

SPACE Academia

SPACE 아카데미의 지향점

건축 이론 연구 섹션 'SPACE 아카데미'는 건축을 바라보는 사고의 날을 버리면서 시대가 나아가야 할 방향을 모색해온 「SPACE(공간)」의 오랜 전통을 보다 긴 호흡으로 확장하고 심화할 수 있는 연구논문을 게재하는 섹션입니다. 2008년 A&HCI(Arts & Humanities Citation Index) 등재 이후 2011년 창간 45주년을 기념하여 개설된 SPACE 아카데미는 한 편의 논문을 게재하기까지 편집위원회와 세 명의 국내외 심사위원이 2회의 무기명 심사를 진행합니다. 2011년 2편, 2012년 1편, 2014년 1편, 2015년 1편, 2017년 1편, 2018년 1편의 연구논문을 게재한 SPACE 아카데미는 우리의 지적 인식을 새롭게 만들고 새 지평을 열어젖힐 담론의 출현을 기다립니다.

Aim of SPACE Academia

SPACE Academia is the Architectural theory research section of SPACE. The section serves to introduce academic papers that enrich and expand the legacy of SPACE, in its search for future directions in ways of thinking about architecture. After being officially listed on the Arts & Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), SPACE Academia was established in concurrence with its 45th anniversary issue, on November 2011. Blind peer reviews are performed twice by the chief editors and three international reviewers. SPACE Academia looks forward to the emergence of new discourse that can open up new horizons, and renew contemporary intellectual perceptions. SPACE Academia cordially invites the submission of academic papers of a high standard that can diagnose the intellectual potential of our times.

한옥 패러독스: 한옥의 부흥에 나타난 현대성과 신화

김현섭, 이용희

키워드:

한옥 부흥, 한국 전통주택, 현대한옥, 현대성, 신화,
이데올로기, 민족주의/국가주의, 자본주의, 패러독스

The *Hanok* Paradox: Modernity and Myth in the Revival of the Traditional Korean House

Hyon-Sob Kim, Yong-Hee Lee

keywords:

hanok revival, traditional Korean house,
contemporary hanok, modernity, myth, ideology,
nationalism, capitalism, paradox

김현섭은 영국 셰필드대학교에서 박사 및 박사후과정으로 유럽 근대건축을 연구했고, 2008년부터 고려대학교에서 교수로 일하고 있다.

건축 역사가이자 비평가로서 한국 현대건축에 관한 비판적 역사 서술에 관심을 두고 있으며, 최근 『건축수업: 건축물로 읽는 서양 근대건축사』(공저, 2016), 『DDP Controversy and the Dilemma of H-Sang Seung's "Landscape"』(2018), 『르 코르뷔지에와 한국의 현대건축』(2018) 등

다수의 단행본과 논문을 국내외에 출판했다. [교신저자: archistory@korea.ac.kr]

이용희는 고려대학교 건축학과에서 석박사 통합과정을 수료했다. 현대한옥에 주된 관심을 두고 있으며,

김현섭 교수의 지도 아래 『최옥의 한옥 리노베이션에 나타난 전통과 현대 사이의 연속성 논의』(2014), 『현대한옥의 유형 분류』(2016) 등의 논문을 출판했다.

Hyon-Sob Kim, an architectural historian and critic, has worked as a professor at Korea University since 2008, following his doctoral and post-doctoral researches at the University of Sheffield, UK. He is now interested in writing a critical history of modern architecture in Korea and his recent publications include *Architecture Class: History of Western Modern Architecture* (co-authored, 2016), 'DDP Controversy and the Dilemma of H-Sang Seung's "Landscape"' (2018) and 'Le Corbusier and Modern Architecture in Korea' (2018). [corresponding author: archistory@korea.ac.kr]

Yong-Hee Lee is a PhD candidate at Department of Architecture, Korea University. His research focuses on 'Contemporary Hanok' that has boomed since 2000. Under Prof. Hyon-Sob Kim's supervision, he published several articles such as 'Discussing the Continuity between the Traditional and the Modern in Choi Wook's Hanok Renovation' (2014) and 'Type Classification of Contemporary Hanok' (2016).

Abstract

2000년대 들어서며 시작된 한옥의 부흥은 한국 현대건축계에서 무척 도드라진 현상이다. 특히 서울시가 북촌 지역의 한옥을 보존하기 위해 2002년부터 재정 지원을 시작한 것은 중요한 원동력이었다. 이를 기점으로 북촌을 비롯한 여러 지역의 한옥이 다양한 용도로 리노베이션됐으며, 현대적 설비와 디자인을 갖춘 신축 한옥도 다수 생겨났다. 이처럼 전통의 틀을 유지하면서도 현대적 조건에 맞게 일신된 한옥을 우리는 보통 ‘신한옥’ 혹은 ‘현대한옥’이라 부른다. ‘현대한옥’은 근래 민간의 차원과 국가적 차원 모두에서 관심을 불러일으키며 하나의 붐을 이루고 있다. 그렇다면 이와 같은 한옥의 부흥은 어떻게 평가할 수 있을까? 이 연구는 최근의 한옥 부흥을 두 가지 상반된 관점에서 평가할 수 있다고 본다. 하나는 한옥의 부흥이 전통건축의 현대화를 촉진하며 앞으로 한옥이 진화해야 할 방향을 제시해준다는 긍정적인 관점이다. 일부 건축가들이 설계한 한옥의 경우 디자인이 무척 진보적이어서 과연 한옥으로 분류할 수 있을지 판단하기 어려울 때도 있다. 하지만 이 관점에서 보면 한옥에 대한 개별 건축가들의 다양한 실험은 건축의 현대성을 발현하는 장이기도 하다. 한옥의 부흥에 대한 또 하나의 관점은 집단적 현상으로서의 한옥 붐을 비판적으로 보는 것이다. 이 관점에서는 현대의 메트로폴리스를 살아가는 우리가 되돌릴 수 없는 이상적 과거를 동경하는 것을 하나의 신화로 가정한다. 특히 이러한 신화가 민족주의/국가주의 및 자본주의의 이데올로기에 결속될 수밖에 없기 때문에 비판적 고찰을 요하는 것이다. 이처럼 한옥 부흥에 대해 긍정적이면서도 비판적으로 보는 것은 역설적인데, 이는 ‘한옥 패러독스’라 불릴 만하다. 이 연구는 한옥 부흥에 내재한 현대성과 신화의 역설적 공존에 대해 고찰하고, 그 패러독스에 어떻게 대처할 수 있을지 논의하는 것을 목표로 한다.

