Control or Conquer?
Koguryŏ's Relations with States and Peoples in Manchuria

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Despite a relative shortage of historical source material available on the subject today, it is nevertheless possible to begin to address the matter of Koguryo's relations with peoples and states in the Manchuria region. This preliminary study makes use of sparse historical references and recently accumulated archaeological data to explore koguryo's relations with various group to its north and east through several historical periods. The results of this study suggest that Koguryo's policies with regard to its treatment of neighboring groups varied between outright conquest and negotiated control, depending upon practical circumstances.

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Introduction

A state's formation and its development, as well as its stability and long-term continuity all depend to a considerable degree on its effective management of relations with neighboring peoples and states. In the case of Koguryŏ, inter-regional relations were successful in that they allowed Koguryŏ to maintain an independent existence for over seven centuries, though there were also major diplomatic blunders and miscalculations that more than once brought Koguryŏ to the edge of destruction.

A state's inter-regional relations are best viewed as matrices or networks, with very complex dynamics and subtleties that we are today unable to recover completely from the surviving record. It may thus be ill-advised to attempt to analyze one part of such a network in isolation of the other parts. On the other hand, it may be useful to perform such a geographically-based dissection of Koguryŏ's inter-regional relations while keeping the larger picture always in view and drawing meaningful comparisons wherever possible. Further, it will be necessary to regard the

conclusions derived from such a project as tentative, treating them instead as a flexible model to be tested against additional data as they may become available.

With this cautionary framework in mind, the present study will examine Koguryŏ's relations with its neighbors in Manchuria in an effort to isolate general practices, look for patterns, and attempt to determine whether these relations functioned in a particular identifiable manner. The geographical scope of the analysis will be defined as that portion of Manchuria equivalent to the present Jilin Province, the adjacent part of southeastern Heilongjiang Province, and the northeastern part of the Korean Peninsula. This scope does not include the Liaodong region, which would be more usefully analyzed together with Koguryŏ's relations with Chinese states and peoples. Finally, for the purpose of convenience in exposition, this study is divided into three chronological periods, which are delimited in such a way as to reduce the risk of obscuring the perception of useful detail with its artificiality.

1. The Early Period (to circa A.D. 300)

The early period of Koguryŏ's history is characterized by its formation and development as a state and culminates with its first major crisis in the mid-third century, after which Koguryŏ vanishes from Chinese historical records for nearly five decades. When the state resurged dramatically in the early fourth century it was a changed polity, particularly in terms of its ruling structure, which appears to have become more regimented and centralized under a succession of powerful kings. It is therefore useful to isolate Koguryŏ history prior to the fourth century for the purposes of analyzing its relations with neighboring peoples.

Koguryŏ's inter-regional relations at the beginning of this period (circa first century BC to the early first century) focused on tribal groups in its immediate vicinity, on the Han commandery of Xuantu and on the

state of Buyeo (Puyŏ). Since surviving historical documents describing early relations between Koguryŏ and neighboring tribal groups bind those events closely with the Koguryŏ foundation myth, it is difficult to determine what content of this narrative, if any, is historical and what is myth. The *Koguryŏ Annals* of the *Samguk sagi* provide some details of Koguryŏ's relations with various neighboring groups, but an interpretation of such records depends upon how one understands the nature of the *Koguryŏ Annals* as a documentary narrative.[1] Early records describe Koguryŏ's subjugation of groups such as Biryuguk (Piryu-guk), Haenginguk (Haengin-guk), and its relations with the kingdom of Hwangnyong guk; however, as these polities are not otherwise attested in historical records, their historicity cannot be demonstrated.[2] Similarly, some later accounts describe the conquest of polities named Kalsa, Chona and Chuna, and while these records appear to describe historic events, little else is known about the polities themselves.[3] Taken as a whole, the historicity of these records purporting to describe Koguryŏ's conquest of neighboring polities cannot be demonstrated, but they can be accepted in general as accurate depictions of Koguryŏ's early conquest and incorporation of surrounding tribal groups.

There are other records in the *Koguryŏ Annals* that describe relations with recognizably historical polities, though there are reasons to

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1 The historical nature of certain portions of the *Koguryŏ Annals*, especially those of the first five reigns, is a topic of much scholarly debate, and deservedly so. One problem concerns whether to read accounts as historical narratives or as mythical representations, and there is much room for debate and interpretation here. Another problem focuses on the chronological arrangement of records in the *Annals* – while there is no doubt that some chronological errors do exist in the *Annals*, there is little agreement as to which records are misplaced in the chronology or how misplaced records should properly dated.

2 For Biryuguk see *Samguk sagi*, 130-31 (Dongmyeong 1, 2); for Haenginguk see *Samguk sagi*, 131 (Dongmyeong 6); for Hwangnyong see *Samguk sagi*, 134 (Yuri 27).

3 For Kalsa, Chona and Chuna see *Samguk sagi*, 143 (Taejo 16, 20 and 22). Kalsa is elsewhere described as a state established in the Yalu River valley by a refugee Buyeo prince; *Samguk sagi*, 138 (Taemu 5).

question the accuracy of the accounts or their chronology. An example is the story of Hodong and the kingdom of Nangnang, which itself contains so many obviously fantastic elements that its mythical character is clear.[4] Nevertheless, some scholars, particularly in North Korea, have accepted as genuine the description of a state called Nangnang that is distinct from the commandery of Lelang. However, given the lack of clearly historical data concerning this polity, it is perhaps best not to make unsupportable assumptions regarding its historicity.

By contrast, records concerning Koguryŏ's relations with Okjeo (Okchŏ) appear to be based on actual events, but their chronological placement in the *Koguryŏ Annals* is suspect. An early record purports to describe Koguryŏ's conquest and incorporation of Northern Okjeo in a year corresponding to 28 B.C..[5] If this polity corresponds to the Northern Okjeo mentioned in the third century which was most likely located on the Tumen River, it is very unlikely that Koguryŏ authority could have extended so far at such an early date. Another account recording Koguryŏ's subjugation of Eastern Buyeo in the year AD 56 is possibly genuine, but there is again some question as to its chronological accuracy.[6] To generalize the above-described accounts from the *Koguryŏ Annals*, we may accept them as reflecting Koguryŏ's early subjugation of neighboring tribal groups, but the associated chronology should b e treated with caution.

Of a different character are early accounts of Koguryŏ's military campaigns against Buyeo, its powerful neighbor to the north. The foundation myth claims that the Koguryŏ ruling house was a breakaway group from Buyeo, which may be true in some respect, though it could equally well be a completely mythical representation created for the

4 *Samguk sagi*, 140 (Taemu 15).

5 *Samguk sagi*, 131 (Dongmyeong 10).

6 *Samguk sagi*, 143 (Taejo 4).

purpose of defining the early Koguryŏ state and people. That Koguryŏ had engaged Buyeo in warfare early in its history is supported by independent documentation and would seem to be beyond question.[7] I have written elsewhere on the matter of the chronology and sequence of events associated with these early wars with Buyeo and will here present only the conclusions of that analysis.[8]

Prior to its emergence as a state, Koguryŏ lay just beyond the southernmost territories of Buyeo. In 75 B.C. the Han commandery of Xuantu was removed from its original location in the Okjeo region and placed so that it extended eastward from Liaodong in such a way as to separate Buyeo from Koguryŏ and its neighboring tribes to the south of Buyeo. This interposition of Xuantu may have been intended to check the southward expansion of Buyeo or to prevent an alliance between Buyeo and the southern tribes. That Buyeo and Koguryŏ had once allied themselves against Han is implied in a statement related to Wang Mang's heavy-handed policies regarding Koguryŏ in A.D. 12. Wang's advisor urged him not to press the Koguryŏ people lest the Buyeo and Yemaek make common cause with Koguryŏ and rise up *again* against Han.[9] When Wang proceeded to execute the Koguryŏ leader, the response was a general rebellion among the Koguryŏ and Yemaek people that continued for years and resulted in a lapse of the authority of Xuantu.

