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Chinese Accounts of Koguryŏ and its Neighbours: From the *Sanguozhi* Ch. 30, Description of the Eastern Barbarians (*SGZ* 30 pp. 20B-31B; 35A-36B)

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Puyŏ (Fuyü) 夫餘

The (land of the) Puyŏ lies to the north of the Great Wall, about a thousand *li* from Xuantu (commandery); it borders upon Koguryŏ to the south, upon (the lands of) the Iro (Ch. Ilou 挹婁) to the east, and upon the Xianbei to the west, while to the north flow the Weak Waters (弱水). It covers an area of some 2,000 square *li,* with a population of some 80,000 families. The (Puyŏ people) are the original inhabitants of the land.

They possess palaces, houses, granaries, storehouses and prisons.

(Although) their territory has many mountains, there are also broad marshes, and indeed it is the flattest and most open territory of all those inhabited by the Eastern Barbarians. The soil is suitable for the five grains, but not for the five fruits. The people are big and coarse natured; they are naturally strong and courageous—yet they are respectful, and do not indulge in raiding and plunder.

They have a king, and official ranks named after the six kinds of domestic animal. There is the Horse Noble (Kor. *maga* 馬加), Ox Noble (*uga* 牛加), Pig Noble (*chŏga* 豬加), Dog Noble (*kuga* 狗加), also the Great 'Envoy' (*saja*) and the Dog 'Envoy' (大使者 or 犬使者).[1] Amongst their towns and villages there is a distinct class of leading families (膏氏); also 'lower households' (下戶), who are always treated as slaves. The various nobles (i.e. Horse, Ox, Pig and Dog) control the routes stretching out from the capital in the four directions. Great nobles command several thousand families; lesser ones several hundred.

The people always use plates at meals. At gatherings they toast each

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* Editor's note: This annotated translation was made by late Kenneth H. J. Gardiner of the Australian National University, Canberra as an appendix to "An Introductory Study of the 'Annals of Koguryŏ' in the *Samguk Sagi*," published in the previous volume 15, no. 1 of the *Review of Korean Studies*. Due to spatial constraints, we could not publish this text together with the article. We are pleased, however, to publish this work posthumously in the Sources for Korean Studies Section. Dr. Pankaj Mohan wishes to gratefully acknowledge financial support from Australia-Korea Foundation for editing Dr. Gardiner's unpublished manuscripts on early Korean history and Mrs. Merril Gardiner for her cooperation.

For convenience of readers, Chinese romanization has been converted to pinyin, however, the original McCune-Reischauer romanization for Korean has been retained.

1. The text is corrupt here and in the following sentence, and readings differ widely. The translation must, therefore, be regarded as tentative.

other and wash the goblets with ceremony, bowing and offering precedence to each other when going up or coming down.[2] They worship heaven in the first month of the old Yin calendar,[3] holding a great gathering in the capital, and feasting, singing and dancing for several days together. They call this "Yŏnggo" 迎鼓, or "Welcoming Drum."[4] At this time they carry out sentences and release prisoners.

At home in their own capital they prefer to dress in white, with broad sleeved gowns of white cloth, trousers underneath, and leather shoes. But when they travel abroad they prefer silken robes, embroidery, gold brocade, and felt. Great men wear in addition the furs of the fox, racoon, or black and white sables. They decorate their caps with gold and silver.

When the interpreter (of a Chinese envoy) conveys an official message, they all kneel down, put their hands on the ground, and assume a respectful tone of address.

Their penalties are extremely severe. Murderers are put to death, and their entire household are taken as slaves. Those who commit theft must make a twelve-fold restitution. Men and women who commit adultery, and jealous wives alike are both put to death. But above all they hate a jealous woman; when such a one is killed, her corpse is exposed on a mountain to the south of the capital, and left there to decompose. If the woman's family wants to reclaim it, they must offer a horse and an ox in exchange, and then it is given to them. If an elder brother dies, his widow marries his younger brother, just as amongst the Xiongnu.

(The people of) this land are expert in rearing domestic animals, and they produce famous horses, also red jade, sables, and great pearls as big as Chinese jujubes. They use the following weapons: bows, arrows, swords and lances, and each house keeps its own armour and weapons.

