Third-Wave Democracies, edited by Larry Diamond et al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997) 267.

[150] Chung, "Social movement organizations and the June Uprising," 84.

[151] Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings*, 309.

[152] Yi, *Gespiegelte Utopien in einem geteilten Land*, 76.

[153] Kim, "Civil Society and Democratization," 99.

[154] Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings*, 335.

2.3.3 Towards greening the city

> "All citizens shall have a right to a healthy and pleasant environment"
> *The Constitution of the Republic of Korea, Article 35.1 (1980)*

In addition to far-reaching political and institutional changes, the industrialization and democratization of South Korea had a determining influence on the development of parks and green spaces. This is quite similar to the influence that industrialization and democratization had had in Europe earlier. For instance, the industrialization processes and the strengthening of the bourgeoisie, spurred on by the French Revolution, led to the introduction of public parks, as the landscape theorist Christophe Girot points out.[155] It is interesting that industrialization and democratization processes in South Korea had a similar effect, even though they originated in disparate social, cultural and political backgrounds and thus were very different in nature. The new self-confidence of Korean citizens, as well as social and structural changes such as the introduction of the five-day work week in the 1980s, had led to changes in people's leisure behavior. "People have now started to consider the quality of life and want to enjoy their social and cultural lives,"[156] as the geographers Hae Un Rii and Jae-Seob Ahn explain. The empowered citizens demanded better living conditions and the greening of the metropolis as well as opportunities to participate in urban project processes. Both, politicians and citizens, were increasingly convinced that parks, green recreation areas and public spaces were needed for a social and peaceful cohabitation within the city.

Although there had been some attempts to establish environmental policy in Korea since the 1960s, the implementation of these policies was often insufficient. An example of the anchoring of a green policy was the *Park Act* of 1967, which was extracted from the Urban Planning Act in 1967.[157] Further examples are the *Town Planning Act* defining Seoul's green belt in 1971 and the *Environmental Preservation Act* of 1977.[158] Ultimately it is shown by the amendment of the Constitution in 1981, strictly speaking by the aforementioned Article 35.1.[159]

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[155] Girot, Christophe, *The Course of Landscape Architecture: A History of our Designs on the Natural World, from Prehistory to the Present* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2016), 235.
[156] Rii and Ahn, "Urbanization and its Impact on Seoul," 58.
[157] Park Act [행정안전부 국가기록원: 공원법] 1967, National Archives of Administration and Security, http://www.archives.go.kr/next/search/listSubjectDescription.do?id=003942, accessed on April 6, 2018.
[158] Gilpin, Alan, *Dictionary of Environmental Law* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2000), 166.
[159] The Constitution of the Republic of Korea [대한민국헌법], Article 35.1, 1980, Korean Legislation Research Institute, http://elaw.klri.re.kr, accessed on April 5, 2018.

Nevertheless, many laws were deficiently implemented, enforced, and controlled.[160] Frequently, the laws and regulations existed only at an administrative level and constituted merely a quantitative, bureaucratic instrument of the government. Therefore, some scholars argue[161] that environmental and open space policy in South Korea did not have any significant impact until the mid–1990s. In fact, it was not until 1994, that the status of the *Ministry of Environment* was strengthened, allowing the ministry to issue independent decrees to facilitate and ameliorate the enforcement of environmental goals.[162] What is not taken into account in this argument, however, is that already in the 1980s, a decisive turn towards green policy took place at a municipal level, as is argued at the beginning of this thesis and supported with urban planning documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government (see chapter 2.1). The change is particularly evidenced by the increase of inner-urban green spaces and parks during the 1980s in the South Korean capital. In addition to the citizens' demands for more inner-urban parks and green spaces, the political desire for international recognition and representation was decisive factor in the increase of parks in Seoul. Major events, such as the *Asia Games* in 1986, and the *Olympic Summer Games* in 1988, were the driving forces for new guidelines in urban planning enhancing the urban environment, and creating a green city.

2.4 The growing international attention and the rise of urban parks

„The 1988 Olympics was to be a catalyst
for urban change in Seoul."[163]

The idea of hosting the *Olympic Games* developed in the late 1970s during the government of Park Chung-hee.[164] After intensive studies and several delegations to other countries, the *Korean Olympic Committee (KOC)* had come to the conclusion that, first, South Korea had acquired the organizational and diplomatic skills necessary to host such a major event. This new confidence had emerged in particular after South Korea's successful hosting of the

[160] Kim, Kyung-A; Han, Kyu-Young and Kim, Jun Han. "Transition in Green Space Governance for Urban Sustainability: Study on Urban District Parks in Seoul." *Proceedings of the 8th Conference of the International Forum on Urbanism*, Incheon, June 24, 2015.

[161] For instance: Shwayri, Sofia T., "A difficult birth. Creating Seoul, the 21st-century sustainable city," In *Sustainable Cities in Asia*, ed. Frederic Caprotti and Li Yu (New York: Routledge, 2016).

[162] Ministry of Environment, *History of Ministry of Environment*, http://eng.me.go.kr, accessed on August 2, 2018.

[163] Joo, Yu-Min; Bae, Yooil, and Kassens-Noor, Eva, *Mega-Events and Mega-Ambitions: South Korea's Rise and the Strategic Use of the Big Four Events* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 33.

[164] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning, Volume 1* (Seoul: Korea Textbook Co., 1989), 33.

42nd World Shooting Championships in autumn 1978. Second, according to the *Korean Olympic Committee*, South Korea also had the necessary capital to handle such a large-scale project after experiencing economic growth. The committee argued, for example, that in 1979, the South Korean gross national income per capita was 1,242 U.S. dollars, and thus higher than Japan's had been in 1964, when Japan hosted the Summer Olympics in Tokyo.[165] This ambitious plan became a reality in 1988, not long after Roh Tae-woo had been elected president. Of course, the preparations for this event had started much earlier, and were largely made during the presidency of Chun Doo-hwan.

At first, many in Seoul's metropolitan government were against candidacy for the Olympic Games because they feared that the city of Seoul could neither finance the sports and events nor complete the construction of the facilities in such a limited amount of time. However, President Chun Doo-hwan did not abandon the idea of candidacy. He argued, according to the official report of *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee*, that "we [South Korea] cannot back down from a historic project in the sentiment of defeatism without even making a try."[166] When the decision to grant the hosting of the games to Korea was made by the eighty members of the *International Olympic Committee (IOC)* was made back stage in Baden-Baden on September 30, 1981, the world was greatly surprised. "The decision sent shock waves around much of the sporting world"[167] according to the *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee*. Seoul had fifty-two votes, and thereby defeated the Japanese candidate Nagoya. In Korea, this victory was seen as a symbolic defeat of the historic rival Japan, and that Korea had liberated itself from the role of the inferior, ensconced by the Japanese occupation.[168]

Some researchers argue that Chun Doo-hwan wanted to use the Olympic Games to direct focus away from domestic political disturbances and the democratic movement.[169] But the result turned out to be the opposite. The global media attention that came with the Olympics gave the democratic movements in Korea a global stage, which exerted pressure on Chun's government to refrain from military actions against civilian protesters. Military measures against the population would have been seen as contradictory to the image of a modern, democratic state, which South Korea wanted to present to the world through the Olympic Games. The government of Chun Doo-hwan was keen to create a new image of South Korea. First, it wanted to show South Korea's strength in comparison to North Korea. And second, the

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[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid., 34.

[167] Ibid., 28.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Cf. Joo, Bae, and Kassens-Noor, *Mega-Events and Mega-Ambitions*, 37.

country wanted to shed the image of a lesser developed country.[170] The Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1964 had demonstrated to everyone, how a major sports event could improve international reputation, economic growth, and the country's infrastructure. It was expected that the Olympic Games in Seoul would have similar benefits. Roh Tae-woo who was at that time president of the *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC)*—and later president of South Korea—prepared the nation for the 1988 Olympics with the following message:

> "Dear people!
> Today, September 30, marks the historic day when four years ago in Baden-Baden, the Federal Republic of Germany, Seoul was awarded the right to stage the 24th Olympic Games. Three years from now, the Seoul Olympic Games will be in progress under the sky of Seoul, with young athletes from all over the world committed to 'harmony and progress' of mankind through sports. [···] The Seoul Olympic Games will serve as the event to lay the foundations to heal the anguish of the long national division when sixty million Koreans will confirm the national identity. [···] The Olympic Games today are a festival enabling mankind to share belief and joy in the boundless potential of man's capabilities, and represent the supreme integrated arts expressing the zenith of modern civilization. In this light, the host country is open to world evaluation of its national potential when it pools its entire national energy. In retrospect, we have built brilliant tradition and culture to show to the world, have historically tried to live up to the aspiration of world peace, and have overcome lots of adversity and hardships in the past 40 years to achieve remarkable national growth. In this context, I believe that the Seoul Olympic Games will serve as a great chance to demonstrate our competence and aspiration for peace to the world."[171]

[170] Ibid., 25, 32–33, 37.

[171] Roh Tae-woo, Announcement of September 30, 1985, in Official Report. Organization and Planning, Vol 1, written by the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (Seoul: Korea Textbook Co., 1989), 114.

21 | 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

2.4.1 International events and the upswing of urban parks

The official granting of the Olympic Games—and shortly afterwards also of the Asian Games—put the whole country, especially the capital Seoul, into an ambitious hustle and bustle. There was a mixture of pride and doubt due to the enormous financial, organizational, and planning-related challenges associated with being the host of both games. It was therefore decided to transform Seoul massively. For the city administration, the aim was to bring the negative aftermath of rapid urbanization under control as quickly and effectively as possible and to generate a new vision for the city.[172] This seemed a huge challenge at the time, as the city struggled with enormous social, sanitary, hygienic and ecological problems. Because the urban area had become so degraded, the Seoul Metropolitan Government not only planned new sports complexes and venues, but additionally initiated large-scale urban sanitation, infrastructure, and development projects throughout the city.

[172] Joo, Bae, and Kassens-Noor, *Mega-Events and Mega-Ambitions*, 42.

A special emphasis was placed on the upgrading and beautification of the urban environment. The task was assigned to the *"Olympics Preparation Office" (OPO)* which was established and legitimized by a presidential decree in 1984. The OPO carried out 120 projects pertaining to sport and event facilities, transportation, art, culture, housing, urban environment, tourism, and security.[173] In order to present Korea and Seoul to the global community, four objectives for urban redevelopment were established by the Seoul Metropolitan Government, namely "1) clean and orderly streets, 2) bright and clear city, 3) beautification with flowers, and 4) creating a cultural environment."[174] The urban redevelopment measures affected entire residential neighborhoods with eighty-five areas, in which urban renewal projects took place. In twenty-four areas, housing improvement programs were conducted.[175] The focus of Seoul's redevelopment measures was particularly aimed at the transformation of informal settlements. Shantytowns were rigorously replaced by newly built apartment blocks. These apartments were not necessary for the Olympic Games, but the declared goal of the authorities was "to hide undesirable landscapes from foreign visitors."[176]

Urban redevelopment measures also included the modification of traffic infrastructure. Due to the rapid development of the 1970s, there were significant infrastructural deficiencies. Political campaigns were conducted to encourage Seoul's citizens and tourists to make greater use of public transport, especially of the underground and bus lines. Additionally, thousands of temporary and permanent parking spaces, and 1,704 hectares of roads and sidewalks were repaired, cleaned, and generally upgraded.[177] Numerous rubbish collection areas along the roads were removed. Sidewalks on main roads, especially in the city center, were upgraded using modern materials: simple concrete paving was replaced by ornamental paving in a first step. This was followed by concrete blocks and, from 1985 onwards, by an asphalt surface which according to *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee* "provides a nice feeling of walk to pedestrians".[178] The results were remarkable. At the time of the Olympic Games, over ninety-one percent of all sidewalks were paved and over sixty-eight percent of all roads in Seoul had an asphalt surface. Along the main traffic arteries, especially along the roads to the Olympic venues, countless new street lamps were installed illuminating almost eighty-nine percent of Seoul's streets by the end of 1988. From the cities point of view, raising the value of the street space also meant that illegal street stalls, small street booths, and even mobile street

[173] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 70.
[174] Ibid., 71.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Joo, Bae, and Kassens-Noor, *Mega-Events and Mega-Ambitions*, 35.
[177] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 71, 239.
[178] Ibid., 239.

restaurants, so-called *Pojangmacha*, had to disappear from the main streets and tourist routes. Those stalls were usually run by low-income groups who—according to *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee*—spoiled the cityscape and stopped the traffic. By 1988, 224,975 street stalls had been relocated, and many of them ended up in back alleys.[179]

In order to enhance and beautify the urban environment, parks and green spaces were built. As part of this, the *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee* initiated numerous programs to raise awareness of parks and green spaces. These included a number of so-called *beautification projects*. Hangang, for example, the main river of Seoul, which had been contaminated with rubbish and industrial waste during the period of rapid urbanization, was extensively cleaned, remediated and beautified for the upcoming sports events through the *Han River Comprehensive Development Project* which began at the beginning of the 1980s.[180] More than a dozen new riverside parks equipped with modern outdoor sports furniture, bicycle paths, perennial planting areas, quay facilities for private and commercial boats, as well as new wastewater treatment facilities and water reservoirs were created.[181] The beautification projects were not constrained to only the prominent and centrally located Hangang area, but rather were initiated throughout the entire city. The *Five-Year Landscape Development Plan* of 1982 helped to accomplish such a challenging undertaking. Initial measures included the planting of 30,000 trees in areas near Olympic sports venues. They planted mainly trees which are native to East Asia, including poplar, forsythia, ginkgo, juniper, and zelkova trees. In addition, projects were initiated to make the streets and public spaces more attractive through flower arrangements and colorful ornamental plants. Along the marathon route and the main traffic roads, plant boxes with salvia, marigolds, and chrysanthemums were set up for example. In order to acquire the necessary horticultural knowledge, study trips to Japanese and European gardens and parks were undertaken. In the end, about eight million perennials and 117,000 newly planted trees decorated the streets of the city when the Olympic Games started. An extensive system of larger and smaller parks, green areas, sports areas, and playgrounds was planned as a superordinate priority. These projects were not only intended to improve the housing situation, the living conditions and to secure the favor of the population, but also to improve Seoul's urban image, project prosperity, and demonstrate connection to a Western lifestyle. At a rapid pace, the Koreans built 318 green spaces and playgrounds in residential areas, created three gigantic wildlife areas, and ten sport parks.[182] Some of these projects were renovations of existing parks,

[179] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 71, 239.
[180] Joo, Bae, and Kassens-Noor, *Mega-Events and Mega-Ambitions*, 35.
[181] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 241–242.
[182] Ibid., 71, 239–242.

but additionally fifty-eight new parks covering a total area of 252 hectares were built. Asia Park, built for the 10th Asian Games that were held in Seoul from September 20 to October 5, 1986, was among them. Other parks that were built during this period include *Seokchon Lake Park* (1984), *Marronnier Park* (1985), *Olympic Park* (1986), and *Paris Park* (1987), to name just a few. Many of the parks were created by transforming sites of existing institutions. For example, *Marronnier Park* was built on the former site of the Seoul National University. In addition, previously unused areas were developed for public use, for example the river bank as part of the *Han River Comprehensive Development Project*. In addition, developers of larger construction areas were obliged to invest into "greening" the urban environment. A new regulation determined that new buildings of a certain size had to invest one percent of the total construction costs into decorative artworks or the beautification of the surroundings.[183] This resulted in designed outdoor spaces and smaller green residential parks which were hugely beneficial for Seoul's citizens. Between 1982 and 1988, approximately 389 new *urban parks* were built in Seoul.[184] This number, however, includes bigger parks, smaller green spaces, playgrounds in residential areas, sports parks, and wildlife areas.

2.4.2 The Olympic Park and the beginnings of landscape restoration

One of the main projects to enhance the urban environment was the *Olympic Park* in Seoul.[185] The park was built in Songpa-gu, a district on the southeast side of the city. When it was built, the park covered 1,674,380 square meters. The location of the park was well chosen. The park was situated only three kilometers from the sports complex and only thirteen kilometers from the city center. Moreover, the park was easily accessible from Gimpo International Airport via an eight–lane highway, the Olympic Expressway, which runs along the southern bank of the Hangang and was constructed especially for the occasion. The site, where the Olympic Park was built later, had already been identified as a potential area for a national sporting event in 1968. Since then, however, the area had not been in official use. Hence, illegal houses had sprung up in this area in the course of rapid urbanization. These were removed as part of the construction of the Olympic Park. The park was financed by the *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee*, while the Seoul Municipality was entrusted with the purchase of land, planning, and construction starting in February 1983. The park management was entrusted to the *Tok Su*

[183] Ibid., 240.

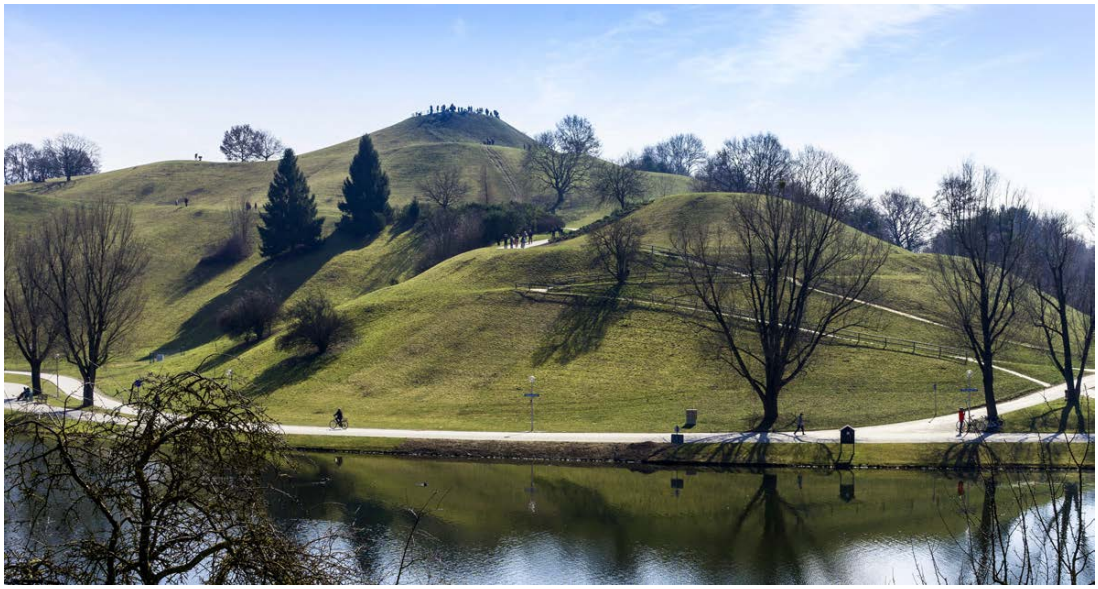
[184] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul Urban Planning History,* 497, 503.

[185] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 70, 174.

Development Co., and financed by the Seoul Metropolitan Government through public fees.[186] The park not only comprised 682,400 square meters of green corridor with open-air stages, but also integrated sports facilities for cycling, fencing, gymnastics, weightlifting, swimming and tennis. A design competition for the park design was organized, but it did not produce a satisfactory result. Therefore, the *Environmental Planning Institute* of the *Seoul National University Graduate School of Environment* was commissioned to come up with a conceptual design in September 1983. The institute was supported by a committee of twenty-eight consultants. Actual construction was carried out by two contractors and six specialized companies, including civil engineers, landscape architects, architects, and experts for utilities, communications and machinery. The construction of the park was performed under a strict timetable and under the supervision of a *Design Screening Committee*, which paid particular attention to representative, aesthetic, structural and functional aspects, and coordinated the planning and design teams. On June 30, 1986—after nearly two years of construction—the Seoul Olympic Park was completed. A characteristic feature of the park is the hilly landscape with an elongated lake. The lake covers an area of approximately 119,000 square meters and has a depth of up to 2.2 meters. It was artificially built, and is connected to the Hangang. 100,000 trees, about 377,000 square meters of lawn and a little bit more than 2,300 square meters of perennial plants were implemented.[187] In the end, a recreation area was created in the style of an English landscape garden.

[186] Ibid., 70, 172, 174.

[187] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 70, 157, 172–174.



22 | top: Olympic Park Seoul for Olympia 1988 (© Susann Ahn, 2018)

23 | bottom: Olympic Park Munich for Olympia 1972 (© J. Schwarzmeier, 2017)

The morphology of the landscape reminds of the Olympic Park in Munich that had been built for the 1972 Olympic Games. The landscape design, in particular the tree-clustered lawns and meadows, bear many similarities. However, in contrast to the Olympic Park in Munich, the behavioral rules in the Olympic Park in Seoul were very different. Whereas in Munich, citizens were actively encouraged to step on the lawn,[188] in most parts of the Olympic Park Seoul, it was

[188] De Riese, Karsten, "Der fotografische Blick auf das demokratische Grün—Über das Glück, einen idealen Auftraggeber zu finden," [The photographic view of the democratic green—or about the luck to find an ideal

not allowed to leave the paths which were under strict observation of park guards. The restricted use of the park might be explained by the fact that the Olympic Park Seoul was not to be only a representative, modern park with Olympic sports facilities, event stages, squares, a library, cafés and restaurants, but also to serve as a scenic stage to display aspects of Korean culture and history. During the 1980s, presentation of Korean heritage had become more and more important—largely due to heightened international attention. For this reason, a historic earthen wall called *Mongchon Toseong* (Mongchon Earthen Fortress) was reconstructed. The wall can be dated back to the year A.D. 230. At that time, the wall, with a length of 2,285 meters, enclosed a residential fortress.[189] Archaeological discoveries indicate that a fence of wooden palisades on the hilltop and a moat at the foot of the rampart had provided protection against foreign invaders.[190] The earthen wall had been largely destroyed in the course of time, especially during the period of rapid urbanization. However in 1982, the wall was placed under the *Cultural Properties Preservation Law* as *Historical Monument number 297* and in 1986—after archaeological excavations and studies—it was reconstructed in a romanticized way: "the mud wall's southern part is all hillocks and plateaus, covered with trees and almost completely shielded from the outside; evoking 'a dream village' atmosphere as the name *Mongchon* implies, the spot has been the inspiration of many poets and painters,"[191] is stated in the report of the *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee.* The reconstruction of a historical remnant within a modern park design was one of the main attractions of the *Olympic Park*. Thus, the Olympic Park Seoul has become a significant example of the combination of traditional architecture with functional, modern park design.

In the end, the park reflected the zeitgeist of Korea which included, on the one hand, the urge for internationalization and modernization, and on the other hand, a yearning for nationalism and tradition. Concern for Korean culture, tradition and national heritage has also been a recurring issue in politics, even though the debate has changed over time. In the 1960s and 1970s, for example, particular emphasis was placed on honoring patriotic and military heroes as national symbols through the use of statues and monuments.[192] While in the 1980s, exhibitions of traditional folklore, Korean customs and shamanistic rituals were rediscovered to strengthen national sentiments. During this period, numerous publications on traditional

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client], In *Demokratisches Grün—Olympiapark München* [Democratic Green—Olympic Park Munich], ed. Stefanie Hennecke, Regine Keller, Juliane Schneegans (Berlin: Jovis, 2013), 144.

[189] Milledge Nelson, Sarah, *The Archeology of Korea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 222.

[190] Ibid., 223.

[191] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 174.

[192] Jin, Jong-Heon, "The Role of Symbolic Landscape in the Construction of National Identity in Modern Korea," Dissertation, (Oakland: University of California, 2004), 17–19.

Korean architecture, painting, and music were published, and reconstructions of traditional architecture came into fashion.[193] During the 1980s, the Seoul Metropolitan Government not only reconstructed historical monuments and buildings, but also set up hundreds of information displays to promote knowledge of Korean culture, history and tradition for citizens as well as for tourists. It was believed that national and traditional values would be compatible with internationalization and modernization. The synthesis of tradition and modernity was also reflected in the motto of the Olympic Games 1988 which was 'Harmony and Progress'. This harmonious combination was expected to bring international recognition. In the end, over 2,300,000 foreign tourists visited the country in 1988, which was considered a great success by the *Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee*.[194]

2.4.3 Alignment of Seoul's planning policy with environmental trends

In the final analysis, the *Olympic Games* not only had physical and spatial impacts on Seoul, but also had intangible impacts, for instance a change of values. Since the *Club of Rome* in 1968 and the publication of *The Limits of Growth* in 1972,[195] awareness of the scarcity of resources and environmental issues had risen worldwide. The UN Conference on *Human Environment* in 1972 in Stockholm, and in 1982 in Nairobi had shaken the world and brought new awareness of ecological and climate issues. As South Korea was anxious to enter the international stage in the end of the 1980s, it was open to and interested in global trends and international cooperation. In 1991, South Korea—simultaneously with North Korea—became a member of the United Nations,[196] and in 1996, South Korea entered the *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*.[197] Following the *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)* in 1992, also known as the *Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit*, sustainability and environmentally-friendly planning became key issues in Korean urban development concepts. This happened shortly after Seoul's population grew to exceed ten million citizens in 1988. In Seoul, a new concern for nature can be seen in a series of legal regulations, and superordinate urban planning measures, as well as in specific landscape architecture projects.

[193] Ibid., 17–19, 21–23.
[194] Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, *Official Report. Organization and Planning*, 27, 82, 204.
[195] Meadows, Dennis et al., *The Limits To Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind* (New York: Universe Books, 1972).
[196] Jonsson, Gabriel, *South Korea in The United Nations: Global Governance, Inter-Korean Relations and Peace Building* (London: World Scientific Publishing, 2017), 57.
[197] OECD. *OECD Economic Surveys Korea 2016* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2016), 9; Shwayri, "A difficult birth. Creating Seoul, the 21st-century sustainable city," 218.

Landscape and environmental issues gained increasing importance, as is evident in the *1990 Seoul Urban Plan*, which determined among other plans the basic spatial structure of Seoul and its long-term development direction.[198] The plan states the following goals concerning green areas: The maintenance and promotion of existing urban parks which often were located on mountains, the need to provide additional green spaces at the city periphery, and a balanced distribution of green spaces within the urban area, for instance through the restoration of landscape elements and establishment of recreational areas.[199] The idea of restoring Seoul's mountains and rivers resulted in several landscape architecture projects, for instance the *Namsan Restoration Comprehensive Master Plan* initiated by Seoul's mayor Goh Kun[200] in 1990, the *Naksan Restoration Plan* which became official policy by mayor Cho Soon in 1997,[201] and the *Restoration of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley*, a project started in 2007 when Oh Se-hoon was mayor of Seoul.[202] These three projects will be studied in detail and discussed as case studies in the further course of this thesis.

The environmental policy in the 1990s was highly influenced by the '*New Seoul' Initiative* of 1998, which was established under the newly re-elected mayor Goh Kun. The initiative aimed for "greening" the city, developing more cultural programs, and enhancing the relationship to Seoul's major river.[203] Another important milestone in Seoul's green policy was the *Urban Planning Act*, revised in 2000. In terms of landscape management policy, it started to differentiate landscape areas into natural landscapes, visual landscapes, waterfront landscapes, cultural heritage landscapes, and street landscapes, thus identifying unique characters of landscapes and enhancing their specific roles.[204] In fact, this had a huge influence on the project *'restoration of Cheonggyecheon'* which was begun by mayor Lee Myung-bak in 2005.[205] The *restoration of Cheonggyecheon* gained great popularity, and became an international role model for landscape restoration projects in Seoul. However, since there is already a lot of research on the *restoration of Cheonggyecheon*,[206] this thesis will not further

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[198] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *1990 Seoul Urban Plan* (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1990), 14–22, 96–110.

[199] Ibid., 134–135

[200] Goh Kun was twice mayor of Seoul: from 1988 to 1990, and from 1998 to 2002.

[201] Cho Soon was mayor of Seoul from 1995 to 1997.

[202] Oh Se-hoon was mayor of Seoul from 2006 to 2011.

[203] Shwayri, "A difficult birth. Creating Seoul, the 21st-century sustainable city," 218.

[204] Park, Hyeon-Chan, "Landscape Management Policy for Better Seoul," In *Seoul Solution for Urban Development. Urban Planning,* edited by Seoul Metropolitan Government (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government), 235.

[205] Lee Myung-bak was mayor of Seoul from 2002 to 2006.

[206] See for instance: Peter, Kim and Jung, ed., A City and Its Stream; Cho, "The politics of urban nature restoration;" Erpenstein, "Conflict Management in Urban Planning."

elaborate on this project. It rather focusses on projects which are less well known internationally, highlighting the overall development of landscape restoration projects. After the successful *restoration of Cheonggyecheon*, political campaigns and restoration projects of the subsequent mayor Oh Se-hoon also contributed to the paradigm shift towards culture, nature and history, for instance, the campaign *A Clean and Attractive Global City. Environment of Seoul,*[207] the *Hangang Renaissance Project*, and the *restoration of Suseongdong Valley*. These political campaigns and projects, in addition to *UNESCO's Creative Cities Network* awarding *Seoul an UNESCO City of Design* in 2009,[208] changed the perception of the population. Since the election of the current mayor Park Won-Soon[209] in 2011, the improvements of green policy measures have continued, as demonstrated by the *Seoul Plan 2030* that was issued in 2014. The plan identifies five key issues with seven planning tasks. Those tasks include the conservation of historical culture resources and landscapes, and the response to climate change and environmental conservation.[210] In 2012 environmental concerns also influenced the *Masterplan of Yongsan Park.* One important objective of this project was to restore the landscape, especially the ridge of the mountain (see chapter 4.1). With this project, the concept of landscape restoration, became deeply entrenched in the political dialogue. This represents a high point of a trend which ranged from a simple restoration of an earthen wall (such as *Mongchon Toseong*, the earthen fortress at Olympic Park) in the 1980s to landscape elements (such as the slopes and valleys of Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan) in the 1990s and 2000s, to entire territories and landscapes (as in the case of Yongsan-Garrison). Hence, Seoul has established a long legacy of attempting to deal with environmental issues and landscape restorations which are tightly related to each other.

In summary, as we can see from previous chapters, it is a legacy that in spite of different interpretations, motives, and political changes, has remained a potent force in the civic awareness of Seoul since its emergence in the 1980s.

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[207] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *A Clean and Attractive Global City. Environment of Seoul* (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2007).

[208] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *UNESCO City of Design, Seoul. Application Design Seoul Story* (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2009).

[209] Park Won-soon was mayor of Seoul from 2006 to 2011

[210] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul Solution for Urban Development. Urban Planning* (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015), 101.

2.5 Conclusion—the restoration of Seoul's landscapes

Up to now, an understanding has been given of how Seoul's concept of landscape restoration has evolved due to its social and political history. It is argued previously in this thesis that a paradigm shift towards a nature-oriented urban planning policy evolved in the 1980s rather than the 1990s as claimed in current literature (see chapter 2.1). This is evidenced by the increase in the number of public parks as well as the changing nature of those parks. Of course, the development of a trend towards landscape restoration and addressing environmental concerns has not been a linear and smooth process. Rather, the current consciousness is a result of both intentional und unintentional political, economic, and social influences.

In the 1980s, the economic situation in South Korea had consolidated to the extent that soft planning factors, such as the creation of green spaces, were given more political and planning attention. The *June Struggles* of 1987 had a major influence on the democratization of South Korea, and thus also strengthened the self-confidence of its citizens, which led to demands for better living conditions in Seoul, a healthy environment and green spaces that created identity. These demands were a reaction to massive spatial transformations due to modernization, industrialization and urbanization processes that Korea had been undergoing since the forced opening of its ports in 1876. Within an extremely short period of time, Korea was transformed from an agricultural society that was spatially organized in a decentral way, to an industrial society mainly organized around Seoul. The capital changed itself from being a small city with 200,951 inhabitants in the year 1875 to a modern mega city with over ten million inhabitants in 1990. However, the demand for green spaces was not merely a response to the sanitary, hygienic, and social problems of industrialization and urbanization, as was the case in many other countries. It was also driven by the desire to become part of the international community. Green spaces, especially landscape restoration projects, were aimed to reinforce and promote a sense of Korean history, tradition, culture, and especially identity. These concepts gained even more importance during the preparations to the 1988 Olympics, when South Korea had to present itself to an international audience. With the Olympic Games, faith grew that traditional and modern aspects can be reconciled in urban development projects. While in the 1980s the focus was on the restoration of historical constructions, such as the fortification wall *Mongchon Toseong* in the Olympic Park, in the 1990s the focus shifted to the restoration of entire landscape elements, such as rivers, mountains and valleys. By restoring the landscape, in particular the culturally significant topography, traditional landscape meanings, values and symbols have been promoted. On the one hand, these landscape restorations are meant to fulfill international design standards, but on the other hand, these projects intended to

create a space of identity, and also confidence to the Korean people that they could tackle national traumas of the twentieth century. Starting from the unique historical and political situation in Korea, the paradigm shift towards nature, history and culture has been increasingly consolidated into planning practice since the 1980s, creating fertile ground for landscape restoration projects.

24 | Transformation of the living environment; comparison of the same viewpoint: 20th and 21st century (© Seoul Museum of History)

PART 3

NARRATIVE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION

3.1 The restoration of Namsan, 1990–2000

3.1.1 Hanyang's Ansan

3.1.2 Symbolic occupation of Namsan

3.1.3 Amid monuments and illegal settlements

3.1.4 Foreigner apartments and the growing pressure to build

3.1.5 Returning Namsan to Seoul's citizens

3.2 The restoration of Naksan, 1997–2002

3.2.1 The blue dragon

3.2.2 Destruction of tradition

3.2.3 Urbanization of the mountain

3.2.4 Restoring Naksan's topography and nature

3.3 The restoration of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley, 2007–2012

3.3.1 The source of Cheonggyecheon

3.3.2 Okin Sibeom apartments

3.3.3 Restoration, acceptance and change

3.4 Master narrative of landscape restoration

3.4.1 On repetition, coherence and congruence

3.4.2 One-dimensionality and hidden narrations

3.4.3 Legitimization of political actions

3.4.4 Identification and collective memory

3.5 Conclusion—the power of the narrative

3 NARRATIVE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION

The historical and political situation in Korea has made the idea of landscape restoration very successful. Numerous landscape restoration projects have been done over the past three decades in Seoul. In these projects, the landscape architects faced the challenging task of restoring past landscape meanings, values and symbols. Often, politicians and landscape architects referred to the original form of a landscape or landscape element (e.g. a mountain or river),[211] however when someone takes a closer look, in most cases "there was no reference point for its original form."[212] This dilemma led to a wide range of design approaches that included historical reconstructions, collages of historical relics, and abstract hybridizations, which reminds in a way of a laboratory situation. This special situation, which serves as the starting point for this research, has led to the work's title *Cultural Laboratory Seoul*.

The main challenge for landscape architects, architects, and planners of landscape restoration projects is the question of how to convey past landscape meanings into the present. To find out more specific approaches, this part of the thesis will identify mechanisms of translation on the basis of case studies research.

In order to gain more specific knowledge on conveyance of past landscape meanings, it is helpful to widen the view and look beyond the boundaries of landscape architecture, architecture, and design, and address also the realm of linguistics. As meanings are based on signs,[213] then—in other words—planners are struggling with the transfer of former signs into the present signs, which basically denotes the act of translation.[214] In recent years, translation theories have increasingly influenced the field of architecture. The architectural theorist Esra Akcan even suggests taking "linguistic translation as a trope to understand the transformations in form, meaning, or function of a transported architectural artifact in its new destination, whether this is an image, an idea of space, technology, or information."[215]

The definition of translation, however, varies from discipline to discipline. Following the philologist Roman Jakobson, translation describes, in linguistic theories, a transposition of

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[211] Cf. Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 20; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 22.

[212] Cho, Myung-Rae. "The politics of urban nature restoration. The case of Cheonggyecheon restoration in Seoul, Korea," *International Development Planning Review* 32-2 (2010):151–152.

[213] Saussure, Ferdinand de, *Course in general linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally et al. (New York: MacGraw-Hill, 1966),13.

[214] Jakobson, Roman, "On linguistic aspects of translation" In *On Translation 23*, ed. Reuben Arthur Brower (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1959), 233.

[215] Akcan, Esra, *Architecture in Translation* (London: Duke University Press, 2012), 9.

verbal signs or sign systems into some alternative sign or sign system.[216] Translation processes can either incorporate an intralingual translation (a transfer of a verbal sign into another verbal sign of the same language), an interlingual translation (a transfer of one language into another language), or an intersemiotic translation (a transfer of a verbal system of signs into a nonverbal system of signs, e.g. from a verbal sign into music, painting or landscape element such as a mountain).[217] Thus, even in linguistic theories, translation is not only limited to speech and language, but can be applied to the fields of landscape architecture, design, and architecture. However, according to the architectural theorist Esra Akcan, translation in architecture is understood in a much broader and multi-directional perspective. She defines translation within architectural discipline as "any act of changing from one place, position, condition, medium, or language."[218] Taking approaches from linguistics and translation studies into account, this thesis wants to include in the debate on Seoul's landscape restoration projects another defining parameter that has received little attention so far but equally influences the transmission of meaning and the relation between past and current landscape notions in Korea. In order to investigate how landscape meanings within landscape restoration projects are transmitted, generated and transformed, this thesis wants to shift the gaze from the landscape itself to the intertextuality of the landscape. The concept of intertextuality was significantly adopted for landscape studies by the cultural geographers James and Nancy Duncan.[219] Borrowed from semiology and linguistics, intertextuality is used in landscape studies to denote "the textual context within which landscapes are produced and read, which includes various other media, such as novels, films and popular histories."[220] The study of intertextuality of landscapes, however, refers according to James and Nancy Duncan not only to the analysis of textual contexts, but also to social practices and considerations of sociohistorical and political processes.[221]

In this thesis, it is believed that the analysis of the intertextuality of landscapes, namely the analysis of municipal documents, exhibitions, and official brochures, can reveal underlying mechanisms of translation. The understanding of these mechanisms can help to improve the

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[216] Jakobson, Roman, "On linguistic aspects of translation," 232–233.

[217] Ibid., 233, 238.

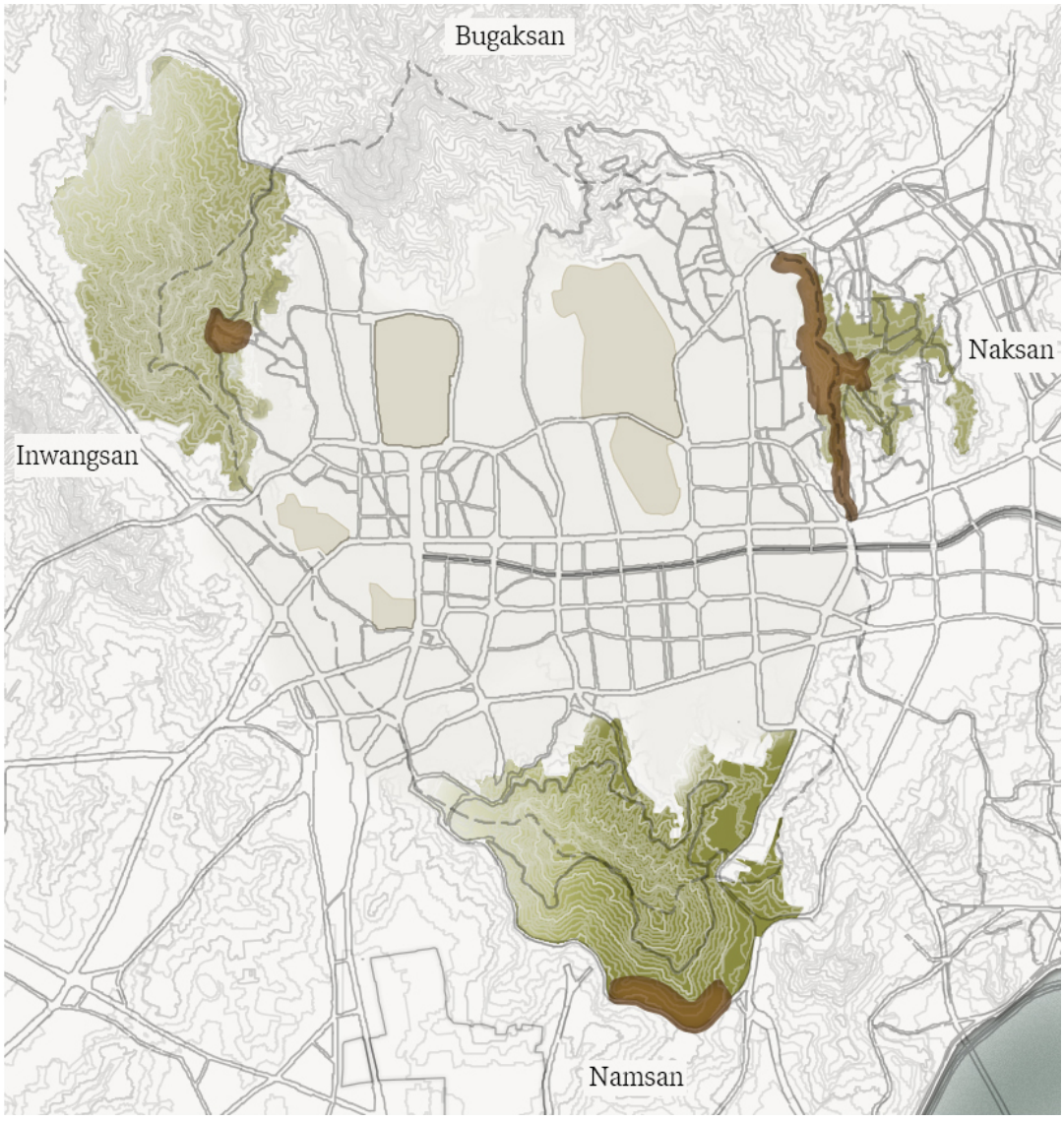
[218] Akcan, Esra, *Architecture in Translation*, 7.

[219] See for example: Duncan, James, *The city as text. The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Duncan, James and Duncan, Nancy, "Re(Reading) the landscape," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Vol. 6* (1988):117–126; Duncan, Nancy and Duncan, James, "Doing Landscape Interpretation," In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, ed. Dydia DeLyser et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2010) 236.

[220] Duncan and Duncan, "Doing Landscape Interpretation," 230.

[221] Duncan and Duncan, "Re(Reading) the landscape," 117, 119, 120.

quality of the translation, and even helps to avoid miscommunications. Thus, already built projects are examined in three case studies by using a cross-case analysis: the landscape restoration of Namsan, the landscape restoration of Naksan, and the landscape restoration of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley.



25 | Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan (© Susann Ahn, 2019)

All cases are situated within the city center of Seoul, however differ in size, construction period, level of influence, and degree of public awareness. Today, the Namsan Park, Naksan Park and Suseongdong Valley are inner-urban recreation areas in Seoul, equipped as modern parks with convenient stores, sports facilities, small ponds, trimmed bushes, seating areas, pergolas,

flower beds, and curved paths, as seen in the following pictures. As will be shown in the subsequent chapters, traditional landscape meanings, symbols, and values are not conveyed primarily through material-physical design elements, but rather through immaterial narratives. In other words, the landscape restoration projects do not provide a museum setting in which certain elements, e.g. historical pavilions, are reconstructed and exhibited in a one-to-one manner. Instead, the restoration of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley, as explained in chapter 4.3, resembles modern parks. Therefore, this thesis argues that on site, it is not the material physical design elements, but mainly the narrative that promotes the vision, the concept, and the feeling of the mountain (see chapter 4.4).

The narratives are presented in exhibitions on site, in planning documents, and in information brochures of the Seoul Metropolitan Government. The narrated histories of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley significantly bias how the landscape transformation and restoration has to be read, understood and appropriated by the general public. However, prior to diving into the analysis, the stories of Namsan, Naksan und Suseongdong Valley are introduced.

3.1 The restoration of Namsan, 1990–2000

"Namsan Mountain, the Power of Place"[222]

This was the title of the exhibition presented by the Seoul Museum of History in memory of the 70th anniversary of the country's liberation. The exhibition was shown from August 7 to November 8, 2015, in the museum's special exhibition hall. The exhibition displays Namsan's transformation in a narrative manner, based on numerous archive materials. It is noteworthy that the history of the mountain is a constant theme, not only in the exhibition, but also in official planning documents,[223] city brochures,[224] guide books,[225] and on information boards in

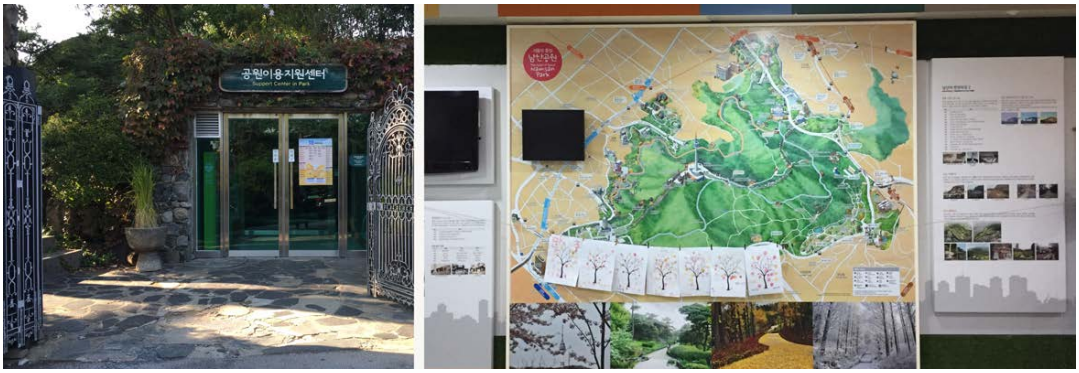
[222] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place* [남산의 힘] (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2015).

