Tadashi Sekino's Research into Korean Housing and Architecture, 1904-1924

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Abstract
This paper examines Tadashi Sekino's identification and classification of Korean building traditions when nationalistic Japan was rapidly colonizing Korea in the early 20th century: Sekino produced a substantial body of work on Korean building traditions offering various historical understanding of them as well as future scenarios for their development in relation to the rapidly shifting political conditions of Japan's relationship with the West. Even if Japan used him for fostering its nationalistic and colonial projects in different time periods, he however came up with nuanced ideas, which have an important bearing on the discussion regarding issues of Korean architectural modernity.

Keywords: Tadashi Sekino; Korean building traditions; nationalism; colonialism; history; architectural modernity

1. Introduction
In June of 1902, Kingo Tatsuno (1854-1919), President of the Engineering College at the Tokyo Imperial University, and one of the first graduates to have studied under the British architect, Josiah Condor (1850-1920), who had served as professor of architecture, charged Tadashi Sekino (1868-1935) with a mission to investigate ancient Korean art and its presumed "architectural" traditions. This was the first architectural investigation Sekino led in Korea. Regarding the details of the mission, Tatsuno asked Sekino to cover as much of the region as possible; given the short amount of time available to him, Sekino chose to focus on a limited number of Korean ancient cities with more remains and relics, such as Gyeongju (the seat of the Shilla dynasty), Kaesong (the seat of the Koryo dynasty) and Seoul (the seat of the Chosen dynasty). Sekino completed his mission in 62 days and, in 1904, he published his report, Chosen Kenchiku Chosa Hokoku (Report on Korean Architecture).

After completing his first on-site research, Sekino was hired by the Japanese Resident-General of Korea in 1909 to further explore Korean "ancient structures". He published his results in different journals. Since the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, Sekino had continuously carried out his investigations there with the full support of the Japanese Government-General of Korea. From 1916, Sekino also served as a member for the preservation of ancient remains and relics, a project commissioned by the Government-General, and worked with a number of professors from the Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities. Sekino's efforts under the Government-General were realized with the 15 volumes of Chosen Koseki Zufu (Illustrations of Korean Antiquities) published between 1914 and 1935. In 1932, Sekino published the first history book on Korean art and architecture, titled Chosen Bijutsu-Shi (The History of Korean Art). This publication is a summary of his entire research career in Korea starting from the early 1900s.

It is widely known in related fields that Tadashi Sekino's archaeological investigations in Korea focused mainly on historicizing Korean (primarily Buddhist) art, relics and building remains. In his research, Sekino tried to identify not only the stylistic similarities between ancient Korean and Japanese architectural traditions, but also the gradual decline of the former, especially during the latter part of the Chosen dynasty. Naturally, his analyses came in handy for the Japanese Government-General of Korea to use in legitimizing its colonial rule of Korea. However, there is another facet of his work that needs to be taken into consideration to fully understand Sekino's perspective on Korean architectural traditions. It is particularly important to acknowledge that a series of changes occurred in Sekino's analyses and historical understanding of Korean jutaku (housing) and architecture. To date, Sekino's interest in these has not been studied, and the purpose of this paper is to show how Korean jutaku were understood in relation to Japan's changing political status in the world context of the 1920s; the contemporary Japanese historical discourses had started to look at jutaku because of their environmental-determinist connotations. Basically, the

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author analyzes how Sekino's narratives changed over time, introducing many inconsistencies in his work.

As informed by the hermeneutic research method, the author focuses on "Jutaku" in Chosen Kenchiku Chosa Hokoku (1904), "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku" in Jutaku Kenchiku (1916), and "Kikou oyobi chishitsu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" in Chosen to Kenchiku (1924). Unless otherwise cited, all translations from Japanese are by the author.

2. "Jutaku" in Chosen Kenchiku Chosa Hokoku, 1904

Together with Korean ancient art and architectural traditions, Sekino also investigated Korean jutaku architecture in his earliest Korean field research of 1902, commissioned by Kingo Tatsuno. However, the actual scope of his jutaku research was very limited, covering only existing aristocrats' and commoners' housing from the Chosen period.

