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Primorskii Borderland on the "Map of Russia" *Aguk-yeojido*

Sergey Yu. Vradiy*

Abstract

This paper analyzes a rare manuscript that is of considerable interest to those who study the nineteenth century history of border interactions between Russia, Korea and China, or the history of the Korean community in the Primorskii region of Russia. Aguk-yeojido (or "Map of Russia") is the first attempt to represent nineteenth century Russia by Koreans, and it could be evidence of a strengthening relationship between Russia and a Korean royal court striving to break out of Chinese guardianship. The paper discusses problems related to the manuscript's authorship, the probable time of its writing, and evaluates its historical significance.

Introduction

A map is an invaluable source of information about different spheres of human culture. Not only does it mark the location of objects on the Earth's surface but also provides evidence of the level of scientific development, the artistic mastery of its design, and the status and evolution of social relations. Maps play a crucial political role: they can help analyze cultural exchanges between regions and the history of relations between countries. Map-making is also an essential part of a nation's intelligence gathering.

The map reflects the level of existing knowledge and the prevailing image of the outside world. In ancient times it was customary for the countries of East Asia that had been strongly influenced by Chinese culture to depict the world as flat and rectangular in form, based on the concept that "the celestial sphere is circular and the Earth is flat." Despite that fact that cartography in China developed independently from European traditions, the extent of elaboration and the nature of the objects depicted in the maps of the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.) are comparable to those of Western topographic maps. They are sometimes actually more accurate than European maps created later. Chinese map makers invariably used the coordinate grid that the great Chinese astronomer and mathematician Zhang Heng (78-139 A.D.) had first devised.

Korean mapping, subject to Chinese influence, was of a fairly high level during the rule of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897). Incidentally, map making was considered an important official state

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task and was done systematically. One of the most famous examples of Korean maps is the Daedong Yeojido "Territorial Map of the Great East." Carved out of wood in 1861 by the prominent geographer Kim Jeong-ho (1804[?]-1864) it is considered one of the most detailed maps of the Korean Peninsula, made in the traditional style with cartographic methods known at the time. Its scale is 1:160000 which probably makes it the largest (6.7 m in height, 3.8 m in width) relief map of Korea. It is presently listed as a national treasure.

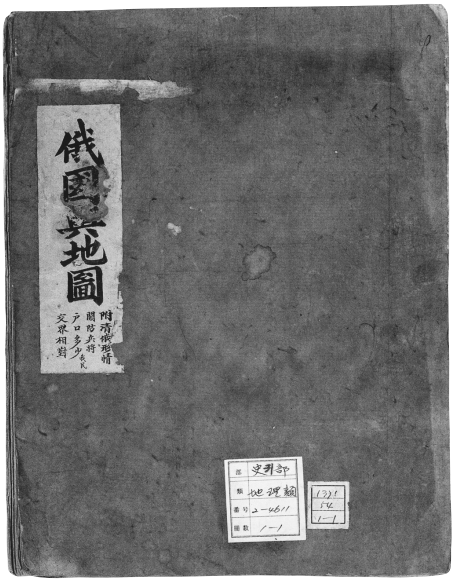

Figure1: Title-page of *Aguk-yeojido* [Map of Russia] (Seongnam: Jangseogak Library, Academy of Korean Studies, 2007)

The source document, the "Map of Russia," is kept in the History and Geography section of Jangseogak Library (stock number 2-4611) of the Academy of Korean Studies (Seongnam, Republic of Korea). When folded it becomes an album. Ten leafs of the map, folded in half, and two leafs containing the table of contents and the notes, are arranged in consecutive order and glued together in folds. There is no page numbering. When sheets are displayed open, the dimensions of a map leaf are 35.5-35.8 x 27.1-27.3 cm^2. The long sheets were designed to be folded accordion style making this large and otherwise unwieldy map easier to use.

The front page is orange and has a vertical inscription "Map of Russia" on a special tag in the upper left corner of the page. Below there is a subtitle, "The state of Russo-Chinese relations, the number of our people,[1] the [number] of troops guarding the border also [is described], the borderline is compared." The front page also bears an old inventory number (1391/54).

The table of contents follows the front page. It has 29 main settlements and districts listed in the same order as on the map, complete with the number of households and the population of each. The 10 pages of the map are marked with symbolic pictures of dwellings, public buildings, storehouses, armories, churches, ships, bridges; electric lines, plans of military fortifications and port facilities are also depicted. The roads are drawn with red lines. The map also shows terrain features, forest vegetation, bare areas, mountain ranges, rivers and lakes. The settlements where Koreans, Russians and aborigines lived are marked separately. The pictures are symbolic and simple, lacking all pretense of artistic mastership. There is no perspective. All objects marked on the map are painted with blue, green, red and brown colors. The pages are fairly well preserved.

The legend of the map **(**i.e. the list of its symbols and explanatory notes**)** is not clear, and the cardinal directions unmarked. The terrain features, the coastline, islands close to the coast are not depicted with particular accuracy, but rather approximately, and sometimes are completely wrong.

[1] "Our people" refers to Koreans who settled in the southern areas of Primorskii region from the 1860s onwards.

The reason might be that the makers of the map had insufficient knowledge of surveying techniques and thus did not draw a distinction between information obtained by word of mouth and surveys performed with instruments designed for astronomical positioning and description. It has to be noted that topographic maps, or rather land surveys, had been known in Korea for quite a long time. They were necessary for collecting land tax, which is impossible to calculate without accurate knowledge of the borders of each land plot.

The margins of the map contain hand-written text and notes, written in a neat calligraphy in Chinese ink using a brush. One can see the additions and corrections to the text, written in black Chinese ink. The text in the map is in Chinese characters, which were widely accepted by educated people not only in China, but also in Korea and Japan. Incidentally, there are characters in the text that cannot be found in Chinese dictionaries and were common exclusively in Korea, indicating that the makers of the map used partially a Korean version of the Chinese language.

