

# An Archaeological Review of the Site Formation Process of the Western Architectural Complex in Manwoldae, Kaesong

## Introduction

Manwoldae, in Kaesong, served as the primary royal palace of the Goryeo dynasty, a medieval Korean state. Construction of the palace began in 919, after King Taejo Wang Geon overthrew Gungye in 918 and moved the capital from Cheorwon to Songak. Throughout the entire Goryeo dynasty period, up until the establishment of the Joseon dynasty in 1392, Manwoldae was where the nation's most critical affairs were conducted, except for when Ganghwa Island served as the capital. As a result, Manwoldae is a significant window into the material culture of medieval Korea. It consistently garnered attention throughout the late Joseon period and the Japanese colonial era. After the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule, North Korea has carried out numerous investigations and preservation initiatives at Manwoldae. Moreover, from 2007 to 2018, South and North Korea conducted eight joint investigations to restore national homogeneity and jointly preserve national cultural heritage. This led to the identification of much of the royal material culture within its grounds.

Based on the archaeological data gathered through the Manwoldae excavations, this study aims to examine the process through which it was formed. Specifically, it seeks to understand the sequence of events that led to the current state of these remains. Through unearthed artifacts and other evidence, this study aims to show that the area was continually in use prior to the Goryeo dynasty. Additionally, it intends to explore the changes that took place at the site over time. This study also highlights Manwoldae's location on a mountain slope in Kaesong, despite the fact that Korean palaces were typically built on flatter terrain. It aims to examine the strategies employed to overcome this challenging topography, focusing on the evidence uncovered through archaeological investigations to date.

## Evaluation of Archaeological Findings

Eight joint inter-Korean archaeological excavations of Manwoldae were conducted from 2007 to 2018, with the second, third, and fourth excavations focusing mainly on the site formation process.

The second excavation, from September 7 to November 16, 2007, targeted Building Complex 1, northeast of the Western Architectural Complex. Building Complex 1 is a group of building sites measuring 47 meters east-west and 90 meters north-south; it centers around Building Site 1-1, which was the largest building site identified during the initial trial excavations. This cluster of building sites forms a single precinct, with seven cloister-style buildings arranged along the east, west, and south sides, enclosing Building Site 1-1. The northern boundary is demarcated by the retaining wall of the Northwestern Architectural Complex. To facilitate movement to adjacent building complexes, stairs and gates were located on this complex's north and south sides.

A defining feature of Building Site 1-1 is its ㉔-shaped layout. Here, corridor-style buildings adjoined and encircled a central ㉔-shaped structure composed of two wings. Furthermore, the north-south drainage channels along the left and right foundations are presumed to have not just facilitated drainage but also helped separate the site from adjacent building complexes. Due to the original topography of the Gungseong (Inner Palace Walls) area, which slopes downward from north to south, the building sites, including the surveyed area, were arranged by constructing east-west retaining walls. Each building complex containing these structures featured a corridor-style building surrounding the central building, isolating it from adjacent structures. However, it has been confirmed that numerous stairways and stone bridges connected them in a graceful, functional manner.

The second excavation revealed a retaining wall behind the Western Architectural Complex, which was constructed to create the platform for the Northwestern Architectural Complex. Some of the common construction techniques of the Central Architectural Complex can be found there—such as horizontal layering, the use of core stones, and the creation of flower terraces. However, it also exhibits protruding, battlement-like sections that were added to the straight stone wall, similar to the retaining wall of the Northwestern Architectural Complex. Furthermore, the west retaining wall

of Wondeokjeon Hall appears to have undergone at least two expansions. The most recent construction phase involved setting square stone pillars on top of the original foundation stones and then using recycled stones and roof tiles 瓦磚 to build between these pillars, likely to prevent the entire retaining wall from collapsing.

The third excavation, conducted from November 4 to December 23, 2008, focused on Building Complexes 2 and 3, located in the north-central area of the Western Architectural Complex. Building Complex 2 measures 32 meters east-west and 37 meters north-south and comprises the three buildings that surround Building Site 2-1 on its east, west, and south sides. Its layout is similar to that of Building Complex 1, with the upper and lower sections demarcated by Retaining Wall 2 and Building Site 2-4. This building complex is smaller than Building Complex 1. The centrally located Building Site 2-1 is estimated to have had a unique function, based on its dimensions of five *kan* (bays) in the front and three *kan* on the sides, as well as the foundation stones inside, the connecting lintel stones, and the remains of the gate that leads to the rear of the site, which together suggest the presence of interior walls.

Building Complex 3, organized around Building Sites 3-1 and 3-2, is enclosed by corridor-style buildings. To the east of it is Building Site 3-5, to the west are Building Sites 3-4 and 3-7, and to the south is Building Site 3-6. West of Building Sites 3-4 and 3-6 are Building Sites 3-7 and 3-8. Stairways in this area are presumed to have led down in a westward direction from Building Complex 3. These building layout characteristics help reveal the spatial arrangement of the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct. The central building site is in the innermost part of the enclosed area and separated from the surrounding spaces by corridors and buildings. Situated at the center of this complex, Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall features a structure with five *kan* in the front and three *kan* on the sides. The *eokan* (central bay) is wider than the *hyeopkan* (flanking bay), and doors were installed in the front three *kan*. Along the two sides and the rear of the building, rows of roughly dressed stones approximately 80 centimeters thick were identified on both sides of the foundation stones. These are presumed to have been either firewalls that protected the building's columns and interior facilities or the foundations of load-bearing walls that helped support the roof's weight.

The fourth excavation, conducted from March 23 to May 18, 2010,

covered the building complex previously identified in the center of the area surveyed during the first excavation, as well as Building Complexes 1, 2, and 3. This investigation aimed to determine the layout of the central building site within the Western Architectural Complex and to conduct soil layer analyses at Building Complexes 1, 2, and 3. The central building complex of the Western Architectural Complex is severely damaged, lacking foundation stones and packed earth; only remnants of the platform remain. Nevertheless, evidence indicates that corridors once encircled the central building.

It was hoped that soil layer analyses of Building Complexes 1, 2, and 3 would shed light on the construction methods and the changes made to the Western Architectural Complex through time, facilitating inference-making and reconstruction. To this end, exploratory trenches were dug in the east-west and north-south directions down to the original subsoil within each building complex, revealing the original shapes of the hills upon which each complex was situated. These investigations provided information about the area's topography before the Gungseong was constructed and uncovered traces of earlier features beneath the current building complexes. It was confirmed that the surveyed area had been continuously utilized for an extended period.

