

The Ulleungdo Island, the Dokdo Island and the East Sea in Old Korean Maps

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This study is a review of the names, the changes of names and the historical and geographical meanings regarding the Ulleungdo Island, the Dokdo Island and the Donghae (East Sea) where the two islands lie.

1. Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo Island in the old maps of Korea

1) Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo Island in the maps depicting the world

From ancient times to the present, Ulleungdo has been the name used to describe the island, it has also been referred to as Uldo. On rare occasions, the name Mureung has been used to denote the island of Ulleungdo. As for Dokdo Island, the standard title has been Usando, a term used until the end of the 19th century. The «Honilgangni Yeokdae Gukdo-jido» [Comprehensive Map of the World and Nation's Successive Capitals], which was the result of a national project completed in 1402, is the oldest map existing in Korea. This extensive map describing Europe, Africa and Japan is known to be the best map of the world and also depicts Korea very prominently. Even though it is a world map, it includes Ulleungdo, which suggests Korea's strong ties to the island.

Presently, three world maps produced in the 16th century exist in Korea. ① «Honil Yeokdae Gukdo Gangni jido» [Comprehensive Maps of the World and Nation's Successive Capitals], ② «Hwadong gojido» ③ «Joseonbon cheonha yeo jido». The map ① shows Usando while ② has Ulleungdo and Usando, and ③ depicts Ulleungdo and Pyeongsando. In both maps of ① and ② Usando is drawn to the left (west) of Ulleungdo island. Since ① only describes Usando, it is not certain whether it refers to the present Ulleungdo or Dokdo. It is possible that Ulleungdo was drawn east of Usando and

was inadvertently removed during pasting or storing. On the other hand, ④ 《Cheonha dae chong illam ji-do》, a world map produced in the civil sector during the 18th century clearly shows Usando to the west of the Ulleungdo.

In the maps, Usando is drawn as a perpendicularly long oblong shape. The very fact that Usando, then an uninhabited island, is included in a world map shows that Korea, even in the early period of the Joseon Kingdom clearly recognized Dokdo as its territory. But, judging from the fact that Ulleungdo and Usando are depicted in a long oblong shape and that Usando is to the west of Ulleungdo suggests that their geographical knowledge of the region was limited. This, however, was a result of the ‘evacuate the Ulleungdo Island policy’ put into practice since the rule of King Taejong.

2) Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo Island in old maps of Korea

(1) Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo Island in the maps made during the early period of the Joseon dynasty

‘Joseon jeon-do’ refers to the maps describing all of Korea, therefore, they are more representative maps of Korea. Joseon jeon-do can be divided into two categories. The first are the ‘Dongnamdo’ type maps included in the geographical gazetteers published by the government, and which were widely used until the late Joseon dynasty as a reference map for maps made in the civil sectors. The second are the detailed and accurate maps of the entire Korea peninsula produced by the government from as early as the early Joseon period.

Firstly, let’s review Dokdo as described in the Dongnamdo type maps of Korea. 《Dongguk Yeoji-seungnam》(Geographical Survey of Korea) was completed in 1481 as a result of a government geographical gazetteer publication project that continued for almost a hundred years. It went through many revisions, expanded to 55 volumes (1530) and was published the next year under the title 《Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji-seungnam》(Newly Enlarged Survey of the Geography of Korea). This set of geographical gazetteers of Korea included nine maps; a map of all of Korea, titled <Paldo chong-do>(A Map of Eight Provinces) and eight provincial maps. The maps included in the geographical survey are called ‘Dongnamdo’ as in the centre of the maps is written ‘Dongnamdo’

The maps in the 《Newly Enlarged Survey of the Geography of Korea》 are simplified ones. But since they were included in woodblock print books that were widely distributed, these, therefore, were available even to the ordinary people.

Because the ‘Dongnamdo’ type maps are made as a supplementary to geographical gazetteers, they are mostly simple, without much detail. Details of a region are discussed in gazetteers and maps give only an outline of a region concerned. Besides, since these are small-size woodblock prints maps, there is no space for extensive geographical information either.

Mountains and rivers included in the <Paldo chongdo>(A Map of Eight Provinces) are where national memorial services, small and medium sized, were held. This map is believed to have been made in order to legitimize and proclaim the authority of the king and also for the establishment of Confucian ruling ideas. <Paldo chongdo> is depicted as relatively wider in the width on the east and on the west, thereby giving an impression that its south-north length is squeezed, particularly distorted in its description of the northern region. This was drawn in such a way so that the maps could fit the size of a book. Both Ulleungdo and Usando are described in the map but their location is reversed.

