

Maps in Extant Volumes of the 1487 *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* and the 1499 *Tongguk yōji sūngnam*, and in *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam*

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The Chosŏn court prepared four editions of a gazetteer between 1478 and 1531. The first edition, a manuscript text, is not known to be extant. However, volumes of the 1487 *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* and the 1499 *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* (both editions as Complete Conspectus of the Territory of the Eastern Country; both hereafter as *TYS*) are extant. These include the country map of Chosŏn and some province maps. Officials presented the third text to King Chungjong in 1530.8, and it was printed in 1531 as *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam* (New and Expanded Complete Conspectus of the Territory of the Eastern Country; hereafter as *STYS*). This is the only one of the three printed gazetteers for which a complete text is currently available for research. (The date 1531 for *STYS* is preferred here to the more common date of 1530 because the text available today is that printed in 1531.) The 1531 gazetteer includes the map of Chosŏn and maps of each of the eight provinces.¹ This research note will introduce the maps in the volumes of these three printings that are currently available for research. It will also discuss a map of Chosŏn that derives in part from the maps in *STYS* and which was recently displayed in a museum exhibition.

The maps available in the currently available volumes of the 1487 *TYS* and the 1499 *TYS* enable comparison with the images in *STYS*. More specifically, the contents of maps and the specific locations of maps may be considered across the three printed editions or between the 1499 *TYS* and *STYS*. Editors and compilers of the 1499 *TYS* and *STYS* removed text that had appeared in the previous edition, added new information, and edited phrasing. The maps, too, were fluid texts in content and in context. Changes in content stemmed from the necessity to accurately portray the provinces and the counties at the time of completion (and of printing) of that gazetteer.

1. The Four Editions

The project begun in 1478 resulted in a handwritten text completed in 1481 and presented to King Sŏngjong on 1481.4.19. Maps appear to have been included in the 1481 gazetteer presented by No Sasin, for Sŏ Kŏjŏng states in his preface dated 1481.4 that the map of the country (K. *ch'ongdo*) was to be placed at the front of the “Kyŏngdo” volume, or volume 1, and that the maps of the provinces were to be placed before the written text for each respective province.² Sŏngjong expressed dis-

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satisfaction with the gazetteer submitted, and in 1485.3 ordered compilation of a revised text, telling the editors and compilers to consult *Da Ming yitongzhi* (Gazetteer of the Unified Great Ming), a state gazetteer which the Ming China government had completed in 1461.

The second gazetteer, which also was titled *Tongguk yöji süngnam*, added five volumes, for a total of fifty-five volumes.³⁾ This edition probably was completed in or after 1486.3; its printing followed Söngjong's command of 1487.2.10.⁴⁾ At present, the 1487 *TYS* may be known directly from three extant fascicles. Similarly, the government undertook the third compilation, printed in 1499 and also titled *Tongguk yöji süngnam*, in order to improve upon the previous text. The title of the 1531 printing, *Sinjüng Tongguk yöji süngnam*, the first word meaning "new and expanded," bespeaks the project's focus on adding content. To this edition editors and compilers inserted new text preceded by the notice "*sinjüng*" in some 1,078 places.

Each of the printed gazetteers from which volumes are extant, that is, the 1487 *TYS*, the 1499 *TYS*, and *STYS*, begins with front matter, which concludes with the Table of Contents. Then follows text numbered in volumes, beginning with "Kyöngdo" (The Capital) in volumes 1 and 2, "Hansöng-bu" (Hansöng Magistracy) in volume 3, and "Kaesöng-bu" (Kaesöng Magistracy) in volumes 4 and 5. All subsequent volumes, with the exceptions of volume 6 (Kwangju County, Kyönggi), volume 22 (Kyöngju County, Kyöngsang Province), and volume 51 (P'yöngyang County, P'yöngan Province), include more than one county. However, the placement of the map of the capital province, titled "Kyönggi" (Map of Kyönggi), differs in the 1499 *TYS* and *STYS*. Below, the maps in currently available volumes from the three printed gazetteers will be introduced and considered.

2. The "P'alto ch'ongdo" in the 1487 *Tongguk yöji süngnam*

The Hwasan Mungo in Korea University Library (K. *Koryö Taehakkyo Tosögwän*) has two fascicles, one complete and one incomplete, of the 1487 *TYS*. The map of Chosön is titled "P'alto ch'ongdo" (Complete Map of the Eight Provinces) and is in the first, complete fascicle. It follows the table of contents "*Tongguk yöji süngnam mongnok*." The Table of Contents includes the provinces that appear in the country map. The province names in the tables of contents for the 1487 *TYS*, the 1499 *TYS*, and *STYS* are repeated in each edition's country map. And the province names in the tables of contents of the 1499 *TYS* and *STYS* are the titles for the province maps in available volumes of the former gazetteer and in *STYS*. The province names in the tables of contents of the latter two printed editions appear in the same manner as in the 1487 edition's Table of Contents, suggesting that the 1499 *TYS* followed this format in the previous edition.

In the 1487 *TYS*, the "P'alto ch'ongdo" opens volume 1, titled "Kyöngdo," which introduces the royal geography of the capital. The image, printed from a woodblock carving, is 24.8 cm × 17.3 cm. The fold mark title (K. *p'ansimje*) is "*Töngnam to*," and the fish tails (K. *ömi*) in the fold mark (K. *p'ansim*) do not bear a design. That is, the folio on to which the map was printed is folded in half, and the image interrupted by the fold mark. In the upper right corner of the recto folio side's printed text is a vertical rectangle box holding the title "P'alto ch'ongdo."

