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Drawing on the *Geonju gijeong dogi*
建州紀程圖記 (Illustrated Account of a
Trip to the Jianzhou)

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Recovery of the Travel Route between Joseon Korea and the Jianzhou Jurchens during the Imjin War: Drawing on the *Geonju gijeong dogi* 建州紀程圖記 (Illustrated Account of a Trip to the Jianzhou)*

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Introduction

The settlements of the Jianzhou Jurchens had centered around Xinbin County 新賓縣 and Huanren County 桓仁縣 of Liaoning Province 遼寧省 as well as Ji'an City 集安市 of Jilin Province 吉林省. Their geographical locations and strength of power resulted in more frequent contacts, either friendly or hostile, with Joseon Korea and Ming China than any other Jurchen forces. Both Joseon and the Ming took much interest in collecting information and intelligence about them, leaving substantial accounts on them in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable records of the Joseon dynasty), the *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (Veritable records of the Ming dynasty), the *Muan dongyi ji* 撫安東夷記 (Accounts on the pacification of

* This article is translated from the Korean manuscript originally published in the *The Review of Korean History* 사학연구, issue 129 (March, 2018): 291-330.

** Chinese and Korean place names are Romanized following *Pinyin* and Korean government system respectively. Exceptionally, however, the names of Koguryo's historical remains in China's territory are pronounced into Korean and Romanized accordingly, yet are indicated by prefixing the possessive, 'Koguryo's': for example, Koguryo's Onyeo Mountain Fortress 五女山城. The Jurchen or Chinese place names written in literary Chinese by Sin Chung'il are also rendered into Korean and Romanized accordingly, yet are indicated by single quotation marks: for example, the tributary stream of Gayaji 加也之川.

eastern barbarians), and the *Imun* 吏文 (Diplomatic correspondence between the Ming and Goryeo or Joseon). Drawing on these sources, a great number of researches have been published regarding the Jianzhou Jurchens' political institutions, social structure, and customs. Yet, their settlement areas and transport/communication routes with Joseon and the Ming have received little scholarly attention.

It is well known that Nurhaci 奴爾哈赤 (1559-1626) was based in Fe Ala 佛阿拉 in present-day Xinbin County of Liaoning Province when he began subjugating neighboring Jurchen tribes. The headmen of the Jianzhou confederacies prior to Nurhaci had been settled not only in the Fe Ala region but also in the area of Koguryo's Onyeosanseong Mountain Fortress 五女山城 in present-day Huanren County, as well as in the border area of Hoeryeong 會寧 as far as Hamgyeong Province of Joseon. In other words, the headquarters of the Jianzhou Jurchens could not but vary according to their own necessities or external pressure from Joseon and the Ming.

Given the frequent shifts of the power base of the Jianzhou Jurchens, geographical information regarding their settlements collected by Joseon and the Ming differed substantially depending on the period. As a result, the later records, largely based on earlier information without updating them in a firsthand manner, had given confusion to the policy makers of Joseon and the Ming. Even, present researchers also have encountered difficulty in accurately finding the settlements of the Jianzhou Jurchens due to the complex nature of such historical records. Nevertheless, at least one source provides primary information about the transport/communication routes between Joseon and the Jianzhou Jurchens. That is the *Geonju gijeong dogi* (hereafter, the *Dogi*) 建州紀程圖記 (Illustrated Account of a Trip to the Jianzhou), written by Sin Chung'il 申忠一 (1554-1622), who visited Fe Ala in person from the twelfth month of 1595 to the first month of 1596 during the Imjin War (1592-98). Since the timing of Sin's visit coincided with the rise of Nurhaci's power, this eyewitness account of the Jurchen strongman and his power base has absorbed much scholarly interest.

Shortly after the *Dogi* came to light in 1936, the first study of the text was published by Inaba Iwakichi in 1937 and was followed by Yi Inyeong's study in 1939. These studies are of a preliminary nature, briefly

outlining the context and the contents of the *Dogi* as well as its author's official career and family background, and roughly tracing his route from the Manpo 滿浦 garrison on the Yalu River to Fe Ala. In addition, they sought to find out formative elements of the Eight Banners (*Bagi* 八旗) by examining the layout and positions of buildings/households as well as the personnel of the Fe Ala Fortress.¹

Inaba Iwakichi, when he arrived in Xinjing 新京 (present-day Changchun 長春) as a professor at Kenkoku University 建國大學 in 1937, conducted careful field research of the Xingjing 興京 area.² Remarkably, he conducted an archaeological excavation and a survey of some building remains. Further, he attempted to simulate Sin Chung'il's travel routes on a modern map. Though some sections of the routes in his simulation call for question, the mapping of them was a pioneering effort. It has been through the efforts of Japanese scholars that the *Dogi* has been regarded as an indispensable source for understanding the rise of Nurhaci. Drawing on the information regarding the size of the Jurchen villages provided by the *Dogi*, Hatada Takashi estimated the entire size of the households and the population in the context of the formative years of the Eight Banners system.³ Abe Takeo illustrated economic aspects of the Eight Banners in the formative years by analyzing farmland tenure patterns and corvée burdens.⁴ Ejima Hisao employed a socioeconomic perspective by utilizing the *Dogi*.⁵ In par-

¹ Inaba Iwakichi, "Shin Chūichi shokei kyū bi zuki" 申忠一書啓及び圖記 [Sin Chung'il's report and illustrated account], *Seikyū gakusō* 29 (1937); Yi Inyeong, "Sin Chung'il eui *Geonju gijeong dogi* e dachaya" 申忠一の 建州紀程圖記에 對하야 [Study on Sin Chung'il's *Geonju gijeong dogi* (Illustrated account of a trip to Jianzhou)], *Jindan hakbo* 10 (1939); Yi Inyeong, *Hanguk Manju Gwangyesa eui yeon'gu* 韓國滿洲關係史의 研究 [Study on relations between Korea and Manchu] (Seoul: Eulyu Munhwasa, 1954).

² Inaba Iwakichi, *Kōkyō Nidōkashi Kyūrōjō* 興京二道河子舊老城 [Fe Ala Fortress at Erdaohezi in Xingjing] (Xingjing: Kenkoku Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1939).

³ Hatada Takashi, "Manshū hakki no seiritsu katei ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu" 滿洲八旗の成立過程に關する一考察 [A Study on the Formative Process of the Manchu Eight Banners], *Tōa Ronsō* 2 (1940).

⁴ Abe Takeo, "Hakki niru no kenkyū" 八旗ニルの研究 [Study on the Eight Banners], in *Shōtaishi no kenkyū* 清代史の研究 [Study on the Qing Era] (Sōbunsha, 1971).

⁵ Ejima Hisao, "Minmatsu Manshū ni okeru gaishan no sho keitai" 明末滿洲におけるガシヤ

ticular, he classified the *gašan* (Jurchen settlements) into four categories and illustrated their similarities and differences according to the *Dogi*. Mitamura Taisuke attempted to delineate the jurisdiction under the control of Nurhaci, based on the *Dogi*.⁶ His study is worthy of note because it used the Manchu language to identify place names and pinpointed their modern locations.⁷

Meanwhile, long after Yi Inyeong's study, Korean scholars began to use the *Dogi* from the late 1990s. Yu Jiwon, exploring the capital cities of the Later Jin period, used the *Dogi* to examine the multifold aspects of the Fe Ala Fortress, such as its landscape, structure, housing complexes of Nurhaci and Šurgaci (his younger brother) 舒爾哈齊, hierarchies, and major features.⁸ Kim Seonmin's nuanced analysis of the triangular relations among Joseon, the Later Jin, and the Ming benefited from using the *Dogi*.⁹ Chinese scholars also have shown interest in the *Dogi* since the 2000s. Liu Guangming examined Sin Chung'il's perception of the Jurchen people.¹⁰

ンの諸形態 [Forms of Jurchen Settlements in Manchuria in the Late Ming], *Shien* 32 (1944); Ejima Hisao, "Ejiche to tokuso—Shinchō bokkōki no sakai keizaishi teki gaiguan" 勅書 (エジエへ)と屯莊 (トクソ)—清朝勃興期の社會經濟史的概観 [Imperial Patents and Settlement Farms: Survey of Socioeconomic History of the Rising Era of the Qing Dynasty], *Sei Nihon Shigaku* 2 (1952).

⁶ Mitamura Taisuke, "Chōsen soku shiryō yori mita Shinsho no kyōiki" 朝鮮側史料より見た清初の疆域 [Territory of the early Qing Seen through Joseon's Historical Materials] *Chōsen gakuho* 21/22 (1961); "Shinsho no kyōiki shoku: Shin Chūichi no Kenshū kitei zuki o chūshin toshite" 清初の疆域續—申忠一の建州紀程圖記を中心として [Territory of the Early Qing (sequel): Focusing on Shin Chūichi's *Geonju gijeong dogi* (Illustrated account of a trip to Jianzhou)] *Chōsen gakuho* 36 (1965).

⁷ Yet, almost exclusive reliance on Manchu language for identifying place names led occasionally to arbitrary assumptions.

⁸ Yu Jiwon, "Nureuhachi hunggi sigi doseong e natanan Man/Han munhwa eui sangho jakyong" 누르하치 興起時期 都城에 나타난 滿·漢文化의 相互作用 [Interactions of Manchu and Han Chinese Culture Manifested in the Jurchen Capital Cities during the Period of Nurhaci's Rise to Power], *Myeong Cheong sa yeon'gu* 22 (2004).

