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Adaptation process of a Korean traditional house to modern dwelling culture: focusing on Hui-Dong Go's house (1918-1959) in Wonseo-dong, Seoul

Keehwang Jung ^a and Hoyoung Kim ^b

^aCiCihan Lab for Local Action Research, Seoul, Republic of Korea; ^bDepartment of Architecture, Hanbat National University, Daejeon, Republic of Korea

ABSTRACT

Housing in the Joseon Dynasty was regulated by the caste system based on Confucianism and the perceived predominance of men over women. Therefore, the houses and associated dwelling culture of the Joseon populace did not evolve and became stagnant. Although new dwelling cultures and associated houses from abroad through the *Gaehwa* and the 1876 port-opening were introduced, the dwelling cultures led to stagnant evolution of the houses of the Joseon populace. In this sense, Hui-Dong Go's house is an extremely rare case, having been built in a relatively economically manner on the parcel of a typical house. Therefore, the current work analyzes Go's house in comparison with houses proposed in the discourses of pre-modern and modern dwelling culture at the time in Joseon both before and after the 1876 port-opening, and it then examines the meanings of the dwelling culture that can be drawn from his house. As a result, this study reveals that Go's house is a highly valuable integration of the dwelling culture, which succeeded the traditional type of Korean housing, improved upon both the problems of Joseon houses and the problems of *urban hanoks*, and actively accepted and adapted modern residential discourses.

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Korean traditional house; Hui-Dong Go's house; the 1876 port-opening; *Gaehwa* (enlightenment); building of different shapes



1. Introduction

1.1. Research background and purpose

The majority of traditional houses that presently stand in Korea adhere to the *Ga-Sa-Je-Han*¹ housing regulations stemming from the Confucianism of the late Joseon Dynasty. The remaining traditional houses are *Yangban*² houses built after the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592, and traditional houses that were constructed after the abolition of Joseon's caste system also emulated typical types of *Yangban* houses. In addition to those built in the 1920s and 1930s during the Japanese colonial period, the formal imitation of *Yangban* houses was further strengthened in large-scale *urban hanok* areas that were developed in the 1960s after Korean liberation, and the formal criteria for the *Yangban* houses served as a basis for judgement in the development of the traditional housing preservation policy in the 2000s. These influences of Confucianism and the caste system during the Joseon Dynasty hindered and stagnated the evolution of traditional houses. This problem has been pointed out by

Shilhak scholars (i.e., scholars of the Realist School of Confucianism) since the late Joseon Dynasty, i.e., since the 18th century. Intellectuals who received modern education during the port-opening and enlightenment period pointed out that traditional houses have deteriorated due to the residential culture of Joseon. Nevertheless, Korean traditional houses have tended to remain fixed in the types of *Yangban* houses that prevailed during the Joseon Dynasty. This also appears to be evidence that intellectuals' housing culture enlightenment movements and housing experiments during the Japanese colonial period – specifically in the 1920s and 1930s – were not appropriate or were not spread.

Further, since previous studies on traditional housing have concentrated on the history of its historic styles or houses of major figures, most of the traditional houses have not been developed in significantly different ways, and they often remain in the form of *Yangban* houses from the Joseon Dynasty. However, a time lag is inevitable in this context, since housing is determined under numerous conditions. This is

CONTACT Hoyoung Kim  hoyoung.kim0710@hanbat.ac.kr  Department of Architecture, Hanbat National University, 125, Dongseo-daero, Yuseong-gu, Daejeon 34158, Republic of Korea

¹Housing restriction laws during the Joseon Dynasty implemented building regulations that restricted the permissible extent of construction based on an individual's social standing. These limitations encompassed various aspects of the dwelling, including the overall size of the house, the building type, the dimensions of the structural members, and intricate ornamentation such as decorative motifs and color schemes.

²According to online Encyclopedia Britannica, Joseon Dynasty had "a rigidly hierarchical class system composed broadly of four classes: *yangban*, *chungin* (intermediate class), *sangmin* (common people), and *ch'onmin* (lowborn people)." Among them, *yangban* was "the highest social class of the [Joseon] dynasty."

particularly true when accommodating a new, unfamiliar residential culture. Therefore, it is necessary to study residential culture based on inductive inferences from one specific case. As the specific case chosen in the present work, the house of Hui-Dong Go (1886–1965) was designed and built by Hui-Dong Go in 1918—after which he lived in it for 41 years until 1959—and completed through two periods of extension work in the early 1940s and the early 1950s. This is a good example of housing experiments that have actively adapted to modern dwelling culture. Since Hui-Dong Go was born into a *Chungin* (intermediate-class) family during the Joseon Dynasty, it is judged that he would have been relatively free from the social class system of the Joseon Dynasty. This is because the intermediate class of the Joseon Dynasty was between *Yangban* and *Sangmin* (common people) and *Ch'ŏnmin* (lowborn people). Moreover, Hui-Dong Go's father was Young-Cheol Go, who went to the Qing Dynasty as *Yeongseonsa* (the Korean delegation) in 1881 and to the United States as part of the *Bobingsa* (the Korean diplomatic mission) in 1883, and who grew up in a family that was familiar with different foreign cultures. Hui-Dong Go was also highly receptive to foreign cultures, as evidenced by the fact that he learned French and Western painting while studying in Japan (1908). Against this backdrop, Hui-Dong Go's house is meaningful as it was designed by Hui-Dong Go— who was free from the Joseon's caste system and highly receptive to new foreign cultures— for himself during the period when the enlightenment movements and housing experiments of Korean dwelling culture were most active, and his house was adapted to that time and life while he lived there for more than 40 years.

1.2. Research method and system

This study examines the characteristics of Hui-Dong Go's house and the residential discourses of the time. To this end, the present work compares modern dwelling culture and housing cases proposed in the residential discourse of *Shilhak* scholars in the late Joseon Dynasty, the residential discourse centered on the 1876 port-opening and the opening of the Joseon Dynasty, and the residential discourse of intellectuals who received modern education during the Japanese colonial period with the types of traditional houses developed by Joseon people in the early 1900s.

This study also aims to verify the characteristics and associated values of Hui-Dong Go's house by comparing and analyzing the acceptance and changes in new residential culture in urban architecture and the acceptance thereof, by focusing on universal housing and special housing experiments during the rapidly

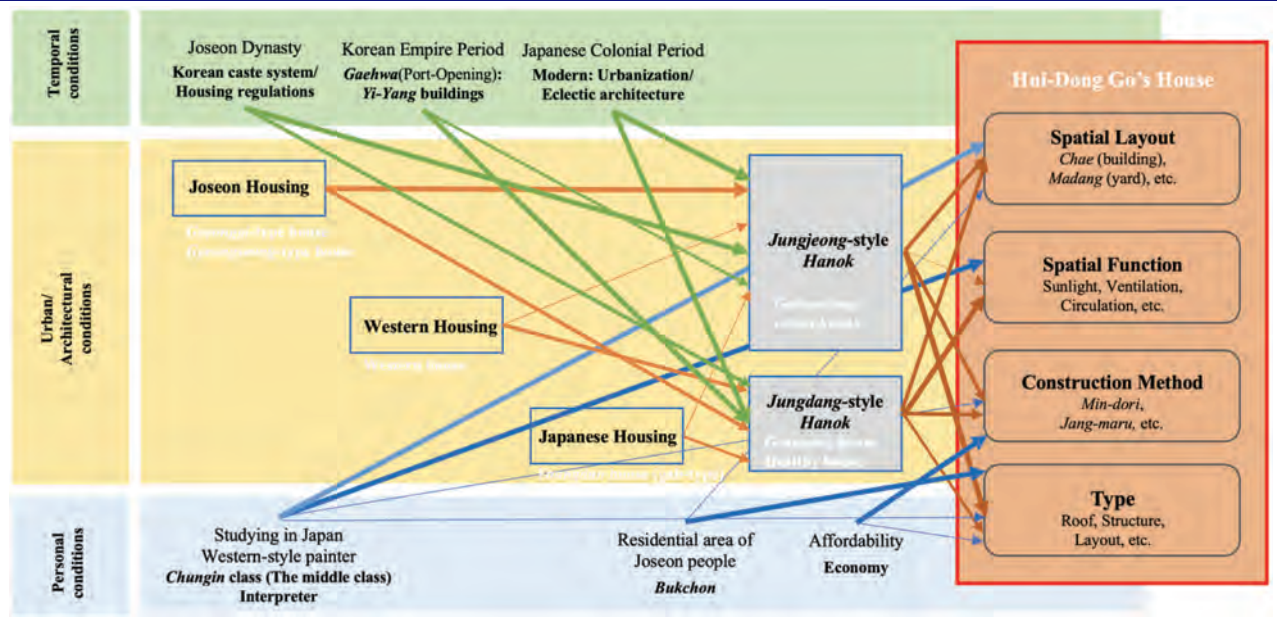
changing period from the Joseon Dynasty through the Japanese colonial period and on to Korean liberation (Table 1). Finally, this study provides a basis for judgment by which Korean traditional houses can move beyond the style of *Yangban* houses from the Joseon Dynasty by adapting to the needs of residents' modern lives and developing into various types of traditional houses.