## **Review of the Site Formation Process of the Western Architectural Complex**

### *Utilization of the Manwoldae Area in Pre-Goryeo Times*

During the Three Kingdoms period, when it belonged to Goguryeo, Gaegyeong (modern day Kaesong) was called Busogap 扶蘇岬.<sup>1</sup> For approximately 100 years prior to 475 AD, when Baekje was pushed southwestward toward Buknyeong, Joryeong, and Asan Bay, the city was under Baekje's influence. It became part of Silla territory in 555 AD (the

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1 The royal capital, Gaeseong-bu, was originally Busogap under Goguryeo and was renamed Songak-gun during the Silla period. In the second year of Taejo's reign (919), the southern part of Songak was designated as the capital and named Gaeju. Palaces and government offices were constructed, and the capital was divided into five *bu*, each further subdivided into *bang* and *ri*. During the 11<sup>th</sup> year of King Gwangjong's reign, the capital was renamed Hwangdo, meaning "imperial capital" (*Goryeosa*, Vol. 56, "Geography 1").

16<sup>th</sup> year of King Jinheung's reign), and the *Samguk sagi*<sup>2</sup> records that Songak was fortified in 694 (the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of King Hyoso's reign). From this, it can be inferred that the entire Gaegyeong area had been called "Songak" even before that time.

The Wang Geon clan was not originally based in the Gaegyeong area. It is known that Wang Geon's ancestor Hogeong, a *seonggol* general, moved from either Baekdusan or Guwolsan to Busosan Mountain. Hogeong's son Gangchung married in Yeongan Village, Seogang, and subsequently lived in Mahagap, at the foot of Ogwansan Mountain. Legend has it that he followed the advice of Palwon 八元, a Silla geomancer, who stated that moving Buso-gun to the south side of Busosan Mountain and planting pine trees to conceal the rocks would produce a person who would unify the Three Han Kingdoms. As a result, Busosan Mountain became Songaksan Mountain, and Buso-gun became Songak-gun. It is believed that Gangchung's grandson Jakjegen was based in Yeonganseong Fortress 永安城, near Yesonggang River and the western part of present-day Kaesong. However, he also built a new residence at the spot where Gang Chung had lived, south of Songaksan Mountain, and resided there as well.

Jakjegen had four sons, the eldest of whom was Yonggeon 龍建. Later known as Wang Yung 王隆, Yonggeon was the father of Goryeo founder Taejo Wang Geon. Tradition holds that Wang Yung intended to build a new residence south of Gang Chung's old dwelling, which Jakjegen had built, and that the renowned geomancer Doseon, the Royal Preceptor, selected an auspicious site for the house at that time.<sup>3</sup> The *Goryeo segye* (*Genealogy of Goryeo*), which chronicles Goryeo's foundation myth and the deeds of Taejo Wang Geon's ancestors, states that Wang Geon was born on an auspicious site, as foretold by Royal Preceptor Doseon. It further records that Bongwonjeon Hall (later Jangnyeongjeon Hall) was built on this site, and that

2 *Samguk sagi*, King Hyoso, "Annals of Silla."

3 Passing by, Doseon led Yonggeon up to Gongnyeong Mountain (Songaksan Mountain) and examined the area, stating that the land's energy originated from Baekdusan Mountain in the north, traveled in the form of *su-mo-mok-gan* (water-mother-wood-trunk 水母木幹), and culminated at a *ma-du-myeongdang* (horse-head-shaped auspicious site 馬頭明堂). Doseon selected this highly auspicious site, formed where a dragon vein traveled as *su-mo-mok-gan*, for Yonggeon's residence. He prophesied that since the Yonggeon's fortune was associated with water, building the house accordingly would result in the birth of a sage destined to unify the Three Han kingdoms in the following year (Kim 2002, 22).

palace buildings were erected around it. These records offer significant clues as to why Manwoldae was established at the foot of Songaksan Mountain and information on the transformations it underwent. Also, this literary account suggests that the area around Gaegyeong had been continuously utilized by Wang Geon's ancestors. Notably, Wang Geon was born in the Manwoldae area and lived there before the palace was constructed. This suggests that the site was not initially chosen to house a palace but was gradually expanded from a private dwelling into a royal palace complex.

The Later Three Kingdoms period was a time of coexistence for the dominant powers Silla, Later Baekje, and Later Goguryeo (which evolved into Goryeo after being known as Majin and then Taebong). Significantly, this was a period of transition from ancient to medieval times. At the dawn of the ninth century, Unified Silla's control over the provinces weakened due to intense struggles for the throne. Capitalizing on this political turmoil, powerful local families (*hojok*) rapidly grew in influence. While these families had diverse origins and power bases, they were united in their opposition to the bone-rank system (*golpum cheje*), which centered on the *jingol* aristocracy of the Silla society. The emergence of regional powers such as Gyeon Hwon 甄萱, Gungye 弓裔, and Yanggil 梁吉 during this turbulent period led to the dismantlement of Silla's centralized system. The powerful local families asserted their independence from Silla's influence and developed into autonomous entities within their respective regions. Among these figures, Gyeon Hwon of Later Baekje and Gungye of Later Goguryeo expanded their power to the point of being able to establish their own states. These new states constituted the Later Three Kingdoms, alongside Silla, which now only ruled over the Gyeongju area. However, after Gungye was overthrown by his subordinate Wang Geon, Goryeo replaced Later Goguryeo.

