

A Study on the Change of Gojong(高宗)'s Architectural View and the Aspect of the Constructions of Architectures Working: Through the Change of the Architectures in the Royal Palace

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Abstract Gojong(高宗) had experienced extravagant change during a period of reign and he was located in the center of the change. He was the king who also experienced various changes in construction and accomplished a large number of construction activities aggressively. Gojong could acquire the information and details about architecture, through the experience of a lot of large-scale construction activities in a regency period of Heungseon-Daewongun(興宣大院君). After opening of a port, as the western culture and technology was flowed in Korea, the knowledge of western architecture also was introduced. Gwanmungak(觀文閣) was constructed in Kyeongbokgung Palace under that influence in 1888, but the construction was not successfully finished. Due to the failure of Gwanmungak, Gojong no more constructed a western architecture until 1897. He was aware of the merits of western architectures while living in the western architecture during Agwanpacheon(俄館播遷). And he led a lot of constructions of the western architectures in Kyeongungung(慶遊宮). It is possible to arrange in two reasons about the interest in an architecture of Gojong. Firstly, Gojong was individually interested in the architectures, and he constantly accomplished constructions of new buildings from childhood. And secondly, Gojong thought that western architecture has an advantage in the international situations. He held out the tendencies to construct the western architectures with excessive investments.

Keywords: Gojong, Western Architecture, Kyeongungung Palace, Agwanpacheon

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Backgrounds and Aims of Research

Gojong was the third who reigned for a long period of time among kings of the Joseon Dynasty¹ after Youngjo and Sukjong. Gojong reigned for 44 years² from December 1863 when he ascended the throne to July, 1907 when he turned over the

imperial throne to Sunjong, changed the name of country to the Korean Empire and became the emperor, using an independent era name. It is a period when the Joseon Dynasty had the biggest changes in its history. This period witnessed such greatest transitions since the beginning of history that it experienced a western change from the new civilization through opening of a port with the collapsed system for maintaining 500 years' Joseon Dynasty, became an arena of neighboring powers' interference and war, degraded to the Japanese colony and eventually lost its national sovereignty.

The same changes happened with the architecture and it was the period western architecture increased. It was the architecture that never existed before with construction methods completely different from those of the existing traditional architecture. Hence, in majority, demand and supply of western architecture was done by foreigners including the western, Chinese and the Japanese rather than Koreans.

Gojong was a Korean who had the highest demand for the western architecture. It was Gojong having the greatest power and wealth in Korea who influenced architectural activities. Gojong may be said as the greatest building owner who did the most dynamic constructions in Korea. Every architectural activity at the expense of the state during in his reign was not those done by Gojong. However, it may be regarded

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¹ In this research, Joseon refers to periods from 1392 to 1910, in Taejo's and Sunjong's reign including those of the Joseon Dynasty and the Korean Empire.

² Gojong used the lunar calendar till 16, Nov. 1895 and the solar calendar from 1st. Jan. 1896 so it comes to be January 1864 in case Gojong's reign periods are converted to the solar calendar.

that constructions by the government were conducted by intention of or permission by Gojong since his power was ensured to the extent that 1899 『Daehankukkkjae(大韓國國制)』³, the first modern legislation specified the autocratic power of king, never changing. The royal palace particularly reflected directly his intention. The royal palace was the space forming a basis of his residential life so it may be said as the building reflecting an individual opinion of Gojong to the best. Hence, this study aimed to examine changes of Gojong's architectural view and construction centered on those of the royal palace.

1.2 Review of Existing Research

In the early 2000s, Gojong was the center dealt with in the historical academia. The central point of the discussion was if Gojong could be regarded as a modern enlightened monarch⁴. It was formed on the basis of a deep-rooted controversy on the modern between the 「internal development theory」 and the 「colonial modernity theory」 which had continued from the previous era. It illustrates the periodic symbolism of Gojong.

Gojong has been dealt with in the architectural history too. However, the existing research on the architecture in Gojong's reign focused on certain period when reconstruction project of the Kyeongbokgung was done (Yi, 2009; Lee, 2009; Seo, 2011) or a construction background of a building. (Jeong, 2006; Kang et al., 2008; Park, 2010; Kwon, 2013; Lee, 2014) These are cases focused on buildings rather than on Gojong. Accordingly, with a focus on Gojong, it is meaningful to examine physical change aspects of the architecture in Gojong's reign. This study paid attention to identifying his ideas on the architecture from such a perspective.

1.3 Contents and Methodologies of Research

In this research, recognition of Gojong is the most important argument so it examined his architectural view based on those days' records showing his ideas rather than on individual buildings. There are 『Gojong Sillok(高宗實錄)』, 『Seungjeongwon Ilgi(承政院日記)』, 『Ilseongno-k(日省錄)』 depicting Gojong's words and behaviors, though not written by him, so it examined his views on the architecture through them. That is, it summarized his attitudes and thoughts on the architecture and their transitional aspects in the specific constructions shown from these records and other historical materials.