2. Literature review

2.1. Current status and limitations of studies on Hui-dong Go's house

The house of Hui-Dong Go was preserved by a non-government organization (including *Cultural Action*) campaign urging the preservation of the house, following a conglomerate's announcement that it would demolish and develop the house in 2002. Previous studies examining Hui-Dong Go's house have primarily focused on the physical environment of his house, based on the field measurement survey and repair work data conducted and obtained during the conservation campaign and preservation process. The research data directly related to Hui-Dong Go's house include Han's (2016) master's thesis, entitled "A study on presumption of original form and reformation process of artist Chun-gok Ko Hei Tong's house" and Jongno-gu office's (2020) publication, entitled "Documentation report on the survey of Hui-Dong Go's house in Wonseodong, Seoul." Han's research focuses on the life and activities of Hui-Dong Go, the history of his house, and the change characteristics of his house. It describes the architectural characteristics of the house through a process that involves estimates its original form at the time of 1918 based on closed land registration maps and field measurement drawings, and then tracing the process of its formal change. The documentation report of *Jongno-gu office* is also written in a structure similar to Han's master's thesis. Regarding dwelling culture, in section 5.3.4 of Han's master's thesis, entitled "Value and meaning of modern hanok" (Han 2016, 126–127), and section 4.3 of the documentation report, entitled "Changes in modern hanok" (*Jongno-gu office* 2020, 78–79), Hui-Dong Go's house is defined as a modern residence, and its characteristics are briefly described in comparison to traditional *hanok*. Both studies describe the house of Hui-Dong Go as a modern *hanok* with foreign architectural elements such as "entrance," "porch," "long planks flooring," and "glass" that were not used in traditional *hanok*. However, neither study provides a description of its dwelling culture. Therefore, it is not known why or why these

Table 1. Structure of research system.



architectural elements were accommodated. In particular, it is difficult to ascertain the value of Go Hui-Dong 's house, which has adapted to the dwelling culture of the time, as it cannot be judged based on contemporary perceptions towards the traditional house or its relationship with contemporary residential discourses.

2.2. Limitations of studies on modern residential discourses before and after the port-opening in 1876

There have not been many studies on modern residential discourses in Korea. Studies on modern traditional houses began in the early 1980s, and most such studies have been conducted and published in the 2000s. Studies examining modern residential discourses are also similar to those considering traditional houses. In this respect, Soon Il Kim's essays, "On the ideas of the dwellings of Yon-haeng-rok and Hae-haeng-chong-che in the late Yi Dynasty" (Kim 1981) and "On the ideas of the dwelling in the end of Yi Dynasty (1876 ~ 1910)" (Kim 1982), are significant contributions that served as the foundation of related studies, but his essays have limitations in that they somewhat abstractly analyzed and described the dwelling culture of the time through the records of several intellectuals. Subsequent studies also have similar limitations, such as those conducted by Myung-Sun Kim (2004) and Young-Min Son (2008), which respectively conceptually analyzed historical records and materials in a similar way to Soon Il Kim's studies. Studies by Hyung-Jin Park and Ho-Chang Lyu (2003) and Young-Bum Kim (2001) analyzed the influence of residential discourses on dwellings space at the

time, and they used methodologies similar to that used by this present study. Meanwhile, Park and Ryu typified the cases of many plans from the houses of middle and upper class in Gyeonggi-do, and Kim studied the influence of residential discourses from the perspective of residential history, ranging from traditional houses of the late Joseon Dynasty to apartment houses of the 1970s. Therefore, their studies still have a limitation of being based on some level of abstraction. This limitation appears to derive from the failure to describe the location, construction technology, and change process in detail. It is also associated with the fact that there were not many historical sources of modern residential discourses from the late Joseon Dynasty to the Japanese colonial period, and that the discourses were concentrated within several intellectuals and Yangban houses rather than specific cases, and even these were not studied much.

2.3. The point of difference in this study

Hui-Dong Go's house is a traditional house, which he designed and built by and for himself, living in it for 41 years from 1918 to 1959. Go completed his house with two additions and renovation in the early 1940s and early 1950s according to changes in the needs of life, economic conditions, and dwelling culture (Figure 1).

His house is a conglomeration of dwelling cultures in which distinctive characteristics of specific figures (or family), period, and region were combined. In terms of the specific figures (or family), his father – Young-Cheol Go – was a government official during the late Joseon Dynasty and traveled to both the Qing Dynasty and the United States as



Figure 1. Changes in the presumed layouts of Hui-Dong Go's house³

(a) original layout of Go's house in the early 1918 (b) layout after the extension and alteration of the house between 1941 and 1945 (c) layout after the extension and alteration of the house between 1952 and 1953. Key A: *Anchae*(Main building & women's part of the house); AT: *Hwasil*(Atelier); B: *Sarangchae*(Sub-building & men's part of the house); BA: *Hutgan*(Barn); C: *Munganchae*(Main gate part of house & servants' quarters); CO: *Bokdo*(Corridor); E: *Hyungwan*(Entrance hall); G: *Darak*(Garret); K: *Bueok*(Kitchen); M: *Maru*(Wooden floor); MG: *Deamun*(Main gate); MR: *An-bang*(Main room); R: *Bang*(Room); S: *Gwang*(Shed for food material); SG: *Jungmun*(Sub gate/middle gate); T: *Hwajansil*(Toilet/restroom).

an envoy, while Hui-Dong Go himself studied in Japan and majored in Western painting. They were both relatively free from Joseon's caste system and highly receptive to new cultures and cultural products. In terms of the period from the end of the Joseon Dynasty to the Japanese colonial period, there was a distinctive characteristic that penetrated the upheaval of dwelling culture created by rapid urbanization, the construction of various buildings of different shapes, and the compromise of different types of houses. In terms of regions, there was a certain distinctiveness of the *Bukchon* area, where the large-scale development of *urban hanok* began in the 1920s and 1930s, and where *Gaehwadang* (the Progressive Party) – who led the dwelling culture in the late Joseon Dynasty – and intellectuals who received modern architectural education lived and worked. Moreover, as it takes a long time for residential discourses to lead to actual change in residential space and dwelling culture, it is necessary to analyze such changes over long periods of time under complex conditions. In particular, the late Joseon Dynasty and the Japanese colonial period, when Joseon's national power declined, need to be investigated for a longer period of time and with consideration of more complicated conditions, because the

dwelling culture did not expand into a universal culture as a result of the restricted activities of Joseon people, the poor economic conditions, and Joseon's caste system. Therefore, based on these distinctive characteristics of Hui-Dong Go's house, the present study compares and examines his house with the residential space proposed by intellectuals at the time, *urban hanok* developed on a large scale, and the traditional houses of Joseon Dynasty, and then analyzes in detail why and how his house adapted to modern dwelling culture. In other words, the space layout of *hanoks* was changed to solve the problem of natural sunlight and ventilation caused by the division of *chaes* (individual buildings in a *hanok*) such as *anchae*, *sarang-chae*, and *mungan-chae* as well as the increase in urban density. In the process of this change, new spatial elements and construction methods were newly applied to *hanoks*, and their forms were transformed. Therefore, this study focuses on Hui-Dong Go's house and analyzes the spatial arrangements of *hanoks* according to associated socio-cultural changes of *hanok*, new modern spaces, construction methods, and spatio-temporal changes in their forms, focusing on Hui-Dong Go's house.

³These drawings are excerpted from a master's thesis, entitled "A study on presumption of original form and reformation process of artist Chun-gok Ko Hei Tong's house" (Han 2016, 119).

