



Koguryŏ and Gaya Contacts and Consequences

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Koguryŏ and Gaya

Given that Koguryŏ and Gaya were geographically apart, one might expect them to have had no war or military cooperation. But this is not the case. Based on *Samguk sagi* and *Nihon shoki*, we suggest in the present study that there were three historical instances where the two countries made direct or indirect contacts each other: it happened first in the 400 A.D. and in the late 5th century and the in the mid 6th century.

The largest effect Koguryŏ had on Gaya was in the year 400 when the forces sent by King Gwanggaeto at the request of Silla to drive out the “Wa enemy” and conquered the core powers of Gaya. This brought the downfall of the Early Gaya Confederation centered on Gayaguk in Gimhae and resulted in a restructuring of the Gaya Confederation in the first half of the 5th century.

By the second half of the 5th century, the Later Gaya Confederation centered on the Dae Gaya in Goryeong was established. At the time, Gaya generally helped Baekje and Silla, but also cooperated with Koguryŏ on two occasions.

The first cooperation between Koguryŏ and Gaya dates back to the late 5th century. Around 487 A.D., together with Baekje, Gaya had a battle against Koguryŏ at Irim(now Eumseong-gun) and Daesan castle(now Doan-myeon, Goesan-gun) in Chungcheongbuk-do. It was at that time that Gaya’s army had a secret communication with Koguryŏ’s against Baekje’s which was a close ally of Gaya. But this cooperation failed due to a counterattack from Baekje.

The second cooperation between Koguryŏ and Gaya occurred in the mid 6th century when the state confederation of Gaya was divided to north and south. While the Great Gaya at the north kept a close relation with Baekje after 540’s, Alla at the south Gaya went its own way, in secret, by making an official of Wa’s origin stand before it to induce Koguryŏ to attack Baekje in 548 A.D. Thus Koguryŏ attacked Baekje’s Doksan castle(now Yesan-gun in Chungcheongnam-do), but due to the intervention of Silla, Koguryŏ failed to show its strong power to Alla.

Unfortunately these two instances failed to lead to a firm cooperation between Koguryŏ and Gaya. It is mainly due to the lack of mutual understanding because the two countries were apart with Gaya being surrounded by Baekje and Silla. But it is noteworthy that Gaya approached Koguryŏ on its own.



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Introduction

Is there a place for Gaya (Kaya), a tiny “country” (國) on the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula, within the larger discussion on Koguryŏ? Most people would probably express their doubts. This is because there is almost no mention of any direct contact between the two in the *Samguk Sagi*, the fundamental historical source on ancient Korean history. However a passage appears in the Koguryŏ Gwanggaeto (Kwanggaet’o) stele that says its armies marched on “Imna Gara” while Koguryŏ’s name can also be seen here and there in the *Nihon shoki* in passages relating to the so-called “Mimana” (Imna). From this we can see that Koguryŏ and Gaya had more than a simple relationship.

Some time ago, I had an opportunity to examine various theories about the phrases “Imna Gara” and “Allain subyeong” that appear in an entry for the year 400 in the King Gwanggaeto stele and to inquire closely into their veracity by comparing them with other documentary

evidence.¹ This was done as part of a larger program of research to uncover the developmental process of Gaya history. At that time, I argued that Imna Gara referred to the leading kingdom of the Gaya Confederation that was centered on the Gaya kingdom in Gimhae (Kimhae) and that the term Allain subyeong referred to Koguryō patrols that had been dispatched to occupied Gaya territory. I do not see any need to repeat or revise these arguments at this time.

I subsequently published two articles examining relations between Koguryō and Gaya.² In those articles I laid out various sources in which the name Koguryō appears and I engaged in detailed discussion of the nature of those sources and of the place names found therein. Building on the foundation laid by my previous research, this paper shows how Koguryō appears in source materials related to Gaya and seeks the significance that Koguryō had in Gaya history within the larger context of East Asian history. In particular, I will focus on how Koguryō and Gaya came into contact with each other and the historical consequences of that contact for Gaya.

1. The Rise of Trade Intermediaries to the North and South

Foreign trade at the state level among Korea, China, and Japan began with Wiman Joseon (Chosŏn) at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.E. At that time, Wiman Joseon had received the title of *Waichen* (outside minister) and was actively bringing in Chinese culture; in return, Wiman Joseon acted as middleman in trade between neighboring ethnic groups

¹ Kim Taesik (Kim T'aesik), "Gwanggaeto wangneung bimun ui Imna Gara wa 'Allain subyeong'," *Hanguk godaesa nonchong* 6 (Hanguk godae sahoe yeonguso, 1994).

² Kim Taesik, "Gwanggaeto wangdae Koguryō wa Gaya ui gwangye," *Koguryō yeonguhoe haksul chongseo* 3 (Seoul: Koguryō yeonguhoe, 2002); Kim Taesik, "5~6segi Koguryō wa Gaya ui gwangye," *Bukbangsa nonchong* 11 (Koguryō yeongu jaedan, 2006).

and China.³ A bronze culture related to the slender bronze dagger flourished around the 2nd century B.C.E. in such locales in southwestern Korea as Asan and Yesan in South Chungcheong (Ch'ungch'ōng) Province, Iksan in North Jeolla (Chōlla) Province, and Yeong-am (Yōng'am) and Hwasun in South Jeolla Province,⁴ as reflected in the bronze objects related to the slender bronze dagger culture and later plain pottery such as round-shaped ring-rimmed vessels unearthed in such locales as the Neukdo (Nūkto) remains near Sacheon (Sach'ōn) in South Gyeongsang (Kyōngsang) Province, the Harunotsuchi remains on Japan's Ikishima, and even in the Morooka remains near Fukuoka in northern Kyushu.⁵

The trading system of Northeast Asia underwent a major change at the end of the second century with the Chinese Han Dynasty's conquest of Wiman Joseon and its establishment of Lelang and other commanderies in the old territory of Wiman Joseon. Nonetheless, the southern coastal region of Gyeongsang Province continued to play its role as intermediary for the exchange of foreign cultures and goods. The subsequent rise of this region as a center for the production of iron and as a center for trade of iron was another change. This is reflected in relics, such as the slab shape (flattened) iron axes, the star design bronze mirrors, and various types of Chinese money, unearthed at such locales in South Gyeongsang as the Neukdo remains, the Changwon (Ch'angwōn) Taehori mound tomb, and the Seongsan (Sōngsan) and Gimhae (Kimhae) shell middens. Thus the South Gyeongsan coast was an intermediary for the trade of such foreign goods as iron in the first century B.C.E., immediately after the establishment of Lelang (K. Nangnang). As a

³ *Shiji* Vol. 115, Chaoxian leizhuan 55.

⁴ Lee Hyeonhye, *Samhan sahoe hyeonseong kwajeong yeongu* (Iljogak, 1994), pp. 11-31.

⁵ Takesue Shunichi, "Nippon Kyushu mit Kinki jiyek ui Hanguk gye yumul," *Godae dong asia wa samhan-samguk ui gyoseop*. 2002nyeondo Bokcheon bangmulgwan gukje haksul daehoe balpyo yoji (2002), pp. 85-86.



fig.1 Place names of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.E.

consequence of the continuing accumulation of wealth, various settlements were consolidated into small states which in turn drove out the intermediaries of smaller areas and became the centers of somewhat larger trade networks.

Before the 3rd century, the Lelang and Daifang (K. Daebang) Han Chinese commanderies in northwestern Korea dominated trade in Northeast Asia, linking China, the Korean Peninsula, and the Japanese Archipelago. Gaya, also known as Guya or Geumgwan (Kūmgwan)

Gaya, situated at the mouth of the Nakdong (Naktong) River in modern Gimhae, functioned as the most active trade intermediary in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula.⁶ According to the Chen/Bian Han zhuan (K. Jin/Byeon Han) section of the *Sanguo zhi*: “[Gaya] produced iron, so the Han (韓), Ye and Wa all came to get it, and [Gaya] supplied the two commanderies (Lelang /Daifang).”⁷

Thus, before the 3rd century Gaya in Gimhae already traded its iron with the Chinese through Lelang and Daifang. Gaya also engaged in trade with the Wa, exchanging both its own products and the products of advanced culture it got from the Chinese. The things which Gaya procured from its tributary trade with the Chinese included clothing, hats, bronze mirrors and pommel-ornamented swords manufactured in state-operated workshops, while those it traded commercially in the market place of Gaya included Chinese iron and bronze containers, Lelang silk, Lelang lacquer, ornaments of glass and crystal, iron from Byeonhan (Pyŏnhan) and Jinhan (Chinhan), and Wa bronze ritual implements.⁸

Contact with Lelang delivered the typical bronze mirrors of the Eastern Han unearthed from a mid-late 2nd-century wooden outer-coffin tomb (Gimhae Yangdongni tomb number 162) believed to inter the chief of a small state. Items such as a three-legged bronze cauldron and ornate earrings (148 comma-shaped pieces and 2 large polyhedral made of crystal) unearthed from a wooden chamber tomb (Gimhae Yangdongni tomb number 322) attributed to the 3rd century also probably come from Lelang. In addition, items from Japan include broad copper spear points and bronze mirrors imitating the Chinese style from 2nd-3rd century wooden outer-coffin tombs in Yangdongni and a shell midden at Dongoedong (Tongoedong) in Goseong (Kosŏng), while archeological

⁶ *Sanguo zhi* 30, *Wei shu* 30, *Niaowan xianbei dongyi zhuan* 30, *Wo*.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Lee Hyeonhye, *Hanguk godae ui saengsan gwa gyoyeok* (Iljogak, 1998), p 298.

diggings in the region of Kyushu unearthed such items as Chinese-style mirrors from Lelang and grey earthenware from southeastern Korea,⁹ along with iron implements that were probably from Gaya.¹⁰

We should note, however, that in the 2nd and 3rd centuries many local chiefs in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula sought to increase trade with Lelang. The Han Chinese commanderies politically manipulated trade incentives as part of a divide and rule policy that hindered the rise of a unified force in the Korean Peninsula. During the years from 237 to 239, over 1,000 local chiefs in southern Korea obtained trade documents directly from the Chinese, which made it very difficult for Gaya to build a long-distance trade monopoly.

