

The Names of the East Sea of the Korean Old Maps, 17th ~19th Centuries

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1. Preface

This article is to review old Korean maps produced prior to the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 and see how the East Sea, a sea surrounded by the countries Korea, Japan, Russia, and China, is described in them. There are many old Korean maps included in the *Upchis*(邑誌, chorographic records by county) and other general books as well. However, this article will concentrate only on the old maps produced exclusively as a map.

Due to the invasions by China in the 13th century, Japan in the 16th century, and twice by the Ching Dynasty in the mid 17th centuries limited the number of old maps remaining to date. As most of these existing old Korean maps were produced after the 17th century, this article analyzes these maps of the 17th ~ 19th centuries.

2. The Different Types of How the East Sea Was Presented in These Maps

The East Sea in these 17 ~ 19th century maps are presented in one of the following 8 ways. First, the East Sea appears in the map but without a place name, this type of documentation appears in the greatest number of maps. Second, there is only a direction mentioned as 'East' in the empty space of the sea on these maps. As it has no specific place name, it can be categorized as being similar to the first type of representation in the maps. Third, the maps, where the East Sea is described as '*Taehae* (大海, great sea)', '*Hae* (海, sea)', '*Tongjo Taehae* (東抵大海, east toward great sea)', or '*Tongjop Taehae* (東接大海, east adjoining great sea). These types of maps comprise the second largest number of maps. Fourth are the maps, where the East Sea is clearly mentioned as '*Tonghae* (東海, East Sea)'.

On the fifth type of map, '*Tonghae*' is written on the land, not in the space of the sea. Sixth, these maps have unique traditional names such as '*Changhae* (滄海, a blue expanse of water; Blue Sea)', and '*Tongyanghae* (東洋海, the Oriental Sea). Seventh, these maps describe the sea as 'the Sea of Japan'(日本海). Eighth, these maps describe the sea as '*Taehanhae* (大韓海, Great Korean Sea)'. As the first and second types of maps have no specific place names, they have been excluded from the analysis of this paper, and the analysis will be from the third through the eighth types of maps.

1) Maps Where the East Sea is Presented As the 'Great Sea'

Maps with the East Sea described as the '*Great Sea*' represents the largest number of maps. Some maps describes the East Sea as '*Hae*(sea) ', but mostly '*Taehae* (great sea).' General maps(朝鮮全圖) and province maps(道別地圖) of the Choson period can be divided into two categories based on the type of map and accuracy. First is the '*Tongnamdo*(東覽圖)' type , these are general maps and province maps, second is the <<*Tongguk chido*>> (map of east country[Korea]) made by Chongsang-gi(鄭尙驥, 1678~1752). In these two types of general and province maps, the East Sea is described as 'great sea'. The same expression is also found in the kun-hyon maps or in maps of military camps or the fortresses located in the counties(an administrative unit under 'do' which means 'province.')

(1) '*Tongnamdo*' (東覽圖) Type Maps

Shinjung tongkuk yojisungnam(新增東國輿地勝覽, the augmented survey of the geography of Korea), revised in 1530 and published in 1531 contains a general map titled <*Paldo chongdo*>(八道總圖, a map of eight provinces of Korea) and provincial maps of the 8 provinces, one map per province, and they are called '*Tongnamdo*(東覽圖)'. Of the provincial maps, the East Sea is described as '*Tongjo Taehae*' (east toward great sea) in the Kyongsang-do and Kangwon-do map, as '*Tongnamjo Taehae*' (southeast toward great sea) and '*Namjo Taehae*' (south toward great sea) in the Hamkyong-do provincial map, meaning 'reaching to a great sea in the east or southeast or to the south'. Since then, numerous maps imitating the '*Tongnamdo*(東覽圖)' have been produced until the mid 19th century.

<<*Tongguk chido*>>(map of east country, Kyujanggak Archives) is presumed to be the earliest map produced in the 16th century is an example.

In the atlas containing provincial maps, that was popular in the late Choson Dynasty, the East Sea was described as '*Tongjo Taehae*', meaning 'it reaches to a great sea in the east'. The examples of this type of map is such as <<*Tongguk yojido*>>(map of the eastern country), <<*Choson chido*>> (map of Choson), <<*Chido*>> (map), <<*Yojido*>> (map of the earth), <<*Paldo chido*>> (map of the eight provinces), and <<*Choson paldo chido*>> which described the East Sea as '*Tongdaehae* (east great sea)' (Kangwon-do, Kyongsang-do) and '*Namdaehae* (south great sea)'(Hamkyong-do) owned by Kyujanggak Archives.

