

The Confucian Transformation of Toponyms and the Coexistence of Contested Toponyms in Korea

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Abstract

Toponyms are social constructs, subject to constant change in the social context. As such, toponyms in Korea reveal many variant forms, given the geopolitical location of the peninsula, a crossroad for various cultures. In particular, when Korea adopted Confucianism as the state orthodoxy during the Joseon dynasty, a host of native toponyms were renamed into Confucian ones in order to reflect the dominant Confucian ideology. This phenomenon produced politically and culturally contested toponyms for the same locations, making native toponyms coexist or contend with Chinese-derived or Confucian toponyms. Confucian toponyms represented the Confucian identity and ideology held by Confucian scholars, and signified specific toponymic meanings and territoriality. Even to this day, Confucian toponyms either coexist or conflict with other types of toponyms. This paper examines the transformation of native toponyms to Confucian ones and analyzes the concrete naming process by presenting particular examples. It also reviews various forms of contested toponyms and the mode of Confucian toponyms in contestation or parallel existence with others.

Keywords: native toponym, Confucian toponym, ideological signification, contested toponym

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Introduction

Toponyms simultaneously harbor continuity and changeability. The changeability is revealed in the social process of their construction which undergoes constant change within the social context. As a result, toponyms are produced as social constructs. Their function is not limited to simple designation and differentiation, but extends to the dimension of representing and constituting the identities and ideologies of social agents (Kwon 2004; S. Kim 2010, 34). Among the social agents who have different social, political, and economic interests, conflicts and competition may occur in various forms over the meanings of toponyms.

Because the Korean peninsula has undergone much sociopolitical turmoil and numerous cultural changes in its long history, and because of Korea's geopolitical location as a borderland and a buffer zone, groups of social actors with different social, political, and economic interests conflicted and competed with each other on local and national scales. In addition, the division of linguistic life along the dimension of social status, which was connected with specific power relations, set the background for the development of contested toponyms, which refer to the condition in which multiple names exist for the same locations in conflicting relations.

The diversity and contested character of Korean toponyms requires a new research methodology which overcomes the morphemic toponymy of traditional cultural geography, in which toponymic morphemes are used to identify a people's origin, migration, and linguistic distribution and spread from the standpoint of cultural diffusion. In response to this demand for a new methodology, the study of cultural politics within cultural geography provides focus on the conflicting power relations exercised by social agents over the significance of culture and its construction. This also offers an effective research method for analyzing the contested identities and ideologies of social agents surrounding toponyms in Korea, and the power relations intrinsic to the contestation.

Recent scholarship on toponymy in the English language zone also

discusses unequal power relations and political conflicts of place naming as a study of critical-political toponymy, analyzing place naming as a symbolic conduit of constructing and legitimizing political identities of various scales and examining the process of toponymic rescaling. Furthermore, the scholarship investigates power and signification underlying the toponymic landscape or namescape (Rose-Redwood and Alderman 2011; Berg 2011); analyzes commemorative road names as texts of memory; and regards the significance of toponyms as the representation of ideological discourse and hegemonic structure of power (Rose-Redwood 2011; Azaryahu 2011). The trend of studying toponyms as active signifiers, which underlines the political analysis of place naming and the cultural production of a place through its naming, has deepened into the discourse on the scalar politics of toponymy by exploring the scalar use of place naming by social groups (Hagen 2011). The scholarship has expanded to studying toponyms as territorial signifiers that represent the identities of social groups and distinguish the boundaries of communities (Whelan 2011).

Noting the social and spatial practice of place naming, this paper aims to examine the generation of toponyms under the Confucian ideology of the Joseon dynasty and the contestation of Confucian toponyms by other types of toponyms. Confucianism (Neo-Confucianism) as the dominant ideology of the Joseon dynasty, embodied by Confucian scholars, the ruling class of the era, produced various ideological symbols in both social institutions and everyday life (S. Kim 2010).

The Gongju-mok garrison command area of Joseon (Gongju-mok hereafter),¹ which is the focus of this study, was characteristically

1. The Gongju-mok garrison command area was a local unit under the local defense system, which was put in place in the third year of King Sejo's reign (1457) during the early Joseon period, when all *gun* and *hyeon* in the nation were rearranged. Under the garrison-command system at the time, the local defense area stretched over thirteen *gun* and *hyeon*, including Gongju-mok, Imcheon-gun, Hansan-gun, Yeongi-hyeon, Jeonui-hyeon, Hoedeok-hyeon, Jinjam-hyeon, Yeonsan-hyeon, Eunjin-hyeon, Noseong-hyeon, Buyeo-hyeon, Seokseong-hyeon, and Jeongsan-hyeon. Today it covers Gongju-si, Yeongi-gun, part of Cheongyang-gun, part of Seocheon-gun, Buyeo-gun, Nonsan-si, Gyeryong-si, Daejeon-si, and Sejong-si.

known as a borderland and a buffer zone. For this reason, Gongju-mok was recognized as a contested terrain by various political power groups, a strategic point, and a cross-border area where different sociocultural, political, and economic actors engaged in competition and confrontation with each other. Consequently, Confucian toponyms and toponyms bearing other ideologies existed in conflicting or parallel relations, and this continues to the present moment. Ideologies informing toponyms reflect and manifest the value system that individuals and groups pursue, the characteristics of the community, as well as the identities of social agents.

In particular, Korean toponyms manifest multiple dominant ideologies and contain several layers of meaning in their toponymic morphemes.² This kind of historical developments yielded wide-ranging battle fields of contestation, in which the central power forced the dominant ideology to the periphery, and local provinces and different social groups developed identification or disidentification with the dominant ideologies (Pêcheux 1982, 156-159; Kim and Ryu 2008, 7). Meanwhile, ideological toponyms, including Confucian ones, were generated mostly by elites who occupied dominant positions in society, and their transcriptions and meanings were altered or transformed with the change of dominant ideologies.

While Korea had not had a written language for a long time and borrowed Chinese characters and thoughts for transcription, a tendency of identifying Confucian ideology with the acceptance of Confucian Sino-Korean characters (*hanzi* 漢字) and Chinese writing emerged. As a result, the usage of Chinese characters created many toponyms in Sino-Korean characters that reflected Confucian, in particular Neo-Confucian, ideology as well as replaced and altered the preexisting native and Buddhist toponyms. Regarding the change of Buddhist toponyms into Confucian, Jeong Do-jeon (1342-1398), a neo-Confu-

2. A toponymic morpheme, which is the “minimal meaningful unit composing a toponym,” is divided into a front morpheme (the characteristic part) and a back morpheme (the classifying part). For example, in a two-morpheme word “Jeolgol” (Temple Village), *jeol* 절 (temple) is the front morpheme and *gol* 골 (village) is the back morpheme (S. Kim 2009, 14).

Confucian ideologue who played an important role in the Joseon dynasty's institution-building, provided the impetus for the renaming in *Bulssi japbyeon* (Arguments against the Buddha). Harshly criticizing the negative effects and contradictions of Goryeo Buddhism from the Confucian viewpoint, he proclaimed the process of replacing Buddhism with Confucianism as the national ideology (Y. Kim 2004). Jeong Do-jeon's negative stance on Buddhism affected the overall attitude of Confucian scholars of Joseon regarding Buddhism and served as a reference for replacing "bad" Buddhist toponyms with "good" Confucian ones.

In particular, Yi Hwang (1501-1570) viewed Confucianism as the manifestation of righteous beauty, but regarded Taoism and Buddhism as exemplifications of "wicked beauty." He believed that Taoism and Buddhism distorted the proper aesthetic view of nature. After seeing that scenic spots in famous mountains he visited—including Sobaeksan mountain—had Buddhist names, he tried to give them new proper Confucian names. Influenced by Yi Hwang's view on the naming of nature, Choe Nam-bok (1759-1814) changed Buddhist toponyms into Confucian ones while running a Confucian academy named Baengnyeong Gugok 白漣九曲 near Bangudae, Daegok-ri, Ulju-gun, Ulsan-si, Gyeongsangnam-do province (Yi Jong-ho 2010, 133-134).