The mistake in the 《Newly Enlarged Survey of the Geography of Korea》 are repeated in the maps made as late as the late Joseon period, and many of the ‘Dongnamdo’ type maps of the entire Korean peninsula made in civil sectors have Usando to the west of Ulleungdo.

While the ‘Dongnamdo’ type maps were made in civil sectors and were popular there, detailed maps of Korea using scientific map-making techniques were produced by the government or local government offices. With the establishment of new kingdom, accurate maps were needed. 《Joseon Wangjo Sillok》 [Annals of the Dynasty of Joseon] shows many maps were made during this dynasty, but few exist today. This is because most maps were destroyed going in the midst of the two big wars, one with Japan in the late 15th century, the other with China in the early 16th century.

(1) Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo Island in detailed and accurate maps made during the late Joseon dynasty

Following social changes in the late Joseon dynasty, map making techniques witnessed a change in the 18th century, especially during the reign of King Yeongjo and Jeongjo. The most significant change was the development of large-scaled maps.

Jeong Sang-gi (1678~1752) is a cartographer who made the greatest contribution to the development of large-scale maps. In his maps, Usando Island was finally drawn in the right location, southwest of the Ulleungdo. 《Joseon jeon-do》 (A Complete Map of

Korea) produced in the later half of the 18th century, Yejido and <Aguk chong-do> in the late Joseon period are representative examples showing correct location of Usando. Haejwa Jeon-do [Map of the Left of the Sea] is a small woodblock map of Korea produced in the 1850s based on Jeong Sang-gi's maps and it includes waterways to Ulleungdo. Production of the woodblock maps of Korea and the publication of woodblock print maps suggest that there was a great demand for maps. Maps of Korea made in the 18th and 19th centuries are Jeong Sang-gi type maps and these more accurately depict Dokdo and Ulleungdo, not to mention location but also the shape of the islands.

Kim Jeong-ho (pen name 'Gosanja' meaning 'high mountain man') was the cartographer who created masterpiece maps of Korea based on the developments in map-making techniques to date. 《Cheonggudo》(Map of the Blue Hills Korea, 1834) was the first map of Korea made by Kim Jeong-ho and the largest one by up to that time. The map carried a separate Ulleungdo map with Usan drawn to the east of it.

Since the end of national seclusion and the opening of the country, Korea became exposed to the influences of Japan and also to the western world thereby introducing new printing techniques and map making techniques to Korea. 《Dae Joseonguk Jeon-do》(Map of Korea) and 《Daehan yeo jido》(Map of Korea) are the representative maps which were produced during this period. The maps show that woodblocks were replaced by copper plates and that traditional descriptions of landscape gave way to feather style geographical descriptions.

《Daehan yeoji-do 》(Map of Korea) was published around 1900 by the Editorial Department of the Ministry of Education, 《Daehand jeon-do》 in 1899. Usan is clearly drawn to the east of Ulleungdo in the maps produced during this period showing that Dokdo was considered Joseon territory.

3) Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo Island as it appeared in the provincial maps

The oldest provincial maps that exist are those found in the 《Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji-seungnam》(Newly Enlarged Survey of the Geography of Korea). With the distribution of books, which also included the maps, it had a large circulation and was widely used. The Dongnamdo type provincial maps based on the 'Dongnamdo' with various additions pertaining to the needs of the authors were extremely popular in the late Joseon period. Many provincial maps of various types are found today indicating that these maps were available to a much larger group of readers.

The Dongnamdo type provincial maps were mostly made in the civil sectors and Ulleungdo and Dokdo are described in various forms. The name of Dokdo (then Usando) was referred to by a number of different names such as Cheonsando, Gansando, Bangsando, Jasando and others. These apparent mistakes are the result of misreading Usando written in Chinese characters for the varied names. The location of Dokdo as well varies from some being described as to the east, some to the west, to the south and to the north of Ulleungdo, suggesting that the correct identification of locations was not an important purpose of the maps.