The province maps of <Kyongsang-do> <Kangwon-do> <Hamkyong-do> included in the atlas such as <<*Yojido*>> , <<*Paldo chido*>> owned by the National Library of Korea , <<*Yojido*>> owned by a geographer Lee Chan. And <<*Tongnamdo*>>, <<*Chido*>>, <<*Chonha chongdo*>>(map of the world), <<*Chonha chido*>>(map of the world) owned by the Yeungnam University Museum also describe the East Sea in the same manner as the above-mentioned.

'*Tongnamdo*' type maps have a characteristic, where they use the expression '*Tonghae* (east sea)' in general maps, while '*Taehae*(great sea)' was used in the provincial maps, showing a discrepancy in geographical terms.

(2) Chongsang-gi Type Maps

Chongsang-gi's <<*Tongguk chido*>>(map of east country) is considered a masterpiece showing the achievement of the topography in late the Choson period. This map is believed to have contributed greatly to the development of Korean maps, particularly in the large-scale maps in the late Choson period. Chongsang-gi was a great scholar of practical learning one century earlier than the greatest topographer of Korea, Kim Chong-ho(金正浩), his son Chong Hang-nyong (1710~1770), his grandson, Chong Won-rim (1731~1800), and the grandson of his brother Chong Su-yong (1743~1831), who further developed <<*Tongguk chido*>> more elaborate, extensive, and accurate maps.

As the map making continued over four generations and many people made copies of them, tens of copies of the << *Tongguk chido*>> remains to date. Chong Sang-gi's maps are highly valued in that they use the same scale, and design in the way that separated the provincial maps make one complete general map of Korea when combined with distance can be calculated using the hundred-chok(百里尺), 1:420.000 large scale map, larger maps have

more details such as roads, beacons, geographical names, and a more accurate outline of the Choson borders, particularly the northern region. The map is so great that in 1757 (the 33rd year of King Yongjo's reign), King Yongjo ordered reproductions of it, which influenced most of the Choson maps until the advent of <<Taedong yojido>> (大東輿地圖, map of Korea). With the development of these large-scale maps, many general maps of Korea, very similar to <<Taedong yojido>> had been produced by late 18th century.

Of the Chongsang-gi provincial maps, many describe the East Sea as 'Tongjo Taehae (east toward great sea)' or 'Tongnamjo Taehae(southeast lowland great sea)' 'Namjo Taehae(south toward great sea)'. The provincial maps at the Kyujanggak Archives such as <Kyongsang-do> <Hamkyong-do> maps of << Paldo chido >>(map of eight provinces, 八道地圖) , <Kangwon-do> <Kyongsang-do> <Hamkyong-do> maps of << Paldo pundo >> are the examples of maps using the same expressions as for the East Sea.

Of the maps owned by the Yeungnam University Museum, <Kyongsang-do> <Hamkyongbuk-do> provincial maps of <<Chonggu yojido>> (map of the blue hills [Korea]), <Hamkyongnam-do> <Hamkyongbuk-do> of the << Paldo chondo >>(general map of eight provinces), <Kangwon-do> <Kyongsang-do> of <<Kakdo chondo >>(map of povinces) in the same category. Other examples of the category are : <Kyongsang-do> <Hamkyong-do> provincial maps of <<Haedongdo>>(海東圖 , Atlas of Korea) owned by Hoam-Art Museum and <Kyongsang-do> <Hamkyongbuk-do> provincial maps of << Tongguk chido >> owned by professor Lee Chan.

