

# Japanese Pirates and Rural Communities in Late Goryeo\*

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## Introduction

This article explores how the raids by Japanese pirates brought changes to rural communities in late Goryeo, specifically in the late 14th century, and how the Goryeo government reacted to those changes. In order to trace the changes in rural Goryeo communities, this article first examines entries of prefectures and counties, attacked by Japanese pirates, in Korean chronicles such as *Goryeosa* (the History of Goryeo) and *Goryeosa jeoryo* (the Abridged History of Goryeo). Different from the existing approach of focusing on how Japanese pirate attacks made an immediate impact on the country as a whole, this article focuses on how such attacks affected individual prefectures (*kun*) and counties (*hyeon*). Uncovering the characteristics of damaged regions, prefectures, or counties will help elucidate the characteristics of Japanese pirate attacks on Goryeo. This article also charts historical records regarding the damage of each prefecture or county in-

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cluded in *Sejong sillok jiriji* (the Geographical Appendix to the Annals of King Sejong) or *Gyeongsangdo jiriji* (the Geography of Gyeongsang Province). Although these two historical sources have not attracted significant academic interest to date, they have proven to be highly useful for this article's topic. Finally, this article touches on the *gammu* policy the Goryeo government, adopted during the reign of King Gongyang (r. 1389-1392), in terms of reviving rural Goryeo communities which were devastated by Japanese pirate attacks.

Methodologically, the article takes into consideration the latest research findings related to Japanese pirate attacks in late Goryeo, or one of the most interesting topics among studies of Goryeo during the 1990s. Since Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, research on this theme was directed by Japanese scholars who had based their studies upon the colonialist theory of heteronomy. After the liberation in 1945, Korean scholars have been countering the colonialist narrative, which helped cumulate a considerable number of findings pertaining to Japanese pirate attacks. However, such findings only summarized historical facts according to a framework of "invasion and resistance," thereby failing to achieve notable progress in further research methodology. After the 1990s, Korean scholars have begun producing more diverse findings that, for instance, delved into the background and the characteristics of Japanese pirate attacks on Goryeo in association with the domestic political circumstances in contemporary Japan. The approach has broadened the range of research topics and achieved important progress in the development of research methodologies.<sup>1</sup> Along this line, this article sheds new light on changes that rural Go-

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<sup>1</sup> Evidence of such research progress includes Kim Ki-seob, "14segi waegu eui donghyang gwa goryeo eui daeeung" [The Movements of Japanese Pirates and Goryeo's Response in the Fourteenth Century], *Hanguk minjok munhwa* 9 (1997): 85-123; Yi Young, "Waegu eui gongbaekgi e gwanhan gochal" [A Study on the Period of the Absence of Wako], *Ilbon yeoksa yeongu* 5 (1997): 33-63; Yi Young, "Ilbonin i boneun waegue ui jeongche: Gyeongin ihu waegu wa ilbon gungnae jeongse reul jungsim euro" [The Japanese Recognition of Japanese Pirates: Focused on Pirates beyond 1350 and Domestic Circumstances in Japan], *Yeoksa bipyeong* 46 (1999): 299-311; Yi Young, "Gyeonginnyeon waegu wa ilbon eui gungnae jeongse" [Japanese Pirates of 1350 and the Domestic Circumstances of Japan], *Guksagwan nonchong* 92 (2000): 119-52; Yi Young, "Jeonhwangi eui dongasia sahoe wa waegu" [Japanese Pirates and East Asian

ryeo communities underwent during the periods of the Japanese pirate raids.

## I. Goryeo Prefectures, Counties, and Japanese Pirates

### 1. The Characteristics of Attacked Prefectures and Counties

Instead of adopting the approaches of previous studies that aggregate the number of Japanese pirate attacks from the chronicles of late Goryeo to examine the characteristics of such attacks,<sup>2</sup> this article treats on the Goryeo prefectures and counties targeted by Japanese pirates, particularly those recorded in *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosa jeoryo*. In those two records, the names of prefectures and counties have been noted regardless of whether the counties were regular (*juhyeon*) or subordinate (*sokhyeon*). This indicates that the two materials accurately and faithfully reflect details regarding the areas that suffered from Japanese pirate attacks. For instance, they refer to Yangju (楊州) as Hanyang Prefect (漢陽府), Suju (樹州) as Bupyeong Prefect (富平府), Geumju (金州) as Gimhae (金海), Heungju (興州) as Sun-

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Society: Focusing on Waegu After the Year of 1350], *Hanguksa yeongu* 123 (2003): 209-45; Yi Young, *Icheojin jeonjaeng, Waegu: Geu yeoksae ui hyeonjang eul chajaseo* [Japanese Pirates: In Search of Historical Scenes from a Forgotten War] (Seoul: Episteme, 2007); Kim Bo-han, "Haeyang munhwa wa waegu eui someyeol: Ohdo yeoldo gongdong eoeopgwon gwa gwallyeon haeseo" [The Sea Culture and the Disappearance of Wako: In Connection with the Common of Fishery Right in Kotoretto], *Munhwa sahak* 16 (2001): 171-89; Kim Bo-han, "Jungse Yeoll gwangye wa waegu eui balsaeng wonin" [Medieval Goryeo-Japan Relations and the Cause of Japanese Pirate Attacks], in *Waegu wisa munje wa Hanil gwangye* [Japanese Pirates, Fake Missions, and Korea-Japan Relations] (Seoul: Kyungin Publishing, 2005), 99-134.

These are only a list of previous studies representative works of the progress made in related research. Further progress in the related research has recently been made, which will be mentioned through the main section of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> There are minor discrepancies between the scholars in their findings on how many times and when Japanese pirate attacks occurred, but the following papers are representative works of the previous approach to studying Japanese pirate attacks: Na Jong-woo, "Honggeonjeok gwa waegu" [Red Turban Forces and Japanese Pirates], in *Goryeo hugi eui sahoe wa daewae gwangye* [The Society and Foreign Relations in Late Goryeo], vol. 20, 55 vols., *Hanguksa* [History of Korea], 1994, 395-407; Yi Young, "Goryeo mal eui waegu wa masan" [Waegu in the End of Goryeo Dynasty and Masan city], *Hanguk jungsesa yeongu*, 17 (2004): 122.

heung (順興), Sunan (順安) as Yeongju (榮州), Seungpyeong Prefecture (昇平郡) as Suncheon Prefect (順天府), Yangju (梁州) as Yangsan (梁山), Garim County (嘉林縣) as Imju (林州), Seorim County (瑞林縣) as Seocheon (舒川), Yeju (禮州) as Yeonghae (寧海), Haeyang County (海陽縣) as Gwangju (光州), Yeju (豐州) as Munhwa County (文化縣), Gongam County (孔岩縣) as Yangcheon (陽川), Dangseong Prefecture (唐城郡) as Namyang County (南陽縣), Gyoju (交州) as Hoeyang Prefect (淮陽府), and Yeomju (鹽州) as Yeonan (延安). The year in which a name change occurred can be determined through *Goryeosa jiriji* (the Geographical Appendix to the History of Goryeo). What also demonstrates the accuracy and fidelity of the records in the two historical materials is the fact that the attacked areas have been profiled in detail down to the special administrative units as well as the infrastructure in such areas: *hyang* (鄉) as in Gongi-*hyang* (工二鄉) of Suju (水州), *bugok* (部曲) as in Singok-*bugok* (薪谷部曲) of Gyeongsan Prefect, *so* (所) as in Cheonjam-*so* (天蠶所), *yeok* (驛) as in Sageunnae-*yeok* (沙斤乃驛) of Yian County (利安縣), *chang* (倉) referring to warehouses for collecting and transporting grain, and docks identified to as *po* (浦).

As below, Table 1 provides an overview of the trends in Japanese pirate attacks. According to the table, 242, or 46.5 percent, out of a total of 520 prefectures and counties suffered damage by the attacks from 1350, when the attacks grew serious, until the end of the Goryeo dynasty.<sup>3</sup> The degree of damage varied widely among each prefecture, county, or larger administra-

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<sup>3</sup> These numbers are a summation of prefectures and counties explicitly named in *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosa jeoryo* for being attacked by Japanese pirates. Vague descriptions noting that an area in Jeolla-do (Southwestern part of modern Korea) was attacked or giving an unclear place name have been excluded from the count. Hence, a far greater number of prefectures and counties are likely to have actually suffered from Japanese pirate attacks. The sixteen prefectures and counties in the two northern border regions Donggye and Bukgye, which were recovered during the reign of King Yejong and King Gongmin, have been included in the total of 520 prefectures and counties noted in *Goryeosa jiriji*, the Geographical Appendix to the History of Goryeo. This is because the prefectures and counties in those regions also suffered damage once Japanese pirate attacks grew serious from the reign of King Chungjeong. Meanwhile, Na Jong-woo notes that a total of 226 districts were attacked by Japanese pirates, which is markedly different from the numbers given in Table 1 of this paper, but it is unclear as to whether Na's use of the term "district" refers to prefectures and counties. Na, "Honggeonjeok gwa waegu," 397.