It was during this period of Xuantu's lapse that Koguryŏ executed a vigorous series of campaigns to the west and north. Its forces first moved westward and attacked the Yang-Maek tribes on the Liang River梁水 (they had possibly been allied with Han via Liaodong), after which the

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7 See *Weishu*, 2214, which states that the Koguryŏ king Mangnae 莫來 had attacked and defeated Buyeo. Mangnae is evidently identical to the king Churyu 朱留 who is named in the *Koguryŏ Annals* (posthumously styled Taemu 大武神王) and in the Gwanggaeto (Kwanggaet'o) stele.

8 For detailed arguments see Byington 2001; and Byington 2003, pp. 241-48.

9 *Hanshu*, 4130.

army turned northward and struck at the heart of Xuantu, rendering the commandery powerless. With the interposition of Xuantu removed, Koguryŏ then marched northward and attacked Buyeo, dealing it a sound defeat. Shortly after this victory, Koguryŏ subjugated the Kaema tribe, which had also been subordinate to Xuantu and was probably located near modern Tonghua in Jilin Province.[10] Koguryŏ's territorial scope thus extended northward to include the Hun River valley, bringing it into direct contact with Buyeo's southern territories. Although Han authority in the northeastern commanderies was reasserted in A.D. 30, Xuantu no longer provided an effective barrier between Koguryŏ and Buyeo.

Although there are no clear references to Koguryŏ's relations with Buyeo in the ensuing decades, it is clear that from the Han perspective Koguryŏ had become very difficult to manage.[11] By 106 Koguryŏ's continued pressure on Xuantu finally forced the commandery to abandon its base on the Suzi River near Yongling and to withdraw northwestward to the Fushun region. Koguryŏ's northern frontier by then completely adjoined Buyeo's southern territories. Although there are no extant records specifically describing Koguryŏ-Buyeo relations at this time, that fact that Koguryŏ's siege of Xuantu's new base at modern Fushun in 121

10 The association between Kaema and Xuantu is based on my own research on the Xuantu Commandery (Byington, 2001), in which I propose that the individual districts of Xuantu each dealt with separate indigenous tribal groups, such that the magistrate of Gaogouli district managed relations with Koguryŏ, and that of Xigaima district managed the Kaema tribe. I suggest also that Xigaima is probably to be identified with walled remains located to the west of Tonghua in Jilin Province. In recent years the remains of a large settlement have been identified at Wanfabozi in the southern suburbs of Tonghua. Excavations have revealed that an indigenous population inhabited this site both before and during the Koguryŏ period (Jilinsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, et al. 2003). It is possible that these are the remains of the Kaema kingdom described in the *Koguryŏ Annals*, and that Kaema was one of the Yemaek tribes that had, like Koguryŏ, engaged in client relations with Han through the agency of Xuantu.

11 There are two records describing presentation of goods from Buyeo, dated to 77 and 105, and one account of the Koguryŏ king making a royal tour of Buyeo. See *Samguk sagi* 143 (Taejo 25); 144 (Taejo 53); 144 (Taejo 69). The first two are plausible but the third is not, unless the Buyeo in the account refers to some part of Buyeo that Koguryŏ had captured and occupied. That Koguryŏ was difficult to manage at this time can be seen in *Sanquozhi*, 843.

was broken only by the arrival of a Buyeo army suggests that Koguryŏ represented a threat to Buyeo at the time.[12] The Fushun region was strategically crucial to Buyeo as it controlled the primary routes between Liaodong and the Buyeo heartland. Koguryŏ's successful seizure of this base would have both cut Buyeo off from Han and given Koguryŏ access to its strategic transit routes. Later events would demonstrate that Buyeo's future depended substantially upon control of the present Fushun region.

As Koguryŏ continued to assert pressure on Buyeo's southern regions, it also focused its attention on control over the Okjeo and Ye people in the northeastern part of the Korean Peninsula and the adjacent part of Manchuria. Following the lapse of Han authority in the region as a result of Wang Mang's policies, direct control over the eastern part of Lelang was formally discontinued in A.D. 30, and the indigenous leaders of Okjeo and Ye were enfeoffed as district Marquises and given autonomy over their people. It is known that by circa 200 these groups had fallen under Koguryŏ control, and it seems likely that this occurred during the second century.[13] A record in the *Hou Hanshu* states that in 118, Koguryŏ and Yemaek armies had attacked Xuantu and the town of Huali, the latter of which was one of the districts of eastern Lelang that had been given autonomy.[14] This apparently represents Koguryŏ's initial advance into the Okjeo region.

In the late second century the Gongsun hegemons of Liaodong successfully exploited a succession struggle and produced a split within the Koguryŏ leadership. The faction that eventually persevered withdrew from the capital on the Biryu (Piryu) River (present Huanren) and

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12 *Hou Hanshu*, 2814-15.

13 See *Sanguozhi*, 848, which shows that at the end of the Han period the Ye were "again subject to Koguryŏ" (漢末更屬句麗).

14 *Hou Hanshu*, 2814.

established a new capital on the Yalu River (present Ji'an).[15] This transfer removed the Koguryŏ political center from the agriculturally rich Huanren region with its broad alluvial plains to the mountainous Ji'an region, which provided superior protection from invasion but very little arable land. Such conditions would have forced the Koguryŏ leadership to rely on the continuous importation of basic provisions from outside of the capital region. The mid-third century description of the Okjeo people as virtual slaves to the Koguryŏ kings, hauling provisions (including cloth, fish, salt and sea products) from the peninsular northeast to the distant mid-Yalu basin, would seem to reflect the peculiar arrangement mandated by the relocation of the capital and the loss of the resources of the Huanren region.[16] The subjugation of Okjeo and the extraction of its resources thus provided partial compensation for the loss of subsistence materials suffered by the Koguryŏ leadership at this time.

Chinese records suggest that the original Koguryŏ capital in Huanren continued to serve as a political base for the faction that remained on the Biryu River, though this Koguryŏ court would presumably have fallen under the influence of the Gongsun rulers of Liaodong.[17] It is not known for how long this situation continued, but it is evident that the Koguryŏ court in the east would have retaken the Huanren region by the time the Gongsun were destroyed in 238. Koguryŏ provided ready assistance to the armies of the Wei state when it moved in to take control of Liaodong from the Gongsun, which would

15 This view of the transfer of Koguryŏ power from the Huanren region to Ji'an is not popularly held in Korean scholarship (but see Noh Taedon 1999). Nevertheless, it appears likely that the traditional interpretation of the *Koguryŏ Annals*, which suggests that the transfer occurred early in the first century, is incorrect and that the transfer actually occurred by the early third century. See Byington 2004. For an opposing argument, see Yeo Hogyu 2005.

16 See *Sanguozhi*, 846, account of Eastern Okjeo: 國小，迫于大國之間，遂臣屬句麗. 句麗復置其中大人為使者，使相主領，又使大加統責其租稅，貊布，魚，鹽，海中食物，千里擔負致之，又送其美女以為婢妾，遇之如奴僕.

