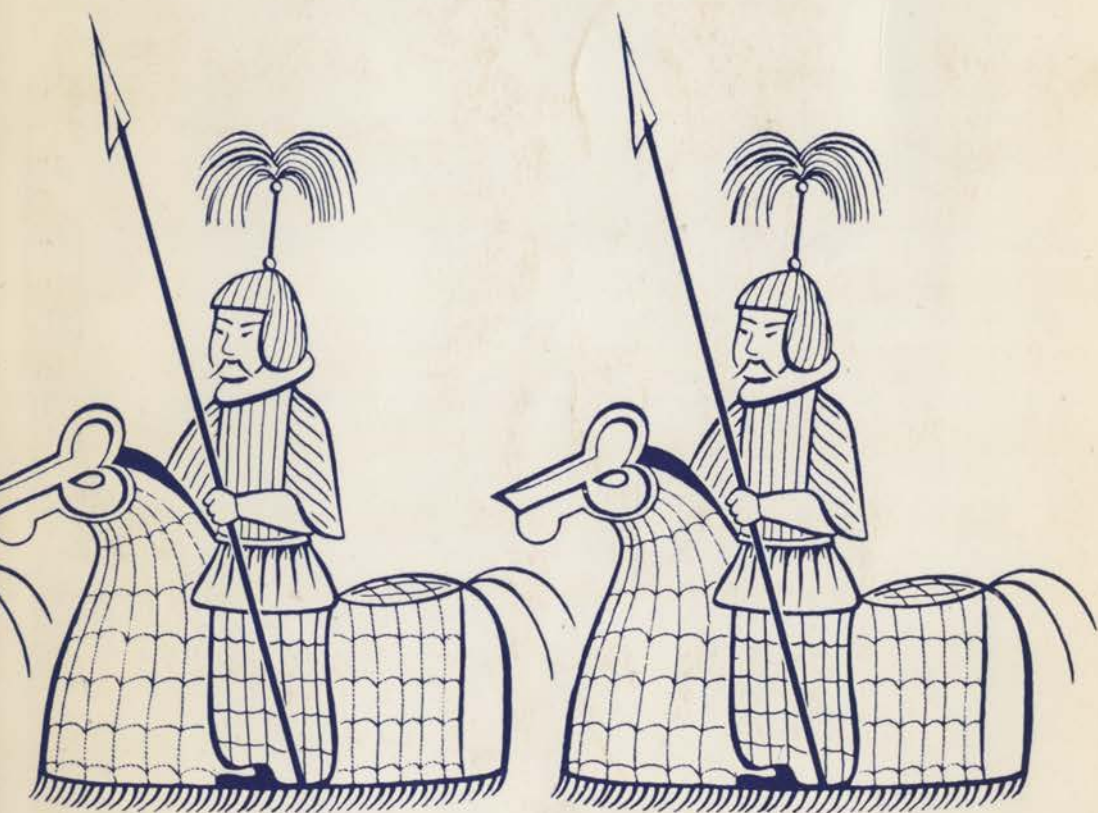


# The Early History of Korea

K. J. H. GARDINER



Korean studies in Western universities have long been hampered by the absence of an adequate general history of Korea in any Western language. The earliest period of Korean history, up to the introduction of Buddhism late in the fourth century A.D., remains the worst served of any.

This short history is intended as an attempt to remedy the situation. It is based mostly upon studies already carried out by Korean and Japanese scholars, and aims at making some of the results of their research available to Western students, particularly students of Chinese and Japanese history.

Dr Gardiner writes about the background and history of Korea before the Han conquest in 108 B.C.; the structure and development of the Chinese colonies in Korea from 108 B.C. to the end of the third century A.D.; the early history of Koguryō, later one of the 'Three Kingdoms' of Korea; and finally about the conditions which produced so many changes in Korea in the fourth century A.D., including the beginning of Japanese intervention and the coming of Buddhism.

*The front cover shows a group of armoured horsemen from a fresco in the tomb of Tung Shou, 4th century A.D. (see frontispiece).*

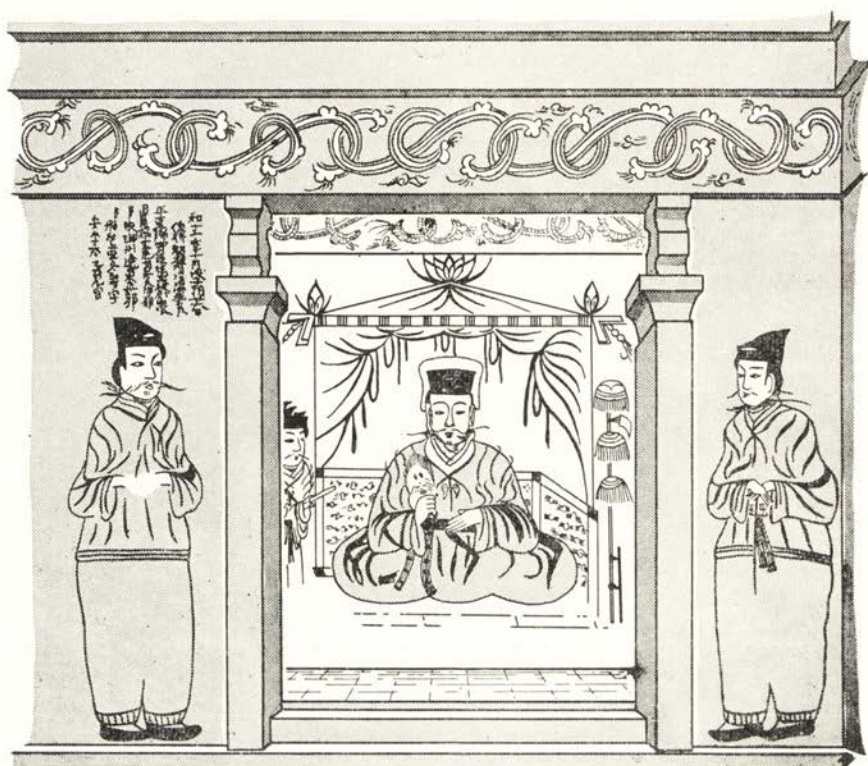
Dr Kenneth Gardiner graduated from the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University in 1953. In 1959 he went to Kyoto University on a Japanese government scholarship to study Korean archaeology, returning to London University in 1961. He received his doctorate from that university in 1964. Dr Gardiner is now lecturer in Chinese culture and history, Department of Asian Civilisation, Australian National University, having come to Canberra from a teaching post in Tokyo.

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# THE EARLY HISTORY OF KOREA

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The left-hand chamber of the tomb of Tung Shou, as seen from the central chamber. The seated figure on the further wall is that of Tung Shou himself; the remaining two figures and the inscription are on the side walls of the central chamber. The drawing is based upon plans and photographs reproduced in *Anak Che: Samhobun Palgul Pogo* (P'yŏng-yang, 1958).

# THE EARLY HISTORY OF KOREA

*The Historical Development  
of the Peninsula up to the Introduction of Buddhism  
in the Fourth Century A.D.*

K. H. J. GARDINER

1969

Centre of Oriental Studies in association with the  
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## Preface

The idea of writing this book grew out of work which I originally undertook in connection with my thesis, 'The Origin and Rise of the Korean Kingdom of Koguryō, from the First Century B.C. to 313 A.D.' (London, 1964). I felt that, in addition to academic articles with their elaborate apparatus of footnotes and tables, there was a place for an outline of early Korean history which should aim at presenting Sinologists and Japanologists with essential information, and the bibliography necessary to pursue further studies.

The author is indebted to Professor J. W. de Jong, Head of the Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies, and to Professor A. L. Basham, Head of the Department of Asian Civilisation, both of the Australian National University, for their encouragement and helpful suggestions. My special thanks must also go to Professor F. Vos, Head of the Department of Japanese and Korean at Leiden University, and to Professor K. Arimitsu, Head of the Department of Archaeology in the Faculty of Arts and Letters, Kyōto University, both of whom read the manuscript and offered a number of corrections and improvements. I should also like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr M. Matsumaru, Research Officer of the Department of Far Eastern History of the Australian National University, who made a number of extremely helpful suggestions and comments, particularly in connection with Appendix I, and who also drew my attention to a number of recent Japanese studies of the Tung Shou Tomb. Mr P. Daniell, of the Department of Geography, School of General Studies, Australian National University, cheerfully undertook the task of making cartographical sense out of a historian's maps. To him and to Mrs Sylvia Thomas, secretary of the Department of Asian Civilisation at the same university, who typed the original manuscript, my thanks are also due, as well as to Miss M. Hutchinson who prepared the index.

K. H. J. G.

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# Introduction

Korean studies in Western universities have long been hampered by the absence of an adequate general history of Korea in any Western language. To some extent, this deficiency is gradually being remedied by the appearance of a number of studies dealing with particular periods or problems, such as W. E. Henthorn's *Korea: The Mongol Invasion* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1963). However, the earliest period of Korean history, down to the introduction of Buddhism towards the end of the fourth century A.D., still remains the worst served of any in terms of coverage in Western languages.

The following outline, which is intended as an attempt to remedy this situation, is mostly based upon studies of various topics in the early history of Korea already carried out by Korean and Japanese scholars, and aims at making at least some of the results of this research available to Western students. It is mainly directed towards students of Chinese or Japanese history, who often come into contact with Korea, as it were on the margin of their own fields of study. I hope that, by focusing upon Korea in this historical outline, I may have helped to show the rather different shape which Far Eastern history assumes when it is no longer seen from the traditional centres of attention, China or Japan.

I have tried to cover the following subjects: first, what is known of the background and history of Korea before the Han conquest in 108 B.C.; second, the structure and development of the Chinese colonies in Korea from 108 B.C. to the end of the third century A.D.; third, the early history of Koguryō, later to become one of the 'Three Kingdoms' of Korea; and, finally, a sketch of the conditions which produced so many major changes in Korea in the course of the fourth century A.D.—the disappearance of the Chinese colonies, the rise of strong native Korean kingdoms, the beginning of Japanese intervention in the peninsula, and the coming of Buddhism.

In two places—in the account of the legend of Chi-tzū's descendants in Chapter 1, and in the Appendix dealing with Tung Shou and the end of the Chinese colonies—I have perhaps gone to slightly greater length than might be expected in an outline of this sort, but in view of the fact that these points are generally either neglected or particularly distorted in most extant Western accounts, this stress may not seem entirely inappropriate. On the other hand I have said little about the beginnings of the important kingdom of Silla, since to have done so would have involved a choice between relying upon the late and unsupported testimony of texts such as the *Samguk-sagi* and *Samguk-yusa* (see Appendix II), or utilising the so far rather tenuous attempts to link up archaeological discoveries with this late literary evidence.

# Ancient Korea

## *Prehistoric Korea*

By the term 'Ancient Korea' (古朝鮮) the entire period of human occupation in the peninsula until the Chinese conquest of northern Korea in 108 B.C. is usually intended, and in what follows the term will be used in this sense. For the events of this very considerable period of time there is little evidence in literary sources. Virtually the only source which is even approximately contemporary is the chapter dealing with the kingdom of Ch'ao-hsien 朝鮮 (Korean, Chosŏn) in the *Shih-chi* of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, written at the beginning of the first century B.C. In this chapter, Ssü-ma Ch'ien outlines the historical development of a state centred in northern Korea, beginning from a point rather more than a century before the date at which he was writing. Elsewhere in the *Shih-chi* he mentions the story of a descendant of the Shang dynasty—Chi-tzū 箕子 (Korean, Ki-ja)—escaping to Korea at the time of the Chou conquest. But no further reference is made to this story in the account of Ch'ao-hsien itself, nor does the entire *Shih-chi* contain any other information which might help to bridge the gap between the end of the Shang dynasty and the third century B.C. when the Ch'ao-hsien chapter begins. As in the case of China itself, much later writers have not hesitated to fill out the chronology of these earliest times by producing lists of rulers who are entirely unknown in any early source.

Thus in the *Samguk-yusa* 三國遺事, a Korean historical work of the late thirteenth century, we read—in a section suitably entitled 'Records of Marvels'—of how a celestial being came down to earth and appeared under a sandalwood tree 'two thousand years ago'. There he was approached by a bear and a tiger, both of whom wanted to be changed into humans. The god gave them each twenty pieces of garlic and a stalk of artemisia, telling them to eat these, and to hide from the light of the sun for a hundred days. Only the bear was able to follow this program through, the tiger not having the patience to remain hidden for very long. Eventually after only twenty-one days, the bear was changed into a woman and, having prayed again, became pregnant, and gave birth to a child under the sandalwood tree. This child, called Tan-gun 檀君 'Prince Sandalwood', is said to have become ruler of Korea and to have made his capital at P'yŏng-yang; Il-yŏn 一然, the priest who wrote the *Samguk-yusa*, placed his accession in the fiftieth year of the reign of the legendary Chinese emperor Yao, corresponding to the Western



I Map of Korea and Liao-tung showing archaeological sites. This is based upon two maps by Professor T. Mikami in his book, *Mansen Genshi Funbo no Kenkyū* (Tokyō, 1961). Dolmens too ruinous to be assigned to either class have been omitted, and indications added of the sites which produced knife money.

year 2333 B.C. In view of the lateness of the source and the obviously folkloristic character of the story, there seems no reason to try to get history out of any of this, but Tan-gun's accession date is nevertheless used as the basis of an era in Korea to this day, and there are still Western scholars who have attempted to find a core of historical fact in the legend.

It is important to distinguish between miraculous tales such as the Tan-gun legend, occurring only in very late sources, and the less elaborate but probably more factual account of Korean beginnings given by Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien. Whatever value stories of Tan-gun and Ki-ja may have as folklore, it is dangerous to attempt to extract historical information from them, particularly since it is often difficult to distinguish the original version of these stories from later literary accretions.

In recent times, the development of archaeology has thrown light of a rather different kind on the earliest periods of settlement in Korea, although much here still remains to be done before any kind of coherent overall picture can be constructed. Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that this archaeological evidence cannot be forced to give answers to properly historical questions. At this stage it is probably more meaningful to summarise the archaeological record as it stands without trying to link it too closely to concepts derived from literary sources.

In the Japanese archipelago, palaeolithic artifacts have been found going back to about 150,000 B.C. However, until recently, no similar remains had been discovered in Korea. It was not until 1963 that archaeologists working in northern Korea unearthed a number of chipped stone tools in association with mammoth and other animal bones, just south of the Tumen estuary in the far north-east of Korea. It is to be hoped that further excavations will increase our knowledge of the Korean palaeolithic.

The Korean remains classed as Neolithic fall into two apparently quite distinct cultures, each characterised by its own type of pottery. Pottery marked with a pattern of dots or incised lines has been found in over thirty-five sites in Korea, mostly along the coast—such as on some of the offshore islands round Pusan, or at Unggi 雄基 in the extreme north-east of Korea, again just south of the Tumen estuary. It has also been found along the lower course of some of the large rivers, such as the Imjin and the Han rivers. Although there are some local variations between the various districts in Korea which have produced pottery of this type, these variations do not so far seem to be of sufficient significance to justify subdivisions of the culture. The so-called 'Comb-marked Pottery' or *hammkeramik* is sometimes associated with crudely-made stone knives or scrapers, with bone or stone harpoons, or, very occasionally, with polished stone tools.

Although the possession of pottery and at least some polished stone implements seems to mark the bearers of this culture as a people at the Neolithic stage of development, the evidence for associating Comb-marked Pottery with agriculture



has sometimes seemed rather tenuous. Although what appeared to be stone querns were found together with this type of pottery, this does not necessarily imply the existence of a regular agriculture. The location of find-spots of Comb-marked Pottery along the coast or along large rivers certainly suggests that fishing played a major part in the economy of the people. The question has been further complicated, rather than resolved, by excavations in the Pusan area in 1957, which produced pottery marked with a pattern of wavy striations, somewhat similar to Comb-marked Pottery, together with a small quantity of burnt grains of millet or some closely allied cereal, and a number of stone hoes and stone sickles. It may well be that this type of pottery was in fact used by people of differing stages of economic development.

The other type of pottery found together with Neolithic artifacts is plain, often reddish-brown in colour, sometimes highly polished, and shows a variety of shapes. Its distribution is not nearly so circumscribed as that of the Comb-marked Pottery, and it is found throughout Korea in both inland and coastal regions. The site at Unggi, south of the Tumen estuary, which produced the former ware, also produced plain pottery; however, the plain pottery settlement seems to have occupied quite a different part of the Unggi site, and it was not possible to arrive at a relative chronology. It is evident that this plain pottery was also used by people of widely differing customs and at different stages of development. At Unggi it was associated with typical Neolithic implements—stone sickles, stone hoes, and stone grinders. In this part of the site there were also found fourteen inhumations, in each of which the corpse was buried face upwards with its head pointing towards the east, and there were remains of bone hair ornaments, shell necklaces, and jade rings.

But plain pottery also occurs in association with dolmens, stone cist burials, and even with early metal weapons. According to Professor T. Mikami, who has carried out the most systematic study of Korean stone cists and dolmens, both these burial practices were introduced from Manchuria. Korean dolmens show two distinct types, one of which is found throughout the peninsula, but predominates in the north, and the other of which is found mainly in the south. The northern type consists of a kind of stone chamber formed by three or four stones, roofed over by another larger stone. This kind of megalithic structure is well known from Europe, South-east Asia, and, closer to Korea, is found in southern Manchuria and the Shantung peninsula—but not elsewhere in China. In Korea, it is commonest in the north-west of the peninsula, an area which has also produced several stone cist burials; however, the relation between these northern dolmens and the stone cists remains obscure. Plain reddish-brown pottery of the type already described has been found together with polished stone daggers in association with both stone cists and northern-type dolmens. It is the polished stone daggers which at the present stage of investigation offer the main hope of arriving at some kind of absolute chronology for the stone cists and the dolmens.

The daggers are mostly slender, highly polished, and very stylised, some of them even being carved with blood channels and provided with stone pommels. Clearly such an object would have been much too fragile to use as a weapon, and it has been suggested by Professor K. Arimitsu that they were made mainly as prestige symbols for burial with chieftains. The people who made them had evidently seen the metal daggers which they imitated so closely, and may even have possessed a few imported specimens, but were not themselves technically equipped to produce metal weapons. There is evidence to suggest that bronze or iron weapons similar to those imitated by the stone daggers were being introduced into Korea, mainly from China, but also from inner Asia, from the third century B.C. onwards, and this in turn suggests a rough *terminus a quo* for the dolmens and the stone cist tombs. Eventually the practice of burying polished stone daggers with chieftains seems to have spread from Korea to Japan, and a number of daggers of this type have been unearthed, mainly in Kyūshū, but also in other parts of Japan, in association with Yayoi pottery.

Professor Mikami has interpreted the northern dolmens in Korea—which are in fact much more numerous than the stone cist burials and may antedate them—as the individual graves of chieftains, the funerary monuments of a powerful clan nobility which probably emerged as a result of political and economic contacts between the native communities of Manchuria and Korea and the more advanced states of China proper. There is little to connect the dolmens with early metal remains, and they are in no case associated with objects of clearly Chinese provenance. Presumably after the Chinese conquest of northern Korea in 108 B.C. the old tribal nobility gradually lost its hold till it no longer commanded a sufficient labour force to construct such monuments.

Dolmens of the northern type are not found in Japan. On the other hand those of the kind which predominate in southern Korea are also found in western Kyūshū, but only very occasionally in northern Korea, and not at all in Manchuria or China proper. These southern dolmens consist of a large capstone supported by a number of much smaller stones. Immediately beneath some of them, stone cist burials have been unearthed. Occasionally, as in Japan in north Kyūshū, a dolmen of this type stands above a mound or cairn in which there are a number of burials in paired pottery urns or jars. These jars, which are of plain pottery and quite large, were placed mouth to mouth, the corpse having been laid between them with its legs flexed. In north Kyūshū this type of burial occurs in groups of as many as fifty or sixty. It seems possible, as suggested by Professor Arimitsu, that both this kind of burial and the southern 'go-board' type of dolmen originated in southern Korea, where the agricultural communities known in historic times as the Han 韓 tribes may have got the 'megalithic idea' from the northerners, and adapted it in a way to suit the social and geographical conditions of their own area (see p. 21). From southern Korea it would then have passed into Japan, where it affords one further example of the close links between

southern Korea and Japan in prehistoric times. In Kimhae, near Pusan, there are go-board type dolmens close to shell mounds in which iron slag and coins of the Chinese ruler Wang Mang (9-23 A.D.) have been found. If a connection could be established between these two types of remains this would offer at least a notional date which would not conflict with the theory that the go-board type dolmens are to be associated with the Han tribes, who are known to have been active in this area from about the beginning of the first century A.D.

As already indicated, the knowledge of metal-working was probably brought into Korea from both China and Mongolia, where the great Hsiung-nu 匈奴 confederacy was dominant from the end of the third century onwards. It is doubtful whether metal was being cast in any quantity in Korea before this period, although metal artifacts were certainly being imported.

The fifth and fourth centuries B.C. had seen the emergence in northern China of a number of strong and well-organised states, notably Ch'in 秦, Chao 趙, and Yen 燕, which began to extend their influence into the lands bordering the steppes. Increased contacts between these states and the northern peoples led to some of the Chinese kingdoms, such as Chao, incorporating bodies of nomad cavalry into their armies. Simultaneously iron weapons, then in use in China, passed into the hands of the northerners and made them militarily much more formidable. Contacts with the peoples of Korea were chiefly through the state of Yen, which had its capital in the region of Peking. This state had originated as an insignificant outpost of Chou culture, and scarcely figures in the longest early Chinese historical text, the *Tso-chuan*, apart from a passing reference to some internal troubles it experienced in the late sixth century B.C. By the latter part of the fourth century it had grown greatly in power; its ruler took the title of 'King' 王 (i.e. supreme ruler), and in 284 B.C. its armies were strong enough to sack the capital of the powerful state of Ch'i in Shantung. It would appear that by this time Yen had already gained some kind of control, perhaps no more than a vague overlordship, over the tribes of Liaotung and northern Korea. Along the valleys of the Yalü, Ch'öng-ch'ön, and Taedong rivers in north-western Korea are a number of sites which have produced 'knife money' 明刀錢, i.e. a currency made in the shape of a knife, apparently minted in Yen. Here it does seem possible to make some kind of link between an archaeological fact and a statement in a literary source, since Ssü-ma Ch'ien begins his account of Ch'ao-hsien by remarking that 'at the height of its power' Yen exercised control over northern Korea.