As this is the earliest map of Chosŏn confirmed in the three printed editions of this state gazetteer, its contents should be introduced in detail. Beginning from the top of the map and proceeding down, the image shows area north of Chosŏn, in Ming China. No communities or administrative units are marked or otherwise identified in this area. The Amur River (K. Amnok-gang) and the Tumen River (K. Tuman-gang) are named, and their origins placed near Mt. Paektu (K. Paektu-san). Mt. Paektu is in the same place in the 1499 *TYS* “P’alto ch’ongdo” and in the *STYS* “P’alto ch’ongdo.”

There is one other feature that distinguishes the 1487 map of Chosŏn from the two later maps of Chosŏn. In the 1487 “P’alto ch’ongdo,” the northeastern province is named Yŏngan-do. This matches the province name in the Table of Contents. However, as the government changed this province name to “Hamgyŏng” on 1498.4.4, the 1499 edition’s Table of Contents and country map both identify the northeastern province as “Hamgyŏng-do.”⁵⁾ So too do the Table of Contents and the “P’alto ch’ongdo” in *STYS*.

In addition to the eight provinces, administrative units in “P’alto ch’ongdo” also include the capital and island counties. The capital is named “Kyŏngdo,” which is the title of the first volume in the three printed editions of the gazetteer. The island counties, all set in the sea, are Hyodong and Kanghwa in Kyŏnggi, Chindo in Chŏlla Province, and Namhae and Kŏje in Kyŏngsang Province. In the recto folio side are five islands (two as counties), and in the verso folio side are six islands (three as counties).

The seas to the east, west, and south are marked with wave icons. Names for those seas are printed in the peninsula: “Tonghae” for the waters to the east, “Sŏhae” for the waters to the west, and “Namhae” for the waters to the south. These three sea names are listed in the item Altars for Mountain Peaks, Seas, and Rivers (K. *Aghaedok tan*) in the Altars and Shrines (K. *Tanmyŏ*) entry. Similarly listed in this item are the mountain peaks, with their direction for ritual purposes, Chiri-san (south), Samgak-san (middle), Songak (west), and Pibaek-san (north). The rivers, with their direction for ritual purposes, are Ung-jin and Kaya-jin (south), Han-gang (middle), Tŏk-chin, P’yŏngyang-gang, and Amur River (west), and Tumen River (north).⁶⁾ In the country map, three rivers flow through the fold mark.

The “P’alto ch’ongdo” in the 1487 Hwasan Mungo text also presents handwritten text near the names of mountains and rivers that may have been added by one reader. The handwritten text identifies the county where the mountain or river is located as recorded in the Altars and Shrines entry.⁷⁾ (See Table 1 below for the handwritten text.) The mountains and rivers in the country map are among the “famous mountains and great rivers” (K. *myŏngsan taech’ŏn*) listed in the gazetteer’s item Altars for Famous Mountains and Great Rivers (K. *Myŏngsan taech’ŏn tan*) in the Altars and Shrines entry. All of the eleven mountains and eight rivers listed in that entry are marked in the country map. In the cases of one mountain and three rivers, the full name as recorded in the Altars and Shrines entry is not printed in the country map. In the country map, the mountain is Chungnyŏng; it is Chungnyŏng-san in the entry. In the map, the rivers are Yang-jin, Asa-jin, and Puktŏk-chin; in the entry they are Yang-jin myŏngso, Asa-jin songgot, and Puktŏk-chin myŏngso, respectively.⁸⁾

The “P’alto ch’ongdo” has additional mountains and rivers. The mountains are Mt. Paektu, Mt. Chiri, Mt. Kyeyong, Mt. Samgak, Mt. Songak, and Mt. Paegak. In total,

Table 1: Text in the 1487 *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* (Hwasan Mungo) “P’alto ch’ongdo” and Altars for Natural Features

Names of Mountains and Rivers in the 1487 “P’alto ch’ongdo”	Place Names in the “Altars for Famous Mountains and Great Rivers” item	Place Names in the “Altars for Mountain Peaks, Seas, and Rivers” item	Direction	County	Handwritten County Names in the 1487 “P’alto ch’ongdo”
鴨 綠 江		鴨 綠 江	西		
豆 滿 江		豆 滿 江	北		
清 川 江	清 川 江		西	安 州	安 州
平 壤 江		平 壤 江	西		
九 津 溺 水			西	平 壤	
漢 江		漢 江	中		
阿 斯 津	阿 斯 津 松 串		西	長 連	長 連
長 山 串	長 山 串		西	長 淵	長 淵
德 津		德 津	西		
楊 津	楊 津		南	忠 州	忠 州
熊 津		熊 津	南		
沸 流 水	沸 流 水		西	永 興	永 興
北 德 津	北 德 津 溟 所			准 陽	准 陽
楊 津	楊 津 溟 所			楊 津	楊 津
伽 耶 津		伽 耶 津	南		
白 頭 山					
五 冠 山	五 冠 山		西	長 淵	長 淵
松 岳 山		松 岳	西		
牛 耳 山	牛 耳 山		西	海 州	海 州
鼻 白 山		鼻 白 山	北		
三 角 山		三 角 山	中		
白 岳 山					
紺 岳 山	紺 岳 山		北	積 城	積 城
木 覓 山	木 覓 山		中		
義 館 山	義 館 山		北	准 陽	准 陽
稚 岳 山	稚 岳 山		東	原 州	原 州
主 屹 山	主 屹 山		南	聞 慶	聞 慶
智 異 山		智 異 山	南		
与 佛 山	与 佛 山		南	蔚 山	蔚 山
雞 龍 山	雞 龍 山		南	公 州	
錦 城 山	錦 城 山		南	羅 州	
竹 嶺	竹 嶺 山		南	丹 陽	丹 陽

Source for column 1: “P’alto ch’ongdo,” in *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* (Hwasan Mungo).