³ There is an opinion that stipulating through Daehankuk Kukjae symbolizes weakened despotic power of Gojong (Jang, 2009) but an opinion that provision unnecessary in the traditional Confucian courteous ruling system was generated from a process applying a modern low-governing concept seems to be reasonable. (Rhee, 2008)

⁴ Controversies about Gojong, originated from argument by Tae-Jin Lee for establishing Gojong as the modern enlightened king through Yi (2000) and objection by Jae-Ilo Kim, were published as Kyosu-simnun (2005). It may be regarded as conflicts between history and economic history academia and our diverse perspectives seeing periods of opening a port. Korean Empire and Japanese colonial ruling represent such difference of the viewpoint.

2. CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES IN GOJONG'S EARLY REIGN & HIS GEONCHEONGGUNG(乾清宮) CONSTRUCTION(1864~1876)

2.1 Characteristics of Large-scaled Constructions during Regency Period of Heungseon-Daewongun(興宣大院君)

Construction projects in Gojong's early reign have attracted much attention from the architectural history. Various kinds of construction projects were conducted including Kyeongbokgung and many studies have provided clear understanding on their construction aspects. A considerable number of studies focus on the reconstruction of Kyeongbokgung(Cho et al., 2000; Cho, 2007; Lee, 2014) and there are descriptive studies on various construction projects in those days and their tendencies, their relation to the urban structure of Hanseong. (Seo, 2011; Park, 2014) It is safe to say that construction activities concentrated in those days had something to do with reformative politics of Heungseon-Daewongun so there is a predominant perspective that such constructions were led by Heungseon-Daewongun and Yeongeondogam(營建都監). (Hong, 2007)

Hence, architecture in these periods reflected such characteristics rather than Gojong's ideas of and preference for the architecture. However, it is possible to assume that Gojong cultivated his opinion and knowledge of the architecture while experiencing indirectly numerous constructions led by Heungseon Daewongun and Yeongeondogam. In other words, a consideration on a possibility Gojong came to be interested in the architecture in such periods is not unreasonable. In those days, excessive and extravagant constructions by kings were against Confucianism⁵ and it is regarded that Gojong having the experience to overcome it and execute large-scaled constructions with Heungseon Daewongun came to gain momentum for constructions compared with prior kings.

2.2 Direct Rule by Gojong and Construction of Geoncheonggung(乾清宮)

In general, it is mentioned that the first construction led by Gojong is Geoncheonggung(1873). However, it is unreasonable to regard that Geoncheonggung is the building constructed only by intention of Gojong. Construction of Geoncheonggung was being done during May 1873 in earnest and it was the period when Heungseon Daewongun still seized power. His power began to be weakened after Aug. 1873⁶ so it may be said that his intention was reflected in the construction of Geoncheonggung. 『Seungjeong-won Ilgi(承政院日記)』 stated⁷ that Heungseon-

⁵ Excessive constructions were tabooed, even mentioning it as one of reasons why Gwanhaegun was deposed by the revolt but there are many mentions that subjects opposed to a large-scaled construction and asked the king to stop it in the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty.

⁶ Yeon (1992) and Kim (2010) have a different view on a period and a process that Heungseon-Daewongun was overthrown but both articles identify that his power was still strong in 1873.

⁷ ...及伏見守臣姜晉奎疏批下者,始知有乾清宮造成之事,而自內經用,不任有司,且又承聆於大老閣下,審知御境所奉之所,間架甚少,制度不麗,又是空開賣地,大老閣下所措辦者也.... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, August 19, 1873)

Daewon-gun made a commentary supporting the construction of Geoncheonggung. It may be interpreted that Heungseon Daewongun provided justification for the construction of Geoncheonggung (Yi, 2009) but also gives a circumstantial evidence that he still had the strong power as shown from his permission needed.

Nevertheless, Gojong played a great role in promoting the construction of Geoncheonggung. In spite of the opposition of his government officials, Gojong continued the construction, mentioning that it was not provided from state liability by using his own money only in addition to its small and plain scale⁸. It may be regarded that he acquired his driving force for the construction while seeing and experiencing many constructions done by Heungseon Daewongun for more than 10 years.