In 222 B.C. Yen was conquered by Ch'in, which was in the process of unifying all China under its rule. Ssü-ma Ch'ien suggests that Ch'in replaced Yen as an influence in Korea, and this too has been to some extent verified by the discovery of a halberd in the region of modern P'yöng-yang which bore an inscription stating that it was manufactured in Ch'in state arsenal at a date corresponding to 222 B.C.

The wars which led to the unification of China under the Ch'in produced numbers of Chinese refugees who sought to escape by moving into the areas outside Ch'in control. Apparently Korea was no exception, and this movement received a fresh impetus when, after an oppressive rule of twelve years, the Ch'in dynasty collapsed into anarchy in the years following the death of its founder in 209 B.C. It is at this point that it becomes possible to construct something approaching a continuous history of Korea from literary sources.

### *The Earliest Korean Kingdoms*

During the turbulent years which marked the establishment of the Former Han dynasty in China, a number of supporters of the new régime were given fiefs. Once the central government was firmly established, however, it proceeded to try to eliminate the most powerful of those who had received domains in the provinces, and this situation produced a fresh crop of abortive rebellions. One of these took place in the former territory of Yen state, where a certain Lu Kuan 盧綰, who had been enfeoffed as 'King of Yen', took up arms against the central government of China in the winter of 196/95. On the failure of his rising, Lu Kuan took shelter amongst the Hsiung-nu; one of his lieutenants, called Wei Man 衛滿 (Korean, Wi-man) gathered about a thousand of his followers and, adopting the dress of the native non-Chinese inhabitants, escaped through the stockaded frontier which the Chinese had built across Liao-tung, crossed the Yalü, and entered Korea. Once in Korea, Wei Man gained control over both the Chinese refugees who had entered the country during the previous three or four decades, and the native population, and founded a principality with its capital at Wang-hsien 王險, a town which apparently occupied the site of modern P'yŏng-yang.

It is not clear from the *Shih-chi*'s account of these events—which is repeated almost verbatim in the *Han-shu* written two hundred years later—how Wei Man managed to overcome the native inhabitants of northern Korea, or what kind of political structure he found in that country on his arrival. As already noticed, in another place Ssü-ma Ch'ien does mention the story of Chi-tzŭ 箕子 (Korean, Ki-ja), an uncle of the last Shang king, who escaped to Korea at the time of the Chou conquest, and introduced Chinese culture into the peninsula. The fact that he makes no attempt to connect this story with Chosŏn, the state founded by Wei Man, might suggest that Ssü-ma Ch'ien regarded Chi-tzŭ as a semi-legendary figure, at least in so far as his flight to Korea was concerned.

By the middle of the third century A.D.—nearly four hundred years after Ssü-ma Ch'ien was writing—attempts were already being made to bridge the gap between Chi-tzŭ and the historical Chosŏn kingdom. A history written at this time, the *Wei-lüeh* 魏略, states,

Formerly a descendant of Chi-tzŭ was 'Marquis of Ch'ao-hsien' 朝鮮侯. Seeing that Chou was declining, and that [the ruler of] Yen had usurped the title of 'King' (in 323 B.C.) with the intention of attacking and seizing the lands to the east [of Yen], the Marquis of Ch'ao-hsien, also styling himself 'King', wanted to raise troops to oppose Yen and support the House of Chou. But the grandee Li 禮 advised him against this, and he abandoned the idea, and instead sent Li to the west to persuade the ruler of Yen to call off his attack, which that prince eventually did. Later the descendants [of the Marquis] grew haughty and cruel, and [the ruler of] Yen sent his general, Ch'in K'ai 秦開 to invade the western part [of Ch'ao-hsien]. He seized 2,000 li of territory, up to Man-p'an-han 滿潘汗, which was taken as the boundary. Thereafter, Ch'ao-hsien became weaker, and when Ch'in united the empire, and sent Meng T'ien 蒙恬 to build the Great Wall as far as Liaotung, [Chi] Fou 箕否 (Korean, Ki Pu), King of Ch'ao-hsien, being afraid of a sudden invasion from Ch'in, offered his submission, although he was unwilling to come and pay court in person. About this time [Chi] Fou died, and his son [Chi] Chün 箕準 (Korean, Ki Chun) succeeded. After some twenty years, Ch'en [Sheng] and Hsiang [Yü] rebelled [against Ch'in] and the empire was thrown into confusion; the people of Yen, Ch'i, and Chao then fled to Chün in ever increasing numbers in order to escape their sufferings. Chün settled them in the western part [of his lands]. When the Han made Lu Kuan King of Yen, the frontier between Yen and Ch'ao-hsien was fixed at the P'ei River (溲 for 溍水 = ? the Yalü). When [Lu] revolted and fled to the Hsiung-nu, a man of Yen called Wei Man fled east across the river wearing barbarian costume, and went to Chün and surrendered. He asked to be allowed to live on the western frontiers [of Ch'ao-hsien] amongst the refugees from China, and to be entrusted with the defence of the borders. Chün favoured him, and even made him an erudite 博士, enfeoffing him with jade insignia as lord over one hundred li of territory, and ordering him to guard the western frontier. [Wei] Man won over the Chinese refugees, forming a party which gradually increased in numbers. Then he sent a messenger to Chün, alleging that Chinese troops were invading from all sides and requested permission to return and guard the royal person. Then he turned back and attacked Chün, who was unable to resist him.

This account does not really conflict with Ssü-ma Ch'ien's version of events, or even with the archaeological evidence which has come to light in Korea. But it contains so much that is additional for which no earlier sources are known that it seems somewhat suspect. In at least one place the *Wei-lüeh*'s statements can be traced back to an earlier source—the story about the Yen general Ch'in K'ai appears to derive from a passage in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's chapter on the Hsiung-nu, where a Yen general of this name—who is otherwise unknown in early Chinese historical literature—is said to have defeated the Tung-hu 東胡, who withdrew to a distance of over a thousand li. Clearly Tung-hu here, as in most other cases, means some kind of nomadic people, and the *Wei-lüeh* has modified the original phrase in the *Shih-chi* so as to make the incident apply to Ch'ao-hsien. If this is so, it casts grave doubts upon the value of the rest of the account.

The story of the 'Marquises of Ch'ao-hsien', who were descendants of the Chinese sage Chi-tzŭ, a figure who is credited with the composition of a chapter

in the *Book of Documents*, may well have grown up in Korea only after the Chinese conquest of 108 B.C., when some of the more important native families of the peninsula may have become sufficiently sinicised to seek to trace their genealogy back to someone from the Chinese heroic past. If the rule of the Chi family in Korea is historical, it is very hard to see why neither Ssü-ma Ch'ien nor Pan Ku should have made any mention of it, particularly since Ssü-ma Ch'ien was writing only two generations after Wei Man had gained control in northern Korea. Even the story of Chi-tzū's migration to Korea may not be very much older than Ssü-ma Ch'ien's time, since it is first mentioned in the *Shang-shu-ta-chuan* 尚書大傳, written less than a hundred years before the *Shih-chi*. Of course, it is not impossible that Ki Pu and Ki Chun were chieftains in the P'yŏng-yang area, and that Wei Man took refuge with the latter, although the idea of Ki Chun making Wei Man 'an erudite' seems rather far-fetched. If Wei Man had taken refuge with a native ruler in the peninsula this would certainly have given him a base from which to begin his operations, and it might have been the descendants of such a chieftain who claimed a connection with Chi-tzū after the fall of Wei Man's state to the Chinese. However, the 'Marquisate of Ch'ao-hsien' which is envisaged in the *Wei-lüeh*'s account is clearly a large territorial unit, capable of losing 2,000 li of territory from its western borders, and for such a political unit there is no ancient evidence whatsoever. Although the place-name 'Ch'ao-hsien' does occur in early texts—for example in the *Chan-kuo-t's'e* 戰國策—the term 'Marquis of Ch'ao-hsien' is unknown prior to its occurrence in the *Wei-lüeh*.

The state which Wei Man founded in Korea was similar to that which, at the other end of China, was then being founded by a Chinese general in the area of Canton. Both states survived for about a hundred years, and were finally conquered by China within three years of each other. They both enjoyed an initial period of immunity from attack because, early in the second century, the Han dynasty was preoccupied by internal politics and by the threat from the Hsiung-nu in Mongolia, so that there could be no question of sending major expeditions to subjugate outlying regions. In Korea, Wei Man was able to reach an agreement safeguarding his western frontier with the governor of Liao-tung and, freed from anxiety in this direction, he could concentrate on extending his authority over other parts of the Korean peninsula, including the mysterious Chen-fan 眞番 (Korean, Chimbŏn), the location of which is not very certain but which seems to have lain somewhere in southern Korea. The beginning of metal-working in Korea, as distinct from the importation of metal artifacts, should also probably be associated with the rise of Wei Man's Chosŏn kingdom, or more properly with the influx of Chinese refugees who played a major role in the creation of the new state. The fact that polished stone daggers continued to be manufactured and buried in southern Korea until well after the Chinese conquest indicates that the knowledge of metal working did not spread either rapidly or widely during the period.

*The Chinese Conquest*

The *Shih-chi*'s account moves almost directly from Wei Man to the fall of Chosŏn under his grandson, Yu-ch'ü 右渠 (Korean, Ugŏ), and there is thus nothing which allows us to form a picture of the development of Chosŏn during the intervening years. By the time of Ugŏ, the Han dynasty of China was in a very much stronger position, and had begun to undertake major campaigns against the Hsiung-nu; pressure grew at the Han court for measures to be taken which would definitely assert Chinese control over Korea, and remove the danger to the north-eastern commanderies from a state that could at any moment choose to side with China's enemies. Relations between Ugŏ and the Han court had been deteriorating for some time, since Chosŏn had become a refuge for dissidents from within China; the *Hou-Han-shu* mentions a Chinese who, having become involved in the unsuccessful Seven Princes' Rising in 154, had escaped to Korea, where he founded a gentry family which was to remain important in the area for several centuries. At the same time the Chinese government had exploited the differences between the foreign dynasty in P'yŏng-yang and the native chieftains, one of whom went over to the Chinese of Liao-tung along with his followers in 128.

Another source of friction between the north Korean kingdom and the Han court was the treatment of envoys who attempted to come to China from the native communities of southern Korea. Ugŏ regarded these communities as part of his own domain, and therefore took steps to prevent their envoys from getting through to China and getting separate recognition from the Han court. According to the *San-kuo-chih*, written in China towards the end of the third century A.D., the southern part of Korea at this time was occupied by the Han 韓 tribes. The *San-kuo-chih* also states that these tribes were once ruled by Ki Chun, the ruler expelled from northern Korea by Wei Man. Calling Ki Chun 'a descendant of Chi-tzū in about the fortieth generation', it states: 'Being attacked and overpowered by Wei Man, a refugee from Yen, he led his followers and went by sea to the [land of] Han 韓, where he settled and took the title of "King of Han". Although the line of his descendants has come to an end, there are still men of Han today who worship and pray to him' ('today' here will mean late in the third century). This story was also known to Yu Huan, the author of the *Wei-lüeh*, who notes 'Those of his [i.e. Ki Chun's] descendants and clansmen who remained in the land [i.e. in the kingdom of Chosŏn] took the surname Mao 冒姓 (Korean, Mo), and the clan-name Han 韓氏. [Ki] Chun himself became a king in the midst of the sea [?] and broke off all relations with Chosŏn.' Even a Chinese text entitled the *Ch'ien-fu-lun* 潛夫論, written about a hundred years before the *Wei-lüeh*, seems to be aware of this or a very similar story, for it remarks, 'There was another state of Han, which lay to the west [mistake for "east"?]. It was attacked by Wei Man, so [the ruling family] moved to dwell in the midst of the sea.' The *Wei-lüeh* mentions a certain Li-ch'i-hsiang 歷谿鄉 (Korean, Yŏkkye-

gyōng, i.e. 'Minister Yōkkye?'), who was minister of Ugō and who, having unsuccessfully attempted to dissuade the king—presumably from adopting those policies which led to the final breach with China—went 'east' (i.e. south-east) to the country of Ch'en 辰國, that is, the region later known as Ch'en-han, in south-eastern Korea. Evidently there were a number of stories current which told of migrations into southern Korea from Wei Man's state, mostly by people who were unwilling to accept the northern dynasty. Such a movement would be natural enough, and were there more evidence it might be possible to link these stories with the beginnings of dolmen building and urn burial in southern Korea. However, it seems mostly unlikely that the Han tribes ever formed a unified state under a 'King of Han' or that they even learnt the art of metal working until much later. The title 'King of Han' seems more like a later glorification of a chieftain from the north who established himself amongst the southern Han tribes and was later regarded as a 'heroic ancestor', or it may have been an idea invented to connect the Han tribes with the Han family of northern Korea. The idea of a 'Kingdom of Ma-han', ruled by Ki Chun and his descendants for some two hundred years, is a fabrication of late medieval Korean historians.

Whatever the reason for the hostility which existed between the chieftains of southern Korea and King Ugō, it is evident that it was Ugō's attempts to prevent direct contact between the southerners and China that finally roused the Han court to send an envoy to complain to the Korean king in 109 B.C. On his return to China, the envoy murdered his Korean escort and came back with the claim that he had killed a general of Chosōn. This incident produced further border warfare which in turn led, by a process of 'escalation', to the despatch of two separate armies from China to Korea in the autumn of the same year. One of these, commanded by a certain Yang P'u 楊僕, crossed the sea, landed on the Korean coast, and, after attempting unsuccessfully to besiege Wang-hsien, was routed by Ugō's troops. The other army, proceeding by land from Liao-tung, under the command of Hsün Chih 荀彘, had already been defeated as it negotiated the passes into northern Korea. Both armies re-formed, but before further action could take place, the Han Emperor Wu sent another envoy to attempt to overawe King Ugō. For a moment it seemed as if some kind of settlement could be negotiated, and Ugō sent his son and heir to the Chinese court. However, not unnaturally, the Korean prince refused to dismiss his armed guard on the banks of the Yalü, whereupon Wei Shan 衛山, the imperial envoy, would not allow him to proceed. The Emperor had Wei Shan put to death for his maladress, but by this time hostilities had recommenced. Operations were prolonged owing to the stiff resistance of the Koreans and to the total inability of the two Chinese generals to co-operate with one another. Growing tired of the continual delays, the Emperor sent out yet another official with special powers to investigate the situation; Yang P'u was put under arrest and his troops merged with those of Hsün Chih, who now made an all-out assault upon Wang Hsien. Sensing that



all was lost, a group of Ugō's ministers—some Chinese and some Korean, and including one man with the surname Han 韓—murdered the king and surrendered, in the summer of 108.

With the fall of Wang-hsien a few days later, a new chapter began in the history of Korea. The Chinese armies rapidly overran the territory of Chosŏn and adjacent parts of the peninsula and southern Manchuria. They seem to have met little further resistance. Those of the former ministers of Ugō who had changed sides at the last were rewarded and their families seem to have continued to enjoy high social status. Others were doubtless not so fortunate, and it has been conjectured that the earliest metal weapons found in Japan, which resemble stylistically those of the Chosŏn kingdom, may have been brought to the archipelago by refugees escaping from the Chinese conquest.

### FURTHER READING

There is at present no general survey of Korean archaeology in a Western language comparable to J. Edward Kidder's *Japan before Buddhism* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1959) in the *Ancient Peoples and Places* series; a volume on Korea by Professor K. Arimitsu has been scheduled in this series for some time, but has not yet been published. However, A. P. Okladnikov's *The Soviet Far East in Antiquity* (University of Toronto Press, 1965), translated by a team of scholars working for the Arctic Institute of North America, Anthropology of the North Series No. 6, is relevant for much that is said here.

Japanese sources for the archaeology of Korea are relatively abundant. A basic work is R. Fujita 藤田亮策, *Chōsen Kōkogaku-kenkyū* 朝鮮考古學研究 (Kyōto, Takagiri Shōin, 1948), which includes essays on the stone age culture of Korea, Comb-marked Pottery, dolmens, and Chinese knife money. For early metal remains, see also *Chōsen Kobunka Sōkan* 朝鮮古文化綜鑑 by S. Umehara 梅原末治 and R. Fujita (Kyōto, Tōtoku-sha, 1947), Vol. 1. A detailed study of Comb-marked Pottery is K. Arimitsu's 有光教 *Chōsen Kushime-mon-doki no Kenkyū* 朝鮮櫛目文土器の研究 (Kyōto University Press, 1962), and the same author has also published the best study of stone daggers in Korea—*Chōsen Masei-sekken no Kenkyū* 朝鮮磨製石劍の研究 (Kyōto University Press, 1959). Important early excavation reports are S. Yokoyama 横山將三郎, 'Aburasaka ni tsuite', in *Oda-sensei Shōju Kinen Chōsen Ronshū* 小田先生頌壽記念朝鮮論集 (Keijō, 1934), and 'Fusan-fu Retsu-eito Sandō Kaizuka hōkoku' 釜山府艷影島三洞貝塚報告 in *Shizen-gaku-zasshi*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1933, by the same author. Also R. Torii 鳥居龍藏, 'Heian-nandō, Kōkaidō koseki chōsa-hōkoku' 平安南道黃海道古蹟調査報告 in *Taishō Go-nendo Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku* (Keijō, 1961), and S. Umehara and K. Hamada, *Taishō Ju-ichi-nendo Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku*, Vol. 1 (Keijō, 1924), both published by Chōsen Sotokufu. For the excavations at Yugi, see R. Fujita,

'Yugi-Sō-hyōdō sekki-jidai iseki no hakkutsu' 雄基松坪洞石器時代遺蹟の發掘 in *Seikyū-gakusō* (Keijō, 1930), Vol. 2. A recent report on a site which produced both Comb-marked and plain pottery is summarised in Shin Shōichi's 辛正一 'Chōsen Heian-nandō Kyūzan genshi iseki hakkutsu hōkoku' 朝鮮平安南道弓山原始遺蹟發掘報告 in *Kōkōgaku-zasshi*, Vol. 49, No. 4, March 1964.

Palaeolithic discoveries in north-eastern Korea are outlined in an article entitled 'Chōsen no kyū-sekki bunka, Kuppo-bunka ni-tsuite' 朝鮮の舊石器文化屈浦文化について translated into Japanese by Chōng Han-dōk 鄭漢德 from the Korean of To Yu-ho 都宥浩 in *Kōkōgaku-zasshi*, Vol. 50, No. 3, January 1965. For excavations of neolithic remains since 1945, see also To Yu-ho 都宥浩, *Chosŏn Wŏnsi Kogohak* 朝鮮原始考古學조원원시 고학 (P'yōng-yang, 1960), and the volumes of *Yujōk Palgul Pogo* 우적발굴보고 published by Chosŏn Minjujuŭi Inmin Konghwaguk Kwahagwŏn Kogohak Kŭp Minsokhak Yŏn'guso [The Research Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Academy of Sciences] (P'yōng-yang, 1957), particularly No. 8, *Chit'amni wŏnsi yujōk palgul pogo* 智塔里原始遺蹟發掘報告지담기원시우적발굴보고 published in 1961; No. 7, *Hoeryōng odong wŏnsi yujōk palgul pogo* 會寧五洞原始遺蹟發掘報告회령오동원시우적발굴보고 (1959); and No. 5, *T'aesōngni Kobungun palgul pogo* 台城里古墳群發掘報告태성리묘분군굴보고 (1959). See also *Kwangju Karangni Chukōji palgul pogo* 廣州可樂里住居址發掘報告, Komunhwa No. 2 by Kim Chōng-hak 金廷鶴, published by Hanguk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyaphoe (Seoul, 1963), and 'A Limited Archaeological Survey of the Han River Valley in Central Korea' by David Chase in *Asian Perspectives* (Bulletin of the Far-Eastern Prehistory Association, Hong Kong, 1961). (The value of this article is lessened by the fact that its author seems unaware of the work of Japanese archaeologists in Korea before 1945.)