After submitting to Gungye in 896, Wang Ryung built Bareochamseong Fortress 勃禦槩城 in Songak and proposed that Wang Geon serve as its lord. Gungye accepted Wang Ryung's suggestion.<sup>4</sup> In 897, Gungye chose Songak-gun as his capital, noting its reputation as a prominent district in Hanbuk (the

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<sup>4</sup> The original text is as follows: "Wang Yung said to Gungye, 'If Your Majesty intends to become the king of the lands of Joseon 朝鮮, Suksin 肅愼, and Byeonhan 下韓, you should first build a fortress in Songak and appoint my eldest son as its lord'" (*Goryeosa*, Vol. 1, "Introduction to Annals of Taejo").

region north of Hangang River) and its remarkable beautiful natural scenery.<sup>5</sup> In the seventh month of 898, after incorporating over 30 fortresses within the jurisdictions of Paeseo-do 溟西道 and Hansan-ju 漢山州, he carried through with relocating his capital to Songak.<sup>6</sup> Through this process, Songak was transformed from a provincial city where the Wang Geon clan had resided for generations into a state capital. Later, in 901, Gungye named the state Goryeo 高麗, signifying an intention to carry on Goguryeo's legacy. Wang Ryung aimed to secure his regional standing by bringing Gungye within his sphere of influence and having the capital moved to his territory for economic benefits. Gungye would have also benefitted by relocating the capital from Cheorwon to Songak, as this provided a stable economic foundation upon which to govern the state. However, while Songak—Wang Geon's power base—was an advantageous location for governing and expanding the state, Gungye failed to build a force capable of opposing Wang Geon and thus eventually had to move the capital back down from maritime-focused Songak to Cheorwon, which was further inland. In 903, not long after renaming the state Goryeo, Gungye prepared to relocate the capital by surveying the lands of Cheorwon 鐵原 and Buyang 斧壤.<sup>7</sup> In 904, he changed the state's name to Majin 摩震 and designated Cheorwon as the capital. He completed the move from Songak to Cheorwon in 905, thus ending Songak's seven-year stint as the capital. He changed the state's name again in 911, this time to Taebong.<sup>8</sup>

Archaeological records indicate that the Manwoldae area was continuously utilized from the Unified Silla period onward. Strong support for this comes from a large number of roof tiles that presumably date from the period spanning late Unified Silla and early Goryeo. These roof tiles were found in the uppermost layer of a pit in the courtyard of Building Complex 3 (in the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct) during the third excavation, in 2010. The recovery of these artifacts from the lowest stratum suggests continuous use of the area from at least the late Unified Silla period. However, given that no features were identified in the layer, where the artifacts were unearthed, and that they were found on the original sloping

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5 *Samguk sagi*, Vol. 50, "Biography of Gungye."

6 *Samguk sagi*, Vol. 12, King Hyogong, "Annals of Silla."

7 *Samguk sagi*, Vol. 11, King Hyogong, "Annals of Silla."

8 *Samguk sagi*, Vol. 11, King Hyogong, "Annals of Silla," Year 15.

ground surface, a direct connection to features built at that time cannot be confirmed. To best understand how Manwoldae was used at that time, it would be necessary to excavate down to the depth where artifacts were unearthed within the Gyeongnyongjeon Hall precinct courtyard and identify traces of relevant features. However, owing to the circumstances of the investigation, the presence of artifacts can only be indicated. Additional investigations into Manwoldae's earliest traces could be conducted if a comprehensive restoration of the area were carried out.

Furthermore, Bareochamseong Fortress—the ostensible precursor of Manwoldae—is presumed to overlap in some areas with Manwoldae's current Hwangseong Wall (Outer City Wall). While North Korea has delimited Bareochamseong Fortress's boundaries, these remain difficult to confirm with certainty.

### ***Goryeo's Founding and the Development of Manwoldae's Western Building Complex***

In 918, Taejo Wang Geon ascended the throne in Cheorwon, and the following year, he moved the capital to his stronghold of Songak (Gaegyong).<sup>9</sup> Gungseong Wall was constructed at the time of the relocation and was referred to as Jaseong Wall 紫城, Geumseong Wall 禁城, and Jageumseong Wall 紫禁城. While these terms denote city walls, they also refer to the inner palace areas (*geumnae* 禁內 and *geumjung* 禁中).<sup>10</sup> Manwoldae was constructed on a hill approximately 40 to 60 meters above sea level, with Songaksan Mountain serving as its auspicious guardian mountain (*jinsan* 鎮山) to the north. The surrounding peaks are Buheungsan Mountain and Janamsan Mountain, in the east; Ogongsan Mountain and Yamaesan Fountain, in the west; and Yongsusan Mountain, in the south. Gungseong Wall's perimeter is 2,170 meters long, and it occupies 250,000 square meters. The wall lengths are 220 meters (north), 450 meters (south), 755 meters

9 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 1, King Taejo, "Annals," Year 2, Month 1.

10 The royal palace was referred to by various names, including *eogwol* 御闕, *yonggwol* 龍闕, *jegwol* 帝闕, *cheongwol* 天闕, *bukwol* 北闕, *daenae* 大內, and *jeseong* 帝城 (Kim 2002). There has been much debate about the nomenclature for the space where the Goryeo emperors resided, but without any common agreement. It is likely that the people of Goryeo, who had imperial aspirations, did not definitively establish a name for the emperor's dwelling.

(east), and 745 meters (west), meaning that it is wider in the south than in the north. The palace walls had gates that offer access to Hwangseong Wall. Seungpyeong Gate 昇平門, Gungseong Wall's main southern gate, connected to Gwanghwa Gate 廣化門. Donghwa Gate 東華門 and Seohwa Gate 西華門, on the east and west sides of the royal palace, respectively, connected Gungseong Wall to Hwangseong Wall. Hyeonmu Gate 玄武門, Gungseong Wall's northern gate, was virtually adjacent to Hwangseong Wall, suggesting it may have also served as Hwangseong Wall's northern gate.

It is presumed that the palace at the time of the state's founding was based on the pre-existing Bareochamseong Fortress (Park 1996). According to research by North Korean scholar Jeon Ryongcheol (1980a, 21), Songak-gun, the precursor to Gaeju, already had a fortress wall that had been constructed by King Hyoso of Silla during the Three Kingdoms period. Songak's fortress is understood to have been built along Songaksan Mountain's ridge. The Bareochamseong Fortress was built as an extension of the existing Songakseong Fortress, descending along Songaksan Mountain's ridgeline, encompassing the Manwoldae area in the south, and then circling back to connect its north gate on Songaksan Mountain.

At the time when Wang Geon relocated the capital to Songak, the state would have also needed to prepare for the unification wars of the Later Three Kingdoms and confrontations with the northern Khitans and Jurchens, making it difficult to construct a brand-new palace. Amid these domestic and international challenges, establishing a new capital, constructing a royal palace, setting up markets, and dividing the city into *bu*, *bang*, and *ri* would have been a huge national burden. For these reasons, the initial version of Goryeo's palace probably included much of the pre-existing Bareochamseong Fortress and was not especially grand.