3. Influence of the 1876 port-opening and Gaehwa (enlightenment) on dwelling culture

3.1. The caste system and dwelling culture in Joseon

Joseon was a Confucian-centered society that looked down on commerce and industry (technology) as well as a hierarchical society centered on the *Yangban* class. Joseon was an absolute monarchy that continued for 519 years from its founding in 1392 until it became a colony in 1910 through Japan's forced annexation of Korea. The King of Joseon was premised on being above the law called *Gyeonguk-Daejeon*, the nation's Confucianism-based ruling system. *Gyeonguk-Daejeon* also formalized the classification of Joseon's caste system into *Yangban* (upper class), *Chungin* (intermediate class), *Sangmin* (common people), and *Ch'onmin* (lowborn people). Based on Joseon's caste system, the housing regulations called *Ga-Sa-Je-Han* prescribed permissible limits for building traditional houses during the Joseon Dynasty. Basically, spaces for females and males were strictly separated into an *an-chaе* (an inner building that served as a women's quarters) and a *sarang-chaе* (an outer building that served as a men's quarters). The housing regulations strictly stipulated – according to Joseon's caste system – the overall size and type of a building, the size of its architectural elements, and details such as its decoration and color. Therefore, no dwelling culture was developed among the common people in the Joseon Dynasty. In the 16th century, two travel records from the Qing Dynasty – Ji-won Bak (2019) (Yeonam)'s *Yeolha Ilgi* and Je-ga (Chojeong) Park (2013) Park's *Bukhakui*—pointed to specific problems such as roofs and ondol in the traditional houses of the Joseon Dynasty, and these problems have not been improved to this day. As *Shilhak* scholars, they actively tried to accept the culture of the Qing Dynasty, which led to criticism that they were uncritically accepting the culture of the Qing Dynasty. Above all, *Shilhak* scholars attempted to provide convenient ways to improve the dwelling spaces of the Joseon people through the institutional standardization of housing subsidiary materials. Even after the 1876 port-opening and

enlightenment, the above-mentioned issues with Joseon's housing and dwelling culture continued.⁴

Since urbanized parcels were generally small, around 12mX15m, it was difficult to build a *Gyeonggi*-type private house on a large plot. Thus, such houses were gradually adapted to the urbanized parcels in the shape of "U" and transformed into "*urban hanoks*" (Figure 3 and 4). Most of the urban hanoks built through large-scale development until the 1960s were in the shape of "U". The *an-chaе*, *sarang-chaе*, and *haengrang-chaе* were all integrated in such hanoks, but the spatial hierarchy was maintained along with the building separation between the *haengrang-chaе* with three *doris* facing the road and the *an-chaе* with five *doris* inward. The *urban hanoks* were developed in such a way that formally embodied the typical characteristics of a *Yangban* house, such as the spatial composition of *Utbang-Kukeum-Jip*, the 5-*dori* structure, *soro-sujang*, double-layer eaves, and two-*kan daecheong-maru*.⁵ Even following the abolition of the caste system of the Joseon Dynasty, traditional houses continued to be built and maintained in a way that expressed the desire to rise in status, in the process borrowing the form of the *Yangban* house of the Joseon Dynasty, which took precedence over the needs of life and the convenience of dwelling space.

3.2. The port-opening in 1876 and Yi-Yang buildings (buildings of different shapes)

Following the 1876 port-opening, there was increased acceptance of both Western culture and the culture of the Qing Dynasty. In the 1880s and 1890s, Western-style buildings were built throughout *Hanseong* (the capital city of Joseon Dynasty). These were concentrated in the *Jeong-dong* area where missionaries and legations were gathered. The 1907 map of the *Jeong-dong* area is the first known usage of the term "*hanok*", where it was used to distinguish from buildings introduced from foreign countries. Western-style houses were defined as houses that had different shapes from Joseon houses. Judging from this definition, it

⁴In particular, from the 1920s, *Gyeongseong* (an old name for Seoul) became urbanized as the population increased rapidly, and housing shortages intensified as a result. Joseon people preferred tile-roofed houses, and the large-scale development of traditional houses occurred in the *Bukchon* area, which was downtown and had many large parcels. Traditional houses that were built on small parcels in this process of urbanization are called *urban hanok*. The *urban hanok* were built by borrowing the form of a *Gyeonggi*-type private house, a *Yangban* house in *Gyeonggi-do*. The *Gyeonggi*-type private house is a type of *Yangban* house in which an *an-chaе* (a women's quarters), a *sarang-chaе* (a men's quarters), and a *haengrang-chaе* (a servants' quarters) are all separated in a "teun square"-shaped layout (open-square plan), and it features the beliefs of the social class system of the Joseon Dynasty, which spatially separated men and women as well as nobles and servants. The *Gyeonggi*-type of *Yangban* house is a *Utbang-Kukeum-Jip* (upper room folded house) featuring an *an-chaе* consisting of an *an-bang* (main room) at the bent part, a kitchen and a *daecheong* (main floored space) on both sides of the main room, and a *geon-non-bang* (a room opposite the *daecheong-maru* from the main room) (Figure 2). The *Gyeonggi*-type house also showcases the typical characteristics of *Yangban* house, with five or more *doris* (purlins) such as a *jong-dori* (ridge purlin), two *jung-doris* (middle purlins), and two *jusim-doris* (column-top purlins), appealing and luxurious *soro-sujangs* (bracket supports) combining a column and a *dori*, *gyeop-chemas* (double-layer eaves), and a *daecheong-maru* with two or more *kans*.

⁵The angle of the bending part is 45 degrees only when the width and height between the horizontally placed *dori* and *dori* are accurately proportional; a roof structure is then created by placing a *chunyeo* (*hoechum chunyeo*) on top of the bending part. However, since *urban hanok* cannot secure the width of *kan* (space between columns), it was implemented by arbitrarily adjusting the width and height of *dori*. The connecting parts of columns are the most difficult to construct, and a *ttakjisoro* (a pseudo-bracket support), which maintains only the shape of a *soro* (a bracket support), was used to achieve a colorful *soro-sujang*. Despite the narrow width of the eaves, double eaves were adopted, and they were used only for parts visible from the outside and the yard. The *daecheong-maru* narrowed the width of its *kan* to maintain two *kans*.



Figure 2. Drawing of a Gyeonggi-type private house (open-rectangular plan) Key A: *Anchae*(Main building & women's part of the house); B: *Sarangchae*(Sub-building & men's part of the house); BA: *Hutgan*(Barn); C: *Munganchae*(Main gate part of house & servants' quarters); CO: *Bokdo*(Corridor); E: *Hyungwan*(Entrance hall); K: *Bueok*(Kitchen); M: *Maru*(Wooden floor); MG: *Deamun*(Main gate); MR: *An-bang*(Main room); R: *Bang*(Room); S: *Gwang*(Shed for food material); SG: *Jungmun*(Sub gate/middle gate); T: *Hwajansi*Toilet/restroom).

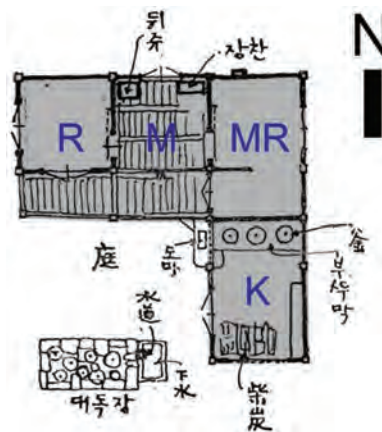


Figure 3. Drawing of a house in Gyeongseong region Key K: *Bueok*(Kitchen); M: *Maru*(Wooden floor); MR: *An-bang*(Main room); R: *Bang*(Room).

appears that there was relatively no resistance to Western-style houses when they were first introduced. The spread of *Yi-Yang buildings* (buildings of different shapes) was in response to a serious housing shortage caused by the rapid increase in the population of *Gyeongseong* in the 1920s and 1930s. This was also the period during which architectural experts trained in modern architectural education established companies and large-scale housing development began in the *Bukchon* area. In the 2 November 1928, issue of *Dong-A Ilbo* (newspaper), an article entitled, "The number of new-style houses exceeded 6,000," reported the sudden changes in and developmental trend of the residential environment in *Gyeongseong* of the early 1900s. According to the newspaper article,

Twenty years ago, there were only 300 to 400 improved houses, including a few Japanese houses and large buildings in the *Namchon* area, and a few Korean stores in *Jongno*. But now the number of new-style houses exceeds 6,000. Approximately one-third of the new-style houses belong to Joseon people and the rest of them are all Japanese houses. The number of new-style houses constructed has increased to around 300 per year. They not only have a large floor space, but are also well-shaped.^{6,7}

At the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, *Bukchon* was the residential area of Joseon people and *Namchon* was that of Japanese people. In this context, most of the new-style houses built in *Gyeongseong* at that time were Japanese-style houses, especially those built in *Namchon*. However, in the 1920s, the number of new-

⁶This drawing is excerpted from a book, entitled *Our disappeared Hanok series #2: Paju and Go-sung* (Kwang No Lee, 2012, p. 68).