Even earlier, in 757, the 16th year of King Gyeongdeok's reign of the Unified Silla dynasty, the central administrative structure was strengthened with the introduction of the Chinese county and prefecture system. Consequently, the native three- to five-letter toponyms were changed nationwide into two-letter names in Sino-Korean characters, heralding the Confucian transformation of administrative toponyms (S. Kim 2004, 28-30). An outstanding example of the Confucianization trend is that Bipung 比豊 in the Chungcheong region was renamed Hoedeok 懷德 (meaning "to think of virtue") in the 23rd year of the reign of King Taejo, the founder of the Goryeo dynasty (940). "Hoedeok 懷德" was adopted from a phrase in the *Analects of Confucius* that "Confucius said, 'The noble man thinks of virtue, while the narrow-minded man thinks of comfort'" (子曰 君子懷德 小人懷土). This was a very early case in which a Confucian classic was used as a

source for toponyms. During the Joseon period, government officials and local aristocrats who implemented royal power and Confucian ideology at the local level uniformly carried out the renaming of native village names in three or more letters into two-letter Confucian names, down to the rural village level (S. Kim 2008, 610).³

In addition, under the leadership of Song Si-yeol (1607-1689), Nongol 논골 (meaning “rice paddy village”) was changed into Noeun-ri 魯恩里 in Hongbuk-myeon, Hongseong-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province. The toponym was transcribed by borrowing a Chinese character that symbolized Confucius’s birthplace, the Chinese state of Lu 魯 (No in Korean pronunciation). In another example, Noseong-myeon 魯城面 in modern-day Nonsan-si, Chungcheongnam-do province, was created by adapting Lucheng 魯城 along with Queli 闕里 and Mt. Niqui 尼丘—symbols of Confucius’s hometown; this toponymic transformation was initiated by the Old Doctrine (Noron 老論) and the Young Doctrine (Sorun 少論) scholars of the Westerners faction (Seoin 西人) in the late Joseon period (S. Kim 2010, 44-47). In Danseong-myeon, Sanchong-gun, Gyeongsangnam-do province, local aristocrats belonging to the Old Doctrine line of the Westerners faction gave Gyeonghogang river an appellation Sinangang 新安江 river after Xinan 新安 (Sinan in Korean pronunciation) in Anhui 安徽省, birthplace of the forefather of Zhuxi 朱子 (Juja in Korean pronunciation) and called the rock cliff facing the river Jeokbyeok 赤壁, adopted from “Chibifu 赤壁賦” (Red Cliffs; Jeokbyeokbu in Korean pronunciation) of Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (Chi 2000, 42-64). Such names as Inui-ri 仁義里 (meaning “benevolence and righteousness village”), Yeji-ri 禮知里 (meaning “propriety and wisdom village”), and Sin-ri 信里 (meaning “sincerity village) in Bongsan-myeon, Gimcheon-si, Gyeongsangbuk-do province, as well

3. Jeong Gu (1543-1620), a Confucian scholar of the mid-Joseon period, changed eight out of the fourteen *ri* toponyms in Haman-gun into two-letter, Chinese-style names (e.g., “Byunghwagok 並火谷 → Byunggok 並谷,” “Ado 阿道 → Ando 安道,” and “Annidae 安尼大 → Anin 安仁”) during his office as chief of the county (*Hamjuji* [Book on Hamju], 1587). Also, *Yeonggaji* (Book on Yeongga, 1608) lists some renamed toponyms: “Dojiljil 都叱質 → Dogokchon 道谷村,” “Seodusonae 西豆所乃 → Dosolchon 兜率村,” “Yeoksuchon 逆水村 → Gasuchon 嘉水村,” “Ihwaeo 伊火於 → Igu 益友,” and “Maryu 未由 → Mui 武夷” (S. Yi 1989, 144-146).

as In-ri 仁里 (meaning “benevolence village”), Ui-ri 義里 (meaning “righteousness village”), Ji-ri 知里 (meaning “wisdom village”), Ye-ri 禮里 (meaning “propriety village), and Seumnye-ri 習禮里 (meaning “practice propriety village”) that stretched over Apo-eup in Gimcheon and Seonsan-eup in Gumi, Gyeongsangbuk-do province, are the products of the Confucian agents applying Confucian ideology to place naming at the village level.

By referencing above examples of Confucian transformation of Korean toponyms, I classify Confucian toponyms in Gongju-mok and analyze their characteristics and examine the process of Confucian place naming. I also investigate the distribution and types of contested toponyms in light of their contended status and analyze specific cases that reveal the cultural-political nature of toponyms, as evidenced by the Confucian toponyms in competition or coexistence with other toponyms.

Confucian Transformation of Toponyms

Classification of Confucian Toponyms

Local aristocrats, who were the dominant social agents in the community society of the Joseon period, produced a host of Confucian toponyms across the nation. Confucian toponyms can be roughly divided into five groups by the Confucian association of their front toponymic morphemes: (1) toponyms relating to the Three Bonds (*samgang* 三綱) and the Five Constant Virtues (*osang* 五常); (2) those associated with Confucian notions; (3) those relating to Confucian classes and facilities; (4) those connected with Confucian affiliations; and (5) those adopted from old events and anecdotes, scriptures, and historical sites of China. Because this toponymic classification made along the Confucian ideology is based on the simple criterion of Confucian transcription, the reliability of the classification will increase if more evidence becomes available to determine whether specific Confucian transcriptions were made simply by borrowing Chinese charac-

Table 1. Classification of Confucian Toponyms

Classification	Toponym*	Modern-day administrative district	Toponymic association and social relations
Toponyms relating to the Three Bonds and the Five Constant Values	Chunggok-ri 忠谷里	Chunggok-ri, Bujeok-myeon, Nonsan-si	General Gyebaek's and Chunggok Confucian Academy
	Hyogyo 孝橋 (Manggol 망골, Maryong-dong 馬龍洞)	Giryong-ri, Seo-myeon, Yeongi-gun	Hyogyobi 孝橋碑 (Monument in Memory of Filial Piety), dedicated to the nine filial sons produced in five generations
	Hyoga-ri 孝家里, Hyopo 孝浦, Hyogye 孝溪	Singi-dong, Gongju-si	Hyoja Hyangdeokbi 孝子向德碑 (Monument to Filial Son Hyangdeok), erected in 755, the 14th year of King Gyeong-deok's reign during the Silla dynasty
	Sanso-ri 山所里, Sansomal 山所말, Jaesilmal 齋室말	Wangdae-ri, Duma-myeon, Gyeryong-si	Burial site of Kim Guk-gwang who served as Second State Councillor under King Seong-jong of the Joseon dynasty
	Simyo-ri 侍墓里, Simyogol 侍墓골	Simyo-ri, Eunjin-myeon, Nonsan-si	Grave site of the parents of Ji, a filial son who mourned their deaths for three years
	Yurye 有禮 (Yurae 유래, Ieurae 이으래)	Asan-ri, Cheongnam-myeon, Cheongyang-gun	Isansa shrine dedicated to a Confucius scholar, Jo Seong-han
Toponyms relating to Confucian notions	Dosan 道山, Dorim 道林 (Dorimi 도리미)	Jongchon-ri, Nam-myeon, Yeongi-gun	The Galsan Confucian Academy—built in 1694, the 20th year of King Sukjong's reign during the Joseon dynasty—where the ancestral ritual ceremony for Yi Yutae of the Gyeongju Yi clan is held
	Sungmun-dong 崇文洞, Eun-dong 隱洞 (Sumungol 수문골, Eungol 은골)	Hwaldong-ri, Hwayang-myeon, Seocheon-gun	A clan village of the Goryeong Shin clan
	Munhak-dong 文學洞 (Suchul 水出, Munatgol 무нат골)	Hwasan-ri, Gisan-myeon, Seocheon-gun	A clan village of the Yeosan Songs clan
	Musu-dong 無愁洞 (Musoegol 무쇠골)	Musu-dong, Jung-gu, Daejeon-si	A clan village of the Sir Yuhoe-dang sect of the Andong Kwon clan, among whom Kwon Gi (pen name: Musuong 無愁翁), a Confucius scholar is renowned
	Geosa 居士	Geosa-ri, Yangchon-myeon, Nonsan-si	Recognized for many Confucian scholars who lived there in the old days.
	Hallimjeong 翰林亭	Yeonggok-ri, Geumnam-myeon, Yeongi-gun	Related to Shin Jun-mi, an official at Hallimwon 翰林院 (Royal Academy of Letters) under King Jungjong of Joseon

Table 1. (Continued)

