


The Name “Haedong Samguk”
海東三國 (Three Kingdoms East of the Sea)
as Recorded in Traditional
Chinese Historical Documents

Kim Jung Bae, President, Koguryo Research Foundation

Journal of Inner and East Asian Studies volume1

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The name "Samguk" (Three Kingdoms) in Korean history refers to Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla. Chinese historical documents often recorded the Korean Three Kingdoms collectively as the "Three Kingdoms East of the Sea" (Haedong Samguk or Haidong sango). The term "Haedong," signifying the eastern region of the Bohai Sea, was used extensively during the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla periods. An eminent Silla monk Wōnhyo was also known as the "Dharma Master from East of the Sea" (Haedong pōpsa), and his commentary on *the Awakening of Faith in Mahayana* was known simply as the "Korean Commentary." Chinese standard histories such as the *Jiu Tangshu* and the *Xin Tangshu* recorded Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla as the "Three Kingdoms East of the Sea" (Haedong Samguk), and such use of the name is evidence that the Chinese states recognized the independent and separate status of the Three Kingdoms. The state of Parhae naturally became known as the "Flourishing State East of the Sea" (Haedong sōngguk or Haidong shengguo), and by the 11th century, when the *Samguk sagi* was compiled, Koguryō had already been firmly incorporated into Korean history. The term "Haedong samguk" (East of the Sea) was synonymous with Korea in traditional Chinese historiography, and the history of Koguryō has always been an integral part of Korean history.

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Introduction

The name “Samguk” 三國 (Three Kingdoms) in Korean history refers to Koguryō 高句麗, Paekche 百濟, and Silla 新羅, and the “Samguk sidae” 三國時代 (period of the Three Kingdoms) signifies the historical period when the Three Kingdoms struggled against each other for hegemony. However, the Chinese have recently been asserting that the history of Koguryō belongs to China, and if Koguryō is excluded from Korean history, then the concepts of “Three Kingdoms” and “period of the Three Kingdoms” lose their meaning. This in turn would signal the collapse of the epistemological basis of Korean history and destruction of all previous scholarly accomplishments in Korean historiography. Even Silla’s unification of the Three Kingdoms will lose its historical significance, if China is successful in taking Koguryō away from Korean history.

In this paper, I will examine the name “Haedong samguk” (Three Kingdoms of Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla) as it was recorded in the historical documents of Korea and China. The main objective is to find out how the contemporary Chinese perceived Korean states through investigation of the terms used by the traditional Chinese historical documents to describe the Korean kingdoms.

1. The Name “Haedong Samguk” in Chinese Historical Documents

Records describing premodern Korean Three Kingdoms can be found in early Chinese historical documents such as the “Chaoxian” 朝鮮傳 section in the grouped biographies of the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Historian). The Chinese states located in the Central Plains perceived themselves as distinct and separate from their neighboring states, and Chinese standard histories always placed the history of the Korean Three Kingdoms in the sections devoted to the accounts of foreign peoples. Thus, historians specializing on the period of the Three Kingdoms have utilized these sections in standard histories of China in addition to Korean history documents such as the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms), the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), and epigraphical materials.

It is necessary to pay special attention to how the name “Samguk” (Three Kingdoms) had been used in Chinese historical documents. First, the Korean Three Kingdoms shared common landed borders, and peace and conflict alternated among them. Located to the east of the Chinese states, they concentrated on expanding their territories. Second, there were more common elements than differences in cultural aspects such as language and Buddhist religion. Third, the composition of population of the Three Kingdoms was almost identical and made incorporation and integration of conquered people less of an obstacle after territorial expansion. Thus, when the Tang called collectively Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla as the Three Kingdoms, it had recognized that the Korean kingdoms were neighboring states separate from China.