한옥의 진화와 현대성

근래의 한옥 부흥이 한옥의 진화 방향을 타진하며 현대성을 발현하고 있지만, 사실 이러한 현상이 새로운 것만은 아니다. 지난 한 세기에 걸쳐 한옥의 근대화/현대화가 계속해서 시도됐기 때문인데, 1930~1950년대 서울에 지어진 ‘도시형 한옥’이 특히 그렇다. ‘도시형 한옥’은 도심의 좁은 필지에 맞춰 ㄷ자형이나 ㅁ자형과 같은 평면을 취했고, 마당은 협소해졌으며, 공간의 구성과 구조·설비의 디테일에도 변화를 보였다. 이 유형의 한옥은 전통

한옥이 특정 시기에 어떻게 진화했는지를 보여줄 뿐만 아니라 현재의 한옥 부흥의 배경이 된다는 점에서 의미가 크다. 그런데 2000년대 한옥의 부흥과 함께 주목받게 된 ‘현대한옥’은 앞선 ‘도시형 한옥’ 못지않은 진보적인 변화를 보여준다. 현대의 실용적 필요에 더해 개별 건축주의 미학적 요구에도 부합하기 위해 전통적 관례로부터 과감히 벗어나는 경우가 많기 때문이다. 그러한 사례로 서승모의 아틀리에 R(2004), 최욱의 학교재(2007), 황두진의 목경현(2015), 도미이 마사노리의 남산동한옥(2014)을 들어보자. 아틀리에 R은 기존의 도시형 한옥을 건축가 사무소로 리노베이션한 것으로 한옥의 실내의 바닥 높이를 동일하게 한 것이 특징이며, 학교재는 기존 한옥을 갤러리 용도로 재탄생시키며 천창 등을 통해 현대적 기능을 적극 수용한 예다. 한편 목경현은 지하가 딸린 2층의 신축 한옥으로서 한옥의 수직적 확장을 위한 황두진의 실험이 잘 구현된 결과물이며, 마찬가지로 신축 한옥인 남산동한옥은 대들보를 없애며 한옥의 전통적 구조를 과감히 깬다는 점에서 매우 강력한 실험성을 내포했다. 본고는 이 같은 건축가들의 대담한 실험이, 기존 한옥의 리노베이션에서든 신축에서든, 한옥의 미래를 타진할 수 있는 현대성을 배태하고 있다고 본다. 현대성에 대해서는 다양한 논의가 있지만 여기에서는 현대성을 “실험과 내적 탐문에 기반한 계속적 재평가와 혁신”에서 찾은 앤서니 비들러(2008)의 입장을 전유해 따르고자 한다. 더불어 비들러(1992)가 에른스트 블로흐에 의거해 암시한 바, 건축이란 백지상태가 아니라 기존의 맥락에 새로운 무언가를 추가하는 것이라는 인식에도 주목한다. 왜냐하면 한국적 상황에서 전통한옥에 대한 재평가와 혁신은 필수적인데, 과거의 완전한 부정이나 그대로의 복원은 지양해야 하기 때문이다. 이러한 과정을 통해 한옥은 진화할 수 있으며, 그때 현대성이 발현되는 것이다. 설령 ‘현대한옥’이 ‘전통적 형태의 감상적 복기’로 인해 포스트모던한 측면 또한 내비친다 하더라도 말이다.

한옥 붐의 신화적 측면

하지만 개별적 한옥 프로젝트의 차원을 넘어 한옥 붐이라는 집단적 현상을 조망한다면 우리는 거기에서 일종의 신화를 감지하게 된다. 그 신화는 마르틴 하이데거의 철학에서 발견되는 ‘도무스의 신화’에 다름 아니다. ‘도무스의 신화’는 하이데거의 장소론에 대한 장 프랑수아 리오타르의 비판(‘Domus and the megalopolis’, 1987)을 이어 받아 닐 리치가 발전시킨 개념으로(‘The dark side of the domus’, 1998), 결국은 민족주의 이데올로기의 위험성으로 연계된다. 즉 특정한 땅이나 고향, 또는 민족/국가에 대한 소속감을 지나치게



A typical traditional *hanok* in Hahoe Village, Andong, Gyeongbuk Province, listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (photograph by Hyon-Sob Kim).



Bukchon Hanok Village, Seoul (photograph by Yong-Hee Lee).

강조하는 것은 아우슈비츠가 극단적으로 보여주듯, 그곳에 속하지 않는 타자에 대한 '배타성의 논리'를 수반할 수밖에 없다는 것이다. '도무스의 신화'가 의심스러운 또 다른 이유는 자본주의 이데올로기와의 관계성에 있다. 현재의 후기자본주의 시장체제는 상업적 이익을 위해 '잃어버린 도무스에 대한 향수'를 조장하고 '전통을 발명'하며, 이로써 상품화된 신화는 다시 자본주의의 욕망을 돋우는 상황을 반복한다. 케네스 프램튼이 주창한 '비판적 지역주의'(1983)의 장소성이 전 지구적 자본주의에 대한 '저항'을 전제했지만, 프레드릭 제임슨(1994)에 따르면 사실 거기에서 강조된 '차이'야말로 다국적 글로벌 시장에서 잘 팔리는 상품으로 소비되는 게 현실이다. 이렇듯 '도무스의 신화'는 자본주의 이데올로기로 더욱 심화되는데, 자본주의 및 민족주의/국가주의 이데올로기는 독립적이기보다 긴밀히 접속하며 서로를 보완한다. 한옥 붐의 이면에도 이러한 이데올로기가 널리 자리하고 있다. 2002년 서울시를 필두로 각지의 지방정부가 한옥 및 한옥마을을 보존하고 보급하기 위해 재정 지원을 시행하는 점, 2011년 '한옥 문화 진흥의 싱크탱크'로 국가한옥센터가 설립된 점, 2014년 제정된 '한옥 등 건축자산의 진흥에 관한 법률'이 그간의 한옥 정책을 체계적으로 통합한 점 등은 국가적 차원에서 한옥을 보존하고 전통문화의 진흥을 꾀하는 까닭에 고무적이다. 그럼에도 불구하고 여기에는 국가주의 이데올로기가 개입해 '배타성의 논리'를 작동시킨다고 하겠다. 예컨대 위 법률로 '한옥건축양식'을 규정해(제2조) 이 '양식'의 보급을 국가 및 지방자치단체에 강력히 촉구하는 점(제31조) 등이 그렇다. 그런데 이 같은 정책의 주요 목적 중 하나가 한옥산업 및 관광산업 활성화(제24조)를 통한 경제적 이익의 증대이니, 여기에서 국가주의와 자본주의는 자연스레 교차한다. 특히 한옥은 세계시장을 타깃으로 한 한류산업과도 연계되며 크게 각광받고 있다. 한국의 문화적 가치를 높이고 세계시장에서 경제적 이익도 가져올 수 있다면 한옥의 붐을 어찌 환영하지 않겠는가? 문제는 현실을 은폐하는 이미지에 대한 집착과 이데올로기로서의 신화에 있다. 롤랑 바르트(1972)가 지적하듯, 이데올로기로서의 신화는 현재의 지배 권력을 영속시키기 위해 현실을 왜곡하기 때문이다.

결론: 한옥 패러독스를 어떻게 볼 것인가?

요컨대 근래의 한옥 부흥에서 우리는 현대성의 발현과 신화적 이데올로기의 힘을 동시에 간파할 수 있는 것이다. 이 같은 한옥 패러독스는 중요한 시사점을 여럿 제시하는데, 비판적이고 실제적인 차원에서 이를 재정리하면 다음과 같다. 첫째, 우리는 한옥의

전통적 가치를 존중하면서도 한옥 붐의 신화적 측면인 민족주의/국가주의 및 자본주의 이데올로기를 경계해야 한다. 둘째, 우리는 이미지로서의 한옥을 비판적으로 재평가해야 한다. 여기에서 이미지로서의 한옥이란 전통의 구축논리보다 형태 만들기에 집착한 한옥과 자본주의 체제하에서 고급 상품으로 소비되는 '기호-가치'(Baudrillard, 1998)로서의 한옥을 말한다. 셋째, 현대의 건축 작업은 공간, 구조, 재료, 생산 시스템과 같은 현대적 조건을 바탕으로 진행돼야 하기 때문에, 현재로서는 한옥이나 '한옥건축양식'이 특정 조건과 목적의 건축물에 국한될 수밖에 없음을 인정해야 한다. 즉 한옥이 아무리 우수하다 할지라도 현재의 위치는 현대건축의 폭넓은 스펙트럼 가운데 일부의 특정 영역에 속하는 것이다. 넷째, 한옥의 신축은 별개의 문제이나 기존 한옥의 보존/보전은 적극 장려돼야 하는데, 한옥 리노베이션 프로젝트는 전통과 현대의 공존을 실험할 좋은 기회로 활용될 수 있다. 그 실험은 온건하든 급진적이든 미래를 향한 한옥의 진화를 돕게 된다. 마지막으로, 다른 나라의 현대건축에서도 한옥 패러독스와 유사한 현상을 발견할 수 있을 텐데, 앞으로 이들의 비교 연구가 진행된다면 이 주제에 대한 보다 객관적인 시사점을 도출할 수 있으리라 생각된다.