Nevertheless, as the center of a state, various symbolic structures were erected. The names of the palace buildings identified in historical records include the royal sleeping quarters 寢殿 Sindeokjeon Hall 神德殿, the main hall 正殿 Cheondeokjeon Hall 天德殿, and the halls of governance 便殿 Sangjeongjeon Hall 詳政殿 and Junggwangjeon Hall 重光殿. All these official names were determined and composed by Choe Eonwi 崔彦摛.<sup>11</sup>

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11 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 92, "Biography of Choe Eonwi."

Presumably, at that time, Manwoldae was located at the current site of the western building complex, with the main hall right in the center. The main hall was originally called Cheondeokjeon Hall. Believing he had received the Mandate of Heaven to rule and proclaiming himself the emperor who would unify the Later Three Kingdoms, King Taejo included the character for “heaven” 天 in the hall’s name. Historical records<sup>12</sup> indicate that various significant diplomatic events involving such neighboring states as Balhae and Silla were held at Cheondeokjeon Hall. Based on records of King Seongjong hosting a banquet at Cheondeokjeon Hall for his officials in the first month of his second year (983), it appears this name was used up until that point, after which it was renamed Geondeokjeon Hall.

Manwoldae began to be transformed significantly during the reign of King Gwangjong. In his first year (950), Gwangjong proclaimed himself Emperor 皇帝 and announced his reign title, Gwangdeok 光德. In his 11<sup>th</sup> year (960), he announced the new reign title of Junpung 峻豐 and designated Gaegyeong as the Imperial Capital 皇都.<sup>13</sup> In his 12<sup>th</sup> year (961), he established the Directorate for Palace Construction and Repair 修營宮闕都監 and initiated a major renovation of Gungseong, which was completed around the sixth month of his 14<sup>th</sup> year (963). The fact that the construction work lasted two years suggests a large-scale expansion.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, it is still unclear when exactly Hwangseong Wall, which surrounds Gungseong Wall, was constructed. It is presumed to have been erected during the extensive renovations that took place under King Gwangjong. The transformation of Gungseong Wall through this large-scale reconstruction project, coupled with the construction of Hwangseong Wall, elevated Gaegyeong to the status of an imperial capital, and the Gungseong Wall itself would have been remodeled to reflect its central role within this imperial city.

Currently, almost no traces remain from the original construction

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12 Eun Gyeong 隱繼宗 and other representatives of the Balhae came to surrender and had an audience with the king at Cheondeokjeon Hall (*Goryeosa*, Vol. 1, King Taejo, Year 11 (928), Month 9). In the 11<sup>th</sup> month, Gyeongsun, the King of Silla, surrendered. The King (Taejo) proceeded to the main hall, received him with due courtesy, and took his eldest daughter, Princess Nangnang, as his consort. In the 12<sup>th</sup> month, he proceeded to Cheondeokjeon Hall and attended the Submission Ceremony (the ceremony of allegiance as a new subject) from the King of Silla (*Goryeosa*, Vol. 2, King Taejo, “Annals,” Year 18, Months 11 and 12).

13 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 2, King Gwangjong, Years 1 and 11.

14 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 2, King Gwangjong, Years 12 and 14.

phase of Manwoldae. Therefore, the land preparation methods for the Western Building Complex at that time can only be inferred from a few fragments found in the exploratory trenches. In this context, a series of stone walls, presumed to have been constructed at different times within the east-west oriented exploratory trench of Building Site 2 in Building Complex 1, provide significant insights into the land preparation methods for the Western Building Complex of Manwoldae.

Three stone walls from different periods have been identified in the exploratory trenches. The earliest, the primary stone wall was constructed using roughly broken stones about 20 to 30 centimeters in size, and its construction style strongly resembles that of Goryeo-era mountain fortress walls. A secondary stone wall was found above this primary stone wall and installed after the upper part of the primary stone wall had been removed. The secondary stone wall was built using relatively small, processed stones measuring about 30 to 50 centimeters in size. The remaining sections are believed to be the lowest part of a building's foundation; here, processed stones were laid on the outer side. The space between the foundation and the outer stones was presumably a drainage channel. While precise confirmation can only be reached through further investigations during the restoration of the Western Architectural Complex, it can be inferred that the second stone wall was in use at the time when the Western Architectural Complex served as the center of the Goryeo royal palace (from the reign of King Taejo to the 20<sup>th</sup> year of King Hyeonjong), before the construction of the Hoegyeongjeon Hall precinct. Above the second stone wall lies the tertiary stone wall, the uppermost level of remains. In terms of stone size and construction method, this wall is quite similar to those of the Central Architectural Complex. It can be inferred that the Western Architectural Complex was also enlarged during the construction of the Hoegyeongjeon Hall precinct, in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of King Hyeonjong's reign.

### ***Development of the Central Architectural Complex and Assessment of the Western Building Complex Area***

Having acquired the appearance of a proper royal palace through the construction of Hwangseong Wall and the large-scale palace expansion during King Gwangjong's reign, Manwoldae underwent significant changes

after King Hyeonjong's accession. In the 11<sup>th</sup> month of King Hyeonjong's first year (1010), the second invasion of the Khitans 遼 began, resulting in the complete destruction of Gaegyeong in the first month of his second year (1011).<sup>15</sup> Although the Khitan forces retreated the following year, Gaegyeong and Manwoldae had lost all their functions. Upon returning to Gaegyeong, King Hyeonjong restored the flattened capital to its original state through a three-year construction project that lasted from the 10<sup>th</sup> month of his second year (1011) to the first month of his fifth year (1014). Later, Manwoldae was reconstructed over a four-year period, from the eighth month of his 11<sup>th</sup> year (1020) to the eighth month of his 14<sup>th</sup> year (1023). During this time, King Hyeonjong resided in Suchangnung Palace. This undertaking is presumed to have been led by Yi Gado 李可道, whose contributions later earned him the honorary title of "Distinguished Subject for Loyal Service and Palace Construction" 輪忠創闕功臣. Yi Gado also supervised the construction of Gaegyeong's Naseong Wall (Outermost City Walls). The earliest confirmed record related to Hoegyeongjeon, from the 20<sup>th</sup> year of King Hyeonjong's reign, states that "a *janggyeong doryang* (scripture recitation assembly 藏經道場) was held in Hoegyeongjeon, and offerings were made to 10,000 monks in the ball court 毬庭."<sup>16</sup> Based on this record, it is presumed that Hoegyeongjeon Hall 會慶殿, the main hall, was constructed during this period. That is, these records indicate that Hoegyeongjeon Hall only came into existence during the first restoration of Gaegyeong and Manwoldae, in King Hyeonjong's fifth year (1014), or during the second major palace construction project, which lasted for three years, from King Hyeonjong's 11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> years. Also of note is a historical record stating that "In the 11<sup>th</sup> month of King Hyeonjong's first year (1010), the Festival of Eight Vows (Palgwanhoe 八關會) ceremony was revived, and the king ascended Wibongnu Pavilion 威鳳樓 to observe musical performances,"<sup>17</sup> and "In the fifth month of Hyeonjong's 22<sup>nd</sup> year, King Deokjong ascended the throne and issued a general amnesty the following month from Sinbongnu Pavilion 神鳳樓."<sup>18</sup> The fact that King Hyeonjong

15 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 4, King Hyeonjong, Year 1, Month 11; Year 2, Month 1.