Sekino's analyses of Korean jutaku in this time period had a bearing on his overall assessments of Korean (Buddhist) art and the architectural traditions of the Chosen period; he mainly highlighted their underdeveloped conditions, even comparing a commoner's jutaku to a pigsty and saying that he could not call it a housing. He blamed the despotic rulers of the Korean upper class for causing these poor architectural conditions. He continued:

"They [commoners] are poor because they are suffering from poverty, have primitive hobbies, fall into despair, and have no time to decorate either their jutaku or themselves." Sekino (1990)

For his architectural assessments of Korean jutaku, Sekino adopted a positivist research methodology, which had become very popular in architecture as well as in other fields of study since its introduction to Japan in the late nineteenth century. This approach to research analyzes social phenomena through scientific and mathematical data, taken as evidence of truths that may appear transparently to human reason. A presumption of this approach to research was that it can be used to measure the degrees of human progress in the past and the present as well as predicting future progress.

Along with other forms of Korean art and architectural traditions, Sekino regarded Korean jutaku as a singular style of building and made a series of very detailed analyses of it through visual inspections (recording colors and materials) as well as physical measurements (recording sizes, shapes, heights and widths). Moreover, he also came up with structural and functional criteria to define and identify underdeveloped Korean housing conditions. In Chosen Kenchiku Chosa Hokoku, he said:

"They [Korean jutaku] are structurally primitive... poor and irregular, and it is no exaggeration to say that they barely withstand rain, dew, coldness and heat (...) Chogajib (Korean traditional thatched-roof jutaku) are not ugly and dirty...however, because of the lack of wood in Korea, roundwood logs are used for everything from columns to rafters in constructing jutaku, and these are mainly pine logs of irregular sizes and shapes." Sekino (1990)

Given Sekino's original intention presuming the possibility of identifying the origins of Japanese architecture in his research in Korea, it is unsurprising to see him compare and contrast Korean jutaku to their Japanese counterparts. His use of material evidence to place Korean housing in a context of historical improvement and decline relative to Japan is also a reflection of his positivistic sentiments. Particularly by explaining how architectural materials were used in each case, he highlighted the poor appearance of Korean dwellings. In the same report, Sekino compared Korean roofing materials with those used in Japan:

"In Korea, straw is used for covering chogajib, and one never sees reeds, cedar bark, arborvitae bark, or double-layered boards, which are commonly used in Japan." Sekino (1990)

As shown above, in his discussion of Korean jutaku, Sekino also referenced Korean regional characteristics, such as social conditions and climatic and geological features. However, it should be stressed that Sekino's conclusions are very rudimentary and do not stand up to any detailed analyses of how regional characteristics influence Korean jutaku. Rather, it is fair to say that he was more interested in locating Korean jutaku on a certain historical level in relation to the stylistic developments of Japanese jutaku, so that he could hypothesize that the former had the potential to improve in the future. In this way, Sekino developed his colonialist perspective in his earliest on-site Korean jutaku research.

3. "Chosen no Jutaku Kenchiku" in Jutaku Kenchiku, 1916

In his 1916 article titled "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku" (Korean housing architecture), Sekino put forward a slightly different perspective on Korean jutaku from the view developed in Chosen Kenchiku Chosa Hokoku. On the one hand, based on his claims of stylistic similarities between Korean and Japanese jutaku, he persisted in his argument that the architectural conditions of the former were underdeveloped when compared to the latter; on the other hand, however, he put forward new ideas in assessing Korean jutaku by taking into consideration climatic, material and social factors, as well as habits and customs. Continuing his positivistic research stance, Sekino attempted to use calculable factors (e.g. the amount of rainfall in a given year) in determining the forms and styles of Korean jutaku architecture. In the end, Sekino introduced a set of narratives on the architectural differences between Korean and Japanese dwellings.
3.1 Stylistic Similarities between Korean and Japanese jutaku

In "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku", Sekino's commentaries on the stylistic similarities between Korean and Japanese jutaku are seen through many specific examples. He says:

"…behind the [main] building, there is a naebang (the housewife’s chambers) where housewives live. The naebang is very similar to the kitanotainoya of shindenzukuri." Sekino (1916) (Fig.1.)

