



Seowon, Korean Neo-Confucian Academies, Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong, and Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea

Seowon, Korean Neo-Confucian Academies

Seowon is the name given to the Confucian academies that emerged in Korea starting in mid-16th century during the Joseon dynasty. They were established by *sarim*, local intellectuals who studied Neo-Confucianism to equip themselves with expertise on Confucian ideology. The type of education they were pursuing was not designed to transmit practical knowledge but to nurture desirable personal traits. A shrine was built in each *seowon* to commemorate the academic achievements and virtues of scholars of the past, particularly deceased teachers in the local tradition, and a space was set aside for observing memorial services. They also built a hall where students could learn how to put their knowledge into practice by hearing lectures on Confucian texts. *Seowon* share certain common characteristics in terms of enshrining scholars, the type of building site preferred, and the layout of the architectural spaces. More than 900 *seowon* were built during the Joseon dynasty. Among them, nine that clearly met the inscription criteria presented by the UNESCO “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention” have been inscribed on the World Heritage List.

The decision to inscribe these *seowon* on UNESCO’s World Heritage List was made at the 43rd session of the World Heritage Committee held in Baku, Azerbaijan, from June 30 to July 10, 2019. The registered name of the property is “Seowon, Korean Neo-Confucian Academies.” The Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) of the Republic of Korea determined the official Korean name of the property to be “Hanguk ui seowon” 한국의 서원. The property comprises nine *seowon*: Sosu-seowon 紹修書院 in Youngju City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; Namgye-seowon 濼溪書院 in Hamyang County, Gyeongsangnam-do Province; Oksan-seowon 玉山書院 in Gyeongju City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; Dosan-seowon 陶山書院 in Andong

City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; Piram-seowon 筆巖書院 in Jangseong County, Jeollanam-do Province; Dodong-seowon 道東書院 in Dalseong County, Daegu Metropolitan City; Byeongsan-seowon 屏山書院 in Andong City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; Museong-seowon 武城書院 in Jeungeup City, Jeollabuk-do Province; and Donam-seowon 遯巖書院 in Nonsan City, Chungcheongnam-do Province. The following is a brief introduction of the nine *seowon*.

The construction of Sosu-seowon was spearheaded by Ju Sebung 周世鵬 (1495-1554), the magistrate of Punggi-eup. He built Munseonggongmyo 文成公廟 in 1542 in memory of An Hyang 安珦 (1243-1306) and Baegundong-seowon 白雲洞書院 to provide a lecture hall in 1543. An Hyang was the scholar who first brought Neo-Confucianism from Yuan China to Korean soil. As Korea's first *seowon*, it was granted a plaque bearing its name "Sosu-seowon" by the king in 1550. The rituals and lectures performed at this *seowon* are recognized as typical of *seowon*.

Namgye-seowon was built by *sarim* in 1552 to honor the academic achievements and virtues of the Neo-Confucian scholar Jeong Yechang 鄭汝昌 (1450-1504). Jeong is revered as a great master of the Neo-Confucian philosophy 道學 during the Joseon dynasty. Namgye-seowon was built after Sosu-seowon and developed the prototypical architectural arrangement for *seowon* with the lecture hall located in front of the *seowon* area and the memorial shrine behind it.

Oksan-seowon was founded in 1572 to honor the academic achievements and virtues of Yi Eonjeok 李彦迪 (1491-1553), another Neo-Confucian scholar. Yi's scholarship was inherited by Yi Hwang and inspired the Yeongnam School of Neo-Confucianism. Oksan-seowon possesses one of the largest collections of books among all the *seowon* in Korea. The buildings here are arranged symmetrically along the left and right of a central axis, and the outer space strikes a harmony with the surrounding natural landscape.

Dosan-seowon was built to commemorate the academic achievements and virtues of Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570), a definitive Confucian scholar and *seonbi* (virtuous scholar) of the Joseon dynasty. This property was built in 1574 behind Dosan-seodang (Dosan Village School), which Yi had established in 1561 as a place to nurture his disciples. This property represents the *seowon* traditions of Neo-Confucian lectures, the formation of academic networks, rituals, and building layout and spatial composition harmonizing with the

surrounding landscape.

Piram-seowon was founded in 1590 to venerate the academic achievements and virtues of Kim Inhu 金麟厚 (1510-1560). It was granted a plaque bearing its name "Piram-seowon" by the king in 1662. This property is the center of Confucian study in the Jeolla region and played a significant role in forming public opinion among the *sarim* there. The lecture hall is placed in front of the lecture area facing the shrine. Here are preserved many ancient documents that shed light on local education as well as the economic sources and the operation of *seowon* during the Joseon dynasty.

Dodong-seowon was founded to honor the virtues of Kim Goengpil 金宏弼 (1454-1504) and his achievements in the study of moral philosophy. It was granted a plaque with its name "Dodong-seowon" by the king in 1607. The name means "The Way of Confucius has come to the East." This *seowon* is recognized as a normative example among Korean *seowon* for its arrangement of buildings composed of a lecture area and a memorial area. The aesthetic qualities of its architecture and the hierarchy of the spatial composition are also widely recognized.

Built based on the Pungak-seodang 豐岳書堂, an educational institution established by the Ryu 柳 clan, Byeongsan-seowon was established in 1614 to honor the academic achievements and virtues of Ryu Seongryong 柳成龍 (1542-1607). It was granted a plaque bearing its name "Byeongsan-seowon" by the king in 1863. Ryu Seongryong was a prime minister who made a significant contribution to defeating the Japanese during the Japanese Invasions of Korea (1592-1598). Gazing from Mandaeru Pavilion at Byeongsan Mountain and at Nakdonggang River as it flows in front of the property, it can be seen just what a space where nature, architecture, and humanity become one should look like.