16 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 5, King Hyeonjong, Year 20, Month 4.

17 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 4, King Hyeonjong, Year 1, Month 11.

18 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 5, King Deokjong, Accession Year (the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of King Hyeonjong's reign),

used Wibongnu Pavilion—the gate tower of Geondeokjeon Hall (the main hall at the time)—and that King Deokjong used Sinbongnu Pavilion—the gate tower of Hoegyeongjeon Hall—suggests that Geondeokjeon Hall was downgraded and Hoegyeongjeon Hall elevated to the role of main hall of the royal palace during King Hyeonjong's reign.

The construction of Hoegyeongjeon Hall has much significance. The Lantern Festival (Yeondeunghoe 燃燈會), which had been abolished after Tang dynasty customs gained precedence during the reign of King Seongjong, was revived in the third year of Mokjong's reign.<sup>19</sup> The Lantern Festival was held in the first and second years of King Hyeonjong's reign, and the Festival of Eight Vows was also reinstated.<sup>20</sup> The revival of the Lantern Festival and the Festival of Eight Vows likely points to a recovery of national identity in the face of foreign influence. Furthermore, the Central Architectural Complex represented the pride of Goryeo, which had managed to repel the second and third Khitan invasions. The first structure in the complex was Hoegyeongjeon Hall, and it was followed by Janghwajeon Hall and Wondeokjeon Hall; all were built upon large foundation terraces. While Goryeo was formally connected to the Khitan through a tributary relationship, this architectural arrangement reflects its standing in East Asia at that time, when the balance of power was shared by Goryeo, the Khitan, and Song China.

King Hyeonjong also restored the Goryeo monarch's status as an emperor, a title that King Seongjong had given up. It seems that King Hyeonjong wanted the capital and the Gungseong Wall to be worthy of an emperor. Internally, the times called for a power structure dominated by the king himself. It can be seen that King Hyeonjong strengthened royal authority domestically by constructing the authoritative Gungseong Wall and Naseong Wall, which represented the administrative system. In connection with these internal and external changes, King Hyeonjong designated the existing main hall, Geondeokjeon Hall, as the secondary main hall and constructed a new one, which he named Hoegyeongjeon Hall.

From this period until the relocation of the capital to Ganghwa Island

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Months 5 and 6.

19 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 3, King Mokjong.

20 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 4, King Hyeonjong, Year 1, Month 11; Year 2, Month 2.

due to the wars with the Mongol empire, Goryeo experienced its golden age, and Hoegyongjeon Hall and Geondeokjeon Hall were both used as main halls at Manwoldae, each serving a specific purpose. Hoegyongjeon Hall (later renamed Seonyeongjeon Hall 宣慶殿) was largely used for religious and diplomatic events. Various Buddhist ceremonies presided over by the king were held there, including the Baekgojwa inwang doryang 百高座仁王道場, where 100 eminent monks sat on 100 high seats to preach the *Benevolent Kings Sutra* 仁王經, and the Janggyeong doryang 藏經道場, a Dharma assembly to honor the Tripit aka. Taoist rituals 醮祭 were also performed, though these were not regular events. While various Taoist ceremonies, including a ceremony for preventing disasters (Sojae doryang 消災道場), occasionally took place at Hoegyongjeon Hall, most were held in Geondeokjeon Hall, Mundeokjeon Hall, and the inner palace areas. As for diplomatic affairs, events such as the reception of edicts from the Song emperor, audiences with Song envoys, and banquets took place in Hoegyongjeon Hall.<sup>21</sup> However, regular morning assemblies with officials and the handling of state affairs did not take place in Hoegyongjeon.

Most of the other official events related to the king took place in Geondeokjeon Hall (later renamed Daegwanjeon Hall 大觀殿). Royal ceremonies (*garye* 嘉禮) took place there: for example, the investiture of the Queen Dowager, consorts, the Crown Prince, princes, and princesses; celebrations of the birth of the first son; the donning of coming-of-age attire 元服; and wedding ceremonies, as well as the pronouncement of official appointments 宣麻 for high-ranking officials and banquets for members of the royal court and officials.<sup>22</sup> Religious events were also held at Geondeokjeon Hall, including purification rituals 齋醮, ceremonies for preventing disasters, the Geumgwangmyeonggyeong doryang (Golden Light Sutra Dharma assembly 金光明經道場),<sup>23</sup> the Geumganggyeong doryang (Diamond Sutra Dharma assembly 金剛經道場), and the reception of the

21 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 9, King Munjong, Year 32, Month 6; King Seonjong, Year 1, Month 9; King Sukjong, Year 8, Month 6; King Yejong, Year 5, Month 6.

22 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 65, "Treatise 7"; Vol. 66, "Treaties 8" and "Treaties 9."

23 The *Diamond Sutra* was an important state-protecting scripture, as was the *Benevolent Kings Sutra*. The *Geumgang doryang* (Diamond Sutra Dharma Assembly 金剛道場), held at Geondeokjeon Hall, was considered to be one level lower in status than the *Baekgojwa inwang doryang*, held at Hoegyongjeon Hall.