2.3 Gojong's Interest in Architecture

Repairs of Kyeongbokgung continued a large or small scale even after the direct rule by Gojong. In the first repair after his direct rule, Seungjeongwon Ilgi states that Gojong showed special interest in a repair direction. Kings Youngjo and Jeongjo also expressed interest actively in constructions including Kyeongmogung and Suwon Hwaseong only when they corresponded to political objectives or Confucian doctrines but Gojong showed higher interest in repair of Kyeongbokgung conducted on May 1874 compared with prior kings. As shown from a conversation with his subjects at the royal lecture, Gojong showed specific and professional knowledge from structure to material. He designated the lumbering time and identified a retention quantity of lumber and a construction scale⁹. He also gave suggestions to change a joint method of passages and use brick because the structure of Kyeongbokgung was vulnerable to fire and improve too much higher columns and cornerstones¹⁰. In addition, he recommended that earthen wall stronger against fire than a wood siding wall should be used¹¹. Also, he identified

⁸ ...於此而伏開乾清宮經始之役，頗尚宏麗云。此不過時備臨幸之所，而將焉用彼壯麗，而過爲靡費也...適因舊趾，肯構幾十間室廡，予意攸在，六偉幾幾，而自內經紀，初不任有司，是不欲壯麗之意也... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, May 10, 1873)

⁹ ...上曰，闕內牆垣頽圯殿閣，亦有滲漏處矣。世均曰，闕內修補，係是臣曹所掌，誠不勝悶然矣。仍奏曰，日前次對，有景福宮修理材木，待秋發闕之教，爲民聖念，誠不勝欽仰萬萬，而臣於伊日，未參筵席，不及詳奏矣。材木，則來自臣曹，買私襄山，已有如下斫伐者，此則先爲編後運下，恐好矣。上曰，予亦聞之矣。已伐者先爲運下，未伐者待秋爲之，可也... 上曰，大樑所用，可爲幾介耶。世均曰，可爲五六十箇矣。上曰，間數爲幾何耶？世均曰，可爲四百間矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, May 5, 1874)

¹⁰ ...上曰，改建時，少變前制，好矣。以交泰殿言之，前後殿廡相接，回廊曲閣，連續不絕，若有意外之事，易致難言之境。此不可不變通處也。世均曰，制度變通，謹當待下教奉行矣。上曰，複道梁輿，架屋佛令避雨，殿閣亦不必高立柱石矣。世均曰，然矣。我國無禁火之具，最爲寒心處也... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, May 5, 1874)

¹¹ ...上曰，闕內板壁，不如土壁矣。世均曰，昨冬蒼黃修理之際，時值陰沍，不得土役，故皆用板壁，長松所用，至於屢下立之多矣。上曰，事勢固然，然而今番修理，則皆以土壁爲之好矣。世均曰，閭閻家舍，皆用土壁，而惟公家倉庫與廩市，皆用板壁者，爲防偷竊之故也。其外則無論公私，土壁好矣。上曰，土壁之效，既見於昨冬回祿時矣。世均曰，臣待罪惡屆時，觀其廩舍，不用仰土，其後修理時，皆用仰土矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, May 12, 1874)

the availability of colored roof tiles¹², showing that he considered both practicality and exterior of a building. It may be said that Gojong had his own opinion on the architecture obviously in that such a mention was made before repair of Kyeongbokgung. Besides, he had understanding on Siknyeonochoe(式年造替) mainly done at Japanese shrine constructions¹³, showing his knowledge on the architecture outside Korea.

When receiving a report or granting a royal permission for a construction, prior kings hardly mentioned about contents of a construction and granted a royal permission if their subjects petitioned them for a construction plan. However, Gojong had his own opinion and gave specific mentions as a planner and it was possible because he had higher interest in and understanding on the architecture.

3. GOJONG'S INTEREST IN WESTERN ARCHITECTURES AND THE GWANMUGAK(觀文閣) CONSTRUCTION(1876-1896)

3.1 The Conversation about Architecture between Gojong and Envoys visiting China and Japan

Compared with Heungseon-Daewongun who took the initiative in the national isolation policy in Gojong's early reign, it is well known that Gojong accepted the western civilization more actively as shown from his emphasis on Dongdoseogi(東道西器) or Gubonsinjam(舊本新參). Gojong separated ideology from technology and said that western machinery having an advantage should be used for promotion of public welfare though ideology should be excluded since it was not equipped with decorum fitting for Confucius and Mencius' doctrines¹⁴.

Interest in the western architecture may have something to do with utilization of western technology. Gojong who had been much interested in the architecture came to have a new concern for the western architecture along with inflow of its civilization. 『Seungjeongwon Ilgi』 and 『Ilseongnok』 record Gojong's detailed dialogues with envoys who had visited China or Japan. It shows that he exchanged questions and answers in a relatively detailed manner compared with prior kings. Maybe in those days there was no way better than conversing with

¹² ...上曰，古有色瓦，大勝於常瓦，而後世不知此法，甚可歎也。曾聞營建都監，時造色瓦云矣，終未解其法耶？世均曰，古有此匠，獨其法祕而不傳，故世無知者矣。上曰，宣政殿青瓦，今已屢百年，而猶勝常瓦，況新造時乎。予聞北京第宅，皆用色瓦，而燕行人，聞或得來云，然否？世均曰，北京則雖私家市肆，多用設彩，或用色瓦，而燕行人，雖或有得來者，似不過幾箇矣。上曰，古者我國公廡，皆用丹青，而壬亂以後，因廢不用云，此其事力不及而然耶。世均曰，然矣。非特丹青之遠廢，壬亂之後，國用罄竭，至於朝臣祿俸，亦皆減省，所存不過十之一矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, May 12, 1874)

