

Literature on Manchuria during the Qing Period and Korea's Perception of Manchurian Geography during the Late Joseon Period

BAE Woosung, University of Seoul

Journal of Northeast Asian History,
vol. 5 no. 2 (Dec 2008), 55-84

*Copyright © 2008 by Northeast Asian History Foundation. All Rights Reserved.
No portion of the contents may be reproduced in any form without
written permission of Northeast Asian History Foundation.*

Literature on Manchuria during the Qing Period and Korea's Perception of Manchurian Geography during the Late Joseon Period

It was not academic interests that led Joseon scholars to Qing materials on Manchuria. They came to pay attention to the geographic features of Manchuria largely because they needed to determine the veracity of the widespread view that Qing forces might encroach upon Joseon territory when they retreat from Beijing to Ningguota, home of the Manchu tribes. According to Nam Gu-man, *Shengjingzhi* (Chronicles of Shengjing), imported from China, was one of the most important materials on the geography of Manchuria compiled during the Qing period. The book was one the two most important resources—the other being *Daqing Yitongzhi* (Unified Gazetteer of the Great Qing)—that Joseon scholars depended upon to gain knowledge about Manchurian geography.

Meanwhile, new social demands for the geographical information of Manchuria began to arise. The Joseon-Qing border marker erected in 1712 led Joseon elites to watercourse originating in Mount Baekdu. *Yeoji Seungnam* (Geographical Survey of the Eastern State), the most comprehensive geography book published during the period, contains descriptions of rivers such as Subin River, Sokpyeong River, and Soha River, but the names shed no light on “Tomun in the East” (東爲土門), an inscription on the border marker. Naturally, the demand for Chinese materials on Manchurian geography continued to grow among Joseon elites. Joseon scholars discovered the names of a number of watercourses originating in Mount Baekdu in the newly imported Chinese books on Manchurian geography. However, not all Joseon intellectuals had complete trust in the Chinese materials. Jeong Yakyong, for instance, although he had utilized the book extensively, held views that were different from those in *Daqing Yitongzhi*. One major difference in opinion had to do with a watercourse named Bungye River. The Chinese books on Manchurian geography published during the Qing period made great contributions to the late Joseon society in revising the knowledge of Manchurian geography formed by early Joseon scholars. But the information in these books was not accepted as grounds to refute the traditional view on Bungye River. Joseon elites' dominant view of Bungye River continued to prevail until the late 1880s when it became an important issue in the Joseon-Qing border negotiations.

Keywords : *Shengjingzhi* (Chronicles of Shengjing), *Daqing Yitongzhi* (Unified Gazetteer of the Great Qing), Soha River, Sökp'yöng River, Subin River, Mount Baekdu, Bungye River

Literature on Manchuria during the Qing Period and Korea's Perception of Manchurian Geography during the Late Joseon Period

BAE Woosung, University of Seoul

I. Introduction

Many Koreans are interested in how Manchuria fits into the history of late Joseon due to historical territorial issues. As the controversy over the jurisdiction of the land called Gando and its history has intensified, Manchuria has become a more hotly debated issue not only among academics but among the general Korean public as well. The issue has led to more research on the whereabouts of the Mount Baekdu border marker and Tomun River (or Tumenjiang in Chinese).

Immediately after the erection of the border marker, Korean academics began to conduct research on its location and the identity of Tomun River. The late Joseon period is historically significant in that it was marked by a dramatic increase in the interest in Manchuria among Joseon elites. The *silhak* scholars of the period began to turn their attention to defining the territory of ancient Korean states and identifying the places whose names appear in ancient history texts. In turn, interest in the location of Tomun River grew as well. If the river was not Duman

River, it had to be one of many rivers flowing through the plane of Manchuria, meaning that the territory of Joseon included some part of Manchuria. The study of Manchuria in the Joseon Dynasty is carried out in this same context by the Korean scholars of today. There were varied opinions on the identity of Tomun River presented by historians between the 18th and 20th century. Some *silhak* scholars of late Joseon believed that Tomun River was not Duman River but another river that flowed above after rising from Mount Baekdu. If so, the river in question must be Haeran River. The problem is, Haeran River did not originate from the mountain. There was also a group of scholars who regarded Tomun River to be Duman River but also believed there was a separate river, Bungye River (or Fenjiejiang in Chinese). They thought that the latter rose from Mount Baekdu and flowed through the north of the mountain before joining Duman River near Onseong-bu. In this case, too, Bungye River would in fact be Haeran River, but this view repeats the mistaken notion that it originates in Mount Baekdu. It was not, however, that all Korean scholars of the period believed Tomun River was a waterway flowing through the area north of Duman River until the two joined each other. Some 19th century Korean scholars regarded Tomun River as a tributary flowing into Songhwa River (or Songhuajiang in Chinese).

In the 1960s, there was a revival of interest in Manchuria among Korean scholars. They succeeded and further developed the views of the late Joseon *silhak* scholars in a systematic way with the support of Baeksan Society, an academic research institute launched in the same period. The controversy over the location of Tomun River, ongoing since late Joseon, is still an important factor affecting the current revival of territorial issues. Some scholars have tried philosophical or social approaches, but Manchuria has been more of a political rather than a historical issue in much research. Not much issue has been raised over the fact that the scope of “Tomun in the East” is vastly different, depending on whether “Tomun in the East” is considered to be Haeran River or Songhwa River, nor over the fact that there is great variation

between the supporting arguments. In the meantime, it goes without saying that China's research on border regions is politically motivated.

Old geographical texts of Manchuria played a crucial role in expanding the geographical knowledge of Manchuria among the elites of late Joseon. This essay will focus on the conflicts between the old and new knowledge of the geography of Manchuria.

History shows that Manchuria had always been closely associated with the history of Joseon even before the Joseon-Qing border demarcation agreement in 1712. In the early Joseon period, the question of northern tribes (i.e. the Jurchens) had become a major defense issue, leading to the introduction of many Manchurian place names. The geographical knowledge of Manchuria formed at the time continued to spread among Joseon elites even in the period following the 1712 border demarcation agreement when Chinese documents on Manchuria flooded into Joseon from Qing. This paper pays attention to the difference between the Manchurian place names in early Joseon texts and Chinese documents.