The return of the *hanok*, the traditional Korean house, was declared by architect Doojin Hwang in his book *Hanok Returned* (2006).^{▼1} Literally, the term *han-ok* (韓-屋) means ‘Korean-house’, but it is applied more broadly to refer not only to residential houses but also to all kinds of traditional Korean buildings. The coinage of this term intended to distinguish Korean buildings from the Western versions known as *yang-ok* (洋-屋) at the turn of the twentieth-century when Korea experienced an influx of modern Western cultures.^{▼2} Indeed, the *hanok* is distinctive from Western or modern buildings, owing to its unique features, such as the platform, wooden structure, and curved roof, which is tiled in general. The floor-heated *ondol* room and courtyard *madang*, among others, are also considered valuable characteristics. As expected, however, the *hanok* has been gradually replaced by the *yangok* since this transitional time, and a great many *hanok* buildings were destroyed during the rapid modernisation period in the latter half of the century. The value of the *hanok* was readily neglected because it appeared pre-modern and, probably, too common in Korea.^{▼3} Consequently, there were various calls for self-reflection concerning this needless destruction of tradition, and a movement to revive the traditional building type has emerged.

The return or revival of the *hanok* has been nothing short of remarkable, taking hold since the beginning of the new millennium and especially in 2002 when the Seoul Metropolitan Government decided to provide large-scale financial support for the preservation of the remaining *hanok* buildings in Bukchon, the Joseon Dynasty (1392 – 1910) aristocrats’ village neighbouring the royal palaces.^{▼4} Many old *hanok* houses in Bukchon and other places were preserved through repair and renovation. Often, they were refurbished to host other more elaborate functions, such as a gallery, a guesthouse, a restaurant, or an office, which has gained public approval. Aside from the renovation of existing buildings, an increasing number of new *hanok* buildings are presently under construction, with modern facilities and stylish designs by contemporary architects and yet still supported by traditional carpenters. They are called the *new hanok* or the *contemporary hanok*, a category that for this paper includes both *hanok* renovation projects and new *hanok* buildings.^{▼5} As part of the *hanok* revival, schools have been founded to train *hanok* specialists; researchers have worked hard in search of a new direction for the *hanok*; *hanok* design competitions have been organised; and *hanok* exhibitions have also been held.^{▼6} Moreover, the National Hanok Center was established in 2011 to promote

the revival of the *hanok* at the national level,^{▼7} and the Act on Value Enhancement of Hanok and Other Architectural Assets was legislated in 2014 (and partially amended afterwards).^{▼8}

The revival of the *hanok* is conspicuous in the present architectural scene of Korea, and must be examined closely from various perspectives. This study considers it from two viewpoints. On the one hand, the *hanok* revival may facilitate modernisation of the traditional building type and help architects to pursue a new direction in the future.^{▼9} Notably, the designs of certain architects are so progressive that it is questionable whether they belong to the *hanok* category. Their innovative experiments in the *hanok* and the creations of new forms and spaces may indicate modernity in architecture. On the other hand, in spite of the positive attitude towards the *hanok* revival, especially in terms of individual designs by architects, the recent *hanok* boom as a collective phenomenon will here be assessed critically by examining its mythical features and meaning at a deeper cultural level. Although a sense of collective phenomenon is possible only when individual practices are observed together, the two need to be examined separately. (Concerning individual practices, of course, the focus will be on progressive practices rather than conventional ones as implied above.) This study supposes that the nostalgic longing for an ideal past, or the trial to retrieve the irretrievable that underlies the collective *hanok* boom is only a myth in contemporary metropolitan society. Moreover, if such a myth can be enhanced by governmental policies and interwoven with the logic of the market system, it could be eventually related to the ideologies of nationalism and capitalism, which are often attracted to the image of tradition more than to its essence. Thus, the *hanok* revival needs to be reevaluated critically, although it supports architects’ experiments on *hanok* designs. The positive and critical reading of the *hanok* phenomenon at the same time is a paradox, and can be called the ‘*Hanok Paradox*’. This study aims to investigate the paradoxical coexistence of these two aspects of the *hanok* revival, and to suggest ways of managing the paradox.

Modernity and the Evolution of the Hanok

The first aspect of the *hanok* revival alludes to the instance of modernity in the evolution of the *hanok* — a result of adjusting the traditional building type to a modern context that is continually updated. The attempt to modernise the *hanok* is not new; it has been attempted throughout the last century. The *urban-type hanok* of the 1930s to the 1950s in Seoul best



Atelier R, renovated by Seungmo Seo, 2004: view from the courtyard *madang* (courtesy of Samuso Hyojadong Architects and Associates).



Atelier R: interior view (courtesy of Samuso Hyojadong Architects and Associates).

illustrates this effort.^{▼10} Devised mainly by housing developers, this type of *hanok* is the outcome of fitting a pre-modern aristocratic *hanok* into a divided small plot in the city (The Bukchon *hanok* buildings belong to this type of *hanok*). Accordingly, the plan of the *hanok* transformed into more spatially efficient types, such as the ㄷ-type and the ㄱ-type, while the traditional *madang* became more enclosed and compact. The attachment of the toilet to the gate wing of the building is one specific example of its transformation, and the gate wing itself was developed to include a room to let. Following spatial transformation, other structural and formal details also changed.^{▼11} Even though the *urban-type hanok* could not survive in the modern housing market after the 1960s, it remains significant because it reveals how the traditional *hanok* evolved over a specific period, and functions as a background to the current *hanok* revival.

Nevertheless, experiments conducted since 2000 with the *contemporary hanok* are, arguably, no less progressive than the former. If the *urban-type hanok* was built collectively by anonymous builders for anonymous clients and planned to be best adjusted to the externally-given practical conditions, the typical *contemporary hanok* is noteworthy for its attempts to break with convention by satisfying not only practical but also aesthetic requirements of the individual client. This feature is particularly notable in certain architects' works because their designs are often consciously conceived to be unconventional. Although many *hanok* buildings only make a relatively mild departure from the traditional, some buildings are eye-catching because of the architects' radical shifts in style. This study focuses on the latter cases that suggest some seed of modernity, and several examples of this kind can be contemplated.^{▼12} The first is Atelier R (2004) by architect Seungmo Seo (b. 1972). This is the architect's own office, renovated from an old *hanok* – one of the *urban-type hanok* buildings – in Changseong-dong, located on the opposite side of Bukchon across from the Gyeongbokgung Palace. The most notable aspect of this renovation is the disappearance of level changes that were characteristic to the original building. Traditionally, a *hanok*'s floor level rises step-by-step from the exterior to interior, that is, from the courtyard via the platform (*gidan*) to the room. For the convenience of modern life, however, Seo flattened all the different levels in a similar way to a contemporary Korean apartment house, which is now the most universal housing type in the country.^{▼13} Here, the courtyard, enclosed by the ㄷ-shaped plan, was treated as another room, that is, 'an interiorised exterior', and came to function like a living room in the apartment. Only the whole-glass sliding walls divide the courtyard and

the interior. Moreover, Seo converted the interior into an open space by removing most of the partition walls. Even the physical boundary between the bedroom and the bathroom was removed, with only a curtain being installed instead of a conventional wall. While preserving the original *hanok*'s timber skeleton in the interior, the architect modernised the overall space and its detailing as well, especially by making the most of the modernist vocabulary of the use of 'white'.

