Special Feature

Eupchi and *Eupseong* of the Joseon Dynasty

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Introduction: The Formation of *Eupchi* in the Joseon Dynasty and Its Urban Historical Significance

Joseon (1392–1910), born from the dynasty-changing revolution, faced the fate of succeeding the Goryeo dynasty on one hand and rejecting it on the other hand. Joseon attempted to relocate the capital and reorganize local administrative districts upon its founding as representative policies, aiming at severing ties with Goryeo. Joseon nearly completed its administrative reorganization by the early 15th century. As a result, Goryeo's first-tier administrative districts of the five provinces and two border regions (*yanggye*), established in the early 11th century and sustained for approximately 400 years, were rearranged into eight provinces.[1] Goryeo's 540 or some second-tier administrative districts—*ju* 州, *bu* 府, *gun* 郡, and *hyeon* 縣—were consolidated into about 330 districts in Joseon—*bu* 府, *mok*牧, *gun* 郡, and *heyon* 縣 (Figure 1). The number of second-tier districts remained largely unchanged at around 330 until 1914. However, specifically, the number of *dohobu* increased by approximately 1.7 times, while the number of *gun* and *hyeon* decreased accordingly (Table 1).

Bu in Joseon include Gaeseong[2] and Pyeongyang, the capitals of the former Goryeo dynasty; Hamheung, the hometown of King Taejo (Yi Seong-gye); and Jeonju, the settlement of the first male ancestor of the Yi clan. Most of them also served as *gamyeong*, the administrative centers of the provinces. Another type of *bu* was *yusubu* 留守府. To defend the capital city of Hanseong, *yusubu* was established in Gaeseong (1438) to the north of the city, Ganghwa (1627) to the west, Gwangju (1638) to the east, and Suwon (1793) to the south. Later, Chuncheon was also designated as *yusubu* in 1888. *Hyeon*, the lowest-rank

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1 The five provinces include Yanggwang, Gyeongsang, Jeolla, Gyoju, and Seohae, and the two border districts are Donggye and Bukgye. Donggye corresponds to Hamgyeong Province and Bukgye to Pyeongan Province of the Joseon dynasty. The eight provinces of Joseon include Gyeonggi, Gangwon, Chungcheong, Jeolla, Gyeongsang, Hwanghae, Pyeongan, and Hamgyeong.

2 For the place names of North Korea, the Romanization convention of North Korea is exceptionally adopted since it has been already worldwide known and used even though for non-English words including Korean ones, the new (revised) Romanization convention established by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism is basically and consistently used in the *Review of Korean Studies*. However, for the place names of North Korea used in the Goryeo or Joseon dynasties, the new Romanization is adopted in this manuscript just as the ones of South Korea.

Table 1. Changes in the Number of Municipalities of the Joseon Dynasty

Municipality rank (Head title)	Official rank	*National Code* (1485)									*Supplement to the National Code* (1744)								
		GG	CC	GS	JL	HH	GW	HG	PA	Total	GG	CC	GS	JL	HH	GW	HG	PA	Total
Bu (*buyun*)	*Jong* 2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	4	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	6
Daedohobu (*daedohobusa*)	*Jeong* 3	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	4
Mok (*moksa*)	*Jeong* 3	4	4	3	3	2	1	-	3	20	4	4	3	4	2	1	1	2	21
Dohobu (*dohobusa*)	*Jong* 3	7	-	7	4	4	5	11	6	44	9	1	15	7	7	7	15	14	75
Gun (*gunsu*)	*Jong* 4	7	12	14	12	7	7	5	18	82	10	14	12	11	7	6	2	12	74
Hyeon (*hyeollyeong*)	*Jong* 5	5	1	7	6	4	3	-	8	34	4	1	5	5	2	3	-	6	26
Hyeon (*hyeongam*)	*Jong* 6	14	37	34	31	7	9	4	5	141	9	34	33	28	5	8	2	5	124
Total		37	54	67	57	24	26	22	42	329	37	54	70	56	23	26	22	42	330
Municipality rank (Head title)	Official rank	*Comprehensive National Code* (1785)									*Comprehensive Collection of the National Codes* (1865)								
		GG	CC	GS	JL	HH	GW	HG	PA	Total	GG	CC	GS	JL	HH	GW	HG	PA	Total
Bu (*Buyun*)	*Jong* 2	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	6	3	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	8
Daedohobu (*Daedohobusa*)	*Jeong* 3	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	4	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	4
Mok (*Moksa*)	*Jeong* 3	4	4	3	4	2	1	1	2	21	3	4	3	4	2	1	1	2	20
Dohobu (*Dohobusa*)	*Jong* 3	8	1	15	7	7	7	16	14	75	8	1	14	7	6	7	18	14	75
Gun (*Gunsu*)	*Jong* 4	10	14	12	11	7	6	2	12	74	10	14	13	13	7	6	2	12	77
Hyeon (*Hyeollyeong*)	*Jong* 5	4	1	5	5	2	3	-	6	26	4	1	5	5	2	3	-	6	26
Hyeon (*Hyeongam*)	*Jong* 6	9	34	33	28	5	8	2	5	124	8	34	33	26	6	8	2	5	122
Total		36	54	71	56	23	26	23	41	330	36	54	71	56	23	26	25	41	332

Note: Hanseongbu (Hanseong Panyun, *Jeong* 2) and Gaeseongbu (Gaeseong Buyun) are excluded from this table. And the abbreviations in this table are defined as follows: GG for Gyeonggi Province, CC for Chungcheong Province, GS for Gyeongsang Province, JL for Jeolla Province, HH for Hwanghae Province, GW for Gangwon Province, HG for Hamgyeong Province, and PA for Pyeongan Province.

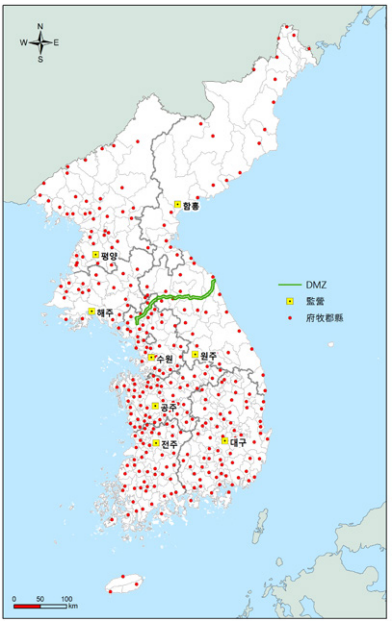

Figure 1. The Distribution of *Eupchi* in the Mid-18th Century
Source: *Yeojidoseo* 1757–1765
Note: All the maps in this paper were produced by this author unless otherwise mentioned.

municipality also consisted of two types: *hyeollyeong* 縣令 and *hyeongam* 縣監. *Gunhyeon* 郡縣, *eup* 邑, or *goeul* were used to refer to second-tier administrative districts such as *bu*, *mok*, *gun*, and *hyeon*, but this paper uses *gunhyeon* among them. The names of municipalities with different ranks (*bu*, *mok*, *gun*, and *hyeon*) were all unified into *gun* in 1895, when the eight provinces were reorganized into 23 *bu*. However, *gunhyeon* were not merged or consolidated at that time, and therefore, the number of *gunhyeon* remained the same (approximately 330). This remained the same even in 1896 when the 23 *bu* were rearranged into 13 provinces.

Another policy that differentiated Joseon from Goryeo in terms of its local administrative system was the dispatch of officials from the central government to every *gunhyeon* across the country. Goryeo deployed officials only to major *gunhyeon*, entrusting them with the management of smaller neighboring *gunhyeon*. The *gunhyeon* to which government officials were dispatched were called *juhyeon* (primary *hyeon*), and those under the jurisdiction of the primary *hyeon* were called *sokyeon* (subordinate *hyeon*). In other words, all *gunhyeon* of the Joseon dynasty were primary *hyeon*. Another distinctive characteristic of Joseon's local government system was that each *gunhyeon* was granted of its own rank. Municipality ranks ranging from *Jong* 2 to *Jong* 6 were linked to those of the officials dispatched. China also had such a local government system in which

municipality ranks corresponded to those of officials deployed. The Goryeo dynasty also adopted it as a principle. However, it was not strictly implemented, and its significance gradually faded with increasing cases where central government officials concurrently held positions at municipalities, rather than being dispatched to municipalities.