⁹ Kim Seonmin, "Myeongmal Yodong pyeongyeong jiyek eul dulleossan Myeong/Hu Keum/ Joseon eui sanggak gwan'gye" 명말 요동 변경지역을 둘러싼 명-후금-조선의 삼각관계 [Triangular Relations between Ming, Later Jin, and Joseon Surrounding the Late Ming Liaodong Borderland], *Jungguksa Yeon'gu* 55 (2008).

¹⁰ Liu Guangming, "*Jianzhou jicheng tuji zhongdi Zuzhenren xingxiang*" 建州紀程圖記中的女真人形象 [Conditions of Jurchen People in the *Geonju gijeong dogi* (Illustrated account of a trip to the Jianzhou)], *Dongjiang xuekan* 2004-04 (2004).

Diao Shuren gave significance to Sin Chung'il's mission in reopening the diplomatic relations, cut off for some time, between Joseon and the Jianzhou Jurchens.¹¹

Last, Pamela Kyle Crossley has taken a new approach to Qing history by regarding Sin Chung'il as an astute outside observer whose account in the *Dogi* witnessed formative elements of the Eight Banner system. Crossley depicted vividly power relations between Nurhaci and Šürgaci by examining their housing structure and arrangement as well as Sin's attitude towards them, as described in the *Dogi*.¹²

The previous studies have shown three fields of academic interest. First, they have focused on the *Dogi*'s value as a primary source. Second, they have paid attention to structural dimensions of the Fe Ala Fortress, such as its layout and arrangement of buildings and installations, especially comparing the housing complexes of Nurhaci and Šürgaci. Third, they have tried to determine the formative elements of the Eight Banners by exploring the social structure and the customs of the Jianzhou Jurchens, described in the *Dogi*.

These studies have mainly made use of the *Dogi* whose diagram captures the housing complexes of Nurhaci and Šürgaci. Yet, few scholars have been interested in the travel routes of Sin Chung'il's mission except for Inaba Iwakichi and Mitamura Taisuke whose mapping works contradict each other. Further, Korean scholars to date have not shown serious interest in the routes, leaving accurate or close mapping of the travel/communication routes between Joseon and the Jianzhou unavailable.

The travel route Sin Chung'il's party took to reach Fe Ala can be divided into two portions in modern simulation. He made the journey first from Manpo 滿浦 along the Xinkai Stream 新開河 up to its junction with the Hun River 渾江; thence, he traced upstream the Fu'er River 富爾江 and

¹¹ Diao Shuren, "Zhaoxian shichen suojian di fengjian shehui—jianlun Houjin jianguo qian yu Zhaoxian di quanxi" 朝鮮使臣所見的 建州社會-兼論 後金建國前 與朝鮮的關係 [Feudal Society Seen by Joseon's Emissary, and the Pre-Later Jin's Relations with Joseon], *Manzu yanjiu* 2011-02 (2011).

¹² Pamela Kyle Crossley, *The Manchus* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

followed downstream the Suzihe Stream 蘇子河 to reach eventually Fe Ala. This study takes a place named ‘Naha’ 羅下 in the *Dogi* (present day area of Beidanzixiang 北甸子鄉), where Sin’s party spent the night of the twenty fifth day of the twelfth month of 1595, as the midway point that divides the whole course of the trip into two portions, and attempts to simulate the major place names that appeared in the *Dogi*¹³ to their present-day locations. For this purpose, Google Earth is chiefly utilized because it clearly delineates mountain ridges and systems of rivers and streams. The distance travelled each day is marked in red line on the respective Google Earth map. In addition, Chinese cultural relics gazetteers (*wenwuzhi* 文物志) are also used to associate the major travel points with historical remains. Besides, since recent construction of reservoirs and highways have resulted in topographic changes, a Manchuria map of 1:100,000 scale (hereafter as the Manchuria Map) published in 1935 by the Japanese authorities is referred to in order to see what given regions looked like around that time. And the *baidu* maps (www.map.baidu.com) are consulted to confirm the current place names in Chinese. By so doing, this study aims to have a deeper understanding of the travel/communication routes between Joseon and the Jianzhou Jurchens, as represented by Sin Chung’il’s rare and firsthand travel account, i.e., the *Dogi*. This rather unique approach to Joseon’s foreign relations will help rediscover the country’s northern borderlands.

Route from Manpo 滿浦 to the Hun River 渾江

By marking mountain ridges, rivers, and roads with different colors,¹⁴ writing down place names along the travel routes, and adding descriptive notes worth mentioning, as shown in Sin Chung’il’s Map 1, the *Dogi* pays tribute

¹³ This study mainly utilizes the *Geonju tamjeonggi chuk* 建州探情記軸 [Account on exploring the Jianzhou in scroll] preserved in the Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe 국사편찬위원회 [National History Compilation Committee], though it seems to be the most latest version of the *Dogi*. The URL (<http://library.history.go.kr/dhrs/dhrsXIFViewer.jsp?system=dlib&id=SJ0000015573>) was accessed on July 26, 2020.

¹⁴ Sin Chung’il marked mountain by dark color, waterway by blue, and road by red.

to one important purpose of the trip, namely spying on a potential enemy's territories. The place names and the topographical drawings from the *Dogi*, supplemented by the accounts on historical remains, can be used as clues in recovering the travel routes of Sin Chung'il's mission. The main focus here is on the travel route from Manpo 滿浦 on the Yalu River through the Xinkai Stream (Xinkai 新開河) and the Hun River (Hunjiang 渾江) to the mouth of its tributary, or the Fu'er River (Fu'erjiang 富爾江).

Sin's Map 1 indicates Sin's party's travel route of the first day (the twenty-second day of the twelfth month, 1595). When compared with modern maps, the *Dogi* fairly well represents the mountain ridges and the River courses. On the map, Hwangseong 皇城 marked with a walled fortress sign indicates Koguryo's Gungnaeseong 國內城—the earlier walled capital of Koguryo—which is located at present-day Ji'an City (Ji'an shi 集安市). As has been well known, the shape of Gungnaeseong is rectangular,



Sin Chung'il's Map 1. Travel Route of the First Day (the Twenty-second Day of the Twelfth Month) from the Manpo Garrison (Manpojŏn 滿浦鎮) on the *Geonju tamjeonggi chuk* 建州探情記軸 (Account on exploring the Jianzhou in scroll)

and its basic layout runs parallel to the course of the Yalu River (K. Apnokgang 鴨綠江),¹⁵ as correctly depicted in Sin Chung'il's Map 1.

On the *Dogi* are marked the mountain passes of Chayuryeong 車踰嶺 and Ipa 梨坡 that led to other destinations as well as the tributary streams of Gayajicheon 加也之川 and Guranghapcheon 仇郎哈川. On the twenty-second day of the twelfth month of 1595 (the first day of the journey), Sin's party commenced the journey by crossing the Yalu River at Manpo 滿浦, proceeded down along the riverside, and passed Hwangseong 皇城. Then, they crossed the Gayaji Stream 加也之川, at the place named Guranghapdong 仇郎哈洞, turned the direction towards the Guranhap Stream 仇郎哈川, and went up the stream to the place named Japidong 者皮洞 where they spent the night.

According to the current maps, Manpo City 滿浦市 has expanded into two districts, and is now devoid of the garrison fortress referred to as Manpojin 滿浦鎮 in Sin Chung'il's Map 1, from which Sin Chung'il crossed the Yalu River. In order to point to Manpojin in the present city, one may well refer to an earlier map including the location of Manpojin. Fortunately, the Manchuria map of 1:100,000 scale published in 1933 clearly reveals the location of Manpojin, which was still identifiable at that time, as shown in Manchuria Map 1. The Manpojin corresponds to the present Manpo railway station 滿浦驛.

On Sin Chung'il's Map 1, the Emperor's tomb (Hwangje myo 皇帝墓) and Bi 碑 (stele) refer to the Tomb of the Koguryo General (Janggung chong 將軍塚) and the Stele of Koguryo King Gwanggaeto (Gwanggaeto daewang bi 廣開土大王碑) respectively.¹⁶ The mountain pass, referred to as Geosihanggogae 巨柴項古介 on Sin Chung'il's Map 1, was connected to

¹⁵ Yeo Hogyu, *Koguryo seong I—Apnokgang jungsangnyu pyeon* 高句麗城 I—鴨綠江中上流篇 [Walled Fortresses of Koguryo I: Middle and Upper Reaches of the Yalu River] (Seoul: Gukbang gunsa yeonguso, 1998), 54.

¹⁶ Jo Beopjong, "Koguryo Gungnaeseong eui gonggan gwa Gwanggaeto wangneung—Jido wa neungbimun eul jungsim euro" 고구려 국내성의 공간과 광개토왕릉—지도와 능비문을 중심으로 [Inner Space of the Gungnae Fortress of Koguryo: Focusing on the Maps and the Inscriptions of the Stele], in *Gwanggaeto daewang bi eui jaejomyeong* 광개토왕비의 재조명 [Reexamination of the Stele of King Gwanggaeto] (Seoul: Dongbuga yeoksa jaedan, 2013).