Toponyms relating to Confucian classes and facilities	Jeongmun-dong 旌門洞, Jeongmungeori 旌門거리	Songhak-ri, Tancheon-myeon, Gongju-si	Jeongmun 旌門, an arch commemorating the filial piety of Yun Bin, which was awarded during the reign of King Injo of the Joseon dynasty
	Sauchon 祠宇村, Saumal 祠宇말	Taesan-ri, Uidang-myeon, Gongju-si	Sau 祠宇, a shrine for Prince Deokcheon Yi Hu-saeng, the tenth son of King Jeongjong of the Joseon dynasty
	Yeongmo-ri 永慕里 (Yeongbam 영밤)	Yeongmo-ri, Gisan-myeon, Seocheon-gun	A clan village of the Hansan Yi clan; Yeongmoam shrine where a portrait of Yi Saek, a renowned neo-Confucian scholar, is kept
Toponyms relating to Confucian affiliation	Songchon 宋村	Songchon-dong, Daedeok-gu, Daejeon-si	A clan village of the Eunjin Song clan
	Gangchon 姜村, Minchon 閔村, Ichon 李村	Samjeong-dong, Daedeok-gu, Daejeon-si	Clan villages of the Jinju Kang clan, Yeoheung Min clan, and Gyeongju Yi clan
	Bakdokgol 朴篤골, Sondokgol 孫篤골	Doma-dong, Seo-gu, Daejeon-si	Clan villages of the Chungju Bak clan and Miryang Son clan
	Songsanso-ri 宋山所里, Songsanso 宋山소, Songsan 宋山	Geumseong-dong, Gongju-si	Graves of the Eunjin Song clan
	Hansanso-ri 韓山所里, Hansanso 韓山所	Ungjin-dong, Gongju-si	Graves of the Cheongju Han clan
Toponyms adopted from ancient events, scriptures, and heritage	Nisan 尼山, Nosan 魯山, Niseong 尼城, Noseong 魯城	Noseong-myeon, Nonsan-si	Named from the identification with Lucheng 魯城, Queli 闕里, Nigusan 尼丘山 at Confucius's hometown in the Chinese State of Lu 魯 (present-day Qufu, Shandong province)
	Gokbu 曲阜 (Gobusil 교부실)	Gagok-ri, Eunsan-myeon, Buyeo-gun	Site of the Gokbu Confucian Academy; associated with Confucius's birthplace and holds the aspiration to produce great sages
	Soje-dong 蘇堤洞	Soje-dong, Dong-gu, Daejeon-si	Soje 蘇堤 (So's Banks) is the name of the banks that Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (So Dongpa in Korean pronunciation) built in the West Lake in Hangzhou during the period of Northern Song China.
	Sungjeongsan 崇禎山, Sungjeong-ri 崇禎里	Yeongmo-ri, Gisan-myeon, Seocheon-gun	Adopted from Sungjeong 崇禎, the reign name of Yizong 毅宗, the last emperor of Ming China
	Buchunsan 富春山, Jareungdae 子陵臺, Chillitan 七里灘 (Godanpyeong 高丹坪)	Godang-ri, Sagok-myeon, Gongju-si	Adopted from toponyms in Tonglu, Zhejiang province of China, where Yan Ziling, a famed hermit under King Mu of the Han China, took shelter

* Non-Confucian toponyms are presented in parentheses.

ters of similar sounds or were favored by certain social agents or groups. The classification requires more caution, as the Confucian association of the name relied, in most cases, less on concrete objects or forms than on abstract conceptual ideology. Table 1 presents the five categories of Confucian toponyms in brief.

Firstly, toponyms associated with the Three Bonds and Five Constant Virtues refer to those whose toponymic morphemes have letters related with the Three Bonds (loyalty, filial piety, and fidelity) and the Five Constant Virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity) of Confucianism. In Gongju-mok, there are many toponyms that have front toponymic morpheme letters such as *chung* 忠 (loyalty), *hyo* 孝 (filial piety), *in* 仁 (benevolence), *ui* 義 (righteousness), *ye* 禮 (propriety), *ji* 智 (wisdom), or *sin* 信 (sincerity) in addition to those presented in Table 1.⁴ There are many places whose names signify the Three Bonds of the Confucian ideology, including Chung-gok-ri 忠谷里, Hyogyo 孝橋, and Hyoga-ri 孝家里. Also, many toponyms are associated with ancestors' graves: Sansomal 산소말, Sansori 산소리, Sanjingmal 산직말, Simyogol 시묘골, etc. It reflects people's attention to and preservation of the burial sites of ancestors, which may be regarded largely as a manifestation of the development of the notion of filial piety during the Joseon period.

Secondly, toponyms associated with Confucian notions are those which contain such letters as *gyeong* 敬 (reverence), *deok* 德 (virtue), *seong* 性 (nature), *do* 道 (the Way), *mun* 文 (writing), or *hak* 學 (learning), and those meaning *sugi* 修己 (self-cultivation) or the process of perfecting one's self through the ceaseless practice of *in* 仁. In particular, the examples of Munhak-dong 文學洞 and Sungmun-dong 崇文洞 in Table 1 indicate two different transcriptions of their respective native toponyms into Sino-Korean characters. These variations in renaming, in turn, provide evidence of political and cultural power of social agents who followed Confucian ideology. The change of toponyms from Munatgol 무нат골 to Munhak-dong, and from Sumungol 수문골 to

4. See S. Kim (2010, 37-43) for more examples of Confucianism-related toponyms not listed in this paper.

Sungmun-dong 崇文洞 illustrate that a native toponym was altered into two different names of unrelated meanings under the influence of varying ideologies held by social agents. More detailed explanations related to these examples will be suggested in the next chapter.

Thirdly, toponyms connected with Confucian classes and facilities refer to names relating to the ranks, bureaucratic posts, and public offices of Joseon. The Confucian emphasis on entering public office and achieving fame and prestige was manifested in toponyms, encoding Confucian ideology. Toponyms relating to Confucian facilities such as Seowon-ri 書院里 (meaning “confucian academy village”), Sauchon 祠宇村 (meaning “shrine village”), Jeongmunchon-ri 旌門村里 (meaning “village of commemorative arch”), and Yeongmo-ri 永慕里 (meaning “eternal piety village”) represent the Confucian ideology as well. Specifically, Sauchon, Yeongmo-ri, and Byeongsa-ri 丙舍里 (meaning “village of a hut near graves”), which connect the names of ancestral shrines and pavilions for purification with toponyms, represent the Confucian ideology of reverence and worship of ancestors.

Fourthly, toponyms relating to Confucian affiliations refer to names that represent where certain social agents belong to, in particular, the Confucian idea of attachment to kinship. This includes names of clan villages and surname toponyms named for the presence of family grave sites. As shown in Table 1, examples are Songchon 宋村 and Minchon 閔村 where clan villages of the Eunjin Song clan and the Yeohung Min clan are located, respectively; and Hansanso-ri 韓山所里 and Daeryusan-dong 大柳山洞 were named for the presence of graves of the Cheongju Han clan and the Jinju Ryu clan, respectively. Toponyms named after specific surnames were, in most cases, connected with local aristocrats who formed the dominant class in the regional community of the late Joseon period. In the mid-seventeenth century, when society was coping with the chaos caused by two invasions by Japan and Qing China, the local ruling class stressed social stability and ordered the spread of the study of propriety and illumination of loyalty, piety, and fidelity externally, and family solidarity and clan-ship—centered around the patriarchal legitimate eldest son of a clan—internally. As this social milieu accelerated the formation of clan vil-

lages, people scrambled to employ surnames and birthplace names to name clan villages in order to designate and show off the community built around a specific clan. Also, family names and birthplace names were used for the toponymic front morpheme of grave site as a symbolic gesture of protecting the ancestors' graves and representing clan territoriality.⁵

Lastly, toponyms associated with old events and anecdotes, scriptures, and historical sites of China refer to those in which famous ancient stories, Confucian classics, or heritage sites of China, the origin of Confucianism, were used for transcribing the front morpheme of a toponym. Examples are Nigusan 尼丘山, Nisan 尼山, Noseong 魯城, and Gwollichon 關里村, which were named after Confucius's birthplace in the Chinese State of Lu 魯, modern-day Qufu in Shandong province; and some toponyms contain the letter "hwa 華" of *junghwa* 中華, which signifies the China-centered civilization. Also, the reign name Chongzhen 崇禎 of Yizong, the last emperor of Ming China, was used for toponyms, representing the notion of Korea as "little China." Some were adopted from phrases in prose works and verses in Confucian classics (e.g., Gwanjeo-dong 關雎洞⁶ and Mundong-dong 問童洞⁷) and some from well-known ancient anecdotes and historical sites (e.g., Goma-ri 叩馬里⁸ and Godanpyeong 高丹坪⁹). Most of the Confucian toponyms emerged with the development of Neo-Confucianism and the study of propriety during the late Joseon period, and many were

5. Territoriality refers to the capability of certain social agents who have established and maintained dominance in a specific territory. In order to manage and expand their own identity, as well as to purify and strengthen their territoriality, these social agents attempt to exercise their power over toponyms by replacing "bad" toponyms of Others with "good" toponyms with which they themselves identify.