⁷This drawing is excerpted from an article from *Dong-A Ilbo*, August 10, 1932, entitled "On house #2."

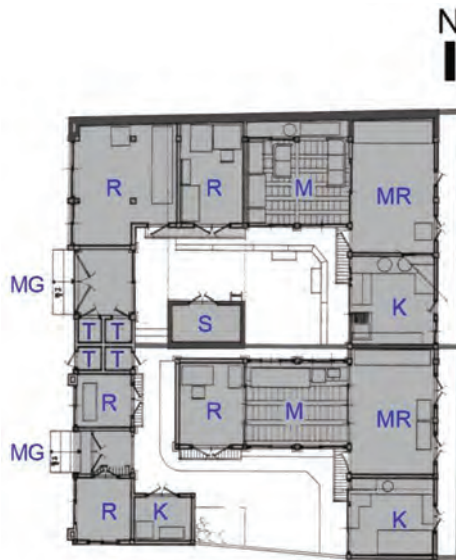


Figure 4. Drawing of an urban hanok in Gahoe-dong Key K: *Bueok*(Kitchen); M: *Maru*(Wooden floor); MG: *Deamun*(Main gate); MR: *An-bang*(Main room); R: *Bang*(Room); S: *Gwang*(Shed for food material); T: *Hwajansil*(Toilet/restroom).

style houses was rapidly increasing among Joseon people's houses. In particular, Joseon people living in *Bukchon* preferred traditional and Western-style houses over Japanese-style houses (Figures 5-7). Moreover, intellectuals at that time expressed ways to improve residential life and housing through the media.^{8,9}

Intellectuals criticized traditional *Yangban* houses built in a lax and ostentatious manner, and they pointed out the problems with Joseon houses compared to those that prevailed in the foreign dwelling culture such as the conversion to small houses, hygiene, and the circulation system. They also insisted on the division of traditional spaces into a reception room, a study room, and a children's room, as well as the internalization of spaces that use water such as kitchens and bathrooms, along with the introduction of a *Jungdang*-style layout¹⁰ and a veranda (or porch) to change the spatial environment into one with plenty of sunlight and natural ventilation (Figure 8). This was an enlightenment movement for the overall dwelling culture including the residential environment, spatial structure, domestic chores, and residential life. One of the writings on the enlightenment movement for dwelling culture was Yoo-Bang Kim's¹¹ article entitled, "Cultural life and housing," which was serially published in

a magazine *Gaebyeok* (The dawn of civilization) in 1923. Through three serial articles¹² in the magazine, Kim criticized Joseon houses for having been fixed as "a stereotyped house without subjectivity due to the common sense of landlords being simple-minded and the experience of carpenters knowing nothing, who emulate meaninglessly and do not improve ancestors' relics to suit the time" (Kim 1923b, 55). Kim also specifically pointed out disadvantages wherein, in the lives of Joseon people, the class/caste system was strictly applied while there was also a perceived predominance of men over women (Kim 1923b, 57). For example, according to him, the government's housing regulations under the class/caste system restricted spatial height and materials, thus causing houses to decline and become lonely and dark houses like those of his time (Kim 1923b, 56). He added that there was a need for improvement in residential spaces because the dwelling culture had been corrupted due to the existence of both a kitchen area in which only women and servants were allowed and the separation between inner rooms and outer rooms, which made the circulation for movement between spaces and house chores much longer.¹³

⁸This drawing is excerpted from a book, entitled *Actual survey report of Gahoe-dong Hanok Preservation District* (Muae Architectural Research Lab., 1986, p. 70).

⁹During this time, the number of relevant newspaper contributions was very large, with more than 10 per month every year. This shows that intellectuals recognized home improvement as an urgent problem.

¹⁰In this *Jungdang*-style layout, a building where rooms are concentrated occupies the center of a parcel and the outer space surrounds it.

¹¹Yoo-Bang Kim (his real name, Chan-Young Kim) received Western painting education at Tokyo Art School in Japan, then returned from studying abroad to write, where he tried to vividly convey the situation of workers in plays.

¹²Yoo-Bang Kim wrote three serial articles in the magazine, *Gaebyeok*. They were published in February 1, March 1, and April 1, 1923. They described a series of phenomena in cultural life and housing: (1) Our housing system advanced by the era of the empire; (2) Modern thought and small housing trends; (3) Small houses we choose.

¹³Kim insisted that Joseon people needed to accept the advantages of houses such as the *Ondol* system (floor heating system) designed and built by their ancestors, and that they compromised with the dwelling culture of the West according to their real life and economic power. In particular, Kim explained that bungalow-style houses were "not only suitable for recovering the most natural beauty among small houses, but also resembled a Joseon house with a smooth roof and wide eaves, which is the most suitable for our climate" (Kim 1923c, 60). For them, the suitability of such houses includes the characteristics of bungalow-style houses, with a wide veranda and terrace, high floor height and wide windows, and excellent natural ventilation and sunlight.

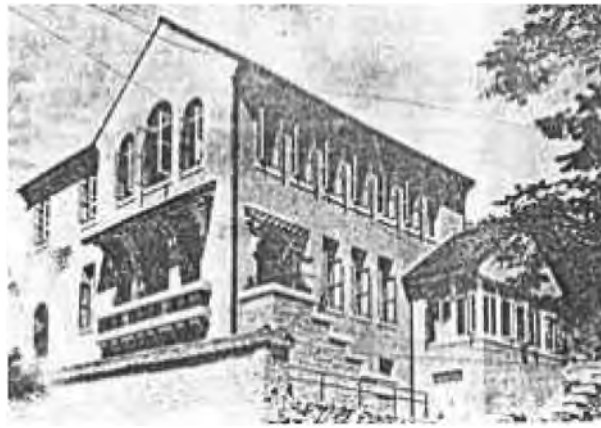


Figure 5. Yong-Soon Jeon's house in Gahoe-dong (designed by Gil-Ryong Park in 1939).¹⁴

3.3. *Gaehwa* and eclectic buildings

The idea of *Gaehwa* became generalized in the late period of Joseon, and it was partially developed by *Gaehwadang* (the Progressive Party). *Gaehwadang* called for overall reform of Joseon's ruling system – including the abolition of feudal exploitation and the class-caste system – as a political movement based on the concept of Enlightenment. There were slight differences between the radical enlightenment party and the moderate enlightenment party, but the idea of *Gaehwa* meant enlightenment to advance customs by introducing new technologies and systems. The Radical Enlightenment party staged the *Gapsin* coup on 4 December 1884 with the aim of achieving independence from the Qing Dynasty and the enlightenment of Joseon. The *Gapsin* coup took place in the *Bukchon* area, and those who led the coup – including Ok-Gyun Kim, Young-Sik Hong, Kwang-Beom Seo, and Jae-Pil Seo – were public figures living in the *Bukchon* area. In the early 1880s, they traveled to Japan and the United States as *Susinsa* (diplomatic corps), an investigation and inspection group, and *Bobingsa* to learn and accept advanced culture. During this time, the *Bukchon* area was more open and advanced than ever before. With the 1876 port-opening, missionaries and diplomats (legations) were introduced, and new-style architecture was introduced along with new culture and technology. This was a time during which *Gaehwa* was rapidly achieved. Moreover, in the 1880s, some of *Yeongseonsa* and the investigation and inspection group decided to study abroad and remained in Japan, and Western missionaries took the lead in establishing modern (vocational) educational institutions such as *Pai Chai* School, Joseon Christian College, and *Chungshin* Girl's School, as well as sending students abroad to study modern forms of knowledge. In East Asia, modern architecture education was first introduced at the Department of

Sculpture of the University of Tokyo in 1876. In the Empire of Korea, it was introduced at the Department of Carpentry of the *Gyeongseong* Industrial Training Center, after which it spread to *Yeonhui* College and *Gyeongseong* Industrial High School. In 1920, the company act was abolished, which made it possible to establish a company with Joseon people. In 1921, Hoon-Woo Lee established his own architectural office, and in the 1920s and 1930s, Gil-Ryong Park (a graduate of *Gyeongseong* Industrial High School in 1919) and Injun Park (a graduate of *Yeonhui* College and Minnesota State University) started their own architectural offices. These architectural offices were located in the *Bukchon* area, north of *Jongno*, and the architects – who also ran their offices – designed and built the houses of Joseon's intellectuals who preferred modern architecture (Figures 9–11).