Bodhisattva precepts 菩薩戒 by the king. In terms of diplomacy, edicts were received and envoys from the Liao 遼, Jin 金, and Mongol empires were entertained at Geondeokjeon Hall.<sup>24</sup> Goryeo received the edicts of the northern dynasty 北朝 emperors, such as those of the Liao, Jin, and Mongols, at Geondeokjeon Hall, the secondary main hall. Banquets for their envoys were also held here, while those honoring Song 宋 China took place at Hoegyeongjeon. The historical records indicate that even after the construction of Hoegyeongjeon, most official ceremonies took place at Geondeokjeon Hall (Daegwanjeon Hall). Furthermore, even events held at Uibongnu Pavilion and the ball court always commenced and concluded at Geondeokjeon Hall. Additionally, Geondeokjeon Hall figured in the itinerary of most events held outside the palace, such as the ancestral rites at Wongu Altar 圓丘 and the Royal Ancestral Shrine 太廟.

The largely rebuilt and newly enhanced Central Architectural Complex of Manwoldae, a symbol of armed victory over the Liao empire (the Khitan), had far more authoritative architectural elements than earlier structures, utilizing large rectangular foundation stones and plinth stones. This architectural trend can be observed in the tertiary stone wall in the east-west exploratory trenches of the first and second building sites.

The retaining wall of the Central Architectural Complex (Hoegyeongjeon Hall, Janghwajeon Hall, and Wondeokjeon Hall) were constructed on three sides—east, west, and south—and were elongated in a north-south direction. The northern end of this retaining wall adjoins Retaining Wall 2, which runs east-west as the retaining wall of the Northwest Architectural Complex, with Building Site 4 situated in its northwest. A portion of the retaining wall was identified during the initial trial excavation, and approximately 50 meters of the northwest side of the retaining wall was uncovered during the second excavation (in the second half of 2007). The retaining wall is orientated approximately 10 degrees westward from true north, and its remaining height is relatively low at about 150 centimeters. Its height was likely decided based on the adjacent height of Building Site 4's retaining wall.

Upon exposure, the retaining wall was found to be very crudely

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24 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 65, “Treatise 7” (Rites of Guests 賓禮): Welcoming Ceremony for the North Dynasty’s Envoy Carrying Royal Edicts 迎北朝詔使儀 and Greeting Ceremony for the North Dynasty’s Envoy Visiting with Condolences and Orders to Resume Duty 迎北朝起復告勅使儀.

constructed, with stone pillars erected at regular intervals and the spaces filled with foundation stones, stair railing stones, roughly broken stones, bricks, and roof tiles. Evidently, no stones were specially processed for its construction. Instead, discarded stones and nearby waste materials were used, resulting in a very rough and poorly built structure. Two parallel stone walls were identified behind the exposed retaining wall. The closer one was constructed with large rectangular stones, while the rear one was neatly built using irregularly shaped, fractured stones with aligned faces. Near the floor level of Building Site 4, particularly where it meets the tertiary stone wall, significant layers of accumulated roof tiles were identified at various strata, and a diverse range of roof tiles were collected. These roof tiles are presumed to have accumulated due to the abandonment of the retaining walls and buildings after construction of the tertiary stone wall. The presence of topsoil and the absence of traces of other structures suggest that these layers of accumulated roof tiles are the most recent deposit around Building Site 4. This evidence allows us to determine the *terminus post quem* of Retaining Wall 1.

Based on the exposed stone walls that comprise the retaining wall, it is conjectured that Retaining Wall 1 was expanded or reconstructed once or twice. The tertiary stone wall, fully exposed during the second excavation, was confirmed to have been the most recently built among the stone walls of Retaining Wall 1.

Investigations of the Central Architectural Complex's retaining wall also took place during the fourth excavation (2010), allowing for insights to be gathered regarding the retaining wall's construction and stonework. A section of the currently exposed, partially collapsed tertiary stone wall was selected, and a test pit was dug in order to conduct a cross-sectional survey, from Building Site 4's retaining wall to the upper part of the primary stone wall of the Central Architectural Complex. The purpose of the investigation was to examine the cross-section and elevation of the secondary stone wall, which was found to be the best preserved among the stone walls identified in the second excavation, and also to gain a spatial understanding of the construction methods used to build the primary, secondary, and tertiary stone walls.

The secondary stone wall was constructed using rectangular granite stones measuring approximately 30 to 100 centimeters in length. It is

currently about two meters tall, with six to seven courses remaining. In front of the stone wall, irregularly shaped stones were laid out for about two meters. These are presumed to have been the base of a drainage channel or a passage facility, though this is mere speculation. However, given that a drainage channel was identified in front of the tertiary stone wall, it seems quite possible that these stones served a similar function.

During the removal of the backfill behind the tertiary stone wall, numerous artifacts were discovered, including many associated with the *terminus ante quem* of the tertiary stone wall. In particular, numerous fragments of large decorative artifacts such as roof-end tiles (*chimi*), fish-dragon roof tiles (*eoryong*), and rows of roof figures (*japsang*) were found in the backfill soil. We have enough information to reconstruct these artifacts and ascertain when they were used. These large decorative roof artifacts had likely already been discarded and left scattered haphazardly in the vicinity when the tertiary stone wall was constructed. Considering the state in which these artifacts were found and the construction details of the tertiary stone wall, these decorative pieces can be associated with the secondary stone wall and related buildings.

During the second excavation, the primary stone wall was exposed near Wondeokjeon Hall in the northern part of Retaining Wall 1. As it was built in alignment with the secondary and tertiary stone walls, it was initially assumed to have been the earliest stone wall of Retaining Wall 1. However, the section identified during the fourth excavation lacks the regularity, precision, and ornamental features typically seen in the exterior of a standard retaining wall, though the construction surface is relatively even. Therefore, it can be considered to be backfill for the secondary stone wall. These aspects require clear confirmation through additional investigations because the nature of the primary stone wall has a bearing on the characteristics of the initial stone structure of Retaining Wall 1 and, more significantly, could even prompt a revision of the estimate of when Retaining Wall 1 was first constructed. The most effective way to resolve this issue in future investigations would be to remove the stone walls where the current test pit is installed. While this would risk causing damage to some features, it would be the most reliable method for securing definitive evidence. Alternatively, if physically removing the stone walls is not feasible, it would be worth devising a way to fully expose the plan of the primary retaining wall so as to ascertain

its precise form and follow up with targeted exploratory investigations of significant sections.