Manchuria Map 1. Manpo jin 滿浦鎮 on the Manchuria Map of 1:100,000 Scale

these remains, and today is passed by the G303 highway that links Ji'an 集安 to Tonghua 通化. Following this highway and turning toward the northeast midway leads to the Lin River (Linjiang 臨江). According to the *Dogi*, the Jurchens of the Ipa 梨坡 region took this route to surrender to Joseon, suggesting that the route had been conventionally used by the Jurchen residents of the Tonghua and the Lin River regions.¹⁷

Sin Chung'il did not use this route but crossed the Gayaji Stream 加也之川 and went up the Guranhap Stream 仇郎哈川 from the place named Guranghapdong 仇郎哈洞. There, they crossed the mountain passes of Guranghapryeong 仇郎哈嶺 and Mancharyeong 蔓遮嶺, and went down the Mancha Stream 蔓遮川. To trace the Sin's route, the Gayaji Stream 加也之川 corresponds to present-day Tongguo Stream (Tongguohe 通溝河) which flows right to the west of the Koguryo Gungnaeseong Fortress 國內城 in Ji'an City. As shown in Google Earth 1, the mountain ridges to the west of the Tongguo Stream can be also found to the west of the Gayaji Stream 加

¹⁷ The route had been as old as the ancient Koguryo era, connecting Ji'an and Tonghua even after a thousand years later.

也之川 in Sin Chung'il's Map 1. As is well known, moving up the Tongguo Stream five kilometers leads to the Koguryo Hwando Mountain Fortress 丸都山城.

Instead of going upward to the direction of the Hwando Mountain Fortress, Sin Chung'il went southwestward down the Yalu River to the place named Guranghapdong 仇郎哈洞 (present-day Maxianxiang 麻線鄉), at which point he turned to the north. Given that the place of Guranghapdong 仇郎哈洞 was located east of the junction of the Yalu River and the Guranhap Stream 仇郎哈川, and west of the mountain sides that lay west of the Gayaji Stream 加也之川, it is highly likely that the place of Guranghapdong 仇郎哈洞 corresponds to present-day Maxianxiang 麻線鄉.

The *Dogi* states that Sin's party passed the place named Guranghapdong 仇郎哈洞, and spent the night at the place called Japidong 者皮洞 on the first day (the twenty-second day of the twelfth month). Then, where is the present-day location of Japidong 者皮洞? On Sin Chung'il's Map 1, that place seems to lie in front of the junction of the Guranhap Stream 仇郎哈川 springing from the mountain pass of Mancha 蔓遮嶺 to the Yalu River



Google Earth 1. Travel Route of the First Day (the Twenty-second Day of the Twelfth Month) and Its Main Points (Edited by the Author)

and the stream from the Hwando Mountain Fortress 九都山城. On the basis of this topographical information and with the aid of Google Earth, Japidong 者皮洞 seems to correspond to what is now the Banzaigou 半載溝 area. The area must be a strategic point for the Jianzhou Jurchens, living in the present-day Huanren 桓仁 area, to pass through in their raid against the Joseon garrison Manpojin Fortress 滿浦鎮, using river crafts (*japisŏn* 者皮船) made at the region. Sin Chung'il mentioned that Japidong 者皮洞 where he spent the night of the twenty-second day was located fifty *ri* 里—approximately twenty kilometers¹⁸—away from Manpojin 滿浦鎮. The distance of Sin's calculation is almost equal to that (twenty one kilometers) of Google Earth from Banzaigou to Manpo. In sum, the travel route of the first day (the twenty-second day of the twelfth month) is marked on Google Earth 1.¹⁹

On the twenty third day of the twelfth month (the second day of the journey), Sin's party traveled up present day Maxian Stream (Maxianchuan 麻線川) northward to present-day Dabanha (Dabanchacun 大板岔村), then crossed present-day Xiaoban Pass (Xiaobanling 小板嶺) referred to as the pass of Mancharyeong 蔓遮嶺 by Sin, and went down along the Mancha Stream 蔓遮川, as shown in the left side of Sin Chung'il's Map 1. The stream in point named Manchacheon 蔓遮川 cannot be other than present-day Xinkai Stream (Xinkai 新開河), as Yi Inyeong also mentioned, because no other route can reach the Huanren 桓仁 region. This definition can be corroborated by the topological shapes depicted in the *Dogi* and relevant maps.

However, with respect to the present location of the Mancha Pass 蔓遮嶺 whence Sin's party traced down the Xinkai Stream or the Mancha Stream, Inaba Iwakichi, Yi Inyeong, and Mitamura Taisuke all presume it as present-day Daban Pass (Dabanling 大板嶺) instead of the Xiaoban Pass (Xiaobanling 小板嶺).²⁰ If Sin's party crossed present-day Daban Pass,

¹⁸ The metric distance of Korean ten *ri* 十里 varies, but here that of four kilometers is adopted.

¹⁹ The travel route marked Google Earth 1 does not represent the exact course of Sin's travel but its approximation.

²⁰ Yi Inyeong, *Hanguk Manju gwan'gesa eui yeon'gu* (1954), 263; Inaba Iwakichi, "Shin Chūichi

they most probably should descend to the present-day Erwangouzi 二灣溝子 area to join the course of the Xinkai Stream there. Yet, this route does not correspond to the route Sin's party followed after crossing the Mancha Pass 蔓遮嶺, as depicted in the right encircled part of Sin Chung'il's Map 2 wherein three streams join. After the Mancha Pass, Sin's party traced down the Xinkai Stream or the Mancha Stream, and went through the river basin that was first joined by the Dangsihap Stream 唐時哈川, and then afterward by the Maleulgeo Stream 末乙巨川, according to Sin Chung'il's Map 2. In addition, as pointed out by Gi Gyeongryang, the Dabanling route means a detour of around twenty kilometers.²¹

Moreover, it should be noted that a descriptive note of the *Dogi* states that “[I]n the vicinity of the Mancha Pass 蔓遮嶺 lies a shrine (*chongsa* 叢祠) to which Jurchen passersby never fail to pay respect.” Inaba Iwakichi assumed the shrine to be the monument inscribed with the merit of Guanqiu Jian 毋丘儉.²² This monument, dedicated to the Wei general Guanqiu Jian who had invaded Koguryo in 244 C. E., has been said to be discovered at the Xiaoban Pass (Xiaobanling 小板嶺), as indicated in Google Earth 2. Based on the connectedness of the monument and the Xiaoban Pass, it can be argued that Sin's party also went through the Xiaoban Pass which had been frequented ever since Koguryo in order to go to the Xinkai Stream.

The Mancha Stream 蔓遮川 flows northwestward and is joined by a stream, named the Bueulga Stream 夫乙家川 in the *Dogi*, that runs in the vicinity of present-day Zhongxingcun 中興村. This area is currently submerged under the reservoir of Shanjiazi 三家子 but marked by the first ap-

shokei kyū bi zuki” (1937), 5; Mitamura Taisuke, “Shinsho no kyōiki shoku: Shin Chūichi no Kenshū kitei zuki o chūshin toshite” (1965), 98; Inaba identified the Mancha Stream 蔓遮川 as present-day Weisha Stream 葦沙河 in his article of 1937, but changed it to present-day Xinkai Stream 新開河 without an explanation in his book of 1939. See Inaba Iwakichi, *Kōkyō Nidōkashi Kyūrōjō* (1939), 52.

²¹ Gi Gyeongryang, “4 segi Koguryo ‘Namdo-Bukdo’ eui silche wa geu seonggyeok” 4세기 고구려 ‘南道·北道’의 실제와 그 성격 [Real state of Koguryo’s ‘Southern and Northern roads’ and Their Characteristics], *Han’guk munhwa* 73 (2016), 73.

²² Inaba Iwakichi, *Kōkyō Nidōkashi Kyūrōjō*, 51.

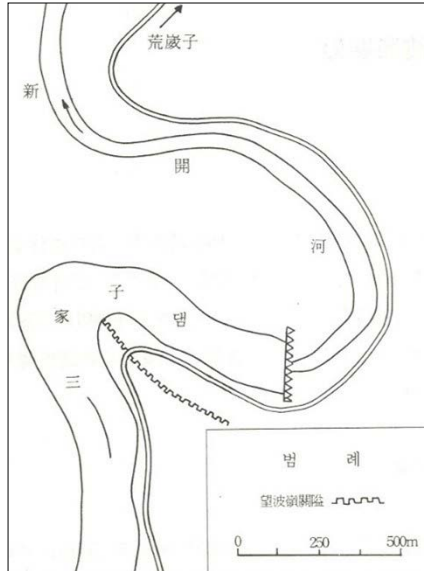


Sin Chung'il's Map 2. Travel Route of the Second Day (the Twenty-third Day of the Twelfth Month)



Google Earth 2. It Shows the Travel Route of the Second Day and Main Points (Edited by the Author)

pearance of two Jurchen households (*hoga ijwa* 胡家二座) in the *Dogi*.

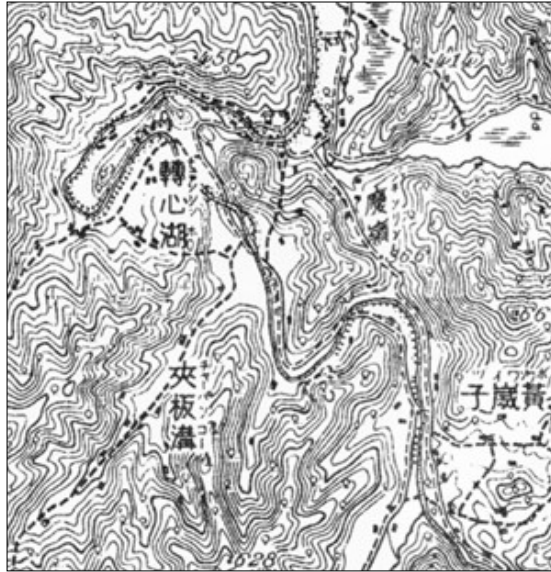


Yeo Hogyu's Map. Present-Day Location of the Mangpa Pass 望波嶺
(Janghang 獐項 in Sin Chung'il's Map)

Advancing northward only one kilometer led to a mountain pass named Janghang 獐項. After crossing the pass, Sin's party followed the stream to a village named Goyeonggu 古營丘 wherein the stream made sharp turns two to three times, corresponding to its course shown in modern maps.