Table 1. Damage Statistics by Province, Regular and Subordinate County

| Province               | Total number of Prefectures and Counties | Attacked number of Prefectures and Counties | Percentage | Regular Counties | Attacked Regular Counties | Percentage | Subordinate Counties | Attacked Subordinate Counties | Percentage |
|------------------------|--|---|------------|------------------|---------------------------|------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| Gaeseong Prefect       | 14                                       | 2   | 14         | 1                | 1                         | 100        | 13                   | 1                             | 8          |
| Yang-gwang Province    | 111                                      | 66  | 57         | 14               | 12                        | 86         | 97                   | 54                            | 56         |
| Gyeong-sang Province   | 128                                      | 73  | 59         | 17               | 13                        | 93         | 114                  | 60                            | 53         |
| Jeolla Province        | 104                                      | 57  | 52         | 17               | 15                        | 88         | 87                   | 42                            | 48         |
| Gyoju Province         | 28                                       | 9   | 32         | 3                | 3                         | 100        | 25                   | 6                             | 24         |
| Seohae Province        | 25                                       | 12  | 48         | 8                | 3                         | 38         | 17                   | 9                             | 53         |
| Eastern Border Region  | 58                                       | 14  | 24         | 41               | 10                        | 24         |                      |                               |            |
| Northern Border Region | 52                                       | 9   | 17         | 46               | 9                         | 19         |                      |                               |            |
| Total                  | 520 (410)                                | 242 (219)                                   | 46.5 (53)  | 146 (57)         | 66 (47)                   | 45 (82)    | 353                  | 172                           | 49         |

\* The numbers in parentheses present the number and the percentage of prefectures and counties except for those in the two northern border regions Dong-gye and Buk-gye.

tive units defined in *Goryeosa jiriji* such as the capital Gaeseong Prefect (開城府), the five provinces (道), or the two northern border districts (界).

Table 1 indicates that 14 percent, or two of the fourteen prefectures and counties belonging to Gaeseong Prefect, suffered from Japanese pirate attacks. In the case of the two northern border regions, 24 percent, or the fourteen of the 58 prefectures and counties in the Northeastern Border District suffered while 17 percent, or nine out of the 52 prefectures and counties in the Northwestern Border District suffered. These percentages are similar to that of the capital Gaeseong Prefect, but significantly lower than the average of 46.5 percent of all Goryeo prefectures and counties that suffered from the attacks. With 32 percent of prefectures and counties in Gyoju Province and 48 percent of prefectures and counties in Seohae Province having been attacked, the affected percentages for the two provinces were closer to the average percentage. However, the number of affected prefectures and counties for the two provinces was smaller than those of other provinces, which renders it difficult to assign much significance to the damage the two provinces suffered. Overall, apart from the two border regions that sustained relatively less damage, 53 percent, or 291 of a total of 410 prefectures and counties experienced damage from Japanese pirate attacks.

On the other hand, some provinces show the higher percentages of attacked prefectures and counties than the average percentage of 46.5; 59 percent, or 66 of 111 prefectures and counties in Yanggwang Province; 57 percent, or 73 of 128 in Gyeongsang Province; and 52 percent, or 57 of 104 in Jeolla Province. The total number of affected prefectures and counties from these three provinces amounted to 81 percent of the 242 prefectures and counties. This leads to the conclusion that Japanese pirate attacks were concentrated in the three provinces of Yanggwang Province, Gyeongsang Province, and Jeolla Province in late Goryeo.

Meanwhile, a comparison among the number of attacks each regular or subordinate county suffered indicates that 45 percent of regular counties were attacked, which is similar to the overall average percentage of 46.5 among all prefectures and counties as noted in Table 1. This may give us a misleading impression that regular counties did not particularly sustain

heavier damage. Table 1 offers separate statistics for regular and subordinate counties, showing that with the exception of counties in the two border regions, 82 percent, or 47 of the 57 regular counties suffered from Japanese pirate attacks. Moreover, among the three provinces attacked the most by Japanese pirates, 12 of 14 regular counties in Yanggwang Province, 13 of 14 regular counties in Gyeongsang Province, and 15 of 17 regular counties in Jeolla Province were attacked by Japanese pirates.

This means that nearly every regular county in those three provinces was attacked at some point in time, except for Gwangju District (廣州牧) and Wonju (原州) in Yanggwang Province, Hapju (陝州) in Gyeongsang Province, and Geumgu (金溝) and Jindo (珍島) in Jeolla Province. As for subordinate counties except those in the two northern border regions, 172 out of 353 subordinate counties were attacked. The figure illustrates that only 49 percent of subordinate counties underwent Japanese pirate attacks. Regular counties with larger populations and greater concentrations of products tended to be more heavily pursued by Japanese pirates than subordinate counties.

Tables 2 and 3 in the following offer a summary of the prefectures and counties which were attacked the most by Japanese pirates according to records in *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosa jeoryo*. As displayed in Table 2, the most frequently attacked areas of Goryeo were Ganghwa (江華) and Gyeongju County (喬桐), which were each attacked fourteen times. Hapso County (合浦) suffered thirteen attacks and Ulju (蔚州) suffered twelve attacks. Milseong Prefecture (密城郡) and Seungpyeong Prefecture (昇平郡) were attacked eleven times; Goseong County (固城縣) was attacked ten times; Suju (水州), Geumju (全州: formerly Gimhae), Yangju (梁州: formerly Yangsan), and Jinju (晉州) were attacked eight times; Garim County (嘉林縣: formerly Imju County), Saju County (泗州縣: formerly Sacheon County), Jeonju (全州), and Gyeongju (慶州) were attacked seven times; Inju (仁州: formerly Incheon), Seorim County (瑞林縣: formerly Seocheon County), Dongnae (東萊), Heonyang (獻陽: formerly Eonyang), Yeju (禮州: formerly Yeonghae), and Haeju (海州) were attacked six times. The place names, annotated with their former names, were previously known by their former names when Japanese pirate attacks occurred.

Importantly, Table 2 shows that a considerable number of subordinate counties were included in the list of relatively frequently attacked prefectures and counties. This demonstrates another characteristic of Japanese pirate attacks, which is that normal, not subordinate, counties were not exclusively targeted. Among the twenty-nine prefectures or counties attacked more than five times, eight were subordinate counties according to Table 2. These were Gyodong, Happo, Seorim, Hanju, Dongnae, Saju, Hyeonyang, and Gwangseong (管城: formerly Okcheon).

According to Table 3, a total of seventy-one prefectures or counties were attacked by Japanese pirates more than three times.<sup>4</sup> Thirteen of the nineteen areas attacked four times were subordinate counties; thirteen of the twenty-three areas attacked three times were subordinate counties. Therefore, approximately one-half, or thirty-four of the seventy-one areas attacked more than three times, were subordinate counties. As pointed out above, most regular counties in the three Goryeo provinces of Yanggwang Province, Gyeongsang Province, and Jeolla Province were attacked more than once by Japanese pirates because they were central to local administration, well-populated, and well-stocked with merchandise. Yet, purely in terms of areas that suffered more than three attacks, there appears to be no stark difference between regular and subordinate counties. This gives reason to further explore other features of Japanese pirate attacks.

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<sup>4</sup> The statistics compiled by the author of this paper significantly differs from the numbers presented through previous studies such as Na, "Honggeonjeok gwa waegu," 397; Yi Young, "Goryeo mal eui waegu wa masan," 129-31.

