Journal of Research High School

Vol. 2026 (1) 64 – 73
ISSN 2688-3651 [online]

# Beyond Imitation of the Past: Reclaiming Korean Tradition in Contemporary Architecture

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Received July 4, 2025; Revised September 30, 2025; Accepted October 14, 2025

**Abstract**

South Korea's rapid modernization has produced a built environment that often feels disconnected from its architectural traditions. This paper explored how traditional design principles might be reactivated in a contemporary context, not as aesthetic references, but as spatial and material strategies. Through close analysis of three recent houses by Korean architects, the study examined how core features of traditional architecture—fluid layout, timber construction, and scenic framing—are not simply preserved but reimagined in response to present needs. Using a case study method informed by historical and formal analysis, the paper considered how each work resists surface-level imitation and instead engages tradition as a generative framework. It argued that such an approach offers an alternative to both nostalgic revivalism and placeless globalism. The study asked how, in a rapidly developing and increasingly uniform postmodern society, a nation might preserve its architectural identity and contribute to the global discourse of design innovation.

*Keywords: Korean architecture, Modernization, Contemporary design, Design innovation, Cultural preservation*

## 1. Introduction

Since the late 19th century, Korea has undergone rapid transformation under the pressures of colonization, war, and state-led industrialization. In particular, top-down modernization policies during the postwar period resulted in the erasure of vernacular traditions and a rupture with the nation's architectural past. While South Korea is now recognized as a global economic power, its built environment—especially in major cities like Seoul—reflects a sense of loss of cultural continuity rather than regional identity. Today, high-rise developments dominate urban centers, with apartments—a residential form nonexistent before the 1960s—now accounting for over 64% of all housing nationwide (Korea Land & Housing Corporation, 2024).

Today, Korean architecture continues to struggle with the question of how to preserve cultural identity while engaging in contemporary design. Although several scholars and architects have attempted to theorize the principles of traditional Korean architecture, there remains no shared framework or consensus. Moreover, while efforts to clarify such principles are still at an early stage, applying them meaningfully to contemporary architectural design remains a separate challenge. In practice, architectural discourse has struggled to move beyond either nostalgic preservation or surface-level imitation. At this moment, it is crucial to reexamine the internal logic of traditional Korean buildings from a practical design perspective.

This study addressed these tensions by asking: What are the essential features of traditional Korean architecture that can be meaningfully reinterpreted in contemporary design? It revisited existing discourses on Korean tradition and offered a reorganized framework based on spatial, philosophical, and material dimensions. Rather than treating tradition as a fixed aesthetic, this paper explored how it might function as a generative tool—that is, not a static form

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to replicate, but a design catalyst that enables new spatial and material experimentation while maintaining cultural continuity.

Despite extensive scholarship on Korean traditional architecture, much of the existing research has focused on cataloging formal elements or preserving historic buildings rather than investigating how traditional principles can inform new design. This paper addressed that gap by identifying core features of traditional Korean architecture and examining how they are reinterpreted in three contemporary projects. By highlighting these cases, the study demonstrated how tradition can function not as a fixed image but as a generative framework, offering architects practical strategies for integrating cultural identity into modern design without resorting to superficial imitation.

### 1.1 Literature Review: From Preservation to Reinterpretation

*Korean Architecture: Historical Trajectory*

Since the late 19th century, Korea has undergone a rapid and often violent transformation under the pressures of colonization, war, dictatorship, and industrialization. Beginning with the country's forced opening in 1876 and intensifying under Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945), traditional buildings were increasingly supplanted by Western-style buildings designed to symbolize imperial power and modernization. The devastation of the Korean War (1950–1953) further accelerated this loss. In the decades that followed, South Korea entered a period of "compressed modernization" (Lee, 2013, p. 25). Under President Park Chung-hee's Saemaul Undong (New Village Movement) policies of the 1970s, Korea's architecture was mobilized to serve as a tool for producing a "new national order" (Park, 2020, pp. 58-59). State-led development promoted concrete and steel construction aligned with global modernist ideals, and architects trained abroad transformed urban landscapes into dense fields of concrete towers, typified by projects like the Sewoon Complex and the Yeouido Master Plan. The erasure of regional identity in Korean cities was also in part due to the global dominance of the International Style, which emphasized abstract order and industrial materials over local specificity (Lee, 2013).