The Qing books on Manchuria imported to Joseon include *Shengjingzhi* (Chronicles of Shengjing), *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times), *Daqing Yitongzhi* (Unified Gazetteer of the Great Qing), *Huangqing Kaiguo Fanglue* (General Plan for the Foundation of Imperial Qing), *Manzhou Yuanliukao* (Study of the Origin of Manchuria). It is regarded that *Shengjingzhi* and *Daqing Yitongzhi* had a particularly strong influence upon the perception of Korean scholars about Manchuria. This essay will focus especially on these two texts to find out how the geographical knowledge on Manchuria acquired by Joseon scholars came to further evolve via reinterpretation and revision of new knowledge obtained through the Chinese texts.

II. Early Joseon Records and Soha, Sokpyeong and Subin Rivers

‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ (Geographical Appendix to the Annals of King Sejong) and *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised Edition of the Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea; “*Yeoji Seungnam*” hereafter) contain Manchuria-related knowledge based on the historical experiences of the early Joseon period. They include information on Manchurian mountain ranges and waterways, including Mount Baekdu. In ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji,’ Mount Baekdu is described as follows:

The mountain named Baekdu largely consists of three tiers. There is a large lake on the mountain top, which flows eastward to form Duman River, northward to form Soha River, southward to form Amnok River, and westward to form Heungnyong River.

What is interesting in the quotation above is that early Joseon scholars regarded the western watercourse of the lake as the headstream of Heungnyong River (i.e. Amur River) and the northern watercourse as the headstream of Soha River. More detailed information on Mount Baekdu and watercourses rising from it are found in *Yeoji Seungnam*.

Mount Baekdu: Also called Mount Jangbaek (or Changbaishan in Chinese). The mountain takes seven or eight days from the west of Bu. It consists of three tiers, is 200 *li* high, and 1,000 *li* across. At the summit is a lake that is 80 *li* around. It flows southward to create Amnok River and northward to form Songhwa River and Hondong River. It also flows to the northeast to form Soha River and Sokpyeong River, and to the east to become Duman River. The author of *Daqing Yitongzhi* said, “What flows to the east is Ajigoha,” probably meaning Sokpyeong River.

Remarkably, the book used Mount Jangbaek to refer to Mount Baekdu.

Another interesting aspect of ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ and *Yeoji Seungnam* is that both have a list of rivers originating from Mount Baekdu.

The two river names, Soha and Sokpyeong, were not recorded in Chinese geographic books published in the Ming and Qing periods but discovered in the annals of the Joseon dynasty written in the 15th century. It was during the reign of King Taejong that Soha River first appeared in the annals. The documents contained, for instance, a report by the Provincial Civil Affairs Commander of Hamgyeong-do that a Ming army of 1,000 soldiers was dispatched from Liaodong to be stationed near Soha River for a project to decorate a Buddhist temple in Mount Baekdu.

Place names recorded in Korean texts while not found in Chinese geographical books include names of rivers (e.g. Subin River), historical sites (e.g. Gongheomjin and Seonchullyeong), and regular place names (e.g. Geoyangseong). The following is related record contained in ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’:

Subin River: Located north of Duman River. It rises from the foot of Mount Baekdu, flows northward to become Soha River, arrives at Geoyangseong via Gongheomjin and Seonchullyeong, continues to flow eastward for about 120 *li* to join Subin River, which meets Amin before flowing into the sea.

The description of the river—rising from Mount Baekdu and flowing into the sea after passing through Gongheomjin, Seonchullyeong, Geoyangseong, and Amin—is the same as that in *Yeoji Seungnam*. ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ has more detailed information on the location of Subin River although there is no mention of Sokpyeong River, which is a tributary.

It was during the reign of King Taejong that *Joseon Wangjo Sillok* (Annals of the Joseon Dynasty) came to have the earliest record of Subin River. The record says that in the 2nd year of the reign of King Taejong, Yi Jongmu, the governor of Yeongan-do (modern-day Hamgyeong-do)

sent a report to the government about a message from the Manchu tribes in the north. The report said that Ming troops, led by a general, had moved from Songhwa River to Subin River via Suha River. Most records about Subin River are from the period of King Sejong's reign. *Sejong Sillok* contains records of not just the movement of the Jurchen tribes but the conquests of the Jurchens that settled around Subin River. Nonetheless, there is insufficient information on the exact location of the Jurchen settlements around the river.

All that is available in the records concerning the location is mention that it took three to four days to travel from Wudige of Subin River to Joseon's Four Garrison Forts and that Jurchen villages appeared one after another from the foot of Gyeongheung-bu Fortress Wall to Subin River. There were also records of proposals stressing the necessity of exploring geographical features of Subin River and its surrounding areas. Many scholars agree that 'Sejong Sillok Jiriji' contains the most detailed information on Subin River although the source of the information is unknown. 'Sejong Sillok Jiriji' indicates not only the water routes of Soha River and Subin River but also land routes via post stations (*yeokcham*) to Geoyangseong and Seonchullyeong.

There is a large walled-town named "Hyeonseong" in the middle of a 10-*li* wide open field across the river from Hoejilgatan, under the jurisdiction of Gyeongwon-bu, in the lower reaches of Duman River ... 90 *li* north is an ancient stone fortress called "Eorasoncham." 30 *li* farther north is Heoulsoncham, 60 *li* north from there is Ryuseoncham, and 70 *li* northeast from there is the site of an old mud-walled fortress called "Geoyangseong." This fortress was originally built by Yun Gwan, a Goryeo general. 60 *li* west of Geoyang is Seonchunhyeon, the site where Yun Gwan erected a stele. An old fortress site can be found across Subin River from Seonchunhyeon.

As the quotation above shows, 'Sejong Sillok Jiriji' introduces a river

route on Subin River linking Gongheomjin and Seonchullyeong to Geoyangseong as well as a land route connecting Geoyangseong with Seonchunhyeon. The book also contains a separate route that leads to Gongheomjin across Duman River:

If you cross the shallow end of Duman River and travel 90 *li*, you will find Odongsaoricham. 60 *li* north from there is Haidueun, and 100 *li* farther north is Yeongasaoricham. Traveling even farther north, you will find Gongheomjin, a fortress built by Yun Gwan, on the banks of Soha River ... 60 *li* west of Yeongasaori is Mount Baekdu, which consists of three tiers. There is a large pond at the summit. The water flows east to become Duman River, north to become Soha River, south to become Amnok River, and west to become Heungnyong River.