It can be inferred that around the same time that the war-ravaged palace was repaired, the Central Architectural Complex was constructed to boost the authority of the king and his dynasty. The buildings in the Western Architectural Complex were likely rebuilt in much the same form as the uppermost features identified in the exploratory trenches of Building Sites 1 and 2. This can be confirmed through the artifacts unearthed from the uppermost features of the Goryeo royal palace. Most of the artifacts found on the upper surface have been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and their style matches that of the pre-Mongol invasion period. Therefore, it is presumed that the layout of the uppermost remains of the Western Architectural Complex was finalized when the Central Architectural Complex was completed and that it continued to be used without significant alterations until the capital was moved to Ganghwa Island. This is corroborated by the features and artifacts at the Hyeemwon Inn Site, in Paju, which was used during the same period. However, we do not yet know what kind of buildings were located in the eastern area of the Western Architectural Complex, before the establishment of the Central Architectural Complex, which encircles Hoegyongjeon Hall, and the function of that space. Furthermore, considering that the three phases of stone walls identified in the east-west exploratory trenches of Building Site 1-2 show a gradual trend toward more organized construction methods and larger stone sizes and that later structures were built by destroying the upper parts of earlier structures and increasing their scale, it cannot be ruled out that the entire area comprising the current western building complex was unutilized during the periods when the primary and secondary stone walls were in use.

This pattern can also be observed in the precinct of Building Complex 2. Building Site 2-1 was created by cutting into the bedrock on the ridge extending from Songaksan Mountain's peak. Considering the size of the stones used and the morphological similarities with the surrounding building complexes, this site is presumed to have been constructed after or at the same time as the Central Architectural Complex was.

## ***Changes to and Downscaling of the Western Architectural Complex***

Beginning in the eighth month of Gojong's 18<sup>th</sup> year (1231), the Mongol invasion severely devastated all of Gaegyeong, including Manwoldae. Choe U, the head of the military at the time, relocated the capital to Ganghwa Island, and in the seventh month of Gojong's 19<sup>th</sup> year (1232), he moved Gaegyeong's officials to Ganghwa Island.<sup>25</sup> In the spring of Gojong's 36<sup>th</sup> year (1249), Choe Ja 崔滋 visited Gaegyeong and recorded that Manwoldae had been reduced to ruins, with a paulownia tree as wide as a man's embrace growing in the former site of Daegwanjeon Hall and a cuckoo crying sadly. An Jin 安摺 also visited Gaegyeong, lamenting that 10,000 houses had burned down, with not a single one remaining, and that a paulownia tree was growing where Daegwanjeon Hall had stood. He also expressed disbelief at finding a cuckoo in the ruined imperial capital.<sup>26</sup>

After a peace treaty was concluded with the Mongols in the fourth month of Gojong's 46<sup>th</sup> year (1259), the grandson who was handling state affairs in place of the Crown Prince conscripted 30 military units (*nyeong*) of soldiers and sent them to the old capital to construct a new palace.<sup>27</sup> However, Gaegyeong complete restoration as the capital was only achieved in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Wonjong's reign (1270).<sup>28</sup> After this, historical records frequently mention ceremonies having been held at the main palace, Ganganjeon Hall, Uibongnu Pavilion, and the ball court. Notably, Ganganjeon Hall, which had previously been used as a hall of governance, was transformed into a ceremonial venue for important rituals after the period of Mongol interference. Considering that Seonyeongjeon Hall and Daegwanjeon Hall, which had served as the main halls before the Mongol invasions, do not appear in later historical records, it is presumed that they were not rebuilt after Gaegyeong was restored as the capital. Instead, numerous detached palaces (*igung* 離宮) and villas (*byeolgun* 別宮) were

25 *Goryeosa jeoryo*, Vol. 16, King Gojong, Year 19, Month 6; *Goryeosa*, Vol. 102, "Biography 15," Yu Seongdan.

26 *Bohan jip*, Vol. 2, The *giyu* year (1249), Month 2.

27 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 25, King Wongjong, Accession Year, Month 11.

28 *Goryeosa*, Vol. 26, King Wonjong, Year 11, Month 5.

constructed around Gaegyeong during this period, taking on the functions of Manwoldae. Having been downscaled in terms of size and functions during the period of Mongol interference, Manwoldae was destroyed again during the second invasion of the Red Turban rebels, in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of King Gongmin's reign (1361). It stopped being used altogether with the founding of the Joseon dynasty in 1392.

After the period of Mongol interference, Manwoldae never regained its former appearance, and Yeongyeong Hall and Suchang Hall were used as the king's political spaces. In particular, ceremonial spaces like Daegwanjeon Hall disappeared; as Goryeo was forced to become a tributary state 駙馬國 to the Yuan dynasty, the remaining buildings in Manwoldae acquired more Yuan-style elements through marriages with Yuan princesses. This is particularly evident at Building Complex 3, which was used as a ritual space within Manwoldae. The numerous Sanskrit character pattern (*beomjamun*) roof-end tiles found in Building Complex 3 date to the late Goryeo period. In Manwoldae, sets of both convex and concave Sanskrit character pattern tiles have been found. Ogawa Keikichi 小川敬吉 collected and described similar Sanskrit character pattern roof-end tiles at Hyeolleung Tomb and Jeongneung Tomb, the tombs of King Gongmin and Princess Noguk, respectively (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 1994; Go 1999). Jeongneung Tomb was built in 1365, and Hyeolleung Tomb in 1374. Based on the construction dates of these tombs, the Sanskrit character pattern roof-end tiles found in the Goryeo royal palace likely date back to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Most of these roof-end tiles were found around the building site presumed to be Jiphijeon, located south of the ritual space Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall (Hong 2012). Considering that these roof-end tiles were found around royal tombs and buildings used for rituals, they were likely very special and limited in use. Furthermore, convex and concave roof-end tiles with dragon (*yongmun* 龍紋) and phoenix (*bonghwangmun* 鳳凰紋) patterns, which appeared during the period of Mongol interference, were common in the late Goryeo period and have been excavated in various forms at Manwoldae. Domestic examples of these have been found at the site of Beophasa Temple, on Jeju Island (Jeju National University Museum 1992), and this temple happened to have been at its apex around the time of Mongol interference. These dragon, phoenix, and Sanskrit character pattern roof-end tiles are products of the late Goryeo period. Not only the tile face

patterns but also the eave area and the attached tiles were formed differently than their equivalents from the early and middle periods. In particular, the eave area (*juyeonbu*) differs in that the protruding band (*doldae*) and the row of decorative beads (*yeonju*) have been replaced by a wide band. Furthermore, the convex roof tile attached to the concave Sanskrit character pattern tile differs in terms of such details as the shape of the tile pattern impression (*wadoheun* 瓦陶痕) and the interlocking rib (*eongang* 堰江) vis-à-vis the convex roof tile joined to a concave tile with a sunburst pattern (*ilhwimun* 日暉文). These distinctive features of late Goryeo period roof-end tiles are likely directly related to the various social changes in Goryeo society after the period of Mongol interference. Considering the then Goryeo's relationship with the Yuan imperial family, various events would have been held at Manwoldae under the supervision of the Yuan dynasty. This is thought to be the main reason why excavated late Goryeo roof-end tiles display new, heterogeneous elements.