Sources for columns 2, 3, 4, and 5: “Aghaedok tan,” in *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam*, 1:34a–b; “Myōngsan taech’ōn tan,” in *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* (Kawai Bunko), 1:35a, “Myōngsan taech’ōn tan,” in *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam*, 1:35a.

Source for column 6: “P’alto ch’ongdo,” in *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* (Hwasan Mungo).

the country map presents eighteen mountains and thirteen rivers. The Chosŏn government conducted official sacrifices for all of the mountains and rivers in the country map, with the exception of Mt. Paektu.⁹⁾

As noted, the country map shows eleven islands, five of them being counties. A sixth island, “Cheju,” was divided administratively into three counties, Cheju, Chōngūi, and Taech’ōng, but the counties are not identified in this map. Two other is-

lands are along the east coast. These are Usan-do and Ullŭng-do. In the waters off the southwest coast of Chŏlla Province are Kunsan-do and Hŭksan-do.

The marking of Usan-do and Ullŭng-do in the 1487 *TYS* country map may be significant. The 1487 “P’alto ch’ongdo” presents what may be the oldest extant visual representation of Usan-do in an extant Korean map. Might these two islands mark in this map what the Chosŏn government considered to be the country’s easternmost lands in Kangwŏn Province? And in recent years much scholarship and commentary has linked Usan-do to Tokto (Dokdo), the islet that the governments of the Republic of Korea and Japan each currently claim. If one accepts that Usan-do is the place known today in Korean as Tokto, then the “P’alto ch’ongdo” in the 1487 *TYS* is the oldest extant printed mapping of Tokto as Chosŏn territory. This would support the Republic of Korea’s claim that Tokto is South Korean territory based upon historical possession and administration. Regarding the placement of Usan-do to the west of Ullŭng-do, this topic will be discussed below in the section on the Sŏngam Mungo text.

Kunsan-do was in Okkang County, in Chŏlla Province. It was the site of both a naval base (K. *yŏng*) and a storehouse. Hŭksan-do was in Naju County, but the island’s profile in *STYS* relates no role in country, provincial, or county administration. The gazetteer notes, though, that during the Song period this island was five days in a good wind from Dinghai County, in China. Further, to Chinese, the island marked the beginning of Korean territory.¹¹⁾ Hŭksan-do may have been included in the country map because of its recognition as a maritime land border with (Song) China. Might Usan-do and Ullŭng-do off the east coast and Cheju in the southwest have performed similar roles in the “P’alto ch’ongdo” maps in the 1487, 1499, and 1531 gazetteers?

To the southeast of Kyŏngsang Province is the “foreign island of Tsushima” that Kim Chongjik suggested in his postscript for the 1487 printing be included in the country map.¹²⁾ This comment may suggest that the island was not in the first edition’s country map. The “P’alto ch’ongdo” identifies Tsushima by the Korean name for the island, Taema-do. The first two characters in this Korean name follow the Japanese name, and the third character is “island.” Whether first in the 1499 *TYS* or in an earlier edition, compilers included the item “Taema-do” in the “Mountains and Rivers” (K. *Sanch’ŏn*) entry for Tongnae County.¹³⁾ The Chosŏn court also considered this island to be Korean territory historically.¹⁴⁾ Did this island’s inclusion in the “P’alto ch’ongdo” in the 1487 *TYS* represent a view that Taema-do was Korean territory and marked the southeastern extent of royal land?

3. Maps in the 1499 *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*

A. The “Kyŏnggi” Map in the Kawai Bunko Text

The Kawai Bunko, in the Kyoto University Library (J. *Kyōto Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan*), preserves an incomplete printing of the 1499 *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*. Extant are ten fascicles that contain the front matter and twenty-eight of the fifty-five volumes. These fascicles include the map of Chosŏn and the maps of Kyŏnggi, Kyŏngsang Province, and P’yŏngan Province.

The woodblocks used for the maps in the 1531 edition were not those carved for the 1499 edition. The layout of the fold marks differ, but like the 1487 printing the fish tails in the fold marks in the 1499 edition do not have designs. The fish tails in the

1531 edition have designs, however, with the exception of the Kyōnggi map. Also, the 1531 edition's map of Kangwŏn Province has a single horizontal line, perhaps indicating the number "one," above the lower fish tail. This is the only map in the 1531 gazetteer with such a printed mark. The map of Kangwŏn Province in the 1499 edition does not have such a mark. All of the maps in the Kawai Bunko text and all of the maps in *STYS* have the same fold mark title, "*Tongnam to*," as does the "P'alto ch'ongdo" in the 1487 *TYS*.

The "P'alto ch'ongdo" appears in the same place as the 1487 country map, at the front of volume 1. The image is 28.6 cm × 18.4 cm. The width was measured from the outer edge of the printed area's frame to the inner line of the fold mark.

The next image in the Kawai Bunko text is "Kyōnggi" (Map of Kyōnggi). This is the only province whose name as recorded in the Table of Contents and in the map title does not bear the administrative suffix *to*, or "province." The map was placed at the beginning of volume 4, which is the first of the two volumes for Kaesŏng-bu. That is, the "Kyōnggi" map was placed after the volume for Hansŏng-bu and at the front of the volume that treats the first capital of Chosŏn.