Yeoji Seungnam also contains descriptions of Subin River,

Subin River: Originates in Mount Baekdu and flows northward to form Soha River, which is also known as Sokpyeong River. The river runs through Gongheomjin and Seonchullyeong to arrive at Geoyang. It then continues to flow for 120 *li* to Amin, where it flows into the sea.

A significant difference between the two geographical texts concerning the rivers is that *Yeoji Seungnam* mentions the names Sokpyeong River along with Soha River while ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ does not mention Sokpyeong River. The Sokpyeong River mentioned in *Yeoji Seungnam*, however, needs to be clarified. According to a passage in the chapter on Hoeryeong-bu, the river “flows northeast to become Soha River and Sokpyeong River.” Meanwhile, a passage in the chapter on Gyeongwon-bu says that the river “flows northward to become Soha River, also known as Sokpyeong River.”

According to a record at Gyeongwon Dohobu (Gyeongwon local office), the compilers of *Yeoji Seungnam* considered Soha River and

Sokpyeong River as different names of the same river. That is probably why the compilers of ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ did not mention Sokpyeong River when they wrote that Soha River flowed into Gongheomjin and Seonchullyeong. Turning to the related records on Hoeryeong-bu, the story becomes slightly different. The compilers of *Yeoji Seungnam* conjectured in a record on the geography of Hoeryeong-bu that Ayago River (or Ayeku River in Chinese) mentioned in *Daming Yitongzhi* (Unified Gazetteer of the Great Ming) referred to Sokpyeong River. Why would they use a different name—Sokpyeong River—to refer to Soha River, mentioned earlier in the main text, if they had considered both names to refer to the same river? The following should be considered on this issue: In *Yeoji Seungnam*, it is said that the northeasterly flow of water becomes Sohwasang and Sokpyeong River. This appears alongside the explanation that the water flowing northward comes to “from Songhwa River and Hondong River.” This means that if it is possible to learn whether the compilers regarded Songhwa River and Hondong River to be the same river, it would be easy to conclude whether Soha River and Sokpyeong River were also treated as the same river.

In 15th-century Joseon, it was close to impossible to see Songhwa River and Hodong River in person. For Joseon scholars of that time, *Daming Yitongzhi* was the only available reference on the location of these two rivers. The problem was, though, that even in *Daming Yitongzhi*, there is confusion over whether the two names refer to the same river or different rivers. Hondong River, for instance, is mentioned twice in *Daming Yitongzhi*. One section reads as follows:

Hongdong River is located 1,500 *li* north of Kaiyuancheng. It rises from Changbaishan. Its old name is Sumohe, but it is now widely called Songwajiang. It flows north to pass by an old Jin town called Huiningfu and arrives at Wuguotoucheng before flowing east into the sea.

Another section reads as follows:

Songhwajiang is located 1,000 *li* northeast of Kaiyuancheng, and the headwater is in Changbaishan. The river flows northward to pass by the old South Capital of the Jin Dynasty and join Huibajiang and Huntongjian (“Hondong River” in Korean) before flowing into the sea.

According to the compilers of *Shengjingzhi*, the discrepancy in *Daming Yitongzhi* resulted in a tendency, even in China, to treat Songhwa River and Hondong River as two different rivers.

It is unlikely that the compilers of *Yeoji Seungnam* reached a clear-cut conclusion on the relationship between Hondong River and Songhwa River based on the dubious geographical information in *Daming Yitongzhi*. What they chose to do instead was to leave room for interpretation on the specific routes of the two rivers and the relationship between their names.

III. *Shengjingzhi*, *Daqing Yitongzhi*, and rivers originating in Mount Baekdu

The records of Mount Baekdu, Subin River, Soha River, and other important geographical features that appear in ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ and *Yeoji Seungnam* were the result of historical experiences of early Joseon accumulated via the process of taking active measures to handle various Jurchen-related issues. Geographic books of the time were not that helpful. There were Chinese texts such as *Ming Yitongzhi*, but the information on Mount Baekdu and the surrounding areas was far from sufficient and even regarded as unreliable. ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ and *Yeoji Seungnam* were considered the only surviving references as there were no other materials to refer to for the identification of the waterflows from Mount Baekdu, including Soha River and Sokpyeong River.

The social necessity for the geographical knowledge of Manchuria underwent a drastic change during the late Joseon period. It derived from the sense of crisis widely felt among the Joseon elites in the period

following the two Manchurian invasions and the Ming-Qing transition. The defeat of Joseon in the wars with the Manchus led the country into a lord-vassal relationship with the Qing Dynasty, whose founders Joseon had despised as barbarians. The harsher the reality became for Joseon, the more intense the Joseon elites' sense of cultural superiority and enmity against the Qing grew. Some Joseon intellectuals even came to believe that Qing was destined to perish before long because they were culturally inferior to Joseon.

Joseon elites skeptical about the future of the Qing believed that the Manchu conquerors would soon have to retreat from China, with Ninguta as their final destination. The question now was what route the Manchus would take when they retreated from Beijing, but Joseon did not have sufficient geographic information to come up with a definite answer. However, they did determine that the Manchus would pass through the northwestern part of Joseon. This would mean that a full-scale war might be unavoidable between Joseon and the Manchus.

The belief that the Manchus would return to Ninguta, and in the process, wage war against Joseon, amplified the demand for geographical information on Manchuria. As for Nam Gu-man, he was certain that the Manchus would pass through the Manchurian plain rather than the northwestern part of Joseon because it would make the retreat safer and easier. Nam Gu-man wanted to obtain geographic texts to prove that his position was right. It was in 1684, the 10th year of the reign of King Sukjong, that Qing scholars, including Dong Bingzhong and Sun Cheng, published *Shengjingzhi*. Records say that in 1695, a Joseon envoy named Kim Yeon tried to smuggle a copy of the book into Joseon, but the book was intercepted by a Chinese border control officer and burned. Nam Gu-man tried again and finally obtained a copy in the spring of 1697 via an envoy. Joseon scholars later found out that the book contained far richer geographical information than *Daming Yitongzhi* concerning the Joseon-Qing border area.