¹³ ...上曰，彼之宮闕營建，將以二十年爲限云，一何宏侈至此曠哉云耶... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, August 28, 1880)

¹⁴ ...初不許傳教內地，則爾等素習孔孟之訓，久沐禮義之俗，豈或一朝捨正而趨邪乎。設有愚夫蠢氓，潛相傳習，則邦有常憲，誅厥不赦，何憂乎崇闢之無其術也。且見器械製造之稍效西法，則輒以染邪日之，此又不諒之甚也。其教則邪，當如淫聲美色而遠之，其器則利，苟可以利用厚生，則農桑醫藥甲兵舟車之製，何憚而不爲也？斥其教而效其器，固可以誠行不悖也。況強弱之形，既相懸絕，苟不效彼之器，何以禦彼之侮而防其覬覦乎... (Gojong Sillok, August 5, 1882, 5th column)

persons¹⁵ who visited a place to acquire information on the West and understand the international situation changing rapidly and it was possible to obtain information on the society, culture, custom and vegetation in addition to situation of pertinent and neighboring nations through such conversations.

There were also questions about the western architecture. In dialogues with envoys who had visited China before opening the port, there were many questions about a palace system or a rampart repair¹⁶. However, after opening the port, he asked questions about the architecture by the western and Japanese who came to China¹⁷ and about the percentage occupied by the western architecture in Japan in dialogues with the emissaries¹⁸, showing interest in civil engineering works including railroad construction¹⁹. A record by a westerner who visited Joseon

says that Gojong was fascinated by the western architecture (Savage-Landor, 1999) so it supports his interest in the western architecture.



Figure 1. Gwanmungak(觀文閣) under construction, ref. the 20th commemoration exhibition of Korea-Russian treaty of army.

¹⁵ Envoys visiting China and Japan wrote down and submitted a formal document. In dialogues between Gojong and envoys from Ilseonglok and Seungjeongwon Ilgi, envoys asked Gojong to refer the document submitted about his questions but he continued questions saying he wanted to hear directly.

¹⁶ ...上曰, 以我國宮闈比之, 則壽皇殿在正殿之後乎? 汪壽曰, 紫禁城北門, 中國亦稱神武門, 門外渡石橋入, 壽皇殿之南門, 以我景福宮比之, 則壽皇殿, 如在景武臺, 而即咸豐皇帝影幀奉安處云矣。上曰, 然則後苑也, 他影幀亦同奉云耶? 汪壽曰, 是則未詳矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, December 26, 1872); ...上曰, 受賀必於太和殿爲之, 而亦果幾次乎? 壽鉉曰, 正月初一日朝賀及皇上親政, 皇太后加上徽號, 皆於太和殿爲之, 而太廟、社稷、天壇、堂子舉動時, 皆於午門外祇迎矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, April 9, 1873); ...上曰, 然則行宮, 兩處而已乎? 根弼曰, 行宮不知爲幾處, 而瀋陽亦有行宮, 與六部諸司, 一如皇城之制, 而極其富饒矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, August 13, 1873); ...瀋陽, 比皇城同乎? 健朝曰, 大同小異, 而城周回, 爲四十里云矣。上曰, 我國城周回, 亦四十里矣。健朝曰, 我國則依山爲城, 而彼地則平地爲城, 累軌築之矣。上曰, 何山擊同乎? 健朝曰, 比我國城, 高厚倍徙故矣。上曰, 雉堞女牆, 亦如我國之制乎? 健朝曰, 然矣, 但內外俱峻, 內設女垣而無堦口, 與我國之制異矣... 上曰, 太和殿, 比我國法殿, 何如? 健朝曰, 比勤政殿稍大, 而間架則東西爲十一間矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, March 30, 1874)

¹⁷ ...上曰 洋艘之來留中國自近來始也道光時毀洋館而逐洋人云矣今則不然實係運數也。最應曰 然矣。炳國曰 毀洋館尚矣無論至熱河事後無往非力弱而然也予曰以中國朝恨見之則不可知名之國多矣最應曰然矣。予曰倭使之來也。不得不把守矣。最應曰 以一營輪回把守之意分付, 而今則總成聽軍幾名出送伴接官所而接待之力亦難矣... (Ilseongnok, October 15, 1877); ...上曰, 洋人多增築室, 倭人亦爲設館云, 洋倭皆比前愈盛耶? 舜澤曰, 見其增築, 則較前稍盛, 概可推知, 扁額則題以勳建矣。上曰, 然則物議必有拂鬱, 而漢人則似當有甚矣。舜澤曰, 中國人素慎攝機, 且恥言洋說, 別無顯著, 其所拂鬱, 亦可知矣。上曰, 李鴻章, 左宗棠, 皆有經國之才, 而不爲保安之策乎? 見今洋人來留者, 比前幾倍。舜澤曰, 新建洋館拔題, 以大法國大臣公署, 而其數之幾許, 雖未聞知, 蓋不少云矣。上曰, 洋館距宮闈, 幾何? 舜澤曰, 可數里矣。上曰, 洋館之宏麗, 不及宮闈乎? 舜澤曰, 制作甚巧, 丹青極鮮, 而其大則似不及於宮闈矣。上曰, 見洋人乎? 舜澤曰, 無常往來, 故出門輒逢矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, March 25, 1879); ...上曰, 洋倭之來住皇城者, 其氣勢, 何如? 應澤曰, 洋倭混雜華人, 臣亦見其狀貌, 而但見洋館處處壯麗, 高臺臨望, 則其勢可知也。上曰, 得見皇帝乎? 應澤曰, 保和殿、西廠子宴, 二次入參, 賜宴後, 必有勞問賜酒之舉, 賜酒時呢近詳瞻矣。上曰, 容貌, 果何如? 應澤曰, 今爲十一齡, 而見甚清弱, 身體短小矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, April 8, 1881)