Though the name, "Map of Russia," implies a description of the vast Russian Empire, the map actually shows only the Far-Eastern territories of the Russian Primorskii region where Koreans started to settle in the 1860s.

It is hard to determine the size and actual location of the listed settlements in terms of the information contained in the map. A large territory was marked on the map as agricultural and cultivated, so that it is quite difficult to match with current geographical names. The fact that the marked territory later saw numerous renaming and new resettlements of people makes identification even more difficult.

The last page of the album-map is a text titled "Foreword with notes to the map of Russia and China [and comments on] the current state of affairs," signed by Kim Kwang Hun and Syn Son Uk.

The map was only discovered fairly recently.[2] In 1972 the academic community was informed of its existence by Yu Yong Bak.[3] In 1994 photocopies of the map pages, along with a number of other documents, were published in the second volume of the *Collection of Materials on Korean Studies*, a work dedicated to the history of the early period of Russo-Korean and Sino-Korean relations.[4] The text was accompanied by academic notes written by a well-known scholar of Russo-Korean relations, Syn Seoung Kwon of Hanyang University.[5]

In 2007 a facsimile of *Aguk-yeojido* was published as a separate book by the publishing house of the Academy of Korean Studies.[6] Li Wang Mu, a staff member of Jangseogak Library,

[2] The discovery of the map at Jangseogak Library is ascribed by South Korean scholars to Tae Geun Park, a Dongguk University graduate student.

[3] Yu Yong Bak, "Aguk-yeojido [Map of Russia]" *Kukhak Charyo*, February (1972): 18–21.

[4] *Jiangbei Riji [Diaries of [the mission to] the northern bank of the river]; Jiangzuo Yudi Ji [Notes on the lands situated on the left bank of the river]; Eguo Yudi Tu [Map of Russia]* (Seongnam: Academy of Spiritual Culture of Korea, 1994).

[5] Syn Seoung Kwon, "Jiangzuo Yudi Ji, Eguo Yudi Tu Jieti [Commentary to 'Notes about the lands situated on the left bank of the river,' and 'Map of Russia']" in *Jianbei Riji,* 38–51.

[6] *Aguk-yeojido [Map of Russia]* (Seongnam: Publishing House of Jangseogak library, Academy of Korean Studies, 2007).

translated the text into the Korean language and made notes.[7]

Determining who and when the map was created is complicated by the absence of information on the identity of the map makers and the authors of the text, or the dates of production. Scholars have long been intrigued by the problem and attempted to identify the map by indirect evidence, such as using the dates of historical events mentioned in the text as reference points, taking into consideration any additional data and the fact that in the countries of the Far East region a 60-year-cycle calendar was commonly used.

To attempt an attribution of the map, let us first briefly examine the period when**,** presumably**,** it was created. The second half of the nineteenth century was a crucial period in the history of Russo-Chinese and Russo-Korean relations. The Treaty of Aigun and the Treaty of Tianjin, signed in 1858, and the Convention of Peking signed in 1860**,** defined the eastern section of the Russo-Chinese border. At the same time, a small stretch of the Russo-Korean border was also settled. According to the Convention of Peking, "The border line between two states from the outlet of the Sungacha River crosses Hankai Lake and goes to the Belenhe (Tur) River, and from the estuary of the latter passes through a mountain range to the estuary of Hubitu (Hubtu) River, and then, through the mountains that lie between Hunchun River and the sea, goes to the Tumen River. Here too the lands that lie to the east belong to the state of Russia, and those that lie to the west, belong to the state of China. The border touches the Tumen River for twenty Chinese miles (*li*) above its inflow to the sea."[8]

The Korean government paid some attention to its northern borders. However, the fact that the Russo-Chinese Treaty had been signed was probably not announced in time to the royal court by Chinese negotiators, who traditionally viewed Korea as their dependent territory. Similarly, the determination of the Tumen River as the border-line turned out to be an unexpected piece of news for the Korean court, as one South Korean scholar has pointed out.[9] In the meantime, the Far Eastern territories, newly acquired by Russia, were in urgent need of a rapid increase in population, so that the area could be farmed and the population provided with food, which had been scarce. Realizing this, the Russian government encouraged Koreans to come and cultivate the rich lands of the Primorskii region, thus supplying local markets and military units with agricultural products. With this purpose in mind, new Korean immigrants, most of whom were homeless and poor were allotted plots of land and given grain to plant, agricultural equipment and cattle to plow.[10]

At the same time, the Russian government was discussing the possibility of signing a peace treaty with Korea, of which articles regulating frontier trade and the regulations for the settlement of ethnic Koreans in Russia were to be a part.[11] In the summer of 1884 the Treaty on Trade between

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[7] Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia and the concept of defending borders in Korea in the end of the nineteenth century" in *Aguk-yeojido [Map of Russia],* 58-65.

[8] *Russko-kitaiskie otnosheniia 1689-1928: Ofitsialnye dokumenty [Russia-China Relations in 1689-1928: Official papers]* (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura, 1958), 35.

[9] Syn Seoung Kwon, "Jiangzuo Yudi," 38.

[10] Andrew Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy, 1881-1904* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1958), 9.

[11] Minister of communications Konstantin N. Posiet (1819-1899) wrote in 1874 in a memorandum to the government, "As the Primorskii and Amur regions suffer from a lack of grain, cattle and labor, it is necessary to

Russia and Korea was signed, but it failed to address those issues.[12]

In the eleventh month of the twenty-first year of King Gojong's rule (1864-1907), also known as the Gapsin year in the traditional calendar system (1884), there was a coup d'état in Korea. The coup d'état was suppressed, strengthening China's position, but it did not deter Japan from its ambitions towards Korea. King Gojong, afraid of the prospect of a Sino-Japanese conflict developing into a full-fledged war on the Korean Peninsula, did his best to find an alternative to Japanese attempts at invasion and Chinese interference. During that period Gojong had some hopes for developing relations with Russia. The Korean royal court perceived Russia as a stronger country than China or Japan, and as a force able to balance the colonial ambitions of the West towards Korea.