Once he got the book, Nam Gu-man made a new, enlarged version

of the map in *Shengjingzhi*. Yi Yimyŏng also used *Shengjingzhi* as reference to draw in the Manchurian region in ‘Yogye Gwangbangdo’ (Map of Defense Outposts from Yao to Jie Regions). *Shengjingzhi* was used for various purposes, including as evidence to disprove that the Manchus were returning to Ninguta and to gain an upper hand in the border demarcation negotiations with the Qing. The use of *Shengjingzhi* expanded during the reign of King Yeongjo. When a comprehensive map of Joseon and Manchuria was made under King Yeongjo’s order, the most important data used for it was taken from *Shengjingzhi*. As soon as this map was published, many related copies were made. *Shengjingzhi* was also the reference for maps whose names included the phrase “Seobukpia” (literally, “they and we in the Northwest”). Among the Chinese books imported after *Shengjingzhi*, *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times) and *Daiqing Yitongzhi* (Unified Gazetteer of the Great Qing) were regarded as particularly important for the new geographic information on Manchuria they contained. It was in 1777 (the year King Jeongjo was enthroned) that So Hosu, a scholar, was able to bring *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* to Joseon. *Shengjingzhi* provided Joseon elites valuable geographic and defense-related information, but the maps lacked detail. In contrast, what is characteristic about *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* is that it is an encyclopedia that includes geographic gazettes and maps of each Chinese province, including those in the Manchurian regions. Also, as if made in response to the specific interests of the people of Joseon, post stations (*yeokcham*) from Beijing to Ninguta are marked in detail in ‘Seobukkgyedo’ (Map of Northwest Borders). The information on the post stations, which was more precise and detailed than that in *Shengjingzhi*, was based on related information in *Gujin Tushu Jicheng*.

Daiqing Yitongzhi was first completed in 1743 (the 19th year of the rule of King Yeongjo). It is not certain when the book was first imported to Joseon, but records show that it was seen in the Joseon palace in 1751 (the 29th year of the reign of King Yeongjo) at the latest. The distribution

of *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* and *Daiqing Yitongzhi* was limited compared to that of *Shengjingzhi*. Therefore, the *Shengjingzhi* had the strongest influence on Joseon elites' knowledge of the geography of Manchuria from among all the Chinese texts on Manchuria imported from the Qing.

The establishment of the Joseon-Qing border marker in 1712 (the 38th year of the reign of King Sukjong) created a new geographical issue involving the border marker and a river called "Tomun." The territorial dispute started with a controversy over the identity of the river named "Tomun" (or Tumen in Chinese) inscribed on the border marker as the eastern borderline dividing the two countries. If Tomun River was not Duman River, there was a river flowing through the Manchurian plain, making some parts of Manchuria Joseon's. In the end, the debate over the issue focused on Mount Baekdu and the waterflows from the mountain.

Some Korean scholars believed that Tomun River was not Duman River but another river that originated in Mount Baekdu and flowed through the area above Duman River. There were also scholars who regarded Tomun River to be Duman River while believing that there was another river called Bungye nearby. For them, Bungye River rose from Mount Baekdu to flow through the upper part of the mountain before joining Duman River at Onseong-bu. The Joseon scholars did not base their knowledge of Tomun River and Bungye River on Qing materials. They felt that they needed authoritative reference materials to turn to when they tried to present facts about the waterflows originating from Mount Baekdu. The situation, although different from that of the earlier period dominated by talks of the Manchus returning to Ninguta and a sense of crisis over another war with the Manchus, again resulted in a growing demand for Qing books on Manchurian geography. What grabbed the attention of Joseon scholars was *Shengjingzhi*, which was complete with maps, including the 'Map of Changbaishan' (Changbishantu) on the first page.

(Map 1) ‘Map of Changbaishan’ in *Shengjingzhi*

This map features a brief description of Mount Baekdu and the waterflows from it. Made by Qing China, the map appears to be upside down, with the north at the bottom and the south at the top. The waters of Cheonji Lake and Amnok River are depicted as rolling waves. The mountain peaks standing one over another and forests surrounding the crater lake and the adjacent areas are depicted in a painterly manner. The watercourses in and around the mountain include Acheokhyeok Torapgo River (阿脊革土拉庫河), Nangmoknang River (娘木娘庫河), Angbang Torapgo River (昂邦土拉庫河), Saein Nurin (賽因訥因), Aekheuk Nurin (額黑訥因), Tomun River (土門河), Samdun River (三屯河), Tomun River (土門江), which refers to today’s Duman River, and Amnok River (鴨綠江).

These watercourses are given detailed explanation in the main text. Among them, Acheokhyeok Torapgo River, Nangmoknang River, and Angbang Torapgo River rise from Mount Baekdu, and the first two flow into the third, finally joining Hondong River. Also, originating from the Mount Baekdu, Aekheuk Nurin joins Saein Nurin to flow together to the northeast into Hondong River. Meanwhile, the watercourses of Tomun and Samdun rise from Namnokwajip (納綠窩集) to form Hwibal River (輝發河), or Hoebae River (灰扒江) as it is called in *Daming Yitongzhi*, which flows northeast to join Hondong River. The text states that seven of all nine watercourses depicted in the map, excepting Amnok River and Duman River, as rising from Mount Baekdu flowing into Hondong River.

Shengjingzhi has different explanations about Mount Baekdu and watercourses rising from it. An introduction to Mount Baekdu starts with a phrase, “a long, white and tall mountain (歌爾民商堅阿隣山).” It is then followed by a review of a record in *Ming Yitongzhi* that reads: “The water flows southward to form Amnok River, northward to form Hondong River, and eastward to form Ayago River.”

A careful look at the land reveals that Changbaishan is located 1,300 *li* southeast of Yeonggil-ju of Bongcheon-bu. The watercourse that flows southwest into the sea is Amnok River while that flowing southeast into the sea is Tomun River. Another watercourse that flows north to enclose the southeastern part of Seonchangseong (船廠城), joins Nangni River (諾尼江) after crossing the border fence, and finally merges with both Osori River (烏蘇哩江) in the northeast and Heungnyong River (黑龍江) in the south before becoming Hondong River (混同江), bending abruptly and flowing into the sea. There is none (among all the watercourses rising from Changbaishan) whose name is Ayago (阿也苦), probably because modern names are different from old names.

The quotation above can be summarized as follows: there are three main watercourses originating from Mount Baekdu: Amnok River in the west, Tomun River in the east, and Hondong River in the north. It also clearly states that the name Ayago River is only one version of the many names for the watercourse that have changed over time. The conclusion is significantly different from that made by the compilers of *Yeoji Seungnam*, which was that that Ayago River is Sokpyeong River. It is followed by a review of Ayago River, succeeded by a discussion of historic records on Changbaishan since the Jin period. Particularly interesting is a passage written in 1688 (King Sukjong 14 & Kangxi 27).