6. "Gwanjeo 關雎" came from the verse, "關關雎鳩," in *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Odes).

7. "Mundong 問童" came from the verse, "Songhwa mundongja 松下問童子," by Jia Dao 賈島 (779-843) of Tang dynasty.

8. "Goma 叩馬" came from an ancient anecdote called "叩馬而諫," in which Boyi and Shuqi—two princes of the state of Guzhu who opposed King Wu's plan to overthrow King Zhou and the Shang dynasty—kneeled before King Wu's horse and remonstrated with him, after hearing the news of King Wu attacking King Zhou.

9. Toponyms in Godanpyeong will be discussed in detail in the section to follow.

named as such, piggy-backed on the idea of Korea as “little China” among intellectuals after the two foreign invasions. They represented and signified the dominant ideology of the Joseon society and reinforced the place identity and territoriality of the local ruling class.

Place Naming Based on Confucian Ideology

The dominant class of the Joseon period, represented by Confucian scholars and aristocrats who subscribed to Confucian identity and ideology, produced Confucian toponyms of diverse forms wherever they went or changed existing native toponyms in the Confucian style. In this section, I review the Confucianism-based renaming process in three categories: (1) the cases of Munhak-dong 文學洞 and Sungmun-dong 崇文洞, in which native toponyms were transformed into Confucian ones in transcription and meaning; (2) family name toponyms, Gangchon 姜村, Minchon 閔村, and Ichon 李村, in which surnames were attached to their respective clan village names; and (3) the cases of Jareungdae 子陵臺, Chillitan 七里灘, and Buchunsan 富春山, which were named after toponyms appearing in the ancient anecdotes of Yan Ziling.

1) Munhak-dong 文學洞 and Sungmun-dong 崇文洞: Confucian Disciples' Villages

Toponyms as ideological signs should be understood in their ideological and social contexts to capture the social relations hidden in their derivation and transformation. The ideological signification of specific toponyms pursued by different social actors accompanies their multiaccentuality of symbols. Eventually, such toponyms function as a medium and instrument of ideologies promoted by social agents. I will now examine the process by which Confucian toponyms were produced, in particular the Confucian ideology held by specific social actors in the examples of Munhak-dong 文學洞 and Sungmun-dong 崇文洞.

The transformation of a certain toponym into a sign and a container of the Confucian ideology is well illustrated by the case of Munhak-

dong located in Hwasan-ri, Gisan-myeon, Seocheon-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province. The original native toponym of Munhak-dong is Munatgol 무нат골. As shown in Table 2, Munatgol is listed as Suchul-ri 水出里 (Water Spring Village) in *Yeoji doseo* (Cultural Geography of Korea), and this toponym persists until today. According to the records in *Joseon jiji jaryo* (Geographical Documents on Joseon), it was designated Munapgol 문압골, its old name in vernacular Korean, in addition to Suchul-ri. The toponym Suchul-ri is associated with the abundant water resources in the area, as disclosed in the local residents' awareness of the village name: "a place of good quality water" and "water never runs out around here, so people from other villages came here for water when the area was suffering a huge drought for seven years in a row."¹⁰

In addition to the name Suchul-ri, which originated from the physical environment of the village, there also exists another name written in Sino-Korean characters: Munhak-dong 文學洞. It can be assumed from the change in the transcription that Munhak-dong contains elements of Confucian ideology, Munhak 文學 (Literature). While it was written by borrowing letters for the sound of Munatgol, asking why, of all letters, "Munhak 文學" had to be employed for the toponymic front morphem may provide some clues to understanding that it was intended as a Confucian toponym and an ideological sign. For further analysis, we need to look into the social relations in the village where the name was generated.

Currently, Munatgol is inhabited by about fifteen households, six of whom belong to the Yeosan Song clan. It was a well-known refuge town during the war of the Joseon period and used to be a clan village of the Yeosan Song clan, where 60 of all 70 households in the village belonged to the Song family at one time. The first member of the Song family who settled in the village was Song Hui-min, the 13th grandfather of the interviewee Song Gwang-hyeon (male, 85 years old). He moved to Hansan-gun in the early seventeenth century after working as a grade-two officer at the Ministry of Capital City in Seoul. At that

10. Interview with an 85 year-old male resident of Munatgol, August 21, 2008.

Table 2. Toponymic Transformation: Munhak-dong and Sungmun-dong

Original toponym	Yeoji doseo (1757-1765) (1789)	Hogu chongsu	Guhan ^a (1912)	Shinkyu ^b (1917)	Seocheon gunji ^c (1988)	Remarks
Munatgol 무냇골	Suchul-ri 水出里	Suchul-ri 水出里	Suchul-ri 水出里	Suchul-ri 水出里	Munatgol 무냇골, Munhakgol 문학골, Munhak-dong 文學洞, Suchul 水出 (Hwasan-ri, Gisan-myeon, Seocheon-gun, Chungcheong- nam-do province)	- Suchul 水出 is a semantic transcription of Munat 무냇. - Munhak 文學 is a phonetic transcription of Munat 무냇.
Sumungol 수문골, Eun-gul 은골, Hwal-dong 활동	Eoeundong-ri 漁隱洞里	Hwaldong-ri 活洞里	Hwaldong-ri 活洞里	Hwaldong-ri 活洞里	Eungul 은골, Eun-dong 隱洞, Sumungol 수문골, Sungmun-dong 崇文洞, Hwal-dong 活洞, Hwaldongri 活洞里 (Hwayang-myeon, Seocheon-gun)	- Eoeun 漁隱 is a phonetic transcription of Eon 연 or Eun 은. - Eun-dong 隱洞 is a semantic transcription of Sumungol 수문골. - Sungmun 崇文 is a phonetic transcription of Sumun 수문.

Sources: ^a *Gu hanguk jibang haengjeong guyeok myeongching illam* (Directory of Old Local Administrative Toponyms in Korea); ^b *Shinkyu taisho chosen zendo fugun menrido meissho ichiran* (The Directory of Old and New Names of Districts, Counties, Townships, Villages, and Neighborhoods on the Complete Map of Joseon); and ^c *Seocheon-gun ji* (Book on Seocheon-gun).

time, Song’s acquaintance, Yun Mal-jeong, belonging to the clan of the Papyeong Yun clan was living in Munatgol, taking shelter from the Japanese Invasion of 1592. Yun taught local children Chinese classics and was awarded an honorary arch for his filial virtue in 1655 as his extraordinary piety became known to the court.¹¹ Song Jin-se, Song Hui-min’s grand-grandson, married Yun’s granddaughter and moved to Munatgol where his in-laws were living. Inheriting some property of the

11. According to *Hansan-gun ji* (Book on Hansan-gun), Yun Mal-jeong, whose progenitor’s hometown was Papyeong, moved to Munatgol in Hansan-gun after his parents were killed during the Japanese invasion of 1592. The honorary arch he received for his filial piety in 1655 still stands in the village.

Papyeong Yun clan, Song Jin-se increased his clan power, and today his descendants have dominance in Munatgol.

It is believed that the Papyeong Yun clan and the Yeosan Song clan changed the native toponym Munatgol into Munhak-dong 文學洞, a sign containing a Confucian ideological meaning, and circulated it. The reference from some interviewees that “the learned used to call it Munhak-dong” allows us to presume that members of the Papyeong Yun clan and the Yeosan Song clan, who had Confucian backgrounds and taught Confucian classics in Munatgol in the latter Joseon period opted to use the new name Munhak-dong 文學洞 instead of Suchul 水出, as it provided them the intellectual foundation for the preservation of their Confucian identity and ideology.

Sumungol 수문골, an original toponym of Sungmun-dong 崇文洞, offers a similar case. Located in Hwaldong-ri, Hwayang-myeon, Seochon-gun—2 kilometers southeast from Munatgol—Sumungol was written as Eoendong-ri 漁隱洞里 in *Yeoji doseo*, then changed to Hwaldong-ri 活洞里 in *Hogu chongsu* (Survey of Households), and this name is still in use today (see Table 2). Yet, the villagers use or remember the name Sumungol in addition to other contested toponyms, Eungul 은굴, Eun-dong 隱洞, and Sungmun-dong 崇文洞.