[223] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* [서울특별시, 남산제모습찾기 종합기본계획] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1991), chapter 2-1 and 4-4; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance* [서울특별시, 남산르네상스] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2009), 15–19.

[224] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan* [서울특별시, 푸른도시국: 남산 이야기] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2010), 8–48.

[225] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul City Wall Guide Book* (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2014), 32.

the visitor center of *Namsan Park*.[226] Although the scope and detail of Namsan's history varies from one medium to another, the overall narration and underlying message essentially remain the same. In this respect, the footnotes in this part of the thesis not only depict the sources, but also show the scope of influence and the uniformity of the narrated content. In the special exhibition of the Seoul Museum of History 'Namsan Mountain, the Power of Place' the story of Namsan is divided into the following five narrative sections.[227]



26 | Namsan Visitor Center (© Susann Ahn, 2018)

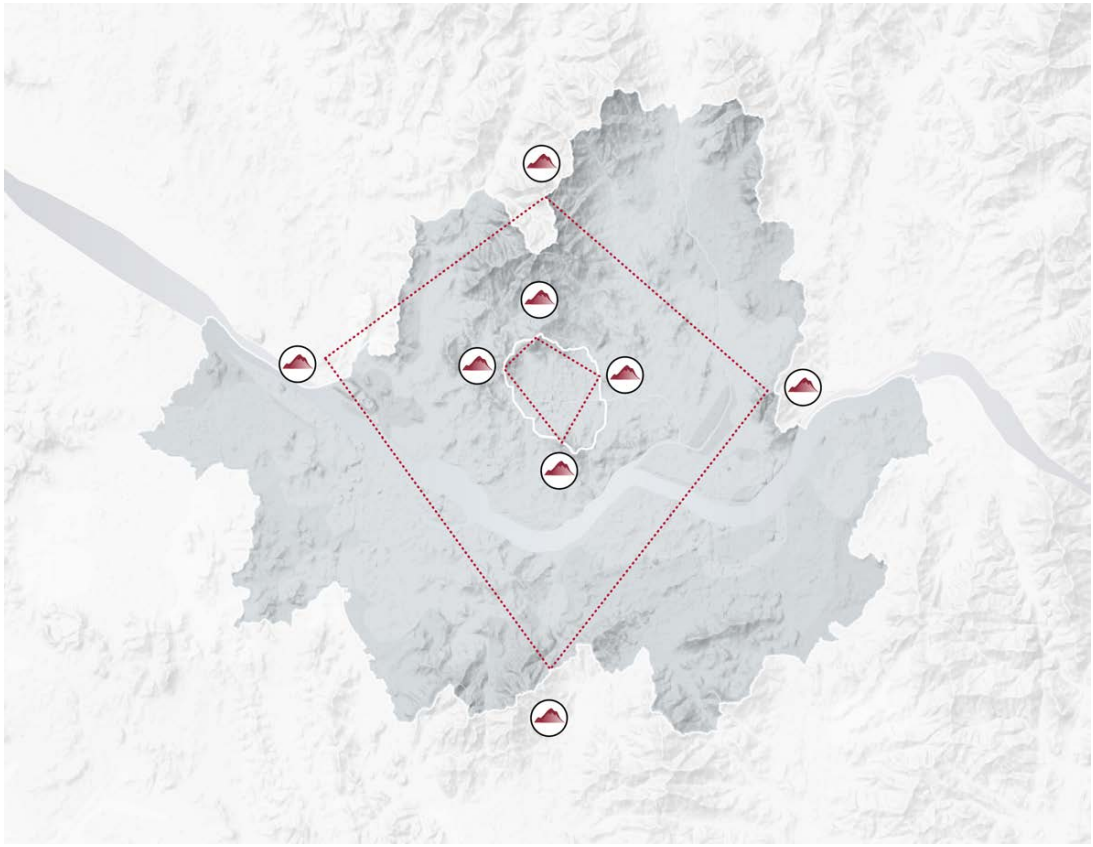
3.1.1 Hanyang's Ansan

"The guardian securing the prosperity
of the nation and its people."[228]

The story of Namsan begins with the outstanding role of the mountain in the foundation of Seoul. In 1394, only two years after the establishment of Joseon dynasty, the old *Goryeo*-capital *Gaegyeong* (today: *Gaeseong*)[229] was discarded as a center of political functions. The founder of Joseon dynasty, king *Taejo*,[230] planned to develop a new capital leaving behind the legacy of *Goryeo* dynasty. On the advice of his geomantic consultants, king *Taejo* selected the area

[226] Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center* [공원이용지원센터], Seoul, accessed on October 13, 2018.
[227] Not taken into is collection of current activities on Namsan displayed in the exhibition and the publication "Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place".
[228] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 13.
[229] The city Gaeseong served as capital during the entire period of Goryeo dynasty except for a short break.
[230] In 1392, king Taejo, whose birth name was Yi Seong-gye (kor.: 이성계), took over the throne and thus brought an end to the Goryeo dynasty. He founded the Joseon dynasty in 1392, which lasted until 1910.

around the small town *Hanyang* (later: Seoul) as the place to establish a new capital, despite opposition of those who favored alternative sites. Still, one of his main advisors had declared the specific landscape around Hanyang suitable for a capital due to following the principles of *pungsu-jiri*, the Korean geomancy.[231] At that time, it was politically and culturally believed that the quality of a settlement depended on landscape elements—more specifically, on mountains and watercourses—providing both protection and the natural resources for living.[232]



27 | Four inner and outer mountains of Seoul (© Susann Ahn, 2019)

In this way of thinking, an ideal place for a settlement includes four inner and four outer mountains. The four inner mountains should encompass a kettle-shaped valley or *Myeongdang* that is ideally supplied with water by a small river running west-east. The small river is

[231] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 13; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration, 10; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 15; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 10.

[232] Yoon, Hong-key, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea, An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006), 21.

supposed to join a larger stream which flows in the opposite direction, from east to west. It is believed that the shape and the location of the mountains correlates with the flow of vital energy that affects the quality of life. In the area around Hanyang, the mountain *Bugaksan*, *Inwangsan*, *Namsan* and *Naksan* represent the four inner mountains, whereas *Bukhansan*, *Achasan*,[233] *Gwanaksan* and *Deogyangsan* represent the four outer mountains. *Cheonggyecheon* embodies the river that flows from west to east through the valley. It flows into the larger river called *Hangang*, which flows all the way to the Yellow Sea. According to *pungsu-jiri*, the topography and the watercourses of Hanyang then resembled the ideal premise for a settlement, and thus promised an auspicious place as well as the prosperity of the capital and the young dynasty.[234]

Namsan is one of the four inner mountains, and means literally 'mountain in the south.' The name was given only after the foundation of the capital as an indicator of its geographical position.[235] Within the capital, it fulfils the role of *Ansan*, the "mountain in the foreground",[236] which serves as a guardian mountain preventing catastrophes from the city and its inhabitants.[237] According to *pungsu-jiri*, Namsan is symbolized by the celestial creature called *Jujak*, the red bird. It represents the southern cardinal direction and serves as a guardian deity. From the people's perspective, Namsan was a sacred place. It was a holy mountain, where people prayed for the nation's prosperity and a pleasant future.[238] Thus, the mountain became the location of several shrines and worship places for shamanistic rituals and other religious practices.[239] For instance, *Guksadang shrine*[240] was built on Namsan in 1395 in honor of *king Mongmyeok*, who was worshipped as a mountain god.[241] This led to Namsan also being called *Mongmyeoksan*. Due to its religious and national significance, the landscape of the mountain was protected during Joseon dynasty. In order to preserve the energy of the mountain, several

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[233] resp. Yongmasan

[234] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 235, 236.

[235] Prior to the relocation of the capital to Hanyang, the mountain was known as Inkyeonsan.

[236] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 13.

[237] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 13; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 38; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*,15; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 1.

[238] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 18.

[239] Among others the Namgwanwang-myo shrine, the Waryong–myo shrine, Gwanseong–myo shrine and Bugundang shrine.

[240] During the Japanese colonial period, Guksadang shrine, also known as the Mongmyeok shrine, was moved to Inwangsan.

[241] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 18; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 15.

regulations and prohibitions were enacted, for instance a law against felling pine trees.[242] In addition, the landscape of the inner mountains has been specially taken care of by cultivating and planting new trees on the mountainsides.

28 | Painting of Sunrise on Namsan, 1741 by Jeong Seon (Kansong Art Museum)

Already during Joseon dynasty, a government office—especially set up to care for the four inner mountains—supervised landscape protection measures.[243] The cultivation and the regulation measures led to the development of a dense pine forest on Namsan. The scenic beauty was praised by the poets and painters of the Joseon dynasty.[244] The appreciation of Namsan's scenery is for instance depicted in "the eight poems of Namsan" by Jung Yi-o (1347–1434), as well as in the painting 'Painting of Sunrise on Namsan' by the painter *Jeong Seon* (pen name: Gyeomjae, 1676–1759). In the exhibition and planning documents, Namsan is represented as an

[242] More details can be found in the Annals of the Joseon dynasty, e.g. the law against felling pine trees (금벌송목지법, 禁伐松木之法, 1461) or the ordinance on ban against felling pine trees (금벌 사목 , 松木禁伐事目, 1469). These regulations prohibited the felling of pine trees for military and cultural reasons.

[243] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 23; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 16; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 11–12.

[244] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 23; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center, Seoul*, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 10, 12, 38; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 15; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 11–12.

extraordinary place to enjoy the landscape.[245] It is said, that Namsan was a place where Seoul's residents met during all four seasons for various festivities and recreation and: "Namsan attracted visitors in every season with its changing appearance, not-too-steep shape, and commanding views of the capital and Hangang."[246] The beautiful landscape also brought residents to settle at the northern foot of the mountain around *Hoehyeon-dong*, *Pil-dong*, and *Chungmu-ro*. However, since the mountain slopes were under strict protection measures, neither private houses nor graves for the ancestors were allowed to be built on the mountain. The construction ban though did not apply to state authorities, and several military facilities were built on Namsan, including light signals, military camps, a weapons and ammunition depot, and an archery range.[247] Furthermore, the Seoul city wall ran over the mountain peaks and connected the four inner mountains. The fortress wall and the military facilities were not seen to contradict the natural state and spiritual meaning, since Namsan—as guardian mountain—possessed in spiritual as well as military matters "a key role in defending Hanyang against invading forces."[248]

3.1.2 Symbolic occupation of Namsan

"Distortion and destruction.
Japanese Imperial Period"[249]

Following the narration presented in the exhibition and the official documents, the plot takes its first turn. This exhibition section narrates, how Namsan lost its sacred meaning and landscape scenery through development measures by the Japanese colonial government.[250] This change of meaning becomes particularly visible in *Yejang-dong*, which was once also called *Oeseongdae.* It is an area on the northern slope of the mountain. Since the *Imjin War* in the 16th

[245]Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 13, 26; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 38; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 15; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 6.

[246] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 26.

[247] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 16, 29.

[248] Ibid., 14.

[249] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17. ["왜곡과 파손(일제시대)"]

[250] Cf. Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, chapter 2; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, chapter 2-2; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 12–15.

century, it had repeatedly been the focus of Japanese settlement and occupation activities. In 1885, nine years after the opening of Korean ports and the *Treaty of Ganghwa*, the area was officially declared a Japanese settlement area.[251] Later on, the northern side of Namsan became a place of foreign power and control, with the establishment of Japanese government, police, and military facilities. One of these facilities was the Japanese consulate, which was transformed into the residence of the Japanese residency general of Korea after the Japanese annexation. Thus, this site became home of the official representative of Japan and administrative authority of the protectorate.

29 | Postcard, Japanese residency general building (© Seoul Museum of History)

On Namsan's slopes—in the immediate vicinity of the residence of the Japanese residency general—the headquarter of the Japanese military police corps[252] was established. The military police corps of the *Imperial Japanese Army*, also known as *Kempeitai*, ensured the implementation of colonial rule with military rigor.[253] Besides military facilities, government buildings and transport infrastructure, the northern foot of Namsan became known for modern Japanese department stores and entertainment establishments. There, modern consumer products were offered to a privileged group of Japanese businessmen and settlers, who also introduced a modern lifestyle to Korea.

[251] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 36.

[252] The headquarter of the Japanese Military Police Corps was located in Pil-dong 2-ga.

[253] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 42; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 13; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 16.

The increasing building development on the once protected mountainsides of Namsan—especially Japanese military and government facilities, but also Japanese settlements—was perceived as forced transformation and a symbol of domination. This perspective was reinforced particularly by one event, which was described as a spatial act of destruction of the mountain and a humiliation of the Korean people:[254] the relocation of the Korean *Guksadang shrine*. In 1925, the shrine, where Korean people had prayed for the protection of the city for generations, was dismantled and moved to Inwangsan.[255]

30 | Painting of Joseon Shinto Shrine (© 민족문제연구소)

It was replaced by the *Joseon Shintō shrine*, which was built in the same year on Namsan's northwest slope. It was built to honor both the Japanese *emperor Meiji* and *Amaterasu*, an important deity in the Shintō religion. The site of the *Joseon Shintō shrine* was carefully selected to be built on the Namsan's most visible ridge line towards Hoehyeon, in order to worship Japanese gods and impose the colonial rule.[256] Namsan became a place for Japanese religious practices. Besides *Joseon Shintō shrine*, further religious places were erected on Namsan's slopes, such as the *Nogi Shintō shrine* (1934) or the *Gyeongseong Hoguk Shintō shrine* (1943). Although—or likely because—the Japanese government required Koreans, especially students, to visit the Japanese shrine, the Shintō religion remained foreign to most of

[254] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 64; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 16.

[255] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 64; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 16.

[256] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 64.

the Korean people. The displacement of the Korean *Guksadang shrine* by the *Joseon Shintō shrine* on one of Seoul's most important mountains was perceived as an act of spiritual and cultural dominance.[257] However, in the exhibition and official documents, the decline of Namsan's landscape meaning was not determined only by building development, but also by the establishment of the parks and gardens[258] that were constructed on the mountain under Japanese authority: "Namsan, which had always been the people of Joseon's place for rest and recreation, became parks for the Japanese."[259] Under Japanese influence, numerous parks of different sizes were created all over Seoul, including the one-hectare area *Oeseongdae Park* (1897, also known as *Hwaseongdae Park*) and the ninety-nine-hectare *Hanyang Park* (1910) close to Namsan.[260] In 1917, the parks around Namsan were joined together by the "*Plan for the Great Forest Park*." As a consequence, the whole mountain was seen as a park area for the first time.[261] The name *Namsan Park* was first given under Japanese colonial rule, when it was designated as an area of 348,000 square meters on March 12, 1940.[262]

Namsan Park was part of a plan that was promoted by the Japanese government in 1940 to establish 140 parks in Seoul. For this purpose, Korean territory was confiscated by the Japanese colonial government. The new parks—especially those in the Japanese gardening and design style—were looked upon with skepticism. Many of the park areas contained Japanese religious worship sites or political monuments, which led to disconcertment among Koreans. For instance, the Japanese Namsan *Great Shintō shrine*[263] was built in *Oeseongdae Park* and the *Bagmunsa shrine* in *Jangchungdan Park*.[264] Before the construction of the Japanese *Bagmunsa shrine* on the northeastern foot of Namsan, the Korean *Jangchungdan shrine* had been located there. The *Jangchungdan shrine* had been built to honor the fallen Korean soldiers who

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[257] Ibid., 35, 80, 84.

[258] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 86; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 13; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 18–20.

[259] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 54.

[260] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 54; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 9, 14.

[261] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 54; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 16.

[262] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 16, 26.

[263] The shrine was later called Gyeongseong Shintō shrine.

[264] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 54, 64, 86; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 13; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 13, 14, 18.

defended empress *Myeongseong*, the wife of the Korean emperor *Gojong*, against foreign troops. In 1919, the area around the *Jangchungdan shrine* was converted into a Japanese park by the Japanese government. Thousands of cherry trees were planted there, and a small lotus pond —that was created at this place— became the site of the Japanese *Bagmunsa shrine*, which was built in honor of *Ito Hirobumi* in 1932.[265] *Ito Hirobumi* held the position of the Japanese residency general of Korea from 1905 to 1909, and contributed significantly to the annexation of Korea. In the building of the *Bagmunsa shrine*, it is believed, that Joseon dynasty buildings were dismantled and used as building material.[266] For instance, the main palace gate of *Gyeonghuigung* became the new main gate for *Bagmunsa shrine*, while elements of *Gyeongbokgung*, the main palace during Joseon dynasty, were used for *Bagmunsa's* kitchen building.[267] These actions, as well as the urbanization of Namsan, were seen as a hegemonic gesture to demonstrate Japan's supremacy. Thus, it is stated in the exhibition catalogue that "a spatial foundation was established to maintain supremacy in Joseon after the Annexation in 1910, by occupying Namsan in all directions."[268]

3.1.3 Amid monuments and illegal settlements

"Namsan had become a space where chaos and confrontations,
dreams and frustrations were transposed."[269]

The destruction of Namsan's scenery continued after the end of the Japanese colonial era. The mountain remained a place of political iconoclasm. In the exhibition, it is even said that Namsan "became a space of mobilization and an arena for intense ideological competition."[270] Korean independence did not lead to the expected stabilization of the country. Instead, domestic political battles between right and left-wing parties in Korea as well as the influence of the protagonists of the Cold War led to further instability within the country.[271] In this context,

[265] Seoul Museum of History, Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place, 86; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 16–18.
[266] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 86; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 17.
[267] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 86.
[268] Ibid., 36.
[269] Ibid., 91.
[270] Ibid., 92.
[271] The political discrepancies became particularly apparent at the March 1 Movement Memorial Event, which was celebrated by supporters of the right-wing party in Seoul Stadium and by the left-wing party on Namsan. (Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 91, 92).

the young Korean government under *Rhee Syngman* tried to use Namsan to symbolize a new and steadfast nation. To underline his fortitude, Rhee—while he was still in office—had his own 24.6 meter high statue prominently erected on a huge granite pedestal which towered above the city on the mountaintop of Namsan in 1955.[272] Another example of political symbolism, was the construction of the Korean National Assembly Building on the northern slope of Namsan.[273] The building was to become the largest national assembly building in Asia, and was supposed to underline the importance of the new nation. However, after the forced abdication of Rhee's government following the April 19 Revolution in 1960,[274] the Rhee Syngman statue was toppled and the construction of the national assembly building came to a halt.[275] In addition to political undertakings, unregulated settlement was also blamed for Namsan's destruction between 1945 and 1950.[276] After the end of Japanese colonial rule, escalation of friction between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) triggered large-scale migration flows within Korea. The southwestern slope of Namsan became a major place of refuge. Numerous families fled from north to south and settled in the old abandoned Japanese military barracks at the foot of Namsan in *Yongsan-gu* in search of safe shelter. But soon, they had to move again, because the former Japanese garrison was taken over by the U.S. Army. The refugees then settled on the mountain slopes of Namsan. Not only were illegal houses constructed, but also schools and shops were built on public land. The area around *Haebangchon*, which literally means 'liberation village' became especially known for fast and unregulated settlement and development. In the exhibition and official documents, it is said that "without the concept of public land ownership or legal framework, Namsan's scenery was damaged severely."[277]

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[272] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 91, 102; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 20, 22, 23.

[273] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 108; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 23.

[274] On April 19, 1960, students rallied and protested against the government. This rally was joined by numerous citizens of various professions. The movement led to President Rhee's resigning in 1960. Rhee had been in office for twelve years.

[275] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 102; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 24.

[276] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 99; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 14; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 17.

[277] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 99.

3.1.4 Foreigner apartments and the growing pressure to build

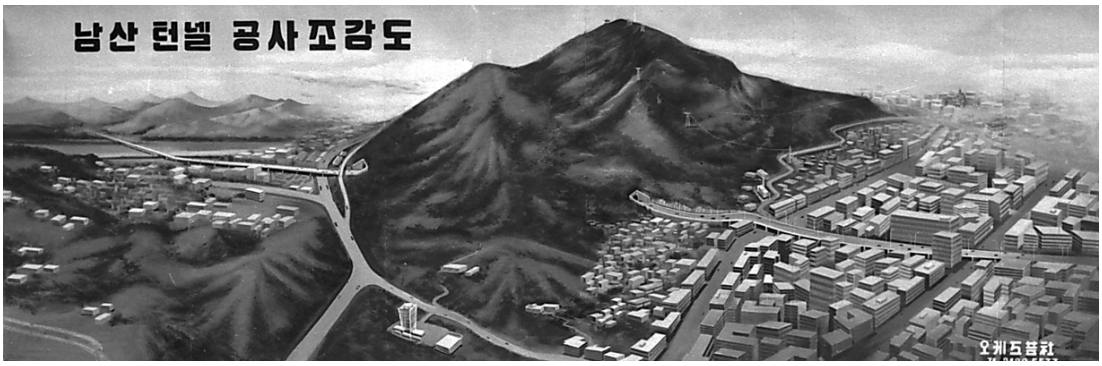
> "As the development pressure reached its peak in the 1960s and 70s, many high-rise buildings were built around Namsan, destroying its natural landscape." [278]

This section explains how and why the building development on and around Namsan increased significantly during the period of rapid urbanization. During this period, building development not only expanded in terms of horizontal area consumption, but also in terms of vertical expansion, with multi-story buildings: "Public facilities, cultural, recreational, and sports facilities, transportation and communications facilities, and residential facilities together surrounded Namsan like a curtain."[279]

Numerous modern buildings and installations were constructed on the slopes of Namsan during this period of economic growth. Among them were cultural, sports, and educational facilities,[280] for example: the *Namsan Public Library* (1964), the eighteen-story *Korean Children's Center* (1970), and the *Namsan Zoo* (opening: 1971), and *Namsan Botanical Garden* (opening: 1968) including a modern greenhouse and a classical garden parterre in Western style. Many of these new buildings and facilities were located on the northwestern slope of the mountain. Beyond that, facilities for the *Korean Central Intelligence Agency* (KCIA) were built in *Yejang-dong* on the northern slope of the mountain in 1961. Later, it was renamed the *Agency for National Security Planning* (ANSP). In addition, the government and military buildings that were constructed during the Japanese colonial period in *Yejang-dong* and *Pil-dong 2-ga* were reused. For example, the *Korean Capital Defense Command* (CDC) was established on the site of the former *Japanese Military Police Corps Headquarters* in 1962.[281]

[278] Ibid., 120.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 112, 118; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 14; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 20, 24, 25.
[281] Also known as Capital Garrison Command, since it was renamed several times between 1949 and 1991. In 1984 the name was changed into Capital Defense Command (CDC).

Apart from that, a number of tourist facilities, such as hotels, were also built on the mountainside. The nineteen-story *Tower Hotel* and the twenty-two-story *Shilla Hotel* were erected on the north-eastern side and the twenty-story *Hyatt Hotel* on the south-eastern side of Namsan's slopes.[282]



31 | Poster for Namsan Tunnel, 1969 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

This building development also required a parallel expansion of transport infrastructure. In 1962, a cable car which went from the Myeong-dong area to the mountain top, was opened. A few years later, Namsan was also tunneled under. The Namsan Tunnel #1 (1970), Namsan Tunnel #2 (1970), and Namsan Tunnel #3 (1978) allowed straight routing from downtown to the new development areas south of the Hangang's riverbank.[283] The proximity to the *U.S. Army Garrison-Yongsan* combined with the good traffic infrastructure resulted in more and more foreigners settling in this area.

Thus, on the southern slopes of Namsan, luxurious residential buildings for foreigners were built: the *Foreigner apartments* (1970) and *Namsan mansion apartments* (1972).[284] The *Foreigner apartments* were two sixteen- and seventeen-story apartment blocks built in the early 1970s by the *Korea Housing Corporation*.

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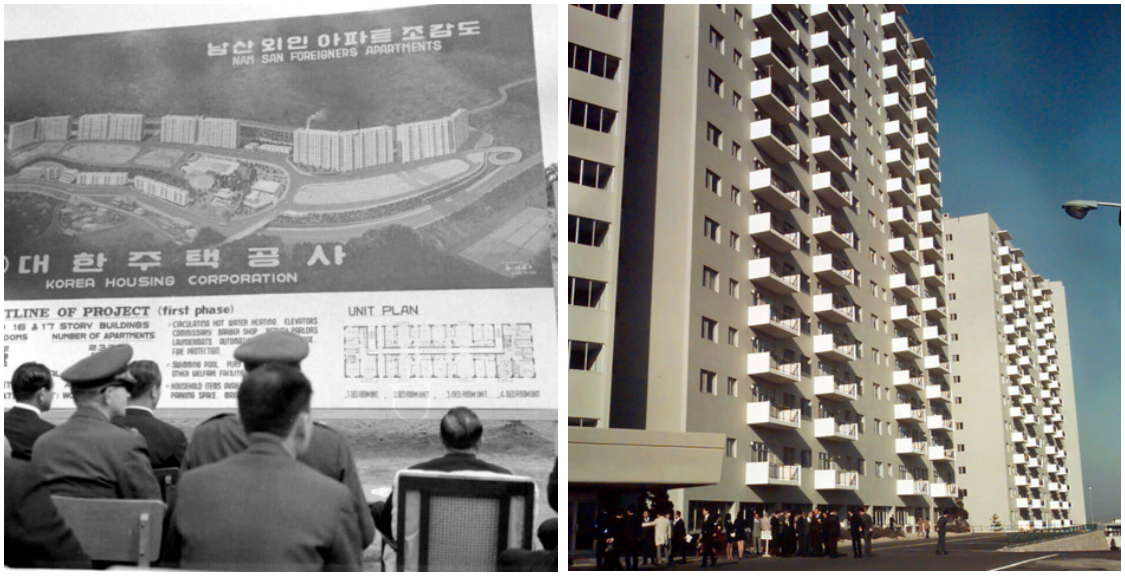
[282] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 121, 133; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 14; Seoul Metropolitan Government, Namsan Renaissance, 19; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 28.

[283] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 123; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 18; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 20, 25.

[284] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 121, 132; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 14; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 19; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 20.

The apartment blocks were fenced in and intended only for non-Korean residents. The location, size and use of the *Foreigner apartments* were all criticized by many Koreans as they made this part of the mountain an exclusive place for foreigners and blocked the view of the mountain.[285] It is said that "instead of presenting a view of a modern city, the buildings became the rallying point for the protection of Namsan's scenery."[286] In the end, the excessive transformations led to the perception that the natural scenery and meaning of the mountain had been lost and that Namsan needed protection:

> "In the past 100 years, Namsan was [sic] not a mountain in its natural state, but a place where the political powers projected their visions intensely. But as the limitations of authoritarian regimes, excessive development and urbanization exposed their weakness, Namsan in the 1990s once again turned into a space accommodating nature, people and history instead of ideologies." [287]



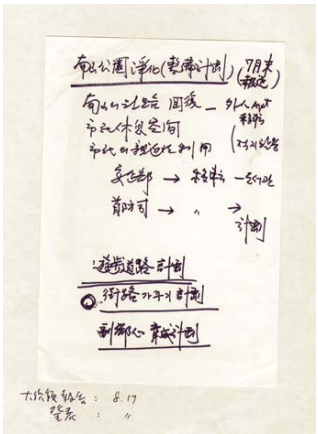
32 | Namsan Foreigner apartment, 1969 and 1972 (© National Archives of Korea)

[285] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 14, 146–151; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 20.
[286] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 132.
[287] Ibid., 145.

3.1.5 Returning Namsan to Seoul's citizens

"After a long absence Namsan finally
came back to the people."[288]

This message was announced in the exhibition to introduce the landscape restoration of Namsan. The intuitive argument that Namsan had lost its natural appearance and its symbolic meaning during the Japanese colonial rule and the period of urbanization provided the basis for the motivation and legitimation of the *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* (남산제모습찾기 종합기본계획).[289] The objective of this plan was "to restore Namsan to its former appearance and return it to its citizens."[290] In the mid-1980s, when green space policy played an increasingly important role in Seoul planning circles, the meaning and appearance of *Namsan Park* was reconsidered. Since the first designation of *Namsan Park* under Japanese colonial rule in 1940, large areas had repeatedly been subtracted from the park during the course of rapid urbanization. This development was counteracted on September 22, 1984, when *Jangchungdan Park* was integrated into *Namsan Park* by the *Korean Ministry of Construction*. *Namsan Park* thus became the largest inner-city park in the country with a new area of 2,971,546 square meters.[291] This measure created solid conditions for the restoration of Namsan. However, it took almost another six years before the project was officially launched by the mayor Goh Kun.



33 | Memo by mayor Goh Kun for Namsan Restoration (© Seoul Museum of History)

[288] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 146.

[289] The translation of 남산제모습찾기 종합기본계획 with the 'Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration' refers to the Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 146.

[290] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 20.

[291] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 10; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 26–28.

On July 12, 1990, in his final year as mayor of Seoul, *Goh Kun* wrote the idea of restoring Namsan on a small sheet of paper. Before that, he had spoken with the South Korean President *Roh Tae-woo*. The small piece of paper contained demands for restoring the original shape of Namsan, relocating the *Foreigner apartments* and public facilities on the mountain, involving the citizens, and turning Namsan into a place of recreation.[292]

On August 17 1990, the restoration of Namsan was officially announced.[293] During the almost 10-year project period,[294] the project was not only supported by *Roh Tae-woo* and *Goh Kun*, but also by the subsequent president Kim Young-sam and nine mayors[295] of Seoul. After a series of preliminary studies,[296] the *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* was published in 1991. The plan envisioned a 2,971,000 square meters park with the following objectives in mind:

> "1. The character of nature, citizens' pride and history should be restored
>
> a. The character of nature should be recreated. The original environment should be restored e.g. with pine trees, and through the elimination of human intrusions and facilities on the mountain.
>
> b. Encroaching facilities should be improved. By improving the view and the accessibility to the mountain, the feeling of affinity should increase thus the mountain can be returned to the citizens and a sphere of identity can be created.
>
> c. The historical environment of Namsan, which has been damaged by foreign influences, should be restored. In this way, historical identity will be reclaimed.

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[292] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 147. Further details are also provided by the research of Seo, Young-Ai (Seo, Young-Ai, "Seoul Namsan as Historic Urban Landscape," 117).

[293] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 6.

[294] The project duration refers to the Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration and its follow-up project Namsan Restoration and Improvement Plan.

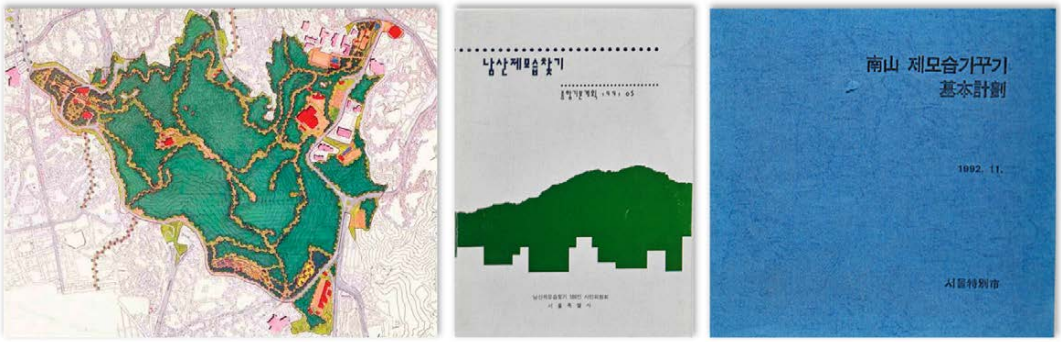
[295] For the duration of the project, acting mayors of Seoul were: Park Se-jik (1990–1991), Lee Hae-won (mayor: 1991–1992), Lee Sang-bae (1992–1993), Kim Sang-chol (1993), Lee Won-jong (1993–1994), Woo Myung-gyu (1994), Choi Pyong-yol (1994–1995), Cho Soon (1995–1997), and Goh Kun (1998–2002).

[296] For preparation of the Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration several measurements and events were organized: the construction of a business headquarters (25.8.1990), a constitution of 100 citizens committee (18.9.1990), a general assembly of 100 citizens committee (17.10.1990), an introduction of the project (22.12.1990), and the citizens opinion survey of 1500 people (February 1991).

2. Scenery, landscape, and horticulture as key considerations of Seoul
   a. The land axis *Bukhansan–Gwanaksan* via Namsan and the water axis running from west to east constitute collectively the core of the natural green space structure of Seoul.
   b. The historic parts in the north of Hangang and the New Towns in the south of Hangang form a spiritual and symbolic space.

3. Education and promotion of civic consciousness and passion for the homeland
   a. The citizens should experience the traditional nature and history of Seoul in a natural way. As a result, the consciousness of Seoul's citizens and the devotion to their homeland can grow. A civic education center should be created.
   b. In the changing international metropolis of Seoul, a sustainable and specific cultural space should be created."[297]

The *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* was originally planned to be completed in 1996. However in 1992, it was already supplemented by the *Namsan Restoration and Improvement Plan* (남산제모습가꾸기 기본계획).[298]



34 | Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration and Namsan Restoration and Improvement Plan (© Seoul Metropolitan Government)

[297] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 20.
[298] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 146; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 8; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 35.

The *Namsan Restoration and Improvement Plan*, which was completed in 2000, put more emphasis on the participation of Seoul's citizens, on the extension of spaces for cultural and social activities, and on communication matters. The key objective, however, remained the same: The removal of 'encroaching' buildings and facilities that—from the perspective of politicians and planners—damaged the natural appearance, visibility and meaning of the mountain.[299] As a result, the *Capital Defense Command* (CDC) was relocated in 1991, and its former site was redesigned.[300] From a total of fifty-two CDC buildings, twenty-one were demolished. The rest of the buildings were designated for new uses. In 1995, the nearby *Agency for National Security Planning* (ANSP) was also relocated to *Naegok-dong*, an area south of the Hangang.[301] Both, the military and the secret service facilities were replaced in a culturally related program: On the site of the *former Capital Defense Command* the *Namsangol Hanok Village* was established in 1998. This museum village with traditional Korean gardens exhibits the habits and architecture of the Joseon dynasty. The building of the *Agency for National Security Planning* was retained, but it was converted into the *Seoul Municipal Youth Hostel*, a meeting place and cultural center for the young generation. In addition to the relocation of the CDC and ANSP, the demolition of the *Foreigner apartments* on the southern slope of Namsan was a key element of the *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*. The symbolic meaning of the demolition of the *Foreigner apartments* became evident in the media-effective blasting ceremony on November 20, 1994 at 3:00 pm.[302] Several Korean television and radio stations including *MBC Munhwa Broadcasting* and *KTV National Broadcasting*[303] transmitted the two apartment blocks being brought down in just fifteen seconds.[304]

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[299] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 151; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 20; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Restoration and Improvement Plan* [서울특별시, 남산제모습가꾸기 기본계획] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1992), 11.

[300] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 151; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 18.

[301] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 151; Ibp Inc., *Global. National Security and Intelligence Agencies Handbook. Vol. 1* (Washington D.C: International Business Publications, 2015)

[302] Originally the demolition was planned for the November 30, 1994, as official documents of the city administration show. However, the blasting was moved forward ten days and carried out on November 20, 1994. The reason for the rescheduling is not known. (MBC News, "The dismantling of foreign apartment in Namsan" [MBC 뉴스,남산 외인아파트 철거,잘못된 정책은 엄청난 댓가 치른다] November 21, 1994.)

[303] MBC News, "Today's demolition of Namsan foreign apartment at 3pm" [MBC 뉴스: 오늘 오후 3 시 남산 외인아파트 폭파 해체] November 20, 1994.

[304] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 151; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, Story of Namsan, 34.

35 | Demolition of Namsan Foreigner Apartments (left: © 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시, right: © 민주화운동기념사업회, 경향신문사)

The time for the demolition was set to coincide with festivities and events marking the 600th anniversary of the founding of Seoul. Already in 1991, the published *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* prescribed that Namsan should be returned to Seoul's citizens in 1994 for this anniversary.[305] The plan envisioned that the site of the former *Foreigner apartments* would be renaturalized and opened to the public.[306] As a key element of the *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* a 9,877 square meter park was opened in February 1997 on this site.[307] The park was called *Namsan Wildflower Park*,[308] and included a pine tree arboretum as a reminiscence of a traditional landscape ideal. By 1998, twenty-one government buildings, fifty-two apartments for foreigners, and sixteen private houses had been demolished and converted into a park area.[309] The restoration of Namsan continued even after the *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* and the *Namsan Restoration and Improvement Plan* were completed. Follow-up projects included the *Namsan Park Present Conditions and Future Development Guidelines*,[310] and the *Namsan Renaissance Project*. The *Namsan Renaissance Project*, which started in 2008 and scheduled to last until 2020, was designed to link tourist activities with the

[305] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 20; Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 151.

[306] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Wildflower Park Construction and Implementation Plan* [original: 서울특별시공원녹지관리사업소, 남산 야생화공원 조성공사실시설계] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2001), 3; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 39.

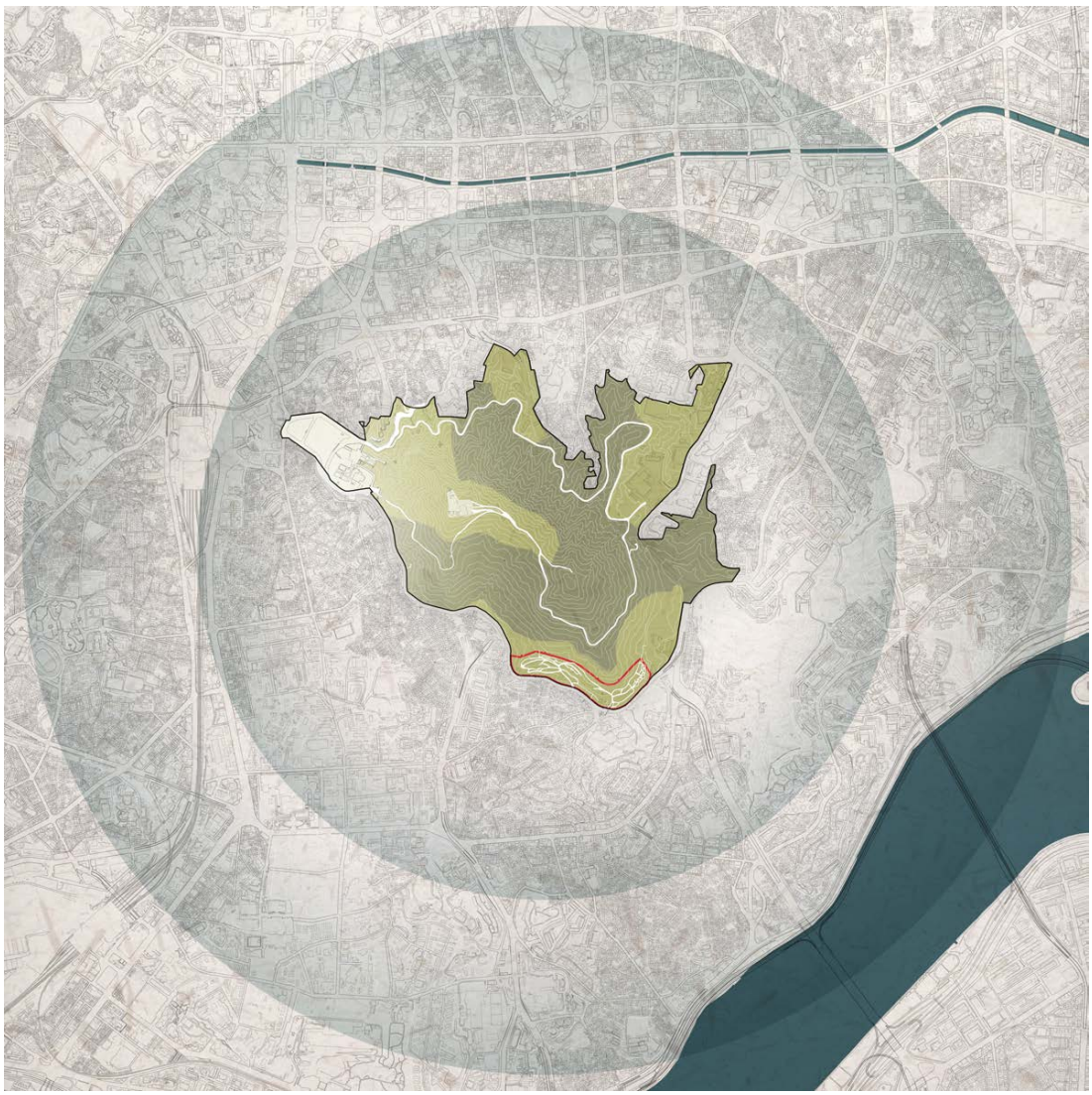
[307] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 152; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Namsan*, 35; Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center*, Seoul, Oct. 13, 2018.

[308] The Namsan Wildflower Park was originally called Namsan Outdoor Botanical Garden.

[309] Namsan Wildflower Park Permanent Exhibition, *Namsan Visitor Center, Seoul*, Oct. 13, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, Namsan Renaissance, 19.

[310] Kim, Kyung-Bae, *Namsan Park. Present Conditions and Future Development Guidelines* [김경배, 남산공원의 실태분석 및 개선방향 연구](Seoul: Seoul Development Institute, 2004).

Namsan's landscape restoration.[311] The connection between tourism and restoration ultimately strengthened the tendency not only to restore the landscape, but also to narrate the history of restoration. History became a significant part of the project, conveying both, past meanings of the landscape, and Korean identity (see chapter 3.4). The restoration of Namsan, however, is not an individual case. Rather, restoring the symbolic landscape of Namsan became the impetus that has set off a number of other landscape restoration projects.



36 | Plan of Namsan (© Susann Ahn, 2019)

[311] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 154; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Namsan Renaissance*, 5, 8.

3.2 The restoration of Naksan, 1997–2002

> "Following a prolonged period of negligence when Naksan was damaged by ill-planned construction of apartments and houses, the value of the hilly area as historic site was considerably reduced. In 1996, the Seoul Metropolitan Government decided to rehabilitate Naksan as a park under its Five-year Development Plan for Expansion of Green Spaces. The plan was designed to restore Naksan's original landscape and history."[312]

These words are encountered at *Naksan Gallery*, the prominent visitor center at the entrance of *Naksan Park*. It is a one-story building with a cantilevered roof that is hard to overlook. In *Naksan Gallery*, the story of Naksan's historical and cultural transformation of the mountain is displayed in large-format, with information boards, models, and videos. It is a story, that also appears on numerous information boards throughout the park, in official planning documents,[313] and public brochures of the Seoul Metropolitan Government.[314]

37 | Naksan Gallery (© Susann Ahn, 2018)

[312] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery* [낙산 전시관], Seoul, accessed on October 17, 2017.
[313] Seoul Metropolitan Government and Dohwa Engineering, *Basic Plan and Implementation of Naksan Neighborhood Park, Seongbuk Area* [서울특별시 녹지사업소, 낙산근린공원 성북 조성기본 및 실시설계] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2007), chapter 4.1; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park* [서울특별시 중부공원녹지사업소, 낙산근린공원 재조성기본계획 및 기본설계] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2016), chapter 2.4.5.
[314] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan* [서울특별시 푸른도시국, 낙산 이야기] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2014), chapter 1 and 3.

3.2.1 The blue dragon

"Naksan was an important factor in
determining Hanyang as the capital."[315]

In Naksan Gallery, the story of Naksan's transformation begins with *Cheongryong*, the blue dragon. *Cheongryong* is a symbol that is closely related to concepts of yin-yang, the five elements, and the principles of *pungsu-jiri* (see chapter 4.1). In geomantic understanding, an auspicious place is surrounded by four mountains. It is believed that these four mountains are symbolized by four celestial creatures that help protect a city or settlement in each cardinal direction. *Cheongryong,* the blue dragon, guards the eastern cardinal direction, the red bird *Jujak* the south, the white tiger *Baekho* the west, and a mythical creature between a turtle and a snake called black *Hyeonmu* the north.