In the 27th year of Kangxi's reign, the emperor issued an imperial order and sent an official named Leichu to undertake a geographical survey of Changbaishan and its surrounding area...The southern foot of the mountain is divided into two ridges. One of them stretches southwest and borders Amnok River in the east and Tongga River in the west, with the two watercourses merging where the mountain ridge comes to an end. Meanwhile, the other ridge runs west of the mountain, turns to the north, and continues to run for several hundreds of *li*, dividing water into many courses. In the old record, the entire area was called Fenshuiling (literally,

“dividing ridge”). Today, the densely wooded area stretching westward to the border gate of Xingjing is called Namnokwajip (納綠窩集), and it is here at the border gate where Kaiyunshan (開雲山) stands. There is another mountain ridge stretching northward from Namnokwajip (納綠窩集) for about 40 *li*. This ridge is called Gaiminjudon (歌爾民朱敦) by the local people. The ridge then runs through the border gate of Yinge (英額) to form Tianzhushan (天柱山) and Longyeshan (隆業山).

The description of Tongga River merging into Amnok River at the point where a mountain ridge running southwest from the southern foot of Mount Baekdu ends, corresponds to Joseon’s ‘Yeoji Jeondo’ (Complete World Map), in which Amnok River is joined by Dongga River as it flows southwest. In addition, the compilers of *Shengjingzhi* put Manchurian names, such as Namnokwajip (納綠窩集) and Gaiminjudon (歌爾民朱敦), to the western ridges that were called Fenshuiling as a group.

The information about Mount Baekdu also appears in *Daiqing Yitongzhi*, but as far as geography is concerned, the details are identical to those in *Shengjingzhi*. What is notable about *Daqing Yitongzhi* is that the compilers quote from *Qing Shilu* (Annals of the Qing Dynasty), the founding myth of Aisin Gioro (the name of the imperial Qing clan), which is intimately tied to Mount Baekdu. *Daqing Yitongzhi* also includes records of Emperor Yongzheng, who had built Wangjidian (望祭殿), a shrine, and held seasonal sacrificial rites, and of Emperor Qianlong, who had written a poem during a sacrificial rite held at Mount Baekdu.

As for Joseon intellectuals, what they found most interesting about Mount Baekdu were the watercourses flowing from it. That explains why the compilers of *Shengjingzhi* left comparatively detailed explanations on them when they reviewed the geographic features of Hondong River. The first task was to identify the river, and they concluded that the compilers of *Daming Yitongzhi* failed to give a clear description of the river,

contributing to the confusion between Songhwa River and Hondong River. Joseon scholars agreed that Songari River, Apja River, and Songhwa River were all different names of the same river, Hondong River; and that Songwa and Songhwa also referred to the same river as their Chinese characters are different but make the same sound.

The headwaters of Hondong River originate from Mount Baekdu. Therefore, if Hondong River is Songhwa River, the watercourses rising from Mount Baekdu will become clearer. According to the compilers of *Shengjingzhi*, Mount Baekdu was the source of many small and large rivers whose names are to be suffixed “-ha (河, [smaller] river)” and “-gang (江, river)” respectively. There are two watercourses large enough to be called “gang”: Amnok River, flowing southwest, and Duman River, flowing southeast. There are also many other watercourses running northward and eventually joining each other to form a river, which the compilers of *Shengjingzhi* called “Hondong River.” The description corresponds to that in the ‘Map of Changbaishan.’

The compilers of *Daiqing Yitongzhi* also tried to provide a geographic review of Hondong River by using many old documents as reference. Basically, they accepted the view of *Shengjingzhi* that the names “Songari River (松阿里江),” “Apja River (鴨子河),” “Songhwa River (松花江),” and “Hondong River (混同江)” refer to the same river, and repeated most of the related descriptions. What followed then was an explanation of the headwater of Songhwa River from Mount Baekdu dividing into two: eastern headwater and western headwater.

The headwater in the east rises from the lake on the top of Changbaishan, runs down in a furious manner to form a thousand-*gil* waterfall, locally called “Dorago” (圖喇庫). It is then split into two branches, Anpa Dorago River (安巴圖喇庫河) in the east and Ajegyeok Dorago River (阿濟格圖喇庫河) in the west. They run for several tens of *li* before merging with each other again. To the east of the mountain, there are two watercourses—Niamongniago River (尼雅穆尼雅庫河) and Hetonge

River (赫通額河)—which rise from the eastern foot of Changbaishan and flow northward to merge (into Songhwa River). The headstream in the west also bifurcates to form Aekhyeok Aegeum River (額赫額音河) in the east and Sameum Aegeum River (三音額音河) in the west, which flow northward before joining each other and Zhuquan (渚泉).

Unlike *Shengjingzhi*, which contains a similar record of the watercourses rising from Mount Baekdu, there is no separate map of Mount Baekdu appended in *Daiqing Yitongzhi*. The Chinese texts on Manchurian geography, such as the two books above, provided Joseon scholars substantial help in identifying geographic features and travel routes around Ninguta as well as many watercourses rising from Mount Baekdu.

There were unresolved problems as well. For example, the Chinese texts had no record of the rivers Subin, Soha, Sokpyeong, and Bungye. Also, Tomun River was simply treated as Duman River. The fact was that the Chinese records on Manchuria published during the Qing Dynasty had no relations at all with the geographical knowledge of *Yeoji Seungnam* that reflected the historical experiences of early Joseon and the increased interest among Joseon intellectuals in the geography of Manchuria after the border demarcation. Perception of Manchurian geography came to be determined by the view on the relationship between the two.

IV. Perception of Manchurian geography during the late Joseon period

Even though more detailed books on Manchurian geography were being brought in, information on Soha, Sokpyeong, and Subin Rivers found in ‘Sejong Sillok Jiriji’ and *Yeoji Seungnam* held sway. Yi Geungik, for instance, saw the three rivers mentioned in *Yeoji Seungnam*, and copied it word for word in his book without mentioning the problem related with

the names. Heo Mok also avoided the controversy over the three river names and just wrote, “Gongheomjin is located beside Soha River in Hoeryeong-bu, that is, southeast of Seonchullyeong, and is 700 *li* north of Duman River.”