The *Dogi* carries important information about the passage of Janghang and the Goyeonggu village in that “[F]rom Janghang to the village is only six to seven *ri* long, yet the passage is hemmed in by mountains and densely forested.”²³ The passage of Janghang may well correspond to Koguryo's passage (*gwanae* 關隘) of the Mangpa Pass 望波嶺. Its modern descriptions corroborate Sin's description that the valley of the Xinkai Stream 新開河 becomes narrow from this point with steep cliffs on both

²³ The original texts reads: “一自獐項至部落上端幾六七里許 多山阻隘樹木稠密.”



Manchuria Map 2. Janghang 獐項 Area on the Manchuria Map of 1:100,000 Scale

sides as high as sixty meters.²⁴ The Mangpa Pass had been a strategic point located en route from the Hun River through the Xinkai Stream upward finally to Ji'an, the site of Koguryo's early capital.²⁵ The sharply bended course of the stream, as drawn in Sin Chung'il's Map, matches what is drawn in Yeo Hogyu's Map. Therefore, the present-day route along the passage, taken by Sin Chung'il, has been as ancient as Koguryo.

Passing through the narrow passage of Janghang, Sin's party came out into a plain, or what is now Huangweizicun 荒歲子村. On the *Dogi* is drawn a hillock called Goyeonggu 古營丘, a strategic point of defense and transportation. The *Dogi* states that the elderly here remembered the sta-

²⁴ Jilinsheng wenwuzhi biansuan weiyuanhui, *Ji'anxian wenwuzhi* 集安縣文物志 [Cultural Relics Gazetteer of Ji'an County] (Changchun: Jilinsheng wenwuzhi biansuan weiyuanhui, 1983), 76-78.

²⁵ Yeo Hogyu, *Koguryo seong I—Apnokgang jungsangnyu pyeon*, 105-08. Present-day location of the Mangparyeong 望波嶺 passage is quoted from the map in Yeo Hogyu, *Ibid.*, 106.



Sin Chung'il's Map 3. Travel Route of the Third and Fourth Day (the Twenty-fourth Day and the Twenty-fifth Day of the Twelfth Month)

tioning of the Joseon armies some time earlier. Since the Joseon expeditions started from Manpo to attack the present-day Huanren area three times—in 1433 (the fifteenth year of King Sejong), 1437 (the nineteenth year of King Sejong), and 1467 (the thirteenth year of King Sejo)—and most probably stationed on the elevated site of Goyeonggu, the Jurchen residents there could have the memory of the Joseon armies. Sin's party spent the night of the second day (the twenty third day of the twelfth month) at such an important strategic point.

On the twenty fourth day of the twelfth month, (the third day), Sin's party left the hillock called Goyeonggu 古營丘, and moved towards the north. They went past four Jurchen villages of five to fourteen households along the Xinkai Stream, went over the pass of another Janghang 獐項, and reached a village in Mancha where they spent the night. This second Janghang may well correspond to the Duling Pass 度嶺 because the bending of the stream and the direction of mountain ridges, as shown in Sin Chung'il's



Google Earth 3. Travel Route of the Third and Fourth Day (The Twenty-fourth Day and the Twenty-fifth Day of the Twelfth Month) and Its Main Points

Map 3 are identical with the topographical features of the area, as shown in Google Earth 3.

The sizable Mancha village with 120 or so households might be located in present-day Caiyuanzhen 財源鎮. Remarkably, the head of this fairly large village was a female named Chogi 椒箕 (transcribed as ‘초기’ in the Korean alphabet in the *Dogi*, and as ‘초기’ in another edition). Obeying the order from Nurhaci, she held a banquet for Sin Chung’il together with Dongholahu 童好羅厚 and Dongmangjahap 童亡自哈 soon after Sin arrived at Fe Ala on the third day of the first month of 1596.²⁶ Sin Chung’il may have felt a need to write down her name in the Korean alphabet to mark the novelty of the female chieftain.

Meanwhile, Sin Chung’il noted that the Mancha village—the site for the third night—was “one *sik* 息²⁷ and twenty *ri* 里” or fifty *ri* (approximately twenty kilometers) away from a village named Choburak 初部落 (i.e., the hillock of Goyounggu 古營丘)—the site for the second night. This distance fairly well corresponds to that measured on Google Earth from

²⁶ The original text reads: “初三日 酋胡 童好羅厚童亡自哈女酋椒箕請臣設宴. 奴酋所教云.”

²⁷ One *sik* equals thirty *ri*, hence “one *sik* and twenty *ri*” equals fifty *ri*.

present-day Huangweizicun 荒歲子村 (i.e., Choburak 初部落) to the present-day place of Caiyuanzhen 財源鎮 (i.e., the Mancha village). Inaba Iwakichi, however, identified Choburak 初部落 with the present-day place of Taishangzhen 台上鎮 to the north of present-day Huangweizicun 荒歲子村.²⁸ His identification cannot be supported on the ground that the topographical features of present-day Taishangzhen 台上鎮 do not match well with those of Choburak 初部落, as depicted in the *Dogi*, and the distance between present-day Taishangzhen 台上鎮 and present-day Caiyuanzhen 財源鎮 (i.e., the Mancha village) is thirteen kilometers, much shorter than the distance Sin Chung'il thought he traveled on the third day.²⁹

On the twenty fifth day of the twelfth month (the fourth day), Sin's party moved northwestward from the Mancha village until they reached the junction of present-day Xinkai Stream and present-day Hun River 渾江, then referred to by Sin Chung'il as the Pajeo River 波猪江. Significantly, he noted the location of an earthen fortress to the north of the river junction, calling the area by the name of Wanggya 왕가 in the Korean alphabet. The Wanggya was a Korean transcription of the Manchu pronunciation of Wanggiya, which in turn was transcribed as Wanyan 完顏 in Chinese—the Wanyan tribe 完顏部 which then was incorporated into the Jianzhou Jurchens.

Since the earthen fortress (toseong 土城) was associated with the Wanyan tribe, scholars have been interested in its present location. Two theories have been in disagreement regarding the present-day location of this earthen fortress. Wada Kiyoshi 和田清 put its location at the upstream of the Hun River to the direction of Tonghua 通化, thus further removed from the river junction, wherein Sin Chung'il marked its location. This was because Sin had to put its location near the river conjunction due to the

²⁸ Inaba Iwakichi, “Shin Chūichi kōteizu yo gendai jitsusokuzu taishō” 申忠一行程圖 與 現代實測圖 對照 [Sin Chung'il's Travel map, Compared with the Modern map Based on Actual Measuring], in *Kōkyō Nidōkashi Kyūrōjō* 興京二道河子舊老城 [Fe Ala Fortress at Erdaohezi in Xingjing] (Xingjing: Kenkoku daigaku shuppanbu, 1939).

²⁹ Mitamura also located ‘Choburak’ 初部落 to present-day Huangweizicun 荒歲子村 because of distance difference. See Mitamura Taisuke, “Shinsho no kyōiki shoku: Shin Chūichi no Kenshū kitei zuki o chūshin toshite,” 102-03.

limited space on the north margin of the scroll.³⁰ Inaba Iwakichi, however, charted its location near the remains of an old fortress in present-day Bawangcun 霸王村, thus near the river junction as Sin did in his map, citing its actual representation of topographical features.³¹ Mitamura Taisuke at first accepted Wada's theory³² but later agreed to Inaba's theory in consideration of the actual topographical features.³³

I am of the same opinion with Inaba that the earthen fortress had been located near Koguryo's Paewangjo Mountain Fortress 霸王朝山城. Since the *Dogi* placed it before the river junction, surrounded by two mountain ridges, the earthen fortress may well be situated at present-day Bawangcun 霸王村, Caiyuanzhen 財源鎮, and Ji'an City 集安市. Currently, the earthen fortress is not extant but a stone mountain fortress called Paewanjo sanseong 霸王朝山城 is found there. It is not improbable that the earthen fortress in question had actually existed.

One important clue to this earthen fortress can be found in County Gazetteer of Ji'an (*Ji'an xianzhi* 集安縣志). The gazetteer, published in 1930, states regarding the earthen fortress (Tuchengzi 土城子) that "[I]t had previously remained on the riverside near Bawangzhao 八王朝 (i.e., Paewangjo), but was submerged under water and sand. The large stones of a few yards at the site were carted away by villagers to build their houses, leaving no remains there."³⁴ Thus the earthen fortress had received both natural and man-made damage only to disappear. Since the site was only about one kilometer or so away from the Xinkai Stream, it is highly probable that Sin Chung'il, who traveled along the stream, may well have wit-

³⁰ Wada Kiyoshi, "Manshū shobu no ichi ni tsuite" 滿洲諸部の位置について [Study on the locations of Tribes in Manchu], in *Tōashi kenkyū (Manshū hen)* 東亞史研究 (滿洲編) [Study of East Asia History: Manchuria] (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu shoin, 1954), 578.

³¹ Inaba Iwakichi, *Kōkyō Nidōkashi Kyūōjō*.

³² Mitamura Taisuke, "Chōsen soku shiryō yori mita Shinsho no kyōiki."

³³ Mitamura Taisuke, "Shinsho no kyōiki shoku: Shin Chūichi no Kenshū kitei zuki o chūshin toshite."