Many accurate and detailed provincial maps were made in the late Joseon period. 'Paldo bundo' included in the Dongguk jido made by Jeong Sang-gi is a representative one. In several tens of Jeong Sang-gi type provincial maps, Ulleungdo and Dokdo are included in most of the maps of Gangwon-do province. The fact that Dokdo is drawn under the name of 'Usan' or 'Usando' to the east or to the southeast or to the northwest of Ulleungdo suggests that since the 18th century, provincial maps were based on accurate and better knowledge of Dokdo.

4) Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo in the maps of counties and districts

Active production of Gunhyeon maps (maps of counties and districts) represents a significant development made in the history of the cartography of Korea during the late Joseon period. This period witnessed the publication of a great number of atlases made up of maps of counties and districts nationwide. Atlases of gunhyeon maps have an advantage because they are easy to use since these contain all guns and hyeons nationwide in the small atlases, and it contributed greatly to the increased production of Gunhyeon maps and also to the expansion of map users. In addition, atlases of gunhyeon maps containing detailed maps of Korea, maps of provinces and maps of counties and districts are believed played an important role in expanding spatial perspective and people's understanding of regions, which in turn facilitated exchanges, movement of people and goods within regions.

Maps with grid lines at 1, 10, 20 li distances are significant in the development of the history of maps of Korea. In particular, the 1 li (0.4km) grid system map, a 1:50,000 scale map of Korea, produced in the 1740s, clearly shows the Korean government's enthusiasm to make maps and map-making skills of Koreans. Maps with grid lines depict Ulleungdo in a separate sheet and Dokdo is drawn to the east of Ulleungdo, suggesting the significance and importance of Ulleungdo and Dokdo to Korea.

5) Ulleungdo Island and Dokdo in the Maps after the Protectorate Treaty of 1905

While it was a government policy to evacuate people from Ulleungdo to protect them from attacks from Japanese pirates and regular patrols of Ulleungdo and Dokdo were introduced, Korean fishermen from the southern and eastern coastal regions still fished the waters around Ulleungdo.

King Gojong showed an immense interest in exploring Ulleungdo. In 1881, he appointed Lee Gyu-won as ‘inspector of Ulleungdo’ and in 1883 Kim Ok-gyun as ‘explorer of the islands in the south and east seas and supervisor of whale fishing’. In 1882, the king ordered Lee Gyu-won to investigate Japanese who were smuggled into Ulleungdo, to measure distances from the island to Songjukdo and Usando islands, and to also survey the island for a proper location to establish a town while creating documents and maps of it. Lee Gyu’s mission is a firm indication to us that King Gojong and the Korean government were well-aware of Songjukdo and Usando close proximity to Ulleungdo.

After the establishment of the Great Han Empire, King Gojong devoted a lot of attention to Ulleungdo and its neighboring islands. In 1899, the king appointed U Yong-jeong to ‘supervisor of Ulleungdo’ and decided to establish ‘gun’ in the island. On October 25, 1900, Royal Decree No.41 was issued through the Official Gazette announcing Ulleungdo is renamed to Uldo and the magistrate will be the top administrator in charge of the island.’ Reflecting King Gojong’s interest in the island, Ulleungdo and Usando are clearly drawn in the maps made during the Great Han Empire period.

Dokdo island disappears from the maps made after 1906 (Table 1). In these maps, for example, <Daehan jeon-do> (included in the <<Daehan sin jiji ‘New Gazetteer of Korea’>> made in 1907, <<Daehan jeguk ji-do ‘Map of the Great Han Empire’>> made in 1908, <Daehan jeon-do ‘Map of Korea’> (<<Chosin godeung daehan jiji ‘New Detailed Gazetteer of Korea’>> made in 1909 and <<Joseon yuram-do ‘Tourist Map of Korea’>> produced in early part of the 20th century, Ulleungdo appears either with the same name or in the revised version of ‘Uldo’ while Dokdo is missing.

Table 1. The Name of Ulleungdo and dokdo in the map after the 19th century

No	source	production year	<map>(<<atlas>>)	Print type	Ulleungdo	Dokdo
1	b	Late 19 th	<Map	of Copperplate	Ulleungdo	Usan