Of the contested toponyms of Sumungol, Eun-dong was apparently produced as a shortened form of Eoendong-ri shown in *Yeoji doseo*. After that, the Chinese character “*eun* 隱” (meaning “hidden”) was taken for transcribing Eungul 은굴 (Hidden Village) and its meaning “hidden” was turned into Sumungol (Hidden Village). Later, it was changed to Sungmun-dong by borrowing Chinese characters with a similar pronunciation. Like the case of Munatgol, the name Sungmun-dong for Sumungol seems to have been produced as an ideological sign by the social agents with Confucian backgrounds who lived there generation after generation. The name Sungmun-dong exists only in the memories of the local residents and old books and is not in everyday use.

Currently, the Yeosan Song clan (the same clan in Munatgol) comprises 25 of the 28 households in Eungul. The Sir Sunchang sect of the Goryeong Shin clan, who is believed to have originated its cur-

rent toponym Sungmun-dong, lived in Eungul until the 1950s. Parts of the mountains and fields belonging to the head family of the Shin clan still remain here, and the birth site and grave of a well-known poet Shin Eung-sik (1909-1975) survive here today.¹² The Goryeong Shin clan in Hansan-gun was the local ruling class of Hansan along with the Andong Kwon clan and the Deoksu Yi clan, and a pavilion stands on Mojeongjae pass between Eungul and Hanjeoul where the local literati gathered to read books in the old days. The village produced many fine writers and literary figures.

One notable figure associated with the toponyms Eungul and Sungmun-dong is Shin Dam (1519-1595), a member of the Goryeong Shin clan who belonged to the Southerners faction during the mid-Joseon period. He was a disciple of Yi Hwang (1515-1590) and associated with No Su-sin (1515-1590; pen name: Sojae) and Kim Seong-il (1538-1593; pen name: Hakbong). He lived in Sumungol and took his pen name Eoseong 漁城 from Eoseongsan mountain, located at the back of Eungul.¹³ Although it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when and by whom, we cannot rule out the possibility that the transcription of Sumungol in Sino-Korean characters was changed from Eundong 隱洞 to Sungmun-dong by some members of the Goryeong Shin clan, including Shin Dam. The fact that the society of the families of the Sunchanggong sect of the Goryeong Shin clan is named Sungmunhoe 崇文會 increases the possibility even further. Sungmunhoe of the Goryeong Shin clan plays an active role in supporting the Youth Essay Contest and the Seokcho Shin Eung-sik Writing Competition, which are organized by the Seocheon Cultural Center.

Just as the Yeosan Song clan created the toponym Munhak-dong

12. Today, the Sunchang sect of the Goryeong Shin clan who used to dwell in Eungul have all left the place except one family living in a nearby village named Hanjeoul. It is said that they moved to Seoul after the land reform executed following the national liberation (interview with a 76 year-old male resident of Hanjeoul, Daedeung-ri, Hwayang-myeon, Seocheon-gun, August 21, 2008).

13. Eoseongsan mountain, from which Shin Dam took his pen name, appears in *Ginyeon pyeongo* (Chronicles and Biographies of Joseon, 1897) and also in many literary works written by the ruling class of Hansan, including the poetry section of *Hansan-gun ji*.

文學洞 as a Confucian ideological sign in Munatgol, the Goryeong Shin clan came up with a Confucian toponym Sungmun-dong 崇文洞 in Sumungol. In all likelihood, there would not have been a better Confucian designation than Sungmun-dong 崇文洞 to represent the clan identity and the territorial identity of the Goryeong Shin clan, who had produced many literary figures.

2) Gangchon 姜村, Minchon 閔村, and Ichon 李村: Creation and Contestation of Family Name Toponyms

Family name toponyms, which refer to the belongingness of social agents and generally maintain a strong sustainability, retain a territorial identity of a clan competing against other clans and a cultural-political character associated with territoriality. Emerging as the names of influential clan villages that developed in the second half of the Joseon period, they represent the territorial identity of social agents and compose the territorial identity, which designates and strengthens their territory and territoriality. The ruling classes of the capital and localities, therefore, used their family names as front toponymic morphemes in the toponyms of their residence, place of origin, and mountains belonging to their families. This practice was a means to represent their territorial identity as well as the Confucian ideology of loyalty, filial piety, and fidelity. Through these toponyms, people would instantly recognize who lived there and to which clans they were related. Many surname toponyms were created willingly by social agents, while some were produced by those living in nearby places with the intention of distinguishing their own places of residence from those of others.

Family name toponyms like Gangchon 姜村 of the Jinju Kang clan, Minchon 閔村 of the Yeohung Min clan, and Ichon 李村 of the Gyeongju Yi clan, which are all located in Samjeong-dong, Daedeok-gu, Daejeon-si, represent the place identity and territoriality of different clans living in close proximity to each other. The three village names were created by attaching the surnames of the dominant clans living in each neighborhood. The clan villages originally associated with the toponyms still remain, although the traditional village landscape changed after the construction of the Daecheong dam, which was

completed in 1980.

Samjeong-dong 三政洞, where the three villages are located, appear for the first time in the mid-eighteenth-century *Haedong jido* (Atlas of Korea). And confirming its division into three parts, the records in *Guhan* (1912) list three toponyms: Samjeongsang-ri 三政上里, where Gangchon and Minchon are located; Samjeongjung-ri 三政中里; and Samjeongha-ri 三政下里, where Ichon is located. The Jinju Kang clan have lived generation after generation for approximately 400 years in Gangchon, located northeast of Jangbaguni pass on the way to Sintanjin, and today they form fifteen of the twenty or so households dwelling there. Gangchon is also called Winmal 윗말 or Unmal 윗말—both meaning an upper village—as it is located on a higher ground than Ichon and Minchon, and was part of Samjeongsang-ri under the administrative district system of the late Joseon period. A pavilion for purification named Ungokjae 雲谷齋 stands at the center of the village, and Ungok Gangseonsaeng Haengjangbi 雲谷姜先生行狀碑 (Monument to the Conduct of Sir Ungok Kang) and Jinju Ganggong Huimun Songdeokbi 晉州姜公熙文頌德碑 (Monument to the Virtue of Sir Kang Hui-mun of Jinju) stand near Jangbaguni pass on the way to Gangchon.

The first member of the Jinju Kang clan who came to Hoedeok 懷德 and created the village in the early sixteenth century is believed to have been Kang Mun-han (1464-1547). Today, the main residences of the Jinju Kang clan are in northern Hoedeok, including Sintanjindong, Seokbong-dong, Yongho-dong, and Samjeong-dong. The Jinju Kang clan who has lived for generations in northern Hoedeok, including Gangchon in Samjeong-dong, was part of the ruling class in Hoedeok-hyeon during the Joseon period. In the early Joseon period, they formed the most dominant clan in the area, so much so that people used to say “Namsong, Bukgang”¹⁴ (Song clan in the south and

14. “People say, ‘Song clan in the south and Kang clan in the north’ and the Kang clan is the second in number” (一鄉之中又有南宋北姜之稱故姜氏爲次多焉矣) (Song 1672, Introduction). The Jinju Kang clan who lived in Hoedeok-hyeon and was affiliated with the Southerners faction built the Yongho Confucian Academy dedicated to Kang Hak-nyeon and Kang Se-gu in Yongho-dong near Samjeong-dong in 1694. The Yongho Academy, an academy for the clan, was built amidst competition

Kang clan in the north), and at times they became more powerful than the Eunjin Song clan living in the south. In the late Joseon period, their influence diminished relative to other clans. Belonging to the Southerners faction under the faction system of Joseon, the Jinju Kang clan competed with the Eunjin Song clan, one of the main clans of the Westerners faction, for seizure of local power and control in Hoedeokhyeon. Compared to the past, the status of Gangchon did not improve in the local community, but they still possessed a certain territoriality in the Samjeong-dong area by generating the family name toponym and emphasizing it to the outside world.

The Yeoheung Min clan has lived for approximately 200 years in Minchon, located 600 m southeast of Gangchon. Minchon has another contested toponym called Jaesilmal 재실말, which indicates the previous presence of a pavilion called *jaesil*, where students studied Confucianism. Along the land associated with the clan are graves of ancestors of the Yeoheung Min clan in Sansogol 산소골 (Graves Valley) and the pavilion relocated to the entrance of Gangchon. In the grave site in Sansogol are buried Min Su and Min Gu-son (1564-1522), who were, respectively, a son and a grandson of Min Chung-won (in the fifteenth century), the first clan member of the Yeoheung Min clan who came to Hoedeok and founded the village. The Yeoheung Min clan living in Minchon in Samjeong-dong still maintains a close relationship with modern-day Hodong village in Doryong-dong, Yuseong-gu, where its founder created the village.