Before the 3rd century Gaya remained a leading state of a confederation of 12 small states in Byeonhan, while Silla also remained a leading state of a confederation of 12 small states in Jinhan. From the 1st through the 3rd centuries, the cultures of the Byeonhan and Jinhan appeared quite similar, with both areas engaging in active exchange. These areas appear so much alike that scholars frequently speak of the “common cultural base of Byeonhan and Jinhan,” although they maintained separate political identities.

The people of Silla were particularly proud that migrants from the Lelang area settled in Jinhan and referred to the people of Lelang as “Ajan,” that is to say the remnants of themselves.¹¹ Also there are three early entries in the *Samguk sagi* Silla annals related to Nanxin county in Daifang. Taken together, this evidence tells us that the people of Silla looked up to and frequently visited Lelang and Daifang.¹² The story of

⁹ Takesue Shunichi, “Nippon Kyushu mit Kinki jiyeeok ui Hanguk gye yumul” (2002), pp. 126-127.

¹⁰ Ozawa Masaki, “Kinsoku soshikigaku kara mita nihon retto to chosen hanto no tetsu,” *Kokuritsu rekishi minshoku hakubutsukan kenkyu hokoku 110 – dai5kai rekihaku kokusai shimpojiumu: kodai toajia ni okeru wa to Gaya no koryu*. Sakura: Kokuritsu reksshi munshoku hakubutsukan (2004), pp. 89-122.

¹¹ *Sanguo zhi* Vol. 30 Weishu 30, Niaowan xianbei dongyi zhuan 30, Han.

¹² Kim Taesik, “Hanguk godae jeguk ui daeoe gyoyeok: Gaya reul jungsim euro,” *Chindang hakbo* 101 (2006), pp. 10-11.

Yeomsachi tells us that that people traveled between Lelang and Silla by a land route, but such a route must have presented limitations on the frequency and scope of contact.¹³

As noted earlier, from the 2nd century B.C.E, a maritime route thrived along the western and southern coast of Korea from Wiman Joseon in the northwest to Iki and Kyushu, which still formed the route linking China, Korea and Japan in the 3rd century C.E. As a result, the Byeonhan country of Gaya (Guya) at the mouth of the Nakdong River served as the center of trade, and Jinhan had little option except to rely on indirect trade through Gaya.

At the same time, Koguryō expanded in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria, invading and establishing tributary rule over the Eastern Okjeo (Okchō) in modern Hamgyeong (Hamgyōng) Province as early as the mid-1st century.¹⁴ Tribute Koguryō exacted included Maek cloth, fish, salt, seafood, and beautiful women.¹⁵ Koguryō also appears to have attacked and established tributary rule over the Eastern Ye, apparently sometime in the 2nd century near the end of China's Han Dynasty.¹⁶

Koguryō alternated between negotiations and military offensives in its relations with the Later Han, attacking six counties in the Liaodong Commandery in 105, while joining with the Yemaek to move against Xuantu and attack Hualicheng in 116. In between, in 111 Koguryō sent an emissary to the Later Han, and through Xuantu, Koguryō also sought to establish friendly tributary relations with the Later Han.¹⁷ In this way, during the 1st and 2nd centuries Koguryō succeeded in gradually weakening the Xuantu Commandery, and it took over the trade

¹³ Yun Yonggu, "Samhan gwa nangang ui gyoseop," *Hanguk godaesa yeongu* 34 (2004), p. 138.

¹⁴ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 15, Koguryō bongi 3 Taejo wang 4th year.

¹⁵ *Sanguo zhi* Vol. 30, Weshu 30, Niaoan xianbei dongyi zhuan, dongwoju.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ *Hou hanshu* Vol. 85, Dongyi leizhuan 75, Gaoguli.



fig.2 Situation in the Korean Peninsula in the 3rd century

intermediary role between the northern part of the Korean Peninsula and China.

In 242, as a result of the power vacuum following the collapse of the Gongsun regime, Koguryō attacked the strategic location of Xi'anping, between Liaodong and Lelang, only to fall back after a fierce counterattack from the Northern Wei. However, in the second half of the 3rd century Koguryō managed to profit from the chaos of the Western Jin,

recovering the areas of the Eastern Okjeo and the Eastern Ye.¹⁸

From this perspective, even though by the 3rd century Gaya and Koguryŏ took control of the intermediary trade roles, respectively in the southern and northern parts of the Korean Peninsula, no direct contact developed between the two because the Lelang Commandery still existed between them. During that time, Koguryŏ subjugated and established tributary rule in the areas of the Eastern Okjeo and the Eastern Ye, while using iron as its basis for trade, Gaya focused on exchanges with the Han, Ye, and Wa. A difference in methods emerged between the two political entities as Koguryŏ alternated between military attacks and peaceful contacts, while Gaya pursued only peaceful contact.

2. Participation in the Baekje-centered Trade System

The late 3rd and early 4th centuries presented a time of major historical change in Northeast Asia. In 303, Liu Yan of the Xiongnu, one of the nomadic peoples on China's northern borders, established the Han (later known as the Former Zhao), thus initiating the chaotic Sixteen Kingdoms period. In Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula, Koguryŏ, Baekje (Paekche), Silla, and Gaya unified the various small states that had existed earlier. Although Chinese histories between 266 and 413 include no mention of the Japanese Archipelago, during that time keyhole tombs spread from Kyushu along the inland sea to the Kinki region.

After the end of the 3rd century, the Gaya Confederation began to centralize. At that time, the center of Gaya moved to the area of the modern city of Gimhae and the first burial mound appeared (Daeseong-dong [Taesŏngdong] number 29).¹⁹ A large mound with an wooden outer-coffin tomb, this burial site contained much stoneware, along with such

¹⁸ Lim Kihwan, "Koguryŏ wa Nangnang ui gwangye," *Hanguk godaesa yeongu* 34 (2004), p. 136.

¹⁹ Gyeongseong daehakgyo bangmulgwan, *Gimhae Daeseong-dong gobungun I* (Busan: Gyeongseong University Museum, 2000), pp. 141-153.

things as Ordos bronze kettles, armor and helmets made from iron, horse-riding implements, along with artifacts of horse-riding peoples originating from areas in Inner Mongolia and Northeastern China which suggest that this was the tomb of a ruler.²⁰ Other artifacts linked with the nomadic peoples of Inner Mongolia and northeast China include the iron kettle from Yangdongni tomb number 318, the bronze kettle from Yangdongni tomb number 235, the tiger-shaped belt buckle from Daeseong-dong tomb number 11, the bronze pot from tomb number 47, and the curved sword from tomb number 23.

These large changes arising in the Gaya area without doubt originated in external influence from the changes that were sweeping Northeast Asia in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries. Elements from the northern regions first appear from the second half of the 2nd century when Gaya engaged in active trade with the northwestern region of Korea, but these elements begin to appear in large numbers from the 4th century.²¹

Before long, however, at the beginning of the 4th century Koguryō's conquest of the Lelang and Daifang commanderies became a huge obstacle for Gimhae Gaya's leadership, which had developed through long-distance trade with the Chinese commanderies. In response to Koguryō's advance, the forces in the southern Korean Peninsula allied themselves in various ways to form limited spontaneous cultural spheres. The Posang Palguk War erupted in the Gaya region, dividing the Gaya Confederation into a western half centered around the country of Alla near modern Haman, and an eastern half centered around Gaya near modern Gimhae.²² The regional differences in the stoneware mounted dishes of the 4th century reflects this division. That is to say, cylinder-

²⁰ Sin Gyeongcheol, "Geumgwan Gaya ui seongnip gwa yeonmaeng ui hyeongseong," *Gaya gakguksa ui jae guseong*, Busan daehakgyo hanguk minjok munhwa yeonguso ed. (Hyeon, 2000), pp. 45-72.

²¹ Song Gyehyeon, "Toron yoji : Geumgwan gaya ui seongnip gwa yeonmaeng ui hyeongseong," *Gaya gakguksa ui jae guseong* (2000), pp. 85-87.