The above motives[13] caused King Gojong to secretly send high-ranking Korean officials, namely Kwon Dong Su and Kim Yong Won, accompanied by Kim Kwang Hun and Sin Son Uk, as emissaries to the Primorskii region[14] soon after the coup d'état that happened in the year of Gapsin. Researchers also believe that this mission, while traveling through the Primorskii region, gathered information that was later used to compile the map. Korean scholars are unanimous in attributing the authorship of the map to Kim Kwang Hun and Sin Son Uk, based on the fact that the foreword to the map is signed by those two.

Little is known about these supposed authors of the map. "Chronicles of Gojong rule" (Gojong Sillok) attest their "unknown descent." The same chronicles also mention that the persons in question "meddled in various affairs" and "were banished to far-away lands to eliminate the damage they had done."[15] It might be that banishing them to a far-away land refers to their mission in the distant Russian region of Primorie.

Syn Seoung Kwon quotes sources mentioning the supposed authors' visit to the Primorskii region in 1882,[16] which, probably, was the reason why they were included into the mission in 1884. Meanwhile, the scholars note an inconsistency in the dates of their return from Russia mentioned in

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have close relations with Korea, which has all of these," cited in Konstantin N. Posiet, "Prekrashchenie ssylki v Sibir [The Abolition of the Exile System to Siberia]," *Russkaia Starina,* XLIX:7 (1899): 59.

[12] For more detailed information about the events preceding the signing of Russo-Korean Treaty see: A.L. Narochnitskii, *Kolonialnaia politika kapitalisticheskikh derzhav na Dalnem Vostoke, 1860-1895 [The Colonial Policy of Capitalist Countries in the Far East, 1860-1895]* (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1956); Seoung Kwon Syn, *The Russo-Japanese Rivalry over Korea, 1876-1904* (Seoul: Yuk Phub Sa, 1981 [1983]).

[13] Archive records provide evidence that the reason Gojong sent the emissaries was also his wish to speed up the ratification of the signed Russo-Korean Treaty and to add to it articles concerning overland cross-border trade: Boris Pak, *Rossiia i Korea [Russia and Korea, 2nd edition]* (Moscow: Institut Vostokovedeniia, 2004): 86.

[14] Some South Korean scholars are of opinion that the emissaries' visit to Russia Primorskii region is connected to the history of the so-called "secret Russo-Korean treaties" of 1885-1886. South Korean and Western scholars' theories on this problem are revised in detail in an article by T.M. Simbirtseva, in "Iz istorii politicheskoi intrigi v Koree: 'tainye dogovori' Rossii s Koreei 1885 i 1886 [From the History of Political Intrigue in Korea: Russia's 'Secret Agreements' with Korea in 1885 and 1886]," in *Rossiiskoe Koreevedeniie Almanac [Russian Korean Studies Almanac (3rd issue)]* (Moscow, 2003), 169-192. A large amount of archival records on the visit of Korean emissaries is also cited by Boris Pak, ibid, (2004).

[15] "Gojong Sillok [Chronicles of Gojong rule] 22nd year" 13.06 (1885) cited in Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 58.

[16] Syn Seoung Kwon, "Jiangzuo Yudi," 39.

different historical documents: the dates mentioned are either May 1885, returning with the rest of emissaries,[17] or at the end of 1888,[18] returning alone.

Yu Yong Bak in his 1972 publication was the first to give an approximate date of the map's completion. Determining the period of Kim Kwang Hun and Sin Son Uk's stay in Russia through references in different historical sources, he supposed that the map was created during the second half the King Gojong's rule – a period beginning no earlier than the 1880s.[19] Syn Seoung Kwon in his notes to the text specified the dates, believing that the map was compiled in 1885-1886 after Kim Kwang Hun and Sin Son Uk's return from Russia.[20] Li Wang Mu quotes roughly the same period (1884-1886).[21]

Let us point out an important detail in the foreword that was for some reason ignored by the scholars: "For the last 16 years, stopping in Russian and Chinese [lands], we spied border fortifications, asked about the state of affairs, and [finally] compiled this map and the notes with the information we were able to obtain secretly."[22] Despite the fact that the mentioning of 16 years does not help us to understand when the map was completed, it is evident that the period of gathering information and compiling the map was longer than the two years South Korean sources usually cite.

The text also mentions plans for the construction of a railway that would connect Vladivostok to Ussuriisk.[23] It is widely known that the construction of the railway started after Russian Crown Prince Nikolai Alexandrovich visited Vladivostok and took part in the opening ceremony in the spring of 1891. This is likely to be the latest period we can attribute the map to.

Inconsistencies and contradictions in determining the periods of the supposed authors' stay in the Primorskii region and the time of their return to Korea require us to be extra-cautious about the authorship and the dating of this document. Considering the above arguments, the map, has to be dated to sometime in the 1880s. Further extensive work with archive materials should help to confirm more accurate dates and authorship of the map.