³⁴ The original text reads: "土城子... 在八王朝江岸 被水冲埋沙中 舊露大石數丈 後為鄉人造屋鑿取 無存矣." See Liu Tiancheng 劉天成, "Guji" 古跡 [Historical Remains], in *Ji'an xianzhi* 輯安縣志 卷 1 [Jian County Gazetteer, section 1] (1930).

nessed the earthen fortress and included its location in his map.

The Paewangjo Mountain Fortress 霸王朝山城 dates back to the Koguryo period, and was built at the river junction of the Hun River and the Xinkai Stream, which served a crucial point along the route from the Huanren 桓仁 area to Ji'an 集安.³⁵ It is highly likely that an earthen fortress might well be constructed at such a strategic point along the travel route. As a matter of fact, a cluster of earthen walled sites can be found today in its vicinity, such as Koguryo's Hagoseongja Fortress 下古城子城 in Huanren City, Koguryo's Nahap Fortress 喇哈城 in Beidianzixiang 北向子鄉, and Koguryo's Donggo Fortress 東古城 in Guchengzhen 古城鎮.

The *Dogi* noted that the then head of the Paewangjo Mountain Fortress 霸王朝山城, Li Dadou 李大斗, together with four generals led 1,000 strong to fight against Nurhaci but ran away. The account can be confirmed in *Qing Taizu shilu* 清太祖實錄 (Veritable record of the Qing emperor Taizu) and understood as a part of the subjugation campaigns by Nurhaci over the Jianzhou Jurchens. It is worth noting that Li Dadou and his generals could gather around them a sizable force of 1,000 strong in revolt against Nurhaci. It can be known that the area, centered around the fortress, had been under the control of a force hostile to Nurhaci and could afford sufficient economic resources enough to rally such a large number of soldiers. Moreover, the area had been a target of a series of Joseon campaigns during the eras of King Sejong, King Sejo, and King Seongjong. Therefore, the Paewangjo Mountain Fortress 霸王朝山城 had been an important strategic point since Koguryo times, but also remained a stronghold of the Jianzhou Jurchens during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁶

Sin's party moved up the Hun River from its junction with the Xinkai

³⁵ Yeo Hogyu, *Koguryo seong I—Apnokgang jungsangnyu pyeon*, 97-104; Yang Sicun, "Hwanin mit Jip'an doeuugi Koguryo seong gwa bangeo chegye yeon'gu" 桓仁 및 集安 都邑期 高句麗 城斗 防禦體系 研究 [Study of Koguryo's Fortresses and Defense System during the Period of the Hwanin and Ji'pan Capital], *Yeongnamhak* 24 (2013).

³⁶ Bak Jeongmin, "*Jeong Geonju haenggun dogi* reul tonghan Seongjong dae Geonjuwi jeongbeol eui jaeguseong" 征建州行軍圖記를 통한 성종대 建州衛 정벌의 재구성 [Reconstruction of the Campaign against the Jianzhou Commandery Using the *Jeong Geonju haenggun dogi* (Illustrated record of the expedition against the Jianzhou Jurchens)], *Yeoksa wa hyeonsil* 99, 142-43.

Stream and crossed the river near a stream pronounced as Yisodacheon 伊所多川 in the *Dogi*, which is located between present-day Jiangkoucun 江口村 and Laoxuetangdonggou 老學堂東溝, as shown in Google Earth 3. After crossing the Hun River, Sin's party followed up present-day Fu'erjiang River 富爾江, a tributary of the Hun River, towards the present-day area of Beidianzi 北甸子, yet the *Dogi* also marked the shorter route going up the Yisodacheon Stream and passing mountain ridges which Sin used in his return journey to Joseon.

Sin's party moved up along the Fu'er River, and spent the fourth night (the twenty fifth day of the twelfth month) at the place named Naha 羅下. The *Dogi* noted that the chief of Naha was Dongniguri 童尼求里 and he raised fifty horses for battle use. The route Sin Chung'il used there has been submerged by the construction of the Huanren Dam. Yet by consulting the Manchurian Map and other modern maps, Naha can be placed around present-day Beidianzixiangcun 北甸子鄉村.

Inaba and Mitamura also placed Naha around present-day Beidianzi 北甸子. Considering the sound value of Naha, its proximity to the Koguryo's Onyeo Mountain Fortress 五女山城, and its distance from the Mancha village—the place for the third night—Mitamura associated Naha with Koguryo's Nahap Fortress 喇哈城 in Beidianzi region. Since the current location of this fortress is the right-hand side of the Hun River at the point of present-day Wanlongbeicun 彎龍背村 of Beidianzixiang, it exists further south of Naha indicated in the *Dogi*.³⁷ The *Dogi* noted that there existed a famous stone fortress to the “southwest” of a village in Niguri 尼求里 of Naha, which must be the Onyeo Mountain Fortress. The Nahap Fortress cannot be identified as the place of Naha because it is found on the same latitude as the Onyeo Mountain Fortress which the *Dogi* indicated to be in the direction of the “southwest” not the west of the place of Naha.

³⁷ Dongbuk'a yeoksa net 동북아역사넷 [Northeast Asian History Network] (<http://contents.nahf.or.kr>).



Sin Chung'il's Map 4. Travel Route of the Fifth Day (the Twenty-sixth Day of the Twelfth Month)

Route from the Fu'er River 富爾江 to Fe Ala 佛阿拉

On the twenty fifth day of the twelfth month of 1595 (the fourth day), Sin's party began to trace the Fu'er River upward towards Fe Ala. Another well-used route since the times of Koguryo from the Hun River to Fe Ala passed through the present-day city of Huanren 桓仁 and the Liudaogou 六道溝 area. That route had been used by Yi Minhwan 李民寔 when he had been taken as a war prisoner at the Simha 深河 battle (i.e., Sarhu 薩爾滸 battle).³⁸ Instead, Sin chose to follow the Fu'er River upstream.

On the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month (the fifth day), Sin's party moved north, crossed the river at present-day Shengjiadayuancun 盛

³⁸ Yi Minhwan, *Chaekjung illok* 柵中日錄 [Daily Record while within the Wooden Stockades (as a captive)]. This document has been translated by a reading club of medieval historical materials (Jungse saryo gangdokhoe 중세사료강독회) in the Korean History Society (Hanguk yeoksa yeon'guhoe 한국역사연구회), as *1619 nyeon simha jeonjaeng gwa poro suyongso ilgi: Chaekjung illok* [*Chaekjung illok: Sarhu 薩爾滸 Battle of 1619, and Daily Record in the Camp of War Prisoners*] (2014).

家大院村, and passed a hill of present-day Jiangjiajie 姜家街. They crossed the river once more, passed through a place named Budogu 夫都求 (present-day Laoheibeicun 老黑背村), and passed over a mountain pass named Bieulhanryeong 非乙漢嶺 in the vicinity of present-day Xinjiangcun 新江村. Coming down from this mountain pass led to a flat land named Bieulhanpyeong 非乙漢坪, as can be found in Google Earth 4.

After passing through the flat land of Bieulhanpyeong and moving northwestward, the *Dogi* showed that two paths branched at the place named Jamiha 者未下. The upper path traced a stream named Ueojcheon 于於諸川, passed over a mountain pass named Hodoryeong 胡都嶺, and followed down a stream named Gyorocheon 喬老川 to join again the Fu'er River. The lower path continued to follow the Fu'er River. Inaba adopted the upper path whereas Mitamura adopted the lower path. Inaba roughly drew the upper path starting from present-day Guchengzhen 古城鎮 to the north and passing over present-day Qingling Pass 慶嶺 to move northwestward.³⁹ On the other hand, Mitamura assumed a village in Wanggolchi 王骨赤 as present-day Zhaojiadayuan 趙家大院 opposite to Guchengzhen where Sin's party passed over present-day Gaonian Pass 高年嶺 to follow the Fu'er River.⁴⁰

It is Inaba's estimation that sounds more convincing. Considering the structure of the mountains and the river system, the place named Jamiha 者未下 in the *Dogi* can be placed near present-day Dongguchengzicun 東古城子村. In Jamiha, according to the *Dogi*'s note, the "twenty-five Jurchen households were placed" and Wanggolchi 王骨赤 was the chief of that village. The place with "ten Jurchen households placed" along the Fu'er River seems to be present-day Xiguchengzicun 西古城子村. This area, encompassing Koguryo's Donggo Fortress 東古城 and Seogo Fortress 西古城, must have been hospitable for human residence as early as Koguryo. Moreover, the area has been a key point along the travel route

³⁹ Inaba Iwakichi, "Shin Chūichi kōteizu yo gendai jissokuzu taishō."

⁴⁰ Mitamura Taisuke, "Shinsho no kyōiki shoku: Shin Chūichi no Kenshū kitei zuki o chūshin toshite," 110-16.



Manchuria Map 3. Area Covering from Jamiha 者末下 to Gyoro 喬老

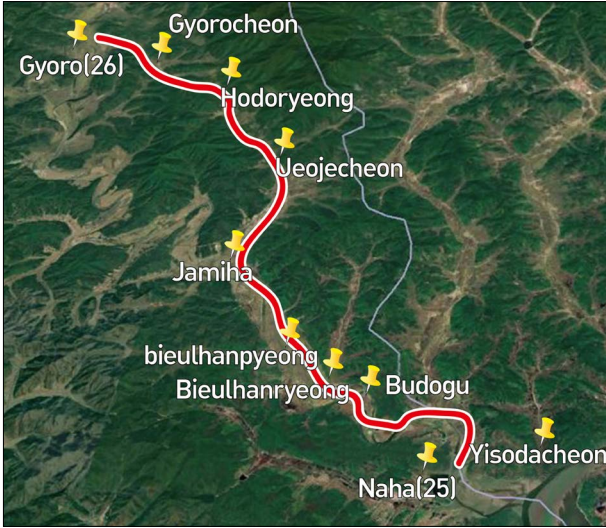
from Xinbin County 新賓縣 through the Fu'er River and the Xinkai Stream to Ji'an.⁴¹

⁴¹ Yeo Hogyu, *Koguryo seong I—Apnokgang jungsangnyu pyeon*, 167-69.