The tradition of assigning ranks, which were supposed to be granted to individuals, even to land (*gunhyeon*) through the institutional device of municipality ranks, is a unique aspect of Korean administrative culture. The identification of official ranks with municipality ranks denies the distinction between organic entities and inorganic districts. In addition, the perception of land as a living being, like humans, is connected to *feng shui*. Concepts and entities, such as origin regions of family clans, village associations, ancestral mountains, and homecoming, are deeply Korean, although they are not unique to Korea. They demonstrate Koreans' strong land-bound nature. Municipality ranks can be understood from a similar perspective. Just as people have personalities, so do municipalities. People in Joseon seem to have had a special attachment to land. Attributing this to the state's agricultural foundation is less convincing, given that all pre-modern societies worldwide were agricultural. Koreans' special affection for inorganic objects is evident in *feng shui* and rituals worshiping mountains, seas, and rivers. In fact, presiding such rituals was a key duty of local officials.

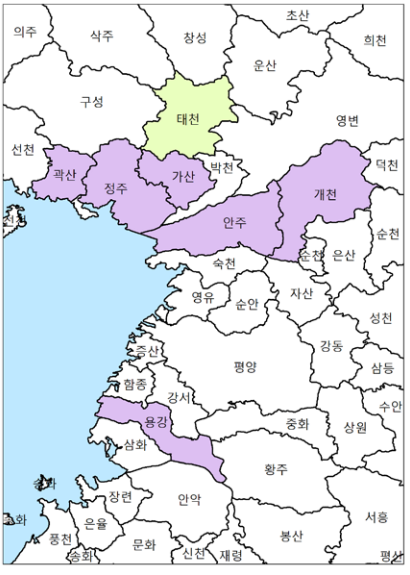

Figure 2. Demoted and abolished *Gun* and *Hyeon* after the Hong Gyeong-rae's Rebellion

Unlike the number of *gunhyeon*, their municipality ranks fluctuated quite frequently. Joseon had a practice of downgrading the rank or even abolishing the municipality itself following disgraceful incidents, such as treason, rebellion, murder of a master or a relative, or violation of public morals. This was a form of punishment imposed on regions, not individuals. An abolished *gunhyeon* was incorporated into neighboring municipalities. However, this practice also included lifting the punishment and restoring the original rank no later than ten years. Nevertheless, such seemingly wasteful administrative measures were adopted on the belief that not only individuals but also regions deserved punishment for their crimes and wrongdoings.

> Anju, Jeongju, Gasan, and Gwaksan were demoted to *hyeon*. Anju is the birthplace of Yang Si-wi, Jeongju of Kim I-dae and Choi I-ryun, Gasan of Woo Gun-chik and Yun Eon-seop, and Gwaksan of Hong Chong-gak. On the other hand, Gaecheon and Yonggang were downgraded to *hyeongam*, and Taecheon was placed at the lowest among *hyeon*, as they were the homes of criminals such as Lee Je-cho, Hong Gyeong-rae, and Kim Sa-yong.
> 降安州・定州・嘉山・郭山爲縣, 安州以時緯居生地, 定州以履大, 爾崙居生地, 嘉山以君則、彦涉居生地, 郭山以總角居生地. 又以价川・龍岡降號爲縣監, 泰川班於諸縣之末, 以罪人齊初・景來・士用等居生地也.[3]

The above article shows that six *gunhyeon* in Pyeongan Province were demoted to *hyeon* due to Hong Gyeong-rae's Rebellion, and the *hyeon of* Taecheon was divided and abolished (Figure. 2). Anju and Jeongju-*mok* (*Jeong* 3), Gasan, Gwaksan, and Gaecheon-gun (*Jong* 4), and Yonggang-*hyeollyeong* (*Jong* 5) were all demoted to *hyeongam* (*Jong* 6). They had their ranks restored or themselves were reestablished nine years later in 1821. While promotion of municipality ranks after demotion could take as long as ten years, abolished municipality was usually restored in the same year or within one or two years from the abolition. However, the reinstation of Taecheon, which was branded a land of rebellion, took considerably longer. *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* confirms approximately 950 cases of municipality rank demoted and then promoted again, and about 16 cases of *gunhyeon* restored after abolition.[4] Chungju-*mok* had its rank the most frequently changed, with a total of 20 fluctuations (9 demotions to

3 *The Veritable Records of King Sunjo* 純祖實錄, Vol. 15, Year 12 (1812), Month 5, Day 15.
4 The source is from Yeokjisaji (available at https://www.hisgeo.info).

hyeon, 1 demotion to *dohobu*, and 10 promotions to *mok*), followed by Cheongju with 16 and Gongju and Gwangju (Jeolla Province) with 10.

Although Joseon's *gunhyeon* differed in their ranks, this did not mean they were inherently hierarchical, or governed by others. Just as local officials were all equal as individuals, despite their different ranks, *gunhyeon* were also recognized as equal regional entities. Just as people experience promotions and demotions (as disciplinary actions) and dismissals and reinstatements, municipalities were promoted and demoted, abolished and restored frequently. Joseon treated its regions (*gunhyeon*) as living entities, fulfilling its duty to its 330 *gunhyeon* for 500 years until 1914. These administrative hubs, which endured such turbulent history, were *eupchi* and served as the foundation of modern Korean cities.

This paper is an introductory, basic study under the broader theme of Korean urban development history. From this perspective, the fundamental concern of this paper is that the origins of modern Korean cities can be traced to the *eupchi* of the Joseon dynasty. Of course, this neither applies to all cities, nor to all *eupchi*. However, from a historical and geographical perspective, this paper opens a discussion of the definition of *eupchi* and their constituent elements, as well as the distribution and characteristics of *eupchi* and *eupseong* (village fortresses). The limitations of this paper and any errors that may have already been made will be addressed in further ongoing *eupchi* research.

Definition and Constituent Elements of *Eupchi*

Eupchi can be defined as the administrative center of *gunhyeon*, a second-tier administrative unit. More specifically, it refers to a specific area where administrative institutions, such as *dongheon* (main administrative building), *gaeksa* (official guesthouse), and *jakcheong* (government offices) were concentrated (Figure 3). The term *chiso* 治所 was also used instead of *eupchi*, and less commonly, major military centers were also called *eupchi*. A significant number of *eupchi* were located in mountain fortresses during the Goryeo dynasty (Choi 2014). The term *chisoseong* (*chiso* fortress 治所城) was often used as well only for that period. Even in the Joseon dynasty, there was no strict distinction between *eupchi* and *chiso*. A look at examples in *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* reveals that the terms *eupchi* and *chiso* were used almost synonymously. Both appear in approximately 40 times, showing little difference.

Examples of *Eupchi*

- The mountain fortress of the old *hyeon* of Tamjin was designated as ***eupchi*** 耽津古縣山城爲邑治; A request was made to relocate the *eupchi* of Bukcheong to Donggu, Byeolnandae 請移北靑邑治, 於別難台洞口.[5]
- His tomb is now located at the foot of Taebaek Mountain, five *li* west of the ***eupchi*** of the Gangdong *gun* 今其衣履之藏, 在江東邑治西五里太白山下.[6]

Examples of *Chiso*

- Those appointed to magistrate positions of *gunhyeon* from outside the capital were ordered to go directly to their respective ***chiso*** without having to visit the court to pay their respects 命在外除授州郡者, 免朝辭, 直赴治所.[7]
- The ***chiso*** of the Taein-hyeon was relocated to Geosan Post Station, and that of the Jangsa-hyeon to the Musong-hyeon 移泰仁縣治於居山驛, 長沙縣治於茂松縣.[8]

Each *gunhyeon* had *myeon* 面 as its subordinate unit. *Myeon* was not a formal administrative unit, and therefore it had no established administrative agencies. Consequently, there was no term referring to the administrative center at the *myeon* level at the time, different from today's "location of the *myeon* office." Although Joseon's *myeon* had no institutional, administrative agency, there were region that oversaw the administrative affairs of *myeon*. Some scholars refer to this as *myeonchi* 面治, though this is neither an agreed-upon academic nor historical term. The precise date of *myeon* appearing in Korean history is unknown. However, from the mid-Joseon period onward, *myeon* existed as a kind of third-tier administrative district. Even documents including the state of *myeon* nationwide began appearing in the mid-18th century. The number of *myeon* nationwide reached 4,300 to 4,500 in the 18th and 19th centuries before plummeting to 2,500 as the Japanese empire abolished or consolidated administrative districts in 1914 (Park 2017). *Myeon* officially appeared in the administrative system in 1917.