¹⁸ ...上曰, 彼之宮闈營建, 將以二十年爲限云。一何宏侈至此曠歲云耶? 弘集曰, 傳聞如此, 未可深信矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, August 28, 1880)

¹⁹ ...上曰, 開造鐵路, 只許泗川、西藏也。種默曰, 泗川至西藏, 只許作路矣。上曰, 鐵路之設, 爲幾許里乎? 種默曰, 西藏之距泗川, 爲數百里矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, September 24, 1876)

3.2 Attempt at Western Building Construction through the construction of Gwanmungak(觀文閣)

As shown from above, numerous constructions continued from the early Gojong's reign and the most heterogeneous building is Gwanmungak(1888~1891, Figure 1). Several western buildings appeared in some opened ports centered on Incheon and Busan along with installation of a concession but the first western building is Paichai Hakdang (1887)²⁰ in Hanseong. Shortly thereafter, construction of Gwanmungak by Gojong was done so it may be said as an example illustrating his interest in the western architecture.

Kim (1996) and Yi (2009) show details about the construction of Gwanmungak and maybe it was not a successful construction in reference to corruption and faulty work. There was an original plan to build another western building in addition to Gwanmungak. Japanese newspaper Asahi Shimbun(朝日新聞) reported that a Russian of the Incheon Customs was commissioned to build 2 buildings including a western and a western-eclectic building²¹ and a travel essay by A. Henry Savage-Landor recorded that there was a plan to commission a French to construct another building in addition to Gwanmungak constructed by the Russian but it was abandoned owing to more construction expenses for Gwanmungak to three times than expected(Savage-Landor, 1999). Reconsideration on

²⁰ There were Gigiguk Byconsachang (機器局 翻沙廠, 1884), Jeonhwanguk(典國局, 1887) and Japanese Legation(1884-1885) in Hanseong before construction of Paichai Hakdang. Certainly, they had elements of the western architecture but it is unreasonable to say them as western building in terms of material, form and organization of engineers. In such a sense, it is reasonable to say Paichai Hakdang as the first western building.

²¹ In the last paper, there was a mention about construction of a royal palace. There was a method to construct two buildings of the western and the western-eclectic and made Mr. so-and-so, a Russian at the Incheon Customs design and supervise. He was said to be a considerably skilled man having a bachelor's degree of architecture. Hojo and Chingunyoung had to pay construction expenses but Naetang money of 550,000 Jeon(corresponding to forty thousand won) was added(Asahi-shimbun, May 11, 1888, 5column-2page, translated by the writer).

reliability of the material is needed since it was not recorded by Korean parties. However, Savage-Landor had a close relation with Seredin Sabatin who constructed Gwanmungak so it may be assumed that mention about Gwanmungak heard from Sabatin has higher reliability. Also, it is likely that there was discussion about constructing 2 western buildings in that similar mentions appeared twice in the contemporary records. Eventually only Gwanmungak was completed and there was no attempt by Gojong at constructing western buildings till about 1900 when they were constructed in earnest at Kyeongungung. The biggest reasons why western architecture was avoided were that construction of Gwanmungak was not going smoothly and it failed in functioning enough as the western building because of faulty work and also western architecture was regarded as being below expectations (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2006). It is assumed that the reason why Gojong attempted to construct a western building was that he thought it was advantageous to diplomacy with western powers²².