Kaesŏng had been the capital of the previous Koryŏ government, and was the capital of Chosŏn from the new government's founding in 1392.7 until King T'aejo moved the capital to Hanyang in 1395. The Hansŏng Magistrate was a post of the senior second grade, the Kaesŏng Magistrate a post of the junior second grade. Both were capital office appointments (K. *kyōnggwanjik*).¹⁵⁾ Magistrates serving in the other administrative units in Kyōnggi held provincial office appointments (K. *oegwanjik*). These county magistrate posts ranged from City Magistrate (K. *Moksa*), at the senior third grade, to Small County Magistrate (K. *Hyōngam*), at the junior sixth grade.¹⁶⁾

The "Kyōnggi" map places Kaesŏng-bu as an administrative unit in the province. More importantly, so too does this placement of the map. This ordering of map and written text positioned Kaesŏng-bu under the provincial gaze and thus further marked it as being of a lower status than Hansŏng-bu. The 1499 *TYS* also treated the former Koryŏ capital at a lower administrative status than Hansŏng-bu by listing it after the capital in the Table of Contents and placing it after Hansŏng-bu in the main text. Still, the 1499 gazetteer distinguished Hansŏng-bu and Kaesŏng-bu from other administrative units in Kyōnggi by separating them from Kyōnggi in the Table of Contents. The 1487 *TYS* Table of Contents separates the two capitals from Kyōnggi, too.

In the "Kyōnggi" map, the Hansŏng Magistracy is marked as it is named in the Table of Contents and in the title for its section (volume 3), as "Hansŏng-bu." This administrative place name was marked vertically in a vertical, rectangle cartouche. Above the cartouche for "Hansŏng-bu" is the term "Kyōngdo," or "capital." That is, both the term "Kyōngdo" and the administrative name for the capital area, "Hansŏng-bu," place the King of Chosŏn's presence and the central government. These two terms also repeat those in the Table of Contents for volumes 1 and 2 and for volume 3, respectively. Encircling these two terms was a two-line oval that marked the walled capital. The two-line cartouche also distinguished Hansŏng-bu from the other administrative units, including Kaesŏng-bu, all of whose cartouches are marked in a single line.

These two administrative units are identified differently than other administrative

units named in the “Kyōnggi” map and in other province maps. As noted, both are named with the administrative rank “*pu*.” The titles of the sections for Hansōng-bu and Kaesōng-bu also include this term. All other administrative units in the “Kyōnggi” map to which the Chosōn government appointed central government officials are identified by the two-character county name. In other province maps in the Kawai Bunko text, and in the *STYS* province maps, too, the counties are identified by their two-character place names. The naming of the counties in the province maps follows the wording in the Table of Contents, and not that in the county section title. Here again is the relationship between the Table of Contents and the maps.

STYS does not replicate the order of the “Kyōnggi” map and the Kaesōng-bu volumes in the 1499 *TYS*. In the 1531 gazetteer, editors and compilers moved the Kaesōng-bu volumes and the map of Kyōnggi so that the Kaesōng-bu volumes appear before the map of Kyōnggi. They thus removed Kaesōng-bu from the gaze of the “Kyōnggi” map. That province map now opens volume 6, the first volume for Kyōnggi. In terms of the placement of the map of Kyōnggi, *STYS* elevated Kaesōng-bu from magistracy in a province to a former capital, and separated both magistracies staffed by an official holding a capital office appointment from counties whose magistrates held a provincial office appointment. The current capital and the former capital now composed a set under the “P’alto ch’ongdo.” The relocation of the “Kyōnggi” map in *STYS* may suggest that the 1499 *TYS* reproduced the placement of this map in the 1487 *TYS*.

Another feature of the “Kyōnggi” map may also be noted. The same naming patterns for Mt. Paegak may be seen in the 1499 *TYS* and *STYS* country maps and “Kyōnggi” maps. In the country maps this mountain is identified as “Paegak-san.” In the “Kyōnggi” maps, though, it is marked as “Paegak.”

B. The Maps of Ch’ungch’ōng Province, Kyōngsang Province, and P’yōngan Province in the Kawai Bunko Text

The maps of Ch’ungch’ōng Province, Kyōngsang Province, and P’yōngan Province each appear at the beginning of that province’s first volume. Each map is a visual summary of the province, with the emphasis (as in the Kyōnggi map) on the counties that compose the province and county-level administration. The province map might also be considered as a visual representation of the province’s reconstitution. More specifically, these images individually introduce the spatial settings of the province and of the counties, and the spatial contexts of provincial and county administration. They present features of the natural landscape, including those deemed significant for administrative purposes at the county level, such as the protective mountains (K. *chinsan*). That is, the province maps also present a ritual landscape. The maps do not display army and navy bases, presumably so to hide these details from Japanese, Jurchens, and others who might benefit from such information.¹⁷⁾

The maps of the provinces in the 1499 *TYS* and in *STYS* all include the character for “province,” *to*, in their titles, thus “Ch’ungch’ōng-do” (Map of Ch’ungch’ōng Province), “Kyōngsang-do” (Map of Kyōngsang Province), and “P’yōngan-do” (Map of P’yōngan Province). Like the Kyōnggi maps, these images show county names, mountain icons, mountain names, river icons, river names, and islands. There are differenc-

es, though, in the names of natural features in province maps.

The names of two other natural features in the Ch'ungch'öng Province map are printed differently in the last two editions. In the first case, the 1499 map has the protective mountain for T'aean County as 白華山, or Paekhwa-san. However, the 1531 map has the protective mountain as 勺華山, or Chakhwa-san. The latter mountain name does not appear in the *STYS* profile of T'aean County or elsewhere in that edition. Rather, the T'aean County section's entry Mountains and Rivers has Paekhwasan.¹⁸⁾ The character *chak* 勺 likely is a carving error for *paek* 白 in the *STYS* "Ch'ungch'öng-do."