*Institutional Preservation and Its Limitations*

One major response by South Korea to this rupture was the attempt to preserve traditional buildings through legal and administrative means. Since the mid-1980s, the Seoul Metropolitan Government has pursued various preservation initiatives, beginning with the 1985 Hanok District Urban Design Plan (Ju, 2014, p. 1). These policies sought to maintain remaining hanok (traditional Korean buildings) neighborhoods, particularly in areas like Bukchon and Gahoe-dong. However, Korean architects have consistently argued that preservation alone cannot secure architectural identity. Architect and critic Jong Gun Lee acknowledges the value of conservation but emphasizes that "today's architecture must respond to the realities of contemporary life" (Lee, 2013, p. 23). He notes that while hanok villages may offer physical insight into premodern lifestyles, they do not necessarily produce architecturally valuable outcomes in today's architectural context.

*Theorizing Tradition: Stylistic Attempts*

Another strand of effort beyond preservation has focused on identifying and codifying the formal elements of Korean traditional architecture. This approach characterizes hanok through visible features such as giwa (tiled roofs), ondol (heated floors), and maru (raised wooden platforms). A notable example is the government-funded design study for the National Assembly Building in the 1960s, which analyzed proportional and elevational patterns derived from Joseon-era buildings. Throughout the 1960s to 1980s, numerous studies sought to codify these elements as a "traditional architectural vocabulary" (Ju, 2014, pp. 1-2). These studies typically emphasized roof structures, columns, decorative color schemes, and the use of natural materials like rock, timber, and hanji (Korean paper)—focusing primarily on external form. More recently, researchers have used deep learning techniques to identify the proportional patterns of hanok plans in an effort to develop a more objective design manual (Yoon & Lee, 2022).

However, a key limitation is that Korean architecture was not founded on fixed ratios or formal principles, unlike classical Western architecture. Sang-Hun Lee (2015), a professor at Konkuk University, explained that buildings in East Asia were not conceived as the formal representation of fixed ideals, but rather as a fluid expression of cosmic

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principles (Dao), which were themselves unfixed and ever-changing. The fact that the Korean term geonchuk (architecture) did not even exist in the Korean lexicon until the early 20th century—when it was adopted from the Japanese word kenchiku (建築)—highlights this conceptual absence (Lee, 2013).

Consequently, efforts to define Korean tradition through fixed stylistic rules risk oversimplifying or misrepresenting its spirit. While many first generation Korean architects attempted to study the morphological features of traditional architecture and translate them into modern designs as a way to carry on tradition, such attempts often led to stylistic mimicry with little conceptual depth. Architect Joong-up Kim, for instance, incorporated a simplified reinterpretation of hanok eaves in his design for the French Embassy in Seoul (1961); similarly, Swoo-geun Kim's Buyeo National Museum (1963) used traditional giwa and eaves in concrete structures (Figure 1). However, these works were widely criticized for mimicking traditional architectural forms with concrete (Lee, 2015). In 1966, the winning entry for the National Museum competition—submitted by Kang Bong-jin—was based on a directive to imitate and combine various regional building styles. Critics derided it as "a man in a necktie wearing a gat (a traditional Korean hat)" or "a Western suit topped with a hanbok (a traditional Korean attire) overcoat," emphasizing the incompatibility of mimicking wooden structures with modern materials like concrete (Park, 2020, p. 63).

*Toward an Applicable Redefinition*

Despite decades of theorization, preservation, and new construction, Korean architecture continues to lack a clear design language that connects tradition with contemporary practice. While hanok conservation holds cultural value, it offers little guidance for future architectural invention. As Bongryeol Kim warns, vague ideals like "Korean-ness" often hinder more than they help, functioning as burdensome abstractions rather than practical design tools (as cited in Lee, 2013, p. 23). This paper instead focuses on identifying specific intrinsic elements that may offer more generative value when reinterpreted within contemporary design contexts.