The direct motive for the Yeoheung Min clan coming to settle in Minchon of Samjeong-dong is the location of the grave site of their ancestors. After going to today's Doryong-dong, Yuseong-gu, the members of Yeoheung Min clan moved their ancestors' graves to Samjeong-dong, which was known as an auspicious place, and some clan members settled there. While the neighboring Jinju Kang clan in Gangchon belonged to the Southerners faction, the Yeoheung Min clan in Minchon was affiliated with the Old Doctrine section of the

with the Eunjin Song clan over dominance of the locality, and this operated as a mechanism of strengthening the internal solidarity of the clan.

Westerners faction, with which the Eunjin Song clan had a close political and genealogical relationship. It is supposed that their factional difference engendered conflicting social relations with those living in Gangchon at the initial period of village formation and they apparently produced a family name toponym to assert their territorial identity and territoriality in distinction from Gangchon.

Finally, Ichon, located northeast of Gangchon, is also called Neomal 넘말 for its location over a hill from Gangchon, or Araenmal 아랫말 for occupying a lower ground than Gangchon. Ichon used to be a clan village of the Sir Gukdang sect of the Gyeongju Yi clan and today they occupy about three of the ten or so households living there. There is an ancestral grave site on the slope of a mountain in the north of the village, but no other landscape marker signifying the clan identity is present there. It is believed that Ichon had a relatively lower social status in comparison to Gangchon and Minchon in the late Joseon period, which might be insinuated by the fact that it was also called Araenmal for being situated on a lower ground than Gangchon. Nonetheless, the Sir Gukdang sect of the Gyeongju Yi clan tried to strengthen their social status, territorial identity, and territoriality by creating and circulating their surname toponym differently from Gangchon and Minchon. The three family name toponyms represent the place identity of each clan to this day and continue to designate the boundary and territory of each and reinforce their respective territoriality.

3) Jareungdae 子陵臺, Chillitan 七里灘, and Buchunsan 富春山:

Toponyms in Godanpyeong Adopted from the Ancient
Anecdotes of Yan Ziling

Godanpyeong in Godang-ri, Sagok-myeon, Gongju-si, Chungcheongnam-do province, has many toponyms adopted from those associated with Yan Ziling 嚴子陵 (Eom Zareung in Korean pronunciation), a famous hermit during the reign of King Mu of the Chinese Han dynasty. King Mu wanted to appoint Yan Ziling for a public office due to their friendship, but Yan Ziling declined the position and lived in seclusion in Tongluxian 桐廬縣 (Dongryeo-hyeon in Korean pronunciation) county, Zhejiangsheng 浙江省 (Jeolgangseong in Korean pronun-

ciation) choosing the serenity of hermitage instead of seeking fame in public service. In Tongluxian, there are many toponyms associated with Yan Ziling, such as Zilingtai 子陵臺 (Jareungdae in Korean pronunciation), Qilitan 七里灘 (Chillitan in Korean pronunciation), and Fuchunshan 富春山 (Buchunsan in Korean pronunciation) mountain. The same toponyms are found in Godanpyeong, taken from the places relating to the life of Yan Ziling.

Joseon period's social agents with a Confucian propensity who lived in Godanpyeong identified themselves with the hermit Yan Ziling, and they sought to have the hermit's serene life reflected in their living space. Outsiders who did not live there could imagine the kind of people who were living there just by hearing such toponyms as Jareungdae, Chillitan, and Buchunsan in Godanpyeong. By using such names, they could represent their territorial identity, share their aspiration for the utopia with the village members, and strengthen their sense of belonging, identity, and further, group solidarity.

Godanpyeong refers to Andanpyeong and Bakdanpyeong in Godang-ri 2-gu, Sagok-myeon, Gongju-si as of today and the place was under the direct governance of Sagok-myeon, Gongju-mok in Joseon. It is located on the way from Gongju to Onyang via Magoksa temple in Sagok-myeon, and Magokcheon stream originating in Taehwasan mountain in Bugok-ri, Sagok-myeon, runs through the village and merges to Yugucheon stream in Hogyeri. Magok stream meanders through Godanpyeong, and over 400-meter-high steep slopes line the waterway. Andanpyeong and Bakdanpyeong, two villages in Godanpyeong, are situated where hilly mountains meet the waterway. Currently, it is inhabited by approximately 40 households and its major clans include the Gimhae Kim clan and the Wonju Yi clan.

Apparently, the toponyms associated with Yan Ziling in Godanpyeong were generated by social agents living there with a hermit inclination.¹⁵ The Sagok-myeon area where Godanpyeong is located is

15. I pay attention to some intellectuals who resided in Godanpyeong as the social agents who produced and reproduced toponyms associated with the ancient anecdotes of Yan Ziling. I was informed by Yi Je-hyeong (male, 84 years old), a mem-

one of the ten best sanctuaries in Korea according to *Jeonggamnok* (Jeong's Prophecies), and it is noted as “維麻兩水之間 可活萬人之地” (“Between Yugu stream and Magok stream is the land where anyone can live.”). Furthermore, the Sagok-myeon area was a famous haven in the old days. Its fame as one of the ten best havens peaked around the period of national liberation between the 1940s and 1950s. Many local residents I interviewed settled in the area after the Japanese occupation of the nation¹⁶ and they responded that the major reason they moved there was to find a sheltering place. As for the Wonju Yi clan who are the second longest settlement group after the Gimhae Kim clan, the first clan member who settled in Godanpyeong, Yi Jeong-yeon, born in 1843, moved there from Yanghwa-myeon, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province, right before the Japanese occupation in 1910, seeking a haven.¹⁷

People who came to Godanpyeong for hermitage and refuge identified themselves with the life of Yan Ziling and created toponyms associated with him in their village. Buchunsan mountain is originally Cheolseungsan mountain, and located northwest of Andanpyeong, while Chillitan indicates the rapids in Magokcheon stream in front of Sudambakkol, located northwest of Andanpyeong. Although it defies exact verification, Jareungdae, where Yan Ziling enjoyed fishing for

ber of the Wonju Yi clan, that people who were well versed in Confucian studies lived in Godanpyeong in the old days. Among them were Nam Man-ung, Yun Chan (who died during the Japanese colonial period), and Kim Jong-rak (who died after the Korean War), who taught Confucian classics to children in private village schools in Godanpyeong.

16. Most people I interviewed at the village center in Godanpyeong said that their families lived in the area for less than 100 years. For instance, Hong Jong-dae (male in his seventies), a member of the Namyang Hong clan, said that his grandfather moved to Bakdanpyeong from Gangjumaegi, Jeokgok-myeon (modern-day Jangpyeong-myeon), Cheongyang-gun, during the great drought in 1939. Yi Yeong-hui (male in his seventies), a member of the Yongin Yi clan, said that he moved from Onyang, Chungcheongnam-do province, to Godanpyeong where his mother's family lived in 1951 during the Korean War (interviewed on August 28, 2008).
17. Yi Jeong-yeon of the Wonju Yi clan is the great grandfather of Yi Je-hyeong, a resident of Andanpyeong. His grave is in Hochi, Chunghwa-myeon, Buyeo-gun. It was with his grandfather Yi Byeong-yeong (buried in Ogok, Gagyo-ri, Sagok-myeon) that the Wonju Yi clan began to be buried in Godanpyeong (B. Yi 1986, 46-48).

leisure, is supposed to be Malbawi at the fringe of Magokcheon stream 20 m north from the bridge leading to Andanpyeong, or Neobeunbae (Wide Ship) located on the way from Godang-ri 1-gu to Bakdanpyeong.

Today, however, the villagers do not know of the toponyms associated with the life of Yan Ziling. They might have slipped away from the memory of the language users and exist only in literature¹⁸ because of the frequent changes of the inhabitants and their limited awareness and use of the names. As mentioned previously, Godanpyeong, as a refuge, had continuous changes in the composition of villagers; thus, it must have been difficult to circulate on a stable and continuous basis the peculiar toponyms coined by certain social agents. Moreover, ordinary villagers probably found the toponyms in Sino-Korean characters too sophisticated, hard to pronounce, or difficult to understand to use in everyday life. There are no traces left of the social agents who once tried to construct their territorial identity by turning to the anecdotes of a Chinese hermit. Yet, these exotic toponyms existing in literature must be awaiting people who will come here in pursuit of a reclusive life sometime in the future.