The map by Yun Duseo presents different information on Soha River and Subin River from that in *Yeoji Seungnam*. The map shows the Duman River flowing eastward from Mount Baekdu, and Dumun River running above it. Dumun River eventually merges with Duman River near Onseong-bu. This watercourse corresponds to today’s Haeran River. Although Haeran River does not rise from Mount Baekdu, it is not clear whether Yun Duseo considered Dumun River as originating from Mount Baekdu.

(Map 2) Yun Duseo’s ‘Dongguk Yeoji Jido’ (Map of Korea)

There is another watercourse flowing over Tumun River before merging into the sea. It rises from Mount Biho (貔虎山), located northeast of Mount Baekdu, and flows southward to become Soha River. The river turns directions at Sangga River, flows eastward to pass by the fortress towns of Wonsanseong (圓山城) and Gaeyangseong (開陽城), and turns south to merge into Subin River. There is Damjupyeong (潭州平), Gongheomjin (公嶮鎮), and Seonchullyeong (先春嶺) above Soha River while there is Rogwan (老串), Beorin (伐引), Yeoto (女土), Yachiseong (也雉城), Uimiseong (于而未城) and Hubiseokseong (厚飛石城) above Subin River.

Shengjingzhi continued to be distributed to a wider area, creating further controversy. Yi Manbu (a Confucian scholar in Sangju) conducted an analytical comparison of the Chinese book with *Yeoji Seungnam* and concluded that the mountain the Chinese called Changbaishan was Joseon’s Mount Baekdu and that Joseon’s Mount Jangbaek has nothing to do with the Changbaishan of China at all. He wanted to help readers avoid the confusion caused by these names. He then turned to the the

information on Mount Baekdu in the two books and found significant differences between the two texts. The descriptions of the watercourses that originate from Mount Baekdu were remarkably different except for Duman River and Amnok River. According to Yi, Joseon scholars were able to gather relatively accurate information on Amnok River and Duman River because the two rivers were part of Joseon's border, but the description of the geographic features beyond the border could be significantly different from the Chinese records because they had to depend on secondary sources. He did not feel the need to verify the identities of Soha River and Subin River.

Even scholars such as Yi Ik, who used *Shengjingzhi* as reference, adhered to the views of *Yeoji Seungnam* on most issues. Yi used *Shengjingzhi* for information on Ojukseong and Jolbon Buyeo. He was in a more advantageous position in handling the Qing materials because he had basic knowledge of the Manchurian language. Yi Ik attempted a more extensive analysis. He quotes the following from the article on the mountains and rivers of Hoeryeong-bu in *Yeoji Seungnam*: "It flows to the northeast to become Soha River, which turns into Sokpyeong River." He also quotes the speculation of the compilers of *Yeoji Seungnam*—that the Ayago River of *Daming Yitongzi* is actually Sokpyeong River. Yi Ik then goes a step further and explains that the reason behind "Ayago River" being used to refer to Sokpyeong River in *Daming Yitongzhi* has to do with the fact that Sokpyeong River is sometimes called "Bungye River." He also adds that Sokpyeong River is where a memorial for Yun Gwan used to stand.

Yi Ik attempted a more extensive analysis. He quotes the following from the article on the mountains and rivers of Hoeryeong-bu in *Yeoji Seungnam*: "It flows to the northeast to become Soha River, which turns into Sokpyeong River." He also quotes the speculation of the compilers of *Yeoji Seungnam*—that the Ayago River of *Daming Yitongzi* is actually Sokpyeong River. Yi Ik then goes a step further and explains that the reason behind Ayago River being used to refer to Sokpyeong River in

Daming Yitongzhi has to do with the fact that Sokpyeong River is sometimes called “Bungye River.” He also adds that Sokpyeong River is where a memorial for Yun Gwan used to stand.

Yi Ik also accepted *Yeoji Seungnam*’s view that Soha River flows into the sea via Seonchullyeong and Geoyang. He also concluded that the memorial for Yun Kwan was located 700 *li* north of Duman River, in line with *Yeoji Seungnam*. Yi Ik used *Yeoji Seungnam* as the basis for his information on Soha River, Sokpyeong River, Seonchullyeong, and Gongheomjin. He showed particular interest in determining the identity of Sokpyeong River, which he regarded as Bungye River. However, he did not add anything else on the identity of Bungye River or its waterways nor on the information in *Shengjingzhi* on Mount Baekdu and the watercourses originating from it.

It was the compilers of *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Materials of the Eastern State) who raised questions about the traditional knowledge that Subin River was a river flowing through northeastern Manchuria before merging into the sea. They insisted that “Duman River flows to the east of Gyeongheung-bu and becomes Subin River after passing by the Red Land” and that “Subin River is located 10 *li* south of Gyeongheung, forming the lower reaches of Duman River.” *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* is regarded as the first case in which doubt was cast on the geographical knowledge of early Joseon. However, most Joseon intellectuals of the time were not sure how they should handle the geographical information in Chinese materials, such as *Shengjingzhi* and *Daqing Yitongzhi*.

Hong Yang-ho (a scholar-statesman during the reign of King Jeongjo) once mentioned Gongheomjin and Seonchullyeong. He claimed that he had crossed Duman River and passed through Odongcham and Yeonggacham to arrive at Soha River where the ancient site of Gongheomjin stood. He also wrote that Seonchullyeong was located 700 *li* north of Duman River and 60 *li* west of the Gongheomjin site and Geoyangseong. He noted that Soha River, which rose from Mount

Baekdu, ran north to pass through Gongheomjin, Seonchullyeong, and Geoyang to arrive at Amin before merging into the sea. All this information is based on *Yeoji Seungnam*.

The geographical information in *Daiqing Yitongzhi* was widely accepted by Joseon intellectuals and extensively used for making Mount Baekdu maps, but there was little effort to compare place names such as Soha River and Amin with the geographical information in *Daiqing Yitongzhi*. Likewise, they did not trust the geographical information in *Daqing Yitongzhi* when determining the identity and location of Bungye River.