The concentration of administrative institutions is a key landscape element that clearly distinguishes *eupchi* from other areas. The most basic administrative institutions established in every *gunhyeon* were *dongheon* 東軒, *gaeksa* 客使, and

5 *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty*, King Munjong, Year 1 (1451), Month 11, Day 27.
6 *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty*, King Gojong, Year 37 (1900), Month 1, Day 29.
7 *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty*, King Taejong, Year 10 (1410), Month 12, Day 11.
8 *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty*, King Taejong, Year 15 (1415), Month 8, Day 10.

Figure 3. *Chiso* of Okku-hyeon (Jibang jido 1872)[9]

Figure 4. The Landscape of Today's Okku-eup

Figure 5. The Government Building Site in Okku (Sangpyeong Elementary School closed, 2016)

Figure 6. Okku Confucian School (2016)

jakcheong 作廳—also read as *jilcheong*. The magistrate (*suryeong* 守令) went to *dongheon* to perform his duties. *Gaeksa* was a reception space for outside guests and a ceremonial space for *mangwolrye* 望闕禮, a ritual offered toward the palace on the 1st and 15th day of each month. *Jakcheong* was the office of *hyangni* (officials of the six branches of the local government) in charge of administrative affairs. In addition to them, there were *naea* 內衙, where the magistrate resided after work; warehouses for storing grain, weapons, and gunpowder; an accounting agency, a ritual preparation agency, a magistrate advisory agency, a study for the magistrate's child, male slave quarters, government slave quarters, and prisons, each of which was constructed according to its own duties and functions; towers; and pavilions. These buildings, whether built or not depending on the size of the *gunhyeon*, were basic constituent elements of *eupchi*. They were generally concentrated within a radius of 100 to150 meters (Figure 3).

The constituent element that determined the landscape of *eupchi* was *eupseong*. Since the walls enclosed a specific area, like a curtain, and surrounded the aforementioned facilities, *eupseong* was often perceived as a boundary delimiting *eupchi*'s spatial scope. Regardless of the presence of such walls, however, facilities consisting of *eupchi* were located even on the outskirts of the area with administrative facilities concentrated. These included *hyanggyo* (Confucian school), also called *munmyo* (Confucian shrine), *jinsan* (guardian mountains), *sajikdan* (altars for ancestral rites), *seonghwangdang* (altars for community guardian deities), *yeodan* (altars for those who died unfairly), and *giudan* (altars for rain-calling rituals).

9 For this, see Haedong jido, Daedong yeojido, 1872-nyeon jibang jido (available at https://kyudb.snu.ac.kr/main.do?mid=GZD).

These facilities conformed to the Confucian ideology espoused by the Joseon dynasty. While their purposes and functions differed slightly, they all shared the common function as a kind of ritual space, a place for performing rites. According to *Revised Survey of the Geography of Korea* (1530, hereafter, *RSGK*), which most faithfully reflects Confucian ideology among national geographic books published during the Joseon dynasty, almost all *gunhyeon* had Confucian ceremonial facilities installed, such as *hyanggyo* (326), *sajikdan* (326), *seonghwangdan* (also called *seonghwangsa*) (329), and *yeodan* (also called *yeojedan*) (322).[10] *Hyanggyo* was fundamentally an educational facility, but it also served as a ceremonial space for rites worshiping Confucius and other Chinese and Korean sages (*hyanggyo*'s *gyo* 校 means a school, and *munmyo*'s *myo* 廟 means a shrine). *Jinsan* has a complex concept, but simply put, it refers to a mountain that protects *gunhyeon*. The magistrate would go to the mountain to perform rituals to pray for the well-being of district residents, and its essence lies here.

In summary, the constituent elements of *eupchi* can be categorized into three: first, the administrative space that played the pivotal role within the *eupchi*; second, the ceremonial space formed on the outskirts; and third, the *eupseong* walls that separated the two. This paper defines these three types of elements as the components of *eupchi* based on the fact that, while there may have been some differences in which facilities were built, this phenomenal tendency was identified in all *gunhyeon*. Of course, not all facilities in *eupchi* had administrative purposes. Even if the *eupchi* had a wall, the larger scale the wall had, the more likely private residences formed a community within it. Furthermore, the road network, the location of gates, and the relationship with the topography must be considered as well when identifying the constituent elements of *eupchi*.

Distribution of *Eupchi* and *Eupseong*

Of the approximately 330 *eupchi*, about 230 were located in today's South Korea, and about 100 in North Korea (Figure 1). While Gyeongsang Province had the largest number of *gunhyeon*, Chungcheong Province showed the highest density, with 3.5 *gunhyeon* per 1,000 km^2. The followings were Gyeonggi Province with

10 For further details, see http://waks.aks.ac.kr/rsh/?rshID=AKS-2017-KFR-1230001.

Table 2. The Distribution of *Eupseong* and *Eupchi* by Province

Province	*Survey of the Geography of Korea* (1480)			Map of the Great East (1861)			Increase in *eupseong* (%)	Increase in *eupchi* (%)	Average area of *gunhyeon* (km²)	Province area (km²)
	Eupseong	*Eupchi*	Percentage (%)	*Eupseong*	*Eupchi*	Percentage (%)				
Gyeonggi	6	39	15.4	6	38	15.8	0.0	-2.6	315.6	11,993
Chungcheong	19	54	35.2	16	54	29.6	-15.8	0.0	285.3	15,407
Gyeongsang	35	67	52.2	37	71	52.1	5.7	6.0	436.4	30,985
Jeolla	30	57	52.6	27	56	48.2	-10.0	-1.8	393.0	22,006
Gangwon	9	26	34.6	5	26	19.2	-44.4	0.0	1,011.7	26,304
Hwanghae	7	24	29.2	7	23	30.4	0.0	-4.2	735.6	16,918
Pyeongan	15	42	35.7	13	42	31.0	-13.3	0.0	1,031.4	43,319
Hamgyeong	16	22	72.7	21	25	84.0	31.3	13.6	2,091.2	52,281
Total	137	331	41.4	132	335	39.4	-3.6	1.2	654.4	219,213

Note: The area was calculated by this author based on the map of the administrative districts reconstructed from *Daedong jiji* (*Geography of the Great East*, *GGE*) 1864,[11] using Geographic Information System (GIS).

3.2 and Jeolla Province with 2.5. On the other hand, Chungcheong Province marked the smallest average *gunhyeon* area of 285.3 km^2, while Gyeonggi Province recorded 315.6 km^2, Jeolla Province 393.0 km^2, and Gyeongsang Province 436.4 km^2 (Table 2). Later, Chungcheong Province experienced the most consolidation of *gunhyeon* during the administrative district reorganization in 1914.

However, one issue remains unresolved in the study of *eupchi*: its spatial scope. There are two prevailing views on this issue: one regards *eupchi* as the inner pivotal area with administrative facilities concentrated; and the other claims that all constituent elements located in the outskirts should be included in *eupchi*. However, there is no academic consensus. For *gunhyeon* with walls, there is a tendency to recognize the area inside the walls as *eupchi*. This must be because the line of the walls visually conveyed an image of a boundary. However, there is also a view that the entire *myeon*, which *eupchi* was located in and encompassed all these elements, was considered as *eupchi*.

The history of fortress construction in Korea dates back to the Three Kingdoms period (1st century BCE–7th century CE). Most of the currently identified fortresses were established during the Three Kingdoms period and the

11 Available at https://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=KP#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_KP_B006A.

Goryeo dynasty. *Chiso* fortresses of Goryeo (918–1392) are also assumed to have been constructed by inheriting and utilizing some of the mountain fortresses built during the Three Kingdoms period. Although called mountain fortresses, most of them were built on hilly terrain with a relative height of 100 meters or less, accessible within 30 minutes by foot from the flatlands, with gentle slopes and undulations, yet towering above the surrounding, therefore providing a clear visibility towards all directions.