In Seoul, *Cheongryong* is associated with Naksan, a mountain that is situated east of the royal palace. In fact, before the foundation of Seoul, Naksan was considered an inconspicuous hill, with a height of only 124.4 meters.[316] It was the landscape systematics of *pungsu-jiri* that gave Naksan its cultural significance, and made the mountain an important part of the founding myth of Seoul. Naksan[317] was related to several guardian functions, not only on a spiritual level, but also on a military level. For instance, Seoul's city wall[318] ran over the hilltop of Naksan connecting the huge *Dongdaemun Gate* with the smaller *Hyehwamun Gate,* and military service stations were built at the North-Eastern foot of the mountain. Besides military functions, the area around Naksan became known as home for the upper class. Due to Naksan's proximity to *Changdeokgung* and *Changgyeonggung*, members of the royal family and high government officials settled at the foot of Naksan.[319] For example, it is recorded that *Yu Gwan* (1346–1433), a high official of the early Joseon dynasty, lived at the Eastern foot of Naksan. *Yu Gwan* was especially appreciated for his integrity and incorruptness. It is said that

[315] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.

[316] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 18.

[317] The mountain had several names. It was called *Taraksan* (mountain of milk) apparently because milk was delivered from the mountain to the royal court. Another name for the mountain was *Naktasan*, camel mountain, because of the topographical similarity to a camel hump. (Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 1.)

[318] The city wall was initiated by king Taejo. However, in the course of the Joseon dynasty, the wall was destroyed, rebuilt and repaired several times. The different construction phases can still be seen in the wall today.

[319] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 10; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 24.

he lived so humbly and impecuniously that he and his wife had to use a special rain cover even inside the house because of its perforated roof. Later, the scholar *Yi Su-gwang* (1563–1628), a descendant of *Yu-Gwan*, inherited the house. It is said, that the house was burnt down in the course of the Imjin War between Japan and Korea, however *Yi Su-gwang* rebuilt it, and named it *Biudang* which literally means 'rain shelter.'[320] The house became famous not only as reminiscence for the humble lifestyle of *Yu Gwan*, but also for his descendant Yi Su-gwang who published the *Jibong Yuseol*, the first Korean encyclopedia,[321] and wrote 'Eight views of Biudang'.[322] In connection with settlement activities around Naksan, some kitchen and vegetable gardens were created in this area. For example, it is said that king *Hyojong* (1619–1659) gave his maid *Hongdeok* a piece of land to grow a vegetable garden on the mountain in order to reward her for her loyalty and care during his hostage-taking in Manchuria.[323] A special mention in the documents is also given to *Ihwajang*, a traditional building which was built during the reign of king *Jungjong* (1488–1544) at the south-western foot of the mountain. *Ihwajang* was especially appreciated because—according to the poem 'Drunk in Ihwajang' by the poet and painter *Sin Jam* (1491–1554)—the place was covered with white pear blossoms in spring. At this place, the writer and painter *Gang Se-hwang* (1713–1791) was said to have chiseled the four Chinese characters *hong-cheon-chui-byeok* (紅泉翠壁) which means 'red well and blue wall' into a rock. The characters point to the stunning beauty of the spring water emerging from the moss-green rock wall on this site.[324] According to the records displayed in *Naksan Gallery* and the official planning documents, the landscape of Naksan, especially two valleys, was considered very beautiful during the Joseon dynasty. These valleys, also called *Ssangye-dong*, were ranked among the five most beautiful places of Seoul.[325]

[320] Biudang, *Information Board by Naksan Park Management, Seoul* [서울특별시낙산공원관리소장, 비우당] accessed on October 5, 2018.

[321] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 55, 56.

[322] It consists of eight poems praising the beautiful scenery of Naksan.

[323] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 53.

[324] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 54–55.

[325] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 10; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 24.

38 | Painting of Naksan by Jeong Seon, 18th century (Korea University Museum)

In picturesque places in this area, members of the yangban class erected smaller pavilions for enjoying the landscape, and capturing their thoughts and views in poems, music, and paintings.[326] For instance, the writer and bureaucrat *Yi Seok-hyeong* (1415–1477) had the *Gyeiljeong Pavilion* built on the slopes of Naksan to remind people to not live arrogantly, but modestly and humbly. Naksan's scenery was also addressed by the philosopher and writer *Yi I* (1536–1584), the scholar *Song Ikpil* (1534–1599). A poem of the writer *Choi Gyeong-Chang* (1539–1583) is also presented in the Naksan gallery (poem in Korean, see glossary):

> *Clouds and mist on the eastern peak cover the morning sunshine,*
> *and the birds in the deep forest do not fly away even at dawn.*
> *The door of the mossy old house is lonesomely closed,*
> *In the courtyard, however, clear dew and roses are blended together.*
> *Choi Gyeong-Chang*[327]

[326] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 10–13, 55; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 24.

[327] Korean-English Translation by Ahn Doyoung for this research.

As depicted in *Naksan Gallery* and in official planning documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, Naksan was a landscape retreat for contemplation during Joseon dynasty. It is said, it had "an air of seclusion with clean and quiet streams in the valleys, many evergreen trees, and *jeongja*, Korean pavilions."[328]

3.2.2 Destruction of tradition

> "As the nation lost its sovereignty in 1910, Naksan also lost its fame as the Blue Dragon of the capital and as a major point in the fortress wall." [329]

One section in Naksan Gallery is titled 'Erosion of Tradition—Disruption in History.' This section of the permanent exhibition as well as government documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government narrate how Naksan was deprived of its natural character and its function as sacred guardian mountain due to the infrastructural and social changes that were made during the period of Japanese colonial rule.[330] The infrastructural changes included dams, roads, and bridges, in addition to housing projects and the construction of many Japanese administrative buildings which followed Western design models. In order to meet the increased demand for construction materials, a quarry was built on the eastern foot of Naksan in *Changsin-dong* in 1924.[331] For instance, the *Japanese Residency General's Office building* was fabricated with stones from Naksan's *Changsin-dong* quarry.[332] However, it is said that not only large-scale topographical encroachments like the *Changsin-dong* quarry led to Naksan's loss of significance, but also changes in use on a smaller scale.[333] In fact, in the Naksan Gallery, it is claimed that "it [Naksan] lost its beauty, as poor people began to build mud huts to settle down, forming slums in the area."[334] High tax demands of the Japanese government, crop failures and increasingly precarious conditions forced many Korean farmers to leave their

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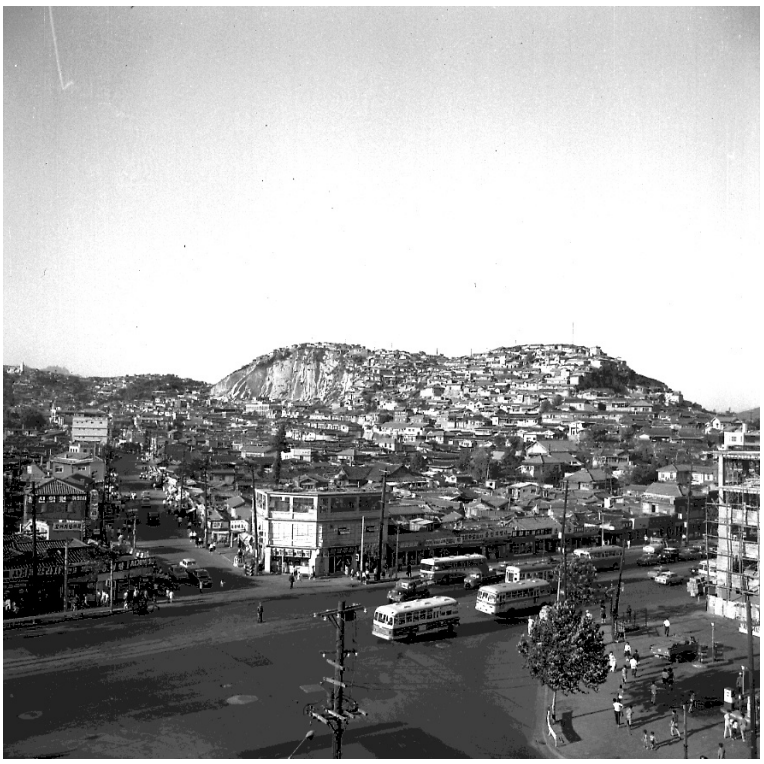
[328] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 4, 14.
[331] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 15; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 24.
[332] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 15.
[333] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 5.
[334] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.

homes and migrate to larger cities. They often settled in undeveloped areas within or close to the city—on river banks and mountain slopes, including the slopes of Naksan. Without financial resources, the migrants had to build poorly covered dwellings on the mountain that were halfway buried into the ground as protection from the elements. These settlements were often called *Tomak chon*, which literally means 'earth-hole village'. Thus, Naksan, which was once considered a scenic retreat for members of elite yangban circles, became the housing area for the suffering and the poor. Yet, despite the increasing settlement pressure, the Japanese governor designated a large part of the mountain, an area of 553,000 square meters, as Naksan Park on March 12, 1940. Nevertheless, the urbanization of the mountain continued.



39 | Settlements on the mountain, Changsin-dong, 1968 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

3.2.3 Urbanization of the mountain

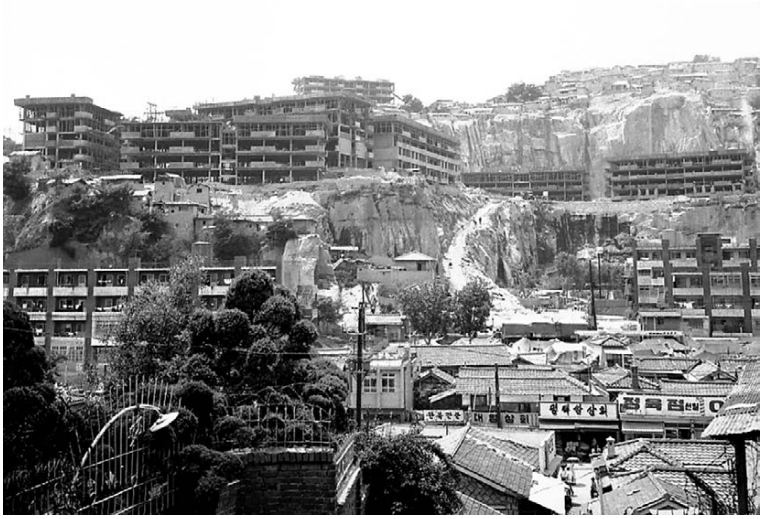
"Naksan loses its beauty."[335]

This section of the narrative refers to Naksan's transformation after the Korean War and during the period of rapid urbanization: "Naksan, whose considerable parts were destroyed during the period of Japanese Occupation, has been encroached by apartment buildings and houses due to indiscriminate development after the 1960s."[336] Major migratory movements occurred starting with Japanese colonial period, but continuing with the Korean War and the subsequent political power struggles. Many Koreans were forced to leave their homes due to precarious situations, and moved to the cities in hope of a better and secure life. Without clear building regulations and the necessary infrastructure, Naksan turned into a mass of illegal small wooden shacks, which nestled themselves close to each other on the slope of the mountain. "Poor people built board shacks in the Naksan area and it totally lost its old scenic beauty,"[337] is written in the *Naksan Gallery* in this regard. In the 1960s, pressure for settlement increased again due to Park Chung-hee's progressive economic and urbanization policies. More and more people from rural areas moved to Seoul during this period (see chapter 2.2.3). Confronted with rising housing shortages and increasing urbanization problems, the Seoul Metropolitan Government began to implement large-scale urban redevelopment plans in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The plans included the reduction of illegal settlements and the construction of new residential areas outside the city center. In this context, buildings illegally built on the public land of Naksan were removed by the city administration. According to the Seoul Metropolitan Government, the illegal buildings were replaced with legal residential buildings in a joint effort by residents and construction companies.

However, the new buildings rose up at an enormous speed, and utilized inadequate materials due to lack of time and money. These new buildings, which had six stories, were planned by the Seoul Metropolitan Government—not only for local citizens, who had already been living there, but also for newcomers who were pouring into Seoul in a never-ending stream. Thus, by the end of the 1960s, a total of forty-one new apartment buildings had been built on Naksan: twenty-nine *Dongsung citizen apartments*, five *Naksan citizen apartments* for social housing, five *Naksan Sibeom apartments* for the middle class, and two

[335] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.
[336] Traces of Naksan Park, *Information Board, Naksan Park*. Seoul [낙산 공원 발자취], accessed on October 10, 2016.
[337] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.

Gija apartments for press reporters and wealthier residents.[338] In addition, more and more of the mountain space was taken to meet the demand for several new public facilities and streets. By the mid-1990s, the built-up area had extended to the remains of Naksan's historic hilltop city wall. The city wall laid partly in ruins, as the stones of the wall had been used illegally for building material in times of great building pressure, according to an eyewitness who worked as a construction worker in this area.[339] So, by the mid-1990s, only a little more than ¼ of the original Naksan Park area that had been established in 1940 under the Japanese government was left: only around 161,750 square meters of the former 553,000 square meters remained park area. Of that, 112,650 square meters were municipal, while 49,100 square meters had become private property. At the same time, there were 66 legally constructed buildings and 126 illegally constructed buildings with 420 households on the mountain.[340] The increasing urbanization of the mountain ultimately culminated in the assessment that "the original natural view of Naksan had been lost."[341]



40 | Construction of Dongsung citizen apartments (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

[338] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 17; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 24.
[339] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_2
[340] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 18.
[341] Ibid., 17.

3.2.4 Restoring Naksan's topography and nature

"The Naksan Restoration Project was promoted from 1997 to 2010 to allow visitors to appreciate the old atmosphere of the mountain."[342]

According to *Naksan Gallery* and the documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, the loss of Naksan's original view and historical significance led to a change of attitude. In 1997, seven years after the beginning of the restoration of Namsan, the planned restoration of Naksan took on concrete form: "The plan was designed to restore Naksan's original landscape and history."[343] The idea for the restoration of Naksan's landscape emerged at the end of the 1980s, in parallel with the plans to restore the historic city wall. Municipal approval for the landscape restoration of Naksan was given on November 14, 1989.[344] However, it took a while before the project was taken on seriously. In fact, it took six years before Seoul's mayor *Cho Soon* announced the project, and then another two years before the project was officially instigated in 1997.[345] At that time, most of the existing apartment buildings on the mountain were in a dilapidated condition, as they were originally built under enormous time pressure and with cheap materials. Nonetheless, many of the local inhabitants were against the municipal plans to tear down the old apartments and restore Naksan's landscape. In opposition to the municipal plans, the inhabitants suggested to replace the existing, run-down apartment buildings with eight buildings of nine to eleven stories for financial reasons. Some inhabitants even had closed preliminary contracts with architects and building contractors. However, the Seoul Metropolitan government had another plan. They argued that the height of the planned buildings would block the view of the entire mountain. In the end, the Seoul Metropolitan Government convinced the residents that it is more desirable to restore Naksan in its original form than to redevelop it.[346]

The *Naksan Restoration Plan* (낙산복원계획) was officially initiated on March 20, 1997.[347] A total area of 201,779 square meters was assigned for the project, of which 152,443 square meters came from the district *Jongno-gu*, and 49,336 square meters from *Seongbuk-gu*.

[342] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 5.

[343] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.

[344] Approval of Park Creation Plan, 493, Announcement of the Seoul Metropolitan Government [공원조성계획 지적승인, 서울시 고시 493 호]

[345] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic and Detailed Design of Naksan*, 4; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 21–22.

[346] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 21–22.

[347] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 22; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic and Detailed Design of Naksan*, 4.

The master plan for the Naksan restoration project was created by *Ssangyong Engineering* between June and December of 1997.[348] In August 1997, an area of 40,029 square meters, formerly occupied by apartment buildings, was integrated into the park, bringing the park area to 201,779 square meters.[349] Negotiations about compensation and demolition took place in the *Jongno-gu* area between January 1997 and December 2001. Evaluation of property conditions was very difficult, and led to conflicts as well as long negotiations that delayed the project. Both compensation and demolition were managed by the *Seoul Metropolitan Government Jongno-gu Office*, while construction was managed by the *Seoul Metropolitan Government Greenery Office*.[350] Despite criticism from the residents, the project progressed, and continued to pursue its original visions:

> "1) Creating a history related park through the protection of the city wall and the restoration of the existing topography.
> 2) Creating a neighborhood living space for local experience, learning, culture, relaxation, sports, meetings and diverse activities.
> 3) Promoting symbolism and a revitalized park by creating space that has a local identity."[351]

Additionally, the project had four main objectives, namely the restoration of nature, the restoration of historical character, the improvement of accessibility, and the improvement of the park facilities.[352] In order to restore the natural appearance of the mountain, the plan aimed not only to demolish several buildings and retaining walls, but to reshape the original topography, and to replant the mountain.

To strengthen the historical character of the site, the plan targeted reconstructing ancient sites, such as the *Biudang* house and the vegetable field of the maid *Hongdeok* (see chapter 3.2.1).[353] Furthermore, the project envisioned a presentation hall in the park, where visitors could learn more about the history of Naksan.

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[348] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 18, 22, 23, 27, 32; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic and Detailed Design of Naksan*, 4.

[349] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 18, 23, 32; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic and Detailed Design of Naksan*, 4.

[350] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 27, 32.

[351] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 39.

[352] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 24.

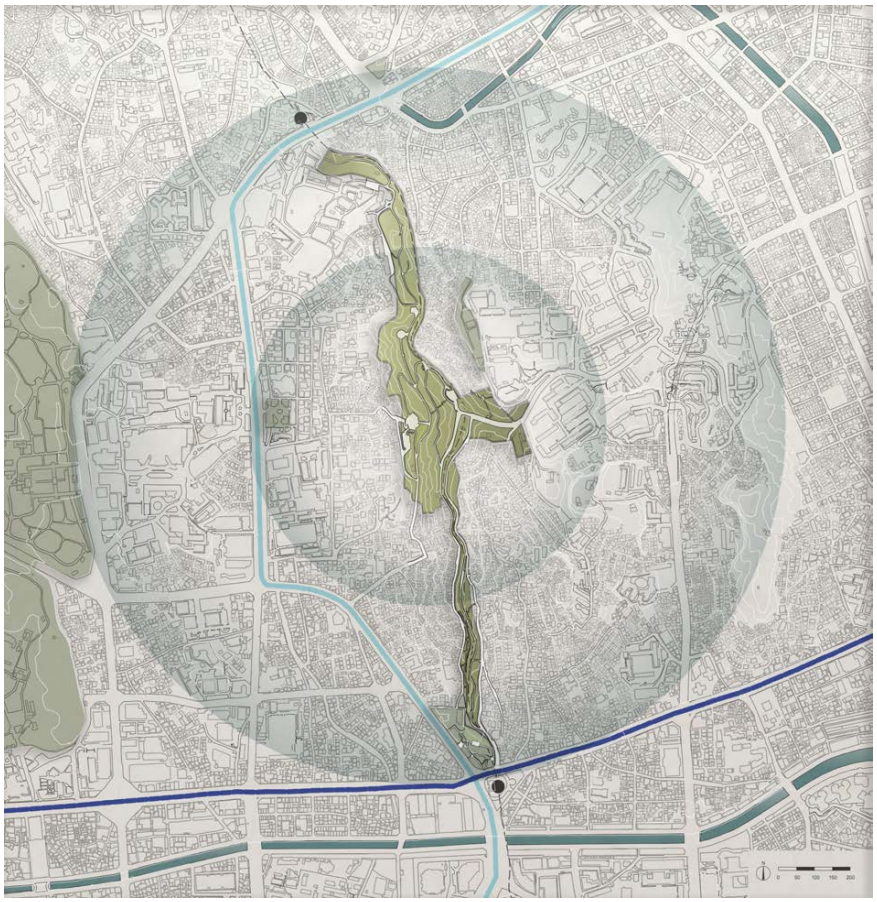
[353] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic and Detailed Design of Naksan*, 22; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 153; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 56.

41 | Demolition of Naksan citizen apartments and reforestation based on the Naksan Restoration Plan (© Seoul Metropolitan Government)

The aim to improve accessibility, was primarily accomplished by establishing a street network to surrounding locations. For example, Naksan was linked to the student and artist quarter *Daehangno*, to the traditional building *Ihwajang* where *Rhee Syngman* has lived for some time, and to the traditional *Dongdaemun Gate.* In addition, a tourist trail was established along the historic city wall. On top of these measures, the project envisioned new modern facilities such as squares and sports areas within the park.[354] Based on the detailed construction planning created by company *Samsung Everland* from December 1998 to September 1999, the park was constructed by the contractor *Samho* between December 1999 and November 2002.[355] A planting ceremony which marked the official beginning of the reforestation the mountain took place on April 26, 2000.[356] The construction work was difficult as the slope was very steep in some areas. For example, in 2001 part of the slope collapsed due to heavy rainfall. The damage was repaired with the help of volunteers. Additionally, there were various complaints from neighboring residents about the noise coming from the demolition and construction work. Despite the delays and difficulties, the citizens and Seoul's reelected mayor *Goh Kun*—who also started the restoration of Namsan and the '*New Seoul' Initiative* in the 1990s—celebrated the completion and opening of the *Naksan Neighborhood Park* on June 12, 2002.[357] However, demolition and construction work continued after the opening of Naksan park, as the restoration of Naksan Park consisted of three phases. In the first phase, from 1997 to 2002, Naksan Park was restored in the district *Jongno-gu*. The second phase, which comprised the

[354] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 25.
[355] Ibid., 27, 32.
[356] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 27, 32.
[357] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 27, 28, 32.

restoration of the park area in the district *Seongbuk-gu*, started in 2001. This was followed by the third phase in 2010 which connected Naksan to surrounding sites including the *Dongdaemun Gate* and *Hyehwamun Gate*. In the end, a total of 30 apartment buildings and 176 detached houses were demolished for this project.[358] The buildings were replaced by 9,192 large trees of twenty-one various species (including pine tree, apricot and sansa tree), 151,120 small shrubs of twenty-three various species (including azalea and forsythia), and 40,000 grasses and perennials of eleven various species were planted on the mountain between 1997 and 2010.[359] The final park area comprised 198,387 square meters.[360] According to the Seoul Metropolitan Government, Naksan had finally become a "place where people can feel the history and culture while appreciating the panoramic view of Seoul."[361]



42 | Plan of Naksan (© Susann Ahn, 2019)

[358] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, Naksan Gallery, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; and Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 22.

[359] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan,* 4; Seoul Metropolitan Government. *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 18.

[360] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 11.

[361] Traces of Naksan Park, *Information Board, Naksan Park*. Seoul, Oct. 10, 2016.

3.3 The restoration of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley, 2007–2012

> "We removed the environmental damage caused by reckless constructions of apartments and restored Inwangsan and Suseongdong Valley to its original state."[362]

The restoration of Suseongdong Valley (수성동 계곡 복원) was completed in the summer of 2012.[363] The name *Suseongdong Valley* can create a wrong picture at first, as it is by no means a flat valley. One can think of Suseongdong Valley as more like a small canyon that was carved deep into the granite rocks over the centuries by a tributary of the *Baegundongcheon*. In fact, within the restored valley, the topography varies by as much as 45 meters. Suseongdong Valley is situated at the eastern slope of Inwangsan. The mountain was named after the Buddhist temple *Inwangsa*. However, from time to time, the mountain is also called *Pirunsan* referring to Chinese characters *Pirundae* (弼雲臺) that were carved into a stone behind the Paiwha Girl's Middle & High School at the foot of the mountain.[364] According to current interpretations, *Pirundae* originates from the sentence "assisting the king from the right," which refers to both, the significance and the location of the mountain, being situated to the right of the king's main palace *Gyeongbokgung*.[365] Given the proximity to the Korean royal palace, military posts have been stationed on the mountain since the early Joseon dynasty. Even today, parts of the mountain are under strict military surveillance due to its proximity to *Gyeongbokgung* and the *Blue House*, the official residence and office of the South Korean president. Inwangsan still plays a major role as spiritual guardian, in contrast to Naksan and Namsan. According to *pungsu-jiri*, Inwangsan represents the western of the four inner mountains and is symbolized by the celestial creature *Baekho*, the white tiger. Still today, people remember this symbolic meaning of the mountain, and even interpret this such that Suseongdong Valley "was a place where tigers lived hundred years ago."[366] The function of guardian mountain is closely linked to places for various religious practices on the mountain. For instance, the Buddhist temple *Inwangsa*, and the shamanistic natural-stone altar *Seonbawi* which attract believers from all over the country as well as tourists are located on the mountain's slopes. Besides that, the important shamanistic *Guksadang shrine* was relocated from Namsan to Inwangsan by the

[362] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:00:05)
[363] Suseongdong Valley and Okin Apartments, *Information Board, Suseongdong Valley Seoul* [서울특별시 종로구청, 수성동 계곡과 옥인시범아파트], accessed on October 12, 2018.
[364] National Geographic Information Institute, *The Origin of Korean Geographical Names* [국토지리정보원, 한국지명유래집] (Suwon: Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs, 2008), 139.
[365] Ibid.
[366] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:25:15)

Japanese colonial government in 1925. Shamanistic worship, including the common practice of leaving food offerings at the shrine, are still practiced there in an attempt to connect with the domain of spirits. Inwangsan's appearance differs from that of Namsan and Naksan due to its imposing granite rocks, which rise out of the thick mountain forest. The mountain reaches a height of 339.8 meters, thus being higher than either Namsan or Naksan. The western part of Inwangsan is situated in the district *Seodaemun-gu*, while the eastern part of the mountain is in *Jongno-gu*. Although, Inwangsan was designated a park by the Japanese colonial government in March 1940,[367] a 1,782,345.4 square meter area of the mountain was reassigned as the *Inwangsan Urban Natural Park* by the Korean government in 2013. This reassignment included Suseongdong Valley, which is located at a linear distance of only 850 meters from *Gyeongbokgung*. The historical landscape of Suseongdong Valley has been restored and was opened to the public in 2012. At the entrance of the restoration project of Suseongdong Valley, several information boards explain the significant historic and culture value of the site. Although the story of the transformation of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley is also displayed on site, it is presented less prominently than the restoration stories at Naksan and Namsan.[368] Furthermore, the official documents and reports on Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley contain fewer details, and are not as representative as those of the other restoration projects.[369]

43 | Information board and visitor at Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley (left: © Seoul Metropolitan Government; right: © Susann Ahn, 2017)

[367] Governor's Office Notice No. 208 [총독부고시 제 208 호] (Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Announcement of Urban Planning Facility (Park) Formation (and Alteration) Plan* [서울특별시 서대문구, 도시계획시설, 공원 조성계획(변경) 열람공고] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2015). Accessed on February, 22, 2019, http://www.seoul.go.kr.

[368] Suseongdong Valley and Okin Apartments, *Information Board*, Seoul, Oct. 12, 2018.

[369] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments, and to the Restoration of Suseongdong Valley* [서울특별시 종로구청, 조선의 비경에서 아파트촌, 수성동 계곡복원까지] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2016), accessed on December 11, 2016; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley* [서울특별시 종로구청, 역사와 문화가 함께하는 수성동 계곡 복원] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2016), accessed on December 11, 2016

This can be explained by the fact that the size of the Suseongdong Valley restoration is much smaller. Moreover, the realm of influence differs from that of the other projects: While Naksan seeks to obtain symbolic influence on a national level, and Namsan even on an international level, the restoration of Suseongdong Valley is primarily directed to the local level. Yet, the story of the transformation of Suseongdong Valley is well known among its visitors, as interviews have shown.[370]

3.3.1 The source of Cheonggyecheon

> "Located at the foot of Inwangsan Mountain, there is a peaceful and deep valley with a mountain stream and an outstanding rock, which is an excellent place for enjoyment and leisure in the summer."[371]

With this quote, the story of Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley is introduced in a report of the Seoul Metropolitan Government.[372] The quotation originates from the *Hangyeong-jiryak*, a book about the geography of Seoul, which is based on data collections of king *Jeongjo* (1752–1800), and was published in the late Joseon dynasty.[373] In addition to the *Hangyeong-jiryak*, the book *Dongguk yeojibigo*[374] is also mentioned as a reference in the documents of Seoul Metropolitan Government to illustrate the value of the landscape in the valley. In both books, it is said that the son of king *Sejong*, prince *Anpyeong* (1418–1453), once lived in the Suseongdong Valley.[375] He lived in the house called *Bihaedang*, which became famous for its beautiful garden. Besides being an exclusive retreat for the royal family, the valley was a midpoint of literary activity in late Joseon period. For example, it is said that the valley was a regular meeting point for the *Songseogwon Poetry Society.* The members of this poetry circle distinguished themselves from other poetry circles by their social class. They did not belong to affluent yangban circles, as

[370] Interview 161010_SUS_VIS_1; 171102_SUS_VIS_1; 171102_SUS_VIS_2; 171102_SUS_VIS_3; 171106_SUS_VIS_2; 171106_SUS_VIS_LOC_3; 171106_SUS_VIS_LOC_4.
[371] *Hangyeong-jiryak* [한경지략, 권 2] in: Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 1.
[372] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 1.
[373] Park, Hyunwook. "The author and the extant xylographic books of Hangyeongjiryak," *The Journal of City History and Culture, Vol. 7* [도시역사문화 제 7 호, 서울역사박물관] (2008):135).
[374] The book was published at the end of Joseon dynasty and includes descriptions of the living, geographic, and legal situation.
[375] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 1.

many other literates and poets did during this time, but were middle class people.[376] Another example of the literary significance of Suseongdong Valley, is evoked by the scholar *Kim Jeonghui* (1786–1856).[377] He wrote the poem 'Enjoying the Waterfall at Suseongdong in the Rain' which celebrates the unique sound of the water (poem in Korean, see glossary):

> *Go just a few steps into the valley*
> *Under the feet, the thundering sound of flowing water*
> *Mountain fog shrouding and wetting my body in blue color*
> *Came in the daytime, but it felt like night*
> *Neat and clean moss spread out as a bed*
> *A round pine tree looking like a roof turned upside down*
> *The cascading water sounded like the song of a bird in the old days*
> *But today, it sounds like the song of my friend*
> *Feel solemn naturally in front of the upright mind of the mountain*
> *I cannot hear the birds singing anymore*
> *I wish I could let the world hear this sound*
> *I wish it can enlighten the unscrupulous*
> *Night clouds suddenly appear in black color*
> *It tells me to draw a paint like writing a poem to you*
> *Kim Jeonghui*[378]

Although the area is called *Suseongdong Valley*, the valley is located in *Ogin-dong*, which is derived from the name *Ogryu-dong*.[379] Literally *Ogryu-dong* means "a place where clear water flows" while the name *Suseong* means "voice of water".[380] The place with the small stream became famous not only in the poem of *Kim Jeonghui*, but also through the *true-view landscape paintings* of the famous Joseon painter *Jeong Seon*.

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[376] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul City Wall Guide Book*, 45; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 9.

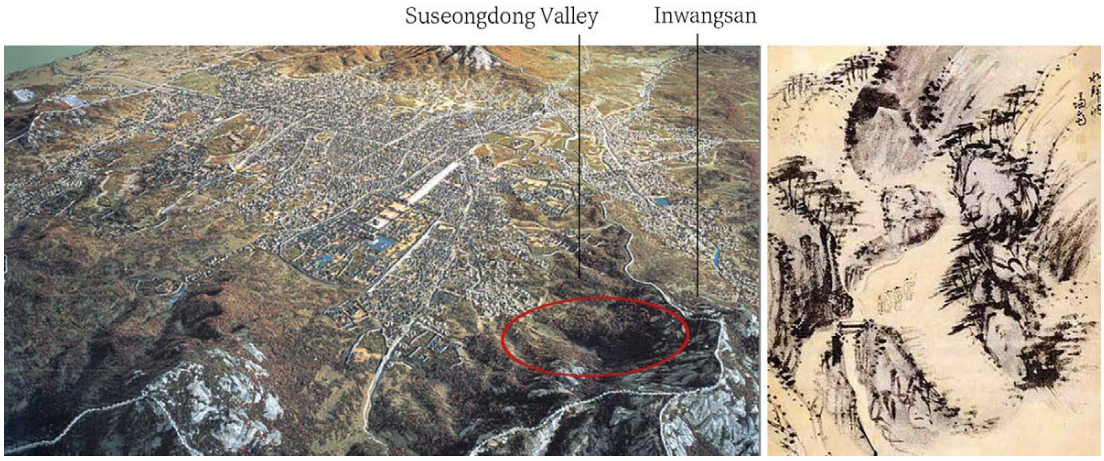
[377] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 1.

[378] Korean-English Translation by: An, Dai, and Lee, Jae-Young. "Influence and Sustainability of the Concept of Landscape Seen in Cheonggye Stream and Suseongdong Valley Restoration Projects," *Sustainability MDPI, Vol 11, Issue 4* (2019):11–12.

[379] During the Joseon dynasty, Ogin-dong was known as Inwan-dong or Og-dong which in turn originated from the name Ogryu-dong.

[380] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul City Wall Guide Book*, 45; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 1; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 7, 9.

True-view landscape painting was a painting genre during Joseon dynasty. It can be described as picturesque landscape interpretation of the real world. It is said that *Jeong Seon* lived at the foot of Inwangsan and therefore portrayed the mountain in many pictures. *Jeong Seon's* series 'Eight Scenes of Jang-dong, 장동팔경첩' depict particularly scenic places of Seoul. One of the eight scenes shows four people crossing a bridge in *Ogin-dong* and hiking up the mountain in an idyllic mountain landscape.[381] According to the documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, the painting portrays *Girin-gyo*, a bridge made of a 6 x 1 meter granite monolith.[382] The documents claim that this bridge "is highly appreciated for its historical value as it appears in the paintings of Gyeomjae Jeong Seon."[383] The small stream that *Girin-gyo* spans also has a cultural significance: It represents a tributary of the *Baegundongcheon*, which flows into the famous *Cheonggyecheon*, that also played a major role in the foundation myth of Seoul and is displayed on many historic maps. Thus, the Suseongdong Valley is conventionalized in the documents as being one of the sources of the *Cheonggyecheon*, and for its "beautiful sound of water running between rocks."[384]



44 | left: Ancient Suseongdong Valley (© Seoul Metropolitan Government); right: Painting "Eight Scenes of Jang-dong" by Jeong Seon (Kansong Art Museum)

[381] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 1; Suseongdong Valley and Okin Apartments, *Information Board*, Seoul, Oct. 12, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 3, 9, 10.

[382] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Scenery to Apartments, and the Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 1; Suseongdong Valley and Okin Apartments, *Information Board*, Seoul, Oct. 12, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 3, 9, 10, 16; Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:00:05)

[383] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 1.

[384] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Seoul City Wall Guide Book*, 45.

3.3.2 Okin Sibeom apartments

"So, when you look up from the bottom of the valley, the view to the mountain was almost completely blocked."[385]

Unlike in the cases of Naksan and Namsan, no indication could be found in the official documents that the landscape of the Suseongdong Valley or Inwangsan was profoundly altered or destroyed during the Japanese colonial period or the Korean War. It was not until the 1970s, during the period of rapid urbanization, that the valley was developed, according to the documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government.[386] However, the apartments built in Suseongdong Valley were not apartment buildings exclusively for foreigners as was the case of Namsan, or quickly built citizen apartments as in the case of Naksan. In the Suseongdong Valley, building development was more controlled due to its proximity to the royal palace. Thus, the Seoul Metropolitan Government built model apartments, so-called *Okin Sibeom apartments,* on both sides of the creek in the Suseongdong Valley. The model apartments had a higher building standard, larger floor plans, and could be bought or rented on the open housing market. Apartments complexes built at high standard were particularly built after the tragic collapse of the *Wawoo citizen apartments* in April 1970.[387] In Suseongdong Valley, nine multi-story apartment complexes for 308 households were built. They were supplemented by a children's playground and a senior citizens' meeting place.[388] The *Okin Sibeom apartments* were completed in June 1971.[389] One of the city officials remembers "in order to build an apartment on the rock, the whole area was covered with concrete."[390] However, the *Okin Sibeom apartments*, which were regarded as a symbol of modern progress in the early 1970s, became the focus of planning criticism in 2007, as shown in the city's documents: "In 1971,

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[385] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:00:05)

[386] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 2; Suseongdong Valley and Okin Apartments, *Information Board*, Seoul, Oct. 12, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 5.

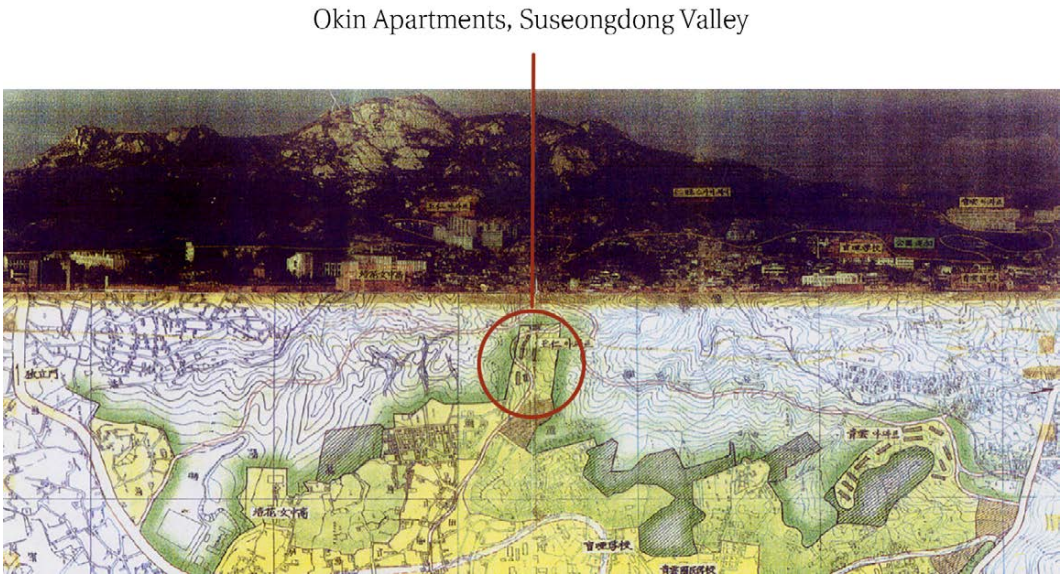
[387] Interview 181011_GEN_PROF (00:33:43); The Wawoo Apartment in Seoul collapsed in April 1970, just a few months after its completion. Numerous residents were injured, and three were killed in this incident. A subsequent investigation revealed major construction deficiencies, including undercharged rebars in the foundation alongside the mountain slope. This incident led not only to the resignation of Seoul's mayor, but to a critical debate and public attention on social issues and higher construction standards.

[388] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments,* 2; Suseongdong Valley and Okin Apartments, *Information Board*, Seoul, Oct. 12, 2018; Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 5.

[389] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 6.

[390] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:09:40)

nine *Okin apartments* were built on the left and right sides of the valley, which seriously damaged the scenery."[391] The main criticism of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, was that the apartments blocked the landscape view to Inwangsan.[392]



45 | Map with apartments at Suseongdong Valley (© Seoul Metropolitan Government)

3.3.3 Restoration, acceptance and change

> "We rapidly industrialized and developed. Now we're heading towards restoration rather than industrial development. Seoul's policy is also often called regeneration. Regeneration is not about building new things, it's about fixing things, and using old ones."[393]

In 2007, the Seoul Metropolitan Government decided to demolish several model apartment buildings from the 1970s in an effort to restore Seoul's landscape, recounts a leading municipal official.[394] At that time, the mayor of Seoul was Oh Se-hoon. First, he launched the Hangang Renaissance Project, in which model apartment buildings were demolished to restore the appearance and value of Hangang's riverscape, and in addition he initiated the restoration of

[391] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments*, 2.
[392] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 6.
[393] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:13:07)
[394] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:06:45)

Suseongdong Valley by demolishing the Okin model apartment buildings.[395] Two institutions, the *Seoul Metropolitan City Culture Committee* and the *Citizens Committee for Park Development* came to the conclusion that this area had to be restored to its natural state as it was in the past with its splendid landscape.[396] The restoration of Suseongdong Valley had three objectives:

The first objective envisioned a green axis stretching from Inwangsan via *Gyeongbokgung* to *Cheonggyecheon* by restoring past landscape values and landscape relationships. This also involved demolishing the *Okin Sibeom* apartment buildings in order to recreate the view to the mountain, and to recover the ecological balance and the natural self-sustaining forces that had been destroyed by transformations of the topography, and interferences in the ecosystem. All in all, a natural peaceful place in harmony with nature was projected, according to documents of Seoul Metropolitan Government.[397] The second objective was to create "a peaceful place for citizen's health, recreation and improvement of emotional life through the restoration."[398] In addition, it was intended that this place would convey a message to the public that lessons had been drawn from the "mistakes of the development period."[399] The third objective was for that Suseongdong Valley to become an attractive place for recreation and local tourism between *Cheonggyecheon* and *Inwangsan*.

Between 2009 and 2011, most of the buildings in Suseongdong Valley were demolished.[400] Former residents were offered new apartments in *Sangam-dong* in Mapo-gu or in Songpa-gu on the western and south-eastern peripheries of Seoul.[401] The total cost of the project was 106 billion Korean Won, of which 2 billion Korean Won was spent on demolition and 98.5 billion Korean Won was spent on compensation payments. In comparison to this, the pure construction costs were very low at 5.5 billion Korean Won. The construction period lasted from February 2009 to July 2012.[402] The area which was restored in the Suseongdong Valley comprised a total of 9,833.7 square meters.[403]

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[395] Ha, Eo Young, "Looking in from the Outside," In *Okin Collective* [옥인 콜렉티브], ed. Workroom (Seoul: Workroom Press, 2012): 22.

[396] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:08:22)

[397] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 14.

[398] Ibid.

[399] Ibid.

[400] Ibid, 3.

[401] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:25:15)

[402] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 2.

[403] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments,* 2.

46 | Okin Apartments before and after demolition (© Okin Collective, 2012)

According to municipal documents, the design concept for the Restoration of Suseongdong Valley centered around the three key words: restoration, acceptance and change. In order to restore the valley in harmony with nature, its 'original form' was studied through historical testimonies and spatial composition studies of the stream. In order to increase public acceptance, the design envisaged not only ecological improvements, but also user-friendliness. Additionally, the project preserved some parts of some buildings for educational purposes for reflection on past errors and to convey messages for the future. A positive attitude towards change was to be cultivated by pointing out past mistakes, and giving the project a forward-looking direction.[404]

47 | Girin-gyo, Restoration of Suseongdong Valley (© Susann Ahn, 2017)

A special highlight of the restoration project was the rediscovery of the historical bridge *Girin-gyo* as one of the city officials remembers: "We removed the environmental damage caused by reckless apartment constructions and restored Inwangsan Mountain and Suseongdong Valley to their original state. As we demolished the apartments, we found cultural properties there […] the interior bridge came out in its original form."[405] In October 2010, not only the bridge, but also the entire Suseongdong Valley was designated as City Monument No. 31 and thus received the status of a cultural conservation area. On July 11, 2012, the restored Suseongdong Valley was inaugurated part of the Inwangsan Urban Natural Park by the current mayor of Seoul, Park Won-soon. The Restoration of Suseongdong Valley won the 'Korea Land & City Design

[404] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Presentation: Historical and cultural Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 14.
[405] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:00:05)

Competition' in 2014 issued by the *Korean Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport*.[406] The prize was given for creative design solutions that promote public awareness in consensus with a national land policy, increase the competitiveness of the Seoul, and respond to international trends.[407] A senior city official stated that winning this prize enabled study trips abroad.[408] He believes that the success of the project was due to the fact that they were able to restore the beauty of the area.[409] They were not only able to expose the natural bedrocks by demolishing concrete paving, but reforested the mountains with a wide variety of plants, rebuilt the topography based on historical research, and provided recreational space for pedestrians. In particular, he is proud to report that "in contrast to other projects, we didn't involve internationally famous designers, but rather designed it ourselves to restore the valley to what it was."[410] However, when he was asked how to obtain precise historical data, for instance the exact location of prince Anpyeong's house *Bihaedang*, he replied:

> "I guess, it [Bihaedang] was opposite the stone bridge in Suseongdong Valley. But you can't restore history through speculation. So, I'm really trying to refer to historical documents and literature. For this purpose, we have an extra department. This department takes great effort to find historic documents or literature. If we are not able to find these documents, we create the restoration on the basis of narration. It's called storytelling. The place that I mentioned earlier, was a historic place where the house of prince Anpyeong was located. It's a historic place with a beautiful landscape."[411]

406 Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Announcement: Inwangsan Suseong-dong Valley: 2014 Presidential Award for 'Korea Land and City Design Competition'* [서울특별시 종로구청. 인왕산 수성동계곡: 2014 년 국토. 도시디자인전 대통령상 수상] (Seoul: Metropolitan Government, 2015), accessed on March 20, 2019.