In this way, the *Bukchon* area became a center of this changing dwelling culture, which was one of the most important factors in advancing Joseon people's lives and customs. This trend was also recognized by Joseon's intellectuals. In an article entitled, "the scenery of great Gyeongseong" published in a magazine *Sahaegongron* (Public opinions in the world) in 1935, Kwang-Yeol Yoo described the changes in *Bukchon* in the 1990s as follows.

Low thatched houses like crab shells in *Bukchon*! In the areas of *Gye-dong* and *Gahoe-dong*, where the houses leak when it rains heavily, within the last 30 years, landlords from the countryside or merchants came and demolished the old houses, built new, splendid houses in a way of *Seon-Yang-Chul-Chung* (an eclectic style incorporating aspects from Joseon's houses and Western houses), and renewed their faces.

In the 1920s in the *Bukchon* area, the expansion and renovation of existing houses mainly occurred in *Gye-dong* and *Won-dong* (*Wonseo-dong*), and was not until the 1930s that large-scale developments in *Gahoe-dong*

¹⁴This picture is excerpted from a magazine called *Architecture of Joseon* printed in September, 1939.



Figure 6. Chi-Wang Yoon's house in Gahoe-dong (designed by Injun Park in 1936).

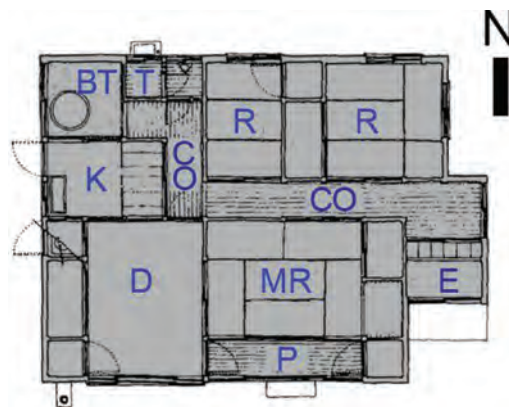


Figure 7. A type of yeongdan house (Japanese house), 1941–45. Key BT: Yorksil(Bath room); CO: Bokdo(Corridor); D: Sikdang(Dining room); E: Hyungwan(Entrance hall); K: Bueok(Kitchen); MR: An-bang(Main room); P: Porch & Veranda; R: Bang(Room); T: Hwajansil (Toilet/restroom).

were implemented, due to a large-scale plot for the royal family and *Yangban* families. This is because, before 1920, Joseon people could not establish their companies under the company act, whereas Japanese people could establish their own companies, and only they could proceed with the development of dividing parcels. However, the development method of Japanese companies was not preferred by Joseon people. Thus, in the 1930s, Joseon people's companies began to develop and both parcels and houses began to be sold in the *Gahoe-dong* area, from which the development of *Bukchon* progressed rapidly.

After the *Gapsin* coup failed in 19 October 1884, the land and houses of *Gaehwadang's* people in the *Bukchon* area became modern educational facilities. During the Japanese colonial period, the educational facilities became schools, including *Gyeongseong* High School, *Gyeongseong* Girls' High School, and others. Since then, people from all over the country gathered into the *Bukchon* area while centering around educational spaces. Among them, Joseon intellectuals created new types of housing according to the manner of *Seon-*

Yang-Chul-Chung, which incorporated the good points of both Joseon and Western houses (Figures 9–11). Hui-Dong Go was representative of the intellectuals who lived in *Bukchon*. Go actively interacted with *Bukchon*-based intellectuals and taught art classes at the modern educational facilities of *Bukchon*. As he was active in *Bukchon*, he was able to see and experience changes from *urban hanoks* to new-style houses as well as to eclectic houses combining the two different styles of housing.

4. Cultural adaptation process and characteristics of Hui-Dong Go's house

4.1. Urbanization adaptation process of Joseon house and Hui-dong Go's house

When comparing the characteristics of an *urban hanok* borrowed from the formal elements of *Yangban* houses in *Gyeonggi-do* during the Joseon Dynasty, it can be seen that Hui-Dong Go's House initially had the characteristics of traditional houses with a courtyard in

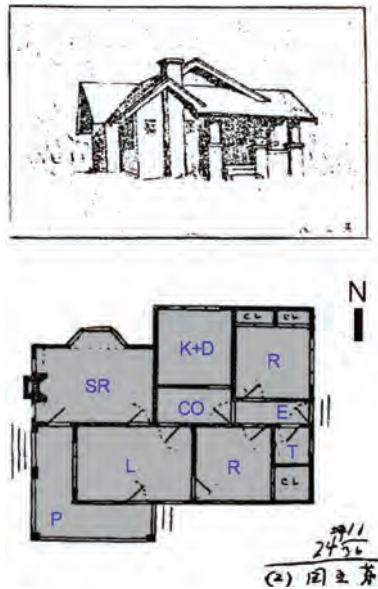


Figure 8. A type of Western house of Yoo-Bang Kim (1923c).¹⁵ Key CO: *Bokdo*(Corridor); D: *Sikdang*(Dining room); E: *Hyungwan*(Entrance hall); K: *Bueok*(Kitchen); L: Living room; P: Porch & Veranda; R: *Bang*(Room); SR: *Seojae*(Study room); T: *Hwajansil*(Toilet/restroom).



(a) Aerial view



(b) Floor plan

Figure 9. Han's house in Gahoe-dong in the early 1900s. Key BT: *Yorksil*(Bath room); CO: *Bokdo*(Corridor); E: *Hyungwan* (Entrance hall); K: *Bueok*(Kitchen); M: *Maru*(Wooden floor); MG: *Deamun*(Main gate); P: Porch & Veranda; R: *Bang*(Room); T: *Hwajansil*(Toilet/restroom).

their center. However, Go's House was not only arranged along the boundaries of its parcel like an *urban hanok*, but its spatial composition was also different from that of *UtBang-Kukeum-Jip*. Moreover, his atelier – which was later extended in the early 1940s – was also placed in the center of the parcel. During the

extension in the early 1950s, Go's house was arranged in the form of a snail connecting the entire building. It was changed into a spatial composition based on an arrangement that was not found in previous traditional houses. In terms of the dwelling culture including spatial composition, it was close to Western-style

¹⁵These drawing are excerpted from a magazine called *Gaebuyuk 34* printed in April, 1923. In this issue, Yoo-Bang Kim wrote an article, entitled "A small house which we are going to choose," which was presented along with the drawings of his house.

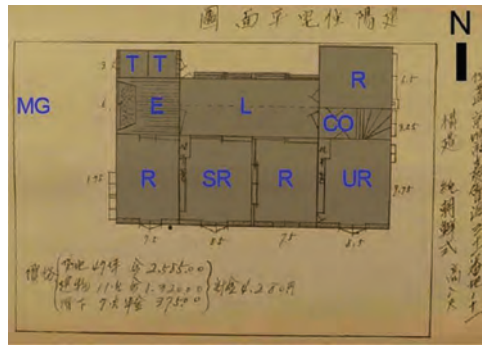


Figure 10. Drawing of Geon-Yang housing designed by Se-Kwon Jeong (1936)¹⁶ Key CO: Bokdo(Corridor); E: Hyungwan(Entrance hall); L: Living room; MG: Deamun(Main gate); R: Bang(Room); SR: Seojae(Study room); T: Hwajansil(Toilet/restroom); UR: Dayongdosil (Utility room).

