



**HERITAGE AUTHENTICITY AND MONUMENTALIZATION FOR  
POLITICAL POWER- A CASE STUDY OF THE CHEONGGYECHEON  
RESTORATION PROJECT IN SEOUL, KOREA**

**By  
Jang Suh Noh**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree  
DOCTOR OF PHILISOPHY  
Program of Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism  
(International Program)  
Graduate School  
SILPAKORN UNIVERSITY  
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The Graduate School Office, Silpakorn University has approved and accredited the Thesis title “Heritage Authenticity and Monumentalization for Political Power- A Case Study of the Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project in Seoul, Korea” submitted by Mr. Jang Suh Noh as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism.

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47056964 : MAJOR : ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND TOURISM  
(INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM)

KEYWORD: HERITAGE RESTORATION, MONUMENTALIZATION, CHEONGGYECHEON  
JANG SUH NOH: HERITAGE AUTHENTICITY AND MONUMENTALIZATION FOR  
POLITICAL POWER- A CASE STUDY OF THE CHEONGGYECHEON RESTORATION  
PROJECT IN SEOUL, KOREA. THESIS ADVISOR: DONALD ELLSMORE, Ph.D. 158 pp.

When the former mayor of Seoul Lee, M.B. won the 17<sup>th</sup> presidential election of Korea, local media picked up the success of *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project led by Lee as one of the key contributors to his win. The belief that the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was a great success making Lee a hero was a widespread and unquestioned myth. This research attempts to answer the questions: 'Is it really a successful heritage restoration project?' and 'What kind of process has made the project become a myth and Lee a hero?'

At first, investigating the history of *Cheonggyecheon*, this research revealed that *Cheonggyecheon* was a main component forming the sacredscape of ancient Seoul. And it always had to face human intervention, the traces of which had accumulated in the stream until it began to be covered up by roadways in the development of downtown Seoul in the late 1950s.

Secondly, this research reviewed the history of social changes leading to a call for the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* by civil society in the late 1990s which, in 2002, was officially adopted as a public project by Lee, the then mayor of Seoul, In 2005, the project was officially completed in spite of intense conflicts among the stakeholders in the process of implementation. Local media hailed the restored Cheonggyecheon as a great success under the excellent leadership of Lee. Then the project has become a myth and Lee has become a hero.

Thirdly, to verify the myth and heroism, this research attempted to evaluate the authenticity of various restoration features of the project based on the principles of internationally accepted heritage charters and protocols, including the Burra Charter. The research found the restoration of Cheonggyecheon was superficial and fell far below the standards of the principles. This research argues the project is not a successful heritage restoration project.

Fourthly, based upon the processes of monumentalization discussed by Dietler (1998), this research revealed that the project successfully turned into Lee's personal achievement by monumentalizing itself and him. The symbolic mechanism to mystify the project and the leader was embedded in the restored Cheonggyecheon tangibly and intangibly.

Finally, this research found that the project had great political, environmental, cultural and economic impacts on the whole of society. However, the research pointed out the project lacked such important values as political and economic fairness, environmental sustainability, and heritage authenticity. Accordingly, based upon the lessons learned from the above discussions, this research suggests:

(1) All projects involving community-owned cultural assets should be planned carefully and be consistent with established guidelines and protocols.

(2) Projects involving community-owned cultural assets should be planned carefully with the active and voluntary participation of community stakeholders representing all legitimate community interests.

(3) Such projects should ensure that benefits are distributed equally and fairly.

(4) Such projects should establish protective measures for cultural heritage at the outset.

(5) Such projects should avoid privatization of public heritage assets.

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Program of Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism, Graduate School, Silpakorn University Academic Year 2009  
Student's signature.....  
Thesis Advisor's signature.....

## Acknowledgements

In 2004, I had an opportunity to work with the Sanctuary of Truth in Pattaya to make an interpretation plan for Korean visitors. The Sanctuary of Truth, locally called 'Prasat Satjatam' or 'Prasat Mai,' is the world's largest wooden architecture designed by the late Khun Lek Viriyapan, who also created the Muang Boran in Samut Prakan. It looks like a Phra Merumas but fully covered with beautiful wooden sculpture of mythical and religious figures with Thai, Hindu, Khmer and Chinese artistic characters. It is modern architecture built under the inspiration of the great Asian architectural heritage. The more visits I made, the more curious I became about Asian architectural heritage. Finally, I found Silpakorn—a home in which my curiosity settled down. My journey to the study of architectural heritage started there. 5 years have passed since the start of the journey, which still goes on. The final destination is still far off. This occasion—completion of a Ph.D. thesis—is like the first stop of a life long journey. Thank God for this first stop.

I was a wanderer, staying alone for three years in Indonesia and five years in Thailand. I cannot count how many times I traveled alone to many places in the world. Leaving my family, I consumed so much time wandering here and there. I have been married for 22 years to Somi. How could this wanderer survive those egoistic journeys? I believe it is totally due to the love of Somi. Without her love, I couldn't make this first stop safely. This work, if it has any value, is fully dedicated to her. For further journeys I hope she will accompany me everywhere. Thank you, Somi.

At Silpakorn, I was a foreign student. I can't forget how warmly the Thai faculty and classmates treated me. As my workplace was in Pattaya, I had to attend the school from there. Every day I spent at least four hours riding a variety of vehicles: bus (Pattaya - Bangkok), BTS or subway (Ekamai - Hualampong), motor cycle or taxi (Hualampong - Silpakorn). Even though there was never enough time, I loved the classes so much that I never felt tired. The atmosphere of the classes was always full of joy, energy and passion flowing out from my Thai classmates. They were kind, generous and humorous. I felt Professor Trungjai encouraged me especially, which made me very proud. Miss Thienrat's kind assistance is also unforgettable. Thank you, Thai friends.

Recalling the process by which this dissertation was written, I don't know how to thank the members of my dissertation committee. In particular, the dedication of Dr. Ellsmore should be mentioned here. I have been moved by his kind guidance as the supervisor. He deeply understood what I wanted to argue in the dissertation and encouraged me to move forward step by step. He didn't hesitate to correct errors, and led me to focus on the right track. He showed me the highest level of professionalism by giving timely and suitable advice whenever I asked for it. Without his valuable supervision, this dissertation could never have been born. Thank you, Dr. Ellsmore.

Soon, I will leave this stop for new journey. May God bless me!

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Statement of significance of the problem

*Cheonggyecheon* is a stream flowing through downtown Seoul. *Cheonggyecheon* entered the realm of human history at the beginning of the *Joseon* Dynasty (1392–1910). The *Joseon* Kingdom's capital was called *Hanyang*, a fortified city located in the northwestern part of modern Seoul. *Hanyang* was surrounded by four mountains in each cardinal direction, and water originating from each mountain flowed into *Cheonggyecheon*. Symbolically, *Cheonggyecheon* was one of important pillars that bolstered *Hanyang*'s sacredness as the royal capital. The stream was also the main drainage waterway for *Hanyang*.

During rainy seasons, as there was no other waterway out except *Cheonggyecheon*, *Hanyang* was periodically flooded. Therefore, flood control became one of the most serious issues to tackle. The solution adopted was to dredge the stream. Major dredging work was carried out during the reigns of King *Taejong* (third), King *Sejong* (fourth), and King *Yeongjo* (21<sup>st</sup>) of the *Joseon* Dynasty. After King *Yeongjo*'s reign, dredging work was undertaken periodically. Thus, tangibly and intangibly, traces of such human work are found in *Cheonggyecheon*.

The *Joseon* Dynasty fell when Japan successfully colonized Korea and the Korea-Japan consolidation treaty was signed in 1910. During the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), *Cheonggyecheon* still functioned as the drainage stream of *Gyeongseong* (the new name of *Hanyang*), then the colonial capital. After experiencing a series of historical events including independence in 1945 and the Korean War (1950–1953), South Korea initiated an age of rapid industrialization. Seoul, again the capital city of the new independent modern country (the Republic of Korea), had transformed herself into a busy modern city. To cope with increasing downtown traffic, a new road was established by covering *Cheonggyecheon*. The new road was named *Cheonggyecheon-ro* (*ro* means 'road') after the covered stream's name. Later, an elevated highway and its branch roads were built over *Cheonggyecheon-ro*. This elevated road was called *Cheonggye-goga* (*goga* means 'elevated highway'). For more than 40 years, *Cheonggyecheon-ro* and *Cheonggye-goga* were among the busiest roads in Seoul. They were also symbols of the rapid urbanization and industrialization of Seoul.

In 2002, major changes were made to *Cheonggyecheon-ro* and *Cheonggye-goga*, which would ultimately transform the urban spatial form of modern Seoul. The then newly elected mayor, Lee, M.B., embarked on projects to fulfill his election promises. One of his public commitments was to redevelop *Cheonggyecheon* by means of an historical and cultural restoration of the district. This restoration commitment had

gained popularity during the election campaign and played a key role in his election as the mayor of Seoul. After a public hearing process, the Seoul Metropolitan Government, as the project owner, came up with the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration plan. According to the plan, the basic concept was to demolish *Cheonggyecheon-ro* and *Cheonggye-goga* and transform the buried stream into an eco-friendly open-air stream. To everyone's surprise, the restoration work was completed in only twenty seven months. Its completion was officially announced on October 1, 2005.

Upon completion of the restoration project, many in the Korean media heralded the birth of a hero by praising Lee, M.B. for his ability to transform the concrete urban space of Seoul into an eco-friendly hydrospace. Seemingly, a buried and forgotten heritage site was reborn as a gigantic urban recreational space. Since then, the so-called restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* has been lauded as a great model for improving the urban environment and a strong evidence for Lee, M.B.'s ability to manage the whole country. This belief was widespread and unquestioned. It quickly became a myth. Finally, Lee, M.B. was elected the 17<sup>th</sup> president of Korea on December 19, 2007, and inaugurated as the president of Korea on February 25, 2008.

Since the project's inception, it has been at the center of much debate. The project often faced harsh criticism and met many challenges. It is quite natural that such a large project should create various problems and issues during the course of hasty implementation. In order to learn from this grand scale project, it is evaluated in this research. Especially, this research tries to answer the key research questions—'Is it really a successful heritage restoration project?' and 'What kind of process has made the project become a myth and Lee a hero?' The findings of detailed analytical research will help us lay a sound foundation for future heritage missions involving the rehabilitation of large-scale community assets and improvements in environmental infrastructure.

### **Objectives of the study**

This study commenced with several key aims. They were as follows:

- a. To answer 'Is it really a successful heritage restoration project?' and 'What kind of process has made the project become a myth and Lee a hero?'
- b. to re-evaluate the cultural heritage significance and heritage value of *Cheonggyecheon*;
- c. to review the social background leading to a call for the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon*
- d. to analyze the planning process of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project;
- e. to identify and categorize conflicts among stakeholders and the negotiation mechanism and process employed;
- f. to review and analyze the principles of local and international heritage conservation charters and protocols and evaluate the restoration features of the *Cheonggyecheon* project based upon such heritage principles;
- g. to re-define *monumentalization* as a key process of political utilization of heritage and analyze the monumentalization of the *Cheonggyecheon* project for political purposes;

- h. to evaluate the social impact on the community and make suggestions;

### **Study area**

The area covered by this study includes the following:

- a. the historical area of *Cheonggyecheon*;
- b. the wider area identified today as *Cheonggyecheon*

### **Methodology**

The methodology adopted for this study involved five elements.

- a. investigation of primary and secondary documentary sources relating to the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream
- b. investigation of related literature, information and documentation, including studies in related academic fields with relevance to the social, political, and cultural issues surrounding *Cheonggyecheon*
- c. analysis of the data and its evaluation
- d. assessment of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project in political, cultural and economic terms
- e. identification of emergent issues and lessons from the project

### **Process**

The linear approach followed in this study is similar to standard cultural heritage research. It includes the following:

- a. Survey of physical evidence: Investigation of the current status of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. The physical evidence and results of the restoration were investigated in situ. The peripheral area was also investigated regarding meaningful changes.
- b. Literature review: To deepen the understanding of various phenomena resulting from the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration, a multi-disciplinary approach was required. Literature review was made on a wide range of fields of studies such as politics, geography, economics, architecture, environmental science, archaeology, management as well as heritage studies. In addition to books and research papers, articles from media sources such as newspapers and internet were reviewed.
- c. Analysis of heritage conservation charters and protocols: To evaluate the authenticity of the restoration features of the *Cheonggyecheon* project, comprehensive analyses were made on local heritage regime as well as international charters and protocols including the Burra Charter.
- d. Data gathering by interview: Personal interviews with stakeholders were implemented.

## **Romanizing Korean**

Korean names are italicized. Important suffixes are hyphenated to enhance clearer understanding.

*Meanings of Korean suffixes:*

- cheon*: The suffix *-cheon* means 'stream.'
- gang*: The suffix *-gang* means 'river.'
- dari*: The suffix *-dari* means 'bridge.'
- gyo*: The suffix *-gyo* means 'bridge.'
- gung*: The suffix *-gung* means 'palace.'
- mun*: The suffix *-mun* means 'gate.'
- ro*: The suffix *-ro* means 'street.'
- ga*: The suffix *-ga* means 'street.'
- dong*: The suffix *-dong* means 'smallest area unit' or 'parish.'
- san*: The suffix *-san* means 'mountain.'
- seok*: The suffix *-seok* means 'stone.'
- su*: The suffix *-su* means 'water.'

## Chapter 2

### The History and Significance of *Cheonggyecheon*

In this chapter, we explore when and how *Cheonggyecheon* entered into the realm of human intervention and what kinds of traces were accumulated in the stream tangibly and intangibly until it began to be covered up by roadways in the development of downtown Seoul in the late 1950s.

#### 2.1 Cheonggyecheon and ancient city planning

##### Seoul and Cheonggyecheon

Seoul is the capital city of the Republic of Korea. According to the Seoul Metropolitan Government's (in short, 'SMG') website (<http://english.seoul.go.kr/>), 'the total area of Seoul is 605.52 square kilometers, or 0.6 percent of the entire country. The *Hangang* (River) divides the city into two parts: [the] northern part (*Gangbuk*) and [the] southern one (*Gangnam*). The *Gangbuk* area totals 297.97 square kilometers(49.2%) while *Gangnam* is 307.55 square kilometers(50.8%). Seoul had a population of 10,297,004 at the end of 2005. Seoul's population accounts for about a quarter of the total national population.'<sup>1</sup>

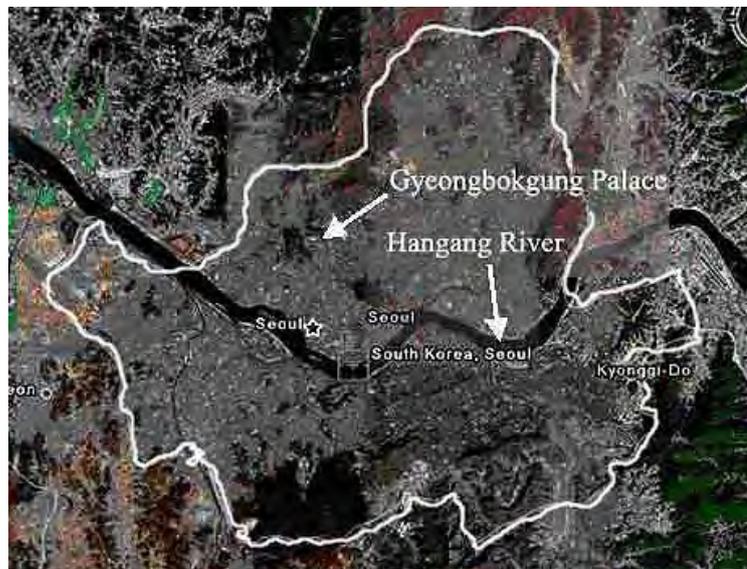


Figure 1: Satellite photo of Seoul  
(Source: Google Earth. Accessed on Feb. 4, 2008)

The above figure shows the *Hangang* River and the boundary of Seoul, which

<sup>1</sup> SMG, [http://english.seoul.go.kr/today/about/about\\_01quick.htm](http://english.seoul.go.kr/today/about/about_01quick.htm) accessed on Mar. 28, 2008

is marked by the white line. Modern Seoul is built upon a sedimentary layer of long history. In the northwestern part of Seoul, there used to be a fortified city called *Hanyang*. The remains of the fortifications still exist. *Hanyang* was the capital city of the *Joseon* Dynasty (1392–1910). Four mountains surrounded *Hanyang*. Fortifications were built linking these four mountains. The fortification was 17 kilometers long. From these four mountains, water flowed to a stream running through the fortified capital. Based upon the Annals of the *Joseon* Dynasty, this stream first appeared in the historical record when the dredging work in 1406 was mentioned.<sup>2</sup> The name of the stream at that time was *Gaecheon*. Replacing *Gaecheon*, the new name *Cheonggyecheon* has been used since the early 1900s.



Figure 2: East Gate and nearby fortified wall, Seoul  
(Photo taken on February 12, 2008 by Noh, Jang Suh)

With its long history (more than 600 years), the form of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream has altered over time. Before its first recorded appearance in history in 1406, *Cheonggyecheon* would have been a natural stream. During the *Joseon* Dynasty, *Cheonggyecheon* played a key role as the main drainage stream of the capital city *Hanyang*. The current form of *Cheonggyecheon* is the result of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project (July of 2003 to September of 2005) initiated by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Before the implementation of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project in 2003, *Cheonggyecheon* was covered up by a concrete motorway and elevated highway. It is now an open channel.

The *Cheonggyecheon* Stream today starts from the *Taepyeong-ro* district—the very center of Seoul. The old royal palace *Gyeongbok-gung* is only about 800 meters from the source of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. The stream runs to the east and exits fortified *Hanyang* near the East Gate. At the east end of the 11-kilometer-long *Cheonggyecheon* Stream, it is joined by another stream called *Junglang-cheon* flowing

<sup>2</sup> *Taejong* Chronicle, vol.11, 6<sup>th</sup> year, January 16 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on March 25, 2009

from the north of Seoul. The confluent stream turns south and finally flows into the *Hangang River*.



Figure 3: Starting point of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream  
(Photo taken on March 7, 2009 by Noh, Jang Suh)

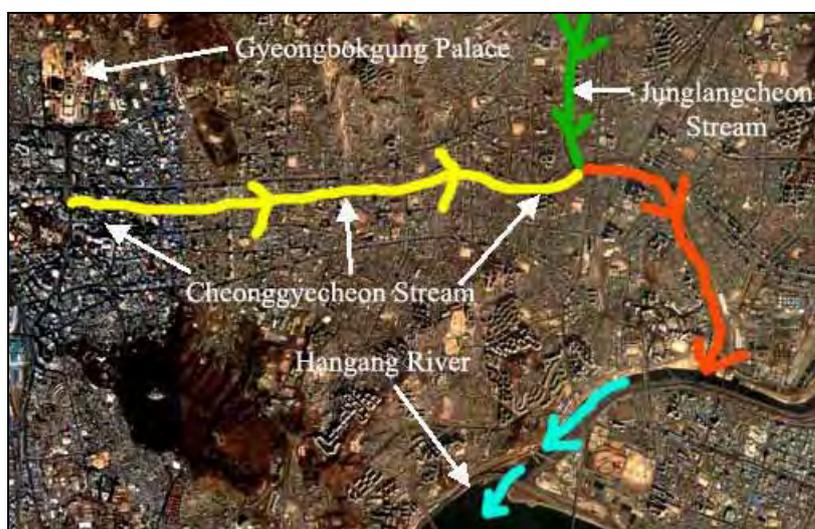


Figure 4: Streams of Seoul  
(source: Google Earth photo downloaded on February 4, 2008)

Despite Seoul's huge expansion into a modern metropolis and capital of the nation, this ancient fortified capital is still the political and commercial center of modern Korea. Originating from the heart of this ancient town, the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream crosses the central business district of Seoul. *Cheonggyecheon* is not a simple sub-component of Seoul but the main pre-condition for the existence of Seoul. This can

be explained by examining history.

### Ancient city planning

In East Asia, the locations of palaces and the layout of buildings have long been a matter of concern when constructing a capital. According to a study by Kim, J. B. (1999), the models and philosophical ideas suggested in three Chinese classical works, *Zhou li*, *Guan ji*, and *Yi jing*, were the most influential for city planning in East Asia. In addition, the theory of *feng shui* was another critical factor to be taken into consideration when planning a city.<sup>3</sup>

For example, *Zhou li* stated that the royal palace had to be in the center with the royal ancestral shrine on the left and the altar to the gods of earth and grain on the right, while the royal court had to be placed in front of the palace and the marketplace behind the palace.<sup>4</sup> Not all East Asian palaces conformed absolutely to this description, but it was considered a model.<sup>5</sup>

Ancient Korea had been under such principles originating from China. However, an independent culture with a history of more than 2,000 years has led to differences in the architecture of Korea's capitals and palaces.<sup>6</sup>

*Hanyang*, the northwestern part of modern Seoul, was chosen as the capital city of the *Joseon* Dynasty. The choice of location was determined by the principles of *feng shui*. *Hanyang* is surrounded by four inner mountains and four outer mountains. A stream runs to the east and turns south and joins the *Hangang* River, which flows west.



Figure 5: 1787 Map showing *Hanyang's feng shui*-scape  
(Source: Library of Seoul National University)

<sup>3</sup> Kim, Jong-Bum (1999), 'A study on basic principle of the city planning in ancient China'. Journal of the Korea Planners Association, 34, 3, pp.21~38

<sup>4</sup> Kim, Dong Uk (2006), *Palaces of Korea*, Seoul: Hollym Corp., p.8

<sup>5</sup> Kim, Jong-Bum (1999), *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Kim, Dong Uk (2006), *op. cit.* p.11

In *feng shui* theory and *Yi jing's* philosophy, this type of landscape was regarded as the most suitable site for a capital city. Especially, the northern flatland area of inner space made by four inner mountains was called *Myeongdang*, meaning 'ideal spot.' *Myeongdang* was considered a very auspicious space for building a royal city.<sup>7</sup>

*Hanyang's* four inner mountains are *Bukak-san* (Mt.) to the north, *Nak-san* (Mt.) to the east, *Inwang-san* (Mt.) to the west, and *Nam-san* (Mt.) to the south; the four outer mountains are *Bukhan-san* (Mt.) to the north, *Yongma-san* (Mt.) to the east, *Deogyang-san* (Mt.) to the west, and *Gwanak-san* (Mt.) to the south. Each of the four inner mountains is represented by a mythical animal protecting the inner space.

Figure 6: Scene of *Sejong-ro* Street showing Mt. *Bukak-san*



(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

The stream crossing the inner space is generally termed *Myeongdang-su*. The *Cheonggyecheon* Stream is the very *Myeongdang-su* of *Hanyang*. The river crossing the outer space is the *Hangang* River. All these mountains, rivers, and streams form the landscape of *Hanyang*. Without any one of them, the status of *Hanyang* as a capital city would have been considered imperfect.

The city planning of *Hanyang* basically followed the model of *Zhou li*.<sup>8</sup> The grand palace *Gyeongbok-gung* is located at the center. The royal ancestral shrine *Jongmyo* is located on the left side of the grand palace while the altar to the gods of earth and grain *Sajikdan* is located on the right side of the grand palace. *Hanyang* was fortified along the ridge of the four inner mountains. The total length of the fortification reached 17 kilometers.<sup>9</sup> There were four main gates standing at four cardinal points.

<sup>7</sup> Lee, S.H.(1992), The archetype of Seoul Cityscape, *Journal of Architectural Institute of Korea*, 36, 1, p.44

<sup>8</sup> *op. cit.* p.44

<sup>9</sup> Lee, Tae-Wu (1973), *Woorinara ui Dosi Baljeonsa* (trans. The Developmental History of Korean Cities), *Dosimunje* (trans. City Matters; monthly magazine of Public Officials Benefit Association), 8, 6, pp. p. 128

The East Gate and the South Gate still survive.

As the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream (*Myeongdang-su*) crossed the inner space of the capital city, the stream divided the city into two parts—north and south. This physical separation became a social barrier as the palace and government offices were located north of *Cheonggyecheon*. When the capital city was constructed, *Cheonggyecheon* was a key element to be taken into consideration for the layout of roads and buildings. Most of the main roads were paved along the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream.<sup>10</sup>

So, it can be seen that *Cheonggyecheon* is not a simple sub-component of Seoul but the main pre-condition for the existence of Seoul.

## 2.2 History of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream

### *Joseon* Dynasty period (1392–1910)

#### Dredging

The *Joseon* Dynasty was founded in 1392. At the very time of the founding, the capital was *Gaegyeong*, which was the capital of the old dynasty *Goryeo*. In 1394, the *Joseon* Dynasty moved its capital to *Hanyang*. Based upon *feng shui* theory and for strategic reasons, *Hanyang* had been regarded as an ideal spot for new capital. Even *Goryeo* Dynasty, the *Joseon* Dynasty's predecessor, had attempted to move the capital to *Hanyang*.

*Hanyang* was not a naturally formed city but a politically and culturally planned city based on Eastern philosophy and tradition. In this sense, *Hanyang* was different from typical medieval European cities.<sup>11</sup> Before *Hanyang* was chosen as a capital city, *Cheonggyecheon* had been a natural stream. However, as the space including the stream became the capital city, the stream entered the human space-cultural realm within which the stream interacted with human society.

As mentioned above, *Hanyang* was regarded as an ideal spot for a capital city because of its landscape condition. *Hanyang* was surrounded by four mountains at four cardinal directions. A stream runs through the inner space from west to east. This stream was called *Gaecheon* and later *Cheonggyecheon*. The palace and administrative offices were located north of *Gaecheon* along which main roads and branch roads were built. Around the main roads, shops were constructed along the stream.

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<sup>10</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002), '*Cheonggyecheon ui yeoksawamunhwa*' (trans. *Cheonggyecheon's History and Culture*), Seoul Metropolitan Government *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project Headquarters, p.8

<sup>11</sup> Lee, Tae-Wu. (1973). *op. cit.*

Water flowing from the surrounding mountains joined the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream running through the downtown in the eastern direction and exited the city through the fortified wall. One problem arose in this symbolically perfect city. In rainy seasons, the capital city frequently flooded. Korea has a rainy season during the summer. Except for summer, the weather is quite dry. But during the rainy season, the precipitation increases. As there was no other waterway out except for the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream, flooding occurred quite often. Sometimes, the vicinity of the royal palace was flooded. To make matters worse, the riverbed was raised due to the accumulation of earth and sand swept down from the mountains during the rainy seasons.<sup>12</sup>

As a result, flood control became one of the most serious issues to tackle. The main solution was to dredge the stream. The first dredging projects occurred during the early period of the *Joseon* Dynasty, led by two kings—King *Taejong* (third) and King *Sejong* (fourth).

During the reign of King *Taejong*, the stream was first dredged for flood control on a grand scale. The first remark on the stream was found in his chronicle that he made 600 workers renovate the stream in 1406.<sup>13</sup> Another fact was recorded in his chronicle that in 1407 the *Gacheon* Stream flooded,<sup>14</sup> and in 1410, heavy rain caused much damage in *Hanyang*.<sup>15</sup> This series of flood disasters made him plan a full-scale project for flood control over the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream.

As it was not an easy task to mobilize a huge number of civilians for the project, the issue went through much debate among court officials. Finally, in 1411, following a decision made by King *Taejong*, the project was planned and prepared. In 1412, the *Cheonggyecheon* renovation project was implemented for two months from January to February. At this time, 52,000 men per day were involved in the project. The projects involved digging (dredging) the raised riverbed, enlarging the stream, embanking the main stream, and renovating bridges.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike King *Taejong*, whose main focus was the main stream of *Cheonggyecheon*, his son King *Sejong* made a lot of effort to renovate tributaries and streams. He undertook renovation work that was carried out steadily.<sup>17</sup> As a result, the situation was improved in *Hanyang* as the city had more diversified waterways. In 1441, another conspicuous work made during the reign of King *Sejong* was setting up a water gauge on the west side of *Majeon-gyo* (a bridge) to measure the water level in an effort to protect against floods.<sup>18</sup> This is an underwater column called *Supyo* in Korean, marked with notches. The name of the nearby bridge *Majeon-gyo* was changed to

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<sup>12</sup> SMG(2006), '*Cheonggyecheon Bokwonsaup Baekseo*', (trans. White Paper on Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project), p.15

<sup>13</sup> *Taejong* Chronicle, vol.11, 6<sup>th</sup> year, January 16 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on Match 25, 2009

<sup>14</sup> *Taejong* Chronicle, vol.13, 7<sup>th</sup> year, May 27 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on Match 25, 2009

<sup>15</sup> *Taejong* Chronicle, vol.17, 9<sup>th</sup> year, May 8 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on Match 25, 2009

<sup>16</sup> *Taejong* Chronicle, vol.23, 12<sup>th</sup> year, February 15 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on Match 25, 2009

<sup>17</sup> SMG(2006), p.16

<sup>18</sup> *Sejong* Chronicle, vol.93, 23<sup>rd</sup> year, August 18 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on Match 25, 2009

*Supyo-gyo* at that time in 1441 when a water gauge was installed near the bridge that indicated the level of water running through *Cheonggyecheon*. Accordingly, the name of the area containing the bridge was changed, too, to *Supyo-dong*.

During the reign of King *Sejong*, trash and wastewater flowed into the *Cheonggyecheon* in downtown Hanyang. Some officials insisted on the importance of the stream based upon *feng shui* theory. The *Cheonggyecheon* Stream is regarded as *Myeongdang-su*, which should remain clean. Other officials objected to this claim; in contrast, they had a more realistic opinion supporting the idea of the stream as drainage for the people of the city.<sup>19</sup> These officials insisted that a city should have drainage and the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream function as the city's main drain channel. King *Sejong* favored the latter's opinion. Therefore, the stream continued to act as drainage for people living in *Hanyang*.

After King *Sejong*'s work, no major dredging work was performed on the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream for about 300 years. During this period, a series of invasions by Japan in 1592 and 1597 and the *Qing* dynasty in 1627, 1636, and 1637 weakened the nation's strength. Especially, *Hanyang*'s mountains were devastated by reckless deforestation, which swept earth and sand from the mountains and into the stream. This raised the streambed. In addition, flooding periodically damaged the city.

Finally, during the reign of King *Yeongjo*, the 21<sup>st</sup> king of the *Joseon* Dynasty, the issue for renovating the stream was raised by the king himself and other officials. The king was very careful about the actual implementation because it would mobilize a huge number of people and take a long time. It was recorded in his chronicle that, in 1752, he went over to *Gwangtong-gyo* and heard people's opinion. In 1754, he collected public opinion about whether to carry out a renovation project of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream.<sup>20</sup>

The king established *Juncheonsa* (an office in charge of dredging streams) in October 1759 after analyzing the situation on several occasions. In 1760, the *Cheonggyecheon* renovation project was implemented on a full scale by mobilizing more than 200,000 men per day. The work continued for 57 days until completion. The important works included renovating the mainstream as well as tributaries and streamlets, repairing bridges, and dredging the streambed.<sup>21</sup> In June of 1773, a stone embankment was constructed on both banks of the *Cheonggyecheon*.<sup>22</sup>

After the completion of the project, a book titled *Juncheonsasil* recording a detailed history of the 1760 dredging was published by the king's order. This book became a reference for later dredging work. King *Yeongjo* considered the dredging work one of his greatest achievements and took it as his own pride. According to Cho,

<sup>19</sup> *Sejong* Chronicle, vol.106, 26<sup>th</sup> year, November 19 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on March 25, 2009

<sup>20</sup> SMG(2006), p.18

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* p.21

<sup>22</sup> *Yeongjo* Chronicle, vol.120, 49<sup>th</sup> year, June 19 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on March 25, 2009

K.K. (2005), King *Yeongjo's* dredging was made in a democratic way in which public opinion was reflected. This was a very meaningful political development in that the dredging of the earlier period of the dynasty had been determined by the unilateral order from the top.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 7: *Jucheonsasil*, published after the completion of King *Yeongjo's* dredging  
(Source: Library of Seoul National University)

After the reign of King *Yeongjo*, dredging was carried out periodically until the dynasty's last king, *Kojong*.