Museong-seowon has its origins in Taesansa Shrine 泰山祠, which was founded in the Goryeo dynasty to venerate the virtuous deeds of Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 (b. 857) and his promotion of education while he served as a magistrate in Jeongeup. It was granted a plaque bearing its name "Museong-seowon" by the king in 1696. This property is located in a village and was operated by local officials based on the village code in an effort to promote learning and enlightenment.

Donam-seowon was founded in 1634 to venerate the academic achievements and virtues of Kim Jangsaeng 金長生 (1548-1631). It was granted a plaque with its name "Donam-seowon" by the king in 1660. Kim Jangsaeng

was a Neo-Confucian scholar who significantly contributed to promoting the study of rites during the Joseon era. This property was a cradle for the discussion of the study of rites at this time. Its collection of literary works and printing blocks for books on rites evidence the central role it played in forming local culture. The Eungdodang lecture hall has drawn attention as a building built to embody the principles of the study of rites as proposed by Kim Jangsaeng.

All nine *seowon* were built between the mid-16th and the mid-17th century and represent the emergence of these institutions during the Joseon dynasty, the establishment of norms for the tradition of memorial rites, the social roles of *seowon* members as opinion leaders, the development of architectural styles, and the architectural features of their respective sites. In particular, the nine *seowon* have both unique and shared characteristics in terms of spatial composition, the layout of buildings, their landscape, and design. They thus together establish an archetype for *seowon* in terms of architecture and visibly demonstrate how Neo-Confucianism became interwoven with Joseon-era society. Furthermore, they exhibit Outstanding Universal Value embodying the tradition of the Korean *seowon* in the form of architecture. In summary, *seowon*, a member of the UNESCO World Heritage List, is significant evidence of the spread of Neo-Confucianism throughout East Asia and its development of regional characteristics in Korea.

The process by which *seowon* were inscribed on the World Heritage List is summarized as follows.

The Presidential Council on Nation Branding noted that the *seowon* of the Joseon dynasty had been well preserved and managed. The notion of the education of the whole person and the formation of a sound human character pursued by the *sarim* was believed to still have value for modern society. The Committee for Listing Korean Seowon as World Cultural Heritage was launched in October 2010 to promote the inscription of the *seowon* on the UNESCO World Heritage List. After that, several meetings were held to discuss major issues related to the inscription effort, such as the inscription process, composition of a governing body, and promotion of inscription on the Tentative List. On April 8, 2011, the Presidential Council on National Branding submitted to the President a plan to list *seowon* on the World Heritage List. After that, they officially began to discuss the plan for inclusion of Korean *seowon* on the World Heritage List.

The first thing the Committee had to do was to complete the UNESCO

Tentative List Application dossier. The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention stipulate that if a property is to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, it must have first been on the Tentative List for at least one year. The preparation for inclusion on the Tentative List focused on selecting *seowon* that satisfy the Outstanding Universal Value criteria stipulated in the Operational Guidelines. Among the 600 extant *seowon* in Korea, 47 *seowon* and shrines that were not torn down following a nationwide demolition order in 1871 were individually screened to determine if they met the criteria of Outstanding Universal Value. As a result, nine *seowon* were selected to apply for World Heritage inscription. The list of the nine *seowon* selected is provided above. Meanwhile, the Committee for Listing Korean Seowon as World Cultural Heritage held more than ten meetings, including expert advisory meetings, workshops, and national and international academic conferences. Through this process, the Korean government succeeded in placing the nine *seowon* on the Tentative List in December 2011.

On April 18, 2012, the Presidential Council on Nation Branding launched the Council for Listing Korean Seowon as World Cultural Heritage. It was comprised of the 14 heads of the local governments with jurisdiction over the nine *seowon* along with scholars specializing in World Heritage, Korean history, Confucianism, the history of education, the history of architecture, and geography. The Korean government submitted the completed World Heritage Nomination Form to UNESCO in January 2015.

Meanwhile, the protection and management status of the *seowon* was checked and a maintenance plan was drawn up. In addition, a heritage zone and buffer zone for each *seowon* was established, and the tangible and intangible values and rituals at each *seowon* were investigated and recorded. The architecture, landscape, memorial services, and utilization of each *seowon* were photographed and videotaped. Furthermore, building layout and survey drawings were prepared, books on *seowon* and Korean culture were published, and promotional materials were produced. In September 2015, the Seowon Conservation and Management Foundation (Seowon Foundation) was established for the efficient and integrated management and preservation of the *seowon* as a serial property.

An on-site inspection by the ICOMOS expert of the Nomination Dossier submitted to UNESCO took place in September 2015. However, in April 2016 the CHA withdrew the nomination after it was informed that ICOMOS

decided at a panel meeting to recommend that the UNESCO World Heritage Committee defer the submission. ICOMOS pointed out the following: a lack of justification for representativeness; a need to strengthen the logic of the justification for selection as serial property; the need to supplement the description of the uniqueness that differentiates the nominated property from other Neo-Confucian educational institutions located in Korea and abroad; the need to expand the buffer zone to include the essential elements of the property located in the surrounding natural environment; and the lack of an interpretive program in which *seowon* officials and site managers could participate.