407 Korean Planning Association. *Presentation: Korea Land and City Design Competition* [대한국토 도시계획학회, 대한민국국토도시디자인대전] (Seoul: Korean Planning Association, 2015), accessed on March 20, 2019

408 Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:00:05)

409 Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:00:05)

410 Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:09:40)

411 Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:21:31)

48 | Plan of Suseongdong Valley and Inwangsan (© Susann Ahn, 2019)

3.4 Master narrative of landscape restoration

> "Through narration, knowledge of the world is transmitted, individual and collective experiences are preserved and passed on, existential problems and their solutions are addressed, the past and the future are carried into the present, meaning is sought and meaning is given, worlds of imagination and dream as well as states of fear and hope are drafted, and the non-experience is made perceptible."[412]

Through narration, the intangible becomes tangible, and past ideas are carried into the present, says the sociologist Michael Engelhardt.[413] This is indeed the case in the landscape restoration projects of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley.

In this thesis, it is argued that the three landscape restorations do not primarily acquire their historic and cultural significance through physical design elements (e.g. one-to-one reconstructions of a pavilion or a garden), but through the textual context within which the landscape restorations are produced and read, namely the intertextuality of landscapes (see chapter 3 and 4.3).

The cross-case analysis of the three case studies—in particularly the in-depth study of the intertextuality of landscape (municipal documents, brochures, information boards and on-site exhibitions) and the conducted interviews—reveal that narrative mechanisms play a significant role in translating past landscape meanings into the present.

Landscape narratives not only affect the overall concept of restoration projects, but also influence the public acceptance and understanding of particular landscape elements. Within these projects, the narrative transmits past landscape meanings, symbols, and values to the broader public, and serves as argument in urban planning and political discussions. For this purpose, the transformation of the mountains is narrated in an almost biographical manner. The American cultural geographer Peirce Lewis spoke once of landscape as "unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible,

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[412] ["Im Erzählen wird das Wissen über die Welt vermittelt, werden individuelle und kollektive Erfahrungen bewahrt und weitergegeben, werden existentielle Lebensprobleme und deren Lösungen behandelt, werden Vergangenheit und Zukunft in die Gegenwart hinein geholt, erfolgen Sinnsuche und Sinngebung, werden Phantasie- und Traumwelten, Angst- und Hoffnungswelten entworfen und das Nicht-Erfahrbare erfahrbar gemacht"] Engelhardt, Michael, "Narration, Biographie, Identität" [Narration, biography, identity]. In *Lernen und Erzählen interdisziplinär*, ed. Olaf Hartung, Ivo Steininger, Thorsten Fuchs (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011) 39.

[413] Engelhardt, "Narration, Biographie, Identität" [Narration, biography, identity], 39.

visible form."[414] Like many other researchers,[415] Lewis supports the notion that a landscape can be read like a book, provided that one knows how to decipher the signifying system.[416] The *idea of reading landscape* was elaborated on by the American naturalist May Theilgaard Watts in her book 'Reading the landscape' as early as 1957:

> "The records are written in forests, in fencerows, in bogs, in playgrounds, in pastures, in gardens, in canyons, in tree rings. The records were made by sun and shade, by wind, rain, and fire, by time; and by animals. As we read what is written on the land, finding accounts of the past, predictions of the future, and comments on the present, we discover that there are many interwoven strands of each story, offering several possible interpretations."[417]

Since then, *reading landscape* has become an internationally accepted theorem, in cultural geography as well as in landscape studies, and landscape architecture. The underlying assumption of this theorem is that landscape is not only constructed through physical conditions, but also reflects social, cultural and ideological constructions. This concept of landscape has spread since the beginning of the twentieth century, especially through the writings of the American cultural geographer Carl Ortwin Sauer and the Berkeley School.[418] Sauer regarded landscape as "a land shape, in which the process of shaping is by no means thought of as simply physical. It may be defined, therefore, as an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural."[419] By reading or studying the landscape, conclusions on historical, cultural and social conditions, prerequisites, and power relations can be deduced. However, while May Theilgaard Watts studied the landscape in a first-hand reading, Carl O. Sauer introduced the reading of the landscape with the aid of additional sources, such as archive material, historical records, poems, paintings, and landscape

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[414] Lewis, Peirce, "Axioms for reading the landscape," *In The interpretation of ordinary landscapes: geographical essays*, ed. Donald W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1.

[415] For instance, Mae Theilgaard Watts, Carl O. Sauer, Donald W. Meinig, Denis Cosgrove, James and Nancy Duncan etc.

[416] Lewis, "Axioms for reading the landscape," 1–2.

[417] Watts, May Theilgaard, *Reading the Landscape of America* (Rochester: Nature Study Guild Publishers, 1957), ix.

[418] Cf. Sauer, Carl Ortwin, "The Morphology of Landscape (1925)," In *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, ed. John Leighly (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[419] Sauer, Carl Ortwin, "The Morphology of Landscape (1925)," 321.

images.[420] For Sauer, landscape was thus interpreted as a construct, shaped by different political, cultural, social, and various physical levels. To address the complex superimposition of all of these layers, the image of the palimpsest, a medieval document, is often used as a metaphor, and was coined by cultural geographers such as Donald W. Meinig, Michael P. Conzen, Denis Cosgrove as well as architectural historians such as André Corboz.[421] Just like a palimpsest that has been scraped, washed and rewritten a thousand times, it is assumed that landscape can also be described, scraped and rewritten. In this way, traces of the past in the landscape can also be erased, or rediscovered and in particular reinterpreted. *Reading landscapes* is always inseparably linked to *interpreting landscape*, which means that the reading is never neutral, and displays, to a certain extent, the views and preconceptions of the interpreter.

In Korean landscape restoration projects, *landscape reading and landscape interpretation* obtains a new status: They are no longer only part of a theoretic debate, which takes place far away from design practice in the ivory covered towers of academia. The practice of *reading and interpreting landscapes* instead become directly incorporated into the landscape restoration projects.

The interpretation of landscape transformations presented on information boards and in exhibitions on site immediately shapes the understanding of the site and the design. Thus, it directly influences the perception of the visitors, and actively promotes a prefabricated way to look at the restoration project. In the restoration projects of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley, the cultural, social, and structural transformation processes—in particular processes of colonial overwriting, erasure, and cultural redescription—are presented in a narrative way. The preface of the exhibition catalogue of *Namsan Mountain, the Power of Place* also displays that reading and interpreting changes plays a significant role within these projects. Here, Kang Hong-bin, the Director of the Seoul Museum of History, writes:

> "We focus on the relationship between place and the spirit of the times. By tracing back changes of Namsan, we would ruminate on historical meaning and its reflection through changes of Namsan. We believe that understanding a place

[420] Cf. West, Robert, *Carl Sauer's fieldwork in Latin America* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979); Meinig, D. W., ed., *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes: geographical essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1–7; Duncan and Duncan, "Doing Landscape Interpretation," 227–228.

[421] Cf. Meinig, Donald W., ed., *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes: geographical essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Conzen, Michael P., ed., *The Making of the American Landscape* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1; Cosgrove, Denis, and Daniels, Stephen, ed., *The iconography of landscapes. Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 8; Corboz, André. "The Land as Palimpsest." *Diogenes 31, No. 121* (1983):12–34.

> is reading our history, and taking care of a place is directly connected to designing the present and future."[422]

The visitors of the landscape restoration projects, however, do not have to be familiar with the *Landscape Reading* of Naksan, Namsan and Suseongdong themselves. In these projects, it is rather presented in the form of landscape narratives in a comprehensive and well-prepared form. The Landscape Restoration Projects in Seoul thus follow a trend that has gained popularity in Europe and America since the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s, for example, Andrew Shanken, Bruno Notteboom and a number of other academics have begun to explore and design the city from a narrative perspective.[423] Especially since the 1980s, a number of landscape design projects have placed narration at the center of their work.[424] The narrative has not only been attributed with the function of connecting the tangible and the intangible, but also with the power to reform our conventions in how we see things:

> "Narrative is a very fundamental way people shape and make sense of experience and landscapes. Stories link the sense of time, event, experience, memory and other intangibles to the more tangible aspects of place. Because stories sequence and configurate experience of place into meaningful relationships, narrative offers ways of knowing and shaping landscapes not typically acknowledged in conventional documentation, mapping, surveys, or even the formal concerns of design."[425]

Although the connection between spatial perception and narrative is increasingly pointed out in architectural contexts, investigation of narratives is in the domain of linguists and historians. Therefore, this thesis looks into theoretical frameworks from the fields of linguistics, semiology, and history to get a deeper understanding of the underlying mechanisms.

The Realm of Master Narratives

If one analyzes the structure of the narration within the restoration projects, a linear, selective, one-dimensional perspective, and a historiographical large-scale interpretation of a certain era stands out. Historians call this kind of narration a master narrative or in German

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[422] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 5.

[423] Havik, Klaske; Notteboom, Bruno, and Wit, Saskia. "Narrating Urban Landscapes." *Oase #98* (2017):3.

[424] Potteiger, Matthew, and Purinton, Jamie, *Landscape Narratives: Design Practices for Telling Stories* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998), ix.

[425] Potteiger and Purinton, *Landscape Narratives: Design Practices for Telling Stories*, ix.

Meistererzählung.[426] Both terms can be traced back to the term *meta narrative*, which was coined by the American historian Hayden White.[427] White examined major historical oeuvres[428] and explicitly demonstrated how the use of narrative representations influences the historiography.[429] Following White's argumentation, narratives offer a strategy for solving the problem of communicating meanings across cultures:

> "Narrative might well be considered a solution to a problem of general human concern, namely, the problem of how to translate knowing into telling, the problem of fashioning human experience into a form assimilable to structures of meaning [⋯] We may not be able fully to comprehend specific thought patterns of another culture, but we have relatively less difficulty understanding a story coming from another culture, however exotic that culture may appear to us. [⋯] This suggests that far from being one code among many that a culture may utilize for endowing experience with meaning, narrative is a metacode, a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted."[430]

Hayden White was one of the first to point out the remarkable effects of congruent and coherent narrative representations in historiographical works.[431] Several postmodern and poststructuralist scholars took up White's conceptualization of *meta narrative* and elaborated on this theory to examine specific patterns in historiographies.[432]

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[426] Pohl, Walter, "Ursprungserzählungen und Gegenbilder" [Creation Narratives and Counter Images], In *Meistererzählungen vom Mittelalter*, ed. by Frank Rexroth (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), 29; Jarausch, Konrad H., and Sabrow, Martin, "Meistererzählung—Zur Karriere eines Begriffs" [Master Narrative—On the Career of a Term] In *Die historische Meistererzählung*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch, and Martin Sabrow (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 2011), 9.

[427] White, Hayden, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973).

[428] Hayden White refers to the following works: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1838); Jakob Christoph Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1878); Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Dawn of the Renaissance* (1924); and Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1972).

[429] Cf. White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973); White, Hayden. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." *Critical Inquiry, Vol. 7, No. 1* (1980):5–27.

[430] White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," 5–6.

[431] White, *Metahistory*, 4.

[432] Cf. Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir* [The Postmodern Condition. A Report on Knowledge]; Megill, Allan. "'Grand narrative' and the Discipline of History." In *A New Philosophy of History*, ed. Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Jarausch, Konrad H., and Sabrow, Martin, ed. *Die historische Meistererzählung. Deutungslinien der deutschen Nationalgeschichte nach*

This led to differentiation of four distinct levels of conceptualization, which are, according to the historian Allen Megill:

> "1) *narrative proper*;
> 2) *master narrative* or synthesis, which claims to offer the authoritative account of some particular segment of history;
> 3) *grand narrative*, which claims to offer the authoritative account of history generally;
> 4) *meta narrative* (most commonly, belief in God or in a rationality somehow immanent in the world), which serves to justify the grand narrative."[433]

If one follows Megill's classification, it can be argued that the historic representations within the case studies of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley resemble a *master narrative*, namely a compulsory representation of a particular period of history. A *master narrative* is, according to the historians Jarausch and Sabrow, "a coherent representation of history, endowed with an unambiguous perspective and a historical representation oriented towards the nation state, whose sphere of influence is not only limited to educational effects within one discipline, but also acquires public dominance."[434] *Master narratives* are characterized by a constructive nature, as Jarausch and Sabrow point out.[435] They argue that this is a historiography "which can never depict 'the' past, but must always superimpose the contemporary point of view on it."[436] It is exactly this style of representation that is found in the narratives of the landscape restorations of Naksan, Namsan and Suseongdong Valley. By means of repetition, congruence, coherence and one-dimensionality, the stories of the landscape restoration projects reveal their power of persuasion as truths of faith that are accepted unquestioningly.

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1945 [The historical master narrative. Lines of Interpretation of the German National History after 1945] (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 2011).

[433] Megill, "'Grand narrative' and the Discipline of History," 152–153.

[434] Jarausch and Sabrow, "Meistererzählung—Zur Karriere eines Begriffs" [Master Narrative—On the Career of a Term], 16. ["eine kohärente, mit einer eindeutigen Perspektive ausgestattete und in der Regel auf den Nationalstaat ausgerichtete Geschichtsdarstellung, deren Prägekraft nicht nur innerfachlich schulbildend wirkt, sondern öffentliche Dominanz erlangt"]

[435] Ibid., 12.

[436] Ibid. ["die niemals 'die' Vergangenheit abbilden kann, sondern ihr immer die eigene gegenwartsbestimmte Sichtweise überstülpen muss."]

3.4.1 On repetition, coherence and congruence

The comparison of the information boards and the municipal documents of the landscape restorations Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley highlights not only that landscape stories are an inherent part of Seoul's landscape restoration projects, but also that these stories all follow a shared pattern of interpretation and narration. This pattern becomes obvious in the different media (exhibitions, municipal documents, brochures) in each case study, and equally between the three case studies.

The coherency in their representation should not be taken for granted, as the three cases differ in essential attributes: The restoration of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley were initiated in different time periods and by different agents. There is a time separation of five to ten years between each project, and they were each supported by different mayors and governing periods in Seoul. The restoration of Namsan was initiated during the term of mayor Goh Kun in 1990, the restoration of Naksan started during the term of mayor Cho Soon in 1995, and restoration of Suseongdong Valley was launched during the term of mayor Oh Se-hoon in 2007. Second, the projects are different in size and location.[437] And third, they are associated with different symbolic and political levels of influence. The restoration of Namsan is the most famous, since Namsan's history relies both, on national and international drivers. The level of impact of the restoration of Naksan is comparatively smaller, as it is primarily associated with national development policies, such as migration policy within Korea. The restoration of Suseongdong Valley primarily relies on a local level of influence, as it is primarily related to urban development decisions of the municipality.

Thus, it is all the more remarkable that the three projects present repetitive stories with congruent plots. According to the social and literary critic Edward M. Forster, a plot is called in linguistic theories a narrative of events in which the weight is on causality.[438] While a story is considered "a narrative of events arranged in their time-sequence"[439]. Hayden White describes the connection between story and plot as follows: "There can be no explanation in history without a story, so too there can be no story without a plot by which to make of it a story of a particular kind."[440] Thus, a story refers always to the level of content and not to the level of expression.[441]

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[437] Namsan: 2,971,000 square meters; Naksan: 198,387 square meters; Suseongdong: 9833 square meters.

[438] Forster, Edward M., Aspects of the Novel (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), 130.

[439] Ibid.

[440] White, Hayden, "Interpretation in History," *New Literary History, Vol. 4, No. 2* (1998):297.

[441] Neder, Pablo, *Markennarrative in der Unternehmenskommunikation* [Narrative branding in corporate communications] (Wiesbaden: Springer Gabler, 2017), 13–14.

One of the crucial points in this thesis is the argument that the three landscape restoration projects have a common plot, in which essential aspects are congruent in content and causality. This influences the landscape perception in an ideological manner. This observation is by no means intended to devalue the professionalism of the involved landscape architects, architects, and historians, or to diminish the volume of work that was done for these projects. It is acknowledged that all the people involved in a project, and even the researcher, cannot always avoid the influence of precognition and preconceptions, especially when they are an intrinsic part of the belief system. In fact, the historian Frank Rexroth argues that any perception of the past is controlled by existing mindsets and patterns of interpretation which are often more implicit than explicit.[442]

Thus, holding an outsider's perspective can help in identifying existing patterns of interpretation and narration which shape our understanding of the environment.[443] In this regard, this thesis can elucidate these unconscious or conscious patterns as well as the cultural conceptions that effect both, the restoration project and our understanding of this particular landscape.

Through the cross-case analysis of municipal documents, exhibitions, and interviews, a major narrative pattern among all three case studies can be identified, which is called in this thesis, the *Master Narrative of Landscape Restoration*. This narrative is based on a shared plot that can be divided into the following three acts:

Act 1: The Glorification of Landscape in the Joseon dynasty

This first act aims to transmit a distinct attitude towards a landscape and landscape elements that is linked to the Joseon dynasty. It depicts an affirmative landscape image, that is related to cultural, historical and scenic values. Joseon's landscape is depicted in a picturesque and glorified manner. This is expressed through the use of adjectives such as "beautiful"[444] "sacred" [445] and "holy."[446] This landscape image is derived from *pungsu-jiri* theories and political philosophies of famous officers of the Joseon dynasty, and as well as from cultural assets including poems and paintings. The cultural and political function of certain landscape

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[442] Rexroth, Frank, ed., *Meistererzählungen vom Mittelalter* [Master Narratives of the Middle Ages], 5.

[443] The outsider's perspective might be helpful in identifying unconscious patterns that are hard to detect if one is part of the system, but it brings also lot of other blind spots in research. To reduce as many blind spots and pitfalls as possible, the methodology involves a mix of narrated interviews of 'insiders', document analysis and field surveys (see chapter 1.2).

[444] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 10.

[445] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 18.

[446] Ibid.

elements during Joseon dynasty are highlighted through statements that the mountain secures "the prosperity of the nation and its people"[447] played "a key role in defending Hanyang against invading forces"[448] and was "an important factor in determining Hanyang as the capital."[449] The political and cultural functions are superimposed with a picturesque landscape image which is expressed by descriptions such as "a peaceful and deep valley with a mountain stream and an outstanding rock, which is an excellent place for enjoyment and leisure in the summer"[450] or "clean and quiet streams in the valleys with many evergreen trees."[451] Joseon's landscape is idealized, and presented in an affirmative manner, while negative events related to the landscape or the site that occurred during the 500-yearlong dynasty are omitted. Ultimately, the visitor and reader receives a romanticized image of the past.

Act 2: The devastation of the landscape in the twentieth century

The second act contains the first turning point in the story. This is linked to a temporal and political rupture. In particular, it is linked to the end of the Joseon dynasty and the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, which accelerated social, economic and environmental transformations. Landscape elements, mountains and rivers, are depicted—in a personified manner—as victims of political power struggles, and predominant aspirations, but also of rapid transformation processes, including urbanization and modernization processes. The 'fate' of the land is allegorically compared with the 'fate' of the Korean people. The hegemonic policy of the Japanese colonial government is denounced for destroying the landscape, while migration and urban development processes linked to industrialization and modernization are held responsible for the transformation of Seoul's landscape. Overall, any transformation, whether caused by internal or external forces, is seen negatively and described as "landscape damage". Statements like "many high-rise buildings were built around Namsan, destroying its natural landscape" [452] send unmistakable messages of how transformation processes should be understood.

Ultimately, this opens up a sphere of conflict, triggered by internal and external forces of the twentieth century. The perspective of landscape destruction, which is closely linked to historical events of the twentieth century, is set as counterpole to the perspective of landscape

[447] Ibid, 13.
[448] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 14.
[449] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.
[450] *Hangyeong-jiryak* [한경지략, 권 2] in: Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments, and to the Restoration of Suseongdong Valley*, 1.
[451] Naksan Permanent Exhibition, *Naksan Gallery*, Seoul, Oct. 17, 2017.
[452] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 120.

glorification, which is associated with the Joseon dynasty. This contrasting juxtaposition constitutes the foundation for 3rd act, namely the restoration of Seoul's landscape.

Act 3: The restoration of Seoul's landscape

This act is offering a way out of the previously described misery of landscape destruction. However, the way out is not brought through a change of perspective, through new historical assessments, or through recognizing positive achievements of the twentieth century. The solution is brought through the act of restoration and regeneration. According to the historian Walter Pohl, often the dramaturgy of master narratives are based on introduction of collective protagonists that are supposed to remain true to themselves which means, in other words, they should keep their initial identity.[453] This statement can be applied not only to people, but also to landscape elements, as they function also as protagonists in the stories of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley. This is especially the case when landscape elements are personified and seen as part of an organic whole (see chapter 4.1). This conceptualization of landscape nourishes the idea that landscapes can be wounded or healed. Thus, in the case of Naksan, Namsan and Suseongdong Valley the idea is that the mountains recover by restoring them to their natural states. Restoring the natural state of the mountain, however, refers not only to ecological ideals, but also included historical and cultural values, and in particular the sphere of the emotions. Thus, the aim is also to recover from historic traumas, in other words, to heal the wounds of the colonial past.

The narrative of landscape restoration is constructed in a particular way that the single parts relate both chronologically and causally to one another. Historical events are arranged, ranked and assessed to bring past and present actions together in a meaningful and organized manner. However, as in any good story, only certain meanings and events are highlighted and interconnected with each other, while others are omitted. A coherent representation[454] and one-dimensional perspective indicates that the story of Namsan, Naksan und Suseongdong Valley functions as *master narrative*.[455] Whether intentionally or unintentionally, the narrative of landscape restoration uses classic narrative patterns of Korean historiography. Themes like 'the rise and decay of the Korean culture' or 'the assimilation of the Korean society' are quite

[453] Pohl, "Ursprungserzählungen und Gegenbilder" [Creation Narratives and Counter Images], 33.

[454] In this thesis, the term 'coherence' refers to a consistency of content and semantic relationships in multiple sentences or a literary work. (cf. Martínez, Matías, "Erzählen" [Narration]. In *Handbuch Erzählliteratur: Theorie, Analyse, Geschichte*, ed. Martínez, Matías, (Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 2011), 3)

[455] Rexroth, Frank, ed., *Meistererzählungen vom Mittelalter* [Master Narratives of the Middle Ages], 5.

common in Korean literature.[456] The logical concatenation 'rise—fall—restoration' is familiar to many people, and moreover, it confirms fundamental epoch-making assumptions and national views.

3.4.2 One-dimensionality and hidden narrations

Organizing, weighing and valuing are indispensable when telling a story. However, in the case of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley these activities have led to a one-dimensional representation of history. Alternative representations or *hidden stories* play hardly any role in the official narrative of landscape restoration. In this thesis, the term *hidden stories*[457] is used to describe narratives which relativize the conclusions of the master narrative or challenge the historiography partially or as a whole, and therefore have been untold, disregarded or ignored so far. However, the *hidden stories* are interwoven with the *master narrative* throughout time and space. Similar to looking through a kaleidoscope, the hidden stories depict reality through different filters, some with greater and some with lesser distortion. Thus, the content of *hidden stories* has to be regarded with the same caution as the content of a master narrative, since they also follow premises of weighing and omission. In this respect, neither the hidden stories—nor the master narrative—possess the ultimate claim to 'truth'. Rather, they provide insights into several kinds of truths and different realities.

The exhibitions, municipal brochures and information boards of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley, however, do not offer any alternative perspective outside of the interpretation of the official authority. Of course not every hidden story can be shown within a landscape restoration project, since the number of hidden stories would be infinite if one searched long enough. Nonetheless, abandoning the one-sided perspective would be an important factor in any discussion of cultural and historical heritage, and hence local identity. Examples of *hidden stories* and a change of perspective are given by six former residents, referred as the women of Naksan, who were interviewed in course of this research.[458]

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[456] Cf. Göthel, Ingeborg, *Der Untergang des alten Korea* [The fall of ancient Korea] (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1996); Henry, Todd, Assimilating Seoul. Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014)

[457] The term 'hidden story' is frequently used in scientific works, but no uniform definition could be found. Usually the term 'hidden story' is used to reveal uncounted, unnoticed or ignored narratives, or to reveal new contexts, hidden patterns, or unconventional insights into an object of research.

[458] In 2017 three women were interviewed; in 2018 the interview was repeated in order to verify the results. The three women interviewed in 2017 were joined by three other former residents in 2018. However, the main speakers in both interviews were the women who participated in both interviews.

49 | Apartments on Naksan, 1972
(© Seoul Metropolitan Government, Aerogis Seoul)

The women of Naksan

By now, they are between 70 and 80 years old. Most of them left *Jongno-district* long ago. However, they return to Naksan at least once a week, often daily. There, they meet at the last house on the mountain, just before Naksan Park begins. They sit comfortably under a deciduous tree on an elevated stone terrace in front of a small wooden house, which nestles close to the border of the park. They mention "when the local grandmothers want to relax, they come to this place"[459] They spent many hours together exchanging memories and news, and observing the visitors that came to the park. In the past, they all lived in the residential buildings on Naksan's mountain top. They remember vividly twenty-nine, five-story *Dongsung citizen apartment buildings*, five *Naksan citizen apartment buildings*, five *Jeungsan apartment buildings* for the middle class and two *Gija apartments* for wealthier people that were built on the hilltop at the end of the 1960s.[460] They recount that there were no elevators in the citizens

[459] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:10:25)
[460] Ibid., (00:00:34 – 00:02:30)

apartment buildings, and the individual flats were very small.[461] Typically, one apartment was only about eight *pyeong* (26.4 square meter) in size. The bathroom was outside the single flats and had to be shared with the neighbors of the same floor. There was only one bath per story for men and one for women.[462] In contrast, the *Gija apartment buildings* were more luxurious. "I heard that many reporters lived in the *Gija apartment*",[463] one woman says, and another woman adds "*Gija apartments* were for rich families."[464] However, none of the women who were interviewed lived there. Most of them lived in the less comfortable citizens apartment buildings.

Five of the women used to live in the *Dongsung citizen apartment buildings*, and another in the *Jeungsan apartment buildings*. The *Jeungsan apartment*, was more or less for the middle class. Although they were not quite as luxurious as the *Gija apartment buildings*, each flat had its own bathroom and had a size of between nine *pyeong* and eighteen *pyeong* (which equals between 29.7 and 59.5 square meters).[465] The women remember "There were a lot of people. I liked the time. [⋯] Everyone came from a different provinces—from *Jeolla-do*, *Jeollanam-do*, *Chungcheong-do*, *Gyeonggi-do*."[466] Although life in the apartments was very tedious and bitter in the beginning, many women also had good memories of that time: "In the 70s, the apartment buildings were still new [⋯] it was not uncomfortable at all, since there was a market on top of the mountain, and also a pharmacy."[467] They remember that in front of the pharmacy, vegetables were sold on the street at a small stand, and the top of the mountain held a fruit shop, a small hospital, a public bathhouse. "Everything was there!"[468] one of the women claims enthusiastically. However, they continue to report that all these facilities disappeared with the construction of the park:

> "There was a vegetable market, and a market that sold out various things, but when the apartment buildings were torn down, these were also gone with the wind."[469]

They remember particularly vividly the good community that existed in the neighborhood. It was common to leave the front doors open and to help each other. "There were ten households on each floor. If you didn't have rice, they would lend you a bowl. We ate handmade noodles,

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[461] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:08:38)
[462] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:02:22 – 00:02:26)
[463] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:02:33)
[464] Ibid., (00:02:33)
[465] Ibid., (00:03:10 – 00:06:29
[466] Ibid., (00:04:26)
[467] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:04:12)
[468] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:05:13)
[469] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:04:33)

called *sujebi*, and pancakes—we all shared"[470] one woman reports, while another jokes "I couldn't eat any delicious food at home. They would all come when they smelled it."[471] However, construction damage occurred after a while because the buildings were built with cheap materials and in a rush. For instance, rainwater dropped on the floor in the toilet, one of the women remembers.

> "They didn't fix it, they didn't paint it, and I heard the government saying that they didn't want to see the houses anymore, because they were too old."[472]

They recall when the Seoul Metropolitan Government decided that the *Dongsung citizen apartments* would be demolished, and explain that residence permits were given to the people. Thus, many of the former residents moved to *Sangam-dong* at the western outskirts of Seoul.[473] With the permits, they received new and larger apartments of between ten and twelve *pyeong* (33–39.6 square meters).[474] Some of these permits were sold illegally, but those who moved to *Sangam-dong* could usually make a profit, as the house prices continuously went up. They remember that as interim solution, the families often first had to move into an apartment close to their old apartment, for instance to *Ssangye-dong*, until the buildings in *Sangam-dong* were finished.

> "People with enough money would move to Sangam-dong, and people in need of money could sell the apartment, so a protest wasn't necessary. […]There was no fight or anything like that."[475]

One thing that they regret was that the good neighborhood was torn apart, and that the sense of community vanished with the buildings. One woman says, "every time one [building] was torn down, the neighborhood was different. […] They did not do it at once, they broke off some of them, then they ripped off a few more apartments. […] it was not the building to be sad about, but everybody moved away!"[476] To understand more about the residents, and get an impression of who lived in this neighborhood, two women are portrayed in more detail.

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[470] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:21:06)
[471] Ibid., (00:21:16)
[472] Ibid., (00:07:56)
[473] Interview 181011_GEN_PROF (00:12:34)
[474] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:07:33)
[475] Ibid., (00:06:01)
[476] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:11:25)

A resident of Jeungsan apartment

About thirty years ago, Mrs. Gyeon[477] lived in one of the *Jeungsan apartment buildings*. She recounts "I came in the 1970s from *Yeoju, Gyeonggi-do*. I was going to be 22."[478] Just before her birthday, in June 1970, her youngest son was born, and in September of the same year they moved to Naksan.

> "When I came here, I was appalled. How do I get water here, how could I heat my room? I took a taxi up to the mountain, and became dizzy." [479]

At first, they planned to move into Naksan citizen apartment building, but ended up in one of the *Jeungsan apartment buildings*. "My husband said that the citizen apartments stank. That's why we paid 300,000 won as deposit. In the *Jeungsan apartment buildings* we had our own bathroom, and it was clean."[480] She still remembers the smell in the citizen apartment buildings today: "Men's toilet, women's toilet, grinded kimchi and cabbage; the smell was tough."[481] To heat the house, they used briquettes, then they got electricity, she continues to report. The apartment also had a water supply, but the water didn't come out well, so she always went to the public bathroom to do her laundry. She was happy that she could afford a flat in one of the *Jeungsan apartment buildings* which were associated with the middle-class, although she had to share the fifty square meter flat with six other family members. Remembering her time in the *Jeungsan apartment buildings* she comes to the conclusion:

> "When I first came here, I didn't know how to get water, but in the end, it was good to come and live here."[482]

When her apartment was torn down, and Naksan was converted into a park, she and her family moved to *Sangam-dong*. However, she still keeps coming back to spend time with her friends who also used to live on Naksan.

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[477] The name changed for reasons of anonymity.

[478] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:13:45)

[479] Ibid., (00:14:13)

[480] Ibid., (00:16:08))

[481] Ibid., (00:19:43)

[482] Ibid., (00:14:40 – 00:15: 54)

A resident of Dongsung citizen apartment

Unlike Mrs. Gyeon, Mrs. Juh[483] continued to live around Naksan. She is a small, energetic woman with a weathered face. Originally, she came from the southwest of Korea, from Jeolla-do, as she proudly emphasizes. "I got married when I was 22, and came to Seoul,"[484] she says. That was over fifty years ago. She is now 73 years old. Despite warnings of her friends, she moved from the countryside to Seoul and ended up on Naksan at the end of the 1960s.

> "Because it is Seoul, I thought that it was very glamorous and wonderful. […] But when I came here, there was a shanty town on top of the mountain. I was so disappointed, I was shocked."[485]

She and her husband were able to rent a small flat in the *Dongsung citizen apartments*, but the disappointment with her living situation was overwhelming.[486] She remembers, "I cried a lot."[487] She had four children, two sons and two girls, but had to stay in the small apartment. "Our apartment was too small for us now with four kids. No one was ready to provide us a home big enough for us. Only a basement apartment was available for us."[488] At first, they wanted to move away, but they could not get a residence permit for a new apartment as they were only tenants. Later, her husband's work made them to stay in the area. Her husband was a technician, and was in charge of finishing some construction work.

> "It was our dream to have a house. I kept working in restaurants, and finally, we bought a small house down there. […] It was 43 square meters big, 300,000,000 won. I saved up more money and bought another 23 square meter house behind it and combined them. My kids grew up there."[489]

She says that her house, where she still lives, was actually built illegally, as it was located on public land. When all the apartment buildings and other illegal houses were gradually pulled

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[483] The name changed for reasons of anonymity.
[484] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:00:46)
[485] Ibid., (00:30:18)
[486] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:02:50)
[487] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:31:30)
[488] Ibid., (00:31:30)
[489] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:03:07)

down in the course of the restoration project, she went to the mayor and convinced him to let her keep her house:

> "Originally, this plot of land was also part of the park, but we begged to keep the house. [⋯] I like it! Isn't it fine? I like it because it feels like a hometown."[490]

The interview of the women reveals the multifaceted and sometimes inconsistent relation to Naksan that has changed over time, from a place of distaste to a place which gives them a strong identity, a sense of hometown, and community. This relation is strong enough that they return every week. Conflicting feelings about this landscape restoration became visible, when they were asked about their opinion regarding Naksan park. Mrs. Gyeon and Mrs. Juh mentioned that the park is indeed beautiful, especially because of the clean air and the wonderful smell of the pine trees.[491] However, when they were asked how often they take a walk in the park, Mrs. Juh, who lives right at the edge of the park, says:

> "I have never been in the park since the completion of the construction work [⋯] it's not necessary, because I know the mountain very well."[492]

Besides the hidden stories of the women of Naksan, the story of *Okin Collective* provides another interesting perspective on the matter of landscape restoration and identity.

[490] Ibid., (00:06:27)

[491] Interview 181014_NAK_LOC_1 (00:16:58)

[492] Interview 171106_NAK_LOC_6 (00:06:01)

Okin Collective

"Ultimately, these places were not investment properties for the residents, but places where people actually lived and [which] were full of memories."[493]

Okin Collective is the name of a group of artists which was founded when the demolition of the *Okin model apartments* in Suseongdong Valley was projected.[494] The core of the group consists of the three artists Kim Hwayong, Yi Joungmin, und Jin Shiu. The first meeting of the Okin Collective took place in July 2009 in one of the *Okin model apartments*.[495] The reason they got involved was, because a friend of the artists lived there and was asked to move out, two group members state in an interview conducted for this research.[496] This meeting launched a series of artistic protests and performances, which—documented in a publication and an exhibition—offer an alternative story to the official publications, exhibitions and information boards of the Seoul Metropolitan Government. So far, the story of Okin Collective and the story of Suseongdong landscape restoration have not been juxtaposed in one document; they have always been depicted separately—in different places, at different times and for different audiences. Okin Collective was triggered by the demolition of the Okin model apartments and by the solidarity of the residents who were forced to leave their homes. However, the three key members of the group did not see themselves as active political opponents of the restoration project. They rather took the position of observers and documenters, but they also brought people together and helped them to enter the public realm. From an artistic point of view, they were "interested in looking at and collecting—not naming—the sensibilities that cut through our lives, even if they may appear raw, small or trivial."[497] Under the banner of the Okin Collective, various protest and art actions took place from 2009 to 2012. A total of more than 25 actions were organized,[498] which ultimately revolved around the question: "what does it mean when an apartment complex becomes a park?"[499]

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[493] Ha, Eo Young, "Looking in from the Outside," In Okin Collective [옥인 콜렉티브], ed. Workroom (Seoul: Workroom Press, 2012):26.

[494] Okin Collective, *Okin Collective* [옥인 콜렉티브], ed. Workroom (Seoul: Workroom Press, 2012), 12.

[495] Ibid., 365.

[496] Interview 181015_SUS_OKIN (00:02:17)

[497] Okin Collective in an interview of Art Magazine, Jan 2012, In *Okin Collective*, ed. Workroom (Seoul: Workroom Press, 2012):337.

[498] Okin Collective, *Okin Collective*, 12, 365.

[499] Ha, Eo Young, "Looking in from the Outside," In Okin Collective [옥인 콜렉티브], ed. Workroom (Seoul: Workroom Press, 2012):22.

The first major protest action with residents of *Okin model apartment* and artists, called the *Okin-dong Vacance*, was in August 2009. According to the publication of Okin collective, some of the participants camped on the roof of one of the apartments, started a treasure hunt in half torn-down residences, conducted video screening, and talked to residents over refreshment. Further actions followed, such as exploratory and research walks (Walkie Talkie, 2009) and protest concerts (Unplugged Rap Tour, 2009). For artistic investigations of the historicity of relation to the landscape, a Mt. Inwang Drawing Day was organized in 2010. A painting was made of the mountain from a similar point of perspective as in old Joseon landscape paintings, yet, the pictorial ground of the painting was different: the mountain was painted right on the roof top of one of the buildings to be torn down.[500]

50 | Torn down Okin apartment (© Okin Collective, 2012)

[500] Okin Collective, *Okin Collective*, 46, 60, 71, 82.

In March 2010, the exhibition Okin OPEN SITE was organized by Hwayong Kim, Jooyoung Lee, Eunji Cho, Shiu Jin, Joungmin Yi and Yuk King Tan. For the exhibition, people opened their apartments just before they were demolished. With photographs and texts, they also documented the last minutes before the demolition of Hwayong Kim's apartment when the hydraulic excavator in front of her window was ready to raze the building to the ground. Kim commented on this moment in the publication of Okin Collective:

> "The sweet romance started with a space for the first time in my life. It was an old, but sun filled place, a ground floor and not a damp and dark basement. When the torrid romance reached its climax, I was unilaterally sentenced to a heartbreaking separation. Okin apartments project is my request for consolidation in order to ease my mind. I show the last moments of my space in Okin, as well as the past two years of my prepared farewell to Okin."[501]

The *Bowling for Okin Campaign* in 2010 was inspired by Michael Moore's film *Bowling for Columbine.* For this protest campaign, artists and residents were bowling on the roof of one of the buildings to be demolished. The aim of this protest campaign was to express the uncertain situation that residents experienced as a result of the landscape restoration project, as described in the Okin publication:

> "Forced demolition by developers and urban planners started in mid 2009 and different compensation was given to each resident, while no one knows the exact standards of compensation. No one also knows the full future plans of the Okin site now called 'Eco Park'. Indeed, no one knows what forces them to move, rather like the strike of bowling pins hit by a suddenly rolling ball."[502]

Further on, a Ghost Bar was set up in "a dramatic setting of a half-destroyed home under a beautiful mountain landscape."[503] The artists' actions peaked in the *Okin 5-Minute Manifesto*, that was read on April 16, 2010.

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[501] Okin Collective, *Okin Collective*, 94.

[502] Ibid., 100

[503] Ibid., 112.

51 | Okin protest (© Okin Collective, 2012)

52 | Okin memory (© top: Yuk King Tan; Jooyoung Lee; bottom: Okin collective, 2012)

In the *Okin Manifesto*, the protest was given a voice, but the questions asked were never answered. In the final analysis, the artistic initiative revealed the hidden sides of the restoration projects, which are difficult to grasp and bundle because of their fleeting, individual fates. Summarized in Okin's publication, it's clear that only the memory remains:

> "Even though three years have passed, many of us still remember that afternoon in July 2009 when the surrealistic interior and exterior of the apartments that were full of things left behind by those who had quickly had to leave their homes seemed like a mirage, leaving us speechless. The sorrowful sound of windows being tossed away by demolition workers, coupled with the brilliant scenery of Mt. Inwang in the background in early summer, made it seem as if there was a controlled form of chaos going on, where desire, bewilderment, and fear all coexisted."[504]

The impact of landscape restoration projects on the life of individuals, as well as the discrepancies between individual and governmental power becomes visible in both the Okin Collective's work and the stories of the Naksan women. Moreover, these *Hidden Stories* show that the official narrative of landscape restoration is written mostly form a single perspective which does not include the individual needs, precarious situations or social insecurities of individuals. Often, the landscape restoration is solely displayed as a heroic story. Of course, the benefits of landscape restoration projects for the general public should not be underestimated, and certainly have to be acknowledged, yet it is important to understand that there is another side to landscape restoration, which in general is more hidden: The landscape restoration projects of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley were used to foster Korean identity, but created, at the same time, individual biographies of displacement and uprooting.

3.4.3 Legitimization of political actions

Compared to other stories, the narrative of landscape restoration seems to dominate the public perception. This issue inevitably leads to a discussion about power and political influence. Immediately, the question about the prerogative of interpretation of the past comes into mind. Who, in fact, selects which historical facts, cultural, and natural ideals should be presented in the projects? Which truths of faith and meaning are thus transmitted explicitly or implicitly? In the case of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley, but also in the case of the master plan of

[504] Okin Collective, *Okin Collective*, 12–13.

Yongsan Park mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, it quickly becomes apparent that the narrative of landscape restoration and the projects are closely linked to political interests addressing local, national and even international ideals. The historian Frank Rexroth writes that in the master narratives, one's own meanings or ideological implications are implicitly transported beyond the realm of the factual.[505] In landscape restoration projects, the narrative is often tied to national values and political perspectives rather than to individual and ecological needs. Most landscape restoration projects in Seoul present an act which is more symbolic than an ecological necessity. From a political perspective, the narrative of landscape restoration offers a meaningful argumentation. It shows how urban transformation of the past should to be seen, understood, and assessed. According to the historian Walter Pohl, the master narrative becomes effective through "a coherent framework, in which the conclusions are already available. To a certain extent, this supersedes the need to weigh up alternative interpretations. [...]."[506] However, ready-made conclusions and arguments transmitted through the narrative can easily influence private and public discussions, and provide decisive legitimacy for political action. In the narratives, the view is transmitted that restoring the landscape is almost a national obligation. Since the late 1980s, political legitimacy strategies have become more important in the face of increasing democratization and participation movements (see chapter 2.3). In the end, however, the narrative of landscape restoration is also used to justify the demolition of apartment buildings and the resettlement of citizens. Thus, one could claim that the master narrative of landscape also conveys ideological impulses, as events of the past are interpreted in order to justify political actions. However, the narratives within Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley are not used to promote political actions. At the same time, they aim to create a sense of shared identity and cultural memory for both, those who are joined together as opponents, and those who are advocates of these projects.

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[505] Rexroth, Frank, ed., *Meistererzählungen vom Mittelalter* [Master Narratives of the Middle Ages], 10.

[506] Pohl, "Ursprungserzählungen und Gegenbilder" [Creation Narratives and Counter Images], 31. [einen kohärenten Rahmen [bieten], in dem die Schlußfolgerungen bereits zur Verfügung steht. Das erspart bis zu einem gewissen Grad das Abwägen alternativer Deutungen [...].]

3.4.4 Identification and collective memory

"Something must have emotional impact before it will attract enough attention to be explored."[507]

In Peter B. Jordan's book *Maps of Meaning*, Jordan argues that "the automatic attribution of meaning to things—or the failure to distinguish between them initially—is a characteristic of narrative, of myth, not of scientific thought."[508] The examined narrative emotionally invigorates the place; it promotes a sense of collective identity.

The geographer Charis Lengen and the educational scientist Ulrich Gebhard define the sense of identity and partial identities as "complex structures, which are only partially conscious to the individual, which can be realized through narration, and can also be newly shaped through narration."[509] In the case of Naksan, Namsan and Suseongdong, the narrative attributes specific values and emotions through adjectives such as "encroaching,"[510] "holy,"[511] "appreciated"[512] and "beautiful."[513] These adjectives implicitly or explicitly convey the project authors' preferences and ways of thinking.

The documents of the Seoul Metropolitan Government state that landscape restoration projects are aimed at promoting Korean symbolism and local identity. Emphasizing traditional values, and Korean symbols not only helps to gain broader public acceptance, but also produces a distinct profile of Korea in the global context. As Naksan Park's planning documents claims: "as a cultural center for history, it [Naksan Park] aims to enhance its status and strengthen its [Korea's] global competitiveness."[514] For citizens as well as for tourists, landscape restoration projects offer a glimpse into Korean history, no matter whether the gaze catches the truth or fiction.