The *Joseon* Dynasty's dredging is evaluated as a project to protect people from flooding. This was to secure people's public hygiene and security. The dredging also shows us the change in the technology and design of civil engineering.<sup>24</sup> Through the history of dredging, we can understand the development and evolution of scientific thought and people's changes in attitude.<sup>25</sup>

### Social division

Running horizontally through the heart of downtown, the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream was a geographical boundary between the north and south of the city. The existence of the stream was a basic precondition that limited city planning. Palaces, government offices, shopping arcades, and aristocrats' houses were situated north of the stream. On the contrary, lower-class people such as technocrats, merchants, and soldiers lived south of the stream. *Cheonggyecheon* was a key factor in creating a dual spatial hierarchy. In this sense, the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream was not only a geographical

<sup>23</sup> Cho, Kwang-Kwuen (2005-1), Between the *Wee-Min* and *Nomin*: A study on the Political Discourses of *Joon-Cheon* for *Cheonggyecheon* in Cho-sŏn dynasty. *The Review of Korean and Asian Political Thoughts*, 4, 1, pp. 67-109: The Association for Korean and Asian political thoughts

<sup>24</sup> Lee, Tae-Woo. (1973). *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Cho, Kwang-Kwuen (2005-1). *op. cit.*

boundary but also a symbolic borderline dividing the town socially and culturally.<sup>26</sup>

The existence of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream was a decisive factor for the layout of roads and buildings. Most of the main roads such as *Jong-ro* were constructed along *Cheonggyecheon*. *Cheonggyecheon* was a social border bisecting the capital city. As the palaces, *Jongmyo* (royal ancestral shrine), *Sajikdan* (altar to the gods of earth and grain), and government offices were altogether located north of the stream, it was inevitable to create a dual spatial hierarchy—the upper in the north and lower in the south.<sup>27</sup>

Cho, Myeong-Rae (2003) argued that the status of *Cheonggyecheon* as an important axis to form Seoul's ecological space was developed based on *feng shui* theory and that *Cheonggyecheon* is the very inner stream *Myeongdang-su*, an element to form an ideal place for a capital city. *Cheonggyecheon* had been expected to provide ecologically harmonious grounds for the citizens living in *Hanyang*. However, *Cheonggyecheon's* circulation accompanied by frequent disasters such as floods produced repeated human reactions. One of these reactions was the discriminatory distribution of city space. For example, the north and west parts of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream were a space for the ruling class whereas the south and east parts of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream were a space for the ruled.<sup>28</sup>

Merchants and technocrat class such as translators and doctors were rich and lived in the area around *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo*. The *Gwangtong-gyo* area was one of the most prosperous areas.<sup>29</sup> Now, this area is the most important CBD (central business district) of modern Seoul. The CBD is full of bank headquarters, retail shops, shopping centers, and the headquarters of business conglomerates. Therefore, the area surrounding the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream in the *Joseon* Dynasty is the archetype of the modern CBD of the capital city of Korea and shows a historical continuity.<sup>30</sup>

### Bridges

The *Cheonggyecheon* Stream running from west to east through the inner space of the fortified capital divided *Hanyang* into two spaces—north and south. To reach the opposite space, one needed to cross over bridges. Surrounded by four

<sup>26</sup> Nho, Myung-Woo (2004), *The Cityscape of Chunggyechun and Seoul-Situation*, *Sahoegwahakyeongu* (trans. The Journal of Social Science Studies), pp.206-239: Sogang University Institute of Social Sciences, pp.220-221

<sup>27</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002). *op. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> Cho, Myung-Rae (2003), *Cheonggyecheon ui jaejayeonhwareul dullessan Galdenggwa jaengjeom* (trans. Conflicts and Issues on *Cheonggyecheon* restoration), paper submitted to a public hearing on May 21, 2003 organized by Korea Federation for Environmental Movement and 7 NGOs, p.2

<sup>29</sup> Lee, Tae-Wu. (1973). *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> Cho, Kwang-Kwuen. (2005-1). p.5

mountains, *Hanyang* has many tributaries and streamlets in addition to the main stream *Cheonggyecheon*. The *Joseon* Dynasty built many bridges over the streams. According to *Suseonjeondo*, an 18<sup>th</sup>-century map, more than 190 bridges were installed in *Hanyang*. Among them, only 80 bridges have been identified. In 1760, there were nine bridges over the main stream of the *Cheonggyecheon*, i.e., *Mojeon-gyo*, *Gwangtong-gyo*, *Jangtong-gyo*, *Supyo-gyo*, *Haryang-gyo*, *Hyogyong-gyo*, *Majeon-gyo*, *Yeongdo-gyo*, and *Ogansu-mun*.



Figure 8: *Suseonjeondo*, map of *Hanyang*, drawn in 1825 by Kim, Jeong Ho  
(Source: National Museum of Korea)

The above map shows the bridges, roads, and streams of *Hanyang* in 1825. In the old days, a bridge was not only a means of passage over a stream but also a part of everyday life for people. A bridge was a favorite place to meet and relax both for common people and travelers. A bridge acted as a landmark in a village, and bridges formed the important cityscape of *Hanyang*.<sup>31</sup>



Figure 9: *Jasugung-gyo*, a photo taken in 1927  
(Source: National Archives of Korea)

*Gwangtong-gyo* is a bridge built in the heart of Seoul to link the city's two main roads, *Jong-ro* in the north and *Namdaemun-ro* in the south. *Jong-ro* led to the palace while *Namdaemun-ro* led to *Sungnye-mun*, the South Gate of the fortress wall

<sup>31</sup> Lee, S.H. (1992). *op. cit.*

protecting the capital. *Joseon* kings used the bridge when they left the palace to make formal visits to the royal tombs of their ancestors. Also, Chinese envoys used *Gwangtong-gyo* that led them to the palace. *Gwangtong-gyo* was the largest (12 meters long and 15 meters wide) and the most magnificent of all the bridges built within the walled capital of the *Joseon* Kingdom.<sup>32</sup>

In a place near the royal palace, there was a royal tomb called *Jeongneung*, where Queen *Sindeok* was buried. King *Taejong*, a stepson of the late queen who had a deep-rooted hatred of her, ordered the tomb to be moved to a remote place in the city. In 1410, a torrent of rain swept away the then-earthen structure of *Gwangtong-gyo* along with many lives. In 1412 when the full-scale *Cheonggyecheon* dredging project was carried out, King *Taejong* ordered *Gwangtong-gyo* to be rebuilt with stones taken from the royal tomb of the queen. Therefore, 12 pieces of stone guardian statues and monumental stones were taken and used in rebuilding the bridge.<sup>33</sup>



Figure 10: Monumental stones used in *Gwangtong-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Supyo-gyo* is one of the two most famous bridges in *Hanyang* along with *Gwangtong-gyo*. The bridge was built in 1420, the second year of King *Sejong's* rule. As there had been a horse market in a nearby area when the bridge was first built, it was called *Majeon-gyo* (meaning 'horse market bridge'). The name was changed to *Supyo-gyo*, meaning 'bridge of water gauge' in 1441 when a pole to measure the water level was installed near the bridge that indicated the level of water running through *Cheonggyecheon*.<sup>34</sup>

King *Sejong* ordered the installation of the water level gauge.<sup>35</sup> An office was established to make regular reports to the king on the water levels of *Cheonggyecheon*. The king also ordered the installation of rain gauges nationwide. The installation of these two kinds of meteorological equipment was the first in the history of science. The water gauge of *Supyo-gyo* was changed from a wooden pole to a stone

<sup>32</sup> Cho, Kwang-Kwuen (2005-2). '*Cheonggyecheoneseo Yeoksawa Jeongchireul Bonda*' (trans. 'Seeing history and politics in Cheonggyecheon'), p.5, online version accessed <http://www.reseoul.com/> on February 8, 2008

<sup>33</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002). p.21

<sup>34</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002). p.28

<sup>35</sup> *Sejong* Chronicle, vol.93, 23<sup>rd</sup> year, August 18 accessed <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> on March 25, 2009

pole during the reign of King *Seongjong*. This first stone gauge was replaced by a new stone gauge (which survives today) during the reign of King *Sunjo* when other dredging work was conducted.



Figure 11: *Supyo-gyo*, a photo taken in 1956  
(Source: National Archives of Korea)

Both *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo* had been favored venues for traditional folk games such as *daribapgi* ('bridge treading') and *yeonnalligi* ('kite flying') played during seasonal festivities. During festive days, people were engaged in the act of treading on bridges over the stream (based on the folk belief that one would be immune to diseases by treading on a bridge, taking the same number of steps as one's age), and flying kites, marching with lotus lanterns in hand, and a stone throwing fight on spaces along the stream. The stream was also part of the everyday life of people living in *Hanyang*.<sup>36</sup>

### *Japanese Colonization period (1910–1945)*

During the Japanese colonial period, the name of the capital *Hanyang* was changed to *Gyeongseong*. The stream name *Cheonggyecheon* began to be used around 1914. The original name of the stream had been *Gaecheon* during the last five centuries of the *Joseon* Dynasty.

The stream had been the social borderline between the ruling class living in the north and the ruled living in the south. During the Japanese colonial period, the stream still acted as the border, but this time, between *Jong-ro* in the north regarded as the street for Koreans and *Honmachi* in the south, a Japanese town.<sup>37</sup> During the colonial period, Japanese colonialists expanded the boundaries of the city, which resulted in the demolition of fortifications. The new axis of city expansion was to the area south of the stream. Many Japanese took over this newly developed area.

<sup>36</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002). pp. 81-85

<sup>37</sup> Cho, Kwang-Kwuen. (2005-1). p.18

Nho, M.W. (2004) argued that, by such an expansion, the outer fortified border of *Hanyang* was destroyed and a new main road was paved leading up to the south gate of the old fortified wall. This expansion stood for the transformation of the old fortified capital *Hanyang* into the new colonial capital *Gyeongsung*. The area south of *Cheonggyecheon* was developed into a Japanese town. Modern-style buildings for financial institutions and offices were constructed in the area south of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. The area north of the stream became the old town while the area south became the new town.<sup>38</sup>

According to Cho, M.R. (2003), as Seoul's population and activity continuously grew, the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream became the object of control and management. The end result of this form of control was the covering up of the stream. The issue of covering up the stream had been first raised in 1905 by a group of merchants who wanted to build a market over *Cheonggyecheon*. This proposal was rejected by the government. Finally, a section of the stream was covered up by the colonial government in 1937.<sup>39</sup>

During the period of Japanese colonization, the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream still played a role as the main drainage system for the colonial capital. The colonial government continuously implemented sewerage work. The first phase of sewerage work was conducted from 1918 to 1924 for 5.9 kilometers around the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. The second phase of the sewerage work was started in 1925. After these projects, the Japanese colonial government made a series of announcements for ambitious plans to cover up *Cheonggyecheon* to utilize the newly secured space for housing, a road and an elevated railroad, and a streetcar path along with a subway. Except for a short section, such plans could not be fully realized due to financial constraint. Only the *Taepyeong-ro* through the *Mugyo-dong* section was covered up in 1937.<sup>40</sup>

*Gwangtong-gyo* was damaged during this period. In 1918, the bridge was extended and reinforced with ferroconcrete structures with the original stone railings moved to the extended sides. The 1924 installation of drainpipes along the *Cheonggyecheon* waterway also left a permanent scar on the bridge when the pipes were installed through the stone guardian figures supporting the bridge at both the southern and northern ends.<sup>41</sup>

### ***Industrialization period after independence (1945–2003)***

In 1945, Korea became independent from Japanese colonization. The name of *Gyeongsung* was changed to Seoul, which became the new capital of independent Korea. At that time, *Cheonggyecheon* was filled up with trash, earth, and sand swept from the bare mountains and severely contaminated with waste from shabby makeshift houses built along its route. After the Korean War (1950–1953), even more people

<sup>38</sup> Nho, Myung-Woo (2004). pp.223-224

<sup>39</sup> Cho, Myung-Rae (2003). p.3

<sup>40</sup> Cho, Kwang-Kwuen (2005-1). p.19

<sup>41</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002). p.23.

swarmed into Seoul to find their way and make their living and settled down along the stream. Those living in houses near the stream suffered a lot due to the stench caused by the large amount of waste flowing into the stream.

The capital Seoul needed more roads due to rapid urbanization and increasing population. It appeared that the most expedient way to put an end to the multitude of shabby, makeshift houses and the dirty smell and improve traffic conditions was to cover up the stream. The covering up of a short 136-meter section near the *Gwangtong-gyo* was first completed in 1955.

The full-scale work to cover up the stream with concrete finally began in August 1958. In the vicinity of the East Gate of the old fortified wall, a big market called *Pyeonghwa Shijang* was opened. Until 1977, the total covered-up distance reached 5.6 kilometers. In addition, a 5.6-kilometer-long and 16-meter-wide elevated highway along the covered-up stream was completed. This cover-up road and elevated highway became the symbol of Seoul's industrialization and urbanization.



Figure 12: Photo of cover-up road and elevated highway near the *Gwang-gyo* area  
(Source of photo: [http://www.encyber.com/cheonggye/10\\_is.html](http://www.encyber.com/cheonggye/10_is.html). Accessed on March 3, 2008)



Figure 13: Drawing of cross section  
(Source of cross section: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

During this long process of covering up the stream, *Supyo-gyo*, along with its water gauge, had maintained its original shape until it was moved to *Jangjungdan Park* one year after the project of covering up *Cheonggyecheon* began in 1958. *Gwangtong-gyo* was buried under the concrete roadway, and the railing was moved to the grand

palace *Gyeongbok-gung*.

According to Nho, M.W. (2004), *Cheonggyecheon* was divided into two areas: the area around *Gwang-gyo* (upstream) and the area around *Pyeonghwa Shijang* (downstream). *Gwang-gyo* was a place exhibiting future blueprint (modern style office buildings) whereas *Pyeonghwa Shijang* was a space for workshops mobilized for the nation's modernization. Since the 1960s, one of the key features found in Seoul's demographics change was that the number of employees in the manufacturing field increased very rapidly. The proportion of employees in the manufacturing field was 10% in 1962, 20% in 1966, and 33% in 1979. These figures illustrate that Seoul entered the stage of industrialization. By 1970, *Pyeonghwa Shijang* and nearby areas had 800 workshops employing 20,000 workers.<sup>42</sup>

Cho, M.R. (2003) remarked that Seoul led the economic growth of Korea. Many facilities were established for industrialization. The cover-up road and elevated highway of *Cheonggyecheon* were a prime example. *Cheonggyecheon* became a huge underground drainage for waste discharged by the rapidly increasing population resulting from Korea's accelerating economic growth.<sup>43</sup> The underground of the cover-up road and highway stood as a tomb of nature and history.

### 2.3 Summary

Before *Hanyang* was chosen to be the location of the *Joseon* Dynasty's capital, *Cheonggyecheon* had been a natural stream. *Hanyang* had a great landscape composed of four mountains at each cardinal direction and a stream flowing through the inner space made by the four mountains. According to *feng shui* theory, such a landscape is recognized as an ideal place for the establishment of a capital or town. Therefore, the existence of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream was a precondition for the formation of the capital city *Hanyang*.

After the establishment of the capital in the ideal inner space, the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream entered the realm of culture, which created the following human reactions. At first, water originating from the surrounding four mountains flowed into *Cheonggyecheon*. During the rainy season, the capital city frequently flooded. As there was no other waterway out except for the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream, flooding occurred periodically. To make matters worse, the riverbed was raised due to the accumulation of earth and sand swept from the mountains in the rainy seasons. As a result, flood control became one of the most serious issues to tackle. The main solution was to dredge the stream. Major dredging projects were carried out during the reigns of King *Taejong* (3<sup>rd</sup>), King *Sejong* (4<sup>th</sup>), and King *Yeongjo* (21<sup>st</sup>) of the *Joseon* Dynasty. After King *Yeongjo*'s reign, dredging was periodically conducted. Thus, traces of such human work are contained in *Cheonggyecheon* tangibly and intangibly.

Second, *Cheonggyecheon* physically divided the city into two parts—north

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<sup>42</sup> Nho, Myung-Woo (2004). pp.229-232

<sup>43</sup> Cho, Myung-Rae (2003). p.3.

and south. Palaces, government offices, the royal ancestral shrine, commercial arcades, and the houses of the ruling class were located north of *Cheonggyecheon*. On the contrary, south of *Cheonggyecheon* was the living space for the lower classes. Thus, *Cheonggyecheon* was not only a physical boundary between north and south but also a social border between the ruling and the ruled.

Third, many bridges were installed in order to link the two parts divided by *Cheonggyecheon*. A bridge was not only a means of passage over a stream but also part of people's everyday lives. A bridge acted as a landmark in a village, and bridges formed the important cityscape of *Hanyang*. Both *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo* were the two most famous bridges and venues for cultural events such as *daribapgi* ('bridge treading') and *yeonnalligi* ('kite flying') held during seasonal festivities.

Fourth, during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945), the colonial government expanded the boundary of *Hanyang* and changed the name of the capital city to *Gyeongsung*. *Cheonggyecheon* still acted as the border but this time, between *Jong-ro* in the north regarded as the street for Koreans (old town) and *Honmachi* in the south, a Japanese town (new town). During the process of city expansion and development, most of the ancient fortified wall was demolished, and many old bridges were removed or damaged. In this period, the covering up of *Cheonggyecheon* was planned and implemented for the short section between *Taepyeong-ro* and *Mugyo-dong*.

Fifth, after the liberation from Japanese colonization in 1945 and the end of the Korean War (1950–1953), Korea was on the track of capitalist industrialization. Seoul, the new name for *Gyeongsung*, was the center of such industrialization. The population increased very rapidly, and Seoul was transformed internally and externally. More than 5 kilometers of *Cheonggyecheon* was forced to be covered up. During the process of covering up the stream, *Supyo-gyo* was relocated elsewhere, and *Gwangtong-gyo* disappeared underground. Roadways and an elevated highway were built over the covered-up *Cheonggyecheon*. This signified the burial of nature and history.

## Chapter 3

### The Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project and Conflicts

This chapter first deals with the history of social changes in 1970s and 1980s which led to a call for the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon*. And it shows how the issue had first been raised by civil society in the late 1990s and later, in 2002, was officially adopted as a public project by the Seoul Metropolitan Government led by Lee, M.B. It further reviews the process of undertaking the restoration work and describes conflicts among the stakeholders which emerged early in the project and remained until its completion. Finally, it raises questions on the belief formed after the completion that the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was a great success achieved by the excellent leadership of Lee.

#### 3.1. Background

Running through the heart of industrializing Seoul, the cover-up road and elevated highway of *Cheonggyecheon* were like a super-fast track to a successful capitalist economy. During the period from 1971 to 1990, the annual average GDP growth rate of Korea was 8.2%. Seoul, the capital of Korea, was the locomotive of such explosive economic growth. Similar to the cover-up road and the elevated highway of *Cheonggyecheon* built upon the tomb of nature and history, Korea's fast-developing economy was built upon the sacrifices of such values as traditions, human rights, and democracy.



Figure 14: Korea's annual GDP growth

(Data source: Bank of Korea, Economic Statistics System, <http://ecos.bok.or.kr/> accessed September 15, 2008)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, *Cheonggyecheon's Pyeonghwa Shijang* area was the space for many workshops mobilized for the nation's modernization. In 1970, *Pyeonghwa Shijang* and its nearby areas had 800 workshops employing 20,000 workers.<sup>44</sup> In 1973, *Jeon Tae Il*, a young labor worker who worked in a factory located in the *Pyeonghwa Shijang* area, burnt himself to death. At the moment he burned, he shouted, 'Secure labor right!' His death became a monumental event of the Korean labor movement, a milestone for awakening people to the importance of human rights in Korean society.<sup>45</sup>

In the 1970s, a new town was developed south of Seoul. The new town was called *Gang Nam*, meaning 'south of the river.' The new town was located south of the *Hangang River*. *Gang Nam* was developed in a very modern and Western style. The new town was a fully planned city. Modern high-rise buildings were built along the newly paved broad ways. And modern-style apartments were also built side by side. The property prices of the new town skyrocketed. Finally, *Gang Nam* became a symbol of wealth and modernity.

In June 1987, a very important political event took place in Korea. After an uncontrollable number of people demanding democracy filled the streets of major cities, the military government declared the introduction of democratic measures, including direct presidential elections. People call this event the 'June Revolution.' Since then, Korean society has become democratized very fast. Women's rights were expanded quickly while labor workers could freely organize unions. Concern for environmental protection became a bigger issue. In 1988, Seoul hosted the Olympic Games. This event was believed to be an important moment for strengthening national pride and identity.

Notwithstanding all these changes, the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream had been still put underground and kept in disgrace as the tomb of old culture and nature until the stream became a subject of a discussion between two professors in the early 1990s.

### *Originators of the Idea for Restoring Cheonggyecheon*

One summer day in 1991, Lee, H.D., a historian and professor at Yeonsei University, raised an issue about *Cheonggyecheon* with Nho, S.H., a professor of environmental science at the same university. Lee asked Nho about the feasibility of restoring *Cheonggyecheon*: "Can *Cheonggyecheon* be reopened and can clean water be circulated?" This question stimulated the curiosity of the younger professor, Nho, S.H. In 1997, Nho, S.H. returned to Korea with new inspiration from the Lido Canal in Ottawa during a research visit. The professors set up a study group and began spreading their idea.<sup>46</sup>

In 1998, they met Park, Gyeong Ri and persuaded her to join their circle. She made great contributions to spreading their idea because she was a very influential

<sup>44</sup> Cho, Young Rae (2001). *Jeon Tae Il PyeongJeon*, (trans. Biography of *Jeon Tae Il*), Seoul: Dolbege p.93

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* p.295

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.munhwa.com/news/view.html?no=2003070501010126097002>, accessed on September 15, 2008

opinion leader as one of the most popular writers in Korea. She became a passionate advocate for the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon*.<sup>47</sup>

Organizing the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Forum, they started full-scale activity by holding the first symposium in September 2000. Subsequently, they held a second symposium in April 2001. Through these symposiums on the subject of restoring the *Cheonggyecheon*, a variety of topics were discussed such as the historicity of *Cheonggyecheon* restoration, the methods of water treatment, the environment impact assessment, the traffic impact analysis, project cost, nearby area development, etc.

Meanwhile, issues about the safety and maintenance of the *Cheonggyecheon* elevated highway were raised by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (hereafter, 'SMG'). After a nine-month safety investigation for the *Cheonggyecheon* elevated highway from August of 2000 to May of 2001, the SMG announced a plan for the repair and maintenance of the *Cheonggyecheon* highway that would require a 100-billion-won budget. The plan, however, came to face challenges from the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Forum. The *Hankyoreh*, a progressive media outlet founded just after the wave of June Revolution in 1997, publicized this issue for open debate. In an article published on December 2, 2001, the *Hankyoreh* presented both parties' opinions. The SMG argued that insisting on the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* was nonsense, and the restoration would worsen the traffic situation as 120,000 cars per day use the *Cheonggyecheon* elevated highway. On the other hand, the Forum insisted the restoration should be a momentum to shift paradigms. The Forum predicted the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* would turn Seoul into a city of environment and culture. On December 31, 2001, the *Hankyoreh* also published an interview with Park, Gyeong Ri, who advocated the restoration of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream.

At a press conference on February 21, 2002, Lee, M.B., a candidate for the city mayoral election, suggested the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration as a major public pledge. Soon, the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration emerged as a hot issue for debate among the candidates running for the city mayoral election slated for May 2002. During the run-up period, Lee, M.B. expressed the will to restore the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream whereas his rival Kim, Min Seok took a rather cautious approach. Lee, M.B. had met the members of the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Forum in September 2001 and sounded out the feasibility of adopting the restoration project as a public pledge.<sup>48</sup> Finally, Lee, M.B. was elected mayor of Seoul.

### 3.2. Process of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project

The restoration process commenced in July of 2002 with the inauguration of Seoul's new mayor Lee, M.B. and ended in October of 2005. The whole process can be

<sup>47</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, Dec. 31, 2001, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005000000/2001/12/005000000200112311833001.html>, accessed on September 14, 2008

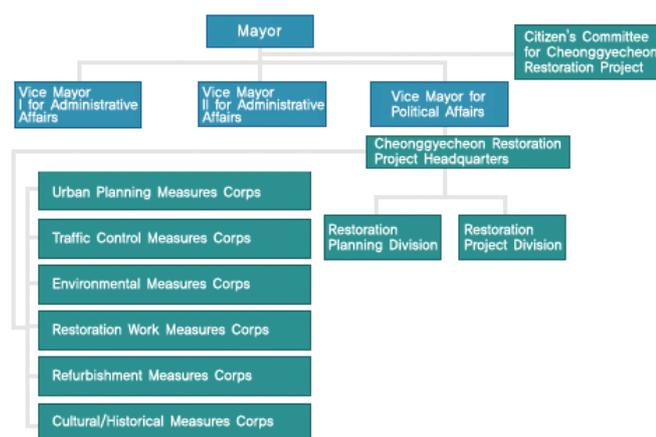
<sup>48</sup> Seong & Kim 2005. p.267

divided into three phases. The first phase is the preparatory stage during which the organizations responsible for the restoration project were set up and the master plan was made. The second phase is the stage at which the removal works on the elevated highway and concrete roadway were undertaken. The third phase is the stage during which the final working plan for restoration was created and the main restoration work was undertaken following the working plan.

***First Phase: from setting up the organization to making master plan***

On May 31, 2002, Lee, M.B. won the mayoral election. His public pledge for restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* proved to be the main contribution to his victory. After winning the election, he first reconfirmed the immediate implementation of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. Among the tasks of the committee for preparing his inauguration, he put the first priority on the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration.<sup>49</sup>

Simultaneously with his inauguration on July 2, 2002, the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project Headquarters was established as the main body to move forward with the restoration project. The *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Research Corps was also established to carry out research regarding basic materials and schemes for successful completion of the restoration work for the *Cheonggyecheon* in cooperation with relevant businesses, universities, and government institutions.<sup>50</sup> On September 18, 2002, the Citizens' Committee for the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project was formed. The committee was an organization for policy deliberation, evaluation, and resolution. The total number of members was 133 persons from civil groups, professors, specialists, and other persons nominated by the mayor. The leaders of the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Forum, including Lee, H.D. and Nho, S.H., also participated in this committee.<sup>51</sup>



Establishment Plan for the Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project Headquarters

Figure 15: Organizational chart for the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project  
(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

<sup>49</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, June 20, 2002, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005100007/2002/06/005100007200206202204019.html>, accessed on June 20, 2002

<sup>50</sup> SMG(2006), p.98

<sup>51</sup> Seong & Kim (2005). p.267

On February 11, 2003, the SMG announced 'the Feasibility Study and Basic Plan of *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration' (the 'master plan').<sup>52</sup> The main content of the master plan is composed of three parts. The first part contains purposes of restoration, domestic and overseas cases, midtown revitalization plan, heritage restoration plan, and social cost/benefit analysis. The second part of the master plan covers technical issues related to the stream restoration. Finally, the third part deals with traffic control measures.

The ultimate goal of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was to change Seoul into a city of culture and environment.<sup>53</sup> The purposes of the project are as follows:

Purpose no. 1	<p><u>Transfer to sustainable urban development paradigm</u></p> <p>In phase with the international efforts to adopt the concept of environmentally sound and sustainable development for the harmony between development and environment conservation, the restoration work for <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> was focused on shifting to the paradigm for sustainable urban development of Seoul, i.e., from a development/vehicle-oriented city to a nature/human-oriented city.</p>
Purpose no. 2	<p><u>Getting rid of risks related to the concrete covering and elevated highway</u></p> <p>The concrete covering up the stream and the elevated highway built, respectively, in 1958 and 1971, were getting too old, and thus some concerns regarding their safety had been expressed.</p> <p>Amount of methane gas beneath the concrete covering: 42 ppm, i.e., 23 times more than that measured at nearby places outside. Amount of nitrogen dioxide beneath the concrete covering: 0.897 ppm, i.e., 14 times more than that measured at nearby places outside.</p> <p>Overall safety of the elevated highway: 'C' (some sections show 'D' or 'E') Expense for repairing the concrete covering: 2 billion won every year. The US Forces in Korea banned the use of the elevated highway in the mid-1990s.</p>
Purpose no. 3	<p><u>Restoration of historical and cultural spaces</u></p> <p>The restoration work for <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> is also associated with the effort to regain <b>its pride as a nation</b> with splendid traditional culture through restoring some historical objects like <i>Gwangtong-gyo</i> (bridge), a representative one built during the <i>Joseon</i> Dynasty.</p>
Purpose no. 4	<p><u>Balanced development between areas</u></p> <p>In the <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> area, which is located on the north side of the <i>Hangang</i> (River), there were many 40- to 50-year-old buildings,</p>

<sup>52</sup> Seoul Development Institute (2003); SMG; Citizen's Committee for the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration, 'the Feasibility Study and Basic Plan of *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration' online version downloaded from <http://www.codil.or.kr:8080/doc/OTSDRK050502> on March 27, 2009

<sup>53</sup> SMG(2006), p.373

	affecting the overall appearance of the city. With the help of the momentum gained from the restoration work, the City of Seoul is willing to foster conditions to make international financial business centers handling high-end information and high-value goods in this area. That will also be part of the effort of the City of Seoul to set up a new balance in the development of the two sectors located on both sides of the <i>Hangang</i> .
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Figure 16: Purposes of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration  
(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

Among the purposes described above, the third purpose is quite notable that the master plan makers perceived the restoration work as a means to regain pride as a nation. This shows how a heritage plan is recognized as a political instrument. This point will be more deeply reviewed in chapter 6 of this research.

As shown well in the above purposes, the master plan for the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration was not about a pure heritage restoration project. By using the terminology 'balanced development between two areas' (no. 4), the planners revealed the intention to develop the area of *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. Therefore, from this point, we know the project carried two somewhat contradictory purposes: heritage conservation versus urban development.

The plan declares that the midtown area crossed by *Cheonggyecheon* is underdeveloped but pointing out the facts that its air pollution level is worse than the other main areas of Seoul and the noise level of *Cheonggyecheon* exceeds the standards for commercial areas. The plan also reports that the probability of cancer for the workers in the *Cheonggyecheon* area is 2.1 per 100,000 persons. This is 21 times higher than the standard of the US Federal Environmental Protection Agency ('EPA').<sup>54</sup>

The planner states that the competitive edge of the midtown Seoul is considerably lower than other places because of traffic, air pollution, and the deterioration of houses and buildings. For the previous ten years, the number of permanent residents and employees of the area decreased by 50,000 and 80,000, respectively. The number of head offices of businesses is only 63% of that of the *Gang Nam* sub-center. This poor condition of the midtown area where the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream runs through is detrimental to the overall growth of Seoul.<sup>55</sup>

Therefore, the plan suggests the revitalization plan for midtown Seoul. In Chapter 5 of the master plan, the future of the midtown is depicted.

The future of the *Cheonggyecheon* area (midtown Seoul) is set as 1) a cultural center where we can experience history and tradition, 2) an international business center where Seoul can meet the world, 3) a shopping and tourism center that functions as the central space for the 'Korea Wave,' and 4) a civil life center where

<sup>54</sup> Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003). pp.3~7

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.7~9

citizens can communicate with each other.

The master plan stresses that the development of the midtown should be oriented to maintain the midtown's economic vitality and strengthen its competitive edge without hurting its unique identity formed by the natural setting, history, and cultural resources. In order for this to be materialized, it is necessary for the SMG to expand public investment, induce private sector investment, and utilize natural, historical, and cultural resources that the midtown owns.<sup>56</sup>

The framework for the development of the midtown crossed by the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream divides the area into five zones, including, among others, the redevelopment zone, the total improvement zone, and the character preservation zone. Especially, the total improvement zone is a district such as *Dongdaemun* Market where the form of improvement is systematically planned and initiated by public investment. This public initiative became one of main reasons for conflicts with the small business owners who were not landlords but lessees. The redevelopment zoning weakened the position of small business owners who later would have to leave the area.

In conclusion, it is noticeable that the plan positioned the restoration project as part of a development project. So to speak, the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is not a simple heritage conservation project but in reality a total redevelopment project where the conservation work could be minimized. Apparently, the project has dual contradictory aspects: restoration (conservation) and development. This contradictory direction involved many problems, as we will see in chapter 5 of this research.