²² Kim Taesik, "Haman Alla-guk ui seongjang gwa byeoncheon," *Hanguksa yeongu* 86 (1994), p. 60.

shaped mounted dishes lay buried mostly west of Masan, while valgus-lipped mounted dishes without openwork come mostly from the region stretching west from Changwon (Ch'angwŏn) to Gimhae and Busan (Pusan) in the 4th century.²³

In the middle of the 4th century, Koguryŏ suffered a heavy setback from Former Yan incursions. As Koguryŏ recovered, Baekje in the Han River basin rose to power during the reign of King Geunchogo (Kŭnch'ogo), contesting the old Daifang area with Koguryŏ while establishing a trade route to the Eastern Jin of China's southern dynasties. In the process of confronting Koguryŏ, Baekje entered into friendly relations with Gaya in order to contain Silla,²⁴ while linking itself with the Wa through Gaya. The entry in the *Nihon shoki* Jinguki stating that in 249 (revised to 369) the Wa, along with the Baekje general Mongna Geunja, attacked Silla and conquered the seven countries of Bijabal (Changnyeong, Ch'angnyŏng), Nam Gara (Gimhae), Takguk (Yeongsan, Yŏngsan), Alla (Haman), Dara (Hapcheon, Hapch'ŏn), Taksun (T'aksun : Changwon), and Gara (Goryeong, Koryŏng) is an exaggerated and distorted account of how Baekje used its advanced culture to trade with the various countries of Gaya and link itself with the Wa through them.²⁵ The ability of Gaya to act as intermediary between Baekje and the Wa resulted from its wealth, technology, and military force, rather than the simple consequence of its geographic location between Baekje and the Wa.

²³ An Jaeho & Song Gyeheon, "Gosik tojil togi e daehan yakgan ui gochal: Uichang Taepyeongni chultopum eul tonghayeo," *Yeongnam gogohak* 1 (Daegu : Yeongnam gogohakhoe, 1986), pp. 50-53; Cho Yeongje, "Seobu Gyeongnam nohyeong togi e daehan il gochal," *Gyeongnam sahak* 2 (Jinju : Gyeongnam daehakgyo, 1986), p. 24; Pak Seunggyu, "Gyeongnam seonambu jiyek tojil togi e daehan yeongu," *Gyeongnam sahak* 9 (1993), pp. 4-5; Kim Taesik, *Miwan ui munmyeong 7baengnyeong Gayasa*, Vol. 1 (Seoul : Pureun yeoksa, 2002), pp. 134-137.

²⁴ *Nihon shoki* 10, Kinmei tenno 2nd year, 4th month.

²⁵ Kim Taesik, "4segi ui hanil gwangye – Gwanggaeto wangneung bimun ui waegun munje reul jungsim euro," *Hanil yeoksa gongdong yeongu bogoseo*, Vol. 1 (Hanil yeoksa gongdong yeongu wiwonhoe, 2005), p. 30.

The large numbers of iron ingots, vertical strip fixed-plate armor, horse-riding armaments, and other related artifacts excavated from the tomb cluster in Daeseong-dong in Gimhae²⁶ confirms the high level of Gimhae Gaya's iron production, its technology for producing iron implements, and its military power. Significantly, large quantities of artifacts related to horse-riding warriors derive from mound tombs throughout the Gimhae-Busan area. Although some scholars deny that these artifacts demonstrate the existence of a typical cavalry, even if no fully developed cavalry existed at that time, we must recognize the early presence of mounted warriors, and that at least some of the Gaya elites had adopted heavy cavalry tactics.²⁷ We can imagine that this came about because Gaya could now engage in trade via Baekje with the region of the old Daifang Commandery in Hwanghae Province, and that Gaya also received refugees from the wars between Baekje and Koguryō.

Also, once trade with Baekje began, the Gaya Confederation, which had been split into east and west, once again became united centering around Gimhae Gaya and Gaya formed a secure trade network as the intermediary between Baekje and the Wa. The name Imna Gara (Imna Garyang) that appears in the Gwanggaeto stele and the *Samguk sagi* Gangsu (Kangsu) biography was the late 4th-century name of the Gaya Confederation centered on Gimhae Gaya : that name came from the country of Imna at Changwon and the country of Gaya at Gimhae.²⁸

Among the Gaya region remains and relics found from the late 4th century, those from the Gimhae Daeseong-dong tomb number 13 and tomb number 2 are the largest and most sophisticated, and include such Wa items as weathervane-shaped bronze shield ornaments proving that there was

²⁶ Lee Nanyeong & Kim Ducheol, *Hanguk ui magu* (Gwacheon: Hanguk masahoe masa bangmulgwan, 1999), pp. 193-96.

²⁷ Kim Taesik & Song Gyehyeon, *Hanguk ui gima minjok ron* (Gwacheon: Hanguk masahoe masa bangmulgwan, 2003), pp. 193-196.

²⁸ Kim Taesik, "Gwanggaeto wangneung bimun ui Imna Gara wa 'Allain subyeong'" (1994), p. 86.

exchange between Gaya and the Wa.²⁹ Although the trade relationship between Gaya and Wa traditionally had centered on the exchange of iron materials for prestige items and labor, in the latter half of the 4th century, Gaya's export of military equipment and the mobilization of Wa military forces became a more important issue. At that time, the Wa needed Gaya's iron and military equipment for the construction of an ancient state, while Gaya needed Wa manpower, especially military forces, in its struggles against Silla in the Nakdong River basin, leading to close exchanges between Gaya and the Wa for quite some time.

In comparison, Koguryō faced challenges in the period after the middle part of the 4th century. Although Koguryō expanded its strength by taking over Lelang and Daifang in the early 4th century, it could not avoid confrontation with the Former Yan that arose in Liaodong on its west. In 319 and 320, Koguryō allied itself with Cui Bei, the governor of Pingzhou and with the Duan and Wuwen Xianbei to attack the Former Yan, but both expeditions failed. In 330, Koguryō allied itself with the Later Zhao in northern China in order to contain the Former Yan. In 342 Koguryō tasted bitter defeat when Hwando-seong (Hwando-sōng) fell to Murong Huang of the Former Yan, who seized over 5,000 Koguryō captives including the king's mother madame Chu.³⁰

In 343, King Gogugwon moved to Pyeongyang (P'yōngyang) Donghwangseong (Tonghwang-sōng) and devoted the next 30 years to preparing a system to rule that region; during the same period, management of the Central Plains preoccupied the Former Yan, so little military conflict occurred between Koguryō and the Former Yan. Koguryō, however, found itself in confrontation with the newly rising

²⁹ Fukunaga Shinzai, "Tai hanto kosho kara mita kofunjidai Wa senken no seikyaku – 4-5seiki ni okeru nikan kosho no kokogku teki saikento," *Cheonggu haksul nonmun jip* 12 (Hanguk munhwa yeongu jinheung jaedan, 1998); Inoue Shuzei, "Gimhae mit Busan jiyeeok gobun chulto waegye yumul e daehayeo," *Hanguk gogohakbo* 51 (Daegu: Hanguk gogohakhoe, 2003), p. 128.

³⁰ *Samguk sagi* 18, Koguryō bongi 6, Gogugwon wang 12th year.



fig.3 The situation in the Korean Peninsula in the second half of the 4th century

power of Baekje over the Hwanghae region. In 369, King Gogugwon (Kogugwŏn) attacked Baekje with a force of 20,000 but Baekje defeated him at Chiyang (Ch'iyang : Eucheon-myeon, Yeonbaek-gun) in Hwanghae Province; in 371 King Gogugwon died in battle at Pyeongyangseong (P'yŏngyang-sŏng) against the 30,000 soldiers led by

Baekje's King Geunchogo.³¹

In the midst of these foreign difficulties, Koguryŏ felt the need for a broadly conceived diplomacy and the creation of a stable system of rule. Hence Koguryŏ's seventeenth ruler, King Sosurim, entered into exchange with the Former Qin, accepting Buddhism, establishing a royal college, and in 373 promulgating legal codes. This marked the development of Koguryŏ into a mature ancient state. Sosurim's successor, King Gogugyang, in a confrontation with the Later Yan, sent an emissary to Silla to establish good relations, taking the Silla prince Silseong (Silsŏng) back to Koguryŏ as hostage.³² This was part of Koguryŏ's foreign relations strategy to prevent Silla and Baekje from forming ties before it could launch a major campaign against Baekje.

Koguryŏ, which had defeated Lelang and Daifang in the first half of the 4th century, later found itself weakened as a result of its confrontation with the Former Yan, while Baekje grew much stronger in the Han River basin. In the latter half of the 4th century, the Eastern Jin and the Former Qin in China conflicted over the Han River basin, while the basic international situation on the Korean Peninsula came down to a confrontation between Koguryŏ and Baekje, the two strongest powers. For more than 30 years they waged intense warfare over the old area of Daifang, which lay between them.

In comparison, any movement by Silla and Gaya in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula largely depended on the activities of Koguryŏ and Baekje. With the demise of one axis of its trade network in the first half of the 4th century, Gaya split into eastern and western groups and focused its energies on trade with the Wa. But Gaya participated in the Baekje-centered trade system in the second half of the fourth century, reunited, and recovered its old role as trade intermediary.