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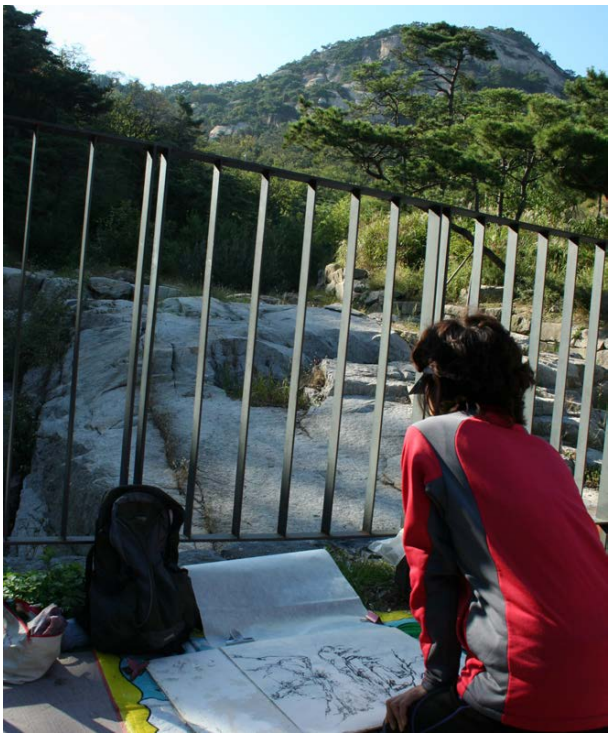
[507] Peterson, Jordan B., *Maps of Meaning. The Architecture of Belief* (New York, London: Routledge, 1991), 3.
[508] Ibid., 2.
[509] Lengen, Charis, and Gebhard, Ulrich, "Zum Identitätsbegriff" [On the Concept of Identity]. In *Landschaft, Identität und Gesundheit: Zum Konzept der Therapeutischen Landschaften*, edited by Ulrich Gebhard, and Thomas Kistemann (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), 50. ["komplexe Gebilde, die dem Individuum nur teilweise bewusst sind, erst im Erzählen bewusst und auch neu gebildet werden."]
[510] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration*, 20.
[511] Seoul Museum of History, *Namsan Mountain. The Power of Place*, 18.
[512] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Report: From Joseon's Natural Scenery to Apartments,* 1.
[513] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Story of Naksan*, 10.
[514] Seoul Metropolitan Government. *Basic Plan and Basic Design of Naksan Neighborhood Park*, 29.



53 | Painting Suseongdong Valley (© Susann Ahn, 2016)

Indeed, one interviewee said enthusiastically that she feels like she is travelling back in time when she is in Suseongdong Valley.[515] While saying this, she paints a picture of the restored *Girin bridge* and an information board that explains the story of *Girin bridge*. She claims that she identifies with the past, trying to paint exactly at the place where the famous painter Jeong Seon once stood to paint the bridge.[516] This self-delusion about a common past is an important element of narration,[517] according to geographer Charis Lengen and educationalist Ulrich Gebhard. They also claim that self-delusion can even be regarded as "positive illusion"[518] leading to psychological well-being.[519] Agreeing on a shared history brings collective cohesion and a sense of permanence, especially in the face of past ruptures and overpowering transformation processes, as was the case in Korea. In particular, narratives that transform complex and contradictory experiences of the past into comprehensible themes such as 'rise—fall—restoration' nourish the sense of community and solidarity. In fact, the interviews reveal

[515] Interview 161010_SUS_VIS_1 (00:00:05)

[516] Interview 161010_SUS_VIS_1 (00:00:05)

[517] Lengen and Gebhard, "Zum Identitätsbegriff" [On the Concept of Identity], 51.

[518] Ibid.

[519] Lengen and Gebhard justify their argument by referring to the psychological study of Shelley E. Taylor and Jonathan D. Brown: Taylor, S. E., and Brown, J. D., "Illusion and well-being: A social psychological perspective on mental health," *Psychological Bulletin 103* (1988):193–210.

that the majority of interviewees are able to cite the official narrative of the landscape restoration projects. This is not surprising, as most visitors do not have the time, motivation, or energy to question the narrative which is presented on the information boards, in exhibitions, and in official brochures. After conducting the interviews of the visitors, however, it becomes apparent how quickly certain historical interpretations are accepted as truth, and how quickly these historic interpretations are passed on from person to person. Thus, the *Master Narrative of Landscape Restoration* becomes much more than a simple, insignificant representation of history, it generates distinct meanings and, in the end, shapes our collective memory.

3.5 Conclusion—the power of the narrative

In summary, it is argued in the previous chapters that traditional landscape meanings, symbols and values are primarily transmitted through the means of narration, and not through physical design elements (e.g. one-to-one reconstructions of a pavilion or a garden). As landscape architects are still struggling with the question of how to translate past landscape meanings into the present, this research has investigated specific mechanisms of translation in current landscape restoration projects.

For this purpose, the research looked beyond the limits of landscape architecture, architecture, and design, and drew from theories of linguists, sociologists, cultural geographers and historians. To get a deeper understanding of translation mechanisms, the research focused on the intertextuality of the landscape, namely "the textual context within which landscapes are produced and read."[520] It is believed that investigating the intertextuality of landscape can reveal underlying mechanisms within Seoul's landscape restoration projects that have a lasting effect on our understanding and conceptualization of these places. The research is based on a cross-case analysis, in which three landscape restoration projects in Seoul, were scrutinized with document research in archives, field studies as well as qualitative experts and visitor interviews. All cases are situated within the city center of Seoul, but are different in size, construction period, in terms of supporting political stakeholders, level of influence, and degree of public awareness.

[520] Duncan and Duncan, "Doing Landscape Interpretation," 230.

In the final analysis, the case studies reveal that traditional landscape meanings, symbols and values are primarily transmitted and translated through the means of narration. This is shown by analyzing the intertextuality of the sites, for instance information boards, exhibitions, planning documents, official information brochures of the Seoul Metropolitan Government, but is also validated in numerous interviews of different target groups in the three case studies. As the narrations are presented on site at all three restoration projects, they immediately influence the perception and behavior of the visitors. One could even say that they in a way a have design function, as through narration certain landscape elements can be read, understood and appropriated by the general public. Within the projects, the narrations display the historical transformation of the site. By means of narration, however, not only information about the site and its history are transmitted, but specific information, depending on whether one looks at the structure of the narrations, the basic patterns and messages, or reflects on the author's interpretation. To understand these underlying mechanisms, the thesis uses explanatory theories from the fields of linguistics, semiology, and history. When one analyzes the structure of narrations within the three case studies, a congruent, repetitive, linear, one-dimensional, and large-scale interpretation of certain era stands out. Historians call this kind of narration a master narrative.

Within this thesis, it is shown, on the one hand, that the *Master Narrative of Landscape Restoration*, as I call it, follows a plot that refers to the basic narrative pattern 'rise—fall—restoration,' which confirms fundamental epoch-making assumptions, as well as national messages and views.

On the other hand, the thesis exposes the one-dimensionality of the *Master Narrative of Landscape Restoration*, by uncovering hidden stories of former residents, eyewitnesses, and artists. This also demonstrates the power of the translator or project author, as the *Master Narrative of Landscape Restoration* achieves public dominance, and influences the perception of the visitors. In this way, it actively promotes a prefabricated way of looking at the restoration project, which serves as argument in urban planning debates and as legitimization for political actions such as resettlements. While the landscape restoration projects created individual biographies of displacement and uprooting, at the same time, they promoted a sense of shared identity and cultural memory. By transmitting the traditional values of this shared identity and memory, the landscape restoration projects gain broad public acceptance, while they at the same time establish a distinctive Korean profile.

Following these lines of argument, landscape restoration can be understood primarily as a symbolic act that addresses political perspectives rather than ecological and individual needs. This also becomes visible by looking at single expressions in the master narrative which

promote specific values and emotional attachment, thus making the project more meaningful and the story more memorable. Thus, the *Master Narrative of Landscape Restoration* is extremely important in the translation of past meanings into the present, as it generates distinct historiographies and landscape understandings.

54 | Behind the curtain (© Okin Collective, 2012)

PART 4

CONTESTED SPACE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION

4.1 The concept of mountains in Korea

4.1.1 Mythological strata

4.1.2 Religious and philosophical strata

4.1.3 Geomantic strata

4.1.4 Connotation of mountains

4.2 The concept of parks in Korea

4.2.1 Parks as symbol of modernity

4.2.2 The colonial legacy

4.2.3 The impact of foreign education

4.2.4 Connotation of parks

4.3 The built space: between park and mountain

4.3.1 Close-up perspective of landscape restorations

4.3.2 Distant perspective of landscape restorations

4.4 Conclusion—contested meanings, contested space

4 CONTESTED SPACE OF LANDSCAPE RESTORATION

> "As landscapes evolved, they unmistakably reflect an extraordinary power of transformation and charted a changing relationship with the world around us. They have always mirrored the religious and political forces in society, and each transition demonstrates a response to the sacred beliefs and the technical progress of a given period."[521]

The thesis calls attention to three issues that link the restoration projects together, those being: 1. the vision of restoring the original appearance of the mountain as a symbol of identity, 2. the act of 'emptying the space' or in other words, the act of removing or demolishing houses and infrastructure facilities that do not conform with the vision, and 3. the master narrative of landscape restoration.

Both, the narrative of the landscape restorations and the project visions are guided by the principle of restoring the original appearance and character of the mountains. However, this raises the question of which traditional concepts are considered in determining the original appearance of the mountain. Which spatial and natural ideal, and which meaning is associated with the traditional concept of a mountain that drives the desire for its restoration? Beyond that, there is the question of what kind of space was created in the end? What ideas and meanings are associated with the built results respectively the built parks? Do these associations coincide with the visions of the narrative? These questions are elucidated in this part of the dissertation. Visitor interviews bring to light various landscape meanings and controversies regarding the concept of mountains and parks, which will be explained in subsequent chapters. Analysis of the visitor interviews is, however, insufficient for answering these questions. Rather, the interviews provided the impetus to explore more closely what kind of cultural understanding and which aspects are important for approaching with the concepts of mountains and parks in Korea. The interviews make it clear that in order to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts in landscape restoration projects, it is crucial to have knowledge of the historically and culturally related landscape understandings and vocabulary, as well as a perception of cross-cultural differences. Therefore, in order to obtain a broader basis for argumentation, the statements of the visitors were questioned and clarified by drawing from literature on the history and culture of Korea.

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[521] Girot, Christophe, *The Course of Landscape Architecture: A History of our Designs on the Natural World, from Prehistory to the Present* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2016), 10.

4.1 The concept of mountains in Korea

> "Mountains are special to Koreans. Thus, for a long time, we kept mountains natural, and didn't built a house on top of it. We didn't know that this is ecological, we just followed our natural mind."[522]

In essence, the restoration of Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley could be simply read—in terms of physical material expression—as an accumulation of stones, earth, and plants creating rising ground, and another green space within the city of Seoul. However, of course, the mental concept behind the restored topography, the establishment of new fauna and flora, and of new pathways and roads, is more complex than its mere material expression.

During the interviews, it became clear that Namsan, Naksan, and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley are highly charged with emotions, which stems from the values that are grounded in a general understanding of mountains in the Korean culture. Accordingly, the analysis of the underlying concepts is a key element in understanding these landscape restoration projects.

In fact, mountains, as such, do not represent a neutral space in Korea. They are highly charged with memories, emotions, and meanings of the past. They are deeply integrated into the way of life, as historically they have provided topographical shelter and fresh water, thus securing the survival of the Korean people. In Korean literature, the awareness and significance of the topography is often ascribed to the fact to that in Korea, there is a long tradition of settling at the foot of mountains, creating a long-standing relationship with this particular landscape element.[523]

Kevin Lynch points out that a good environmental image creates a feeling of security for people.[524] This image stems from direct sensations and memories of past experiences, and serves in interpreting information, and navigating actions. In this way, the image gains a practical and emotional significance for the individual. Hence, a good environmental image helps to create a harmonious relationship between oneself and the world. This relationship is not only dependent on the familiarity, but also on distinction and legibility. In other words, it is an orientation system that offers emotional satisfaction, supports communication processes,

[522] Interview 151017_GEN_LA (00:55:00 – 00:58:27)

[523] Choi, Won Suk, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective* [최원석: 사람의 산. 우리 산의 인문학. 그토록 오래 주고받은 관계의 문화사] (Paju: Hangilsa, 2014), 13.

[524] Lynch, Kevin, The Image of the City (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960), 4.

and increases the intensity of human experience. Often these orientation systems are based on the natural structure of the existing environment.[525]

In contrast to other countries, the spatial relationship between mountains and humans in Korea, can be less be ascribed to the overpowering height of mountains, than to the expansion of mountainous areas and the continuity of mountain ranges that stretches across the whole peninsular.[526] On Naksan, one visitor explained his inclination towards mountains by their omnipresence: "around 70% of our land consists of mountains. We have rivers and mountains without end, that's why I love them"[527] (Korean, male, between 60–70 years).

The average altitude of mountains in Korea is only about 482 meters.[528] In fact, only a few mountains in Korea are 1000 meters or higher, and most of those are situated in the eastern and northern parts of the country.[529] *San* is the Korean word for mountain, and part of the denomination of Nam-san, Nak-san and Inwang-san. *San* derives from the Chinese character 山 which is written and pronounced in (Chinese) Hanyu Pinyin as *shān*. The Chinese pictograph character 山 is based on the shape of the mountain, illustrating—in an abstract way—summits that rise above the plane. In East Asia, there is a deeply-rooted relationship between mountains and humans. Higher altitudes have always spurred people's imagination and nourished their search for physical and spiritual recovery. Visitors at Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley have noted that "if I am not feeling well, I come up to the mountain. Once I see the beautiful and natural scenery, I find peace"[530] (Korean, male, between 20–30 years). Other visitors state that "it is important for us to live here seeing mountains" (Korean, female, between 40–50 years). More precise is the statement a Korean who claimed "There exists a certain instinct to find nature... [···] Once you go to the mountain, your spirit becomes relieved, your soul becomes comforted and purified, and the body and mind become healthier. [···] The air is good, but the emotional and psychological effects are more important"[531] (Korean, male, between 50–60 years).

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[525] Ibid., 4–5.

[526] The mountain system in Korea includes the mountain range *Baekdudaegan*, which stretches from the highest mountain Baekdusan (between 2,744 and 2,794 meters above sea level) on the northern border of the North Korea all the way to the southern tip of the Korean peninsula. The continuous ridgeline is often seen as the backbone of the country. The mountains Taebaeksan and Jirisan are the most important mountains in the south.

[527] Interview 171106_NAK_VIS_LOC_4 (00:24:12)

[528] Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture* (Seoul: Hollym, 2009), 18.

[529] Sim, Woo-kyung. "Korean Traditional Gardens as Earthly Paradise." *Acta Horticulturae Vol. 759*, (2007):137.

[530] Interview 171106_NAK_VIS_1 (00:03:31)

[531] Interview 171031_NAK_VIS_3 (00:03:05 – 00:03:53)

Even though this gives only a small insight, the statements of these interviewees confirm a positive mountain-human relationship, which is also expressed in a wide range of literature.[532] The emotional attraction to mountains and nature has been filtered and polished through different mythological, religious, philosophical, geomantic, and political theories and practices. However, in the course of time, mythological, religious, philosophical and geomantic approaches have become intertwined like three threads that form—despite holes and short disentanglement—a strong bond in the mountain-human relationship. In a syncretic way these different approaches have influenced, complemented, and criticized each other. Considering this profound and complex background, it is extremely difficult to give a brief idea of major concepts that shape the relationship to mountainscape in Korea, without falling into the trap of nourishing stereotypes.

4.1.1 Mythological strata

The historian Simon Schama pointed towards the importance of getting an understanding of the endurance of core myths in order "to see the ghostly outline of an old landscape beneath the superficial covering of the contemporary."[533] Culturally rooted conceptualizations of the world, nature, and humans become visible in myths. Unconsciously, they influence our daily routine. Often, they do not operate on a rational level, but rather as emotional triggers.

It was on top of Naksan, when a visitor in an interview conducted for this research commenced to narrate the *Tangun myth* in order to explain the congenitally interplay between mountainscape and the Korean society. He stated "there have been almost 5000 years of history since the *Tangun myth*. It's hard to find a country on earth with such a history. It is important that Koreans acknowledge and understand their roots properly. We have to preserve the roots, and have a responsibility of passing the roots on to our descendants"[534] (Korean, male, between 60–70 years).

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[532] Cf. Choe, Yeong-jun, *Land and Life. A Historical Geographical Exploration of Korea*, translated by Sarah Kim (Fremont: Jain Publishing, 1941); Yoon, Hong-key, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea. An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006); Park, Jinhee, and Hong, John, *Convergent Flux. Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism in Korea* (Basel: Harvard Graduate School of Design and Birkhäuser, 2012); Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*.

[533] Schama, Simon, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Random House, 1995) 16.

[534] Interview 171106_NAK_VIS_LOC_4 (00:05:13 – 00:05:18)

Tangun was grandson of Hwanin. Hwanin was credited with bringing fire, and water, plants, and animals into the world when heaven and earth were intertwined in darkness. By assembling the energy of heaven and the energy of earth, he formed human beings. Hwanin had a son, Hwanung, who wanted to descend from heaven and live in the valleys and mountains on earth. Thus, Hwanin selected Taebaek mountain with its significant peaks, the most sacred place in the world, as a suitable location to bring happiness to humans. Hwanung left heaven together with three heavenly seals, the god of wind, the god of clouds, and the god of rain, and three thousand retainers, and appeared under a sandalwood tree on Taebaek mountain. There, he built the city sin-si, the city of god. His gods of wind, rain, and clouds taught humans a variety of useful arts to establish agriculture, laws, moral principles, and medical treatments.

One day, a tiger and a bear came out of the forest and mountains and approached Hwanung, as they wished to become human beings. Hwanung listened to their prayers and promised to grant the wish if they would follow his advice by avoiding sunlight, and eating only holy food, namely mugwort and garlic, for one hundred days. Then, the tiger and the bear went to a dark cave, and prayed. It was so painful that the tiger ran out of the cave after a while. However, the bear held out, and was transformed into a beautiful woman. The woman was called Ungnyeo. Even though she was thankful to Hwanung, she soon wished to give birth to a baby. Impressed by her prayers and her tenacity, Hwanung decided to grant her wish. He transformed himself into a common man, and married her. After the birth of his son, Hwanung transformed back. The son was named Tangun Wanggom. Tangun became the new ruler of the country, as he was the son of Hwanung, and had inherited the blood of Heaven. He decided to move the capital to a new place and selected the city Asadal. He announced the foundation of a new kingdom according to the will of Heaven, and called the new kingdom Joseon (today: Go-Joseon). Tangun passed the three heavenly seals to his firstborn son, Buru, went up to Heaven, and became a mountain god that protects Taebaek mountain. [535]

The *Tangun myth* was written down for the first time in *Samguk yusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)*, a classical literary work of the Korean Buddhist scholar *Iryeon* (1206–1289) in 1279, who collected in this work examples of oral folktales and myths from early Korean history. At

[535] Cf. Ilyon, *Samguk Yusa. Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, translated by Tae-Hung Ha and Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972), 32–33; Jung, Gyeong-Sook, *Ten Stories of Koreas Birth*, Korean Culture and History Series, translated by Myung-Jun Kim (Seoul: KIATS Press, 2011), 12–31, 32–33.

this time, there is no archaeological evidence which supports the *Tangun myth*, and even the exact place and date seem unclear.[536] However, oral literature, especially creation and founding myths, are deeply rooted in the Korean culture. Tales about gods were especially popular in Korean mythology. Thus, *Tangun myth* has been told throughout generations,[537] as children's tale with a twinkle in the eye, as founding myth, and has sometimes even been mistakenly used as a historical reference.

The *Tangun myth* offers insight into a distinct worldview as well as conceptualizations of the Korean identity. Although details of the *Tangun myth* differ, depending on the author,[538] the core of the myth reveals much of the Korean self-conceptualization as a distinctive ethnic group which shares not only linguistic, cultural and political structures, but also the idea of a joint origin. The historian Michael Seth argues that after the end of Japanese colonial rule, Korean educators and writers used the *Tangun myth* to help create a Korean national identity, that fostered the idea of "the uniqueness of the Korean people and the autonomy of Korean culture."[539] Despite criticism and discussion, the *Tangun myth* was integrated into the political rhetoric and even into the Korean education system for a certain time during the post-war period. In the textbooks, however, it was integrated in an inconsistent form, sometimes as legend, and sometimes as part of Korean history.[540] During the presidency of Park Chung-hee, the *Tangun myth* lost its influence in education textbooks, but as Seth argues, now and then "his [Tangun's] spirit was still conjured up in support of various national causes or to define 'Koreanness' in whatever way the regime found suitable."[541] For instance, according to Seth, the Korean government planned to erect a Tangun statue on top of Namsan in 1966 to "infuse the national spirit into the mind of the people."[542] Although the Tangun statue on Namsan was not realized, due to opposing voices from Christian stakeholders, a smaller *Tangun shrine* was erected at the foot of Inwangsan next to *Sajikdan*, the altar for the Korean gods of land and grains, which is located until today in *Sajik Park* (see chapter 4.2). That the *Tangun myth* still plays a role in South Korea, even today is demonstrated by the *National Foundation Day* on October 3. This national holiday commemorates to the formation of the first Korean kingdom that was said to be created by *Tangun* in 2333 BC. Although the settlement of the Korean

[536] Seth, Michael. "Myth, Memory and Reinterpretation in Korea: The Case of Tan'gun," Center for Korean Studies Peking University *Collected Papers of the Study of Korea 22* (2013):113.
[537] Lee, Jung Young, *Korean Shamanistic Rituals* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1981), 13.
[538] Cf. Ilyon, *Samguk Yusa*; Jung, *Ten Stories of Koreas Birth*, 12–31; *Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture Vol. III* (Seoul: National Folk Museum of Korea, 2014), 31–32.
[539] Seth, "Myth, Memory and Reinterpretation in Korea," 113.
[540] Ibid., 115–116.
[541] Ibid., 117.
[542] Ibid.

peninsula commenced much earlier, according to historians, the year 2333 BC is taught by some official textbooks as the birth of Korean civilization when "the first chapter of the history of Korean people was opened."[543] National Foundation Day, or in Korean *Gaecheonjeol* refers to the day when *Hwanung* came down from heaven to *Taebaek mountain*.[544] The mountain is perceived in the myth as a sacred place, as a place of spiritual encounter, as a place between the natural world and heaven. Furthermore, the myth naturalizes the mountain as archetypical place of birth and death, both, on a national as well as on an individual level. Thus, *Tangun* myth was taken as reference by the visitor at Naksan to explain the relationship between mountainscape and Korean society.

4.1.2 Religious and philosophical strata

Besides mythological influences, the meaning and affection for the mountains in Korea is based on a religious and philosophical strata. Two significant directions can be identified in Korea: a) shamanistic thinking and practices that provide a framework for an indigenous faith and worship of nature, b) Chinese and Korean schools of philosophy that provided key concepts for a holistic and cosmic worldview, including a mutual relation between humans and nature.

Shamanism

Shamanistic beliefs and practices have a long tradition in Korea. *Tangun* is sometimes associated as the "archetype of shamans"[545] based on his ancestry. *Tangun* became a Mountain God or *sansin*, the most important deity in Shamanism to guard the village, keep security and peace. The source for shamanism in Korea is still disputed by various scholars.[546] In general, a single source for shamanism is questionable, as not only shamanistic, but also magical, spiritual, and cultic phenomenon were often per se labeled as *shamanism* according to ethnologist Ivar Paulson.[547] The term *shamanism* can rather be seen as an umbrella term for numerous older religious strata and various ritual circles.[548] This notion is also supported by writings of the American missionary *Bezaleel Hulbert*, who calls the indigenous religion of Korea

[543] Association of Korean History Teachers, *A Korean History for International Readers* (Seoul: Humanist Publishing Group Inc., 2014), 22.
[544] In fact, *gaecheon* literally means 'opening of heaven'.
[545] Lee, *Korean Shamanistic Rituals*, 16.
[546] Lee, Jung Young. "Concerning the Origin and Formation of Korean Shamanism," *Numen 20, No. 2* (1973):135.
[547] Paulson, Ivar. "Zur Phänomenologie des Schamanismus" [On the Phenomenology of Shamanism*], Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 16, No. 2* (1964):122.
[548] Ibid.

not shamanism, but defines it as spirit-worship, since it incorporates a mosaic of practices and ideas from shamanism, fetishism, animism, and nature-worship.[549] He claims that this indigene spirit-worship in Korea is "the foundation upon which all else is mere superstructure,"[550] including religions which were introduced later in Korea, such as Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. Hence today, a mix of religious beliefs exists, which might include single practices from Korean spirit-worship, in addition to religious convictions from Taoism, Buddhism, and so on. The commingling of different religious practices and beliefs cannot only be found throughout the society, but sometimes also within individuals. Certain ideas which derived, for instance, from spirit-worship have been accepted as Korean tradition, and are deeply embedded in the cultural memory. Although there are numerous forms and practices of spirit-worship in Korea, in essence all of them follow the conviction that spirits inhabit the nature of all things, including mountains, rivers, trees, and animals, and that there are both, good and evil spiritual entities affect human life. The dualistic belief in good and evil can be seen, for instance, in conceptualization of ancestors that are divided into either spirits that can harm people, or spirits that protect their descendants.

It is believed, that a shaman, called *mudang or pansu* in Korean, could intermediate between the spiritual and the material, human world.[551] They established a close relationship to mountains since ancestor worships, seasonal offerings and other shamanistic rituals and practices often took place in mountainous areas. Mountains were often associated with the beginning and ending of a life cycle, as some shamanistic practices show. For instance, in *the taejang ceremony*, the *tae*, the neonate's placenta and umbilical cord, was buried by the parents at a specific day at an auspicious site, often on the lower part of a mountain. In addition, it was, and sometimes still is, common to entomb and worship the deceased relatives in the mountain. *Sanso*, the Korean term for grave, points to the significance of mountains as burial sites since *sanso* literally means 'place in the mountain.' A mountain which one returns to at the end of one's life is called *seon-san*, which can be translated as 'heavenly place.'[552] Hence, mountains were often regarded as spiritual places that need to be treated with special care. Even though shamanistic practices and rites are seldomly seen in current times, a certain respect for nature, which can be traced back to shamanistic roots and a certain spirituality, sometimes appears under the surface of rationality. For instance, a famous Korean landscape

[549] Hulbert, Homer Bezaleel, *The Passing of Korea* (London: William Heinemann, 1906), 404.
[550] Ibid., 404.
[551] Female shamans are called *mudang*, while male shamans are called *pansu*.
[552] Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*, 14, 21–22, 42.

architect, who perceives himself as a rather as a modern person, said in an interview conducted for this research:

> "In our country, sometimes, we still avoid cutting mountains because of our believe in something like a mountain spirit. Also, when we look at a big, old tree, we believe that the tree has a spirit. In this case, for us, it is essential not only to consider the tree, but also the space surrounding the tree. That's why we don't dare to cut down the tree. This way of comprehensive thinking, based on custom, might still have a great influence on the treatment of nature."[553]

Chinese and Korean philosophies

Even though the focus of this work is not on epistemology and the formation of knowledge, it is still important to address certain philosophical theories that have conceptualized the relationship to nature in East Asia. One of these theories was provided by the Chinese philosopher *Zhou Dunyi* (1017–1073). Zhou Dunyi significantly influenced Neo-Confucianist thinking, and is often credited for his efforts to provide a conceptual framework that integrates the *yinyang* theory systematically into Confucian theory and practice.[554]

One of his important contributions is the *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate (taijitu)* including its philosophical explanation (*taijitu shuo*) which is here cited in the translation of the sinologist Wing-Tsit Chan:[555]

> *"The Ultimate of Non-being and also the Great Ultimate (T'ai-chi)!*
> *The Great Ultimate through movement generates yang. When its activity reaches its limit, it becomes tranquil. Through tranquility the Great Ultimate generates yin. When tranquility reaches its limit, activity begins again. So movement and tranquility alternate and become the root of each other, giving rise to the distinction of yin and yang, and the two modes are thus established.*
> *By the transformation of yang and its union with yin, the Five Agents of Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, and Earth arise. When these five material forces (ch'i) are distributed in harmonious order, the four seasons run their course.*

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[553] Interview 151017_GEN_LA (00:49:30)

[554] Wang, Robin. "Zhou Dunyi's Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained (Taijitu shuo): A Construction of the Confucian Metaphysics." *Journal of the History of Ideas 66*, No. 3 (2005):307.

[555] Chan, Wing-tsit, ed., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 463.

The Five Agents constitute one system of yin and yang, and yin and yang constitute one Great Ultimate. The Great Ultimate is fundamentally the Non-ultimate. The Five Agents arise, each with its specific nature. When the reality of the Ultimate of Non-being and the essence of yin, yang, and the Five Agents come into mysterious union, integration ensues. Ch'ien (Heaven) constitutes the male element, and k'un (Earth) constitutes the female element. The interaction of these two material forces engenders and transforms the myriad things. The myriad things produce and reproduce, resulting in an unending transformation. It is man alone who receives (the Five Agents) in their highest excellence, and therefore he is most intelligent. His physical form appears, and his spirit develops consciousness. The five moral principles of his nature (humanity or jen, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness) are aroused by, and react to, the external world and engage in activity; good and evil are distinguished; and human affairs take place.

The sage settles these affairs by the principles of the Mean, correctness, humanity, and righteousness (for the way of the sage is none other than these four), regarding tranquility as fundamental. (Having no desire, there will therefore be tranquility.) Thus he establishes himself as the ultimate standard for man. Hence the character of the sage is "identical with that of Heaven and Earth; his brilliancy is identical with that of the sun and moon; his order is identical with that of the four seasons; and his good and evil fortunes are identical with those of spiritual beings." The superior man cultivates these moral qualities and enjoys good fortune, whereas the inferior man violates them and suffers evil fortune. Therefore, it is said that "yin and yang are established as the way of Heaven, the weak and the strong as the way of Earth, and humanity and righteousness as the way of man." It is also said that "if we investigate the cycle of things, we shall understand the concepts of life and death." Great is the Book of Changes! Herein lies its excellence!"[556]

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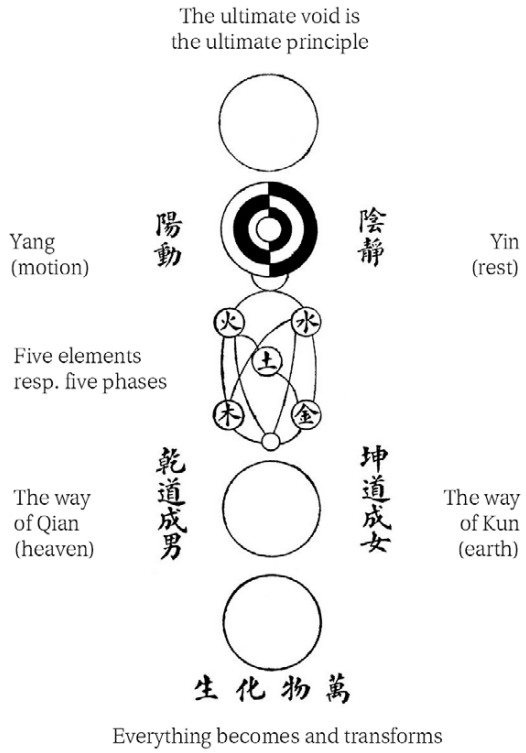
[556] Chou Tzu ch'uan-shu, In *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Wing-Tsit Chan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) 463–464.



55 | Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate (taijitu) by Zhou Dunyi

In his diagram, *Zhou Dunyi* drew from major religious and philosophical theories which had been existed for several thousand years in East Asia. Refined by numerous Chinese schools of philosophy, these thoughts were incorporated into multiple fields, including Chinese medicine, astronomy, politics, music, and geomancy.[557] Even though some of the theories seem quite simple at first glance, they comprise, in fact, a sophisticated edifice of ideas. Thus, these theories cannot be fully discussed and explained within the limited scope of this work. However, as Zhou Dunyi interrelated his diagram and explanations of major philosophical thoughts, it helps to capture certain ideas that were influential in Korea.

Zhou Dunyi's contribution was, according to Chan, to assimilate Taoist elements into Confucian thought.[558] In fact, Zhou Dunyi's explanation refers to the theory of the complementary energies *yin and yang,* the theory of the *five elements*, the strict moral principles as a code of conduct, and notions concerning nature and destiny. Chan claims that Zhou Dunyi's work is rooted in philosophical ideas presented in the *Daodejing*.[559]

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[557] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 57–58.

[558] Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 460.

[559] Ibid., 151.

The canonical work *Daodejing* (The Book of the Way, 道德經) is often associated with the main protagonist of Taoism, Lao Tzu, and describes in its core the theory of *dao*. The theory of *dao* is one of the most complex topics in Chinese philosophy, and thus is brought up in a wide range of discussions and studies.[560] Definitions of *dao* often remain vague as *dao* is "intricate and comprehensive, and therefore beyond human understanding."[561] Thus, it is often allegorized with broad terms like 'path', 'way', '(ultimate) reality', 'origin of everything,' or 'energy.'[562] Karin L. Lai, Associate Professor of Philosophy, resumes that in *Daodejing* after all "it is unclear whether *dao* is to be understood as the material source of all things, or whether it is a common principle inherent in all things or, indeed, whether it might be both."[563] In religious Taoism, it is believed that *dao* is manifested in three constituents: *jing*, *qi* and *shen*. *Jing* can be understood as energy; *shen* as spirit, and *qi* as the flow of energy.[564]

The theory of *qi* has to be emphasized as it became a crucial concept for philosophic theories and living habits throughout East Asia, including geomantic theory and practice in Korea. *Qi* has been defined in many ways by different philosophers, and the nature of *qi* has been a subject of great philosophical arguments. Following the definition of the sinologist and philosopher Angus Charles Graham, *qi* can be seen as "an energetic fluid which vitalizes the body, in particular as breath, and which circulates outside us as the air."[565] In the *Daodejing*, *qi* is defined as vital and material force, and thus described by other scholars as "psychophysiological power associated with blood and breath."[566] It is even compared with the Greek term *pneuma* which denotes wind, air or breath.[567] At the human level, it can be understood as the vital energy flowing through the acupuncture meridians, and at the environmental level as the "breath of nature."[568]

However, definitions of *qi* and *dao* vary among philosophical schools. For instance, in some schools, especially in Confucian teachings, *dao* was seen as a "system or moral truth"[569] while in Taoist teachings it was seen as "the One, which is natural, eternal, spontaneous,

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[560] Cf. Lai, Karin L., *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 71–110.

[561] Ibid., 75.

[562] Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 71, 74; Mak, Michael Y., and So, Albert T., *Scientific Feng Shui for the Built Environment. Fundamentals and Case Studies* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2011), 168.

[563] Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 76.

[564] Mak and So, *Scientific Feng Shui for the Built Environment*, 168

[565] Graham, Angus Charles, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (La Salle: Open Court Publishing Company, 1989), 101.

[566] Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 144, 784.

[567] Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, 101.

[568] Mak and So, *Scientific Feng Shui for the Built Environment*, 43.

[569] Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 136.

nameless, and indescribable."[570] Another expression for *'the One'* is the *'Great Ultimate,'* which is also central to Zhou Dunyi's diagram and explanation. He emphasizes the ancient idea that the *Great Ultimate* is the beginning of *yin and yang* and the *five elements*. In general, the *yinyang theory* and the *five elements theory* can be regarded, according to Chan, as early Chinese attempts at working out metaphysics and cosmology,[571] and thus have influenced multiple discussions, studies and interpretations of Chinese philosophers.[572]

Yinyang theory is mentioned in one of the oldest manuals for divination and practical orientation, the *Yi Jing* (The Book of Changes, 易經). This book, which is now considered a Chinese classic, was written around the ninth century BC. It scrutinizes changes in life, their impact on the individual and the environment, and fosters ways of responding to those changes that bring minimal harm and maximal benefit.[573] Some of the basic concepts of Taoism can be traced back to this book, as Taoists interpreted it in their search for spiritual liberation and the search for the ultimate cosmic sense. *Yinyang theory* provides a cosmological and metaphysical framework. In essence, it is based on the notion that *yin and yang* create the foundation of all existence. All things and actions can be ordered according to this scheme. *Yin and yang* depict two complementary[574] and at the same time supplementing forces that form a unity. The importance of this unity lies in the notion that *yinyang* depicts the *concept of harmony*, which is crucial for Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucianist understanding. While the concept of harmony is often invoked in the relation to nature, some Confucian scholars reinterpreted the concept of harmony as a form of social orders and norms that establish relationships based on loyalty and unity. Harmony, thus, was often connoted with "conformity, unity in purpose, cooperation, integration, order, stability and balance."[575] Thus, the concept of harmony did not stay in the abstract realms of theory, but was seen as a guideline for social interaction. Eventually, the concept of harmony represented a fundamental convention for all relations, whether between people or between human and nature.

Zhou Dunyi's diagram related the *yinyang theory* with the *five elements theory*. However, Zhou Dunyi was not the first who merged these originally separated theories.

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[570] Ibid.

[571] Ibid., 245.

[572] The *yinyang* theory is presented among others in works by the Chinese philosophers Tso chuan, Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, and Hsün Tzu, while the *five elements theory* is presented in works of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, Tso chuan, and Kuo-yü, etc.

[573] Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 11.

[574] Yang is often reduced to represent the sky, male, father, positivity, strength, hardness, brightness, and dryness, while yin is associated with the earth, female, mother, negatively, weakness, softness, darkness, and wetness, etc.

[575] Lai, *An Introduction to Chinese Philosophy*, 10.

The conjunction of these theories is ascribed to the Chinese scholar *Zou Yan* (around 305–240 BC) who lived in the third century BC. Even though historical sources about his work and life are rare, and to some extent obscure, it is said that Zou Yan combined the two separate theories into one after intensive studies of the environment, including a list of China's famous mountains, rivers, valleys, and animals.[576] Chan formulates it as follows: "The one is now the expression of the other, and both operate in cycles of rise and fall and in a universal pattern, thus uniting man and nature."[577] The *five elements theory* is based on the concept of change and constant transformation. The *five agents* which also appear under the term *five forces*, *five elements*, or *ohaeng* in Korean, are interrelated with each other. The interrelation differs depending on the philosophical school. While some philosophers arranges them in a linear way, it is more common to depict the five in circular movement.[578] This concept is nourished by the idea that "these five interacting forces can either give birth to one another or destroy one another, depending on how they occur in the cycle of the five elements.[…] The principle of five elements producing one another stipulates that metal produces water, water produces wood, wood produces fire, fire produces earth, and earth produces metal."[579] Even though the *five elements* are often related to material characteristics, they should be seen as dynamic forces rather than static material elements.[580] In fact, according to Chan, the importance of the *five elements theory* lies not on depicting a static system, but a basic principle and universal law of operation. Processes are not chaotic but follow a natural order. The *five elements theory* has been applied together with the concept of change to various fields,[581] and has had a profound impact on East Asian thinking.[582] Chan elucidates that "in the cyclical process, the idea of one force overcoming another was soon replaced by that of one producing another. […] Eventually, however, it is the idea that all forces are harmonized that has become the typical Chinese conception."[583] This idea of harmonizing forces has spread throughout East Asia, in addition to the understanding that man and nature are seen as a unity and exist with respect to each other. The relation between opposing and harmonizing forces can be explained by shifting the focus away from the material expression and toward the unifying law of operation. Chan explains this

[576] Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 244–247.

[577] Ibid., 245.

[578] For instance, the Chinese philosopher Zou Yan (around 305–240 BC) advocates arranging the *five elements* in a cycle, while Dong Zhongshu (179 BC–104 BC) argues representing the *five elements* in a linear transformation. (Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 245, 247, 279).

[579] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 59.

[580] Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 245.

[581] Nowadays, it is used to describe seasons, colors, compass directions, emotions, elements, etc.

[582] Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 245–246.

[583] Ibid.

as follows: "In point of process, there is contradiction as well as harmony, and in point of reality, there is unity in multiplicity. The apparent dualism and pluralism are, in each case, a dynamic monism through the dialectic."[584] The concept of harmony between two or multiple opposing forces was emphasized not only in the *yinyang theory* and the *five elements theory*, but also in the *Doctrine of the Mean*. The *Doctrine of the Mean* is part of the *Four Books,* which have been important sources of Confucianist thinking in order to imprint a strict code of conduct and distinct values such as filial piety, loyalty, and humbleness. The *Doctrine of the Mean* fosters the idea of establishing moral characteristics including correctness, humanity, and righteousness in the context of relationships. However, the *Doctrine of the Mean* pointed philosophically not only to a "concept of a common law governing both man and nature,"[585] but also led to one of the most important thoughts that has directed Chinese philosophy: The idea of a unity between man and nature. This is expressed in chapter 31 of the *Doctrine of the Means* as "nature and man forming one body."[586] Much of the philosophical thought in Korea was transferred from China and adjusted to the Korean culture and society. Still today, the idea of forming a unity with nature influences the self-conceptualization of many Koreans, as shown in a visitors' statement:

> "Koreans belong to nature. […] Nature gives pleasure, comfort, and beauty to human beings. And, it gives us the possibility of experiencing spiritual change."[587] (Korean, male, between 60–70 years)

The Chinese philosopher *Chu Hsi* (1130–1200) had especially great impact on Korean philosophers.[588] His teachings played a major role in giving importance to ancestral lineage with a clear definition of the head of the lineage, and the institutionalization of ancestor worship.[589] The teachings of Chu Hsi were used as inspiration and ideological framework by Korean neo-Confucianists during the late Goryeo dynasty and the early Joseon dynasty. In the course of the Joseon dynasty, neo-Confucianism not only became the key ideology, but also served as a

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[584] Ibid., 245.

[585] Ibid., 246.

[586] Ibid.

[587] Interview 171106_NAK_VIS_4 (00:02:53)

[588] Neo-Confucianism can be understood according to Martina Deuchler (2004:45) as "the rethinking of the Confucian tenets under the influence of Taoism and Buddhism, adding to the original Confucianism a vast structure of metaphysical and cosmological aspiration".

[589] Deuchler, Martina, "Neo-Confucianism in the Early Joseon Dynasty: Some Reflections on the Role of Ye," In *Korean philosophy: Its tradition and modern transformation*, ed. Korean National Commission for UNESCO (Seoul: Hollym, 2004), 46.

practical reference for governance. The theoretical side of neo-Confucian philosophy gained important momentum from a theoretical debate between the two fractions centered around the Korean philosophers *Yi Hwang* (1501–1570) and *Yi I* (1536–1584). The debate revolved around different interpretation of Chu His's theories, in particular around the relationship between 'the principle (li)' and the 'material force (qi)'.[590] The philosophies of Yi Hwang and Yi I, oscillating between emotion and the human mind respectively between *qi* and *li*, led to two different schools during the Joseon dynasty. During this debate, neo-Confucianism became in Korea more dogmatic and strict, suggesting that all collective and individual behavior was to comply with the neo-Confucian code of conduct. Opposing the entrenched neo-Confucian conventions and strict ideologies, Korean scholars began searching for new philosophical ideas by merging traditional neo-Confucian concepts with newly introduced Western thoughts in the late Joseon dynasty. Their movement was given the name *Silhak* (which means *practical learning*) and included both theoretical rethinking and social reform movements, and emphasized more openness.[591] The *Practical Learning School* recognized the relevance of human desire, and pursued the importance of technology and commerce to escape poverty and enhance the quality of people's lives. This created fertile ground for so-called *Enlightenment movement*. The reformers of the *Enlightenment movement* demanded a "new awakening" and challenged the social system in Korea. They emphasized visions of a new social order, in particular a "vision of national liberation by inspiring national consciousness."[592] Despite differing philosophical movements in Korea, certain ideas, which are based on Chinese classics, remained relevant until today. These include the *yinyang theory*, the *five elements theory*, the *ultimate of non-being*, and the *concept of harmony and change*. Such ideas were not only established among Korean elites, but also transferred into social codes of conduct, and thus they profoundly influenced the lives and worldviews of most Koreans.

[590] The core of the debate concerned the relationship between li and qi, but was set up as theoretical discussion about four virtues and seven emotions, and thus is called the Four-Seven debate. Further details can be found in: Koller, John M., *Asian Philosophies* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2002), 304–308.
[591] Keum, Jang-tae, "Human Liberation in Early Modern Korean Thought," In *Korean philosophy: Its tradition and modern transformation,* ed. Korean National Commission for UNESCO (Seoul: Hollym, 2004), 400.
[592] Ibid.

4.1.3 Geomantic strata

Among mythological, shamanistic and philosophical approaches, *pungsu-jiri theory* (abbreviated with *pungsu-jiri*) is another important factor that has shaped the human-mountain relationship in Korea. *Pungsu-jiri,* geomantic theories of wind (*pung*), water (*su*) and earth (*jiri*), originate from the Chinese *feng shui.* These theories are intended to build in accordance with the environment.[593] If one accepts the philosophy grounded in *dao* and *qi*, the introduction of *feng shui* is quite plausible, since geomancy deals with the study and manipulation[594] of *qi* to improve people's well-being and create a balance between humans and nature.