17 *Sanguozhi*, 845, account of Koguryŏ.

have provided Koguryŏ with an opportunity to reclaim the old capital region if it had not already done so. But Koguryŏ soon afterward attempted to extend its authority to the mouth of the Yalu when it attacked the Liaodong district of Xi'anping 西安平 in 242.[18] Since this would have cut off the land routes between Liaodong and the peninsular commanderies of Lelang and Daifang,[19] the Wei emperor, fully intending to assert his own control over those commanderies, moved against Koguryŏ in a series of campaigns that would prove to be profoundly important in several respects.

The Wei attacks directed by the general Guanqiu Jian in 244 first struck the Koguryŏ capital fortress of Hwando and destroyed it. A second assault launched by the Xuantu governor Wang Qi sent the Koguryŏ king Wigung on a flight to take refuge in Okjeo. Wang first pursued the king to Okjeo, then chased him northward past Northern Okjeo and into the southernmost territories of Yilou before he evidently lost his trail or overextended his reach. A series of associated campaigns launched in 245 by the governors of Lelang and Daifang successfully removed the Okjeo and Ye from Koguryŏ control and brought them back under the influence of the commanderies.[20] These Wei campaigns are thus significant in that they shattered the Koguryŏ central ruling structure and removed a major source of crucial resources.[21] It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Koguryŏ does not appear in Chinese records for the next half-century. The campaigns are also significant in that they provided the detailed

18 *Sanquozhi*, 845, account of Koguryŏ: 正始三年，宮寇西安平.

19 The commandery of Daifang was established early in the third century by the Gongsun rulers of Liaodong when the southern section of Lelang, formerly administered under the Commandant of the Southern Division, was separated from Lelang and designated as a new commandery. Its territory generally encompassed the Jaeryeong (Chaeryŏng) River drainage system in the northern half of Hwanghae Province.

20 *Sanquozhi*, 849, account of Ye.

21 After the loss of Okjeo resources Koguryŏ would have relied on the production derived from the old capital region of Jolbon (Huanren), which by then would have returned to Koguryŏ control.

information on the various peoples of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria that appears in the *Dongyi zhuan* of the *Sanguozhi*, perhaps the most important single source of information for the culture and society of early Korean states and peoples.

While Chinese sources are silent on Koguryŏ for the latter half of the third century, the *Koguryŏ Annals* record a succession of events suggesting that Koguryŏ rulers busied themselves rebuilding their state and struggling for control over their people. A record dated to 247 describes the transfer of the capital to a site that probably corresponds to the walled town in Ji'an that is later referred to as Gungnaeseong (Kungnae-sŏng), while the destroyed site of Hwando was left to ruin.[22] Other records, not attested elsewhere, show Koguryŏ conquests against Yang-Maek in 259 (on the headwaters of the present Taizi River in Liaoning) and Sushen in 280 (a reference to the Yilou, occupying the Mudan River basin in eastern Jilin and southeastern Heilongjiang).[23] While it is quite possible that Koguryŏ sought to regain control over the Yang-Maek, who lay between the old capital region in Huanren and the Liaodong commandery, it is uncertain whether Koguryŏ territory could have extended far enough to the northeast at this time to permit such an attack against the Yilou.

Still other records in the *Koguryŏ Annals* describe early enmity with the emerging Murong Xianbei authority to the west.[24] The Murong had destroyed the Buyeo capital in 285 and sent the ruling house fleeing

22 *Samguk sagi*, 158 (Dongcheon 21). The passage reads 王以丸都城經亂, 不可復都, 築平壤城, 移民及廟社. The Pyeongyangseong mentioned here cannot have been at or near the later Koguryŏ capital of Pyeongyang, as that region was firmly under the control of Wei. It is more likely that the term simply means "the walled town in the plain" and is identical to that site later called Gungnaeseong, located in the plain just to the south of Hwandoseong. I believe that the walled ruins at Ji'an were first constructed in or about 247 and that this record describes that construction. This view is not popularly accepted in current scholarship, but I believe it is defensible.

23 *Samguk sagi*, 159 (Jungcheon 12); 160 (Seocheon 11).

24 *Samguk sagi*, 160 (Bongsang 2); 161 (Pongsang 5).

to seek protection in the Northern Okjeo region. Although the Buyeo capital was restored the following year with the assistance of the Jin emperor, a Buyeo presence evidently remained in Northern Okjeo and is very likely the Eastern Buyeo mentioned in later accounts. Remaining records in the *Koguryŏ Annals* for the latter half of the third century show a series of rebellions and betrayals suggesting instability in the leadership and a decline in royal authority. This situation would soon change, however.

Koguryŏ's inter-regional relations during its early period can be characterized as focused initially on small-scale expansion by conquest, followed by a forceful negotiation of power with Buyeo. Once established, Koguryŏ leaders then pushed steadily to remove the onerous imposition of Xuantu and began to make inroads into the Okjeo and Ye regions to the southeast. The rift in leadership instigated by the Gongsun around 200 forced the establishment of a new capital and necessitated the integration of Okjeo resources to sustain the capital. The rise of the Wei state freed Koguryŏ of the Gongsun, but soon proved to be an even greater threat when the Wei crippled Koguryŏ's leadership and stripped it of control over Okjeo and Ye. Although Koguryŏ later worked to regain control over the Yang-Maek to the west and may have made inroads toward the Yilou to the northeast, its primary focus in the late third century was stabilizing its own internal affairs and instituting a centralized rule.

2. The Middle Period (Circa A.D. 300 to 478)

To analyze Koguryŏ's inter-regional relations in the middle period we must look to other source materials. The *Koguryŏ Annals* provide detailed information for Koguryŏ's political affairs up to the beginning of King Micheon (Mich'ŏn)'s reign, but such data are very sparse and fragmentary for later periods, many having been drawn directly from Chinese sources. This reflects the nature of the *Koguryŏ Annals* as a

compilation of materials from many disparate sources, with the material for the reigns up to Micheon having been drawn substantially from survivals of Koguryŏ's own historical records. For the middle period we must rely more heavily on Chinese source data and will focus on Koguryŏ's competition with the Murong Xianbei over control of Buyeo as well as Koguryŏ's expansion into the Okjeo region.

The first third of the fourth century was for Koguryŏ a time of aggressive expansion under a succession of powerful kings. King Micheon (r. 300-331) was by all accounts a charismatic leader, and his rise to power by assassination brought Koguryŏ out of a period in which the state had been ruled by relatively weak kings who struggled with the aristocracy for power. After 291 the Jin empire was increasingly unable to govern the northeastern commanderies, which created an opportunity for the rise of the Murong Xianbei. King Micheon likewise took advantage of this situation and twice invaded Xuantu. In 311 he took Xi'anping at the mouth of the Yalu, which severed the peninsular commanderies from their land route to Liaodong. He then moved to strike at Lelang in 313 and Daifang in 315, and soon thereafter had established for Koguryŏ a foothold in those southern territories.[25]

The next target was Liaodong, but due to the rise of the Murong to the north and west of Liaodong, Koguryŏ came into direct confrontation with the Xianbei over control of this region. The struggle with the Murong Xianbei characterized Koguryŏ's inter-regional relations for much of the fourth century. In many respects the Murong were successful in their bid to control Liaodong, but in 333 a succession struggle among the Murong gave King Micheon's successor, King Gogugwon (Kogugwŏn : r. 331-371), an opportunity to seize the Xuantu region at

25 This is evidently the same strategy that had been attempted much earlier after the collapse of Gongsun authority in Liaodong. In that instance, however, Koguryŏ's plans were foiled when the Wei responded forcefully to Koguryŏ's seizure of the mouth of the Yalu River and prevented it from moving against Lelang and Daifang.

modern Fushun, where the strategically crucial base of Sinseong (Sinsŏng) was constructed two years later. This was an important move for Koguryŏ since, as described above, control of the Fushun region also represented control over access to Buyeo and over that state's communications with states in the Central Plains.