³¹ Ibid., Gogugwon wang 39th and 41st years.

³² Ibid., Gogugyang wang 8th year.

3. The Gaya Expedition of King Gwanggaeto's Army and its Aftermath

Upon Gwanggaeto's accession to the Koguryŏ throne in 391, the situation on the Korean Peninsula shifted dramatically away from a Baekje-centered order. Immediately after taking the throne, King Gwanggaeto attacked Baekje taking 10 fortresses and forcing Gwanmiseong (Kwanmi-sŏng : today's Odusanseong in Tanhyeon-myeon [T'anhyŏnmyŏn], Paju-gun [P'ajugun], Gyeonggi [Kyŏnggi] Province) to surrender. In 396, Koguryŏ took 58 fortifications, thereby incorporating the region north of the Han River into its territory, while besieging the Baekje capital of Wiryeseong (Songpa-gu, Songp'agu, Seoul) and receiving a pledge from Baekje's King Asin that he would forever be a "slave retainer." The half-century struggle for hegemony between Koguryŏ and Baekje had now turned in Koguryŏ's favor at the end of the 4th century.³³

The changes that the various states of the Gaya Confederation had undergone at that time appear in only one historical record: the Gwanggaeto stele. In 399, Koguryŏ heard that Baekje and Wa had formed an alliance, so King Gwanggaeto moved to Pyeongyangseong in order to contain this. The *Samguk sagi* Baekje annals indicate that in 397, Baekje entered into friendly relations with the state of Wa, and sent crown prince Jeonji (Chŏnji) as hostage in order to ask for military assistance, a task for which required Imna Gara's cooperation. In 398, Baekje sent forces north to the Hansan northern palisade, but they

³³ According to entries in the *Samguk sagi*, in 392 Koguryŏ's King Gwanggaeto sent a force of 40,000 and seized over 10 fortresses, including Seokhyeon and Gwanmiseong. In 393, Baekje sent 10,000 soldiers to retake Gwanmiseong, but failed. Baekje also lost a battle with Koguryŏ at Sugokseong in 394, and failed twice in 395 in its attacks against the Daedong River and Cheongmongnyeong. Again in 397, Baekje attempted to field two major campaigns against Koguryŏ but was not able to put its plans into action. Furthermore, the Gwanggaeto stele says that in 396, Koguryŏ wrested 58 forts and 700 villages from Baekje while capturing the Baekje king's younger brother and ten high ministers.

returned without engaging Koguryō and in 399 Baekje requisitioned horses for an attack against Koguryō. Baekje's move to bring in Imna Gara and the Wa exactly parallels the Western Jin's attempt to bring in the five barbarians when faced with severe domestic uprisings at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th centuries.

Thus it seems likely that King Gwanggaeto moved quickly down to Pyeongyang after learning of Baekje's move. At this time, an envoy from Silla reported news that the Wa had destroyed fortifications and moats on Silla's border, and asked to devise a joint military strategy.³⁴

In the following year of 400, King Gwanggaeto sent 50,000 foot soldiers and cavalry to Silla. The Wa filled the area between Sillaseong (Silla-sōng) and the neighboring Namgeoseong (Namgō-sōng). Although the Wa marauders withdrew upon seeing the Koguryō army, the Koguryō army chased them to Imna Gara. The Wa forces fled in the direction of faraway Gimhae because they depended from the very beginning on support from Imna Gara.

It seems likely that Gaya people actually formed the main body of the Wa forces at that time. Some argue that the Wa of that time were maritime elements and that the "Wa" described in the stele were actually Gaya people who falsely claimed to be Wa, with a few Wa living in Gaya mixed in.³⁵ In the case of the 6th century Gwansanseong (Kwansan-sōng) battle, the Wa only accounted for about 1,000 of the several tens of thousands of soldiers in the allied Baekje-Gaya-Wa forces. Hence, the term "Wa marauders" (倭賊) in the Gwanggaeto stele inscription actually serves as a pejorative term to describe the Baekje-backed Gaya-Wa coalition army, even though Gaya troops principally composed the coalition, because the Wa stood out clearly in their unusual clothing and ornaments. The term also captures the scorn that Koguryō had for this

³⁴ Gwanggaetowang neung bimun, entry for the 9th year of Gwanggaeto.

³⁵ Inoue Hideo, *Mimana nihonfu to Wa* (Tokyo: Neirakusha, 1973).

mixed army, in a use of language similar to that seen in the Baiji zhuan (K. Baekje Jeon) of the *Nanqi shu*, where both Baekje and the Chinese pejoratively called the Koguryŏ army “Wei captives” (魏虜) due to the closeness between Wei and Koguryŏ.³⁶

Moreover, in the Pak Jesang Jeon (Pak Chesang Chŏn) in the *Samguk Sagi*, the account of Pak Jesang’s arrival in Wa (418) stated that in the past some people from Baekje people had entered Wa and predicted that Silla and Koguryŏ were planning to invade the Wa kingdom, so the Wa sent soldiers to “patrol and guard the frontier” on the “outskirts of the Silla border.” Koguryŏ forces came in and attacked, capturing and killing all of the “patrol” soldiers. Thereafter, it is said, the king of Wa sincerely believed the words of the Baekje people.³⁷

From this we can see that the Wa forces that entered the outskirts of Silla’s borders (i.e. Gaya) did not compose a large army, but simply a small-scale patrol induced by Baekje into feeling out the situation on the peninsula. In addition, we can also see the large influence Baekje had in stimulating the mobilization of the Wa army. Gaya stood to benefit from the advanced culture from Baekje and was also heavily dependent on Baekje for its unification of the trade-oriented Gaya Confederation. Thus, Gaya had no choice but to accept Baekje’s demands.

In comparison with the heavy cavalry-equipped Koguryŏ army³⁸ and the edge-curved spears and vertical strip fixed-plate armor of the Gaya army,³⁹ the Wa army possessed vastly inferior short swords and the thin iron arrowhead armaments.⁴⁰ These inferior weapons prevented

³⁶ *Nanchi shu* 58, liezhuan 9 Baiji guo.

³⁷ *Samguk sagi* 45, yeoljeon 5 Pak Jesang jeon.

³⁸ *Samguk sagi* 18, Koguryŏ bongi 6, Gogugwonwang 12th year.

³⁹ Kim Ducheol, “Mugi, mugu mit magu reul donghae bon Gaya ui jeonjaeng” in *Gaya gogohak ui saeroun jomyeong* (Seoul: Hyeon, 2003), p. 145.

⁴⁰ Yeo Hogyu, “Koguryŏ junggi ui mugichegye wa byeongjong guseong,” *Hanguk gunsasa yeongu* 2 (1999), pp. 71-73.

independent action on the Korean Peninsula by Wa soldiers who probably as a result constituted the lower ranks of the Gaya army. Thus Gaya men primarily made up the “Wa bandits” and “Wa pirates” that appear on the Gwanggaeto stele, with a partial augmentation of Wa soldiers mobilized by Baekje and Gaya.

On the other hand, Silla alone could not handle the incursions of Gaya and its Wa allies into the frontier regions. In order to bring Koguryŏ into the conflict and to break the power of Imna Gara as quickly as possible, Silla appears to have exaggerated the Wa element. Although the account on the Koguryŏ stele makes it appear that the Koguryŏ army and the Wa army engaged each other directly, the conflict appears more appropriately as a contest for power between the two powers surrounding the Nakdong River basin, Silla and Gaya. The fact that the Silla and Gaya cultural boundaries became clearly delineated⁴¹ along the Nakdong River as a result of the war and the absorption of several Gaya states into Silla confirms this view.

Koguryŏ did not specifically aim the massive force of 50,000 infantry and cavalry at the numerically inferior Wa army; rather this army mobilized at the request of Silla to strike at the core of the Gaya Confederation. This war resulted in the almost complete destruction of Gimhae Gaya, which had led the Gaya Confederation. The absence of any mound tombs dating after the large mound tomb at Daeseong-dong number 1 (dated at the beginning of the 5th century) reflects the demise of the Gimhae Gaya royal family. Koguryŏ not only achieved its goal of containing Gaya and Baekje, but also received compensation from Silla as well.

The joint Gaya-Wa forces immediately surrendered when the pursuing joint Koguryŏ-Silla forces started attacking their fortifications

⁴¹ Kim Taesik, *Miwan ui munmyeong: 7 baengnyeon Gayasa* Vol. 1 (Seoul: Pureun yeoksa, 2002), pp. 157-165.

at Imna Gara. Because even though Gaya's armaments nearly equaled Silla's, they fell far below those of the Koguryō forces. Right after the surrender, Koguryō stationed military patrols in subjugated Imna-Gara. Some argue that the "Allain subyeong" were forces to guard Alla (Haman), but that argument doesn't stand up. Even if Koguryō dispatched patrols, it would not have been able to push aside Silla and establish an independent garrison in Alla, a region that was not contiguous with its borders.⁴²

In the end, with the establishment of patrols by the allied forces of Koguryō and Silla in the conquered area of Imna Gara, with Koguryō as its ally, Silla took the lead over Gaya in the contest for control over the Gyeongnam (Kyōngnam) area, and Baekje lost its Gaya base for the trade network with the Wa. This conflict resulted in the curtain falling on the Early Gaya Confederation, until then represented by Gimhae Gaya and serving as Baekje's right arm in the region. Koguryō's southern advance dismantled the Gaya Confederation as the sacrificial lamb in redrawing the four-state map of the Korean Peninsula into one that favored Koguryō.