For the dolmens of Korea, there is an early study in Korean by Han Hŭng-su 韓興洙, 'Chosŏn ūi Kōsōk Munhwa Yōngu' 朝鮮의巨石文化研究 in *Chindan Hakpo*, III, 1935. This is a lengthy study—occupying some 132 pages—and has been criticised in J. Hoyt's 'Some Points of Interest from Han Hung Su's "Studies on the Megalithic Culture of Korea",' in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 50, No. 3, 1948. In a recent study—'Chōsen Seihoku-chihō kyōseki bunkaki ni okeru koma-gata doki to sono bunka ni-tsuite' 朝鮮西北地方巨石文化期におけるコマ形土器とその文化について in *Kōkōgaku-zasshi*, Vol. 52, No. 2, October 1966—Chōng Han-dōk, an archaeologist working in northern Korea, attempts to link the reddish plain pottery with the dolmens, and to detect affiliations between the culture which produced both and the neolithic remains of the Liao-tung peninsula (where similar dolmens have been found and pottery closely resembling the Korean reddish plain wares). See also articles by T. Mikami 三上次男, 'Chōsen-hanto ni okeru Shisekibo no arikata ni tsuite' 朝鮮半島における支石墓の在り方について in *Shinagaku-zasshi*, Vol. 62, No. 4, 1953, and 'Taikyū no Shisekibogun to Kodai Nansen Shakai' 大邱の支石墓群と古代南鮮社

會 in *Tōhōgaku-ronshū*, No. 2, 1954, both of which are contained together with further studies in the full-length *Mansen Genshi Funbo no Kenkyū* 滿鮮原始墳墓の研究 (Tōkyō, Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1961). (It should be noted that this author makes several attempts to establish connections between the archaeological and literary material which some scholars would consider as going well beyond the evidence so far available.) See also 'Eishi Chōsenkoku no Seiji Shakaiteki Seikaku' 衛氏朝鮮國の政治社會的性格 in *Chūgoku Kodaishi no Shomondai* 中國古代史の諸問題 published by Tokyo University Press, 1954, and 'Kaijin to sono Minzokuteki Seikaku ni tsuite' 穢人とその民族的性格について in *Chōsen-gakuhō*, Vol. 2/3, 1951-2, both by the same author. The second of these two articles deals with the traditional ethnography of Korea as presented in the Chinese literary sources. For a somewhat different approach on this point, see also S. Mishina 三品彰英, 'Kaihakuzoku Shokō' 穢貊族小考 in *Chōsen-gakuhō*, No. 4, 1954.

For the Kimhae shell mounds see also 'Kinkai Kaizuka Hakkutsu Chōsa Hōkoku' 金海貝塚發掘調査報告 contained in *Taishō Kyūnendo Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku* 大正九年度古蹟調査報告 (Chōsen Sōtokufu, Keijō, 1920), also T. Kayamoto 榎本杜人, 'Kinkai Kaizuka no kamakan to hakoshiki sekkan' 金海貝塚の甕棺と箱式石棺 in *Kōkōgaku-zasshi*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 1957.

For the introduction of metal into Korea and Chinese knife money, see R. Fujita, *Chōsen Kōkōgaku-kenkyū*, cited above; also K. Arimitsu, 'Chōsen no shoki tekki jidai bunka ni tsuite' 朝鮮の初期鐵器時代文化について in *Tōhōgaku*, No. 10, 1955, also Wang Yu-ch'üan, *Wo-kuo ku-tai huo-pi-te ch'i-yüan ho-fa-chan* 我國古代貨幣的起源和發展 (Peking, K'o-hsüeh-ch'u-pan-she, 1957).

The basic literary sources for ancient Korea are the sections dealing with Ch'ao-hsien in the *Shih-chi* and the *Han-shu*, and the chapter on 'Eastern Barbarians' 東夷 in the *San-kuo-chih*. The section on Ch'ao-hsien in the *Han-shu* is taken almost verbatim from the *Shih-chi*, and the *Shih-chi*'s account has been translated into English by Burton Watson in *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (Columbia University Press, 1961), Vol. 2. The development of the Chi-tzū legend in Korea has formed the subject of an essay by Imanishi Ryū 今西龍, 'Kiji Chōsen Densetsu kō' 箕子朝鮮傳說考 in *Chōsen Koshi no kenkyū* 朝鮮古史の研究 (Keijō, Chikazawa shoten, 1937). The same book contains an essay on the Tan-gun story.

The identification of geographical names in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's (and later Chinese) accounts of ancient Korea presents several problems. For example, there is no general agreement amongst scholars as to whether the P'ae-su river is the modern Yalu. The Japanese scholar Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 argued strongly for this view in an essay in *Chōsen Rekishi Chiri* 朝鮮歴史地理 (Tōkyō, Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Kaisha, 1913, 2 vols.), and this view has also been supported by K. Takigawa 瀧川資言 in his commentary on the *Shih-chi*, *Shiki-kaichū-kōshō* 史記會注考證 (Wen-hsüeh Ku-chi-k'an-hsing-she, Peking, 1955), where he

quotes a number of arguments by the Ch'ing scholar Ting Ch'ien 丁謙. However, at least one modern Korean scholar, Yi Pyŏng-do 李丙燾, has identified the P'ae-su with the Ch'ŏng-ch'ŏn 靑川 River, and some of Ting Ch'ien's arguments would apply equally well to the case for the Ch'ŏng-ch'ŏn. (See Yi Pyŏng-do *Kuksa Taegwan* 國史大觀, Seoul, Tongji-sa, 1949.) Much useful information on the early historical geography of Korea is to be found in *Mansen Rekishi-chiri* 滿鮮歷史地理 by Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 and others (Tōkyō, Maruzen, 1913). See also Further Reading under Chapter 2 (Chen-fan, Chinese commanderies, etc.).

## The Lo-lang Period

### 100 B.C. to *ca.* 300 A.D.

#### *The First Korean Commanderies*

The new conquests of 108 B.C. were administered by four commanderies: Lo-lang 樂浪 (Korean, Nangnang; Japanese, Rakurō); Lin-t'ün 臨屯 (Korean, Imdun); Hsüan-t'ü 玄菟 (Korean, Hyōndo); and Chen-fan or Chen-p'an 真番 (Korean, Chimbōn). Lo-lang, with its capital at Wang-hsien, renamed Ch'ao-hsien by the Chinese after the old Chosŏn kingdom, was to be the most important of the four. Lin-t'ün controlled most of the eastern coast of the peninsula, apart from the north-east—the area of the neolithic settlements south of the Tumen estuary. This area was now inhabited by a tribal group known to the Chinese as the Wu-chü 沃沮 (Korean, Okchō), and was administered by Hsüan-t'ü commandery, which may also have controlled part of the mountain massif of northern Korea. There is still no agreement as to exactly where the remaining commandery, Chen-fan, was situated, but today most scholars tend to place it in the south of the peninsula.

In fact the new administrative divisions did not last very long without serious modifications. As a result of the economic crisis which followed the wars of Emperor Wu's reign, the Han government was forced to abandon its policy of expansion, and when difficulties arose in controlling the furthest parts of the newly conquered lands, the policy of Emperor Chao's 昭帝 government (87-74) was to abandon such areas. Thus Chen-fan was abandoned in 82 B.C., and in 75 Lin-t'ün was combined with Hsüan-t'ü, the administrative centre of this commandery being transferred to south-western Manchuria, on the other side of the north Korean mountain massif and near the Chinese settlements in Liao-tung. These changes involved the abandonment of much of eastern Korea. What was retained was placed under the control of a newly created 'Military Commandant for Eastern Lo-lang' 樂浪東部都尉 who was subordinated to the governor of that commandery.

Between 1916 and 1945 Japanese archaeologists working for the Service of Antiquities of the Government General in Korea made extensive excavations in the area around P'yŏng-yang, and discovered more than two hundred tombs of Chinese settlers dating back to the days of Lo-lang commandery, as well as the remains of a building which appears to have been the administrative headquarters of Lo-lang. These discoveries revealed the existence in the west of Korea during



II The Korean commanderies *ca.* 100 B.C. The Chinese commanderies set up after the conquest in 108 B.C. are shown in upright capitals; italicised capitals refer to the names of Korean and Manchurian tribes.

Han times of a prosperous colony of Chinese 'gentry' importing luxury items from China. The tombs themselves, apparently wooden during the Former Han period, but changing to brick or even stone during the Later Han, produced bronze mirrors; bronze and iron swords and halberds; horse harness and chariot fittings; coins, seals, and jade ceremonial objects; lacquerware, generally imported from Szü-ch'uan; pottery; fragments of fabrics, mostly from Szü-ch'uan or Shantung, wooden furniture and jewellery—the latter including glass which appears to have come from as far away as the Roman Empire. It may help to explain the evident luxury in which the Chinese administrators of Lo-lang lived to remember that the Chinese colony became an essential staging-post on the route between Japan and Han China. Petty chieftains of south Korea and western Japan, such as those of Kyūshū who offered tribute to the court at Loyang in 57 A.D. and again in 107, were inevitably entertained by the governor of Lo-lang on their way to the Chinese capital, and were doubtless obliged to furnish presents to the Han administrators in Korea. It is also known from a statement in the *San-kuo-chih* referring to the third century A.D., that the Chinese officials of Lo-lang, and presumably those of the other commanderies as well, were able to make use of the forced labour of the native Korean tribespeople, imposing *corvées* on Chinese settlers and native Koreans alike. Moreover, people who had enriched themselves in various ways in central China sometimes preferred to retire to Lo-lang, where they were as far removed from the reach of the central administration as was possible without actually seeking refuge outside China. All these reasons may have contributed to the prosperity of Lo-lang.

In this connection, it should be noted that the rich tombs of Lo-lang are almost certainly not those of the governors of that commandery. In normal times, Han practice was to avoid the appointment of a man as governor of the commandery in which his family had their residence, so as to avoid corruption. In the words of Rafe de Crespigny, 'The heads of provinces, commanderies, kingdoms and prefectures, together with their chief assistants, were all appointed by the central government, but the junior members of their staffs were recruited locally'. Since a family would usually have an area set apart for the burial of its members in the district in which the family residence was located, it is likely that the Lo-lang tombs are those of local Chinese gentry families, whose members will have occupied only junior posts in the local administration. On the other hand, it is clear that officials appointed to govern Lo-lang or its prefectures by the central government would in most cases be ignorant of local conditions, and would tend to be strongly influenced by those members of their staff recruited in the area. And, as already seen, many of the great Chinese colonial families, such as the Wang 王 and the Han 韓, had moved into Korea in the days of the old Ch'ao-hsien state, before the commanderies were set up.

The principal functions of the Chinese officials in Lo-lang must have been the collection of taxes, the organisation of *corvée* labour, the administration of

justice, and the publication and implementation of government decrees. For this last, an interesting piece of evidence has been found relating to a rather later period. In 85 A.D. the Later Han government ordered the worship of local deities of hills and streams to be carried out throughout the empire; in accordance with this decree, a stele was erected in Nien-ch'an-hsien 沾蟬縣 in Lo-lang as a mark of thanksgiving to the local mountain spirit, 'The Lord of Mount P'ing' 平山君, for having ensured a succession of bumper harvests. This stele came to light during Japanese excavations in Korea earlier in this century.

### *Changes under Later Han*

The collapse of the imperial administration in China proper during the latter part of Wang Mang's reign (9-23 A.D.) brought side effects which temporarily interrupted the prosperity of Lo-lang. The settlers in the commandery found themselves cut off from communications with China, and the Han 韓 tribes of southern Korea (not to be confused with the Han 漢 Chinese) raided Lo-lang and carried off 1,500 Chinese colonists as slaves. These Han tribes lived in scattered agricultural communities, something like rather large villages, which the Chinese termed *kuo* 國, a word which in this context should not be translated as 'kingdom'. In southern Korea the plains between the hills are relatively larger than in the north, and the people inhabiting this region were apparently farmers and fisherfolk from a very remote period. They were divided into three main sub-groups: Ma-han 馬韓, containing 55 *kuo*, in the south-west; Pyŏn-han 弁韓 or Pyŏn-chin 弁辰, in the centre of the south coast; and Chin-han 辰韓 in the south-east, facing Japan across the straits of Tsushima. Pyŏn-han and Chin-han contained 12 *kuo* each.

The story of how the Chinese colonists of Lo-lang were carried off by the Han is told in a quotation from one of the surviving fragments of the *Wei-lüeh* 魏略

During the Ti-huang reign (20-23 A.D.) of Wang Mang, Ch'ih 讎 of Lien-ssü 廉斯 (apparently a place-name) was yu-ch'ü-shuai 右渠帥 ('Leader of the Right?') in Ch'en-han (=Korean, Chin-han). Hearing of the fine lands of Lo-lang, and the riches and prosperity of the people of Lo-lang, he left his home and intended to come and surrender [to the commandery]. As he left his village, he saw a boy scaring sparrows in the fields who, from his speech, was not from the Han tribes. When asked, the boy replied, 'I and my fellows are Chinese; my name is Hu-lai 戶來. Fifteen hundred of us were carried off by Han people while out cutting wood. We all had our hair cut short, and were made slaves. This happened three years ago'. Ch'ih said, 'I shall be going to give myself up in the Chinese land of Lo-lang; do you want to go along with me or not?'

Hu-lai accepted, and Ch'ih of Ch'en-han took him along to Han-tzŭ-hsien 含資縣 (somewhere on the upper course of the Han River). The local authorities there notified those of the commandery, who immediately sent Ch'ih as an



interpreter on a big ship from Ts'en-chung 岑中 (identical with Ch'ang-ts'en 長岑, a hsien of southern Lo-lang listed in the *Han-shu*?) to go to Ch'en-han and bring back by force those of Hu-lai's comrades who had surrendered [to the Han people] with him. [On this occasion], a thousand men were recovered, the remaining five hundred being already dead. So Ch'ih clearly proclaimed to the men of Ch'en-han, 'You had better send back these five hundred men; otherwise, Lo-lang is bound to send junks with ten thousand men-at-arms to attack you'. The men of Ch'en-han replied, 'The five hundred [you speak of] are already dead; we must straightway offer compensation'. Then they handed over fifteen thousand men of Ch'en-han, and fifteen thousand pieces of cloth from Pien-han (= Korean, Pyŏn-han), which Ch'ih took and immediately went back. The commandery authorities sent in an official notification of Ch'ih's meritorious service, and he was presented with a ceremonial cap, and a house and fields which his descendants inherited down till the fourth year of the Yen-kuang reign of Emperor An (125 A.D.), when their title lapsed.

The figures of people involved in this transaction were probably magnified, and the whole story has clearly been given a pro-Chinese slant, but reading between the lines it does present rather a vivid picture of relations between the Chinese and the native inhabitants of Korea in a period when Chinese power was declining. Only two or three years after the submission of Ch'ih of Lien-ssü, a certain Wang Tiao 王調, who seems to have been a Chinese born in Lo-lang, seized power, killing the governor and making himself local warlord or dictator (in 25 A.D.). This may have been in response to the weakness of the internal administration of the commandery in the face of incursions from the surrounding tribes. Wang Tiao held his position for five years, and it was not until 30 A.D. that the new Later Han government, having disposed of some of its rivals within China, could despatch troops to recover the Korean commanderies. Wang Tiao suffered a similar fate to the last king of Chosŏn—he was murdered by his own subordinates.

During this period the whole of the eastern coast of Korea would seem to have passed out of Chinese control. The Later Han government, which did not dispose of a rival emperor as near home as Szü-ch'uan till 36, was clearly in no position in 30 to campaign extensively in Korea. It formally confirmed in office the various native chieftains, mostly Okchŏ and Hui 濊 (Korean, Ye) who had established themselves in the old hsien towns from which the Chinese had administered the region in Former Han times. These chieftains were given the title of 'hsien-hou' 縣侯, that is Marquises of a Prefecture, and were supposed to receive investiture from the governor of Lo-lang. In fact, as far as can be seen, the Lo-lang governor did nothing to prevent these petty principalities from warring with each other, and eventually they mostly became tributary to Koguryŏ 高句麗 (Chinese, Kao-kou-li), a kingdom founded by a group of tribes who had rebelled against Wang Mang in 12 A.D. and had established a powerful state with its capital on a tributary of the Upper Yalü (see Chapter 3). The Kao-kou-li dominated the mountain massif of northern Korea, the commandery of Hsüan-t'u being particularly exposed to their raids, and in 106 the Han government was again obliged to shift the headquarters of this commandery nearer to Liao-tung.



III Map showing the decline of the commanderies and the rise of the native communities, *ca.* 110 A.D. Note that Chinese possessions are now confined to the north-west of the peninsula, and that the commandery of Hsüan-t'u in southern Manchuria controls a much more limited area on the borders of China.

Thus it is clear that during the Later Han period the position of the Chinese colonies in Korea was much more circumscribed than it had been even under the Former Han. Yet within these narrower limits, prosperity seems to have returned to Lo-lang, as is evidenced by the Nien-ch'an stele described earlier. On the other hand, it must be continually borne in mind that the society which modern archaeology has revealed in the area of Lo-lang was essentially Chinese in outlook and culture. Although some attempt was made, as has been seen, to continue local religious cults, the material culture of Lo-lang was indistinguishable from that of any other part of the Han Empire. Even those articles which appear to have been produced by local craftsmen are purely Chinese in character, and pictorial representations on chests or other articles of furniture invariably represent Chinese scenes or heroes of the Chinese past, such as the Yellow Emperor. As far as the archaeological record shows, little of this culture seems to have filtered through to the tribal groups in and around the commanderies.

### *Korea and the Kung-sun Warlords*

In 132 A.D. internal weaknesses in Koguryō enabled the Chinese to recover most of their lost ground in Hsüan-t'u, and improved the position of the commanderies. However, the steady deterioration of the administration in northern China during the second half of the second century once again isolated the Korean colonies. In the years 189-190 the effective power of the Later Han dynasty came to an end in China, and the warlord Tung Cho 董卓 seized control of Loyang. Other military leaders immediately organised risings against him throughout the Chinese provinces, and Tung Cho hurriedly sent out men whom he trusted to hold various outlying districts on his behalf. One of these men was a certain Kung-sun Tu 公孫度, the son of a minor official of Hsüan-t'u, who was sent out to rule Liao-tung. In the anarchic years which followed, Kung-sun Tu made himself the virtually independent ruler of Liao-tung and Hsüan-t'u, bringing the rulers of Koguryō and Fuyü, a kingdom further north, centred in the basin of the upper Sungari, to acknowledge his authority, and even sending a fleet to occupy the northern coast of Shantung. It is not clear how far his power extended into the Korean peninsula itself.

Soon after the death of Kung-sun Tu, in 204, his son and successor, Kung-sun K'ang 公孫康, found it necessary to send troops into Lo-lang, where the local administration had become so ineffective that many districts had been invaded and taken over by the Han tribes, while the Chinese settlers had fled into remote and inaccessible areas in order to escape being enslaved. Kung-sun K'ang's generals expelled the Korean tribes and resettled on the land of those Chinese colonists who had been driven out (cf. pp. 21-2 for similar conditions at the end

of the Former Han). In order to give greater stability to the administration, the southernmost prefectures were placed under the jurisdiction of a newly created commandery, that of Tai-fang 帶方 (Korean, Taebang), with its headquarters somewhere near modern Seoul.

Kung-sun K'ang seems to have died round about 220, leaving two sons who were minors. In 221 the court of the new Wei Dynasty, founded by the son of Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操, appointed Kung-sun K'ang's younger brother, Kung-sun Kung 公孫恭 'General of Chariotry and Cavalry' 車騎將軍, a formal military title which carried considerable prestige. Ts'ao Ts'ao himself, who had laid the foundations for his own dynasty by uniting most of north China under his effective rule, had received the submission of Kung-sun K'ang of Liao-tung in 207, and since then the Kung-sun warlords continued to be nominally subject to the Wei, although the Wei themselves were too busy with the rival régimes of Han in Szü-ch'uan and Wu south of the Yang-tzū, to intervene effectively in the administration of Liao-tung and Lo-lang.

### *The Wei Reconquest of the East*

Kung-sun Kung, the new ruler of Liao-tung, is described as dissipated and weak; in 228 he was deposed and imprisoned by his nephew Kung-sun Yüan 公孫淵, one of the sons of Kung-sun K'ang who had been passed over earlier (the other was now a hostage at the Wei court). By this time, the Kung-sun rulers had lost their control over Koguryō. Earlier, Kung-sun K'ang had devastated the settlements of this hostile kingdom, but under the weak rule of his successors, Koguryō recovered and resumed its raiding activities. Moreover, Kung-sun Yüan showed a tendency to fish in the troubled waters of Chinese politics, and was incautious enough to join the ruler of Wu in an alliance directed against Wei. By skilful diplomacy, the Wei court first induced Kung-sun Yüan to break this alliance, and execute the envoys of Wu. Then it launched a military expedition against him. This first expedition, in 237, was defeated; but in the following year a second army was despatched under the most famous of all Wei generals, Ssü-ma I 司馬懿, who was to establish himself as prime minister and virtual ruler of Wei a few years later. Kung-sun Yüan's capital in Liao-tung fell after a siege of several months, he himself was killed and the population massacred. Meanwhile a separate force had been sent by sea to take over Lo-lang and Tai-fang. Its leaders were instructed to confer gifts and titles upon the local Han chieftains, and thereby win them over to the new dynasty. Unfortunately administrative changes were made also, responsibility for the Han tribes being divided between Lo-lang and Tai-fang, which, as a result of 'discrepancies in the translations' provided for the Han chieftains, antagonised the Koreans and led to a rebellion,

in which the Han tribes attacked the camp of the Chinese troops in Tai-fang. In the fighting which followed, the governor of Tai-fang was killed, but the rising was eventually crushed by the Chinese, who re-established their control in this part of the peninsula on a much firmer basis.

A few years later it became necessary once more to undertake a campaign against Koguryō, which was raiding Hsüan-t'u again. Kuan-ch'iu Chien 毋丘儉, the Wei general (the same one who had been defeated by Kung-sun Yüan in 237) sacked the capital of Koguryō and hunted the fugitive king. He led his troops through the lands of the Ōkcho, reasserting Chinese control in this area, and on through southern Manchuria, where he received the homage of the Fuyü. The king of Koguryō was not captured, but his kingdom was ruined, and sank into insignificance for the rest of the century.

The Chinese victories of the years 238-245 were the strongest reassertion of Chinese authority which had been seen in Korea since the days of the original Han conquest. Their repercussions were considerable. Wei prestige was greatly increased, and envoys visited the Wei court from Fuyü and even from Japan, where a female ruler Pimiku 卑彌呼 (Himiko?) is said to have reigned over the most powerful state in the archipelago (in 238 or 239). It seems possible that at this time the authority of this state was acknowledged even by some of the Pyōn-han tribes in southern Korea.