The most ancient elders of the land say that they are people who come as refugees.[5]

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2. The meaning is not quite clear here.
3. That is in the twelfth month of the preceding year according to the Chinese lunar calendar current in the third century CE and today.
4. Presumably, as suggested by the Japanese scholar K. Shiratori, these were the drums beaten by shamans to welcome the new year.
5. This conflicts with what was said above about the Puyŏ being native to the land. Cf. also the

When they build forts or barricades, they make them circular, something like Chinese prisons.

Day or night, as they go along the road, they all sing, be they young or old; you can hear the sound of it all day long, without a break.

When there is a war they offer worship to heaven and kill an ox, inspecting its hooves to foretell the outcome: if the hooves are spread open, they indicate misfortune; if closed, success. When the enemy appears, the various nobles all go out to fight in person, the "lower households" merely accompanying them with provisions such as food and drink.

When someone dies, in the summer they always use ice to preserve the body; men are put to death and buried along with the deceased, to the number of a hundred or more at the most. They are buried in great pomp, using a coffin, but not a sarcophagus.

The *Weilüe* says:

> It is their custom to prolong the period of mourning for five months; the longer it lasts, the more honourable they count it. They offer both raw and cooked food when worshipping the deceased. The chief mourner does not want to hurry the rites, but other people force him to; often they dispute over it and so draw it out, which they regard as a sign of high principles. Men and women in mourning always wear pure white, and married women put a veil over their faces and take off their ornaments, more or less as in China.

SGZ resumes:

Puyŏ originally came under the administrative jurisdiction of Xuantu commandery, but at the end of the (Later) Han, when the warlord Gongsun Du 公孫度 was extending his influence to the east of the (Yellow) Sea (i.e. to Korea), the outer barbarians submitted to his authority, and King Wigut'ae 尉仇台 of Puyŏ was placed under the administrative jurisdiction of Liaodong.[6] At this time, Koguryŏ and the Xianbei were both powerful, so (Gongsun) Du,

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account which follows the history of Puyŏ relations with China.

6. Liaodong was Gongsun Du's power base. He held the official title of governor of Liaodong, although his power also extended to Xuantu and the Korean commandery of Lelang, and even to part of the Shandong Peninsula in China proper. He came to power late in 189, and died in 204.

taking into consideration the fact that Puyŏ was situated in between these two incorrigible rebels, gave (Wigut'ae) a girl of his own clan in marriage. When Wigut'ae died, Kanwigŏ 簡立居 succeeded to the throne;[7] he had no heir but a bastard son, Mayŏ 麻余. When Kanwigŏ died, all the nobles agreed to raise Mayŏ to the throne. Wigŏ a son of the Ox Noble's elder brother, was made 'Great Envoy' (*taesaja*) and as he cared little about his own wealth, and gave liberally, the people of the realm were attached to him.[8] Year after year they sent embassies bringing tribute (to the court of the Wei dynasty).

During the Zhengshi reign (240-49 CE), Guanqiu Jian 母丘儉, the inspector of Yu Circuit, went on his punitive campaign against Koguryŏ, and sent Wang Qi 王頎, the governor of Xuantu commandery, to visit Puyŏ.[9] Wigŏ sent the Dog Noble to welcome (Wang Qi) in the suburbs, and offer him provisions for the army. Now (Wigŏ's) youngest uncle, the Ox Noble, had treacherous intentions (towards the Chinese), so Wigŏ killed him together with his son, confiscated his property, and sent it to the Chinese representatives.[10]

It is an old Puyŏ custom that, whenever flood or drought exceed the due measure, and the five grains are unable to reach maturity, they place the blame upon the king, and either change or depose him, as some say, or else kill him, as others maintain.

Mayŏ died,[11] and his son Uiryŏ 依慮, then only six years old, was appointed king. During the Han period the jade caskets which were used in the burial of the kings of Puyŏ were generally entrusted to Xuantu commandery once they were made ready. When a king died, (the Puyŏ representatives) would come to receive the casket, and use it for the royal burial. In fact, when Gongsun Yuan was put to death,[12] there was one such