At that point, the Board of Directors of the Council for Listing Korean Seowon as World Cultural Heritage decided to resubmit for the inclusion of *seowon* on the World Heritage List in July 2016. In addition, in September 2016, the World Heritage Division of the Cultural Heritage Committee in the CHA decided that *seowon* be given priority for inclusion in the World Heritage List. A nomination dossier was submitted to UNESCO in January 2018. Meanwhile, the CHA and the Seowon Foundation hosted academic conferences with domestic and foreign experts and received advice from World Heritage experts recommended by ICOMOS from October 2016 to the end of February 2017.

On-site due diligence on *seowon* by an ICOMOS expert was held from September 2 to September 9, 2018. The CHA provided supplementary materials requested by ICOMOS twice in October and November 2018 and traveled to Paris, France to answer questions from the reviewers on the ICOMOS panel on November 23. Consequently, additional materials requested by ICOMOS were submitted in February 2019. At the end of this process, the *seowon* were inscribed on the World Heritage List on July 6, 2019 at the 43rd World Heritage Committee held in the Azerbaijani capital Baku.

The primary considerations and preparations in the World Heritage application for *seowon* are as follows:

- Adopt an English name for the nominated property;
- Present an outline of the nominated property and its Outstanding Universal Value;
- Select criteria for inscription;
- Explain its integrity and authenticity;
- Select essential keywords for a comparative analysis with similar

properties in Korea and abroad;

- Identify the values of the property concerning the criteria in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention;
- Identify matters related to the attributes of *seowon*; and
- Check whether or not the necessities for to the protection and management of *seowon* are in place.

The process of determining the UNESCO World Heritage Criteria applied to the *seowon* is summarized as follows.

As mentioned earlier, the nomination dossier for inscription on the World Heritage List was reviewed twice by ICOMOS. Over this process, the criteria applied to the nominated property were changed twice by ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee. In the first nomination dossier submitted in January 2015, the Korean government focused on Criterion (ii), (iii), (iv), and (vi). Based on these criteria, ICOMOS presented a review opinion that the nomination should be deferred. Accordingly, the CHA decided to withdraw the application. In the new nomination dossier submitted in January 2018, the Korean government presented Criterion (iii) and (iv). However, ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee evaluated that *seowon* had satisfied Criterion (iii) only. In July 2019, the Committee decided to add the *seowon* property to the World Heritage List. On the UNESCO World Heritage Center website, the *seowon* are introduced as cultural heritage that satisfies Criterion (iii).

Regarding Criterion (iii), the World Heritage Committee said, “The Seowon, Korean Neo-Confucian Academies are an exceptional testimony to cultural traditions associated with Neo-Confucianism in Korea in the form of educational and social practices, many of which continue. The *seowon* illustrate a historical process in which Neo-Confucianism from China was tailored to Korean local conditions resulting in academies which are an exceptional testimony of this transformative and localizing process in terms of function, planning, and architecture.” The Chinese representative from the World Heritage Committee supported the inclusion of *seowon* on the World Heritage List, saying as follows:

The Chinese government fully supports the recommendation of ICOMOS to inscribe Korean *seowon* as a World Heritage Site and its supporting opinions. We congratulate the Korean delegation for including this

new heritage on the World Heritage List. Although the Neo-Confucian educational institution called “*shūyuàn*” 書院 in Chinese originated in China, *seowon* are also an important heritage that contributed to the spread and localization of Confucian culture in East Asia between the 16th and 17th centuries. *Seowon* allowed the ideal pursued by Neo-Confucianism to blossom in Korea by developing an independent architectural form that harmonizes with the natural environment of Korea....We hope that the inscription of *seowon* as a World Heritage Site will promote more cultural exchanges between countries in Asia and worldwide and become a representative Neo-Confucian heritage on the World Heritage List.

The CHA, related local governments, relevant *seowon* officials, and citizens are tasked with maintaining and preserving the Outstanding Universal Value of the *seowon* listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong

The clan villages of Korea are a product of the Joseon dynasty, which was founded with Neo-Confucianism as its governing ideology. The rulers of the Joseon dynasty attempted to impose different values and lifestyles on the people than those that prevailed during under the Buddhism prevalent in the Goryeo dynasty. This includes values that emphasize the patriarchal clan system of Neo-Confucianism in which familial succession takes place through the paternal line. These Confucian values led to the emergence of clan villages where *yangban* (literati gentry) sharing the same family name and origins lived together in a single neighborhood. Thus, a clan village is also called a “lineage village” or “consanguineous village.” Clan villages were formed in the Joseon dynasty to create a more Confucian cultural landscape in which buildings were in harmony with the surrounding natural landscape. These buildings included houses of the *yangban* class as well as those of their retainers and common people, family shrines, pavilions and study halls for *yangban* to rest and read, *seodang* (elementary educational institutions for the children of the *yangban*), and Confucian academies enshrining the spirit tablets of deceased scholars that also offered Neo-Confucian education.

Formed based on Neo-Confucian values and the traditional Korean *pungsu* (*feng-shui* in Chinese; geomancy in English), Hahoe 河回 Village (in

Hahoe-ri, Pungcheon-myeon, Andong City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province) and Yangdong 良洞 Village (in Yangdong-ri, Gangdong-myeon, Gyeongju City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province) are representative clan villages in Korea. In Hahoe Village, the Pungsan Ryu 柳 clan makes up the ruling class of the village while in Yangdong Village it is the Wolseong Son 孫 clan and Yeogang Yi 李 clan. There are some differences between the two villages in terms of their formation and siting. Hahoe Village was founded when Ryu Jonghye 柳從惠 (1433-1484) build a house here after leaving his home village at the close of the Goryeo period. His descendants have now lived there for over 600 years. Yangdong Village is located at the foot of a mountain. Its origin as a clan village is traced to when Son So 孫昭 (1433-1484) came for marriage and settled there. It was traditional at the time for men to marry and live in their wife’s hometown. After that, Yi Beon 李蕃 (1463-1500) married Son So’s daughter and took up residence in Yangdong alongside his wife’s clan. This is how Yangdong Village became a clan village shared by the Wolseong Son and Yeogang Yi clans. The two clans maintained a relationship of coexistence, harmony, and competition with each other for centuries and intermarried heavily.