In spite of such limitations and insufficiency, the master plan was ratified by the Citizens' Committee in May 2003. Nho, S.H. testified that due to urgent safety issues for the elevated highway, the SMG asked for the committee's quick ratification on the plan. The committee approved the plan on the condition that the committee's requirements for the heritage and stream restoration should be reflected in the final working plan.<sup>57</sup>

### ***Second Phase: Demolition of the covering and elevated structure***

On July 1, 2003, the removal work of the elevated highway and the covered-up road was started. On or before the commencement, full-scale traffic measures were

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<sup>56</sup> Seoul Development Institute (2003) et al., p.17

<sup>57</sup> Nho, S.H. (2004), [http://www.kia.or.kr/architect/webzineContent.asp?webzine\\_id=524](http://www.kia.or.kr/architect/webzineContent.asp?webzine_id=524), accessed on September, 14, 2008

undertaken. The removal process is shown as follows:

Steps	Measures and works	Picture
Step 1	Traffic flow management and installation of some safety facilities, including scaffolding for temporary work to get rid of the elevated highway and protective screens	
Step 2	Removal of the upper plate, horizontal support, concrete in the central section, beams that were cut into pieces, including transporting them to a suitable storage place.	
Step 3	Cut the elevated highway pier into pieces and transportation.	
Step 4	Fix intercepting sewers. Build two-lane roads on both sides of the stream.	
Step 5	Work for re-shaping the stream, landscaping. And installation of lights	

Figure 17: Removal process

(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008, and Seoul Development Institute; SMG; (2003) 'The Feasibility Study and the Basic Plan of *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration' )

The total amount of removed structures included a 5.86-kilometer-long structure of elevated highway, 5.48 kilometers of concrete, 5.0 kilometers of intercepted sewers, and 0.30 kilometers of sewer culverts. The work process was divided into Phase 1: Removal of ramps, Phase 2: Removal of the upper plates of the elevated highway, Phase 3: Removal of the piers supporting the elevated highway, and Phase 4: Removal of the concrete covering up the stream. Structures removed included 371 piers supporting the elevated highway, 6,700 piers supporting the concrete, ten ramps, and seven land bridges, in addition to the elevated highway and the concrete.<sup>58</sup>

The entire section was divided into three sections for the removal work, i.e., Section 1 (*Taepyeong-ro* to *Gwangjang* Market) (2 kilometers), Section 2 (*Gwangjang* Market to *Nangye-ro*), and Section 3 (*Nangye-ro* to *Sindapcheolgyo* ('railroad bridge,' 1.7 kilometers). The removal work was carried out under a three-shift system (i.e., by a

<sup>58</sup> SMG(2006), pp.869-870

total of nine teams) for each section.<sup>59</sup>



Figure 18: Photos of removal work

(Source: the official website of the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project.  
<http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

After the removal work was completed, following the decision of the national heritage committee, surveying and excavation works were undertaken from September 30, 2003, until June 10, 2004. During the period of the work, many remnants of the stone embankment on both sides of the stream, and sites of *Supyo-gyo*, *Harang-gyo*, *Hyogyong-gyo*, and *Ogansu-mun* were revealed. The summary of excavation is as follows:

	Location	Size	Objects found
<b>Stone embankment</b>	City Hall to <i>Samilgyo</i>	467 m	Stone embankments on both sides of the stream
<b><i>Gwangtong-gyo</i> Site</b>	<i>Gwangtong-gyo</i> intersection	12.3 m (L) 14.4 m (W) 3.8 m (H)	Almost complete except for upper part damage
<b><i>Supyo-gyo</i> Site</b>	<i>Supyodari-gil</i> at <i>Cheonggye 3-ga</i>	28 m (L) 8 m (W)	Piers and foundation stones
<b><i>Harang-gyo</i> Site</b>	Near the Central Hotel	14 m (L) 9 m (W)	Foundation and bottom slabs
<b><i>Hyogyong-gyo</i> Site</b>	Near Asia Arcade at <i>Cheonggye 4-ga</i>	121 m (L) 11 m (W)	Foundation and bottom slabs
<b><i>Ogansu-mun</i> Site</b>	At <i>Cheonggye 6-ga</i> intersection	32 m (L) 30 m (W)	Arched gate and cornerstones

Figure 19: Excavation results

(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

*Third Phase: from making the final working design to completion of the project*

The final working design was announced on February 24, 2004. The basic concept of the restoration design was as follows.



Figure 20: Typical cross section

(Source: Lee, In-Keun, 'Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project', p. 120)

As shown in the above cross section of the scheme, the covering structures on both sides of the stream were retained. The surface of structures was adapted for two-lane roadways on both sides. The space below these structures was used for a combined sewer system to collect wastewater and rainwater.<sup>60</sup>

As *Cheonggyecheon* was a dry stream, the SMG wanted to supply sufficient water to it to create a flow. According to Lee, I.K. (2006), 'supplying water to the restored stream was one of the most controversial issues, especially over how to secure sufficient water and keep its quality sufficiently good. It was finally decided to supply daily 120,000 tons of water which was required to maintain a depth of 40 cm 0.25 m/sec current speed in average.'<sup>61</sup> This idea of artificial water circulation had been challenged since the earlier stage of the project. In a statement of resignation issued on September 16, 2004, the resigning members of Citizens' Committee criticized the SMG's plan as anti-environmental and insisted that the restoration plan should address the restoration of a natural stream, not an artificial stream. Cho, M.R. (2005) argued that according to the SMG's estimation, the artificial water streaming of *Cheonggyecheon* would cost 7 billion won annually and this showed that the SMG's restoration project was not sustainable.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Seoul Development Institute (2003) et al., Part II, p.6

<sup>61</sup> Lee, In Keun (2006), 'Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project' in International Symposium on the 1st anniversary of Cheong Gye Cheon Restoration, p. 121

<sup>62</sup> Cho, Myung-Rae (2005), 'Achievement and limit of *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration', *The KSCE Journal of Civil Engineering*, 53, 11, p.151

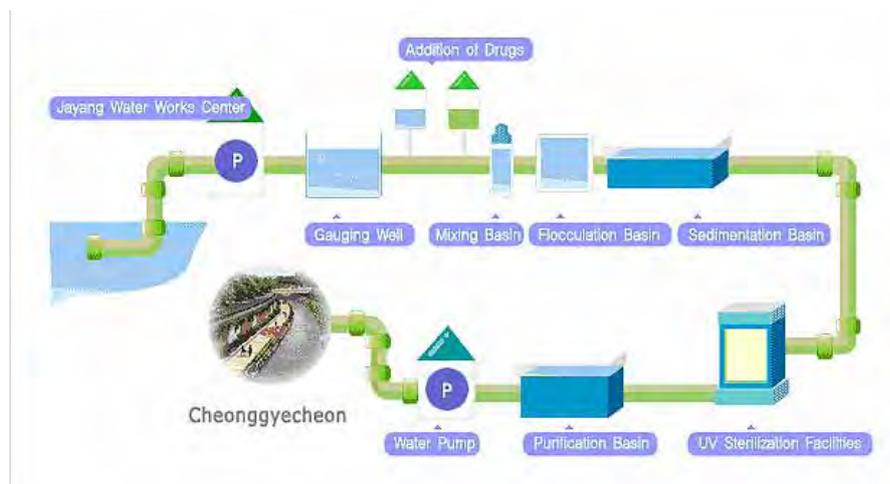


Figure 21: Water circulation process of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream  
(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

21 bridges were newly built across the stream. Along the *Cheonggyecheon*, there are a total of 22 bridges, including the relocated ancient bridge *Gwangtong-gyo*. Among the 22 bridges, seven bridges are for pedestrian use only while the remaining 15 bridges are for sidewalks and the roadway. Lee, I.K. (2006) reports, 'the width of the double use bridges is greater than their length. Such geometrical features made it difficult to emphasize the structural aesthetics of bridges.'<sup>63</sup> The names of the bridges were determined by the decision of the Seoul Place Name Committee. Seven ancient bridge names were given to seven newly built bridges.<sup>64</sup>

*Gwangtong-gyo* was relocated to a place closer upstream from its original site. In addition, *Supyo-gyo*, which had been moved to the current location of the *Jangchungdan* Park in 1959, was not restored to its original site on the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. Instead, a simplified replica was built on the original location. According to the SMG's explanation, this replica is a temporary bridge. The restoration of the original was rescheduled to 2010.



Figure 22: Replica of *Supyo-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh. Compare the replica with the original bridge form shown in Figure 11)

<sup>63</sup> Lee, I.K. (2006), p.122

<sup>64</sup> SMG(2006), p. 1023

Landscaping was also a very important component of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. The restored *Cheonggyecheon* provides a 276,650-square-meter uninterrupted tract for green space. The image of 'Urban Stream with Nature' was the basic concept of the landscaping design. To make this image, the northern side of the stream was developed as a space for citizens while the southern terrace was created as an area for highlighting ecology. Along the stream, small squares, artwork, and waterfront decks were built and biotopes were introduced for plants, fishes, and birds. Lighting work was undertaken to enhance the night view.<sup>65</sup>

It took only two years and three months from the commencement of demolition of the cover-up structures to the completion of the entire work process. The SMG spent 386.7 billion won. The total number of visitors reached 71 million for the last three years since the grand opening of the restored *Cheonggyecheon* on October 1, 2005.<sup>66</sup> However, during the process, the restoration work resulted in various conflicts among stakeholders.

### 3.3. Conflicts among stakeholders

#### *Seeds of conflict*

During the initial stage (first phase), there was no big conflict among interest groups. The *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project Headquarters and the Research Corps were established in July of 2002, and the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration Project was set up in September of 2002. After these three organizations were established, the SMG held a seminar in *Wonju* City in October of 2002 and an international symposium in Seoul in November of 2002 while drafting the master plan.

In August of 2002, the CSBRPC (*Cheonggyecheon* Stores Business Right Protection Committee) was organized to protect merchants' interests. The CSBRPC was a federation of organizations from different shopping centers. It filed a petition demanding the suspension of the restoration project and staged a vehicle demonstration in December of 2002. To cope with the CSBRPC, the SMG organized the CRMC (*Cheonggyecheon* Residents and Merchants Council) in the same month.<sup>67</sup>

On February 11, 2003, the master plan was announced, and on May 1, 2003, it was ratified by the Citizens' Committee on the condition the Committee's requirements for the heritage and stream restoration should be reflected in the final working design. The leaders of the Citizens' Committee adhered to the principle of 'restoration to its original condition.'

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<sup>65</sup> Lee, I.K. (2006), pp.122-123

<sup>66</sup> *Yonhap* News, Oct. 2, 2008, <http://media.daum.net/society/nation/seoul/view.html?cateid=100004&newsid=20081002060203216&p=yonhap>, accessed on July 10, 2009

<sup>67</sup> Seong, Jieun (2006), Analysis of Conflict Management Strategies in case of Cheonggye Stream Restoration Project, *Journal of Korea Public Administration*, 15, 4: Korea Society and Public Administration

### *Conflicts with merchants*

After the plan had been officially announced, tensions increased. The project's initial plan was to remove the elevated highway and the cover-up road, which had been the backbone of Seoul's midtown traffic. Almost nobody doubted the demolition work would directly hurt the commerce of the *Cheonggyecheon* area. Along the roads to be removed, there were groups of commercial buildings standing side by side. A number of small stores packed each building. Therefore, it was quite natural for them to organize themselves at an early stage.<sup>68</sup>

During the process of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project, many protests were organized by the relevant interest groups. Let's see the following figure:

Date	Organizer	Activities
Dec. 16, 2002	CSBRPC	Car demonstration against the restoration
Feb. 11, 2003	The restoration plan was announced.	
Feb. 15, 2003	CSBRPC	Rally to demand compensation for loss of business
Mar. 22, 2003	CSC	Demonstration against the restoration
Mar. 27, 2003	CSBRPC	Demonstration against the restoration
Apr. 22, 2003	CSC	Demonstration against the restoration
May 02, 2003	CSVRPC	Ceremony for declaration of fight for defending street vendors' rights
May 22, 2003	CSBRPC, CSC	Demonstration against the restoration
Jun. 11, 2003	CSBRPC,	Demonstration against the restoration
Jun. 16, 2003	CSBRPC, CSC	Demonstration against the restoration
Jul. 01, 2003	The removal work (the 1 <sup>st</sup> work process of the entire restoration project) commenced.	
Jul. 01, 2003	CSVRPC	Demonstration against the restoration and rally
Nov. 30, 2003	CSVRPC	Strong resistance to the forced removal of street vendors' equipment
Dec. 03, 2003	CSVRPC	Press conference urging the suspension of <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> restoration work

\*abbreviation: CSBRPC (*Cheonggyecheon* Stores Business Right Protection Committee), CSC (Clothes Shops Committee), CSVRPC (*Cheonggyecheon* Street Vendors Right Protection Committee)

Figure 23: Activities of interest groups regarding the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration  
(Source: Seong 2006)

After the announcement of the plan on February 11, 2003, the opposition forces against the plan got more organized. In the same month, the CSC was organized, and one month later, the CSVRPC was established. Civic groups led by the influential

<sup>68</sup> CSBRPC was organized on August 12, 2002.

Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice (CCEJ) also took the opposition position by releasing a statement that the restoration project should be postponed as it lacked sufficient measures for traffic control and compensation for shop owners and vendors.<sup>69</sup>

As soon as the plan was announced, the removal of the elevated highway and the cover-up road became the hottest issue. As suggested in the plan, the removal work was the first work to be done for safety reasons. However, shop owners and street vendors felt the removal work threatened their business interests and tried to get the work suspended. That's why most of the demonstrations by merchant groups took place during the period from the announcement of the plan to the commencement of the removal work.

The following figure shows each stakeholder's position regarding the restoration project, especially the removal work.

Stakeholders	Position	
<b>Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG)</b>	Concerning owners of stores located along the stream	As the restoration work will not affect existing stores, there is no concern regarding any possible loss or interruption of their businesses under relevant laws and regulations
	Concerning sidewalk vendors	It is illegal to engage in sidewalk peddling. Thus, they cannot ask for compensation.
<b>CSBRPC (Cheonggyecheon Stores Business Right Protection Committee)</b>	The work causes intolerable noise and dust as well as interrupting the activity of the stores located along the stream. Thus, the City of Seoul must determine appropriate compensation.	
<b>CSC (Clothes Shops Committee)</b>		
<b>CSVRPC (Cheonggyecheon Street Vendors Right Protection Committee)</b>	The work causes intolerable noise and dust as well interrupting the activity of the stores located along the stream. Thus, the City of Seoul must determine appropriate compensation.	

Figure 24: Each stakeholder's position

(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

<sup>69</sup> Seong & Kim (2005), p.272

As shown in the above figure, the essence of conflict seems to have been economic interest. The storeowners were worried about their business losses resulting from the long-term removal work and the redevelopment process after the removal work. Thus, the storeowners demanded compensation. However, the SMG did not accept the claim that the restoration work would interrupt business.

Similar to the storeowners, sidewalk vendors demanded compensation by claiming that the removal work interrupted their business. Against this claim, however, the SMG took a strong stance that the street vendors were not a party for compensation as their activity was originally illegal.<sup>70</sup>

To move the project forward, the SMG needed to settle the conflict. The countermeasures taken by the SMG are categorized into three parts: 1) measures for storeowners, 2) measures for street vendors, and 3) measures for traffic control.

<b>Measures to minimize inconvenience caused to storeowners</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Carrying out the work within the designated area</li> <li>2) Maintaining the two-lane street on both sides of the stream and minimizing the inconvenience due to the vehicles loading or offloading goods nearby</li> <li>3) Using the <i>Dongdaemun</i> Stadium as a temporary parking lot. Free shuttle buses operational during the work period</li> </ol>
<b>Measures to revitalize the activity of the stores in the area</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Offering loans (up to 800 million won for each) for the renewal of the existing buildings and the improvement of the environmental background for the existing conventional markets</li> <li>2) Offering loans (up to 10 billion won) for modernizing the markets</li> <li>3) Offering loans to create some stabilization funds for SMEs</li> <li>4) Purchasing goods needed by the City in the stores alongside first</li> <li>5) e-<i>Cheonggyecheon</i> Project</li> </ol>
<b>Measures for storeowners wishing to move</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Selection of some sites in accordance with their wishes and provision of an administrative and financial support</li> <li>2) Moving forward with the formation of the 500,000-square-meter logistics complex in the <i>Munjeong-dong</i> area</li> </ol>
<b>Other</b>	Offering financial support for the children of the storeowners alongside

Figure 25: Measures taken for storeowners

(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/> accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

As indicated in the above figure, there was no direct measure to compensate for business loss claimed by the storeowners represented by the CSBRPC and the CSC.

<sup>70</sup> SMG (2006), p. 250

Instead, the SMG tried to solve the conflict by providing the storeowners with some incentives. First, the SMG offered a variety of financial support to improve storeowners' business conditions.

Among such incentives, the most notable measure was to provide the storeowners with an alternative business option to move to the 500,000-square-meter logistics complex in the *Munjeong-dong* area, which was going to be developed by the SGM. This incentive proved to be very successful. It is pointed out that the arrangement of a new business place for the storeowners was an important reason for them to withdraw their opposition to the restoration project.<sup>71</sup>



Figure 26: CSVRPC street demonstrations

(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/> accessed on Sept. 30, 2008)

Meanwhile, the SMG's basic stance on the street vendors was that the SMG could not accept the street vendors as a counterpart for negotiation. The SMG said: 'In principle, sidewalk peddling is illegal and measures had to be taken to get rid of them.'<sup>72</sup>

However, as the sidewalk vendors' resistance got more and more fierce, their resistance became a big social issue. Then, the SGM began to negotiate with them. Mayor Lee, M.B. suggested they might use the ground of the *Dongdaemun* Stadium for their business. This measure contributed to decreasing their resistance.<sup>73</sup>

The SMG's removal work was also challenged by academic circles, civic organizations, and the central government. Their challenges were mostly related to traffic control issues during the removal work. Most of these groups were opposed to the commencement of the work on July 1, 2003. All were concerned about the SMG's traffic measure, which, they pointed out, would create some possible inconvenience to the public. The National Police Agency expressed its disagreement with the SMG's 'unilateral' announcement of the plan, which adopted the one-way system in the downtown area, the median bus-only lane system, and changes in the traffic signal

<sup>71</sup> Seong & Kim (2005), p.271

<sup>72</sup> SMG (2006), p. 267 and <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/> accessed on September 30, 2008

<sup>73</sup> SMG (2006), p.289, 293, 297

system. The National Police Agency added that traffic flow measures could only be achieved after sufficient preliminary discussions relying on its own analysis of traffic volume.<sup>74</sup>

However, the SGM predicted that the traffic congestion caused by the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration work might be limited based on the research on the reorganization of the urban traffic system and the establishment of traffic flow measures in the downtown section. Fortunately, the SMG's traffic control measures proved to be successful after the removal work commenced on July 1, 2003.

In a sense, the small storeowners and street vendors are the co-owners of the '*Cheonggyecheon* heritage' in that they constructed another dimension of culture along the cover-up road that became a new heritage of modern times. However, many of these merchants had to leave *Cheonggyecheon*. They were replaced by newcomers who could afford the expensive rents of newly developed modern-style buildings along *Cheonggyecheon*. That heritage 'layer' might be reasonably determined to be of less significance to the city and to Korean culture than the history of the buried stream. Some vestige of it might have been expressed in the reconstruction project, but wasn't.

### ***Conflict over how to restore architectural heritage***

Conflict over how to restore architectural heritage can be interpreted as conflict over restoration policy. This conflict exploded in July of 2003 when the final working design revealed the SMG's negative position on the principle of restoration to original condition. The conflict continued until the final ruling by the Historical Site Sub Committee ('HSSC') under the Cultural Heritage Agency was made on October 26, 2004.

According to the master plan, the architectural relics remaining in the stream are divided into three groups: (a) shape of the stream and embankment, (b) bridges, and (c) other relics.<sup>75</sup> The SMG was seen to be negative on the principle for the restoration of architectural relics to their original condition. The implementation of surveys (i.e., archaeological excavation) is a key process to understand places of cultural significance by which conservation policy is to be incorporated into management. Thus, any conservation work on a place should be preceded by a (complete) survey.<sup>76</sup>

However, the SMG was quite passive in carrying out an intensive survey. This passive position of the SMG was confirmed by the fact that an intensive archaeological survey was enforced by the ruling of the national heritage committee in July of 2003. Another case confirming the SMG's such negativity is that the master plan concluded that the restoration of ancient bridges (i.e. *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-*

<sup>74</sup> Hankooki.com, February 12, 2003, <http://www4.hankooki.com/NewsPortal/200302/np20030212192645h0020.htm>, accessed on July 9, 2009

<sup>75</sup> Seoul Development Institute et.al. (2003), p.56

<sup>76</sup> Burra Charter Article 26.1, 26.2

gyo) to their original conditions would create big problems due to flood control, traffic control, and possible damage to the relics. The master plan also predicted that the shape of the stream and both banks could not be restored because the stream had already been deformed by continuous human interventions.

But, during the period of intensive archaeological survey undertaken from September 30, 2003, until June 10, 2004, vestiges of the stone embankment on both sides of the stream and the structural remains of ancient bridges were found, which might have been helpful for the restoration of the shape of the stream and both banks. Later the stone embankment was damaged and removed for less convincing reasons. The SMG consistently maintained such position throughout the entire project.

Upon the commencement of removal work on July 1, 2003 and with the ruling on intensive archeological survey, debates on architectural heritage restoration began to be intensified. On July 15, 2003, the Cultural Heritage Experts' Advisory Council ('CHEAC') of the SMG expressed an opinion that the restoration of *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo* to their original locations was not desirable for safety and technical reasons. The Council suggested restoring them in a place closer upstream (155 meters) from the original locations.<sup>77</sup> The suggestion is quite questionable because it was made even before the start of intensive archaeological work.

On July 21, 2003, the Citizens' Committee criticized the SMG's restoration plan based on the opinion of the CHEAC as 'groundless' and demanded the restoration of the two bridges to their original locations. However, the SMG and the CHEAC expressed an objection to this demand for reasons of traffic and flood control. Some civil organizations expressed their support for the committee's position. On Nov. 5, 2003, members of the Citizens' Committee stopped their activities and demanded the resignation of the head of the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project Headquarters.

Meanwhile, on August 18, 2003, ten civil organizations led by the CCEJ (Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice) announced a joint statement criticizing the SMG's restoration plan. On September 9, 2003, the '*Cheonggyecheon* Solidarity' was formed and demanded the restoration of the two bridges to their original locations, supporting the position of the Citizens' Committee.

On February 24, 2004, the SMG submitted the final working plan for restoration to the Citizens' Committee for review, but some of the committee members refused to review the plan and walked out of the session. In this plan, the SMG took the same position about the relocation of *Gwangtong-gyo* and suggested delaying restoring *Supyo-gyo* to its original location until 2010. On March 12, 2004, the Citizens' Committee finally determined not to accept the final working plan as the plan did not reflect the Citizens' Committee demand.

On April 5, 2004, the 'CHPSC' (*Cheonggyecheon* Heritage Preservation Specialists Committee), an advisory committee organized at the recommendation of the Cultural Heritage Agency of Korea, ratified the SMG's plan to relocate

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<sup>77</sup> Seong (2006), *op. cit* and Cho, M.R. (2003), *op. cit.* p.14

*Gwangtong-gyo* closer upstream 155 meters from its original location. However, this decision was heavily challenged by academic circles and civil organizations, led by the *Cheonggyecheon* Solidarity. They criticized the decision as disregarding and damaging the historical element of *Gwangtong-gyo*.

At that time, civil groups filed an application at the Cultural Heritage Administration for designation of the original sites of *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo* as national historical sites. The application was considered by the state agency, and on April 9, 2004, the original locations of the ancient bridges were temporarily designated national historical sites. After this designation, the destiny of *Gwangtong-gyo* was turned over into the hands of the Historical Site Sub Committee ('HSSC') under the Cultural Heritage Agency because the intervention to the two ancient bridges came under heritage control at the national level even if the sites were temporarily designated as national monuments.

Meanwhile, the stone embankment was disassembled and moved to an empty area of the *Junglang* Sewage Treatment Plant between February and May 2004.<sup>78</sup> Part of the stone embankment had been damaged by the contractor of the section who had dug in the ground without measures to protect it. Civil groups brought a complaint against Mayor Lee, M.B. for the damage. Later it was revealed that the SMG allowed the contractor to do the work in spite of the recommendation of heritage experts that any disassembly and relocation should be preceded by an intensive survey.<sup>79</sup>

On June 25, 2004, the SMG decided to use the disassembled embankment stone for the decoration of the new site of *Gwangton-gyo*. About half of the disassembled stones were used to decorate *Gwangton-gyo* while the remaining half was planned to be used for the decoration of *Supyo-gyo*.<sup>80</sup>

This decision by the SMG was harshly attacked by civil groups. The critics considered the decision to be 'anti-historical' that King *Yeongjo*'s embankment stones were exploited for decorating a modern cement revetment.<sup>81</sup> They demanded that the disassembled stones be reassembled and restored in the original sites. The critics demanded the SMG adhere to the heritage conservation principles in their original condition. However, finally, as planned by the SMG, the disassembled ancient embankment stones were installed in the revetment close to *Gwangtong-gyo*. As shown in Figure 27, the ancient stones are used as decorative elements. Hwang (2007) deplored the cutting of the ancient stones by a grinding machine to fit the new revetment.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, June 13, 2004, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005000000/2004/06/005000000200406131912055.html>, accessed on February 23, 2009

<sup>79</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, March 3, 2004, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005000000/2004/03/005000000200403030012009.html>, accessed on February 23, 2009

<sup>80</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, June 27, 2004, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005000000/2004/06/005000000200406271744521.html>, accessed on February 23, 2009

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Hwang, Pyeong Woo, Oct. 4, 2007, <http://www.chpri.org/>, accessed February 23, 2009

On August 24, 2004, the names of 12 members of the HSSC to determine the future of the two ancient bridges were announced. On October 26, 2004, the HSSC finally announced its decision to approve the SMG's original plan to relocate *Gwangtong-gyo* closer upstream (155 meters) from the original location. This became the final ruling decision. On March 25, 2005, the Cultural Heritage Administration announced the official designation of the original locations of the *Gwangtong-gyo*, *Supyo-gyo*, and *Ogansu-mun* sites as national historic sites, changing their status from temporary designated sites.

In conclusion, interventions regarding the three architectural relics were made in such a way as the Seoul Metropolitan Government wished. Conservationist philosophy—restoration to their original condition—did not happen. All the relics were disassembled and removed to other locations as follows:

	Relics	Point of conflict	Result of intervention
1	The <i>Gwangtong-gyo</i>	Relocation vs. conservation at the original site	Relocated to new site
2	The <i>Supyo-gyo</i>	Conserve in current site vs. return to original site	Not returned to original site
3	Stone embankment	Relocation vs. conservation at the original site	Relocated for new use

Figure 27: Result of intervention on three architectural relics

The major grounds for arguments for such interventions by the SMG were as follows:

- ◆ traffic purpose: the original sites might cause traffic problems
- ◆ flood control: the original sites might pose a threat if there is a big flood
- ◆ the relics might be damaged at the original sites

As shown in more detail in the chapter 5, most of the arguments for intervention by the SMG were regarded as less defensible by conservationist groups suggesting many counter-arguments and alternative options, which, however, were disregarded. The conservationists argued that a project involving large-scale heritage restoration should not be hurried but implemented more carefully. However, the SMG set the target completion date on September 30, 2005 and ordered the project in the fast-track turnkey method, which was found to be a very efficient way to meet the deadline.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> SMG (2006), p.847



Figure 28: Restored *Gwangtong-gyo*  
 (Photo by Noh, Jang Suh. The bridge is relocated 155 meters away upstream from its original location.)



Figure 29: Revetment near *Gwangtong-gyo*  
 (Photo by Noh, Jang Suh. showing mixture of ancient stones and modern material)



Figure 30: *Supyo-gyo*.  
 Photo by Noh, Jang Suh.  
 (The bridge has stood in the *Jangchungdan* Park since its relocation in 1959.)

### 3.4. Summary: The power and ownership of heritage

According to Graham et al. (2003), 'it is quite inevitable given this range of different uses of heritage, and its importance to so many people for such different reasons, that it has emerged as a major arena of conflict.'<sup>84</sup> In this chapter the aspects of the conflicts over the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream during the process of its restoration were reviewed. There were two types of conflicts. First, conflict over economic interests was revealed between the SMG and the small business owners who operated along *Cheonggyecheon*. Second, conflict over the restoration policy was revealed between the SMG and civil groups.

The conflicts were created as a result of different uses of heritage. As far as each user claimed for exclusive ownership, multiple uses over heritage definitely led to conflicts. Conflicts can be settled by a point of continuum between the process of compromise and the process of power struggle. In the above case, the conflict over economic motivation was solved by the process of compromise—give and take. However, the conflict over the restoration policy was solved by the process of confrontation and power struggle. The SMG won everything the government wanted while the opponents were left with nothing.

As we have seen, the SMG officially completed the project on September 30, 2005. From the start (on July 1, 2003) to the completion (on September 30, 2005), the project took only 27 months to complete. Another 27 months later, Lee, M.B. became President of Korea. Many people believe that the successful completion of the project is the main contribution to Lee, M.B. winning the presidency. So far, this belief has been almost unquestioned and has become a myth. People call Lee, M.B. a hero.<sup>85</sup> People call the success of the restoration project the '*Cheonggyecheon* myth.'<sup>86</sup>

This widespread and unquestioned myth needs be examined and two important questions arise. First, 'Is it really a successful heritage restoration project? Aren't there any problems and issues to be reviewed?' Second, 'What kind of process has made the project become a myth and Lee, M.B. a hero?'

In Chapter 5, I will attempt to answer the first question by analyzing the characteristics of the *Cheonggyecheon* project and dealing with the issue of authenticity from the standpoint of various heritage conservation charters or principles, especially highlighting the Burra Charter. In Chapter 6, I will try to answer the second question by analyzing various processes of 'monumentalizing the project' based upon the definition on 'monumentalization' deduced from the case of the Celtic oppida introduced in the appendix. In Chapter 7, I will discuss the social impact of the project and lessons from this research. Before we deal with these issues, we need to see the final form of the restored *Cheonggyecheon*. Let's take a brief pictorial journey to the restored *Cheonggyecheon* in the next chapter.

<sup>84</sup> Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000. p.23

<sup>85</sup> Newsis, January 17, 2008, [http://www.newsis.com/article/view.htm?cID=article&ar\\_id=NISX20080117\\_0005966699](http://www.newsis.com/article/view.htm?cID=article&ar_id=NISX20080117_0005966699), accessed on February 15, 2009

<sup>86</sup> *WOW Hankuk Gyeongje* TV, February 24, 2008, <http://www.wownet.co.kr/news/wownews/view.asp?artid=A200802220081&bcode=N07010000>, accessed on February 15, 2009

## Chapter 4

### Description of the Restored *Cheonggyecheon*

The restored area of *Cheonggyecheon* was designed based on thematic segmentation: upstream representing 'history,' midstream representing 'culture,' and downstream representing 'ecology.'<sup>87</sup>

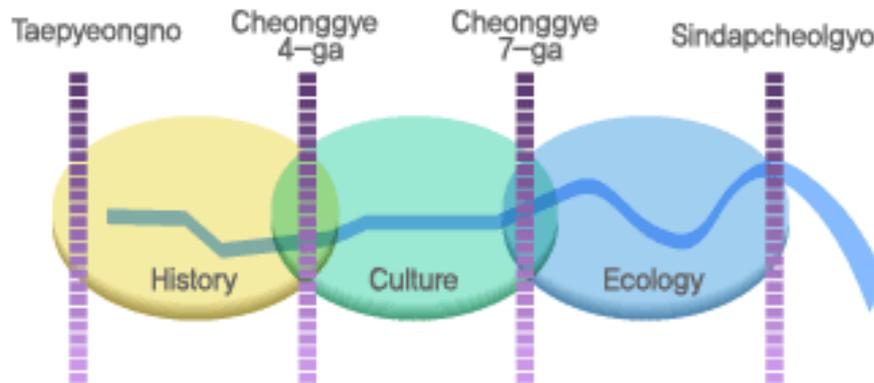


Figure 31: Segmentation by theme

(Source: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, landscaping section, accessed on March 31, 2009)

The history zone ranges from *Cheonggye Plaza* to *Baeogae-dari* (a bridge) (about 1.8 kilometers). *Cheonggye Plaza* is located at the starting point of *Cheonggyecheon*. As the zone is matched to the central area of ancient Seoul (*Hanyang*), we can find many historical sites in this area. The presidential house and many ancient palaces are located in this zone. In addition, this area is full of modern high-rise buildings as it includes the CBD.

Ranging from *Baeogae-dari* to *Dasan-gyo* (about 1.7 kilometers), the culture zone includes big markets and shopping centers along the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. *Dongdaemun* (the East Gate) is located in the center of this area. This area is especially the center for fashion.

The ecology zone ranges from *Dasan-gyo* to *Gosanja-gyo* (a bridge) (about 2.0 kilometers). *Cheonggyecheon* widens, and commercial complexes along the stream are rare. Rather, more residential apartments are seen around *Cheonggyecheon* and more eco-friendly experiences are available.

<sup>87</sup> Lee, In Keun (2006), p.117



Figure 32: Map of *Cheonggyecheon*  
 (Source <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye/>, bridge section, accessed on March 31, 2009)

#### 4.1. History zone



Figure 33: Commemorative monument 'Spring'  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Called 'Spring,' this monument is located at the starting point of the restored *Cheonggyecheon*. The monument was installed in September 2006 to commemorate the first anniversary of the grand opening of *Cheonggyecheon*.



Figure 34: Mt. *Bukak-san*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

To the north of the 'Spring,' we can see the president's office, *Cheongwadae*, and the *Joseon* Kingdom's grand palace *Gyeongbok-gung* which are located at the foot of Mt. *Bukak-san*, one of four inner mountains forming the sacredscape of Seoul.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Chapter 2, pp.8-9



Figure 35: *Cheonggye Plaza*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

At the starting point of the waterway, there is a brick-paved, 7,000-square-meter public space called “*Cheonggye Plaza*.” The plaza contains a miniature *Cheonggyecheon*, a candle fountain, a two-tier waterfall, and *Palseokdam*—a small pond made of stones brought from eight provinces in Korea.



Figure 36: *Mojeon-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Newly built, *Mojeon-gyo* is the first bridge from the starting point. The name, meaning ‘fruit market,’ originated from the same name bridge, which is believed to be in the same place. The design is taken from a traditional motif found in ancient bridges. However, the photo of the original bridge was discovered after the design of the bridge had already been decided.