The “Dongyizhuan” 東夷傳 (Eastern Barbarians) section of the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang) states:

It has been long times since the founding of the Three Kingdoms East of the Sea (Haedong Samguk, C. Haidong sangguo). They share borders, and their territories interweave like teeth of a dog. In recent times, hatred led to battles, and there had hardly been a peaceful year. Thereupon, the lives of the people of

Three Han have been gravely threatened and they repeatedly sought to exact revenge day and night. As the one who rules all things on behalf of the Heaven, I find the situation very distressing 至如海東三國 開基自久 並列疆界 地實犬牙 近代已來 遂構嫌隙 戰爭交起 略無寧歲 遂令三韓之氓 命懸刀俎 尋戈肆憤 朝夕相仍 朕代天理物 載深矜憐 (*Jiu Tangshu*, 199.5330).

The above is a part of Tang Gaozong’s 高宗 edict to King Ūija 義慈 of Paekche. It shows that the Tang used the expression “Haedong” to refer to Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla when the Tang emperor extorted the Three Kingdoms to maintain amicable relations. According to the edict, the Tang in 650 also counseled the Three Kingdoms to dissolve their old grudges and maintain friendly relations after Silla envoy Kim Pŏmmin 金法敏 petitioned the court. The expression “East of the Sea” had been inserted to illustrate the location of the Three Kingdoms in relation to the Tang more precisely. We will return to this point later in the article.

We can find a similar entry in the same section on Silla in the *Jiu Tangshu*:

The Gaozi had previously heard that the Three Kingdoms East of the Sea had long held grudges and fought against each other. As they are “tributary states,” they should be at peace with each other. [The emperor] asked the envoy how the grudge all began. [The envoy] answered, “Previously when Paekche attacked Koguryŏ, it asked for Silla’s help, but Silla instead mobilized its forces to defeat Paekche. Thereafter they had become enemies that attack each other. It all began when Silla captured and killed the king of Paekche” 高祖既聞海東三國舊結怨隙 遞相攻伐 以其俱爲蕃附 務在和睦 乃問其使爲怨所由 對曰 先是百濟往伐高麗 詣新羅請救 新羅發兵大破百濟國 因此爲怨 每相攻伐 新羅得百濟王殺之 怨由此始 (*Jiu Tangshu*, 199.5335).

There are two significant points in the name “Three Kingdoms East of the Sea” found in sections on Paekche and Silla of the *Jiu Tangshu*. First, even as the Tang recognized each of the Three Kingdoms as separate states, it still used a single term to describe the entire region. Second, by employing the directional term “East of the Sea” (Haedong or C. Haidong), the Tang

was trying to describe the region in a more precise way. Thus, the use of the terms the “Three Kingdoms” and “East of the Sea” as recorded in the *Jiu Tangshu* is a proof of the Tang’s declaration that the Three Kingdoms were completely separate from Chinese states.

The term “Three Kingdoms East of the Sea” also appears in the “Dongyi” biographical section of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang). The *Xin Tangshu*, compiled after 17 years of effort during the reign of Song Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1044-60), contains records taken from many contemporary Tang document and can be used to complement the *Jiu Tangshu*. The *Xin Tangshu* contains almost the same description related to the name “Three Kingdoms East of the Sea” (220.6199). Thus, both the *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu* described Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla as the “Three Kingdoms East of the Sea,” and this in turn suggests that the Tang historiographical writing and understanding of the Three Kingdoms were very accurate. There is an entry dealing with King Ŭija in the *Jiu Tangshu*:

[King] Ŭija was famous for his filial piety and fraternal feelings, and the people of the time called the king the Zeng[-zi] or Min[-zi] of the [land] East of the Sea 義慈事親以孝行聞 友于兄弟 時人號 海東曾閔 (*Jiu Tangshu*, 199.5331)