Goryeo's *chiso* fortresses began to decrease with the founding of Joseon. During the administrative district consolidation in the early Joseon dynasty, most *gunhyeon*, which had their *eupchi* in mountain fortresses in the Goryeo dynasty and then were succeeded in the Joseon dynasty, abandoned the fortresses and relocated *eupchi* to nearby flatlands. Some *gunhyeon* newly built walls when *eupchi* was relocated to flatlands, while others did not. Joseon's *eupseong* walls were largely built during this period. Since it is assumed that the *eupchi* settlements of *gunhyeon* that had disappeared after consolidation were also relocated to flatlands over time, *chiso* fortresses built during the Goryeo dynasty gradually fell into ruin in the Joseon dynasty. Those fortresses, long-since disused, are now being restored as mountain fortresses thanks to recent restoration efforts. These fortresses were generally located within one to two kilometers, and five kilometers at most, from the newly relocated Joseon *eupchi*.

Various documents reveal that hundreds or even thousands of mountain fortresses existed in Korea. Map of the Great East (MGE) indicates 549 ancient mountain fortresses,[12] and a recent study reports 1,563 on the Korean peninsula (Jeong et al. 2024, 21). While many of these fortresses were used in the Goryeo dynasty, only a few served as *eupchi*, military camps, or strategic points during the Joseon Dynasty. Most were abandoned from early Joseon. Some Joseon fortresses were constructed by the Japanese. These are primarily distributed along the southern coast for warfare during the Imjin and Jeongyu Wars (1592–1598) in Japanese-style and are distinct from Korean counterparts in terms of construction methods and fortress structure. In Korea, they are classified as *waeseong* (Japanese fortress 倭城).

A significant factor in the administrative district consolidation during the early Joseon dynasty was the relocation of *eupchi*. A prime example was

12 For this, see https://www.hisgeo.info (Yeokjisaji).

Figure 7. The "Revised" Mark Confirmed in the *RSGK*

Goryeo's *chiso* moved from mountainous areas to flatlands, where village walls were established newly. This marked a shift in the form of *eupseong* from Goryeo's mountain fortress to Joseon's flatland fortresses 平地城 or flatland and hillside fortresses 平山城. Korean *eupseong* moved from mountains to flatlands or hillsides during the early Joseon dynasty. Fortresses that remain extant to this day, as well as those recently restored, were built during this period. Then, how many of Joseon's approximately 330 *eupchi* had their walls? The following is an examination of the changes in their number through the national geography records of the era.

The Geography section of *The Veritable Records of King Sejong* (hereafter, *VRKS* Geography) is the only national geography record of the early Joseon dynasty. Although compiled in 1432 by order of King Sejong, it was not officially published until 1454, the year the annals were published after his death. Therefore, while the records in this section partly reflect changes after 1432, they should be read by taking into consideration a time lag of over 20 years. For example, Haenam-gun and Jindo-gun in Jeolla Province were merged into Haejin-gun (1409–1437) in 1409 (the 9th year of King Taejong's reign) and were later separated again in 1437 (the 19th year of King Sejong's reign). Haenam-gun and Jindo-gun should have been included in the *VRKS* Geography published in 1454. However, in reality, the two regions were included as Haejin-gun, upon its compilation in 1432.

Although the circumstances were slightly different, *RSGK* shares similar characteristics. As "revised" 新增 in the title suggests, this book, published in 1530, is a revised edition of the *Survey of the Geography of Korea* published 50 years earlier in 1480. The revised edition aimed to capture the changes in the landscape of the country over the past 50 years. However, it was not written from scratch. It simply repeats the *Survey of the Geography of Korea* (1480). Then, the changes that occurred in a certain period that were judged to need description were attached with a "revised" mark (Figure 7). Therefore, items without the "revised" mark basically indicate the situation just before 1480, and further, it can be understood that there were no special changes in the content until 1530.[13] Among the *eupseong* included in the *RSGK*, ten have the "augmented" mark in total, including Gangneung (1512), Bukcheong and Myeongcheon (1517), Sangju and Uiju (1520), Okku (1524), and Hansan, Buan, Tongcheon, and Hoeryeong (date of construction unknown). Of them, seven were stone fortresses rebuilt from earthen ones, and Myeongcheon in Hamgyeong Province is recorded as having been first constructed at this time.

A total of 110 *eupseong* can be identified in the *VRKS* Geography (see Appendix). This includes the capital city of Hanseong.[14] It has yet to be confirmed whether these fortresses also existed as *eupseong* during the Goryeo dynasty or were newly established during the early Joseon dynasty. However, given the active consolidation of *gunhyeon* until the reign of King Sejong, it is presumed that there were not many newly built *eupseong*. In the case of Biinhyeon in Chungcheong Province, both a stone fortress and an older one were specified, implying that the former is likely a new one built during the Joseon

13 This "augmented" marking system is one of the unique aspects in Korea's publishing cultures, and the typical example is Joseon's highest law code. The *Comprehensive Collection of the National Codes* (*Daejeon hoetong*) in 1865 is the final edition of the Joseon dynasty's law code and records changes since the *Comprehensive National Code* (*Daejeon tongpyeon*) in 1785. This book distinguishes the text from the *National Code* (Gyeongguk daejeon) in 1485 as "original" 原, that from the *Supplement to the National Code* (*Sok daejeon*) as "sequel" 續, that from the *Comprehensive National Code* as "revised" 增, and newly supplemented text as "supplement" 補, while adding no notation to provisions that remained unchanged. Just one copy of the *Comprehensive Collection of the National Codes* served as a combination of four national codes, including the *National Code*, the *Supplement to the National Code*, and the *Comprehensive National Code*.

14 Since Hanseong was *doseong*, which refers to the fortress where the king of a vassal state resides, or in other words, the capital fortress of a state, its fortress is hierarchically different from those of *gunhyeon*, the second-tier administrative districts. However, this paper includes it in the category of *eupseong* because it was a fortress built around the administrative center.

Table 3. The Number of *Eupseong* in the Joseon Dynasty by Province

Province	*VRKS* Geography (1454) (%)		*RSGK* (1530) (%)		*Cultural Geography of Korea* (1757–1765) (%)		MGE (1861) (%)		*GGE* (1864) (%)	
Gangwon	6	5.5	9	7.1	3	2.4	5	3.8	9	6.7
Gyeonggi	4	3.6	4	3.2	5	4.0	6	4.5	6	4.4
Gyeongsang	27	24.5	30	23.8	38	30.2	37	28.0	37	27.4
Jeolla	24	21.8	30	23.8	28	22.2	27	20.5	30	22.2
Chungcheong	15	13.6	17	13.5	14	11.1	16	12.1	19	14.1
Pyeongan	17	15.5	16	12.7	17	13.5	13	9.8	5	3.7
Hamgyeong	12	10.9	15	11.9	16	12.7	21	15.9	21	15.6
Hwanghae	5	4.5	5	4.0	5	4.0	7	5.3	8	5.9
Total	110	100.0	126	100.0	126	100.0	132	100.0	135	100.0

Note: Hanyang is regarded as having been included in Gyeonggi Province throughout the Joseon dynasty—e.g., Gyeongseong in the Gyeongdo (capital 京都) section of the *RSGK*. The inner fortresses of Ganghwa, Gaeseong, and Pyeongyang, and the outer fortress of Seoncheon are counted as *eupseong*. The *eupseong* of Hajin-gun documented in the *VRKS* Geography is counted as two fortresses by interpreting that Haenam and Jindo had their own fortresses. Old fortresses—*goeupseong* and *gueupseong*—were not constructed during the Joseon dynasty and are therefore excluded from this table. *Eupseong* described as "only ruins remain" or "now collapsed" are excluded by considering their functions having been ceased.

dynasty, while the latter was likely a Goryeo-era one.

Table 3 above shows the status of *eupseong* from the 15th to the 19th century. *Eupseong* increased the most for about 50 years between the compilation of the *VRKS* Geography and the *RSGK*.[15] The consolidation of *gunhyeon* in the early Joseon dynasty began in earnest during the reign of King Taejong (1400–1418) and was almost completed during the reign of King Sejong (1418–1450). Therefore, the increase rates in the table reflect the construction of new *eupseong* during or after the reign of King Sejong. Between the start of King Taejong's reign and the end of King Sejong's reign, the number of *eupseong* increased by 16 in total, but specifically, 19 were abolished and 35 were established.