There are few extant records describing the state of Buyeo after the Xianbei attack of 285 crippled it, but it is assumed that Buyeo had entered a phase of steady decline and had been initially sustained by its relationship with the Jin empire. Previously this vertical alliance had effectively offset the threat represented by emergent Koguryŏ and Xianbei powers, respectively to the east and west. But when Jin was thrown into disorder in 291 (the Eight Princes Disturbance), Buyeo sat isolated and exposed to the rising threat of its neighbors to the south and west. It is likely that Koguryŏ's seizure of the Fushun region and the construction of Sinseong (identified with ruins today called Gaoershan mountain fortress) gave Koguryŏ a measure of influence over Buyeo.

The events that resulted in the final loss of Buyeo's independent existence are unfortunately obscured by corrupted and incomplete historical records. The Xianbei strike at the Buyeo capital in 346 is described in some detail in the *Zizhi tongjian*, but the same source also states that at some time prior to this attack the Buyeo capital at Noksan (modern Jilin) had already been destroyed by Baekje and that the remnants of the Buyeo court had relocated westward to a new center close to Yan.[26] There are today various theories as to who the aggressors of this pre-346 attack might have been, but most are agreed that the attribution to Baekje is in error. Instead, it is usually assumed that either Koguryŏ or the Yilou directed the strike that destroyed the Buyeo capital, but further speculation is hampered by the lack of a date for this event,

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26 *Zizhi tongjian*, 3069: 初，夫餘居于鹿山，為百濟所侵，部落衰散，西徙近燕，而不設備.

except that it occurred before the Xianbei strike of 346.[27] If, indeed, Koguryŏ had delivered the strike that destroyed the Buyeo capital at Noksan, this event must have occurred between 335 and 342.

The construction of Sinseong in early 335 would have set the stage for a Koguryŏ assault on Buyeo, but by the following year the Murong state of Former Yan was already applying pressure upon Koguryŏ's fortifications in the Fushun region. Then in late 342 came the Murong assault on Koguryŏ's heartland, which resulted in the destruction of the capital at Hwando, the desecration of King Micheon's tomb and the pilfering of his corpse, and the taking captive of King Gogugwon's mother and a great many Koguryŏ people. The Murong were able to deliver this strike because they bypassed the heavily defended northern route, which would have required the taking of Sinseong and various fortified locations on the Suzi River valley, and instead attacked via a more rugged but less fortified southern route.[28] The successful execution of this maneuver gave Yan a great advantage over Koguryŏ and would most likely have eventually placed the strategic Fushun region under Murong control. That Yan had come to control the Fushun region by 345 is implied in the fact that late in that year the Murong attacked and occupied the Koguryŏ fortification of Namsoseong (Namso-sŏng), which was located on the Suzi River to the southeast of Sinseong – that is, the

27 My own opinion is that this earlier attack came at most only a year or two before the Xianbei strike, since the *Zizhi tongjian* account notes that the dislocated court had not set up defenses, suggesting that they had not had sufficient time to regroup before the second attack was upon them. Such timing would make the Yilou more likely than Koguryŏ to have delivered the strike. By contrast, Yeo Hogyu (Yeo Ho-gyu, 2000) argues that Koguryŏ was indeed the aggressor and that its initial occupation of the Buyeo core region began as early as the period from 333 to 336, when the succession dispute among the Murong gave Koguryŏ an opportunity to advance to the northwest.

28 For these events, see *Zizhi tongjian* 3050-51; *Samguk sagi* 164-65 (Gogugwon 12). The location of the northern and southern routes to the Koguryŏ capital is a much debated topic. For an overview of the various hypotheses that have been proposed, see Li Jiancai 1995, 64-76. I believe that the northern route followed the Suzi River valley, while the southern route proceeded by way of Huanren or possibly along the Yalu River valley.

Murong would have had to have control of Sinseong before they could take Namsoseong.

Between 342 and 345, then, the Murong Xianbei had taken control of the routes into the Buyeo heartland. The attack that followed the next year destroyed the displaced Buyeo court and ended Buyeo's long existence as an independent state. It is possible that Koguryŏ had attacked and taken the old Buyeo capital of Noksan between 335 and 342, but it is impossible to prove this without additional data. It is also possible that the Yilou, Buyeo's erstwhile subjects, had destroyed Noksan before the Murong dealt their final blow. While we may never know who destroyed Noksan, we do know, first, that the Murong were more interested in taking high-level Buyeo captives than in occupying Buyeo territories, and second, that by the latter half of the fourth century the former Buyeo heartland had become a dependency of Koguryŏ.

The primary source for the second assertion above is the partially-preserved inscription in the early-fifth century Moduru tomb near Ji'an.[29] Moduru was an official who served during the reigns of king Gwanggaeto (Kwanggaet'o) and Jangsu (Changsu) as governor of Northern Buyeo (his title was 令北夫餘守事). Although the inscription is badly eroded, legible portions describe the Murong Xianbei attack on Buyeo and indicate that Moduru's father as well as his grandfather Yeommo (Yŏmmo, 冉牟) had also served in the government of Northern Buyeo. This content suggests that by the latter half of the fourth century (and possibly earlier) Koguryŏ had occupied the old Buyeo core region (Northern Buyeo) at modern Jilin and had posted a governor there, the first of whom may have been Moduru's grandfather, Yeommo, or an earlier ancestor. It is known that Koguryŏ also installed a titular Buyeo king and perhaps allowed some semblance of the former Buyeo court to

29 While there are many analyses of this tomb and its inscription, the most comprehensive is that appearing in Takeda Yukio 1981.

survive.[30] The record of a Buyeo mission to Northern Wei in 458 suggests that at one point this dependent Buyeo court may have attempted to regain a measure of autonomy. The fact that no further missions are recorded may indicate Koguryŏ's response to this overture.[31]

Koguryŏ's occupation of Northern Buyeo must have occurred before the reign of King Gwanggaeto (r. 391-413) since the momentous event is not mentioned on that king's memorial stele and Northern Buyeo had certainly become a Koguryŏ dependency by the latter part of Gwanggaeto's reign, when Moduru served as its governor. The Gwanggaeto stele is a rare source of information on Koguryŏ's northern campaigns during a period of aggressive expansion. In addition to the well-studied campaigns in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula, Gwanggaeto also sent his armies northward against the Khitan in 395, against the Sushen (Yilou) in 398, and against Eastern Buyeo in 410.[32] The Khitan at that time would have been located on the lower reaches of the Shira-mören River, while the Yilou were occupying the Mudan River basin, indicating that Koguryŏ then had control of the western and eastern extremes of Northern Buyeo's former territories. The conquest of Eastern Buyeo in 410 is an important event that warrants more detailed analysis.

The probability has already been suggested that the Eastern Buyeo mentioned in the stele inscription refers to a Buyeo polity installed in 285 when the Buyeo court sought refuge in Northern Okjeo on the Tumen River and that this polity was maintained long after the restoration of Buyeo in 286. It is further likely that once this region had been

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30 It is uncertain whether the governor and king functioned together or the latter replaced the former at some point. That a king existed is demonstrated by *Samguk sagi*, 173 (Munja 3), discussed below.