The gallery Hakgojae (2007), renovated by Wook Choi (b. 1963), is another good example, revealing how a traditional *hanok* can be reborn for modern purposes. In this work, Choi incorporated two parallel and nearly adjoining rows in the existing building into one unified space for exhibition. This exhibition space signifies the coexistence of the traditional and the modern, because the interior wall finished in white is reminiscent of the typical modern design, but the ceiling partly covered with white boards reveals the original *hanok*'s wooden beams and rafters. The skylight running through the ceiling has a unique section between the two parallel roofs, which is functional in that it introduces the natural light indirectly to the interior. As shown in these two cases, re-innovating tradition is the most effective or perhaps even the only way that an existing *hanok* building can choose to evolve according to modern functions and aesthetics. However, one could hold the opinion that these renovated buildings are not examples of the *hanok* in themselves but just modern architectural works that made the most of the pre-existing traditional conditions. It is quite a plausible opinion. Nevertheless, we also have to accept the reality that there is no clear boundary between the *hanok* and modern architecture at the moment. In other words, the scope of the *hanok* becomes more and more complicated, and various layers of modern architecture are superimposed onto the diversified spectrum of the *hanok*.^{▼14} If this is taken to be the case, a renovated building from an old *hanok* can belong to the scope of the *hanok*, in particular, the *contemporary hanok*, as suggested in the introduction and onwards. It is from this standpoint that we can better understand the present *hanok* revival. Therefore, this paper argues that the *hanok* renovation projects illustrate one important aspect of the *hanok* evolution on the one hand, and that they may promote fresh experiments in new *hanok* buildings on the other.

Let us consider examples of newly built *hanok* buildings that are as radical as the renovation works in their transformation of traditional *hanok* rules. Doojin Hwang's (b. 1963) recent design of Mokgyeongheon (2015) in the Eunpyeong Hanok Village, Seoul, is a two-story



Hakgojae, renovated by Wook Choi, 2007: exterior view (photograph by Yong-Hee Lee).



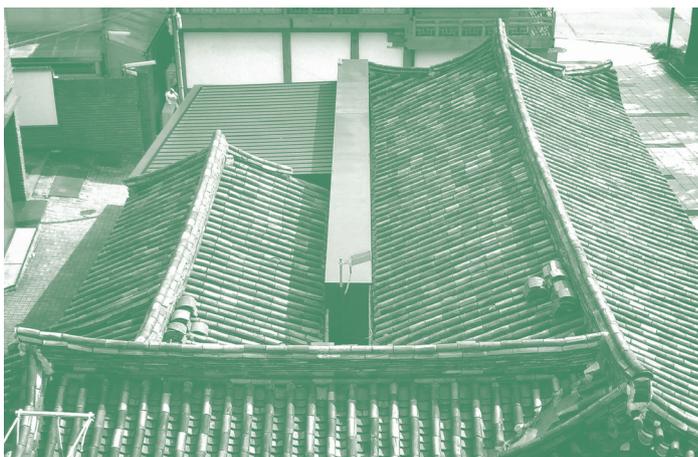
Hakgojae: exhibition space (photograph by Yong-Hee Lee).

house with a basement that shows a possibility of the *hanok*'s vertical expansion. Although the typical *hanok* is generally a single-story building, Hwang regarded it as 'a collection of various spaces divided vertically',^{▼15} and tried to insert a basement and/or an attic into his *hanok* designs.^{▼16} Mokgyeongheon is probably the best realisation of his experiments in the multi-level *hanok*, and draws a sharp contrast with the Seo's Atelier R. No less than the exterior appearance of the two-story mass, the interior space enables one to experience the multi-level effect of this house, because the living room is mostly open to the upper level so that the traditional ceiling structure can be seen, except for the 'cloud bridge' (with glass balustrades) that connects the upper-level spaces on both sides. The bridge is also linked to a staircase that runs down to the basement via the living room. Therefore, the living room is not only the central space of modern architecture mediating horizontal and vertical circulations, but also the best spot from which to enjoy the traditional wooden structure from various perspectives. In addition, the multi-purpose room in the basement is a perfectly modern space with a skylight that runs through the centre of the ceiling, which is reminiscent of the Hakgojae's case. What is remarkable here is the fact that the pieces of tempered glass used for the skylight overlap with the balcony (*toenmaru*) glass in front of the living room, replacing the traditional wooden panel. Hwang's experiments with the *contemporary hanok* are really progressive but appear less controversial than Masanori Tomii's (b. 1948) Namsandong Hanok (2014) in Gyeongju, Gyeongbuk Province. This example catches one's eyes first because its architect is Japanese,^{▼17} but more importantly it broke the common sense rule of the traditional roof structure in Korea. The key to this experiment is to remove the crossbeam or *daedeulbo* from the structure, an essential element in Korean architecture. Instead, Tomii installed a series of sloping pieces of wood (forming an 八-shape in the section as a whole), which seem similar to the traditional rafters called *seokare*, and let them partly take on the load-bearing role of the disappeared crossbeam. Because the sloping members do not meet at the top but are suspended in the air, it would be appropriate to call them 'pseudo-*seokare*'; the ridge purlin or *jongdori* that is supposed to support the *seokare* below the ridge was also displaced. This transformation or deformation of the traditional structure is unusual, and certain details, such as the pseudo-*seokare* exposed to the gable sides in the exterior, are also unfamiliar and even uncanny. Nevertheless, this controversial building assumes the appearance of the *hanok* to the outside as a whole, and Tomii has insisted on its being called a *hanok*.