Table 2. Prefectures and Counties Attacked More Than Five Times

| Number of Attacks | Prefecture / County Name | Number of Prefectures / Counties | Time of Attack   |
|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 14                | Gyodong                  | 2                                | Gyodong: third month of 1351, third month of 1352 (2), seventh month of 1352, fifth month of 1357, Leap ninth month of 1357, fifth month of 1358, Leap fifth month of 1360, fourth month of 1363, third month of 1365, fourth month of 1365, fifth month of 1366, seventh month of 1373, seventh month of 1376 |
|                   | Ganghwa                  |                                  | Ganghwa: third month of 1351, fifth month of 1358, fifth month of 1360, Leap fifth month of 1360, sixth month of 1364, third month of 1365, fourth month of 1365, third month of 1367, tenth month of 1376, third month of 1377, fifth month of 1377 (2), second month of 1378, first month of 1387            |
| 13                | Happo                    | 1                                | Second month of 1352, sixth month of 1352 (2), seventh month of 1352, ninth month of 1352, ninth month of 1353, fourth month of 1358, fourth month of 1374, eleventh month of 1376, twelfth month of 1376 (2), first month of 1377, fourth month of 1379   |
| 12                | Ulju                     | 1                                | Fourth month 1361, eighth month 1361, fifth month 1374, Wu 2.11, Wu 2.12, fourth month 1377 (2), fifth month 1377, Leap fifth month 1379, sixth month 1379, seventh month 1379, sixth month 1381   |
| 11                | Milseong                 | 2                                | Milseong: eighth month 1361, third month 1364, twelfth month 1374, first month 1375, eleventh month 1375, eleventh month 1376, fourth month 1377, fifth month 1377 (2), sixth month 1379, eleventh month 1381  |
|                   | Seungpyeong              |                                  | Seungpyeong: fourth month 1352, fifth month 1352, third month 1364, third month 1372, sixth month 1377, twelfth month 1377, seventh month 1378, eighth month 1378, second month 1379, third month 1379, third month 1380   |
| 10                | Goseong                  | 1                                | Second month 1352, sixth month 1352, seventh month 1358, fourth month 1361, third month 1364, third month 1376, eleventh month 1376, twelfth month 1376, eleventh month 1378, seventh month 1381   |
|                   |                          |                                  | Suju: third month 1354, eighth month 1358, fifth month 1377, third month 1378, fifth month 1378, sixth month 1378 (2), eleventh month 1384   |

|   |          |   |  |
|---|----------|---|--|
| 8 | Suju     | 4 | Geumju: eighth month 1361, third month 1364, eleventh month 1375, fourth month 1377, eleventh month 1377, ninth month 1380, sixth month 1381, seventh month 1381 |
|   | Geumju   |   | Yangju: eighth month 1361, third month 1364, eleventh month 1376, twelfth month 1376, fourth month 1377, fifth month 1377, sixth month 1381, eighth month 1384   |
|   | Yangju   |   | Jinju: third month 1376, eleventh month 1376, twelfth month 1378, fifth month 1379, ninth month 1379, eighth month 1388, seventh month 1389, second month 1392   |
| 7 | Jinju    | 4 | Garim: sixth month 1376, third month 1378, tenth month 1378, eighth month 1380, second month 1382, Leap second month 1382, tenth month 1387                      |
|   | Garim    |   | Saju: third month 1358, fourth month 1360, eighth month 1361, third month 1364, twelfth month 1378, eighth month 1379, ninth month 1379                          |
|   | Saju     |   | Jeonju: third month 1362, ninth month 1376, ninth month 1378, eighth month 1383, eleventh month 1387, fourth month 1388, sixth month 1388                        |
|   | Jeonju   |   | Gyeongju: fifth month 1374, fourth month 1377, Leap fifth month 1379, sixth month 1379, fifth month 1381, sixth month 1382, eighth month 1388                    |
| 6 | Gyeongju | 6 | Inju: eighth month 1353, eighth month 1358, fourth month 1374, ninth month 1375, second month 1378, twelfth month 1384   |
|   | Inju     |   | Seorim: third month 1352, tenth month 1376, ninth month 1377, tenth month 1382, tenth month 1387, fifth month 1388   |
|   | Seorim   |   | Dongnae: eleventh month 1352, eighth month 1361, eleventh month 1376 (2), twelfth month 1376, tenth month 1377   |
|   | Dongnae  |   | Eonyang: eleventh month 1376, fourth month 1377, fifth month 1377, sixth month 1379, seventh month 1379, sixth month 1381  |
|   | Eonyang  |   | Yeju: sixth month 1372, second month 1381, third month 1381, fifth month 1381, sixth month 1381, fifth month 1385  |
|   | Yeju     |   | Haeju: second month 1371, ninth month 1373, eighth month 1377, ninth month 1377, eighth month 1378, seventh month 1388   |
|   |          |   | Cheonan: eleventh month 1369, ninth month 1375, tenth month 1377, sixth month 1378, sixth month 1390   |

|   |   |   |  |
|---|---|---|--|
| 5 | Cheonan<br>Hansan<br>Buseong<br>Gwanseong<br>Andong<br>Haeyang<br>Pungju<br>Uljin | 8 | Hansan: fourth month 1358, tenth month 1376, ninth month 1377, third month 1378, tenth month 1387        |
|   |   |   | Buseong: third month 1352, ninth month 1375, ninth month 1378, seventh month 1380, ninth month 1381      |
|   |   |   | Gwanseong: ninth month 1378, tenth month 1378, seventh month 1380, eighth month 1383, eighth month 1388  |
|   |   |   | Andong: third month 1382, sixth month 1383, eighth month 1383 (2), first month 1385                      |
|   |   |   | Haeyang: tenth month 1378, second month 1380, fourth month 1381, eleventh month 1387, seventh month 1388 |
|   |   |   | Pungju: sixth month 1377, seventh month 1377, eighth month 1377, fifth month 1379, fourth month 1388     |
|   |   |   | Uljin: seventh month 1379, third month 1381, sixth month 1381, seventh month 1381, third month 1382      |

- 1) The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of attacks on the same area during a particular month.
- 2) County names with an asterisk indicate that they are subordinate counties.

**Table 3. Prefectures and Counties Attacked Four Times or Less**

| Number of Attacks | Prefecture / County Name  | Number of Prefectures / Counties |
|-------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 4                 | Gaeseong, Gongam*, Dangseong*, Buyeo*, Yeonsan*, Onsu*, Ahju*, Hongsan*, Pyeonghae*, Banseong*, Hamyang*, Geoje, Yeongdong*, Cheongsan*, Nagan*, Jangheung, Boseong, Anju, Ongjin   | 19                               |
| 3                 | Jeongju*, Yongseong*, Gongju, Hongju, Jiksan*, Yeongju*, Uian*, Gijang*, Hadong*, Namhae, Ilseon*, Daegu*, Uiseong*, Hamyeol*, Namwon, Gurye*, Jinrye, Gimje, Gyoju, Yeomju, Sinju*, Samcheok, Hamju  | 23                               |
| 2                 | Namgyeong, Geumju*, Tongjin*, Suan*, Ansan*, Goeju*, Yeongwol*, Jeju*, Dansan*, Cheongju, Mokju*, Hoedeok*, Yuseong*, Seokseong*, Jeongsan*, Hyeeseong*, Gyeolseong*, Sinpyeong*, Deokpung*, Pyeongtaek*, Anseong*, Biin*, Yeongdeok*, Haman*, Akyang*, Yeongseon*, Jinhae*, Nanpo*, Jungmo*, Gyeongsanbu, Hwanggan*, Yeon*, Hamju*, Sunan*, Geumma*, Imsil*, Jangsu*, Unbong*, Boan*, Buryeong*, Jeongeup*, Ineui*, Impi, Jindong*, Yeongwang, Dogang*, Dongbuk*, Tamra, Anak*, Jangyeon*, Yeonggang*, Bongju*, Myeongju, Iknyeong*, Dongsan*, Bukcheongju, Seonju | 56                               |

|   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| 1 | Simak*, Dongseong*, Yeongsin*, Ssangbu*, Yangseong*, Jukju*, Yonggu*, Chungju, Jangyeon*, Uemjuk*, Uemseong*, Cheongpung*, Pyeongchang*, Yeongchun*, Jucheon*, Jinjam*, Nisan*, Sinpung*, Boryeong*, Cheongyang*, Yeomi*, Yesan*, Sotae*, Jangsan*, Angang*, Sinryeong*, Jain*, Cheongha*, Gigye*, Songsaeng*, Ungsin*, Dongpyeong*, Cheongdo*, Gasu*, Saneum*, Dangye*, Yian*, Yaro*, Choye*, Geochang*, Myeongjin*, Sangju, Boryeong*, Hoeryeong*, Gongseong*, Biak*, Eomo*, Chungna*, Goryeong*, Indong*, Jirye*, Geumsan*, Aneup*, Isan*, Hwawon*, Imha*, Euiheung*, Giyang*, Nangsan*, Gosan*, Unje*, Georyeong*, Gobu, Daesan*, Sangjil*, Hoemi*, Okgu*, Mangyeong*, Jugye*, Mupung*, Naju, Muan*, Damyang*, Gokseong*, Bannam*, Jinwon*, Hwasun*, Hoeryeong*, Jangtaek*, Tamjin*, Jangseong*, Mopyeong*, Hanpung*, Jangsa*, Yeongam, Haenam*, Joyang*, Okgwa*, Buyu*, Neungseong, Tonggu*, Chunju, Gapyeong*, Nangcheon*, Hoengcheon*, Hongcheon*, Yanggu*, Geumhwa*, Pyeonggang*, Baekju*, Pyeongju*, Deungju, Goju, Jinmyeong, Wugye*, Jeongseon*, Heupgok, Bokju, Yongju, Cheolju, Gwakju, Yeongcheong, Hamjong, Yonggang*, Samhwa* | 115 |
|---|---|-----|