Considering the characteristics of the excavated artifacts and the discovery of identical artifacts at King Gongmin's tomb, it can be concluded that the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct continued to function within Manwoldae as a space symbolizing the Goryeo royal family even after the Red Turban rebellion of 1361. This conclusion was strongly confirmed during the third excavation. At that time, a stone wall, presumed to be a narrow enclosure wall about 80 to 100 centimeters wide, was found running parallel to the eastern corridor of the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct. Along the eastern side of this wall, many burnt soil clumps, fire-deformed roof tiles, and charred pieces of wood were excavated throughout the Building Complex 2 area. This suggests that a large fire destroyed all the structures of Building Complex 2, producing the fire debris found on its upper levels. However, no traces of a fire were found in the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct, west of this wall. This shows that while a large fire destroyed buildings in the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct, the precinct itself was likely restored afterward and continued to be used at least until the time King Gongmin's tomb was built. This is quite understandable, given the importance of the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct.

## Conclusion

This study has examined the formation process of the western building complex of Manwoldae based on the archaeological data identified through excavations conducted to date. The Manwoldae area was continuously utilized by Wang Geon's family even before the founding of the Goryeo dynasty. Both historical records and excavated artifacts indicate that the Manwoldae area was continuously in use, starting from the Later Three Kingdoms period. This period's representative remains are those of Bareochamseong Fortress, which was reportedly built on the Manwoldae site and has been identified by North Korea as part of Hwangseong Wall.

While significant developments accompanied Wang Geon's founding of Goryeo in 918 and his relocation of the capital to Songak the following year, Manwoldae at that time would have differed significantly from our common image of a royal palace. This is due to the ongoing unification wars of the Later Three Kingdoms. Historical records suggest that Manwoldae became larger and more elaborate, expanding to the size of the current site, through the reigns of King Gwangjong and King Hyeonjong. However, it lost most of its original functions during the Mongol invasions and the period of Mongol interference. After the Red Turban rebellion, during the reign of King Gongmin, it lost a significant number of its functions.

The eight inter-Korean joint excavations of Manwoldae aimed to archaeologically verify aspects of Manwoldae that were mentioned in ancient historical records, while also shedding light on the lives and cultural practices of palace inhabitants—information missing from written accounts. However, due to the fragmented nature of the surviving archaeological data, pinpointing the period and character of features identified through excavations remains challenging, as is often the case with historical texts. Nevertheless, the archaeological insights gained through the investigations so far can be summarized as follows:

1. The Manwoldae area was developed significantly, starting from at least the Later Three Kingdoms period. This is confirmed by the existence of Bareochamseong Fortress and roof tiles excavated from the uppermost layer of the natural subsoil in a pit installed in the courtyard of Building Complex 3.

2. The current layout of the Manwoldae building sites dates back to Goryeo's heyday, from the reign of King Hyeonjong until the Mongol invasions. The current layout can be linked to this golden age because the artifacts excavated around the building sites have been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is also the case with artifacts found throughout Manwoldae, likely because the site was most actively used during that time span.
3. Beneath the Manwoldae building sites of today lie at least two or more phases of earlier features. Judging from the excavations conducted so far, the upper parts (living spaces) of these earlier features were mostly destroyed when later structures were built on top. This makes it difficult, based on current data, to determine when they were in use.
4. Cross-sectional surveys of Building Complexes 1 to 3 in 2010 and subsequent exploratory trench investigations that aimed to identify earlier features suggest that the building layout of Manwoldae's earlier phases differed significantly from the current one. Also, it cannot be ruled out that the Western Architectural Complex was smaller than the current site.
5. Based on their construction patterns, the stone walls in the east-west exploratory trenches of Building Site 2 within Building Complex 1 must have been built in different periods. These walls show that the size of the stones used and the scale of the features gradually increased from the reign of Taejo through to the large-scale reconstruction during King Hyeonjong's reign.
6. It is presumed that Manwoldae was not in full use during the period of Mongol interference. The area around the features where dragon-head roof finials were excavated shows no signs of later excavation, with pre-Mongol period artifacts neatly buried. This indicates that it was used until the capital was moved to Ganghwa Island and then abandoned. Conversely, the outermost stone wall of the foundation terrace on the west side of Wondeokjeon Hall, at the northwest end of the Central Architectural Complex, was very crudely constructed. The builders haphazardly used earlier-period roof tiles, foundation stones, and stair stones in a manner unsuitable for a royal palace. Furthermore, structures formed from floor tiles and roof tiles are occasionally found on the upper surfaces of these features. Their functions are presumed to have differed from those of the original structures, and they were likely created from material at abandoned building sites.
7. The Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct was probably used even after the Red Turban rebellion. The Sanskrit character pattern roof tiles excavated

from the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct are similar and possibly identical to those found at King Gongmin's tomb. However, based on the nature of roof tiles as artifacts and the fact that Princess Noguk and King Gongmin were buried in 1365 and in 1374, respectively—after the Red Turban rebellion of 1361—we cannot definitively conclude that the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct was used after the rebellion. However, the author intends to focus on the condition of the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct rather than on just the dating of the excavated artifacts. While a thick layer of collapsed debris from a fire was found around the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct, no such traces were identified within the precinct, which is demarcated by the wall on the upper part of the corridor. Artifacts from the same period as those excavated from King Gongmin's tomb were found within the precinct. Thus, it is likely that the corridor and surrounding building complexes were not reconstructed when the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct was rebuilt, following its destruction during the Red Turban rebellion. Instead, a wall was erected to create a boundary, and all the burnt soil covering the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct was removed during the rebuilding process. Therefore, the Gyeongnyeongjeon Hall precinct can be said to have been used until the late Goryeo period; no archaeological data predating the 14<sup>th</sup> century has been found during the excavation process.

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