		century	Gangwon-do>(folio<<Jeobyek jido>>)			
2	b	Late 19 th century	<Dae Joseonguk jeon-do>(<< Dongyeodo >>)	Copperplate	Ulleungdo	Usan
3	c	1899	<< Daehan jeon-do >>	Copperplate	Ulleungdo	Usan
4	b	1899	<Gangwondo>(<< Daehan jeon-do >>)	Print in color	Ulleungdo	Usan
5	b	circa 1900	<< Daehan yeoji-do >>	Copperplate	Ulleungdo	Usan
6	b	1907	<Daehan jeon-do>(<< Daehan sin jiji >>)	Copperplate	Uldo	
7	b	1908	<< Daehan jeguk-do ‘Map of the Great Han Empire’ >>	copperplate	Uldo	
8	a	1909	<Daehan jeon-do>(<< Choisin godeung daehan jiji ‘New Detailed Gazetteer of Korea’ >>)		Ulleungdo	
9	b	Early 20 th century	<< Joseon yuram-do ‘Tourist Map of Korea’ >>	Woodblock print	Uldo	

a. Dokdo Museum b. Yeungnam University Museum c. Seoul Museum of History

It is believed that the disappearance of Dokdo from the maps made during this period was because of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 which was forced upon Korea by Japan and which also increased Japanese influence and control afterward. On February 5, 1904, Japan forced Korea to sign a Korea-Japan Agreement which in fact made the country a Japanese colony while obtaining the approval or tacit consent from America, England and Russia. In November, 1905, Japan dispatched a special envoy, Ito Hirobumi, to present the Korea-Japan Agreement to the Korean government. The Protectorate Treaty comprised five clauses which gave full control over all aspects of Korea’s foreign policy to the Japanese foreign office and stipulated the establishment of a Residency –General, the appointment of Japanese financial advisors and others. The Treaty stripped Korea of its diplomatic freedom, and all Korean diplomatic organizations overseas were closed. Foreign legations stationed in Korea were also evacuated. In February, 1906, the Japanese Residency-General was established in Seoul and the first resident-general, Ito Hirobumi, wielded power not only on matters relating to diplomatic affairs but eventually power over Korea’s entire internal administration. While nationwide anti-Japan protest movements were going vigorous, King Gojong stated in a telegram sent to the U.S. in November 1905 and also in a letter written in January, 1906 that the Treaty was illegal, thus considering it nul and void. On June 22, 1906, the king appointed a royal advisor H.B. Hulbert as special envoy and sent personally written letters to nine countries including America.

Introduction of Japanese map making skills to Korea was a signal heralding the

advancement of Japan into Korea. Changes in regions were bound to lead to changes in maps while modernization of a region necessitated the revision of maps and updated geographical information. But modernization of Korean maps in the late Great Han Empire period, from the perspective of colonial Japan, was an indication of forth-coming regional changes.

2. The Name of the East Sea on the Korean Old Maps

The East Sea in old Korean maps are presented in one of the following 8 ways. First are the maps, where the East Sea is clearly mentioned as 'Donghae (東海, East Sea)

Second, 'Donghae' (East Sea) is written on the land, not in the space of the sea

Third, these maps describe the sea as 'Daehanhae (大韓海, Great Korean Sea)'.

Fourth, these maps have unique traditional names such as 'Changhae (滄海, a blue expanse of water; Blue Sea)', and 'Dongyanghae (東洋海, the Oriental Sea).

Fifth, the maps, where the East Sea is described as 'Daehae (大海, great sea)', 'Hae (海, sea)', 'Dongjeo Daehae (東抵大海, east toward great sea)', or 'Dongjeop Daehae (東接大海, east adjoining great sea). These types of maps comprise the second largest number of maps.

Sixth, these maps describe the sea as 'the Sea of Japan'(日本海).

Seventh, 'the East Sea appears in the map but without a place name, this type of documentation appears in the greatest number of maps.

Eighth, 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 seventh type of representation in the maps.

1) Maps with 'Donghae (East Sea)'

Maps with 'Donghae (East Sea)' in the space of sea of the existing maps where the East Sea is described as 'Donghae (East sea)', the most reliable one is <<Yongnam jido>> (map of Gyeongsang-do province, Kyujanggak Archives). This atlas is so called 'Bibyeonsa jido' (maps of National Security Council) which was published by the Bibyeonsa 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 1747~1750 by Bibyeonsa and kept by it. It is a representative 'government compiled 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 Joseon history. In particular, drawing county maps on sectioned paper signifies advancement in understanding the regions through maps and objectivity in the analysis on administration.