It is difficult to determine use of Gwanmungak since there was no special mention after completion. However, in relation to installation of a palace for enshrining the portrait of the king at Kyeongungung, an official gazette records that Jae-Sun Lee, a minister of Gungnaebu told the king to install a new palace at Kyeongungung, citing examples of Juhaplut(吉合樓) and Seohyanggak(書香閣) at Changdeokkung, Taenyongjeon(泰寧殿) at Kyeonghuigung, and Gwanmungak and Jibokjae(集玉齋) at Gyeongbokkung²³. It shows that the major purpose of Gwanmungak and Jibokjae was to enshrine the portrait of the king and keep royal books like Juhaplut and Seohyanggak. As mentioned above, it has connection to Gojong's interest in buildings strong against fire. Through reconstruction of Gwanmungak keeping the portrait of the king and books vulnerable to fire with much attention as the western building, it is assumed that there was intention to increase their preservation effects. Besides, reconstruction of Jibokjae was determined in 1891 when planning for western construction was completed or stopped. Jibokjae has a characteristic of a substitute for western buildings stopped after planning in that it was used identically to Gwanmungak. In other words, Jibokjae had high resistance to fire comparing with Korean traditional structure, as the Chinese Gyeongnsan-styled(硬山式) building having brick side walls. So this building is suitable to keep books. The Jeonbang(塼房) of Pojeon(布廩) at the backside of Jonggak constructed in the almost similar period is another example to select a Gyeongnsan-

styled building as the fire-resistant structure. (Kokusbo, 1921; Seo, 2014) Also Seokeodang(昔御堂) of Kyeongungung was reconstructed in Gyeongnsan styled building after the fire of 1904 (Seo, 2014)

4. THE CONSTRUCTION OF KYEONGUNGUNG(慶運宮) & A NUMBER OF WESTERN BUILDINGS (1896-1907)

4.1 Experience of Agwanpacheon & Change of Recognition on Western Architecture

It seems that Gojong changed his idea on the western architecture owing to Agwanpacheon. The Russian Legation where he stayed during Agwanpacheon was designed by Sabatin, an architect who also designed Gwanmungak constructed at Gyeongbokkung. However, both buildings showed considerable qualitative difference. It is likely that Gojong thought that failure of Gwanmungak was caused from a problem of the western architecture itself or insufficient competency of the individual architect.

However, he changed his idea after living at the Russian Legation. He came to live a stand-up life using a bed and a desk escaping from a sedentary life in the existing space. Gojong was not familiar with such a life and it is assumed that he had difficulty in getting accustomed to a new life because he was in his 40s. His subjects were worried about such a point so recommended him to transfer to a Korean house²⁴ he could live a life before while inquiring after him as follows. And then, Gojong replied, 'I spent time in summer and winter at the Russian Legation, there are many good things than a Korean house in summer and not bad in winter compared with ondol. A mention by Beom-Jo Jeong to recommend Gojong to transfer shows general recognition that western buildings were inconvenient for people to live a life and so was Gojong. That is, Gojong's prejudice against a western building seems to have disappeared by his living there. There are records Gojong enjoyed coffee, cut his hair and changed clothes to western-styled ones during Gap-O Reform so it may be said that Gojong did not stick to Korean traditional life style all the time.

Furthermore, experience during Agwanpacheon made him get rid of doubts about Sabatin. Gojong came to know convenience and comfort of the western architecture after living a life at the western building constructed by Sabatin and trust his abilities. A. J. Whigham, an English journalist, said that Gojong took refuge in the Russian Legation, satisfied at living there, decided to build a new palace at its hill (Whigham, 2009). In fact, it is difficult to assume that location of Kyeongungung was decided under the influence of his living at the Russian Legation but certainly it was an opportunity for Gojong to turn into the western architecture actively.

²² Joseon royal palace planned to repair it this time so Junggunso(in charge of building) was installed already and construction work started on last 5th...(ellipsis)... Fire broke out twice and the half of the palace was lost but the nation was busy so repair could not be done. However, in these years, state affairs including the domestic and diplomatic are frequent and today its narrowness could be felt. So today, construction came to be started(Asahi-shimbun, August 29, 1888, 2column-2page, translated by the writer).

²³ 宮內府大臣臣李載純謹奏, 時御所例有, 御眞奉安之殿閣, 昌德宮有吉合樓書香閣, 慶熙宮有泰寧殿, 景福宮有觀文閣集玉齋, 而今此慶運宮未遑營建, 其在事體萬萬, 未安令重建所刻日新建, 何如敢奏。(The official gazette, June 15, 1897, No.663)

²⁴ ...範朝曰, 久御此所已閱二序, 如夏節則蒸鬱之氣, 得不得妨於節宜乎。朕曰, 果無蒸鬱, 而近日閉戶, 則始爲納涼矣。日洋屋制度廣高, 涼氣一入自不洩外矣。範朝曰, 漸至秋涼, 則雖有煖爐之禦寒, 而無論寒暑氣不通洩曷, 若宮殿涼煖隨時適宜乎。寢睡或於溫煖乎。朕曰, 雖非溫煖床榻厚高, 少無冷氣矣。範朝曰, 暑節雖過, 寒節萬萬不可矣。此所以大小群情莫不憂慮者也... (Ilseongnok, August 14, 1896)

4.2 Suggestions of Western Building Constructions at Kyeongungung

Before coming back from the Russian Legation, Gojong made Kyeongungung repaired on a large scale, near to new construction. He returned to Kyeongungung after Agwanpacheon for 1 year from Feb., 1896 to Feb., 1897. That year, on Oct., 1897, he ascended the emperor and began to use the era name Gwangmu(光武) but the independent era name Geonyang(建陽) had been used already from 1st. Jan. 1896. Kyeongungung was the space constructed as the Imperial Palace conforming to a form of the traditional palace.