Sin's party chose to trace the Ueoje Stream upward from the place of Jamiha. In present-day simulation, they would pass through Guchengzhen 古城鎮, Guaimozi Chaoxianzuzhen 拐磨子朝鮮族鎮, and Hedaxian 鶴大線 in succession. A village on the *Dogi* with twenty households controlled by a Jurchen chief of Dongajibu 童阿之夫 can be either one of the latter two places. Sin's party turned northwest from present-day Chaluzicun 岔路子村 to move up a mountain route, passed over the Qingling Pass 慶嶺, and descended to present-day Shuanglazi 雙砬子村. In the *Dogi*, the Hodoryeong Pass 胡都嶺 can be present-day Qingling 慶嶺, and the fifty-households village of Gyoro 喬老, where the Gyoro Stream 喬老川 joined the Fu'er River, can be present-day Shuanglazi 雙砬子村.

The lower path following the Fu'er River, as indicated by Mitamura, has survived in the form of a present-day highway along the river. In the *Dogi*, the lower path appears to be shorter in distance than the upper path passing over the mountain pass of Hodoryeong. However, its actual distance is longer, as can be seen in Manchuria Map 3, because it has many bends. As a matter of fact, measuring the respective distance on Google Earth produces twenty-one kilometers for the upper path of Hodoryeong and twenty-eight kilometers for the lower path of the Fu'er River. It is highly feasible that Sin Chung'il also used the shorter path of Hodoryeong; well trodden by the contemporary people at that time. In addition, the Manchuria Map highlighted the path by bold line, as shown by Manchurian Map 3, enhancing the likelihood of its common use. Above all, Sin himself mapped the path of Hodoryeong in the *Dogi* to mark his travel course, as shown in Sin Chung'il's Map 4.

For the twenty-sixth night of the twelfth month (the fifth day), Sin's party sojourned at the Gyoro village, three *sikjeong* or ninety *ri* (approximately thirty six kilometers) away from Naha, where they stayed for the previous night, according to Sin's estimation. In fact, the lower path along the Fu'er River measures forty-three kilometers while the upper path of Hodoryeong measures thirty six kilometers, corresponding to Sin's estimation. The village was headed by Dongadu 童阿斗. And, according to Sin's



Google Earth 4. Travel Route of the Fifth Day (the Twenty-sixth Day of the Twelfth Month) and Its Main Points

note,⁴² from this village to a village in Dongsibeolyi 童時伐伊 at the close proximity of the headquarters of Fe Ala, the Jurchen residents were requisitioned to work at the headquarters and leave only a few men and women to each household. The *Dogi* stated that male members of households were recruited from the villages of a three to four nights' journey from Fe Ala to perform either labor or military service there on a rotation basis.⁴³ Since the Gyoro village was three nights' journey from Fe Ala, its residents were also recruited for labor or military service.

On the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month (the sixth day), Sin's party moved northward, passed by the junction of a tributary stream named Hwanghacheon 黃家川 to the Fu'er River—the present-day area of Xiangshuihezixiang 響水河子鄉—, and passed over a mountain pass

⁴² Original text reads: “一自此部落 至童時伐伊部落 家家只留守直男女若干名 其餘以過歲事 歸於奴酋城云。”

⁴³ Original text reads: “役軍則三四日程內部落 每一戶 計其男丁之數 分番赴役。”

named Janghang 獐項, and turned northwestward to pass over another mountain road named Mijihang 彌只項. These two mountain ways seem to be located in the mountainous area of present-day Xishancun 西山村 and Zhuanshuihucun 轉水湖村. Today, travelers may well choose the highway line of Wangshuangxian 旺雙線 to go to the area of Wangqingmenzhen 旺清門鎮. Nonetheless, the Manchuria Map marked a small road passing over the mountain pass of Qianshiling 欠石嶺 equivalent presumably to Mijihang in the *Dogi*; other maps also marked the road in point. Therefore, it can be known that in the past at least until the 1930s travelers had chosen to use the Qianshiling Pass.

In the vicinity of Mijihang was located the Koguryo's Jeonsuho Mountain Fortress 轉水湖山城 which belonged to a chain of mountain fortresses located along the middle and upper reaches of the Fu'er River.⁴⁴ It can be argued that the contemporary travel routes and defensive structures along the Fu'er River showed a remarkable continuity with those used during the time of Koguryo.

After passing over the Qianshiling Pass, Sin's party moved northward almost parallel to the present-day highway of Wangshuangxian, and passed by several small villages to arrive at a village named Sahanae 沙河乃. The Sahanae village was a sizable village with clustered households numbering one hundred. At the foot of a mountain that eventually connected to Fe Ala, Sin's party made their first encounter with the wooden stockades (*mokchaek* 木柵). To locate the Sahanae village in a present-day map, it is advisable to examine the river system around that area. In the *Dogi*, the main stem waterway was joined by a stream recorded as Walmicheon 曰彌川 from the north, and by a stream recorded as Guracheon 仇羅川 from both sides. The river junction area of present-day Wangqingmenzhen 旺清門鎮 has a close approximation of such a river system.

The *Dogi* mapped the Gura Stream joining the Fu'er River prior to the Walmi Stream. However, in their simulations in Manchuria Map 4, the latter joins the river before the former. The ridge of the mountain at the

⁴⁴ Yeo Hogyu, *Koguryo seong I—Apnokgang jungsangnyu pyeon* 45.



Sin Chung'il's Map 5. Travel Route of the Sixth Day (the Twenty-seventh Day of the Twelfth Month)

foot of which stood the wooden stockades extends towards the Fu'er River, corresponding to the mountain ridge, as shown in Google Earth 5. Hence, I locate the Sahanae village in present-day Jiangdongcun 江東村 next to Wangqingmenzhen 旺清門鎮, and locate the wooden stockades west of Ji-angdoncun that sits upward at the junctions of the Walmicheon Stream and the Gura Streams.

The Walmi Stream appeared to be short in the *Dogi*. But the Walmicheon simulation in Manchuria Map 4 appears to be extended given its upward direction leading up to either present-day Liuhe 柳河 or present-day Tonghua 通化. Even today, the area of Wangqingmenzhen 旺清門鎮 serves an important travel route toward these places, just as it had been an important strategic point since Koguryo.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Mitamura Taisuke, "Shinsho no kyōiki shoku: Shin Chūichi no Kenshū kitei zuki o chūshin



Manchuria Map 4. The Junctions of the Walmi Stream 日彌川 and the Gura Stream 仇羅川

According to the *Dogi*'s note, north of the Fu'er River ran a travel route that led to the Yehe 如許 tribes by a five nights' journey to the north. In modern simulation, the route passes present-day Liuhe and measures 300 kilometers in length up to the Yehe Fortress 叶赫城—once a power base of the Yehe tribes—in the present-day location of Yehemanzuzhen 叶赫满族镇 in the district of Tiedongqu 鐵東區 in Sipingshi City 四平市 in Jilin Province. Hence, Sin's information is quite reliable.

The travel route north of the Fu'er River could be used by the Jurchen tribes such as the Hada 哈達 and the Hoifa 輝發 to attack against the Jianzhou Jurchens based on Fe Ala. As a matter of fact, in 1593 (the twenty-sixth year of King Seonjo) a force of nine allies including the four Hülun

toshite," 116-18; Gi Gyeongryang, "4 segi Koguryo 'Namdo-Bukdo' eui silche wa geu seonggyeok," 244-45.

tribes 扈倫四部, the Hada, and the Yehe mounted an attack against Nurhaci. Nurhaci might well have reinforced the defensive facilities like wooden stockades and smoke towers (*yeondae* 烟臺). The *Dogi* did testify the increasing frequency of such facilities from the area of present-day Wangqingmenzhen.

Passing the area of Wangqingmenzhen, Sin's party traced upward a stream recorded as Wangchicheon 王致川, and crossed over a hill with a smoke tower (*yeondae* 烟臺). The site of the smoke tower might be placed near the present-day tunnel of the S10 highway across the Wangqingmen rest area. In fact, a signal-fire station of Beishan 北山 is currently in place,⁴⁶ and the *Dogi* marked the crossing over of the mountain ridge in the vicinity of that smoke tower. Soon afterwards, a village of forty or so households appeared, which could be located at present-day of Jiumen Chaoxianzu Cun 舊門朝鮮族村. The route passing through the village can be today's S104 high line of Shentongxian 沈通線, that heads toward Xinbin 新賓.

Over the wooden stockades installed on the mountain ridge just behind present-day Jiumen Chaoxianzu Cun, began a different river system from the Wangchi Stream. The *Dogi* marked the mountain ridge as a watershed ridge, in which the wooden stockades were installed. This route had been a well-beaten track from the area of Xinbin to the Fu'er River. Hence, it is likely that the Jianzhou Jurchens might well have installed the wooden stockades to defend the strategic point. Moreover, the two sites of smoke towers⁴⁷ in rather close vicinity along the route suggests that the area was a center of travel, and had much of strategic value.