The origin of *feng shui* is unknown. The cultural geographer Hong-key Yoon claims that initially it emerged as "instinctive response to the environment."[595] The mountain was seen as the source of life: Mountains were perceived as the source of joy and hardship, because they offered protection and water, but they could also bring destruction and misery when water from the mountain came down in masses and carried everything with it. Since survival depended directly on the environment, specific landscape concepts and landscape elements were incorporated into the world view, resulting in geomantic theories and practices. Yoon assumes that geomantic practices were developed by cave dwellers of the Chinese Loess Plateau, where topographic elevations played a significant role in orientation, source of water, and protection from wind.[596] The *Zang Shu*, *the Book of Burial*, allegedly written by the historian and poet *Guo Pu* (276-324), is considered the first written document in which the term *feng shui* was used to describe fundamental principles to affect the *qi*.[597]

> "Qi, if it rides the wind [feng], would be scattered, but it would stop at water [water]. Ancient people would concentrate Qi, so this was called wind and water, or Feng shui."[598]

At first, *feng shui* primarily referred to burial sites. However, the notion was later adopted in selecting places in order to avoid wind and to find water, also for human settlements. It is quite

[593] There are many definitions for the concept of geomancy in scientific literature. A detailed description of Korean geomancy as well as a discussion of individual geomancy schools and theories would go far beyond the scope of this work, and thus cannot be given here.

[594] Manipulation here means a transformation of the topography in order to increase the auspiciousness of a place.

[595] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 20.

[596] Ibid., 20–21.

[597] Mak and So, *Scientific Feng Shui for the Built Environment*, 49.

[598] Guo Pu, The Book of Burials, cited in Liu, Laurence G., *Chinese Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 29.

understandable that mountains were given a special status in this theory as they are topographically elevated protection from wind and sources of water. It was also believed that the energy of life, *qi,* is nestled in the mountains veins, and flows in the mountain ridges through the whole country.[599] So, the conviction arose that one must not build on the ridge of mountains. In particular, during the late *Tang* and *Song dynasties* (618–907 and 960–1279 respectively), geomantic approaches were refined to a complex system of site selection theories and practices, which were systematically applied to the planning of gravesites and living environments. This was propagated primarily through two Chinese geomantic schools:[600] the *Compass School* (*Li Fa*), which is primarily associated with the Fujian province, and the *Form School* (*Xing Fa*), which is mainly associated with the Jiangxi province in China. Both schools were concerned with the study and manipulation of *qi* in selecting auspicious burial or housing sites, however by differing methods and devices. The *Compass School* concentrated on the analysis of cardinal directions, mathematical calculations, time, and astrological symbols in order to determine auspicious and inauspicious sites. In contrast, the *Form School* focused on the analysis of sites, landscape configuration, and natural elements (mainly mountains and watercourses). By taking into account spatial relationships, they sought to select favorable living environments, and to position and orientate buildings.[601] Based on the *Book of Burial*, it was believed that the auspiciousness can be detected through the study of the external manifestations of the landscapes' configuration: When the qi is auspicious, the form will be "luxuriant and fertile, and particularly outstanding and majestic", when it is inauspicious, the form is "rough, unruly, sloping, broken and fragmented."[602] All in all, the theory of the *Form School* was grounded in a holistic understanding of the landscape, which was mainly comprised of the knowledge of topography and the study of rivers. The teachings of both the Compass and the Form School were quite infectious, and applied to planning and construction theories throughout East Asia.

In Korea, the Buddhist monk *Doseon* (827–898) is often called the founding father for Korean geomancy, *pungsu-jiri,* even though researchers assume that it was introduced to Korea much earlier. *Pungsu-jiri* was based on the *yinyang theory* and the *five elements* theory, but was also influenced by shamanistic, Buddhistic, and neo-Confucianist thoughts in the course of time. In Korea, the monk Doseon played a major role in spreading geomantic practices and theories in Korea, and adopting *pungsu-jiri* to the geography, climate, and culture of Korea.

[599] Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*, 39, 599.

[600] For further details on the development of geomancy in China see: Mak and So, *Scientific Feng Shui for the Built Environment,* 14, 39; Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 20, 29.

[601] Mak and So, *Scientific Feng Shui for the Built Environment*, 4–5, 14, 51.

[602] Paton, Michael John, *Five Classics of Fengshui* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 172.

Doseon is often linked to the theory of *bibo-pungsu*. Exactly like in traditional geomancy, the theory of *bibo-pungsu* is based on the belief that an ideal and auspicious place, called *hyeol* or *myeong-dang*, is also surrounded by mountains, which were seen as a source of energy that influences the destiny of nations, groups, and individuals. The mountains were distinguished according to their function, as the humanities scientist Choi Won Suk points out in detail in his book *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective* (2014). The most important mountain of this landscape system, which was located at the back of an auspicious place, received the title *Jusan* which literally means main mountain.[603] The mountain opposite of *Jusan* is called *Ansan*. It was believed that the two mountains together form a spatial equilibrium. These mountains were often considered sacred and therefore protected by the government. For example, the *Gyeongguk daejeon*, the basic code of law during Joseon dynasty, states that the main mountain along with the mountain ranges around the royal palaces may not be developed and cultivated, and were under government supervision. Compared to traditional geomancy, *bibo-pungsu* stresses the ability to influence *qi*, and presents a theory based on the notion of preserving existing landscape elements and improving weak or missing elements by artificial means. For instance, if a place lacked one of the mountains, *bibo-pungsu* permitted building an artificial topography that would take over the function of the missing mountain. In most cases, the artificial mountain was then called *Josan* or *Gasan,* and was often a hill constructed from artificial stone or earth to supplement the landscape, garden, or burial site in order to influence fate. Another important function in the landscape system is *Jinsan*, the guardian mountain of a village, town, or place in the provinces. *Jinsan* is a mountain that symbolically guarantees the peace and security of villages, towns, or places in the provinces, and is rooted in ancient mountain beliefs and in mountain worship. Often, a *Jinsan* is located at the northern end of the administrative center of a settlement, as shelter from cold wind, and enemies coming from the north. Occasionally, a mountain could also have several functions and designations. For example, a main mountain could represent both, the city's main mountain *Jusan* and its guardian mountain *Jinsan*. During the Joseon dynasty, most provinces were assigned a *Jinsan*.[604] In the *Sejong sillok*, the veritable records of king Sejong, it is noted that at the time 109 Jinsans were registered in Korea to protect villages. The *Sejong sillok* (compiled in 1454) describe the country including its geography, economy, religion, and state affairs. About a century later, according to *Sinjeung-donggugyeoji-seungram*, a famous geographical record published in 1530, the number of *Jinsans* had increased, such that 255 of a total of 331 districts of a province possessed a *Jinsan*. Of these, 56% had a *Jinsan* in the north or northeast

[603] Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*, 604.
[604] Ibid., 31–32, 45, 137, 166–171, 603–605.

direction.[605] The increasing number of *Jinsans* as well as the diversified nomenclature of the mountains demonstrate the huge influence of *pungsu-jiri* in Joseon dynasty.

In general, the systemic approach of *pungsu-jiri* enhanced a relational understanding of space, where a landscape element was never observed in isolation, but always in connection with the dwelling and the surrounding space. The mountain's meaning derives mainly from its function within the landscape system, in combination with specific geomorphologic features. For this reason, throughout the Korean peninsula, many mountains are called *Jinsan, Ansan or Yongsan*.

In this view, the essence of a place—in terms of an intrinsic, unique characteristic of a place or *genius loci*—is less important than its function in the landscape system. The notion of *genius loci* was elaborated by the architectural theorist Christian Norberg-Schulz. He transferred the former roman idea of the genius loci into modern architectural theory, and advocated with it a "return to things".[606] In his phenomenological approach, places are determined by a genius, a guardian spirit. The spirit determines the essence or 'environmental character.' Although the 'environmental character' is defined by material, form, texture, and color, it is to a certain extent influenced by history and socio-economic conditions. It has a certain resistance, and the external influences do not necessarily mean that the genius loci undergoes a change or vanishes.[607] Even today, this notion of the genius loci as an essence, an inherent character, source, or origin affects the imagination of architects and landscape architects when they discuss and reflect on places. The *genius loci* in Norberg-Schulz's concept is based on the notion that "every 'independent' being has its genius, its guardian spirit. This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence."[608] An 'independent being' means a unique, specific, place or individual person. However, in Korea, the essence of a place and a 'return to its origin' might also signify an essential character, which is not determined by an individual understanding as independent, unique and specific, but by its function and relation to the overall spatial framework. Thus, 'return to things' is understood in a very different manner. It is important to note that *pungsu-jiri* not only provides a spatial orientation but also a cultural code of conduct. Due to geomancy, certain landscape elements receive a specific meaning, which is manifested through taboos, customs, and regulations. Steven Bourassa, a researcher in Urban and Regional Planning, explains that it is a general phenomenon that once a landscape obtains

[605] Ibid., 32, 223, 322.

[606] Norberg-Schulz, Christian, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 8.

[607] Ibid., 6, 18.

[608] Ibid., 18.

a certain meaning for a cultural group, the landscape symbols are held onto desperately for the purpose of self-preservation.[609] Especially in terms of *pungsu-jiri*, Korean history is full of examples in which people struggle with keeping or obliterating geomantic landscape symbols, meanings, and values. In general, however, it can be said that *pungsu-jiri* has lost most of its influence due to the transition from a traditional agricultural society to a modern industrial society. Today, *pungsu-jiri* is seen rather as a superstition and a cultural practice of the past rather than as a cultural code for spatial orientation. The personal relationship to *pungsu-jiri* is often described in an ambivalent way. For instance, one interviewee stated: "Truly speaking, I don't really believe in *pungsu-jiri*, but I accept it."[610] However, some scholars argue that *pungsu-jiri* has a certain influence on Korean society even today by pointing out that, for instance, candidates in a presidential election have moved their ancestors' graves to auspicious places before elections.[611] Although it has not been proven that the belief in *pungsu-jiri* led to these actions, it seems at least certain that these theories in some way still subtly shape the people's orientation and conception of the spatial layout of Seoul. This becomes visible when visitors of Naksan, Namsan, and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley explain the main characteristics of Seoul based on the relations to mountains and rivers.[612] One visitor, for instance, stated that "as most Koreans know, the right place for the capital has to have a mountain in the back, and a water body in front (배산임수)."[613] Although these ideas are rooted in *pungsu-jiri*, in the course of time they have simply been accepted and internalized as Korean tradition and have merged into a conventional perspective and language.

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[609] Bourassa, Steven C., *The Aesthetics of Landscape* (London: Belhaven Press, 1991), 109.

[610] Interview 171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_4 (00:16:09)

[611] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 5.

[612] Interview 171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_4 (00:15:41), Interview 171106_NAK_VIS_LOC_4 (00:10:41), Interview 171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_4 (00:13:02-00:14:42), Interview 171102_SUS_VIS_3 (00:03:40)

[613] Interview 170911_NAM_MUC_1 (00:03:19)

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4.1.4 Connotation of mountains

This thesis follows the approach of the cultural geographer Hong-key Yoon who identified three images in order to describe the human relationship to nature: The magical image, the personified image, and the vulnerable image of nature.[614]

These images do not only depict an attitude towards nature, but also give an approach to determine the relationship to mountains. According to Yoon, the magical image of nature refers to the idea that nature represents a mysterious entity that can either have a beneficial or detrimental impact on humans. This image of nature led to the conviction that if auspicious sites are selected and handled properly, people will have a fortunate life, if they do not select a suitable site, they will suffer adversity. Because of this, geomancers in Korea have evaluated their landscape for auspicious qualities. This understanding reflects the idea of a huge dependence on natural surroundings. In fact, it mirrors ancient beliefs also found in shamanism and Chinese philosophy that human destiny depends on sanctifying or desecrating nature. The personified image of nature is based on the custom that nature is ascribed characteristics of humans, animals, or plants. The comparison of a landscape with a human body is rooted in ancient China, where mountains, water, and vegetation were perceived as bones, blood, and

[614] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 137–142.

hair.[615] According to Yoon, either the entire landscape or a single landscape element, such as a mountain, may be seen as living organism.[616] Hence in Korea, mountain ranges are often compared with the structure and venation of plants:

> "A plant has root, a stem (branches), leaves and flowers, and a mountain has comparable parts. All parts of a plant are linked together in the production of fruit; similarly, all components of mountains and watercourses form a system that produces auspicious places. [⋯] No place stands alone, and all landscapes are interconnected and part of a greater landscape system. This is a fundamental geomantic attitude toward the environment and why, when they are in search of an auspicious site, geomancers relentlessly journey to distant places to observe relationships between various landscapes to see how vital energy might flow. To a geomancer, the configuration of a mountain reflects the quality of a mountain, just as the appearance of a plant reflects its quality."[617]

It was also common to call and imagine mountains as earthly or supernatural animals. In fact, "a landscape can be named after any object depending on how a geomancer perceives it" claims Yoon.[618] However, certain terms appear more often than others, for instance the term *Yongsan*, which can be translated as *dragon mountain*, is a common expression for specific elevations and mountain ranges throughout the Korean peninsula. Often, a mountain range is given the name *Yongsan,* when it reaches from a high and sacred mountain (*Cheonsan*)[619] all the way to the water, and in its appearance resembles, with an undulating ridge line,[620] the back of a long stretched lying dragon. These kind of mountains are perceived as auspicious places and are preferred for locations of gravesites. According to Yoon, the custom of comparing landscape elements with animals, plants and especially with the human body might be the reason for humanizing mountains.[621] Furthermore, the cultural practice of humanizing mountains has had the effect of people strongly identify with their natural surroundings, and thus try not to harm

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[615] Mak and So, *Scientific Feng Shui for the Built Environment*, 44.

[616] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 75, 138.

[617] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 89.

[618] Ibid., 139.

[619] The idea of *Cheonsan* originates from ancient times and exists in China, Korea and Japan. A mountain called *Cheonsan* is unusually high and sublime, and is therefore considered a celestial representative who mediates between heaven and earth through its appearance. In Korea, the mountain Baekdu is considered a *Cheonsan*. (Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*, 605, 56).

[620] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 71–72.

[621] Ibid., 72, 138.

them. For example, people often mention that cutting a mountain is similar to cutting a human body. This is not only a common idea found in literature,[622] but was also mentioned in several interviews, among others in an interview with a landscape architect who stated:

> "From the point of view of Western experts, I think, it might be a good idea for functional reasons to transform the mountain or even to cut the mountain, and construct a suitable building on top of it. However, we feel that it is not good. The mountain then looks as if our head had been cut in one place. This is not a pleasant idea."[623]

In the end, the humanization of landscape elements reinforces the third image of nature: the vulnerable image of nature. This was probably a reflection and awareness of human vulnerability that was generalized and assimilated into an overall understanding of nature. The vulnerable image of nature is closely linked to landscape transformations and the human impact on a landscape:

> "Landscapes are vulnerable systems that can easily be destroyed or recovered by people who modify the natural landscape. By cutting off mountain ridges or changing the direction of watercourses, people can harm the flow of vital energy. Even simple actions like breaking rocks, drilling a tunnel, or creating a pass over a mountain ridge can ruin the smooth flow of energy. If this occurs, the harmony of the geomantic landscape is destroyed and the energy cannot flow and accumulate to benefit people."[624]

It might be noted that the benefit of people refers not only to the present condition, but also to past and future generations, and thus increases the extent and responsibility for one's actions. Moreover, it teaches society to not cause disorder or disturb the natural equilibrium by haphazardly transforming either natural or cultural landscapes. This attitude is also depicted in long-lasting and quite wide-spread narratives in which landscape is deliberately harmed to worsen the destiny of Koreans.[625]

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[622] Cf. Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*, 40.

[623] Interview 151017_GEN_LA (00:59:10 – 01:00:56)

[624] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 140.

[625] Ibid., 4, 141–142.

One such narrative is, for instance, the *Legend of the Mountain Ridge of Sonsan*, which was published in the *Collection of Korean Legends*:

> "When Hideyoshi's soldiers of Japan invaded Korea, they set up camp in Sonsan for a time. A Japanese geomancer in the army unit observed the form of the mountains and realized that the place would produce many great men and that Korea would be prosperous. For this reason, the Japanese geomancer advised the soldiers to burn an important place on the mountain in the back of Sonsan town and to drive in a giant iron pilling. In this way he killed the vital energy of the mountain. After that time, strangely, no great men were born in Sonsan or even in the neighboring counties."[626]

Although there is still research in progress to determine what extent this story is based on historical facts, it reveals a great deal about one's self-perception and the use of mountains in national ideologies. The idea of a vulnerable nature reappears in discussions of planners and politicians, for instance in debates about Korea's unity. Here, according to the geographer Jeong-Heon Jin, the "national territory is seen as an impaired body to be cured and ultimately made whole and unified."[627] But also in landscape restoration projects, a similar argumentation is pursued. For instance, in the case of Namsan and Naksan, the landscape is portrayed as a victim of foreign influences (see chapter 3.4.1). The notion of seeing a landscape as a victim or wounded body can be explained through Yoon's images of nature. As human destiny is linked to nature's destiny, the "health status of a landscape" became a distinct dogma in Korea. According to *pungsu-jiri* theories, the health of a landscape becomes visible through its physical form and the natural vegetation of mountains.[628] This notion is still held today and affects people's imagination and decision-making, even though people deliberately distance themselves from *pungsu-jiri*. The idea of a vulnerable landscape that needs to be healed for the Korean people was crucial for the restoration of Naksan, Namsan and Suseongdong Valley as well as for the international competition for the Yongsan Park Master Plan in 2012, where the concept of healing nature, healing culture and healing history won the first prize (see chapter 1.1). In the end, these projects reflect nationalist paradigms based on traditional images of nature and thus made tangible to many people. Yoon's images of nature provide a helpful framework for understanding aesthetic ideals as well as cultural practices when dealing with the

[626] Choi, Sangsu, *Collection of Korean Legends* [최상수: 한국민간전설집] (Seoul, Tongmunkwan, 1958), 291, cited and translated in: Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 141–142.
[627] Jin, Jong-Heon, "The Role of Symbolic Landscape in the Construction of National Identity in Modern Korea," Dissertation, (Oakland: University of California, 2004), 204.
[628] Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*, 42.

landscape in Korea. The mystical and vulnerable images of nature explain certain attitudes within traditional garden art that has existed for over 5000 year in Korea.[629] According to the environmental researcher Woo-kyung Sim, in Korea as in Western culture, the garden symbolizes paradise. However, the concept of paradise is different due to differing philosophical and religious traditions.[630] He argues that unlike Christian perceptions, in which a garden is related to the Garden of Eden, in Korea, a garden represents unity with nature, spiritual enlightenment, or place of ennoblement.[631] The Korean term for a garden is *jeongwon*.[632] Its etymology is rooted in the traditional Chinese characters for court (庭, tíng) and garden (yuan, 園), indicating an enclosed site for a ruling group. At the beginning of Joseon dynasty, "there was another culture of leisure that usually took place in the rear gardens of the mansions of the upper class or the Confucian schools of learning"[633] according to the landscape researcher Kim Wonju. At that time, commoners and the lower classes were excluded from theses spaces by a strict social hierarchy. Traditional Korean gardens were often modest in their design, and sometimes even consisted of only one tree in a courtyard. This modesty in scale and design has led the horticulturist and landscape designer Jill Matthews to argue that Korean gardens are not "expressions of man's triumph over nature."[634] Therefore, Korean gardens were in general not situated on top of a mountain "to dominate the natural world below."[635] Instead, they were positioned to blend into the surrounding topography causing as little disruption as possible, and planned in accordance with the natural environment. A significant element in a Korean garden is a natural character, which is created among others by incorporating the practice of site selection, the precise analysis and subtle transformation of topography, a lack of boundaries, drawing from a borrowed landscape (mountain as background), the integration of nature symbols, specific plant selection and cultivation, specific proportions of buildings to garden, and the practice of constant rebuilding. Site selection based on geomantic principles, thus often on a precise study of topography, was important not only for royal palaces and tombs, but also for gardens. Gardens were built to merge in with the natural surroundings. In addition to the walled royal palaces and their gardens, there were also several gardens of the Joseon literati which had no obvious border and thus blended into the

[629] Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 21.
[630] Sim, "Korean Traditional Gardens," 137.
[631] Ibid.
[632] Besides *jeongwon*, there exist also the term *wonrim* which denotes a garden that consists of a grove close to a house.
[633] Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 124.
[634] Matthews, Jill, *Korean Gardens. Tradition, Symbolism and Resilience* (Seoul: Hollym, 2018), 6.
[635] Ibid., 20.

landscape. In fact, the traditional Korean gardens often echoed the outline of the distant mountains, and thus were referred to as borrowed landscape. The garden was a place of symbols, where the varying beliefs of Shamanism, Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism were combined in a syncretic way. These beliefs were also expressed in how symbolic plants were selected and modestly cultivated.[636] Beyond the selection of plants, aesthetic ideals and symbolic notions also influenced the choice of a materials, position, form, and layout used for any garden element (path, pond, pagoda, etc.). For instance, rather than removing a tree or stone, a narrow earth path would wind around an existing natural obstacle. The character of a garden was also determined by an uneven proportion of building and garden area. Only in a few distinctive places is an architectural element, such as a pavilion, set up to underline the significance of the spot. When garden structures were destroyed, it was not uncommon to restore and replenish them, and due to a long tradition based on the idea of change and regeneration, they are still considered genuine.[637] The design attitude is often subtle and unobtrusive, which reflects the attitude towards nature. Especially the vulnerable and personified image has had a profound influence on the approach to nature. However, respect for nature, has not led to protected areas that are completely untouched by humans, but rather enhances the enjoyment of nature, especially mountainscapes, in an unobtrusive and modest way. It was in the second half of the seventeenth century, that Confucian elite started to extensively experience the mountainscape, including undertaking mountain tours.[638] Mountainscape became a popular destination for visitors. It became more and more fashionable for the upper classes to seek recreation and pleasure in the beautiful mountainside, which gave rise to the term '*yugyeong'* (enjoy the countryside with pleasure). The *yugyeong practice* consists of visiting scenic places in the surrounding area.[639] This included walking or strolling on narrow paths through the natural environment.[640] Particularly beautiful mountains became famous as destinations for this practice. On scenic places in the mountains, pavilions were often built which were used by literates and painters to get in touch with nature and to enjoy the ever changing landscape scenery.[641] A pavilion was seen as a minimal intervention which should not excessively harm the mountains.

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[636] Ibid., 24–28.

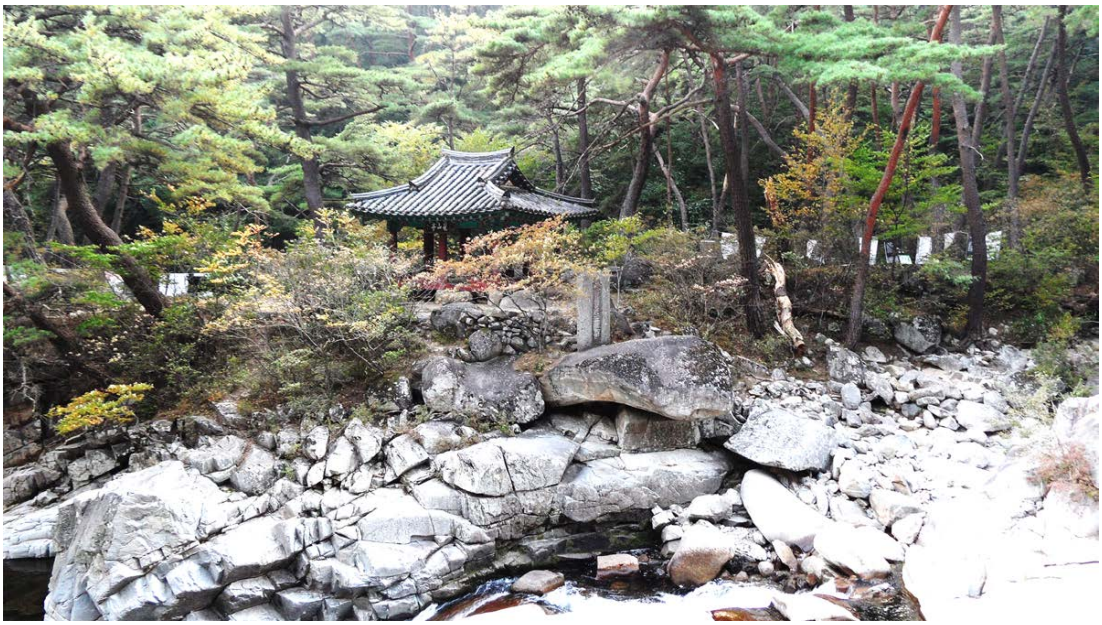
[637] Ibid., 29.

[638] Lee, Kyungsoon. "The Confucian Transformation of Mountain Space: Travels by Late-Chosŏn Confucian Scholars and the Attempted Confucianization of Mountains" translated by Se-Woong Koo, *Journal of Korean Religions 5, No. 2* (2014):122.

[639] Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 118.

[640] Sung, Jong-Sang. "Thoughts on Walk at Garden of Joseon Dynasty. Focused on Scholar Garden in Mountain," *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, Vol. 9* (2011):44.

[641] Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, *Korean Traditional Landscape Architecture*, 122, 118.



57 | Pavilion in the Korean mountains {© Susann Ahn, 2016}

The literati, musicians, and painters captured the atmosphere and their thoughts at these places through their artistic medium. *Sansuhwa*, literally meaning the "painting of mountains and water", is an important genre in Korean traditional landscape painting. It was adopted from China. It was practiced not only by professional artists, but also by Korean yangbans and even commoners as a means of expressing their emotions, beliefs and aspiration.[642] It comprises idealized landscapes and scenic sites. Painting the landscape was considered the highest form of art due to a nature-related worldview, and Neo-Confucian morality. Some of the Confucians thought of landscape painting as a form of scholarly and spiritual discipline. The painters wanted to hold on to the artistic tradition and conjure up past values while at the same time supplementing their own spirit, thoughts and interpretation with their own brushstrokes.[643] In the mid and especially in the late Joseon dynasty, the idealized landscape paintings were replaced by realistic landscape paintings, so-called *true-view painting*, which focused more on depicting Korean particularities, for instance on special mountains within the Korean peninsula. These mountains were called *myeongsan*, which literally means 'well-known or famous mountains'. The term famous reflects the values of a distinct group in a distinct time, often the expression and cultural practice of a ruling class and intellectuals to strengthen their cultural

[642] Korea Foundation, *Traditional Painting. Window on the Korean Mind. Korea Essentials No. 2* (Seoul: Seoul Selection, 2010), 7.
[643] Ibid., 7, 65–66.

identity, as pointed out by the humanities scientist Choi Won Suk.[644] Kyungsoon Lee who wrote his dissertation on excursions of Confucian literati and their consciousness of nature, argues, that there was a Confucian interest in creating a mountain culture during the Joseon dynasty.[645] This happened in the light of severe struggles between the Buddhist and Confucianists to have the predominant philosophies. Since Buddhists and shamanists had retreated to the mountains, due to ideological and political struggles in the course of Joseon dynasty, mountains also became of interest to Confucianists, who wanted to "ideologically conquer mountains"[646] argues Lee. He identified three strategic approaches by the Confucianists to alter the significance of mountains which included "the critique of traditional beliefs embodied in mountains; the injection of Confucian interpretations into mountain narratives; the reclamation of mountains as something fundamentally Confucian."[647] In the end, according to Lee, this resulted in a new consciousness of mountain space, which however "presaged a cultural collision within that mountain space."[648] All in all, mountains increasingly became a subject of differing ideological convictions, cultural collisions, and an arena of discourse in the late Joseon dynasty. The ideological struggle for mountain spaces, however, did not cease with the end of the Joseon dynasty, but shifted, as is shown in this thesis. The conflict over the mountains retains a certain momentum due to Korean's strong identification with nature, which can ultimately be traced back to the cultural geographer Hong-key Yoon's three images of nature: the magical, the personified and the vulnerable. The magical image depicts humans as dependent on nature; the personified image provides the basis for identification; and the vulnerable image refers to a sense of responsibility and moreover a strong sense of national and individual self-preservation.[649] In the end, these images provide a key to understanding certain approaches to mountains. As the image of mountains became included in differing ideologies, they do not signify a neutral place, but rather connote a living, spiritual, personified, vulnerable organism of purity, unity, morality, and beyond that, they are the basis for the notion of Koreanness.

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[644] Choi, *Korean Mountains from the Humanities Perspective*, 333, 337.

[645] Lee, "The Confucian Transformation of Mountain Space," 122.

[646] Ibid., 123.

[647] Ibid.

[648] Ibid., 120.

[649] Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 137–142.

4.2 The concept of parks in Korea

"Now we live well. So we are able to care
about landscape architecture"[650]

In the course of the landscape restoration, Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley were constructed as public parks within the urban fabric of Seoul. The concept of a park was naturally adopted for the restoration of the mountains. As in other countries, parks in Korea are seen as highly beneficial spatial counterparts to excessive industrialization and urbanization processes. Since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this view has become entrenched in Western countries and in the professions of architecture, landscape architecture, and urban planning. Thus, parks have become integral to cities across the globe, including in Korea. In general, the concept of parks is hardly questioned, especially not within the professions of landscape architecture and architecture. However, the conducted visitor interviews at Naksan, Namsan and Suseongdong Valley reveal that the concept of a park is perceived much more critically by visitors, especially with respect to the restoration of a mountain. In the following chapter, the reasons for this critical view will be examined.

4.2.1 Parks as symbol of modernity

In current Korean legal frameworks, public parks are defined as "spaces or facilities which are used to create a pleasant urban environment and foster citizens' feeling of restfulness and peace."[651] In general, the term 'park' is used for a wide variety of urban green spaces based on the conventional assumption that it signifies first and foremost a desirable and pleasant green space in the urban environment. This may partly be true. However, similar to the concept of 'landscape' or the concept of 'mountain', the concept of a 'park' can also be connoted in many differing positive as well as negative ways. In fact, the concept always echoes the values of a particular society and era, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters. Based on interviews and literature studies, various connotations that are associated with the term park have been identified. These connotations not only mirror specific values, but also reflect the impact of power structures and ideologies. In the final analysis, a culturally specific

[650] Interview 170911_NAM_MUC_1 (00:21:40)

[651] Act on Urban Parks, Green Areas, etc. [도시공원 및 녹지 등에 관한 법률], Art. 2, Statutes of the Republic of Korea, 2017, translated by Korea Legislation Research Institute, https://elaw.klri.re.kr (accessed 01.04.2018)

interpretation of the park concept is presented, that is not widely known in international planning circles.

The concept of public parks as a planned facility for recreation, education, and natural enjoyment which are open to the general public, has its origin in Western countries. In Korea, this concept was introduced as a "byproduct of modernization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries"[652] according to the landscape researcher Kim Won-Ju. Kim refers to a time starting in 1876 when Korean trade and cultural exchange with other countries slowly increased as an after-effect of the Japanese-Korean *Treaty of Ganghwa* (see chapter 2.2.2). After Korea had lost its role as a hermit kingdom, due to Japan, Western countries also intensified their diplomatic, military and economic relations with Korea. In 1882, the *Korean-American Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation*[653] was worked out between China's statesman Li Hung-chang, who assisted the Korean king *Gojong*, and the American negotiator, Commodore *Robert W. Shufeldt*, in the Chinese city Tianjin. The treaty was ratified at the beginning of 1883.[654] In fact, this treaty marked a cornerstone in Korea's international relations, as it was Korea's first treaty with a Western power.[655] The treaty defined a supportive and amicable relationship, fixed regulations for import and exports, agreements on extraterritorial jurisdiction, and a willingness to engage in more exchange of diplomats and students between the United States of America and the Korean kingdom.[656] In consequence, in the spring of 1883, American delegates under the lead of attorney general *Lucius H. Foote*, who held the position of *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America* to Korea, arrived in Seoul. In return, a *Korean special mission* was formally sent via Japan to America, and arrived in San Francisco on September 2, 1883. The eight man mission was led by the chief envoy *Min Yong-ik*, the nephew of Joseon's queen Min, and the deputy envoy *Hong Yong-sik*, the Vice President of the Foreign Office. Both, Min Yong-ik and Hong Yong-sik, born in 1860 and 1855, respectively were at that time in their twenties, and were chosen, among other reasons, because they were young enough to be open to new ideas.[657] This issue deserves to be considered, since besides the general aim of consolidating Korean-American relations, the goal

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[652] Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 124.

[653] Also known as "United States–Korea Treaty of 1882".

[654] Eckert, Carter et al., *Korea Old and New. A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers for Harvard University Press, 1990), 203.

[655] After signing a treaty with the U.S.A., Korea also signed treaties with Great Britain (1883), Germany (1883), Italy (1884), Russia (1884), France (1886) and Austria-Hungary (1889). (Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New*, 203–204.)

[656] Walter, Gary D. "The Korean Special Mission to the United States of America in 1883," *Journal of Korean Studies, No. 1* (1969):117–123.

[657] Ibid., 94–97, 101.

of the mission was to learn about Western innovations and knowledge that could be useful in Korea's obtaining of financial support, and the recruitment of American teachers.[658] Thus, the Korean delegation not only met with U.S. president *Chester Alan Arthur* and other high-ranking government and military representatives from the U.S. as well as representatives from other countries, but also visited a range of local industries, factories and urban facilities in order to learn more about modern inventions and technologies.[659] They observed San Francisco, Chicago, Washington D.C., Boston, and New York at a time of turbulent social transformation and urban growth.

An article in the New York Times, published on September 28, 1883, vividly describes how the latest achievements of a modern urban lifestyle and infrastructure were presented to the Koreans, for instance the latest alarm system of New York's Fire Department headquarters, and New York's most important green space, Central Park.[660] While Hong Yong-sik, accompanied by three members of the mission, returned to Korea on the faster western sea route via the port of San Francisco, Min Yong-ik and two other members of his group chose to return to Korea via Europe including visits in Marseilles, Paris, London, Rome and others significant cities. Only *Yu Gil-jun* stayed in the United States of America. He became the first official student from Korea in the United States of America. Hong Yeong-sik and his group arrived in Seoul in December, 1883, while Min Yong-ik and his group arrived in June 1884.[661] The descriptions of modern technologies and urban achievements witnessed by the envoys during their journey inspired king *Gojong* (see chapter 2.2.2). Although dialogues about the need for urban parks in Korea had already begun in the 1870s, when modern ideas from Japan and Western countries increased in Korea, the visits to New York's Central Park and Boston Common during the special mission enhanced the desire for urban parks in Korea.[662] In Europe and America, public parks had become increasingly established during times of great industrial and social change, especially starting in the early nineteenth century. As the landscape architect Christophe Girot argues, "the changing status of the citizens, and more particularly of

658 Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New*, 204.

659 Among others, they met: U.S. Secretary of State Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, U.S. Naval Attaché General George C. Foulk, U.S. Army General John M. Schofield, the U.S. counselor Percival Lowell, and the German advisor to the foreign office Paul G. von Möllendorff (For further details see: Walter, "The Korean Special Mission," 101–107.)

660 "Object Lessons for the Coreans," *The New York Times*, September 28, 1883

661 Walter, "The Korean Special Mission," 108, 111.

662 Son, Min Suh, "Electrifying Seoul and the Culture of Technology in Nineteenth Century Korea," Dissertation, (Oakland: University of California, 2011), 71–72.

the growing urban middle class, increased concerns relating to health, hygiene and comfort. Landscape thus became a vital tool of urban planning and public works."[663]

Renowned parks such as the English Garden in Munich (handed over to the public in 1792), London's Regent's Park (opened to the public in 1835), Central Park in New York (opened to the public in 1858), Parc des Buttes-Chaumont in Paris (opened to the public in 1867), and Ueno Park in Tokyo (opened to the public in 1876) illustrated that the concept of public parks transcended cultural and national boundaries in an easy and contagious way. Yu Gil-jun, a member of the Korean Special Mission who studied in the U.S., spoke of the need to establish parks, which in his view would include museums, arboretums and rest areas, on governmental ground in Korea.[664] He had traveled to many western cities in 1885 and 1886, and provided in his records (The Observation from a Journey West, published in 1895) concrete descriptions and evaluations of parks, which are comprised of the following:

"1) A park is a public resource created for citizens by central or municipal governments on valued land using tax revenues.
2) A park provides citizens with a place to stroll or enjoy their leisure, and provides an atmosphere similar in comfort to the home.
3) A park is a modern resource that contributes to public hygiene and improvement of the natural environment.
4) A park's main facilities include museums, zoos, botanical gardens, bridle paths, rest areas, aromatic gardens, and so on."[665]

In the end, *Kim Kisu's* records of Ueno Park in Japan, and *Yu Gil-jun's* records of parks in the United States of America and other Western countries introduced the concept of parks to Korea, and provided the cornerstone of modern park planning in Korea.

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[663] Girot, *The Course of Landscape Architecture*, 235.

[664] Son, "Electrifying Seoul", 71–72.

[665] Hwang, Keewon, "Seoul's Parks and Green Spaces in the Twentieth Century. From a City in Nature to a Nature in the City," In *Seoul, Twentieth Century. Growth and Change of the Last 100 Years*, ed. Kwang-Joong Kim (Seoul: Seoul Development Institute, 2003), 371.

Independence Park, which is called in Korean *Dongnimmun gongwon*, is considered the first public park in Seoul. It was financed by the crown prince and by donations collected by members of the Independence Association.[666] Independence Park was conceived by the *Independence Association* for commemoration and public enlightenment. With newspapers and association newsletters, the association actively tried to convince the Korean government of the necessity of this park.[667] *Philip Jaisohn*, founding member of the Independence Association, played a significant role in the park's construction as he advised the general planning of the park. [668] With help of the young Russian architect *Afanasy Seredin-Sabatin*,[669] Philip Jaisohn designed the "Independence Gate" or in Korean *Dongnimmun,*[670] a white granite arch which was forty-two feet high, thirty-three feet wide, twenty-one feet deep. Symbolically, it was built in the middle of the park on the ruins of the demolished ceremonial welcoming gate called *Yeongeunmun* in the north-western part of Seoul where historically, officials from China were blessed and welcomed to Korea. In the middle of the politic struggles between the Korean traditionalists faction, which was oriented towards China, and the Korean modernist faction, oriented towards Japan, the arch was erected as an iconic symbol by supporters of the modernist faction to give the message that Chinese ambassadors were not welcomed in Korea anymore.[671]

In the Korean Repository, a journal that was published monthly by *The Trilingual Press* from 1892 to 1898,[672] it was written that Philip Jaisohn recommended to the Korean cabinet the establishment of "a public park near the city for experimenting in the cultivation of fruit trees, forestry, flowering plants and various foreign shrubs." He further suggested reserving parts of the park for "out-door games such as tennis, foot-ball, cricket, and baseball", another part as an after-work recreation area for government officials, and a third part "for the public, where all classes can come and sit down once or twice a week and listen to instructive lectures or addresses on timely subjects."[673] The construction of the arch started with a huge public ceremony on November 21, 1897.[674] The arch resembled the *Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile* in

666 Son, "Electrifying Seoul", 72.

667 Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 124–125.

668 Lee, Yoo-Jick. "The Significance of Independence Park in Korean Landscape Architecture," *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, Vol. 36* (2008) 103, 114; "The Independence Club," *The Korean Repository 05/08*, August 1898, 285.

669 Afanasy Seredin-Sabatin (1860–1921), also known as in Korea under the name Sal Pajeon.

670 Lee, "The Significance of Independence Park," 103, 114.

671 "The Independence Club," *The Korean Repository*, 285.

672 Except the years 1893 and 1894

673 "The Independence Club," *The Korean Repository*, 284.

674 Ibid., 285–286.

Paris, however, embossed on the arc is the *taegeuk* symbol with its four hexagrams, which refer to the *Great Ultimate*, the *yinyang theory* and the *five elements theory.* The *taegeuk* symbol is also depicted on national flag of the Republic of Korea, which is called *Taegeukgi*. The Korean politician *Bak Yeonghyo*, who strongly supported the *Enlightenment Party* and a Japanese friendly policy (see chapter 4.1.2), and who pushed the progressive course to open and modernize the country, was credited with the initial registration of the *Taegeukgi* in the first part of the 1880s. Since then, the *taegeuk* has been a symbol for Korean nationalism.

Although the arch was erected, *Jaisohn*'s plans for a park had to be postponed due to both a lack of financial resources and a "rudimental level of landscape construction technology."[675] As only the arch was built and some trees were planted, in the end. experts disagree on whether this place can be regarded as a park at all. The landscape theorist *Yoo-Jick Lee*, however, argues that this site should still be considered a park, not in the sense of a horticulturally designed site, but more in the sense of a natural site that was available to the public.[676] Eventually, the parks full design was completed in 1992 and was reopened as a cultural park containing historical monuments. It received the name *Seodaemun Independence Park*. The Western design style had been adopted already in the 1880s, almost a decade before the ground breaking ceremony for Independence Park in Seoul. *Manguk Park*, which literally means 'park of all nations' is considered the very first Western style park in Korea. In the course of time it has had several names, including Jayu Park, West Park, and today Freedom Park.[677] It was also designed by the Russian architect *Afanasy Seredin-Sabatin* and opened in the late 1880s. Manguk Park was located in a residential area in Incheon, an area intended only for foreigners, and thus was not accessible for the common Joseon citizen. The city of Incheon which was quickly developed after the *Treaty of Ganghwa* in 1876 and the opening of the ports, and the Joseon government put great emphasis on foreign citizens settling in port cities in order to prevent foreigners from living within the city walls of the capital.

[675] Lee, "The Significance of Independence Park," 103.

[676] Ibid., 103, 285–286.

[677] Son, "Electrifying Seoul", 72.

In fact, it was not until 1897 that the first park with a Western-design style, *Pagoda park* also called *Tapgol Park*, was built within the capital. The park was designed by *John McLeavy Brown*, an Irish advisor who worked as *Korea's Chief Commissioner of Customs*, and was intended for use by the royal family. The park was built on the ancient site of the Buddhist *Wongak Temple* with a *Palgakjeong Pavilion* at its center. To build the park, unauthorized houses that encircled the Buddhist temple had to be demolished.[678] The park remained a private recreation area until 1913, when the Japanese colonial government opened the park to the public. The independence declaration, which proclaimed Korea as an independent and self-governed state, was read on March 1, 1919 at the Pagoda Park, and sparked nation-wide demonstrations attended by over a million people.[679] As an immediate reaction, the Japanese government closed Pagoda Park. In the end, Independence Park, Manguk Park, and Pagoda Park all had one thing in common: They were not primarily seen as improvements of living standards, but rather as symbols of modernity.

58 | Poster for Tapgol Park resp. Pagoda Park, 1967 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

[678] Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 124–125.
[679] Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New*, 278.

4.2.2 The colonial legacy

It should be noted that public parks in Korea were not solely influenced through exchange with the West. The concept and propagation of public parks in Korea was also strongly influenced by Japan, and this influence is important in today's understanding of parks. Japan not only played an essential role when it came to the introduction and establishment of parks in Seoul, but also affected how the Korean population felt about parks.

The expression for park first appeared in Korea in 1876 in records of *Kim Kisu's susinsa mission*, in which he wrote a detailed description of Ueno Park, which included both a zoo and a museum.[680] The susinsa missions were two trust cultivating missions to Japan, one in 1876 and another in 1880. For the first mission, king *Gojong* sent the envoy *Kim Kisu* to Japan to actively gather information on modern civilization.[681]

At that time, Japan, in contrast to China and Korea, had already adopted a number of modern concepts in the wake of the reform policy during Meiji era (1868-1912), and was proud to present itself as a modern state. Among the modern concepts that were adopted from the West was the concept of parks. Thus, Ueno Park was built in Tokyo in 1873 as the first public park under Western influence and was opened to the public in 1876. With this, Japan became the first country in East Asia to implement the Western concept of a park. As a kind of pioneer, Japan strongly influenced conceptions of its neighboring countries, as can be seen, for instance, at a linguistic level.

Gongwon, the Korean term for public park, is derived from the Chinese character 公園. However, the expression for public park was not introduced to Korea by China but rather by Japan. During the Meiji era, the Japanese had used the Chinese character 公園 to translate the modern Western concept of a public park into their own language.[682] However in China, the character 公園 did not denote a public space, but an official garden or a land of the government. The meaning of public park, in terms of a recreational space accessible to the entire population, was first assigned to this character by Japan to translate the Western park concept. Thus, Japan changed the meaning of this character to depict the concept of public parks.[683] The character with the new meaning was then transferred from Japan to Korea and also reintroduced into China.

680 Hwang, "Seoul's Parks and Green Spaces," 370.
681 Eckert, Carter, *Park Chung Hee and Modern Korea. The Roots of Militarism 1866-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 27.
682 Shi, Mingzheng, "From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing," *Modern China 24, No. 3* (1998):227.
683 Ibid.