"In summer, a raised bed called a nu is used in Korea and it is very similar to the summer beds of shindenzukuri." Sekino (1916)

"The cheoma (eaves) of [Korean] aristocrats' jutaku is the same as [Japanese] irimoyazukuri. The former is made of roof tiles and it has a gentle slope with a heavy look. Its style is very similar to that of the Nara period (710–794)." Sekino (1916)

"[Korean] high-class jutaku are similar to shindenzukuri from the Fujiwara (900–1200) and Kamakura (1185–1333) periods. Interestingly, large and medium-sized gates, corridors, shinden and dainoya are commonly found [in both Korea and Japan]." Sekino (1916)

The rhetoric of emphasizing the stylistic parallels of Korean and Japanese jutaku is also present in Sekino's use of Japanese architectural terms to indicate the detailed components of Korean jutaku architecture. Sekino said:

"Noblemen's jutaku are surrounded by brick walls and nagayamon (long roof gate) stand before them." Sekino (1916)

"The naebang normally has a kehusitsu (small room)...there is a shujinnoma (master bedroom) and a naesarang on the left side of the hiroma (living room). At one end of the building, there is a chuubou (cooking room) and a daidokoro (kitchen)." Sekino (1916)

"The sijeon (street house) facing the big streets in Seoul are made of kawarabuki (roof tiles), big wooden hasira (columns) and taruki (rafters). The doors are thick and several yokosan (bars) are attached on the rear side. Seen from outside, decorative marukasirabiyou (rivets) are mounted in line on them. The floor of the store is generally made of itabari (wooden flooring) and the tenjau (ceiling) is exposed to show the inside roof structure." Sekino (1916) (Fig.2.)

Fig.1. A Picture Showing the naebang in an Aristocrat's jutaku, Sekino (1916)

Fig.2. A Picture Showing a Seoul sijeon (Street House), Sekino (1916)

3.2 Stylistic Differences between Korean and Japanese jutaku

Along with the similarities mentioned above, Sekino also commented on the stylistic differences between Korean and Japanese jutaku in "Chosen no Jutaku Kenchiku". He first highlighted that research on Korea's climatic, material and social conditions is very important in understanding the development of its jutaku styles. To support his argument, Sekino elaborated:

"The Korean climate is variable and it clearly differs from north to south. Korea's summers are very hot and its winters are extremely cold." Sekino (1916)

"Because of the extremely cold winters in Korea, there were many experiments in devising heating. The most successful of these was the ondol." Sekino (1916)

"Korean jutaku are mainly made of wood...Because of the climatic and natural restrictions, good-quality wood, such as Japanese cedar and Japanese cypress, is not produced in Korea...Normally, pine, fir, larch and zelkova can survive...but only low-quality trees are now found because of the severe damage that Korean forests have sustained...So it is impossible for commoners to make columns and rafters with [good quality] wood in Korea." Sekino (1916)

Regarding the development of stylistic differences between Korean and Japanese jutaku, Sekino went on to say:

"...the Japanese jutaku is built for summer, but the Korean one is built for winter...Korea has less snow and rainfall than Japan (...) Compared to Japan, Korea has little rain or snow. Normally, there is heavy rainfall in Korea during July and August, but no rain in other months...so the slope of the roofs of Korean jutaku is very gentle, compared that of the Japanese residences." Sekino (1916)
In some cases, Sekino analyzed more detailed qualities of Korean customs and related them to spatial and functional innovations in Korean jutaku. Here, he also portrayed architectural differences as well as similarities between Korean and Japanese jutaku. Sekino said:

"In Korea, there is a custom of separating boys and girls from the age of seven, and the separation is very strict...Korean housewives stay in a place called a naebang and they normally do cooking, laundry and sewing there. Normally, they never have a chance to see men other than their husbands...In any case, it is impossible for other men to approach a naebang, a kind of impregnable chamber for women...Even policemen cannot freely enter into a naebang, since this space is sacrosanct. So the [spatial] separation between the inside and the outside in Korean housing is very strict." Sekino (1916)

"From ancient times, the Koreans and the Japanese have had the same custom of sitting on the floor, so they don't need functional rooms for specific purposes, such as kitchen, guest rooms and bedrooms; the living room can directly become a guestroom, a kitchen if food is served, or a bedroom by installing futons - all of these transformations are very easy. The floor is either ondol or simple wood flooring, and Korean people sit with their legs crossed, or with one or both legs bent inside. They never rest on their knees like the Japanese." Sekino (1916)

4. "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" in Chosen to Kenchiku, 1924

In October 1923, Sekino had an opportunity to investigate ancient Korean reliefs and remained in Pyongyang with the support of the Japanese Government-General of Korea. Taking advantage of this opportunity, he also traveled to the northern Korean provinces that he had been unable to include in his previous research travels. By examining native jutaku and architectural conditions in these areas, Sekino was able to develop more comprehensive ideas on the direct relationship between regional characteristics and architectural developments. In the end, he produced a series of observations on the use of different architectural styles and materials in Japan and Korea, as well as predictions for future developments.

In his public lecture organized by the Japanese Government-General of Korea upon finishing the investigation, Sekino started by introducing detailed ideas related to his understanding of regional specificities, categorizing them into two different groups: those with natural (e.g. climatic and geological) factors and those with artificial (e.g. social customs, historical and religious backgrounds) factors. He also placed a particularly strong emphasis on earthquakes in making his architectural arguments. It is likely that this intention was partly driven by witnessing the devastating architectural damage caused by the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. This experience spurred Sekino and many other contemporary Japanese architects to quickly begin work on devising architectural techniques that would allow buildings to withstand future earthquakes.

In "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" (Japan-Korean architecture seen from the perspective of climate and geological features), Sekino's ideas are far more systematically organized than they were in his previous work, "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku", in which he simply considered rudimentary climatic, material and social factors. It can be also seen that Sekino's narratives fed the Japanese colonial propaganda of the 1920s (military rule period) well on many levels; the Japanese Government-General of Korea deliberately started to pay attention to native Korean natural environments, social customs and culture after the shock of the March 1 Independence Movement. Moreover, in contrast to the forced assimilation policies of the 1910s (military rule period), based on the contemporary popular theory of ethnic and cultural commonalities between Japan and Korea, the Japanese Government-General of Korea initiated new colonial policies acknowledging the fundamental differences between them and propagated a new assimilation model posited on the notion of a spiritual coalition of the two countries, and instance of Pan-Asianism.

Fig.3. A Photograph Showing a Korean jutaku on a Rural Field; from Sekino Tadashi Collection, The University Museum, The University of Tokyo, Material no.: 14025 140002700

4.1 Intimate Relationships between Regional Characteristics and Architecture

At the beginning of the lecture, Sekino's perspective of environmental determinism is evident in his understanding of the close relationship between regional characteristics and architectural developments: "Architects, whatever types of buildings they work on, make them fit into their own regions...Architecture developed in specific places [nations], even if it is not interesting at all, certainly features some characteristics adapted to its location (...) the features that are not well-suited to the environment are eliminated, and only enduring things survive." Sekino (1924) (Fig.3.)
Throughout the lecture, Sekino enumerated many detailed factors whose distinctive natures are decided by regional characteristics. He said:

"There are many important [regional] factors that determine the architectural developments in our settlements. Above all, these are categorized into the following two groups: the first is composed of natural factors such as climatic and geological conditions, and the second represents artificial factors including social customs, historical and religious backgrounds, and even specific relationships with foreign nations (...) The artificial factors change over time, whereas it is very difficult to change natural factors, which are determined by geographical conditions. Wherever a nation is situated, its natural conditions govern and its residents must find ways to survive them. Opposing them can only end in failure." Sekino (1924)