The advent of the Chin 晉 dynasty in 265 and the reunification of China in 280 brought little change to Korea. Throughout the closing decades of the third century, or at least until 291, tribute missions from the Han tribes, from Fuyü and from the tribal kingdoms of the Japanese archipelago, continued to make frequent journeys to the Chinese capital at Loyang via Tai-fang and Lo-lang. The gifts that these envoys received at the Chin court were not only more valuable than the tribute they offered, but also became a symbol of the ruler's prestige once the envoys had returned to their own countries. At this time, Tai-fang was also used as a place of banishment, and we read of a prince of the imperial house being sent there in 291, and recalled in 301.

The opening years of the fourth century in fact saw the outbreak of bitter struggles for power amongst the relatives of the imbecile emperor Hui 晉惠帝 (290-306), which from 301 onwards plunged the whole of China into civil war. This time the collapse of the central government coincided with the revolt of various barbarian auxiliaries who had been settled inside China. In the confusion, both Ch'ang-an and Loyang were sacked several times, and north China was finally taken over by the barbarians. Once again, and for the last time, the Korean commanderies were isolated. For many years, Chinese settlers continued to dwell in Lo-lang. But the government established by the Chin south of the Yang-tzū proved incapable of defeating the barbarians who occupied north China. The prospect of a Chinese government regaining control of the Korean commanderies became more and more remote.

## FURTHER READING

The principal literary sources for the history of the Chinese commanderies in Korea are the Geography Monographs 地理志 of the *Han-shu* 漢書, the *Hou-Han-shu* 後漢書, and the *Chin-shu* 晉書 and the chapters dealing with Eastern Barbarians 東夷 in the *Hou-Han-shu*, the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志, and the *Chin-shu*.

Considerable work has been done on the archaeology of the Chinese commanderies, almost entirely in Japanese. Probably the best summary of this work in English is to be found in an article by Kayamoto Tōjin in *Mem. Tōyō Bunko*, No. 21, 1962, entitled 'Han Tombs of Lo-lang—Their Studies by Japanese Scholars'. See also H. Ikeuchi 池内宏, 'A Study on Lo-lang and Tai-fang, Ancient Chinese Prefectures in the Korean Peninsula', in *Mem. Tōyō Bunko*, No. 5, 1930, and Evelyn B. McCune, 'History of Lo-lang with Special Attention to the Ways in which Chinese Institutions were Adopted by the Surrounding Korean Tribes', an unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California, 1950, a work which should be used with caution. Probably the best attempt to construct a general picture of Lo-lang society from the archaeological and literary evidence is T. Mikami's article, 'Rakurō-gun shakai no shihai-kōzō' 樂浪郡社會の支配構造 in *Chōsen Gakuhō* No. 30, January 1964. However, this article is rather adventurous as the author attempts to draw general conclusions from the few Lo-lang tombs which have been excavated so far.

An excellent summary of the archaeological material from Lo-lang, with illustrations, is to be found in *Chōsen Kobunka Sōkan* 朝鮮古文化綜鑑 by Umehara Sueji and Fujita Ryōsaku, Vols. II (1948) and III (1959) (Kyōto, Yōtoku-sha). See also the relevant chapters in Umehara Sueji's *Chōsen Kodai no Bunka* 朝鮮古代の文化 (Kyōto, Takagiri Shoin, 1946), and *Chōsen Kodai no Bosei* 朝鮮古代の墓制 by the same author (Tōkyō, Zauhō Kankōkai, 1947); also Y. Harada 原田淑人 and K. Tanazawa 田澤金吾, *Rakurō* 樂浪 (Tōkyō, Tōkō Shoin, 1930), A. Koizumi 小泉霖夫, *Rakurō Saikyō-zuka* 樂浪彩篋塚 (Keijō—i.e. Seoul, Chōsen Koseki Kenkyū-kai, 1934). Both of these works are reports on the excavations of individual tombs, and contain an English résumé as well as full descriptions and copious illustrations. Other reports of Lo-lang remains are to be found in the three volumes of *Koseki Chōsa Gaihō* 古蹟調査概報: Vol. I *Rakurō Kofun* 樂浪古墳 (1934), Vol. II *Rakurō Kofun* (1935), and Vol. III *Rakurō Iseki* 樂浪遺蹟 (1936); and in the 1930 volume (published 1935) of *Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku* 古蹟調査報告 by T. Nomori, K. Kayamoto, and S. Kanda. All these works were published by the Chōsen Koseki Kenkyū-kai in Keijō. A survey of tombs and other monuments (including the Nien-ch'an-hsien stele mentioned above) is to be found in *Koseki Chōsa Tokubetsu Hōkoku*, Vol. IV (1927), *Rakurō-gun Jidai no Iseki* 樂浪郡時代の遺蹟 by T. Sekino 關野貞 and others, published by the Chōsen Sōtokufu, Keijō. The fullest discussion of the seals of Lo-lang is to be found in two essays by R. Fujita, 'Rakurō fudei kō' 樂浪封沢攷 and 'Rakurō

fudei zoku kō' pp. 293-403 in *Chōsen Kōkōgaku-kenkyū* (see Further Reading under Chapter 1).

The position of Chen-fan commandery has been hotly debated by many scholars. See articles by Imanishi Ryū, 'Shin-han-gun kō' 眞番郡考 and 'Hakudo-hon Shiki no Chōsen-den ni tsuite' 百柄本史記の朝鮮傳について both in *Chōsen Koshi no Kenkyū*; see also 'Shin-han-gun no Ichi ni tsuite' 眞番郡の位置について and 'Zen-Kan Shō-tei no Yon-gun Haigō to Go-Kan-sho no Kiji' 前漢昭帝の四郡廢合と後漢書の記事, both in H. Ikeuchi's *Mansen-shi Kenkyū* 滿鮮史研究 (Vol. 1: Jōsei-hen) (Kyōto, Sokoku-sha, 1951). The same book contains a general essay on Lo-lang commandery and its various prefectures—'Rakurō-gun kō' 樂浪郡考 (pp. 19-61), and a number of articles dealing with Hsüan-t'u 玄菟 commandery, and in particular with its remains and its relations with Koguryō. A more recent article on the subject of the position of the four commanderies is K. Aoyama 青山公亮, 'Kan-dai no Rakurō-gun to sono Enpen' 漢代の樂浪と其の縁邊 in *Chōsen Gakuhō*, Nos. 37-8, Jan. 1966. For Hsüan-t'u commandery in particular see S. Wada 和田清, 'Gento-gun Kō' 玄菟郡考 in *Tōyōgaku*, No. 1, March 1951. This essay is amongst those collected in Professor Wada's *Tō-a-shi kenkyū* 東亞史研究 (Man-shū-hen 滿州篇) (Tōkyō, Tōyō Bunko, 1955). A postscript to this article is Y. Suematsu's 末松保和 'Gento-gun to kokōsū ni tsuite' 玄菟郡と戸口數について in a collection of studies presented to Professor S. Wada, *Tōyō-shi Ronsō* (Tōkyō, Kodensha, 1966).

Discussion of the positions of various hsien in Liao-tung and the Korean commanderies is also to be found in *Mansen Rekishi-chiri* 滿鮮歴史地理 (Vol. I), by Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥黒吉 and others (Tōkyō, Marzuen, 1913).

For the relationship between local gentry and officials in Later Han, see Rafe de Crespigny, 'The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of the Late Han', *Chung Chi Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Nov. 1966.

### 3

## Early Koguryō

### 12-245 A.D.

#### *The Origins of Koguryō*

The kingdom of Koguryō is the earliest clearly non-Chinese state to emerge in Korea. In fact, it can scarcely be called a Korean state, since its capital for centuries lay in the valley of a tributary of the Upper Yalü, the Hun-chiang 渾江, which flows for some distance parallel to the Yalü through the mountainous lands of southern Manchuria, now part of the Chinese province of Liao-ning.

The Kao-kou-li tribes, as originally known to the Chinese towards the end of the Former Han Dynasty, appear to have migrated southwards from the Manchurian tribal state of Fuyü 夫餘 (Korean, Puyō), centred on the upper reaches of the Sungari. Just when this migration took place is not clear. The tribes may have been amongst the 'Northern Mo' 北貊 (Korean, Maek) whose forces helped the founder of the Han dynasty in 203 B.C.; on the other hand, Ssü-ma Ch'ien never mentions the Kao-kou-li by name, although he does refer to the Fuyü, and this could be taken to suggest that the Kao-kou-li tribes had not yet emerged as a distinct unit at the time that he wrote. Certainly by the beginning of the first century A.D. the tribes had given their name to Kao-kou-li-hsien 高句驪縣, a prefectural centre in Hsüan-t'ü commandery which was presumably responsible for their dealings with the Chinese authorities. Evidently at this time the Kao-kou-li were dependants of Han China, settled within the 'frontier zone' and, by 12 A.D. under a leader who bore the Chinese rank of 'Marquis' 侯. Only the fifth century *Hou-Han-shu* suggests that the Kao-kou-li chieftain had the title of 'king' before the revolt in 12. In their migration southwards the Kao-kou-li had retained the Puyō origin-myth of the hero born from an egg who became an outstanding archer and fled from his homeland to found a new state, crossing a great river on the backs of turtles. In later centuries this legend was re-adapted to the Koguryō kingdom; instead of coming from an obscure state in the north to found Puyō (as in the earliest version recorded in the *Lun-heng* 論衡, a Chinese philosophical work of the first century A.D.), the story was changed to make the hero come from Fuyü or Puyō to found Koguryō.

In 12 A.D. Wang Mang gave orders that the Kao-kou-li should take part as auxiliaries in his campaign against the Hsiung-nu; the tribes consequently mutinied and killed a Chinese governor, whereupon the local Chinese military commander invited 'the Marquis of Kao-kou-li', a certain Tsou 高句驪侯騶, to



a meeting, and murdered him when he arrived. This produced a general rising of the Kao-kou-li which the Chinese authorities were unable to suppress; indeed, it would appear that these events mark the beginning of the independent kingdom of Koguryō, although, curiously enough, this early struggle against China seems to have left no record in Korean tradition. But by 33 A.D., when the Kao-kou-li next came into contact with China, sending their first envoy to the Later Han court at Loyang, we are told that their ruler 'for the first time had the title of King' 始見稱王 (*San-kuo-chih*).

### *Social Structure and Early Expansion*

In all probability the king of Koguryō at this time was little more than *primus inter pares*. In the original Kao-kou-li confederacy there were five tribes, and the leaders of some of these would appear to have had almost semi-royal prerogatives in early times. The original royal tribe, the Yōnnobu 涓奴部 (Chinese, Chüan-nu-pu) was displaced, probably some time during the first century A.D., by another tribe, the Kyerubu 桂婁部 (Chinese, Kuei-lou-pu), although even after this the leaders of the Yōnnobu continued to enjoy an exalted position and special privileges. Various megalithic tombs found in the valleys of the Yalü and its tributaries are thought to be relics of this period when Koguryō society was dominated by powerful clan nobles. The construction of these tombs indicates that their builders had a considerable labour force at their disposal; at the same time, the remains found inside them are somewhat rough and even primitive as compared with those in the rather smaller tombs which appear to be later in construction, and are found in the same area. Only in these smaller tombs have articles of clearly Chinese workmanship been found. It has been suggested that this archaeological evidence reflects the decline of the old tribal nobility, and the rise of royal power and of a court which demanded luxury articles from China. At the moment this hypothesis is still tentative, and much more is required in the way of systematic excavation before it can be either proved or disproved. The picture of a clan-nobility which enjoyed great power in early Koguryō is, however, confirmed by the *San-kuo-chih* which describes how, as late as the middle of the third century, the clan nobles, the taega 大加 (Chinese, ta-chia) of Koguryō 'do no work in the fields, there being some ten thousand of those who eat at raised seats 座食者 and are supplied by the lower orders 下戶, who bring them rice, salt and fish from remote regions'. The number ten thousand is here clearly an exaggeration, a numerical cliché meant to suggest the total numbers of clan nobles and their warrior retainers. Moreover, the phrase 'lower orders' should not be interpreted as meaning slaves; slaves also existed in Koguryō, their ranks being filled by the families of condemned criminals, or those of war captives, much as in early China.

Warfare and raiding were probably among the main activities of the early clan nobles of Koguryō. The settlements of the Kao-kou-li, high up in mountain valleys, were excellently placed for defence but, as pointed out by the *San-kuo-chih*, offered little or no basis for agriculture: 'they make their living out of what they can get from the streams, since they have no arable land, and even if they devoted all their energies to tilling the soil, they would still not get enough to fill their bellies'. Thus in order to preserve their very existence as an organised society, the Kao-kou-li were obliged to secure permanent supplies from the surrounding regions, from such communities as the Okchō settled south of the Tumen estuary, or the inhabitants of the lowland areas governed by the Chinese commanderies. From the very beginning of their history the Kao-kou-li began to raid these areas, and later sought to convert raiding into a regularised tribute levied upon the inhabitants of the lowlands. There is evidence to suggest that the Okchō had already come under their control less than twenty years after the Chinese withdrawal from this area in 30, and in the middle of the third century the *San-kuo-chih* describes how the Kao-kou-li

set taega 大加 to supervise the collection of taxes [amongst the Okchō], consisting of a kind of cloth manufactured by the Maek people, fish, salt and other sea-foods. In order to bring [this tribute in] they have to carry the goods on their backs for a thousand li. They also send their beautiful women to be servants and concubines [in Koguryō]; there they are always treated as slaves.

Besides dominating the Okchō and other tribal peoples living in northern Korea, such as the Ye 濊, the early rulers of Koguryō also attempted to extend their control into the Sungari basin, and fought a series of wars with Puyō, a struggle concerning which many traditions survived into much later times. The effect of these campaigns was to make Puyō an ally of Han China, whose position in Korea was also threatened by Koguryō expansion.

### *Wars with Han China*

Towards the end of the first century A.D., or shortly after, a king came to the throne of Koguryō who seems to have been the first of a new line. This ruler, Kung 宮, later known as 'The Ancestor of the Realm' 國祖王, may have been the first of the Kyerubu kings. He launched a series of raids on the Chinese commandery of Hsüan-t'u, forcing the Han government to shift its administrative headquarters. In 121 Kung's raids had become such a serious threat that the governor of Liao-tung and various other officials in the north-east organised a large-scale expedition against him, but this expedition achieved only minor success, and while the Han forces were away from their base, a Koguryō army made another descent on Liao-tung. Later in the year the governor of Liao-tung fell in battle while attempting to resist yet another Koguryō raid, and the two

officials who had accompanied his expedition into Koguryō territory both fell victims to a plot amongst their subordinates. Kung of Koguryō seized the opportunity to attack the new capital of Hsüan-t'u, which he besieged at the end of the year, in alliance with the Hsien-pei tribes of Manchuria. The Chinese in the garrison were saved only by the timely appearance of troops from Puyō, under the command of the Puyō crown prince, who inflicted a severe reverse upon the Koguryō army. Soon after this King Kung died, and his successor, Su-sōng 遂成 (Chinese, Sui-ch'eng), was obliged to make peace with China and return the Chinese captives taken in his father's reign. In later Korean tradition Su-sōng was described as a tyrant who was eventually assassinated by one of his own ministers. The suggestion of internal instability in Koguryō at this period might well explain how Han China, which was then suffering continual harassment by the Ch'iang and Hsien-pei tribes, was yet able to maintain its position in the north-east. However, care should be taken not to place too much reliance upon this traditional material, which also makes both Su-sōng and his son and successor brothers of Kung.

By 132 Su-sōng was already dead, and his son, Paekko 伯固 (Chinese, Po-ku) almost certainly came to the throne as a minor. In view of the continuing weakness of Koguryō, the Han government was able to recover most of Hsüan-t'u, and to establish further military colonies there in order to protect the area against any future depredations by Koguryō.

King Paekko had a long reign; he was still on the throne when Kung-sun Tu seized power in Liao-tung in 190. During this period of sixty years Chinese sources barely mention Koguryō, except for an unsuccessful raid on Hsüan-t'u launched by the Koguryō ruler in 169. It seems possible that Koguryō may have fallen under the domination of the great Hsien-pei confederacy formed by T'an-shih-huai 檀石槐 soon after the middle of the century.

But T'an-shih-huai died *ca.* 181, and when Kung-sun Tu became warlord of Liao-tung a decade later, Koguryō acknowledged his supremacy in turn, and Paekko sent troops to assist Kung-sun Tu to put down a rebellion, presumably in Liao-tung.

### *The Civil War in Koguryō and Its Results*

Soon after Kung-sun Tu was succeeded by his son Kung-sun K'ang, in 204, a civil war broke out in Koguryō. According to Korean sources, this followed the death of a King Nammu 男武, who is not mentioned in Chinese records. Both Chinese and Korean records agree that the struggle was between two brothers. According to the latter, when the old king died, his queen 'left the palace by night without issuing any proclamation of mourning, and sought out Palgi 發岐 (Chinese, Pa-ch'i 拔奇), the king's younger brother'. Not realising his brother was already dead, Palgi reprimanded her for 'wandering about at night'.

Then the Queen was ashamed, and turned aside to the house of [a younger brother] Yōn-u 延優. Yōn-u rose up, robed himself and set a cap on his head, and went out to welcome her at the gate; he brought her in, set her in the seat of honour, and had meat and drink brought before her. The Queen said, 'His Majesty has died, leaving no sons; Palgi is the eldest and ought to succeed, but his heart is set against me, and he is arrogant and cruel, without regard to propriety. For this reason I look to you'. Then Yōn-u became even more obsequious towards her, taking the knife himself to carve for her. [As he did so] he happened to cut his finger; so the Queen loosened her waist-band and bound it about his wounded finger. When she was about to return, she said to him: 'The night is dark; I am frightened of what might happen. I wish you would accompany me to the palace'.

The next morning at daybreak, pretending an order from the late king, she commanded the council of ministers to salute Yōn-u as king.

The story goes on to describe how Palgi made an unsuccessful attack on the palace with his followers, and finally fled with his family to Liao-tung. This is an example of the rather more colourful account of Korean history which probably originated in oral tradition in Koguryō; the text translated above was not written until the twelfth century, although certainly based on earlier material.

In contrast, the Chinese *San-kuo-chih*, written late in the third century, merely describes how Palgi was 'unworthy to succeed', and was rejected by his countrymen in favour of a younger brother, here called Yi-yi-mo 伊夷模 (Korean, Iimo). At this point Kung-sun K'ang, who wanted to punish Koguryō for sheltering some of his enemies amongst the northern tribes, invaded the realm, devastating the countryside, whereupon Palgi deserted to him with 30,000 people including the leaders of the Yōnnobu, the tribe which had been displaced from the kingship a century earlier. As a result of Kung-sun K'ang's invasion, Iimo was forced to shift his capital to the town of Hwando 丸都 (Chinese, Wan-tu), in the valley of the Yalü itself. This town remained the capital of Koguryō for the next two centuries, although, as will be seen, it was twice destroyed. Its site seems to have lain somewhere in the neighbourhood of T'ung-kou 通溝 in Chi-an-hsien 輯安縣.

Kung-sun K'ang's invasion clearly inflicted a heavy blow upon Koguryō, and little more is heard of this state until after the death of Iimo, *ca.* 230. But although Kung-sun K'ang's campaign—which presumably preceded and facilitated his restoration of Chinese control in Lo-lang described in Chapter 2—had damaged Koguryō, it had not succeeded in destroying the tributary relations between Koguryō and the tribal communities of Eastern Korea, the Okchō, the Ye and the Mack. Into these areas, Kung-sun K'ang's armies had not penetrated, and it was by retaining the command of these resources that Koguryō was able to recover from the destruction of its old capital.

Already, before the death of Iimo, Palgi and his dependants, who had been installed in a new buffer state by Kung-sun K'ang, had been forced to take refuge

in Liao-tung; and Iimo's successor, his illegitimate son Wi-gung 位宮 (Chinese, Wei-Kung), was raiding Liao-tung by 233. At this point Koguryō became involved in Chinese interstate politics. China was then divided into three kingdoms, and the ruler of the southern state of Wu 吳 was attempting to encircle Wei 魏, which controlled northern China, by means of an alliance with Liao-tung. However, by 233 Kung-sun Yüan of Liao-tung decided to execute the Wu envoys at his court, and sent their heads to Wei. Some of the assistant-envoys from Wu, whom Kung-sun Yüan had billeted in Hsüan-t'u, a commandery described at this time as consisting of only 'two hundred households, in all some three or four hundred people', escaped over the city walls, and made their way to Wi-gung's capital, where they persuaded him to join the Wu alliance against Wei and against the turncoat ruler of Liao-tung. Koguryō envoys escorted the Wu officials back to south China by sea, which suggests that at this time Koguryō controlled Hsi-an-p'ing at the mouth of the Yalü. Wi-gung sent a present of 'a thousand sable pelts' to the Wu court, and followed this up a year later by the offer of several hundred of the mountain ponies for which Koguryō was famous.

But the alliance between Koguryō and Wu was short-lived. In 236 Wi-gung in turn executed the Wu envoys who had come to his court, and sent their heads to Wei, and when the Wei general Ssü-ma I invaded Liao-tung in 238, Wi-gung sent troops to assist him. However, once the Wei had conquered Liao-tung and the Korean commanderies, the king of Koguryō resumed his raiding activities west of the Yalü, which provoked the massive Chinese reprisal expedition of 244/45. Kuan-ch'iu Chien 毋丘儉, the Wei general, defeated Wi-gung in a pitched battle outside the Koguryō capital, which he afterwards took and sacked. Kuan-ch'iu Chien then despatched Wang Chi 王頌, governor of Hsüan-t'u, in pursuit of the king, who had taken refuge amongst the Okchō. Wang Chi and his troops overran the Okchō territories, killing or capturing some three thousand of them, while other Chinese generals invaded the country of the Ye tribes on the eastern side of the Korean peninsula. The King of Koguryō was not captured, but numerous prisoners were taken, and several thousand of the Kao-kou-li were deported and resettled in China. Steles were set up by the Chinese generals to commemorate their victories, and a fragment of an inscription on one of these still exists.