31 *Weishu*, 116.

32 Refer to the study of the stele inscription in Hanguk godae sahoe yeon-guso 1992. The 395 campaign was directed against a place called Paeryeo, which seems to be equivalent to the Khitan.

incorporated into Koguryŏ it became known as Chaekseong (Ch'aek-sŏng).[33] The record of the conquest states that the people of Eastern Buyeo had once been the subjects of the Koguryŏ progenitor King Chumo (an early form of Jumong [Chumong]) but had ceased to pay tribute. This again may refer to a breakaway group from Northern Buyeo. The record continues with a description of the surrender of Yeoseong (Yŏ-sŏng: evidently the principal city of Eastern Buyeo) followed by the withdrawal of the Koguryŏ army along with officials from five named towns or regions.[34] This passage clearly indicates that the Eastern Buyeo region had been incorporated into Koguryŏ's territorial control, which would have constituted a significant accomplishment.

The reign of Gwanggaeto produced a strong and stable Koguryŏ state, which under his successor King Jangsu (r. 413-491) attained its period of full flourish. After the fall of the Former Yan state of the Murong in 370, Koguryŏ relations with states in the Central Plains were generally productive and stable, and with the transfer of the capital to modern Pyeongyang (P'yŏngyang) in 427, Koguryŏ's military efforts focused on its southern peninsular neighbors. In 435 an envoy from the Northern Wei court arrived in Pyeongyang to confer title upon King Jangsu. After his return this envoy reported that Koguryŏ's population had tripled since the former Wei times (third century) and that its

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33 This view is admittedly difficult to reconcile with the fact that records in the *Koguryŏ Annals* indicate the existence of a Chaekseong in dates corresponding to AD 98 (Taejo 46), 102 (Taejo 50) and 217 (Sansang 21) (*Samguk sagi*, 144, 155). It is possible that these early references are misdated, that they refer to a different location, or that Koguryŏ used the term for the Eastern Okjeo regions under its control. A comprehensive study of Chaekseong appears in Piao Zhenshi 1997. An interesting and thorough study of Koguryŏ's administration of Eastern Buyeo appears in Kim Hyeonsuk 2000. It is possible that the territories of Eastern Buyeo had become only the northern part of a larger Chaekseong region, the southern parts of which would have been the former lands of Okjeo (also referred to as Southern Okjeo or Eastern Okjeo, located along the coast to the north of Wonsan Bay.

34 See Hanguk godae sahoe yeonguso 1992, 14: 東夫餘舊是鄒牟王屬民, 中叛不貢, 王躬率往討, 軍到餘城, 而餘 國駭 王恩普覆. 於是旋還. 又其慕化隨官來者, 味仇婁鴨盧, 卑斯麻鴨 盧, 瑞社婁鴨盧, 肅斯舍鴨盧, 鴨盧. The blanks represent lacunae.

territories reached eastward to Chaekseong southward to the small sea, and northward to old Buyeo.[35] In light of the analysis presented above, it is likely that Koguryŏ had by the mid-fourth century occupied the Northern Buyeo region and had reduced it to dependency status and in 410 incorporated the Eastern Buyeo region as Chaekseong.

Koguryŏ's successful occupation of Liaodong in 402 resulted in the establishment of a defensible western frontier, while the campaigns to the south ushered in a long period of warfare among the three peninsular states. The incorporation of the former territories and peoples of Buyeo and Northern Okjeo (Eastern Buyeo) appears to have been managed through the dispatch of regional governors, though little more is known about the central government's relations with those regions. But Koguryŏ's expansion into what is now the central and eastern Jilin region brought Koguryŏ into direct contact with the peoples who lived farther to the north. The most prominent of these northern groups were known first as the Wuji (K. Mulgil) and later as the Mohe (K. Malgal), some of whom were probably descendants of the earlier Yilou people who occupied the Mudan River valley and regions farther north. It was they who would in the 470s successfully challenge Koguryŏ's control over the Northern Buyeo and Chaekseong regions and bring Koguryŏ's period of flourish to an end.

3. The Late Period (478 to 668)

Like the analysis of Koguryŏ's inter-regional relations during its middle period, the study of its late period is rendered difficult by the sparseness of data surviving from Koguryŏ's own historical records. Chinese records reveal hints of Koguryŏ's relations with peoples of the far northeast, while the *Koguryŏ Annals* include only the barest suggestion

35 *Weishu*, 2214-15: 東至柵城, 南至小海, 北至舊夫餘, 民戶參倍於前; see also *Samguk sagi*, 169.

of major events that were unfolding in that region from the late fifth century. Nevertheless, a careful study of these surviving data produces a strong implication that at the end of the fifth century Koguryŏ lost major portions of its northern and eastern territories to invaders from the northeast. Archaeological data likewise support such a scenario and suggest that Koguryŏ's Northern Buyeo and Chaekseong regions had at this time become the domain of the Mohe.

The first appearance of the Mohe occurs in a record describing the arrival at the Northern Wei court of the Wuji envoy Yilizhi, who claimed that his people had already seized ten Koguryŏ villages and were forging plans with Baekje for a combined attack on Koguryŏ by river route.[36] The Wei emperor declined to support this plan and warned Yilizhi not to proceed with the attack. This record, which corresponds to the year 478, demonstrates that the Wuji were already targeting Koguryŏ territories. Since the Wuji at this time were located in the Mudan River valley, just to the northeast of Koguryŏ, and possibly on the upper reaches of the east-flowing Songhua River to Koguryŏ's north, the villages seized by 478 must have belonged to either the Northern Buyeo or the Chaekseong regions.[37]

The pressures on Koguryŏ's northeastern borders evidently continued after 478, and a record in the *Koguryŏ Annals* states that in

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36 *Weishu*, 146, 2220. This account is not without problems, as it is unclear how and why Baekje would have communicated with the Wuji, given the great geographical distance between the two. Some suppose that Baekje 百濟 is a scribal error for Boduo 伯咄, one of the later Mohe groups known to have inhabited the wedge-shaped region between the north-flowing and east flowing Songhua (a variant of this name, Bodune 伯都訥, still appears in this region), but there is no evidence that the Boduo Mohe occupied that area as early as the 470s. Such an interpretation would, however, explain why the joint attacks against Koguryŏ would have followed river routes, as both aggressors would have moved south along the north-flowing Songhua and its tributaries.

37 Fortunately, the account of Yilizhi in the *Weishu* (2220) includes information describing the route the envoy traveled between his own country and the Wei town of Helong (modern Chaoyang in western Liaoning) as well as a separate description of a different route from Helong to Wuji territory. Though there is room for interpretation, these routes suggest that the territory of the Wuji in the 470s included the valleys on the upper reaches of the east-flowing Songhua.

494 the Buyeo king came and surrendered to Koguryŏ.[38] This record taken alone is difficult to interpret, but a record in the *Weishu*, dated to 504, states that Koguryŏ's tribute of gold, which had hitherto been derived from Buyeo, could no longer be tendered because Buyeo had been "expelled by the Wuji."[39] Together these records suggest that Koguryŏ's Buyeo dependency had been overrun by the Mohe in 494 and that the titular Buyeo king had then fled to Koguryŏ. This marks the last time a Buyeo polity appears in historical records.