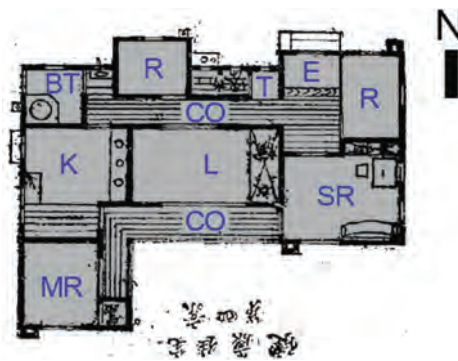


Figure 11. Drawing of Healthy housing designed by Yun-Gi Kim (1930)¹⁷ Key BT: Yorksil(Bath room); CO: Bokdo(Corridor); E: Hyungwan(Entrance hall); K: Bueok(Kitchen); L: Living room; MR: An-bang(Main room); R: Bang(Room); SR: Seojae(Study room); T: Hwajansil(Toilet/restroom).

houses or *Seon-Yang-Chul-Chung*-style houses proposed by intellectuals in the early 1900s. This may be because Hui-Dong Go, who majored in Western painting while studying in Japan, belonged to the *Chungin* class as an interpreter and was more receptive to other cultures.

The house of Hui-Dong Go is formally a tradition house that was built with traditional Joseon-style wooden structure and a tiled roof. However, its spatial composition and elements have their roots in Western and Japanese-style dwelling cultures as follows: First of all, Go’s house is similar to the *Yangban* house of the Joseon Dynasty in terms of its hipped-and-gabled roof style and several yards, while it is also similar to the *urban hanok* in terms of the size of the parcel and building. Considering that the house proposed by architect Gil-Ryong Park and architectural expert Yun-Gi Kim also had a roof covered with roof tiles, this feature appears to be related to the issue of the identity of Joseon people in the Japanese colonial period (Table 2).

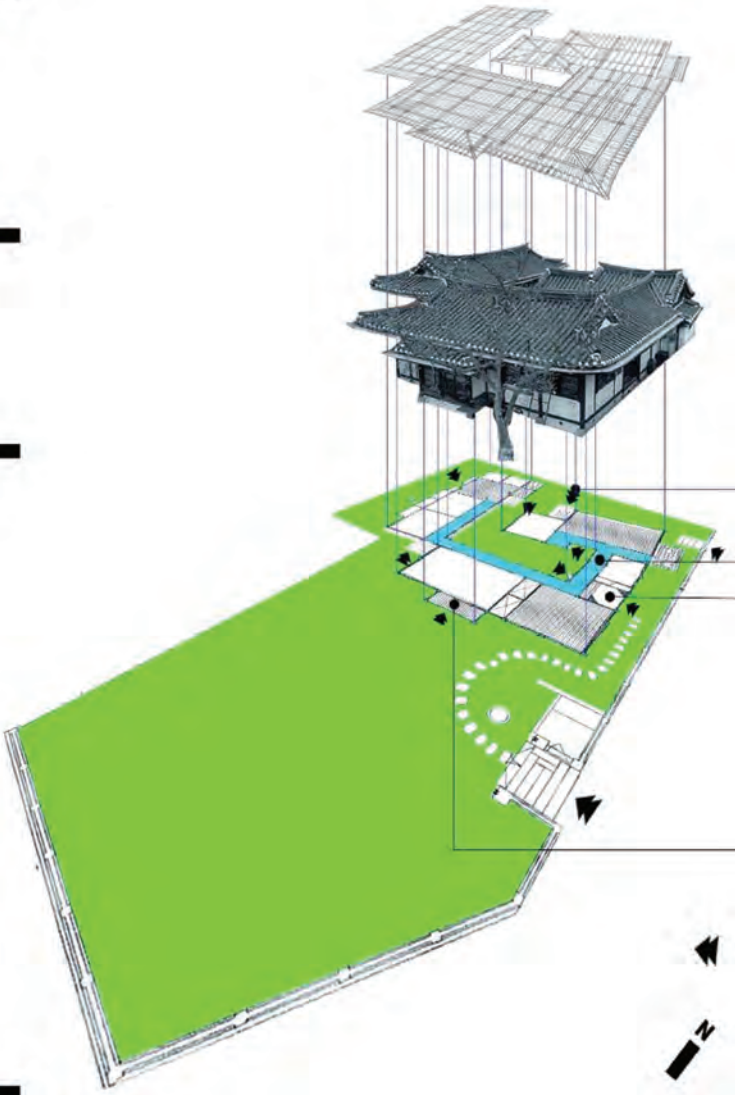
Consider the differences from Joseon house to *urban hanok*, Western house, and Go’s house (Table 3). First, the spatial composition of the *an-cha* in Go’s house is not that of *Utbang-Kukeum-Jip* (upper room folded house; a “rotated L” shape), but was instead based on a “horizontal I” shape, which derived was from a typical type of housing for people in classes under the *Yangban* class in the Joseon Dynasty. Moreover, a *daecheong-maru* (main floored space) was not the center of the spatial composition. The *daecheong-maru* does not represent a high spatial hierarchy, but rather a *modern living room* that is the center of activity and connection in the interior space. Further, regardless of the hierarchy and size of the space, Go’s house had the characteristics of implementing a *5-dori* structure, and a *toet-kan* (built with another column outside the inner *kans*) was used a corridor to connect the entire space.

Second, to secure economic feasibility, Go’s house utilized *min-dori*, which is the simplest among traditional Joseon-style wooden structures in terms of

¹⁶This drawing is excerpted from a magazine called *Shilsaenghwal* printed in April, 1936. In this issue, Se-kwon Jeong wrote of *Geon-yang* housing (in a proposal of housing improvement).

¹⁷This drawing is excerpted from an article of *Dong-A Ilbo*, October 11, 1930, entitled “Housing problem: How do we establish the only resting place, the home of comfort?.”

Table 2. Diagram of spatial organization in the house of Hui-Dong Go.¹⁸

	Diagram of Hui-Dong Go's house	Main parts	
<p>Worm's-eye view</p> <p>Drawing of wooden roof structure</p>			
<p>Picture from an aerial view</p>			
<p>Site and floor plan</p>			<p>Basement Entrance</p> <p>Corridor/Toet-maru Entrance</p> <p>Veranda/Porch</p> <p>[Legend]</p> <p>Entry</p> <p>Direction</p>

connecting the upper part of the columns, and which is commonly used in houses of people in classes under the *Yangban* class (Table 4). Moreover, rather than the floor construction method used in the Joseon Dynasty, wherein *dong-gwiteul* (common joist) and floorboard were fitted to each other, *Jang-maru* (a floor made of long planks), which was attached to the top of the joist, was utilized. The length of the eaves was also differentiated according to the external spaces of the house. For example, *toet-bo* (the crossbeam of the floor of a verandah) was installed at the same height as the *jang-bo* (an unsupported room-length beam) and the

same member, while wide eaves and double eaves were used in the direction of wide external space.

Rather than borrowing the characteristics of *Yangban* houses, Go's house employed the characteristics of Joseon people's houses with functions tailored to the needs of residents. The fact that he freely transformed and used the characteristics of Joseon people's houses suggests that Go had a high level of understanding of Joseon people's houses. Therefore, the complex shapes of tiled roofs and the arrangement of many pillars, which deviated from the formality of houses in the Joseon Dynasty, appear to reflect Go's

¹⁸This diagram is drawn based on a site plan drawing, a picture from an aerial view, and a drawing from a worm's-eye view, all of which are excerpted from *Documentation report on the house of Hui-dong Go in Wonseo-dong, Seoul*.

Table 3. Comparative analysis of different types of houses from Joseon house to urban hanok, Western house, and Go’s house.

	Joseon house (Gyeonggi-type private house)	Urban Hanok	Western house (Proposal of Yoo-Bang Kim)	Hui-Dong Go’s house
Layout				
Exterior Space				
Structure				
Wooden structure				
Usage				
Circulation				
[Legend]				
	<p>Exterior Space An-bang (Main room) Maru (Wooden Floor) Kitchen Bang (Room) Water-used space Storage space Hip rafter Cross beam Purlin Wall Entrance Structure</p>			

identity as a Joseon person, the uniqueness of *Bukchon* as the residential area of Joseon people, and his architectural aesthetics.