A second case is similar. In the 1499 *TYS* map for Ch'ungch'öng Province is the mountain name Kōnji-san 乾至山. This name was carved vertically to the east of the cartouche for Hansan County, and the mountain is that county's protective mountain.¹⁹⁾ Kōnji-san is recorded in the Hansan County section in *STYS*.²⁰⁾ In the *STYS* map, however, is a different name for the protective mountain. That name is 乾止山. It, too, is read as "Kōnji-san." This second mountain name is recorded in the Imch'ön County and Ūnjin County sections, but not in the Hansan County section. Imch'ön County was northeast of Hansan County. Ūnjin County was across a river and still further to the east. Another mountain named 乾止山 is recorded for Tanyang County, which was in northeast Ch'ungch'öng Province and far from Hansan County.²¹⁾ Kōnji-san 乾止山 was a mistake for Kōnji-san 乾至山, Hansan County's protective mountain.

In both "Kyöngsang-do," or the map for Kyöngsang Province, and the country map is Chuk-yöng, or Chuk Pass. In the country map a mountain icon accompanies the pass. In the province map, however, a mountain icon does not accompany the pass. This was probably due to the lack of space where the pass name was carved, at the top edge of the province map's frame.

The maps of Kyöngsang Province in the 1499 *TYS* and in *STYS* present a more significant mapping issue, the representation of changes in the roster of counties. In the 1499 gazetteer, the county of Sillyöng is not marked in the province map and is not listed in the Table of Contents. This is because the court closed Sillyöng County in 1497.²²⁾ The court subsequently restored Sillyöng County in 1503.²³⁾ The county appears in the 1531 gazetteer's map of Kyöngsang Province. However, the *STYS* Table of Contents does not include Sillyöng.

Neither is Kurye County, Chölla Province listed in the 1499 *TYS* Table of Contents. The court similarly closed this county before the printing of the 1499 gazetteer and re-established it after 1499, in 1507.4.²⁴⁾ As a map of Chölla Province from the 1499 *TYS* is not currently available, the absence or presence of Kurye in that province map can not be confirmed. Like Sillyöng, Kurye appears in the appropriate province map in *STYS* but is not listed in that edition's Table of Contents.

STYS being an expansion of the 1499 gazetteer, its editors used the 1499 *TYS* Table of Contents, and did not make changes in the table of contents that reflected the re-opening of Sillyöng and Kurye counties. The editors added the sections for Sillyöng County and Kurye County to their respective locations in the gazetteer text as reflected in the 1487 Table of Contents, marking both sections in *STYS* with the *sinjüng* notice that identified text not in the 1499 edition and new to the 1531 edition.

The *STYS* map of Ch'olla Province includes an island not marked in the 1487, 1499, or 1531 country maps. That island is Wan-do. Serving the Silla government, Chang Pogo commanded the Silla government at the Ch'onghae Garrison (K. *Ch'onghae-jin*) there.²⁵⁾ This history likely merited Wan-do's depiction in the province map. Given the consistent appearance of place names, names of natural features, and icons for natural features in the currently available 1499 *TYS* province maps and in the *STYS* province maps, and given the absence of a *sinjung* notice in the Mountains and Rivers entry for Haenam County, where was this island was located, Wan-do likely had been marked in the 1499 *TYS* map of Ch'olla Province.

C. The Map of Kangw'ön Province in the S'ongam Mungo Text

The map "Kangw'ön-do" (Map of Kangw'ön Province) in the single fascicle of the 1499 edition preserved in the S'ongam Mungo resembles the province maps in the Kawai Bunko text. And all county names, mountain icons, mountain names, river icons, and river names appear in the 1531 edition's map. The most important feature of this map today is its presentation of Usan-do and Ull'ung-do.

The 1499 *TYS* has three references to Usan-do. In addition to appearing in the country map, this island is listed in the Ulchin County section as an item in the Mountains and Rivers entry. And it appears in the "Kangw'ön-do" map. In this entry, Usan-do and Ull'ung-do are the only islands listed. "Usan-do" is first, "Ull'ung-do" second. There is no descriptive text following the island name "Usan-do." Rather, the descriptive text after the island name "Ull'ung-do" treats both islands together. This descriptive text does not report a distance from the coast (or the county office) for either island, though.²⁶⁾

In the 1499 *TYS* map Usan-do is west of Ull'ung-do, and thus closer to the peninsula.²⁷⁾ To speculate, might this placement of the two islands reflect the order of the two islands in this entry, with Usan-do being placed closer to the peninsula in the map because it precedes Ull'ung-do in the list of islands? The presence of Usan-do in the Mountains and Rivers entry for Ulchin County and in the "Kangw'ön-do" map is replicated in *STYS*.²⁸⁾ If Usan-do is the same island as Tokto, its earliest appearance in an extant printed Korean province map is in the "Kangw'ön-do" in the 1499 *TYS*. Tokto's presence in Chos'ön and its administration by the Korean government in the fifteenth century is further supported by the 1499 *TYS*.

The extant maps in these three printed gazetteers that may be compared across two editions or three editions display great consistency in place names, mountain names, and icons. Inconsistencies such as the absence and presence of Silly'ong County, Ky'ongsang Province may be explained by administrative decisions at court. The different naming of protective mountains almost certainly resulted from misrecognition of a character in the previous map. As much Korean research has shown, these gazetteer maps provided models for later country and province maps.