Like the *RSGK*, *Cultural Geography of Korea* (*Yeojidoseo*, hereafter, *CGK*)[16] written in the mid-18th century includes 126 *eupseong*. However, this book

15 The period was determined as 50 years given the actual compilation year of the *VRKS* Geography is 1432, and most of *eupseong* documented in the *RSGK* do not have the "revised" mark, which provides an assumption that they were established before 1480.

16 Available at https://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#dir/node?dataId=ITKC_KP_B003A.

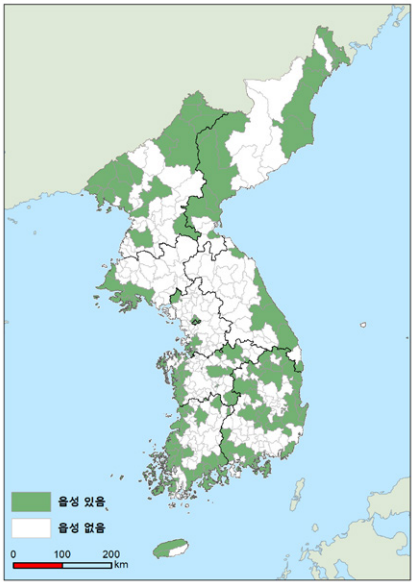

Figure 8. *Eupseong* upon the Compilation of the *VRKS* Geography

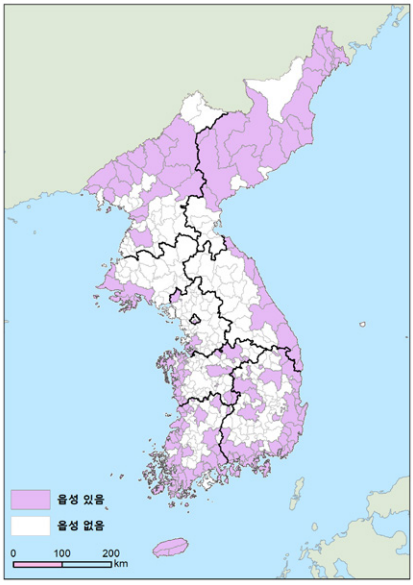

Figure 9. *Eupseong* upon the Compilation of the *RSGK*

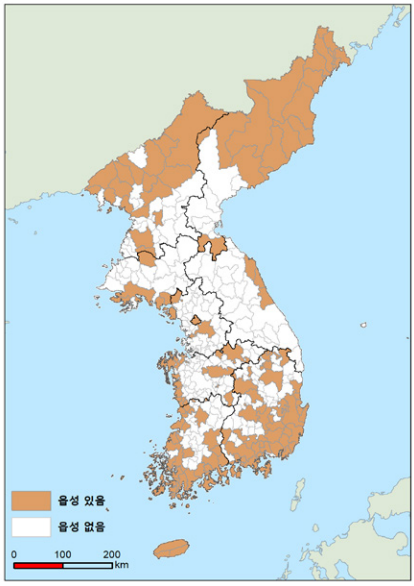

Figure 10. *Eupseong* upon the Compilation of the *CGK*

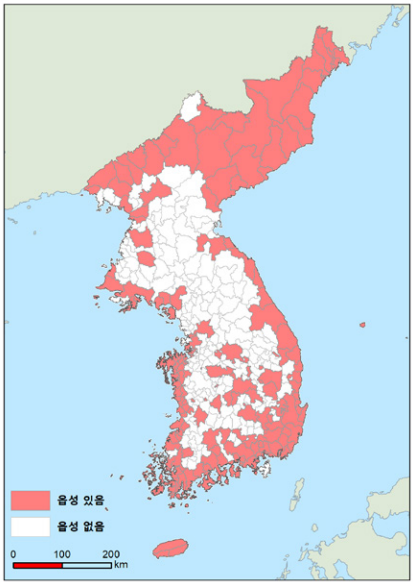

Figure 11. *Eupseong* upon the Compilation of the *GGE*

Note: *Eupseong* of Pyeongan Province upon the compilation of the *GGE* were marked based on the MGE.

Gwacheon, Gyeonggi (2017)

Gyodong, Gyeonggi (2015)

Majeon, Gyeonggi (2015)

Cheolwon, Gangwon (2015)

Gangneung, Gangwon (2015)

Cheongju, Chungcheong (2015)

Seocheon, Chungcheong (2025)

Hansan, Chungcheong (2025)

Daegu, Gyeongsang (2015)

Janggi, Gyeongsang (2016)

Mujang, Jeolla (2016)

Daejeong, Jeolla (currently Jeju, 2015)

Figure 12. *Eupchi* (Sites) and *Eupseong*

has an inaccuracy issue since it referred to the most recently compiled village geography books of that time for missing *eupseong*. While the total numbers of *eupseong* in *RSGK* and *CGK* are identical, the specific changes were significant, with 24 decreased and 24 increased. Among the new 24 *eupseong*, 10 were concentrated in Gyeongsang Province, including Gyeongsan, Daegu, Miryang, Samga, Sunheung, Yeongsan, Yeongcheon 永川, Uiryeong, Cheongdo, and Chilgok. In particular, Daegu, Sunheung, and Cheongdo existed when the *VRKS* Geography was compiled, disappeared upon the compilation of the *RSGK*, and were rebuilt upon the compilation of the *CGK*.

The MGE (1861), a woodblock-printed national map produced by Kim Jeong-ho in the late 19th century marks 132 *eupseong*, while the *GGE* (1864),

also compiled by Kim, includes 135 *eup*seong. These numbers differ by three, although 11 fortresses labeled in the MGE are not included in *GGE*, and 14 fortresses not specified in the MGE are marked in the *GGE*. It is still not clear why these errors occurred despite being compiled by the same person. However, it is somewhat inferred given that 9 of the 11 fortresses missing in the *GGE* were concentrated in Pyeongan Province.[17] As is well known, the description of Pyeongan Province in the *GGE* is brief and differs from that of other provinces, frequently raising questions about whether it was really written by Kim. Among the seven provinces, excluding Pyeongan Province, the three provinces of Gyeonggi, Gyeongsang, and Hamgyeong show no differences in the distribution of village fortresses. As for the other provinces, only Hoeyang (Gangwon Province) and Buyeo (Chungcheong Province) are omitted from the *GGE*. On the other hand, thirteen fortresses marked only in the *GGE* include Ganseong, Gangneung, Samcheok, Yangyang, and Pyeonghae (Gangwon Province); Geumsan, Yongan, and Heungdeok (Jeolla Province); Dangjin, Myeoncheon, Chungju, and Hongsan (Chungcheong Province); and Baecheon (Hwanghae Province).

There are considerable changes confirmed between village fortresses listed in the *RSGK* and the MGE. By province, there was tendency that the disappeared fortresses were concentrated in Gangwon and Pyeongan Provinces, while most of the newly listed fortresses were located in Gyeongsang and Hamgyeong Provinces. Nationwide, the number of village fortresses decreased by 18 and increased by 24, which ended up an increase in the total number of village fortresses from 126 to 132 (see Appendix). Among the 24 newly listed fortresses, seven *gunhyeon*, including Hoeyang, Uiseong, Buyeo, Chosan, Jangjin, Heungwon, and Huju, already had their own fortresses upon the compilation of the *CGK*, and therefore, the remaining 17 fortresses are presumed to have been built or repaired in the meantime. One interesting fact is that among the 24 fortresses that existed in the *RSGK* and disappeared in the *CGK*, 20 are included in the *GGE*, excluding Geoje and Hadong in Gyeongsang Province

17 Examining the status of *eupseong* by province in the MGE and the *GGE*, Gangwon Province had 5 and 9 fortresses, Gyeonggi Province 6 and 6, Gyeongsang Province 37 and 37, Jeolla Province 27 and 30, Chungcheong Province 16 and 19, Pyeongan Province 13 and 5, Hamgyeong Province 21 and 21, and Hwanghae Province 7 and 8, respectively. Comparing the two, the GGE omits nine fortresses, including Ganggye, Guseong, Byeokdong, Sakju, Yongcheon, Wiwon, Jeongju, Changseong, and Chosan, while recording that four fortresses including Anju, Yeongbyeon, Uiju, and Pyeongyang remained and the Sukcheon fortress was newly established.