7. It is not clear what the relationship was between Wigut'ae and Kanwigŏ. A Song text, the *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 gives Kanwigŏ as the grandson of Wigut'ae.
8. For 'Great Envoy,' see above. Clearly the office meant more than these terms taken from Chinese administrative practice suggest—it was perhaps equivalent to vizier or prime minister.
9. This punitive expedition took place in the winter and spring of 244-45.
10. Translation uncertain.
11. The position of this statement after the information about the "old Puyŏ custom" of holding the king responsible for the fertility of the land, almost suggests that Mayŏ himself was a "royal victim." However, the Chinese contains nothing to connect the two statements. Uiryŏ remained king of Puyŏ until 285, when he killed himself after the land had been devastated by an invasion of the Murong Xianbei.
12. Gongsun Yuan, the last member of the warlord dynasty founded by Gongsun Du, controlled

casket found in the government storehouse at Xuantu. Today in the Puyŏ treasury there are jade *bi* and *gui* tessera and jade-handled spoons and other objects which have been handed down for generations, treasures inherited from previous ages which the most ancient of the elders state were bestowed on them in former days.

The *Weilüe* states:

> The realm (of Puyŏ) is rich, and has not been devastated from ancient times.

Amongst (these treasures) there is a seal whose inscription declares it to be that of the "King of Ye" (濊王). In Puyŏ, there is an ancient stronghold named Ye fort (濊城)—evidently this territory was originally a land of the Yemaek 濊貊, before the Puyŏ established their own kingdom in the midst of it. Since the Puyŏ people state themselves that they were refugees, this may have some basis.[13]

The *Weilüe* states:

> An old (Chinese) text says that, in ancient times there was a state in the north called Horyŏ 豪離.[14] The king had a maid in waiting who became pregnant. When he wanted to kill her, she said: "A spirit as big as a hen's egg came down upon me, and it is by this that I have conceived." Eventually she gave birth to a son, and the king had him cast into the pigsty; but the pigs breathed upon the boy with their breath, and the child was taken to the stable. The horses also breathed upon him and he did not die. The king, suspecting that the boy might be Heaven's son, ordered his mother to take him back and rear him, giving him the name Tongmyŏng. (When he grew up), he was always being made to look after the horses. But since

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Liaodong and Xuantu, and was conquered and killed by Sima Yi in 238.

13. But cf. above pp. 1-2.

14. The "old text" in question seems to be derived from the *Lunheng* 論衡, a philosophical work of the late first century CE which contains the earliest known version of this story, although with some differences in the names. From the fifth century onwards the same story reappears as the origin legend of Koguryŏ, and Puyŏ becomes the birthplace of the hero. Other texts of the *SGZ* have Koryŏ 槀離 for Horyŏ.

> Tongmyŏng was such a fine archer, the king feared that he might sieze the kingdom, and (again) wanted to kill him, so Tongmyŏng fled to the south till he reached the Siŏm 施掩 River[15] where he struck the water with his bow. Fishes and mud-turtles floated up and made a bridge, but as soon as Tongmyŏng had got across, the fish and mud-turtles dispersed, so that the soldiers pursuing him could not get over. Thereupon Tongmyŏng founded a capital and became King of Puyŏ.

Koguryŏ

Koguryŏ lies a thousand *li* to the east of Liaodong. On the south it adjoins Chosŏn (the Han provinces in Korea) and the Yemaek tribes; in the east it extends as far as the Okchŏ 沃沮, and in the north as far as Puyŏ. Its capital is under (Mount) Hwando (於丸都之下). (The Kingdom) covers some two thousand square *li,* and contains a population of some 30,000 families.[16] It is full of huge mountains and deep valleys, and there are no plains or marshes. The people live scattered about amongst the mountain valleys, making their living from the streams and torrents, since they have no arable land, and even if they devoted all their energies to tilling the soil, they would still not get enough to fill their mouths and bellies. They are accustomed to be abstemious in matters of food, but they still like to lay out palaces and houses. Either side of their residence they build large halls in which they worship the spirits; they also worship the stars, and the deities of earth and harvest.