(3) County maps

Kun-hyon maps (maps of counties and districts) are the maps of local administrative units as *pu* (special cities), *mok* (prefecture), *kun* (county), *hyon* (district), and etc. and they were most popular type of map in the late Choson dynasty. A study on the maps of the regions adjoining the East Sea such as Kyongsang-do, Kangwon-do, and Hamkyong-do reveal that great number of maps describe the East Sea as 'east toward great sea' 'great sea' 'sea' and 'ocean.' Of the maps owned by Kyujanggak Archives, the large-scale kun-hyon map drawn on one-ri (one 'ri' equals 0.42km) squares titled <<Yongnam chido>> (嶺南地圖, map of Kyongsang province), which was produced in 1740s, is an example of the above. In the maps of <Kosong-hyon> <Yongdok-hyon> of Kyongsang-do province, the East Sea is

described as 'Taehae (great sea)' 'hae (sea)'. Besides, <Changgi-hyon> <Chongha-hyon> maps included in <<Yojido>> (an atlas of kyn-hyon maps) and the map of <Munchon-gun> included in <<Hamkyongdo chondo>> (general map of Hamkyong-do) have the same expressions. Of the kun-kyon maps made nationwide in 1872 during the reign of king Kojong, the maps of Kyongsong-bu , Dokwon-bu , Puryong-bu , Hamhung-bu , Yonghung-bu , and Kyongwon-bu of Hamkyong-do province and the maps of Yongdok-hyon , Changgi-hyon , Ulsan Sosangjin , Choknyangjin of Kyongsang-do province, the map of Uljin-hyon of Kangwon-do describe the East Sea as 'hae' 'great sea' meaning 'sea' or 'great sea.' Of the maps owned by Yeungnam University Museum, the kun-hyon maps of Chongha, Yongdok, Yongil in the <<Yongnam chido >>(map of Kyongsang province) refer the East Sea simply as 'hae(sea). On the provincial maps of the <<Yojido>>, it is written as 'Tongnamhae (great southeast sea).'

2) Maps with 'Tonghae (East Sea)'

Maps with 'Tonghae (East Sea)' in the space of sea of the existing maps where the East Sea is described as 'Tonghae (East sea)', the most reliable one is <<Yongnam chido>> (map of Kyongsang province, Kyujanggak Archives). This atlas is so called 'Pibyonsa chido' (maps of National Security Council) which was published by the Pibyonsa which was in charge of national defense and national affairs.

Those maps in that atlas were drawn on the one-ri (7.0 ~ 8.5mm) squares, a large-scale map of an approximate scale of 1:53,000 ~ 1: 64,000(one *ri* is about 420 meters). In the parallels and meridians map, the size of a map differs according to the size of a region and many of them are in the form of a book. Those maps are presumed to have been published between 1747 (the 23rd year of king Yongjo's reign) ~1750 by Pibyonsa and kept by it. Such size map is too big for any individual to produce, and it is a representative 'government published map' produced by either central government or local government.

These county maps applied relatively regular scales to all counties in an attempt to produce accurate maps. For the application of scale, and being large-scale maps, a comprehensive spatial scope covering the whole country, and in many other aspects, the atlases with parallels and meridians made in the mid 18th century have significant meaning in understanding Choson history. In particular, drawing county maps on sectioned paper signifies advancement in understanding the regions through maps and objectivity in the

analysis on administration.

<Kyongju> map included in 'the Pibyonsa map' contains 'Tonghaechang (East Sea warehouse)', and describes the sea in the East as 'Tonghae (East Sea).' In this atlas, the <Ulsan> map also refers the sea in the East as the 'East Sea.' It is particularly noteworthy that the 'Pibyonsa Map', the representative government-sponsored production in the mid 18th century describes 'Tonghae' in the maps of <Kyongju-bu> <Ulsan-bu>. <<Yojido>> (Kyujanggak), the collection of kun-hyon maps published in mid 18th century includes the county maps describing the East Sea as 'Tonghae (East sea).' This relatively small book of kun-hyon maps nationwide describes the sea in the East of Heunghae-kun of Kyongsang-do as 'Tonghae (East sea).'

The expression 'Tonghae' (East sea) is also found in the maps of Kyujanggak Archives such as the map of <Ulsan-bu> of Kyongsang-do in the <<Yodo>>, the map of <Heunghae-kun> of Kyongsang province in <<Haedong chido>> (Map of Korea) published around 1750, the <Heunghae> map in <<Kyungju dohoe chwatonng chido>>(慶州都會左通地圖, map of Kyungju city), and the map of <Tongchon> of Kangwon-do in <<Kwandong sungnam>>(關東勝覽, map of Kangwon province). The map of <Ulsan> included in <<Yongnam chido>> (atlas of Kyungsang province) published in the mid 18th century and owned by Yeungnam University Museum also describes the East Sea as 'Tonghae' (east sea).