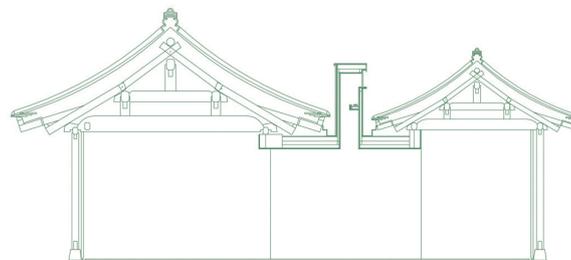
As understood through these four examples, architects are taking bold steps towards breaking traditional building conventions with their *hanok* projects, and meeting modern requirements whether functional or aesthetic. Interestingly, although some architects do not have any specific intentions for their buildings to be considered as *hanok* buildings (Seo's and Choi's renovation works), others regard their buildings as belonging to the *hanok* category even when they are transformed radically and threaten its traditional standards (Hwang's and Tomii's works). This confirms, as mentioned earlier, that the boundary between the *hanok* and modern architecture is now indistinct. Their innovative experiments are valuable because they signify one aspect of modernity. However, it does not mean that everything that makes radical changes to the traditional is modern; rather, it might be postmodern if the radical transformation of the tradition is politically regressive and only for visual effects. In addition, it does not mean that every single aspect of the four examples illustrates modernity; rather, it might be argued that their acceptance of the traditional form itself is postmodern in a broad sense. This study refers to modernity in the experimentation of the *hanok* as a sort of avant-gardist quality that probes a new way out of the given conditions, by causing a crack in the constraints of convention and conservative realities. Although there are various conflicting views of modernity,^{▼18} the view of Anthony Vidler (2008) can be here referenced. With Jürgen Habermas in mind, Vidler, a prominent architectural historian, regards modernity as 'a continuing project of reevaluation and innovation, based on experiments and internal investigation', whether it emerged from scientific and aesthetic innovations, philosophical turns, or political and industrial revolutions, over the last couple of centuries.^{▼19} On another occasion, turning to Ernst Bloch, he asserts tacitly that architecture is not the creation of something totally new on a *tabula rasa* but the adding of something new to a preexisting context.^{▼20} If this is the case, it is necessary in the Korean milieu to reevaluate and innovate the traditional *hanok*, to neither totally negate the past nor totally restore the past. This viewpoint particularly applies when dealing with existing *hanok* buildings. The process alludes to modernity, which is the prime motivation of the *hanok* evolution.

The Mythic Face of the *Hanok* Boom

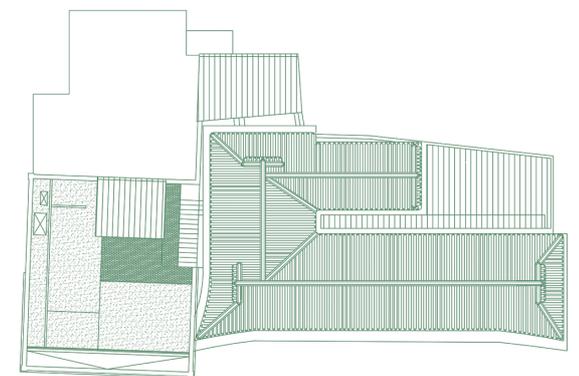
Paradoxically, however, this study also maintains that a kind of myth lies beneath the collective phenomenon of the *hanok* boom. This is the second aspect of the *hanok*



Hakgojae: modern skylight between the traditional roofs (photograph by Yong-Hee Lee).



Hakgojae: section and roof plan (courtesy of ONE O ONE architects).



revival. Arguably, the myth connoted by the *hanok* boom could be explicated in terms of the Heideggerian myth of the *domus* – which was assessed critically by Jean-François Lyotard (1987)^{▼21} and Neil Leach (1998)^{▼22} – because of their similar implications. Here, the *domus*, which is originally the Roman house for a single wealthy family, symbolises an ideal home rooted in the native soil for the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889 – 1976), and certainly overlaps with the image of the *hanok* in Korea. In the architectural circle, Heidegger is best known for his concept of ‘place’, which interrelates with the idea of ‘dwelling’, and ultimately with the symbolic meaning of the *domus*.^{▼23} However, Heidegger’s mythicised concept of a place or native soil has been suspected as having nationalistic implications, in relation to his service to the National Socialist Party. His association with the organisation was well expressed, for instance, when he argued for the German spirit’s rootedness ‘in the soil and blood of a Volk’ in his Freiburg rectoral address (1933), the propaganda of National Socialism. Because of this controversial connection, his philosophy was later questioned by critics.^{▼24} As one of Heidegger’s harshest critics, Lyotard attacked the ‘potential violence’ implied in Heidegger’s philosophy of the soil in his essay ‘*Domus* and the megalopolis’ (1987). For Lyotard, an overemphasis on the *domus*, or on belonging to the soil, homeland, and nation, is dangerous because it is apt to exclude the other that cannot belong there. Heidegger’s anti-Semitism is an example of such an argument. Owing to this negative effect of nationalism, or ‘the dark side of the *domus*’ in the phrase by Leach (1998), who succeeded Lyotard’s criticism of Heidegger from the architectural domain, Lyotard asserted that the *domus* ‘is over, and probably it never existed except as a dream’. For him, the only way to inhabit this megalopolis is to acknowledge ‘the lost *domus*’. However, in reality, one continues to aspire for the lost *domus*, but the ‘nostalgia for the lost *domus*’ is a myth. Even though a myth, one that people live by, is not bad in itself, the problem is, as Leach clarified, that ‘there is something potentially deceptive about myth, because its own identity as myth is often concealed.’^{▼25}

From this discussion, it became obvious that the most problematic aspect concerning the myth of the *domus* is the ideology of nationalism. To a certain degree, in fact, nationalism is desirable and useful in uniting a nation or an ‘imagined community’.^{▼26} Nonetheless, it does by its nature suppress the other as Lyotard put it: ‘*Homo re-domesticus* in power kills in the street shouting “You are not one of ours”’. The most extreme case shadowed by this ‘logic of exclusion’ is the Holocaust, or the ‘final solution’ of anti-Semitism, but it is arguable that this

logic always operates in any place where the ideology dominates. The myth of the *domus* is also questionable owing to its relation to the ideology of capitalism. Undoubtedly, the present market system fosters the ‘nostalgia for the lost *domus*’, for commercial profit, whereas the commodified myth, in turn, supports the capitalist desire. In this argument, the image of the ideal past is ‘potentially deceptive’, because the attempt to recapture the ‘lost paradise’ is no more possible if not in Heidegger’s *Schwartzwald*. This attempt often resorts to the image of tradition, one of the most typical strategies of postmodern architecture. Interestingly, it can be observed that the ‘sentimental evocation of traditional forms’ or ‘calls for a regional or national identity’ are complicit, as Leach pointed out, with what Fredric Jameson (1984) named as ‘postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism’.^{▼27} According to Jameson’s further theory (1994), in which Kenneth Frampton’s ‘Critical Regionalism’ was challenged, the postmodern request for ‘difference’ itself is a product of the ‘multinational capitalism’.^{▼28} In other words, national identity, which is often with a ‘retro imagery’ as ‘difference’, turns out to be consumed as a good seller on the global capitalist market. In this way, the myth of the *domus* is intensified by the ideologies of nationalism and capitalism. Of course, the two ideologies themselves are also closely interrelated, influencing and complementing each other.

The current *hanok* boom in Korea could also be interpreted through this critical view towards the myth of the *domus*. Above all, this study argues that the ideology of nationalism underlies the *hanok* phenomenon to a large extent, whether visibly or invisibly. Korean nationalism had already been reflected in architecture very visibly, particularly as an anti-communist ideology during the military regime in the 1960s to 1980s, as shown in the *hanok*-style cultural facilities with reinforced concrete structures.^{▼29} Nowadays, however, it seems to be represented in the revival of the *hanok*, with a renewed interest in national culture, although it is not only a top-down but also a bottom-up interest, in contrast to the former authoritarian case. In truth, the term of *hanok* itself has a strong nationalistic nuance in its literal meaning. As briefly described in the introduction, there have been various central and local governmental policies that propagate the traditional building type; these policies are powerful nationalist agendas in retrospect. Since the Seoul Metropolitan Government enacted the ordinance to preserve and promote the *hanok* in 2002, providing financial support to ‘registered’ *hanok* buildings,^{▼30} similar ordinances have begun to be set up by other local authorities across the



Mokgyeongheon, Eunpyeong Hanok Village, Seoul, designed by Doojin Hwang, 2015: exterior view from the courtyard *madang* (courtesy of Doojin Hwang Architects).