- 1) County names with an asterisk (\*) indicate that they are subordinate counties.  
 2) The date each attack occurred has been omitted due to space limitations.

## 2. The Characteristics of Japanese Pirate Attacks

In late Goryeo, western and southern coastal areas of the Korean peninsula, where warehouses and ports were located to collect and to transport tax grains, were the foremost targets for Japanese pirates. This is why the counties of Gyodong County and Ganghwa County became the most frequently attacked areas.

Located along the river and sea routes leading to the capital Gae-gyeong, these two particular counties were gateways where grains paid as tax were temporarily aggregated before being transported to the capital. These geographical and economic conditions were the very reason why the two counties became victimized most severely by Japanese pirates. For instance, there is an entry in *Goryeosa* regarding Japanese pirates attacking Gapsan Warehouse (甲山倉) in Gyodong County in the third lunar month of 1352.<sup>5</sup> Apart from this entry, Gapsan Warehouse is not mentioned in any

<sup>5</sup> *Goryeosa* [History of Goryeo], vol. 38, Year 1 of King Gongmin (1352), third month section.

other record, which warrants the possibility that it may have been a temporary warehouse to store tax grains from other areas destined for the Goryeo capital of Gaegyeong. In the intercalary fifth month of 1259, Japanese pirates attacked the Buddhist temples Seonwonsa (禪源寺) and Yongjangsa (龍藏寺), killed nearly 300 people, and stole 40,000 sacks of rice.<sup>6</sup> Considering that 15,000 sacks of grains were accrued from the Jinju area in 1259,<sup>7</sup> when the area was a prebend of the Choe family that ruled a military regime at that time, it seems more likely that the 40,000 sacks of rice were tax grains rather than the respective private property of the two temples.<sup>8</sup> This estimation is also supported by the fact that there were many facilities for storing grains in Ganghwa County from having previously functioned as a temporary capital of Goryeo.

For being the gateway to Gaegyeong where tax grains were aggregated, the two countries sought precautions against Japanese pirates early on. In the seventh lunar month of 1376, residents of Gyodong County were instructed to relocate to other nearby areas and avoid Japanese pirate attacks.<sup>9</sup> In the third lunar month of the following year, the Goryeo government realized that strategically important points should be protected. The government thereby expropriated private fields in the corresponding area and had them farmed by men performing military duties prepared in an emergency.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps because of such precautionary measures, Japanese pirate attacks in Gyodong County no longer appeared in Korean historical records as can be seen through Table 2. Were it not for those measures, the area is likely to have suffered from many more attacks by Japanese pirates.

After serving as a temporary capital under the military regime of the

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<sup>6</sup> *Goryeosa jeoryo* [Abridged History of Goryeo], vol. 27, Year 9 of King Gongmin (1360), Leap fifth month section.

<sup>7</sup> Kim Jae-myung, "Goryeo eui joeunjedo wa sacheon tongyeongchang" [Tongyangchang as a Section of the Marine Transportation System in Goryeo Period], *Hanguk jungsesa yeongu* 20 (2006): 181-82.

<sup>8</sup> There is still, of course, the possibility that the grains could have been collected from branches of each temple in different areas or from farms owned by the temples.

<sup>9</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 133, Yeoljeon [Biographies] part, Year 2 of King Wu (1376), seventh month section.

<sup>10</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 113, Choi Yeong yeoljeon.

Choe family during the 13th century Mongol invasions, the prominence of Ganghwa County fell into the shade and the county gradually became merged into Inju after the Goryeo government moved back to Gaegyeong in 1270. However, in 1377, the county was elevated to the status of Ganghwa Prefect (江華府).<sup>11</sup> This reinstatement seems to have been a restorative measure taken after the area was severely damaged and left destitute by Japanese pirates who had attacked not only Ganghwa but also the neighboring counties of Suan, Tongjin, and Dongseong.<sup>12</sup> According to other records, residents were unable to reside and pay taxes in the Ganghwa area due to the Japanese pirate attacks, which subsequently turned the area into an uninhabited land. Only when the government had naval forces stationed in the area and placed warships in the nearby waters did the area become stabilized.<sup>13</sup> These measures seem to have been taken when the area was promoted to the status of Ganghwa Prefect. The Goryeo government's intention must have been to promote the area so as to turn it into a defense base against Japanese pirates.

In the meantime, Happon was the county that facilitated one of the thirteen waterside coastal called Seokdu Warehouse (石頭倉). This warehouse stored tax grains from prefectures and counties in the areas of Ulju (Ulsan), Geumju (Gimhae), and Yangju (Yangsan).<sup>14</sup> In the nearby area was an annex of Seokdu Warehouse called Hoewon Warehouse (會原倉), which also fell prey to a Japanese pirate attack in the first lunar month of 1377.<sup>15</sup> Happon was the base and the departure point from which the com-

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<sup>11</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 56, Ganghwa County.

<sup>12</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 113, Choi Yeong yeoljeon.

<sup>13</sup> *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* [Newly Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea], vol. 12, Ganghwa-dohobu (江華都護府) Gungsil (宮室) section.

<sup>14</sup> Han Jeong-hoon, "Goryeo sidae 13 jochang gwa jubyeon gyotongno yeongu" [The Research of 13 Rice-warehouses and the Surrounding Traffic Route in the Goryeo Dynasty], *Hanguk jungsesa yeongu* 23 (2007): 176. The reason Ulju (twelve attacks), Geumju (eight attacks), and Yangju (eight attacks) were more heavily damaged was not only because they were coastal areas along waterways, but also because their tax grains were collected and stored at Seokduchang.

<sup>15</sup> While prefectures and counties attacked by Japanese pirates were labeled by their changed names, Happon was an exception. The name Happon was changed to Hoewon in 1282, the eighty years

bined forces of Goryeo and Yuan China set out to conquer Japan during the reign of Kubilai Khan. This was because the county was located closest to the shortcut past Geoje, which led all the way to Tsushima Island in Japan.<sup>16</sup> This, in turn, made Hapcho the forward operating base in Goryeo for Japanese pirates from Tsushima, and having a waterside warehouse for tax grains made the area all the more desirable for Japanese pirates. As a result, approximately 5,000 Goryeo soldiers were killed when 350 Japanese ships came to Hapcho in the fourth lunar month of 1374.<sup>17</sup>

There was another warehouse near Hapcho called Saju (currently Sacheon). This warehouse called Tongyang Warehouse (通陽倉) was attacked seven times (See Table 2). When Japanese pirates began to attack Goryeo more fiercely from 1350, they first struck Goseong (固城), Jungnim (竹林),<sup>18</sup> and Geoje (巨濟) near Tongyang Warehouse.<sup>19</sup> As can be seen from Table 2 and Table 3, the same areas suffered heavily from Japanese pirate attacks: ten times at Goseong County and four times at Geoje County. Other areas where warehouses were situated also suffered relatively greater damage: eleven attacks were made on Seungpyeong (currently Suncheon) where the warehouse Haeryong Warehouse (海龍倉) was located, four attacks on Ahju where the warehouse Hayang Warehouse (河陽倉) was located, and five attacks on Buseong County (富城縣) where the warehouse Yeongpung Warehouse (永豐倉) was located.<sup>20</sup>

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of King Chungnyeol's reign, which was maintained until the end of the Goryeo dynasty. The name change appears to have been made after the Mongol expedition to conquer Japan failed in 1281. However, the name Hapcho seems to have remained in use alongside Hoewon even after the name change. This is because military units named Hapcho jinbyeonso (合浦鎮邊所) and Hapcho deungcheo jinbyeonmanhobu (合浦等處鎮邊萬戶府) were installed in the area after the expedition to conquer Japan ended.