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Figure 1. (A) French Embassy in Seoul designed by Joong-up Kim (1961). (B) Buyeo National Museum designed by Swoo-geun Kim (1963). ©Baek Jin. Source: Kim, J. A. (2023) and SPACE (2023, August).

## 2. Methods

This study adopted a qualitative, design-centered approach grounded in architectural criticism and historical research. Foundational sources include key writings by Korean architects and scholars such as Jong Gun Lee and Jung-hyun Park, alongside academic theses and peer-reviewed journals. The analytical framework—centered on spatial fluidity, chagyeong (borrowed scenery), and timber-based tectonics (the structural and expressive role of materials, especially wood)—was drawn from prior analyses of hanok and vernacular architecture by Sang-Hun Lee and others.

The three case studies were selected based on the following criteria: (1) the project explicitly engages with Korean architectural tradition in a conceptual, rather than mimetic, way; (2) the work has received critical recognition or documentation in credible architectural platforms; and (3) the architect has articulated a design philosophy linking past and present.

Sources consulted include project monographs, exhibition publications, design interviews, and photographic documentation. Each case was analyzed thematically across three axes: spatial organization, material logic, and environmental mediation. Rather than technical performance, the analysis emphasized interpretive readings of how tradition is conceptually reimagined in form, experience, and intent.

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## 3. Framework: the Key Features of Korean Traditional Architecture

In this study, a project was considered a contemporary reinterpretation of Korean architectural tradition if it demonstrated at least one of the three identified features—spatial fluidity, scenic integration (chagyeong), or timber tectonics—in a conceptually deliberate way. While some case studies engage with multiple traits, the presence of even one feature can reflect a critical attitude toward traditional practice. These features are not rigid typologies but recurring architectural logics drawn from historical precedents: for example, Sujoldang's interlinked interior courtyards exemplify fluid spatial flow; Joseon-era scholar houses often employed chagyeong by framing mountain or garden views through controlled openings; and temple eaves and gongpo systems demonstrate timber's capacity for structural complexity without metal fasteners. In the following sections, each case study is examined through the lens of one or more of these features.

### 3.1 Spatial Fluidity

Traditional Korean architecture can be meaningfully approached not through isolated components, but through the spatial systems and lived practices that sustained it. Lee (1991) has emphasized that core features such as madang (courtyard) and kan (modular room units) reveal an underlying ethos of fluidity, continuity, and adaptability. These patterns, Lee argues, reflect a design ethos rooted in flexibility and openness.

Unlike Western buildings that often emphasize centralized entry, traditional Korean dwellings rarely operate on axial organization. Instead, they unfold incrementally, through a series of passageways that are neither fully enclosed nor fully open. A user may approach the home not through a monumental facade, but through a sequence of thresholds—gates, courtyards, verandas, and rooms—each revealing different spatial and emotional atmospheres. Paths curve, and buildings are arranged around the madang, which functions as a central void, connecting otherwise discrete spaces. This layout encourages a sense of spatial rhythm and continuity across the interior and the exterior (Lee, 2015).

Functional flexibility also defines Korean architectural space. A daecheong (main hall) may serve as a communal living space one day and host ancestral rituals the next. Openings such as changho (sliding wooden doors) and maru (raised floor platforms) allow rooms to transform depending on the occasion. They have "soft edges," (Kim, 2021, p.25) with fluid spatial logic enabling them to expand or change function based on season and social context. Rather than viewing space as a static container, Korean tradition treats it as a responsive field of relations.

### 3.2 Chagyeong (Borrowed Scenery)

Chagyeong, or borrowed scenery, is a spatial strategy in Korean traditional architecture that frames distant elements of nature—mountains, trees, light—as integral parts of the built environment. Rooflines were lowered to catch a glimpse of a distant ridge, or a courtyard wall might intentionally allow the viewer to see through to an old pine tree. The southern exposure was favored not just for warmth and light, but also for its openness to vistas. Such gestures are not ornamental—the aim was to position the inhabitant in quiet relation to something larger than the self (Lee & Cheon, 2007, pp.3–5).