4. The Untitled Map of Chos'ön in *Guang yu kao* (1595) and (S)*TYS* Maps

The Kyoto University Museum (J. *Kyōto Daigaku Sōgō Hakubutsukan*) recently exhibited a map of Chos'ön heretofore not well known. The curators of "Interacting Cultures" (J. *Kōsaku suru bunka*), held in the spring of 2009, displayed the museum's hold-

ing of the Ming-period Chinese text *Guang yu kao*. Before reaching the Kajūji family in Japan, this book had been held in Chosŏn. Unique to this particular printing among other known copies is the inclusion by the earlier Korean owner of a manuscript, colored map of Chosŏn.²⁹⁾ (For ease of expression, the language here will refer to a single Korean owner.) This map shows the cartogenealogical influence of one or more province maps in *STYS*.

Guang yu kao was a “pirate edition” of *Guang yu du*, the important Chinese atlas of China and neighboring countries that was first printed circa 1555 and several times thereafter in the late sixteenth century.³⁰⁾ *Guang yu kao* was printed in 1594, and again in 1595 and 1611. The museum’s text is from the third printing. Its printed map of Chosŏn, called “Chaoxian tu,” reflects the printed map titled “Chaoxian tu” which first appeared in the 1558 *Guang yu tu* and in all subsequent editions. Both printed images show Koryŏ-period place names.

The Korean owner inserted a second map of Chosŏn, the manuscript, colored image, into his copy of *Guang yu kao*. This second map shows Chosŏn of the late sixteenth century.³¹⁾ It connects to this discussion of maps in the two printed editions of *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* and in *STYS* because the country map and at least one province map presumably accessible through *STYS* informed, even if indirectly through a subsequent map, the representation of Chosŏn. The contribution of the state gazetteer may be confirmed most readily in place names not those of counties.

The civil administration profile of Chosŏn in this untitled manuscript map matches the profile in *STYS*. Sillyŏng County and Kurye County are present. Also written are “Ch’ungju,” a county in Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, and “Kwangju,” a county in Chŏlla Province. Sillyŏng and Kurye have been discussed above. The marking of Ch’ungju is important because that county name helps to establish parameters for when this map could have been produced. On 1549.5.21, the Chosŏn court reduced Ch’ungju’s county’s administrative rank from City (K. *mok*), which was of the senior third grade. However, because the character *chu/ju* 州 could not be used in the name of a county at an administrative rank lower than City, the court had to change the county’s name. From 1549.5.21 to 1567.10.6, the Korean government called this county Yusin. The county was a Small County staffed by a Small County Magistrate, of the junior sixth grade. The court restored the county to its previous administrative rank of City and renamed it as Ch’ungju on 1567.10.6.³²⁾

Kwangju County has a similar history. In the 1487 *TYS* Table of Contents this county is listed as “Kwangju.”³³⁾ On 1489.6.29, though, the Chosŏn court changed this county name when it reduced the county from City to Small County. Kwangju became Kwangsan.³⁴⁾ The 1499 *TYS* Table of Contents identifies this county as “Kwangsan.”³⁵⁾ The court restored the county to City administrative rank on 1501.8.12. This resulted in the restoration of the previous name, Kwangju.³⁶⁾ However, the Table of Contents, the map of Chŏlla Province, and the section for this county in *STYS* all name the county as “Kwangsan.”³⁷⁾ The naming as “Kwangju” in the untitled map added to *Guang yu kao* indicates that either general knowledge or a map other than the “Chŏlla-do” map in *STYS* was used.

The legacies of *STYS* are not limited to the marking of Sillyŏng and Kurye. The untitled map also shows Kunsan-do and Hŭksan-do, in Chŏlla Province, and two sites

also found in the “Hamgyŏng-do” (Map of Hamgyŏng Province) map. Interestingly, the name of one of those two sites in the “Hamgyŏng-do” map in *STYS* has been changed. Noktun-do, or Noktun Island, which was near the mouth of the Tumen River, appears as marked in the province map. The Chosŏn government placed military vessels assigned to the navy base at Chosan-bo, Kyŏnghŭng County, which was administered by a Navy Sub-area Commander (K. *Sugun Manho*, junior fourth grade), on Noktun-do.³⁸⁾

However, where the *STYS* map for Hamgyŏng Province has “Ch’ŏk-chi,” or Ch’ŏk Pond, the untitled map in *Guang yu kao* has “Ch’ŏk-do,” or Ch’ŏk Island. Both the pond and the island were in Kyŏnghŭng County. The pond, according to *STYS*, was 10 *ri* to the south of the county seat and near to the Tumen River, and was several *ri* in circumference. It does not appear to have been in the sea.

In *Sejong sillok chiriji* are references to Ch’ŏk Island. In Kyŏnghŭng County, Ch’ŏk Island was one of two islands there. It was 200 paces from south to north.⁴⁰⁾ Ch’ŏk Pond in the “Hamgyŏng-do” map in *STYS* would seem to be an error for Ch’ŏk Island.

In the untitled map of Chosŏn in *Guang yu kao* there appears to be one mistake. The place name “Noktun-do” is written in two places. One marking is as an island, as in the *STYS* “Hamgyŏng-do” map. The other writing is as a place on the continent, on the north side of the Tumen River. That is, this other writing of “Noktun-do” appears in territory outside Chosŏn.⁴¹⁾

Also in the untitled map is the Japanese island of Tsushima. As noted, this island appears in the “P’alto ch’ongdo” maps in the 1487 *TYS*, the 1499 *TYS*, and *STYS*. And it is marked in the “Kyŏngsang-do” maps in the 1499 *TYS* and *STYS*. In all of these Korean maps the island is named as “Taema-do,” or Taema Island.