<Gyeongju> city map included in 'the Bibyeonsa map' contains 'Donghaechang (East Sea warehouse)', and describes the sea in the East as 'Donghae (East Sea).' In this atlas, the <Ulsan> county map also refers the sea in the East as the 'East Sea.' It is particularly noteworthy that the 'Bibyeonsa map', the representative government-sponsored production in the mid 18th century describes 'Donghae' in the maps of <Gyeongju-bu> <Ulsan-bu>. <<yeojido>> (Kyujanggak), the collection of gun-hyeon maps published in mid 18th century includes the county maps describing the East Sea as 'Donghae (East sea).' This relatively small book of gun-hyeon maps nationwide describes the sea in the East of Heunghae-gun of Gyeongsang-do as 'Donghae (East sea).'

The expression 'Donghae' (East sea) is also found in the maps of Kyujanggak Archives such as the map of <Ulsan-bu> of Gyeongsang-do in the <<Yeodo>>, the map of <Heunghae-gun> of Gyeongsang province in <<Haedong jido>> (Map of Korea) published around 1750, the <Heunghae> map in <<Gyeongju dohoe Jwatong jido>>(map of Gyeongju city), and the map of <Tongcheon> of Gangwon-do in <<Gwandong seungnam>>(map of Gangwon province). The map of <Ulsan> included in <<Yeongnam jido>> (atlas of Gyeongsang-do province) published in the mid 18th century and owned by Yeungnam University Museum also describes the East Sea as 'Donghae' (east sea).

In <<Seobuk gyedo>>(map of the northwestern frontier of Korea) presumed to have been made in the mid 18th century 'Donghae' 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 'Donghae' in the map particularly important.

The name of the East Sea as 'Donghae' is most frequently shown in <<Yeojido>> owned by Kyujanggak. << Yeojido >> is a compilation of maps in three volumes, map of the world, map of Korea, map of Seoul, Joseon-Japan-Ryukyu Islands, maps of eight provinces, maps of the 16 provinces of China. Of the maps, <Ahguk Jeongdo >(general map of our country [Korea]), <Joseon-Japan- Ryukyu Islands>, and respective maps of eight provinces, the expression 'Donghae' appear. In <Chonha dojido>(Map of the

World) the East sea is written as 'So Donghae (small east sea).' This compilation of maps, presumed to have been produced between 1789 ~ 1793 by the government during king Jeongjo'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 Joseon government issued an order to guns and hyeons nationwide to produce regional gazetteers and maps and present them to the government. Of the maps produced during the period in the gun-hyeon maps and defense fortress maps such as <<Danchonbu jido>>(Map of Danchon county) and <<Musan jido>> (Map of Musan county) of Hamgyeong province, <<Samchokbu jido>>(Map of Samcheok county), <<Pyeonghaegun jido>>(Map of Pyeonghae county) of Gangwon-do, and <Ulsan mokjang jido>(Map of Ulsan pasture) in the <<Gyeongsangdo jido>> (Map of Gyeongsang-do province) appear the expression 'Donghae.'

In the maps of the late 19th century~early 20th century the expression 'Donghae' appeared as well. In <Gyeongsangdo jido> of the <<DaeJoseon Jeondo>>(grand general map of Korea, Yeungnam University Museum) wrote, "Outside Donghae are Japan Islands.", clearly showing the expression 'Donghae.' 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 <Gyeongsangbuk-do> in <<Daehan sinjiji bujido>>(new regional geography of Korea attached maps, Yeungnam University Museum), the East Sea is described as 'Donghaean (east sea shore).' Thus far, maps containing 'Donghae' have been reviewed by category, and the following has been found.

First, most of the maps containing 'Donghae' 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 guns or hyeons 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 'Donghae (East sea)' is found more in the government produced maps which reflect an official position of a nation. Second, in the gun-hyeon maps actively made from the 18th century, 'Donghae' is found 'in many of the gun-hyeon maps produced in 19th century. As time goes by, a growing number of maps described the East Sea as 'Donghae.'

2) Maps With 'Donghae' Written In the Land

Of the privately produced maps, there are maps with 'Donghae' written on the land, not in the space of the sea. <Paldo Jeongdo> (map of eight provinces), a general map of Korea included in the Shinjung dongguk yeojiseungnam(Newly Enlarged Survey of the

Geography of Korea), a comprehensive compilation of geographical descriptions produced in the early Joseon period, 'Donghae' is written in the sea off Yangyang county of Gangwondo, not in the East Sea. As 'Dongnamdo' 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 copy of 'Dongnamdo.' <<Yukdae jido>> <<Yeodo>> of Kyujanggak are the example. <Dongguk paldo daechongdo>(map of eight provinces) of <<Chonha Chongdo>> in the Yongnam University Museum, <Paldo Chongdo> included in <<Dongnamdo>>, <Dongguk paldo daechong> in the <<Gupokdo>> (Atlas of nine sheet of maps), <Dongguk paldo daechong> in the <<Yeojido>> owned by Seoul history Museum.