But Japan's role was not limited to the introduction and terminology of garden and park spaces in Korea. It also had an impact on the construction of Seoul's parks. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, several parks were built in Seoul on the initiative of the Japanese. Among them were Oeseongdae Park built in 1897, Hanyang Park in 1910, and Jangchungdan Park in 1919 (see chapter 3.1.2).[684]

Whereas at the end of the nineteenth century, parks were built in Korea solely on the basis of individual initiatives, during the Japanese colonial period, they were integrated into the modern city planning system. Japan had adopted the concept of a legal city planning system from Western countries, and introduced a City Planning Act in Japan in 1919.[685] Subsequently, Japan brought the modern city planning concept to Korea. Some scholars argue that "the engineers in Keijo [Seoul] prefecture attempted internationalization by conveying to the Korean residents the value of the 'modern city' that would be brought about by urban planning."[686]

In the mid 1920s, the Japanese colonial government began work on a modern town plan for *Keijō* (Seoul). This plan outlined street networks, various zones, and parks in detail.[687] In 1934, the *City Planning Ordinance of Chōsen* was enacted by the Japanese colonial government as legal framework for all the cites within Korea. This is also when the term "park" first entered a legal text.[688] A large-scale comprehensive vision for parks in Keijō (Seoul) was first announced by the Japanese Colonial Government in 1940. The Japanese envisioned establishing 140 parks and park categorizations for the city. Although only 10 parks were actually built by 1945, this vision created the basis for the city's subsequent urban planning strategies and made parks an integral part of the urban fabric.[689]

When considering this development, however, it is important to understand that the Japanese transformed the meaning of parks from symbols of modernity to symbols of hegemony. Under Colonial rule, parks were not intended only for recreational purposes but also to showcase supremacy and to "educate" the people. The areas transformed into parks were distinct places in Keijo (Seoul) which held symbolic meaning and had cultural value to Koreans. Natural areas (among them the mountains of the city), religious places (such as altars and shrines of the Joseon dynasty) and political places (such as palaces) were all turned into

[684] Oeseongdae Park was also known as Hwaseongdae Park; Hanyang Park was known during Japanese colonial rule also known as Kanyo Park.

[685] Ishida, Junichiro; Kim, Jooya, "Colonial modernity and urban space: Seoul and the 1930s land readjustment project," In *Constructing the Colonized Land: Entwined Perspectives of East Asia Around WWII*, ed. Izumi Kuroishi (New York: Routledge, 2014), 175.

[686] Ibid., 173.

[687] Ibid., 180.

[688] Hwang, "Seoul's Parks and Green Spaces," 369.

[689] Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 132.

parks to impress Japanese values into the minds of Koreans. As example, the slopes and ridges of Namsan were transformed into a public park during Japanese Colonial rule. However, not only Korean landscape symbols were transformed into public parks, but also political and religious sites. In 1911, sacrifices were stopped at *Sajikdan*, the main altar at the foot of Inwangsan where national ceremonies worshipping the national deities including the gods of land and grains had been performed since the early Joseon dynasty.[690] The altar was one of the most important spiritual sites during the Joseon dynasty, and thus was located in the immediate vicinity of the main palace. The altar was dismantled by order of the Japanese government and the area designated a public park (Sajik Park) in 1924.[691] This transformation was perceived by many as a defilement, as it made the spiritual place a place of public recreation and pleasure.

The best known example is *Gyeongbokgung*, but other palace grounds were also transformed.[692] While Gyeongbokgung was used as site for the Japanese colonial government building, the palace grounds of *Changgyeonggung* were transformed into a public park (Changgyeong Park) which included a museum, a zoo and a botanical garden. The Ueno Park in Tokyo, which also had a zoo, a museum, and a botanical garden, presumably served as a model for Changgyeong Park. The Japanese residency general of Korea *Ito Hirobumi* who had played a major role in preparing the Korean-Japanese protectorate treaty, was heavily involved in the transformation of the palace grounds and promoted modern architecture that replaced the Korean traditional palace buildings. A Western-style glass greenhouse was created in the botanical garden, which together with the botanical garden was considered a novelty in Korea.[693] The botanical garden was designed by the Japanese horticulturalist *Fukuba Hayato* in association with the French landscape architect Henri Martinet.[694] Fukuba Hayato had studied in France and Germany,[695] and after his return became known for teaching and promoting

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[690] Ibid., 125.

[691] Kim, Kwang-Joong, ed., *Seoul, Twentieth Century. Growth and Change of the Last 100 Years* (Seoul: Seoul Development Institute, 2003), 605.

[692] About 90 percent of Joseon's Gyeongbokgung, Seoul's main palace, was dismantled by the Japanese government by the early 1920s. A few years later, the Japanese government built their own governmental building on the southern part of the former palace site. The Japanese governmental building was a Western-style building, that in view of the cultural geographer Hong-key Yoon (2006:288) was meant to "display the power and authority of the colonial government in a physical form in the hope that Koreans would see the altered landscape and accept their rule."

[693] Kim, Soo Ja. "Post-Colonialism and the Restoration of Cultural Identity: A Study on the Reconstruction of Changgyeong Palace," *The Review of Korean Studies, Vol. 20, No. 2* (2017):57.

[694] Kim, Jeoung-Eun. "The Image of Changgyeongwon and Culture of Pleasure Grounds during the Japanese Colonial Period," *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, Vol. 43* (2015):4.

[695] Frédéric, Louis, *Japan Encyclopedia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 2002), 215.

modern horticulture and landscape gardening in Japan, especially for the royal family.[696] It was announced by *I Wanyong*, Joseon's last prime minister, that the palace ground would be changed into Changgyeong Park, and opened to the public.[697] The action of I Wanyong indicate that the transformation of the royal palace into a park cannot only be traced to Japanese intervention, but that the role of Korea's rulers must also be critically discussed and further examined, which gives reasons for future research.

Not only were the modifications within the palace grounds seen as a disgrace by the Korean elite, but also the opening of the site to the general public. According to the historian Kim Soo Ja, Joseon's officers were appalled to "see civilians walking inside the palace with muddy feet."[698] However, *Komiya Mihomatsu*, the Japanese vice minister of the Korean Imperial Household, insisted in opening the palace to the public in order to educate, cultivate, and civilize common people. In 1922, several thousand cherry trees were planted in Changgyeong Park, making the park a famous place for entertainment and leisure especially during the Sakura-season (Cherry blossom season) in spring. The Changgyeonggung that during the Joseon dynasty were accessible only to the royal family, high officials and servants, became a public park where anybody could celebrate *hanami*, the Japanese traditional custom of cherry blossom viewing, which often includes excessive dancing and drinking.[699]

Triggered by the symbolic transformation of Seoul's political places, spiritual places, and sacred mountains into public parks, the impression arose among segments of Seoul's citizens that public parks were being misused as "colonial tools to eradicate the native culture and traditions of Korea."[700]

The connotation of park as colonial tool was also addressed by several interviewees during this research.[701] For instance, an interviewee who spoke about the transformations on Namsan, stated: "We've been colonialized for almost 36 years. Japan has followed a policy, aimed at completely breaking the spirit of Korea, to erase our tradition."[702]

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[696] Wakaizumi, Haruka; Suzuki, Makoto. "A Study on Fukuba Hayato's Influences for Modern Horticulture and Landscape Gardening in Japan," *Journal of The Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture 71* (2008):469.
[697] Kim, "Post-Colonialism and the Restoration of Cultural Identity," 58.
[698] Ibid., 59.
[699] Ibid.
[700] Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 125.
[701] Interview 171106_NAK_VIS_LOC_4 (00:16:18), Interview 171109_NAM_VIS_LOC_5 (00:05:31-00:06:30)
[702] Interview 171106_NAK_VIS_LOC_4 (00:14:41 – 00:14:55)

4.2.3 The impact of foreign education

During the era of rapid urbanization the interest in parks waned, indeed the number of parks and green spaces even declined, as any and every vacant site was used for housing an infrastructure. Although the *Park Act* of 1967 provided the first legal framework for park planning under the Korean government, few new parks were built during this time due to the limited space in the city. Often, the few parks that were built during that time tended to be constructed at the peripheries of the city and were coupled with a desire to contain urban growth (see chapter 2.2.3). In the meantime, grounded on the strong relationship with the U.S. government that expanded through U.S. financial, military, political, and infrastructural support during and after the Korean war, American lifestyle including fundamentals of the U.S. educational system and legislation were largely adopted by Korea. This influence was also prevalent in architecture and landscape architecture theories and methods. Thus, coexistent to traditional Korean garden art, the profession of landscape architecture was introduced into Korea during this period of far-reaching industrialization and urbanization. Landscape architecture provided strategies for ecological and social improvements which could help contain the excesses of urban growth. It gained influence as evidenced by the establishment of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture on December 29, 1972. [703] In 1973, for the first time, landscape architecture programs were offered in two Korean universities: *Seoul National University* and *Yeungnam University*. In that same year, the Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture was founded with the goal of promoting the practice and theories of landscape architecture.[704]

In the ensuing years, in light of a growing middle class of citizens who were seeking a place of peace and escape from their daily work, the concept of parks was promoted and demand for these spaces increased, which in turn slowly generated increased investment in parks. Thus, after years of declining park numbers, on the site of a former golf course which was donated by the Seoul Country Club, the Children's Grand Park was opened in 1973. The park included a children's center, a zoo, a botanical garden and an amusement park.

The Children's Grand Park is significant, as it played an active role in combining the idea of natural recreation with the idea of an amusement and theme park. This concept of parks

[703] Kim, Mintai, "The Development of the Environmental Movement and Open Space Planning and Design During the Democratic Period in Korea," In *(Re)constructing Communities: Design Participation in the Face of Change*, ed. Jeffrey Hou, Mark Francis, and Nathan Brightbill (Davis: Center for Design Research, University of California, 2005), 90.

[704] Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape Architecture, https://www.jkila.org (accessed January 13, 2019).

as *theme parks* became very popular in Korea, and gave rise to a number of parks in the 1980s, which included amusement facilities such as sky lifts or rollercoasters, including Dream Land (1987), Seoul Grand Park (1988) and Seoul Land (1988). Even small parks such as the Marronnier Park (1985) in downtown Seoul offered facilities for culture, art and performance.[705] During this time, parks were strongly linked to the notion of highly designed, monofunctional and consumption-based spaces which focused on specific themes, in particular people's entertainment, including golf courses, ski resorts, and amusement parks.[706]

The rise of parks in the 1980s, especially as Korea played host to the Asian Games and the Summer Olympics, made the profession of landscape architecture extremely popular so that from the first two university programs offered in 1973, the number of colleges and universities offering landscape architecture programs has risen to over 40 today. The faculties of these universities has been largely trained in the U.S. Furthermore, numerous Korean students have been trained as landscape architects abroad, since an excellent international education is highly valued in Korean Society. Many of these people were keen to put their acquired knowledge into practice. Therefore, during the 1980s there was a paradigm shift in which landscape architecture expanded from its spectrum of mono functional, design-based theme parks, to include concepts of ecological, cultural and historical issues in landscape architecture and urban planning (see chapter 2.1). Soon, many parks were built following American and European models as many in the profession "were eager to apply what they [had] learned directly to Korea, without cultural considerations."[707]

Looking at the overall picture, two elements should be briefly outlined. One is that in the 1970s and early 1980s, parks were seen by both planners and visitors as not only improvements to the living environments but as signifiers of economic prosperity. Hence, new materials and facilities were incorporated into the park design, while the parks themselves became representative places for well-dressed people to spend their leisure time. Second, landscape architecture was in its formative years in Korea, and thus was largely shaped by Western concepts and role models of parks. It was common practice to invite internationally renowned architects and landscape architects from abroad to realize prestigious, large scale landscape architecture projects. However, these projects were based on a different set of values than those of traditional Korean concepts with differing understandings of nature, aesthetic ideal, and landscape meaning.

[705] Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 128–129.
[706] Kim, "The Development of the Environmental Movement and Open Space Planning," 91.
[707] Ibid., 90.

4.2.4 Connotation of parks

Even though the role of parks has changed over time to comply with various political ambitions and design trends, parks in Korea have always remained an urban planning tool seen predominantly from a perspective of functionality and efficiency. Perceiving nature predominantly in terms of its performance is in stark contrast to traditional Korean understanding of nature. The functional and technocratic concept of nature today may be due to the fact that systematic park planning together with city planning laws were not introduced until the beginning of the twentieth century. This functional approach to parks becomes particularly clear when one looks at Korea's legal framework.

Even though single plans for distinct cities have existed since the 1910s,[708] the *City Planning Ordinance Chōsen* of 1934 provided for the first overarching planning regulation, which also included park-related laws, for all cities in Korea.[709] This legal framework was maintained even after the end of Japanese colonial rule. The landscape theorist Keewon Hwang states, that "unlike today's parks, which are city planning 'facilities,' at that time they were considered a form of service area and thus were distinguished as park 'district'."[710] This statements not only tells us how parks were seen during the Japanese colonial period, but also demonstrates that today, parks are considered city planning facilities in Korea. There has been a shift from a territorial perspective to a functional perspective. This functional perspective, to see parks as city planning facilities, has a great impact on the outcome of these spaces, as will be shown later. The functional basis was, however, already set up in the 1930s, as shown in the *Keijō Town Plan* (1920–1959)[711] which was developed under the Japanese government. Here, the concept and function of parks was unmistakably stated as free space in a dense urban area with two basic functions, serving for public health, and functioning as refuge in case of earthquakes. The Japanese conception can clearly be seen. The Keijō Town Plan further suggested distinguishing five categories of parks: playgrounds, neighborhood parks, athletic parks, city parks, and natural parks. Each category was given a spatial target per capita ration.[712] In the end, the Keijō Town Plan was incorporated into the *City Planning Ordinance of Chōsen*, and certain ideas including the park categories, can be seen even in today's park planning, as is later discussed in this thesis.

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[708] For instance, Gyeongseong Municipal Improvement Plan of 1912 or the Gyeongseong Bu City Plan of 1926.
[709] Hwang, "Seoul's Parks and Green Spaces," 386–387.
[710] Ibid., 387.
[711] also known as: Gyeongseong Town Plan
[712] Ibid.

The *City Planning Ordinance of Chōsen* was replaced by the Korean government with two independent laws in 1962: the *Building Act*[713] and the *Urban Planning Act*.[714] The *Urban Planning Act* had the purpose of promoting the development and improvement of the city, and its public welfare, including the general regulation that abandoned streets, rivers, and parks shall be given back to the state or local government (Art. 2, 33, 34). In 1967 the *Park Act* was separated from the *Urban Planning Act* and approved as an independent law.[715] Whereas previously city parks were regulated on the basis of the Urban planning Act starting in 1967, the *Park Act* provided a new legal framework with the aim of protecting the natural landscape of the country, improving the health, education and emotional life of people through parks, creating a basis for the designation, construction and management of parks.[716]

Although partially revised in the 1970s, the *Park Act* remained in effect until January 1980, when it was divided into the *Urban Park Act* and the *Natural Parks Act*.

The *Natural Parks Act* was aimed at protecting the natural ecosystem and natural scenic places, in order to contribute to the health, recreational and emotional life of the Korean nation. *Natural parks* were comprised of selected natural sites that were representative of, for instance, provinces or districts. [717] In contrast to natural parks, which held mainly representative purposes and addressed social issues and the needs of citizens, urban parks were to improve the health and emotional life of the citizens, the quality of recreation, and to protect the natural view (Art. 1). Urban parks were subdivided into Children's parks, Neighborhood parks, Urban natural parks, Cemetery parks, and Athletic parks (Art. 3).[718] However, a clear separation between nature parks and city parks could not be maintained in practice, as the design concepts of the parks ultimately pursued all objectives, whether they were representative, pedagogical or social. Then, in 2005, the *Act on Urban Park, Greenbelts, etc.* followed as legal framework for parks and green spaces in urban areas, and has remained valid to this day.

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[713] Building Act [건축법], Statutes of the Republic of Korea, 1962

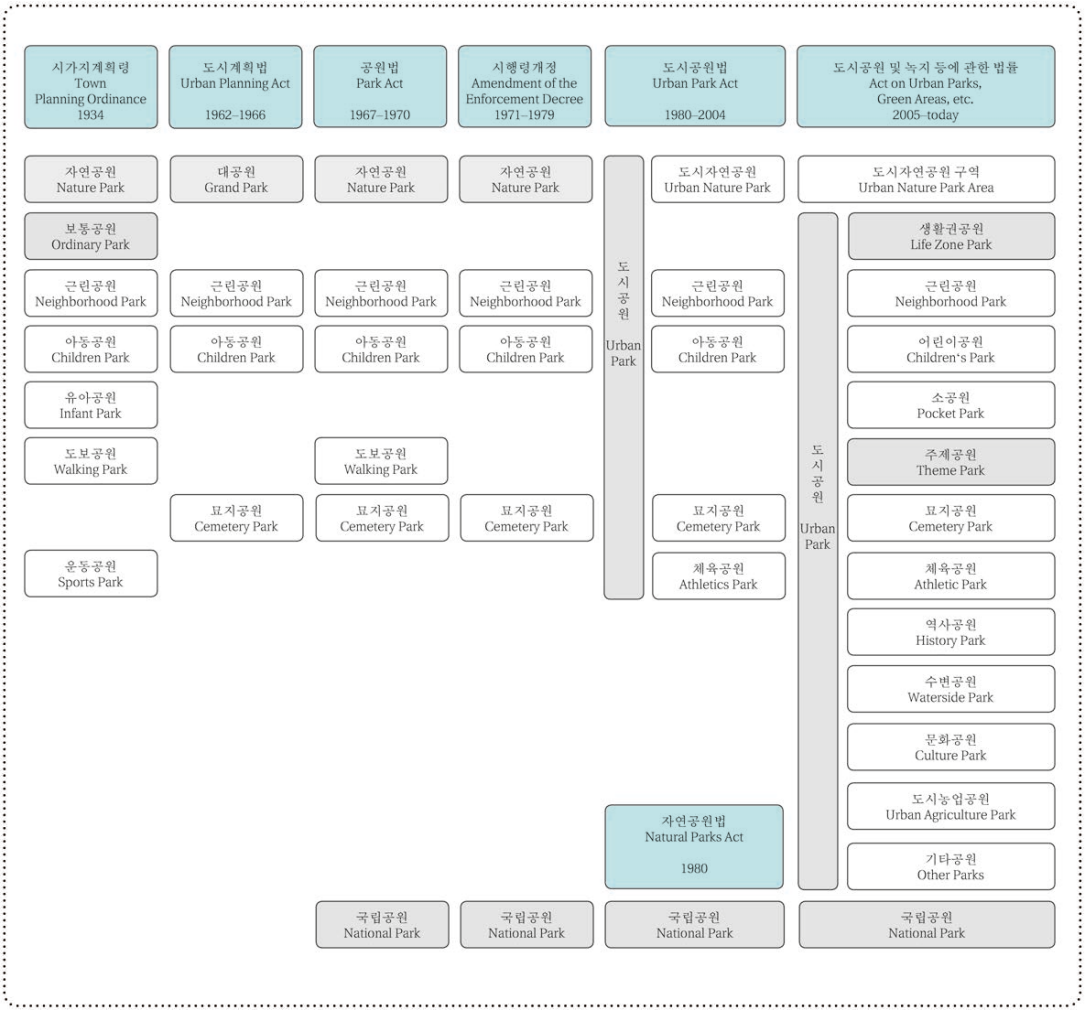
[714] Urban Planning Act [도시계획법], Art. 1, 2, 26, 33, 34, Statutes of the Republic of Korea, 1962.

[715] Kim, "Changes in Park & Green Space Policies in Seoul," 126.

[716] Park Act [공원법] 1967.

[717] Natural Parks Act [자연공원법], Art. 1, 5, 6, Statutes of the Republic of Korea, 1980, Korean Legislation Research Institute, http://elaw.klri.re.kr (accessed on April 20, 2018).

[718] Urban Park Act [도시공원법], Art. 1, 3, Statutes of the Republic of Korea, 1980, Korean Legislation Research Institute, http://elaw.klri.re.kr (accessed on April 1, 2018); Act on Urban Parks, Green Areas, etc., Art. 1, 2, 2017.



59 | Chronology and park classification system (© Susann Ahn 2019, based on SMG Human Resource Development Center. 2017)

The graphic, which originates from teaching materials for further education in urban renewal (a course designed for civil servants of the Seoul Metropolitan Government) shows the increasing technocratic differentiation and specification of parks on the basis of their functions.[719] However, rather than improving the readability of the urban space, this has led to an erosion of the term 'park' due to its excessive use as an umbrella term for any public green space. It has also resulted in obfuscation and misreading of urban space because the park facilities show no major differences in their design and thus do not preserve and create specific spatial characteristics. The uniform design of the parks can be explained as a consequence of the legal situation.

[719] Seoul Metropolitan Government Human Resource Development Center. *2017 Practitioner Course Urban Regeneration* [서울 특별시 인재개발원장: 2017 년 1 기 6 급 실무 전문가 양성과정 6/2 도시재생] (Seoul: Seoul Human Resource Development Center, 2017), 113.

In Seoul, the classification of parks is largely determined by their facilities, which are specified quite explicitly through legal texts. The 1967 *Park Act* already contained certain regulations regarding park facilities, which were expanded upon in the subsequent *Urban Park Act* and the *Act on Urban Park, Greenbelts, etc.* which remains in effect to this day. In Article 2, it is stated:

> "The term 'park facilities' means any of the following facilities which are installed to improve the efficiency of urban parks:
>
> (a) Roads or plazas;
>
> (b) Landscape-architecture facilities, such as flower beds, fountains, and sculptures;
>
> (c) Recreation facilities, including rest areas and park benches;
>
> (d) Play facilities, including swings and slides;
>
> (e) Sports facilities, including tennis courts, swimming pools, and archery ranges;
>
> (f) Cultural facilities, including botanical gardens, zoos, aquariums, museums, and outdoor music halls;
>
> (g) Convenience facilities for users, including parking lots, stores, and toilets;
>
> (h) Park management facilities, including park management offices, entrance and exit doors, fences, and hedges;
>
> (i) Facilities for urban agriculture (referring to urban agriculture pursuant to subparagraph 1 of Article 2 of the Act on Development and Support of Urban Agriculture; hereinafter the same shall apply), including practice centers, experience centers, learning centers, and agricultural materials warehouses;
>
> (j) Other facilities used to raise the efficiency of urban parks, as prescribed by Ordinance of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport." [720]

The detailed description of a park's facilities has a major influence on its concept, spatial program, and appearance. In fact, it prescribes a functional design approach, which leaves only little space for creative and contextual design concepts at the expense of spatial quality and identification with these sites. Many parks in Seoul resemble each other in terms of the spatial program determined by the mentioned facilities, be it outdoor sport areas, flower areas, sculptures, convenience stores, or museums. This includes the parks Namsan, Naksan, and Suseongdong Valley which are also subject to the legal regulations of the *Act on Urban Park,*

[720] Act on Urban Parks, Green Areas, etc., Art. 2, 2017.

Greenbelts, etc.[721] The lack of distinction and contextuality was addressed at those parks by interviewees, who for instance criticized flower areas, playgrounds, ponds, museum buildings, or badminton areas, and asphalt roads as being incongruent with the slope of a mountain. These facilities were seen as being too intrusive into the mountain and nature.[722] Although asphalt roads provide a barrier-free, safe, and convenient surface for walking as well as providing quick access for maintenance vehicles, visitors favored a traditional narrow dirt path along the mountain slopes.[723] In their view, a mountain should have a natural, unobtrusive landscape design, while the term park was associated with a flat area which was "decorated and designed."[724] As the character of a place is determined, inter alia, by its material and formal constitution and technical realization,[725] visitors noticed that the design of the parks did not comfort to their understanding of the mountain. Instead of the natural mountainscape, which was imagined, these parks were instead determined by legal regulations and principles of efficiency and functionality.

It is true that legal regulations are indispensable, to a certain extent, as they guarantee a certain standard of planning. Beyond that, building regulations and legal restrictions in urban planning do not necessarily have to lead to a reduction of spatial qualities, as architect Sung Hong Kim has impressively demonstrated.[726] In his research and exhibition about the FAR Game, he has shown how architects can cope with the tight corset of legal building regulations, immense economic pressure of developers, and the demands of consumers through creative architectural solutions with high spatial quality.[727] Innovative and creative approaches to achieving spatial qualities despite various constraints have already been applied in architecture, but are still rare in Seoul's landscape restoration projects, which all share a certain homogeneity due to their legal and historical ties.

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[721] The Act on Urban Park, Greenbelts, etc. is mandatory both for Neighborhood Parks (Naksan), and Urban Nature Parks (Inwangsan and Namsan).

[722] Interview 171102_SUS_VIS_3 (00:05:03), Interview 171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_1 (00:03:18 – 00:03:37)

[723] Interview 171031_NAK_VIS_3 (00:01:20 – 00:04:33)

[724] Interview 171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_1 (00:03:18)

[725] Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci*, 14–15.

[726] The FAR Game exhibition, curated by Sung Hong Kim for the Korean Pavilion at the 15th Venice Biennale, analyzed the interaction between controllers, suppliers and consumers in the hyper dense urban environment of Seoul. The struggle to maximize effective floor space in relation to the actual size of the plot is known as the FAR Game. While in classical debates the FAR game was seen as the reason for a poor architectural quality, the exhibition follows the approach of accepting the inherent tension of the FAR game and using it as a generator of creative and innovative architectural solutions (Kim, Sung Hong et al., ed., *The Far Game. Constraints Sparking Creativity* (Seoul: Space Books, 2016).

[727] Kim et al., ed., *The Far Game. Constraints Sparking Creativity,* 20–61.

In the final analysis, this research has demonstrated that parks need to be considered in a differentiated and much more complex manner. Depending on the historical and legal interpretation, the examined parks are not only public spaces for recreation and leisure in the urban fabric, but have also been introduced to Korea as symbols of modernity, and are thus linked to functional understanding, power struggles, and political ideologies that have sought to change identities.

60 | Landscape Design, 1988 (© 서울 시립대학교 & 서울특별시)

4.3 The built spaces: between park and mountain

In the chapter 4.1 and 4.2, the underlying references, namely the concept of mountains and of parks, were analyzed. Both references help shape the vision of the landscape restoration project as well as the expectations of the visitors. In this chapter, the focus shifts to the textuality and physical-material reality of the projects. In other words, the built result of Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley will be analyzed. As these projects were built a few years ago, the earth has finally come to rest and the trees have been able to grow. The parks are now developing to their full potential, so the project results are clearly visible and can be compared with the original intentions. Before this though, the three projects are briefly described in order to give the reader an impression of the built results. With this in mind, the projects were explored in several field walks. The observations were made from two levels—a close-up and a distance view—since the effect and perception of the projects changes in accordance to one's distance from the project.

4.3.1 Close-up perspective of landscape restorations

Namsan Wildflower Park

As a key element of the *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* the *Namsan Wildflower Park* was opened in February 1997. The Namsan Wildflower Park is legally classified as an urban park. Replacing the two exclusive multi-story apartment complexes, the 9,877 square meter Wildflower Park was elongated on Namsan's mountain slope (see chapter 3.1). Namsan Wildflower Park is a popular destination for residents as well as for tourists. The park can be divided into different areas: a visitor's information, a pine tree complex, a wildflower garden, a pond with a brooklet, a children forest, a wildflower complex, a hibiscus garden and several outdoor sport areas. The main entrance to the park is located quite centrally, with the park extending both eastward and westward along the slope of the mountain. The entrance itself is marked by red and white flower beds, neatly pruned bushed and colossal white letters spelling out Namsan Park. Just inside the entrance there is a parking lot and visitor information area which includes an information building, a café, and restrooms as well as some small maintenance facilities. The visitors' information includes huge presentation boards with information about the history and meaning of the landscape restoration project. The western part of the park is divided into several terraces supported by retaining walls. To the west, right next to the main entrance, visitors will find the *children's forest*, a fenced area with swings,

small wooden huts and various playground equipment standing in the light forest. From there, several paths lead to a larger terrace that is carved into the mountain side. It contains a small plaza and a 338 square meter shallow oval pond fed by a small mountain stream. Edging the south side of the pond, there is an extensive wooden walkway. South of the pond lies the hibiscus garden, also called *mugunghwa garden,* which stretches along the slope. The design of this garden is based on the Korean national flower *mugunghwa* (Hibiscus syriacus), while the garden itself features a variety of different hibiscus plants. At the western end of the park there is an outdoor fitness area, and six large wooden pergolas for picnicking and rest. All in all, the western part of the park resembles a light deciduous forest. Korean maple trees (Acer pseudosieboldianum), ginkgo trees (Ginkgo biloba), bird cherry trees (Prunus padus), and silk trees (Albizia julibrissin) create multicolored scenery in spring and autumn. In contrast, the eastern part of the park is mainly comprised of a dense pine tree forest. The pine trees are planted at a distance of two to three meters from each other creating a dark green needle canopy which gives a sense of intimacy. Occasionally there is a deciduous tree mixed into them. One part of the pine forest is called the *provinces pine tree complex*. As the name suggests, pines native to all provinces are exhibited in this area. The pine tree complex is located at the former location of the *Foreigner apartments*. Today, there are no material traces of the *Foreigner apartments* which stood there for more than twenty years. The park manager explains this as follows: "There are a lot of past memories that hurt us, that we would like to forget. […] we did not want the foreigner apartments. It's a bad memory."[728] Instead, pine trees were planted at this site. A leading officer explains the choice of pine trees by referring to the second verse of today's South Korean national anthem *Aegukga*: "As the pine atop Namsan[729] stands firm, as if wrapped in Armor. Unchanged through wind and frost, so shall our resilient spirit."[730] According to the park officer, the restoration was carried out with pine trees, because the pine tree was the most important tree in ancient times, and its place is anchored in the Korean anthem as a symbol of the nation's soul.[731] The Pine Tree Arboretum symbolizes a traditional landscape ideal and the 'return to Korean nature and culture.'[732] It is interesting that despite the cultural significance of the pine tree, the park was named the *Namsan Wildflower Park*.

[728] Interview 170911_NAM_MUC_2 (00:00:01 – 00:00:21)

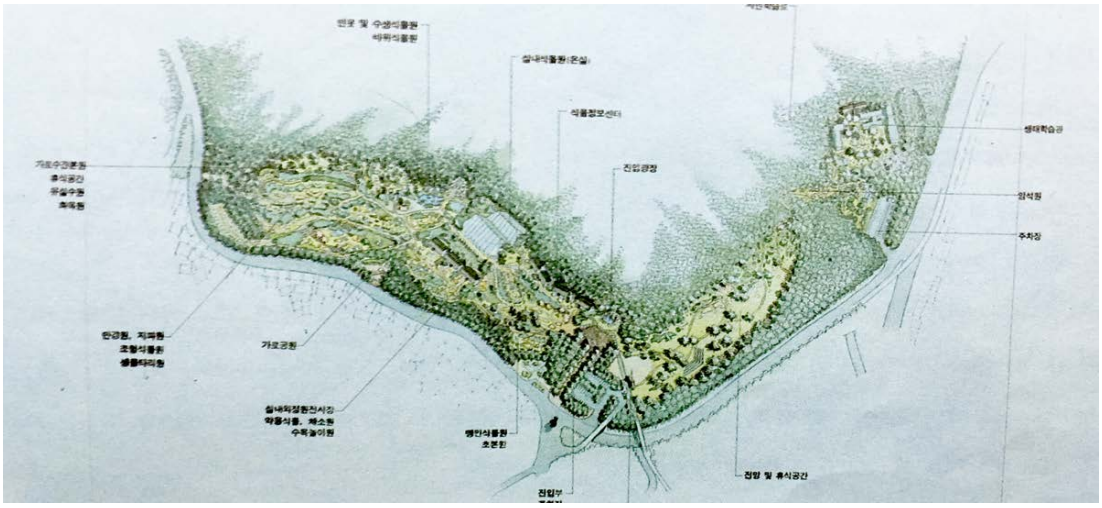
[729] The designation Namsan can refer either to the southern mountain in Seoul or to the geomantic terminology Namsan and thus generally to the function of a southern guardian mountain.

[730] Kang, Imgyu, *Evolving Nationalism in Korean Music as Seen in Ahn Eak-Tai's Korea Fantasy and Missa Arirang by Huh Cool-Jae*, Dissertation (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 2012), 23 [남산 위에 저 소나무, 철갑을 두른 듯 바람서리 불변함은 우리 기상일세"].

[731] Interview 170911_NAM_MUC_1 (00:19:54)

[732] Seoul Metropolitan Government, *Comprehensive Plan of Namsan Restoration* [서울특별시, 남산제모습찾기 종합기본계획] (Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1991), 10.

The name comes from the *Wildflower garden* and the *Wildflower complex,* which are two small areas at the eastern and southern borders of the park. A park officer explains, "back then, we almost exclusively planted wild flowers according to botanical themes [⋯] But it wasn't the right climate and soil for the flowers. [⋯] We had to replant all the flowers after four years, but we gave up because they died again."[733] Now, the area for wildflowers has been reduced. All that remains is a small part of the wildflower garden. It resembles a garden area with perennials and grasses, a square of mosaic stones, stone piles covered with climbing plants, small stone lanterns, a small stream and a pavilion with a thatched roof, and a bamboo area at the eastern tip. The whole site is accessed by numerous walkways. To accommodate the huge number of visitors, there are various types of walkways through the park ranging from water bound pavements, large-format stone slabs and wooden walkways., to concrete and asphalt roads, the later also serve electric vehicles used for maintenance purposes. The walkways range from 2,5 to 3 meters in width and are framed by curbs of brick or granite in addition to cut box hedges, rocks and various bushes. Along the walkways, there are street lantern, CCTV cameras, loudspeakers, and information boards. The boundaries of the park are clearly delineated stone walls and fences, however the park is embedded in an overarching Namsan Park system. Thus, the paths which run through the *Wildflower Park* extend around the mountain or lead up to the summit.



61 | Plan of Namsan Restoration, Namsan Wildflower Park (© Seoul Metropolitan Government)

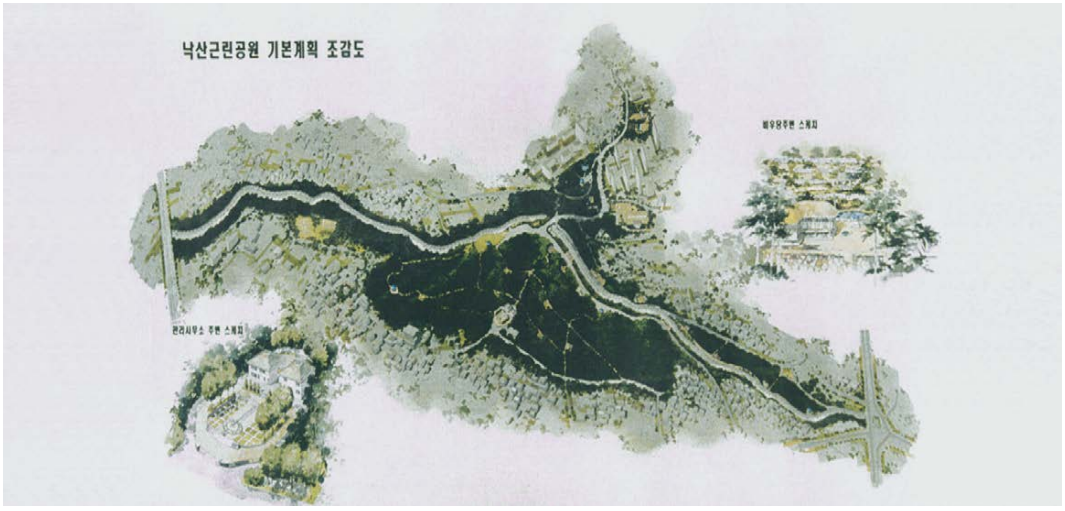
[733] Interview 170911_NAM_MUC_1 (00:03:41 – 00:09:16)

62 | Namsan Wildflower Park (© Susann Ahn, 2016–2018)

Naksan Neighborhood Park

Naksan park is officially classified as a 'neighborhood park,' and thus also subject to the *Act on Urban Park, Greenbelts, etc.* (see chapter 3.2). In fact, Naksan Park is a popular park in Seoul all year round. Teenagers and young couples in particular visit this place to enjoy the day and night view over the city. From afar, Naksan Park appears as a wooded hill. After the demolition of the buildings, the 198,387 square meter park was established with several thousand large trees, in addition to an immense amount of small shrubs, grasses and perennials. When seen from a closer perspective, however, the park is divided into several different areas, including a central plaza with a pond and a museum, four squares with panoramic views, convenience facilities, outdoor sports facilities, and architectural reconstructions. When approaching from the direction of *Daehangno* area, the entrance is marked by colorful flower pots, and an approximately five meter high granite wall with a dark dragon relief. The wall forms the prelude to the park and reminds visitors of the geomantic significance of the mountain as blue dragon in the east. Several small stairs lead from the entrance to the central plaza of the park. The stairs are lined with cone-shaped yew trees and cut box hedges, and pass intermediate platforms with two art installations (Sound of Cosmic and Sound of Air). The central plaza is a large, flat square halfway up the mountain slope. The square consists of 40 x 40 centimeter quadratic granite slabs that are laid with a cross joint. It is divided by darker, rectangular, and circular granite bands, which give it a monumental, geometric and representative character. A museum is located on the eastern side of the plaza. It is a low brick building with an overhanging roof in which the Naksan Gallery is located, which passes the history and meaning of the place on to the visitors. Next to it there is a one-story infrastructure building with maintenance facilities and convenience facilities including a kiosk and restrooms. Opposite there is a covered stage for performances, which is, however, rarely used. On the southern side of the plaza, there are ten rectangular granite seats under pagoda trees (Sophora japonica), opposite a large stone with the inscription Naksan Park. The edges of the plaza are decorated with seasonal flower beds. East of the plaza, there is a small water basin with a manmade waterfall, which cascades over a 2.5 meter high concrete cliff. It is called the dragon pond, after the legend of a blue dragon that ascended into the sky, and was built at the request of the local community. From the central plaza, there are three different paths which lead to the top of Naksan. A representative staircase climbs directly up to the summit, while to the south and north of the plaza, two asphalt paths, which are occasionally used by maintenance vehicles, take winding routes up the hill. High granite slabs, low hedges, rocks with acacias and ornamental grass strips along the walkways give the clear signal that the path should not be departed from. Shimmering handrails, loudspeakers, numerous lamps, and rotating video cameras leave no

doubt that everything has been done to provide for the safety of the visitors. The steps in the park are marked with a bright green color for safety reasons. There are several scenic outlooks that offer an impressive view of the historic center of Seoul. In order to further improve recreational and leisure activities, the park features, several sports facilities with sports equipment, a badminton field, and a basketball court. For historical reflection, the *Biudang Pavilion*, the Naksan Gallery, parts of the historic city wall and the *Hongdeok's Vegetable Patch (Hongdeokjeon)* have been reconstructed. Numerous information boards convey the history and meaning of the different places. The historic city wall has not only been completely reconstructed, but also all trees within twenty meters of it have been removed. Instead, grasses and flowers are planted next to the wall to ensure that the wall is visible and has full effect. The park manager explained: "We used to plant trees in front of the wall. However, these trees blocked the view of the historic object. Therefore, we removed the trees. Anyways in the past there were no trees next to the wall, so this measure literally takes us back to the original appearance."[734] Apart from the immediate vicinity of the city wall, the slopes of Naksan were originally forested with pine trees (Pinus densiflora and Pinus koraiensis). In the course of time, however, according to the park official, these were replaced with cherry, maple, silver cypresses, cedar, acacia, and other trees in compliance with the preferences of the inhabitants.



63 | Plan of Naksan Restoration (© Seoul Metropolitan Government)

[734] Interview 161205_NAK_MUC (00:04:20)

64 | Naksan Neighborhood Park (© Susann Ahn, 2016-2018)

Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley

The Suseongdong Valley is part of the *Inwangsan Urban Nature Park* and is regulated by the *Act on Urban Park, Greenbelts, etc.*, like Namsan Park and Naksan Park. However, compared to the other two parks, Suseongdong Valley is not easy to find, as it is located away from the main tourist attractions and is well hidden by residential areas. Usually only people with knowledge of the area, for example, hikers on their way to the summit of Inwangsan or residents of adjoining neighborhoods visit this site, and it is much less crowded than the other two parks discussed. Located at the end of a residential street, the park is long and narrow, and runs up the mountain along both sides of a small stream. It has no visible boundaries and thus smoothly merges into the mountain panorama.

A group of high, picturesque pine trees, and a small paved plaza mark the entrance. Information boards on the northwest side of the plaza describe the history and importance of the place. The plaza opens to a view of the reconstructed Kirin Bridge. Underneath the bridge, the riverbed has been carved out and reconstructed. However, for most of the year the riverbed is dry, thus giving plants the ability to push their way into this area until the stones can hardly be seen. One visitor said: "It's good to come here after a rain because then there is enough water and it's beautiful."[735]

Next to the riverbed, paths run up the mountain slope. The footpaths are made of sand-colored concrete, edged by twenty to thirty centimeter wide drainage channels, small shrubs, box hedges, decorative grasses or rocks. Next to the paths, the mountain forest begins. In the upper part of the park, the paths lead up the hill through the forest. In particularly steep sections, stairs of wood and unhewn stone have been constructed.

Altogether there are only a few architectural elements in the park. Next to the *Girin bridge*, near the entrance, there is a small Korean pavilion, toilet facilities, and a wooden bridge. A few wooden platforms and a tiny sport area are located in the upper part of the park. Apart from the information boards, only a few remnants of the walls of the former Okin apartments remain.

.....

[735] Interview 171102_SUS_VIS_2 (00:01:45)

The remnants of the apartments are off the main road and to a great extent covered with plants. Along the stream, there are several planted areas with bushes, little trees and grasses, which integrate into the mountain scenery. According to the park manager, any special design was avoided, as the aim was to simply reproduced the site according to the past.[736]

65 | Vision Suseongdong Valley Restoration (© Seoul Metropolitan Government)

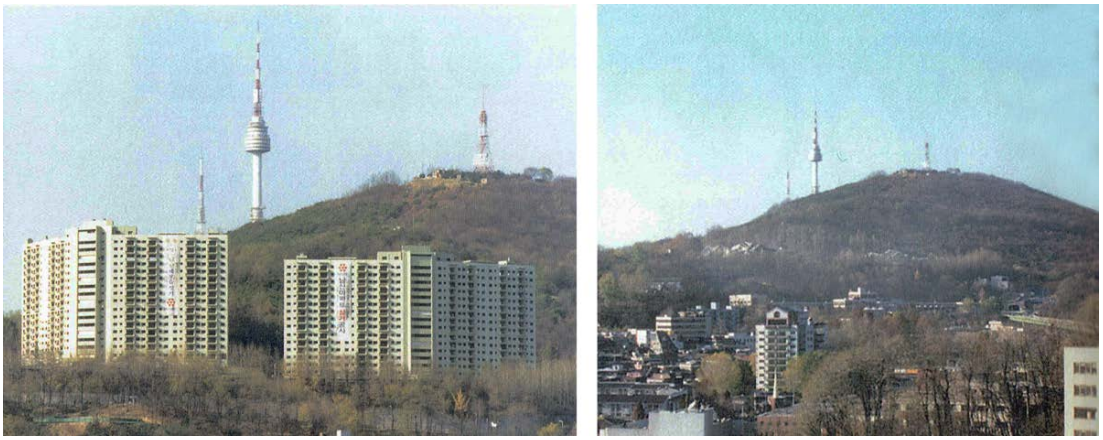
[736] Interview 161117_SUS_MUC_LAN (00:08:22)

66 | Suseongdong Valley (© Susann Ahn, 2016-2018)

4.3.2 Distant perspective of landscape restorations

From close up, the earlier described material-physical outcome of the projects reminds one unmistakably of modern parks with convenient stores, sports facilities, galleries, small ponds, trimmed bushes, sitting areas, pergolas, flower beds and winding paths. However, the appearance of the projects varies considerably when the project is viewed from a distance.

From afar, the natural appearance of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley dominates. The design elements mentioned above hardly play a role in the overall effect of the mountains on an urban scale. It is particularly important that from a distance, the mountains are visible in their natural state without buildings obstructing the view. It is also important that it is possible to see from one mountain to the other, which emphasizes their interrelatedness. By demolishing the apartment buildings, the mountains regained their importance as visual landmarks and points of orientation, marking the historical boundary of the city. Therefore, from the distant perspective, it can be argued that the landscape restorations of Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley are successful. In the end, however, the projects seem to be caught up between the concept of parks and the concept of mountains.