<sup>16</sup> Kim Gwang-cheol, "Goryeo sidae hapcho jiyek sahoe" [Hapcho local society in the Goryeo Dynasty], *Hanguk jungsesa yeongu* 17 (2004): 18.

<sup>17</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 44, Year 23 of King Gongmin (1374), fourth month section.

<sup>18</sup> Jungnim refers to Jungnim-bugok (竹林部曲) where the military camp Jungnimsu (竹林戍) was stationed to defend the warehouse Tongyangchang. At the nearby Gaksan-hyang (角山鄉) was the camp Gaksansu (角山戍). Kim, "Goryeo eui joeunjedo wa sacheon tongyeongchang," 183-86.

<sup>19</sup> Han, "Goryeo sidae 13 jochanggwa jubyeon gyotongno yeongu," 175.

<sup>20</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 37, Year 2 of King Chungjeong (1350), fourth month section; *Goryeosa*, vol.

However, Japanese pirate attacks were not limited to locations where tax grains were collected. The attacks also caused considerable damage by targeting ships and ports used to transport tax grains. Before the tax grain shipping system was introduced under King Jeongjong (r. 945-949), sixty points of tax grain transportation were spread out countrywide along major rivers and coasts.<sup>21</sup> This is why prefectures and counties with ports were more heavily pillaged by Japanese pirates.<sup>22</sup> Records indicate that by 1370, areas as close as thirty to fifty *ri* (or eleven to twenty kilometers) from the coast remained deserted and desolate.<sup>23</sup>

To prevent further damage from Japanese pirate attacks, warehouses in coastal areas were relocated to inland sites in the fourth lunar month of 1358.<sup>24</sup> By the following month, shipping circumstances had worsened to such a degree that the state became unable to pay government officials their salary. Two months later, Chinese ships and some Han Chinese were hired to ship tax grains for Goryeo. In the second lunar month of 1358, tax grains had to be transported by land instead of being shipped by sea. In the ninth intercalary lunar month of 1376, shipping tax grains discontinued in the three provinces of Jeolla, Yanggwang, and Gyeongsang, thus tax grains all started to be transported by land.<sup>25</sup> From that time on, tax grains were not shipped through water again for fourteen years until 1390. This caused Japanese pirates to gradually shift their targets to inland areas. As such, some posts along waterways and land routes, extending to inland areas or coastal prefectures and counties with easier access to inland areas, came under intensive attack by Japanese pirates.

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38, Year 3 of King Gongmin (1354), fourth month section; *Goryeosa*, vol. 38, Year 4 of King Gongmin (1355), fourth month section; *Goryeosa*, vol. 39, Year 10 of King Gongmin (1361), eighth month section.

<sup>21</sup> Kim, "Goryeo eui joeunjedo wa sacheon tongyeongchang," 173.

<sup>22</sup> Examples of such prefectures or counties include Gongam-hyeon (four attacks) where the port Gwangtongpo (廣通浦) was, Nagan-hyeon (four attacks) where Papyeongpo (波平浦) was, and Yeju (five attacks) where Seohagunpo (西河郡浦) was located.

<sup>23</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 42, Year 17 of King Gongmin (1368), fifth month section.

<sup>24</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 39, Year 7 of King Gongmin (1358), fourth month section.

<sup>25</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 133, Year 2 of King Wu (1376), Leap ninth month section.

Based on the number of attacks noted in Table 2, Milseong (eleven attacks), Geumju (eight attacks), Yangju (eight attacks), and Jinju (eight attacks) were all key points along inland and water transportation routes that suffered greater damage. Jinju was an area key to land routes towards to the northern areas of today's Jeolla Province such as Unbong or Namwon. The rest of the areas Japanese pirates attacked were key points along the Nakdong River as they traveled by ship into inland areas of the northern and southern parts of today's Gyeongsang Province. In the eleventh month of 1375, Japanese pirates set the government office in Geumju on fire and clashed with Goryeo soldiers in Daegu (大丘). The most convenient way to travel from Gimhae to Daegu was use of the Nakdong River. Approximately ten Japanese ships started out from Gimhae and sailed upstream along the Hwangsan River, a branch of the Nakdong River, to attack Milseong.<sup>26</sup> In the fourth lunar month of 1377, Commander Bak Wi decapitated twenty-nine Japanese pirates at the mouth of the Hwangsan River while serving as the deputy magistrate of Gimhae.<sup>27</sup> Gimhae was at the corner of the lower Nakdong River and frequently suffered from Japanese pirate attacks. This was the same case with Yangju, a key water transportation point along the lower Nakdong River.

Coastal areas still suffered heavily for being easily accessible to Japanese pirates approaching Goryeo by ship. Examples of such areas were Ulju, Dongnae, Goseong, and Yeju along the eastern and southern coasts of the Korean peninsula. However, as tax grains were no longer being shipped by water from 1376, Japanese pirates in search of economic gains shifted their predatory gaze toward inland areas.<sup>28</sup> In particular, Japanese pirates took Chuksan Island (丑山島) along the eastern coast as a principal base for advancing into inland areas. The island, which was part of Yeju, had become a new entry into Goryeo for Japanese pirates. Staging the is-

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<sup>26</sup> *Goryeosa jeoryo*, vol. 30, Year 1 of King Wu (1375), eleventh month section.

<sup>27</sup> *Goryeosa jeoryo*, vol. 30, Year 3 of King Wu (1377), fourth month section.

<sup>28</sup> Na Jong-woo explains that Japanese pirates broadened their attack range to inland areas of Goryeo as grain production at coastal prefectures decreased sharply and as tax grains started to be transported by land since the reign of King Wu. Na, "Honggeonjeokgwa waegu," 405-06.

land as a base, the pirates invaded inland areas of Gyeongsang Province, Gyoju Province, and Yanggwang Province.<sup>29</sup>

Yeju was attacked three times in 1381. The Confucian scholar Gwon Geun wrote that the attacks ravaged and burned all the houses in the villages of Yeju. Moreover, government officials fled to other regions, thus for the next few years Yeju remained a den for Japanese pirates. In the summer of 1383, Japanese pirates swept through Wonju and Chuncheon to attack Cheolwon and then moved on to make victims of Yangju, Gwangju, and Gongju. These attacks were all made by Japanese pirates who infiltrated Goryeo through Chuksan Island. Gwon Geun quoted the proverb “When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold” to illustrate how failing to defend a single island resulted in damage in the three provinces. This suggests that Chuksan Island under the district of Yeju served as a major point of entry for Japanese pirates into inland areas across Gyeongsang Province, Gyoju Province, and Yanggwang Province.

## II. Damages Ascertained from Geographical Appendixes

While nearly one-half of the prefectures and counties of Goryeo were raided by Japanese pirates, the southern areas of Goryeo particularly suffered from such raids. Innumerable people were killed, lost family members, or became captives.<sup>30</sup> This section will delve more deeply into the changes that Goryeo prefectures and counties experienced after the attacks. Annals, such as *Goryeosa*, only indicate that Japanese pirate attacks occurred and do not provide details regarding how those attacks impacted Goryeo prefectures and counties. On the other hand, various geographical appendixes compiled in early Joseon include records regarding the prefectures and counties that were not covered by the chronicles.

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<sup>29</sup> *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam*, vol. 24, Yeonghae-dohobu (寧海都護府) Nujeong (樓亭) section, Gweongeungi (權近記).

<sup>30</sup> *Gyeongsangdo jiriji* (慶尙道地理志) [Geography of Gyeongsang Province], Milyang-dohobu (密陽都護府) section.