Figure 37: View of *Gwangtong-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 38: Tomb decoration stones used in *Gwangtong-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Built in 1412 by King *Taejong* of the *Joseon* Dynasty, *Gwangtong-gyo* was one of the most magnificent stone bridges in ancient Seoul. A part of the bridge is made of tomb decoration stones removed from the tomb of Queen *Sindeok* by the instruction of King *Taejong*, who, as a stepson of the late queen, had a deep-rooted hatred of her.<sup>89</sup>

In 2005, the bridge was relocated to the current site from its original location for safety and flood control. The relocation resulted in a series of conflicts. A new bridge, called *Gwang-gyo*, was built at the original location.

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<sup>89</sup> Chapter 2, 15-16



Figure 39: *Gwang-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

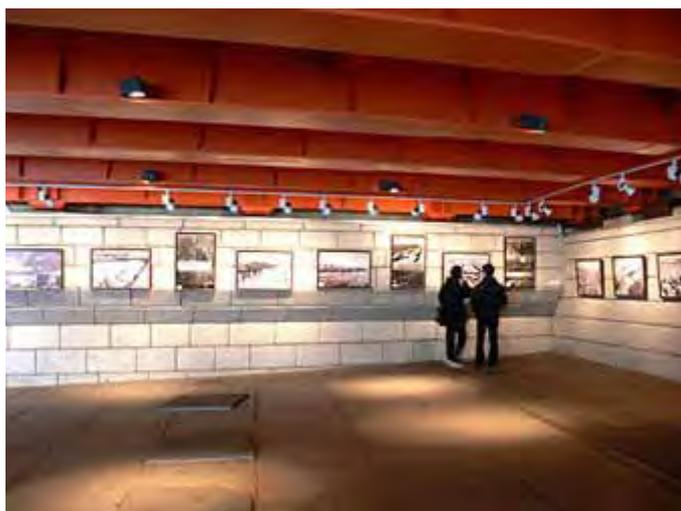


Figure 40: *Gwang-gyo* Gallery  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Gwang-gyo* is a newly built bridge in the place of *Gwangtong-gyo*. As the new bridge links two of ancient Seoul's most important backbone roads (*Jong-ro* and *Namdaemun-ro*), the bridge is one of the widest of all the bridges in *Cheonggyecheon*. During the *Joseon* period, the roads were used for royal processions. The scene of the royal procession is replicated in a tile painting on the north bank wall between *Gwang-gyo* and *Jangtong-gyo*. The name *Gwang-gyo*, meaning 'wide road,' was another name for *Gwangtong-gyo*. Under *Gwang-gyo*, there is an exhibition gallery using the space under the bridge.



Figure 41: *Bosingak*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Bosingak is a belfry tower, Seoul Monument no. 10, located in *Jong-ro* Street a short distance north of *Gwang-gyo*. On the eve of a new year, Seoul citizens gather here to see the bell be struck to celebrate the coming of a new year. The street *Jong-ro* means ‘Bell road,’ which comes from this bell tower.



Figure 42: Folk music performance near the *Gwang-gyo* area  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Every weekend, cars are prohibited from the roadways between *Cheonggye* Plaza and *Samilgyo*. On those streets, a variety of cultural performances take place.



Figure 43: Tile painting of royal procession  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 44: Royal flag  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

This tile painting is located on the north bank wall between *Gwang-gyo* and *Samil-gyo*. The painting depicts King *Jeongjo*'s royal procession in 1795 to *Hwaseong*, a UNESCO World Heritage site. King *Jeongjo* is the successor and grandson of King *Yeongjo* who undertook *Cheonggyecheon* renovation work in 1760. Taking eight days, the procession took place in celebration of the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of the king's mother and father, Crown Prince *Sado*, who had never been crowned. The 192-meter-long tile painting is made up of 5,120 tiles. The tile work was replicated from the original drawings painted on 63 sheets of paper by court painters. The scene contained 1,779 human figures and 779 horses on parade.



Figure 45: *Jangtong-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Jangtong-gyo* is 260 meters downstream from the *Gwang-gyo*. The name comes from the original bridge of the same name that is believed to have been there. The name *Jangtong* was a district where merchants and petty functionaries flocked together. The surrounding area is still called *Jang-gyo-dong*, shortened from *Jangtong-gyo*. The design of the bridge is taken from the motif of ancient bridges.



Figure 46: Water Screen  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

A water screen is located on the south bank wall between *Jangtong-gyo* and *Samil-gyo*. This is one of the most popular attractions in *Cheonggyecheon* especially among nighttime visitors. At nighttime, colorful lights are thrown on the curtains of water.



Figure 47: *Samil-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Samil-gyo* is 173 meters downstream from *Jangtong-gyo*. The name of the bridge is associated with the independence movement that began on March 1, 1919. *Sam* (3) *Il* (1) means the first of March. On that date, independence from Japan was declared at a meeting in *Tapgol* Park, which is located a short distance northeast of *Samil-gyo*.



Figure 48: Mt. *Namsan*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Viewed from *Samil-gyo*, Mt. *Namsan* is one of four inner mountains forming the boundary of ancient Seoul. During the *Joseon* period, there used to be a shrine enshrining a mountain spirit on top of the mountain. *Myeongdong* Cathedral is seen at the right. Built in 1898, the gothic-style edifice is a national historic site designated in 1977.



Figure 49: Replica of *Supyo-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 50: Original *Supyo-gyo* at the relocated site  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Supyo-gyo* was built in 1420, the second year of King *Sejong*'s rule. The bridge is one of the most magnificent and beautiful bridges in ancient Seoul. The original bridge was relocated to *Jangchungdan* Park in 1959 when the covering work of the original site of the stream was undertaken.<sup>90</sup> During the period of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration work, the return of *Supyo-gyo* to its original site was one of the most important issues. It was at the center of major conflicts. The SMG decided to postpone the restoration of *Supyo-gyo* until 2010 and installed a simple temporary bridge resembling the original one. On March 25, 2005, the original site was designated as national historic site no. 461 together with the *Gwangtong-gyo* site and the *Ogansu-mun* site.

<sup>90</sup> Chapter 2, pp. 16-17



Figure 51: *Tapgol Park*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Located in *Jong-ro* Street, the park is a short distance north of the *Supyo-gyo* site. As the first modern park in Seoul, *Tapgol Park* was the birthplace of the nationwide Independence Movement in 1919 during the Japanese colonial period. The park originally used to be the site of a Buddhist temple called *Wongaksa*. *Wongaksa* pagoda (national treasure no. 2) and *Daewongaksa* monument (treasure no. 3) are still located together in the park.



Figure 52: *Gwansu-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Two hundred and forty-eight meters downstream from the *Supyo-gyo* site, there is a newly built bridge called *Gwansu-gyo*. The bridge is named after the original bridge built in 1918 by the Japanese colonial government. The name of the bridge means 'watching (or gauging) water' on the bridge.



Figure 53: *Seun-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Two hundred and forty-eight meters downstream from *Supyo-gyo* site, *Seun-gyo* is a newly built bridge in front of *Seun Arcade*. In 1968, Seoul City Hall built a group of arcades from *Jong-ro* to *Eulji-ro*. Most of these arcades are occupied by the shops selling electronic goods, electrical products, and lighting goods. These arcades have been a symbol of Seoul's industrialization. The SMG is planning to demolish them to create a green zone (90 meters wide, 1 kilometer long) by 2012 linking *Jongmyo* and Mt. *Namsan*.



Figure 54: *Jongmyo* (royal ancestral shrine)  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Jongmyo* is the royal ancestral shrine of the *Joseon* Dynasty and a UNESCO World Heritage site. *Jongmyo* is located a short distance north of *Seun-gyo*.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Chapter 2, p.9



Figure 55: *Baeogae-dari*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Baeogae-dari* is located 235 meters downstream from the *Seun-gyo* site. Many shops selling lighting and illuminating equipment are gathered around *Baeogae-dari*. The name, meaning 'pear hill,' originates from a hill located in a nearby area.

#### 4.2. Culture zone



Figure 56: *Saebyeok-dari*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Located 200 meters away from *Baeogae-dari*, *Saebyeok-dari* links *Bangsan Shijang* (market) and *Gwangjang Shijang* (market), marking the gateway to the *Dongdaemun* fashion district from downtown.



Figure 57: *Bangsan Shijang*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Shijang* means a ‘market.’ *Bangsan Shijang* is located to the south of *Saebyeok-dari*. The name of the market is associated with an artificial mountain (suffix *-san*) made as a result of dredging work of *Cheonggyecheon* during the *Joseon* Period. The market occupies the site of an artificial mountain.



Figure 58: *Gwangjang Shijang*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Gwangjang Shijang* is situated on the north bank of the stream between *Saebyeok-dari* and *Majeon-gyo*. Opened in 1905, the market is the oldest one around *Cheonggyecheon*, containing retail and wholesale businesses specializing in fabrics and fashion items.



Figure 59: *Majeon-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Newly built, *Majeon-gyo* is located 170 meters downstream from *Saebyeok-dari*. The name of the bridge is taken from an ancient bridge believed to be around the site. *Majeon* means 'horse market,' hinting there used to be a horse market in a nearby area. The design of the bridge reflects the traditional motif.



Figure 60: *Narae-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

The name and design of *Narae-gyo* are taken from wings to signify the area's flying into the world's fashion center. *Narae* is a pure Korean word meaning 'wing.' The bridge is located in front of *Pyeonghwa Shijang* and 210 meters away from *Majeon-gyo*.



Figure 61: *Pyeonghwa Shijang*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Pyeonghwa Shijang* is one of the largest clothing markets in Korea, containing about 1,500 shops. The market began to grow with the covering up of *Cheonggyecheon* in the early 1960s. It used to be the locomotive of Korea's export-driven economy in the 1960s and 1970s. The market is regarded as the pioneer of the Korean fashion industry.<sup>92</sup>



Figure 62: *Beodeul-dari*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

*Beodeul-dari* is located in front of *Dingdaemun Jonghap Shijang* composed of blocks of retails and wholesale shops. It was once the largest market in Asia, and currently has 5,000 shops that are involved in selling fashion items.

<sup>92</sup> Chapter 2, p.19 & Chapter 3, p.22



Figure 63: Bust of *Jeon Tae Il*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

In 1973, *Jeon Tae Il*, a young labor worker at a factory located in *Pyeonghwa Shijang* burnt himself to death. His death became a monumental event in the history of the Korean labor movement, a milestone awakening people to the importance of human rights in Korean society. A bust is installed on *Beodeul-dari*. A 1.4-kilometer-long section of the street neighboring the bridge was designated as *Jeon Tae Il Street*.<sup>93</sup>



Figure 64: Wall of Culture  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

Located between *Beodeul-dari* and *Ogansu-gyo*, the Wall of Culture is composed of five modern artists' murals expressing the restoration of culture and nature. Each mural is 2.5 meters tall and 10 meters wide.

<sup>93</sup> Chapter 3, pp.22-23



Figure 65: Fashion Fountain  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

The Fashion Fountain is located between the Wall of Culture and the waterside open-air theatre. The fountain shoots water as high as 10 meters. The whole area covering the Fashion Fountain, the waterside open-air theatre, and the Wall of Culture is called 'Fashion Plaza.'



Figure 66: *Ogansy-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on February 11, 2008)

Located 261 meters downstream from *Beodeul-dari*, *Ogansy-gyo* is the widest (60 meter) bridge of all the bridges of the restored *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. The name and the design of the bridge are taken from the original bridge and ancient fortress wall that were demolished during the Japanese colonial period. The original site marking the eastern boundary of ancient Seoul was designated a national historic site in 2006.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Chapter 2, p.17



Figure 67: *Ogansu-mun*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Originally, *Ogansu-mun* and *Ogansu-gyo* were integrated into one structure in the past. *Ogansu-mun* (literally, ‘five-bay water gate’) was originally located under Seoul’s fortress wall at the south of *Dongdae-mun* (east gate). At present, *Ogansu-mun*, a replica imitating the original shape, is installed on the north bank of the stream and separated from *Ogansu-gyo*.<sup>95</sup>



Figure 68: *Dongdae-mun*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on February 11, 2008)

*Dongdae-mun* is the East Gate of ancient Seoul, one of the four main gates of the fortified ancient capital. The gate designated as a Treasure (no. 1) is located a short distance north of *Ogansu-gyo*, which used to be part of the ancient fortress wall that stretched from the East Gate.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Chapter 3, p.30

<sup>96</sup> Chapter 2, pp. 5, 6 & 9



Figure 69: Stone inscriptions of the poems written by King *Yeongjo* and Chae, J.G.  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Stone inscriptions are located on the north bank wall under *Ogansu-gyo*. The poems written by King *Yeongjo* and his favorite subject Chae, J.G. are inscribed in black stones. King *Yeongjo*'s poem expresses his pleasure in completing the renovation work on *Cheonggyecheon* in 1760. Chae's poem praises King *Yeongjo*'s leadership related to the *Cheonggyecheon* renovation work.<sup>97</sup>

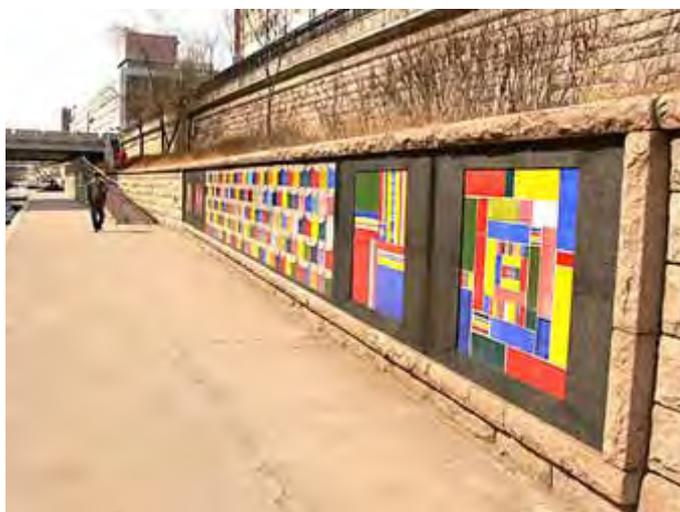


Figure 70: *Saekdong* Wall  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Installed on the north bank between *Ogansu-gyo* and *Malgeunnae-dari*, *Saekdong* Wall is a porcelain mural expressing *Saekdong*. *Saekdong* is the traditional multicolored stripes, an artistic element representing Korean culture. The wall is 18 meters long and 1.5 meters high.

<sup>97</sup> Chapter 2, pp. 12-13



Figure 71: Small fish  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Fish can be found in the stream. The picture was taken in a site between *Ogansu-gyo* and *Malgeunnae-dari*. The fish is probably a minnow. The existence of this fish is often suggested as evidence of the improved water quality of *Cheonggyecheon* by the SMG.<sup>98</sup>



Figure 72: Mallard  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on February 11, 2008)

Mallard ducks are attracted to the stream by the fish. The picture was taken in an area near the site where the minnow was found. The appearance of a mallard here is related to the existence of the minnow. The SMG reports that various migratory birds such as mallard ducks and large egrets regularly visit *Cheonggyecheon*.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> SMG (2006), pp. 1301~1304

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*



Figure 73: *Malgeunnae-dari*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Located 251 meters downstream from *Ogansu-gyo*, *Malgeunnae-dari* is a pedestrian-only bridge around which a variety of markets are grouped together. The markets are Shoes Wholesale Market, Pet Alley, Printers Market, *Dongpyeongwha* Market, Stationery-Toy Alley, and Secondhand Goods Flea Market. The name of the bridge is a native Korean word literally meaning *Cheonggyecheon*.



Figure 74: *Dasan-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Dasan-gyo* is located 303 meters downstream from *Malgeunnae-dari*. The name *Dasan-gyo* is taken from the pen name of *Jeong, Yak Yong*, a great thinker and writer of the *Joseon* Dynasty.

### 4.3. Ecology zone



Figure 75: Old photo tiles showing clothes-washing scene  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)



Figure 76: Replica of the clothes-washing site  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Installed on the north terrace wall between *Dasan-gyo* and *Yeongdo-gyo*, photo tiles show an old scene of clothes-washing at *Cheonggyecheon*. Whenever the stream was clean, housewives brought clothes to the stream and washed them. Flat stones used as washboards are replicated near the photo tiles.



Figure 77: *Yeongdo-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)



Figure 78: Pillars of *Yeongdo-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Newly built, *Yeongdo-gyo* is located 312 meters downstream from *Dasan-gyo*. The bridge originated from an ancient bridge of the same name that used to be in the same site. The bridge was the only bridge installed outside the fortress wall of ancient Seoul. The name of the bridge, meaning 'eternal farewell,' is believed to originate from the story that Queen *Jeongsun* had said goodbye to her exiled husband Prince *Danjong* who never returned. The design of the pillars on the bridge is taken from elements of Korean traditional architecture.



Figure 79: *Dongmyo* (Eastern Shrine)  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Dongmyo* (Eastern Shrine) is located a short distance north of *Yeongdo-gyo*. The shrine was built in 1601 to enshrine the image of *Gwan Yu*, a deified Chinese general who appeared in 'Romance of the Three Kingdoms.' It is designated as Treasure no. 142. The building exhibits Chinese characters.



Figure 80: Flea market  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Before the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration work began in 2003, *Hwanghak-dong* area was the biggest and most famous flea market in Korea. The area has now been transformed into new modern shopping centres and luxury apartments. The flea market vendors dispersed to other places although some are still found in the alley around the Eastern Shrine.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Chapter 3, pp.34-37



Figure 81: *Lotte Castle Apartments*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Lotte Castle Apartments* are located on the southeast side of *Yeongdo-gyo*. This complex is a new landmark for the streamscape of *Cheonggyecheon*.



Figure 82: *Hwanghak-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Hwanghak-gyo* is located 312 meters downstream from *Yeongdo-gyo*. The name of the bridge is taken from folklore. There used to be a habitat of yellow cranes near this area. *Hwanghak* means yellow cranes which are regarded as a symbol of fortune. The big flea market in *Hwanghak-dong* disappeared due to a series of urban redevelopment projects.



Figure 83: Rhythm Waterfall  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

The Rhythm Waterfall is located on the south bank wall between *Hwanghak-gyo* and *Biudang-gyo*. The background marble wall is 5 meters high and 20 meters long, and embellished with 88 LEDs in four colors as well as black oval stones. The stone statue of a woman with a water pitcher on her back is called *Mulheobeoksang* and was donated by *Jeju City*.



Figure 84: *Dolharbang*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

The stone statues, called *Dolharbang*, were donated by *Jeju City*, which regards them as her symbol. *Dolharbang* is literally translated as ‘stone grandpa.’



Figure 85: Wall of Hope  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Located on the north bank wall between *Hwanghak-gyo* and *Biudang-gyo*, the Wall of Hope is made of ceramic tiles on which more than 20,000 citizens expressed their hopes by drawings or writing on 10X10-centimeter-square tiles.



Figure 86: *Biudang-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Biudang-gyo* is located 304 meters downstream from *Hwanghak-gyo*. The name of the bridge is associated with a government official who was a man of integrity. It is said he had to use an umbrella to avoid rain even inside his house.



Figure 87: *Jonchigyogak*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Located between *Biudang-gyo* and *Muhak-gyo*, there are ruined highway piers, part of the original elevated highway over the covered-up *Cheonggyecheon* until it was demolished in August 2003. The piers were left to commemorate and interpret the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 88: Confluence point of the *Seongbuk-cheon* Stream  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Between *Biudang-gyo* and *Muhak-gyo*, the *Seongbuk-cheon* Stream flows into *Cheonggyecheon* from the north. This is the point where *Seogbuk-cheon* joins *Cheonggyecheon*.

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<sup>101</sup> Chapter 3, pp.28-29



Figure 89: *Muhak-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Muhak-gyo* is located 346 meters downstream from *Biudang-gyo*. The bridge is named after *Muhak*, a monk who found *Hanyang* as the best location for the capital of the *Joseon* Kingdom based on *feng shui* theory. The design of the bridge is taken from sunbeams to create an atmosphere of warmth.



Figure 90: Floodgate  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Floodgates are installed on the walls of both banks under the *Muhak-gyo*. Inside the bank walls, sewer boxes are installed. During the rainy seasons, if the rainwater sewer is full, the floodgates are opened to discharge the overflowing rainwater into the stream.



Figure 91: *Dumul-dari*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Dumul-dari* is located 314 meters downstream from *Muhak-gyo* and between the two confluence points of two different streams—*Seongbuk-cheon* and *Jeongleung-cheon*. The name of the bridge means ‘the bridge where two branches of streams meet.’ The design of the bridge stands for the meeting of the two streams.



Figure 92: *Cheonggyecheon* Museum  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

The *Cheonggyecheon* museum stands on a 2,500-square-meter site beside the street of the south bank between *Dumul-dari* and *Gosanja-gyo* in the ending area of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. The award-winning design of the museum expresses the clean water flow in *Cheonggyecheon*. The SMG spent 13 billion won on the museum’s construction.



Figure 93: Stone inscriptions for the project dedicators' list  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Black stone inscriptions contain the names of about 2,880 persons who participated in the restoration work. The inscription is located on the north bank wall between *Dumul-dari* and *Gosanja-gyo*.



Figure 94: Confluence point of the *Jeongleung-cheon* Stream  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Between *Dumul-dari* and *Gosanja-gyo*, a stream called *Jeongleung-cheon* flows from the north into *Cheonggyecheon*. This stream has its source in Mt. *Bukhansan*, which is regarded as one of the outer four mountains of ancient Seoul.



Figure 95: Covered-up section  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

The cover-up section can be seen under the bridge over the confluence point of *Jeongleung-cheon* with *Cheonggyecheon*. The covered-up structure of *Cheonggyecheon* was not completely removed. The central 10-lane road structure was demolished, and the two lanes on both sides were maintained and are still used as a roadway on each side of the bank.<sup>102</sup>



Figure 96: *Gosanja-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Located 439 meters downstream from *Dumul-dari*, *Gosanja-gyo* is the last bridge standing in the ending point of the restored section of *Cheonggyecheon*. The bridge is named after the pen name of *Kim, Jeong Ho*, the greatest cartographer of the *Joseon* Dynasty.

<sup>102</sup> Chapter 3, p.31



Figure 97: Streamside willow  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

A marsh called *Beodeulseupji* is located at the lower stream of *Gosanja-gyo*. Various plants such as willows are planted here to create habitats for various kinds of fishes. The area is regularly visited by various migratory birds such as mallard ducks and large egrets.



Figure 98: *Shindap Cheol-gyo*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

*Shindap Cheol-gyo* is a railway bridge called *Shindap Cheol-gyo*, which is the ending limit of the restored section of *Cheonggyecheon*.

## Chapter 5

### Analysis of Authenticity of the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project

This chapter tries to answer the question raised at the end of Chapter 3: ‘Is it really a successful heritage restoration project?’ The methodology applied is to evaluate the authenticity of various restoration features of the *Cheonggyecheon* project based on the principles of internationally accepted heritage charters and protocols, including the Burra Charter.

#### 5.1. Background

When the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was completed and the grand opening ceremony took place on October 1, 2005, the once underground and neglected *Cheonggyecheon* was fully resurrected as the modern form of an urban stream. The mass media was the first to praise the achievement of the project. More than 6 million persons visited *Cheonggyecheon* in the first month after the grand opening, and 98.6% of the visitors expressed a favorable impression of the rebirth of the stream.<sup>103</sup> Clean water flowed constantly. People could walk along the water’s edge and even touch it. The combination of 22 bridges, including the relocated *Gwangtong-gyo*, attracted citizens. All seemed to be perfect. However, there was strong criticism that the process and result of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was far from the authenticity of real restoration work.

Hong, Sung Tae (2004)<sup>104</sup> argues that Lee, M.B.’s *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is neither an ecology restoration project nor a history restoration project. According to Hong, ‘the project is actually [the] *Cheonggyecheon* destruction project, and a part of [a] very large downtown redevelopment project. It will destroy the history and nature of Seoul on a large scale. There is no deep difference between new developmentalism and old developmentalism, because both of them subject everything in the world to economic value. But new developmentalism is much more dreadful than old developmentalism on the scale of destruction. We have to stop Mayor Lee, M.B.’s high-speed car of new developmentalism.’ Another critic Cho, Myeong-Rae. (2003)<sup>105</sup> joined Hong in arguing that ‘Lee, M.B.’s *Cheonggyecheon* project pretends to be an environment restoration project, but in reality, it is just a large-scale urban development project to promote the efficiency of downtown land use and urban competitiveness.’ He also insisted that the restoration of history and culture through the *Cheonggyecheon* project was only an instrument for urban development.

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<sup>103</sup> Hankooki.com, Nov. 3, 2005, <http://news.hankooki.com/lpage/society/200510/h2005101118083822040.htm>, accessed on February 21, 2009

<sup>104</sup> Hong, Sung Tae (2004), ‘Cheonggyecheon Restoration: What is it for?’, *Siminsahoewa NGO(Civil Society and NGO)*, 2, 2, pp.63~85

<sup>105</sup> Cho, Myung-Rae (2003), ‘*Cheonggyecheon ui jaejayeonhwareul dullessan Galdenggwa jaengjeom*’ (Conflicts and Issues on *Cheonggyecheon* restoration), paper submitted to a public hearing on May 21, 2003 organized by Korea Federation for Environmental Movement and 7 NGOs.

Proposing new urbanism (or smart growth characterized by compact infill development) as a new guideline for city regeneration, Hwang, Kee Yeon (2006)<sup>106</sup> revealed that the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was influenced by urbanism and smart growth in that the project aimed to achieve the goal of the preservation of history and environment, one of the two goals of Seoul's downtown revitalization plan together with sustainable development featuring the adjustment of height, development density, and floor space ratios.

Cho, in another paper (2005),<sup>107</sup> reiterated that the *Cheonggyecheon* project in reality was just an urban redevelopment project disguising itself as an ecology and history restoration project. According to him, the characteristic of the *Cheonggyecheon* project did not have any relationship with the restoration of ecology or history. To him, the project, in reality, was about the construction of a public riverside park. Lim, Chang-Bok (2005)<sup>108</sup> pointed out that misusing the term 'restoration' in the project might have resulted in exhaustive debates about the authenticity of the restoration implemented under the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration plan.

Since its inception, the project has continuously defined itself as a restoration project. Korean *Cheonggyecheon Bokwon* has become a proper noun signifying the historical *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project and its result. In view of this high level of criticism of the project as a restoration project, the question must be asked, is it really a restoration project? Restoration is only one of the key processes of heritage conservation. So far, various arguments have been made about the characteristics of the project, but no analysis has been made based on the principles of important heritage charters. Thus, it is meaningful to analyze the characteristics of the *Cheonggyecheon* project by this approach. In the following section, this paper will try to identify the characteristic of the *Cheonggyecheon* project by reviewing the definitions of restoration from various heritage conservation principles, especially highlighting the Burra Charter principles.

## 5.2. Definitions of restoration

### (1) Korean principles

In Korea, the regulatory framework for heritage conservation is basically provided by 'the Cultural Heritage Protection Act' (amended 2007) and its decree, regulation, and ordinance. Cultural properties are categorized into two levels: state-designated heritage and municipal-designated heritage. The main regulatory body is the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA), which is responsible for overall

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<sup>106</sup> Hwang, Kee Yeon, *Cheonggye-chen* Restoration & City Regeneration, the International symposium on Cheonggyecheon Restoration, pp.143-159

<sup>107</sup> Cho, Myung-Rae (2005), Achievement and limit of Cheonggyecheon Restoration, *KSCE Journal of Civil Engineering*, 53, 11, pp. 140-155

<sup>108</sup> Lim, Chang-Bok (2005), *Hacheongwon Geonchukhwai Sae Model* (trans. New model for the construction of river park), *SPACE*, 456<sup>th</sup> issue, Re-excerpted from Cho, Myung-Rae (2005), p.153

policymaking and implementation. The Heritage Committee is established within the CHA to investigate and deliberate on matters pertaining to the conservation, management, and utilization of cultural heritage.<sup>109</sup> Each municipality (city and province) has its own heritage committee and ordinance. The heritage committee at the municipal level investigates and deliberates on matters pertaining to the conservation, management, and utilization of municipally designated heritage.<sup>110</sup> Following this regulation, the Seoul Metropolitan Government has its own heritage management system and heritage committee. According to Article 3, the Protection of Cultural Properties Act, any conservation, management, and utilization of cultural properties shall be performed on the basic principle of maintaining their original form. However, the Act does not provide detailed definitions of protective processes such as 'restoration.'

In 1997, the Cultural Heritage Charter was proclaimed by the CHA. According to the charter, cultural heritage must be preserved in its original condition, and cultural heritage, as well as their surroundings, must be protected from indiscriminate development. Proclaiming only basic missions and simple principles, the charter does not provide any elaborated definitions of key processes of heritage conservation or restoration.

The official definition of restoration in the archaeological dictionary of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage might be taken as a guide. According to it, restoration means 'returning a damaged relic to its original condition' in a narrow sense or 'archaeological reconstruction of the past' in the broad sense.<sup>111</sup> This is a literary definition and not sufficient for practical application especially given that structures can not ever be returned to their original condition.

Based on the review above, it could be said that the basic principle for conservation in Korea is to maintain a cultural heritage site or relic in its original form or to preserve it in its original conditions as well as to protect its surroundings from indiscriminate development. It is notable that the conservation of heritage sites and their surroundings (setting) are integrated in one context. Meanwhile, 'restoration' is defined as a process to return damaged relics to their original condition.

In Korea, however, there is no in-depth guideline providing more detailed standards for various processes of heritage conservation. This means the heritage policy establishment in Korea is heavily dependent on the decisions of heritage committee members, which could be improvised and arbitrary including their interpretations of the meaning of 'original' conditions.

## **(2) Burra Charter principles**

The Burra Charter was adopted by Australia ICOMOS in 1979 at Burra, in South Australia. Revisions were adopted in 1981, 1988, and 1999. Considering the

<sup>109</sup> Article 4(1), the Protection of Cultural Properties Act

<sup>110</sup> Article 71 and 72, the Protection of Cultural Properties Act

<sup>111</sup> <http://www.nrich.go.kr/kr/data/> accessed on February 21, 2009

basic principles of the Venice Charter (1964) and the Resolutions of the 5<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the ICOMOS, the Burra Charter provides for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance. Although the charter is based on the knowledge and experience of Australia ICOMOS members, it contains universally applicable guidelines. It has had a great influence upon drawing up some important guidelines in the Asian region such as the 'Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China'<sup>112</sup> and the 'Hoi An Protocols.'<sup>113</sup> Let's review the key concepts of the heritage conservation processes defined in the Burra Charter. These concepts will be used to identify the characteristics of the *Cheonggyecheon* 'restoration' project in the later part of this chapter.

'Conservation' means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance (Article 1. 4). Conservation may, according to circumstances, include the processes of retention or reintroduction of a use; retention of associations and meanings; maintenance, preservation, restoration, reconstruction, adaptation, and interpretation; and will commonly include a combination of more than one of these (Article 14). Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social, or spiritual value for past, present, and future generations and is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places, and related objects (Article 1. 2).

Restoration is defined in the Burra Charter as returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material (Article 1. 7). Restoration is appropriate only if there is sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the fabric (Article 19). 'Reconstruction' means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material (Article 1. 8). 'Adaptation' means modifying a place to suit the existing use or a proposed use (Article 1. 9).

The explicit identification and preservation of cultural significance (artistic, historical, scientific, and social values) are the guiding philosophy of the Burra Charter. This concept has been accepted as being of central importance in preserving sites and places.<sup>114</sup> Even change or intervention is acceptable if it retains or involves minimal impact on cultural significance.

### **(3) Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (China principles)**

The China principles divide restoration into minor restoration and major restoration. The nuance on restoration is a little bit different from that of the Burra Charter. The China principles provide more detailed guidelines that are applicable to

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<sup>112</sup> In Introduction, Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China, the Chairman of China ICOMOS accepted the Chinese side drew on the content of the Burra Charter and the experience of Australia.

<sup>113</sup> In Preamble, Hoi An Protocol, it was especially stated that the Experts called attention to the regional relevance of the provisions of the Burra Charter.

<sup>114</sup> Foreword, Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China

Korean practices.

Minor restoration comprises a general set of intervention measures that may be undertaken provided the original structure is not disturbed, new components are not added, and the existing condition is basically unaltered... , removing later additions that are without significance (Article 31). Major restoration is an intervention involving the most impact to the original fabric. Major restoration includes returning a structure to a stable condition through the use of essential reinforcing elements and repair or replacement of damaged or missing components. The decision to restore through a complete disassembly of the structure should be taken with caution.....after restorations are completed, the sites must be returned to in their historic condition. Relocation, when approved, also belongs in this category of intervention (Article 32).

The aim of minor and major restoration is to remedy structural dangers, to repair damaged components, and to reinstate a site's historic condition the method used to return a site to its historic condition (Commentary on the principles 3.3.3).