The Ryu clan in Hahoe Village and the Son and Yi clans in Yangdong Village rose among the ranks of prestigious families in Joseon-era society as they produced prominent historical figures such as Ryu Unryong 柳雲龍 (1539-1601), Ryu Seongryong 柳成龍 (1542-1607), Son Jungdon 孫仲暉 (1463-1529), and Yi Eonjeok 李彥迪 (1491-1553). Although he held a government post, Ryu Unryong was principally a Confucian scholar and devoted himself more to his study than to governance. He was also the eldest grandson of the head family of Hahoe Village and the eldest brother of Ryu Seongryong. Ryu Seongryong played a significant role in overcoming a national crisis as the Chief State Councilor assisting the king during the Japanese Invasions of Korea (1592-1598). After the war, he wrote *Jingbirok* (*The Book of Correction* 懲毖錄), a record that offered valuable lessons to next generations in order to prevent such a devastating national crisis in the future. Son Jungdon was a civil official known for integrity and honesty serving under King Jungjong. His nephew, Yi Eonjeok, was a civil official and Confucian scholar whose study of Neo-Confucianism was passed down to Yi Hwang.

Hahoe and Yangdong Villages are both famous for their superb natural environment and desirable *pungsu* conditions. Hahoe Village is encircled by Nakdonggang River on the south, west, and north, forming an S-curve or a

yin-yang swirl (*taegeuk* in Korean). The village's name "Hahoe" means "water swirling." Such terrain is known as "a lotus flower floating on water" in *pungsu* terms. The ridges of the mountain and the flow of the river are also shaped like a *taegeuk*, which are called a *san* (mountain) *taeguek* and *mul* (water) *taeguek* in *pungsu*. The term "a lotus flower floating on water" literally means that the village looks like a lotus flower floating on the water, in this case when gazing down from the Buyongdae Cliff-terrace across the river to the northwest of the village.

Yangdong Village sits at the slope of a mountain surrounded by several mountain ranges. To the northwest of the village is Seolchangsang Mountain (163 meters above sea level), and to the southeast is Seongjubong Peak (108 meters above sea level). Seolchangsang is the main mountain for the village. The village sits at the slope of a ridge and valley that branch out from the mountain in shape resembling a Chinese character *mul* 勿. This topography is called a "mul-shaped site" in *pungsu* terms. *Mul* means "to be clean," and villages with such topography are believed to produce many talented people. High up at the slope of the village are the residences of the *yangban*, while the retainers and commoners who served them lived below. In terms of its topography, the village is surrounded by mountains forming a long wind barrier that blocks the cold wind in winter. This topography is called a "site of storing wind" in *pungsu*. In front of the village, Angang Plain stretches far and wide. Seongjubong, which faces Seolchangsang, is considered the "table mountain" 案山 of the village and can be seen from anywhere in the village. Standing on top of Seongjubong, it is easy to see the form of the village surrounded by valleys and natural features. Yangdongcheon Stream, which is closer to a small creek in size, flows from north to south through the village. The southeast of the village is open to the outside, and the vast Angang Plain spreads out along the way to the village, forming a classic rural landscape.

In both villages, literary works of Confucian scholars from the Joseon dynasty, ceremonial traditions, seasonal customs, community games, and other forms of intangible heritage have been passed down from generation to generation. *Hahoe byeolsingut tallori* (Masked-dance Drama of Hahoe Village), also called *Hahoe talchum* (Hahoe Mask Dance), is a classic folk tradition practiced in Hahoe Village. *Madang nori* (play in courtyards) is a masked drama performed by actors wearing masks symbolizing *yangban* or *gaksi* (newly-wed bride) in which tenants can satirize the foibles of their *yangban* landlords

with humorous dances and talks. In contrast to Hahoe Village's mask dance where ordinary people participate, other traditions in the village, such as *seonyujulbulnori* (boat rides and fireworks), are exclusive to the Ryu clan.

At the time of the efforts to include the villages on the World Heritage List in August 2009, there were 232 people (112 men and 120 women) living in 125 households in Hahoe Village, and there were 458 buildings in total (including 50 tile-roofed houses and 62 thatch-roofed houses). There were 371 people (188 men and 183 women) living in 150 households in Yangdong Village, and there were 486 buildings, including 220 tile-roofed houses and 180 thatch-roofed houses.

The application process for the inclusion of Hahoe and Yangdong Villages on the World Heritage List was initially conducted only for Hahoe Village. Based on the efforts of the then-mayor of Andong City Kim Hwi-dong, the World Heritage Division of the Cultural Heritage Committee in the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) prioritized Hahoe Village for preparation for inclusion on the World Heritage List. At the request of Andong City, ICOMOS Korea started working on a nomination dossier for the inscription of Hahoe Village on the World Heritage List in the summer of 2007. On November 13, 2007, it signed a contract with Andong City for "Academic Service for the Application for Registration of the Andong Hahoe Village on the World Heritage List." The goal was to prepare a nomination dossier for inscription on the World Heritage List by December 19, 2008 and submit it to the UNESCO World Heritage Center through the CHA and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in January of the following year. ICOMOS Korea formed a working group to prepare matters and began the application process. Andong City formed the Promotion Committee to Include Andong Hahoe Village on the World Heritage List on January 16, 2008.