In <<Seobuk gyedo>>(西北界圖, map of the northwestern frontier of Korea) presumed to have been made in the mid 18th century 'Tonghae' is clearly shown. This map is one of the representative national defense maps containing detailed information of the northwest boundary regions, and the expression of 'Tonghae' in the map particularly important.

The name of the East Sea as 'Tonghae' is most frequently shown in <<Yojido>>(輿地圖,) owned by Kyujanggak. <<Yojido>> is a compilation of maps in three volumes, map of the world, map of Korea, map of Seoul, Choson-Japan-Ryukyu Islands, maps of eight provinces, maps of the 16 provinces of China. Of the maps, <Ahkuk chongdo>(general map of our country [Korea]), <Choson-Japan- Ryukyu Islands>, and respective maps of eight provinces, the expression 'Tonghae' appear. In <Chonha tojido>(Map of the World) the East sea is written as 'So Tonghae (small east sea).' This compilation of maps, presumed to have been produced between 1789 ~ 1793 by the government during king Chongjo's reign contains elaborate and detailed maps and is a precious reference showing the understanding of the Korean government and the Korean intellectuals as to the East Sea in

the late 18th century.

In 1872 after the Foreign Disturbance of 1866 and the Foreign Disturbance of 1871, the Choson government issued an order to kuns and hyons nationwide to produce regional geographical books and maps and present them to the government. Of the maps produced during the period in the kun-hyon maps and defense fortress maps such as <<*Danchonbu chido*>>(Map of Danchon county) and <<*Musan chido*>> (Map of Musan county) of Hamkyong province, <<*Samchokbu chido*>>(Map of Samchok county), <<*Pyonghaekun chido*>>(Map of Pyonghae county) of Kangwon-do, and <Ulsan mokjang chido>(蔚山收場地圖, map of Ulsan pasture) in the <<*Kyongsangdo chido*>> (Map of Kyongsang province) appear the expression 'Tonghae.'

In the maps of the late 19th century ~early 20th century the expression 'Tonghae' appeared as well. In <Kyongsangdo chido> of the <<*Taechoson chondo*>>(grand general map of Korea, Yeungnam University Museum) wrote, "Outside Tonghae are Japan Islands." (東海之外日本諸島), clearly showing the expression 'Tonghae.' The map is of particular interest that it is known to have been compiled by Hakbu, which corresponds to today's Ministry of Education and Manpower. In addition, in the map of <Kyongsangbuk-do> in <<*Taehan sinjiji bujido*>>(new regional geography of Korea attached maps, Yeungnam University Museum), the East Sea is described as 'Tonghaean (east sea shore).' Thus far, maps containing 'Tonghae' have been reviewed by category, and the following has been found.

First, most of the maps containing 'Tonghae' are either the government published maps or copies based on the government produced maps. The government made maps were either produced by the central government or by kuns or hyons at the order of the central government, and their place names and boundaries are more carefully and accurately reviewed compared with those of privately produced maps. It is noteworthy that 'Tonghae (East sea)' is found more in the government produced maps which reflect an official position of a nation. Second, in the kun-hyon maps actively made from the 18th century, 'Tonghae' is found 'in many of the kun-hyon maps produced in 19th century. As time goes by, a growing number of maps described the East Sea as 'Tonghae.'

3) Maps With 'Tonghae' Written In The Land

Of the privately produced maps, there are maps with 'Tonghae' written on the land, not

in the space of the sea. <Paldo chongdo> (map of eight provinces), a general map of Korea included in the *Shinjung tongkuk yojisungnam*(新增東國輿地勝覽, the augmented survey of the geography of Korea), a comprehensive compilation of geographical descriptions produced in the early Choson period, 'Tonghae' is written in the sea off Yangyang city of Kangwondo, not in the East Sea. As 'Tongnamdo' is the map which had been most influential in map making by the general public, of the privately produced maps from wood block printing or manuscript map, there are a great number of maps produced in imitation of 'Tongnamdo.' <<Yukdae chido>> <<Yodo>> of Kyujanggak are the example. <Tongguk paldo daechongdo>(map of eight provinces) of <<Chonha chongdo>> in the Yongnam University Museum, <Paldo chongdo> included in <<Tongnamdo>> , <Tongguk paldo daechong> in the <<Kupokdo>> (Atlas of nine sheet of maps), <Tongguk paldo daechong> in the <<Yojido>> owned by professor Lee Chan are the examples as well.