Mokgyeongheon: living room open to the upper-level space (courtesy of Doojin Hwang Architects).

country. Through these initiatives, individual *hanok* renovations and new constructions have been promoted, and a large number of *hanok* villages have been (re)established and developed.^{▼31}

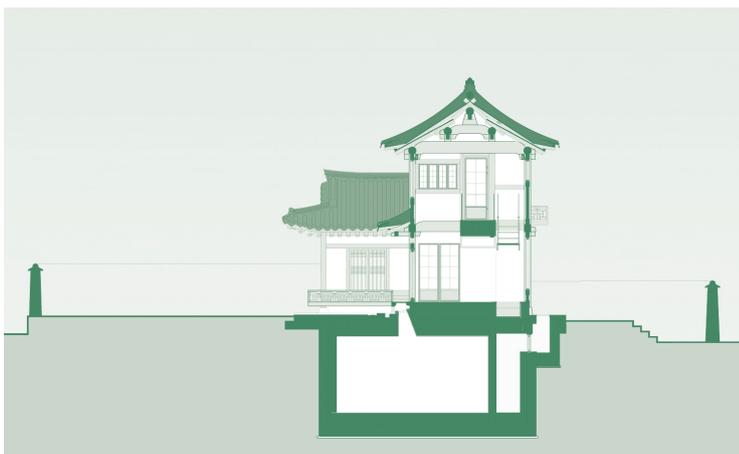
Throughout the revival of the *hanok*, the establishment of National Hanok Center in 2011 was one of the most pivotal moments because it was intended as a national ‘think tank for the promotion of hanok culture’.^{▼32} However, the most crucial aspect of the campaign was the new legislation, the Act on Value Enhancement of Hanok and Other Architectural Assets introduced in 2014. As an official and legal declaration made by the Korean government, it provided the ground to support all the previous *hanok* promotion policies and actions: the local governments’ ordinances and status of National Hanok Center find their legal base here. Perhaps, the most remarkable feature of this Act is its definition of ‘hanok architectural style’. Following the definition of the ‘hanok’ as ‘a building, the main structure of which consists of wooden columns, beams and Korean style roof frames and which reflects the traditional style of Korea, and any building annexed thereto’ (the second clause of Article 2), it defined the ‘hanok architectural style’ as the ‘construction of any building by applying the shape and structure of hanok thereto, or construction of hanok by using modern materials and technology’ (the third clause of Article 2).^{▼33} Can an architectural style be defined by the state or by a national law? Even if this definition were devised to work mainly within the provisions of the Act, it will be influential beyond the boundary of law, and in everyday building practice. Regardless of its semantic propriety, the legal definition of the ‘style’ suggests that the ideology of nationalism will make serious interventions into architecture in general. Furthermore, the Act specified that ‘The State and local governments shall undertake to disseminate the hanok architectural style’ (the first paragraph of Article 31). This imperative mood of the law is no other than the manifestation of nationalist ideology and implies, ultimately, ‘the logic of exclusion’.^{▼34}

Meanwhile, it is arguable that the *hanok* boom, comparable to the myth of the *domus*, is fostered by the ideology or desire of capitalism, intertwined with a national interest. All of the aforementioned national efforts to propagate the *hanok* – to ‘invent traditions’ according to Eric Hobsbawm^{▼35} – are in fact targeted at invigorating the economy, more than merely raising the cultural value of Korea. The National Hanok Center states clearly that it will lead ‘the vitalization of [the] hanok industry’ by supporting promotional policies. The Act on Value Enhancement of Hanok and Other Architectural Assets also notes ‘the promotion of the hanok industry’ and

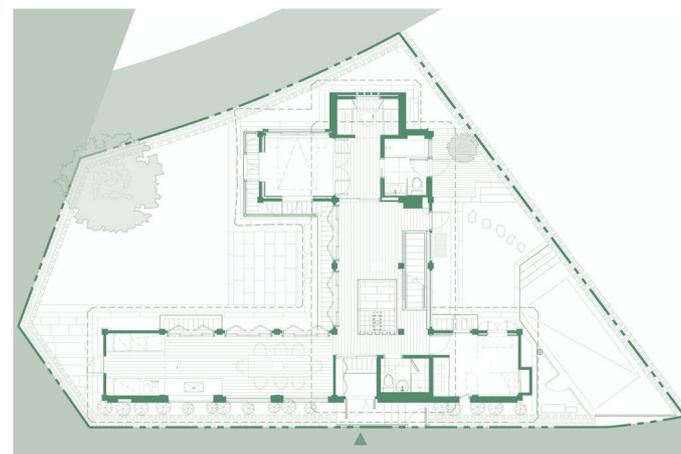
its ‘economic value’, which is again connected to the tourism industry. The Article 24 of this Act specified that priority can be given when a local government supports *hanok* (village) projects, in accordance with the preexisting law of ‘Korea National Tourism Organization Act’ (the first paragraph of Article 12).^{▼36} Thus, the top priority is given to projects that can promote tourism, in particular, international inbound tourism, because the *hanok* came to be recognised as an effective Korean brand for attracting foreign tourists. This matter is often linked to the issue of ‘Hanryu [Hallyu]’ or ‘Korean Wave’^{▼37} in architecture. In contrast with other cultural areas, such as TV dramas and pop music, it is generally regarded that Korean architecture has not distinguished itself on the international stage. However, the *hanok* looks to have a possibility to make a breakthrough in the architectural Hanryu, as one branch of ‘Han Style’.^{▼38} In other words, this traditional building type seems able to lay the groundwork for the worldwide architectural market with its national identity as its ‘difference’. For this reason, efforts have been made to promote the Korean Wave of architecture through the *hanok*, but concrete results remain elusive.^{▼39} Why not welcome the *hanok* boom, along with the architectural Hanryu, if it can both raise Korean cultural value and make money in the global marketplace? The problem is its excessive predilection for the stylistic matter of image and form, which often conceals the reality. This is the myth of the *domus*, in which the ideology of capitalism resides. According to Roland Barthes’s *Mythologies* (1972), the myth as ideology distorts the meaning of a reality to sustain an existing dominant power.^{▼40} Needless to say, both nationalism and capitalism are the dominant powers in the present Korean society. Therefore, it can be said that the collective phenomenon of the *hanok* boom, alluding to the myth of the *domus*, sustains both nationalist and capitalist ideologies. If architecture in itself cannot escape from the ‘false consciousness’ of ideology as asserted by Manfredo Tafuri,^{▼41} it goes without saying that the ‘Korean house’ is bound by them much tighter.

Conclusion: How to Deal with the Paradox?

With the descriptions so far, the *Hanok Paradox* defined in the introduction has been made manifest. Although architectural experiments on an individual *hanok* could be considered desirable and positive owing to their indications towards modernity, the *hanok* boom as a collective phenomenon needs to be critically reevaluated because of its connections to nationalist and capitalist ideologies, indebted to the Heideggerian myth of



Mokgyeongheon: section (courtesy of Doojin Hwang Architects).