The reason that the place name of 'Donghae' 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 dongguk yeojiseungnam 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 'Dongjeo Daehae' (east toward great sea). All the maps with 'Donghae' written on the land are general maps of Korea and 'Donghae' refers to the site of 'Donghae 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 'Donghae.'

3) Maps Describing the East Sea as 'Daehanhae' (great Korea sea)

In the maps produced after Joseon changed the name of the country to Daehanjekuk (Great Korea Empire) appear 'Daehanhae.' In the <<Daehan Jeondo>> (Map of Great Korea)(Yeungnam University Museum) made in 1907 and <<Daehan jeguk jido>> (map of Great Daehan Empire) produced in 1908 by hyeon Kong-yom it is clearly written as 'Daehanhae', showing the thoughts of the people during those days.

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 jido>> (map of Yangyang county) of Gangwon-do drawn in 1872, the East Sea is described as 'Changhae' (blue sea) and in <<Keojebu jido>>(map of Koje county) of Gyeongsang province as 'Tongmyong Daeyang' (East Sea great ocean). In addition, in the copy of the greatest topographer of Korea, Kim Jeong-ho's <<Cheonggudo>>(map of blue mountain [Korea]) the East Sea is written as 'Tongyanghae' (the Oriental Sea).

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

Maps with the East Sea described as the 'Great Sea' represents large number of maps. Some maps describes the East Sea as 'Hae(sea) ', but mostly 'Daehae (great sea).' General maps and province maps of the Joseon period can be divided into two categories based on the type of map and accuracy. First is the 'Dongnamdo(東覽圖)' type , these are general maps and province maps, second is the <<Dongguk jido>> (map of east country[Korea]) made by Jeong Sang-gi. 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 gun-hyeon maps or in maps of military camps or the fortresses located in the counties.

(1) 'Dongnamdo' Type Maps

Shinjung dongguk yeojiseungnam(Newly Enlarged Survey of the Geography of Korea), revised in 1530 and published in 1531 contains a general map titled <Paldo Chongdo>(a map of eight provinces of Korea) and provincial maps of the 8 provinces, one map per province, and they are called 'Dongnamdo'. Of the provincial maps, the East Sea is described as 'Dongjeo Daehae' (east toward great sea) in the Gyeongsang-do and Gangwon-do map, as 'Tongnamjeo Daehae' (southeast toward great sea) and 'Nameo Daehae' (south toward great sea) in the Hamgyeong-do provincial map, meaning 'reaching to a great sea in the east or southeast or to the south'. Since then, numerous maps imitating the 'Dongnamdo' have been produced until the mid 19th century.

'Dongnamdo ' type maps have a characteristic, where they use the expression

'Donghae (east sea)' in general maps, while 'Daehae(great sea)' was used in the provincial maps, showing a discrepancy in geographical terms.

(2) Jeong Sang-gi Type Maps

Jeong Sang-gi's <<Dongguk jido>>(map of east country) is considered a masterpiece showing the achievement of the topography in late the Joseon period. This map is believed to have contributed greatly to the development of Korean maps, particularly in the large-scale maps in the late Joseon period.

As the map making continued over four generations and many people made copies of them, tens of copies of the << Dongguk jido>> remains to date. Jeong 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 Joseon borders, particularly the northern region.

Of the Jeong Sang-gi provincial maps, many describe the East Sea as 'Dongjeo

Daehae (east toward great sea)' or 'Tongnamjeo Daehae(southeast lowland great sea)' 'Namjeo Daehae(south toward great sea)'. The provincial maps at the Kyujanggak Archives such as <Gyeongsang-do> <Hamgyeong-do> maps of << Paldo jido >>(map of eight province) , <Gangwon-do> <Gyeongsang-do> <Hamgyeong-do> maps of << Paldo bundo>> are the examples of maps using the same expressions as for the East Sea.