Analyzing the contents of the map, one notices that the map makers were more interested in large Russian settlements than in scattered Korean villages. Furthermore, they took pains to record the presence of military units, their state, fortifications, the numbers of artillery and their locations, number of regular troops and their affiliation, and military communications. Yu Yong Bak also pointed out that among the purposes for the creation of the map were military ones.[24]

Li Wang Mu elaborates in his notes on the mission's intelligence tasks, insisting that the main purpose of the map was military. At the same time, it was impossible for Kim Kwang Hun and Sin Son Uk to gather much detailed information on their own. In this scholar's opinion, they had

[17] Ibid.
[18] Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 58.
[19] Yu Yong Bak, "Aguk-yeojido."
[20] Syn Seoung Kwon, "Jiangzuo Yudi," 47-48.
[21] Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 59.
[22] "Foreword," *Jianbei Riji*.
[23] "Songhuangyin," *Jianbei Riji*.
[24] Yu Yong Bak, "Aguk-yeojido," 20.

much help from Koreans who lived in the Primorskii region and formed a vast network of locally based informants. Throughout a long period of time preceding the actual arrival of a Korean mission to the Primorskii region they gathered confidential information about local defenses.[25] It should be noted that the intelligence information contained in the map concerns not only Russia, but also Chinese territories along the border; for example, the information on the system of command and the state of fortifications at the Hunchun borderline garrison:

> In the eastern and western parts several military units *Ying* [are accommodated].[26] *Tungling*[27] Go who comes from Hunan province is the commander of the five *ying* stationed on the western part. *Jungtungling* Yi who comes from Yitonghe of Jilin province is in command of the military units in the eastern part. Li Jinyung, who comes from Wuxi in Jiangsu province and is an acting governor of the region and at the same time an administrator of education in Jilin, is in charge of recruiting men for cultivating virgin soil. Fortifications are strong and the military guard is extremely strict[28]

Another task of the mission, no less important in our opinion, but relegated to a position of secondary importance by Li Wang Mu, was the gathering of information about Korean immigrants in the Primorskii region. This study, which we would now call a study of migration processes, included a look into the life and customs of the local Korean population. One should also bear in mind that any Korean, who illegally crossed the Tumen River, broke one of the King's laws and therefore was subject to the death penalty.[29] The situation changed towards the end of the nineteenth century. The royal court acknowledged the presence of Korean emigrants outside Korea and decided to turn the situation to its own advantage. Descriptions of Korean settlements included the number of households, the number of Korean inhabitants, and descriptions of the adjacent territory. As mentioned in the map's table of contents, the expedition discovered "a total of 29 settlements," starting with Lutundao near the border between Russia and Korea, and going farther to the north, up to Shamoli, where there were "2,640 households with a total number of inhabitants at 20,313."[30]

The description of each settlement begins with its geographical location, with distances to the closest or largest nearby settlements given in *li*.[31] The number of families/households and the number of Korean immigrants are also listed, locally produced goods and locally cultivated agricultural products are described, the land's fertility and the kinds of fish in the nearby bodies of water are also mentioned.

In the beginning Lutundao (Noktundo in Korean, Krasnoe Selo in Russian), the first frontier settlement in Russia, is described in the following way, "A vast, virgin plain with fertile soil [usable]

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[25] Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 61.
[26] *Ying* – banner-bearing troops of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).
[27] *Tungling* – an officer in command of several military units (*Ying)*.
[28] "Hunchun," *Jianbei Riji*.
[29] Andrew Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern,* 11.
[30] "Table of Contents," *Jianbei Riji*.
[31] *Li* – a measure of length, one Korean *li* (mile) is equal to 0.393 km, Chinese *li* to about 0.516 km.

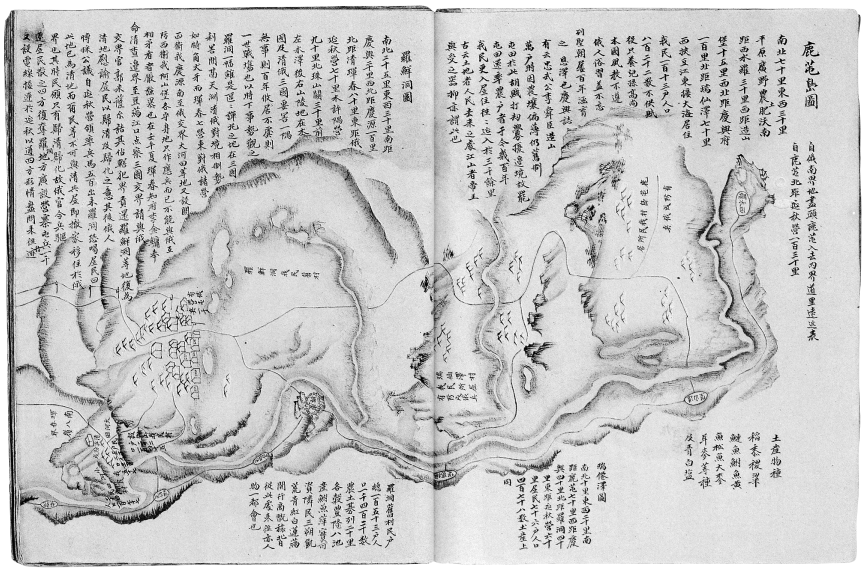

Figure 2: The description of the Tumen River area in *Aguk-yeojido* [Map of Russia] (Seongnam: Jangseogak Library, Academy of Korean Studies, 2007: 6-7)

for cultivation [which stretches] for 70 *li* from south to north, and for 30 *li* from east to west. 30 *li* to the south [there is a settlement of] Xishuiluo, 15 *li* to the west Zaoshanbao, 100 *li* to the north-west Qingxingfu, 70 *li* to the north Ruixiangze. To the west it [is circled] by the Doujiang River, to the east [the land] meets the ocean."[32] The above quote describing Russian frontier settlements led Li Wang Mu to claim that the land historically belonged to Korea, as he explains in detail in his notes.[33]

Korea has always suffered from a shortage of fertile land usable for cultivation of agricultural products. Yet immediately behind the river there were vast, fertile lands. The authors of the map remind us of this constantly when describing the Primorskii region. As the map makers put it, there are Koreans living there who do not pay taxes either to the Korean government nor to the Russian Tsar, yet "conform to the customs and traditions of their native country… [they] did not forget the kindness of the ruling dynasty that had been nurturing them for several hundred years."[34]