The idea that a house should conform to its site, rather than conquer it, runs deep in East Asian landscape thought. Rather than reshaping land to achieve a visual effect, chagyeong does not interfere with nature. The 17th-century Chinese garden theorist Ji Cheng emphasized that the best scenery is already there; the role of the designer is to recognize and frame it (Lee, 1997). Following this logic, Korean houses emphasize orientation, window placement, and siting as tools to integrate the natural world without reshaping it. Chagyeong thus redefines the role of buildings as frames for participating in the larger ecological and cultural field.

Importantly, chagyeong operates beyond physical sightlines. It acknowledges that nature, even when outside the building, shapes the inner experience of space. As Lee and Cheon (2007) point out, the practice involves all senses and unfolds over time. Seasonal changes, wind direction, scent, light, and memory all play a role. More than a design tool, a borrowed view creates emotional and symbolic meanings, turning the building into a larger natural and temporal system.

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### 3.3 Timber Construction

In traditional Korean architecture, wood was not merely a building material but a cultural expression. Timber was used in its most natural form: pine and zelkova were cut minimally, joined without nails, and left unpainted. Irregularities in grain or texture were preserved rather than concealed, and stones were often kept in their natural shapes when used as foundations. Earth mixed with straw was applied to walls without trying to hide its rough texture. This way of working shows a preference for materials that stay close to their natural state. These practices were not born of technical limitation but of philosophical conviction. Rooted in Daoist thought, they reflect an ethic of harmony with nature, where construction does not impose form but follows what is already present. As Jina Hong explains, this material restraint mirrors the Daoist principle of wu wei, or non-coercive action—"doing only what is necessary while honoring the limits of nature" (Hong & Yoon, 2009, p.476).

This philosophical orientation gave rise to a construction culture of deep attentiveness. Rather than standardizing parts, each wooden element was understood to have its own temperament and role within the whole. Carpenters worked with living material, adjusting joinery to the specific knots, warps, or softness of each beam. This ethos resonates with the traditional Korean view that architecture is not an object to be shaped but a vessel through which nature and human life can co-exist. In this sense, building in wood was not merely about choosing a local material—it was about building a worldview in which the home participated in the rhythms of seasons, weather, and aging.

## 4. Case Studies

In this section, three architectural projects are examined through the analytical framework established in the previous section: spatial fluidity and continuity, topographical and scenic integration (chagyeong), and material reinterpretation. Each case study illustrates a different approach to the challenge of embodying traditional Korean values in a contemporary architectural language. Rather than relying on symbolic ornamentation or visual mimicry, these projects engage deeply with the philosophical and spatial principles of traditional architecture.

### 4.1 Case Study 1: Spatial Fluidity in Sujoldang (守拙堂)

Table 1. Project Information: Sujoldang by Seung H-Sang.

| Category | Description |
|---|---|
| Year of Completion | 1992 |
| Location | Nonhyeon-dong, Seoul |
| Site Area | 234.40 m² |
| Building Area | 117.54 m² |
| Gross Floor Area | 195.50 m² |
| Building Scale | B1, 2F |

Seung H-Sang is known for advocating what he calls the "aesthetics of poverty"—a design philosophy rooted in restraint, emptiness, and anti-monumentality (Kim & Park, 2004, p.23). One of his earliest and most defining works is Sujoldang (守拙堂), a private residence designed in 1992 for art historian Yoo Hong-jun. Translating roughly to "a house that guards humble virtue," the home stands in stark contrast to the flashy, status-driven housing that came to dominate post-industrial Korean urbanism. Reflecting on the project, Seung (1993) wrote: "We must rebuild, in our cities, walls that do not enclose us from others but stand as intellectual surfaces—spaces that lead us to contemplate, to reflect, and to live truthfully."