In the China principles, the main conservation principle is the retention of the historic condition. The conservation process is not allowed to change the heritage site's historic condition.<sup>115</sup> The historic condition of a setting must also be retained. Historic condition, commonly translated as original state or original condition, is a term used in the 1982 Law of the Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics and has been central to discussions on heritage sites. Historic condition is generally understood to refer to the condition of a site through historical time—that is, the site's fabric and components assessed as having value when it was formally inscribed as a protected entity.<sup>116</sup>

#### (4) Comparison of principles

In the following table, the heritage conservation principles of Korea, Australia (Burra), and China are compared:

	<b>Korean principle</b>	<b>Burra Charter</b>	<b>China Principles</b>
Conservation philosophy	To preserve cultural heritages in their original condition as well as to protect their surroundings from indiscriminate development.	To identify and preserve cultural significance (artistic, historical, scientific, and social values)	To preserve cultural heritages and setting in their historic condition (original condition).
On restoration	To return damaged relics to their original condition	To return the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state	To return a site to its historic condition
On removal	No detailed guideline	Removing later	Removing

<sup>115</sup> Commentary 3.1, Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China

<sup>116</sup> English-Chinese Glossary, Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China

	is available.	additions that are without significance	accretions
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Figure 99: Comparison of heritage conservation principles

Korea, China, and Australia share almost the same philosophy of conserving a heritage site in its original condition while the Burra Charter puts more emphasis on the retention of cultural significance. The countries also share nearly the same definition of restoration, which is ‘to return something to its original condition (Korea and China) or a known earlier state (Australia) and remove later added structures and components as having no value (China and Australia).’

### 5.3 Identifying characteristics of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project

#### *Background*

To identify the characteristics of the *Cheonggyecheon* project, we need to examine the master plan that provided the basic framework for the project. The master plan for the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was called ‘The Basic Plan for *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration and Feasibility Study’. As the name of the plan implies an association with heritage conservation, the plan was regarded as a heritage conservation plan that played a fundamental role in forming the current appearance of *Cheonggyecheon*.

For conservation practices, the Burra Charter suggests a sequential process of investigations, decisions, and actions. Simply put, this is (1) gathering and recording information, (2) assessing cultural significance, (3) understanding significance, (4) developing policy, and (5) managing the site. In the Burra Charter, explicit identification and preservation of value of heritage places is guiding philosophy. Therefore, in order to understand and assess the values of heritage places (cultural significance of a place), comprehensive surveys including archaeological excavation must be undertaken prior to work on a place.<sup>117</sup>

In the case of the *Cheonggyecheon* project, surveys were made superficially and in improper order. An archival survey was undertaken, and a report was published in December 2002,<sup>118</sup> five months after the establishment of the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project Headquarters in July 2002. The draft master plan for the restoration project was announced on February 11, 2003, and at the same time the undertaking of an aboveground survey into the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream commenced. Three months later, the master plan was approved and adopted on May 1, 2003. Finally, removal work began on July 1, 2003, two months after the adoption of the restoration plan. Shortly after the commencement of the removal work, a ruling enforcing an intensive archaeological excavation came out from the national heritage committee. This occasion showed that the developing policy (the master plan) was made without

<sup>117</sup> Article 6.1 and 26.1. Burra Charter

<sup>118</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002)

complete and intensive prior surveys.

Unlike the Burra Charter practice for conservation planning, the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration plan (the master plan) does not contain cultural significance statements about *Cheonggyecheon*. Instead, the plan asserts that the *Cheonggyecheon*, as an urban stream suffering from continuous contamination and flooding, lost its original character as a stream by continuous human interventions (such as digging, dredging, and covering up) and became a downtown sewer. The pollution of the stream hindered the development of the surrounding area. Therefore, the plan saw itself as a plan to restore the lost original character as a stream and remedy the backwardness of the surrounding area. Thus, the historical meaning of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is defined as follows:<sup>119</sup>

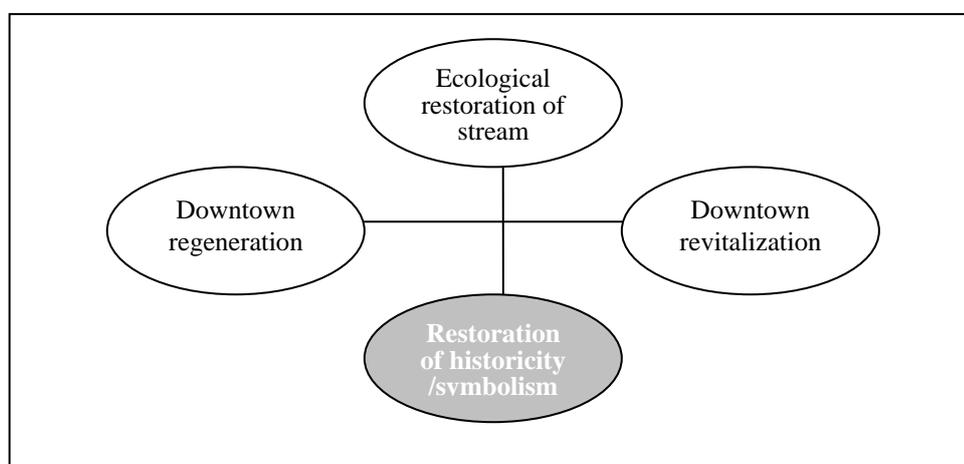


Figure 100: Historical meaning of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project

To accomplish the abovementioned meaning, the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is undertaken through the following three processes:

- ◆ Removal of cover: to remove the road and elevated highway superimposed above the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream
- ◆ Restoration of history: to restore historical sites represented by *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo*
- ◆ Restoration of environment (or ecology): to restore the character as a stream in the distance of 5.8 kilometers

As indicated in the historical meaning items, the plan might be a part of an urban regeneration plan. A restoration plan without a cultural significance statement could generate detrimental results that conservationists worry about. These will be shown in the following analyses on the three processes under the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project.

#### ***Characteristic of removal of cover***

The covering-up work for the *Cheonggyecheon* began in 1959 and ended in

<sup>119</sup> Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), p.48

1979, creating the 5.6 kilometers long superimposed structure (cover-up road and elevated highway) above the *Cheonggyecheon*. Without further interventions, the removal of such added structure only returns the stream to the state before 1959. In this case, the usage of the term 'restoration' in the project name could be justified because removing later additions (or accretions) of little significance is a key feature of restoration work as shown in the figure 99.

Meanwhile, the cover-up road and elevated highway superimposed above the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream could be regarded as a heritage site. This could be considered as a modern heritage site contributing to the modernization and industrialization of Seoul and having social and historical values that had never been considered. According to the Burra Charter, if a place includes different aspects of cultural significance, emphasizing one period or aspect at the expense of another can only be justified when what is removed is of little cultural significance and that which is emphasized is of much greater cultural significance.<sup>120</sup> Although the cultural significance of the superstructures was not officially discussed, it is interpretable that they were of less cultural significance than that of the stream. The demand for removal of the cover-up road and elevated highway to make the stream open was so dominating at that time that they had to be dismantled, and now only fragments survive as relics for collective memory (refer to photo 87 in the previous chapter).

### *Characteristics of interventions in historical places*

According to the restoration plan, the relics of *Cheonggyecheon* are divided into three groups: (a) shape of the stream and both banks, (b) bridges, and (c) other relics.<sup>121</sup> After the removal work was completed, following the decision of the National Heritage Committee, an archaeological survey was undertaken from September 30, 2003, until June 10, 2004. The result is shown in Figure 18 in the previous chapter.

#### (1) Intervention in stone embankment

After the release of the archaeological survey report, the restoration of the stone embankment found on both banks of the stream and the bridges soon became an issue for debate.



Figure 101: Stone embankment when found

<sup>120</sup> Article 15.4. Burra Charter

<sup>121</sup> Seoul Development Institute *et al.*(2003), p.56

(Source of photos: the *Hangyoreh*, June 13, 2004)

According to the Annals of the *Joseon* Dynasty, the stone embankment was constructed in 1773 following the command of King *Yeongjo*.<sup>122</sup> Lee Hee Duk, one of the originators of *Cheonggyecheon* restoration idea, defined King *Yeongjo*'s construction of stone embankment as one of the greatest historical events comparable with the invention of *Hangeul* (Korean characters) by King *Sejong*.<sup>123</sup> Therefore, this archaeological finding testifies to the truth of the historical records. Especially, the 240-meter-long stone embankment installed between *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Jangtong-gyo* was the largest stone structure found in the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. It showed the high level of building technique of stone embankment employed at that time.<sup>124</sup> It was also regarded as a symbol showing the economic power of the late period of the *Joseon* Dynasty.<sup>125</sup> In addition, the stone embankment was valued as a foundation for restoring the original shape of *Cheonggyecheon*.<sup>126</sup>

However, the stone embankment was disassembled and moved to an empty area of the *Junglang* Sewage Treatment Plant between February and May of 2004.<sup>127</sup> Part of the stone embankment had been damaged by the contractor of the section who had dug in the ground without any protective measure for it. Civil groups brought a complaint against Mayor Lee, M.B. for the damage. Later it was revealed that the SMG allowed the contractor to do the work in spite of the heritage experts' recommendation that any disassembly and relocation should be preceded by an intensive survey.<sup>128</sup> On June 25, 2004, the SMG decided to use the disassembled stones to decorate the banks of the new site for relocation of *Gwangtong-gyo*.<sup>129</sup> About half of the disassembled stones were used to decorate *Gwangtong-gyo* while the remaining half was planned to be used for the decoration of *Supyo-gyo*.<sup>130</sup>

The SMG's intervention on the stone embankment was made in two processes. During the first process, the stone embankment was removed from its original site while part of it was damaged during the construction work. During the second process, it was used as material for revetment near *Gwangtong-gyo*, which was relocated to the current site from its original place. The reason for the first process (disassembly and relocated to a temporary keeping place) was, according to the SMG accounts, to protect the bridge from possible damage and flood.<sup>131</sup> In the master plan adopted prior to the commencement of the removal work on the superstructure, the

<sup>122</sup> *Yeongjo* Chronicle, vol.120, 49<sup>th</sup> year, June 19, <http://sillok.history.go.kr/> accessed March 25, 2009

<sup>123</sup> *The Hankyoreh*, July 23, 2003, <http://news.nate.com/view/20030723n00088>, accessed on September 15, 2008

<sup>124</sup> Gyoenghyang.com, Dec 17, 2006, [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?artid=200612171651191&code=960201](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=200612171651191&code=960201), accessed on February 23, 2009

<sup>125</sup> *Weekly Donga*, Mar. 11, 2004, [http://weekly.donga.com/docs/magazine/weekly/2004/03/11/200403110500030/200403110500030\\_1.html](http://weekly.donga.com/docs/magazine/weekly/2004/03/11/200403110500030/200403110500030_1.html), accessed on February 23, 2009

<sup>126</sup> *The Hankyoreh* June 13, 2004, *op. cit*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *The Hankyoreh*, March 3, 2004, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005000000/2004/03/005000000200403030012009.html>, accessed on February 23, 2009

<sup>129</sup> SMG (2006), p. 1139

<sup>130</sup> *The Hankyoreh* June 27, 2004, *op. cit*

<sup>131</sup> *The Hankyoreh* June 13, 2004, *op. cit*

possibility of restoring both banks of the stream was conclusively dismissed.<sup>132</sup>

According to the Burra Charter, physical location is a part of a site's cultural significance. Relocation is generally unacceptable unless this is the sole practical means of ensuring the monument's survival.<sup>133</sup> The China principles assert that only in the face of uncontrollable natural threats or when a major development project is undertaken and relocation is the sole means conserving a site, may the heritage monument be moved in its historic conditions.<sup>134</sup> The Hoi An Protocol stipulates that relocation of a monument should only be considered as a last resort if preservation in situ is impossible.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, for heritage conservation purposes, the condition for relocation is very limited: such cases as preservation or major development project. In any case, the cultural significance or historic condition cannot be reduced or damaged.

In the case of the stone embankment of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream, the causes of damage protection for the stone embankment and flood control for the stream would be acceptable for relocation if they are true causes. For the flood control cause, the SMG failed to provide exact data, and there were strong counterarguments that regarded the cause as groundless. Civil groups were suspicious about why the SMG hurried the project so quickly. The project was undertaken in the 'fast-track turnkey' method setting the deadline at the end of September 2005. This kind of method inevitably put priority on development rather than conservation. The damage done to the stone embankment was a result of the restless implementation of the project by this method.

What about the other cause—damage protection? Did the SMG really want to protect the stone embankment from natural threat as suggested in the China principles? Some of the disassembled stones were installed for use as material for building a revetment near *Gwangtong-gyo*, which was relocated to the present site, 155 meters away from the original site. The remaining embankment stones were reserved for the decoration of the revetment near the *Supyo-gyo* site planned for relocation by 2010. This type of installation can be regarded as a new use or re-use. This new use has a decorative element. According to the philosophy of the Burra Charter and other Asian conservation principles, a change cannot reduce or damage the cultural significance of a heritage. Such decorative use does not have any association with its own cultural significance such as historical, social, and scientific values that the stone embankment is believed to have. By disassembling the embankment piece by piece and mobilizing the pieces for non-associable use for two different sites, the stone embankment built by King *Yeongjo* lost its own location, setting, original form, and authenticity.

In the case of the intervention to the stone embankment, such as relocation and re-use, the work is found to have no strong association with the term 'restoration.' Rather, the SMG's intervention looks merely to be an act of destroying one of the most valuable heritage relics having such a wide range of cultural significance as aesthetic,

<sup>132</sup> Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), p. 56

<sup>133</sup> Burra Charter Article 9

<sup>134</sup> Principles for Conservation of Heritage sites in China, Article 18

<sup>135</sup> Hoian Protocols Monuments, buildings, and structures 4.2.(4)

historic and scientific values. As shown earlier, the master plan was made without complete prior surveys. The stone embankment was found as a result of intensive archaeological excavations enforced by a ruling issued just after the project work officially commenced. The SMG's removal of this valuable heritage strongly indicates that the SMG lacked the genuine willingness to follow the guiding conservation principles.

## (2) Intervention in *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo*

As discussed in chapter 3, the preservationist philosophy-conservation of *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo* in their original condition didn't come true. Currently, neither of the ancient bridges is situated in its own original location. Neither one remained in its own original location. The status of relocation of the two bridges is shown in the following figure.

	Bridge name (year of relocation)	Original location	Current location
1.	<i>Gwangtong-gyo</i> (2005)	<i>Gwang-gyo</i> ( <i>Namdaemun-ro 1 ga</i> ), <i>Jung-gu</i> District, Seoul	<i>Seorin-dong, Jongro-gu</i> , District, Seoul
2.	<i>Supyo-gyo</i> (1959)	<i>Supyo-dong, Jung-gu</i> District, Seoul	<i>Jangchungdan Park, Jung-gu</i> District, Seoul

Figure 102: Status of relocation change of two ancient bridges

The SMG's policy to preserve the bridges in their relocated sites is seemingly to protect them from possible damage caused by flooding and for smoothing traffic control. Then, is this policy justifiable? Let's review it in the following analysis.

*Gwangtong-gyo* was built in 1410 using stones taken from the royal tomb of Queen Dowager by King *Taejong* and enlarged in 1762 by King *Yeongjo*.<sup>136</sup> The stone bridge was located in the heart of *Hanyang* (ancient Seoul) linking two main roads *Jong-ro* in the north and *Namdaemun-ro* in the south, which were once the central passage of the capital city during the *Joseon* period. As the name *Gwangtong-gyo* means 'bridge connecting wide roads,' the name and the place are very strongly inter-associated. The bridge was also used for royal processions. *Gwangtong-gyo* was the widest (15 meters wide and 12 meters long) and the most magnificent of all the bridges built within the walled capital of the *Joseon* Kingdom.<sup>137</sup> The bridge formed an important part of cultural landscape of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. The bridge was also the center for folk festivals.<sup>138</sup> People still call the original site of *Gwangtong-gyo* and nearby area *Gwang-gyo*, a shortened name, even when the bridge was buried underground.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Cultural Heritage Administration, Heritage information. <http://english.cha.go.kr/> accessed on February 24, 2009

<sup>137</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002), pp.21-22

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.81-85

<sup>139</sup> Empas encyclopedia, <http://100.empas.com/dicsearch/pentry.html?s=K&i=235418>, accessed on February 24, 2009

*Gwangtong-gyo* is currently located 155 meters away from the original site. The main reason for this relocation was traffic. After the demolition of the cover-up road, a new bridge was planned to be constructed in that area. The new bridge was going to connect *Jong-ro* Street in the north and *Namdaemun-ro* Street in the south. As the location of *Gwangtong-gyo* was part of the new road, in order to conserve the ancient bridge in its original site, it would be inevitable for the new 8-lane bridge to be reduced to a 4-lane road. Thus, the SMG argued it would aggravate the traffic situation.<sup>140</sup> After the HSSC final ruling on October 26, 2004, the ancient bridge was completely disassembled and relocated to the new site, and the damaged upper part was restored. The new bridge was named after the ancient bridge *Gwang-gyo*.

According to the Burra Charter principles, the physical location of a place is part of its cultural significance. A building, work, or other component of a place should remain in its historical location. Relocation is generally unacceptable unless this is the sole practical means of ensuring the bridge's survival.<sup>141</sup> As historians pointed out, the ancient bridge was physically and historically associated with its setting and function to connect the *Jong-ro* road in the north and the *Namdaemun-ro* road in the south. As pointed out above, the name of the bridge explicitly expresses a very special association between the ancient heritage (the bridge) and the setting (two main streets). So, the relocation undoubtedly would hurt the historical element of the bridge's cultural significance.<sup>142</sup> According to the principles of the Venice Charter,<sup>143</sup> the China principles,<sup>144</sup> and the Hoi An protocols,<sup>145</sup> relocation is permissible only as a last resort for preservation or justifiable by national or international interest of paramount importance. As shown above, for conservationists, it is not convincing for the relocation of *Gwangtong-gyo* to the new (current) site to be a last resort for conservation. The SMG argues that the relocation was the last resort decision for traffic and preservation purposes. But it is more likely that another solution to the relocation could have been determined with better planning.

SMG's decision looks quite defensible in that the historic structure is not able to accommodate essential vehicular movement along a major urban artery. However, another issue is raised in connection with Article 9.3. of the Burra Charter principles: Is the new location most appropriate to maintain cultural significance? As we reviewed above, the cultural significance of the ancient bridge is strongly associated with its original location and setting. It is quite difficult to find any close association between the original site and the current relocated site, which is 155 meters away from the original site up the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream. The relocated *Gwangtong-gyo* is still situated on the part of *Cheonggyecheon* Stream and used for pedestrian crossing as it was in the past. However, there is no main big road for the ancient bridge to link in the new setting, which is rather a simple and quiet place. The south end of the ancient

<sup>140</sup> *Hankyoreh* 21Magazine, 'Mayor's bulldozer runs', April 27, 2004, <http://news.nate.com/view/20040427n05274>, accessed on October 4, 2008

<sup>141</sup> Burra Charter Article (9.1)

<sup>142</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, June 9, 2004, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005000000/2004/06/005000000200406091943615.html>, accessed on October 4, 2008

<sup>143</sup> Venice Charter article 7

<sup>144</sup> Principles for Conservation of Heritage sites in China Article 18

<sup>145</sup> Hoian Protocols Monuments, buildings, and structures 4.2.(4)

bridge is extended by a new bridge as the width of the reshaped stream was longer than the length of the ancient bridge. This extension reduces the aesthetic value of the ancient bridge. Moreover, the site belongs to a different district. Nho, S.H., one of originators of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration idea, points out that the relocated *Gwangtong-gyo* is not *Gwangtong-gyo* anymore.<sup>147</sup>



Figure 103: *Gwangtong-gyo* and extension  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh showing an extension to the left side of *Gwangtong-gyo*)

An alternative site was proposed for the relocation of the bridge: only 20-30 meters downstream from the original site, to be relocated beside the new bridge road. Among historians and civil groups, this alternative location was evaluated to be more appropriate as the bridge would stand within the original setting.<sup>146</sup> The proposed location still belongs to the same area called *Gwang-gyo*, which is the shortened name of *Gwangtong-gyo*, and has very strong associations. In addition, the construction of an underground motorway was also proposed for the new bridge as an alternative option.<sup>147</sup>

Even though the SMG's argument for the relocation is defensible, the new location and the structural extension fail to maintain the ancient bridge's cultural significance. The relocated ancient bridge is not starring (or a landmark) in the new place but merely becomes a stranger in a foreign country. It looks like a relic without an identity and an object displayed in an open air museum or heritage park.<sup>148</sup> The bridge seems to be a mere image of the ancient bridge without any authenticity. The alternative location proposed by civic groups looks more appropriate to maintain the historic bridge's cultural significance.

Turning to *Supyo-gyo*, the approach was somewhat different. *Supyo-gyo* is one of the two most famous bridges in *Hanyang* along with *Gwangtong-gyo*. The bridge was built in 1420 during the reign of King *Sejong*, who was one of the greatest kings in Korea. As there had been a horse market in a nearby area when the bridge was first built, it was called *Majeon-gyo* (meaning 'horse market bridge'). In 1441, King *Sejong* ordered the installation of a pole to gauge the water level of *Cheonggyecheon* Stream west of *Majeon-gyo*. An office was established to make regular reports to the

<sup>147</sup> Ibid

<sup>146</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, June 9, 2004, *op. cit*

<sup>147</sup> Chung, Dong Yang (2002) 'Restoration Strategies for Cheonggyecheon' presented in the International symposium on Cheonggyecheon Restoration. Pp. 66-67

<sup>148</sup> Johnson, Naula C. (1999), 'Framing the past', *Political Geography* 18, 187-207

king on the water levels of *Cheonggyecheon*. The king also ordered nationwide installation of rain gauges. The installation of these meteorological equipments was the first to be made in the history of science. The name was changed to *Supyo-gyo*, meaning ‘bridge of water gauge’ since then. The name of the area surrounding the bridge was changed to *Supyo-dong*, accordingly. In addition, the name has survived until now.<sup>149</sup> In 1760, letters to measure water level were inscribed on the pillars of the bridge, and they are still seen. The bridge was a center for traditional folk games such as *daribapgi* (‘bridge treading’) and *yeonnalligi* (‘kite flying’) played during seasonal festivities.<sup>150</sup> The ancient bridge is inscribed as a tangible cultural property of Seoul (number 18), and the original site was designated as a national historic site (number 461). As indicated above, *Supyo-gyo* includes a colorful spectrum of cultural significance such as historical, scientific, social, and aesthetic values.

The bridge was relocated to the current site in 1959 when the covering up of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream for the new road and elevated highway was undertaken. Since then, the bridge has remained in the current site. During the period of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project, the restoration of the ancient bridge was one of the hottest issues. Restoration in this case means removal from its current site (*Jangchungdan* Park) and reassembly in its original site (*Supyo-dong*). Conservationists thought it should be done following the principle of conservation of heritages in their original conditions. So, they demanded the restoration of the bridge in its original site very strongly. However, their demand was not met.



Figure 104: Original form and replica of *Supyo-gyo*  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

From the initial stage of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project, the SMG was not as positive about the restoration of *Supyo-gyo*. This passive position was indicated in the master plan.<sup>151</sup> Just after the removal work commenced on July 1, 2003, the SMG backed ‘CHEAC’ (Cultural Heritage Experts’ Advisory Council) expressed an opinion that the restoration of *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo* on its original locations was not desirable due to safety and technical reasons on July 15,

<sup>149</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2003), pp.28-29

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.80-83

<sup>151</sup> Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), p.60

2003.<sup>152, 153</sup> Note the time of announcement was long before the completion of intensive archaeological work, the result of which would be a reference for determining the future of the ancient bridge.

By June 2004, following pressure from civil groups and the recommendation by heritage authorities, the SMG had to announce its decision to restore the ancient bridge to its original location not right away but by 2010. Without any effort for restoration of *Supyo-gyo*, the SMG went ahead with planned work on the area (original site): remodeling (reshaping) the stream with the width of both banks narrower than the length of the ancient bridge and installation of similar-looking replica at the original site. Such actions by the SMG were enough to make people suspicious of its will for restoration.<sup>154</sup> One month after the grand opening of the *Cheonggyecheon* Stream on October 1, 2005, the Heritage Committee of Seoul City published their opinion that the restoration of *Supyo-gyo* to its original site is not desirable for preservation of the ancient bridge.<sup>155</sup> The conservationist camp immediately refuted the committee's decision that there would be no technical difficulty if the SMG had a real will for conservation.<sup>156</sup>

Article 9.2 of the Burra Charter can apply to the restoration of *Supyo-gyo*, which was relocated to the current site in 1959. The article asserts, 'Some buildings, works or other components of places were designed to be readily removable or already have a history of relocation. Provided such buildings, works or other components do not have significant links with their present location, removal may be appropriate.' Except for the fact that the original location and the current location are in the same district (*Jung-gu* district) and the same usage, we can't find any significant links between the ancient bridge and the current location (*Jangchungdan* Park). The setting of the current location is composed of a park, hotel (Silla Hotel), and university (*Dongguk* University), which do not contribute to enhancing or maintaining the cultural significance of the ancient bridge. The current location *Jangchungdan* is a park for national compatriots whereas the original location name *Supyo-dong*, as the name explicitly shows, is the place the ancient bridge gave birth to.

At the original site, there is a simple replica made of a completely different material from the original one, and the replica does not provide any impressive sense of place. It looks like a mass produced prefabricated bridge of traditional design. It doesn't have any authentic or justifiable element of reconstruction. From conservationist viewpoint, it substantially reduces and distorts heritage value of the location and setting. So it should probably be demolished. For conservationists, there are enough reasons to restore the ancient bridge to its original condition (or historic condition in the term of Chinese principles). By returning to the original site, the

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<sup>152</sup> Seong, (2006), *op. cit*

<sup>153</sup> Cho, M.R. (2003), *op. cit*

<sup>154</sup> The *Hankyoreh*. June 10, 2004, <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005100007/2004/06/005100007200406101724669.html>, accessed on February 13, 2009

<sup>155</sup> The *Yonhap* News, Nov. 3, 2005, <http://news.nate.com/view/20051103n11639>, accessed on February 13, 2009

<sup>156</sup> The *Hankyoreh*. Nov. 4, 2005, <http://news.nate.com/view/20051104n27110>, accessed on February 13, 2009

identity and cultural significance of *Supyo-gyo* would be restored.

### (3) Intervention in other bridges using old bridge names

Within the 5.5-kilometer restored section of *Cheonggyecheon*, there are 21 bridges in total. Among them, seven newly built bridges are named after the original (ancient old) name.<sup>157</sup> The names of the bridges and their origins are described as follows:

	Name	Origin <sup>158</sup>
1	<i>Mojeon-gyo</i>	The name came from the fact that the bridge was originally located at a corner of the fruit market, <i>Mojeon</i> . The original bridge disappeared during the cover-up work by the Japanese colonial government. The overall design of the new bridge contains a traditional motif.
2	<i>Gwang-gyo</i>	The name <i>Gwang-gyo</i> (literally, 'wide bridge') is a shortened version of <i>Gwangtong-gyo</i> that had been a larger bridge located at <i>Gwangtongbang</i> , a district occupying the capital's main roadway linking <i>Jong-ro</i> junction with <i>Namdae-mun</i> . The original bridge was disassembled and relocated to a new site, 155 meters upstream. A new bridge was built on a site including the area of <i>Gwangtong-gyo</i> 's original site and named after <i>Gwang-gyo</i> .
3	<i>Jangtong-gyo</i>	During the <i>Joseon</i> Dynasty, <i>Jangtongbang</i> where the bridge was located was a district resided by merchants and petty functionaries of the government. Thus, the name of the bridge was <i>Jangtong-gyo</i> or for short <i>Jang-gyo</i> (literally, 'long bridge'). The surrounding area is still called <i>Janggyo-dong</i> .
4	<i>Gwansu-gyo</i>	The bridge was originally built in 1918 by the Japanese colonial government on a site in today's <i>Cheonggye 3-ga</i> Junction. The name <i>Gwansu-gyo</i> (literally, 'bridge for watching waters') came from the fact that the water level was watched on the bridge by the <i>Joseon</i> government agency responsible for gauging the water level of the stream and dredging.
5	<i>Majeon-gyo</i>	The name of this bridge was taken from the horse market ( <i>Majeon</i> ) that had once been around the bridge. The bridge was also called <i>Taepyeong-gyo</i> . A motif of a traditional door frame is embodied in the appearance of the bridge.
6	<i>Ogansu-gyo</i>	<i>Ogansu-mun</i> (literally, 'five-bay water gate') was originally located under Seoul's fortress wall south of the East Gate. It was a structure designed for <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> to efficiently drain off. <i>Ogansu-mun</i> had five water gates with stone platforms under them, which were used as a bridge crossing the water. The name <i>Ogansu-gyo</i> came from the stone platform

<sup>157</sup> SMG (2006), p.1023

<sup>158</sup> Described using various official interpretive materials including "1(one)derful Cheonggyecheon, Cheonggyecheon Guide" published by Seoul Metropolitan Government

		bridge.
7	<i>Yeongdo-gyo</i>	The bridge was originally called <i>Yeongdo-dari</i> ('bridge of everlasting separation'). It was right on the bridge that Queen <i>Geongsun</i> said goodbye to her husband, dethroned King <i>Danjong</i> , who was going into exile to face a tragic end.

Figure 105: Newly built bridges using original names

Among the seven bridges described above, the current forms of *Jangtong-gyo* and *Ogansu-gyo* look similar to their original forms. (See the following figures.) However, there is no firm evidence that each of the two bridges is the original one as each name represents. Each bridge is a completely newly built structure made of new material different from that of the original bridge. Moreover, the site each bridge occupies is not the same physical location the original bridge used to occupy. Especially, in the case of *Ogansu-gyo* (bridge), *Ogansu-mun* (gate) is separated. In the past, they were integrated in one form. *Ogansu-gyo*, showing a motif of the ancient fortress, stands between the stream walls while *Ogansumun* sits against one side of the stream walls without functioning water gates. Thus, the current physical forms of *Jangtong-gyo* and *Ogansu-gyo* are not the originals. However, the image and name evoke some associations with the original bridge.

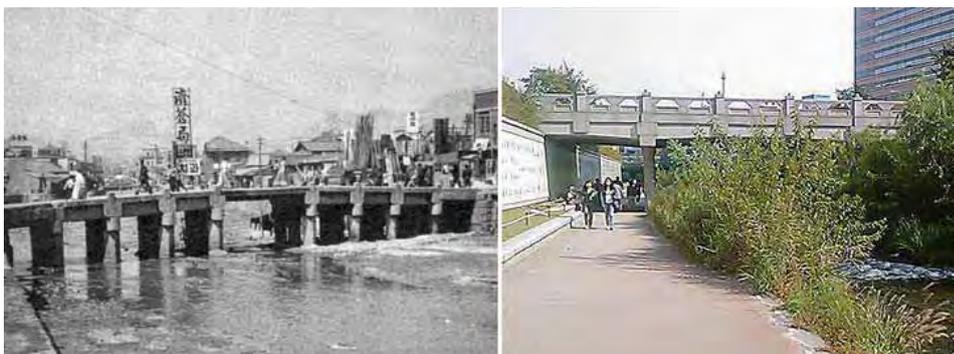


Figure 106: Scene of *Jangtong-gyo* in the 1950s and now  
(Source of left photo: Institute of Seoul Studies, (2002), p. 26. Right photo: by Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 107: Scenes of *Ogansu-mun* in 1900 and now  
(Source of left photo: Institute of Seoul Studies (2003), p. 33. Right photo: by Noh, Jang Suh)

Other bridges are shown in the following figures. One can see that each new bridge is quite different from the old one in its physical shape. Moreover, the material used is not the same, and there is no evidence whether the site on which each new

bridge is located corresponds to the location of the original one as the name represents. Therefore, unlike *Jangtong-gyo* and *Ogansu-gyo*, each of these five bridges looks substantially different from the original ones, visually and physically. Most of these bridges include some degree of traditional motif, which is not directly borrowed from the original, however. Even though each bridge is a newly built bridge with different fabric in an uncertain location, each bridge is, in common, christened with an original place name presumed to be located in the same location. Why is it so? Why does an original place name matter?



Figure 108: Scene of *Mojeon-gyo* in 1937 and now  
(Source of left photo: *The Hankyoreh*. Nov. 16, 2004. Right photo: by Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 109: Scene of *Yeongdo-gyo* in 1958 and now  
(Source of left photo: Institute of Seoul Studies (2003), p. 35. Right photo: by Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 110: Scene of *Majeon-gyo* in 1937 and now  
(Source of left photo: *The Hankyoreh*. Nov. 16, 2004. Right photo: by Noh, Jang Suh)

In a place of cultural significance, a place name is not just the place pointer.

Every birth and every being are given life and image by their name.<sup>159</sup> A place name is the face of a place, and place names are vestiges of existence handed down by human beings.<sup>160</sup> The New South Wales ('NSW') heritage policy regarding place names of heritage values declares, 'Place names don't just tell us where we are, they can be clues to understanding significant stories or signposts to a place's history...'<sup>161</sup> and 'Place names form part of inheritance passed from one generation to the next, and should be respected for their inherent historical, linguistic, aesthetic and social values.'<sup>162</sup> Therefore, a place name is a feature of a heritage and has inseparable relationship with a place.