The fact that Korean immigrants retained their traditional culture and were loyal to their ruler was important for the emissaries and is frequently mentioned in the text. However, American researcher Andrew Malozemoff has written that, "…the Koreans readily adopted the Russian language and lifestyle."[35] The lifestyle and culture of Korean immigrants in Russia were also described by a famous traveler and a talented writer Isabella L. Bishop (1831-1904), who visited Korea four times between 1894 and 1897. She also visited the nearby territories of Manchuria, Siberia and Russia's Far East and then made her picturesque reflections into a book *Korea and Her Neighbors.* The book was published immediately after the Sino-Japanese War and, no doubt, provides

[32] "Lutundao," *Jianbei Riji*.
[33] Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 62-65.
[34] "Lutundao," *Jianbei Riji*.
[35] Andrew Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern,* 11.

information, extremely valuable for research concerning the modern history of Korea and its neighboring countries.[36] Bishop describes Korean settlements and their inhabitants:

> Most of the dwellings have four, five, and even six rooms, with papered walls and ceilings, fretwork doors and windows, "glazed" with white translucent paper, finely matted floors, and an amount of plenishings rarely to be found even in a mandarin's house in Korea. Cabinets, bureaus, and rice chests of ornamental wood with handsome brass decorations, low tables, stools, cushions, brass samovars, dressers displaying brass dinner services, brass bowls, china, tea-glasses, brass candlesticks, brass kerosene lamps, and a host of other things, illustrate the capacity to secure comfort. Pictures of the Tsar and Tsaritza, of Christ, of the Greek saints, and framed cards of twelve Christian prayers, replace the coarse daubs of the family demons in very many houses. Out of doors full granaries, ponies, mares with foals, black pigs of an improved breed, draught oxen, and fat oxen for the Vladivostok market, with ox-carts and agricultural implements, attest solid material prosperity. It would be impossible for the traveler to meet with more cordial hospitality and more cleanly and comfortable accommodation than I did in these Korean homes.[37]

Here is one more quotation from Bishop's book:

> In Korea I had learned to think of Koreans as the dregs of a race, and to regard their conditions as hopeless, but in Primorsk I saw reason for considerably modifying my opinion. It must be borne in mind that these people, who have raised themselves into a prosperous farming class, and who get an excellent character for industry and good conduct alike from Russian police officials, Russian settlers, and military officers, were not exceptionally industrious and thrifty men. They were mostly starving folk who fled from famine, and their prosperity and general demeanor give me the hope that their countrymen in Korea, if they ever have an honest administration and protection for their earnings, may slowly develop into *men.*[38]

The remarkable Russian traveler Nikolai G. Garin-Mikhailovskii (1852-1906), who, on a round-the-world journey in 1898, praised the Korean people's moral qualities and their love for peace. Here is an extract from his diary:

> I visited a school in Podgorskaia village.[39] The teacher and the students were exclusively Koreans…The students are hard-working and all have remarkable calligraphic skills. The Koreans show good abilities in other subjects too… From the stories [told by Koreans] one can gather that

[36] Isabella Lucy Bishop (nee Bird), *Korea and Her Neighbors. A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country* (New York, 1898 [1st edition]; Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970 [reprint]).
[37] Ibid., 235.
[38] Ibid., 236.
[39] The village of Podgorskaia was situated close to the border, at the mouth of Tumen River.

> Koreans in Russia have a much better life than Koreans in Korea. They say that if it were not forbidden, the entire population of North Korea would have escaped to Russia.[40]

Despite some statements on the map's text describing the Koreans being mistreated by Russian authorities, its actual content shows that the Koreans usually settled near Russian guard stations and frontier outposts that provided protection against gangs of *Honghuzi*[41] coming from China. Isabella Bishop in her book tells about *Honghuzi* attacks, "who crossed the frontier to harry the Korean villages."[42] Practically every page of the map is marked with Russian border guard stations and frontier outposts that are located near or in the villages inhabited by "our people," (i.e. Koreans).

Russian troops have also protected Korean settlements and their inhabitants from the Primorskii region's aborigines, and evidence of this is provided by the map. For instance, in the description of the Korean village of Doubihe, there is a note that "Hu,[43] who had lived here formerly, were going to harm our people who were just settling there. [Then the Russians] banished Hu and settled our people [here].[44] 1,000 military troops were brought to settle there and provide protection."[45]

There is a similar note in the text about Sucheng, where Koreans also lived: "At first there were 400-500 Hu households. The Russians, thinking that [the locals] were going to harm our people, banished all Hu people. Then they built fortifications and [stationed] troops there to protect our people."[46]

In 1860, when Russia ensured her right to settle in the Far-Eastern area by treaties, an outpost in Novgorodskii was founded at the tip of Novgorodskii Peninsula, deep into land along the gulf at Postovaia Bay. This is now Port Posiet, 107 km southwest of Vladivostok. The settlement is mentioned on the map:

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[40] Nikolai G. Garin, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia (Po Koree, Manzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu [From the World Tour Diaries (To Korea, Manchuria and Liaodong Peninsula)]* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo geograficheskoi literature, 1952 [3rd edition]), 86.

[41] *Honghuzi*, Chinese brigands spread over Manchuria and North China in the end of nineteenth century.

[42] Bishop, *Korea,* 237-238.

[43] *Hu* – a general name for northern Tungusic and Manchur people inhabiting the area of modern Primorskii region and the area around Amur River. A Korean scholar suggested that the text refers to Manchurian people. See: Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 31.

[44] Incidentally, the Korean translation of the text reads as: "[Then the Russians] drove the Hu and settled [here] their own people," see Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 49. The Korean translation of the text interprets "our people," Koreans, as "their own people," i.e. "settled Russians," which is incorrect in our opinion, since the Korean authors of the text could not have referred to Russians as "our people."