(3) County maps

Maps of counties and districts are the maps of local administrative units as pu(special cities), mok (prefecture), gun(county), hyeon(district), and etc. and they were most popular type of map in the late Joseon dynasty. A study on the maps of the regions adjoining the East Sea such as Gyeongsang-do, Gangwon-do, and Hamgyeong-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 gun-hyeon map drawn on one-ri (one 'ri' equals 0.42km) squares titled <<Yeongnam jido>> (map of Gyeongsang-do province), which was produced in 1740s, is an example of the above. In the maps of <Koseong-hyeon> <Yeongdeok-hyeon> of Gyeongsang-do province, the East Sea is described as 'Daehae (great sea)' 'hae (sea)'. Besides, <Janggi-hyeon> <Cheongha-hyeon> maps included in <<Yeojido>> (an atlas of kyn-hyeon maps) and the map of <Muncheon-gun> included in <<Hamgyeongdo Jeondo>> (general map of Hamgyeong-do) have the same expressions.

6) 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.'

<<Konyeo manguk jeondo>> (Map of World Atlas) owned by Seoul National University Museum wrote 'Sea of Japan.' This map is one of the 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 gakuk tongsok jeondo>> (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 'YuGyeonggongwon' is the term 'Japan Hashu' and in the south of the map 'Donghashu' ('east' hashu).

3. Conclusion

This article reviewed how Dokdo is described in the old maps of Korea made prior to 1910. Existing maps made in the early Joseon period reveal that even maps of the world listed Dokdo under the name 'Usando', suggesting Ulleungdo and Dokdo were considered Korean territory. Ulleungdo and Dokdo are included not only in the scientific and realistic maps of Korea and provincial maps but in the relatively small Dongnmado type maps that were popular in civic sectors.

But up until the 17th century, most maps drew Usando to the west of Ulleungdo. It is believed that was influenced by <Paldo chong-do 'A complete map of eight provinces'> and <Gangwon-do 'Map of Gangwon-do Province'> that are included in <<Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji-seungnam>>(Newly Enlarged Survey of the Geography of Korea), a geographical gazetteer of the early Joseon. The books were printed and widely distributed, thereby having a huge influence on civil society. In <Paldo chong-do 'A complete map of eight provinces'>, Dokdo and Ulleungdo were drawn in a perpendicularly long, oblong shape while provincial maps of <Gangwondo> were drawn in horizontally long, oblong shape which were repeatedly copied in most of the maps produced in succeeding years.

Maps made after the 18th century, in particular Jeong Sang-gi's <<Dongguk ji-do>> maps in the categories of both complete maps of Korea and of provincial maps, depicted 'Usando' to the east, southeast or northeast of Ulleungdo. It clearly shows that Korea was aware of the accurate location of Dokdo. Dongguk ido type maps describe Ulleungdo and Dokdo as a round shape, closer to actual shape.

In the gunhyeon maps (maps of counties and districts) since the 18th century, it was a general practice to draw the Ulleungdo map in a separate sheet. As a result, relatively detailed contents could be included in the map of Ulleungdo while 'Usando' is fixed to the east of Ulleungdo. Ulleungdo and Dokdo. Although Ulleungdo and Dokdo are not administratively independent gun or hyeon, they are depicted on separate sheets indicate national interest in the two islands. The same practice is found in maps made in civic sectors. It is believed the increased interest stemmed from the An Yong-bok incident in the years of King Sukjong and the government's interests in the islands during the 18th century.

It is particularly significant that the maps published by the Korean government are relatively accurate as to location, shape and size of Ulleungdo and Dokdo. But Dokdo is missing from maps made after 1905 is believed to be the result the Protectorate Treaty of

1905 and increased influence of colonial Japan.

In the old maps of Korea, 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 'Dongjeo Tahae (East toward great sea)', 'Daehae (great sea)', 'Taeyang (ocean)', and 'Hae (sea)'. Because in the Joseon Period, most of the people think that the seas surrounded the Korean peninsula belong to the Joseon.

However, after the 18th century, maps with the East sea mentioned as 'Donghae' increased tremendously both in number and category. In almost all types of Korean old maps including world maps, general maps, provincial maps, and gun-hyeon maps there appears 'Donghae (East sea)'. In particular, in terms of publisher, the government mostly produces the maps referring to the East Sea as 'Donghae'. In terms of time, a greater number of maps has 'Donghae.' Beside, though small in number, it is noteworthy that they refer to the East Sea as 'blue sea', 'oriental sea', 'great Korea Sea'.