4.2 Climatic Differences between Japan and Korea

Before Sekino talked about the different architectural developments found in Japan and Korea, he first analyzed each country's climatic conditions through empirical data and compared them. He said:

"Japan is a country that has not benefited from nature but rather has been abused by it. However, Korea is in the opposite situation, where the climate is very beneficial for people's lives (...) The Japanese climate and the Korean one are very different from each other. The latter is very continental, whereas the former is very oceanic. Japan has a lot of rainfall because the air is especially humid. On the other hand, Korea has very little rainfall and the air is very dry (...) The summer temperature in Japan is a bit lower than that in Korea, and the latter is very difficult to endure... So, you can easily see that the Japanese summer is more comfortable than the Korean summer (...) Compared to the Korean summer, the Japanese one is very difficult to endure in the sense that the humidity is very high, which creates an almost saturated condition. When the temperature goes up above 82-3°F, the air doesn't absorb the steam radiated from human skin any more. Instead, it condenses on the skin surface and becomes sweat, which is very uncomfortable (...) As you can experience in Korea, the summer is very hot and sometimes it is like entering an oven. However, you don't sweat. In other words, when sweat comes out from the skin, the dry air absorbs it right away. So, it is relatively easy to endure the Korean summer because little sweat remains on the skin (...) The winter in Japan is not much colder than that of Korea. The temperature normally goes down to -2 to -3°C degrees; sometimes it becomes -5 to -6°C degrees. So it is never very cold (...) Keijo (Seoul) is the opposite. In winter, the Han River freezes... so that people can walk on the frozen river (...) Compared to the winter in Japan, Korea's winter is very harsh and very difficult to endure. Although the Japanese winter is cold, compared to...enduring the summer heat, it is slightly easier to manage." Sekino (1924)

4.3 Architectural Differences between Japan and Korea from the Climatic Perspective

In the first summary of his lecture, Sekino talked about the architectural differences between Japanese and Korean jutaku by referencing his earlier climatic analyses. In observing each type of jutaku, he visually inspected every single part of it. Sekino also introduced a more scientific analysis on the benefits of Korean ondol than he had previously in Chosen Kenchiku Chosa Hokoku. Sekino said:

"From the climatic perspective, there are some characteristics that highlight the fundamental differences between Japanese and Korean jutaku. So it is a big mistake to build a Japanese-style (nihonfu) jutaku in Korea." Sekino (1924)

"Japanese clothing is totally open and fit for hot summers. [However,] Korean clothes are made for enduring winters, and both the wrist-length sleeves (soreguchi) and the skirts (suso) are all closed to protect against the harsh cold. By the same token, Japanese and Korean jutaku are built to suit the same climatic conditions that influenced the clothing of each country. As for Japan, the summer wind is essential, so the entire jutaku is open to the outside; all the doors are entirely removed in summer. When the wind blows inside the jutaku, it is possible to stand the summer heat. However, in Korea, the architectural situations are quite the reverse: every part of the jutaku is closed to endure the cold winter—the windows are as small as possible, the ceilings are as low as possible, the rooms are as small as possible. In winter, since the temperature is very low everywhere, the jutaku windows are very small (if there are windows at all) and they have two or three screen layers (...) [In order to bear the severe winter cold], a convenient heating system called ondol was devised, and it is possible to warm up an entire jutaku with it. This heating system is not problematic in the Korean summer; it seems that it is difficult to use ondol in the summer because the outside temperature is very high. However, the Korean air is dry, so it is easy to endure the heat without
having the wind blow in from outside." Sekino (1924) (Fig.4.)