Although the Koguryō-Silla subjugation of Imna Gara (the area of Gimhae and Changwon) devastated and weakened the Gaya territory, those areas in the interior of Gaya not directly affected by the war remained relatively untouched and steadily grew their existing power base.

First of all, the localities close to Silla such as Seongju (Sōngju), Changnyeong, and Busan that had been part of the Gaya Confederation up to around the 4th century appear to have voluntarily submitted to Silla at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century. These areas developed significantly throughout the 5th century, as seen in the larger scale of and greater number of relics in mound tombs. Such relics as

⁴² Kim Taesik, "Gwangaetowang bimun ui Imna Gara wa Allain subyeong," *Hanguk godaesa nonchong* 6 (1994), pp. 99-100.



fig.4 Change in the Gaya cultural sphere in the first half of the 5th century

hats, ornaments, and lidded mounted dishes were either brought in directly from Silla or made in imitation of those from the Gyeongju (Kyōngju) area. Even if the ruling strata of these areas had not been directly dissolved, we can see that they were under a certain influence from Gyeongju.

On the other hand, the remaining Gaya areas west of the Nakdong River did not collapse but continued to exist. After the 5th century the Later Gaya cultural sphere divided into three areas (the Goryeong sphere, the Haman-Goseong-Jinju [Chinju] sphere, and the Gimhae sphere), and different distinguishing characteristics and developmental processes

emerged within each of these three areas. Unlike the Silla area, now under Koguryŏ influence, these areas continued to maintain the old Jin and Byeonhan common cultural base.

In the coastal area around Gimhae at the mouth of the Nakdong River, however, by the 5th century we see a sharp decrease in the number of ancient tombs, while the scale of tombs also shrank to around the size of a small stone outer-coffin tomb. At the same time, Sillan relics such as the two-tiered openwork mounted dish and the mounted jar with long neck appear in mound tombs in Gimhae's Ye-anni and Changwon's Dogye-dong (Togyedong). These items reflect the downfall of the early Gaya Confederation that had flourished in this area and the posting of military patrols by the Koguryŏ-Silla coalition army. However, it appears that the Silla-Koguryŏ patrols must have left this area quickly since the use of Silla relics did not last particularly long.

On the other hand, Haman in the western part of South Gyeongsang Province, along with those areas just west of it, show nearly no influence from Silla as the local culture gradually expanded without any particular disturbance.⁴³ This confirms that the "Allain Subyeong" and the state of Alla in Haman had no relation to each other. However, areas such as Haman in the west-central region of Gaya sat isolated from outside and could exert only limited influence on other contiguous areas. Areas in southwestern Gaya, such as Goseong and Jinju, do not appear to have succeeded in exercising leadership, which reflects the limits of this area in producing entities with sufficient strength and economic power to lead the whole Gaya Confederation.

Also, those areas such as Goryeong and Hapcheon in the mountainous areas of Gyeongsang Province that were considered

⁴³ Pak Seunggyu, "Gyeongnam seonambu jiyeok dojil togi e daehan yeongu: Jinju sik togi wa gwallyeon hayeo," *Gyeongsang sahak* 9 (1993), p. 27; An Jaeho, "Cholgyeom ui byeonhwa wa hoekgi," *Gaya gogohak nonchong* 2 (1997), pp. 79-88; Pak Cheonsu, "Gidae reul tonghayeo bon Gaya seryeok ui donghyang" in *Gaya ui geureut batchim* (Gimhae bangmulgwan, 1999), p. 98.

backward regions during the Early Gaya Period began to develop after the first half of the 5th century. This region's important opportunity for development came when migrants to the region brought the advanced production of Early Gaya culture earthenware, iron, and other products to these areas, and subsequently throughout the region. Consequently, the pottery culture from early Dae Gaya in Goryeong, the second period pottery cultures of Hapcheon and Okjeon, and the late 4th century pottery cultures of Gimhae, Busan, and Changwon remain best preserved in this area.⁴⁴ Although the cultural sphere of this region did not show much development in the first half of the 5th century, in the second half it shows increasing growth. This signified preparation for a new Gaya Confederation.

4. Conflict and Covert Cooperation between Koguryō Military and Gaya

In the 5th century, Koguryō continued to maintain stable relationships on the Chinese side because Koguryō tried to expand to the south and the northwest.⁴⁵ Koguryō placed particular importance on the objective of punishing its archrival Baekje in the south. In response, Baekje sought to defend itself by allying with Liu Song and the Northern Wei, as well as negotiating with Silla in 433. After the middle part of the 5th century, Silla also pursued an independent stance and went on to create a military alliance with Baekje against Koguryō.

However, Koguryeō's attack on Baekje in 475, which resulted in the fall of Baekje's capital of Wiryeseong and King Gaero (Kaero)'s death in battle,⁴⁶ constituted a major event that shook up the situation on the Korean Peninsula. At that time in the Gaya region, a reunification

⁴⁴ Kim Taesik, "Hugi Gaya jeguk ui seongjang giban gochal," *Busan sahak* 11 (1986); Cho Yeongje, "Daraguk ui seongnip e daehan yeongu," *Gaya Gakguksa ui jae guseong* (2000).

⁴⁵ Noh Taedon, *Koguryōsa yeongu* (Seoul: Sagyejeol, 1999), p. 310.

⁴⁶ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 25, Baekje bongi 3 Gaerowang 21st year.

took place centered on Dae Gaya (Tae Kaya) in modern-day Goryeong forming the Later Gaya Confederation. In 479, Dae Gaya's King Gasil (Kasil : also known as King Haji) sent an envoy to the Southern Qi court in China and paid tribute, and as a result received the title of Bulwark-General of the State of Dae Gaya.⁴⁷ Gaya's reunification resulted from Dae Gaya's confidence based on its development and a reflection of its sense of crisis at the momentary collapse of Baekje.⁴⁸

During the second half of the 5th and the early 6th centuries, when the Later Gaya Confederation reached its greatest prosperity, its territory stretched west past Geochang (Köch'ang) and Hamyang and over the Sobaek Mountains to Sang-ha Gimun (Kimun : the area of modern Namwon, Imsil, and part of Jangsu), as well as to the so-called "Imna 4 Hyeon" (the area of modern Yeosu [Yösu], Suncheon [Sunchön], and Gwangyang [Kwangyang]). At its height, seven small countries in Jeolla Province and 15 in Gyeongsang Province made up the Later Gaya Confederation, a development which coincides with the distribution of Gaya-style vertical stone outer-coffin tombs and Gaya-style pottery.⁴⁹

However, an entry for the 8th year of Yuryaku (464) in the *Nihon Shoki* states that forces sent by the king of Imna (Mimana) fought with Koguryö forces on Silla soil. This account relates that "Koguryö stationed 100 soliders in Silla," that "the people of Silla likened the Koguryö soldiers to roosters and killed them," and that "Koguryö attacked Chukjongnyuseong (Ch'ukchongnyu-söng)." Given the concrete detail, the inclusion of comments made by Koguryö soldiers, and the reference to "other sources" regarding the name of Chukjongnyuseong, it

⁴⁷ *Nanqi shu* Vol. 58, liezhuan 30 Dongnanyi zhuan, Dongyi zhuan Jialo guo.

⁴⁸ Kim Taesik, "5segi huban Dae Gaya ui baljeon e daehan yeongu," *Hanguksaron* 13 (1985); *Gaya yeonmaengsa* (Seoul: Iljogak, 2002); *Miwan ui munmyeong: 7 baengnyeon Gayasa* Vol. 1 (Seoul: Pureun yeoksa, 2002), p. 180.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

seems this account derives from original Silla sources.⁵⁰ The account says that Silla asked the king of Imna to send a specific individual, the field marshal of Yamato no Mikotomochi (Nihonfu). Not only does this seem unlikely, but such terms as field marshal of Nihonfu date to much later times. Nonetheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that Silla asked Gaya for assistance.

This account coincides substantially with a 481 *Samguk sagi* entry telling that Koguryō attacked Silla and took seven forts including Homyeongseong (Homyōng-sōng) and then advanced to Mijilbu (Heunghae [Hūnghae] in Pohang) where Silla blocked their advance with help from Baekje and Gaya.⁵¹ This indicates that Silla may very well have asked Gaya for help. Entries in the *Samguk sagi* regarding the opening of a rift between Koguryō and Silla include a record from 450 about Koguryō attacking Silla's borders after a Silla man killed a Koguryō general who was hunting in the fields near Siljik (Silchik : Samcheok [Samch'ōk], Gangwon [Kangwōn] Province) ; a record from 454 of Koguryō transgressing Silla's borders again, and a record from 468 of Koguryō and the Malgal attacking Siljik. Considerations of pronunciation lead some scholars to believe that Chukjongnyuseong was Dalgubeol (Talgubōl) in modern Daegu,⁵² I believe that the pronunciation is closer to Siljik and Siljik does appear in the *Samguk sagi* as the sight of conflict between Silla and Koguryō in 450 and 468.