By nature they are fierce and hasty, and they take delight in robbery and plunder.[17]

They have a king, and their official ranks are those of *sangga* 相加, *taero* 對盧, *p'aeja* 沛者, *koch'uga* 古雛加, *chubu* 主簿,[18] *ut'ae* 優台, *sŭng* 丞, *saja* 使者,

15. Judging from other versions of the story, Siŏm should probably read Ŏmsi 掩施.
16. Note that, although the area given is roughly the same as Puyŏ, the population is much smaller. Although these figures are far too round to be taken as anything other than very rough estimates, it is interesting to see that the statement about a much smaller population in Koguryŏ squares with the information about the character of Koguryŏ territory.
17. Throughout the Han and Three Kingdoms periods, Puyŏ was usually a Chinese ally. Koguryŏ—traditionally an enemy of Puyŏ—was usually hostile to China.
18. The titles *chubu* (Ch. *chubu*), *sŏng* (Ch. *cheng*), and *saja* (Ch. *shizhe*) are all named after Chinese administrative posts, although they may not have quite the same significance in

choŭi 皁衣 and *sŏnin* 先人. (For all these) they have fixed degrees of high and low.

It is an old tradition amongst the Eastern barbarians that (the people of Koguryŏ) are a separate branch of the Puyŏ, and indeed in their language and many other matters they are largely identical with the Puyŏ; they differ in their national character and in their dress.[19]

They were originally divided into five tribes: the Sonobu 消奴部, the Chŏllobu 絶奴部, the Sunnobu 順奴部, the Kwannobu 灌奴部, and the Kyerubu 桂婁部. The Sonobu used to provide the king, but they grew gradually weaker, and today the Kyerubu have succeeded them.[20]

During the Han dynasty it was the custom to present (Koguryŏ) with skilled players of the drum or trumpet. (Representatives from Koguryŏ also) used to come to receive court robes and caps from Xuantu commandery, where the prefect of Koguryŏ-hyŏn (Ch. Gaogouli-xian) kept a register of their names. But as time went by they grew prouder and would not come to the commandery. So a small walled fort was built upon the eastern frontier, and the court robes and caps placed therein, and every year they would come to take them. Even today, the barbarians still call this fort "Ch'aek-kuro" 幘溝漊 or "Turban Castle." "*Kuro*" is the Koguryŏ word for "castle."[21]

As to their method of appointing officers, when there was a *taero*, they did not appoint a *p'aeja*, and when there was a *p'aeja*, they appoint no *taero*. All those great nobles (*taega* 大加) who belong to the same ancestral tribe (宗族) as the King (i.e. the Kyerubu) has the title *koch'uga*. Moreover, even amongst the Sonobu, the original masters of the realm, although now they no longer provide the king, yet their successive chieftains in direct descent

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Koguryŏ. *Saja* is the title translated "envoy" in the account of Puyŏ.

19. The close relationship between Puyŏ and Koguryŏ also appears from the adoption by Koguryŏ of the Puyŏ origin myth, adapted to suggest that the founder of Koguryŏ himself came from Puyŏ.
20. There is considerable debate about when this took place, some scholars having suggested that the rise to power of the Kyerubu coincides with the departure of a considerable number of the Sonobu after Gongsun Kang's invasion of Koguryŏ early in the third century CE when the capital was moved to Hwando (see below). On the other hand, the *SGZ* seems to have in mind a much more gradual process, and if the tribes had chieftains who succeeded each other in patrilineal succession, this would imply that the change came some time after the middle of the first century, when there appears to have been a change in the ruling family (according to the *Samguk sagi*) immediately before the reign of King Kung.
21. It has been suggested that this word lies behind the name "Koguryŏ."

(適統大人) hold the title *koch'uga*; they also have the right to set up shrines to their ancestors, and to worship the spirits of stars, earth and harvest (on their own account). (Similarly the chieftains of) the Chŏllobu, who provide a wife for the king in each successive generation, also have the title *koch'uga*. All the great nobles (*taega*) can even appoint *saja*, *choŭi* and *sŏnin* of their own, the names of all (thus appointed) being forwarded to the king, in much the same way as officers are appointed to the households of great vassals (in China). However, at any gathering, these men are not allowed to rank with the *saja*, *choŭi* and *sŏnin* of the royal household.[22]

In this realm there are some ten thousand or more to eat in idleness and do no work in the fields, being supplied by the lower orders (*haho* 下戶) who bring them rice, salt and fish from remote regions.

The people love song and dance, and in the towns and villages of their kingdom, men and women gather together every evening and into the night to sing and amuse themselves together.[23]

They have no large granaries, but every family has a small storehouse of its own, called *pugyŏng* 桴京. They are a very clean people, and take delight in storing fermented beverages (or pickles?). When kneeling and making obeisance, they stretch out one leg, a custom which is not found amongst the Puyŏ. When travelling on foot they always hurry.