Moreover, the *Xin Tangshu* also described King Ŭija as the Zengzi of the [land] East of the Sea and employed the term “East of the Sea” in description of the Paekche king (*Xin Tangshu*, 220.6199). While the “East of the Sea” indicates direction and the “Three Kingdoms” indicates region, both terms in fact refer to the same place. King Ŭija’s nickname of the “Zengzi East of the Sea” 海東曾子 should properly be the “Zengzi of the Three Kingdoms East of the Sea,” 海東三國曾子 but since the “Haedong” and “Samguk” both signified the same thing, the term “Samguk” (Three Kingdoms) had been omitted. The “East of the Sea” not only indicated the Korean Three Kingdoms but also designated a larger region in the direction of the Three Kingdoms seen from the Chinese states. For example, the *Xin Tangshu* used the expression of “Haedong sŏngguk (C. Haidong shengguo)” 海東盛國 (Flourishing State East of the Sea) to describe the highly developed culture and political institution of the Parhae (C. Bohai) 渤海 state (*Xin*

Tangshu, 219.6182). The expression "East of the Sea" here carried similar meaning as in other cases examined above.

While there is no precise geographical boundary for the term "East of the Sea," the following historical records suggest general idea. The *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han) contains the following entry:

The state of Puyō (Fuyu) lies to the East of the Sea, a thousand *li* from the Hyondo (Xuantu) Commandary 夫餘國在海東 去玄兔千餘里 (*Hou Hanshu*, 1.77)

Current historical and archaeological research places Puyō kingdom in modern Jilin Province of China. If Puyō was located to the East of the Sea, then the "East of the Sea" must have designated the region around the Bohai Sea. The *Hou Hanshu* also recorded that Wang Jing 王景 "floated to East of the Sea and then ran to mountains of Nangnang (Lolang)" (*Hou Hanshu*, 76.2464), and the *Sanguozhi* (Record of the Three Kingdoms) contains two entries about Gongsun Du's 公孫度 base in the East of the Sea (*Sanguozhi*, 30.842, 845). Here the records all indicate that the "East of the Sea" was the region around the Bohai Sea.

The *Liangshu* (History of the Liang) recorded:

Since the Jin crossed the Yangtze River, the envoys who had crossed the sea from the East of the Sea included those from Koguryō and Paekche 自晉過江 泛海東使 有高句麗百濟 (*Liangshu* 梁書, 54.801).

The above entry explicitly connects the term "East of the Sea" to the states of Koguryō and Paekche. The *Liangshu*, compiled from 629 to 636 during the reign of Tang Taizong 太宗, predates the *Jiu Tangshu* by 300 years and *Xin Tangshu* by 400 years.

When Tang Gaozong called Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla collectively as the "Three Kingdoms East of the Sea," it signified that the Three Kingdoms did not collect and pay taxes to the Chinese court. They were called the "Three Kingdoms East of the Sea" precisely because they were politically independent. Moreover, the name also signified that the Three Kingdoms

formed a community of shared language, customs, and people.

The meaning of the name “Haedong samguk” remained the unchanged from the *Liangshu* of the 7th century to the *Jiu Tangshu* of the 10th century and to the *Xin Tangshu* of the 11th century. The Chinese understanding of the name “Haedong samguk” began early, and the historical documents show the process by which the name “Haedong samguk” had come to signify the Korean kingdoms. Because the “Samguk 三國” (Three Kingdoms) in Korea was equivalent to the “Haidong Sangguo 海東三國” in China, and the term “Haedong” (C. Haidong) logically became one of the expressions for the Korean states.

2. The Name “Haedong Samguk” in Korean Historiography

Independence of the states of Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla is evident in their compilation of own state history. The *Samguk sagi* contains the following entries:

The king [of Koguryō] ordered Yi Munjin, an Erudite of the National University, to compile the *Sinjip* (New Collections) in five *kwōn* by abridging old historical documents. In the early days of the state when the [Chinese] scripts were first used, someone had recorded matters in 100 *kwōn* and called it the *Yugi* (Preserved Records). Now that work has been revised 詔大學博士李文真約古史爲新集五卷國初始用文字時有人記事一百卷名曰留記至是刪修 (*Samguk sagi*, 20:2a7-9).