4.4 On the Use of Architectural Materials for Japanese Architecture

Sekino identified the primary reason for using wood in Japanese traditional architecture as its natural and climatic conditions. As his discussion progressed, he placed more emphasis on the frequent earthquakes in Japan: "Wood is the traditional material of Japanese architecture. The first reason is that wood is very common in Japan. The second reason is the climate—
the hot summer temperatures in Japan need a sort of open architecture. In this case, wood is the most appropriate material. For these two reasons, architecture using wood has been developed in Japan (…) One more reason is the need to build earthquake-proof architecture. Now, there are some newly developed earthquake-proof materials such as steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete that were not available some 20–30 years ago. Without access to these newly developed earthquake-proof materials, in the past, when constructing buildings, only wood, stone and brick were used and no other materials existed. Of these, wood was the most appropriate material for earthquake resistance." Sekino (1924)

Sekino also criticized Western-building materials, especially brick and stone, since they are too inflexible to withstand earthquakes. He said that they should be avoided in building architecture in Japan: "After brick structures had been gradually growing in popularity during the Meiji era for 25–6 years, the 1894 earthquake occurred in [Tokyo]. Most of them either collapsed or were damaged." Sekino (1924)

"In the earthquake that happened last year [1923], the brick structures were totally destroyed (…) Brick is not fit for earthquake-resistance. And, stone is less suited than brick to resisting earthquakes. There is no pure stone architecture in Tokyo…. So, of the widely known architectural materials, brick and stone are not appropriate; only wood endures earthquakes relatively well." Sekino (1924)

Here, Sekino also suggested materials for future Japanese architecture. He pointed out that wood is still weak when it comes to withstand fire, so he concluded that, to survive both earthquakes and fires, the new materials developed through modern technology, such as steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete, were the most appropriate for Japanese urban architecture for the present and the future. He said: "Since wood structures are generally built with a huge amount of effort and take many factors into consideration, they easily withstand earthquakes. However, they are very weak when it comes to fires. In the earthquake that occurred last year [1923], because of the accompanying fires affecting the collapsed buildings, we witnessed extremely devastating conditions. The susceptibility of wood to fire is a huge flaw when it comes to using it as a material in urban architecture, which must be able to withstand both earthquakes and fires (…) So, for these reasons, I have come to believe that steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete are the most suitable building materials for Japanese architecture. I think that future urban architecture in Japan should make use of both of these materials, and when they are used, their ability to withstand earthquakes and fires should be calculated." Sekino (1924)

4.5 On the Use of Architectural Materials and Styles for Korean Architecture

In contrast to the importance of taking earthquake-resistant architecture into consideration in Japan, Sekino argued that it was unnecessary in Korea, given the country's geological conditions. Moreover, he expressed his ideas concerning economic standards in (constructing) architecture here. Sekino said: "Compared to Japan, there are no severely damaging earthquakes in Korea. So, architects don't need to take earthquake resistance into consideration. After last year's big earthquake [1923] in Tokyo, there are a group of people who not only have become anxious about the possibility of a future disastrous earthquake in Korea, but who also think that earthquake-resistant architecture is needed in Korea. However, I think this is a huge mistake (…) It is a big mistake to imitate the structures built in New York in Tokyo, and it is also a mistake to construct earthquake-resistant buildings in New York, which is uneconomical. By the same token, it is unnecessary to consider earthquake resistance in Korea, where only very minor earthquakes occur. In Korea, it is better to construct buildings as economically as possible." Sekino (1924)

Regarding the materials for future Korean architecture, Sekino argued that wood is not appropriate. Rather, he suggested the use of brick, stone, steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete because they are economical, fire-resistant and heat-retaining. Sekino says: "Given the cold [winter] climate in Korea, Korean architecture should be heat-insulating (…) So, traditional Japanese wood architecture is not appropriate for Korea in the sense that it is only good for keeping cool. In Korean architecture, there is a need to thicken the walls. For future Korean architecture, Japanese-style wood architecture shouldn't be used; instead, brick, stone, steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete structures should be used. For large-scale structures, I think that steel is the most appropriate architectural material in Korea. However, it should be cheap, accessible to the general public, fire-resistant and heat-retaining." Sekino (1924)