(Map 3) Hong Yang-ho's 'Baekdusan Jido' (Map of Mount Baekdu)

Using evidence from other sources, Jeong Yakyong criticized *Yeoji Seungnam* and Yun Duseo's map for their incorrect understanding of the location of Subin River. First, he pointed out that while there are some differences between the two sources, they both see Subin River as rising from Mount Baekdu and emptying into the sea. Jeong Yakyong focused his criticisms on this very point. To support his view, Jeong used information on watercourses originating from Mount Baekdu as well as information on watercourses that flow beyond Duman River and empty into the sea. According to Jeong, there are nine rivers that originate in Mount Baekdu, including Oeyun (魚潤), Bungye (分界), Geuktong (克通), Nangmok (娘木), Yangtorapgo (兩土拉庫), Yangnureum (兩訥音河), and Amnok (鴨淥) Rivers. Thus, this fact alone disproves the notion that Subin River originates in Mount Baekdu.

Jeong Yakyong insisted that there were two rivers, Jeoryun (渚淪河) River and Subun (遂分河) River, that flow through the north of Duman River and merge into the sea. The first rises from Mount Hasa (夏渣山), while the other from Moreungwajip (模稜窩集). They both flow south and then into the sea, meaning that none of them could be referred to as "Subin River that rises from Mount Baekdu." As there is no river (except

for Duman River) that flows eastward, it would be illogical to say that Subin River flows to the east. Jeong strongly argued against the notion that it was “Subin River that rises from Mount Baekdu and flows eastward into the sea” and instead argued that Nangmok River was the Soha River mentioned in *Yeoji Seungnam*.

But why is there an error in *Yeoji Seungnam*? Jeong pointed to the limited geographical knowledge of early Joseon. The compilers of the book had known that there was a watercourse outside Mount Baekdu that flowed northeast but did not know that it joined Hondong River. Also, they knew that there was a large river outside Gyeongwon that flowed south but they did not know it rose from Moreungwajip. Despite limited information, the compilers did not delve into the discrepancy of there being two watercourses from Mount Baekdu, one running to the northeast, and another, flowing out beyond Gyeongwon; they just settled on there being one watercourse. As a result, the compilers ended up with the wrong location for the headstream.

Does this mean that Jeong wholeheartedly trusted Qing sources on Manchurian geography, and in particular, *Daqing Yitongzhi*? To answer this question, we should go back to Jeong’s statement that there are nine rivers arising from Mount Baekdu. Amnok, is, of course, today’s Amnok River. Where did he get the rest?

The names, Geuktong, Nangmok, Yangtorapgo, and Yangnureum, can be found in the Chinese materials on Manchuria, including *Shengjingzhi* and *Daiqing Yitongzhi*. Yangtorapgo River refers to “阿脊革土拉庫河·昂邦土拉庫河” in *Shengjingzhi* and “安巴圖喇庫河·阿濟格圖喇庫河” in *Daiqing Yitongzhi*. Yangnureum River corresponds to “額黑訥因河·賽因訥因河” in *Shengjingzhi* and “額赫額音河·三音額音河” in *Daiqing Yitongzhi*. Finally, Geuktong River and Nangmok River correspond to “合克通吉河·娘木娘庫河” in *Shengjingzhi* and “赫通額河·尼雅穆尼雅庫,” respectively, in *Daiqing Yitongzhi*. Jeong found the names of these rivers in Qing sources on Manchurian geography and supported the view that these rivers rise in

Mount Baekdu and flow into Hondong River.

Jeong regarded Soha River to be Nangmok River because he believed that Nangmok River originated from Mount Baekdu and merged with Hondong River. His knowledge on the flow of Nangmok River was from Qing materials. That is how he could disprove the connection between the watercourse that rises from Mount Baekdu to flow north and the watercourse that flows east into the sea.

V. Closing Remarks: Memory of Bungye River

This research paper focused on how the knowledge on Manchurian geography was received in the late Joseon society. The discussion looks into the process of conflict and coordination between traditional knowledge and new knowledge obtained from Qing sources.

Joseon wanted Qing materials on Manchuria not because of academic interests. Overwhelmed by the prospect that Manchu rulers in Beijing might pass through some part of Joseon territory if they were to retreat to Ninguta, Joseon elites needed to examine carefully whether such a prospect was even likely. Among Chinese sources on the geography of Manchuria, *Shengjingzhi* (which was imported upon the insistence of Nam Gu-man) exerted the most significant influence on Joseon elites. Another Chinese geography book, *Daiqing Yitongzhi*, imported in the following period, also played a crucial role in expanding geographical knowledge on Manchuria among Joseon intellectuals.

Meanwhile, there began to emerge new social demands for books on Manchurian geography. The erection of the Qing-Joseon border marker in 1712 heightened Joseon people's interest in the watercourses around Mount Baekdu. Korean geographical books such as *Yeoji Seungnam* included names such as Subin River, Sokpyeong River, and Soha River, referring to watercourses rising from Mount Baekdu, but these names were not very helpful in settling the controversy over the inscription, "Tomun in the East (東爲土門)," on the marker. Naturally,

there began to appear a demand among Joseon elites for Chinese materials dealing with geographic features of Manchuria.

Joseon intellectuals encountered the names of many watercourses originating in Mount Baekdu in Qing materials on Manchurian geography. However, it was not the case that all Qing materials were trusted through and through. Even Jeong Yakyong, who made extensive use of *Daqing Yitongzhi*, disagreed on one point—Bungye River.

Among the nine large watercourses Jeong Yakyong believed as rising from Mount Baekdu, only two, Eoyun (魚潤) and Bungye (分界), are not found in Qing sources, including *Yeoji Seungnam* and *Daiqing Yitongzhi*. Considering there is a watercourse named Yurunhe (漁潤河) in the 'Map of Joseon' appended to *Huangyu Quanlantu* (Complete Map of the Empire during the Emperor Kangxi Era), it is highly probable that the Qing knew about the river. However, none of the Chinese materials available to Joseon scholars contained this name. In Joseon, Eoyun River had been regarded as one of the watercourses in the upper reaches of Duman River since the 1712 border demarcation. Hong Yang-ho, for instance, used the name "Eoyun" to refer to a watercourse originating from Duman River and flowing eastward. Jeong Yakyong included the same information in *Daedong Sugyeong* (Book of Rivers in the Great Eastern State). Because this watercourse was considered to originate from the lower reaches of Duman River, only to flow back into Duman River, it was seen as unrelated to watercourses flowing into and from Manchuria. However, with "Bungye," that is, Bungye River, this was not the case.