The *Kogi* (Old Records) states, “Since the founding of Paekche, historical events were not recorded. Only now the Erudite Ko Hūng has written a chronicle. However, as we have no other record of Ko in other writings, we know nothing about him 古記云百濟開國已來未有以文字記事至是得博士高興始有書記然高興未嘗顯於他書不知其何許人也 (*Samguk sagi*, 24:9a5-7).

Ich’an Isabu memorialized the king: “The *Kuksa* (National history) records virtue and vice of kings and ministers to transmit to ten thousand generations. If we do not compile history, what will the future generations read?” The king

was moved to order Tae-ach'an Kōch'ilbu to gather scholars and compile history 伊滄異斯夫 奏曰“國史者 記君臣之善惡 示褒貶於萬代 不有修撰 後代何觀”王深然之 命大阿滄居柒夫等 廣集文士俾之修撰 (*Samguk sagi*, 4:6b1-3).

Unfortunately, the historical works mentioned above are no longer extant. In the case of Paekche, we can find in the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicle of Japan) three titles of Paekche history works, *Paekche ki* 百濟記 (Records of Paekche), *Paekche pon'gi* 百濟本紀 (Basic Annals of Paekche), and *Paekche sinch'an* 百濟新撰 (New Compilation of Paekche [History]). Scholars consider the *Paekche sinch'an* as the one that preserved the original form of Paekche historical documents (Yi Kūnu 1994, 269).

I have emphasized the fact that all Three Kingdoms compiled its own history because the compilation of national history was a state project of independent states. The Chinese states, including the cosmopolitan Tang Empire, have never systematically compiled separate histories for the Three Kingdoms comparable to the *Samguk sagi*. National identity is inseparable from historiography and history compilation. Organized historical writings on the Three Kingdoms have been produced by Korean states and Korean historians, and this signifies that Korean historical legitimacy have been constructed in Korea.

Korea's oldest extant history for the Three Kingdoms period is the *Samguk sagi* compiled by Kim Pusik (1075-1151) and others during the reign King Injong (1122-1146) of the Koryŏ period. The *Samguk sagi* represents the most basic source for the historical study of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla, and Koguryŏ was an important and integral part of the history of the Three Kingdoms when the *Samguk sagi* was compiled in the 12th century. It can be said that the compilation project of the *Samguk sagi* laid the foundation of Korean historiography, and we can gain further insights by looking into attitudes of the compilers in the “Chin *Samguk sagi* p'yo” 進三國史記表 (On Presenting the Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms to the King) that states:

In your leisure Your Majesty has read widely in histories of earlier ages and said: 'Of today' s scholars and high-ranking officials, there are those who are

well versed and can discuss in detail the Five Classics and other philosophical treatises as well as the histories of Qin and Han, but as to the events of our country, they are utterly ignorant from beginning to end. This is truly lamentable. Moreover, because Silla, Koguryō, and Paekche were able to have formal relations with China from their beginnings to the unification wars [660-668], they were discussed in the biographical sections of Fan Ye's 范曄 *History of the Later Han and Song Qi's* 宋祁 *History of the Tang*, but these books are detailed on internal Chinese affairs and terse about foreign matters and did not record everything of historical significance. As for the ancient records of the Three Kingdoms, the writing is unrefined, and the recording of historical events is deficient. Accordingly, they do not always expose whether the ruler is good or evil, the subjects are loyal or treasonous, the country is at peace or in crisis, the people are orderly or rebellious. To create a history that can serve as a guide, I ought to have a person who has three talents-intelligence, scholarship, and wisdom. This will lead to a work of outstanding quality to be handed down for eternity, shining like the sun and stars (Adopted from Lee 1993; *Tongmunsŏn*, 44:13a2-b1)

It is not necessary here to discuss Kim Pusik's perspective on history or historiographical features of the *Samguk sagi*. Regarding the objectives in the compilation of the *Samguk sagi*, I will only mention the following two points. First, there existed the *Kogi* (Old Records), probably the title of a historical work, but its unrefined writing led to compilation of the *Samguk sagi*. Second, the *Samguk sagi* was compiled to rectify the lamentable situation where Koryō scholars and high-ranking officials were well versed in the Chinese Classics and histories but utterly ignorant of Korean history. There is a strong pride in Korean history and we can see how the historiographical framework connecting Koguryō, Paekche, Silla, and Unified Silla had been constructed.