Thus it appears that the entry for 464 in the *Nihon shoki* describes a whole series of events that began with the rise of conflict between Koguryō and Silla in 450 and ends with Gaya providing military assistance in 481 in response to Silla's request. In other words, Gaya came to have an indirect hostile relationship with Koguryō through Silla.

⁵⁰ Ko Kwanmin, 1996. "5seiki shiragi no hokkuhen," *Samguk sagi no genten teki kenkyu* (Yuzankaku, 1996); *Kodai Chosen shokoku to Wakoku* (Yuzankaku, 1997).

⁵¹ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 3, Silla bongi 3, Soji maripgan 3rd year.

⁵² Suematsu Yasukazu, *Mimana koboshi* (1956 ed.) (Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1949), p. 86.

There is no way to know for sure whether Wa soldiers participated at that time in the Gaya military, but given the kind of material and human exchange that had been going on between Gaya and the Wa, it is possible some Wa soldiers may have been involved.⁵³

Although no subsequent material in the *Samguk sagi* permits speculation on Gaya-Koguryō relations, an account in the *Nihon Shoki* Kenzo 3rd Year (487) suggests the existence of a the relationship between Koguryo, Baekje, and Gaya. According to this account, a person from Wa called Ki no Ohiha no Sukune who was in contact with Koguryō, participated in a scheme devised by Jwaro Nagita Gabbae of Imna to kill Jeongmagihae of Baekje at Irim. They built Daesan Fortresses and cut off the Baekje army's supply route, causing the army to starve. Furious, the King of Baekje dispatched General Goihae and the Officer of the Military Stores Maggohae to attack Daesan. Ohiha no Sukune returned to Wa from Imna. Baekje killed Jwaro Nagita Gabbae and more than 300 men.

In this account, Ohiha appears as one of the Baekje aristocrats descended from the clan of Ki (K. *Mok*), an exile in the Wa, while Nagita Gabbae was a minor local chief of Gaya and military officer who had cooperated with Baekje. Looking at the *Nihon shoki* entries for Jingu and Ojin, we see records related to the Baekje general Mongna Geunja and his son Mok Manchi,⁵⁴ records that allow us to postulate that from the middle half of the 5th century, there existed relations of exchange among the Wa, Banpa (Panp'a) in Goryeong (i.e. Dae Gaya), and the Mok clan of Baekje. It appears that the activities of the Mok clan, who were Baekje aristocrats, indicate that Goryeong cooperated with Baekje in

⁵³ Kim Taesik & Song Gyehyeon, *Hanguk ui gima minjoknon* (2003), pp. 196-203; Kim Taesik, "4segi ui hanil gwangyesa – Gwanggaeto wangneung bimun ui waegun munje reul jungsim euro" (2005), pp. 17-89.

⁵⁴ *Nihon shoki* Vol. 9 Jingu kogo 62nd year; Vol. 10, Ojin tenno 25th year. The *Nihon shoki* gives dates of 262 and 294; it is believed, however, that the actual dates are 442 and 474. Yamao Yukihisa, "Godae no nicho kamkei" (Tokyo: 1989), pp. 113-127.

communicating with the Wa.⁵⁵ In the *Songshu* Baiji zhuan entry for 458 a man named Mok Geum (believed to have been Mongna Geunja), was among 11 men who received titles from the Liu Song at the recommendation of King Gaero,⁵⁶ thus providing evidence of his merit. Thus, it appears that the collaboration in external communications between Dae Gaya and the Mok clan in the mid-5th century gave rise to friendly relations between Baekje and Dae Gaya, as well as the surrounding small states, into the second half of the 5th century.

Irim, where the incident in question arose, appears to be the locale identified as Inghol-hyeon in the *Samguk sagi* Treatise on Geography, or present-day Eumseong (Ŭmsŏng) in North Chungcheong Province. The Daesan Fortress built by Nagita Gabbae, is supposed to lie next to Irim. Dosal (Tosal) Fortress in modern Doan, Chungcheong Province, can be interpreted as being the location of Daesan Fortress whose name bears a similar pronunciation.⁵⁷ Among the most recently excavated sites of Baekje's Ungjin period, a site at Namseonggol (Namsŏnggol), Buyongmyeon (Puyongmyŏn), Cheongwon-gun (Ch'ŏngwŏn'gun) in North Chungcheong Province⁵⁸ and a site at Wolpyeong-dong (Wŏlp'yŏngdong) in Daejeon (Taejŏn)⁵⁹ both yielded Koguryŏ pottery. These sites appear to be advance bases for Koguryŏ military forces on facing the Baekje capital of Ungjin (modern Gongju [Kongju]) and neighboring areas across the Geum (Kŭm) River.⁶⁰ Thus, after the fall of the Baekje capital at

⁵⁵ Lee Dohak, *Baekje godae gukga yeongu* (Iljisa, 1995), pp. 195-197.

⁵⁶ Kim Giseop, *Baekje wa Geunchogo wang* (Hagyeon munhwasa, 2000), p. 166; Lee Yonghyeon, "Mimana to nihonfu no mondai," *Toajia no kodai bunka* 110 (2002), p. 15.

⁵⁷ Kim Taesik, "5-6seigi Koguryŏ wa Gaya ui gwangye" (2006).

⁵⁸ Chungbuk daehakgyo bangmulwan, *Cheongwon Namseonggok Koguryŏ yujeok* (2004).

⁵⁹ Gungnip bangmulwan & Chungnam daehakgyo bangmulwan, *Daejeon Wolpyeong-dong yujeok* (1999).

⁶⁰ Pak Sunbal, "Koguryŏ wa Baekje – Sabi yangsik Baekje togi ui hyeongseong baegyeyong eul jungsim euro," *Goryeo daehakgyo bangmulwan-Goryeo sahakhoe juchoe gukje haksul simposium balpyo yoji* (2005), p. 36.

Wiryeseong and its relocation to Ungjin, Koguryō's territory reached south all the way down to the Geum River. Consequently, it is appropriate to consider Irim, i.e. Eumseong as Koguryō territory.

Reinterpreting this account based on this new geographical understanding, in the process of Baekje attacking the Koguryō territory of Irim, the Mok (Ki) clan along with the Nagita Gabbae faction who formed one part of the Baekje army joined in secret communication with Koguryō and killed Jeongmagihae (Chōngmagihae), who commanded the Baekje army. That a minor local chief from Gaya like Nagita Gabbae participated represents a major element of the account, lending insight into the attitudes of the Gaya forces involved in this conflict. Furthermore, the way in which they built Daesanseong and cut off the Baekje army's supply route, displays an aggressively hostile attitude towards Baekje, something they could not have done without anticipating cooperation from Koguryō.

After Baekje lost its Wiryeseong capital to Koguryō in 475, Baekje suffered a sharp decline in international prestige, so that Gaya, which had up to that point collaborated with Baekje, could easily turn its back on Baekje, leading to skepticism about Baekje's future even among some of Baekje's own aristocrats. Considering that Nagita Gabbae of Imna led the revolt against Baekje, we can say that the people of Gaya cooperated with Baekje based on their own interests and did not have any notion of enduring cooperation with, nor lasting loyalty to Baekje.

However, Koguryō did not provide supporting troops at the time of Baekje's counter attack, which killed Nagita Gabbae of Gaya and more than 300 troops. We can infer that one part of Nagita's group and their descendents, under pressure from Baekje, went into exile in Alla in the southern part of Gaya.⁶¹ At the time, Koguryō pursued a southern advance

⁶¹ Lee Yonghyeon, "5seiki matsu ni okeru Gaya no Kokuri sekkin to zasetsu," *To ajia no kodai bunk* (1997), p. 90; Lee Yonghyeon, "*Gaya to to ajia chokoku*" (Nihon kokugakuen daigaku daigakuen, Ph.D. dissertation, 1999), p. 49.



fig.5 Place names in the second half of the 5th century.

policy against Baekje and Silla, recognizing the need for Gaya's cooperation. Although they used disaffected Gaya elements within Baekje's coalition army, they did not offer continuous protection all the way to the end. Neither did Dae Gaya appear to be held responsible for the Nagita group's actions, so no war broke out between Baekje and Dae Gaya.

In sum, in the second half of the 5th century, Koguryō seized Baekje's capital and put pressure on the northern flanks of Silla's capital as it pursued a strong southern advance policy. The Gaya military at times supported Baekje and at times supported Silla, thus promoting indirect hostilities with Koguryō, but all for the purpose of enhancing Gaya's interests. As a result, under certain circumstances, Gaya could communicate secretly with the Koguryō forces and could betray the Baekje forces.