The reason that the place name of 'Tonghae' is written on the land not in the sea is that it indicates the site of the sacrificial rite for the god of East Sea. It is also because the maps included in the *Shinjung tongkuk yojisungnam* are not to provide accurate geographic regional information but to roughly locate the mountains and rivers where the government holds sacrificial rites. In the same book of maps, provincial maps describe the East Sea as 'Tongjo Taehae' (east toward great sea). All the maps with 'Tonghae' written on the land are general maps of Korea and 'Tonghae' refers to the site of 'Tonghae shinmyo' (east sea gods shrine) where people hold sacrificial rite for the god of the East Sea pay. It is a significant reference proving that the government officially named 'Tonghae.'

4) Maps Describing the East Sea in Different Names

There are maps that refer to the East Sea in unique names and it is very suggestive, particularly today when it is required to change the name of the East Sea. In the <<Yangyang chido>> (map of Yangyang county) of Kwangwon-do drawn in 1872, the East Sea is described as 'Changhae' (blue sea) and in <<Kojebu chido>>(map of Koje county) of Kyongsang province as 'Tongmyong Taeyang' (East Sea great ocean). In addition, in the copy of the greatest topographer of Korea, Kim Chong-ho's <<Chonggud>>(青邱圖, map of blue mountain [Korea]) the East Sea is written as 'Tongyanghae' (the Oriental Sea).

5) Maps with 'Sea of Japan'

Of the maps of Korea, the maps describing the East Sea as 'the Sea of Japan' are found in the reproductions of the maps made by westerners in China. Almost 10,000 maps produced in Korea have been reviewed and only 3 maps describe the East Sea as 'Sea of Japan.'

<<*Konyo mankuk chondo*>> (Map of World Atlas) owned by Seoul National University Museum wrote 'Sea of Japan.' The original of this map is the only map of 10 western style world maps produced by Matteo Ricci who came to China as missionary that describe the East Sea as 'Sea of Japan' and it was brought into Korea in 1603. In 1708, by order of king Sukjong, it has been reproduced in the form of folding screen. It is believed that as it is an exact copy from the original, it has 'Sea of Japan'.

<<*Ohju kakuk tongsook chondo*>> (map of five continents and colonies) made in 1896 is also a copy of the map drawn by a British in China, and the East Sea is written as 'Sea of Japan.' In the map of <<*Asia tido*>> (map of Asia) produced by Hulbert who was invited to Korea as a teacher at the first public western school 'Yukyonggongwon' is the term 'Japan Hashu' and in the south of the map 'Tonghashu' ('east' hashu).

6) Maps Describing the East Sea as 'Taehanhae' (great Korea sea)

In the maps produced after Choson changed the name of the country to Taehanjekuk (great Korea empire) appear 'Taehanhae.' In the <<*Taehan chondo*>> (Map of Korea)(Yeungnam University Museum) made in 1907 and <<*Taehan cheguk jido*>> (map of Taehan Empire) produced in 1908 by Hyon Kong-yom it is clearly written as 'Taehanhae', showing the thoughts of the people during those days.

3. Conclusion

In the old maps of Korea produced between 17 ~ 19th centuries, many maps are either without name for the East Sea or only direction such as 'East'. There are many maps as well that simply tell the space is a sea in the terms of 'Tongjo Tahae (East toward great sea)', 'Taehae (great sea)', 'Taeyang (ocean)', and 'Hae (sea)'. However, after the 18th century, maps with the East sea mentioned as 'Tonghae' increased tremendously both in number and category. In almost all types of Korean old maps including world maps, general maps,

provincial maps, and kun-hyon maps there appears 'Tonghae (East sea). In particular, in terms of publisher, the government mostly produces the maps referring to the East Sea as 'Tonghae'. In terms of time, a greater number of maps has 'Tonghae.' Beside, though small in number, it is noteworthy that they refer to the East Sea as 'blue sea', 'oriental sea', 'great Korea Sea'.