While no corresponding records describe a Wuji or Mohe invasion and occupation of the Chaekseong region at this time, data from the Wei and Sui periods not only suggest that this region had been lost but also confirm the loss of the Buyeo region. The account of the Wuji in the *Weishu*, which covers events from the 470s to 540, notes that Wuji territory included the Tutai mountain and the Sumo River, which are readily identified as today's Changbaishan and the north-flowing Songhua River.[40] The later *Suishu*, in describing the seven divisions of Mohe, states that the Sumo 粟末 division was adjacent to Koguryŏ and often raided that state, while the Baishan 白山 division is described as lying to the southeast of Sumo.[41] Regarding the location of Baishan, the *Xin Tangshu* is more specific – its account of Koguryŏ states that, "the Mazi river originates from Baishan of the Mohe. As its color resembles that of a duck's head, it is called the Yalu River."[42] The Mazi is the Yalu

38 *Samguk sagi*, 173 (Munja 3): 二月, 扶餘王及妻孥, 以國來降.

39 *Weishu*, 2216: 但黃金出自夫餘 … 夫餘為勿吉所逐; *Samguk sagi*, 174 (Munja 13).

40 *Weishu*, 2220. The account notes that Tutai mountain was located in the southern regions of Wuji territory and that its name in Wuji language meant Great White 大白. The identity between the Sumo and modern Songhua rivers is abundantly attested, while the *Xin Tangshu* account of the Heishui Mohe (6177) notes that the Sumo River originates from the west side of Tutai mountain, which could only indicate Baekdusan. Note that both of these geographical features would have been acquired by the Wuji only after their southward advance.

41 *Su shu*, 1821-22. The seven divisions are the Sumo 粟末, Boduo 伯咄, Anjugu 安車骨, Funie 拂涅, Haoshi 號室, Heishui 黑水 and the Baishan 白山.

42 *Xin Tangshu*, 6185: 有馬訾水出靺鞨之白山, 色若鴨頭, 號鴨淥水, 歷國內城西, 與鹽難水合,

River of today, which originates at Baekdusan (Paektu-san), suggesting that the Baekdusan region and possibly the more habitable lowland regions, including Chaekseong, were the domain of the Baishan Mohe. Later records, examined below, confirm that the Sumo were located in the old Buyeo core region on the Songhua River, though the precise location of the Baishan remains to be determined.

Archaeological data suggest that the Mohe had indeed overrun the Buyeo core region near modern Jilin. While the earliest archaeological remains associated with the Mohe are found along valleys of the Mudan River drainage system and regions farther to the northeast and date from the second century BC to the sixth century, those found in central Jilin Province date to a later period and overlay earlier Buyeo remains.[43] The most important site associated with the Sumo Mohe is Yangtun, located at Wulajie about 35 kilometers north of the site of the old Buyeo capital in Jilin. The excavation of this site revealed three distinct cultural levels, the lower two representing Buyeo culture and its Bronze Age antecedent, and the upper level representing the distinctive Mohe culture. A calibrated radiocarbon test from the Mohe level yielded a date of 1535 ± 85 years BP, or 330 to 500 AD.[44] Such data confirm that the population

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又西南至安市，入于海.

43 Archaeological studies of the regions associated with the Mohe have progressed remarkably during the past decade. In the Mudan River valley, the related Donggang and Dongxing cultures existed from about the first century BC until the third century AD. These were replaced by the Hekou Fourth Phase culture, which appears from about the fourth century and is associated with the historic Mohe people. Farther to the northeast, straddling the Songhua River near its confluence with the Heilong (Amur) River, the Wanyanhe and Guntuling cultures were also replaced in the third or fourth century by the Tongren I and Fenglin cultures, also associated with Mohe. The Fenglin culture in particular indicates a rather high degree of social complexity suggestive of an incipient state, which will likely prompt a reconsideration regarding the nature of Mohe society in the fourth and fifth centuries. See Heilongjiangsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1989; Zhang Boquan and Wei Cuncheng 1998, 323; Zhao Yongjun 2001; Tian He 2004; and Zhang Guoqiang et al. 2006. By contrast, the comparable Mohe sites at Yangtun and Chaliba just north of the city of Jilin, where Buyeo had been centered, seem to date no earlier than the late fifth century (Jilinsheng wenwu gongzuodui, et al. 1991; Jilinsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 1995).

44 Jilinsheng wenwu gongzuodui, et al. 1991, 49.

center of the Sumo Mohe lay in the vicinity of Wulajie on the Songhua River, just north of the former capital of Buyeo.

Although historical records for this period are admittedly sparse, there is no indication that Koguryŏ made any move to reclaim direct control over these territories. Instead, it seems likely that Koguryŏ reached some manner of accord with the Mohe residents of these lands and tolerated their occupation. Records of the Sui period indicate that of the seven Mohe divisions, only the Sumo and Baishan were able to communicate directly with the Sui court.[45] Later records of the Tang period show that the Baishan Mohe had been rendered subject to Koguryŏ.[46] The disposition of the Sumo by the late sixth century is difficult to determine, but it is evident that they were not completely subject to Koguryŏ. However, when the Sumo attempted to establish their own diplomatic relations with the Sui empire, which had reunified China, Koguryŏ moved quickly to remove this threat to its north.

Although the Mohe, probably the Sumo, had maintained diplomatic relations with Chinese courts for over a century, the rise of the threat represented by Sui prompted Koguryŏ to obstruct Mohe missions between 584 and 590. These missions resumed briefly after the Sui emperor warned Koguryŏ to cease its interference, but the threat of a Sumo alliance with Sui was too great to ignore, and sometime between 593 and 598 Koguryŏ sent a military force northward to regain control of the old Northern Buyeo region. This army purged the Sumo leadership from the region and sent them fleeing to seek refuge with Sui, which took them in and settled them in the Liaoxi region.[47] Koguryŏ asserted direct control over the region and constructed the fortress of Buyeoseong

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45 *Suishu*, 1822.

46 *Xin Tangshu*, 6178.

47 *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, 69:8a-8b, account of Youzhou; and 71:12a-12b, account of Yanzhou. The account in this late-tenth century source is based on the lost *Beifan fengsu ji* 北蕃風俗記, written in the late Sui period.

(Puyŏ-sŏng), identified as the site in the outskirts of the city of Jilin now called Longtanshancheng, located within sight of the ruins of the Buyeo capital.

Koguryŏ's relationship with the Sumo Mohe can be described as one of cautious tolerance until the Sui court openly revealed its hostile intentions toward Koguryŏ. King Pyeongwon (P'yŏngwŏn : r. 559-590) would have had just cause for his concerns regarding Sui's intentions, and his obstruction of the Sumo missions reflects his understanding of the danger to Koguryŏ of a possible alliance between Sumo and Sui. His successor, King Yeongyang (Yŏngyang : r. 590-618) evidently backed down before the Sui emperor's warning and allowed the Mohe missions to resume in 591. However, some later turn of events must have convinced him that the Sumo leadership was an imminent threat to Koguryŏ's security, so he launched the attacks that purged the Sumo leadership and reclaimed the Buyeo region for Koguryŏ.

The Sumo leader who was driven from his domain was a man named Tudiji. He evidently represented a continued threat to Koguryŏ even after he and his followers had fled to Sui, for in 598 the Koguryŏ king sent a large army of Mohe troops to attack the Liaoxi region where Tudiji had been settled. This attack was repelled, and Sui responded later in the year with the first of many large-scale campaigns against Koguryŏ.[48] In 612 Tudiji was appointed governor of a newly-established Liaoxi Commandery and was given the title Marquis of Buyeo.[49] He participated in the Sui attacks on Koguryŏ in 613 and 614, and before his death in 627 he received the Tang imperial surname of Li.[50] Tudiji's son,

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48 *Suishu*, 1816.