[45] "Doubihe," in *Jianbei Riji*.

[46] "Sucheng," in *Jianbei Riji*. A Korean scholar translates the text as follows: "The Russians, thinking that [the locals] are going to harm their people, banished all Hu. And then, to protect their people, built a camp [accommodating] the guard troops there," see: Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 49. Here too, in our opinion, the wrong interpretation of "our people" as "their own people," i.e. the Russians, is present.

> Although the area of the port founded there is not large, the southern sea border line [of Russia] starts here. Steamboats, large and small, regularly bring to Haishen[wei][47] grain collected as taxes, green forage, military troops and weapons. They send supplies to Yangqiuying[48]… Navy troops number 500–600 [men]. There are five large cannons in the camp. To both sides of the river mouth [under]water mines are set as a [protective] measure in case of unforeseen emergency. Different [military] preparations are made to protect the key position [lit.: the throat] of Yangqiuying. This is where the Russians first built [a military outpost].[49]

The location of the five cannons is marked on the map. Besides, three artillery batteries, an observation tower, storehouses where green forage was kept, a blacksmith shop, a public office, an electric lines administration, and two military administration buildings are also marked in the map of Posiet, named Muxiuyu in the document. The south and north garrisons of Yangqiu (a Novokievskoe settlement) are marked on the same page of the map:

> As for the two camps built in the north and in the south, they are large fortified outposts with 2,000 cavalry troops. 1,500 army soldiers, 200 units of patrol and guard troops,[50] 120 artillery soldiers [are also accommodated here]. [There are] one provincial official, a police officer, more than 50 military commanders high and low in rank. Each one is in command of certain troops according to his rank and office. The food and green forage supplies are sufficient. Storehouses and arsenals are fully stocked. During drills and training the commands are strict and the discipline is enforced. [The troops] advance or retreat according to the current situation. This skill is crucial for success in warfare.[51]

Further to the north, the Korean settlement Azhimi**,** or Adimi, as it was called in Russian,[52] is marked: "There are 113 households, 762 people. A fort surrounded by a picket fence was built recently. There are 1,000 military settlers… It is probably the site of the Russians' southernmost fortified border."[53] The Russian settlement Sidimi[54] is described under the name Chaizhiwei:

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[47] Chinese name for Vladivostok.

[48] Yangqiuying, the name by which the map refers to the settlement of Novokievskoe which was founded in 1867, is now Kraskino. A Korean settlement that existed nearby was known to the Russian population as Yangchihe.

[49] "Muxiuyu," *Jianbei Riji.*

[50] The troops carrying out guarding, patrolling, protection and defense duties.

[51] "Yangqiuying," *Jianbei Riji*. According to the archival records, in autumn of 1869 a battalion and a mountain division were stationed in Novokievskoe. See: *Koreitsy na rossiiskom Dalnem Vostoke: dokumenty i materialy [Koreans at the Russian Far East (second half of the nineteenth century – beginning of the twentieth century: Documents and Materials]* (Vladivostok: Izdatelstvo DVGU, 2001), 38. Later in the port of Novgorodskii and the Yangchihe River a unit consisting of a Ussuriisk infantry Cossack battalion and a Novgorodski-Ussuriisk local unit with one platoon of the 3rd Mountain Battery were stationed, *Russia State Military-Historical Archive (RGVIA),* f. 400, op. 1, d. 598, cited by N.B. Ayushin, V.I. Kalinin, S.A. Vorobiev, and N.V. Gavrilkin, *Vladivostokskaia krepost [Vladivostok Fortress]* (Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2006), 17.

[52] Adimi, present-day Poima River, Khasanskii district.

[53] "Yazhiwei," *Jianbei Riji*.

[54] Bezverkhovo.

> 23 *li* in the east-west direction, 6-7 *li* in the north-south direction. 60 *li* to the north-east there lies Menggugai outpost, to the east, 1.5 hours by steamboat, lies Haishenwei port, 70 *li* to the south – Yazhiwei, 38 *li* to the west, across the mountain range, the border of Hunchun. The population consists of 23 households, where 216 people live. They grow oat, … , barley, Siberian millet, Japanese sorghum, millet. Salmon is abundant here, so the "short people"[55] [and other] foreigners come here to fish. The river mouth is by the village and it flows into the sea. The port for those vessels that are headed to Haishenwei is situated here."[56]

The aforementioned Menggugai outpost is now a Barabash settlement in Khasanskii district, where: "There are 200 cavalry troops, an electric communication line administration…[and a] Russian settlement with more than 70 households."[57]

Vladivostok, which in 1880 was given a city status equal to that of Kronstadt, is also drawn and described in a detailed and picturesque way. The description of the city landscape and its positioning are done in the form of allegory, in accordance with *Fengshui*, the Taoist practice of design and arrangement. The *Yin* and *Yang* (male and female essence) characteristics, the concept of five elements (fire, metal, earth, wood, water) and other images of traditional Oriental cosmogony are involved, and designed to determine whether a person's surroundings are in harmony or not. Cardinal directions' alignment is done with the use of traditional imagery: the Black Army of Xuan Wu and mythical creatures in the form of a serpent and a turtle are mentioned to point out the north, and a

Figure 3: Vladivostok-city in *Aguk-yeojido* [Map of Russia] (Seongnam: Jangseogak Library, Academy of Korean Studies, 2007:14-15)

[55] Wo – "dwarf, short people" – a derogatory name for Japanese used in the Qing period in China and Korea.
[56] "Chaizhiwei," *Jianbei Riji*.
[57] Ibid.

symbol of a white tiger to point out the west.[58] The authors come to the conclusion that as a result of interaction between negative essence *Yin* and positive essence *Yang* "a large city, the main port of the Eastern Ocean[59] is established here":