Some prefectures and counties lost their administrative functions as Japanese pirate attacks drove their residents away. One such case was the county of Nampo County (藍浦縣) which was attacked by Japanese pirates in 1380. Only when a fortress was installed in 1390 and people were brought back to the area did the county recover its function as an administrative unit.<sup>31</sup> Jinbo County (眞寶縣), known as Boseong Prefect (甫城府) during the Goryeo dynasty, was ruined by Japanese pirates until a lower ranking magistrate with the title of *gammu* (監務) was assigned to the county during the Joseon dynasty.<sup>32</sup> However, the damages these two counties incurred were not chronicled in *Goryeosa*. In fact, damages due to Japanese pirate attacks are likely to have been far more extensive than what was implied by the number of attacks introduced above. Cases similar to the two counties include Heungseon County (興善縣),<sup>33</sup> Nanpo County (蘭浦縣), and Pyeongsan County (平山縣).<sup>34</sup>

Some prefectures or counties managed to remain afloat as their government officials and residents temporarily relocated to other prefectures or counties. Japanese pirate attacks in 1271 caused people in Geoje County (巨濟縣) and Myeongjin County (溟珍縣) to respectively relocate to Gajo County (加祚縣) in Geochang (居昌) and the Jinju area.<sup>35</sup> In the case of Namhae County, the county's residents lost their houses due to a Japanese pirate attack in 1358, and temporarily relocated to Daeyacheon-*bugok* (大也川部曲) in the district of Jinju.<sup>36</sup> Such temporary relocation of residents from one county to another was referred to as *gyowu* (橋寓) while the temporary relocation of county authorities was described as *gyogun* (橋郡). According to recent studies,<sup>37</sup> *gyowu* or *gyogun* occurred in the southern

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<sup>31</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji* (世宗實錄地理志) [Geographical Appendix to the Annals of King Sejong], Nampo-hyeon (藍浦縣) section.

<sup>32</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Jinbo-hyeon (眞寶縣) section.

<sup>33</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Jinjumok (晉州牧) Heungseon-do (興善島) section.

<sup>34</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Gonnam-gun (昆南郡) section.

<sup>35</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Geoje-hyeon (巨濟縣) section and Jinseong-hyeon (珍城縣).

<sup>36</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Gonnam-gun (昆南郡) Namhae-hyeon (南海縣) section.

<sup>37</sup> Yoon Kyeong-jin, "Goryeo mal joseon cho gyogun eui seolchi wa jaepyeon" [The Implementation

coastal areas of Goryeo such as Yangju as well as Geoje County, Namhae County, and their subordinate counties. Most of the relocated counties returned to their original locations early in the reign of King Sejong during the Joseon Dynasty. On the other hand, when a Japanese pirate attack caused the authorities of the island of Jindo to relocate ashore to Haenam County in 1350, the incident was labeled as *naecheon* (內遷),<sup>38</sup> which appears to be a synonym for *gyowu*. The same relocation applies to the case of Jangheung Regional Military Command.<sup>39</sup> These temporary relocations seem to have continued into the early Joseon.

Apart from destroying prefectures and counties or forcing them to relocate, Japanese pirate attacks also dissolved special administrative units and gave rise to new settlements referred to as *wolgyeongji* (越境地). In terms of the dissolution of special administrative units, Goseong County along the southern coast of Goryeo serves as an example. Originally, this county had nineteen special administrative units: six *hyang* (鄉), seven *bugok* (部曲), and six *so* (所).<sup>40</sup> Among these units, four *hyang*, six *bugok*, and all six *so* eventually were dissolved by the end of the Goryeo dynasty. The *Gyeongsangdo jiriji*, printed in 1425, shows that only three of the nineteen special administrative units continued into the first half of the 15th century. Goseong County suffered ten Japanese pirate attacks, which, according to Table 2, makes it the seventh most frequently attacked area among all the prefectures and counties of Goryeo. The dissolution of other prefectures and counties is thought to have occurred mostly around the same time as Japanese pirate attacks were likely to have played a certain role in that dissolution.

The dissolution of special administrative units such as the *hyang* or the *bugok* is likely to have contributed to the creation of new settlements called *wolgyeongji*. Let's take for example the *wolgyeongji* (new settle-

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and the Reorganization of Gyogun units in the Final clays of Goryeo and the Beginning of Joseon dynasty], *Hanguk munhwa* 40 (2007): 182-207.

<sup>38</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Haejin-gun (海珍郡) Haenam-hyeon (海南縣) section.

<sup>39</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Haejin-gun (海珍郡) Jangheung-dohobu (長興都護府) section.

<sup>40</sup> *Gyeongsangdo jiriji*, Goscong-hyeon (固城縣) section.

ments) in the southern coastal areas severely damaged from Japanese pirate attacks. *Wolgyeongji* would usually appear in times of famine, poor harvest, war, or searches for better arable land.<sup>41</sup> Notably, however, in late Goryeo, the appearance of *wolgyeongji* seems to be related to the movement of people in special administrative units. For instance, the people of Wanpo *hyang* (莞浦鄉) in the district of Gimhae moved to the southern part of Changwon and formed *wolgyeongji* in three different villages.<sup>42</sup> The residents of Malmun *hyang* (末文鄉) and Gaksan *hyang* (角山鄉) in Jinju came to form a *wolgyeongji* in Baekcheon-ri (白川里) in the southern part of Sacheon County.<sup>43</sup> The members of Geumyang-*bugok* (金陽部曲), originally in Jinju, also went to Baekchon-ri (白村里) on the east side of Hadong County to form a *wolgyeongji*.<sup>44</sup>

Compared to the residents of regular prefectures or counties, those of special administrative units tended to be imposed with heavier taxes and corvée labor, which kept them under substandard socio-economic circumstances. Such duties made them more likely to flee to other areas. Specific examples of this would be the aforementioned residents of special administrative units in Gimhae and Jinju who fled and formed a *wolgyeongji* in a different county. In fact, approximately ninety percent of the new settlements were formed by people who had crossed over from a *hyang*, *bugok*, or *so* belonging to a different prefecture or county. In some cases, residents from a prefecture or county would come to a special administrative unit and form a village there.<sup>45</sup> And when external triggers, such as Japanese pirate attacks, came into play, they especially served as an excuse for residents in special administrative units to run away.

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<sup>41</sup> Lee Woo-sung, “Yi’jo sidae milyang gomae bugok” [On Gomae-Bugok of Milyang during the Yi Dynasty], in *Hanguk jungse sahoe yeongu* [A Study on Medieval Korean Society] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1991), 147-61.

<sup>42</sup> *Gyeongsangdo jiriji*, Changwon-dohobu (昌原都護府) section.

<sup>43</sup> *Gyeongsangdo jiriji*, Sacheon-hyeon (泗川縣) section.

<sup>44</sup> *Gyeongsangdo jiriji*, Hadong-hyeon (河東縣) section.

<sup>45</sup> Park Jong-ki, *Jibae wa jayul eui gonggan, Goryeo eui jibang sahoe* [The Rural Society of Goryeo, a Space of Control and Autonomy] (Seoul: Pureun yeoksa, 2002): 373-85.

### III. Restoration Measures and King Gongyang's Gammu Policy

Japanese pirate attacks greatly changed rural communities in late Goryeo in various ways. Southern prefectures and counties that suffered the most became dissolved or were forced to temporarily relocate to other areas. Special administrative units such as *hyang* or *bugok* gradually disappeared as their members exhibited a greater tendency to flee from impositions of heavier taxes and corvée requirements.

What policies did the Goryeo government employ to restore pillaged rural communities? Regarding this particular matter, there is a study on the construction of fortress in Gyeongsang Province to prevent Japanese pirate attacks.<sup>46</sup> The study took a new approach by using geographical appendices to review fortress walls as a preventative measure. Still, the study carried limitations in that it explored a measure that could not be applied to all areas, nor could it help to permanently restore rural communities. Other commonly discussed measures against Japanese pirate attacks emphasize the reorganization and the reinforcement of the military system in order to increase the number of soldiers stationed at local encampments, reshuffle naval units specifically charged with preventing Japanese pirate attacks, or form temporary military units out of farmers who support fighting against Japanese pirates. Diplomatic measures such as dispatching envoys have also been discussed.<sup>47</sup> In this article, I touch on the dispatch of lower ranking magistrates called *gammu*. While the *gammu* has been a topic that

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<sup>46</sup> Lee Kyung-hee, "Goryeo mal waegu eui chimip gwa daewae jeongchaek ui ildanmyeon" [Japanese Pirate Attacks in Late Goryeo and Goryeo's Policy Toward Japan], *Busan yeodae sahak* 10 & 11 (1993): 269-96. Meanwhile, the following paper offers a comprehensive summary about the studies on the damage Japanese pirates caused in Gyeongsang province and what defensive measures were taken in the area: Koo San-woo, "Ilbon Wonjeong, Waegu Chimip gwa Gyeongsangdo Jiyeok eui Donghyang" [The Mongol and Goryeo's Expedition to Japan, Invasion of the Japanese Pirates and the Movement in Gyeongsang-Province], *Hanguk Jungsesa Yeongu*, 22 (2007): 217-49.