In the *Samguk sagi*, Kim Pusik also described Korea as "Haedong" and the Three Kingdoms as "Haedong samguk"

A. The history of the Three Kingdoms East of the Sea is long, and their events should be set forth in an official record 惟此海東三國 歷年長久 宜其事實 著在方策

(*Tongmunson*, 44:12b9-10)

B. States have existed in the East of the Sea from the antiquity. From the time when Kija was enfeoffed by the Zhou court to the time when Wiman assumed the title of a king in early Han 海東有國家久矣 自箕子受封於周室 衛滿僭號於漢初 ... (*Samguk sagi*, 29:1a5-6)

C. The Ch'omun Monastery was first founded ... This was the beginning of Buddhism in the East of the Sea. 始創肖門寺 ... 此海東佛法之始 ... (*Samguk sagi*, 18:4a8-9)

The record A, from the document "On Presenting the *Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms* to the King," used the name "Haedong samguk" to indicate the Korean Kingdoms. It is very likely that the term was used in both Korea and China, and the Three Kingdoms were often called the "Three Kingdoms East of the Sea" in Korea. The record B is from the chronological table of the *Samguk sagi* and it equated the characters "Haedong" with Korea of long history. It further states that even as Koryŏ intellectuals were influenced by Chinese culture, Korea should have its own history written from Korean perspective. The record C is about transmission of Buddhism to Korea, and the characters "Haedong" again refers to the Three Kingdoms including Koguryŏ.

In our discussion of the *Samguk sagi*, we must also bring up the *Ku samguksa* (The Old History of the Three Kingdoms). Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) in his *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* (Collected Works of Yi Kyubo) states:

[I] have obtained the *Ku samguksa* and read the basic annals of King Tongmyŏng. It contained even more wonderful exploits than are known to the world ... 得舊三國史 見東明王本紀 其神異之迹 踰世之所說者 ... (*Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip*, 3:1a8-9).

There are two important points here. First, Yi Kyubo had read the *Ku samguksa* that predated the *Samguk sagi*. Second, the basic annals of King

Tongmyǒng contained many strange and wonderful stories not recorded in the *Samguk sagi*. While there are different opinions among scholars, many believe that the *Samguk sagi* was compiled by condensing the contents of the *Ku samguksa* as suggested by the following record:

When Lord Kim Pusik again compiled national history, the records were rather abbreviated ... 金公富軾 重撰國史 頗略其事 (Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip, 3:1b3).

Although the phrase “rather abbreviated” could possibly refer to the entire *Ku samguksa* (Suematsu 1967, 1-27), it is more likely to refer only to the accounts of King Tongmyǒng (Ko Pyǒngik 1969, 70). Because Kim Pusik had omitted many parts of King Tongmyǒng’s record in the *Ku samguksa* that he considered to be too fantastic, the story told by Yi Kyubo contained greater details than the *Samguk sagi*.

The *Ku samguksa* probably contained more information on Koguryǒ and put greater emphasis on Koguryǒ history than the *Samguk sagi*. Indeed, some scholars believe that the basic outlook of the *Ku samguksa* was Koguryǒ-centered unlike the Silla-centered *Samguk sagi* (Suematsu 1967, 6). Many details about Koguryǒ in the “Tongmyǒng wang p’ yǒn” 東明王篇 (Lay of King Tongmyǒng) reflected historical consciousness of Koryǒ that considered itself as the successor to Koguryǒ.