However, after returning to Kyeongungung, Gojong's construction activities were concentrated on the western architecture. Western buildings including Wonsubu(元帥府, 1899), Jeonggwanheon(靜觀軒, 1900), Gusongheon(九成軒, 1900), Dondokjeon(悼德殿, 1900~1901), Jung-myongjeon(重明殿, 1902), Ilwanbyeokjeong(纛幕亭, around 1900), Seokjojeon(1901~1909) were constructed in order. Jeongdong where Kyeongungung were located had no enough space since there were official residences of America, Britain, France and Germany. Hence, as for Kyeongungung, clear space division was impossible unlike Gyeongbokgung and other palaces. Kyeongungung had to ensure space needed at the place where legations of each nation were scattered (Figure 2). Therefore, new western buildings at Kyeongungung were located between western spaces, scenery where western architecture mixed with foreign official residences (Figure 3).

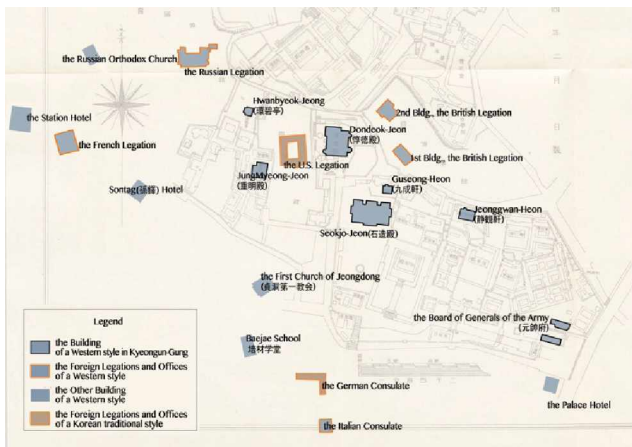


Figure 2. The plan view of Kyeongungung and the surroundings in 1902. ref. Ota, S (1938)

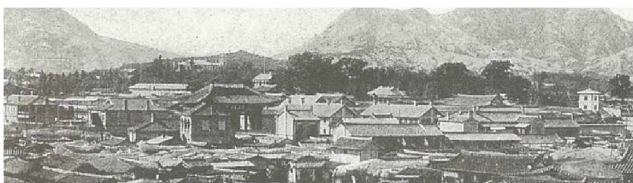


Figure 3. The overall view of Kyeongungung and the surroundings in 1901. ref. Homes (2012)

It is reasonable to assume that the most powerful intention of Gojong was involved in construction of western buildings at Kyeongungung but it means that several western buildings could be constructed at the same time since there were improvements in problems of technology or material supply and demand. Faulty work at Gwanmugak could be originated from corruption of bureaucrats but there could be problems in lacking of experience and technology and material supply and demand. In those days, Korea had many limitations to constructing western buildings since mass production of bricks was impossible, all of western windows and doors had to be imported and there were few experienced engineers. However, in such a period, simultaneous constructions of western buildings at Kyeongungung mean that such problems were improved. Maybe there was difficulty in material supply and demand along with construction expenses as shown from using materials left from demolition of Gwanmugak for construction of Kyeongungung²⁵ but there was quantum leap compared with prior times. Failure of Gwanmugak could not be repeated along with intention of Gojong and supportive circumstances.

4.3 Gojong's Architectural View shown from Construction Order of Main Royal Palaces at Kyeongungung

In case of the Beopjeon, the most important building at Kyeongungung, construction of a new Beopjeon was determined in 1901²⁶ after using Jeukjodang as Beopjeon without formal Beopjeon²⁷. In 1902, the new Beopjeon, Junghwajeon was completed²⁸ (Figure 4). Construction of the Beopjeon was done after western building mentioned above was almost completed so it was said that delay of Junghwajeon construction caused from financial problems²⁹. However, it is less persuasive since costly western buildings were constructed before Junghwajeon. Rather, financial problems seem to have been caused from excessive constructions of western buildings³⁰, leading to

²⁵ ... 內開 慶運宮廚房 第各處新建新築費二萬九千四百五十元 七十七錢四里斗 各殿堂以下諸處修理費八千九百五十六元斗 觀文閣撤毀及石物輸運費不足條五百七十九元斗 布德門越邊買家費二千八百元을 并即知照度支部 預算外支出事로 茲奉旨意 茲用仰佈오니 照亮시고... (Demand Proposal of Each Department(各司騰錄), August 1, 1901)

²⁶ 又奏、今此權停例頒詔處所、以何處舉行乎。敢奏。奉旨、凡於法殿行禮、姑以卽昨堂定行。(Seungjeongwon Ilgi, July 16, 1897)