49 *Taiping huanyu ji*, 69:8A: 煬帝八年，為置遼西郡，以突地稽為太守，理營州東二百里汝羅故城，後遭邊寇侵掠，又寄理于營州城內；*Cefu yuangui*冊府元龜, 970:3B-4A:［唐武德二年］十月，靺鞨首師突地稽，遣使朝貢．突[地]稽者，靺鞨之渠長也．隋大業中，與兄瞞咄率其部，內屬於營州．瞞咄死，代總其眾，拜遼西太守，封扶餘侯．

50 *Xin Tangshu*, 5359.

Li Jinhang later served as a commander in Tang's campaigns against Koguryŏ. Clearly, the fear that the Sumo posed a threat to Koguryŏ was well founded.

One curious feature of Koguryŏ's assault on Liaoxi in 598 is that the mounted army, said to have been over ten thousand strong (quite probably an exaggerated figure), appears to have been composed primarily of Mohe troops.[51] It is not clear whether these were Baishan or Sumo Mohe or a combination, though it seems most likely that the Baishan, who were subject to Koguryŏ, comprised this army.[52] This further raises the question of the identity of the Mohe troops described in the *Samguk sagi* and elsewhere as making up part of a Koguryŏ army. The fact that Koguryŏ had access to a large number of Mohe troops would seem to suggest either that many Mohe men had been taken as prisoners in battles with Koguryŏ or that the relationship between Koguryŏ and one or more Mohe groups required that Mohe men provide military service. The answers to such questions would certainly shed light on how Koguryŏ dealt with its northern neighbors and might explain why the Sumo viewed Koguryŏ with hostility. Unfortunately, such answers do not seem to be forthcoming on the basis of currently available data and must wait until additional information, perhaps from the archaeological record, becomes available.

One generalization that can be derived from these inter-regional relationships of Koguryŏ's late period is that when faced with the loss of its northern territories, Koguryŏ's rulers were willing (or were forced) to accept a compromise wherein the occupying populations provided Koguryŏ with soldiers, natural resources or both. Such occupiers were

51 *Sui shu*, 1816.

52 One problem with this view, however, is that the *Sui shu* (1821) notes that the Baishan had no more than 3,000 elite troops, whereas the Sumo, who often raided Koguryŏ, had some several thousand elite troops. Since the account of the attack on Liaoxi states that the Koguryŏ king led an army of Mohe masses (rather than professional soldiers), it is likely that the majority were conscripts and are more likely to have been from the Baishan division.

accorded varying levels of autonomy, as seen in differences between the Baishan and the Sumo, which were probably predicated upon the fact that the former were insulated from China by the interposition of Koguryŏ while the latter could more readily maintain relations with Chinese courts via a northern transit route that bypassed Koguryŏ.

The stability of such an arrangement depended largely upon Koguryŏ's own relations with Chinese states. Thus, the threat of a Sumo-Sui alliance was dealt with by military means before it could become a more serious problem. A variation of this scenario played out during the Tang period, when the Heishui Mohe began to send missions to the Tang court, beginning in 622 when the Heishui chieftain Agulang visited the Tang capital.[53] Tang readily accepted the offer of alliance, and in 628 a part of Heishui territory became nominally incorporated into Tang's territorial administration under the name Yanzhou.[54] Whatever Tang's designs might have been, this alliance failed to provide it with an advantage over Koguryŏ, for when Tang attacked Koguryŏ in 645 the Mohe sided with Koguryŏ and contributed to Tang's defeat at the battle of Ansi fortress 安市城 near modern Yingkou.[55] Mohe are elsewhere described as supporting Koguryŏ's battles against Tang and appear to have become more closely integrated with Koguryŏ during the final years before Koguryŏ's collapse in 668.

This analysis of Koguryŏ's late period reveals a process of gradual decline from a period of flourish. This phase began with the significant loss of its northern territories to Mohe invaders, which resulted in a new accord based upon negotiation. Koguryŏ managed to exercise an adequate measure of control over the Sumo and Baishan groups and was

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53 *Xin Tangshu*, 6178.

54 *Xin Tangshu*, 6178.

55 Ibid. See also *Xin Tangshu* (6191-6194) and *Jiu Tangshu* (5323-5326) for descriptions of this long battle, after which the Tang emperor had 3,300 Mohe captives bound and buried alive. The total Mohe force in this account is said to have numbered 150,000 troops.

apparently content to permit the former to engage in its own relations with Chinese states. With the rise of Sui this situation changed, and Koguryŏ found it necessary to intercede militarily in order to maintain the security of its northern and western frontier defenses. The Sumo leadership was purged and the remaining Sumo and Baishan populations were brought more closely into alignment with Koguryŏ's own interests. This revised relationship caused the Mohe to share Koguryŏ's interests in self-preservation and resulted in the collapse of both in 668.[56]

Concluding Comments

Any comprehensive study of Koguryŏ's inter-regional relations would be likely to place emphasis on its relations with the southern peninsular states and with Chinese states, since those relations are relatively well documented. When addressing relations with Koguryŏ's northern and eastern neighbors, however, it is necessary to draw interpretations and hypotheses from very sparse historical data and a growing record of archaeological data. This is due to the fact that none of these groups left their own historical accounts, while records of the peninsular or Chinese states mention those northern groups only rarely. A study of Koguryŏ's relations with these northern and eastern groups is necessarily uneven since the surviving remnants of Koguryŏ's own historical tradition provide relatively rich data only up to the beginning of the fourth century. Nevertheless, even with these hindrances it is possible to draw a few generalizations regarding Koguryŏ's relations with its neighbors in Manchuria.

Koguryŏ always sought either to conquer or to control its

56 The *Xin Tangshu* (6178) states that upon the collapse of Koguryŏ in 668, most of the Baishan went over to Tang, while the other groups dispersed and eventually composed part of the population of Balhae, their names vanishing from history. The one exception to this was Heishui, which survived these events intact and maintained its own existence for centuries to come.

immediate neighbors to the north and east. In its early period, Koguryŏ's foremost goal was the absorption of surrounding tribal groups so that it could successfully contend with the Han presence at Xuantu and with the Buyeo state to the north. Its southern expansion allowed it to derive resources to sustain its accelerating growth and centralization. Viewed very simply, Koguryŏ's control of the Okjeo region to the east was based largely on the extraction of resources, while its concerns toward Buyeo in the north were limited to the stabilization of its frontier and its relations with whichever regime controlled Liaodong. During the middle period the concern shifted toward the conquest and incorporation of the Buyeo and Okjeo regions, the attainment of which brought Koguryŏ into direct contact with the Mohe people living farther to the north and east. In the final period Koguryŏ was faced with the loss of its Northern Buyeo and Chaekseong territories to Mohe invasion, but it dealt with the invaders through negotiation and secured a balance of interests until the rise of Sui offset that balance and called once again for military conquest. During its final decades Koguryŏ worked to integrate the Mohe populations more closely such that the two shared a common interest in survival against Tang invasion.

Koguryŏ's leaders seem to have preferred a loose reign when dealing with its insular frontier territories. They sent governors from the center to maintain order, but appear to have kept direct government involvement to a minimum. They permitted a measure of internal autonomy in the case of the Buyeo dependency, but apparently interceded when that autonomy extended to engaging Chinese courts as an independent agent. In the case of the Sumo Mohe, which was not initially a full dependency, Koguryŏ tolerated its neighbor's independent relations with Chinese courts, most likely because it did not originally constitute a threat and its prevention would have required military action. Nevertheless, when a sufficient threat was perceived, Koguryŏ stood ready to intervene with military force in order to eliminate the danger to its border security. In the case of the Sumo Mohe, such intervention

resulted in the reduction of the Sumo to dependency status.