<sup>47</sup> Cha Yong-geol, "Goryeo mal waegu bangsugaek eroseo eui jinsu wa chukseong" [Military Presence and Fortification as Defense Against Japanese Pirates in Late Goryeo], *Sahak yeongu* 38 (1984): 129-57; Na, "Honggeonjeok gwa waegu," 407-15.

gained much attention from the scholars interested in the system of prefectures and counties, this paper seeks to examine how the dispatch of *gammu* officials during the reign of King Gongyang (r. 1389-92) helped restore the rural communities of Goryeo.<sup>48</sup>

To eliminate the instability that arose from the surge of settlements elevated to the status of county, King Gongyang's dispatch of *gammu* officials was an extension of the measure adopted by his predecessors King Yejong (r. 1105-25) and King Myeongjong (r. 1170-97). When a *gammu* official was dispatched to a particular prefecture or county, a small subordinate county or *bugok* officials nearby would come under the jurisdiction of that particular prefecture or county. This was different from previous *gammu* dispatches during the reigns of King Yejong and King Myeongjong which were aimed at preventing people from fleeing and thus strengthening the central government's control over rural areas. Dispatches of *gammu* officials under King Gongyang's reign sought to resolve the inconsistency in the system of regular and subordinate counties. This article highlights King Gongyang's dispatch of *gammu* officials as a means to restoring rural communities, ruined by Japanese pirate attacks, and realigning the tax grain collection system.

Near the end of King Wu's reign, Goryeo suffered considerably fewer attacks from Japanese pirates. Generals such as Yi Seong-gye, Choe Yeong, and Jeong Ji played significant roles in repelling Japanese pirates. When Goryeo troops led by Yi Seong-gye withdrew from Wihwa Island in 1388, Yi Seong-gye's faction seized power in Goryeo and launched a series of extensive reforms. Representative of the reforms was land reform. To readjust the ownership of land and slaves, the government needed to recalibrate the tax grain collection system. Because major sources of tax grains such as Yanggwang Province, Gyeongsang Province, and Jeolla Province suffered the most from Japanese pirate attacks, their administrative systems required support from the central government. The reformers looked for a

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<sup>48</sup> Yoon Kyeong-jin, "Joseon chogi gunhyeon cheje eui gaepyeon gwa eunyeong chegye eui byeonhwa" [The Restructure and Operational Changes of the Prefecture-County System in Early Joseon], *Hanguksaron* 25 (1991): 108-09.

commissioner able to execute land reform. Likewise, the dispatch of *gammu* officials during King Gongyang's reign was related to land reform.

*Gammu* dispatches were concentrated in the southern provinces of Goryeo. A total of 38 *gammu* officials were sent to those areas, including twenty-five to Gyeongsang Province, nine to Yanggwang Province, and four to Jeolla Province. During his reign, King Gongyang dispatched *gammu* officials to forty-four different locations, which was the third highest number of dispatches next to the seventy-seven sent by King Yejong and the sixty-six dispatched by King Myeongjong in the previous years.<sup>49</sup> During the reign of King Yejong, *gammu* officials were mostly sent to subordinate counties in the western coastal provincial areas or to areas near the capital in the Gyeonggi Province where people suffered from heavy taxes and corvée duties by reason of the state's attempt to conquer the Jurchens and relocate the capital. Dispatches of *gammu* officials during King Gongyang's reign, on the other hand, were focused on supporting the recovery from the damage that southern rural communities sustained due to the Japanese pirate attacks.

## 1. Defense against Japanese Pirates and Stable Tax Collection

In 1172, a *gammu* official was dispatched to Hamyang Prefecture for the first time in Korean history. Two centuries later, in 1390, the military officer, stationing in the same area as a *manho* (萬戶 local military official), was ordered to serve as a *gammu* because that district was a major target for Japanese pirates.<sup>50</sup> This indicates that *gammu* officials were dispatched or appointed for different reasons depending upon who ruled Goryeo, and at least during King Gongyang's reign the mission of a *gammu* official was to stabilize Hamyang Prefecture and defend the area against Japanese pirates.

Once the port of Seojang was built to the west of Sinchang County (新昌縣), a *manho* official, who would also serve as a *gammu* official, was

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<sup>49</sup> Kim Dong-soo, "Goryeo jung-hugi eui *gammu* pagyeon" [The Dispatch of *Gammu* in Mid to Late Goryeo], *Yeoksahak Yeongu* 3 (1989): 78.

<sup>50</sup> *Gyeongsangdo jiriji*, Hamyang-gun (咸陽郡) section.

assigned to the area in 1391, so that tax grains from nearby prefectures and counties could be collected there.<sup>51</sup> In the previous year, King Gongyang appointed a *gammu* official for Yeonil County (延日縣) who also served as the *manho* official in the area.<sup>52</sup> As a rule, the *manho* was a military position mainly charged with the mission of defending a particular area against Japanese pirates and thereby securing safety for shipping. The fact that *manho* officials took on the role of a *gammu* official hints that a *gammu* official, dispatched during the reign of King Gongyang, was expected to perform the duties of a *manho* official. Although there were discrepancies between the duty of *manho* officials, who originally served external defense, and that of *gammu* officials, who originally worked in civil administrative affairs such as tax collection, *gammu* officials were sent to key points along coastal areas or land routes frequently ravaged by Japanese pirates and charged with military duties as well. Hence, the purpose of dispatching *gammu* officials during the reign of King Gongyang was mainly three-fold: defense against Japanese pirates, steady collection of tax grains, and restoration of rural communities.

In 1172, a *gammu* official was assigned to Muan Prefecture and Hampung County.<sup>53</sup> During the reign of King Gongyang, *gammu* officials in those areas were ordered to concurrently serve as Supervisor of Agricultural Affairs (*gwonnongsa* 勸農使) and Supervisor of Defense (*bangeosa* 防禦使) alike, to nearby *hyang* and *bugok* within their jurisdiction. *Gammu* officials and magistrates, assigned to counties in Jeolla Province, such as Yeoryang County, Unbong County, Changpyeong County, Jinan County and Jangsu County, were also expected to perform the duties of both supervisors as above.<sup>54</sup> In other words, aside from their original responsibilities, *gammu* officials were also expected to prevent people from drifting and to encourage them to engage in agricultural activities.

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<sup>51</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 56, Jiri (地理) [Geography] 1, Sinchang-hyeon (新昌縣) section.

<sup>52</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiri 2, Yeonil-hyeon (延日縣) section.

<sup>53</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiri 2, Muan-gin (務安郡) section and Hampung-hyeon (咸豐縣) section.

<sup>54</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiri 2, Section for Yeoryang-hyeon, Unbong-hyeon, Changpyeong-hyeon, Jinan-hyeon, and Jangsu-hyeon.

When Japanese pirates attacked Jinbo County (眞寶縣) and Bonseong Prefect (浦城府), they set fire to the government office in the area and made all its residents flee. The region became incapable of performing its administrative functions until a *gammu* official was sent there in 1394 during the Joseon dynasty.<sup>55</sup> This indicates that the early Joseon government had inherited King Gongyang's policy of dispatching *gammu* officials to revive rural communities ravaged by Japanese pirates.

## 2. Restructuring Boundaries and Jurisdictions

Among the forty-four prefectures and counties to which *gammu* officials were dispatched during King Gongyang's reign, twenty-seven of them had been attacked by Japanese pirates. Assuming that *gammu* officials at that time were to engage in defense against Japanese pirates and restore administrative capabilities, there should be an explanation as to why *gammu* officials were dispatched to districts that had not been attacked by Japanese pirates. Finding that explanation would reveal an alternate purpose for dispatching *gammu* officials during King Gongyang's reign.

When a *gammu* official was dispatched to Tongjin County (通津縣) in 1390, Suan County and Dongseong County were brought under the jurisdiction of Tongjin County.<sup>56</sup> The area was close to Ganghwa and Gyodong County, both of which suffered the most from Japanese pirate attacks. After attacking Ganghwa in 1377, Japanese pirates were being chased away, and in the process attacked Suan County, Tongjin County, and Dongseong County. In particular, Dongseong County had been left unguarded without military presence to the extent that Japanese pirates referred to the area as a paradise.<sup>57</sup> Most of its people ran away and the district was only recovered near the end of King Wu's reign or during the reign of King Gongyang when Japanese pirate attacks dwindled significantly. The dispatch of a *gammu* official to Tongjin County and the coun-

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<sup>55</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Jinbo-hyeon (眞寶縣) section.