Sin's party traced down a stream marked as Dongsanggaecheon 同相介川, which was joined by a stream marked as Imgotacheon 林古打川, which, for its part, ran through the present-day place of Dongchangtai 東昌台, or present-day Nanfengmigoucun 南蜂蜜溝村. Currently, the junction of two

⁴⁶ Guojia wenwu ju, ed., *Zhongguo wenwu dituji (Liaoning fence xia)* 中國文物地圖集(遼寧分冊 下) [Collection of Maps of Chinese Cultural Relics: Liaoning Section, vol. 2] (Xian ditu chubanshe, 2008), 133.

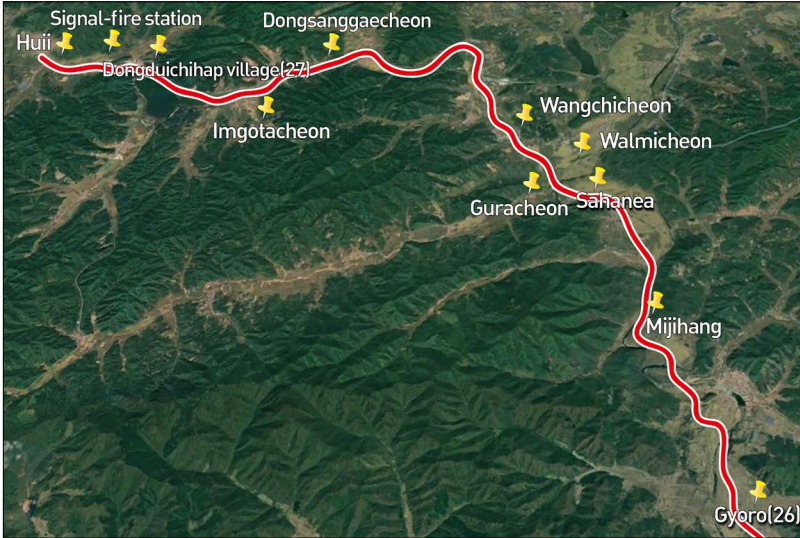
⁴⁷ The *Geonju tamjeonggi chuk* 建州探情記軸 had one, but the other versions had two.

streams has been submerged by the construction of the Hongsheng 紅升 Reservoir but the Manchuria Map showed a narrow valley there instead. These two streams were upper tributaries of the Suzi River 蘇子河.

Sin's party traced down the Suzi River before they spent the night of the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month (the sixth day) at a village named Dongduichihap 東豆伊致哈, which can be placed around the area of Hongshengxiang 紅升鄉 given its topography and distance. The mountain ridge next to the Dongduichihap village, which ended with the smoke tower, can be identifiable in Google Earth 5. The *Dogi* reported that the village in point was two *sikjeong* and ten *ri* or seventy *ri* (approximately twenty eight kilometers) away from the Gyoro village (for the night before), and two *sikjeong* or sixty *ri* (approximately twenty four kilometers) away from Fe Ala. In a present-day estimation, the former distance is about thirty three kilometers while the latter distance is about twenty nine kilometers, thus roughly corresponding to Sin's estimation.

On the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month (the seventh day), Sin's party traced the Suzihe Stream further down. Soon afterwards, however, they turned southwest to take a mountain route at a place named Huji 厚之, which can be placed at present-day Baiqicun 白旗村. From that place to Fe Ala, which can be placed around present-day Erdaohezicun 二道河子村 of Yonglingzhen 永陵鎮, the common route is to take the present-day highway of S10 or S104 (Shentongxian 沈通線), that passes through the present-day autonomous county of Manchus in Xinbin (Xinbin Manzu zizhixian 新賓滿族自治縣). The route, following down the Suzihe Stream, is smooth and accessible. Hence, since the times of Koguryo, the well-beaten paths of that route had connected from Fushun 撫順 to Yonglingzhen to Wangqingmen to the Suzi Stream to the Fu'er River to the Xinkai Stream to Ji'an 集安, or from Fushun to Yonglingzhen to Wangqingmen to Tonghua to Ji'an.⁴⁸

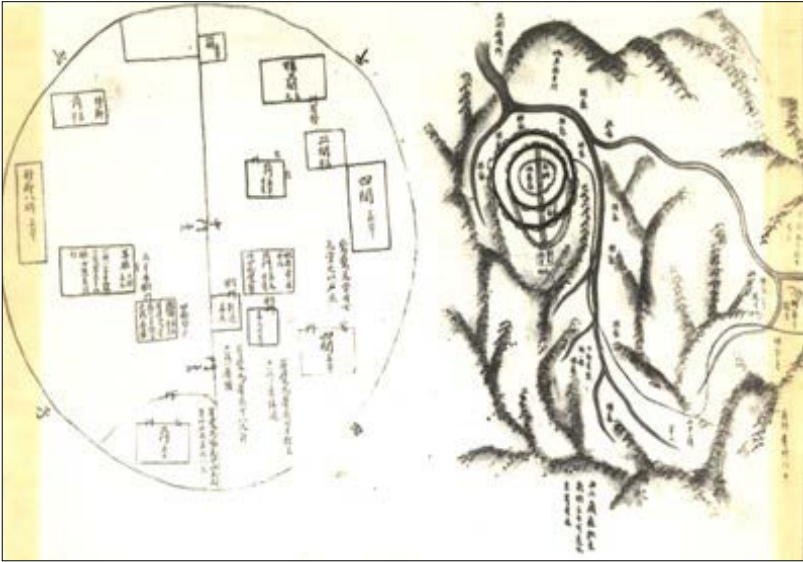
⁴⁸ These routes may well date from the time when Former Yan (Qian Yan 前燕) invaded Koguryo in the early fourth century (342 C.E.), and had been referred to as south and north routes, the accurate course of which is still controversial. Regardless of the controversy, many scholars have acknowledged the existence of such routes. For more information on these routes, see Gong



Google Earth 5. Travel Route of the Sixth Day (the Twenty-seventh Day of the Twelfth Month) and Its Main Points

A question may arise: why did Sin Chung'il not take a more familiar and smooth route even though the mountain route passing over the Hono Pass 胡老嶺 and the Sori Pass 小里嶺 must have been covered with snow in the winter season? It should be kept in mind that Sin's party was escorted by Jurchen chiefs such as Dongnyeoelgo 童女乙古 and Dongpyakeunggo 童悛應古, who might well have directed the Joseon party at the behest of Nurhaci or by their own discretion. They would not display any feeling of distrust towards the most recent official Joseon visitors whose main mission was to spy on the transportation routes and defense conditions of their host, that is, the Jianzhou Jurchens.

Seokgu, "Koguryo wa Moyong Yeon eui jeonjaeng gwa geu euimi" 고구려와 모용 '연'의 전쟁과 그 의미 [Significance of the war between Koguryo and the Murong Yan 慕容燕], *Dongbuka yeoksa nonchong* 15 (2007): 77-78; Jeong Woncheol, "Koguryo Namdo·Bukdo wa Koguryo sanseong eui chukseong" 고구려 남도·북도와 고구려 산성의 축성 [Koguryo's Southern and Northern Roads and Its Construction of Mountain Fortresses], *Donguk sahak* 30 (2011): 8-12; Gi Gyeongryang, "4 segi Koguryo 'Namdo·Bukdo' eui silche wa geu seonggyeok," 245-47.



Sin Chung'il's Map 6. Travel Route of the Seventh Day (the Twenty-eighth Day of the Twelfth Month)

In modern simulation, from the present-day Hongshengxiang area (for the night of the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month) to present-day Baiqicun, the distance is only two kilometers but was dotted with five villages with two to forty households. Just as the defense facilities such as wooden stockades and smoke towers increased in number from the present-day area of Wangqingmenzhen 旺清門鎮, so did the number of villages increas from the present-day area of Hongshengxiang 紅升鄉.

The *Dogi* noted that Nurhaci had previously resided for ten years in a village of forty households, headed by Donggaga 童加可, in the present-day city district of Xinbin County 新賓縣.⁴⁹ The early Qing records such as *Manzhou shilu* 滿洲實錄 (Manchu veritable record) and *Qing Taizu shilu* 清太祖實錄 (Veritable record of the Qing emperor Taizu) also stated that six ancestors of Nurhaci had resided around the present-day area of

⁴⁹ The original text reads: “胡家四十餘座 酋胡童加可 一奴酋世居此部落 今移林吉打十年云.”

Yongling 永陵 in Xinbin County. Recent field research has discovered a number of fortress remains, such as Wenjiayao nanshan chengzhi 温家窯南山城址 and Daziying chengzhi 達子營城址, which appear to have been used during the era of Nurhaci.⁵⁰

The importance of the Suzihe 蘇子河 Valley in transportation and defense had been recognized since ancient times, as manifested by a significant number of historical remains of Koguryo, the Han Dynasty, and the Jin Dynasty.⁵¹ It seems that the present-day region of Xinbin County had been not only clustered with concentrations of Jurchen villages under Nurhaci's control, but also fortified with smoke towers, wooden stockades, and fortresses. Hence, it is probable that Nurhaci and Jurchen leaders did not want to reveal their defense installments in the close vicinity of their headquarters to Sin's party, and ordered Dongnyeoelgo and Dongpyakeunggo to take the mountain route from present-day Baiqicun instead of following the river valley.