It was after the Joseon-Qing border demarcation in 1712 that Bungye River first appeared in Joseon writings. Scholars gave different descriptions on the scope and course of Bungye River, but on maps, it generally appeared as a river rising from Mount Baekdu and flowing above Duman River, merge into it near Onseong-bu. Interestingly, the defense maps of Joseon, such as 'Yogye Gwanbangdo' (Map of Defense Outposts from Yao to Jie Regions) and 'Seobuk Pia Yanggye Malli Illam

Jido' (Comprehensive Defense Map of the North-West Border Region), contained Bungye River even though they also contained information about Manchurian geography from Qing sources, such as *Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times) and *Shengjingzhi*.

It was not something limited to old maps. Anyone who had seen Qing sources on Manchurian geography wrote about Bungye River. Distinguished scholars, such as Yi Ik, An Jeong-bok, Hong Yang-ho, and Jeong Yakyong, were no exceptions. The influx of Chinese geography books on Manchuria led to growing criticism against the early Joseon understanding of Manchurian geography. Bungye River, however, remained an exception.

In discussing the understanding of Qing materials on Manchurian geography during the Joseon period and the formation of the memory of Bungye River, what did this paper try to convey? The purpose of this paper was not to show diverse geographical sources imported from the Qing, and thus, demonstrate that there was an understanding of Manchurian geography in the Joseon era. Rather, this paper's objective was to show how the knowledge in those geographical sources clashed with the traditional conceptions of geography and was readjusted in the specific temporal and spatial context of late Joseon. A case in point of such a clash and readjustment is the many theories on Bungye River.

Why were the intellectuals of the late Joseon period so confident about the existence of Bunggye River even though a significant amount of Qing sources on Manchurian geography indicate that Haeran River does not rise from Mount Baekdu? This is a tough question to answer at the moment, but it is an important research topic, nonetheless. The point that can be made at this point in time is that the theories on Bunggye River were maintained and passed down even when Qing materials on Manchurian geography were being imported. The context reveals the contemporaneity in which the Chinese materials on the geography of Manchuria were understood in the late Joseon society.

Select Bibliography

REFERENCES

1. Historic Texts

- Joseon Wangjo Sillok* (朝鮮王朝實錄, Annals of the Joseon Dynasty)
- Daiqing Yitongzhi* (大青一統志, Unified Gazetteer of the Great Qing)
- Dushi Fangyu Jiyao* (邦輿紀要, Essentials of Historical Geography of China)
- Gujin Tushu Jicheng* (古今圖書集成, Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times)
- Hongje Joenseo* (弘齋全書, Collected Works of Hongje)
- Huangqing Kaiguo Fanglue* (皇清開國方略, General Plan for the Foundation of Imperial Qing)
- Igyejip* (耳溪集, Collected Works of Igye)
- Ijae Nango* (頤齋亂藁, Collected Essays of Ijae)
- Ijaejip* (頤齋集, Collected Works of Ijae)
- Ilseongnok* (日省錄, Records of Daily Reflection)
- Jeongbo Munheon Bigo* (增補文獻備考, Expanded Reference Materials)
- Oejeong Ikjeong Gongjugo* (御定翼靖公奏藁, Yi Jingong's Appeal to the Emperor)
- Bibyeonsa Deungnok* (備邊司謄錄, Records of the Border Defense Council)
- Qinding Shengjing Yitongzhi* (欽定盛京通志, Emperor-commissioned Unified History of Shengjing)
- Qinding Manzhou Yuanliukao* (欽定滿洲源流考, Emperor-commissioned, Origin of the Manchus)
- Qing Shilu* (清實錄, Annals of Qing)

Qingshi Gao (清史稿, Draft of the History of Qing)
Shuidao Digang (水道提綱, Summary of Waterways)
Seongho Saseol (星湖僿說, Essays of Seongho)
Seonghojip (星湖集, Collected Works of Seongho)
Seongjeongwon Ilgi (承政院日記, Diaries of the Royal Secretariat)
Daedong Jiji (大東地志, Geography of the Great Eastern State)
Yeoamjip (旅庵集, Collected Works of Yeoram)
Yeodobiji (輿圖備志, Geographical Maps and Texts)
Yeojidoseo (輿地圖書, Collected Chronicles and Maps)
Yeoncheonjip (淵泉集, Collected Works of Yeoncheon)
Yeoyudang Jeonseo (與猶堂全書, Collected Works of Yeoyudang)

2. Books

- Choe, Jhanggeun. *A Study of Korea-China Border Issues* (韓中國境問題研究). Baeksan Archives, 1998.
- Han, Yoengu. *A Study of Social Ideas of Early Joseon* (朝鮮前期社會思想研究). Jisik Saneop Publications. 1983.
- Han, Yoengu. *A Study of Historical Science in Later Joseon* (朝鮮後期史學史研究). Iljisa. 1991.
- Kang, Seokhwa. *Hamgyeong-do and the Perception of the Northern Territory during the Late Joseon Period*. Gyeongsae-won. 2000.
- Kim, Jinam, Yi Sangtae et al. *Mount Baekdu Travels by Joseon Confucian Scholars*. Hyeon. 1998.
- Kim, Jeongwon. *A Study of the East Asian Relationships of the Modern Period*. Hyeon. 1999.
- Go, Seunghui. *A Study of Commerce in Hamgyeong-do during the Late Joseon Period*. Kookhak Community. 2003.
- Bae, Woosung. *The Ideas of Territory and Changes in the View of the World in the Late Joseon Period*. Iljisa, 1998.

- Pak, Inho. *A Study of History and Geography of the Later Joseon Period* (朝鮮後期歷史地理學研究). Ihoe Publications. 1997.
- Yang, Taejin. *A Study of the Korean Border History* (韓國邊境史研究). Dong Hwa Publications. 1981.
- Yang, Taejin. *A Study of the Korean Territorial History* (韓國領土史研究). Beopgyeong Publications. 1991.
- Yang, Taejin. *A Study of the Korean National Border History* (韓國國境史研究). Byeopgyeong Publications. 1992.
- Yi, Chan. *Old Maps of Korea* (韓國의 古地圖). Bumwoosa. 1991.
- Yi, Sangtae. *The History of Old Korean Maps*. Hyeon. 1999.
- Yu, Seungju. *The History of Korean Trade with China in the Later Joseon Period*. Gyeongin Publications. 2002.