In our discussion about the history of the Three Kingdoms, we must also mention the *Haedong samguksa* 海東三國史 (History of the Three Kingdoms East of the Sea) recorded in the *Taegak kuksa munjip* 大覺國師文集 (Collected Works of State Preceptor Taegak) (Taegak kuksa munjip, 17). Some scholars believe that this work is related to the *Ku samguksa*, *Kogi*, and *Chǒn samguksa* (Early History of the Three Kingdoms) recorded in the *Samguk yusa* (Samguk yusa, 8:12b1). Others have speculated that the *Haedong samguksa* may indeed be the same as the *Samguk sagi* (Yi Kangnae 1996). Because the State preceptor Taegak died in 1101 and the *Samguk sagi* was compiled in 1145, it may appear to be a simple matter of comparing dates. However, it will take careful analysis due to complex situation of compilation process of the *Taegak kuksa munjip*.

Here I would like to bring up another early example of the term "Haedong" used to refer to the Korean Three Kingdoms. A book titled *Haedong sŭngjŏn* 海東僧傳 (Biography of Monks East of the Sea) was mentioned in the *Taegak kuksa munjip* (Taegak kuksa munjip, 16), and it is most likely the *Kosŭngjŏn* 高僧傳 (Biography of Eminent Monks) compiled by Kim Taemun (Samguk sagi, 46:9b2-3). Of course, there is also the *Haedong kosungjŏn* 海東高僧傳 (Biography of Eminent Monks East of the Sea) compiled by Kakhun in 1215, but that work came many years after the *Taegak kuksa munjip*. Thus, Kim Taemun's *Kosŭngjŏn* must have acquired the prefix "Haedong" indicating Korea and became the *Haedong sŭngjŏn*. The *Haedong kosungjŏn* 海東高僧傳 is but one example of the term "Haedong" indicating the Korean states. The book *Haedong kosungjŏn* contained life and achievement of eminent monks from the Three Kingdoms period, but its title suggests that the name "Haedong" was used to refer to Korea during the Koryŏ period as well.

The most detailed and systematic treatment of Koguryŏ history is found in the *Samguk sagi*, and as mentioned above, the *Samguk sagi* was compiled after extensive examination of various materials including the *Ku samguksa*. As indicated by Yi Kyubo, it is also very likely that the *Ku samguksa* put a great emphasis on Koguryŏ history, and the history of Koguryŏ was incorporated into Korean history as one of the Three Kingdoms from the very beginning. The *Samguk sagi* described political situation of the Three Kingdoms as "tripod division 鼎峙" and the unification by Silla as the "Three Han becoming one family 三韓爲一家." These records reinforce the legitimacy of Koguryŏ as a part of Korean history.

Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223-96), the compiler of the *Yuhai* 玉海 (Ocean of jade) during the Song dynasty, recorded the *Samguk sagi* that had transmitted to Song China in 1174 as the *Haedong Samguk sagi* (Wang, Yuhai, 16:15a4). The Tang Gaozong had called the Three Kingdoms as the "Haedong samguk," and we can conclude that China had recognized the Three Kingdoms as independent states separate from the Chinese state at least by the Tang period. Wang Yinglin again in his *Xiaoxue ganzhu* 小學紺珠 also employed the name "Haedong Samguk (C. Haidong sanguo)" to describe Silla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche, and we can see that the name was

used widely during the Song period. (2:46b5-6).