Sin's party took a southwest turn at Huji 厚之 and crossed over a mountain pass named Honoryeong 胡老嶺. The previous studies identified the mountain pass as the one named Huoluoling 伏洛嶺 in the Manchuria Map,⁵² which can be placed at a certain mountain pass along the route from present-day Mamahuoluocun 媽媽伏洛村 through Donggou 東溝 to present-day Dakuaidecun 大塊地村. A place marked as *hoga ijwa* 胡家二座 (two Jurchen households) in the *Dogi* can be placed in present-day Dakuaidecun that was depicted to join the Suzi River shortly thereafter.

Sin's party traced the unnamed stream upstream and crossed over a mountain pass named Soriryeong 小里嶺 to head toward a stream named Soricheon 小里川. As Inaba argued, the Sori Stream might well be rendered as Suoerkehe 索爾科河 or Shoulikou 首里口 in Qing Taizu shilu 清太

⁵⁰ Zhang Deyu et al., "Ningguta yu Liuzucheng kaobian" "寧古塔"與六祖城考辨 [Illustration of 'Ningguta' and the Fortress of Six Ancestors], *Liaohai wenwu xuekan* 1996-01 (1996).

⁵¹ Guojia wenzhu ju, ed., *Zhongguo wenwu dituji (Liaoning fence xia)*, 132-35.

⁵² Inaba Iwakichi, "Shin Chūichi kōteizu yo gendai jitsusokuzu taishō"; Mitamura Taisuke, "Shinsho no kyōiki shoku: Shin Chūichi no Kenshū kitei zuki o chūshin toshite," 126-29. Both agreed to Sin's travel course from here to Fe Ala via 'Soriryeong' 小里嶺 and 'Soricheon' 小里川.



Google Earth 6. Travel Route of the Seventh Day (the Twenty-eighth Day of the Twelfth Month) and Its Main Points

祖實錄 (Veritable record of the Qing emperor Taizu) and *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 (Draft history of the Qing).⁵³ Then, through their modern simulation, the Sori Pass, located at the headwater of the Sori Stream, can be present-day Duanshu Pass 楸樹嶺. Even though Sin Chung'il could not use the primary route along the Suzi River, it appears that he made an effort to map the flow of the river while passing over the Hono Pass and Sori Pass. As a result, he could get a rough perspective of the rivers and mountains of the region without examining them at close distance. After passing over the Sori Pass, Sin's party must have come down to the up the Sori Stream, which might sit near the present-day area of Dayang 大央. Following this stream and passing by a number of village clusters, Sin Chung'il finally arrived at the headquarters of Nurhaci at Fe Ala, ready to engage in the negotiations with the Jurchen parties, for which he was dispatched.

Conclusion

Many scholars have shown interest in Sin Chung'il's account of the jour-

⁵³ For a detailed explanation, see Inaba Iwakichi, *Kōkyō Nidōkashi Kyūrōjō*, 21-25. Mitamura also was in agreement with Inaba as to the linguistic origins of 'Soriryong' 小里嶺.

ney to Fe Ala to meet Nurhaci, the rising leader of the Jianzhou Jurchens. Nonetheless, little attention has been paid to his travel routes except for the studies by Inaba Iwakichi and Mitamura Taisuke. Their estimated routes are in disagreement with each other in many aspects, and are not simulated into a modern map. The question of how Sin Chung'il made his way has not been answered sufficiently.

One can think of four principal cases of the route from Manpo to the contemporary location of Fe Ala in the late sixteenth century. First, from Ji'an one can follow the Weishahe Stream 葦沙河 to reach Tonghua, proceed eastward to Wangqingmenzhen, and thence go on along the Suzi Stream to reach Fe Ala. Second, from Ji'an one can cross over the Xiaobanling Pass 小板嶺, follow the Xinkai Stream until its junction with the Hun River, trace upstream the Fu'er River, and travel alongside the Suzi Stream to reach Fe Ala. Third, from Ji'an one can cross over the Xiaobanling Pass 小板嶺, follow the Xinkai Stream until its junction with the Hun River, then come out in the direction of Huanren, and proceed northward in the direction of Liudaogou. Last, from Ji'an one can follow downstream the Yalu River to Liangshuizhen 凉水鎮 to turn northward, pass through Erdaodianzi 二道甸子 to reach Huanren, and pass by Liudaogou to reach Fe Ala. Taking shorter paths may well produce more cases of routes.

In order to delineate more accurately the routes Sin Chung'il took in his round trip, this study pursues new methods of using such maps as Google Earth and Manchuria Map, referring to Chinese cultural relics gazetteers, and examining mountain ridges, river systems and historical remains depicted in his account. Through this process, the travel routes between Joseon and the Jianzhou Jurchens around the time of the Imjin War (1592-98) can be recovered.

Having received King Seonjo's order to meet Nurhaci for negotiating current issues, Sin Chung'il arrived at Manpo on the twenty first day of the twelfth month of 1595 (the twenty-ninth year of King Seonjo). The next day, Sin's party crossed the Yalu River near present-day Manpo Station. They followed down the Yalu River westward, turned northwest at the present-day place of Maxianxiang 麻線鄉, and spent the night of the twenty-second day of the twelfth month at what is now the Banzaigou 半載溝 area.

On the twenty third day, Sin's party crossed over the Xiaoban Pass 小板嶺 (Mancharyeong 蔓遮嶺 in the *Dogi*), and moved northwestward along the Xinkai Stream 新開河. On their way, they passed by the Koguryo's narrow passage of Mangparyeong gwanae 望波嶺關隘 (Janghang 獐項 in the *Dogi*) and spent the night at present-day Huangweizicun 荒歲子村 (Goyeonggu 古營丘 in the *Dogi*). On the twenty fourth day, they proceeded northward and spent the night at present-day Caiyuanxiang 財源鄉 (the Mancha village in the *Dogi*). On the twenty fifth day, they followed the Xinkai Stream northwestward to its junction with the Hun River 渾江. Sin Chung'il mentioned that an earthen fortress (*toseong* 土城) had existed near Koguryo's Paewangjo Mountain Fortress 霸王朝山城. By now the earthen fortress has disappeared, yet Ji'an County Gazetteer (Ji'anxian zhi 輯安縣志) in 1930 indicated its remains, thereby lending credibility to Sin's note. His party crossed the river, and spent the night at the present-day place of Beidianxixiang 北甸子鄉 (Naha 羅下 in the *Dogi*) in Huanren County 桓仁縣.

From the twenty-sixth day, Sin's party traced the Fu'er River 富爾江 upstream towards Fe Ala. They crossed the river at present-day Shengjiadayuancun 盛家大院村, and crossed over a mountain hill in the present-day place of Jiangjiajie 姜家街. Thence, they passed through present-day Laoheibeicun 老黑背村 and Guamozichaoxianzuzhen 拐磨子朝鮮族鎮 nearby Dongguchengzicun 東古城子村 (Jamiha 者未下 in the *Dogi*) in Guchengzhen 古城鎮, crossed over present-day Qingling 慶嶺 ('Hodoryeong' 胡都嶺), and came down to present-day Shuanglazi 雙砬子村 to spend the night at the place named Gyoro 喬老 in the *Dogi*. On the twenty-seventh day, they proceeded northward to pass through the present areas of Xiangshuihezixiang 響水河子鄉 and Wangqingmunzhen 旺清門鎮, turned to the direction of Xinbin County at present-day Jiumen Chaoxianzu Cun 舊門朝鮮族村 across the Wangqingmen rest area of the S10 highway. They spent the night at the present-day place of Hongshengxiang 紅升鄉. On the twenty-eighth day, Sin's party followed downstream the Suzi Stream 蘇子河, turned abruptly at present-day Baiqicun 白旗村 (Huji 厚之 in the *Dogi*) to take a mountain route. Thereafter, they crossed over the mountain pass named Honoryeong 胡老嶺 in the *Dogi*, passed through present-day Dakuaidacun 大塊地村, crossed over present-day Duanshuling 椴樹嶺, came

down to present-day Dayang 大夾, and followed down the stream named Soricheon 小里川 in the *Dogi* to reach Fe Ala at the end.

The significance of recovering the route journeyed by Sin Chung'il is not limited to identifying one particular route between Joseon and the Jianzhou Jurchens during the Imjin War (1592-98). Considering the fact that the headquarters of the Jianzhou Jurchens had remained around the Xinbin and Huanren regions for about two hundred years, recovering the route in point is to determine the well-established travel and communication route between Joseon Korea and the Jianzhou Jurchens for an extended period. Moreover, the routes taken by Sin Chung'il in his round-trip journey can provide crucial reference points together with historical records prior to his trip in reconstructing past routes used by Koreans and Jurchens between the middle-reach towns of the Yalu River such as Manpo, Chosan, and Byeokdong in Joseon as well as the Jurchen headquarters in Xinbin and Huanren. One possibility is to illustrate the expedition routes against the Jianzhou Jurchens used four times during the eras of King Sejong, King Sejo, and King Seongjong.

Remarkably, as demonstrated above, Sin Chung'il's routes were dotted with a number of historical remains which had been in place since Koguryo, such as the monument inscribed with the merit of Guanqiu Jian 毋丘儉記功碑, the narrow Mangpa Passage 望波嶺關隘, the Paewangjo Mountain Fortress 霸王朝山城, the Jeonsuha Mountain Fortress 轉水湖山城, the Baekgi Fortress 白旗城, and the Fe Ala fortress itself. Hence, it can be known that Sin's routes were closely overlapped with those used during Koguryo, and that many of Koguryo's historical sites had still been in use even at the time of Sin's travel in the late sixteenth century. In sum, it can be argued that the meaning of Sin Chung'il's travel routes may well go beyond their value for serving specific purposes in given periods, and play a key role in rethinking the borderlands of Joseon Korea inseparable from the historical geography of Koguryo.

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