5. Alla's Secret Collusion with Koguryō and its Failure

From the late 5th century and into the early 6th century, Koguryō engaged in continuous war with Baekje. According to entries in the *Samguk sagi*, the battle sites of that time ranged from Sugokseong (Sugok-sōng : modern Dayul-myeon [Tayulmyōn], Singye, Hwanghae Province) in the north to Hanseong (Han-sōng : modern Hanam City), Salsuwon (modern Goesan, North Chungcheong Province) and Wonsanseong (Wōnsan-sōng: modern Eumseong). If this is correct, then the two kingdoms must have engaged in very fierce warfare with frequent changes of territory.

After King Seong took the throne in 526, Baekje repaired the fort at Ungjin and erected the Sajeong palisade (modern Sajeong-dong, Jung-Gu, Daejeon)⁶² to strengthen the capital region's defenses. After moving its capital to Sabi (modern Buyeo) in 538, Baekje began to develop active diplomatic relations. In response, after King Yangwon ascended to the throne in 545, Koguryō attacked Baekje's Doksanseong (Toksan-sōng :

⁶² *Samguk sagi* Vol. 26, Baekje bongi 4 Seong wang 4th year.

Yesan). In 550 it lost Dosalseong (Goesan) and it attacked Baekje's Geumhyeonseong (Kŭmhyŏn-sŏng : modern Jincheon in North Chungcheong Province), but none of its ventures had much success because of Silla's intervention. Finally in 551, Koguryŏ lost the Han River basin to the combined forces of Baekje and Silla.⁶³

In the middle part of the 6th century, a series of succession disputes centered on the relatives of the various queens in the final years of King Anwon's reign resulted in internal chaos when King Yangwon ascended to the throne at the age of 8 and the fundamental cause for Koguryŏ's inability to display great strength in its foreign wars as revealed in the 545 and 546 entries in the *Nihon shoki* that quote entries from the *Baekje bongi* (*pon'gi*) (百濟本記) based on Baekje's good knowledge of the political situation in Koguryŏ.⁶⁴ In addition, Koguryŏ experienced attacks from the Tujue at its Sinseong (modern Fushun in Liaoning) and Baegamseong (southeast of modern Liaoyang city).⁶⁵ Tension on its northwestern borders left Koguryŏ unable to respond quickly to the situation to its south in the Korean Peninsula.

On the other hand, at the beginning of the 6th century Dae Gaya and Baekje inevitably collided with the onset of King Muryeong's reign in Baekje and his pursuit of the southern advance policy. In particular, in seeking to create a trade system with the Wa via the lower reaches of the Seomjin (Sŏmjŏn) River, Baekje increased diplomatic pressure on the Gaya Confederation. Dae Gaya responded with force of arms to chase out the group of Wa led by Mononobe no Muraji that sought to trade with

⁶³ Ibid., Vol. 4, Silla bongi 4 jinheung wang 9th year, 11th year, 12th year; Vol. 26, Baekje bongi 4, Seong wang 26th year, 28th year; *Nihon shoki* Vol. 19 Kinmei 12th year.

⁶⁴ Noh Taedon, "Koguryŏ ui Hangang yuyeok sangsil ui wonin e daehayeo," *Hanguksa yeongu* 13, (1976); Noh Taedon, *Koguryeosa yeongu* (Seoul: Sagyejeol, 1999), pp. 397-401.

⁶⁵ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 12, Yangwon wang 7th year. Although this entry indicates 551 for the Tujue incursion, it actually happened in 554. This record is probably related to some other force that threatened Koguryŏ's western line of defense in the wake of the collapses of the Roruan. See Noh Taedon, 1999, p. 404.

Baekje, but in the end it lost Gimun (Kimun : modern Namwŏn and Imsil) to Baekje military pressure and fortified Daesa (Taesa : modern Hadong) and Jata (Chat'a : modern Jinju) against Baekje.⁶⁶

In 522, King Inoe of Dae Gaya, who had established the confrontational relationship with Baekje, created a marriage alliance with Silla. However, King Beopheung (Pŏphŭng) of Silla had other plans and succeeded in breaking up that alliance a few years later. This resulted in internal dissension led by Alla in Haman within the Later Gaya Confederation, which had been increasing its power in the southern region of Gaya. Silla, which was aware of this, launched an offensive that brought the surrender of Takgitan in the Miryang-Yeongsan area, of Geumgwan Gaya in Gimhae in 532, and of Taksun in Changwon in the late 530s. When this happened, Baekje garrisoned its troops in Geoltakseong (Kŏlt'ak-sŏng) near Alla and Guryemoraseong (Kuryemora-sŏng) in Chirwon (Ch'irwŏn). Thus, Silla or Baekje occupied each of the various countries in southern Gaya. However, where as Silla incorporated the new territories into its polity, Baekje simply interfered in the political affairs of the areas it occupied. As a result the Later Gaya Confederation, which had been divided into northern and southern groups centered on Dae Gaya at Goryeong and Alla at Haman respectively, now in 540s had to find a way to recover its lost territories while preparing for further attacks from Silla and Baekje.⁶⁷

According to the *Nihon shoki* entry for Kinmei 9th year, 4th month,⁶⁸ in 548, Alla, which was serving as the spokesperson for the southern states in the Gaya Confederation, recommended to Koguryŏ that it attack Baekje's Doksanseong (modern Yesan), but the attack failed

⁶⁶ Kim Taesik, "6segi jeonban Gaya nambu jeguk ui someyol gwajeong gochal," *Hanguk godaesa yeongu* 1 (1988); Kim Taesik, *Gaya yeonmaengsa* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1993); Kim Taesik, *Miwan ui munmyeong 7baengnyeon* Gayasa (2002), pp. 187-190.

⁶⁷ Kim Taesik, op. cit. (1988); Kim Taesik, op. cit. (2002), pp. 199-219.

⁶⁸ *Nihon shoki* Vol. 19, Kinmei 9th year.

due to Silla reinforcements. Upon the discovery of Alla's secret collusion with Koguryō from Koguryō soldiers that were taken prisoner there, Alla's international position became tenuous. The account here mentions not only Alla but also the "Yamato no Mikotomochi," i.e. Alla's office of Wa subjects, because subjects of Wa origins guided Alla's foreign affairs. In those years, northern and Southern Gaya pursued different plans. Alla, through its office of Wa subjects, presented itself as being under the influence of Yamato government, while in fact actually pursuing an independent line, as seen in bringing in Koguryō to contain Baekje.

How did this secret communication between Alla and Koguryō come about? There were a number of Wa subjects in Alla, including Ikuha no Omi, Kibi no Omi, Kahuchi no Atahi, Inasa, and Mado. Entries for 541 (7th month) and 544 (2nd & 3rd months) reveal that Kahuchi no Atahi, Inasa, and Mado promoted a pro-Silla policy. Their forebears were Nagita Gabbae and Karyeopjikji Gabbae. Mado and perhaps also Inasa were of mixed Gaya-Wa blood.⁶⁹ As we have already seen, in the late 5th century, Nagita Gabbae had already communicated secretly with Koguryō and had been killed by Baekje, and men like Mado inherited their forebears' orientation.

To Koguryō, which had long been in a situation of hostility with Baekje and Silla, Alla served as a valuable element with which to communicate secretly as a means of learning the situation in the south. Furthermore, Koguryō inclined even more to do so since the officials in charge of Alla's foreign affairs descended from people with whom Koguryō had communicated in the past. Thus, Alla probably instigated the 548 attack by Koguryō against Baekje.

Would Alla have communicated with Koguryō simply because some of its officials in charge of diplomatic affairs had an old grudge against Baekje? The cause lay in the second Sabi meeting between Alla

⁶⁹ Kim Taesik, *op. cit.* (1993), pp. 242-43.

and Baekje in 544, where Baekje's King Seong set forth the so-called "three plans."⁷⁰ These plans sought to expel the Alla subjects and officials who pursued a pro-Silla policy, and to station Baekje forces or Wa forces supported by Baekje in locales on both of Gaya's borders, as a means of eventually turning the Gaya Confederation into a Baekje protectorate. The Gaya side replied that such a plan was something they would have to consider carefully,⁷¹ thus in effect rejecting the plan. Between 545 and 547, Baekje continuously provided human and material aid to Gaya and the Wa⁷² in an effort to realize its plan. In 548 the Wa eventually promised to dispatch forces⁷³ and the northern Gaya states centered on Dae Gaya appear to have agreed to this.

Alla felt insecure in the face of these developments. If the allied forces of Baekje and Wa under the control of a Baekje general occupied six forts in the Alla area, Baekje would increase pressure on those Wa subjects who played an important role in maintaining Alla's autonomy, which in turn would diminish Alla's influence. Also, the forces in northern Gaya had continuously received advanced cultural products from Baekje and adopted pro-Baekje attitudes. Thus Alla, hoping to ameliorate Baekje pressure and recover Gaya unity, communicated secretly with Koguryō in hopes of creating chaos in Baekje.

However, when the defeat of Koguryō exposed Alla's secret dealings with Koguryō, Baekje asked the Wa to cease sending troops, uncertain of the cooperation it needed from the Wa and the Gaya Confederation in order to station Wa and Baekje troops. The Wa explained that they were not involved in Alla's secret communication with Koguryō.⁷⁴ In fact, because the Alla office of Wa subjects was not,

⁷⁰ *Nihon shoki* Kinmei 5th year, 11th month.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² *Nihon shoki* Kinmei 6th year 9th month.