Then, what happens when a place name without its original physical form of a place (a structure of a bridge in this case) is given to or mixed with a totally different newly built structure? From the standpoint of the Hoi An Protocols, retention of a historical feature (i.e. an old original place name) for incorporation into a modern structure should be discouraged as a conservation approach. The authenticity of a heritage site will rarely survive this sort of dislocation and alteration of setting.<sup>163</sup> Christening<sup>164</sup> might damage the cultural significance of a site where a historic building (or structure) used to exist and is still represented by the original name of the building. Christening might also deny a future opportunity to properly name a reconstructed building which is built based on newly found evidence for the original heritage. Reconstruction may occur where there exists definite evidence that has been confirmed by experts.<sup>165</sup>

In November 2004, photos showing the appearances of some bridges of *Cheonggyecheon*, including *Mojeon-gyo*, were discovered. They first appeared in a magazine published in 1937. After the discovery, some conservationists like Nho, S.H. demanded the reconstruction of these bridges.<sup>171</sup> They insisted the bridges could be reconstructed nearly in an original form referring to the photos and remain in situ such as footing (see the archaeological findings shown in the chapter 3). However, this demand has not materialized. The discovery was only 11 months ahead of the target grand opening date of the project set by the SMG. (September 30, 2005). This occasion shows us the significance of undertaking intensive and complete surveys prior to developing guiding policies (i.e. master plan).

Then why was such christening needed for new structures? All the seven bridges here are completely newly built bridges even if they borrow some degree of similar character from original ones such as *Jangtong-gyo* and *Ogansu-gyo*. However, as analyzed above, from the conservationist's standpoint, these new bridges don't succeed in retaining any cultural significance values of their original bridges. Giving a

<sup>159</sup> Land Museum (1993), Preface

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, Congratulatory message

<sup>161</sup> NSW Heritage Office, Place names of heritage value; a heritage council policy, Introduction

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, Policy statement- place names of heritage value

<sup>163</sup> Hoian Protocols Monuments, buildings, and structures 4.2.(7)

<sup>164</sup> Defined here as giving an original name to a newly built structure

<sup>165</sup> Principles for Conservation of Heritage sites in China Article 25

<sup>171</sup> <http://www.hani.co.kr/section-005000000/2004/11/005000000200411161815241.html> , accessed on February 28, 2009

<sup>172</sup> Johnson (1999), p.189

historical name to or christening the new bridges, by nature, doesn't secure them authenticity. Rather, christening seems to enrich the character of a new structure. Christening seems to have a power to provoke some association with the original structure and provide a close image of it. This might be the so-called 'the awarding of space a past.'<sup>172</sup> A new place given an ancient name provokes some memory of the past, and the new place's association with the past is reinforced by its own interpretation as indicated in Figure 105.

### *Characteristics of intervention in the shape of the stream*

According to the master plan, the purposes of restoring *Cheonggyecheon* are first, restoring the function of a stream (or character as a stream) safe from flood, second, restoring an environmentally friendly eco-system, and third, creating continuous waterside space. To achieve these purposes, the master plan addressed the restoration to (a) secure water control function and improving drainage function, (b) secure at least a two-lane road on both banks, (c) secure parking space for dense shopping streets, (d) maintain the number of north-south link roads at the existing level, (e) secure constant water-friendly environment through sufficient water provision, (f) take the best measure under limited conditions by putting off non-priority tasks to future undertaking, and (h) secure proper stream width and slope.<sup>166</sup>

Therefore, the result of the above directions of restoration work is incorporated into the following typical cross section of stream restoration work:

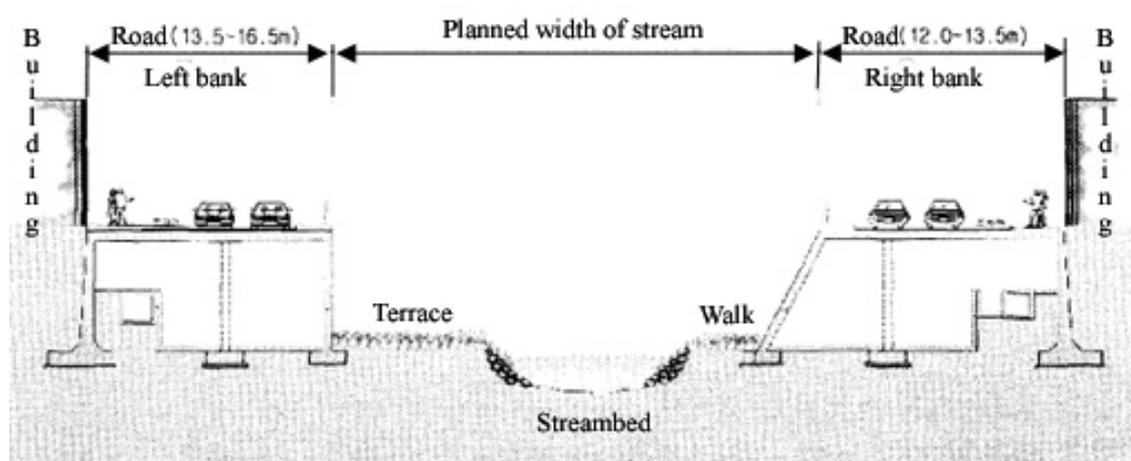


Figure 111: Typical cross section of stream restoration work (II)

(Source: Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), Part II, pp. 1-2)

As shown in the figure, the cover-up road was not completely removed. Only the central four- to six-lane road was removed and the remaining four-lane road was retained for two-lane roadways on both banks. A concrete wall was built on each side of bank. Part of bank wall has been used for installations of wall painting or other landmark items. Terrace spaces on both sides of the stream were secured. The terrace space is used for walking paths and other convenient facilities. The shape of the stream

<sup>166</sup> Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), Part II, pp. 1-2

is straight, and the width of the stream is the same in each section.

As shown above, from the heritage study's point of view, in terms of shape, the so-called restoration work for the stream in fact doesn't show us any conspicuous feature of restoration. The stream was completely reshaped and re-embanked. Of course, it is not easy to find a reference time for restoration as many interventions have been made to the stream. From the Japanese colonial period to the industrialization of Seoul, the stream was damaged a lot while its setting was changed a lot. Whatever the reason, the stream has not been restored. Rather, the work, by definition, is closer to 'rehabilitation,' which is defined as the modification, including adaptive re-use, of resource to meet various functional requirements while preserving the historic character of the structure.<sup>167</sup>



Figure 112: Scene of the reshaped stream  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

However, the way in which such rehabilitation work was made is not in harmony with some conservation work on historic monuments of *Cheonggyecheon*. As shown in the cases of *Gwangtong-gyo* and *Supyo-gyo*, the uniform feature of the stream such as the width, resulted in an extension to *Gwangtong-gyo*, which is shorter than the width of stream. On the contrary, the relocation of *Supyo-gyo* to its original location was not materialized because the length of the bridge is longer than the width of the stream. The rehabilitation work failed to restore the stream's more natural shape. The conservationist camp wished restoration of natural shape of the stream, but this wish was not honored by the SMG, which decided to remove the stone embankment.<sup>168</sup>

Hong, Sung Tae (2004) criticized the reshaping of *Cheonggyecheon* at the expense of the ancient stone embankment as an act of destroying historical heritage. He characterized the work not as a restoration project but as an urban redevelopment project by which people walk on an artificial riverside terrace installed between the formidable cement walls of both banks.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Hoian Protocols, Definitions

<sup>168</sup> The *Hankyoreh* June 13, 2004, *op. cit*

<sup>169</sup> Hong, Sung-Tae (2004), 'Cheonggyecheon Restoration: What is it for?', *Siminsahoewa NGO*(Civil

Cho, M.R. (2005:148-149) introduced the convention of people calling the stream 'a long aquarium' equipped with fountains, lighting fixtures, walk paths, wall paintings, and water provision facility. *Cheonggyecheon* is a spectacular urban garden as well as a park where a dramatic nature scene is staged by letting 40-centimeter-high water flow through the 5.8-kilometers section. To create this spectacle image, 120,000 tons of water per day should be pumped from *Hangang* River and other source of water, which makes the project characterized as unsustainable and anti-ecological.

#### 5.4 Evaluation: *Restoration and authenticity*

As reviewed so far, the implementation of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project exposed various aspects of issues and problems. On or before the implementation of the project, fierce conflicts went on. Even after the completion of the project, debates continued. At the center of the debates is the issue of characterizing the project. The official title of the project expresses itself as a restoration project. However, this characterization has been challenged by many critics. The planners represented by the SMG tend to utilize the vocabulary for wider meaning while opponents represented by the conservationist group tend to use the word within a stricter definition. It is believed that using the term 'restoration' might be justified in the broader sense and it would lose correct meaning.

As most geneses begin with a water element, *Cheonggyecheon* forms the genesis of ancient Seoul and is one of the most important features of Seoul's identity. As long as Seoul exists, *Cheonggyecheon* should be open and function as a waterway. In a broader sense, removing the superimposed structures and opening the stream to the air only could be called a restoration—restoration from burial for almost 50 years. It means a restoration of the symbolic significance of the stream. Even a critic recognizes it as meaningful to see the return of *Cheonggyecheon* after half a century's burial under cement structures.<sup>170</sup>

Although *Cheonggyecheon* is an artificial stream, it provides people with a water-friendly environment and opportunities for various activities and events. Thus, the project restores the function of *Cheonggyecheon* as a space for cultural activities as in the past *Cheonggyecheon* was a space for folk games and festivities such as *daribapgi* ('bridge treading') and *yeonmallig* ('kite flying'). Even the very critical Cho, M.R. (2005) acknowledges that experiences in *Cheonggyecheon* sufficiently might increase nostalgia and susceptibility to nature.<sup>171</sup> Therefore, in a broader sense, *Cheonggyecheon* has been restored to its significance of making us enjoy various social activities.

*Cheonggyecheon* has come to be a new cultural landscape with ancient or

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*Society and NGO*), 2, 2, pp.63~85

<sup>170</sup> Hwang, Pyeong Woo, Oct. 4, 2007. source: <http://www.chpri.org/> accessed February 23, 2009

<sup>171</sup> Cho M.R. (2005), pp. 146

newly built bridges in a modern setting as in the past. *Cheonggyecheon* has become a cultural landscape with bridges and a setting. The contemporary setting is completely different however from the setting of the past. Except for *Gwangtong-gyo*, the fabric and design of the new bridges are different from those of the ancient bridges. The reshaped modern *Cheonggyecheon* has created a new modern urban cultural landscape. In a broader sense, *Cheonggyecheon* has been restored to its significance of giving us an aesthetic sense of place.

However, in a narrower sense, as analyzed before, the project raises the issues about ‘authenticity,’ especially in relation to the historical restoration. Drawing on the Burra Charter and the China principles, the term ‘restoration’ and its application as a conservation work process is very strictly defined. As summarized in the following Figure 113, the authenticity of historical monuments of *Cheonggyecheon* doesn’t reach the standards of the Burra Charter and other principles. Thus, from the standpoint of the conservationist approach, the use of the term ‘restoration’ is not justifiable in the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. Even from an ecological point of view, the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is neither authentic nor sustainable.

The SMG set the deadline for the project completion. From the commencement on July 1, 2003, the SMG wished to finish the project within 24 months. In reality, the project took 27 months until the Grand Opening, which took place on October 1, 2005. Seemingly, the deadline was set to minimize the losses of nearby businesses. However, it is said that the setting of the deadline was related to Mayor Lee, M.B.’s term of office, which is four years; his term was scheduled to end in June 2006. And this early completion could earn him enough time to prepare to run for the presidency for which the election was going to be held in December 2007. To secure completion within the deadline, the SMG introduced the fast-track turnkey method as a work undertaking process. It divided the whole section of work into three sub-sections by theme and ordered demolition-design-construction in bulk turnkey method.<sup>172</sup> From the conservationist viewpoint, this type of construction method is not justifiable for a restoration work that, by nature, would take endless time.<sup>173</sup>

Summing up, the characteristic of SMG’s *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is quite symbolic in a sense that the project lacked a concrete and strict basis and contradicted basic conservation principles. As shown in the following figure, the interventions made under the name of *Cheonggyecheon* ‘restoration’ project are evaluated as failing to restore the cultural significances of the architectural heritage of *Cheonggyecheon*. Instead, the historical objects of *Cheonggyecheon* seem to have been mobilized for making some images. It looks like authenticity was not a priority. The space of *Cheonggyecheon* is full of ‘fake’ images.

	Monuments	Intervention (feature)	Evaluation
1	Ancient stone embankment	Remove → reuse for decoration for other place (Decoration)	Such decorative use for other place reduces its cultural significance and has no strong

<sup>172</sup> Lee, In Keun (2006), p.117

<sup>173</sup> Hong (2004), pp.77~78

			association with the term 'restoration.'
2	<i>Gwangtong-gyo</i>	Disassembly→ relocation→ Reassembly (Museumification)	The relocation and extension fail to maintain most of its cultural significance. With a new setting and extension, the relocated ancient bridge is not starring (or a landmark) in the new place. It looks like an identity-less relic displayed in an open-air museum with little authenticity.
3	<i>Supyo-gyo</i>	Postpone relocation to original site. Instead, a replica is installed. (Replication)	Can't find any significant links between the bridge and the current location, which doesn't contribute to maintaining the cultural significance of the bridge. By returning to the original site, the <i>Supyo-gyo</i> restored its identity and cultural significance.
4	New bridges	Giving old names (Christening)	The original name giving-christening- to the new bridges, by nature, doesn't secure them authenticity. This kind of feature might be fake authenticity.
5	Stream	Reshaping and artificial water provision (Image producing)	The work, by definition, is closer to 'rehabilitation.' The way in which such rehabilitation work was produced is not in harmony with some conservation work on historic monuments.

Figure 113: Summary of intervention and evaluation

Critics from the conservationist camp believe the compromise of authenticity of *Cheonggyecheon* was unavoidable because the stream had been mobilized by politicians for a very strong political purpose (power acquisition for the presidency). In the next chapter, attempts will be made to analyze and establish the process of political utilization of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project

## Chapter 6

### Project Monumentalization for Political Power

This chapter attempts to answer the question: ‘What kind of process has made the project become a myth and Lee a hero?’ For analytical purposes, it reviews the concept of ‘monumentalization’ by highlighting its literal meaning together with a case discussed in the research of Dietler (1998) and attempts to redefine the term. Based upon this new definition of monumentalization, a thorough analysis is made on the activities and symbolic mechanism in the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project as a process of myth making for the acquisition of political power.

#### 6.1. Background: Uses of heritage

*Cheonggyecheon* was a discarded relic buried underground for almost 50 years and largely forgotten since 1958. Except for the relocated *Supyo-gyo* and *Supyo-seok* (water gauge pole made of stone), most of the historical vestiges accumulated over nearly 600 years were buried underground. Even the *Gwangtong-gyo* built in 1410 by King *Taejong* was buried under the newly constructed concrete roadway. *Cheonggyecheon* was nobody’s heritage at that time, at least from the standpoint of the state and municipal governments. Thus, *Cheonggyecheon* was a worthless relic that deserved to be buried as a victim of the governmental drive to industrialize Seoul. Only the name survived in the name of the new roadway—*Cheonggyecheon-ro*.

Its heritage value had not been officially recognized until it was re-discovered and it re-emerged as an object for restoration upon the inauguration of Lee, M.B. as mayor in July 2002. One year later, the 387-billion-won restoration project commenced in July 2003 by starting to demolish the elevated highway. So why did the buried relic become an object of restoration after nearly half a century of neglect? The answer is that some values were rediscovered in the underground stream in the present-day context. In half a century, the social context has changed. In this changed context, some values (or cultural significance) were newly recognized. Cultural significance makes an ordinary object something special. An object of cultural significance is called ‘heritage.’ Then, heritage emerges as a cultural resource or property having potential to serve wider purposes or uses. The forgotten relic *Cheonggyecheon* was recognized as having cultural significance and therefore available to be transformed into a heritage available for some uses (purposes).

The Burra Charter (1999) notes cultural significance may change as a result of the continuing history of the place and understanding of it may change as a result of the new information.<sup>174</sup> The cultural significance is formed by a group of values that are regarded as valuable by and among stakeholders in specific social contexts. Values are achieved in human beings’ social context. It is changeable, subjective, unstable,

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<sup>174</sup> Explanatory notes of Article 1.2, Burra Charter

and situational. Thus, an object's character as a heritage itself is plastic, liquid, and subject to disuse in a changed future context.

According to Alpin, 'we gain comfort from being able to relate to the past, not only through the sometimes trivial (or trivialized) concept of nostalgia but also in deeper and more meaningful ways. We need connections with both place and time to locate our present lives geographically and historically; heritage helps in both the temporal and spatial sense. Heritage also helps us locate ourselves socially, in the sense that it is one of the things that binds communities and nations, giving a sense of group identity to both insiders and outsiders. Heritage can also be used to reinforce the standing and power of a hegemonic group, by helping to more closely align the group's self-image with the national image' 'Heritage is a crucial part of group identity; it can be used politically to either strengthen or weaken a group's sense of identity and the feeling that they have part ownership of the national heritage.'<sup>175</sup> Graham et al asserts the past as rendered through heritage also promotes the burdens of history, the atrocities, errors, and crimes of the past, which are called upon to legitimate the atrocities of the present.<sup>176</sup> Following Bender's comment on the landscape, far from being simply a physical artifact, heritage is never inert, 'people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it. It is part of the way identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group or nation state.'<sup>177</sup>

According to Graham, 'heritage is concerned with the ways in which very selective material artifacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become resources for the present. The contents, interpretations and representations of the resource are selected according to the demand of the present.' 'Further, heritage is more concerned with meanings than material artifacts.' 'In turn, they may be later discarded as the demands of the present societies change, or even when pasts have to be reinvented to reflect new presents. Thus, heritage is as much about forgetting as remembering the past.'<sup>178</sup> Heritage is 'selected resources' to satisfy present needs. Its destiny is subject to the present's disposal. Material artifacts can't exist alone as heritage if there is no meaning given by the present.

As far as heritage is regarded as a resource, it serves to achieve economic, cultural, political, and social purposes. According to Graham et al, 'to reiterate, heritage is that part of past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social. ...Clearly, it is an economic resource, one exploited everywhere as a primary component of strategies to promote tourism, economic development and rural and urban regeneration. But heritage also helps

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<sup>175</sup> Alpin, Graeme (2002), *'Heritage- Identification, Conservation and Management'*, Oxford University Press, Australia

<sup>176</sup> Graham et al (2000), op. cit.

<sup>177</sup> Bender B 1993 introduction: landscape- meaning and action in Bender B ed *Landscape: politics and perspectives* Berg, Oxford 1-18, re-excerpted from Harvey D *'National' Identities and the politics of ancient heritage: continuity and change at ancient monuments in Britain and Ireland, c1675-1850*. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec. 2003), pp. 473-487

<sup>178</sup> Graham, B. (2002). "Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 39, Nos 5-6, p.

define the meanings of culture and power and is a political resource; and it thus possesses a crucial socio-political function.<sup>179</sup>

Summing up the above discussions, human beings can't exist without identity. We are siblings of our ancestors. We are members of a community, a nation, and a global society. Our 'self' is formed in the process of such socialization. Thus, identity building is an important trait of human beings. Heritage (or the past) contributes to the formation of identity.<sup>180</sup> Heritage as a time- and place-specific product helps us locate ourselves temporally and spatially. The sense of belonging to place is fundamental to identity, which provides human existence with meaning, purpose, and value. Based upon this nature of heritage, it can be commodified or politicized as happened.

In the following section, we will see how heritage is mobilized by political entities to achieve political goals. Especially, the focus of the research will be put on the 'monumentalization' process as a key form of heritage politicization. First, this paper will introduce a case of monumentalization of the French Celtic oppida, and then review the case of monumentalization of *Cheonggyecheon*.

## 6.2 'Monumentalization' as a key process for achieving political purposes

Literarily, a 'monument' is a structure erected to commemorate persons or events. The adjective 'monumental' is relating or belonging to or serving as a monument; of outstanding significance; imposing in size or bulk or solidarity. To monumentalize is to memorialize lastingly with a monument. The noun form is 'monumentalization.' Etymologically, 'monument' comes from the French expression 'monere,' which means to admonish or remind.<sup>181</sup>

The case of 'monumentalization of the Celtic oppida'<sup>182</sup> introduced in the appendix A is very notable in that it vividly shows how some historical sites, from the middle of the 19th century until the late 20th century, were monumentalized through the processes of memorization, excavation, and sacralization by French political leaders to achieve their own political goals. The case reveals to us a variety of measures taken by political leaders for monumentalization. I believe the case must be very helpful in analyzing the monumentalization case of *Cheonggyecheon*. A variety of activities for monumentalization are in the following content for later discussion.

The case of monumentalizing the Celtic oppida describes various activities that were undertaken for the monumentalizing process.<sup>183</sup> To name a few, they are

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<sup>179</sup> Brian graham, G.J. Ashworth, J.E. Tunbridge (2000), "*A Geography of Heritage*", Arnold, London, p.17

<sup>180</sup> Lowenthal, D. (1985), '*The past is a foreign country*'. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.40

<sup>181</sup> <http://www.websters-dictionary-online.com/definition>. Accessed on March 24, 2009

<sup>182</sup> Dietler, M (1998), *A tale of three sites: The monumentalization of Celtic oppida and the politics of collective memory and identity*, World Archaeology, June 1998, Vol. 30 Issue 1, p.72, 18p. The case introduced here is shortened by excerpting necessary parts from the original text.

<sup>183</sup> In the appendix, those activities are marked by underlines.

excavation, erection of a gigantic bronze statue, modeling the statue's face after Napoleon III, founding a museum, and publishing a two-volume study of the life of Caesar. These activities can be categorized into several groups of processes such as 'legitimation,' 'sacralization,' 'interpretation,' and 'identification.'

'Legitimation' here refers to the process whereby a place becomes legitimate based on historical or archaeological facts. 'Sacralization' here refers to the process whereby a place acquires special status, be it holy, sacred, or national through the activities of ritual, ceremony, or erection of a special edifice (monument), etc. 'Interpretation' here refers to an educational activity that aims to reveal meanings and relationships by various interpretive activities such as speeches, publications, inscriptions, or museum presentation, etc. 'Identification' here refers to a process whereby political leaders identify themselves with (a) heroic person(s) associated with a place and commemorated in the place. Activities and processes for monumentalization shown in the case are summarized as follows:

<i>1. Activities of Legitimation</i>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
(1) Historical records	Caesar's account in <i>De Bello Gallico</i>
(2) Archaeological excavations	Large-scale and long-term excavations were undertaken at the three sites.
<i>2. Activities of Sacralization</i>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
(1) Erection of monument	Immense monument of Vercingetorix. Lavish museum (probably a symbolic monument)
(2) Ceremony/ ritual	Statue exhibit in Paris and procession to Alesia. Burial ceremony of handfuls of earth from all parts of France and its empire at Gergovia in 1942.
(3) Designation	Designation of national site at Bibracte in 1985.
<i>3. Activities of Interpretation</i>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
(1) Speeches	Mitterrand's speech at the initial ritual of dedication at Bibracte in 1985.
(2) Publications	Napoleon III published a study of the life of Caesar.
(3) Inscription	Around the base is a bronze band inscribed with the message.
(4) A statement	Giscard d'Estaing's statement in 1942.
(5) Museum presentation	A museum was founded by Napoleon III at Alesia. A lavishly financed new museum and a research center were founded at Bibracte.
<i>4. Activities of Identification</i>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
Heroism	Napoleon III erected the statue of Vercingetorix with the face modeled after his own. At the ceremony held in Gergovia in 1942,

	<p>speeches by dignitaries explicitly compared Petain to Vercingetorix.</p> <p>In an interview in 1995, Mitterrand claimed to identify personally with Vercingetorix above all the figures of French history.</p>
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Figure 114: Activities and processes for monumentalization of the Celtic oppida

Based upon this analysis, a more meaningful definition can be drawn. I define 'monumentalization' as all sorts of activities to memorialize (an) event(s) and/or (a) person(s) associated with a site (or place or edifice) through such processes as the erection of (a) monument(s) and/or legitimation and/or sacralization and/or interpretation of the place and/or identification with the figure(s) associated.

### 6.3. Monumentalization of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project

#### Background- political motivation

The elements of the monumentalization process found in the case of the Celtic oppida are believed to be useful in analyzing the monumentalization process of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. Let's review this process.

In December 2002, five months after the inauguration of Mayor Lee, M.B., the *Cheonggyecheon* Restoration Project Headquarters published *Cheonggyecheon's History and Culture*. The book is regarded as the product of an archival survey. It compiled a list of historical records, books, dissertations, reports, maps, drawings, plans, paintings, photos, films, literature, and newspaper articles.

However, the book is not simply a factual material. It depicts some selective themes (or images) of *Cheonggyecheon* relating to its history and culture. The book recollects the history of bridges, royally financed dredging work, and covering up completed since the Japanese colonial period. The book also recalls folk games, folk tales, and common lives of *Cheonggyecheon* and highlights not only the existence of historical and cultural past in *Cheonggyecheon* but also the sorrowful memory leading to the stream's burial by modernization and industrialization. The book argues that the way of thought and culture has changed. Now is the time to resurrect *Cheonggyecheon* for a new future.<sup>184</sup> To reiterate, the forgotten relic *Cheonggyecheon* was recognized as having cultural significance in the contemporary context and transformed into a heritage site available for some uses (purposes).

According to Lee, M.B. in his commemorative remark on the publication of *Cheonggyecheon's History and Culture*, '*Cheonggyecheon* flowed together with the history of Seoul... Industrialization of Seoul made *Cheonggyecheon* disappear from history and the pressure of development buried *Cheonggyecheon* underground. *Cheonggyecheon's* legacy and culture was forgotten by the myth of economic growth... It is the time to resurrect *Cheonggyecheon*... The restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* is to restore Seoul's history and reform Seoul's culture. It is also to

<sup>184</sup> Institute of Seoul Studies (2002), pp. 151-153

construct a symbiotic society in which human and nature live together.<sup>185</sup> He depicts *Cheonggyecheon* as sorrowful by using the words such as 'disappeared,' 'buried,' and 'forgotten.' This type of depiction is quite emotional. Similar to Alesia being chosen by Napoleon III for its tragic element, this sorrowful history of *Cheonggyecheon* stirs our emotions and sympathy. It further evokes a sense of belonging to the mission to restore *Cheonggyecheon*.

He also clearly links the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* to the restoration of Seoul's identity (history and culture) and further with the construction of a utopia (a human-nature symbiotic society). The meaning of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration connotes the well-being of a bigger society or utopia. This type of discourse is also very symbolic<sup>186</sup> and looks politically motivated. It is a clear intention of Lee, M.B. that he restored *Cheonggyecheon* to a symbol of Seoul community and further of utopia of regeneration from the abuses of the old developmentalistic paradigm.

As reviewed in Chapter 3, the purposes of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project declared that the restoration work is associated with the effort to regain the pride of the Korean nation with splendid traditional culture through restoring some historical objects such as *Gwangtong-gyo*.<sup>187</sup> This purpose declaration explicitly connects the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project to Korean nationalism. The project owners (the SMG led by Mayor Lee, M.B.) intend to make the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project contribute to the formation of national identity.

In conclusion, it is clear that the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is not a pure localized project restoring the stream. The project has much wider meaning. By emphasizing the sorrowful past of *Cheonggyecheon*, it attempts to emotionally evoke a sense of belonging to the restoration mission. By recollecting cultural and historical pasts, it attempts to establish a sense of continuity. By these wider meanings, the project is recognized as not only symbolic but also political. The 5.8-kilometer *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project becomes a project for restoring national pride and constructing a new utopia. For this purpose, the relic discarded for half a century was resurrected and transformed into a national heritage site.

### Legitimation process

According to Dietler, 'Sites which are deemed to be significant parts of the national heritage need archaeology to authenticate connections to past events, to anchor identities and narratives of memory in place. Archaeology also furnishes evocative material relics of the past that can be displayed in museums and portrayed on monuments and other representational media.'<sup>188</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 3, the archival survey of *Cheonggyecheon* finished in December 2002. The aboveground survey ended in March 2003. Following the

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, Commemorative Remark

<sup>186</sup> Seong & Kim (2005), pp. 274~275

<sup>187</sup> Seoul Museum of History, Citizen's White Paper on *Cheonggyecheon* Project (2006), p.10 or [http://cheonggye.seoul.go.kr/english/history/ceu050201\\_2.jsp](http://cheonggye.seoul.go.kr/english/history/ceu050201_2.jsp) accessed on March 13, 2009

<sup>188</sup> Dietler (1998), *op. cit*

decision of the national heritage committee after the removal work started, the archaeological survey was undertaken for important (selected) sites from September 30, 2003, until June 10, 2004. During the period of the archaeological work, vestiges of the stone embankment on both sides of the stream were found. The almost complete *Gwangtong-gyo* and the structural relics of *Supyo-gyo*, *Harang-gyo*, *Hyogyong-gyo*, and *Ogansu-mun* Gate were also found as shown in Figure 18. The relics found in the sites of *Cheonggyecheon* were exhibited in the Seoul Museum of History in 2006 and 2007.<sup>189</sup>

As former French President Giscard d'Estaing noted, 'archaeology, with its material and concrete evidence, constitutes an "objective memory" of the life of a people or a civilization.'<sup>190</sup> So archaeological sites are often selected for reuse as icons of identity and become ritually transformed into monuments that serve to anchor collective memory.<sup>191</sup> In this sense, *Cheonggyecheon* after excavation could become a 'memory factory' for the collective imagination of Seoul's identity and the Korean nation.

### Sacralization process

#### *Erection of monuments*

At the starting point of waterway, there is a 7,000-square-meter brick-floored public place called *Cheonggye Plaza*. The plaza contains a miniature *Cheonggyecheon*, a fountain, a two-tier water fall, and *Palseokdam*—a stone terrace made of stones brought here from eight provinces. On the wall of the north side bank, a commemorative epic poem written by a famous writer is inscribed in a very eloquent style. On the south side, the dedication poem written by Lee, M.B. is inscribed. Its literary style is also emotional and evocative. The area of *Cheonggye Plaza* is the most sacralized area in the whole *Cheonggyecheon* area.



Figure 115: *Cheonggye Plaza* area  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

<sup>189</sup> Gyoenghyang.com, Dec 17, *op. cit*

<sup>190</sup> Giscard d'estaing, V. 1981. Entrtien avec Valery Giscard d'estaing. Le Dossiers, Historie et Archeologie, 49: 7-11, Re-excerpted from Dietler (1998) *op. cit*

<sup>191</sup> Dietler (1998), *op. cit*

At the west end of *Cheonggye Plaza*, stands a 20-meter-tall snail-like monument. This monument, called 'Spring,' was installed in September 2006 to commemorate the first anniversary of the grand opening of *Cheonggyecheon*. The monument costed 3.4 billion won and was donated to the SMG by Korea Telecom. The designer is Claes Thure Oldenburg.<sup>192</sup>



Figure 116: 'Spring' and the miniature *Cheonggyecheon*  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

Originating from the monument, water flows in the miniature *Cheonggyecheon* and joins the fountain. According to the designer, the monument stands for the harmony of humans and nature. Oldenburg, a world-famous Pop artist, said he was inspired by the motifs of Korean traditional breast ties and ceramics.<sup>193</sup> A magnificent completion ceremony was held for the monument's installation on September 29, 2006.<sup>194</sup>

The fountain and waterfall perform the animated welling out of water, which is, in reality, a staged set enabled by the artificial pumping from the *Hangang River*. The waterfall is bordered by *Palseokdam*. This is a pond. At both sides of the pond are stone terraces. The stones were brought here from eight provinces of Korea. These stone terraces and *Palseokdam* symbolize the entire Korean territory.<sup>195</sup> A steel plate is installed on the surface, introducing *Palseokdam* as miraculous and recommending visitors pray for wishes by tossing coins.

The establishment of a plaza and a monument had been discussed since the beginning of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project in 2003. The direction of developing the plaza was addressed to heighten the meaning and symbolism of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. As a meeting point, the plaza planned to be recognized as place of national peace and unification. And a world-class monument

<sup>192</sup> Segye.com, October 23, 2006, <http://news.nate.com/view/20061023n01648>, accessed on February 18, 2009

<sup>193</sup> Maeil Business Newspaper, Sept. 28, 2006, <http://news.mk.co.kr/newsRead.php?year=2006&no=421558>, accessed on February 18, 2009

<sup>194</sup> Segye.com, September 28, 2006, <http://news.nate.com/view/20060929n01623>, accessed on February 18, 2009

<sup>195</sup> Seoul Metropolitan Government, *1(one)derful Cheonggyecheon, Cheonggyecheon Guide*, an official guide book

planned to be established in the plaza.<sup>196</sup> All facilities installed in *Cheonggye Plaza* serve to reinforce *Cheonggyecheon's* image, especially the symbolic image. A monument is regarded as a physical symbol. Each element such as the size, the designer's fame, and the ceremony for the monument plays a role in strengthening the authority and power of the *Cheonggyecheon* project. The nonstop spouting fountain and waterfall provide an illusory image of the existence of a never-drying 'spring.' This image effectively helps convince the public of the success of a perfect restoration of the environment and ecosystem. Finally, *Palseokdam*, a miraculous and sacred place, signifies the nation's peace and unification.<sup>197</sup> It promotes the status of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project from the regional level to the national level. And it makes the *Cheonggyecheon* become the headspring of all the rivers of Korea.