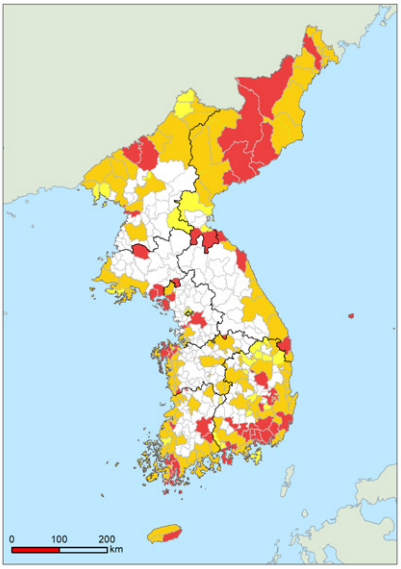

Figure 13. Changes in the Distribution of *Eupseong* between the 15th and 19th Centuries
Source: *VRKS* Geography; *GGE*
Note: The yellow color indicates those in *VRKS* Geography; red those in the *GGE*; and orange those in both.

and Seoncheon and Yeongwon in Pyeongan Province.

The number of village fortresses increased from 110 in the early 15th century to 132–144 in the 19th century.[18] This growth was led by Gyeongsang Province (10), Hamgyeong Province (9), and Jeolla Province (6). On the other hand, Pyeongan Province was the only province to see a decline from 17 to 14. This drop was largely attributed to the abolition of the four *gun* (Muchang, Yeoyeon, Uye, and Jaseong) developed during the reign of King Sejong. Gyeongsang Province also experienced significant changes in the number of fortresses, with 7 disappearing and 17 newly constructed. Hamgyeong Province was the only province where the number of fortresses steadily increased, with two eliminated and 11 newly built. According to the five references, the number of fortresses in Hamgyeong Province increased from 12 to 15, to 16, to 21, and finally to 21 (see Appendix).

Throughout the Joseon dynasty, *eupseong* tended to be concentrated in coastal areas and border regions along the Amnok (Yalu) and Duman (Tumen) Rivers rather than inland regions. This tendency is even more pronounced in the

18 The number is 132 according to the MGE and would be 144 if the fortresses of Pyeongan Province listed in the *GGE*, which is in question, are modified by reflecting the 14 fortresses recorded in the MGE (5 fortresses documented in the *GGE* and 9 of the 13 fortresses in the MGE that are not included in the *GGE*).

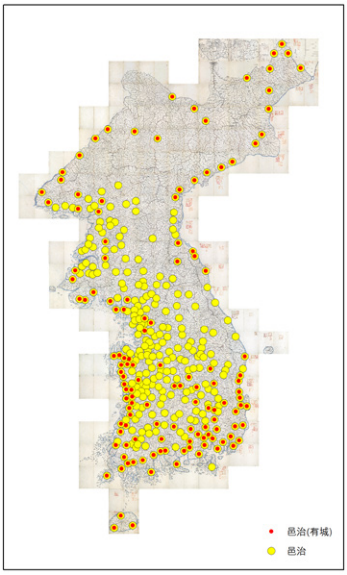

Figure 14. Distribution of *Eupchi* and *Eupseong* (MGE)
Source: Yeokjisaji (available at https://www.hisgeo.info)

newly established fortresses after the compilation of the *VRKS* Geography. In particular, in Hwanghae, Chungcheong, and Jeolla Provinces bordering the west coast, as well as Gangwon Province, the density of *eupseong* in coastal *gunhyeon* was significantly higher than that of inland *gunhyeon*. This resulted from the strong defense mechanisms in place against the invasions of Japanese pirates, who were rampant in the late Goryeo and early Joseon periods. On the other hand, in Hamgyeong Province, 21 *gunhyeon* had fortresses, accounting for 84.0% of the entire 25 *gunhyeon*, followed by Jeolla Province with 53.6% (30 of 56 *gunhyeon*) and Gyeongsang Province with 52.1% (37 of 51 *gunhyeon*), exceeding the national average of 40.7%. Gyeongsang Province had a high proportion of walled *eupchi* even in inland areas. In particular, village fortresses rapidly increased along the Nam River and the lower reaches of the Nakdong River in the 18th century (see the *CGK*) (Figure 13). While this is only preliminary, it is possible to infer that these fortresses may have been built as a defensive measure, since these areas suffered the most damage during the Imjin War.

Characteristics of *Eupchi* in the Joseon Dynasty

Figure 14 clearly demonstrates that *eupseong* were primarily located along the coast. While this was previously interpreted as a defense measure against

Japanese pirates, Joseon's fortresses were built too low for defensive purposes. Furthermore, the moats, which were only built in some fortresses, were not well suited to defensive purposes in terms of width and depth. To better understand Joseon's village fortresses, a perspective beyond their military and defensive functions seems necessary.

First, *eupseong* intuitively indicates the spatial scope of the *eupchi*, where administrative institutions, including the main administrative building and local government offices, were densely packed. However, a more crucial function of *eupseong* can be found from the tact that it served as a symbol of authority. The interior of the fortress, surrounded and obscured by walls, not high though, was perceived as a space of authority, distinct from the commoners' residential quarters. The walls also contributed to differentiate the magistrate and local officials, who work from their splendid tile-roofed houses, as those superior, more powerful, and more knowledgeable. This is similar to the vague awe and respect felt by commoners living in towns near a castle during the Edo period in Japan toward the feudal lords and *samurai* residing within the castle walls. Fortress walls in Medieval Europe also wielded similar authority.

This author perceives Joseon's *eupchi* as *dohoe* (pre-modern Korean urban centers) because, compared to other regions, they had relatively large populations engaged in non-agricultural activities. Here, *dohoe* is a different concept from the modern city. Urban and rural settlements are often distinguished by the proportion of non-agricultural population or the non-agricultural landscape. However, the more compelling criterion for their distinction is the status of the residents, since pre-modern Korea and the world were all agricultural societies. In other words, in pre-modern times, *dohoe* were places with high residential densities for the ruling class, aristocracy, and upper class. During the Goryeo dynasty, administrative centers with high aristocratic populations, such as Gaegyeong (currently Kaesong), Donggyeong (Gyeongju), Seogyeong (Pyongyang), and Namgyeong (Seoul), as well as *ju* and *hyeon*, districts where local magistrates resided, likely had a much more urban character than *eupchi* of Joseon. This is because the status gap between aristocrats and commoners in the Goryeo dynasty is considered even greater than that between *yangban* and commoners of the Joseon dynasty.

A common characteristic of the aristocracy and upper class is luxury and its display. This tendency can be found everywhere from ancient Rome and China to Medieval Europe, the Goryeo dynasty, the Song dynasty, and Edo-period

Japan. The Edo-period system of requiring feudal lords (*daimyo*) to alternately reside in Tokyo 参勤交代 was a key factor in the city's emergence as a world-class metropolis with a population of one million by the 18th century. Including over a hundred feudal lords, their families, and their attendants, Tokyo was home to over a thousand aristocrats. Their consumption of food, clothing, and shelter allowed Japan to engage in the earliest and most vibrant exchanges with the West in East Asia. The splendor of Japan's garden culture and tea (ceremony) culture likely stemmed from their desire to show off.

However, the situation was different in Joseon. During the Joseon dynasty, the upper class did not reside in *dohoe*. This characteristic of *dohoe* (*eupchi*) is unique in Joseon, rarely found in contemporary Europe and East Asia. In Joseon, the people living in *eupchi* were not *yangban*, the upper class of the time, but a small number of local magistrates dispatched from the central government, middle-class local officials responsible for practical affairs, and government slaves. Along with them, some merchants and artisans who earned a living selling products in local markets can be classified as non-agricultural residents of *eupchi*. However, they accounted a low percentage of the *gunhyeon* population, as well as of the *eupchi* population. Their percentage was relatively high in *myeon* with *eupchi* compared to other *myeon* without it. In the early 20th century, commoners engaged in agriculture still comprised of the highest percentage of the population in *myeon* with *eupchi*. By 1910, the agricultural population in Korea reached approximately 90% (Lee 1997).