Mokgyeongheon: ground floor plan (courtesy of Doojin Hwang Architects).

the *domus*. If this is the case, how can the paradox underlying the recent *hanok* revival be approached? This work argues the need for the dispassionate consideration of the paradox as a paradox, reminiscent of Leach's indirect contention that a myth should be accepted as myth; the contradictory aspects cannot be hastily resolved. (In a sense, the paradox is not a paradox in fact, because the seemingly incompatible views towards the *hanok* revival are merely different readings of it from different standpoints.) This paradox must be considered an unavoidable irony in present Korean society owing to its unique nationalism^{▼42} and all-consuming capitalism, both of which make the most of architects' creativity, visibly or invisibly. The paradox is likely to continue despite plausible criticism of the unresolved state.

Nevertheless, the modern and postmodern aspects concerning the *hanok* revival need to be reconsidered to clarify the rather ambiguous accounts in the previous two sections. Although this research values the seed of modernity inherent in the evolution of the *hanok*, it also accepts the general idea that the 'sentimental evocation of traditional forms' is a typical feature of postmodern architecture. This conflict might be another paradox. Arguably, however, we now understand that not all attempts to adopt traditional forms are postmodern; some can also hint at new forms of modernity. More precisely, as asserted by some thinkers, 'modernity and post-modernity must coexist in the same conceptual and historical space, bound together [...] in which the latter does not, and cannot, entirely leave the former behind'.^{▼43} Although a parody of traditional forms is the most representative language of 'Post-Modernism' in line with the thinking of Charles Jencks (1977),^{▼44} and a call for traditional forms in late capitalism is the strategy of postmodernism for Jameson, we cannot neglect the germ of modernity that underlies architects' serious considerations of tradition and their progressive experiments on its modernisation. This is the paradoxical reason for why this paper can stand firm.

In conclusion, it would be meaningful if the overall arguments of this paper are reorganised to proceed from the already cleared central issues to the yet-to-be discussed more specific ones. Although the present work refrained from reaching a resolution of the *Hanok* Paradox, it can still articulate these issues on a critical and practical level. First, we should be wary of what the mythic face of the *hanok* boom might conceal in itself, namely, the ideologies of nationalism and capitalism, while also accepting the value of tradition retained by the *hanok*. This issue has already been discussed at length and does not need further explanation. Second,

we have to reappraise the view of the *hanok* as an image in a critical manner. Here, the *hanok* as an image means a *hanok*-style building with a reinforced concrete structure on the one hand, and a sign to be consumed as a high-end taste on the other. The former, as the emblematic mode of building in the authoritarian period several decades ago, appears out of date but is still being practiced, even being possibly encouraged by the state, as shown in the Act on Value Enhancement of Hanok and Other Architectural Assets. Certainly, however, this type of building had better be rejected if possible because its imitation of the traditional form using heterogeneous materials is far from the *hanok*'s innate logic of timber structure. As for the latter, the *hanok* seems to have a sort of 'sign-value' (far beyond 'use-value'), in the words of Jean Baudrillard (1998),^{▼45} which often signifies the posh preference of the consumer, who are inhabitants or users in this case, in the capitalist system. Despite efforts from the governmental and industrial sides, the construction cost is still two or three times that of ordinary buildings.^{▼46} The fact that architecture is consumed as a sign image deserves criticism even though it is considered natural in the present consumer society of late capitalism. Third, as a consequence of the second argument, contemporary architectural practice has to be based on modern conditions, in terms of space, structure, materials, and the like, rather than on traditional building forms or images. Therefore, the *hanok* or a *hanok*-style building is not always a welcome choice when building a new building, but it is a special case with special conditions and purposes. This argument signifies that the *hanok* occupies a specific, and probably limited, area within the broad spectrum of contemporary architecture no matter how excellent and valuable it may be. Fourth, different from the case of the new construction of the *hanok*, the preservation of an existing *hanok* should be encouraged and renovation work regarded as the invaluable chance to experiment with the encounter between the traditional and the modern. Although the degrees of the transformation of the traditional vary in *hanok* renovation works case by case, it is arguable that the experiments, whether modest or radical, facilitate the evolution of the *hanok*.

As a final remark, this study suggests that the *Hanok* Paradox and its related issues are also applicable to the architectural contexts of other countries, if they have their own strong tradition of architecture and have made efforts to modernise that tradition. If the traditional building types of other countries have been revived with the myth of the *domus*,^{▼47} then there would be parallel but distinctive paradoxes. A comparative analysis would yield meaningful insights.



Namsandong Hanok, Gyeongju, Gyeongbuk Province, designed by Masanori Tomii, 2014: roof structure with a series of 'pseudo-seokare' (photograph by Yong-Hee Lee).



Namsandong Hanok: gable side view with the exposed 'pseudo-seokare' (photograph by Yong-Hee Lee).