As shown in Figure 2, the building is arranged in a U-shaped (ㄷ) configuration around a central madang, which acts as the spatial and conceptual core. This madang is defined on two sides by built volumes and on the remaining sides by low boundary walls, one of which is made of unaltered stone—a direct reference to vernacular wall construction. Three additional yards—an earthen yard, a stone-paved service yard with fermentation jars, and an upper yard—reinforce the sequential progression of open space, each differentiated by material treatment (wood, gravel, or soil) yet integrated into the overall circulation (Kim & Park, 2019).

A key spatial strategy lies in the deliberate flattening of the floor levels between indoor and outdoor areas (Figure 3). The floor height of the living room aligns precisely with the courtyard deck, allowing for seamless movement and visual continuity between interior and exterior zones. This contrasts with traditional hanok, where the maru typically sits elevated above the courtyard (Open House Worldwide). Circulation is not axial but layered: entry into the house

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proceeds gradually through a series of transitional zones—including a narrow corridor along the street—before opening into the primary living areas. The interior and exterior boundaries remain fluid; the continuity between sarangchae (reception space) and anchae (inner quarters) is mediated through a choreographed sequence of transitional spaces (Kim & Park, 2019). In some cases, access to interior rooms is routed through external space, creating a rhythm of enclosure and exposure that mirrors hanok logic.

Unlike Western-style dwellings where rooms are strictly zoned by function, the rooms in Sujoldang were designed to remain flexible in use, allowing their program to adapt based on the daily routines of the occupants. This echoes the fluidity of traditional Korean residential space, where rooms often shift between private and communal functions depending on time and context. This design embodies spatial fluidity through its layered thresholds and open progression of rooms and courtyards. Rather than imposing fixed boundaries, the architecture invites a cyclical rhythm of enclosure and release, recasting traditional spatial logics for contemporary life.

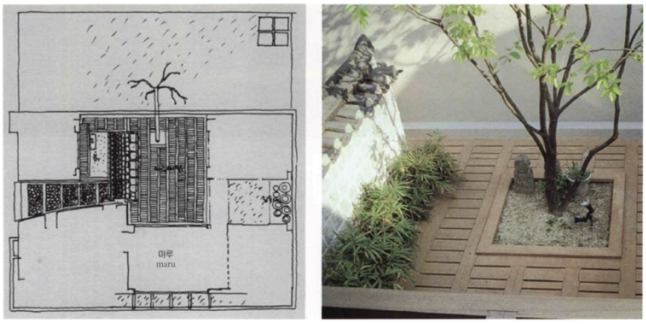


Figure 2. Central courtyard of Sujoldang. (A) Floor plan showing the U-shaped layout and courtyard at the center. (B) Photograph of the courtyard with wooden flooring. ©IROJE Architects & Planners. Source: Seung (1993).

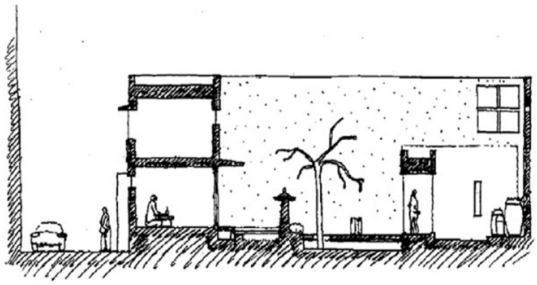

Figure 3. Section drawing of Sujoldang. ©IROJE Architects & Planners. Source: Seung (1993).

4.2 Case Study 2: House of Three Trees and the Structural Reinterpretation of Wood

Table 2. Project Information: House of Three Trees by Jae K. Kim.

| Category | Description |
|---|---|
| Year of Completion | 2018 |
| Location | 417-5, Yeongnamjeil-ro, Nakdong-myeon, Sangju-si |
| Site Area | 271 m² |
| Building Area | 68.58 m² |
| Gross Floor Area | 85.52 m² |
| Building Scale | 2F |

The House of Three Trees (2018) by architect Jae K. Kim presents a rigorous material investigation into the structural capacities of wood, drawing from the tectonic language of East Asian bracket systems. Located in Sangju, North Gyeongsang Province, this compact residence—measuring 86 m² on a 271 m² plot—serves as a design offers a small-scale model for reinterpreting tradition beyond surface-level references, favoring instead a reengagement with timber's structural intelligence. The architect situates this work within a broader research trajectory he terms the "Rebirth of East Asian Timber Architecture" (Kim).