In addition to *Cheonggye Plaza*, there stands another monument at the ending point of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. That is the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum. If the 'Spring' is the monument of the starting point, the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum is the monument of the ending point.



Figure 117: *Cheonggyecheon* Museum  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

The distance between these two monuments is 5.8 kilometers, that is, the range of restoration. For the construction of the museum, the SMG spent 12.9 billion won.<sup>198</sup> Such expenditure for building the museum accounted for a quite substantial portion of the total project cost. Designed by one of the nation's most respected design firms, the museum received the Grand Prix of the Korea Architecture Award in 2006.<sup>199</sup> The establishment of *Cheonggyecheon* Museum was originally due to Lee, M.B.'s idea. He wished to have a space to display the records of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project.<sup>200</sup>

The *Cheonggyecheon* Museum is not a space for displaying the relics of

<sup>196</sup> SMG (2006), p. 1015

<sup>197</sup> *Cheonggyecheon* Museum, *Tourist Map of Cheonggyecheon*, published in 2006 (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)

<sup>198</sup> SMG (2006), p.219

<sup>199</sup> Mael Business Newspaper. <http://news.mk.co.kr/newsRead.php?year=2006&no=441457>, accessed on March 13, 2009

<sup>200</sup> Kyunghyang.com. November 16, 2004. [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?artid=200411161738371&code=910101](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=200411161738371&code=910101), accessed on March 13, 2009

*Cheonggyecheon*—a museum without relics. The award-winning appearance of the museum stands for the clean water course of *Cheonggyecheon*. The existence of the eye-catching museum expresses the importance of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project—not *Cheonggyecheon* itself. The form (museum building) monumentalizes the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project while the content displayed inside the building serves to persuade visitors of the significance of the project.

#### *Festival/ ceremonial/ rite*

Like a monument, festivals and ceremonies are also important tools for symbol manipulation.<sup>201</sup> According to Edelman, Murray (1964), ‘every symbol stands for something other than itself, and it also evokes an attitude, a set of impressions, or a pattern of events associated through’ ‘imagination with the symbol.’<sup>202</sup> A symbol with its abstract and inclusive feature plays a role in mobilizing people by influencing their emotions and sentiments through the manipulation of symbols. Symbol manipulation is very useful in image making, authority strengthening, and policy justifying.<sup>203</sup>

The magnificent grand opening festival of *Cheonggyecheon* was held for three days from October 1 to October 3, 2005. The festival was composed of twenty-three events in total.<sup>204</sup> The core event was the ceremony for ‘Welcoming new water.’ The ceremony was joined by the then President Roh, M.H., the then Mayor Lee, M.B. and many VIPs. It began with a parade transporting pots containing water collected from eight provinces’ rivers and lakes. After the president’s congratulatory speech, Lee, M.B., wearing traditional costume, read a dedicatory poem ‘Welcoming New Wave.’ After all the pots of water was poured into a jar, President Roh, Mayor Lee, M.B., and other VIP guests pulled ropes to let water flow into the *Cheonggyecheon* praying for the peace and unification of the Korean peninsula.<sup>205</sup>



Figure 118: Scene of pulling rope for letting water

(Photo source: *Yeonhap* News, showing Mayor Lee, M.B. and his wife in traditional costumes)

<sup>201</sup> Koo, Geong Seo (2000), *Modern Media Politics*, Seoul; Kunkuk University Press, p.62

<sup>202</sup> Edelman, Murray (1964), *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, Urbana, Chicago and London; University of Illinois Press, p.6

<sup>203</sup> Seong & Kim (2005), p. 264

<sup>204</sup> SMG (2006), p.230

<sup>205</sup> YTN News, October 1, 2005, <http://news.nate.com/view/20051001n02681>, accessed Mar 13, 2009

The ceremony of 'Welcoming new water' was accompanied by a variety of congratulatory events such as an international forum, a pop music concert, a classical music concert conducted by a maestro, dance performances, and citizens' walk. The SMG had been preparing for the opening ceremony and other events since the formation of a special task force team in November of 2004, a year before the grand opening.<sup>206</sup> A special 1.6-billion-won budget had been set up for the events. The SMG had tried to invite world-renowned figures such as Nelson Mandela and Kofi Annan, but they did not attend. The SMG also invited mayors from 106 cities worldwide and provided free accommodation.<sup>207</sup>

According to a study by Harrison Trice and Janice Beyer (1984)<sup>208</sup>, a ceremony involves several distinct rites. Rites are performed to make social consequences. 'In performing the activities of a rite or ceremonial, people make use of other cultural forms- certain customary language, gestures, ritualized behaviors, artifacts, other symbols, and settings- heighten the expression of shared meanings appropriate to the occasion' 'a rite amalgamates a number of discrete cultural forms into an integrated, unified public performance; a ceremonial connects several rites into a single occasion and event.'

The ceremony of 'Welcoming new water' also connected various rites (such as parade, presidential speech, VIPs invitation, declaration, water letting rite, etc.) into a single occasion. As pointed out by Trice and Beyer (1984), the ceremony was 'a social drama with well-defined roles for people to perform...and involved deliberately planned, carefully managed, and often rehearsed sets of behavior'<sup>209</sup> It clearly attempts (1) to enhance the importance of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project as well as the status of Lee, M.B. to a national leader from a regional leader as signified by his costume, (2) to reassure the citizens that the *Cheonggyecheon* was reborn as a new urban stream, and (3) to encourage or revive the common feelings that bind citizens together. According to the typology of Trice and Beyer (1984), the first activity is the rite of enhancement, the second one the rite of renewal, and the third one the rite of integration.<sup>210</sup>

Likewise, the ceremony and other twenty-two events forming the three-day festival as a whole play a role in promoting, strengthening and justifying the legitimacy of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project.

### **Interpretation**

Heritage interpretation is any form of communicating cultural significance of heritage with audience. Heritage interpretation has a political aspect in the sense that it is an educational and persuasive process to deliver heritage owner's message to

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<sup>206</sup> SMG (2006), p.229

<sup>207</sup> Chosun.com, March 29, 2005. <http://www.chosun.com/national/news/200503/200503290075.html>, accessed on February 18, 2009

<sup>208</sup> Harrison M. Trice & Janice M. Beyer (1984), 'Studying Organizational Cultures through Rites and Ceremonials,' *Academy of Management Review*, 1984, Vol. 9, No. 4. p.654-656

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p.655

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p.657

audience (or visitors). According to Alpin (2002), ‘political imperative and bureaucratic policies will have a great influence on the interpretation, in both its general content and its detail. As a result, the majority of ‘official’ interpretations strongly reflect the beliefs and philosophies of the dominant group in society.’<sup>211</sup>

There is a wide range of official interpretive media regarding the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. There are printed materials such as tourist maps and guidebooks issued by the SMG or its affiliate organizations. Museums also play important roles in interpretation. There are two related museums under the umbrella of the SMG: the Seoul Museum of History and the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum. The stone inscriptions at the starting point of *Cheonggyecheon* are also believed to be important interpretive media. Now let’s see what messages are delivered, especially on the stone inscriptions and in the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum.

### *Stone inscriptions*

There are five stone inscriptions within the 5.8-kilometer range of the restoration project. Two inscriptions are installed at the starting point and another two in the *Ogansugyo* area and the remaining one the ending point. All are inscribed on black sandstones and fixed on the revetment (bank) walls. The first inscription contains the dedicated poem recited by Lee, M.B. at the grand opening ceremony on October 1, 2005. The second inscription also includes a poem written by a famous writer. Another two inscriptions side by side in the *Ogansugyo* area are King *Yeongjo*’s poem and *Chae, Jae Gong*’s (1720–1799) epic poem praising King *Yeongjo*’s dredging work. The last inscription installed at the ending point contains the list of the names of persons who participated in restoration project. All seem to use the same material (black sandstone) and look everlastingly durable. The name of Lee, M.B. is inscribed in all of these three stone inscriptions.



Figure 119: Stone inscription at the starting point  
(Photo taken by Noh, Jang Suh on March 7, 2009)

In the first inscription containing a dedication poem by Lee, M.B., he announces the *Cheonggyecheon* has restored to its ‘original form’ and returned to us. He also thanks all the parties involved, including ‘neighbors of global village.’ Then,

<sup>211</sup> Alpin (2002), p.31

he foresees the return of nature and culture would make *Cheonggyecheon* be a place of success and hope for the nation and the world. He further prophesies *Cheonggyecheon* would be the evidence of new challenge and the starting point of national prosperity.

The style of the poem is neither logical nor concrete. The content of the poem is abstract, emotional, and provocative. In this poem, Lee, M.B. emphasizes *Cheonggyecheon's* return to its original state, which his opponents critique as unauthentic and fake. He also implies that the restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* was successful in that he uses the words such as 'success' and 'hope.' Finally, he is convinced that *Cheonggyecheon* (more exactly, the restoration project's success) will be the starting point of national prosperity. By this, he associates *Cheonggyecheon's* success with national success.

The second stone inscription is located in the opposite side (north bank) of the first inscription. The content is an epic poem written by Park, Bum Sin, a popular writer in Korea. The calligraphy for the inscription is the work of Chung, Do Joon, a famous calligrapher. The writer first declares that *Cheonggyecheon* has been resurrected from death. He asserts this resurrection further means the rebirth of Seoul as a city of life in the world. And he shortly depicts the history of the dredging work and flood control measures during the periods of the three kings, *Taejong, Sejong, and Yeongjo* during the *Joseon* Dynasty. He depicts the three kings as the heroic characters undertaking the tasks for people's benefit. He describes the long covering-up process starting from the Japanese colonial period, which in the end boomeranged on the urban beauty of Seoul and the safety and health of citizens.

In this poem, Park praises that it is Lee, M.B. who came forward to solve the problems and transform Seoul into an international ground in which the values of life and culture flourish. The world scorned his plan as an illusion. But, based on the strong belief and fearless thrust, Lee, M.B. embarked on the meaningful grand restoration work uniting historicity and universality. Eventually, the dream has come true. Park asserts that water returns to *Cheonggyecheon* and the water of *Cheonggyecheon* is a historical symbol of Seoul's transformation into a human and life centric city. He hopes the wave of *Cheonggyecheon* proudly flows from the heart of Seoul to the border and further into the world.

Regarding the description of 'Yesterday, today, and tomorrow of *Cheonggyecheon*' (the title of Park's poem), this second inscription follows the same narrative frame as other interpretive materials: 1) the recollection of royally-oriented history and folk culture until the end of the *Joseon* Dynasty, 2) the recollection of sorrowful past of being covered up by roadways until recently, and 3) the assertion of restoration of history, culture, and nature and awarding the project bigger meaning such as association with nationalism and globalization. The most distinct message in this second inscription is that the writer strongly implicates the successful completion of the project was mainly attributed to the excellent leadership of Lee, M.B. His excellent achievement is in parallel with the three kings' heroic undertakings that Park depicts in the early part of the inscription.

## Museum

In the context of any museum display, Lumley (1988) contends that ‘the museum text needs also to manifest the metatext, so that the very ability to read and make sense, as well as the choices leading to a particular display, are visible to the public.’<sup>212</sup> The *Cheonggyecheon* museum was constructed per Lee, M.B.’s wish to have a space for displaying the records of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. Accordingly, as the front page of the official guide of *Cheonggyecheon* Museum explicitly informs, the museum presents the history of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. In this museum, we can’t see any relic found in the archaeological excavations. To reiterate, the museum is a museum without relics.

In the first section (third to fourth floors) of the museum, scenes before and after the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project are displayed. A poverty-stricken life by the *Cheonggyecheon* after the Korean War is shown in realistic models. A variety of photo scenes are exhibited featuring the overpass before the restoration work. In the replica of the underground area of *Gwangtong-gyo*, visitors can experience the atmosphere of the dark and grim underground areas. The restoration work is nicely presented by using graphic panels, video presentation, and models. Visitors can see images showing the changes after the restoration work on the stream and its surrounding area. The changes are presented with the subjects of the restoration of ecosystem and the changed urban planning policy.

In the second section (second to third floors), a video presentation is given to inform the history and significance of *Cheonggyecheon* featuring the royal projects made on the stream during the reigns of King *Taejong*, King *Sejong*, and King *Yeongjo*. Visitors can also see images of old maps and related documents. Here, we see a model showing the dredging work during the age of King *Yeongjo*. Then, models of five major bridges and the past scenery of *Cheonggyecheon* neighborhood are exhibited. In this section, visitors also can experience a virtual tour by means of video presentation.



Figure 120: Exhibition images of the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)

<sup>212</sup> Lumley, R., 1988. Introduction. In Lumley, R.(Ed.), *The Museum Time machine*, pp. 1-24, Routledge, London. Re-excerpted from Nuala C. Johnson, 1999, Johnson (1999)

Overall, the display here provides not relics but images for the thematic memories of *Cheonggyecheon's* history and culture first selected by the SMG's published *Cheonggyecheon's History and Culture* and thereafter applied to the narratives of other interpretive media in a consistent pattern. The exhibitions in the museum are heavily dependent on visualization. Most of the messages are conveyed through images such as photos, video images, and models.

According to Crang, Mike (1997), 'images are not something that appears over and against reality, but parts of practices through which people work to establish realities...envisioning is a way of being towards the world... it is 'enworlded' by being enframed. In this sense, images are not so much counterposed to reality as a route through which worlds are created.'<sup>213</sup> This might be a reason why 'all sorts of places (indeed almost everywhere) have come to construct themselves as objects of the tourist gaze.'<sup>214</sup> The problem is that visitors are bombarded with images, 'turning them into collective eye/Is, disembodied spectators.'<sup>215</sup> In the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum, the heavy doses of image interpretation force us to listen to the one-sided narration. As the word 'image' etymologically originates from 'dead mask' of the dead,<sup>216</sup> such interpretation full of the images is like a dead look. Similar to how we can't converse with a corpse, visitors are not allowed to speak. In the museum, there are only 'the authoritative voices of god.'<sup>217</sup> Little interaction or interactive communication is expected. In an interview with an officer of the museum, it was revealed that the number of local visitors to the permanent exhibition gallery of the museum has decreased.<sup>218</sup> This decrease might be explained by the deficient interactive communication. Compared with the museum's appearance and size, the contents are relatively poor. That's why the museum is regarded as a symbolic monument.

The exhibition object (or theme) of the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum is not the relics of *Cheonggyecheon* but the presentation of the restoration project of *Cheonggyecheon*. If that is the case, it seems to be easy to turn the project into a personal achievement as some kings of the *Joseon* Dynasty who undertook important intervention (projects) on the *Cheonggyecheon*. Lee, M.B.'s idea of constructing a museum to exhibit the restoration project might be an outcome of a highly calculated political decision. The following scene shown in the decorative screen hanging on the wall of reception area reveals such hidden implications. The scene is not introduced in the official narratives, but it becomes a quite suggestive and effective image as far as it

<sup>213</sup> Crang, Mike (1997), *Picturing practices: research through tourist gaze*, Progress in Human Geography 21,3(1997), p.362

<sup>214</sup> Urry, J. (1990), *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage, p. 125, Re-excerpted from Crang (1997) op. cit. p.362

<sup>215</sup> Jay, M. (1993), *Downcast eyes: the denigration of vision in twentieth century French thought*, Berkeley, CA: California University Press, p. 480. Re-excerpted from Crang (1997) p. 364

<sup>216</sup> Régis Debray (1992), *Vie et mort de l'image*, Editions Gallimard in Paris. From Korean edition 'Image's life and death' translated by Chung, J.K. (1994), *Sight and Language*, Seoul, pp.19-47

<sup>217</sup> Crang (1997), p.370

<sup>218</sup> From a phone interview on Mar. 19, 2009 with Lee, Chang Gil, officer responsible for visitor statistics

is located in the museum.



Figure 121: Hanging screen in the *Cheonggyecheon* Museum  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh. A hanging screen showing Lee, M.B. and Prince Andrew of the United Kingdom at *Cheonggyecheon*)

### **Heroic identification**

Napoleon III erected the statue of Vercingetorix with the face modeled after his own. A similar example is the Khmer king Jayavarman VII (reigned 1181–1220) image's modeling of the towers of the Bayon Temple in Siem Reap, Cambodia, to signify the omnipresence of the king.<sup>219</sup> Another example is found on the wall of Viharn Maha Pho of Wat Chet Yot in Chiang Mai, Thailand.<sup>220</sup> The faces of the stucco sculpture of gods are the portraits of King Tiloka (reigned 1441–1487) and members of his family.<sup>221</sup>

As shown in the case introduced in the appendix, at the ceremony held in Gergovia in 1942, speeches by dignitaries explicitly compared Petain to Vercingetorix. In an interview in 1995, Mitterand claimed to identify personally with Vercingetorix above all the figures of French history. Here in *Cheonggyecheon*, these kinds of direct comparison and personal identification are not found. However, an indirect or implicit identification is constructed in a very symbolic manner. The figure whom Lee M.B. is identified with is King *Yeongjo* who, in 1760, undertook full-scale renovation work on *Cheonggyecheon*. He is regarded as one of the greatest kings in Korean history. In *Cheonggyecheon's History and Culture* published by the SMG, a special emphasis is given to the work of King *Yeongjo*. See the following figure.

<sup>219</sup> Rooney, D. (2003), *Angkor*, Airphoto International, Hong Kong, pp.162-166

<sup>220</sup> Freeman, M (2001), *Lanna-Thailand's Northern Kingdom*, Thames & Hudson printed in Thailand, p.98

<sup>221</sup> Aasen, C. (1998), *Architecture of Siam-A cultural History Interpretation*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, p.85



Figure 122: Comparison of inscriptions

(A: King *Yeongjo*'s poem, B: Lee, M.B.'s poem, C: Chae, J.G.'s poem, D: Park, B.S.'s poem)

As mentioned above, there is a total of five stone inscriptions installed in the *Cheonggyecheon*. Among them, except for the fifth inscription at the ending point of the 5.8-kilometer restored section, the two inscriptions (B&D of above figure) are at the starting point, another two (A&C of above figure) at the *Ogansu-gyo* area. The first two inscriptions (B&D) are the poems of Lee, M.B. and Park, B.S., respectively, while the next two inscriptions (A&C) are also poems by King *Yeongjo* and Chae, J.G. (1720–1799), a favorite subject of King *Yeongjo*. As shown below, each inscription of Lee, M.B. group is perfectly matched to the corresponding inscription of the King *Yeongjo* group. Moreover, as King *Yeongjo* issued a book recording the history and process of the renovation work on *Cheonggyecheon* in 1760, the SMG led by Lee, M.B. also published a white paper for same purpose.

	King <i>Yeongjo</i> group	Lee, M.B. group
1	<u>Stone inscription A</u> King <i>Yeongjo</i> 's congratulatory poem for completion of renovation work on the stream	<u>Stone inscription B</u> Lee, M.B.'s congratulatory poem for completion of restoration work on the stream.
2	<u>Stone inscription C</u> J.G. Chae's epic poem describing the short history and praising King <i>Yeongjo</i> 's leadership	<u>Stone inscription D</u> B.S. Park's epic poem describing the short history and praising M.B. Lee's leadership
3	<u>Publishing the 'Juncheonsasil'</u> Describing the process, history of the renovation and the leadership of King <i>Yeongjo</i> .	<u>Publishing the 'White Paper'</u> Describing the history, process of the restoration work and the leadership of Lee, M.B.

Figure 123: Parallelism between King *Yeongjo* and Lee, M.B.

Like King *Yeongjo* was the hero of the past by his work on *Cheonggyecheon*, Lee, M.B. becomes the hero of the present by his work on *Cheonggyecheon*. Starring in

the drama of resurrecting the stream from the tomb, he seems to successfully turn the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project into his personal achievement like King *Yeongjo* did. Unlike the case of France, the heroic identification in Korea is not explicit but implicit. No doubt in this parallelism Lee, M.B. is identified with King *Yeongjo*.

#### 6.4. Summary

The activities for the monumentalization of the *Cheonggyecheon* Project can be summarized as follows:

<u>1. Activities of Legitimation</u>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
(1) Historical records	Published <i>Cheonggyecheon's History &amp; Culture</i>
(2) Archaeological survey	The aboveground survey ended in March 2003. The archaeological survey was undertaken for selected sites from September 30, 2003, until June 10, 2004.
<u>2. Activities of Sacralization</u>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
(1) Erection of monuments	(Starting point) Built <i>Cheonggye</i> Plaza where various symbolic and non-symbolic monuments are installed. Erected the 'Spring', 20-meter-tall monument. (Ending point) Built the <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> Museum.
(2) Ceremony/ ritual	The grand opening festival of <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> was magnificently held for three days from October 1 to October 3, 2005. The festival was composed of twenty-three events in total.
<u>3. Interpretation Activities</u>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
(1) Stone inscriptions	The 1 <sup>st</sup> inscription is installed at the starting point contains Lee, M.B.'s poem associating the <i>Cheonggyecheon's</i> success with a national success. The 2 <sup>nd</sup> inscription is installed at the opposite side of the 1 <sup>st</sup> inscription. This inscription attributed the success of <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> project to the excellent leadership of Lee, M.B.
(2) Museum presentation	What the <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> Museum presents is not relics but the <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> project showing photo images, realistic models and video contents.
<u>4. Activities of heroic Identification</u>	<i>Activities found in the case</i>
(1) 2 groups of inscriptions	By installing 2 groups of stone inscriptions, Lee, M.B. is identified with King <i>Yeongjo</i> , the hero

(2) White paper	of the past <i>Cheonggyecheon</i> work. Like King <i>Yeongjo</i> 's leadership was praised in the <i>Juncheonsasil</i> , Lee, M.B. published 'White Paper' highlighting the process of the restoration work and the leadership of Lee, M.B.
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Figure 124: Activities for monumentalization of the *Cheonggyecheon* Project.

As revealed in the above discussion, a variety of activities were designed to monumentalize the project (an event) and Lee (a person). These activities serve as symbolic mechanism operating to successfully turn the project into Lee's personal achievement and private symbol. The symbolic mechanism to mystify the success of the project and create heroism for Lee was embedded in the restored Cheonggyecheon tangibly and intangibly.

## Chapter 7

### Social impacts and lessons

The *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is the only project of its type ever undertaken in Korea. The speed with which it was accomplished and the number of people affected by it make it unique. The underlying historical importance of the site and its political motives also make it a special project. It may serve as a model for future projects, either because of the benefits it delivered or because of the lessons that may be learned from it. As a minimum there should be a careful appraisal of the lessons emerging from it.

This chapter aims to capture information about how the project has succeeded (or failed to deliver its stated objectives) and to summarize the lessons that can apply to future projects; it includes statistical facts and personal observations.

#### 7.1 Social Impacts

The impacts of the project on the community can be measured in four ways; political, environmental, cultural, and economic.

##### *Political impacts*

After the grand opening ceremony was held on October 1, 2005, the public approval rating for Lee, M.B. increased rapidly. Finally in an opinion poll made at that time, it was revealed that he received 27.9% and for the first time was ahead of other political leaders.<sup>222</sup> Most of the mass media attributed this result to the successful completion of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. Chung, D.U., one of Lee, M.B.'s closest aides, revealed on his own website that he had been already convinced that Lee, M.B. would become the president of Korea at the time of the groundbreaking ceremony for *Cheonggyecheon* on July 1, 2003.<sup>223</sup> This remark indicates that the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project led by Lee, M.B. was strategically arranged as a stepping stone for winning the forthcoming presidential election.

At the end of June of 2006, Lee, M.B. finished his four-year term of office as the mayor of Seoul. According to mass media's opinion poll at the beginning of 2007, his public support rate was recording about 40%—an overwhelming lead. Most of the mass media in Korea interpreted that one of the key attributors of this big lead was his

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<sup>222</sup> Herald Biz.com, Oct. 17, 2005 accessed to <http://news.nate.com/view/20051017n13050> accessed on Mar. 20, 2009.

<sup>223</sup> Chung, Doo Un. [http://www.doodoodoo.co.kr/01\\_dooun/index05.php?bbs\\_id=jungdoouncolumn&num=186&page=1&key=&keyword=&btype=bbs&mode=view&pageNum=1&subNum=&Rollover=](http://www.doodoodoo.co.kr/01_dooun/index05.php?bbs_id=jungdoouncolumn&num=186&page=1&key=&keyword=&btype=bbs&mode=view&pageNum=1&subNum=&Rollover=) accessed on Mar. 20, 2009.

achievement in the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project.<sup>224</sup> He became the presidential candidate of the Grand National Party on August 20, 2007.

On December 19, 2007, he won the 17<sup>th</sup> presidential election of Korea, winning 48.67% of total votes, well ahead of his closest rival Chung, D.Y.'s 26.14%. The difference was more than 5 million votes.<sup>225</sup> On the night of December 19, 2007, he visited *Cheonggyecheon* to meet his supporters gathering at *Cheonggye* Plaza to celebrate his win. Most of the local media didn't hesitate to pick up the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project as one of key contributors to Lee, M.B.'s winning the presidential election.<sup>226</sup> International media also attributed the success of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project to his landslide victory.<sup>227</sup> He became the president of the Republic of Korea on February 25, 2008 as one of his closest aides Chung, D.U. had predicted when the groundbreaking ceremony for restoring *Cheonggyecheon* had taken place on July 1, 2003.

### ***Environmental impacts***

In June of 2006, Seoul Research Institute of Public Health and Environment reported that the overall level of air pollution was decreasing. It investigated the level of air pollution in *Cheonggyecheon* 4-Ga area during the period from April of 2003 to May of 2006 and found the following results.

	(unit: $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ )	
	PM <sub>10</sub>	NO <sub>2</sub>
Before restoration	74.5	0.063
After restoration	66.9	0.045

Figure 125: Change of air pollution level in *Cheonggyecheon* 4-Ga area  
(source: Seoul Research Institute of Public Health and Environment, Press release distributed on June 5, 2006)

The institute established that the restoration had a positive influence on the atmospheric environment.<sup>228</sup>

Before the restoration, the area was showing a temperature around 5 degrees centigrade higher than the average temperature of the city. With the removal of the elevated highway, a wind passage has been engendered, causing a decrease in temperature. Temperature levels have further decreased due to water flowing in the stream. With the completion of the restoration work, the wind speed in the entire area has become faster (i.e. by 2.2% - 7.1%). The average wind speed measured at *Cheonggye 8-ga* is up to 7.8% faster than previously recorded; this is apparently due to

<sup>224</sup> The *Hankyoreh*, Jan. 2, 2007, [http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/politics\\_general/181787.html](http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/politics_general/181787.html), accessed on June 17, 2009

<sup>225</sup> National Election Commission, News & Notice of Dec. 20, 2007, <http://www.nec.go.kr/english/> accessed on Mar. 20, 2009

<sup>226</sup> Donga.com, Dec. 25, 2007, <http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?n=200712250085>, accessed on June 17, 2009

<sup>227</sup> Newsis, Dec. 20, 2007, [http://www.newsis.com/article/view.htm?cID=&ar\\_id=NISX20071220\\_0005675205](http://www.newsis.com/article/view.htm?cID=&ar_id=NISX20071220_0005675205), accessed on June 17, 2009

<sup>228</sup> Seoul Research Institute of Public Health and Environment, Press release distributed on June 5, 2006

cool air forming along the stream.<sup>229</sup>

Research was undertaken by Kim, Hyea-Ju *et al.* (2006) to monitor vegetation and water quality before (2003), during (2004) and after (2005) the restoration work at *Cheonggyecheon*. This research indicates that BOD<sub>5</sub> concentration before the project averaged 51.1mg/L and that both the inflow of water from Hangang River and the funnel of subway station water into the stream lowered the BOD<sub>5</sub> to 3.3mg/L, improving its water quality to the third grade level. The number of plant species slightly increased from 121 to 132 after the restoration work. Specifically, perennial plants now comprise 35.6% of all plants, which is a marked increase, as perennials made up 24.8% of plants before the restoration.<sup>230</sup>

However, *Humulus japonicus* and *Erigeron canadensis* communities are still present. These species established dominant communities before the restoration work, meaning that the ecological condition of plants has not significantly changed.<sup>231</sup>

Researchers also investigated the water quality of *Baekwoondong-cheon*, an upstream reach of *Cheonggyecheon*. The results show water quality of the reference reach was classified as first grade based on BOD<sub>5</sub>, implying water quality of the reference reach was better than the project reach. Further, the reference section had more diverse plant species, namely 154 and the rate of immigrated plants was 13%, which was lower than the 28.8% recorded in the project section. The project section is considered to be inferior to the reference section in terms of ecological condition.<sup>232</sup>

In conclusion, some of the urban environmental conditions seem to have improved, but otherwise it does not appear as though the project has in fact provided much in the way of ecological repair or restoration. Based on a preliminary review of the information available it would appear reasonable to assume that a rigorous evaluation of the ecological restoration aspect of the Cheonggyecheon project would likely conclude that the level of ecological benefit achieved has been minimal.

### ***Cultural impacts***

It was interesting to observe how the residents of Seoul reacted when the restored *Cheonggyecheon* was officially opened. They largely reacted with great curiosity and interest. During the first three months from October to December 2005, more than 11 million people visited *Cheonggyecheon*. According to SMG's first survey undertaken during the grand opening festival, 98.6% of respondents expressed satisfaction with the restored *Cheonggyecheon*. In a further survey undertaken in November of the same year, 90.6% of the respondents expressed satisfaction with the

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<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>230</sup> Kim, Hyea-Ju and Kim, Sung-Hwan and Kim, Song-Yee (2006), Changes in Water Quality, Flora and Vegetation of Cheonggye Stream Before, During and After its Restoration, *Korea Journal of Environment and Ecology*, 20, 2, pp.235-236.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

restoration.<sup>233</sup> For three years from October 1, 2005 until September 30, 2008, the combined total number of visitors reached more than 71 million.<sup>234</sup> By any measure these are very large numbers.

How did visitors enjoy *Cheonggyecheon* and how did they perceive the site? In 2006, the Seoul Development Institute undertook research on cultural behavior in the *Cheonggyecheon* area.<sup>235</sup> According to this research, visitors' dominant behavioral pattern at the site was recreation. It was found that 81.7% of visitors recognized the restored *Cheonggyecheon* as a place for recreation. Further, 8.5% of visitors used it for a social outing. Only 4.7% and 1.1% of visitors regarded it as a place for experiencing ecology and history, respectively. A different survey undertaken in 2008 showed similar results, namely that visitors used *Cheonggyecheon* as a place for recreation (40.6%) social outing (21.8%), dating (10.5%), walking (10%), ecology (5.7%), experiencing history and other (2.2%).<sup>236</sup>

Along with the annual ceremonial festival, a variety of events and performances take place in *Cheonggyecheon* throughout the year. It seems that the restored *Cheonggyecheon* has become well positioned as the capital city's new center for recreation and culture. The restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* became a new paradigm for urban regeneration in Korea. Many municipal governments have imitated the way in which *Cheonggyecheon* was restored. In 2007, it was reported that *Banpo-cheon*, *Hongje-cheon*, *Danghyun-cheon* in Seoul, *Shin-cheon* in Daegu City, *Gwanju-cheon* in Gwangju City, *Daejeon-cheon* in Daejeon City and *Nam-cheon* in Changwon City instigated similar artificial water features.<sup>237</sup> In April of 2008, the Ministry of Environment of Korea announced 'the *Cheonggyecheon* Plus 20 Project,' which is a project to reinvigorate 20 urban dry streams in the style of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration.<sup>238</sup>

In terms of the abovementioned survey results, we should pay particular attention to why only a small portion of visitors claimed to visit *Cheonggyecheon* to experience the ecology or history of the area. As shown in the 2008 statistics, these visitors represent only 5.7% and 2.2%, respectively. This is a disappointing result considering the fact that the two most important goals of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project set by the SMG were the restoration of ecology and the restoration of history. This result suggests that the restored *Cheonggyecheon* is seen by visitors in

<sup>233</sup> Seoul Development Institute (2006), *A study on the cultural behavior in Cheonggyecheon area*, p.122.

<sup>234</sup> Chung, Heesoo, a member of National Assembly, Press release material released on October 14, 2008 downloaded from [www.happy01000.net](http://www.happy01000.net) accessed on June 7, 2009.

<sup>235</sup> Seoul Development Institute (2006), *op.cit.*, Executive Summary, viii.

<sup>236</sup> Son, Sujin and Jin, Byeongryeol (2008), *Cheonggyecheon Subyeon Gongganui Gwangwangchehumeddarun Munwhagwangwangjiroseoui Tadangseonge gwanhan tamsaekjeok Gochal* (trans. A study on the feasibility of *Cheonggyecheon* waterside space to be used for cultural tourism), presented at 64<sup>th</sup> International Tourism Science Convention organized by the Tourism Sciences Society of Korea, p.79.

<sup>237</sup> The Ecojournal, September 28, 2007, [http://www.ecojournal.co.kr/news\\_view.html?code=01040000&uid=29113&cpage=1](http://www.ecojournal.co.kr/news_view.html?code=01040000&uid=29113&cpage=1), accessed on June 17, 2009.

<sup>238</sup> Nocutnews.co.kr, April 21, 2009, <http://www.cbs.co.kr/nocut/show.asp?idx=1126899>, accessed on June 17, 2009.

a superficial way and that visitors do not seek to view the stream in an environmentally or culturally significant way. This result may indicate that not enough has been done to identify the stream with the historical and ecological heritage of the area.