The *Yuhai*, along with the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially reviewed encyclopaedia of the Taiping era), the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding models from the storehouse of literature), and the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Wide gleanings from the Taiping era), is one of the four great encyclopedias of the Song period. The *Yuhai* contains the title of another historical work that has so far escaped the attention of scholars. It is the *Haedong samguk t'ongnyŏk* 海東三國通曆 (General Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms East of the Sea) in twelve kwŏn by Ko Tŭksang 高得相 of Koryŏ (Wang, *Yuhai*, 16:15a4). Although there is no mention of either the book or the author in the *Koryŏsa* (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty), the *Songshi* (History of the Song), compiled between 1343 and 1345, recorded both the name of the author and the title (*Songshi*, 203.5124). Ko Tŭksang appears to be a very important person in the early records on transmission of Buddhism to Korea (Kim Sanghyŏn 1985, 87), and both the *Haedong kosŭngjŏn* and the *Samguk yusa* suggest that Ko had written poems about the history of Buddhism in Korea. We need to explore possible connections between Ko's work and the *Ku samguksa* and the *Samguk sagi*, and as Ko's work dealt with both history and Buddhism, it may contain characteristics of both the *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa*. In any case, this shows that the name "Haedong" was popular during the Koryŏ period. The *Haedong samguk t'ongnyŏk* appears to be a concise history of the Three Kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla. It is perhaps a chronicle of historical events, but its content and structure remains unknown. However, it is clear that from very early the Chinese states were aware of the *Haedong samguk t'ongnyŏk* that recorded history of Koguryŏ.

Finally, we must also point out an eminent Silla monk Wŏnhyo in our discussion of the name "Haedong." Wŏnhyo had written a commentary on the *Awakening of Faith in Mahayana* (Taesŭng kisillon so 大乘起信論疏), and his commentary became so famous that it was known simply as the "Commentary from East of the Sea" (Haedong so 海東疏) or the "Korean Commentary." From the mid-8th century, Wŏnhyo was also known as "Dharma Master from East of the Sea" (Haedong pŏpsa 海東法師) (Kim Sanghyŏn 2000, 281-83). Thus, we can see that the Chinese Buddhist Order

equated the name "Haedong" with the Korean state of Silla and used it to refer to Wŏnhyo and his writings.

Concluding Remarks

Chinese standard histories such as the *Jiu Tangshu* and the *Xin Tangshu* recorded Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla as the "Three Kingdoms East of the Sea" (Haedong Samguk). Such use of the name is evidence that the Chinese states recognized the independent status of the Three Kingdoms, and the term "Haedong," signifying the eastern region of the Bohai Sea, was used during the period between the Three Kingdoms and Koryŏ. From the perspectives of the Chinese states, the state of Parhae then naturally became known as the "Flourishing State East of the Sea" (Haedong sŏngguk).

Beginning with the *Sanguozhi*, there appeared detailed accounts of Korean states in Chinese historical documents, and the Three Kingdoms were considered to be independent yet forming a unified regional unit to the east of the Chinese states. Such historical understanding is embedded in the name "Haedong samguk," because the name was possible only if the Three Kingdoms did not belong to Chinese history. Indeed, systematic accounts of the history of the Three Kingdoms have been compiled not in China but in Korea. By the 11th century, when the *Samguk sagi* was compiled, history of Koguryŏ had already been incorporated into Korean history.

Through the writings of Yi Kyubo, we also know that there was the *Ku samguksa* that preceded the *Samguk sagi*, and Koguryŏ history must have formed an integral part of the history of the Three Kingdoms even earlier. It is important to note that the *Ku samguksa* probably contained more Koguryŏ elements than the Silla-oriented *Samguk sagi*. Indeed, the fact that Silla unified the Three Kingdoms is irrefutable evidence that Koguryŏ was a part of Korean history. According to the *Yuhai*, the *Samguk sagi* was transmitted to Song China and was known as the *Haedong samguk sagi*. The *Yuhai* also listed the title of a book *Haedong samguk t'ongnyŏk*. Thus, the term "Haedong" (East of the Sea) was synonymous with Korea in traditional Chinese historiography, and the history of the "Three Kingdoms East of the Sea" (Haedong samguk) has always been a part of Korean history.

Indeed, the terms and concept of the “Three Kingdoms East of the Sea,” the “Unification of Three Han,” and the “Three Hans becoming one family” were natural products of the historical fact of Koguryō’s place in Korean history.

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