At the core of the project lies a reinterpretation of the gongpo (栱包), or traditional wooden bracket system commonly found in traditional Korean architecture (Seo). Drawing from established studies on hanok construction materials and joinery systems (Ju, 2014; Hong & Yoon, 2009), Kim digitally reinterprets the structure using parametric modeling techniques to analyze and adapt the logic of joinery (Figure 4). Each of the three large structural pillars, referred to as "trees" (Kim), supports an evolving lattice of interlocking wooden members that reference historical joinery systems across Korea, China, and Japan. As exemplified in Figure 5, the resulting structure operates as a recursive, load-bearing system—expressive yet fully functional (Hyo).

Resisting the postcolonial tendency in Korea to reduce tradition to decorative imagery, the House of Three Trees draws from the intrinsic structural logic of timber joinery—namely, its ability to transform wood's material limitations through compositional rigor. The use of birch plywood as the primary structural and finish material is deliberate: it allows for both precise milling and continuity of grain expression. The construction avoids nails or steel fasteners, opting instead for fully joined using interlocking methods that draw on traditional joinery techniques while meeting

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contemporary engineering standards (Kim, 2019). In doing so, the architect seeks not to restore a lost craft tradition, but to project its underlying logic into future design possibilities. The project demonstrates a structural reinterpretation of timber logic by activating the joinery principles of traditional gongpo systems through digital modeling. This approach transforms material tradition into a design method rather than an aesthetic citation.

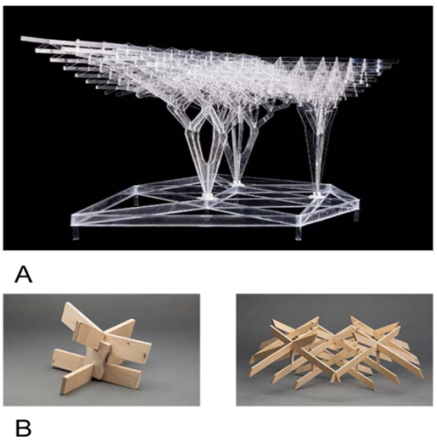


Figure 4. (A) Parametric model of interlocking bracket structure (Image courtesy of JK-AR). (B) Prototype joinery studies (Image courtesy of JK-AR). ©JK-AR. Source: Jeon (n.d.).

Figure 5. Interior view of the completed House of Three Trees. ©JK-AR. Source: Jeon (n.d.).

### 4.3 Case Study 3: Framing Nature in Jaannjai (芘岸齋) by Hyo Man Kim

Table 3. Project Information: Jaannjai by Hyo Man Kim

| Category | Description |
|---|---|
| Year of Completion | 2016 |
| Location | Sinbong-dong, Yongin-si |
| Site Area | 554 m² |
| Building Area | 110.28 m² |
| Gross Floor Area | 290.88 m² |
| Building Scale | B1, 3F |

In Jaannjai, Hyo Man Kim reinterprets the traditional Korean principle of chagyeong—the intentional framing of surrounding natural scenery within the built environment. Located on a sloped, forested site near Mt. Gwanggyo, the residence is situated to face northwest toward an undeveloped, permanently preserved stretch of landscape. In prioritizing the expansive mountain view over standard southern solar orientation, the project directly confronts the design dilemma of how to simultaneously frame nature and preserve passive performance.

Instead of orienting toward the south for optimal solar exposure, the house opens toward the undeveloped northern view. Kim's solution centers on a series of suspended, transparent glass "gardens"—volumes that both frame the landscape and perform environmental functions (Figure 6). These glass boxes, which extend from multiple elevations, are planted with bamboo or flowering trees and serve as vertical light wells (Kim, 2021). These dreamy, "floating gardens that seem to defy gravity" (Lee, 2013, p. 145) function like apertures. While they appear formally detached from the concrete base structure, they strategically deliver southern light deep into the lower levels through angled openings and transparent circulation bridges. These glazed volumes operate as both literal and symbolic devices of chagyeong: not only light, but also they catch fragments of the sky, bringing the exterior into layered contact with the interior (Figure 7). This echoes historical practices of selective framing seen in traditional Korean gardens and hanok courtyards.