In the untitled manuscript map, however, the Korean mapmaker identified this island as “Taema-ju.” The same three characters, that is, 對馬州, also appear in *Guang yu kao*’s map of Japan, “Riben tu.” In that Chinese map of Japan, the names of Japanese provinces were printed with the Japanese administrative marker 州 (J. *shū*, K. *chū/jū*). As the Chinese map of Korea in *Guang yu kao* does not include this island, it would seem likely that the mapmaker consulted the book’s map of Japan regarding the Japanese island. The mapmaker likely treated the island as Japanese territory, as Tsushima Province.

Unlike *STYS*, the second map of Chosŏn in this *Guang yu kao* also presents army and navy bases. These sites help to establish possible dates if not for the compilation of the untitled map then for the administrative profile of Chosŏn in this image. Three bases in particular are relevant for dating sixteenth-century maps, but they can not be dated with precision. One is the re-opened navy base at Hwaryang, in Namyang County, Kyŏnggi. The Chosŏn court closed the Navy Commandery at Hwaryang on 1485.11.28.⁴²⁾ The government reopened that Navy Commandery by 1556.1.4, on which date is the first mention of a military official serving there since the closure.⁴³⁾

The other two military sites are the installations on Kadŏk, an island close to Ungch’ŏn County and near the southern coast of Kyŏngsang Province. The addition of Kadŏk to Korean country maps followed a pirate attack in 1544 and the court’s immediate measures to enhance naval defense. In the sixth month of 1545, King Chun-

gjong was considering the establishment of a garrison (K. *chin*) on Kadök and the construction of a fort at Ch'önsöng. By 1546.4 a Navy Sub-Area Commander served on the island at the new installation at Ch'önsöng-bo. The Kadök [Navy?] Deputy Commander (K. [*Sugun?*] *Ch'ömjölchesa*), the superior of the Navy Sub-Area Commander, can be confirmed in 1554.1.⁴⁴⁾ It may also be that the word “Kadök” merely identifies the island. Regardless, whatever the exact period in Chosön administrative history shown in this untitled map may be, the image of Chosön is later than the date of the printing of *STYS* in 1531.

By inserting a map that provided a more recent depiction of Chosön into his *Guang yu kao*, the Korean owner altered the presentation of this country in this Chinese book. The untitled image updated the mapping of Chosön. The representation of Chosön was now contemporaneous with the images of China, Japan, and Ryukyu.

Only a few Korean images of Chosön compiled in the sixteenth century are extant. None examined in this research present the combination of Kunsan-do, Hüksan-do, Noktun-do, Ch'ök-chi or Ch'ök-do, and Tsushima. The *Chosön pangyök chido*, thought to have been completed around 1557, and the Chosön P'alto yöji chido, dated to the late sixteenth century, for example, do not show these islands.⁴⁵⁾ The *Chosön P'alto yöji chido* and the *Hwadong ko chido* show Kadök and identify Ch'önsöng.⁴⁶⁾ The untitled manuscript map, too, has “Kadök” and “Ch'önsöng” written in the island cartouche.

As the re-opening of the Hwaryang Navy Commandery can not be dated, and the appointments of the first Kadök [Navy?] Deputy Commander and the first Ch'önsöng Navy Sub-Area Commander can not be dated, it may not be stated here with confidence that the untitled manuscript map of Chosön added to this printing of *Guang yu kao* was completed prior to the renaming of Ch'ungju on 1549.5.21. However, this untitled manuscript map does present Chosön of the period from the restoration of the county name “Ch'ungju” on 1567.10.6 until the relocations of provincial and military headquarters that followed the end of the Japanese invasion in late 1598.

Conclusion

The 1487 *Tongguk yöji süngnam* and the 1499 *Tongguk yöji süngnam* are not currently available in a complete set of volumes. Only *Sinjüng Tongguk yöji süngnam* enables a full view of the country and the provinces through maps at this time. The presence of the country map in extant volumes from all three printings of this state gazetteer allows for a comparison of contents and for confirming the naming of provinces in the Table of Contents. In *STYS*, the province maps were compiled to be temporally accurate, unlike the Table of Contents, because of their utility for government officials. These visual representations of state administration reproduced the counties as organized in the province chapters rather than as listed in the Table of Contents.

Read across time, maps in the three editions reflected the changing profile of provincial and county administration from 1487 to 1531. The location of a map and written text affected the organization and ordering of space and place in the gazetteer, possibly even beyond the gazetteer. Should more maps in the 1487 and 1499 editions become available for research, they too may be studied across two or three printed gazetteers. Questions such as where the map of Kyönggi was placed in the 1487 *TYS* and whether the 1499 *TYS* has Kurye County in the map of Chölla Province might

then be answered.