67 | Distant perspective of Namsan before and after landscape restoration (© Seoul Museum of History)

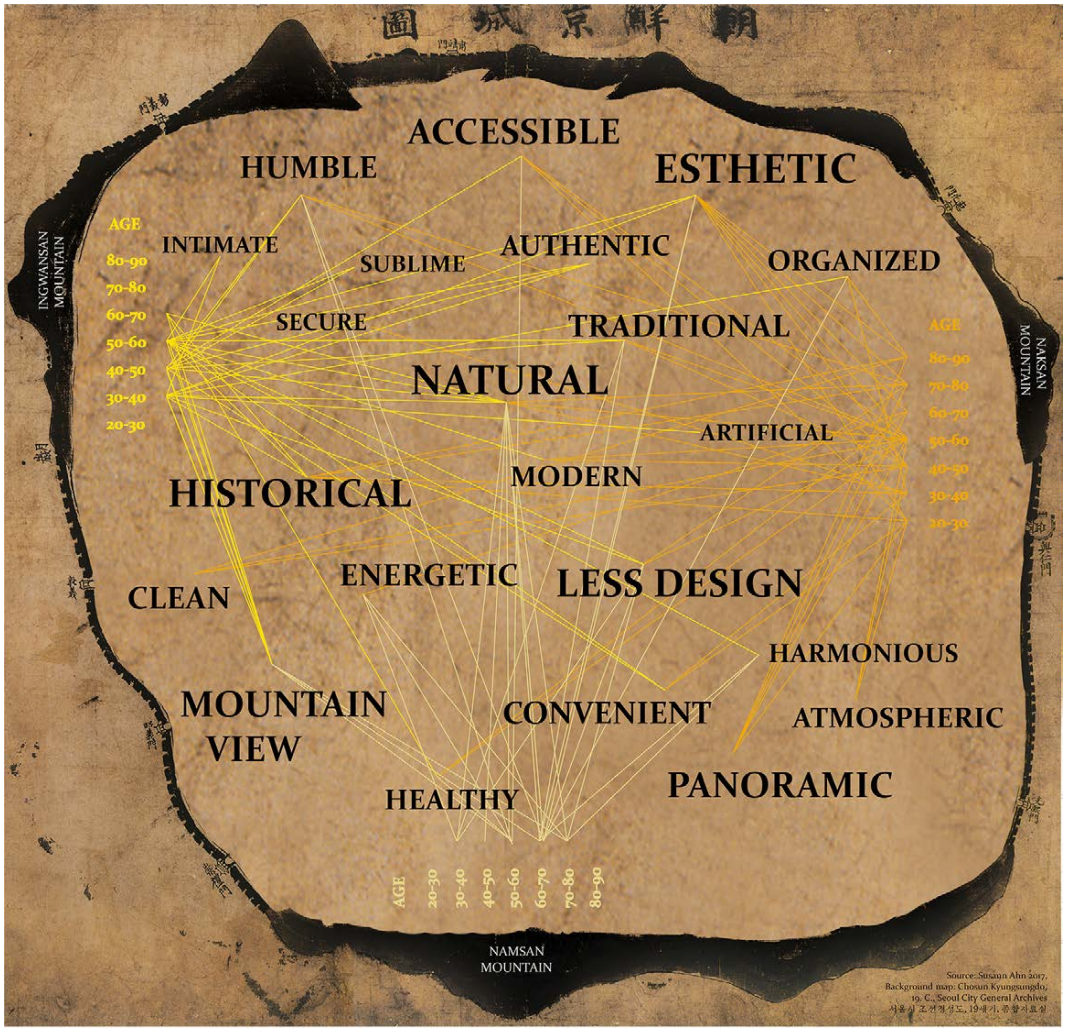
4.4 Conclusion—contested meanings, contested space

It was pointed out that the restorations of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley achieved their objectives at the scale of urban planning (see chapter 4.3.2). In all three projects, the view of the mountains has been made possible again, and from the distant perspective, the mountains have reappeared in their natural form. However, on closer examination there are inconsistencies and conflicts which have an influence on how the landscape restorations are understood and appropriated by the general public:

1) Inconsistency between the narrative and the built space
2) Contradiction between different landscape concepts (mountain and park) based on cultural and historical interpretations

Inconsistency between the narrative and the built space

Within the projects, a discrepancy between the displayed narrative and the built result of the landscape restoration projects is readily observable. The *Master Narrative of Landscape Restoration* raises peoples' desires and expectations for a past image of nature. Thus, restorations of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley are not simply perceived as just any urban park within Seoul, but due to the narrative, as culturally significant sites whose original appearance are important. By referring to Joseon's landscapes or landscape poems, the narrative awakens a nostalgic image of untouched nature. However, this vision stands in stark contrast to the physical-material results of the landscape restoration projects, as these are artificial, highly landscaped spaces which are far more modern parks than areas of pristine untouched nature. The overall design of the landscape restoration projects is not different from that of other parks in Seoul, which are characterized by various design themes and activity areas (e.g. flower gardens, sport area, plazas, museums), special installations (e.g. artworks etc.), and amenities and infrastructures (convenience stores, maintenance roads, lighting systems, loudspeakers). These inconsistencies were noticed and addressed by the visitors who were interviewed at Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley.



68 | Diagram of values (© Susann Ahn, 2018)

The size of the words reflects proportionally how often the words were mentioned in the interviews. Among other things, the diagram refers to the descriptions of these places as modest, artificial, traditional, modern, aesthetic, non-designed, historical, accessible, safe, panoramic spaces, thus showing the wide range of interpretations.

In fact, at the beginning of the research, these ambivalences were not obvious, but the conflicting concepts and meanings of mountains and parks were revealed through the visitor interviews. The voices of the visitors express much more than a mere discussion about design. Rather, they reflect the difficult struggle for landscape ideals, which are supposed to contribute to the formation and stabilization of identities in a rapidly changing society.

Contradiction between different landscape concepts

Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley are characterized by the tension between the concept of a park and the concept of a mountain. In this thesis, it is argued that neither the concept of parks nor mountains is neutral. Both reflect historically and culturally specific understandings of space and nature, which evolve and change due to differing ideologies and interpretations. While a mountain is mostly regarded as a traditional, sacred place and symbol of Korean culture, a park is reminiscent of the Japanese colonial period and of Western influence but simultaneously a symbol of modernity. These differing connotations and meanings associated with the concept of a park and of a mountain were prominently displayed during the visitors' interviews. It was found that for visitors, it is important to deal with mountain spaces and flat spaces in different ways. Thus, restoring the inner-urban mountains of Seoul involves much more than simply greening the city and designing an urban park incorporating functional and beautifully arranged walkways, vegetation, sport and sitting areas. Instead it must involve an analysis and understanding of related mental concepts, because they profoundly affect the perception, acceptance and appropriation of these sites. A mental concept either consciously or unconsciously emerges when we perceive a material object perceiving by any of our senses.

The connection between material objects and mental concepts has been addressed and theorized by linguists and semioticians. The linguist Ferdinand de Saussure was one of the first to emphasize the importance of the relationship between a signifier (sound-image, material object) and signified (mental concept or meaning).[737]

The concept was soon extended by the philosopher and semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce, who pointed to the triadic relation of a sign which includes not only a signifier and the signified, but also an interpreter who directs.[738] In Peirce's view, a sign is not arbitrarily linked to the object as in Saussure's theory, but by convention.[739] The conventional meaning however is based on an archive of traditional and cultural assets. In this view, analyzing the underlying meanings that are transmitted through the built project, namely through the selection of plants, materials, colors, forms, in addition to the way one deals with topography and spatial arrangements, requires an understanding of traditional and cultural assets. The relation between material objects and mental concepts when observing and experiencing natural and

[737] Saussure, Ferdinand de, *Course in general linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally et al. (New York: MacGraw-Hill, 1966) 13, 67.

[738] Mersch, Dieter, ed., *Zeichen über Zeichen: Texte zur Semiotik von Peirce bis Eco und Derrida* [Texts on semiotics from Peirce to Eco and Derrida] (Munich: dtv, 1998), 17.

[739] Peirce, Charles Sanders, *The Essential Peirce Volume 2 (1893-1913). Selected Philosophical Writings* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1998), 289–293

architectural environments has been highlighted by many geographers, including Donald W. Meinig, James and Nancy Duncan, Peirce F. Lewis. Donald W. Meinig, for instance, in describing this relationship wrote as follows:

> "It will soon be apparent that even though we gather together and look in the same direction at the same instant, we will not—we cannot—see the same landscape. We may certainly agree that we will see many of the same elements—houses, roads, trees, hills—in terms of such denotations as number, form, dimension, and color, but such facts take on meaning only through association; they must be fitted together according to some coherent body of ideas. Thus we confront the central problem: any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads."[740]

Resulting from cultural, historical, and political entwinement, the concept of mountains and the concept of parks have been associated with various values that form pairs of opposites, such as natural-artistic, traditional-modern, or autonomous-heteronomous. These tensions due to different values, inconsistent visions, and conflicting concepts have turned the landscape restorations of Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley into contested spaces.

[740] Meinig, Donald W., "The beholding eye: ten versions of the same scene," In *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes: geographical essays*, ed. Donald W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 33.

5 EPILOG

In conclusion, this thesis has examined already realized landscape restoration projects in Seoul to come to an understanding of how culturally related landscape meanings and values within these projects can be translated into contemporary planning in order to create healthy spaces of identity.

Part 2 of this thesis explored the emergence of Korean landscape restoration projects by shedding light on the historical and socio-political context (see chapter 2.1–2.5). It revealed why the idea of landscape restoration projects has become a successful planning approach in Seoul. Special focus was placed on a paradigm shift that began in Seoul at the end of the 1980s. The paradigm shift referred to a change from predominantly functionality and growth concepts to more cultural, historical, and nature oriented planning concepts. This change has led to the restoration of traditional landscape elements within the hyper-dense metropolis, including the restoration of the inner mountains of Seoul. On the basis of literature studies, document analysis, and semi-structured qualitative interviews, the change to nature-related urban planning has been explained as being a result of specific historical and political circumstances in Korea. Firstly, there was the strong desire to restore familiar and traditional mountains as a symbol of identity as a reaction to the enormous change of living conditions that was driven by the Japanese colonial government in the first half of the twentieth century and the growth-oriented policies of the Korean government in the second half of the twentieth century. Secondly, the implementation of green spaces also increased as a result of specific political and historical events, such as the Korean democracy movement (especially the June Struggles in 1987) which bolstered the self-image and civil rights of the civil society, and raised the demand for green spaces in rapidly growing cities. Furthermore, major international events, such as the 1988 Summer Olympics, have spurred the Korean government to undertake massive urban redevelopment efforts to strengthen Korea's national profile vis-à-vis an international audience, not least of all through green planning measures. On this basis, it is argued that the paradigm shift towards nature-oriented urban planning is rooted in the 1980s, and not in the 1990s, as seems to be the current common opinion among researchers.

Part 3 uncovered translation mechanisms within landscape restoration projects by using theoretical frameworks, particularly those of geographers, historians and linguists (see chapter 3.1–3.5). It is argued that within the landscape restoration projects, a traditional meaning and value of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley is primarily transmitted by the means of narratives. The narratives are presented on site through museums, information boards, and brochures. The official narrative of landscape restoration in the three case studies

is characterized by a congruent, repetitive, linear, one-dimensional, and large-scale interpretation of a certain era, and thus resembles in nature what historians call a master narrative. The master narrative has also been identified by examining hidden stories that relativize conventional, dominant notions of beliefs and point to power systems. The visitor interviews reveal that the specifically selected historical events, landscape meanings, and values presented in the official narrative have a significant impact on visitors' understanding of landscape and history.

Part 4 of this thesis analyzed whether built spaces of landscape restoration projects transmit coherent landscape meanings and values as the official narrative (see chapter 4.1–4.4). It is argued that the design of landscape conservation projects both influences and is influenced by different understandings of nature. The conducted interviews brought two dominant landscape concepts, which are fundamental to the understanding and perception of these projects, to light: the concept of mountain and the concept of park. The interviews as well as the analysis of the historical context reveal that these two concepts lead to specific visions of design as well as to a multitude of different meanings which compete, to a certain extent, and thus transform landscape restoration projects into contested spaces of value and meaning.

5.1 Cultural Laboratory Seoul

The controversial space is ultimately the result of disagreement among planners as to how to restore the mountains at close range. It is unclear how a natural character and space for identity can be created while at the same time meeting technical standards as well as the current and future functional and pragmatic requirements. It is therefore remarkable that the landscape restoration projects in Seoul were driven forward with such enormous willpower and pace. Despite opposition from some residents, several apartment buildings on the mountain were demolished and the mountain was cleared of facilities which were labeled 'disturbing'.

In other words, the sites were emptied before the idea of how to meet the vision for reshaping and landscaping the mountains was clear. The architectural theorist Yim Seock Jae said:

> "The traditional Korean space is defined by the interaction of emptying and non-definitiveness. It is non-definite, because it has been emptied, and it has been emptied in order to be non-definitive. It is of no great significance which comes first, but there is a stronger tendency of non-definitiveness being the result of emptying, rather than the other way around."[741]

The process of emptying and filling reflects faith and confidence in the concept of change. There seems to be little fear of experimenting with 'filling' the site. Therefore, experiments can be carried out with the superimposition of various references, which are then tried out and negotiated. This special situation has led to the title of the research being *Cultural Laboratory Seoul*. Still today, the landscape restoration projects of Namsan, Naksan and Inwangsan's Suseongdong Valley, which have been analyzed, remain in a state of flux. On Naksan, for example, one of the observation plazas made of red bricks has now been removed and greened. It remains to be seen, however, whether this is a final solution. This attitude is remarkable because the acceptance of the lack of definition as well as willingness to change planning is rare in other countries (e.g. Germany), where great value is placed on ensuring that all eventualities are planned, regulated, and built into the permanent state. But this willingness to experiment in planning or to follow the principle of trial and error is a great asset. On the other hand, it is also important to understand that space gives people a certain stability. Clearly, blending these concepts is not easy. Solutions always involve negotiating continuity and discontinuity. Such negotiation is currently taking place in landscape restoration projects, leading to the above-mentioned disagreements, discrepancies and conflicts. The disagreements, discrepancies and conflicts, however, have positive impact as they reveal hidden potential in the projects' narratives and the permanence of myths related to parks and mountains. Therefore, the inclusion of narrative methods in landscape architecture constitutes an important design approach, which will be elaborated on in the next chapter. The fact that spaces are contested indicate that the consideration of inherent landscape understandings, as well as culture and history-related peculiarities are of enormous importance in the perception, appropriation, and legibility of these projects. In fact, a culturally differentiated understanding of landscape concepts such as mountain or park can be the core of identity-creating design decisions and

[741] Yim, Seock Jae, *The Traditional Space. A Study of Korean Architecture*, translated by Lee Jean Young (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2005), 15.

options both in future projects and in those that have yet to be completed, such as the Yongsan Park project mentioned early on in this thesis. The Yongsan Park project is loaded with contradictory historical and cultural values and visions. Although first approaches to integrating the different landscape values and meanings within this project already exist, much more remains to be done. Unfortunately, in today's worldwide landscape architectural practice, culturally specific views of different landscape meanings and values are still given little consideration. The field of landscape architecture even reinforces increasing homogenization of landscape concepts and of terminologies across different places and cultures. This happens in part due to tendencies toward a globalized world with faster exchanges of information and material flows. For instance, the concept of parks has spread across the world as global panacea to compensate for the shortcomings of urbanization and industrialization. Landscape architects, architects and urban planners have used universal concepts of landscapes in an almost ignorant manner despite differing cultural, spatial, and temporal contexts. However, the careless transfer of landscape concepts and application in a universal manner can lead to conflicts of meaning and value, as the preceding parts of this dissertation show. Moreover, the art historian Annemarie Bucher argues that the idea of universal landscape concepts, in which landscape architecture is entangled, limits communication about the landscape and undermines future negotiations.[742] This does not mean that green spaces in the urban environment are not essential. Rather, an understanding of the different landscape concepts, meanings, and values, including their production mechanisms, should be gained in order to create high-quality living spaces that meet people's varying needs. Therefore, the criticism of universal landscape concepts should in no way lead to a decline in green spaces in cities, but rather lead to a differentiated and careful use of specific landscape concepts. Although consideration of the multiplicity of landscape concepts, meanings and values requires approaching inconsistencies, discrepancies and even conflicts, this thesis argues in favor of opening the discussion beyond universal landscape approaches, and of identifying, observing, and transmitting culturally specific understandings.

[742] Bucher, Annemarie. "Landscape Theories in Transition. Shifting Realities and Multiperspective Perception." In *Landscript 3: Topology. Topical Thoughts on the Contemporary Landscape*, edited by Christophe Girot, Anette Freytag, Albert Kirchengast, Dunja Richter (Berlin: Jovis, 2013), 37.

5.2 Topology and mediating space

It was argued earlier that dealing with differing historically and culturally related landscape concepts is important, although this means dealing with conflicts and controversies. Therefore, based on my experience and understanding of mediation processes, this thesis suggests a new mediative approach to landscape architecture in which these conflicts and controversies can be embraced, rather than ignored. A mediation process encompasses a conflict resolution process in which not only the signs, elements, positions and interests are negotiated, but also their underlying meanings, values, and needs are brought to the surface to be clarified, translated, and negotiated. This provides the possibility of finding a consensual, unconventional, creative solution that was not previously anticipated or perhaps not even regarded as possible. Instead of unifying differences, a mediate approach clarifies and translates the cultural, temporal, and local specificities of a group or individual, thus providing a foundation for respectful understanding. A culturally related and mediative approach enables constructive negotiation in which small but important values and meanings are addressed. In some cases, these can change or determine the whole outcome of a project. Since only issues which are known and identified can be consciously worked on and developed, the mediative approach seeks to uncover special features and differences, and then present them in a clear and understandable way. In the context of landscape architecture, this approach requires not only working with the surface, (the physical-material reality), but also with the underlying mental concepts, shared interpretations, and differing meanings, which then encourage a change from presumed antagonisms to coexistence of differing landscape understandings while simultaneously aligning the level of emotion and the level of perception. Therefore, this thesis advocates the combination of mediative and design methods in landscape architectural practice as a new and holistic approach that brings about unconventional design solutions.

The theoretical and methodological framework for such a holistic design approach is provided by the concept of *Topology*. The notion of *Topology* was introduced to landscape architecture by professor Christophe Girot and his team Anette Freytag, Albert Kirchengast and Dunja Richter. The notion of *Topology* came out of the search for "deeper understanding of natural and cultural structures within established design traditions."[743] In this context, *Topology* not only signifies "a mathematical construct relating to the continuity and connectivity of surfaces, it can also incorporate a more general understanding about the

[743] Girot, Christophe, "The Elegance of Topology," In *Landscript 3: Topology. Topical Thoughts on the Contemporary Landscape*, edited by Christophe Girot, Anette Freytag, Albert Kirchengast, Dunja Richter (Berlin: Jovis, 2013), 79.

genealogy of a constructed landscape."[744] As a result, the notion of *Topology* has changed the view of landscape theories, landscape acoustics, and landscape modelling.[745] All in all, *Topology* became an approach, that in the words of humanist and secretary general of the Volkswagen Foundation Willhelm Krull "greatly boosts the status of landscape architecture. It no longer responds to the planning decisions of others, but has a fundamental, integrative—topological—function, by connecting a specific landscape's different dimensions."[746] From an etymological point of view, the term topology is composed of the Greek word *topos* (place) and *logos* (language). Thus, two dimensions are essential within the landscape restoration of Namsan, Naksan and Suseongdong Valley, namely the built space and the narrative. In combining a physical-material dimension and a linguistic dimension, *Topology* suggests "a sense of wholeness,"[747] and can serve as a basis for the above mentioned mediative approach to landscape architecture. Using *Topology* as an umbrella concept or framework, means examining "in detail the planned site of intervention, understanding it in relation to other aspects—such as landscape, infrastructure, or built structures—organizing the space landscape architecturally, and considering people."[748] The mediative approach within *Topology* emphasizes exploring the underlying layers of values and meanings in both the physical and linguistic dimensions. It asks for communication and conflict resolution techniques in addition to design skills in landscape architecture. In fact, it pleads for not only reflecting on the formation and organization of spaces from an ecological, infrastructural, economic, aesthetic and functional point of view, but also for sharpening awareness of landscape terminologies and landscape narratives. This requires landscape architects to be conscious of their powerful role as social, cultural, and aesthetic interpreters and translators. Simultaneously, they have to be conscious that they themselves are never neutral, but are also biased in their observations and design approaches. This combined with design preconditions profoundly influences the project's outcome. This is particularly important in intercultural contexts, where different codes of signs are used, and where interpretations may vary. Hence, the mediative approach is not limited to any specific country, but becomes particularly important in any intercultural context or within any context, where there may be differing cultural understandings.

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[744] Ibid., 81–82.

[745] Landscape theory: work of Annette Freytag; landscape acoustics: work of Nadine Schütz, landscape modelling: work of the chair of professor Girot that involves point cloud modelling

[746] Krull, Willhelm, "Foreword," In *Landscript 3: Topology. Topical Thoughts on the Contemporary Landscape*, edited by Christophe Girot, Anette Freytag, Albert Kirchengast, Dunja Richter (Berlin: Jovis, 2013), 14.

[747] Girot, "The Elegance of Topology," 81.

[748] Krull, "Foreword," 14.

In summary, the mediative approach argues that the complex structure of landscapes in all their pluralities and contradictory dimensions should be treated in a constructive and mediated way. This is achieved through the study and design of place and language, which is an integral part of the notion of *Topology*. The result does not lead to competitive strategies that strengthen a dominant viewpoint, but rather an approach that brings cultural characteristics to the surface, works with the given, and communicates these meanings and values to others. Therefore, this dissertation is not an ending but rather a starting point for a more differentiated and culturally related approach to landscape architecture that offers a sense of identity and method of healing in a differentiated society.

69 | The two sides of landscape restoration (© Eunji Cho & Okin Collective, 2012)

6 APPENDIX

6.1 Glossary

SELECTED EXPRESSIONS (ROMANIZATION AND HANGUL)

Achasan	아차산	Hyehwamun	혜화문
Aegukga	애국가	Hyeol	혈
Ansan	안산	Hyeonmu	현무
Baekho	백호	Ihwajang	이화장
Bagmunsa	박문사	Inwangsan	인왕산
Bibo-pungsu	비보풍수	Inwangsan Urban Natural Park	인왕산도시자연공원
Bihaedang	비해당	Jangchungdan Park	장충단공원
Biudang	비우당	Jayu Park	자유공원
Bogwon	복원	Jeongwon	정원
Bugaksan	북악산	Jeungsan apartments	증산 아파트
Bukhansan	북한산	Jibong Yuseol	지봉유설
Chaebol	재벌	Jinsan	진산
Changdeokgung	창덕궁	Jongno-gu	종로구
Changgyeonggung	창경궁	Josan	조산
Changsin-dong	창신동	Jujak	주작
Cheonggyecheon	청계천	Jusan	주산
Cheongryong	청룡	Manguk Park	만국공원
Cheonsan	천산	Mapo-gu	마포구
Daehangno	대학로	Marronnier Park	마로니에공원
Deogyangsan	덕양산	Mongchon Toseong	몽촌토성
Dongdaemun	동대문	Mongmyeoksan	목멱산
Dongguk yeojibigo	동국여지비고	Mudang	무당
Dongsung Simin apartments	동숭 시민아파트	Myeong-dang	명당
Dosi-gongwon	도시공원	Myeongdang	명당
Gaecheonjeol	개천절	Naksan	낙산
Gaeseong City	개성시	Naksan Neighborhood Park	낙산근린 공원
Gasan	가산	Naksan Restoration Plan	낙산복원계획
Gija apartments	기자 아파트	Naksan Sibeom apartments	낙산시범아파트
Girin-gyo	기린교	Naksan citizen apartments	낙산시민아파트
Gwanaksan	관악산	Namsan	남산
Gyeongbokgung	경복궁	Namsan Outdoor Bot. Garden	남산야외식물원
Gyeongguk daejeon	경국대전	Namsan Restoration Plan	남산제모습찾기종합기본계획
Gyeongseong Hoguk Shinsa	경성호국신사	Namsan Wildflower Park	남산야생화공원
Haebang-chon	해방촌	Oeseongdae Park	왜성대공원
Hangang	한강	Ogin-dong	옥인동
Hangyeong-jiryak	한경지략	Ohaeng	오행
Hanyang	한양	Okin Sibeom apartments	옥인 시범아파트
Hanyang Park	한양공원	Olympic Park	올림픽공원
Hong-cheon-chui-byeok	홍천취벽	Palgakjeong	팔각정
Hwaseongdae Park	화성대공원	Paris Park	파리공원

Pirundae	필운대	Sajikdan	사직단
Plan for Great Forest Park	대산림공원계획	Sinjeung-donggugyeoji-seungram	신증동국여지승람
Pungsu-jiri	풍수지리설	Ssangye-dong	쌍계동
Restor. of Suseongdong	수성동 계곡 복원	Susinsa	수신사
Samguk Sagi	삼국사기	Taegeuk	태극
San	산	Taejang	태장
Sangam-dong	상암동	Tapgol Park	탑골공원
Sanrimnoghwa	산림녹화	Tomak chon	토막촌
Sansin	산신	Wongaksa	원각사
Sanso	산소	Wonrim	원림
Sansuhwa	산수화	Yangban	양반
Sejongdaero	세종대로	Yejang-dong	예장동
Independence Park	독립공원	Yeongeunmun	영은문
Seodaemun-gu	서대문구	Yinyang	음양
Seokchon Lake Park	석촌호수공원	Yongmasan	용마산
Seon-san	선산	Yongsan-gu	용산구
Silhak	실학	Yusin	유신
Songpa-gu	송파구		

NAMES (PERSONS AND COMPANIES)

Bak Yeonghyo	박영효	King Taejo	태조
Cho Soon	조순	Lee Myung-bak	이명박
Choi Gyeong-Chang	최경창	Min Yong-ik	민영익
Choi Kyu-ha	최규하	Oh Se-hoon	오세훈
Chun Doo-hwan	전두환	Park Chung-hee	박정희
Doseon Guksa	도선 국사	Park Won-soon	박원순
Empress Myeongseong	명성황후	Prince Anpyeong	안평대군
Gang Se-hwang	강세황	Rhee Syngman	이승만
Goh Kun	고건	Roh Tae-woo	노태우
Jeong Seon (Gyeomjae)	정선 (겸재)	Samho Company	삼호
Hong Yeong-sik	홍영식	Samsung Everland Company	삼성에버랜드
I Wanyong	이완용	Sin Jam	신잠
Iryeon	일연	Song Ikpil	송익필
Jeong Do-jeon	정도전	Ssangyong Engineering	쌍용엔지니어링
Jin Shiu	진시우	Tangun (Dangun Wanggeom)	단군왕검
Jung Yi-o	정이오	Yi Hwang	이황
Kim Hwayong	김화용	Yi I	이이
Kim Young-sam	김영삼	Yi Joungmin	이정민
King Gojong	고종	Yi Seok-hyeong	이석형
King Hyojong	효종	Yi Su-gwang	이수광
King Jeongjo	정조	Yu Gwan	유관
King Jungjong	중종	Yu Gil-jun	유길준
King Sejong	세종		

東峰雲霧掩朝暉　동쪽 봉우리에 구름안개 자욱이 아침 햇무리를 가리고
深樹捿禽曉不飛　깊은 숲속에 깃든 날짐승들 새벽인데도 날지 않는구나
古屋苔生門獨閉　이끼 긴 오래된 집 외로이 문은 닫혔어도
滿庭淸露混薔薇　맑은 이슬 가득한 뜰엔 장미꽃 뒤섞여 어우러졌네.
崔慶昌　최경창[749]

水聲洞雨中觀邊　수성동 우중에 폭포를 구경하다
入谷不數武　골짝을 들어서자 몇 걸음 안 가
吼雷殷屐下　발밑에서 우레 소리 우르르르릉
濕翠似裹身　젖다 못한 산 안개 몸을 감싸니
晝行復疑夜　낮에 가도 밤인가 의심되누나
淨苔當鋪席　자리 깔아 무엇하리 조촐한 이끼
圓松敵覆瓦　개와(蓋瓦)와 마찬가지 둥그런 솔은
簷溜昔啁啾　예전에는 조잘대던 집시락 물이
如今聽大雅　이제 와선 대아의 소리 듣는 듯
山心正肅然　산 마음이 정히도 숙연해지니
鳥雀無喧者　지저귀는 소리 없네 온갖 새들도
願將此聲歸　원컨대 이 소리를 가지고 가서
砭彼俗而野　저 야속한 무리들을 깨우쳤으면
夕雲忽潑墨　저녁 구름 갑자기 먹이 퍼지니
敎君詩意寫　그대더러 시의 뜻을 그리란 걸세
金正喜　김정희[750]

[749] Presented at Naksan Gallery, Naksan Neighborhood Park

[750] Presented in: Jongno Culture Center, *Inwangsan. Yesterday and Today. Culture data collection* [종로문화원, 인왕산의 어제와오늘, 향토문화 자료총서] (Seoul: Jongno Culture Center, 2013), 118.

6.2 List of interviews, bibliography and image credits

Abbreviations in interviews (for reasons of anonymity):

GEN = Restoration Projects in general
NAK = Naksan Park
NAM = Namsan Park
SUS = Suseongdong Valley
YON = Yongsan Park

ARC = Architect
LAN = Landscape Architect
LOC = Local Resident
MUN = Municipality
PROF = Professor
RES = Researcher
VIS = Visitor

List of interviews

PRIMARY SOURCES – EXPERT INTERVIEWS

No.	Code	Institute and/or position	Date
1	140715_GEN_PROF	Seoul National University Department of Landscape Architecture	15.07.2014
2	140716_GEN_PROF	Seoul National University Department of Landscape Architecture	16.07.2014
3	151017_GEN_LA	Korean Landscape Architecture Office CEO	17.10.2015
4	151022_GEN_RES	The Seoul Institute Department of Urban Planning and Design	22.10.2015
5	151024_GEN_LAN	Korean Landscape Architecture Office CEO	24.10.2015
6	151030_GEN_PROF_RES_LAN	Korean Landscape Architecture Office Researcher	30.10.2015
7	161104_GEN_MUC	Seoul Metropolitan Government Park Management Office	04.11.2016
8	161114_GEN_PROF	Kangnam University Department Architecture and Urban Planning	14.11.2016
9	161117_SUS_MUC_LAN	Seoul Metropolitan Government Jongno Office	17.11.2016
10	161123_GEN_PROF	Konkuk University Architectural Barrier-Free Institute	23.11.2016
11	161125_GEN_MUC	Seoul Metropolitan Government Park Management Office	25.11.2016
12	161205_NAK_MUC	Seoul Metropolitan Government Central Park Green Office	05.12.2016

13	161206_GEN_PROF	Kangnam University Department Architecture and Urban Planning	06.12.2016
14	170419_YON_PROF_ARC_RES	United States Forces Korea Commander's Strategic Initiatives Group	19.04.2017
15	170425_GEN_PROF	Kangnam University Department Architecture and Urban Planning	25.04.2017
16	171030_GEN_RES	The Seoul Institute Department of Urban Planning and Design	30.10.2017
17	170911_NAM_MUC	Seoul Metropolitan Government Namsan Park Management Office	09.11.2017
18	171118_YON_RES_LAN	Yongsan Legacy Historian	18.11.2017
19	181117_YON_RES	Korea University Department of Urban Planning and Design	18.11.2017
20	180822_YON_RES	Korea University Department of Urban Planning and Design	22.08.2018
21	181017_YON_RES	Korea University Department of Architecture	17.10.2018
22	181018_GEN_PROF_1	Seoul National University Department of Landscape Architecture	18.10.2018
23	181018_GEN_PROF_2	Seoul National University Department of Landscape Architecture	18.10.2018
24	181023_GEN_PROF_RES	Seoul National University Department of Landscape Architecture	23.10.2018
25	181011_GEN_PROF	University of Seoul Department of Architecture	10.11.2018
26	181015_SUS_OKIN	Okin Collective Researcher	15.11.2018

VISITOR INTERVIEWS

No.	Code	Project/Interview Site	Age of Interviewee	Date
1	171031_NAK_VIS_1	Naksan Park	40-50	31.10.2017
2	171031_NAK_VIS_LOC_2	Naksan Park	50-60	31.10.2017
3	171031_NAK_VIS_3	Naksan Park	50-60	31.10.2017
4	171031_NAK_VIS_LOC_4	Naksan Park	70-80	31.10.2017
5	171031_NAK_VIS_5	Naksan Park	20-30	31.10.2017
6	171031_NAK_VIS_LOC_6	Naksan Park	30-40	31.10.2017
7	171031_NAK_VIS_LOC_7	Naksan Park	80-90	31.10.2017
8	171031_NAK_VIS_8	Naksan Park	30-40	31.10.2017

9	171031_NAK_VIS_LOC_9	Naksan Park	20-30	31.10.2017
10	171031_NAK_VIS_LOC_10	Naksan Park	60-70	31.10.2017
11	171106_NAK_VIS_1	Naksan Park	20-30	06.11.2017
12	171106_NAK_VIS_2	Naksan Park	20-30	06.11.2017
13	171106_NAK_VIS_3	Naksan Park	50-60	06.11.2017
14	171106_NAK_VIS_LOC_4	Naksan Park	60-70	06.11.2017
15	171106_NAK_VIS_5	Naksan Park	40-50	06.11.2017
16	171106_NAK_LOC_6	Naksan Park	70-80	06.11.2017
17	181014_NAK_LOC_1	Naksan Park	70-80	14.10.2018
18	181014_NAK_LOC_2	Naksan Park	70-80	14.10.2018
19	161010_SUS_VIS_1	Suseongdong Valley	50-60	10.10.2016
20	171101_SUS_VIS_1	Suseongdong Valley	60-70	01.11.2017
21	171102_SUS_VIS_1	Suseongdong Valley	50-60	02.11.2017
22	171102_SUS_VIS_2	Suseongdong Valley	40-50	02.11.2017
23	171102_SUS_VIS_3	Suseongdong Valley	30-40	02.11.2017
24	171106_SUS_VIS_LOC_1	Suseongdong Valley	40-50	06.11.2017
25	171106_SUS_VIS_2	Suseongdong Valley	50-60	06.11.2017
26	171106_SUS_VIS_LOC_3	Suseongdong Valley	30-40	06.11.2017
27	171106_SUS_VIS_LOC_4	Suseongdong Valley	50-60	06.11.2017
28	171106_SUS_VIS_5	Suseongdong Valley	40-50	06.11.2017
29	171106_SUS_VIS_6	Suseongdong Valley	20-30	06.11.2017
30	171109_NAM_VIS_LOC_1	Namsan Park	60-70	09.11.2017
31	171109_NAM_VIS_LOC_2	Namsan Park	60-70	09.11.2017
32	171109_NAM_VIS_3	Namsan Park	40-50	09.11.2017
33	171109_NAM_VIS_LOC_4	Namsan Park	60-70	09.11.2017
34	171109_NAM_VIS_LOC_5	Namsan Park	40-50	09.11.2017
35	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_1	Namsan Park	30-40	14.11.2017
36	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_2	Namsan Park	30-40	14.11.2017
37	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_3	Namsan Park	60-70	14.11.2017
38	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_4	Namsan Park	70-80	14.11.2017
39	171114_NAM_VIS_5	Namsan Park	50-60	14.11.2017
40	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_6	Namsan Park	60-70	14.11.2017
41	171114_NAM_VIS_7	Namsan Park	30-40	14.11.2017
42	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_8	Namsan Park	80-90	14.11.2017
43	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_9	Namsan Park	30-40	14.11.2017
44	171114_NAM_VIS_LOC_10	Namsan Park	70-80	14.11.2017

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6.3 Curriculum Vitae and acknowledgement

SUSANN VALERIE AHN | born May 31, 1981 in Seoul, South Korea | Nationality: German
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Curriculum vitae

Susann Ahn is a German-Korean licensed landscape architect, researcher and mediator. She has studied at the Technical University of Munich and at the Vienna University of Technology. From 2007 to 2012 she conducted international projects in various landscape architecture bureaus. From 2011 to 2012 she was a research associate at the Chair of Landscape Architecture and Public Space of Prof. Regine Keller at the Technical University of Munich. Since 2013, she has been teaching at ETH Zurich at the Chair of Professor Christophe Girot, where from 2014–2016 she was head of the chair's theory lab. From 2016–2019 she was pursuing her SNSF funded doctorate at ETH Zurich. In addition to her academic activities, she founded her office *AHN Landscape Architecture Mediation* in 2013. At the nexus of landscape architecture and communication, she focuses on design oriented participation and mediation processes, cultural exchange and conflict resolution in public space.

Education

2016–2019	**Doctorate, ETH Zurich, Switzerland**
2009	Certification as Mediator and Conflict Manager, 1.5 year extra-occupational training
2007	Thesis in Landscape Architecture and Planning, Technical University Munich, Germany Title "Participation Process and Participatory Culture in Munich" Supervisors: Prof. Regine Keller and Prof. Dr. Sören Schöbel-Rutschmann
2004–2005	Visiting student at Technical University Vienna, Austria
2002–2007	Studies in Landscape Architecture & Planning, Technical University Munich, Germany
2000–2002	Internships and Language Studies, France and Korea
1998	Cupertino High School, CA, USA
1991–2000	Ernst-Mach Gymnasium Haar, Germany

Teaching & Research Positions (selection)

since 2013 — **Research Associate, ETH Zurich**
Prof. Christophe Girot, Chair of Landscape Architecture
- Head of the Theory Lab, Chair of Landscape Architecture of Prof. Girot
- Elective Course with Seminar "Delta Dialogues"
- Elective Course with Seminar "Hidden Landscapes"
- Elective Course with Seminar "Serendipity – Sound Check Around"
- Seminar Week Expedition "Tokyo – Hiroshima – Kyoto, Japan"

2012–2013 — **Research Associate, Technical University Munich**
Prof. Regine Keller, Chair for Landscape Architecture and Public Space
- Design Studio, "istanbul – magnitude 7.4"
- Design Studio, "istanbul – arriving"
- Design Studio, "Münchner Röhren"
- Design Studio, "IBA Basel – Am Zoll Riehen/Lörrach"

Further Academic Activities (selection)

Lectures, Talks & Guest Crits in Academia

2019	Design Crit, Master Thesis "Hidden Seoul" – Chair of Landscape Architecture and Public Space, Technical University Munich, Prof. Regine Keller, 24.07.2019.
2019	Moderation "Inklusionsmaschine Stadt" [City: Machine of Inclusion], University of Applied Science Munich, Prof. Andrea Benze & Dr. Dorothee Rummel, 11.1.–1.2.2019.
2018	Lecture "Zum Einfluss kultureller Codes. Kulturlabor Seoul" [The influence of cultural codes], University of Applied Sciences Weihenstephan-Triesdorf, 04.06.2018.
2018	Lecture "Partizipation im Planungsprozess – Weg zur Akzeptanz oder zur Innovation" [Participation as part of the planning process – path to acceptance or innovation], University of Applied Sciences Weihenstephan-Triesdorf, 04.06.2018.
2018	Moderation „Parity Talks III – Pedagogies" with Gabriele Schaad – ETH Zurich.
2017	Talk "Cultural Laboratory Seoul" – gta Colloquium, ETH Zurich, 22.05.2017.
2017	Talk "Cultural Laboratory Seoul" – International Symposium Design and Research in Architecture & Landscape 'Common Ground' Leibniz University Hannover, 04.–06.05.2017.
2016	Design Crit "Quo Vadis Suburbia?" University of Applied Science Munich, Prof. Andrea Benze, 24.05. and 05.07.2016.
2016	Lecture "Von Freiraumintenanten und -aktivisten" [Of Open Space Directors and Activists], with Felix Lüdicke – Symposium "Theories of Participation" University of Kassel, 04.03.2016.
2015	Design Crit "Alpine Museum of Munich" – Chair of Landscape Architecture and Public Space, Technical University of Munich, 14.12.2015.
2015	Lecture "Gesprächslandschaften" [Landscapes of Dialogues] – Chair of Landscape Architecture and Public Space, Technical University of Munich, 10.12.2015.
2015	Talk "Cultural Laboratory Seoul" – gta Colloquium, ETH Zurich, 16.11.2015.
2014	Design Crit "Serendipity – Tracking Public Space" – Chair of Landscape Architecture, ETH Zurich, 08.05.2014.
2014	Talk "Cultural Transfer and Landscape Architecture" – Colloquium 'Urban Landscapes' University of Hanover, 03.07.14.
2013	Talk "Landscape Architecture Export" – Colloquium, ETH Zurich, 11.12.13.

Publication & Editorial Work (selection)

2019	Ahn, Susann. "Namsan and Yongsan – Landscape restoration as motor for urban change." *Domus Korea 1/19*, One-O-One Publisher, Seoul.
2019	Ahn, Susann and Kim, Seonju. "Photographic Consumption influences the Spatial Understanding of Parks." *Topos* 107/19, Callwey Publisher, Munich.
2018	Ahn, Susann and Kim, Seonju. "Aufgedeckte Geschichte" [Revealed History] *Garten + Landschaft 11/18*, Callwey Publisher, Munich.
2017	Ahn, Susann and Lüdicke, Felix. "Von Freiraumintenanten und -aktivisten" [Of Open Space Directors and Activists]. In *Aneignung urbaner Freiräume. Ein Diskurs über städtischen Raum*, edited by Stefanie Hennecke et al., Transcript Publishers, Bielefeld.
2017	Ahn, Susann and Hoh, Yun-Kyeong. "Lost Periphery. Looking for a concept to design the greenbelt of Seoul." *Topos 98/17*, Callwey Publisher, Munich.
2017	Ahn, Susann and Fehlmann, Isabelle. "Backflip – New Oerlikon Zurich." *Topos 100/17*, Callwey Publisher, Munich.
2017	Girot, Christophe; Ahn, Susann; Mehling, Lara; Fehlmann, Isabelle (ed.). *Pamphlet 20 – Delta Dialogues*, gta Publisher, Zurich.
2017	Ahn, Susann; Fehlmann, Isabelle and Mehling, Lara. "Between the Lines." In: *Pamphlet 20 – Delta Dialogues*, edited by Christophe Girot et al., gta Publisher, Zurich.

	2016	Ahn, Susann and Keller, Regine. "False Nature?" In *Thinking the Contemporary Landscape*, edited by Girot, Christophe and Dora Imhof Princeton Architectural Press, New York.
	2016	Ahn, Susann and Schneegans, Juliane. "Braucht man einen Vermittler? Wenn Mediatoren im Planungsprozess helfen können" [Is there a need for a mediator?]. *Garten + Landschaft* 12/2016, Callwey Publisher, Munich.
	2015	Ahn, Susann. "The Renaissance of Nakta Mountain," *Topos 92/15*, Callwey Publisher, Munich.
	2013	Ahn, Susann et al. "Stadt und Spiele – Das Spielkonzept des Olympischen Dorfs als partizipativer Gestaltungsprozess" [Playful City – Olympic Village as participatory design approach] In *Demokratisches Grün – Olympiapark München*, [Democratic Green] edited by Regine Keller et al., Jovis Publisher, Berlin.
	2013–2016	Member of Editorial Board "Network City and Landscape – Newsletter," ETH Zurich
	2009–2010	Co-Editor, Publication "Return of Landscape", edited by Donata Valentien, Jovis Publishers, Berlin 2010
Scholarships & Grants	2016–2019	Project Funding, Swiss National Science Foundation
	2015	Project Funding, DARCH ETH Zurich
	2009	Travel Grant, Pysall Foundation, Association of Architects & Engineers Berlin
Exhibitions	2012	Exhibition "Blickwinkel Gärtnerplatz" Munich, Curator, Cooperation with Felix Lüdicke
	2010	Exhibition "Return of Landscape", Project Assistant, Academy of Arts Berlin
Landscape Architecture (selection)	2013	*SUSANN AHN Landscape Architecture Mediation*

Mediations, Participations & Seminars in Communication and Conflict Management

2019	Teaching, "Seminar Peer 2 Peer Counselling" with C. Guter, GEWOFAG
2019	Coaching, "Team Development Case I" with S. Wolff, Fairpoint Wolff
2018	Teaching, "Seminar Resolving Conflicts Constructively, University of Zurich"
2018	Moderation, "Participation Gymnasium N" with U. Ammermann, CityCom
2017	Teaching, "Seminar Planning & Communication" with M. Stegmeier, bauchplan
2016	Mediation, "Conflict Case G" with K. Chapin, SteG, City of Munich
2015	Mediation, "Conflict Case M" with A. Weinert, SteG, City of Munich
2014	Moderation and Mediation "Participation Case L" with S. Wolff, SteG
2013	Moderation and Mediation "Participation Playground G" with S. Wolff, SteG

Landscape Architecture Projects

2019	Planning & Construction "Échappement fluvial" with Hörstadt
2019	Competition "Gwanghwamun Seoul" with bauchplan landscape architects
2018	Competition "Lausanne Jardins" – 1. Prize
2017	Competition "Kindergarten Huttwill" with Vollmer Schweizer Architects
2016	Planning & Construction. "AirHop Hall Munich" with FPA Architects
2015	Competition "Schluhaus Türli Sachseln" with Gamert & Putz Architects
2014	Planning & Construction "House M Straubing" with MAM Architects

	2009–2013	Valentien + Valentien Landscape Architects and Urban Planners SRL, Munich
	2007–2009	Anita Fischer Landscape Architecture, Freising
	2005–2007	Brandhoff Voß Landscape Architecture, Munich
Memberships	since 2012	Deutscher Werkbund DWB (German Work Federation)
	since 2011	Architectural Association of Bavaria ByAK
Languages		German (first language), English, French, Korean

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Susann Valerie Ahn,
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