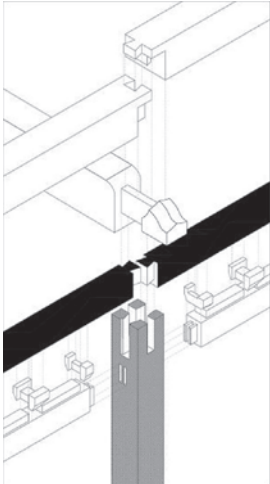
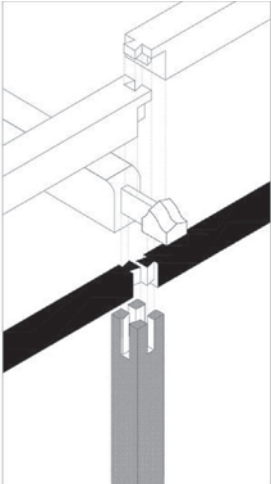
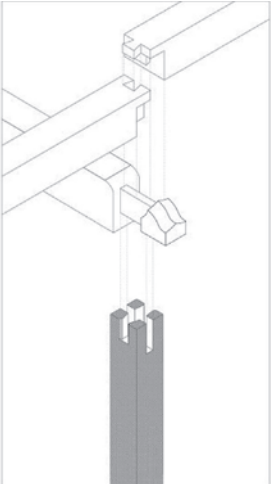
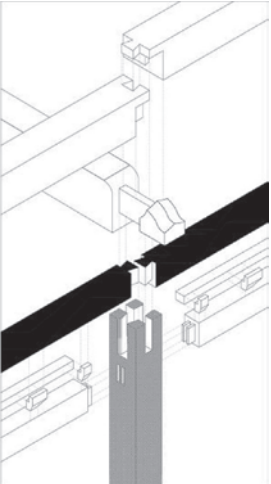
4.2. The house of hui-dong go, a compromise between Joseon houses and Yi-Yang buildings

As mentioned above, Yoo-Bang Kim criticized Joseon houses for being based on the housing regulations that emerged under Joseon’s caste system and *Yangban*-oriented dwelling culture, and for being fixed as “a stereotyped house without subjectivity due to the common sense of landlords being simple-minded and the experience of carpenters knowing nothing, who emulate meaninglessly and do not improve ancestors’ relics to suit the time” (Kim 1923b, 55). Following the characteristics of Joseon houses

may have caused problems for most Joseon houses built at that time. However, Hui-Dong Go’s house appears to have actively accepted the dwelling cultures of both Western-style and Japanese-style houses as needed.

First, as houses were built on small parcels in the process of urbanization, the qualities of the residential environment, including natural sunlight and ventilation, became worse. This is because *urban hanoks* were arranged along the boundary of each parcel centered around a courtyard standardized in its center when they were created as a result of the large-scale development in the 1930. With this problem in mind, several modern-educated intellectuals suggested their solutions: Yoo-Bang Kim proposed Western housing; Yun-Gi Kim, as an architectural engineer, presented Healthy housing; and Se-kwon

Table 4. Comparison of construction method for upper part of wooden column structure.

	Soro-sujang method	Jangyeo-sujang method	Min-dori method	Ddakji-Soro-sujang method
(Dori) (Bo)				
Jangyeo				
Soro				
Ttakjisoro				
Soro-Bangmakyi				
Inbang				
(Column)				

Jeong, who developed many *urban hanoks* to the point of being called the king of architecture at the time, suggested *Geon-Yang* housing. Their proposals were all ways to facilitate the distribution of natural sunlight and ventilation throughout the houses by arranging them in the center of their parcels. The inclusion of verandas, terraces, and porches in their houses were intended to secure natural sunlight and ventilation by actively connecting interior and exterior spaces. However, the houses they proposed were double-layered houses in which one side of most of the rooms was exposed to the outside air because they were attached to one another, unlike the single-layered houses of Joseon houses, wherein all rooms face at least two sides of the outside air. However, Hui-Dong Go's house has a particular characteristic in that the house was not only designed as a single-layered plan, but was also arranged on the center of the parcel. This represents a change to the use of the existing courtyard from a kind of hall that connects the social space where housework or events were performed and each internal space to a garden that accommodates nature inside, as is done in Europe and Japan. This is considered to be an appropriate application and adaptation of housing design methods in response to social and cultural changes and the changing needs of life.

Second, the dwelling culture in the early 1900s inherited the Joseon Dynasty's Confucian class culture of separating men's and women's spaces into an *an-chaе* and a *sarang-chaе*, as well as separating masters' (*Yangban*) and servants' spaces into an *an-chaе* and

a *haengrang-chaе*. The *maru* (wooden floor) and *toet-maru* (external wooden floor outside the main structure) of houses in the Joseon Dynasty functioned as connecting spaces. However, Yoo-Bang Kim pointed out that a *daecheong-maru* has rather declined in function, as it has been fixed as an ideological space where the four ceremonial occasions (of coming of age, wedding, funeral, and ancestral rites) were held. Even in survey records from the 1980s, the *daecheong-maru* was marked as a summer room with no heating and no windows, and it was recognized as an ideological space, not a living room. Although the *toet-maru* was a semi-outdoor space and connected a kitchen or a *geon-non-bang* (a room on the opposite side across the *daecheong-maru* from the main room), it disappeared, and the circulation of the dwelling space worsened with the narrowing width of the space in *urban hanoks*. This problem of circulation made the kitchen – which was only allowed for women and servants – even worse. They had to deal with ineffective circulation for household chores when they moved around the inside and outside of the *urban hanoks*, such as through the kitchen, dining space, an outside pantry, an outside space where water was used, and a courtyard as a work space. The house of Hui-Dong Go connects its entire space with a *toet-maru* transformed from a *toet-kan* space in the direction of inner courtyard. This is similar to a long Japanese corridor or an *engawa* (Japanese *toet-maru*) connecting buildings (spaces), but it is very different from a double-loaded corridor or a space for looking at a garden like an *engawa*. In this way, Go first designed a way of connecting his entire space with the configuration of

Table 5. Aspects of improvement in dwelling culture from the late Joseon period to the Japanese colonial period.

	External factor (Foreign influence)	Elements of improvement	Goals of improvement	Virtues of improvement	Adaptation aspects
Late Joseon period (Late 18 th century)	Qing Dynasty	Roof, Ondol, Brick	Standardization	Shilhak, Promotion of public welfare	Ga-Sa-Je-Han
Korean Empire period (Late 19 th century)	Japan, the U.S., etc.	Sunlight, Ventilation	Hygiene, Function	Gaehwa, Urban improvement	Acceptance of buildings of different shapes
Japanese colonial period (Early 20 th century)	Japan, the U.S., etc.	Circulation, Economy	Dwelling culture	Modern, Enlightenment in life	Application of eclectic buildings

Joseon house and the existing structure of *toet-maru*, while Yoo-Bang Kim and Yun-Gi Kim proposed a double-loaded corridor connecting to the central space of a house, and Se-Kwon Jeong suggested a central living room connecting the entire space of a house.

4.3. Results and discussion

It can be said that the house of Hui-Dong, in its adaptation process, reflects the flow of the dwelling culture over the 41 years during which he resided in it or over the period of about 200 years from the late Joseon Dynasty to the Japanese colonial period (Table 5). Undoubtedly, it is difficult to specifically and clearly identify the entire time period. Nevertheless, it is certain that it was changed by the choices of the resident in the flow of this dwelling culture. In particular, the period when Go's house was built and renovated was all the more meaningful because it was a time when traditional Joseon houses were undergoing drastic changes due to the 1876 port-opening (or *Gaehwa*), colonization, and urbanization.¹⁹ Since the houses of the Joseon Dynasty were fixed without any change due to the influences of Confucianism and Joseon's caste system, this period is significant as the first evolutionary period of traditional houses.