Gyeongju City contacted the CHA at the beginning of 2008, and it was decided to include Yangdong Village in the application. However, the expanded work scope made it more challenging to identify the essential Outstanding Universal Value for the nomination since it became necessary to present the justification for applying as a serial property. In addition, it was difficult in many ways to find common heritage values between the two villages. For example, Hahoe is a village located along a riverside which was formed as a new settlement. In contrast, Yangdong is located at the slope of a mountain and was founded as a clan village by someone moving to his wife's hometown. As a

result of several meetings, a consensus was achieved: riverside villages, mountain villages, pioneer villages, and in-law villages were the most common types of villages during the Joseon dynasty, and Hahoe and Yangdong represent the two types of each. More specifically, the following was identified:

- Both have the longest history among clan villages in Korea, and respectively represent pioneer and in-law villages, two typical types of clan villages from the early Joseon dynasty;
- Both embody the principles of traditional *pungsu* and are excellent examples of two typical Korean clan village locations—riverside and mountainside, respectively;
- Both represent a rare case in which the traditional spatial composition of a Korean clan villages consisting of the production area, residential area, and ceremonial area are preserved in both their forms and functions;
- They are the only two cases of a village with numerous outstanding early buildings dating to the Joseon dynasty, including dwellings, study halls, pavilions, and Confucian academies; and
- Both show the best practices for archiving ancient documents and works of art, preserving the academic and cultural achievements of Confucian scholars from the Joseon dynasty, and maintaining traditional family rites and characteristic village events into the present.

The process of the efforts to include Hahoe and Yangdong Villages inscribed on the World Heritage List are summarized as follows.

The Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (“World Heritage Convention”) adopted by UNESCO at the 17th General Assembly on November 16, 1972 and the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention had to be observed, so the application for Hahoe and Yangdong Villages’ inscription on the World Heritage List was readied based on the included provisions. The primary considerations in writing the application were to present the Outstanding Universal Value of Hahoe and Yangdong Villages and to prove the authenticity of, present the requirements for the integrity of, and establish a protection and management plan for the nominated property. In addition, the main points considered for the efficient preparation of the application were: determining a name for the nominated property, stating whether the nomination criteria for the nominated property

had been satisfied, hosting domestic and international academic conferences involving related experts, forming a council of residents to link the two villages for their protection and management after inscription, and conducting preliminary due diligence by inviting in overseas experts. Above all, since Hahoe and Yangdong are inhabited villages, several workshops and meetings were held with the residents to help them better understand World Heritage. Among other things, the consent of the residents had to be obtained in order for the protection and management to meet the requirements for inscription on the World Heritage List. Villagers were informed of the progress of establishing a protection and management plan, and their opinions were heard. The necessity of establishing a protection and management area was explained, and its boundaries were determined through consultation.

The nomination dossier for inscription on the World Heritage List had to include a comparative study of domestic and overseas properties similar to the nominated property. For this purpose, several field trips were made to similar villages in Korea, and also to some in China and Japan since both are Confucian cultures. Based on this survey, evidence that Hahoe and Yangdong Villages have Outstanding Universal Value that differentiates them from similar domestic and foreign villages could be included in the nomination application. Furthermore, in the preparations for the nomination application, several rounds of academic conferences and workshops were held at home and abroad with experts related to World Heritage.

The main events in the process of inscription of Hahoe and Yangdong Villages on the World Heritage List are as follows:

- Completion of the drafts of the application for inscription on the World Heritage List on December 12, 2008;
- Editing and production of the World Heritage nomination dossier by the CHA from December 2008 to January 10, 2009;
- Submission of the Hahoe and Yangdong Villages nomination form to the World Heritage Center on January 16, 2009;
- Completion of supplementary materials for the application from February to September 2009;
- Preparatory work for on-site due diligence by ICOMOS experts from February to September 2009;
- First preliminary due diligence by invited experts from February 19 to 21, 2009;

- Second preliminary due diligence by invited experts from May 13 to 15, 2009;
- Due diligence by the ICOMOS expert from September 10 to 14, 2009; and
- Review of Hahoe and Yangdong Villages by the ICOMOS panel from December 2009 to March 2010

Based on this process, it was decided at the 34th World Heritage Committee meeting held in Brasilia, Brazil on July 31, 2010 (August 1 in Korean time) that Hahoe and Yangdong Villages be inscribed on the World Heritage List under the title of “Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong.” In its resolution for inscribing the villages, the World Heritage Committee stated, “Hahoe and Yangdong, historical villages in Korea, are harmoniously composed of residential buildings and traditional structures such as pavilions, study halls, and Confucian academies for learning. In addition, the social structure of the Joseon dynasty and Confucian *yangban* culture can be examined through the traditional residential culture. The fact that these traditions remain intact to this day makes them worthy of being inscribed as a World Heritage Site.”

The UNESCO World Heritage Committee recognizes that the “Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong” has Outstanding Universal Value since the villages satisfy two Criteria: (iii) bearing a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared and (iv) having an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.

However, if “Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong” are to be well preserved as a serial property while maintaining the Outstanding Universal Values demanded by the World Heritage Committee, the plan for their protection and management must be frequently reviewed, thoroughly implemented, and monitored by both residents and experts. In addition, managing tourists and protecting the living environment for the residents are essential tasks in the two villages.

Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea

Buddhism arrived on the Korean soil by way of China in the fourth century during the Three Kingdoms period, a time when the Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla Kingdoms ruled ancient Korea. Buddhism contributed to establishing a national spirit in these kingdoms and promoted the development of a state system centered on royal authority. Buddhist monks who studied abroad served as a pathway for the transmission of advanced cultural elements. The construction of large-scale temples contributed significantly to the development of the culture of the Three Kingdoms in terms of architecture, sculpture, art, dance, and music.

Buddhism was locally interpreted in Korea in the mid-seventh century around the time when the three kingdoms were united by Silla. Accordingly, new sects were founded, and religious bodies were systemically managed. When Silla unified the three kingdoms, it absorbed Buddhist doctrines and ideas from Goguryeo, Baekje, and China. Ordinary people came to understand Buddhism and accepted it as their faith. As a result, the number of temples increased significantly. When Buddhism was first adopted, temples were mainly founded in urban clusters, but they also began to be built in mountainous areas as time passed. Sansa, meaning “mountain temples” began to be established on famous mountains as a base for practice and faith and became widespread after the seventh century.

The Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) unified the Later Three Kingdoms in the early 10th century and sought to build a society where Buddhism and Confucianism could co-exist. Goryeo Buddhism developed by seeking harmony between Seon 禪 (Chan in Chinese; Zen in Japanese) ideology and Confucian ideas on education. The temples located in the cities served as halls of faith where Buddhist ceremonies were performed, providing a venue of communication for people from all walks of life. On the other hand, mountain temples became places devoted to meditation where groups of monks studied Buddhist texts and practiced Seon asceticism.

The Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), which was founded at the end of the 14th century, suppressed Buddhism and promoted Neo-Confucianism as its governing ideology. As a result, the number of active Buddhist denominations were significantly reduced to two types: Seon (Zen) and Gyo (non-Zen 教) Buddhism. After the 16th century, temples in the urban clusters were closed,

and only mountain temples remained. During the Japanese Invasions of Korea (1592-1598), many mountain temples were partially or fully destroyed. Still, as the monks actively contributed to overcoming the national crisis, Buddhism found a new opportunity for revitalization. Now recognized by the state, denominational activities were reestablished and reconstruction of temples destroyed in the war was carried out on a large scale. As a result, the formation of an archetype for Korean mountain temples took place during this period. Some structures that can also be found in Korean mountain temples, such as shrines of the Mountain Spirit (*sansingak*), the Three Deities (*samseonggak*), and the divinities of the Seven Stars (*chilseonggak*), are testimony to the fusion of Korean Buddhism with indigenous beliefs.

The Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea inscribed on a UNESCO World Heritage List include Tongdosa Temple 通度寺 in Yangsan City, Gyeongsangnam-do Province; Buseoksa Temple 浮石寺 in Yeongju City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; Bongjeongsa Temple 鳳停寺 in Andong City, Gyeongsangbuk-do Province; Beopjusa Temple 法住寺 in Boeun County, Chungcheongbuk-do Province; Magoksa Temple 麻谷寺 in Gongju City, Chungcheongnam-do Province; Seonamsa Temple 仙巖寺 in Suncheon City, Jeollanam-do Province; and Daeheungsa Temple 大興寺 in Haenam County, Jeollanam-do Province. Although these temples were all established during the Three Kingdoms period, their spatial arrangement was standardized after the mid-Joseon period. These temples show the typical form of Korean temples located in the mountains through their layouts and spaces that harmonize with the surrounding nature.

Tongdosa Temple was built by Vinaya Master Jajang in 648 based on the Gyeyul (Vinaya) School when he brought *sarira* of the Buddha, a ceremonial upper robe (*gasa*), and the Tripitaka of Sakyamuni from China and enshrined them here. This temple is comprised of three clearly defined areas separated by slight differences in elevation within a valley of sufficient space. By arranging halls each with their own features in the upper, middle, and lower areas, Tongdosa exhibits the character of Trans-sectarian United Buddhism in which various doctrinal systems and objects of faith can co-exist. Each area is independent, but there are no borders between them. This allows free movement to other areas across the courtyards. The *sarira* of the Buddha is enshrined on the Diamond Precept Platform in the upper area. Tongdosa is a Buddha Jewel Monastery consisting of three areas where traditional beliefs,

practices, and lifestyles are preserved.

Buseoksa Temple was built in 676 by Great Master Uisang to preach the doctrine of the Hwaeom (Avatamsaka) School. Its architecture embodies the spatial composition required by this doctrine and its practices. From its foundation, through the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties, and into the present, it has remained one of the representative mountain temples for the Amita belief. It has never suffered any damage from warfare. The pavilions were erected on relatively steep terrain on the masonry foundation at the foot of Bonghwangsan Mountain. The site is characterized by ground that gradually rises from the outside to the inside of the temple. With the structural beauty of its Muryangsujeon Hall (Hall of Infinite Life, meaning holy land of the belief of Amitabha) and the formation of the masonry foundation based on an interpretation of the doctrine of Hwaeom School, the temple is regarded as a masterpiece of Korean architecture. The “*buseok*” (meaning floating stone) and the Shrine of Seonmyo located respectively on the west and east sides of its Muryangsujeon Hall are connected to story of the founding of Buseoksa.

Bongjeongsa Temple was founded in 677 by Neungin, the Great Virtuous One. It is said that Uisang built the Hwaeom gangdang (Avatamsaka Lecture Hall) to teach the Hwaeom doctrine to his disciples. At this mountain temple the Daeungjeon Hall (Hall of the Great Hero Shakyamuni) and Geungnakjeon Hall (Hall of Amitabha) each have separate courtyards on sloped terrain that form parallel axes to embody the faith of Shakyamuni and Amita. As there is a record that the roof structure of the Geuknakjeon was repaired in 1363 (the 12th year of the reign of King Gongmin of the Goryeo dynasty), this hall is considered the oldest known intact wooden building in Korea. Many old buildings at Bongjeongsa such as the Geuknakjeon, Daeungjeon, Hwaeom gangdang, and Gogeumdang (Old Golden Hall) remain in good condition. The flow of space leading into nature beyond the Daeungjeon, courtyard, and Manseru (Pavilion of Eternity) is outstanding.