> The number of Navy troops [is] 2,000 [marines], 1,500 sailors on war ships; [there are] 500 the cavalry troops, 1,000 riflemen, 300 artillery men. One *dulingguan*[60] is in command of both Navy and Army, there are also more than 200 other officers, and each one of them is performing his duties diligently and contentiously… 6-7 ships of regular fleet, 7-8 mine cruisers[61] come into [the ports of] our country [Korea]. 7–8 auxiliary ships, designed for transporting food supplies, grain and army ammunition, go everywhere, starting with Beiyang,[62] and cruise between Russian ports. [There are also] 5–6 ships that can be used either for military or non-military purposes according to the situation.[63]

The building of the first wooden fort of the future Vladivostok fortress can be dated to 1877. In 1880 9-inch artillery guns, the latest military innovation at that time, were mounted in coastal batteries.

One can suppose that the makers of the map were familiar with the location of the Declaration lunette by the mouth of the river of the same name, the Nameless battery, and the artillery situated on the cape of Goldobina and the cape of Egersheld (protecting the Golden Horn Bay), the cape of Cooper, the cape of Burnii (around the Semenovskii meadow, now the Sports Harbor). The Vladivostok coast guard fortifications present on the map consist of 21 pieces of artillery, four of them at the coast of Amurskii Bay, ten at the coast of Ussuriisk Bay, seven guarding the Golden Horn Bay.

Observation posts in the hills shown on the map are situated close to the city center. Those are probably the Eagle's Nest Hill (193 m), Tyumen Hill (Busse Hill), where the first wood and mud fortifications of Vladivostok were located, and Suvorov mountain, which towers over the eastern section of the defense line.

In 1878 the military port of Vladivostok was moved from the western part of the Golden Horn Bay to its eastern part, to the so-called "Gniloi Ugol" (Rotten Corner). The "eastern garrison"

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[58] Yoon, Hong-key, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: A Exploration of East Asian Geomancy* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2006), 57-59.

[59] "Haishenwei," in *Jianbei Riji*. The Eastern Ocean of the text includes the Yellow, the East China and the South China seas. The status of the main port of the Eastern Ocean was given to Vladivostok in February 16, 1871, by the Tsar's decree.

[60] *Dulingguan*, comp. *Duzongguan*, senior commander of the district during the Song dynasty (960-1279).

[61] Mine cruiser, lit. "a ship in the form of a turtle loaded with [under]water mines."

[62] *Beiyang* refers to the coastal parts of China's northern provinces, former provinces Zhili, Fengtian, and Shandong.

[63] "Haishenwei," *Jianbei Riji*. For comparison let us quote archival records, according to which Vladivostok garrison by that time included 1st East Siberia Linear Battalion (550 men), 3rd East Siberia Linear Battalion (440 men), Siberian fleet crew (808 men), a Ussuriisk Cossack cavalry regiment (60 sabers). See: *RGVIA*, f. 400, op. 1, d. 598, cited in Ayushin et al., *Vladivostokskaia krepost,* 17.

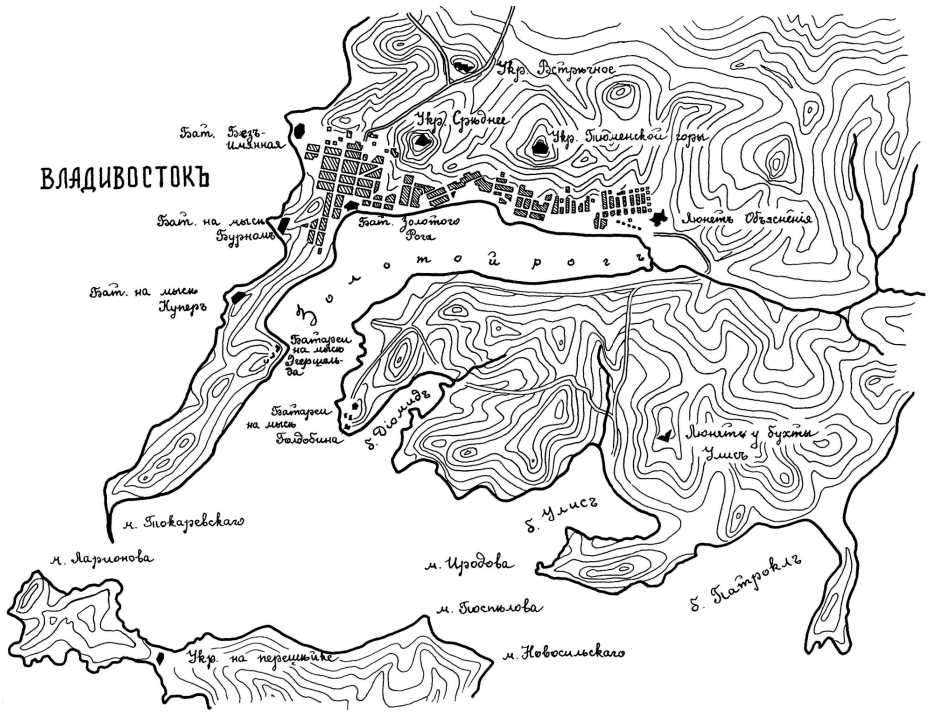

Figure 4: Vladivostok fortifications in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ayushin et al., *Vladivostokskaia krepost* [Vladivostok Fortress] (Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2006). (Thank you to Dr. Vladimir Kalinin for his kind permission to reproduce this map.)

with its food supplies storehouses, military plant, hospital and arsenal is shown on the map.