During the Joseon dynasty, the ruling class in rural villages were the *yangban* (Confucian scholars), who, along with local officials dispatched, formed influential families in each region. Yangdong in Gyeongju (Gyeongju Son clan and Yeoju Lee clan), Hahoe in Andong (Pungsan Ryu clan; all the said regions are registered on the World Heritage List), and Nangseong in Cheongju (Cheongju Han clan) were representative *yangban* villages that developed during the Joseon dynasty. These villages were all located a few to dozen kilometers from *eupchi*. Korea's modern cities began to appear in the late 19th century, centered around the ports that opened to overseas trade. In 1914, a total of 12 *bu* were newly established through reorganization, marking the emergence of modern Korean cities. The 12 *bu* increased to 22 by 1944, and all became cities immediately after the liberation from the Japanese colonization. Some of them developed based on Joseon's *eupchi* and currently function as major hub cities in Korea. However, most *eupchi*, excluding the *bu*, transitioned from pre-modern

cities to fully modern cities after the 1970s. Joseon's *eupchi* served as the location of *gun* or *myeon* offices during the Japanese colonial period and continued to function as administrative centers even after the liberation. Nevertheless, they failed to transition to modern cities rapidly. There were several reasons for this, but a major factor was the fact that the influential figures of each region did not reside in the *eupchi* but were dispersed throughout the *gun*.

Conclusion: The Current Meaning of *Eupchi*

Under the broader theme of "Korean Urban Development," this study was conducted as part of basic research for the study of Joseon's *eupchi* and *eupseong* as pre-modern cities. The paper's achievement lies in the identification of the *eupseong* based on four national geographic books published between the 15th and 19th centuries and the MGE. Based on this, the study confirmed three important historical facts about Joseon's *eupchi* as follows.

First, Joseon's *eupchi* formed by consolidating approximately 520 *eupchi* of the Goryeo dynasty, and the number stood around 330 during the reigns of King Taejong and King Sejong in the mid-15th century. Although their ranks were frequently promoted and demoted, these 330 or some *gunhyeon* remained until 1914, when they were consolidated into 220 districts. Consequently, they are still recognized as the most fundamental cultural and historical regional units in Korea today. The granting of ranks to *gunhyeon*, i.e., land, not limited to people, was a unique aspect of Joseon's local administrative system. It also reflects Joseon's tradition of perceiving nature as a living entity, a fundamental aspect of *feng shui*.

Second, in the process of consolidating Goryeo's *gunhyeon* until the mid-15th century resulted in a large-scale relocation of *eupchi*. This process involved the renovation and expansion of existing earthen fortresses into stone ones, or the construction of new stone fortresses, and in the process, Joseon's *eupseong* began to reveal their characteristics. The number of *eupseong* increased from approximately 110 in the early 15th century, during the period of *gunhyeon* consolidation, to 132–144 in the late 19th century. Spatially, most of these fortresses were sited along the coast. While Goryeo's *chiso* fortresses were mostly located in mountainous areas, Joseon's village fortresses were established in flatlands and hills as *eupchi* were moved to those areas in the early Joseon period. With their

Southern Wall, Dangjin *Eupseong*

Dangjin *Eupchi* (Dangjin Catholic Church)

South Gate, Myeoncheon *Eupseong*

Commercialized Myeoncheon *Eupseong* (post office café)

Figure 15. Restoration of *Eupchi* and *Eupseong* (2025)

utility gradually diminishing, these Goryeo village fortresses lost their function as settlements and became nothing more than ruins starting in the 16th century. Most mountain fortress restoration projects to date have focused on them.

Third, as Joseon dispatched officials to all *gunhyeon*, the influence of the Goryeo primary and subordinate *hyeon* system disappeared. From then on, rural governance was dominated by the dispatched officials and local powers. These powers included local lords, who already had existed from the Goryeo dynasty, as well as newly formed groups of *yangban* and Confucian scholars during the Joseon dynasty. However, it is rare globally that the upper class, who formed the ruling power, did not reside in *eupchi* as administrative, military, and economic centers—in other words, they lived in rural areas outside of the *eupchi*. This structure also influenced the formation of modern Korean cities. Modern Korean cities originated from the *bu* established during the Japanese colonial period. They included existing *eupchi* and emerged as new cities based on ports and railway networks. These modern cities show continuity as they spearheaded Korea's urban development even after the liberation of the Japanese colonization, and still now, function as central cities of each province. In contrast, *eupchi*, which can be considered pre-modern cities, became the locations of *gun* and

myeon offices during the early 20th-century consolidation process. However, they demonstrated a discontinuity as well, as they transitioned to modern cities as late as the 1970s. Although they had higher potential than any other region, the traditional *eupchi* of Joseon were excluded from the development of modern Korean cities for over half a century. This is a broader issue beyond the scope of this paper, so this paper only mentions one primary reason: *eupchi*, the political, economic, and administrative centers, were physically separated from the residential areas of the rural ruling class. This author will pursue further research on this issue.

From a contemporary perspective, Joseon's *eupchi* can be categorized into those with and without walls. As the current value of these fortresses is drawing increasing attention, cities and counties are also showing greater interest in *eupseong* and *eupchi*. *Eupchi* without walls are again divided into those that initially lacked walls and those whose walls have collapsed and disappeared. On the other hand, *eupchi* with walls are categorized into those that have retained their walls so far (e.g., Suwon Hwaseong, Seosan Haemi, Suncheon Nagan); those that have restored collapsed walls (e.g., Seoul, Gochang Mujang, and Boryeong), and those that are currently carrying out restoration projects (e.g., Asan Myeoncheon and Dangjin).

Over the past 10 to 20 years, *eupseong* restoration projects have been actively conducted in Korea. This is likely due to the strong visual impact of those fortresses as representative constructions symbolizing medieval cityscapes. The well-preserved fortresses in Suwon, Nagan, Gochang, and Haemi are not only excellent tourist attractions in their own right but also serve as key drivers of the local economy through their association with local festivals and specialties. This potential is precisely why the restoration of these fortresses is a key focus for local governments possessing them.

Meanwhile, the restoration of *eupseong*, either completed or in progress across the country, is driving changes in urban landscapes. Myeoncheon-myeon in Dangjin City of South Chungcheong Province has seen a significant transformation since the restoration of a village fortress. Most importantly, the restoration has rapidly increased tourists, contributing to the revitalization of the local economy. The current value of2 village fortresses can be found in the preservation of historical and cultural heritage, the creation of public cultural spaces for citizens, research on traditional landscapes and historic spaces, and the foundation for urban regeneration. However, the greatest value found in these

fortresses in today's Korea lies in their cultural and economic value as tourism resources. All humanities research is enriched when it is rooted in the local community. It is important to keep in mind its current significance and value of these village fortresses in the present situation, not limiting to treating them as a cultural heritage of the past.