Sekino suggested that in the future Korean architecture should incorporate Western and traditional Korean styles instead of Japanese characteristics. (Climate-wise, he categorizes Korea with China, Peking, Manchuria, Northern Chinese regions, America and even Europe.) By the same token, he also
advocated the use of Korean and Western-style clothes in Korea. He said: "From the climatic perspective, it is impossible to place Japanese and Korean jutaku in the same category. So, it is a big mistake to build Japanese-style jutaku in Korea. I have found that Japanese-style jutaku are built by Japanese immigrants living in Korea, and they also wear Japanese-style clothes all the time. I think that this is a huge mistake." Sekino (1924)

"Seoul has the same summer climate as China, Peking, Manchuria and northern Chinese regions. America and Europe also have almost the same climate conditions." Sekino (1924)

"It is acceptable to build Western-style architecture in Korea and there is no need to be concerned about it." Sekino (1924)

"When it comes to a place where Korean climatic conditions dominate, Korean-style clothes (the ones that Korean people put on) and Western clothes are the most appropriate. In other words, it is necessary to wear something that suits the Korean climate, and for the same reason, jutaku built in Korea should take the region's climate and soil into consideration." Sekino (1924)

5. Towards a Pan-Asiatic Architecture: A Future Stylistic Blend of Japanese and Korean Architecture

Finally, the nationalistic intentions underlying Sekino's discussion of the architectural differences between Japanese and Korean building styles, as well as the uniqueness of Japanese architecture, are clearly reflected in his suggestion of creating a unique, harmonized pan-Asiatic architectural style (with oriental taste) along with a spiritual coalition of these two countries. At the end of his lecture, Sekino said: "To summarize, from the naturalistic perspective, there are two fundamentally irreconcilable differences between Japan and Korea: one is a climatic issue and the other is a geological one. Because of these two issues, architectural plans and structures in the two countries have developed in different ways, adapted to each country's specific natural conditions. In imagining a future architectural style, it is important to consider the historical backgrounds of Japan and Korea as well as to research the surviving art and architecture of the two countries. In other words, it is necessary to understand Toyo Shumi (Oriental Taste) enough and to create unique and creative architectural styles that integrate the traditions of Japan and Korea, not to just copy the West. This is the hope of Korean architects. Structurally speaking, there are some physical limitations which prevent the harmony of Japan and Korea. However, psychologically, the situation is the reverse—it is possible to harmonize the two countries in the sense that they confront the West together as brothers of Asia. By studying Japanese and Korean physical and psychological conditions, I suggest that we do our best to improve and develop the future of architecture." Sekino (1924)

6. Conclusion

From the mid-1910s, Sekino started to focus on the fundamental differences between native Korean and Japanese jutaku, rather than continuously maintaining his previous position on the underdeveloped conditions of the former as he did in his 1904 writings on the subject. The change in Sekino's perspective becomes increasingly apparent in the two works "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku" in Jutaku Kenchiku and "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" in Chosen to Kenchiku, wherein the regionally developed Korean and Japanese jutaku and architectural styles are described.

In this context, Sekino's newly introduced ideas influenced by environmental determinism still reflect the complexity of Japan's interactions with the West starting from the mid-nineteenth century. Particularly around the 1910s, after achieving material and industrial modernization internally, winning several consecutive wars challenging the West (the First Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895, and the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905), and determined to be recognized as a strong modern nation by the West, Japan started to invent historical narratives that highlighted its "uniqueness" as compared to its Asian neighbors, based on its peculiar geographical and cultural conditions.18 While prompting Sekino to identify the differences between Japanese and Korean jutaku and architecture, and suggest a different, more accommodating relationship between the Korean traditions and Western modern architecture, these narratives became a theoretical foundation for the Japanese colonialist pan-Asiatic propaganda of the 1920s.19