²⁷ ... 上曰、營建部監提調進前。定求進前。上曰、法殿營建、既有成命矣。基址以中和殿前庭爲定、而材石及今措備、然後可以營建。見今所在材木、有可用者耶? 定求曰、基址謹依聖教舉行、而慶運宮營建所所在材木、臣未及躬審、而無可合用云矣。高柱大樑與可合殿材者、不容不及今知委於江原道、不日斫取輸上、然後可以經紀、而石材將於牛洞、淨取入用矣... (Seungjeongwon Ilgi, August 14, 1901)

²⁸ 詔曰、法殿今將營建、殿號以中和殿爲之、前中和殿、還稱卽昨堂。(Seungjeongwon Ilgi, April 5, 1902)

²⁹ 詔曰、法殿營建之尙此未退、實山國計、而其在事體、亦不可因循、設部監卽爲舉行、部監堂郎、令宮內府差出。(Seung-jeongwon Ilgi, July 12, 1901)

³⁰ As for Seokjojeon, construction expenses increased because of several problems and 1,290,000 won(元) astronomical amount in those days were spent. (Ota, 1938)

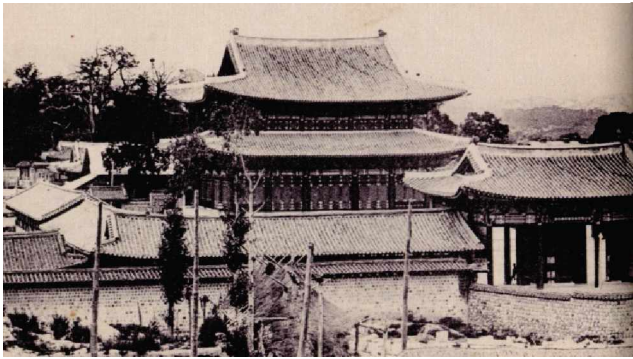


Figure 4. Junghwajeon before a fire of 1901. Ref. National Palace Museum of Korea (2010)

a request for a loan from France (Whigham, 2009). Ultimately, it shows that western buildings were regarded as important enough to construct them before the new Beopjeon of the Imperial Palace even in such a difficult situation. As for Seokjojeon, there are opinions about how it was used that it was planned as Beopjeon of Kyeonggungung (Kim, U, 2014) and it was not planned as Beopjeon, merely reflecting a suggestion by Brown, an Inspector General of Customs in those days (Kim, Y, 2014). Both opinions have difference in how much intention of Gojong was reflected in the construction of Seokjojeon but share recognition that it was the product from a process accepting the western civilization actively.

4.4 The other Constructions of Gojong

Gojong did not concentrate only on the western architecture after Agwanpacheon. Along with various Korean traditional buildings including Junghwajeon, he also constructed two-storied buildings like Seokeodang (普御堂) and Guyeodang(九如堂, 1913) at Kyeonggungung., making a new attempt at the traditional architecture. On the other hand, a new temporary palace Punggyeonggung(1902) was constructed in Pyongyang. In addition to the Chinese-styled architecture shown from Hwangudan(園丘壇) or Namkwanwangmyo(1899) and some side walls of Seokeodang, simple-typed western buildings like Wonsubu were constructed and used actively. It reveals that Gojong was the king who was much interested not only in the western architecture but also in the architecture itself.

5. CONCLUSION

Gojong was interested not only western architecture but also in the architecture itself. And it is natural for him to engage in various architectural activities. At the time, it was the period when western civilization was introduced and inflow of the western architecture was done together. Hence, it seems reasonable that Gojong expressed interest in the western architecture and constructed many western buildings.

There may be two explanations for Gojong's interest in the architecture as follows. Firstly, Gojong's interest in the

architecture may be originated from his pure hobby or taste. Construction works he experienced when young during the Heungseon Daewongun Years could be rich nourishment for his interest in the architecture. Secondly, it is assumed that Gojong thought the western architecture useful in the international situation. Despite high interest in the western architecture, Gojong did not engage in construction actively after Gwanmugak. However, his attitude changed during Agwanpacheon and it can be said that he considered those days' international situation including diplomatic relations. Originated from interest in the architecture, he came to be interested in the western architecture with related information accumulated and also judge that it would be helpful for diplomacy. However, there is doubt as to whether it worked since westerners could not be fascinated by western buildings poorer than their own as much as Gojong. Considering the cost-effectiveness, it is regarded that Gojong's architectural activities failed in giving much aid to performing a diplomatic role.

Gojong showed his interest in the architecture and practiced it throughout his reign. In such a process, with increased interest in the western architecture during Agwanpacheon, he began to use the western architecture in new construction works actively. Hereafter, western and Korean traditional buildings were constructed together. Gojong expressed his keen interest in the architecture continually during his reign and periodic characteristics and demands played an important role in determining an architectural style and form.

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