Beopjusa Temple was founded on a large plain next to a valley at the foot of Songnisan Mountain in the mid-eighth century by Vinaya Master Jinpyo and his disciple Yeongsim. Jinpyo established the Korean Beopsang School (Dharma Characteristics School), which was characterized by repentance and worship of Maitreya. Although it was destroyed in the Japanese Invasions of Korea (1592-1598), it was rebuilt and has served as the center of Maitreyan faith in Korean Buddhism to this day. Beopjusa was built around its Sanhojeon Hall (Hall

of Parijata) enshrining Maitreya Buddha. An expansion occurred northward along the stream, including spaces for religious activities such as Daeungbojeon (Treasure Hall of the Great Hero) for Hwaeom (Sakga) faith, a Great Statue of Maitreya Buddha for Maitreyan worship, and shrines arranged orthogonally along two main axes, all of which formed an external space. It gained its current scale and composition in the 17th century. The two axes are respectively connected to Sujeongbong Peak and Gwaneumbong Peak, showing the use of topography and doctrinal interpretation in connection with the spatial layout. Its Palsangjeon Hall (Hall of Eight Pictures), built at the intersection of two axes, is a five-story wooden pagoda-type building.

Magoksa Temple was built as a Seon temple in the late ninth century. Two religious areas were arranged to form two temple compounds, one on each side of a stream. The part north of the mountain stream formed a religious area with the Daegwangbojeon Hall (Treasure Hall of Great Light) and the Daeungbojeon Hall (Treasure Hall of the Great Hero) as the main temples. The part south of the stream on the left side of the entrance consists of the Haetalmun (Gate of Liberation) and Cheonwangmun (Gate of Heavenly Kings), and Yeongsanjeon Hall (Vulture Peak Hall), the main Buddha Hall. At present, this area serves as a space for the spiritual practice of Seon. Drawing on the site and topography of the shrines, Daegwangbojeon in the north compound faces south, and Yeongsanjeon in the south compound faces east to form a space in which the two areas are orthogonal to each other. Daegwangbojeon in the north compound is located high behind Daegwangbojeon, and the Vairocana enshrined in the Daegwangbojeon faces east from the west. In the courtyard of the northern compound stands a five-story stone pagoda with a Lamaist-style upper portion built in the 14th century.

Seonamsa Temple is a Seon Buddhist temple built in the late ninth century within a wide valley surrounded by forests at the foot of Jogyesan Mountain. Its Daeungjeon Hall and two three-story stone pagodas were built first, and the temple was gradually expanded to the north. This temple was destroyed and fired in the Japanese invasion of 1597 and then underwent a series of reconstructions after fires. The temple finally took its current form in the 19th century and came to represent the multiple spatial compositions possible in *sansa*. Seonamsa is arranged as several groups of buildings, each forming an independent area around Daeungjeon, which serves as the center of the temple, with *yosachae* (dormitories) to its left and right and Manseru (Pavilion

of Eternity) in front. Arranged around these buildings are groups of buildings that form separate areas centering on their respective courtyards. Seonamsa is a mountain temple in which independent areas centering on a courtyard form a multi-structured space. Each unit is configured to have an independent function by arranging halls with distinct characteristics, showing how different aspects of a monastery complex can be established by combining separate areas. Seonamsa also has buildings that show the syncretism with indigenous beliefs, a representative attribute of mountain temples in Korea.

Daeheungsa Temple was built as a Seon temple in the late ninth century, but it gained its current spatial components in the 19th century. Established on the northern part of a site beside a stream at the foot of Duryunsan Mountain, it expanded southward across the stream to develop its current scale. The most notable feature of Daeheungsa's spatial composition is that it divides a wide mountain basin into four spaces with a mountain stream in between, forming the Daeungjeon Hall area, the Cheonbuljeon Hall (Hall of Thousand Buddhas) area, the Pyochungsa Shrine (Shrine to Exemplify Loyalty) area, and the Daegwangmyeongjeon Hall (Hall of Great Light) area. Buildings are arranged around the courtyard in each of these four areas. Pyochungsa was built as a shrine in 1789 to honor the patriotic spirit of Great Master Seosan, who served as a monk artisan during the Japanese Invasions of Korea (1592-1598). Daeheungsa is based on Sakyamuni belief, but it shows a fusion of Buddhism with Confucianism and patriotic sentiments.

Examining the characteristics of each of the mountain temples that make up "Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea" in terms of the development of Korean Buddhism, it can be seen that Tongdosa, Buseoksa, Bongjeongsa, and Beopjusa were built in succession in the seventh century when *sansa* were first developing. Each served as the center for its respective denomination. Tongdosa was built by Jajang, who was a leader in Buddhist circles at the time, to emphasize Sila and Vinaya (the rules that all Buddhist must observe in the daily life). Buseoksa and Bongjeongsa were built to spread the Hwaeom (Avatamsaka) School. Beopjusa was founded based on the doctrine of Beopsangjong, or the Dharma Characteristics School. When Chan Buddhism, which was popular in China, was introduced in the ninth century, Seon temples such as Magoksa, Seonamsa, and Daeheungsa were built together with the social changes taking place at the time. These mountain temples have been continuously operated without interruption since their establishment,

revealing the evolution of Korean Buddhism over time as a community of monks.