Translated by Hayoung LEE

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Appendix

Distribution of *Eupseong* by Province

Province	*VRKS* Geography	*RSGK*	*CGK*	MGE	*GGE*	*VRKS* Geography	*RSGK*		*CGK*	MGE	*GGE*	Note
Gangwon	6	9	3	5	9	Ganseong Gangneung Samcheok Yangyang Tongcheon Pyeonghae	Ganseong Gangneung Goseong Samcheok Yangyang Uljin Tongcheon Pyeonghae Heupgok		Ganseong Goseong Yangyang	Goseong Uljin Tongcheon Hoeyang Heupgok	Ganseong Gangneung Goseong Samcheok Yangyang Uljin Tongcheon Pyeonghae Heupgok	
Gyeonggi	4	4	5	6	6	Hanseong Ganghwa Gaeseong Suwon	Hanseong Ganghwa Gaeseong Suwon		Hanseong Ganghwa Gaeseong Gwangju Gyodong	Hanseong Ganghwa Gaeseong Gwangju Gyodong Suwon	Hanseong Ganghwa Gaeseong Gwangju Gyodong Suwon	
Gyeongsang	27	30	38	37	37	Geoje Gyeongju Goseong Gijang Daegu Dongnae Sangju Seonsan Seongju Sunheung Andong Eonyang Yeongdeok Yeongil Yeongcheon 榮川 Yeonghae Yean Yecheon Janggi Jinju Jinhae Cheongdo Cheongha Hadong Hamyang Hyeonpung Heunghae	Geoje Gyeongju Goseong Gonyang Gijang Gimhae Namhae Dongnae Sacheon Sangju Seonsan Seongju Andong Yangsan Eonyang Yeongdeok Yeongil Yeonghae Ulsan Ungcheon Janggi Jinju Jinhae Changwon Cheongha Chirwon Hadong Haman Hamyang Heunghae		Geoje Gyeongsan Gyeongju Goseong Gonyang Gijang Gimhae Namhae Daegu Dongnae Miryang Sacheon Samga Sangju Seonsan Seongju Sunheung Andong Yangsan Eonyang Yeongdeok Yeongsan Yeongil Yeongju 永川 Yeonghae Ulsan Uiryeong Janggi Jinju Jinhae Changwon Cheongdo Cheongha Chilgok Chirwon Haman Hamyang Heunghae	Gyeongsan Gyeongju Goseong Gonyang Gijang Gimhae Namhae Daegu Dongnae Miryang Sacheon Samga Sangju Seonsan Seongju Andong Yangsan Eonyang Yeongdeok Yeongsan Yeongil Yeongju 永川 Yeonghae Ulsan Ungcheon Uiryeong Uiseong Janggi Jinju Jinhae Changwon Cheongdo Cheongha Chirwon Haman Hamyang Heunghae	Gyeongsan Gyeongju Goseong Gonyang Gijang Gimhae Namhae Daegu Dongnae Miryang Sacheon Samga Sangju Seonsan Seongju Andong Yangsan Eonyang Yeongdeok Yeongsan Yeongil Yeongju 永川 Yeonghae Ulsan Ungcheon Uiryeong Uiseong Janggi Jinju Jinhae Changwon Cheongdo Cheongha Chirwon Haman Hamyang Heunghae	
Jeolla	24	30	28	27	30	Gobu Goheung Gwangyang Geumsan Naju Nagan Daejeong Mangyeong Muan Mujang Mujin Boseong Buan Suncheon Yeonggwang Okgu Impi Jangheung Jeonju Jeju Hampyeong Haejin (2) Heungdeok	Gangjin Gobu Gochang Gwangsan Gwangyang Gurye Geumsan Naju Nagan Namwon Daejeong Mangyeong Muan Mujang Boseong Buan Suncheon Yeonggwang Yeongam Okgu Yongan Impi Jangheung Jeonju Jeongui Jeju Jindo Haenam Heungdeok Heungyang		Gangjin Gobu Gochang Gwangyang Gwangju Gurye Naju Nagan Namwon Daejeong Mangyeong Muan Mujang Boseong Buan Suncheon Yeonggwang Yeongam Okgu Yongan Impi Jangheung Jeonju Jeongui Jeju Jindo Haenam Heungyang	Gangjin Gobu Gochang Gwangyang Gwangju Gurye Naju Nagan Namwon Daejeong Mangyeong Muan Mujang Boseong Buan Suncheon Yeonggwang Yeongam Okgu Impi Jangheung Jeonju Jeongui Jeju Jindo Haenam Heungyang	Gangjin Gobu Gochang Gwangyang Gwangju Gurye Geumsan Naju Nagan Namwon Daejeong Mangyeong Muan Mujang Boseong Buan Suncheon Yeonggwang Yeongam Okgu Yongan Impi Jangheung Jeonju Jeongui Jeju Jindo Haenam Heungdeok Heungyang	Mujin = Gwangsan = Gwangju Hajin = Haenam + Jindo
Chungcheong	15	17	14	16	19	Gyeolseong Nampo Dangjin Daeheung Deoksan Boryeong Biin Seocheon Yeongdong Cheongju Chungju Taean Hongsan Hongju Hwanggan	Gyeolseong Nampo Dangjin Daeheung Deoksan Myeoncheon Boryeong Biin Seosan Seocheon Yeongdong Cheongju Chungju Taean Hansan Hongju Hwanggan		Gyeolseong Nampo Myeoncheon Boryeong Biin Seosan Seocheon Yeongdong Jeonui Cheongju Chungwon Taean Hansan Haemi	Gyeolseong Nampo Daeheung Deoksan Boryeong Buyeo Biin Seosan Seocheon Yeongdong Cheongju Taean Hansan Haemi Hongju Hwanggan	Gyeolseong Nampo Dangjin Daeheung Deoksan Myeoncheon Boryeong Biin Seosan Seocheon Yeongdong Cheongju Chungju Taean Hansan Haemi Hongsan Hongju Hwanggan	
Pyeongan	17	16	17	13	5	Ganggye Muchang Sakju Seoncheon Anju Yangdeok Yeoyeon Yeongbyeon Yongcheon Uye Wiwon Uiju Jaseong Jeongju Changseong Cheolsan Pyeongyang	Ganggye Guseong Byeokdong Sakju Seoncheon Sukcheon Anju Yeongbyeon Yeongwon Yongcheon Wiwon Uiju Isan Changseong Pyeongyang Huicheon		Ganggye Guseong Sakju Seoncheon Anju Yeongbyeon Yongcheon Unsan Wiwon Eunsan Uiju Isan Jeongju Junghwa Changseong Pyeongyang Huicheon	Ganggye Guseong Byeokdong Sakju Anju Yeongbyeon Yongcheon Wiwon Uiju Jeongju Changseong Chosan Pyeongyang	Sukcheon Anju Yeongbyeon Uiju Pyeongyang	Isan = Chosan
Hamgyeong	12	15	16	21	21	Gyeongseong Gyeongwon Gyeongheung Gilju Buryeong Samsu Yeongheung Onseong Uicheon Jeongpyeong Hamheung Hoeryeong	Gapsan Gyeongseong Gyeongwon Gyeongheung Gilseong Dancheon Myeongcheon Buryeong Bukcheong Samsu Onseong Jeongpyeong Jongseong Hamheung Hoeryeong		Gapsan Gyeongseong Gyeongwon Gyeongheung Gilju Dancheon Myeongcheon Musan Buryeong Bukcheong Samsu Anbyeon Onseong Iseong Jongseong Hoeryeong	Gapsan Gyeongseong Gyeongwon Gyeongheung Gilju Dancheon Myeongcheon Musan Buryeong Bukcheong Samsu Anbyeon Onseong Iwon Jangjin Jeongpyeong Jongseong Hamheung Hongwon Hoeryeong Huju	Gapsan Gyeongseong Gyeongwon Gyeongheung Gilju Dancheon Myeongcheon Musan Buryeong Bukcheong Samsu Anbyeon Onseong Iwon Jangjin Jeongpyeong Jongseong Hamheung Hongwon Hoeryeong Huju	Gilseong = Gilju Iseong = Iwon
Hwanghae	5	5	5	7	8	Gangnyeong Ongjin Jangyeon 長淵 Pungcheon Haeju	Gangnyeong Ongjin Jangyeon 長淵 Pungcheon Haeju		Baecheon Yeonan Ongjin Haeju Hwangju	Gangnyeong Yeonan Ongjin Jangyeon 長淵 Pungcheon Haeju Hwangju	Gangnyeong Baecheon Yeonan Ongjin Jangyeon 長淵 Pungcheon Haeju Hwangju	
Total	110	126	126	132	135							

Abstract

This paper is fundamental study of *eupchi* in the Joseon dynasty, examining the state of *eupseong*, or walled *eupseong*, from the 15th century, when they originated, to the 19th century. *Eupchi* were the administrative, military, and economic centers of *gunhyeon* in Joseon. This paper regards the *eupchi* as the equivalent of *dohoe*, or pre-modern urban centers, in Korea. The approximately 330 *eupchi* established in the early 15th century remained largely unchanged until 1914, despite frequent elevations and demotions of their ranks. Among them, the number of walled *eupchi* increased from approximately 110 in the 15th century to 132–144 in the 19th century, with a clear national trend of them being located along with the coast. Joseon's village fortresses were mostly established newly, or renovated or expanded from earthen fortifications into stone fortresses when Goryeo's *chiso* fortresses, located in mountainous areas, moved to flatlands during the early Joseon dynasty. The upper and ruling class at the time did not reside in the *eupchi*, the administrative centers of *gunhyeon*, which is a unique characteristic of Joseon, distinct from contemporary Europe and East Asia. The modernization of Korea, which began in the late 19th century and continued throughout the first half of the 20th century, brought sweeping changes to society. However, Joseon's *eupchi* remained outside this trend. Their transition into modern cities began in the 1970s, largely due to the fact that local leaders did not reside in those regions. *Eupseong* is attracting attention as tourist attractions as they hint at the landscape of pre-modern cities. Each city and county has been actively conducting restoration projects for the *eupchi* and *eupseong* for over 20 years to revitalize its local economy.

Keywords: *eupchi*, *eupseong*, continuity and discontinuity in modern Korean cities, *eupchi* and *eupseong* restoration projects

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