<sup>56</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Tongjin-hyeon (通津縣) section.

<sup>57</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 113, Choi Yeong (崔瑩) yeoljeon.

ty's subsequent incorporation of Suan County and Dongseong County practically resulted in the creation of a new administrative district. Similar forms of restructuring occurred at twenty-six of the forty-four areas where *gammu* officials were dispatched during the rule of King Gongyang.

Restructuring by placing small subordinate counties under the control of a prefecture or county assigned with a *gammu* official was a practice that had started even before King Gongyang's rule of Goryeo. In 1313, Gwanseong County, a subordinate county of Gyeongsan Prefect, was raised to the status of a regular county and gained administrative control over the other three subordinate counties of Isan County (利山縣), Aneup County (安邑縣), and Yangsan County (陽山縣).<sup>58</sup> Twenty years before this measure when Yuan insurgents, called Qadan (哈丹), attacked Gwanseong County, Aneup County and Isan County in 1292, the residents fled and became unable to engage in agricultural activities. Those counties were temporarily excused from corvée duties.<sup>59</sup> After nearly two decades had passed, the three counties were placed under the control of Gwanseong County in order to form a new district for tax collection. This measure had been adopted as an alternative to the failed practice of consolidating prefectures and counties during the reign of King Chungnyeol (r. 1274-98, 1299-1308) according to the Yuan dynasty's orders.

Reinstating administrative capabilities during King Chungseon's reign by newly creating a regular county and placing smaller prefectures and counties under the new county's control was not different from the restructuring undertaken during King Gongyang's reign in which to dispatch a *gammu* official to a prefecture or a county that would absorb small subordinate counties nearby. This form of restructuring was quite adequate and practical for eliminating the unreasonable tax collection system based on a stratified network of regular counties, subordinate counties, *hyang*, and *bugok*. Although Goryeo experimented with such restructuring at a time when the Yuan dynasty meddled in its domestic affairs, King Gongyang's

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<sup>58</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiri 2, Gwanseong-hyeon (管城縣) section.

<sup>59</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 80, Sikhwa (食貨) [Food and Goods] 3, Jinhyul jemyeonjije (賑恤 災免之制) [Exemption for famine relief and disaster recovery].

dispatch of *gammu* officials helped this method settle as a standard form of restructuring prefectures and counties.<sup>60</sup>

King Gongyang's dispatch of *gammu* officials was not simply about reassigning small subordinate counties under the control of another prefecture or county with a *gammu* official. In 1390, the second year of King Gongyang's reign, a *gammu* official was sent to Hyeonpung County and had the county take over Gujisan-*bugok* of Milseong Prefecture.<sup>61</sup> In the same year, a *gammu* official was sent to Bonghwa County, which merged with both Mulya-*bugok* (勿也部曲) and Maeto-*bugok* (買吐部曲) that originally belonged to the jurisdiction of Andong.<sup>62</sup> In 1390, two stations (K. *yeok*) in Yeongwol Prefecture, Jeongyang (正陽) and Onsan (溫山), were consolidated to create a new station named Yangyeon (楊淵) at Yangdeungso.<sup>63</sup> This indicates that during King Gongyang's reign special administrative units such as *bugok* or *yeok* were also brought under the control of a prefecture or a county to which a *gammu* official had been dispatched.

Jugye County became a subordinate county of Mupung County in 1176 when a *gammu* official was dispatched to Mupung County.<sup>64</sup> Then in 1191, fifteen years later Jugye County lost its status as a subordinate county and was completely incorporated into Mupung County. This demonstrates that restructuring prefectures and counties during King Gongyang's reign also involved the practical choice of merging districts, which had lost their capability as a source of taxation, into other larger counties. When the waterway through Baengnyeong Garrison grew too rough, people in the garrison temporarily moved to the east side of Munhwa County and formed a village there in 1357. That village later came under the direct control of Munhwa County in 1391.<sup>65</sup> Gap-*hyang* (甲鄉) and Jangpyeong-*bugok* (長平部曲) were special administrative units that almost lost their

<sup>60</sup> Park, *Jibae wa jayul eui gonggan, goryeo eui jibang sahoe*, 463-87.

<sup>61</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiri 2, Hyeonpung-hyeon (玄風縣) section.

<sup>62</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Bonghwa-hyeon (奉化縣) section.

<sup>63</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Yeongwol-gun (寧越郡) section.

<sup>64</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 57, Jiri 2, Mupung-hyeon (茂豐縣) section.

<sup>65</sup> *Goryeosa*, vol. 58, Jiri 3, Baengnyeongjin (白翎鎭) section.

purpose as they came under the control of the neighboring Changpyeong County.<sup>66</sup> The aforementioned cases of Muan Prefecture (務安郡) and Hampung County (咸豐縣), in which *gammu* officials had to act as the supervisor of agricultural affairs and local defense, indicates the consolidation of *hyang* and *bugok* into a nearby prefecture or county. Many similar cases can be found in geographical appendices from *Goryeosa* and some other official documents during the first half of the Joseon dynasty. To sum up, the other reason for dispatching *gammy* officials was to restructure prefectural or county boundaries, restore administrative capabilities, and secure fiscal stability for the state.

## Concluding Remarks

Rural communities in late Goryeo greatly suffered from Japanese pirate attacks. 81 percent of the prefectures and counties were located in the southern provinces of Yanggwang Province, Jeolla Province, and Gyeongsang Province. Except for the northeastern and northwestern border regions, nearly all regular counties throughout Goryeo fell victim to Japanese pirate attacks. Regular counties are likely to have been principal targets for Japanese pirates because they were symbolic administrative hubs where local magistrates were present and developed enough to attract greater volumes of people and products. Yet, a considerable number of subordinate counties also experienced as much damage as did regular counties. Areas with ports or warehouses used to transport tax grains were primary targets for Japanese pirates, thus subordinate counties in such areas did heavily suffer.

Japanese pirates initially attacked the coastal areas of Goryeo, particularly those areas along shipping routes where ports or warehouses were located because they were easily accessible from the Japanese archipelago. Once Goryeo strengthened its defense of coastal areas and utilized land routes to transport tax grains, Japanese pirates started to target hubs of land and water transportation such as Jinju or Gimhae to establish bridgeheads

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<sup>66</sup> *Sejong sillok jiriji*, Changpyeong-hyeon (昌平縣) section.

into the inland areas of Goryeo. Especially, the areas along the east coast turned into major entry points that offered easy access into the midlands of Goryeo. Many prefectures or counties in the southern regions lost their administrative capabilities. Government officials and residents in some coastal prefectures or counties relocated to inland areas and had to temporarily co-inhabit a certain prefecture or construct new settlements. Many subordinate counties and special administrative units, which had already been suffering socially and economically from heavy taxes and corvée duties, ended up breaking away from the existing administrative system or became extinct.

Japanese pirate attacks ceased almost entirely by the end of King Wu's reign. And a series of reforms were launched after Yi Seong-gye had Goryeo troops withdraw from the Wihwa Island in 1388. Some measures were taken to restore the southern regions that suffered the most from Japanese pirate attacks. One of those measures included the dispatch of lower-ranking magistrates called *gammu* during King Gongyang's reign. The purpose of this action was to restructure prefectures and counties by placing small subordinate counties and special administrative units under the control of a nearby county to which a *gammu* official was dispatched. The foremost goal of dispatching *gammu* officials during King Gongyang's reign was to restore rural communities severely damaged by Japanese pirate attacks. This was evident from the fact that *gammu* officials were mostly dispatched to the southern regions.

Restoring the administrative capabilities of prefectures and counties was also necessary for the central government to secure enough fiscal resources through taxation. Such restructuring coincided with land reform actively implemented by Yi Seong-gye and young literati who had newly gained power in late Goryeo. The fact that the Joseon dynasty inherited Goryeo's dispatch of *gammu* officials during King Gongyang's reign indicates that sending *gammu* officials to restore the southern prefectures and counties, suffering harshly from Japanese pirate attacks, corresponded not only with the economic motive of securing major sources of taxation, but also with the political motive of successfully carrying out land reform promoted by Yi Seong-gye and his group.

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