Coexistence and Conflict of Contested Toponyms

Distribution of Contested Toponyms

Confucianism, which was adopted as the governing ideology of Joseon, influenced the minute details of daily life. A multitude of Confucian toponyms was created from the local village level to the national level through Confucian cultivation and the practice of central government bureaucrats and local aristocrats. Such Confucian toponyms include those created by borrowing Chinese characters with corre-

18. Toponyms in Godanpyeong that are associated with the ancient anecdotes of Yan Ziling appear in vol. 4 of *Hanguk jimyeong chongnam* (Directory of Toponyms in Korea), *Gongju jimyeongji* (Record on Toponyms in Gongju), and *Sagok-myeon ji* (Book on Sagok-myeon).

Table 3. Types and Locations of Contested Toponyms

Type of day contestation	Toponym	Modern-day administrative district
Native vs. Confucian toponyms	Munatgol 무냇골, Suchul 水出/ Munhak-dong 文學洞	Hwasan-ri, Gisan-myeon, Seocheon-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Sumungol 수문골, Eungul 은골/ Sungmun-dong 崇文洞 Eun-dong 隱洞	Hwal-dongri, Hwayang-myeon, Seocheon-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Yurae 유래, Ihwacheon 伊火川/ Yurye 有禮, Wonchon 院村	Asan-ri, Cheongnam-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Beolmal 별말/Miho 漢湖	Miho-dong, Daedeok-gu, Daejeon-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Mikkuji 미꾸지, Miho 美湖/ Yangin 養仁	Yeyang-ri, Dong-myeon, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Sejul 세죽/Hyo-dong 孝洞, Hyoje-dong 孝悌洞	Deokji-ri, Tancheon-myeon, Gongju-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Jungtteum 중뚝/ Hongga-dong 洪哥洞	Gahoe-ri, Sedo-myeon, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Jiljae 길재, Giljae 길재/ Geumsanso 金山所, Geumsan 金山	Jangjae-ri, Geumnam-myeon, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Gasira 가시라/Sobyeongsa 小丙舍	Byeongsa-ri, Noseong-myeon, Nonsan-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Badateo 바다터, Haedae 海臺/ Illyang 仁良	Inyang-ri, Cheongnam-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Ogumi 오구미, Ogusan 鰲龜山/ Osan 梧山 Gusan 龜山	Osan-ri, Yeonsan-myeon, Hado-myeon, Nonsan-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
Buddhist vs. Confucian toponyms	Keuntteum 큰뚝/ Hanyangmal 漢陽말, Hanchon 韓村	Chunggok-ri, Bujeok-myeon, Nonsan-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Buldanggol 불당골/Udeok 友德	Sindae-ri, Seo-myeon, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
Confucian vs. Confucian toponyms	Buldanggol 불당골, Bucheodwitgol 부처뒀골/ Seodanggol 書堂골	Asan-ri, Cheongnam-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Hyanggyomal 鄉校말, Hyojachon 孝子村	Eumnae-dong, Daedeok-gu, Daejeon-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Gwan-dong 寬洞, Eun-dong 隱洞	Masan-dong, Dong-gu, Daejeon-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Nongso 農所, Chunbu 春府, Chunghunbu 忠勤府	Bongmyeong-ri, Hwayang-myeon, Seocheon-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province

Table 3. (Continued)

Native vs. native toponyms	Neobeundal 너븐달, Inghwadal 仍火達, Geumdusul 금두실	Deokseong-ri, Jeongsan-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheong- nam-do province
	Beomal 별말, Sonyeon-dong 少年洞	Manji-ri, Chungghwa-myeon, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Boreumchi 보름치, Mangchi 望峙	Manmok-ri, Beolgok-myeon, Nonsan-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Eoduni 어두니, Yeodeuni 여드니, Palsip-ri 八十里	Sinyeong-ri, Yugu-eup, Gongju-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Naetkke 냇깨, Cheonbyeon 川邊, Muran 물안, Moran 毛蘭	Oin-ri, Janggi-myeon, Gongju-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Baeil 배일, Igok 梨谷, Iil 梨逸, Baeil 排一	Cheongsong-ri, Jeondong-myeon, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Saeul 새울, Chogok 草谷, Jogok 鳥谷, Bonggok 風谷	Naecho-ri, Jeongsan-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheong- nam-do province
	Chiseom 치섬, Chiseong 致城, Gido 箕島	Yeokchon-ri, Jeongsan-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheong- nam-do province
Native vs. Buddhist toponyms	Bugok 富谷/Bucheogol 부처골	Wolha-ri, Seo-myeon, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Bugok 富谷/Buldanggol 불당골	Undang-ri, Sojeong-myeon, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Bunam 富南, Bunam 夫南/ Buram 佛岩	Bunam-ri, Namseon-myeon, Gyeryong-si
Native vs. Taoist toponyms	Ojiul 오지울/Seonyu-dong 仙遊洞	Daesan-ri, Jeongan-myeon, Gongju-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Murusil 무루실, Suchon 水村/ Mureunggok 武陵谷	Daeryong-ri, Sinpung-myeon, Gongju-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Eunhaengjeong 銀香亭, Dongmakgol 東幕골/ Mansu-dong 萬壽洞	Pyeongjeong-ri, Jeongan-myeon, Gongju-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
	Bangol 밤골/Bullo-dong 不老洞	Guemgo-dong, Yuseong-gu, Daejeon-si, Chungcheongnam-do province
Native vs. geomantic toponyms	Bulmutgol 불못골/ Bongmu-dong 風舞洞	Galsan-ri, Buyong-myeon, Chungcheongbuk-do province
	Soebanggol 쇄방골, Seobang-dong 西方洞/ Seobong-dong 樓風洞	Bongdae-ri, Jeondong-myeon, Yeongi-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province

sponding sounds for preexisting native toponyms, as well as new toponyms that replaced native toponyms with Sino-Korean characters reflecting Confucian ideology. In addition, Buddhist toponyms which were in fashion during the Goryeo period were replaced with new Confucian toponyms. Owing to the emergence and replacement of various ideologies, contested toponyms—native, Buddhist, Confucian, geomantic, Taoist, etc.—existed in Korea, competing, coexisting, and conflicting with one another.

Contested toponyms refer to the state in which two or more toponyms exist for the same geographic object or place, competing for exclusive usage. Confucian toponyms designated by the Confucian ideology in Joseon inevitably planted severe competition and conflict with the different preexisting toponyms. Today, a host of contested toponyms exists across the nation, including Gongju-mok under Joseon, and the mode of contestation ranges broadly, defying uniform interpretation.

Table 3 presents several groups of contested toponyms found in Gongju-mok.¹⁹ Some new Confucian toponyms produced in the Joseon period competed with preexisting native or Buddhist ones, while some Confucian toponyms competed or coexisted with other Confucian toponyms in the same villages. Also, native toponyms coexisted with other native toponyms, or competed with Buddhist, Taoist, or geomantic toponyms at the village level. Depending on the degree of the contestation of toponyms, competition and conflict over toponymic territory may ensue; therefore, scholars carry an obligation to scrutinize the power relations developed between social agents over contested toponyms. In particular, when social agents who support and use different toponyms coexist, their modes of contestation should be observed and analyzed from a cultural-political standpoint.

19. See S. Kim (2009, 159-165) for more detailed information on contested toponyms in Gongju-mok.

Contestation of Confucian Toponyms

We can examine the overall facets of contestation and the cultural-political significance of toponyms by analyzing concrete cases of contested toponyms at the village level. Behind the contested toponyms lies the identity, Zeitgeist, or dominant ideology of social agents who support or prefer each toponym. Dominant ideology changes with the progression of times and dominant classes actively practice exclusive place naming during each period. Above, I review how Confucian toponyms generated under the dominant Confucian ideology of Joseon contend with toponyms of other ideologies, such as Buddhist and native ideologies.

In Korea, Buddhism and Confucianism existed as the dominant ideology of Goryeo and Joseon, respectively, in sequence. As historical studies show, under the exclusive and repressive national policy against Buddhism in Joseon, which replaced Goryeo, the vacuum created by the relegation of Buddhism was filled with symbolic landscape signifying the ideology of worship of Confucianism. In this changed milieu, Confucian and Buddhist toponyms contend for dominance in many parts of the nation.