The city was busy with commerce, which was further encouraged by giving Vladivostok the status of *porto-franco*. This stimulated economic growth and had a very beneficial effect on the city's prosperity. A comfortable bay attracted foreign vessels and commercial activities in the port grew significantly, which is vividly described in the document:

> Cargo ships awaiting their turn to be loaded are blocking the sea surface from view, reminding us of planted rice or hemp in the field. There seems to be no room to stick a needle [between them].[64] [Ships] arrive here from Qing [China], from our [Korea], from Russia, England, America, France, Germany, Finland, Japan and other countries.[65]

Islands in the waters of Vladivostok are depicted as deserted, covered with forest, and the location is marked approximately. It probably means that the authors did not have sufficient information. Only the islands of Qingdao and Hongdao are marked. Those are probably, respectively, Skriplev Island and the cape of Basargin, with the latter incorrectly marked as an island.

[64] "No room to stick a needle" – a common phrase to describe a lack of unoccupied space.
[65] "Haishenwei," *Jianbei Riji*.

A "Japanese consulate" is marked on the map of Vladivostok. It is known that in June 1876, a Japanese commercial agency was opened in Vladivostok, which effectively functioned as a consulate, that is, as a government office in charge of Japanese residents. During the 1880s many Japanese residents lived in Vladivostok, including traders, businessmen, craftsmen, etc.

One cannot fail to notice how surprised the authors of the map were with the means of communications encountered in the Russian Primorskii region, with the organization and the scale of military garrisons, the sophistication of industrial enterprises, and the development of port facilities: "There is an equipment making plant in the garrison [where] products are manufactured to copy a model. They do not use menial work but sophisticated, complete techniques. The eyes can see, but the tongue cannot describe [what is seen] to the full extent."[66] Writing about the telegraph, the authors comment: "These miraculous things cannot be described by words."[67]

In the western part of the city map there is a note, "American administration office of electric lines. [After] digging the ground, they [put in] the cable and ran it to the sea to set the connection with their own country." This probably refers to the Great Northern Telegraph Company of Denmark that got a concession in 1871 for providing telegraph services between Europe and Far East through Russia. The Company laid an underwater cable between Posiet and Nagasaki, and later connected also Shanghai and Hong Kong. In Vladivostok the Danish were granted rights to rent a plot of land between present-day Aleutskaia Street and Posietskaia Street, where a small building of the telegraph office was built. Nowadays there is a group of buildings there, known locally as "The Grey Horse," which roughly matches the place marked on the map.[68]

"The Map of Russia," *Aguk-yeojido*, compiled in the 1880s is, according to a South Korean scholar, an important source of information about the history of Russo-Korean relations.[69] It contains evidence of changes in the foreign policy of Korea that started towards the end of the nineteenth century. At that time different countries' interests in the Korean Peninsula had surfaced. In this situation Korea did her best to protect herself, to adapt to a new strategy of coping with new and unfamiliar challenges. Searching for an alternative to the ever-worsening aggression of European countries and Japan, and attempting to break away from Chinese influence, the Korean government turned to Russia and showed interest in the further development of relations.

There are descriptions of life and customs of Korean immigrants who fled to Russia in the 1860s to escape from poverty, famine and mistreatment by officials, in the hope of a new life. The royal court adopted a more tolerant attitude toward the presence of Koreans abroad, whose

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[66] Ibid. The first mention of mechanic workshops in Vladivostok dates back to 1866. In the 1870s, when by government decree Vladivostok was made the main port of Russia in the Pacific Ocean and a navy base, a mechanic plant was moved to Vladivostok from Nikolaevsk-na-Amure. In 1883 Governor A. Feldhausen initiated a building of several mechanic workshops on the northern coast of the Golden Horn Bay. Those workshops later became the large ship-repair yard "Dalzavod."

[67] "Yangqiuyin," *Jianbei Riji*.

[68] Birgitta Ingemanson, "Kosmopoliticheskii Vladivostok: Shvedskie otbleski, 1908-1923 [Cosmopolitan Vladivostok: Reflection of Sweden, 1908-1923]", in *Rubezh Almanac*, 4:866, (2003): 274; N.P. Matveev, *Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk Vladivostoka [Vladivostok Brief Historical Outline]* (Vladivostok: Ussuri, 1990), 67, 75.

[69] Syn Seoung Kwon, "Jiangzuo Yudi," 38.

emigration had been until recently strictly prohibited and duly punished. A reason for such a change in attitude was Korea's own interests: to use the Koreans living abroad as a means of gathering information about foreign countries, and to attempt to collect taxes from them.

Besides geographical data, the map contains information about the plants, animals and other notable natural phenomena of the Primorskii region, and about the history of relations between Russia, Korea and China. The map could also have been used by contemporaries to specify the characteristics of the border line, to study the history of Russo-Chinese cross-border relations, and to analyze cross-border problems. It shows military facilities, characteristics of guard troops, and fortifications along the border.

Analyzing the informative aspect of the map one cannot fail to point out that the text, especially the description based on direct observations, is actually given priority over the map's abstract and uninvolved cartographic portrayal. The text goes beyond the usual, visual maps. This introduces a hybrid literary-visual, geographical-historical genre, bringing a dynamic element into a static representation of geographical features.

Industrial enterprises, the transportation system, communications, and the development of port facilities in the cities of the Russian Far East are all shown in the map. There are notes on political and economic life of Russia, which had only recently appeared as a new force in the region and was in the middle of forming a strategy for interaction with its neighbors. The existence of the document itself is, in the words of a Korean scholar, a "statement on Great Russia's advance to the Far East," presented to the ruler of Korea.[70]

According to the staff members of Jangseogak Library of the Academy of Korean Studies, who are preserving this rare document, this map is one of the few, and perhaps even the only example of color maps in which foreign, that is Russian and Chinese, military facilities are shown.[71] Let us acknowledge the importance of the fact that this document became the first written attempt by Korea to form an impression of its new neighboring state: Russia.

[70] Li Wang Mu, "Map of Russia," 61.
[71] Ibid., 59.