⁷³ *Nihon shoki* Kinmei 9th year 1st month.

⁷⁴ See the final half of the entry at *Nihon shoki* Kinmei 9th year, 4th month.

despite its name, a legation for Wa emissaries but rather a special foreign affairs office under the direct control of the Alla king,⁷⁵ the Wa king probably knew nothing of their activities.

On the other hand, Alla, unable to explain itself after Koguryō, on whose strength it had been relying, now had displayed the limits of its foreign strategy and was no longer able exercise leadership over the anti-Baekje sentiment of other Gaya states. Thus the Alla king had no choice but to dismiss the officials of the office of Wa subjects and to bow before the demands of Baekje.⁷⁶ For its part, Baekje took military measures to punish Alla, but limited them in order to avoid alienating other Gaya elements.

As a result of this incident, those powers leading anti-Baekje activities within the Gaya Confederation were eliminated. In 550, not long after the elimination of the anti-Baekje faction, Baekje subjugation unified the Gaya Confederation. Of course, the leadership of the Gaya Confederation now had to follow Baekje's political leadership under Baekje subjugation. But Baekje did not directly control Gaya's political institutions. The original need to request the dispatch of Wa troops disappeared once Baekje control unified Gaya. Subsequent Baekje requests for the dispatch of Wa troops came for different reasons.

Nihon shoki and *Samguk sagi* records for 551⁷⁷ indicate that Baekje-Gaya coalition forces attacked the lower reaches of the Han River, and starting from Hanseong in modern Hanam, Gyeonggi (Kyōnggi) Province and South Pyeongyang (modern Seoul), they recovered 6 districts, and at the same time, Silla forces attacked the upper reaches of the Han River, taking 10 districts between Jungnyeong

⁷⁵ Kim Taesik, "530nyeondae Alla ui 'Nihonfu' gyeongyeong e daehayeo," *Ulsan sahak* 4 (1991); Kim Taesik, op. cit. (1993), p. 241.

⁷⁶ There is no documentary evidence for the Alla king's actions but considering that the Alla king later emerged as a major player in the Gaya Confederation along with the Gara king and the Dae Gaya king, there must have been a measure of this sort.

⁷⁷ *Nihong shoki* Vol. 19 Kinmei 12th year; *Samguk sagi* Vol. 4 jinheung wang 12th year; *Samguk sagi*, Vol. 44, Yeoljeon Geochilbu.

(Danyang, North Chungcheong Province) and Gohyeon in modern Goksan, Hwanghae Province. In other words, Gaya, as allies of Baekje, had now occupied the lower Han River basin that had been Koguryō territory.

An issue here is the question of from which region these Imna, or Gaya, soldiers came. The *Nihon shoki* tells that in 552 Baekje, Gara, Alla, and the Yamato no Mikotomochi (Nihonfu) together sent an emissary to ask for the dispatch of Wa troops and that the Wa king indicated that he understood the circumstances behind such a joint embassy.⁷⁸ This entry can provide us with a way to think about from where the Gaya soldiers came. This situation appears to have been in formation in 551, or even earlier.

In 550, King Seong told the Wa king that “I will firmly handle the Imna situation according to your command; I will uphold your command whether or not we inquire into the Yeonnasa (Yōnnasa) and Mado affair.”⁷⁹ Such a statement appears to be predicated on Baekje’s confidence that it could control the entire Gaya region, including Alla. That Ureuk (Urūk), a music master of Dae Gaya had gone over to Baekje in the third month of 551 can be seen as an act of rebellion against the large number of Gaya entities that had already accepted subjugation by Baekje in 550.⁸⁰ Thus we can say that the Gaya forces allied with Baekje in 551 came from throughout Gaya, from Dae Gaya in the north to Alla in the south. Probably the largest number came from Dae Gaya, which had been showing a pro-Baekje attitude for quite some time.

The occupation of the Han River basin by the combined forces of Baekje, Silla, and Gaya did not end with the divided occupation of the region by Baekje and Silla. Rather in just two years, more dramatic

⁷⁸ *Nihon shoki* Vol. 19 Kinmei 13th year, 5th month.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 11th year, 4th month.

⁸⁰ Kim Taesik, *Miwan ui munmyeong 7baengnyeong Gayasa* (2002), pp. 230-231.



fig.6 6th century place names

developments unfolded. According to the *Samguk sagi*, in the seventh month of 553, Silla seized Baekje's northeast outer districts and established Sinju in modern Hanam, Gyeonggi Province.⁸¹

Thus the Gaya Confederation found itself once again mobilized for a Baekje war. The *Samguk sagi* tells that in 554 Baekje and Garyang (Karyang) attacked Gwansanseong (Kwansan-sŏng : modern Okcheon in North Chungcheong Province).⁸² Of course, here Garyang means the Gaya Confederation. Baekje and Gaya's attack on Silla touched off the war, and here the coalition army suffered a large-scale defeat with 29,600 killed in battle. However, in order to prepare for a Koguryŏ attack, Baekje could not send many Baekje troops, so the coalition army primarily consisted of Gaya forces as Baekje felt it necessary to hold back most of its troops in case of attack from Koguryŏ.

Oddly enough, however, the person who led Silla to victory over Baekje and Gaya at Gwansanseong was Kim Muryeok (Muryŏk), the third son of Guhyeong (Kuhyŏng), the king of Geumgwan Gaya.⁸³ It is an historical irony that a member of an old Gaya royal family destroyed a great Gaya army. Although the Gwansanseong battle represented a fateful struggle between Silla and Baekje that can be traced back to troubles with Koguryŏ, in the end it turned out to be a battle among Gaya people acting on behalf of Baekje and Silla. The large loss of life at this battle hastened the downfall of the Gaya Confederation.

Conclusion

Due to their geographical distance from one another, it's easy to think that Gaya and Koguryŏ would not engage in any political or military

⁸¹ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 4 Silla bongi 4 Jinheung wang 14th year.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 15th year.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

contacts. However, the reality was quite different. Koguryō's movements indirectly, and at times directly effected Gaya.

Although Koguryō and Gaya had not contact before the 3rd century, both parties served as trade intermediaries in their respective areas in the north and the south of the Peninsula of Korea. Whereas Koguryō alternated between military offensives and diplomatic overtures in its dealings with Lelang and Daifang, Gaya focused on peaceful contacts with those Chinese commanderies.

In the 4th century, once Koguryō had toppled Lelang and Daifang, Gaya divided into eastern and western halves due to internal conflict. In the latter half of the 4th century, the rapidly growing Baekje fought with Koguryō for over 30 years to control the old territory of Daifang. Gaya, while participating in the Baekje-centered trade system, reunified and returned to its former role as trade intermediary.

The largest influence Koguryō had on Gaya history was the army sent by King Gwanggaeto in response to a request by Silla in 400. This army drove back the "Wa enemy" and attacked the Gaya Confederation's leading state, Imna Gara. With the "Wa enemy" primarily composed of Gaya soldiers, Wa reinforcements mobilized by Baekje and Gaya composed only a small portion of the Gaya-Wa coalition army. Koguryō-Silla coalition forces destroyed Gaya's main force, a development that had very negative consequences for the subsequent development of Gaya history. The Gimhae-centered Early Gaya Confederation collapsed, and the Gaya Confederations had to go through a transition to a new restructuring in the first half of the 5th century.

The latter half of the 5th century saw the establishment of the Later Gaya Confederation centered on Dae Gaya in Goryeong. At that time, Koguryō intensified its southern advance policy. It captured Baekje's capital, and even attacked Silla. Although Gaya for the most part assisted Baekje and Silla in driving back the Koguryō forces, it did cooperate with Koguryō on two occasions.

Koguryō and Gaya first collaborated in the last quarter of the 5th

century. At the time, Gaya and Baekje were fighting against Koguryŏ at Irim and Daesanseong in North Chungcheong Province. During this campaign, the Gaya army secretly communicated with the Koguryŏ army and turned against the Baekje army which had been its ally. But a Baekje counterattack spelled failure for this collaboration.

The second instance of collaboration between Koguryŏ and Gaya came in the middle part of the 6th century, a time when Dae Gaya had lost much of its authority and the Gaya Confederation had divided into northern and southern groups. Although Dae Gaya in the north had maintained close relations with Baekje since 540, in 548 Wa subjects who had engaged in secret collusion with Koguryŏ on their own initiative persuaded Allain the south to attack Baekje. According to their secret plan, Koguryŏ attacked Doksanseong (Yesan, South Chungcheong Province), but its efforts came to naught due to Silla intervention. In the end, the Gaya Confederation became more closely tied with Baekje.

Unfortunately these two instances did not lead to the establishment of a solid relationship between Koguryŏ and Gaya, since both ended in failure. The root cause of misunderstanding between these two countries comes from the fact that Baekje and Silla stood in between them. However, in the final analysis, it remains important to note that Gaya's own choices ultimately determined its actions vis-a-vis Koguryŏ.