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Notes
1 For more, see Tadashi Sekino, Ancient Remains and Relics of Japan: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation (Tokyo: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 4.
2 For more, see Ibid., 8-9.
3 For more, see Tadashi Sekino, Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul (Korean Architecture and Art), trans. by Bongjin Kang (Seoul: Wolgangeonchugmunhwa, 1990), 486.
4 It is important to note that the Japanese archaeological investigations into Korean art and architectural traditions were used not only to overcome the West but also to colonize Korea. The invented Japanese historicity inherently deemed Korea to be under-developed and in need of Japanese leadership.
5 Prior to the 1920s, there were only two Japanese studies on Korean housing, except for the ones by Sekino; Tadakichi Murakami, Chosen no i syoku jyu (Food, Clothing and Shelter in Korea) (Keijo: Joseon sotokufu, 1916) and Kinya Funakoshi, "Chosen kaoku no hanashi" (Stories on Korean houses), Kenchiku Jassi 12 (1898): 267-288. For more one them, see Shiro Sasaki, "Daininjisekaitaisen ni miru chinragakuteki kenkyu no kiseki-Iwatsuki Yoshiyuki(1924) ni senko suru syokenkyu wo cysunin toshite-“ (Research Trends of the Geographical Studies on Korean Folk Housing shown in
the Japanese Literature before World War II (I)-Mainly on Some Preceding Works to Iwatsuki Yoshiyuki (1924)-), Utsunomiya daigaku kokusai gakubu kenkyuronsyu 5 (1998): 135-154.

Sekino had a very close personal relationship with Tatsuno. Architectural historian Keisuke Fujii said that Sekino worked on many of Tatsuno's architectural projects, including the headquarters of the Bank of Japan. (Keisuke Fujii, "[Mono] kenkyuu gotohajime— kenchiku shi ka, Sekino Tadashi no kaihatsu sita houhou" ([Thing] research—architecture historian, Sekino Tadashi's methodology), Toshio 676 (2005): 18.

Tadashi Sekino, Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul, 412.

Ibid.

When the German historian Ludwig Riess (a student of Leopold Von Ranke) first taught modern history at the Tokyo Imperial University in 1887, he also introduced positivism. For more on the process of establishing the history department at the Tokyo Imperial University, see Stefan Tanaka, Japan's Orient (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), 42.

For more, see Friedrich A Von Hayek, The counter-revolution of science: studies on the abuse of reason. Indianapolis: Library Press, (1979), 124-125.)

Fujii said that Sekino's methodology was designed to carefully study the physical forms and shapes of old art and architectural artifacts. He also compared them to each other to figure out when they had been produced. (Fujii, "[Mono] Kenkyuu gotohajime," 19-20.)

To discern the origins of Japanese architecture, Japanese historians started exploring Asian architectural traditions, not only to construct Japanese architectural history, but also to define Japanese architecture in the late nineteenth century.

Tadashi Sekino, "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku" (Korean housing architecture), in Jutaku Kenchiku (Housing architecture). Tokyo: Kenchiku sekaisha, 1916), 156-163. This book is consists of a collection of writings on Jutaku written by many Japanese architects and historians.

For more, see Ibid., 156.

For more, see Tadashi Sekino, "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" (Japan-Korean architecture seen from the perspective of climate and geological features), Chosen to Kenchiku, 4 (1924): 7. For example, in his first research expedition to Korea in 1902, he mainly focused on the regions near Seoul and Kaesong and a small number of southern cities.

There had been three different periods in Japan's colonization of the Korean peninsula since the annexation. The first period, in the 1910s, fostered military rule, the second, in the 1920s, cultural rule, and the third, in the 1930s and 1940s, total mobilization.

The March 1 Independence Movement (1919) is regarded as the first nationwide Korean resistance towards the Japanese colonial occupation. With the outbreak of the March 1 Korean Independence Movement in 1919, the Japanese Government realized the failure of its coercive colonial assimilation policies based on military power, so-called military rule (1910-1919), and it started to revise them by giving more consideration to the microscopic realities of Korean native social conventions and systems.

Eiji Oguma argued that, around the 1920s, Japan's interests had shifted from "blood" to "climate" and the propagation of the theory of multi-ethnicity (of the Japanese) superseded that of mixed ethnicity (of the Japanese). Eiji Oguma, "From 'Blood' to 'Climate'" in A genealogy of 'Japanese' self-images, trans. by David Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), 260-284.

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8) Tanaka, Stefan. (1993) Japan's Orient. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.