In the tenth month they offer worship to Heaven, and in the capital (國中)[24] there is a great gathering or festival, called Tongmaeng 東盟.[25]

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22. Literally, they are not allowed "to sit or rise" with them.
23. Cf. what is earlier said of the love of the people of Puyŏ for singing.
24. The word "國," earlier used to indicate the Koguryŏ kingdom as such, in this passage seems to mean the seat of the kingdom, i.e., the capital, creating a certain ambiguity. However, a great gathering which performs an act of worship at a particular spot can hardly be simply located as "in the kingdom," nor would there be much point in this repeated phrase unless it meant something much more specific. It is of some interest to notice that the officially accepted Koguryŏ version of the history of this period, as preserved in the *Samguk sagi*, Chapters 13-17, gives the Koguryŏ capital the name Kungnaesŏng 國內城.
25. Either, with K. Shiratori, a Chinese expression analogous to "Yinggu: Welcoming Drum" amongst the Puyŏ (see "The Legend of Dong-ming-wang, the Founder of Fu-yu-guo," *Mem. Tōyō Bunko* series B, no. 10 [1938], 23) or, as the earlier Japanese scholar, Naka Michiyo, and the Korean scholar Yi Pyŏngdo have maintained, a miswriting for Tongmyŏng, the founder of Puyŏ—see above—who will still have been worshipped in Koguryŏ, where the aristocracy was derived from Puyŏ. See *Naka Michiyo Isho*, (Tokyo, 1915), 100; and Yi Pyŏngdo, *Hanguk-sa*, vol. 1, (Seoul, 1959), 250-51.

At such public assemblies, everyone wears gold brocade, and gold or silver ornaments. The great nobles (*taega*) and *chubu* all wear a kind of conical cap without a back to it, while the lesser nobles (*soga* 小加) wear a cap with a cutaway edge (折風), similar to the (ancient Chinese conical cap called) *bian* 弁.

To the east of the capital (國東), there is a great cave called The Cave of the Underground Passage (隧穴). In the great festival which is held in the capital (國中) in the tenth month, the people welcome the return of the Spirit of the Underground Passage (隧神), and worship the divinity over (the river?) to the east of the capital,[26] setting up a wooden image which is enthroned in

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The seventh century *Liangshu* 梁書, which incorporates much of the *SGZ*'s account of Koguryŏ, writes the name of this ceremony as Tongmyŏng .

26. The expression of Suhyŏl 隧穴, is probably to be taken as Chinese rather than the representation of a name in the ancient language of Koguryŏ. If so, the word "隧" means an underground passage, especially the underground passage leading to a tomb. Taken together with the idea of a spirit "returning" to the land or the city of which it is the guardian, this suggests, as first pointed out by Kim Yŏl-gyu, that we have to do with a resurrection ceremony. See Kim Yŏl-gyu, "Traditional Oral Literature and Folklore of Korea, with Emphasis on the Types of Biographical Patterns," (paper presented at the Conference on Korean Traditional Society and Culture, Hawaii, June 7-11, 1971), 33-37.

The relationship of this "Spirit of the Underground Passage" to the name Tongmaeng, or Tongmyŏng, remains unclear. It is noteworthy that the spirit cave lies to the east of the capital, and that the word "east" forms the first component in both Tongmaeng and Tongmyŏng. Kim Yŏl-gyu would associate the "Spirit of the Underwood Passage" with the "Spirit Who Ascends Aloft"—Kodŭng-sin 高登神—of the *Zhoushu* 周書 and *Beishi* 北史, who is certainly to be identified with the Koguryŏ Founder Ancestor. The Koguryŏ tradition concerning Chumong 朱蒙, or Ch'umo 鄒牟, as this ancestor was usually called, represented him as riding up to Heaven on the back of a Yellow Dragon, starting from a hill to the *east* of Holbon 忽本, the old Koguryŏ capital. The text of the Kwanggaet'o Stele, where this story is told (414 CE) makes no mention of an underground passage, and it would appear from the lengthy and admittedly much later version of the story to be found in the *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* 東國李相國集, that Chumong was received bodily into Heaven, his father's country, and only his horse whip was buried. It is dangerous in this context to place too much weight upon even later versions of the story, such as that quoted in the revised sixteenth century edition of the gazetteer *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 東國輿地勝覽 of 1481:

> In the Unicorn Cave (麒麟窟), King Tongmyŏng reared his "unicorn horse" (麒麟馬) ….. it is said that he rode the horse into this cave, and through an underground passage emerged onto "Morning Sky Rock" (朝天岩), from which he ascended into Heaven. The horse's hoofprints can still be seen on the rock. (*Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* [repr., Seoul: Tongguk Munhwasa, 1958], Ch.51, 33b)

Not merely is the *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* citing a tradition which is at least twelve hundred years later (as far as it attested) than the *SGZ*, but it is also one which is located outside P'yŏngyang, i.e. the legend has been transferred to the city which became the capital of

the god's place.

They have no prisons. If someone commits a crime, all the nobles discuss the case together and (the guilty man) is then put to death, his wife and children being taken as slaves.

Their marriage customs are as follows: Once the preliminaries have been talked over, the girl's family construct a little hut behind the main house, called "the son-in-law's hut." The (prospective) son-in-law arrives at their residence in the evening, kneels and prostrates himself outside the door, announcing his name and requesting permission to spend the night with their daughter. This happens two or three times, then the parents give their permission, and the young couple spend that night (and the succeeding ones) in the little hut, money and silk being placed outside (as a dowry). But only after a child has been born and has grown to maturity does (the new husband) bring his wife back to a home of their own. The custom is lewd.

Once a man and woman (have finally returned home) husband and

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Koguryŏ in 427. After the destruction of Koguryŏ in 668 it is clear that much of the culture and traditions of early Koguryŏ, i.e. centred on the Hwando area, were forgotten in Korea: thus Kim Pu-sik in the *Samguk sagi* is unable to identify Koguryŏ place-names of this period, and shows no awareness of the existence of the Kwanggaet'o Monument, or even of the content of its inscription. Moreover, from the account of the *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* it would appear that there may have been other cults of descending and reascending spirits in Koguryŏ, such as that of Haemosu 解慕漱, Chumong's putative father. While it may be true that the symbolic content of such stories is equivalent to that of the myth of the Spirit of the Underground Passage, or Chumong (Kodong-sin), it is not possible to proceed further and—across the lapse of centuries and changes of location—identify the central figures with each other.

A further element of confusion has been introduced into the discussion by the fact that the text of the *SGZ* seems corrupt at this point, as Yi Pyŏngdo suggests (*Hanguk-sa*). Yi Pyŏngdo quotes a version of the *Weilüe* 魏略 quoted in the Tang work *Hanyuan* 翰苑, which gives the reading "迎隧穴神還於國東水上祭文" instead of the present text of the *SGZ* which has "迎隧神還於國東水上祭之." The *Weilüe*, composed in the middle of the third century shortly after Guanqiu Jian's expedition of 245-46, would seem to be the main source which Chen Shou utilised on the affairs of the further east, judging from the surviving citations from the work in Pei Songzhi's commentary. Quotations from the *Weilüe* in the *Hanyuan* are not always reliable, but in this case the quotations seem to give rather better sense than the existing text of the *SGZ*, where the concluding phrase "置木隧於神坐" also looks corrupt (and the translation offered here must therefore be regarded as tentative).

There appears to be no grounds for Han Woo-keun's assertion, "The tribes worshipped a legendary progenitor of the Koguryŏ people called Tongmyŏng … they are also said to have worshipped the male organ, which they called *susin*." H*anguk tongsa* [The History of Korea], (Seoul: Eulyoo Publishing 1970), 29.

wife, they begin to make their funeral clothes. For (in this country) burials other valuables—in giving a fitting funeral. They heap up stones to form a cairn, and pines and cypresses are planted in rows before it.[27]

Their horses are all tiny, but good at climbing mountain slopes. The people (of Koguryŏ) are strong and brave; they are expert fighters, and the Okchŏ and Eastern Ye have all become subject to them.[28]

There are also the Small River Maek (Sosu Maek 小水貊). Just as the (kingdom of Ko-) guryŏ was set up along the big river there (i.e. the Yalu), so a separate branch of the Koguryŏ people have set up a kingdom along a smaller river which flows southwards into the sea from north of Xi'anping Prefecture (西安平縣).[29] They produce the fine bows known as "Maek bows."