Perhaps the most significant point about the Chinese success is that, by conquering the Okchō and other tribes of eastern Korea, Wang Chi and his fellow generals had shattered the tributary system which had played a major role as the economic basis for Koguryō's power. In doing this, they achieved what Kung-sun K'ang's earlier campaign had failed to do, and although they did not destroy Koguryō, they reduced it to complete insignificance and virtual impotence for over half a century. Thus the Chinese reconquest of 244/45 marks a fairly clear dividing line in the stories of both Korea and Koguryō.

## FURTHER READING

Apart from the account of the revolt of the Kao-kou-li, to be found in the second chapter of Wang Mang's Biography in the *Han-shu* (and thus translated in the third volume of H. Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, Waverley Press, Baltimore, 1955), by far the most important source for Koguryō during this period is Chapter 30 dealing with the Eastern Barbarians (Tung-i) in the *San-kuo-chih*, to which the fifth century commentator P'ei Sung-chih has added quotations from an earlier work, now lost, the *Wei-lüeh* 魏略. All the quotations on pp. 31-1 are taken from the *San-kuo-chih*'s account.

The general description of Koguryō in the *Hou-Han-shu* is almost entirely derived from the corresponding section in the *San-kuo-chih*; however the historical account of Koguryō's dealings with China there does contain extra material derived from an unknown source. In one or two places this can be checked and shown to be untrustworthy; in other cases it may well be reasonably accurate.

The legend of the hero ancestor of Fuyü, called Tung-ming 東明, appears in the first century A.D. Chinese philosophical work, the *Lun-heng* 論衡 (in the 1962 reprint by Paragon Books, New York, of Alfred Forke's translation of the *Lun-heng*, this passage appears on p. 175). It is repeated in the *Wei-lüeh* (quoted in the notes to the *San-kuo-chih*, ch. 30), the *Hou-Han-shu*, and the *Pei-shih*. By the fifth century the legend had already been changed to make the central figure the founder of Koguryō, and this form is found on the famous Kwanggaet'o stele (see *Shōhin*, No. 100, which is devoted to reproductions of this inscription, the so-called Kō-tai Ō-hi, and articles on the text by T. Mizutani and others). It was this modified form of the legend which found its way into the sixth century *Wei-shu* 魏書 and most later Chinese dynastic histories. A study of this legend by K. Shiratori has appeared in English, under the title of 'The Legend of King Tung-ming, the Founder of Fuyü-kuo' in *Mem. Tōyō Bunko*, No. 10, 1938.

The only Korean literary sources for the history of Koguryō in this period are the *Samguk-sagi* 三國史記, written in the twelfth century, and the *Samguk-yusa* 三國遺事, written in the thirteenth century, both utilising earlier sources which are no longer extant. See also R. Sh. Dzharlygasinova, 'Nekotorye Voprosy Istochnikovedeniie Koguryō' [Certain Problems in the Sources for the History of Koguryō] in *Istoriographiya i Istochnikovednie Stran Zarubezhnogo Vostoka*, NAUKA, Moskva, 1967, pp. 57-73.

For the archaeological remains of early Koguryō, basic texts are the fourth volume of *Chōsen Kobunka Sōkan* (Further Reading for Chapter 2), which is devoted to Koguryō, and *Tsūkō*, 通溝, by H. Ikeuchi and S. Umehara, 2 vols. (Tōkyō, Nichi-Man Bunka Kyōkai, 1940) which is an archaeological survey of an ancient capital of Koguryō, probably Hwando 丸都. See also *Manshukoku Anto-ihō Shi-an-ken Kōkuri Iseki* 滿州國安東省輯安縣高句麗遺蹟 by H. Ikeuchi, which is accompanied by a Chinese translation (Man-nichi Bunka

Kyōkai, 1936—a preparatory sketch for the two volumes of *Tsūkō*). See also the discussion of T'ung-kou tombs in the final chapter of Fujita's *Chōsen Kōkogaku-kenkyū* (see Further Reading for Chapter 1). Excavations of Koguryō remains in north Korea since 1945 are outlined in an article, 'Kaiho-go Chōsen Kōkogaku hatten (zoku) Kōkuri hekiga kofun no kenkyū' 解放後朝鮮考古學の發展(続) 高句麗壁畫古墳の研究 by Yi Chin-hŭi 李進熙 in *Kōkogaku-zasshi*, Vol. 45, No. 3, Dec. 1959. The question of the site of the Koguryō capital is discussed by K. Shiratori, 'Gento-jō oyobi Kokunaijō kō' 丸都城及び國內城考 in *Shigakku-zasshi*, Vol. 25, No. 4, and by S. Mishina 'Kōkuri Ō-to kō' 高句麗王都考 in *Chōsen Gakuhō*, No. 1, 1951.

For Koguryō institutions, see 'Kōkuri, Shiragi no kankei-soshiki no seiritsu katei' 高句麗新羅の官階組織の成立過程 in *Chōsen-kenkyu-nempyo*, No. 1, 1959, which is a summary in Japanese by Yi Tal-hōn 李達憲, and S. Mishina of an article in Korean by Kim Ch'ōljun 金哲堧. Also 'Kōkuri no Go Zoku ni tsuite' (an article on the five tribes of Koguryō) 高句麗の五族についての by S. Mishina in *Chōsen-gakuho*, No. 6, 1957. There are also several chapters dealing with Koguryō at this time in H. Ikeuchi's book, *Mansen-shi Kenkyū* (see Further Reading, Chapter 2): these cover the five tribes of Koguryō, a discussion of the various versions of the list of early Koguryō kings, and an account of relations between Koguryō and the Chinese commanderies, including the great Wei expedition of 244/245. This last chapter was also published in an English version, as 'The Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty', in *Mem. Tōyō Bunko*, Series B, No. 4, 1929.

An outline of recent discoveries of early Koguryō tombs is also to be found in an article entitled 'Huan-jen-hsien K'ao-ku tiao-ch'a fa-ch'üeh chien-pao' 桓仁縣考古調查發掘簡報 by the Kuang-chou-shih Wen-wu-kuan-li wei-yüan-huei 廣州市文物管理委員會 in *K'ao-ku*, 1960, No. 1. See also 'Chi-lin Chi-an Ma-ch'ien-kou Yi-hao pi-hua-mo' 吉林輯安麻綫沟一號壁畫墓 by the Chi-lin-sheng Po-wu-kuan Chi-an K'ao-ku-tuei, and 'Liao-ning Fu-shun-shih Ch'ien-t'un, Kuei-hün-mu Kao-kai-li mo fa-ch'üeh chien-pao' 遼寧撫順市前屯洼潭本高句麗墓發掘簡報 by Wang Hui-shin 王會新 both in *K'ao-ku*, No. 10, 1964.

The suggested relations between the clan nobles of Koguryō and the royal house may be compared with those which appear to have existed in Yamato, Japan at about the same time. See John Whitney Hall, *Government and Local Power in Japan: 500-1700* (Princeton University Press, 1966), chapter 1.

## Korea in the Fourth Century A.D.

### *Mu-jung Yen, Koguryō, and the Chinese Commanderies*

For Korea as for much of the Far East, the fourth century is one of transition between the ancient and medieval, and plays much the same role in this respect as the fifth century in the West. The former régime, represented in Korea by the Chinese commanderies, faded away, never to return, and new forces emerged which were to dominate the area for the next four or five hundred years. These were the Korean kingdoms of Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla; the Japanese Yamato state, and—important for the fourth and fifth centuries only—the Mu-jung Hsien-pei state of Yen.

The Mu-jung Hsien-pei were descendants of a clan which had taken part in T'an-shih-huai's great Hsien-pei confederacy in the middle of the second century. After this broke up, they had served as Chinese auxiliaries on the north-eastern frontier, in such campaigns as Kuan-ch'iu Chien's expeditions against Koguryō, 244/45. They were allowed to settle on the northern borders of Liao-tung, and by 281-2 had become powerful enough to begin plundering the surrounding Chinese territory. Chin generals inflicted a severe defeat upon the Mu-jung, but the latter continued to extend their influence. In 285, soon after a new chieftain, Mu-jung Hui 慕容廆 had come to power, they attacked and overran China's old ally in Manchuria, the Puyō kingdom. Mu-jung Hui, who became chieftain while still in his late teens, was to have a long and brilliant career as the virtual founder of the Yen state. He seems to have had a genuine admiration for Chinese culture, and when China plunged into civil disorders after 300, his court was to become a haven for refugee literati. However, Mu-jung Hui began his reign by hostilities with China, and ravaged the Puyō lands so severely that their king I-lü 依慮 (Korean, Ŭiryō) committed suicide in despair. The Chin dynasty at this point was still capable of reacting with vigour to external threats, and a Chinese expeditionary force restored the son of the late king to the Puyō throne and defeated Mu-jung Hui, although by this time numbers of Puyō refugees, headed by members of the Puyō royal clan, had sought safety in the Okchō territories of north-eastern Korea. The Mu-jung now moved to Chi-ch'eng 棘城, to the west of the Liao, and from this position they were able, after 300, to cut the land route between China and Korea, and gradually bring the whole of the Liao-tung peninsula under their control.





IV The eclipse of Koguryō and Puyō. This shows the reassertion of Chinese influence and the new commandery of Tai-fang. The arrow represents the invasion which devastated Puyō in 285/6 A.D.

Meanwhile Koguryō had made a new appearance in Chinese annals. There is not a single reference to Kao-kou-li in Chinese sources from the Chinese victories of 245 until after the turn of the century. Thus nothing is known of how Koguryō recovered from its defeat. The fact that Puyō refugees were able to establish themselves amongst the Okchō in 286, and indeed that they were even able to reach this area, towards which the only land routes ran through what had formerly been Koguryō territory, shows that as late as 286 Koguryō was still 'in eclipse'. The next reference to Koguryō in Chinese sources is only a few years before 313, when Koguryō is again found raiding the commanderies in force. At this time it was ruled by a new king, called in Korean tradition Ūl-bul 乙弗 (I-fu-li 乙弗利 in Chinese sources), who is said in the *Samguk-sagi* to have been the first ruler of a cadet branch of the old royal family. Both Chinese and Korean sources agree in making Ūl-bul the great-great-grandson of King Wi-gung, but the *Samguk-sagi* also tells an elaborate story of how Ūl-bul was forced to hide as a commoner to escape being put to death by the last ruler of the elder line, a tyrant whom Ūl-bul's supporters eventually overthrew, allegedly in 300. The fact that a romantic legend seems to have grown up round Ūl-bul suggests that his reign may have been regarded in quite early times in much the same light as it appears to us today—as the starting point of a new era in Koguryō history.

The reign of Ūl-bul has in fact traditionally been associated with the end of the Chinese commanderies in Korea. This connection has been based upon a brief notice inserted in the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien* amongst the entries for the year 313:

Chang T'ung 張統 of Liaotung, who occupied the two commanderies of Lo-lang and Tai-fang 據樂浪帶方二郡 had been at war with I-fu-li, King of the Kao-kou-li, for some years without a break 連年不解. On the advice of Wang Tsun 王遵 of Lo-lang, Chang T'ung went over to [Mu-jung] Hui at the head of more than a thousand families of his people, and [Mu-jung Hui] established a commandery of Lo-lang [in his own territory] for them, appointing [Chang] T'ung governor, and putting [Wang] Tsun in charge of its military affairs.

Although the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien* was not written until the eleventh century, its author, Ssū-ma Kuang, is known to have made use of a number of much earlier works which have since perished, and specifically to have used Fan Heng's 范亨 *Yen-shu* 燕書, which was probably written early in the fifth century. It seems likely that the passage translated above, which relates to Yen and is not found in the *Chin-shu*, may have come from Fan Heng's work or some other early history of Yen, perhaps even from a biography of Chang T'ung, since the histories of Yen which were written in imitation of Chinese dynastic histories such as the *Han-shu* will have contained biographies for those who played a significant part in the early expansion of the Mu-jung state.

Thus the events which the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien* describes are probably authentic, but it is going considerably beyond the evidence to equate them with the

end of the Chinese commanderies in Korea. It should be noted here that the phrase 'the end of the Chinese commanderies' implies at least two separate ideas: the end of rule by the Chinese government over administrative units centred in Korea, and/or the end of rule by Chinese officials, within these same units, over a native non-Chinese population. For the end of the rule in Korea by the Chinese government the date 313 is already too late; it is extremely unlikely that the Chin Court was able to exercise any authority in Korea after it had effectively ceased to govern north China itself in the years 303-304. In spite of the collapse of the Chin central administration, however, Chinese officials will have continued to administer outlying districts such as Lo-lang, just as they had done during earlier crises—as after the fall of Wang Mang, when Wang Tiao took over in Lo-lang, or during the military anarchy at the end of Later Han. The *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien*'s account cannot even be made to imply the end of this kind of rule by Chinese officials in Lo-lang. Not only is there no specific statement that Koguryō occupied territory abandoned by Chang T'ung (who did not even receive the title 'governor' until he went to Yen), but also the number of families who are stated to have accompanied him—one thousand—can scarcely represent even a majority of the Chinese settlers in Lo-lang and Tai-fang. The population of these two commanderies is put at more than eight thousand families in the Geography Monograph of the *Chin-shu*, which itself appears to be based upon a survey carried out in 282 (cf. 晉太康三年地記 and 新校晉書地理志 in 叢書集成 7061). Finally, Japanese archaeologists discovered a number of inscribed bricks, bearing the names of Chinese families and dated in the reign-periods of various Chinese rulers for the years 316, 335, 345, 352, 353, and even 404. Most of these bricks are from southern Lo-lang; that dated in 353 is from P'yōng-yang. The evidence of these bricks strongly suggests some kind of Chinese administration having persisted in the Lo-lang area until well after the mid-century, and this interpretation has been confirmed by the discovery, in 1949, of a large tomb richly ornamented with frescoes, apparently belonging to a certain Tung Shou 冬壽 who claimed, amongst other titles, to be Governor of Lo-lang (see Appendix I).

It is so difficult to resist the cumulative effect of all this evidence that it seems likely that the old idea of the Korean commanderies coming to an end as administrative units in 313 must now be abandoned. After Chang T'ung's departure, the Chinese of Lo-lang—probably still the dominant element in the population of the P'yōng-yang area—may have been obliged to acknowledge the authority of the King of Koguryō, who may even have appointed a Chinese to act as governor in the interests of Koguryō. But it is most unlikely that Koguryō exercised any really effective control over Lo-lang during the first half of the century. The Koguryō capital was not shifted to Ch'ao-hsien (i.e. P'yōng-yang), the old capital of Lo-lang, but remained throughout the century at Hwando on a tributary to the north of the Yalü. Moreover, throughout this period, the kings of

Koguryō were preoccupied with the defence of their western frontier against the Mu-jung. In 319 Koguryō entered an alliance organised by the titular Chinese governor of Liao-tung, and together with armies from the Tuan 段 Hsien-pei of Liao-hsi, and the northern Yü-wen 宇文 tribe, the Koguryō army invaded the Mu-jung capital at Chi-ch'eng. But the alliance broke up before it could accomplish anything, and Mu-jung Hui seized territory from Koguryō and annexed Liao-tung. Further hostilities along the border between Mu-jung Yen and Koguryō occurred during the following year, and in 330 King Ūl-bul despatched envoys to the Mu-jung Hui's enemy Shih Lo 石勒, who had just proclaimed himself emperor in northern China. Koguryō failed to take advantage of the civil war which broke out in the Mu-jung domains on the death of Mu-jung Hui in 333, but its king did offer asylum to supporters of the defeated faction in this conflict when they fled from Liao-tung in 336. These refugees included Tung Shou. (His flight to Koguryō is in fact the last piece of information recorded about Tung Shou in Chinese literary sources.) During the attack on the Mu-jung by Shih Hu, Shih Lo's successor in 338/39, Koguryō co-operated with the invaders of Yen, and also received Yen refugees who had deserted their ruler and then been threatened with execution when the invading army retired. In 340, Ūl-bul's son and successor, King Soe 劄, sent this crown prince to pay homage at the Mu-jung court, but very soon hostilities broke out afresh and culminated in a massive invasion of Koguryō by the Mu-jung in the winter of 342/43. During this campaign, the Koguryō army was defeated; Hwando, the capital, was sacked (not quite a century after its previous destruction at the hands of Kuan-ch'iu Chien) and fifty thousand Koguryō captives were carried back to Yen, along with the queen of Koguryō, the queen dowager, and the body of King Ūl-bul.

In view of this continuing preoccupation with their western neighbour, culminating in the events of 342/43, it is doubtful whether the kings of Koguryō had the leisure or the resources to enforce their rule in the P'yōng-yang area. They may have gone as far as nominating governors of Lo-lang, and Tung Shou, who fled to Koguryō in 336, was probably so nominated by the king of Koguryō some time afterwards. The fact that the new and hostile kingdom of Paekche was allowed to develop to the south of Lo-lang, in the former territory of Tai-fang (part of the area said to have been controlled by Chang T'ung) tends to show that at least this area was not within the operational sphere of Koguryō armies and by the time that the first direct clash between Koguryō and Paekche is known to have occurred, in 369, Paekche was strong enough to inflict a resounding defeat upon the older kingdom.

Whatever control Koguryō had exercised over Lo-lang before the Yen invasion of 342/43, it is likely that after this event the Chinese governor of Lo-lang became virtually an independent warlord. The inscription on Tung Shou's tomb, besides giving the date of his death—24 November 357—also lists his titles, all of which

are purely Chinese. They include 'Supreme Commander endowed with Special Authority' 使持節都督諸軍事, 'General Pacifying the East' 平東將軍, and 'Commandant-Protector of the Barbarians' 護撫夷校尉. In addition to ruling Lo-lang, Tung Shou claimed some sort of gubernatorial powers in Ch'ang-li (the home of the Mu-jung), Hsüan-t'u (divided between the Mu-jung and Koguryō), and Tai-fang (mostly held by Paekche). While it is clear that these vast claims were out of all proportion to the actual area controlled by Tung Shou, and that the military titles which he assumed bore equally little relation to reality, yet at the same time it is difficult to imagine that the man who made these claims regarded himself in any sense a subject of the king of Koguryō. By these titles Tung Shou signalised his independence of Koguryō and gave himself the appearance of a loyal officer of the Chin dynasty in China, in much the same way as the Chang 張 family who ruled in Kansu, and for several generations received similar titles from the Chin court, although to all effects and purposes they were independent princes, often cut off from direct intercourse with the Chin court by the territory of hostile powers.

It may therefore be suggested that during the years 343-357 Tung Shou was independent in the P'yōng-yang area, and perhaps ruled most of what had constituted Lo-lang commandery in Western Chin times as well as northern Tai-fang. (The site of his tomb at Anak was probably in Tai-fang commandery.) He assumed titles which were meant to increase his prestige, and also to link him with the legitimate governors of Lo-lang appointed by various Chinese courts during the third century. He may also have nominated his relatives as the titular governors of various surrounding areas, as a tile from P'yōng-yang which names a certain Tung Li 佟利 who was governor-designate 太守領 of 'Liao-tung, Han 韓 and Hsüan-t'u' [sic] in 353, seems to suggest.

It is unlikely that this state of affairs survived the death of Tung Shou in 357. Tung Li was probably dead already—the 353 tile seems to come from his tomb—and to the north the rulers of Koguryō had at last recognised the 'Emperor of Yen' as their suzerain, and established peaceful relations with their western neighbour. These peaceful relations continued until the disappearance of Yen itself in 370. In 355 the ruler of Yen returned to Koguryō the queen dowager, who been held hostage in Yen since the expedition of 342/43. From this time forward, Koguryō was free to concentrate its forces for operations on other frontiers.

As noted earlier, by 369 Koguryō had come into violent collision with Paekche south of the old frontier between Lo-lang and Tai-fang, and there is reason to believe that Koguryō pressure in this area may have begun some time before 364, when Paekche first seems to have tried to make an alliance with the Yamato state in Japan. It may well be that it was the death of Tung Shou which gave Koguryō the opportunity to annex Lo-lang, and bring to an end the existence of this 'ghost' of the old commandery.

*The Beginnings of the Paekche Kingdom*

By soon after the middle of the century the former Tai-fang commandery was, as we have seen, occupied by a new Korean state, Paekche 百濟 (Chinese, Pai-chi; Japanese, Kudara), ruled by a line of kings who claimed descent from the former royal house of Puyŏ. Neither Chinese nor Japanese sources provide any indication of when and how this state came into being. The *Samguk-sagi* attributes the foundation of Paekche to two brothers, Piryu 沸流 (Chinese, Fei-liu) and Onjo 溫祚 (Chinese, Wen-tso), who are variously described as sons or as adopted sons of the founder of Koguryŏ, and who fled to the south of Korea and were there given land by the 'King of Ma-han' 馬韓王 in 18 B.C. This account is so obviously wrong that it is usually dismissed as a complete fiction. There is no evidence in any early source for a 'kingdom' of Ma-han. The title 'lord of Ma-han' 馬韓主 appears in the *Chin-shu* only for the period after 280 A.D., and it seems to indicate not a ruler over the various *kuo* of Ma-han, but a particular chieftain whom the Chinese had made responsible for collecting tribute from the *kuo* and forwarding it via the commanderies to the Chin court. The same title is not even mentioned in the *San-kuo-chih* which, composed soon after 280, was better informed upon Korean affairs than any other Chinese history until T'ang times. Moreover, although the name Po-chi 伯濟 (clearly a form of Pai-chi, i.e. Paekche) appears in the *San-kuo-chih*'s list of 55 *kuo* of Ma-han, there is no suggestion that Po-chi had northern rulers, or was in any way different from the other *kuo*. In addition, as already seen, the *kuo* of Ma-han were probably clan settlements, probably no more than large villages, certainly something very much less sophisticated than the kingdom with its various provinces and officials that is envisaged in the *Samguk-sagi*'s account of early Paekche. Once again the basic problem reasserts itself; if a northern dynasty established itself in a *kuo* of Ma-han, an area which was certainly under Chinese political domination throughout most of the first three centuries A.D., how is it that contemporary Chinese sources contain no indication of this event?