Inside, the layout avoids rigid zoning in favor of continuous, flowing transitions. Slight level shifts between floors create meandering internal circulation reminiscent of a mountain path, with framed views emerging not from fixed picture windows, but from dynamic spatial overlaps. Outside, as shown in Figure 8, the building adopts an irregular, multifaceted geometry that mirrors nearby ridgelines. Its metallic cladding reflects different hues depending on the angle of sunlight, echoing seasonal changes in the forest canopy. The surface thus participates in the landscape rather than standing apart from it, reinforcing the house's concept as an extension of its natural surroundings (Kim, 2021). The house rethinks the principle of chagyeong not as passive viewing, but as a dynamic and luminous engagement

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with nature. By shaping light and views through suspended glass gardens, it reframes visual and spatial perception as the core of architectural experience.

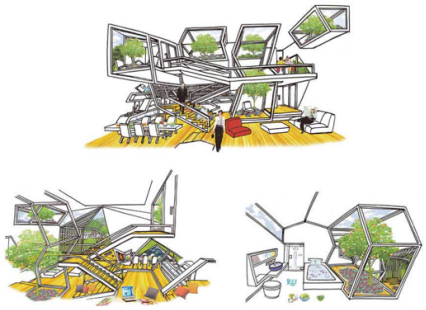

Figure 6. Conceptual drawings showing internal spatial organization of Jaanjai. Image courtesy of Iroje KHM Architects.

A B

Figure 7. Interior view of Jaanjai. (A) View from the first floor, looking up toward the upper volume and staircase core. (B) View from the stairwell leading to the rooftop floor. Image courtesy of Iroje KHM Architects.

## 5. Discussion

Figure 8. Exterior view of Jaanjai. Image courtesy of Iroje KHM Architects.

The three case studies demonstrate a shift in how Korean architects engage with tradition. Instead of preserving familiar forms, they search for design strategies that respond to the cultural and philosophical depth embedded in historical practices. Seung H-Sang's work invites quiet contemplation through spatial openness and everyday rituals. Jae K. Kim turns to structure as a language, reviving carpentry not through replication but through calibrated complexity. In Hyo Man Kim's project, the relationship between architecture and nature takes on an atmospheric quality, shaped by light, orientation, and temporal rhythm. Despite their different approaches, the architects share a sense that tradition is not something to be referenced—it is something to be rebuilt, line by line, gesture by gesture. Their architecture grows from partial memory, from reinterpretation rather than certainty. These projects do not aim to define a singular Korean style. Instead, they open up a space where tradition can remain unstable, experimental, and alive within the conditions of the present.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper has explored how Korean architecture, after decades of rupture and formal imitation, can begin to recover its identity by returning to the spatial, material, and environmental principles found in tradition. Rather than relying on symbolic decoration, the case studies show how contemporary architects are using tradition as a design method, one that is open-ended rather than prescriptive.

Together, the three features analyzed—spatial fluidity, scenic framing (chagyeong), and timber-based construction—form a conceptual toolkit that others can adapt and expand. These are not fixed formulas but generative ideas for rethinking circulation, site, and structure that remain sensitive to both context and culture. By applying this framework, future designers may explore how regional values can shape new forms of architectural expression, without falling into nostalgic reproduction.

In a global era of homogenized building practices, the Korean case offers a model for how cultural specificity can coexist with innovation. The goal is not to preserve tradition as a museum artifact, but to activate it, to treat heritage as a set of evolving design logics that can continue to inform contemporary practice.

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That said, this study is limited by its small number of case studies and focus on residential architecture. Future research could expand the framework by testing it in larger-scale public or commercial buildings, or by comparing reinterpretations of tradition in other cultural contexts.

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