The process of inclusion of “Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea” on the World Heritage List can be summarized as follows.

The Presidential Council on National Branding noted the fact that although many Buddhist temples had been formed over the long history of Korea, there were none on the World Heritage List beyond Bulguksa Temple, Seokguram Grotto, and Janggyeong Panjeon (the Depositories for the Tripitaka Koreana Woodblocks) in Haeinsa Temple. On April 8, 2011, the council reported a plan to the President on the inscription of traditional Korean temples on the World Heritage List. On May 2 of the same year, it organized the Promotion Committee of Experts to Include Traditional Temples on the World Heritage List under the Council. Several meetings were held in May and June to work on the inclusion onto the Tentative List, the first step toward achieving inscription on the World Heritage List. In selecting temples to be inscribed following the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, there were several discussions about how to define the Outstanding Universal Value of Korean temples. At the same time, the expert committee conducted field visits to candidate temples from September 2011 to March 2012 to select temples for inscription. In the end, 12 temples were judged to meet the requirements for inscription and were selected as candidates. Next, the seven final temples (Tongdosa, Buseoksa, Bongjeongsa, Beopjusa, Magoksa, Seonamsa, and Daeheungsa) were selected on June 11, 2012 after field trips to the candidate temples, research by the expert council.

With the determination of the seven temples for inclusion on the World Heritage Tentative List, discussions on issues related to the inscription process began in earnest. Several meetings were held with the participation of the Cultural Heritage Administration, the Jogye Order, representatives of the seven selected temples, and the local governments where each temple is located. At the same time, several domestic and international academic conferences were held with invited experts. An application for inclusion on the Tentative List was submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage Center in December 2013 through the expert council and the World Heritage Division of the Cultural Heritage Committee at the CHA.

After the inscription of the Korean temples on the Tentative List, it was decided to form a promotion committee to discuss Korean traditional

mountain temples in detail at the general affairs meeting of the Administrative Headquarters of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism on January 23, 2014. Accordingly, on March 1, 2014, a promotion committee was established as an independent body within the Administrative Headquarters of the Jogye Order and soon started operations. The committee signed an MOU on August 6, 2014 with the Jogye Order, the CHA, and the 12 local governments, and the Promotion Committee to Inscribe Korean Sansa as a World Heritage Site was officially established.

After that, several integrated meetings were held, a digital information system for traditional mountain temples in Korea was established; and workshops and academic conferences with domestic and foreign experts were organized. Furthermore, basic academic research, the collection of tangible and intangible data on mountain temples, and field visits were undertaken to prepare for inscription as a World Heritage site. Finally, on December 23, 2015, the World Heritage Division of the Cultural Heritage Committee at the CHA decided to go forward with a Korean mountain temple inscription on the World Heritage List for 2017. To prepare the nomination dossier, the Promotion Committee abstracted the Outstanding Universal Value of Korean mountain temples. In addition, local governments established a protection and management plan that satisfied the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. At the same time, after a vegetation and environment survey of the mountain temples, a visit to similar heritage sites at home and abroad, a review of applications for inscription by experts, and preliminary due diligence, the World Heritage nomination dossier was submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre on January 27, 2017 under the name of “Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea.”

After completing the process of supplementing the application submitted by ICOMOS, “Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea” was determined to have met Criterion (iii) for inclusion in the World Heritage Operation Guidelines at the 42nd World Heritage Committee held in Bahrain on June 30, 2018. As a result, it was inscribed on the World Heritage List as a site of Outstanding Universal Value.

Regarding the value of the property as a World Heritage Site, the World Heritage Committee described as follows:

The *sansa* are Buddhist mountain monasteries located throughout the

southern provinces of the Korean Peninsula. The spatial arrangement of the seven temples that comprise the property, established from the seventh to ninth centuries, present common characteristics that are specific to Korea—a ‘*madang*’ (open courtyard) flanked by four buildings (Buddha Hall, pavilion, lecture hall, and dormitory). They contain a large number of individually remarkable structures, objects, documents, and shrines. These mountain monasteries are sacred places, which have survived as living centres of faith and daily religious practice to the present.

As for the Outstanding Universal Value of the Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea, the Committee also mentioned as follows:

Sansa consists of seven Buddhist mountain monasteries—Tongdosa, Buseoksa, Bongjeongsa, Beopjusa, Magoksa, Seonamsa, and Daeheungsa—located throughout the southern provinces of the Korean Peninsula. The seven monasteries established from the seventh to the ninth centuries have functioned as centres of religious belief, spiritual practice, and daily living of monastic communities, reflecting the historical development of Korean Buddhism. Sansa has accommodated diverse Buddhist schools and popular beliefs within its precincts, and many of its notable historic structures, halls, objects, and documents reflect such assimilating features of Korean Buddhism. The distinctive intangible and historical aspects of Korean Buddhism can be recognized in the continuous traditions of self-sufficient temple management, education of monks, and coexistence of meditative practice and doctrinal studies of Korean Seon Buddhism. These mountain monasteries are sacred places, which have survived to the present as living centres of faith and religious practices despite suppression during the Joseon Dynasty and damages caused by wars and conflicts over the years.

The critical issue for the Sansa, Buddhist Mountain Monasteries in Korea, is protecting and managing this serial property listed as World Heritage according to the World Heritage Operation Guidelines in order to maintain and enhance its value.

LEE Sang Hae (lsh-skku@hanmail.net)

Sungkyunkwan University

Translated by YOU Jinsook