The most likely time for such a movement of northerners into the south of the peninsula would clearly be in the years after 300 when Chinese control in Korea was vanishing. Moreover, the only known migration of people from Puyŏ into Korea in historic times is the flight of various members of the Puyŏ clan to Okchŏ in 286. It seems feasible that, once Koguryŏ resumed its expansion round about 313, the Okchŏ areas once more came under pressure from Koguryŏ, and certain of the Puyŏ princes and their dependants who had found shelter there moved on to carve out a kingdom for themselves in the south. Amongst the Han tribes the collapse of the tributary system imposed by the Chinese commanderies must have made the position of the 'lord of Ma-han', such as it was, rather precarious. Once the prestige with which this chieftain had been invested by the Chinese authorities had disappeared with the end of effective Chinese rule, he





V The beginning of the Middle Ages, *ca.* 350-375 A.D. Certain features have been shown on this map which were not in fact contemporary. Thus Tung Shou died in 357 A.D., and his lordship of Lo-lang had certainly passed from the scene by the time the Yamato colony of Mimana was founded in 369 A.D.

might have been glad to welcome a body of refugees from the north as a possible support in a rapidly changing political scene. In fact, if transferred to the context of the early fourth century A.D., the account of Paekche's founding given in the *Samguk-sagi* is not so wildly improbable.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the name of one of the princes who is said to have founded Paekche, Piryu 沸流 (given in the thirteenth century *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn* 海東高僧傳 as Piryu 避流—Chinese, Pi-liu) is phonetically identical with that of a King Piryu 比流 (Chinese, Pi-liu), who is said to have reigned in the fourth century and who was the father of the first clearly historic ruler of Paekche. In the circumstances, it looks very much as if the two Piryu's are in fact identical, and that the ten kings between them are fictions, most of whom are given exaggerated lengths of reign in order to fill the interval between the fourth century A.D. and the first century B.C. Two of these kings can in fact be shown to be duplications of later historical figures. Evidently the earlier date for the beginning of Paekche was put forward when the derivation of the Paekche house from Puyŏ had been forgotten, and it became necessary to explain its northern connections by linking it with the only other known state of northern origin, Koguryŏ, which may well have been founded late in the first century B.C.

Thus the picture emerges of a Puyŏ prince called Piryu 比流 establishing himself in the old Po-chi *kuo* probably round about 313 or soon after, and from this base expanding into the area of the former Chinese commandery of Tai-fang. The earliest capital of Paekche, Han-san 漢山, seems to have been very close to the former administrative headquarters of Tai-fang, and the *Samguk-sagi* mentions, as the man who introduced the keeping of historical records in Paekche, a certain Ko Hŭng 高興, who was almost certainly a Chinese—maybe from the former Tai-fang commandery.

It was not long before the rulers of Paekche, having established control over the former Chinese colony of Tai-fang, came into conflict with the kings of Koguryŏ who had just occupied Lo-lang immediately to the north. This conflict was postponed until after the formative period of the Paekche kingdom owing to the preoccupation of Koguryŏ with its western frontier during the first half of the fourth century.

From the years 349/355 onwards, Koguryŏ, having accepted Mu-jung Yen suzerainty, was free to devote itself to expansion southwards. It may have already gained some kind of overlordship in the south-east of the peninsula at this time. Here also a new state was emerging. During the third century, the tribute of the Ch'en-han tribes had been transmitted to the Chinese court by a chieftain called the 'Ch'en king' 辰王—who resided in one of the *kuo* of Ma-han, the position being hereditary in a Ma-han family. With the collapse of the commanderies, the southward extension of Koguryŏ power, and the rise of Paekche in the former territories of Tai-fang and Ma-han, the tribes of Ch'en-han (Chin-han in Korean) began to coalesce into a new state to protect themselves. The power of the 'Ch'en



king' having disappeared, the centre of the new kingdom was the former *kuo* of Ssü-lu 斯盧. Less is known about the origins of the state of Silla 新羅 (Chinese, Hsin-lo; Japanese, Shiragi) than those of the other two main states, Koguryō and Paekche. The *Samguk-sagi* provides a list of kings going back to 57 B.C., but it is doubtful whether this is any more trustworthy than its account of early Paekche. The foundation date itself seems likely to be a 'magical date' obtained by counting back twelve complete sixty-year cycles before the final destruction of Paekche in 663 A.D. The reign of exactly one such cycle, which the *Samguk-sagi* allots to the founder of Silla, seems to confirm the artificiality of its chronology here. Moreover almost all the kings of Silla who can be shown to be historical belonged to the Kim 金 family, while the first thirteen rulers in the *Samguk-sagi*'s account of Silla belong either to the Pak 朴 or the Suk 昔 families. This might suggest that the *Samguk-sagi* (or more probably one of the lost works on which it is based) brought together the traditions of a number of separate communities and arranged them so as to fill up a predetermined interval of time. At least one eminent Japanese authority—Professor Y. Suematsu—is prepared to consider the period up to the reign of the sixteenth king of Silla in the *Samguk-sagi*'s list as wholly legendary. The *Samguk-sagi*'s account of how various groups around Silla were absorbed probably reflects some kind of historical reality—although here again the chronology must be wrong—but most of the accounts of clashes between Silla and Paekche or Silla and Japan can only refer to a period after the beginning of the fourth century A.D., while the marvels that fill up much of the remainder of the annals of this period can scarcely have occurred at all. Unfortunately, although the *San-kuo-chih* lists Ssü-lu as one of the twelve *kuo* of Ch'in in the third century, Chinese sources make no further mention of Silla until late in the fourth century, and thus provide no check on those traditions of the formative period of the state preserved in the *Samguk-sagi* and the *Samguk-yusa*. The *Samguk-yusa* indicates that, from some time in the second half of the fourth century, the ruler of Silla began to take the title 'Maripkan' 麻立干. This has been related by a number of Japanese scholars to an official title which appeared in Koguryō some three hundred years later. If this is so, it suggests that Koguryō influence was strong in this area during the formative period of the Silla state in the fourth century. Certainly by the end of the century, Koguryō was stationing troops in Silla, and the rulers of Silla were obliged to send hostages to the court of Koguryō. Moreover, in 377, when Silla envoys first appeared at the court of Ch'in in north China, they accompanied an embassy from Koguryō.

In 369 came the first recorded clash between Koguryō and Paekche, although there is reason to think that Koguryō had been exerting pressure on Paekche for several years before this. In 369 Koguryō forces invading Paekche under the command of King Soe himself, suffered a severe defeat; in 371, Paekche armies invaded Koguryō in turn, and Soe was killed by an arrow while fighting under the

walls of P'yŏng-yang against the advance guard under the command of Prince Kusu 仇繻 (sometimes called Kŭn'gusu), a son of Ch'ogo (sometimes called Kŭnch'ogo), the king of Paekche 肖固王. This was the beginning of a long duel between the two kingdoms which continued for most of the following three centuries: in 375, 376, and 377 Koguryŏ again invaded Paekche and devastated Paekche territory north of the Han River, and in 377 Paekche once more invaded Koguryŏ.

### *Relations with Yamato: the Founding of Mimana*

Paekche was a smaller and much younger state than Koguryŏ, and once her northern neighbour was free to divert its main strength into southward expansion, the rulers of Paekche saw themselves threatened with ultimate defeat. To prevent this they sought allies outside Korea. In 372 Paekche envoys were despatched by sea to the court of the Eastern Chin dynasty, which ruled southern China from its capital at Chien-k'ang (modern Nanking). Koguryŏ was by this time the faithful dependant of the Former Ch'in state, which had conquered Yen in 370 and was then planning the conquest of southern China. Therefore the court at Chien-k'ang honoured the king of Paekche and appointed him 'General Stationed in the East, Governor-Designate of Lo-lang' 鎮東將軍, 領樂浪太守. This gave Ch'ogo a legal title to rule Lo-lang commandery if he could take it from Koguryŏ, but little more. For practical help, Paekche was obliged to turn elsewhere.

According to both Japanese and Korean sources, relations between Japan and the Korean kingdoms go back to the first century B.C. However, the references in the Japanese texts, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon-shoki*, are set far back in the legendary period of Japanese history. Similarly, those in the *Samguk-sagi*, although factual in appearance, are connected with the reigns of those kings of Silla who seem to be fictions invented to fill the interval between 57 B.C. and the earliest appearance of Silla in contemporary historical records late in the fourth century. Even the famous conquest of Korea by Empress Jingō 神功皇后, which the *Nihon-shoki* dates to the year 200, seems to be pure legend, since later in the same reign, we are told that when the King of Paekche wished to send envoys to Japan, he was unable to do so because none of the petty rulers of southern Korea knew the way. The 'king' of T'aksun 卓淳 (Japanese, Tokushu), on the Nakdong, which seems to have been the centre of early trade contacts between the Japanese archipelago and Korea, alleged that, although he knew of the existence of Japan, he had never had any dealings with that country. The only certainty which emerges from all this welter of legend and fiction is that, in spite of the ruler of T'aksun's assertion, contacts had existed between southern Korea and Japan from a very early period. As already seen, several cultural

elements—such as dolmens, jar burials, stone daggers and later metal daggers—were common to the two areas; and from at least 57 A.D. Japanese local rulers in Kyūshū were sending embassies to the Chinese court through Korea. It also seems possible that some of the Pyōn-han *kuo* acknowledge the overlordship of the Japanese queen Himiko in the mid-third century A.D. Moreover, *San-kuo-chih*, speaking of the iron found in the Pyōn-chin area—presumably near Kimhae, where remains of ancient iron slag have been found—says, ‘the Han 韓, the Ye 濊 and the Wa 倭 [Japanese] all come and take it, and in their markets they use it for buying and selling, just as money is used in China’.

At some time late in the third or early in the fourth century A.D., a dynasty perhaps originating in Kyūshū established a state in Yamato (modern Nara prefecture) which rapidly extended its power south-westwards down the archipelago, and by about the middle of the fourth century had regained control over much of Kyūshū. It was to this state that the king of Paekche had attempted to send his envoys—the *Nihon-shoki*’s date of 244 has to be corrected, like most of the dates in its early account of Japano-Korean relations, by adding 120 years. Paekche envoys finally reached the court of the Yamato state in 367 (*Nihon-shoki*, 247), and two years later Yamato despatched a major expedition to Korea (in the same year as the battle in which Paekche defeated the invasion led by King Soe of Koguryō). Japanese forces, acting in close co-operation with those of Paekche, took over a large area of the basin of the Naktong River, which had formed part of the old territories of Pyōn-jin or Pyōn-han. For the most part, the petty local chieftains seem to have been maintained in office, although garrisons of Yamato groups were established—for example, in T’aksun itself. (This in fact followed the pattern of Yamato expansion in the Japanese archipelago). Also certain formerly independent districts in Ma-han were conquered and handed over to Paekche. Thus Paekche’s flank was protected against Koguryō’s ally Silla by the garrisons of a friendly power, and Paekche itself was strengthened and its position as the heir to the former territories of Ma-han consolidated. Further embassies between Paekche and the Yamato court were exchanged almost every year until the death of King Ch’ogo of Paekche in 375 (*Nihon-shoki*, 255). This was, as we have seen, a period when Paekche was exposed to almost yearly incursions by Koguryō, and there seems little doubt that the king of Paekche was anxious to keep up good relations with the Yamato court in view of the danger from the north. Kusu, his son, who reigned 375–384, continued his father’s policy of cultivating the friendship of the Chin court of southern China on the one hand and Yamato on the other.

Meanwhile the Japanese base in Korea provided a foothold in the peninsula from which the Yamato court could intervene in Korean interstate politics. In Japanese histories the Korean conquests are usually termed Mimana 任那. However, owing to the fact that communications between Yamato and Mimana

were still difficult—there were still large areas even of Kyūshū which were not under the control of Yamato—Japanese commanders in Mimana often pursued a completely independent policy. Thus in 382 a local Japanese commander, Sachihiko, who was ordered to attack Silla, received a bribe from Silla and instead turned his forces against certain minor rulers in the Mimana area, who were obliged to take refuge in Paekche. Later, a separate Japanese expedition restored the *status quo*.

### *The Introduction of Buddhism*

It was during this same period that Buddhism, which was eventually to eclipse almost completely the native religions of Korea, was first introduced. In 370 Koguryō's old enemy in the west, the Former Yen state, had been overthrown by the Former Ch'in ruler Fu Chien 苻堅, and in 372 according to the *Samguk-sagi*, Fu Chien, who favoured both Buddhism and Confucianism, sent the monk Sundo 順道 (Chinese, 'Shun-tao) with Buddhist scriptures to the court of Koguryō. Two years later another Buddhist monk is said to have arrived; according to the thirteenth century Korean account of Buddhism in the peninsula, *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn* 海東高僧傳, he came from the Chin court at Chien-k'ang. In the following year the first temples were built in Koguryō. In 384 an Indian monk is said to have brought Buddhism to Paekche, although this has been questioned by some scholars, who would put the beginnings of Buddhism in Paekche almost a century later. It was from Paekche that Buddhism eventually spread to Japan in the sixth century. As in China, Buddhism in the Korean kingdoms remained for several decades a cult patronised almost exclusively by court circles, and it was not until after the fifth century that it became genuinely popular even in Koguryō where it was first introduced. The introduction of Buddhism into Silla did not take place until much later, and indeed this kingdom, which had not been exposed to Chinese influence to the same extent as Koguryō and Paekche, long remained something of a cultural backwater.

It is seen, then, that from several points of view the fourth century was the axial period in the transition from ancient to medieval in Korea. Some time before 384 a lost history of the Ch'in state recorded an embassy from a certain Lou-han, King of Silla 新羅國玉樓寒 (Korean, Nu-han) to the court of Fu Chien. A quotation from this work preserves a dialogue between the Silla envoy and Fu Chien, who may have been about to embark upon the disastrous campaign against southern China which culminated in his defeat on the Fei River late in 383. Fu Chien asked the envoy, 'What you say about the affairs of the countries east of the sea does not at all correspond with how things were in former days. Why is this?' The envoy replied, 'It is also like China, then; at a time of change names and titles alter as well.'

## FURTHER READING

For the first section of this chapter, see Further Reading below Appendix I.

For the beginnings of Paekche, Imanishi Ryū's *Kudara-shi Kenkyū* 百濟史研究 (Keijō, Chikazawa Shoten, 1934), is still a basic work, although recent scholarship has elaborated on and modified much of what Professor Imanishi had to say about the origin of Paekche. See K. Shiratori, 'Kudara no Kigen ni tsuite' 百濟の起原について, posthumously published in a special number of the magazine *Shigaku* 史學, Tōkyō, December 1947; also S. Mishina, *Nihon-shoki Chōsen Kankei kiji kōsho* 日本書紀朝鮮關係記事考證, Vol. 1 (Tōkyō, Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1962). See also 'Some Problems concerning the Founding of Paekche', an article by the present author, to be published shortly in *Archiv Orientalni*.

For Silla, Imanishi Ryū's *Shiragi-shi Kenkyū* 新羅史研究 (Keijō, Chikazawa Shoten, 1933), is still useful; Y. Fukuda's *Shiragi-shi* 新羅史 (Kyōto, Wakabayashi Shunwadō, 1913), is less so. The basic work here is undoubtedly Y. Suematsu's *Shiragi-shi no sho mondai* 新羅史の諸問題 (Tōyō Bunkō publications, Series A, No. 36, Tōkyō, 1954). This book also has a summary in English by G. W. Robinson. The *Samguk-sagi*'s account of Silla in this period has been translated into modern Korean—*Samguk-sagi*, trans. Kim Chong-gwan 金鐘權 (Sōnjin munhwa sa, Seoul, 1963) and *Samguk-sagi*, 2 vols., edited by Chosŏn Minjujuui Konghwaguk Kwahagwŏn Kojŏn Yŏn'gusil (P'yŏng-yang, 1958-9), and also into Russian—*Samguk-sagi* [Kim Pu-sik], edited and trans. M. N. Pak (Akademiiia nauk SSR [Istoricheskie zapisi trekh gosudarstv], Moskva, 1959; only the volume containing the annals of Silla has so far appeared).

For Mu-jung Yen and its relations with Koguryō, see the chapter entitled 'Shin-dai no Ryō-tō' 晉代の遼東 in *Mansen-shi Kenkyū*, Jōsei-hen(i) by H. Ikeuchi, and the outline of the history of the Mu-jung state in two lengthy articles by Gerhard Schreiber, 'The History of the Former Yen Dynasty' in *Monumenta Serica*, Vols. XIV (1949-55) and XV (1956). See also H. Ikeuchi, 'A Study of the Su-shen' in *Mem. Tōyō Bunko*, No. 5 (1930)—this article is a translation of one which has been collected in *Mansen-shi Kenkyū*.

The main source for early relations between the Korean kingdoms and the Yamato state is the *Nihon-shoki*, which quotes from various earlier chronicles compiled in Paekche. See the translation of the *Nihon-shoki* by W. G. Aston, *Nihongi* (repub. Allen and Unwin, London, 1956). S. Mishina's article 'Kudara-ki, Kudara-shinsen, Kudara-hongi ni tsuite' 百濟記, 百濟新撰, 百濟本記について in *Chōsen Gakuhō*, No. 24, 1962, is incorporated in his book *Nihon-shoki Chōsen kankei* &c. given above. See also R. Kinoshita, 'Nihon-shoki ni mieru Kudara shiryo no shiryo-teki kachi ni tsuite' 日本書紀に見之る百濟史料の史料的価値について in *Chōsen Gakuhō*, No. 21/22, October 1961. For the history of Mimana itself, Y. Suematsu's *Mimana Kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 (Tōkyō, Ōyashima Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1949), is a basic work. See also Y. Kobayashi 'Jingō Ōjin-ki

no Jidai' 神功應神紀の時代 in *Chōsen Gakuhō*, No. 35, 1965, and the chapter 'Jingō Kōgō to Chōsen no kiroku' 神功皇后と朝鮮の記録 in the first volume of the history of Japan—*Nihon no Rekishi*—published by Chūō-kōron, Tōkyō, 1965. This volume is entitled *Shinwa kara Rekishi-e* 神話から歴史へ, and is written by Inoue Mitsuada. An early but still useful work relating to the establishment and development of Mimana is A. Wedemeyer, *Japanische Frühgeschichte. Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Territorialverfassung von Alt Japan bis zum 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Tōkyō, 1930).

Korean legends of the state or confederacy called Karak 駕洛, which existed in the Mimana area, were recorded in a book written late in the eleventh century, the *Karak-kukki* 駕洛國記. Although the original *Karak-kukki* no longer exists, it was summarised in the *Samguk-yusa*, and this summary has been translated into Japanese with extensive annotations by S. Mishina in two articles entitled 'Sankoku-iji kōshō 三國遺事考証 in *Chōsen Gakuhō*, Nos. 29 (Oct. 1963) and 30 (Jan. 1962).

For the title 'maripkan', see Y. Suematsu's *Shiragi-shi no sho mondai* cited above, and S. Mishina 'Maripkan no Gengi-o tazunete' 麻立干の原義を尋ねて in *Chōsen Gakuhō*, No. 13, Oct. 1958. In the introduction to his translation of the *Samguk-sagi* [Annals of Silla] M. N. Pak has plausibly suggested that Lou-han (Ancient Chinese, Lǜ-yān) the name given in a lost history of Fu Chien Ch'in to the King of Silla who sent an embassy to Fu Chien, is a Chinese rendering of this same title 'maripkan' (Ancient Chinese, ma-liṣp-kān).

## Appendix I

# The Tung Shou Tomb and Its Interpretation

The question of how far it is correct to speak of a Lo-lang commandery after 313 falls naturally into two headings. First, there is the interpretation of the passage in the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien* which has previously been construed to mean the end of the Chinese commanderies in Korea. This has already been discussed at some length in Chapter 4, and will not be considered any further at this point. Three considerations may be recapitulated from the earlier discussion:

1. Chang T'ung is not given the title 'governor' 太守 of Lo-lang (or Tai-fang) until *after* he had emigrated to Mu-jung Hui's domains.
2. The number of people said to have followed Chang T'ung is clearly a round figure making no pretence at accuracy, and at the same time it falls considerably below that of the Chinese population of the area indicated in the *Chin-shu* Geography Monograph.
3. There is no indication in the text of the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien* that Koguryō seized Lo-lang. If it is urged that Koguryō, having been at war with the Chinese of Lo-lang and Tai-fang, would have taken over any territory abandoned by them, it should be remembered that it is by no means certain that even the majority of the settlers left with Chang T'ung, and that it seems unlikely that Koguryō could ever have ruled in Tai-fang, where the kingdom of Paekche was founded about this time by princes descended from the ruling house of Puyō, the hereditary enemies of Koguryō.

Under the second heading falls evidence which has appeared from other sources to lend support to the idea of a Chinese colony persisting in the peninsula after 313. This evidence is mainly archaeological, and consists of the inscribed bricks or tiles, mostly from Sinch'ŏn 信川 in northern Tai-fang and the Tung Shou tomb at Anak, some ten miles north of Sinch'ŏn. The tiles have been listed in an article by the Japanese scholar Umehara Sueji.

The earliest of the relevant ones bears an inscription which may be translated as 'Made by Hui Ching(?) in the fourth year of the Chien-hsing reign', or alternatively 'Made in the fourth year of the Chien-hsing reign [the year] being Ping-tzū' 建興四年會景國造 (316 A.D.).