Notes

1. Doojin Hwang, *Hanogi dorawata [Hanok Returned]* (Seoul: Space, 2006).
2. Bonghee Jeon and Yongchan Kwon, *Hanokgwa hanguk jutaegui yeoksa [History of Hanok and Korean Houses]* (Seoul: Dongnyok, 2012), pp. 14-19.
3. The traditional building type was criticised repeatedly as outmoded. In particular, we are reminded of the housing improvement movement of the 1920s – 1930s, as well as the Saemaoul Undong (New Village Movement) in the 1970s – 1980s. It is interesting to note that some of the unique features of the *hanok* (for example, *ondol* and *madang*), which are now highly respected, had been targets of criticism. Concerning the history of Korean housing in general, see Changbok Yim, *Hangugui jutaek, geu yuhyeonggwa byeoncheonsa [Korean housing, its typologies and history]* (Seoul: Dolbegae, 2011). On the other hand, the value of the *hanok* had not been fully acknowledged, arguably because Koreans seem to have (mistakenly) thought that the *hanok* buildings would always exist just beside them — as too common.
4. Hwang, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
5. For an overall understanding of the *contemporary hanok* from this standpoint, see the authors' previous publication. Yong-Hee Lee and Hyon-Sob Kim, "Type Classification of Contemporary Hanok: focusing on architects' designs since 2000" (texts in Korean), *Journal of Architectural History*, 25.5 (October 2016), pp. 51-62.
6. One of the most remarkable cases was the travelling exhibition held in several American cities in 2008, arranged by the National Trust of Korea. See Song-mi Yi, ed., *Stepping into Hanok for the New Millennium* (Seoul: The National Trust of Korea, 2008).
7. Concerning this institute, see the official website (<http://www.hanokdb.kr>).
8. This law is available in both Korean and English from the website of the National Law Information Center (<http://www.law.go.kr>).
9. Concerning the *hanok* evolution in general, see Chaeshin Yoon, *The Evolution of Hanok* (Anyang: auri, 2011) and Jeon and Kwon, *op. cit.*
10. See In-Ho Song, *A Study on the Types of Urban Traditional Housing in Seoul from 1930 to 1960* (unpublished PhD thesis, Seoul National University, 1990).
11. See Yim, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-260, as well as Song, *op. cit.*
12. The description of the examples in this paper originates from the authors' publication mentioned in note 5.
13. According to the 2015 housing census by Statistics Korea, this apartment type occupies about 60% of the total housing units in Korea. This data is available on the website of the Korean Statistical Information Service (<http://kosis.kr>) [accessed 28th July 2017].
14. For example, see the diagram of *hanok* and *hanok*-style buildings in Jeon and Kwon, *op. cit.*, p. 34, although this paper does not agree with the idea in the diagram very much.
15. Hwang, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
16. For example, see Donginjae (2006) and L House (2009), both in Bukchon.
17. From the 'Japanese-Style Scandal' brought about by Swoo-Geun Kim's design for the Buyeo National Museum (1965 – 68), anything alluding to Japan in Korean architecture is reviewed sensitively, especially in relation to the matter of tradition. See the author's previous research. Hyon-Sob Kim, 'Representing Korean architecture in the modern West: two Korean Pavilions from 1960s international expositions', *arq: Architectural Research Quarterly*, 21.2 (June 2017), pp. 155-170.
18. For example, see Matei Calinescu's *Five Faces of Modernity* (1987) and Hilde Heynen's *Architecture and Modernity* (1999). According to the latter, there are layers of contradictory meanings in the concept of 'modernity', such as 'programmatic' and 'transitory', and 'pastoral' and 'counter-pastoral'; but architectural modernism took up its 'programmatic' and 'pastoral' meanings only, without a critical assessment of it.
19. Anthony Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2008), p. 198.
20. Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 13-14; Ernst Bloch, 'Building in Empty Space', *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 186-199.
21. Jean-Francois Lyotard, 'Domus and the megalopolis' (1987), reprinted in Neil Leach, ed., *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 271-279.
22. Neil Leach, 'The dark side of the domus', *The Journal of Architecture*, 3 (1998), pp. 31-42.
23. According to his famous essay 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking' (1951), our life experiences occur in a place, a particular spot on earth, rather than in abstract space, and it is in these specific places that we dwell. Numerous architects and writers, who wanted to overcome the abstractness of modern functionalism, have been inspired by the Heideggerian sense of place and referred to him for their own theory. For example, Christian Norberg-Schulz's 'genius loci' or 'spirit of place' in architecture (*Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, 1980) and Kenneth Frampton's 'place-form' in 'Critical Regionalism' ('Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance', 1983) are all based on Heidegger.
24. Theodor Adorno (1903 – 69) and Emmanuel Levinas (1906 – 95) are notable among earlier critics. However, criticism against Heidegger rose remarkably after Victor Farias's *Heidegger et le nazisme* (1987) fully uncovered his involvement with the party and anti-Semitism. In the architectural arena, debates on Heidegger have been surveyed in Hilde Heynen, 'Worthy of question: Heidegger's role in architectural theory', *Archis*, 12 (1993), pp. 42-49.
25. The summary of Lyotard's and Leach's arguments in this paragraph is based partly on a section in the author's previous research. Hyon-Sob Kim, 'DDP Controversy and the Dilemma of H-Sang Seung's "Landscape"', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 17.2 (May 2018), pp. 205-212.
26. It is well known that Benedict Anderson defined a nation critically as 'an imagined political community'. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 6.
27. Fredric Jameson, 'Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', *New Left Review*, 146 (July – August 1984), pp. 59-92.
28. Fredric Jameson, 'The Constraints of Postmodernism', *The Seeds of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 129-205.
29. Concerning this issue, for example, see Changmo Ahn, 'Ideologies of Anti-Communism and Tradition and Modernity in Korean Architecture in 1960s' (text in Korean), *Journal of Architectural History*, 12.4 (2003), pp. 137-156.
30. When repairing or renovating the 'Registered Hanok', a maximum of 30 million KRW could be offered as funding, whereas a maximum of 20 million KRW could be loaned according to the ordinance. As the ordinance was amended in 2009, the new construction of the *hanok* also came to be financially supported.
31. While some pre-existing *hanok* villages were (are being) renewed (e.g., Bukchon and Jeonju), others were (are being) newly developed (e.g., Eunpyeong and Sejong). The website of the National Hanok Center (<http://www.hanokdb.kr>) lists over a hundred *hanok* village projects in Cheonnam Province, initiated in the last ten years. [accessed 28th August 2017].
32. 'National Hanok Center is the think tank for the promotion of hanok culture. The center supports central and local governments for hanok related policies and projects, leads the vitalization of hanok industry, and provides hanok related information to the citizens who are concerned.' Introduction to National Hanok Center in its official website (http://www.hanokdb.kr/center/sub_01) [accessed 29th June 2018].
33. See note 8 [accessed 29th June 2018].
34. It might be questionable whether the law really excludes something. However, if something is promoted, others are inevitably excluded, in particular when available resources are limited. If *hanok* (style) buildings are financially supported, others came to be unwittingly neglected. Here, 'the logic of exclusion' operates indirectly but ultimately. This is especially the case if the governmental policy or national law is expressed in the imperative mood.
35. Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-14. This famous concept has been diversely applied to the Korean context, too, as to how Korean traditions were 'invented' to support the existing nationalist and capitalist power structures. For example, see Hyungtaek Lim, et al., *Jeontong: Geundaega mandeureonaen tohanau gwollyeok [Tradition: Another Power Made by the Modern]* (Seoul: Inmul and Sasang, 2010).
36. This law is also available on the website of the National Law Information Center (<http://www.law.go.kr>). [accessed 29th June 2018].
37. The Korean Wave has been studied from various perspectives. For example, see Youna Kim, ed., *The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
38. This is a kind of brand name of Korean culture promoted by the government. Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, *Han Style: The Traditional Culture of Korea* (Seoul: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2016).
39. For example, the Architectural Institute of Korea held a seminar entitled 'How is Architectural Hanryu Possible?' in April 2014, in which the *hanok* was the most important theme. Jeon and Kwon set a category of 'Hanryu Hanok', deemed undoubtedly contentious, to explain the broad spectrum of the *hanok* in the present Korea. Jeon and Kwon, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.
40. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Noonday Press, 1972), pp. 10-11.
41. Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1976). For more discussions on the relationship between architecture and ideology, especially architecture as ideology reflecting 'dominant class interests', see Joan Ockamn, ed., *Architecture Criticism Ideology* (Princeton NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1985).
42. Korean nationalism, indebted to a unique historical background, was reconstituted in the Japanese colonisation period (1910 – 45) and reinforced during the military regime after the Korean War (1950 – 53). For varied discussions, see Younghee Kim et al., *Minjokgwa Gungmin, Jeongcheseongui jaeguseong [Formation and Re-formation of Korean National Identity]* (Seoul: Hyeon, 2009).
43. In the 'Translator's introduction' to Gianni Vattimo's *The End of Modernity* (1988), Jon R. Snyder paraphrased Vattimo's idea of the two's 'peculiar "critical" relationship' (p. xviii). Also, see Calinescu, *op. cit.*
44. Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).
45. Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (London: Sage, 1998).
46. National Hanok Center, *2014 Annual Hanok Statistics* (Anyang: auri, 2014), pp. 188-203.
47. Perhaps, we could be reminded of the Chinese *siheyuan* and the Japanese *machiya* — the traditional building types of Korea's two old neighbours in East Asia. For example, the evolution of the Japanese *machiya* in Kyoto was partly studied in Christoph Brumann, 'Outside the Glass Case: The Social Life of Urban Heritage in Kyoto', *American Ethnologist*, 36.2 (2009), pp. 276-299. While this paper is not directly related to the myth of the *domus*, its conclusion hints that the 'heritage boom' is quite a general phenomenon, mentioning other countries' cases, including the Chinese *siheyuan*. However, we also have to bear in mind that each case is unique, with its own unique historical background. In particular, it is thought that Japan succeeded in modernising traditional building types in the early twentieth-century, in a different manner from Korea that experienced a strong break between the traditional and the modern at that time.

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