The house of Hui-Dong Go is an integration that has been selected and determined by changes in dwelling culture and complex conditions over a long period of time. The analysis in Chapter 4 describes the characteristics of Go's house based on a comparison between

traditional houses and *Yi-Yang* houses. However, to understand their overall characteristics, it is necessary to analyze comprehensively different conditions ranging from cultural and technological considerations to the surrounding economy. This is specifically because intellectuals like *Shilhak* scholars and *Gaehwa* factions considered factors of both enlightenment and the economy in the dwelling culture of Joseon's people. This topic has mainly been referred to as economy, but it can be accurately referred to as affordability. In fact, the dwelling culture is determined by complex conditions including residential space; changes in external conditions including the natural environment, legal system, social culture, and science and technology; and changes in internal conditions including residents' living environment, economic conditions, and dwelling perception. In the analysis in Chapter 4, the present study compared the Joseon Dynasty's *Yangban* houses, *urban hanoks*, *Gahoe-dong* Han's family houses, Western houses, Healthy houses, *Geon-Yang* houses, Japanese-style houses, and Hui-Dong Go's house by using several criteria such as layout, spatial hierarchy, spatial structure, circulation, sunlight and ventilation, roof type, and affordability (Table 6). This study also focused on the housing cases of the *Bukchon* area and the houses proposed by the Joseon people.

It was not easy to compromise technical or socio-cultural differences between traditional houses and *Yi-Yang* buildings due their differences in residential culture, spatial arrangement, and construction method. For example, the wooden structure of

¹⁹*Shilhak* scholars claimed the idea of *Yi-Young-Who-Saeng* (promotion of public welfare). In the late Joseon Dynasty, this idea was shifted to the idea of *Gae-Mul-Sung-Mu Hwa-Min-Sung-Sok* (realizing the truth of things to enlighten the people and to achieve the right customs) used to accommodate the Qing Dynasty's culture. The idea of the Chinese classics, *Gae-Mul-Sung-Mu Hwa-Min-Sung-Sok*, was finally abbreviated to *Gaehwa*, where it came into general usage (Kim 2008, 81–83). At the end of the Joseon Dynasty, *Shilhak* scholars asserted the introduction of the housing system of the Qing Dynasty. Their assertions were to improve Joseon people's houses through the standardization of architectural elements including subsidiary materials, but these assertions were not accepted in the Joseon Dynasty, which was strictly governed by the social class system centered on the *Yangban* class. This perception of *Shilhak* scholars led to the culture of *Gaehwa* (enlightenment). Those who were centered on *Gaehwadang* emphasized the importance of natural sunlight and ventilation in houses and insisted on securing hygiene and function as a modern concept. However, their assertions to drive urban improvement appear to have been derived in a somewhat abstract manner. Further, along with the 1876 port-opening, Western buildings (*Yi-Yang* buildings) were built by missionaries and legations, and with access to modern architecture education, the dwelling culture was introduced by intellectuals, which began to affect changes in traditional Joseon houses. Since the 1920s, when Joseon's experts with modern education were produced and they started to build their own companies, a number of foreign houses and urbanized traditional houses were built. In particular, during the Japanese colonial period, Joseon people preferred Western-style houses as well as traditional houses, so houses that compromised between the two different styles began to be built. In particular, the area of *Bukchon* is a place where intellectuals including *Shilhak* scholars and enlightenment factions lived and where modern educational facilities existed (Jung et al. 2019, 102–108). Hui-Dong Go had regular exchanges with the intellectuals in the *Bukchon* area and held classes at modern educational facilities. In this context, his house in *Wonseo-dong, Bukchon* appears to have interacted with other houses in the same area.

traditional houses includes a light roof. Unlike Western or Japanese houses that as close to a wall structure, the wooden structure of traditional houses in the Joseon Dynasty consists of relatively a wide span, and the load of its roof is large. Further, most of its wooden members are large and vulnerable to bending stress. Therefore, in his house, Hui-Dong Go minimized the use of large-sized woods and chose the simplest *min-dori* structure for the wood structure joint. Without prejudice, in Japanese style, Go attempted to compromise different spatial arrangements and structures from Joseon houses to Western houses and Japanese houses. In order to secure economic feasibility, Go used *Jang-maru* instead tradition hall boards, increased the number of columns, aligned the height of *bos* beams and *toet-bos* (crossbeams), and minimized the size of *Chu-nyeo* (large rafter, *Hoechum Chu-nyeo*). Considering the problems associated with traditional houses (e.g., long and complex circulation due to the division of *chaes* and bad quality of natural sunlight and ventilation due to the layout centered on a courtyard), Go reduced the circulation of household chores and offset the spatial hierarchy in his house, thus integrating the divided *chaes* of his house into a corridor connecting the entire space. Go also secured natural sunlight and ventilation by adopting the *Jungdang*-style layouts (with house placed in the center of the parcel) that had already spread in Western and Japanese houses as well as irregular yards instead of *Jungjeongs* (square yards in the center of a lot). In short, Go took advantage of natural sunlight and ventilation by securing a separation distance of more than 3 m from neighboring houses on every side of his house and by maintaining a type of single-layered house facing outside air on more than two sides. This is innovative enough to be applied to contemporary *hanoks*.

5. Conclusions

In the late Joseon Dynasty, housing restrictions and customs strictly regulated the distinction between the spaces of *Yangban* and servant based on Joseon's caste system and the separation between the spaces of men and women based on Confucian ideology. As a result, traditional houses did not evolve and became fixed. Moreover, the culture of *Yangban* houses in the Joseon Dynasty was selected as a typical type or used as a prototype for Korean dwelling culture until the large-scale developments in the 1920s and 1930s and that in the 1960s. There appears to have been no effect from the Enlightenment movements wherein intellectuals from the late Joseon Dynasty to the Japanese colonial period tried to improve the dwelling culture. However, it is judged that their Enlightenment

movements did not spread because, in the Japanese colonial period, the activities and culture of the Joseon people were forcibly controlled and eradicated. Even after Korea's liberation from Japan, the Korean dwelling culture was formed by the government-led housing supply policies of the military regime. Another reason that the dwelling culture of the Joseon people was limited is that, during the Japanese colonial period, the culture was formed centering on the elite and wealthy people in power. Undoubtedly, given the economic conditions of the Joseon people, they were not able to afford establishing their own dwelling culture.

In this sense, it can be said that the house of Hui-Dong Go, which is relatively small and economically considered while presenting a new type of dwelling culture, has great meaning. This study has identified four findings: First, Go's house solved the issues with the traditional hierarchy and the circulation of household chores of the residential space, which was fixed in the Confucian ideology and the caste system of the Joseon Dynasty, through the room arrangement and connecting the circulation. Second, Go's house also solved the problems of natural sunlight and ventilation of *urban hanoks* using a *Jungdang*-style layout (with house placed in the center of the parcel) and irregular yards. Third, Go's house actively accepted the elements of *Yi-Yang* buildings including an entrance, a veranda (porch), and long corridors, along with the features of the foreign dwelling culture such as a living room, a studio, and internalized spaces that use water. Fourth, Go's house also secured economic efficiency while adhering to characteristics of traditional houses, including choosing the simplest *min-dori* structure for the wood structure joint of the upper part of the columns.

To sum up, Go's house is a house that has continuously maintained the characteristics of traditional houses in terms of function and economy and actively accepted and adapted to the characteristics of *Yi-Yang* buildings, rather than being a house that contains the culture of *Yangban* houses in the Joseon Dynasty. Go's house is still judged to be unique enough that it is difficult to regard it as a traditional Joseon house, except for its wooden structure and tiled roof. However, considering the problems that were pointed out with the houses of the late Joseon Dynasty and that it well reflected the new dwelling culture proposed in the housing discourse of the 1920s and 1930s, Go's house represented his utopian vision for housing. There also appeared to be a time lag. In this respect, this study comprehensively analyzed the entire adaption process of Hui-Dong Go's house, and thereby reexamined the value of the flow of dwelling culture at the time and further provided a basis for the modern evolution of traditional houses.

Disclosure statement

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Notes on contributors

Dr. Keehwang Jung is the Research Director of the CI-CI-HAN (City & Citizen of Korea) Lab, where he focuses on multidisciplinary research linking urban architecture with history, culture, society, and more. He is currently investigating and analyzing the adaptation process of urban architecture to meet user needs in modern and contemporary Korea, with a special focus on the colonial and military regime periods.

Dr. Hoyoung Kim is an Associate Professor of Architecture at Hanbat National University, where he focuses on the visual representation in architectural media and its relationship with human psychology and aesthetics. He is currently engaged in research projects exploring the role of architectural models as a design medium and the depiction of Korean national housing in visual media.

ORCID

Keehwang Jung  <http://orcid.org/0009-0000-3453-6362>

Hoyoung Kim  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5832-5033>

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