For instance, there is a place in Asan-ri, Cheongnam-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province where Buddhist toponyms Buldanggol 佛堂골 (meaning “temple village”) and Bucheodwitgol 부처뒷골 (meaning “buddha rear village”) compete with the Confucian toponym Seodanggol 書堂골 (meaning “confucian school village”). As we might imagine, the Confucian name used to prevail over the relegated Buddhist ones during the Joseon period. Currently, about seventeen households live in the village where the main families are the Andong Jang clan, the Cheongdo Kim clan, and the Chirwon Yun clan. The site used to house a Buddhist temple, but it no longer exists today. While the trace of this historical fact remains in its names, Buldanggol and Bucheodwitgol, Buddhist toponyms are gradually disappearing from the memories of the residents.

The momentum for the transformation from Buddhist to Confucian toponyms was created by a private Confucian school, which was

built and operated by the local ruling class, such as the Andong Jang clan and the Cheongdo Kim clan. A man called Master Bae from Gongju taught at the school, which was noted in the vicinity for drawing students from four neighboring *myeon*. Interestingly, in Seodanggol, the spatial hierarchy of different social classes was formed along the altitude of their dwelling. The *yangban* lived in higher places where the private school was also located, while the commoners lived in lower grounds. Indeed, the higher-situated Seodanggol was also called Seonbi Maeul meaning “Scholars’ Quarter” (Im et al. 2005, 220). The decline of Buddhist toponyms in Joseon was manifested in the replacement of Buddhist transcriptions with others, which caused the destruction or alteration of associations with Buddhism (S. Kim 2010, 47-49).

To take another example, contestation exists between Confucian toponyms and native toponyms associated with the natural environment. In Asan-ri, Cheongnam-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, Chungcheongnam-do province, the native toponym Yurae 유래 is in contestation with the Confucian toponym Yurye 有禮. Yurae seems to have been transformed from “Ibeulnae 이블내,” in which ㅂ was deleted through the process of “Ibeulnae 이블내 → Ibeullae 이블래 → Ieullae 이올래 → Ieurae 이르래 → Yurae 유래.” The clue to this change is found in the process in which 이블내 was phonetically transcribed into Chinese characters “伊火川”: in this very old toponym, 伊 was the phonetic transcription of the letter “i 이,” while 火 (fire) and 川 (stream) were the semantic transcriptions of the letters “beul 블” and “nae 내,” respectively. Although its precise meaning is unknown, Ibeulnae seems to refer to the low flat land in the valley where Asan-ri is located, considering that 火, 伐, and 弗 were transcriptions for *seong* 城 (fortress) or *beol* 벌 (wide flat land). Ihwacheon, originated from Ibeulnae, was also used for the stream running through the low-level valley land in Asan-ri.

Besides Ihwacheon, Yurye 有禮 (meaning “with propriety”) was another name for Yurae 유래. Favored by the local ruling class, such as the Hanyang Jo clan and the Damyang Jeon clan, Yurye was not only the transcription of Yurae 유래 in Chinese characters but also shared a

similar pronunciation with Yurae. Yurye was a Confucian toponym produced by the major clans of Jeongsan-hyeon during the late Joseon period, such as the Hanyang Jo clan, the Damyang Jeon clan, and the Andong Jang clan. Even though its other toponym Ihwacheon (transcription of Ibeulnae 이불내 with Chinese-borrowed characters) had already existed, they composed Yurye by borrowing two Chinese characters with Confucian connotations, *yu* 有 (meaning “exist”) and *rye* 禮 (meaning “propriety”). Furthermore, they coined and circulated Ihwachon 伊華村, another Confucian name in Chinese characters, by altering the pronunciation and transcription of Ihwacheon.²⁰

Yurye 有禮, which was created by the local ruling class to stress Confucian rites and propriety, is still contending, holding in check, and disidentifying with the native toponym Yurae, which reflects the natural environment of the area. Yurye represents and illustrates the ways in which the members of the powerful local families pursued Confucian ideology. For this reason, Yurae holds an inferior position in the contestation, while the latecomer Yurye is recognized and used more widely.

Conclusion

Toponyms are social constructs under constant change in accordance with their social contexts. As such, they acquire new definitions and meanings in the social milieu they inhabit. Here, social relations, especially power relations, which constitute the core of the social context, structure the social practice that specific social agents and groups identify or disidentify with certain objects and, thereby, include or exclude in mediating by their identity and ideology.

Toponyms, which are favored and supported by certain social

20. Currently, about 24 households dwell in Yurae, Asan-ri, and some language users in the village still recognize the toponym “Ihwachon 伊華村.” A villager I interviewed had his name and the toponym “Ihwachon 伊華村” engraved on the nameplate above the entrance gate of his house (interview with an 88 year-old male resident of Yurae, Asan-ri, Cheongnam-myeon, Cheongyang-gun, December 25, 2008).

agents and groups, represent their identities and ideologies impurely and politically and operate as territorial signifiers, which distinguish them from the toponyms and place territoriality supported by other social groups. Considering the cultural-political function of toponyms, we need to pay attention to the Korean peninsula as the borderland through which different cultures passed over Korea's long history and to the consequent cultural changes. In particular, during the Joseon period when Confucianism was adopted as the national ideology in Korea, Confucian distinction from Buddhist-oriented Goryeo took place in all facets of life at the national and local levels. As a result, many politically and culturally contested toponyms emerged, making native and Confucian toponyms or Buddhist and Confucian toponyms coexist or contest for dominance until today. Representing the Confucian identity and ideology possessed by Confucian scholars and local aristocrats who composed the ruling class, Confucian toponyms in Korea signified particular toponymic meanings and territoriality while being engaged in conflict or coexistence with other toponyms. This paper examined various types of toponymic change, from native to Confucian toponyms, and analyzed specific cases of the naming process. It also presented various groups of contested toponyms and the modes of Confucian toponyms in competition or coexistence with others.

As for the Confucian transformation of Korean toponyms, Confucian toponyms were grouped into five categories, and this paper examined their characteristics: toponyms relating to the Three Bonds and the Five Constant Virtues; those associated with Confucian notions; those relating to Confucian classes and facilities; those connected with Confucian affiliation; and those adopted from old events and anecdotes, scriptures, and historical sites of China. Based on this classification, this paper reviewed the naming process anchored on Confucian ideology for three cases: (1) alteration of native toponyms to Confucian ones written in Chinese characters from Confucian terminology, from Munatgol 무нат골 to Suchul 水出 and Munhak-dong 文學洞, and from Sumungol 수문골 to Eun-dong 隱洞 and Sungmun-dong 崇文洞; (2) generation and contestation of family name toponyms embodying the Con-

fucian idea of clanship (e.g. Minchon 閔村, Gangchon 姜村, and Ichon 李村); and (3) toponyms in Godanpyeong adopted from the ancient anecdotes of the Chinese hermit Yan Ziling (e.g. Jareungdae 子陵臺, Chillitan 七里灘, and Buchunsan 富春山). These cases allow us to have a glimpse of the naming process carried out by the local ruling class of Joseon and to understand how they tried to affirm their place identity and territoriality by reviving Confucian toponyms in their dwelling villages.

Using the term “contested toponyms,” which refers to the existence of multiple toponyms for the same geographic objects or places, I also briefly reviewed the types and distribution of contested toponyms in Korea. While the contestation among native toponyms is most common, Confucian toponyms created in Joseon often compete or coexist with other toponyms—native or Buddhist—as well. While the case of Buldanggol 佛堂골 versus Seodanggol 書堂골 is a contest between a Buddhist and a Confucian name, that of Yurae 유래 versus Yurye 有禮 is a contest between a native and a Confucian toponym. Notably, power relations among social agents are inherent in the contestation of toponyms. Behind these contested toponyms are diverse groups of social agents who favor and support various names. This requires observation and analysis of the contested toponyms from a cultural-political viewpoint.

The Confucian transformation of toponyms in Korea and the contestation of Confucian and other toponyms were largely carried out by Confucian scholars or the ruling class who held dominance within each toponymic territory. The discriminatory ideological signification process practiced by Confucian scholars and the ruling class strengthened their Confucian place identity and territoriality, and in modern times this legacy has caused contestation and conflict with social agents supporting other ideologies with regard to toponymic meanings. The conflict of contested toponyms extends to that of toponymic territories, i.e., the exclusive sphere of space where each toponym is circulated in everyday life, developing into territorialization in which the territory is expanded, curtailed, or won over by power relations underlying the toponym.

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