Notes

- 1) For Korean studies of the maps in *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* see Pang Tongin, *Hanguk ūi chido*, (Seoul: Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏphoe, 1974), 97–105; Yi Sang’ae, “Chosŏn ch’ŏgi ūi ko chido,” *Sirhak sasang yŏngu* vol. 2 (1991:3), 16–22; Pang Tongin, *Hanguk chido ūi yŏksa*, (Seoul: Singu Munhwasa, 2001), 93–110.
- 2) Sŏ Kŏjŏng, “*Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam sŏ*,” in *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* (Hwasan Mungo), 4a (below as *TYS* (Hwasan Mungo)); Sŏ Kŏjŏng, “*Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam sŏ*,” in *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1959), 5a–b (below as *STYS*).
- 3) Kim Chongjik, postscript (*pal*), *STYS*, 1b–2a.
- 4) Kim Chongjik, postscript, *STYS*, 1b; *Sŏngjong sillok* 200:8a [1487.2.10].
- 5) *Yŏnsangun ilgi* 29:11b [1498.4.4].
- 6) *STYS* 1:34a–b.
- 7) *TYS* (Hwasan Mungo) 1:34a–40a; *STYS* 1:34a–40a.
- 8) *TYS* (Hwasan Mungo) 1:35a; *STYS* 1:35a.
- 9) Gari Ledyard, “Cartography in Korea,” in J. B. Harley and David Woodward eds., *The History of Cartography*, volume two, book two, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Societies*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 295–296. Also see Ledyard for a discussion of the information selected for inclusion in the “P’alto ch’ongdo” as seen through the *STYS* country map.
- 10) *STYS* 34:26b, 34:27a (Okkang County).
- 11) *STYS* 35:2b–4a (Naju County).
- 12) Kim Chongjik, postface, *STYS*, 2b.
- 13) *TYS* (Kawai Bunko) 23:2a–3b (Tongnae County); *STYS* 23:2a–3b (Tongnae County).
- 14) For a discussion of the Chosŏn government’s treatment of Tsushima (Taema-do) as Korean territory see Kenneth R. Robinson, “An Island’s Place in History: Tsushima in Japan and in Chosŏn, 1392–1592,” *Korean Studies* no. 30 (2006), 40–66.
- 15) *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1983), 1:12a–b, 1:12b–13b.
- 16) *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 1:43b–49a; Edward Willett Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*, (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1974), “Appendix A: List of Government Offices and Posts,” 125–133.
- 17) Ledyard, “Cartography in Korea,” 295.
- 18) *STYS* 19:15a–16a (T’aeon County).
- 19) *TYS* (Kawai Bunko) “Ch’ungch’ŏng-do,” 17:21a–b (Hansan County).
- 20) *STYS* 17:22a (Hansan County).
- 21) *STYS* 17:18a–b (Imch’ŏn County); *STYS* 18:6b–7a (Ŭnjin County); *STYS* 14:21a–22a (Tanyang County).
- 22) *STYS* 27:17a–b (Sillyŏng County).
- 23) *STYS* 27:17a–b (Sillyŏng County).
- 24) *STYS* 40:25a–b (Kurye County); *Yŏnsangun ilgi* 31:10a–b [1498.10.8]; *Yŏnsangun ilgi* 31:11a–b [1498.11.2]; *Chungjong sillok* 2:49b [1507.4.11].
- 25) *TYS* (Ilsan Mungo) 37:16a–b (Haenam County); *STYS* 37:22a–b (Haenam County).
- 26) *TYS* (Sŏngam Mungo) 45:23b–25a (Ulchin County), “Kangwŏn-do.”
- 27) *TYS* (Sŏngam Mungo) “Kangwŏn-do.”
- 28) *STYS* 45:25b–27a (Ulchin County), “Kangwŏn-do.”
- 29) *Kŏsaku suru bunka*, (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Sōgō Hakubutsukan, 2009), 18.
- 30) *Kŏsaku suru bunka*, 18.
- 31) *Kŏsaku suru bunka*, 17–18.
- 32) *Myŏngjong sillok* 9:47a [1549.5.21]; *Sŏnjo sillok* 1:2a–b [1567.10.6].
- 33) *TYS* (Hwasan Mungo), “*Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam mongnok*,” 6a.
- 34) *Sŏngjong sillok* 229:30b–32b [1489.6.29]; *STYS* 35:15b–17a.
- 35) *TYS* (Kawai Bunko), “*Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam mongnok*,” 7b.
- 36) *Yŏnsangun ilgi* 41:5a [1501.8.12].

- 37) *STYS*, “*Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* mongnok,” 7b, “Chŏlla-do,” 35:15a (Kwangsan County).
- 38) *STYS* 50:43b (Kyŏnghŭng County).
- 39) *STYS* 50:42b–43a (Kyŏnghŭng County).
- 40) *Sejong sillok chŭriji* 155:16b–17a (Kyŏnghŭng County).
- 41) For a study of Noktun Island in 1587, when Jurchens intruded into the island, see Yi Wŏnmyŏng, “Chosŏn chunggi Noktun-do hwakpo wa Pukp’yŏngsa Yi Il e kwanhan ilgoch’al: *Changyanggong chŏnsŏ* (1893) rŭl chungsim ūro,” *Paeksan hakpo* no. 83 (2009:4), 505–510.
- 42) *Sŏngjong sillok* 185:21b [1485.11.28]; *STYS* 9:16b (Namyang County); *Myŏngjong sillok* 21:43a–b [1556.10.20]; “Namyang-gun,” in *Yŏji tosŏ*, vol. 1, (Seoul: T’amgudang, 1973), 73.
- 43) *Myŏngjong sillok* 20:1b–2b [1556.1.4].
- 44) *Chungjong sillok* 103:47a–b [1545.6.12]; *Chungjong sillok* 104:38b–39a [1545.8.16]; *Myŏngjong sillok* 16:3a–b [1554.1.6].
- 45) *Chosŏn pangyŏk chido* and *Chosŏn P’alto yŏji chido*, in Yi Ch’an, *Hanguk ūi ko chido*, (Seoul: Pŏmusa, 1991), 81 (plate 40) and 84 (plate 44), respectively.
- 46) *Hwadong ko chido*, in Yi Ch’an, *Hanguk ūi ko chido*, (Seoul: Pŏmusa, 1991), 17 (plate 4).