The loose reign policy described above is evident also in the archaeological record, which reveals very few identifiable Koguryŏ remains in the former Buyeo and Chaekseong regions. Koguryŏ's presence in the Northern Buyeo region is attested by remains in the vicinity of the former Buyeo capital site. Besides the Koguryŏ fortification at Longtanshan in Jilin, identified as the site of Buyeoseong, Koguryŏ settlement and mortuary remains have been found in the immediate vicinity of the Buyeo capital city at Dongtuanshan.[57] In the Chaekseong region, Koguryŏ settlement remains have been identified at the walled site at Xing'an just to the north of Yanji, while a mountaintop fortification (called Chengzishan fortress) to the east of the city has also yielded Koguryŏ remains.[58] Further, the remains of a long wall tentatively dated to the late-fourth or early-fifth centuries may be the remains of a defense structure built by Koguryŏ to protect its Eastern Buyeo (Chaekseong) territories from the Yilou to the north.[59] Besides these central defensive and settlement features, few identifiable Koguryŏ remains have been discovered in these regions.

The mechanism that permitted the success of indirect rule was possibly based on the threat of Koguryŏ's considerable military might and the consequences that would result from a failure to meet Koguryŏ's demands. It is also possible, particularly in the case of Eastern Buyeo, that Koguryŏ provided protection from hostile neighbors, such that reduction to dependency status under Koguryŏ would have had practical

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57 See Byington 2003, 277-92.

58 For the Xingan walled site, see Jilinsheng wenwuzhi bianweihui 1986, 53-55. For the mountain fortification, see Jilinsheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed. 1991, 107-109.

59 See Kim Hyunsook 2000. Note that there exist various theories assigning the construction of this wall to periods ranging from the early Koguryŏ to the Koryŏ periods. A single radiocarbon dating has suggested a construction in or around the late-fourth century (1580 ± 75 years BP; or 295 to 445 AD; see Kim Hyunsook 2000, 137-38), though additional data will be necessary to permit a more reliable estimate on the construction of the wall and its purpose.

advantages. Further, by enlisting the services of the more manageable leaders of conquered territories, Koguryŏ could have optimized its territorial control with minimal expenditure. It is certain that the means of control were much more complex than this, but it is presently difficult to gain a more precise description of those means.

Among the many interesting but presently unanswerable questions are those that ask how Koguryŏ leaders viewed their relationship with their neighbors to the north and east and how that perceived arrangement might have been reflected in ritual or ceremonial practice. We know, for example, that Koguryŏ demanded a specific form of relationship from Silla in the late-fourth century, involving Silla's dispatch of a hostage from its ruling house.[60] A hierarchy is clearly expressed in this manner, and it would be interesting to know whether similar relations were put into effect with Koguryŏ's other neighbors. The only hint we have is the Wei record stating that when Koguryŏ gained control over the Okjeo and Ye people at the end of Han, it gave their leaders Koguryŏ ranks and titles to replace the Han titles they had previously used.[61] This was probably done primarily to establish a system for the collection and transport of resources, and we may assume that a similar practice was employed in other conquered territories.

As archaeological work continues in Jilin and northeastern Korea, further data regarding Koguryŏ's relations with these regions will likely continue to appear. It is to be hoped that such data will help to fill in the many lacunae left by the fragmented historical record and provide answers for some of the questions proposed in this study.

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60 *Samguk sagi*, 26 (Naemul 37).

61 *Sanquozhi*, 846, account of Eastern Okjeo: 遂臣屬句麗. 句麗復置其中大人為使者, 使相主領, 又使大加統責其租稅, 貊布, 魚, 鹽, 海中食物, 千里擔負致之, 又送其美女以為婢妾, 遇之如奴僕.

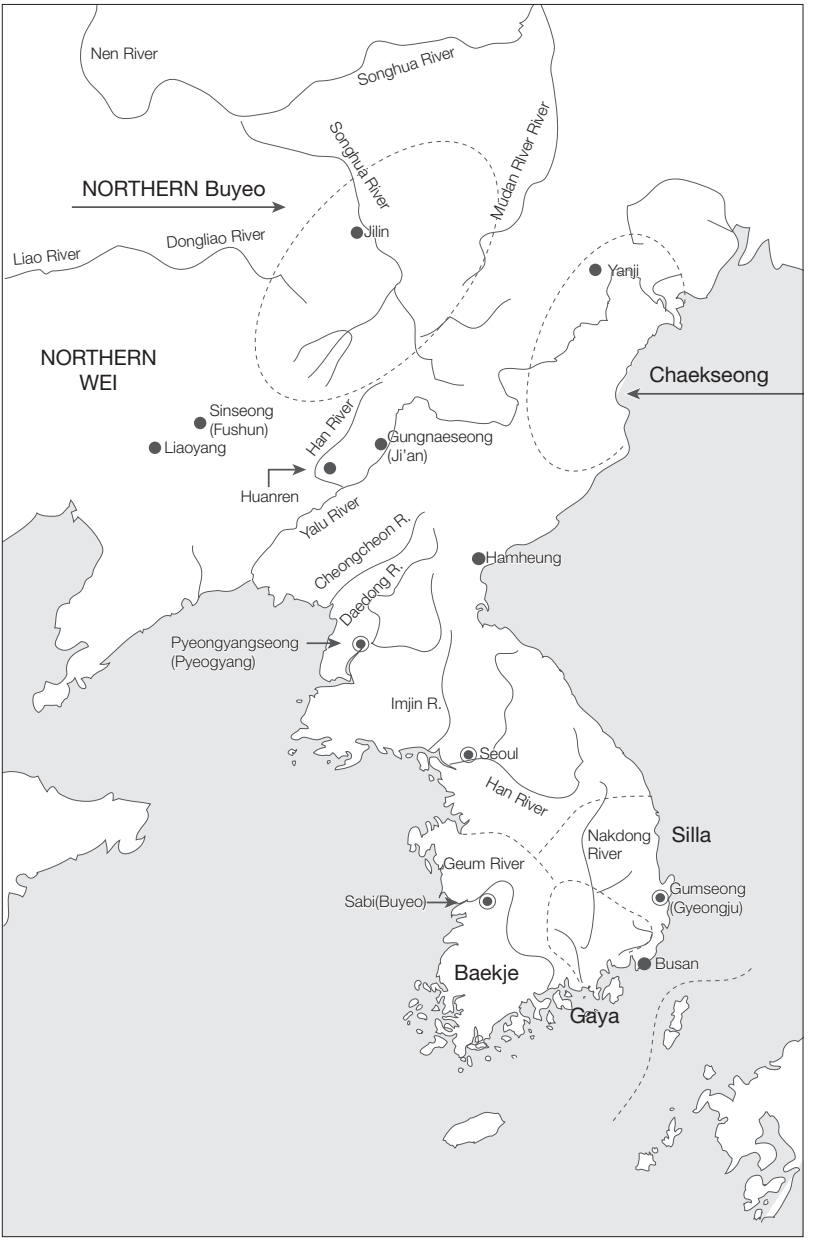

fig.1 Koguryŏ in the Early Fifty Century Highlighting the Northern Buyeo and Chackseong Regions

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