The second reads 'Made by the Sun family in the tenth year of the Hsien-ho reign, the Yi-wei year of the cycle' 咸和十年大歲乙未孫氏造 (335).

The third, 'Made by the Sun [family] in the eighth month of the third year of the Chien-yüan reign, the [Yi]-ssü year of the cycle' 建元三年大歲在己八月孫造 (345).

The fourth, 'Brick made by the Han family on the fourth day of the second month in the eighth year of the Yung-ho reign' 永和八年二月四日韓氏造塼 (5 March 352).

The fifth, from the tomb (of Tung Li?) at P'yöng-yang 'Made by Tung Li, Governor-Designate of Liao-tung, Han and Hsüan-t'u, on the tenth day of the third month in the ninth year of the Yung-ho reign', 永和九年三月十日遼東韓玄菟太守領修利造 (29 April 353).

Finally there is the enigmatic brick or tile inscribed, 'Made by Lord Wang on the twentieth day of the third month in the third year of the Yüan-hsing reign' 元興三年三月廿日王君造 (15 April 404?).

In this list I have omitted a number of doubtful inscriptions which may be dated in a reign-period proclaimed by the Later Chao ruler Shih Hu 石虎 (334-349).

The evidence of these bricks is not conclusive. The example dated 404 shows that it was still possible for local 'great families' to have such inscribed bricks made at a time when there is no doubt that Koguryö did in fact control Lo-lang. Moreover, on only one of the inscriptions is there any mention of a Chinese official title, that dated 353, and this is clearly related to the Tung Shou tomb inscription. Summarising the evidence of these inscribed bricks or tiles, we may say that they indicate the continued existence of some kind of Chinese community in Lo-lang down to the beginning of the fifth century, but only the inscription of 353 suggests the presence of a Chinese official administration in the area.

The Tung Shou tomb has considerably clarified this picture, although the nature of relations between Koguryö and the Chinese of Lo-lang before the advent of Tung Shou still remains a matter of speculation.

The tomb was discovered in 1949, and excavation work was begun under the direction of Dr Chhae Pyeong-seo 蔡秉瑞 (Ch'ai Pyön-sö). This was interrupted by the Korean war and the departure of Dr Chhae for southern Korea. Work was resumed after the end of the war, and a report was published on the excavation in 1957. Dr Chhae has also published his own account of the tomb in an article in *Asea Yon'gu* 亞細亞研究.

The tomb consisted of a turf mound, some 7 metres in height and on a more or less square base with sides measuring about 22 metres. Under the mound were found five or six connected stone chambers, arranged roughly in the shape of a cross. The walls of these chambers were built of stone slabs. The roof of the tombs, which was tiered in the style known as a 'lantern roof', also found in later tombs of Koguryö itself, was supported on stone pillars. The tomb appeared to have been plundered in antiquity, but the walls were decorated with a number of rather well-preserved murals, and over the head of one of the painted human



figures was found an inscription, also painted, in black ink, some sixty characters long.

Discussion of this tomb has mostly centred around two issues: the ownership of the tomb, and the interpretation of the inscription. To these another subject of inquiry should probably be added, namely the interpretation of the paintings themselves.

Doubts as to the ownership of the tomb arose from the unusual position of the inscription and the absence of any inscribed stele. The inscription is painted over the head of one of a pair of figures who are represented on either side of the entrance to the western chamber. When viewed from the central chamber, these two 'guards' frame the seated figure of an obviously important personage, painted in the middle of the further wall of the western chamber.

On the further wall of the western chamber itself, two pairs of smaller figures, standing or kneeling, also frame the central seated figure, who appears to be identical with a man in a carriage drawn by a bullock, depicted on the wall of the gallery which runs from the central chamber past the rear chamber. The man in the carriage is accompanied by numbers of civil officials and troops, mounted and on foot, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, as he is clearly the most important figure in the wall-paintings, he is probably the owner of the tomb. A lady shown with attendant maids on another wall of the western chamber must be his wife. Although inscriptions painted in red and giving ranks and titles occur against some of the smaller figures surrounding that of the owner of the tomb, no such characters are painted next to the central figure himself, or his wife.

Clearly, if the Tung Shou inscription refers to the standing figure painted immediately beneath, then the figure in the centre of the western chamber must be Tung Shou's superior, and since Tung Shou is last mentioned in Chinese records as having taken shelter at the court of the king of Koguryō, the central figure would then probably be that of a king of Koguryō, for whom the tomb would have been intended.

Although a number of Korean scholars still hold this view, it seems most unlikely, for the following reasons:

1. Although it has been suggested that the figure is that of King Ūl-bul (otherwise known as Mi-ch'ŏn Wang 美川王), the *Samguk-sagi* puts the death of this king in 331, five years before Tung Shou came to Korea, and it is at least certain that by 339, three years after Tung Shou's arrival, Ūl-bul's son, King Soe 釗, was already ruling. Thus Tung Shou must have spent most of his years in Korea during the reign of King Soe; why in this case would he have been painted in the tomb of King Soe's father? As to the tomb being that of King Soe himself, this ruler did not die until 371 (this date seems fairly reliable, since it also occurs in the part of the *Samguk-sagi* dealing with Paekche, many of whose dates are confirmed by the *Nihon-shoki*). Moreover, King Soe was killed in battle

against Paekche, and at this time the Anak area would have been exposed to Paekche raids; it is highly unlikely that the king of Koguryō would have built a tomb for himself or his father in such an outlying district (and indeed the posthumous names of these same kings indicate the sites of their tombs in the area of the Koguryō capital, still at Hwando).

2. As well as the lengthy Tung Shou inscription in black over the head of the standing figure, there are also the characters 帳下督 'Commander of the Bodyguard' written in red beside him. This title is not found in the list of titles in the Tung Shou inscription itself, and scarcely accords with such titles as do appear there (it contrasts strangely with such grandiose phrases as 'Supreme Commander with Special Authority, General Pacifying the East' (使持節都督諸軍事, 平東將軍). This suggests that the red and black titles belong to two different people. If this is so, the red title, 'Commander of the Bodyguard', seems more appropriate to the standing figure. The black inscription will then apply to the important seated figure behind.

3. The inscription itself contains nothing to connect Tung Shou with Koguryō. Not merely are the titles he assumes therein purely Chinese, but also they are such that it is difficult to imagine them being held by someone who was an officer of the King of Koguryō. They include 'General Pacifying the East' 平東將軍 and 'Commandant-Protector of the Barbarians' 護撫夷校尉. The king of Koguryō himself would have been regarded in China as an 'eastern barbarian'. It is unthinkable that he would have allowed one of his principal officers not merely to hold such titles, but to have them inscribed in the king's own tomb!

4. Finally, if we examine the titles written against the attendants who surround the figure painted in the centre of the back wall of the western chamber, it is immediately noticeable that these are men of comparatively humble rank. Those on the left of the seated figure are described as 小史 'Junior Scribe', and 記室 'a member of the secretariat'. On the other side a kneeling male figure is described as 省事 ('Inspector of Affairs?') and another smaller figure behind him as 門下拜 ('Chamberlain?'). These last two titles do not occur in the list of official titles in the *Chin-shu*, but the two former are given, as minor members of the staff of governors of commanderies or heads of prefectures. In all it seems much more likely that these four men represent the staff of a governor of Lo-lang, rather than the courtiers or officers of a king.

The combined weight of the above arguments is, I feel, conclusive. There can be little doubt that this tomb was built for Tung Shou, almost certainly during his lifetime. The paintings which adorn the walls will also have been carried out during the lifetime of the governor. As noted in Chapter 4, Koguryō must have taken over the P'yōng-yang area very soon after the death of Tung Shou. This in itself might explain the curious position of the inscription: the changing political situation might not have permitted the erection of a memorial tablet

which Tung Shou had undoubtedly intended, and the relatives and dependants of the deceased may have been obliged to write up a hasty memorial to him in a blank space over the top of one of the paintings which had not originally been intended for this purpose. The writing of the inscription is careless, irregularly spaced, and in at least one place the copyist has made a mistake, which he has subsequently corrected, leaving traces of the original mistake still visible (都, the sixth character in line two, was originally written for 節, the fifth). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to see in the hastily written characters of the Tung Shou inscription, contrasting with the carefully drawn red characters attached to the painted figures, the echoes of a time of confusion in Lo-lang following Tung Shou's death, the prelude to the annexation of the whole area by Koguryō.

The interpretation of the Tung Shou inscription itself raises other problems. The text may be roughly translated as follows:

On the twenty-sixth day, Kuei-ch'ou, of the tenth month beginning on the day Mou-tzū, of the thirteenth year of the Yung-ho reign (24 November, 357), the Supreme Commander with Special Authority, General Pacifying the East, Commandant-Protector of the Barbarians, Governor of Lo-lang, and of [the former?] commanderies of Ch'ang-li, Hsüan-t'u, and Tai-fang, the Tu-hsiang Marquis 都鄉侯, Tung Shou, whose courtesy name was [?]-an, died in office at the age of sixty-nine. He was from Ching-shang-li 敬上里, in the hsiang in which was the administrative headquarters of P'ing-kuo 平郭縣 prefecture in the commandery of Liao-tung in Yu Circuit.

Missing characters in the first two lines of the inscription referring to dates may be restored by means of a Chinese calendar. The third line is complete and presents no difficulties. However, the fourth line commences with a character which, while clear enough to see, is incomprehensible: 目. The Japanese scholar T. Okazaki has suggested that this may be a miswriting for 領, in which case the characters 太守 'governor' are required to be understood after the name 'Lo-lang' at the end of the previous line. With these emendations the two lines might then be translated, 'Governor of Lo-lang, Governor-Designate of Ch'ang-li, Hsüan-t'u and Tai-fang'. The inscription would presumably be differentiating between the district actually controlled by Tung Shou—Lo-lang commandery—and the districts to which he may have laid claim, but over which he almost certainly had no control whatever: Ch'ang-li, which was the homeland of Mu-jung Yen; and Hsüan-t'u, on the border between Yen and Koguryō. The position of Tai-fang is more complicated. On the basis of the identifications of Lo-lang prefectures put forward by the late H. Ikeuchi, the Anak area would have been included in the jurisdiction of Tai-fang and thus Tung Shou did hold part of this commandery. However, the administrative centre of Tai-fang itself, unlike Anak, was almost certainly part of the kingdom of Paekche at this period. In 372, as seen above, p. 47, the King of Paekche was himself appointed 'Governor-Designate of Lo-lang' 領樂浪太守 by the Chin Emperor at Chien-k'ang, and there are other

examples in Chin history of officers being appointed as governor or inspector-designate over territory which was still in enemy hands (in 372 most, if not all, of Lo-lang would still have been occupied by Koguryō). The main objection to this interpretation is that it strains Chinese grammar considerably to understand 太守 after Lo-lang, and there is no room for these characters to have been written after 'Lo-lang' in the original.

The original excavator of the tomb, Dr Chhae, suggested that 旧 might possibly be 旧. 旧 is a well-known abbreviation for 舊 'old', or 'former'; there are very few instances of this abbreviation being used in inscriptions, but, as has been noticed, the Tung Shou inscription was clearly written rather carelessly, perhaps by an unpractised hand. If 旧 represents 舊, the two lines must either be translated 'Governor of Lo-lang, formerly governor of Ch'ang-li, Hsüan-t'u and Tai-fang', or 'Governor of Lo-lang, and of the former commanderies of Ch'ang-li, Hsüan-t'u and Tai-fang'. The first alternative seems so unusual as to be unlikely. Why should the list of Tung Shou's titles end with three previously held governorships, since apparently all the other titles were held by him at the moment of his death (cf. 'died in office')? The three governorships would scarcely represent his entire previous official career, or even the high points of it. The second alternative seems preferable, and corresponds with what appear to have been the political realities of the day. The three districts named in line four had, in fact, ceased to be Chinese commanderies, the administrative centres of all three being occupied, as already shown, by the non-Chinese states of Korea and south-western Manchuria. However, it must be admitted that neither of these interpretations, which depend on taking 旧=旧=舊, gives a really satisfactory sentence structure.

Finally, the abbreviation 旧 may also stand for 與 or 暨, both meaning 'and'. The main objection to translating the passage in this way is that it would be extremely unusual to insert 'and' between the first and second terms in a list of place names, particularly in a short funerary inscription. Moreover, this interpretation suffers from one difficulty that also affects the preceding interpretation: it is impossible to be sure that the character 旧=旧 since 旧 is otherwise unknown.

From the point of view of historical probability it may be said that, whereas Tung Shou's claims to authority in Ch'ang-li and Hsüan-t'u were almost certainly without any factual basis, there is little doubt that he did control Lo-lang itself (as suggested by the Tung Li tile) and northern Tai-fang. This is shown not merely by the omission of any mention of the contemporary rulers of Koguryō or Yen in the inscription, but also by the bare fact that Tung Shou was able to have such a considerable tomb built for himself, and to command the services of painters to decorate its interior. The grandiose military titles which he claimed undoubtedly suggest an inflated idea of his power, but the large mural on the wall of the gallery, which shows him riding in his carriage of state surrounded by

almost a hundred attendants, including 13 armed foot-soldiers, 7 bowmen, and 8 armed knights riding armoured horses, is probably not very much of an exaggeration. If we have interpreted both the tomb and the inscription correctly, then Tung Shou will at least have been powerful enough to prevent his former patron, King Soe of Koguryō, from taking over Lo-lang. Judging from the mural, the forces at Tung Shou's disposal will have been a motley collection reflecting his eventful career, and will have included both Lo-lang and even Liao-tung Chinese, and northerners—the armoured knights may be either Hsien-pei or Koguryō cavalry. This in itself may suggest a reason for the collapse after Tung Shou's death of the semi-independent régime which he had evidently built up in Lo-lang, for although Tung Shou was strong enough to check the course of Koguryō's southward expansion during his lifetime—even after the king of Koguryō had made his peace with Yen—within less than a decade of his death, Koguryō had overrun Lo-lang, and had begun its long struggle with the state of Paekche immediately to the south.

#### FURTHER READING

For the study of the Tung Shou tomb itself, the most important sources are the North Korean report, *Anak Che Samhobun Palgul Pogo* 안악제삼호분발굴 丘 塚 (Yujok palgul pogo, Vol. 3; Kwahakwŏn Ch'ulp'ansa, P'yŏng-yang, 1958), and the lengthy article by Chhae Pyeong-seo 蔡秉瑞, the original excavator, entitled 'Anak-kūnban pyŏkhwa kobunpalgul surok' 安岳近傍壁畫古墳發掘手錄 in *Asea Yon'gu* 亞細亞研究, Vol. II, No. 2, Dec. 1959, pp. 109-130. Dr Ch'hae's article is accompanied by an English résumé, and the North Korean report by Chinese and Russian résumés: both the report and the article are well illustrated.

For the inscribed bricks or tiles, see Umehara Sueiji, 'Rakurō-Taihō-gun jidai kinen meisen shuroku' 樂浪帶方郡時代紀年銘磚集錄 in *Koseki chōsa hōkoku*, No. 1, Vol. 1, Keijō, 1932, and 'Chōsen Hokubu shutsudo kinen sen shūroku' 朝鮮北部出土紀年磚集錄, *Shinagaku*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1933-5.

The interpretation of the tomb has been the subject of a number of studies, some of which are listed in Yi Chin-hui's article 'Kaiho-go Chōsen &c.' (see Further Reading for Chapter 3). See also Hsü-pai hsien-sheng 宿白先生 'Ch'ao-hsien An-yo suo fa hsien-de Tung Shou mo' 朝鮮安岳所發現的修壽墓 in *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao-tzu-liao* 文物參考資料 (1952, No. 1), also Hung Ch'ing-yü 洪晴玉 'Kuan-yü Tung Shou mo-ti fa hsien ho yen-chiu' 關於修壽墓的發現和研究 in *K'ao-ku*, 1959, No. 1. The fullest discussion of the Tung Shou tomb is probably T. Okazaki's 'Angaku dai-sango fun (Tō-ju-bo) no kenkyū' 安岳第三號墳(修壽墓)の研究 in *Shi-en* 史淵, No. 93 (July 1964). Dr Okazaki makes a comparison between the construction of the Tung Shou tomb and that of similar

Chinese tombs in Liao-yang belonging to the Three Kingdoms and Western Chin periods; the article is illustrated and provided with a very full bibliography.

The titles claimed by Tung Shou should be compared with similar claims made by contending generals in China itself at the same period. See S. Ōchi, 'Shin-dai no Totoku' 晋代の都督 in *Tōhōgaku*, No. 15, December 1957.

## Appendix II

# The Sources for Early Korean History

Primary sources for the history of the period discussed in the foregoing pages fall broadly into four categories, which may for convenience be labelled as Chinese sources, Japanese sources, Korean sources and, standing somewhat apart, inscriptional material.

### *Inscriptions*

Of these four, clearly the nearest in time to the period to which they relate are the inscriptions. Unfortunately, these contain only an extremely limited amount of information. To the entire period covered by this monograph, only four inscriptions of importance can be assigned. These are the Nien-ch'an stele of 85 A.D. (see above, p. 21); the extremely fragmentary inscription of Kuan-ch'iu Chien, dating from 245 (see pp. 26 and 34); the tomb inscription of Tung Shou, fully discussed in Appendix I, and dating from the year 357; and the stele of King Kwanggaet'o, erected in memory of this king by his grandson and successor, in 414 A.D. None of the first three inscriptions contains more than 60 characters, whereas the last-mentioned is a lengthy text of well over 1,500 legible characters, which not only gives a summary of the events of the reign of King Kwanggaet'o (391-412) but also a version of the legend of the origin of Koguryō which may be compared with that found in various Chinese sources.

### *Shih-chi, Han-shu, and Lün-heng*

Next in importance to the inscriptions are the Chinese sources. These consist mainly of references to Korea in the Chinese dynastic histories. As already indicated (p. 3), the earliest of all accounts of Korea is the chapter on the state of Ch'ao-hsien in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi* 史記 (Chapter 115), written at the beginning of the first century B.C. The next Chinese historical work to discuss Korea is the *Han-shu* 漢書, or History of the [Former] Han Dynasty, written by Pan Ku 班固, at the end of the first century A.D. Although almost two centuries separated his work from that of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, Pan Ku was content to incorporate Ssü-ma Ch'ien's account of Ch'ao-hsien almost word for word into the *Han-shu*, and the only additional information he provides come from a

few entries in the Annals part of the history, a description of the revolt of the Kao-kou-li tribes in 12 A.D. in the Biography of Wang Mang, and a section on the Korean commanderies in the chapters dealing with administrative geography. Another Chinese writer of the first century A.D., Wang Ch'ung 王充, gives the earliest version of the origin-legend of Fuyü in his philosophical work, the *Lun-heng* 論衡 (see p. 29 and Further Reading for Chapter 3).

*Wei-lüeh, San-kuo-chih, and Hou-Han-shu*

Shortly after the middle of the third century A.D. another Chinese history was composed which seems to have contained a section treating Korean affairs in some detail. Unfortunately the text of this work—the *Wei-lüeh* 魏略—has only survived in the form of quotations appended to the text of another Chinese history, the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志, by the commentator P'ei Sung-chih 裴松之 in the early fifth century. Probably the author of the *Wei-lüeh*—generally assumed to have been a certain Yü Huan 魚豢—derived his information about Korea from reports brought back by the Kuan-ch'iu Chien expedition of the years 244/45. The *San-kuo-chih* itself was written by a former official of Shu, Ch'en Shou 陳壽, in the closing decades of the third century, and in Chapter 30 it contains the fullest of all early Chinese accounts of Korean tribes and their customs. The *San-kuo-chih* also contains information on Korea in Chapter 8—the account of the Kung-sun warlords—and the biography of Kuan-ch'iu Chien in Chapter 28.

Although dealing with an earlier period, the next Chinese dynastic history, the *Hou-Han-shu* 後漢書, or History of the Later Han Dynasty, by Fan Yeh 范曄, was not compiled until early in the fifth century. Most of the information on Korea in this work is contained in the section dealing with 'Eastern Barbarians' 東夷 (Chapter 85), much of which duplicates material from the *San-kuo-chih*. However, it is clear that Fan Yeh must have utilised other earlier sources dealing with the 'international relations' of various Korean and southern Manchurian tribes, since his work contains statements which supplement or, on occasions, contradict the account given in the *San-kuo-chih*. Thus whereas Ch'en Shou knew of only two kings of Koguryō in the second century, Kung 宮, and Paekko 伯固, whom he makes Kung's son and successor, the *Hou-Han-shu* mentions a king in between these two—Su-sōng 遂成—whom Fan Yeh makes the son of Kung and the father of Paekko. In view of the length of time involved, the *Hou-Han-shu*'s scheme seems intrinsically more probable, and moreover the existence of Su-sōng is confirmed by the twelfth-century Korean history, the *Samguk-sagi*, which relates a number of stories about him, although it commits the error of making Kung, Su-sōng, and Paekko into three brothers! This is particularly striking in view of the fact that most later Chinese histories ignore Su-sōng and follow the *San-kuo-chih* in making Paekko the son of Kung.



It is difficult to do more than guess at the source of Fan Yeh's additional information on Korean affairs. Much of his history seems to have been based upon records dating from the Later Han dynasty itself, the so-called *Tung-kuan Han-chi* 東觀漢記 which was composed at intervals throughout the Later Han period. None of the surviving fragments of the *Tung-kuan Han-chi* deal with Korean affairs, however, nor is there any record of a chapter dealing with 'The Eastern Barbarians' having been composed in Han times. There are, on the other hand, fragments of more than a dozen lost histories of the Later Han period dating from the second, third or fourth centuries, and Fan Yeh may well have derived his information on Korea from one of these works. The chapters on administrative geography in the present *Hou-Han-shu* (which, like those of the *Han-shu*, include a section on the Korean commanderies) are taken from one of these lost histories, the *Hsü-Han-shu* 續漢書 of Ssü-ma Piao 司馬彪 (240-306).