Consider the following figures: recently, the trend in the number of visitors to *Cheonggyecheon* has been decreasing. The total visitor number is trending down, from 28 million in 2006 to 22 million in 2007 and to 12 million in 2008 (estimated using 9 months worth of data). It can be said that this decrease is partly due to environmental problems, such as the occurrence of odor and green algae, which should be addressed to improve visitation.<sup>239</sup> These figures may indicate that either the novelty has declined or that the community has embraced the area as a normal part of their city environment. After all, the current numbers of visitors can still be viewed as high.

(Unit: thousand persons)

Year	Total	Number of visitors		
		Citizens of Seoul metropolitan area	Local tourists from other province	Foreign tourists
2005 <sup>(a)</sup>	11,840	8,738	2,842	260
2006	28,259	20,855	6,782	622
2007	21,654	15,981	5,197	476
2008 <sup>(b)</sup>	9,689	7,150	2,325	214
Total	71,442	52,724	17,146	1,572

Figure 126: Status of visitors to *Cheonggyecheon*

(Source: press release material released on October 14, 2008 by Chung, Heesoo, a member of National Assembly, downloaded from [www.happy01000.net](http://www.happy01000.net) accessed on June 7, 2009)

Note: (a) for 3 months from the grand opening on 1<sup>st</sup> of October to 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 2005

(b) for 9 months from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January to 30<sup>th</sup> of September, 2008

Figures showing the trend in total maintenance costs for *Cheonggyecheon* show that costs are increasing. In 2007, the total maintenance cost increased 7.4% against that of 2006. And in 2008, it increased more than 10% against that of 2007. This result can be interpreted as evidence that the restored *Cheonggyecheon* is not financially sustainable.

(unit: million won)

Year	Total Maintenance Expense	Expense items		
		Personnel expense	General expense	Other expense
2005 <sup>(a)</sup>	3,782	1,620	1,493	669
2006	6,769	2,267	3,957	545
2007	7,229	2,554	3,991	684
2008 <sup>(b)</sup>	7,980	2,498	4,732	750

Figure 127: Annual maintenance cost for *Cheonggyecheon*

(Source: press release material released on October 14, 2008 by Chung, Heesoo, a member of National Assembly, downloaded from [www.happy01000.net](http://www.happy01000.net) accessed on June 7, 2009)

Note: (a) for 3 months from the grand opening on 1<sup>st</sup> of October to 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 2005

(b) annual budget amount

<sup>239</sup> Chung, Heesoo (2008), *op.cit*

As discussed in previous chapters, during the restoration process undertaken by the SMG, conservationist activists complained that the project lacked authenticity as either a heritage restoration project or an environmental restoration project. The 386.7 billion won project was successful in transforming the area into a modern style urban waterside park, but was not successful in restoring the area into a historically authentic and environmentally sustainable site. As a result, only a small proportion of visitors come to the site for historical and ecological reasons. In Chapter 5 of this paper, there is discussion of how the heritage authenticity of *Cheonggyecheon* was impacted by the project. The analysis and evaluation was developed using principles from various international and regional heritage charters.

### *Economic impacts*

The *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was a very large scale public project. It was expected to bring about epochal changes to the heart of the nation and it is clear from data that this occurred at a political and economic level.

It was necessary for the SMG to estimate the economic impact to the community to prevent overinvestment and waste of local resources.<sup>240</sup> The SMG estimated the net social benefit of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project by undertaking a cost benefit analysis (CBA). These results are shown below.

(unit: billion won)

Cost		Benefit	
Project cost <sup>(a)</sup> :	364.9	Curtailement in maintenance cost of elevated highway <sup>(d)</sup> :	100
Traffic congestion cost <sup>(b)</sup> :	1,754.8	Environment improvement benefit <sup>(e)</sup> :	4,093.4
Maintenance cost <sup>(c)</sup> :	142.9		
Total cost	2,262.6	Total benefit	4,193.4
1) Net social benefit: Total benefit – Total cost = 4,193.4 – 2,262.6 = 1,930.8			
2) B/C ratio (Benefit-cost ratio): Total benefit ÷ Total cost = 4,193.4 ÷ 2,262.6 = 1.853			
<b>Conclusion:</b> Evaluated as a beneficial project possible to improve the wellbeing of the citizens of Seoul			
Note: (a) an estimate when the master plan was drawn up			
(b) present value (PV) cost incurred annually as a result of the removal of covered up road and elevated highway. Discount rate for PV calculation: 7% p.a.			
(c) present value (PV) cost incurred annually after the completion of the restoration project. Discount rate for PV calculation: 7% p.a.			
(d) a budget reserved for maintaining the elevated highway before the implementation of the project			
(e) present value (PV) of annual aggregate amount of WTP (willingness to pay) of households in Seoul. WTP: 103,309 won per household. Discount rate for PV calculation: 7% p.a.			

Figure 128: Cost benefit analysis on *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project  
(Source: Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), pp. 80-93)

<sup>240</sup> Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), p.96

The SMG also estimated the economic multiplier effect of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project. These results are shown below.

Effects	Quantity	By industry (top 3)
• Effect on <u>production</u> inducement	833.2 billion won nationwide (471.2 billion won in Seoul)	- Construction: 178.5 billion won - Real estate and business service: 93.9 billion won - Basic iron and steel: 88.3 billion won
• Effect on <u>labor</u> inducement	17,620 persons nationwide (10,739 persons in Seoul)	- Construction: 4,326 persons - Wholesale and retail: 1,816 persons - Real estate and business service: 1,471 persons
• Effect on <u>value added</u> inducement	366.7 billion won nationwide (215.9 billion won in Seoul)	- Construction: 76.6 billion won - Real estate and business service: 61.1 billion won - Non-metal mineral product: 25.3 billion won

Figure 129: Economic multiplier effect of the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project  
(Source: Seoul Development Institute *et al.* (2003), pp. 80-93)

According to the above analysis, the project seems to be of great benefit to the Seoul community and its impact extends nationwide. Firstly, regarding the CBA, net social gain was calculated as positive and the benefit-cost ratio was more than one. This result means that the project generates a positive social benefit for the Seoul community and the present value of the net social benefit can be assessed as 1,930.8 billion won. Secondly, the table on the economic multiplier effect estimates that the 364.9 billion won project directly and indirectly creates 833.2 billion won of production and employs 17,620 people nationwide. This analysis also shows that the construction industry is the most benefited business sector.

However, there are criticisms of this analysis. Cho, Woo-Young (2008) presents a different result. He points out that there is an exaggeration of the WTP in the SMG's analysis of social benefit. According to his calculations, the WTP is 94,971 won per annum, per household, which is a decrease from the 103,309 won figure provided in the SMG research. He also points out that as the restored *Cheonggyecheon* is an artificial stream, the WTP is decreased to 57,247 won, almost half of the 103,309 won assumed in SMG's analysis. If this is the case, the social benefit of the project is substantially less than SMG's predictions. He also argues that the citizens of Seoul would prefer a natural stream over an artificial one.<sup>241</sup>

One major limitation inherent in a CBA is that it obscures the fact that some social groups may lose while others may gain. A public project could hurt the poor and result in an income shift from the poor to the middle income group (known as a redistributive effect). Whether benefits exceed costs, whether costs and benefits are

<sup>241</sup> Cho, Woo Young (2008), *The Estimation of Ecological Restoration Projects using Progressive Response Survey*, Thesis for master degree, The Graduate School of Engineering, Yonsei University, pp.31-32

equal, or whether costs exceed benefits, the redistributive effects are not revealed in a normal cost-benefit analysis concerned only with 'economic efficiency'.<sup>242</sup> Seong & Kim (2005) argue that a cost benefit analysis is often used only as a symbol to propagate the need to undertake a project because it is difficult to objectively quantify the benefits and costs of a policy.<sup>243</sup>

The *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project is not free from the criticism that it is more favorable for landlords and developers. As mentioned in Chapter 3, small business owners and street vendors had to leave *Cheonggyecheon* for new places offered by the SMG. For small storeowners, the purchase rate for the new place reached less than 20% due to disagreement with the sale price.<sup>244</sup> Street vendors (flea market vendors) had to move again from the *Dongdaemun* Stadium (first place provided by the SMG) to another place. More street vendors (mostly flea market vendors) continue their business in the alleys behind the roadway of the north bank around *Cheonggyecheon* especially in the *Dongmyo* and *Hwanghakdong* areas.<sup>245</sup> The street vendors are moving here and there escaping SMG and police crackdowns. In an interview with some of them,<sup>246</sup> they said their earnings are 500,000 to 700,000 won a month. They showed cautiousness against the interviewer. They looked very well organized by a leader who dares to fight against enforcement authorities. They said their president is not Lee, M.B., but their leader who fights for them.

There is another example of the redistribution effect related to this project. Kim, Younghoon (2006) surveyed the price difference of apartments close to the restored *Cheonggyecheon*. According to the research, the closer to *Cheonggyecheon* an apartment was, the higher the price was. The average price of an apartment was 358,000 won per *pyeong* (3.3058 square meters) cheaper than that of an apartment 100 meter closer to the stream.<sup>247</sup> The research indicates that the project's benefits are redistributed in an unfair way.

Although the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project brought about a net social benefit and resulted in extensive multiplier effects, it seems to have redistributed the net social benefits unfairly. The *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was undertaken at such a pace and on such a scale that it inevitably created conflicts among stakeholders.

## 7.2 Conflict, authenticity and privatization

Looking beyond the political and economic gains summarized above, questions remain regarding what has been achieved by the project and by whom. It is

<sup>242</sup> ICOMOS (1993), *Conservation Economics- Cost benefit analysis for the cultural built heritage: principles and practice*, released on the occasion of ICOMOS 10<sup>th</sup> General Assembly in Colombo, p.12

<sup>243</sup> Seong & Kim (2005), p.275

<sup>244</sup> SBS News, March 17, 2009., [http://news.sbs.co.kr/section\\_news/news\\_read.jsp?news\\_id=N1000561526](http://news.sbs.co.kr/section_news/news_read.jsp?news_id=N1000561526), accessed on March 25, 2009

<sup>245</sup> See photo no.79 and 80 in the chapter 4 of this research.

<sup>246</sup> The interview was undertaken with two street vendors on March 7, 2009.

<sup>247</sup> Kim, Younghoon (2006), *A study on the impacts of apartment price by Cheonggyecheon (stream) restoration*, Thesis for master degree, Department of Real Estate Studies, Graduate School of Konkuk University, pp.54-55

useful to identify whether the project provides a new identity for the area or recovers an old identity.

As described in chapter 3 of this research, the original idea of restoring *Cheonggyecheon* was conceived by two professors. One taught history and the other taught environmental science. By forming the *Cheonggyecheon Restoration Forum*, they aimed to design an urban utopia. Their utopia included an environmentally sustainable *Cheonggyecheon* complete with beautiful architectural heritage restored in an authentic way.

A project sponsor had seen political value in their idea. This sponsor was Lee, M.B, a former C.E.O. of a construction company and former member of the National Assembly. Adopting their idea of restoring *Cheonggyecheon* as his main public platform for the mayoral election, he was able to become the mayor of Seoul in 2002. Upon inauguration in July of 2003, he established an official organization to undertake the restoration project of *Cheonggyecheon* and the two professors together with other members of their forum willingly joined Lee, M.B. as members of the Citizen's Committee.

During the process of developing the restoration master plan for *Cheonggyecheon*, the SMG's policy turned out to be discordant with heritage conservation principles. SMG's policies brought about severe conflicts with conservationist groups and resulted in the resignation of the two professors and their forum members in September of 2004. In their eyes, the SMG's *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was not a heritage restoration project; rather it was a water park or an open air 'aquarium'<sup>248</sup> through which flowing water is artificially created. Finally, the SMG completed the project according to their original master plan and opened *Cheonggyecheon* to the public on October 1, 2005.

In chapter 5 of this research, the authenticity of the SMG's *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project was evaluated, based on generally accepted heritage conservation principles. The results show that the authenticity of the architectural heritage of *Cheonggyecheon* was substantially damaged by the project. The damage to authenticity is summarized in the figure 113 of the chapter 5.<sup>249</sup>

From the viewpoint of heritage conservation principles, the *Cheonggyecheon* project now lacks key elements inherent in heritage conservation. Therefore, it is important to consider how *Cheonggyecheon* is now perceived.

As revealed in the immediate and overwhelming response from visitors to *Cheonggyecheon* and in SMG's earlier survey, it is evident that people welcome the redesigned *Cheonggyecheon* site. However, succeeding surveys show that people see it as a place for recreation, not as a place for experiencing history or ecology. This means that the SMG succeeded in changing the once dead stream into a 5.8 kilometer long

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<sup>248</sup> This is a cynical expression which Cho, M.R. introduced in his article written in 2005. Several kinds of fish are actually found in the stream. Refer to the figure 71 of the chapter 4 of this research.

<sup>249</sup> Chapter 5, pp.101-102

open air recreational water park. It has become a new urban landmark of Seoul, as well as a metaphoric monument for such great achievement, led by Lee, M.B.

The damage to authentic *Cheonggyecheon* heritage was predestined because the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project from its outset was not a heritage restoration project, but was a project to construct an open air recreational 'aquarium'. If one views the project as such, the principal philosophy of the project is 'efficiency,' which can be contradictory to heritage conservation principles. In previous chapters, we discovered evidence showing that efficiency was a key principle in undertaking the *Cheonggyecheon* project. Efficiency has inseparable relationship with speed. The 386.7 billion worth project was completed in only 27 months. It can be argued that the speed with which the project was undertaken was so fast that there was no time for analyzing new information or considering options for the best ways to retain and conserve important cultural features and details.

Damage to heritage authenticity also resulted from the privatization process. Lee, M.B. was a politician. In order to satisfy political goals, Lee, M.B. privatized the *Cheonggyecheon* project. This privatization process is analyzed in chapter 6 of this research, in regard to the definition of 'monumentalization'. 'Monumentalization' is a term for activities that memorialize an event(s) and/or a person(s) associated with a site (or place or edifice). The monumentalization of *Cheonggyecheon* is comprised of various processes/activities, such as legitimation, sacralization, interpretation and heroic identification. The result of the analysis on the monumentalization of the *Cheonggyecheon* project is shown in Chapter 6 and summarized in the figure 124.<sup>250</sup>

It is clear that Lee, M.B. is memorialized in the new *Cheonggyecheon* through the process of 'monumentalization'. And it is also clear that this successful monumentalization contributed to his winning the presidential election held 27 months after the grand opening of the new *Cheonggyecheon*.

Damage to authenticity has not yet been repaired. The historical and ecological utopia conceived by the two professors is replaced by a spectacular water park where a dramatic nature scene is created by a 5.8 kilometer long artificial water feature. The historical and environmental relics of *Cheonggyecheon* have been degenerated to mere superficial images gentrifying the new *Cheonggyecheon*. After recognizing these weaknesses, the two professors and their colleagues resigned and became leading critics of the misled *Cheonggyecheon* project. They continue to advocate for ensuring the historical authenticity of the area.

### 7.3. Lessons from the Project

This research provides information relevant to similar future projects, especially those in densely developed urban areas where the basic needs of large numbers of people are considered to have a higher priority than the conservation of cultural assets:

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<sup>250</sup> Chapter 6, P.120

(1) All projects involving community-owned cultural assets should be planned carefully and be consistent with established guidelines and protocols.

The conservation regime of Korea needs in-depth guidelines providing clearer definitions and more detailed standards for various processes of heritage conservation. The cultural heritage charter of 1997 proclaims only basic goals and simple principles. This charter should be amended or replaced by a new charter that provides as much detail as the Burra Charter or heritage conservation principles operating in China. The lack of clear definition and detailed guiding principles for heritage conservation in Korea is responsible for SMG's unilateral and arbitrary intervention.

(2) Projects involving community-owned cultural assets should be planned carefully with the active and voluntary participation of community stakeholders representing all legitimate community interests.

The purpose of engaging the community is to share the risks and the benefits of a project that has a pre-existing history and will also affect present and future generations of citizens. In the case of such a large scale heritage intervention project as the *Cheonggycheon* project, the result of intervention might bring about an irrevocable damage to heritage for a long time. Thus, a very careful approach needs to be taken. All relevant stakeholders affected by heritage intervention projects should be encouraged to participate in discussions and decision making. Decision making processes should be based upon democratic principles. A long term approach is necessary until social consensus is reached.

(3) Ensure that benefits are distributed equally and fairly.

As revealed in the case of *Cheonggycheon*, a large scale heritage intervention project has a significant economic impact on communities. Even though the project brings a net social gain to the community, it is highly possible that large scale spending creates unfair income redistribution among different interest groups. Some social groups may lose while others gain. This unfair income redistribution can lead to serious conflict among stakeholders. Thus, prior to undertaking a large scale heritage intervention project, a fair and reasonable income redistribution mechanism needs to be established.

(4) Establish protective measures for cultural heritage at the outset.

When a heritage restoration project is undertaken as part of an urban redevelopment project, damage to heritage authenticity is possible. As redevelopment projects are profit based, 'efficiency' is the paramount ruling principle throughout the project process. Whereas, a heritage restoration project's prime purpose is to defend its cultural significance with less regard to time constraints. Due to these different intentions, it is very possible for conflict in these types of developments. Therefore, in this case, definite principles and reasonable measures to protect heritage authenticity need to be established before the commencement of the projects.

(5) Avoid privatization of heritage assets.

For various reasons, such as nationalism or identity building, heritage is a great cultural, economic and political asset. Various interest groups struggle to hold hegemony over heritage. As revealed in the *Cheonggyecheon* project, a public heritage restoration project can be privatized for political reasons. The previous chapter of this paper discloses monumentalization as one of the heritage privatizing processes used for achieving a political goal. Privatization can result in damage to heritage authenticity. It can also bring about unfair outcomes to rival political groups. Therefore, an appropriate mechanism should be designed to monitor and prevent the privatization of a heritage project.

The Cheonggyecheon project demonstrates that the intermingling of significant national heritage assets with powerful political and economic interests produces a mixture of costs and benefits to society. On the one hand, this project demonstrates that very large scale and costly heritage restoration projects that might otherwise never be implemented can in fact be realized when they capture the attention and imagination of highly influential people in the political (and economic) arena. However, the resulting cost to authentic heritage values may be too high. This project demonstrates that heritage projects used to enhance the visibility and credentials of ambitious political actors may inevitably be implemented in ways that place higher value on speed, popular appeal and political expediency than is ultimately placed on the care for precious cultural artifacts and on the authenticity of historical restoration.

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

Whereas the project did in fact dramatically unearth the buried historic Cheonggyecheon stream, visually restoring a waterway at least roughly in the old location to public view and establishing that waterway as an internationally recognized icon of modern Seoul, the project has also been described by its implementers and many of its supporters as a successful heritage restoration project. The purpose of this study is to investigate the question regarding its value and level of success as a cultural heritage restoration project. Is it really a successful heritage restoration project? Aren't there any problems and issues to be reviewed? and What kind of process has made the project become a myth and Lee, M.B. a hero? This research has tried to answer those questions as follows:

In Chapter 2, the history and the cultural significance of *Cheonggyecheon* revealed that *Cheonggyecheon* with its historical record dating back to 1406 was a main component forming the sacredscape of ancient Seoul planned under the principles of *feng shui* and *Yi Jing*. As the main watercourse of ancient Seoul, *Cheonggyecheon* always had to face human interventions, the traces of which had accumulated in the stream tangibly and intangibly until it began to be covered up by roadway for developing Seoul in late 1950s.

In Chapter 3, this research described the history of social changes in Korea leading up to the emergence of discussion for *Cheonggyecheon* restoration. In early 1970s, people began to aware human right issue. In late 1980s, Korean society became democratized very fast and environmental activists began to organize themselves. In late 1990s, discussions for *Cheonggyecheon* restoration emerged first from civil society and later, in 2002, it was adopted as a public project by the SMG. This research reviewed the master plan for *Cheonggyecheon* restoration and described conflicts among the stakeholders emerged early in the project and they remained until the completion of the project.

The description of the restored *Cheonggyecheon* in Chapter 4 includes a pictorial presentation of the final form of the restored *Cheonggyecheon* by showing images of the places and settings. It serves two purposes: to capture information at a point in time and also to serve as a reference to the reader of this discussion.

Urban renewal and cultural heritage projects are today undertaken within the context of an international understanding that is represented at its highest level by the system of World Heritage inscription of places that are considered to be of value to the whole world community. Below this high level recognition there are local levels of recognition and guidelines for implementation that are recognized locally and internationally. It was therefore necessary to put the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration

project into the international context of best practices cultural heritage management, which was done in Chapter 5. The discussion there covered the definitions of restoration by highlighting the Burra Charter. The research revealed the level of restoration in the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project fell far below the definition and philosophy of major conservation charters and principles. Through the analysis of interventions in historic places, the research revealed the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project damaged the authenticity of historic places considerably. Regarding the 'return' of water to the stream, such artificial way as providing water to the stream by pumping is not only unauthentic but also just image making in a stage set. The restoration of *Cheonggyecheon* is very superficial, which was unavoidable considering Lee, M.B.'s political motivation as much evidence testified.

The underlying motivation of the project, and the force that made it happen was a mixture of political opportunism and memorialization, which was explored in Chapter 6, with reference to key studies, including Dietler's study (case of monumentalization of Celtic oppida). Analyzing the case, this research attempted to redefine the process of 'monumentalization.' Based upon the definition of monumentalization and a thorough analysis of the processes and activities for monumentalization, this research revealed the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project successfully turned into Lee, M.B.'s personal achievement by monumentalizing itself (an event) and him (a person). By doing so, the *Cheonggyecheon* restoration project became Lee, M.B.'s private symbol.

The end result of the project, and its impacts on the host community, who are the people who indirectly paid for it and who have suffered or who may benefit as a result of it, is explored in depth in Chapter 7. Firstly, this research analyzed the social impacts the project brought on to the community of Seoul and nationwide. The social impacts were reviewed into 4 sub-impacts. (1) The political impacts on the nation after the grand opening were described highlighting the popularity gaining process until Lee, M.B.'s winning the presidential election in December of 2007. (2) The study did a cursory review of the most observable environmental changes as well as of some of the available data, and that based on that initial review it would appear that the level of environmental and ecological repair achieved will likely be found to be minimal. (3) The cultural impacts were reviewed by investigating other researchers' surveys revealing visitors' recognition on the new *Cheonggyecheon* and pointing out the negligence of heritage element which is due to the lack of heritage authenticity. (4) The economic impacts were reviewed by investigating the cost-benefit analysis and the economic multiplier effect implemented by the SMG. It was pointed out the SMG's *Cheonggyecheon* project lacked a fair redistribution measure for social benefit. Secondly, this research summarized the damage of heritage authenticity and the privatization of the project and argued these are the main sources of conflict. Thirdly, the lessons from this research were suggested.

Looking at the totality of the project; its history, its accomplishment and its impacts, the *Cheonggyecheon* project may be seen as the biggest heritage restoration project in the history of Korea. It would not be the biggest urban redevelopment with which it might be wrongly compared. The final appearance of the new *Cheonggyecheon* is a 5.8 km long open air recreational water park operated by artificial water circulation.

There, the heritage element is minimal. As we have seen, the project made use of the historical relics for mere image making, and superficial treatments prevailed in the process of the project. This superficiality of the project proved to be effective for power acquisition in the short run. The damaged authenticity and such superficiality might result in serious adverse effects in the long run.

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 on March 12, 2009

## Appendix A

### *Case: The monumentalization of the Celtic oppida*

Alesia, Bibracte, and Gergovia are three sites forming a kind of 'holy trinity' of Gallic identity for France. These sites are the places Julius Caesar mentioned in his account of Roman conquest of the 'Celtic' people of Gaul between 58 and 50 B.C. appearing in *De Bello Gallico*.

'The popular vision of France as an eternal Gallic nation had emerged during the revolution of 1789. The new revolutionary state found itself in a position having to craft a nation. Within the artificial borders of a state that encompassed peoples with different identities who didn't even share the same language. Napoleon III presided over a major transformation of an already ethnicized sense of French identity rooted in claims to Celtic ancestry in which above three sites came to have an important role.'

### Alesia

The archaeological project financed by Napoleon III began in 1861 and was immediately successful in finding traces of Caesar's siege fortifications, and Napoleon himself traveled to the site to see the excavations in June of 1861. Alesia came to occupy a special place in his project of historical imagination. With the completion of excavations in 1865, he erected a gigantic bronze statue of Vercingetorix (a hero who fought against Caesar), with the face modeled after his own. Around the base of the statue is a bronze band inscribed with the message 'Napoleon III, Emperor of the French people, to the memory of Vercingetorix' and a passage attributed by Caesar to Vercingetorix: 'A united Gaul forming a single nation animated by the same spirit can defy the universe.' The statue was first exhibited in Paris and then transported (standing upright in a wagon) across the countryside as crowds of people flocked to watch the statue pass. A museum was also founded by Napoleon III at the site to display the relics of the national past unearthed in the excavations.



Figure 130: Statue of Vercingetorix of Alesia

(Photo source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A1%C3%A9siasia.jpg>. Accessed on Mar. 12, 2009)

Alesia is the place of final defeat of the Gauls by Caesar. As a focus of his monumentalizing strategy, Napoleon III chose a place of defeat. Where national memories are concerned, tragedies are of more value than triumphs. Sites of tragedy stir emotions and focus collective memory. At the moment the statue of Vercingetorix was being erected at Alesia, Napoleon III was simultaneously publishing a two-volume study of the life of Caesar. This work is quite explicit in its attempt to transform Alesia into a physical symbol of the legitimacy of the civilizing mission of French colonialism that was playing out in different part of the world and to use Vercingetorix as the fulcrum of this moral lesson. (Meaning making, interpretation) Hence, Alesia was envisioned by Napoleon III as an evocative monument to the historical enactment of this civilizing process in the formation of national identity. The site has continued to serve as a symbolically charged platform for politicians.

### Gergovia

Napoleon III visited the site in 1862 and left a small stèle commemorating the event. However, no doubt for the reasons explained earlier, he did not make a dedication to Vercingetorix or the battle, as he had at Alesia. In 1900, the Academie des Sciences, Belles Lettres et Arts de Clermont, and allied regional organizations erected an immense 26-meter-tall stone monument on the plateau of Gergovia. In 1903, the statue of Vercingetorix was erected in the Place de Jaude in Clermont-Ferrand. The plaster of the statue had been purchased for erection of an enlarged bronze version in 1870. At the turn of the century after the defeat of the Franco-Prussian war, these commemorations helped form a focus of collective memory on the defeat and the quest for revenge in the context of the escalating frenzy of anti-German nationalism.



Figure 131: Statue of Vercingetorix at Clermont-Ferrand

(Photo source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Statue-vercingetorix-jaude-clermont.jpg>. Accessed on March 12, 2009)

In 1942, the Vichy government orchestrated the most significant commemorative ceremony the site has ever witnessed. Handfuls of earth from all parts of France and its empire were carried to the site, where they were mixed together and

deposited in the base of the monument by Petain while speeches by various dignitaries explicitly compared Petain to Vercingetorix. This ceremony was clearly intended to invoke the image of Vercingetorix in the collective memory and link ancient and current personal embodiments of the nation as a legitimization of the Vichy Occupation regime.

### **Bibracte**

This is the place where Vercingetorix convened ‘the council of Gauls’ in order to rally united opposition against Caesar (the Romans). To Napoleon III, this site was not important to the nationalist mythology of historical identity he fostered as was Alesia. Excavations had been undertaken discontinuously since 1867. Over a century after the first excavation, the French president, Francois Mitterrand, resurrected Bibracte as a major symbolic focus of his personal vision of national identity. In 1985, Mitterrand journeyed to the place and officially monumentalized it as a national site. This event and the call for Gallic unity under Vercingetorix were both commemorated by monuments. In 1995, he inaugurated an enormous new museum and research center at the site. In an interview, he claimed to identify personally with Vercingetorix above all other figures of French history.



Figure 132: Museum at Bibracte

(Source: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Musee\\_de\\_Bibracte\\_-\\_Batiment.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Musee_de_Bibracte_-_Batiment.jpg). Accessed on March 12, 2009)

**Appendix B****Seoul's ancient city planning**

## 1. Four inner mountains (at each cardinal point)



Figure 133: Bukak-san (north mountain)  
(Photo by Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 134: Nam-san (south mountain)  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 135: Nak-san (east mountain)

(Source: <http://dicimg.nate.com/art/23/54/235489001.jpg> accessed on July 16, 2009 )



Figure 136: Inwang-san (west mountain)

(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)

## 2. Palaces



Figure 137: Main hall, Gyeongbok-gung (main palace)  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 138: Hyangwonjeong pavilion, Gyeongbok-gung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 139: Main gate, Changdeok-gung (east palace)  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 140: Name plate and roof decoration of main gate, Changdeok-gung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 141: Main gate, Changgyeong-gung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 142: Royal throne, Changgyeong-gung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 143: Main gate, main hall of Gyeonghui-gung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 144: Stone steps, main hall of Gyeonghui-gung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 145: Main gate, Deoksugung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 146: Seokjojeon hall, Deoksugung  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)

### 3. Royal ancestral shrine



Figure 147: Main hall, Jongmyo (royal ancestral shrine)  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 148: Gallery, Jongmyo (royal ancestral shrine)  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)

#### 4. Altar to the gods of earth and grain



Figure 149: Sajikdan (altar)

(Source: [http://sca.visitseoul.net/file/1\\_img/relics/grave09002d.jpg](http://sca.visitseoul.net/file/1_img/relics/grave09002d.jpg), accessed on July 16, 2009)



Figure 150: Reproduction of ceremony, Sajikdan

(Source: [http://sca.visitseoul.net/file/1\\_img/relics/grave09002b.jpg](http://sca.visitseoul.net/file/1_img/relics/grave09002b.jpg), accessed on July 16, 2009)

## 5. Gates &amp; walls



Figure 151: Stone walls  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 152: Dongdae-mun (east gate)  
(Photo by: Noh, Jang Suh)



Figure 153: Mountain fortress wall (Bukhan-san)  
(Source: <http://bukhan.knps.or.kr/PDS/DefaultInfo/Course/북한산성.jpg>, accessed on July 16, 2009)



Figure 154: Namdae-mun (south gate)  
(Source: [http://www.cha.go.kr/unisearch/imagefiles/national\\_treasure/20060227132556895000.jpg](http://www.cha.go.kr/unisearch/imagefiles/national_treasure/20060227132556895000.jpg), accessed on July 16, 2009)

## Biography

<b>Name-Surname</b>	Jang Suh Noh
<b>Permanent Address</b>	San 4-25, Cheongwoon-Dong, Jongro-Gu, Seoul, Korea
<b>Contact Address</b>	261-11, Shinsa-Dong, Eunpyeong-Gu, Seoul, Korea
<b>Educational Background</b>	Bachelor of Business Administration, Korea University Master of Arts (Economics), Yonsei University

### Work Experience

- Certified Management Consultant (Korea) with special interest in cultural resource management. June 10, 2009 – currently
- Director, C& Marine Finance (Seoul). Ship financing service. July of 2008 - January of 2009
- CEO, Hanwon Holdings (Bangkok). Management consulting for the real estate and tourism industry. January of 2006 – November of 2007.
- CFO, Pattaya Folk Village (Pattaya). Tourism attraction development and interpretation planning. January of 2003 – December of 2005
- CEO, Seum Holdings (Seoul). Management consulting. April of 2000 – December of 2002
- Director, Hyundai Panin Finance (Jakarta). Financial service. July of 1997 – September of 1999
- Hyundai International Merchant Bank (Seoul). Int'l financing service. January of 1985 – June of 1997

### Lectures/ presentations

- Gave a lecture, 'An Adventure to the Grand Palace, Bangkok' at Pusan University of Foreign Studies. Invited by Southeast Asian Institute. December 5, 2008.
- Presented a thesis, 'Ancient City Planning and Symbolism: A Comparative Study on the Royal Capitals of Thailand and Korea' at the Korea-Thailand Seoul Symposium marking the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic relations between Korea and Thailand. October 31, 2008.
- Gave a lecture, 'the Beauty of Thai Architectural Heritage' at Dongguk University. Invited by the Graduate School of Culture and Arts. May 21, 2006.

**Thesis/ writings**

- Contributed a thesis, 'A Study on the Layout and Architecture of Royal Capital Bangkok' to the Journal of Korean Association of Thai Studies. July 1, 2009.
- Contributed a series of articles, 'Pilgrim to Thailand's Architectural Heritage' over 40 issues to Gyomin Japji, a Korean community magazine published in Bangkok. February of 2006 – August of 2007.

**Education/ Training/ Seminar/ Conference**

- Studying the painting and conservation of Dancheong (a traditional painting and intangible heritage) at Korea Dancheong Institute
- Completed a course on cultural property restoration techniques. Organized by Korea Cultural Property Restoration Technician Association. June 18 – 21, 2009.
- Participated in 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference of the Korean Museum Association at the National Museum of Korea. May 22 – 25, 2009.
- Completed the license renewal education program for a certified management consultant organized by Korea Management and Technology Consultant Association. May 28 – 29, 2009.