### *Chin-shu and Other Histories; the Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien*

The *San-kuo-chih* unfortunately includes no monographs, and thus no section on administrative geography. The administrative geography of the Korean commanderies on the eve of their extinction is, however, treated in the relevant monograph of the *Chin-shu* 晉書, a history composed by a board of historians early in the T'ang dynasty. Like Fan Yeh's *Hou-Han-shu*, the existing *Chin-shu* drew heavily on numerous earlier histories of the Chin period (265-420) which have since disappeared, the geographical monograph apparently depending for the most part upon a survey carried out in the year 282, the so-called *T'ai-k'ang-san-nien-ti-chi* 泰康三年地記. (Fragments of this work still exist; it has suffered from being confused with a somewhat later population survey, the *Yüan-k'ang-liu-nien-hu-k'ou-pu-chi* 元康六年戶口簿記, now lost.)

In *Chin-shu* (Chapter 97), which deals with the surrounding peoples, there is a short section concerning the Korean tribes. However, like most of the material in the monographs of the *Chin-shu*, this account refers predominantly to conditions before the collapse of Western Chin early in the fourth century, and it lacks any reference to the important Korean state of Koguryō, presumably because during the Western Chin period this kingdom had temporarily dwindled into insignificance (see pp. 34 and 39).

In addition to the various lost histories of the Chin dynasty—of which there were at least nineteen by the end of the sixth century—there existed at one time a number of chronicles and other historical works written at the courts of the various 'barbarian' states which occupied northern China in the fourth and early fifth centuries. Several of these states—particularly Later Chao 後趙 (319-350), Former Yen 前燕 (late third century to 370), and Former Ch'in 前秦 (350-394)—had military or diplomatic relations with Koguryō and other Korean kingdoms, and histories such as the *Chao-shu* 趙書 in ten chapters by T'ien Jung 田融 of

Former Yen, the *Erh-Shih-chuan* 二石傳 in two chapters by Wang Tu 王度 of Chin, the various histories of Yen such as the *Yen-chi* 燕紀 in twelve chapters written under Former Yen by Tu Fu 杜輔, the *Yen-shu* 燕書 in thirty chapters composed about 386 under Later Yen by Tung T'ung 董統, the *Yen-shu* 燕書 of Fan Heng 范亨 written somewhat later in twenty chapters; or the *Ch'in-shu* 秦書 of Ch'e P'in 車頻 written after the collapse of Ch'in state in the years 384-394—many of these works will have contained valuable information on Korean affairs. Unfortunately all these books have now perished except for a few quotations preserved in T'ang and later encyclopaedias—the quotation from Ch'e P'in's *Ch'in-shu* preserved in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽 and translated at the end of Chapter IV above is an example. Most of these books will have been utilised by the compilers of the *Chin-shu* in the various Tsai-chi 載記 sections dealing with the 'barbarian' states (*Chin-shu*, Chapters 101-30). Several of them—Fan Heng's book is an example—survived into the Sung period and are known to have been used in the eleventh century by Ssü-ma Kuang 司馬光 in the compilation of the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 (see p. 39). Fortunately Ssü-ma Kuang composed a commentary—*K'ao-yi* 考異—to his own work, explaining which of a number of variant sources for an event he had followed. Thus the *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien*, in spite of its late date, can be regarded as a primary source for such important events as Chang T'ung's migration in 313.

### *Wei-shu*

In a rather different category comes the *Wei-shu* 魏書, the dynastic history of the T'o-pa Wei, composed by a former Wei official, Wei Shou 魏收 in the years 551-554, only a few years after the collapse of that dynasty. This book also contains a lengthy chapter dealing with the states of Koguryō, Paekche and various tribes in Manchuria (Chapter 100). It is noteworthy as giving the most detailed account of the Koguryō origin legend and the earliest kings of Koguryō, an account which may be compared with that which begins the Kwanggaet'o inscription. The *Wei-shu* should be distinguished from the first thirty chapters of the *San-kuo-chih*, which also bears the sub-title *Wei-shu*, and also from a lost history of the Ts'ao Wei dynasty which ruled north China from 220-265. The latter, also entitled *Wei-shu*, survives only in the form of quotations in P'ei Sung-chih's notes to the *San-kuo-chih*.

### *The Beginnings of History-writing in Korea and Japan: the Kudara-ki and Nihon-shoki*

The principal authority for the beginnings of historical composition within Korea is the twelfth century *Samguk-sagi*. Of the *Samguk-sagi* itself, more must be said later. For the moment it is enough to note that it states, in connection with

Koguryŏ, that 'In the beginning of the country, when characters were first used, there was a man who recorded events in one hundred chapters. This was called the *Yugi* 留記.' Although the fact that no book of this title has survived makes it difficult to pass any judgment on the *Samguk-sagi*'s statement, the round figure of 'one hundred chapters' composed 'when characters were first used' 國初始有文字 hardly invites belief. Moreover, according to the *Samguk-sagi* itself, the ancient records of Koguryŏ were re-edited in the year 600 to form the 'New Collection'—*Sin-jip* 新集—in only five chapters. It is clear that historical records of some sort must have been kept in Koguryŏ before 600, and indeed before the erection of the Kwanggaet'o stele in 414. There seems, however, no reason to believe that such records were being kept before the eclipse of Koguryŏ in the latter part of the third century. In this, as in various other aspects of Chinese culture taken over by the peoples of Korea and Japan, such as the use of reign-titles or Chinese-style Mahayana Buddhism, the process of sinicisation seems to have stepped up during the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Chinese came no longer as conquerors and rulers, but as refugees and court advisers to local non-Chinese rulers.

Histories were also composed in the other Korean states. As already seen, Silla tended to lag behind Koguryŏ and Paekche in the process of sinicisation, and it was not until 545 that the first history of Silla was commissioned by King Chinhŭng 眞興王. In the case of Paekche, the *Samguk-sagi* notes, immediately after recording the death of King [Kŭn]ch'ogo in 375, 'An old record 古記 says that, from the time of the foundation of Paekche, there were no written records until this point, when they obtained the scholar Ko Hŭng 高興, and this was the beginning of their having books and records. But Ko Hŭng is not mentioned in any other book, nor is it known who he was' (see p. 45). The *Wei-shu* mentions two men with the surname Kao (Ko) who fled to Koguryŏ during the disorders in China at the beginning of the fourth century; if Ko Hŭng really existed—and the terms in which the *Samguk-sagi* mentions him seem to suggest the recalling of an almost forgotten piece of information—then he was almost certainly a Chinese, and probably went over to the king of Paekche after the final collapse of Chinese rule in Lo-lang and Tai-fang after the middle of the fourth century.

In view of the *Samguk-sagi*'s dating of Ko Hŭng's activity as a historian to the year of [Kŭn]ch'ogo's death, it is particularly significant that [Kŭn]ch'ogo is the first certainly historical ruler of Paekche, and that it is in connection with his reign that the Japanese history, the *Nihon-shoki* 日本書紀 (completed in 720) first quotes the so-called *Kudara-ki* 百濟記 or Paekche Record. A linguistic analysis by the Japanese scholar Kinoshita Reiji of the surviving fragments of the *Kudara-ki* suggests a date of composition for this chronicle not later than the end of the sixth century A.D. The *Kudara-ki* seems to have been composed specifically for a Japanese audience, on the basis of native Paekche records; one might thus have expected its author to push back the beginning of relations be-

tween his country and Japan to a remote period. The fact that it ascribes the first embassy from Paekche to Japan to the reign of King [Kŭn]ch'ogo suggests that reliable records in Paekche extended no further back than this, and thus tends to confirm the *Samguk-sagi*'s record about Ko Hŭng.

To sum up: recorded history in Koguryŏ probably went back to the fourth century; however, it is not clear how far these records, or others based upon them, were available to Kim Pu-sik 金富軾, the author of the *Samguk-sagi*, in the twelfth century. Recorded history in Silla went back no further than the sixth century. Recorded history in Paekche seems to have gone back as far as the mid-fourth century, and such records, or records based upon them, were before the Japanese compilers of the *Nihon-shoki* early in the eighth century. Thus, allowance being made for the well-known 120-year or two-cycle dislocation of dates in several of its early chapters, the *Nihon-shoki* may be regarded as a fairly reliable source for the history of Paekche and the Japanese colony of Mimana from 364 onwards.

*Samguk-sagi, Haedong kosŭng-jŏn, and Samguk-yusa*

Kim Pu-sik, a Koryŏ dynasty statesman and Confucian scholar, completed the *Samguk-sagi* in 1145. His work purports to give the history of the three kingdoms of Silla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche from their foundation, which means from 57 B.C. in the case of Silla, 37 B.C. in the case of Koguryŏ, and 18 B.C. for Paekche. Although the *Samguk-sagi*, like the *Tzŭ-chih-t'ung-chien*, was undoubtedly based upon earlier works which have now disappeared, it differs from the *Tzŭ-chih-t'ung-chien* in that Kim Pu-sik seldom names his sources, and when he does so—for example, he is known to have used a book called *Haedong-kogi* 海東古記 for the early history of Koguryŏ—it generally turns out to be a work which cannot itself be dated. Moreover, as already seen, there are grounds for doubting that any historical records were kept in Korea prior to the fourth century, which inevitably invalidates Kim Pu-sik's entire chronology for this period.

Much of Kim Pu-sik's account of the first three and a half centuries of the three states is taken up by material which has been copied out of the Chinese dynastic histories. Some of this is information specifically dealing with Korea, but records of eclipses and other astronomical phenomena are also taken over and inserted into the *Samguk-sagi*—apparently to help to fill up an otherwise blank series of years. (Thus in the annals of Silla, Kim Pu-sik records the occurrence of an eclipse at a date corresponding to 23 August, 34 B.C. The record is derived from Pan Ku's *Han-shu*—in fact there was no eclipse anywhere on that date!)

Apart from the Chinese material, Kim Pu-sik's record of the early centuries of the three kingdoms consists mostly of supernatural events, names of ministers, and stories which may well have some historical basis, but which have clearly

been misplaced in time. Thus a whole series of entries which refer to fighting between Silla and Paekche can only be applicable to the period after *ca.* 300 A.D. Interestingly enough, the coverage given to the three kingdoms is very unequal: the first two chapters of the annals of Silla cover a period of 413 years; the first two chapters of the annals of Paekche take in a time-span only ten years shorter than this, but the first two chapters dealing with Koguryō include the events of only 90 years. It would be rash to jump to the conclusion that more historical material existed for early Koguryō; a glance at Kim Pu-sik's account is enough to show that it consists mostly of heroic legends and fables which have somehow been fitted into a chronological framework. Most of these were probably available to Kim Pu-sik in the form of an early 'literary' version of stories originating in oral tradition. The story of Prince Yōn-u and the Queen (see pp. 32-3) probably belongs to this category; a better example is the following anecdote from the first chapter of the annals of Koguryō, where it is appended to the third year of King Yurimyōng 瑠璃明王 (17 B.C.):

In the third year, in the autumn, in the seventh month, the residential palace at Kol-ch'ōn 鶻川 ('Falcon River'), was built.

In the winter, in the tenth month, the Queen, Song-yang's daughter, died. The King took two wives in her stead so that the royal line might continue. One was called Hwahui 禾姬 ('Rice Wife'), the daughter of a man of Kol-ch'ōn, and the other was called Ch'ihui 雉姬 ('Pheasant Wife'), the daughter of a Chinese. The two wives competed for favour and quarrelled so that the King built two palaces, one on the east and one on the west side of Yang-gok 涼谷 ('Yang Valley'), and set one wife in each.

Later the King went to hunt on Mount Ki 箕山, and stayed away for seven days. The two women disputed with each other, and Hwahui swore at Ch'ihui, saying, 'You're just a maid-in-waiting from China; how can you be so ill-mannered?' Ch'ihui, full of shame, ran off to her former home.

Hearing what had happened, the King whipped his horse and hurried after her, but Ch'ihui was upset and would not come back. Standing downcast under a tree, the King saw yellow birds flying about in flocks. He was moved and made this song:

'Flutter and flutter, yellow birds,  
Cock and hen close to each other.  
But I remember my own loneliness—  
Who will return with me?

This little story centres round a song rather like some of the anecdotes in the earlier part of the *Nihon-shoki*; there is clearly no point in trying to search for historical information in such material. Much of the first five chapters of the annals of Koguryō in the *Samguk-sagi* is taken up with similar stories, the last being the adventures of Prince Ŭl-bul before becoming king of Koguryō in 300 (see p. 39). Similar material, though not so abundant, is to be found in the first chapter of the annals of Paekche, and the first chapter of those of Silla.

Thus those parts of the *Samguk-sagi* which relate to the period before the introduction of Buddhism must be regarded at best as collections of folklore. Much the same can be said for the other two Korean 'histories' mentioned above. The *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn* 海東高僧傳, composed in 1215, consists of a series of brief accounts of early Korean Buddhist monks, beginning with Sundo who is supposed to have introduced Buddhism into Koguryŏ in 372. As it exists today, this work consists of only two chapters; probably some of the text is missing. The *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn* is modelled on the Chinese *Kao-seng-chuan* 高僧傳 composed in the sixth century. Being concerned only with the period from the late fourth century onwards, it contains a smaller proportion of folklore than the *Samguk-sagi*, although it does not lack those touches of the miraculous usually associated with hagiography.

The *Samguk-yusa* 三國遺事 was also written by a Buddhist monk, Il-yŏn 一然, and completed less than a century after the *Haedong kosŭng-jŏn*. It begins with a chronological table which is considerably more complete—and, for later periods, more reliable—than that in the *Samguk-sagi* (for the earliest period it adds little to the *Samguk-sagi* except variants of some of the royal names and the series of kings of Karak). This is followed by a long section entitled 'Records of Marvels'; it is here that the Tan-gun story can be found. This story is followed by a garbled explanation of certain terms from early Korean history—the commandery of Lo-lang is metamorphosed into a kingdom—and by legends relating to various early kings of Silla and the founding of Koguryŏ. Then comes the story of Buddhism in Korea, beginning again with Sundo. At the end of its section on the kings of Silla, the *Samguk-yusa* includes a synopsis of an earlier chronicle, the *Karak-kukki* 駕洛國記, written in 1076, and consisting mainly of an elaborate version of the foundation-legend on the principality of Karak 駕洛 in southern Korea (again pushed back, this time to 42 A.D., the first king being given a reign of 157 years!)

All these late chronicles suffer from the disadvantages of the *Samguk-sagi*—although undoubtedly based on earlier written sources, they seldom cite them by name (the phrase 'An old record says' continually recurs), and thus for the earlier period of Korean history it is difficult to regard them as anything other than repositories of late and often distorted traditions.

In the following table I have attempted to summarise the main sources for the early history of Korea, century by century:

Before the

2nd century B.C.:	archaeological sources
	<i>Wei-lŭeh</i> (traditional? 3rd century A.D.)
	<i>Samguk-yusa</i> (traditional; 13th century A.D.)
2nd century B.C.:	<i>Shih-chi</i> (written at the end of this century)

- 1st century B.C.: *Han-shu* (written late in 1st century A.D.)  
*Samguk-sagi* (traditional; 12th century A.D.)  
*Samguk-yusa*
- 1st century A.D.: *Han-shu*  
*Wei-lüeh*  
*San-kuo-chih* (3rd century A.D.)  
*Wei-shu* (6th century A.D.)  
*Hou-Han-shu* (see pp. 61-2)  
Nien-ch'an stele (85 A.D.)  
*Samguk-sagi*  
*Samguk-yusa* (including *Karak-kukki* of 11th century)
- 2nd century A.D.: *Hou-Han-shu*  
*San-kuo-chih*  
*Samguk-sagi*  
*Samguk-yusa*
- 3rd century A.D.: *San-kuo-chih*  
*Wei-lüeh*  
*Chin-shu* (see above)  
*Samguk-sagi*  
*Samguk-yusa*  
Kuan-ch'iu Chien stele (245)
- 4th century A.D.: *Tzū-chih-t'ung-chien* (see above)  
*Chin-shu*  
*Wei-shu*  
*Nihon-shoki* (eighth century) based upon *Kukara-ki*  
(fifth century)  
*Haedong Kosŭng-jŏn* (13th century)  
Kwanggaet'o stele (414)  
*Samguk-sagi*  
*Samguk-yusa*  
Tung Shou tomb inscription (357)

## Appendix III

# Principal Dates in Korea's Early History

<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Historical</i>
2333 B.C.: Accession of Tan-gun	
1122-ca. 195 B.C.: Ki-ja Dynasty	4th-late 3rd century B.C.: influence of Yen state in northern Korea 221-206 B.C.: Ch'in dynasty unites China, replaces Yen as an influence in Korea
195-109 B.C.: Wei Man dynasty in P'yŏng-yang	195 B.C.: Wei Man founds Chosŏn kingdom in northern Korea
195 B.C.-9 A.D.: Ki-jun dynasty in Ma-han	108 B.C.: Chinese conquest of Chosŏn. Four commanderies set up: Lo-lang, Hsüan-t'u, Chen-fan and Lin-t'un 82 B.C.: Chen-fan abandoned 75 B.C.: Lin-t'un merged with a reorganised Hsüan-t'u and Lo-lang
57 B.C.: <i>Samguk-sagi's</i> date for the foundation of Silla	
37 B.C.: <i>Samguk-sagi's</i> date for the foundation of Koguryŏ	
18 B.C.: <i>Samguk-sagi's</i> date for the foundation of Paekche	
	9-23 A.D.: Usurpation of Wang Mang in China. Chinese colonies in Korea raided by the surrounding tribes
	12 A.D.: Revolt of Kao-kou-li tribes against Wang Mang
	25-30: Warlord Wang Tiao controls Lo-lang
	30: Later Han dynasty recovers Lo-lang, abandoning eastern Korea
	33: First embassy from the king of Kao-kou-li (Koguryŏ) to China



## Traditional

## Historical

42 A.D.: *Karak-kukki*'s date  
for foundation of Karak.  
First king, Küm So-ro,  
reigns 42-199

By the middle of this century, Koguryō had  
begun to control the Okchō tribes

*Samguk-sagi*'s dates for Kung  
of Koguryō: 53-146

85: Nien-ch'an stele. Prosperity of Lo-lang.  
*ca.* 100-122: reign of King Kung of Koguryō,  
and wars with China

122-*ca.* 132: reign of King Su-sōng: decline of  
Koguryō and re-establishment of Chinese  
control.

*ca.* 132-after 190: reign of King Paekko in  
Koguryō

*Samguk-sagi*'s dates for  
Su-sōng: 146-165

*Samguk-sagi*'s dates for  
Paekko: 165-179

190-204: Kung-sun Tu warlord of Liao-tung.  
Collapse of Later Han Dynasty. Chinese  
colonies in Korea raided by surrounding  
tribes.

204-*ca.* 220: Kung-sun K'ang rules Liao-tung,  
restores Chinese control in Korea and  
establishes Tai-fang commandery

*ca.* 210: Civil war in Koguryō, invasion by  
Kung-sun K'ang and defeat of King Iimo.  
Capital of Koguryō moved to Hwando

*ca.* 220-228: Kung-sun Kung warlord of Liao-  
tung and Lo-lang

*Samguk-sagi*'s dates for Uwigu  
(=Wi-gung): 227-248

228-238: Kung-sun Yüan warlord of Liao-tung  
and Lo-lang. Hostilities with Koguryō.

238: Wei dynasty general Ssü-ma I reconquers  
Liao-tung and Lo-lang with help of King  
Wi-gung of Koguryō

244/45: Invasion of Koguryō by Wei general  
Kuan-ch'iu Chien and first sack of Hwando.  
Chinese power re-established in Korea, and  
Koguryō fades into insignificance. Mu-jung  
Hsien-peï, who take part in the expedition as  
Chinese allies, resettled to the north of  
Liao-tung

276-291: Embassies to Chin court from tribes  
of Korea, Manchuria, and Japan

## Traditional

## Historical

- 285: Mujung Hui, ruler of Mujung Hsien-peï, devastates Fuyü in Manchuria. Fuyü refugees escape to Okchö in north-eastern Korea. Their descendants found the kingdom of Paekche in south-western Korea.
- Samguk-sagi's* dates for King 300-306: Eight Princes Wars in China. Collapse  
 Ül-bul of Koguryö: 300-331 of Western Chin dynasty.
- 313: Hard pressed by Ül-bul of Koguryö, Chang T'ung of Lo-lang goes over to Mujung Hui along with his followers
- 319: Koguryö takes part in an abortive alliance against Mujung Hui
- 330: Koguryö sends envoys to Shih Lo of Later Chao, Mujung Hui's enemy
- 333: Death of Mujung Hui. Civil war amongst his sons.
- 336: Mujung Huang reconquers Liao-tung and unites Mujung domains. Tung Shou escapes to Koguryö.
- 342/43: Second sack of Hwando by Mujung Huang's armies. Tung Shou independent in Lo-lang? Koguryö sends hostages to Mujung.
- 355 onwards: Peace with Mujung. Koguryö free to expand southwards.
- 357: Death of Tung Shou. Koguryö conquest of Lo-lang?
- 367: First Paekche mission to Yamato. Silla a dependency of Koguryö by this time?
- 369: Yamato invasion of Korea. Mimana colony founded.
- Paekche defeats Koguryö invasion.
- 370: Mujung Yen conquered by armies of Fu Chien's Former Ch'in state
- 371: King Soe of Koguryö killed by Paekche
- 372: Paekche mission to Eastern Chin court. Fu Chien sends monk Sundo to preach Buddhism in Koguryö
- 377: Silla and Koguryö send envoys to Fu Chien's court
- 384: First Buddhist missionaries in Paekche, from Eastern Chin. Collapse of Fu Chien's Former Ch'in state.

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