In the beginning, Wang Mang ordered out the troops of the Gaogouli (i.e. Koguryŏ) to attack the northern barbarians (胡), but they were unwilling to go, and when they were forced to leave and sent off, they all fled across the frontier and turned to brigandage. Tian Tan, the Grand Administrator of Liaoxi (遼西大尹田譚), pursued and attacked them, and was killed by them. The circuit, commandery and prefectural authorities laid the blame for this upon

27. Compare this statement with recent photographs of Koguryŏ tombs in the Hwando area—e.g. in Umehara Sueji and Fujita Ryōsaku, eds., *Chōsen Kobunke Sōkan*, vol. 4, *Kōkuri* (Kyōto: Yōkokusha 1966), plate 6.

28. Cf. accounts of Okchŏ and Ye translated below.

29. At present the Da'anping River (大安平河) is one of several roughly parallel tributaries which flow into the Yalu from the north-west some distance above Andong 安東, where the Yalu begins to broaden out towards its estuary (安平口). Unless the coastline has changed substantially since the middle of the third century CE—something by no means impossible—the identification of any of these tributaries with the "small river" of the *SGZ* is rendered difficult by the statement of that text that the river "flowed southwards into the sea." If this is taken literally, the only river which currently fulfils the conditions is the Dayanghe 大洋河, long ago identified with the "small river" by T. Ōhara, *Kandai gogun nisui kō* (Kyoto: Chikazawa Shoten 1933), 40-42. Xi'anping should thus be situated either round about Andong itself, or, if Ōhara's identification is accepted, at Gushan 孤山, on the Dayanghe. The "Small River Maek" will have been settled not far from the prefecture, and the bows for which they were famous were perhaps brought into the prefecture as tribute—if Xi'anping prefecture was the agency through which they dealt with the empire. Unfortunately no other text mentions this kingdom—except the *HHS* which in this respect is derived entirely from the *SGZ*; it is therefore unlikely that the "Small River Maek" can be connected with the dissident elements who left Koguryŏ early in the third century and set up a brief Chinese puppet state on its borders (see p. 17). Apparently Fan Ye, writing the *HHS*, assumed that with the words "句麗作國" a new section of *SGZ* Ch. 30 began, and in his book he treats the following historical survey as if it referred to a separate group from that whose customs have been outlined.

Ch'u, Marquis of Koguryŏ (高句驪侯騶) whereupon Yan Yu 嚴尤 (then General Chastiser of the Ye [討穢將軍]) memorialised the throne, saying: "The violations of the law by the Maek people do not spring from Ch'u, and it is even more proper to appease them. If they are now accused of a major crime, I fear they may revolt." But Wang Mang refused to accept this advice, and ordered (Yan) Yu to attack them. Yan Yu enticed Ch'u, Marquis of Koguryŏ, into his presence, and executed him when he arrived, sending his head to Changan. (Wang) Mang was greatly pleased, and publicy announced to the world that he was changing the name Gaogouli 高句驪 to Xiagouli 下句驪 (i.e. lower Gouli).[30]

At this time, Koguryŏ had the status of a marquisate, but in the eighth year of Emperor Guangwu of Han (32/33 CE), the King of Koguryŏ sent an envoy to present tribute at court; it was from this time that he began to be called "King."[31] Coming to the reigns of the Emperors Shang 殤帝 and An 安帝 (106-125), Kung 宮, King of Koguryŏ frequently plundered Liaodong, but then again (submitted and) became subject to the Xuantu commandery.[32]

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30. This passage is derived from *Hanshu* (*HS*), Ch.99 (*zhong*), 24A/B., which itself constitutes the earliest mention of Koguryŏ in Chinese sources. As such it is frequently incorporated in Chinese accounts of Koguryŏ, being included in the *Houhanshu* (*HHS*), the *Liangshu* and the *Beishi*. It also occurs in the *Samguk sagi* Ch.13, in a somewhat distorted form. The incident occurred during Wang Mang's wars against the Xiongnu, in 12 CE.
31. The lack of any reference to Koguryŏ in Sima Qian's monumental *Shiji* (which does however mention the Puyŏ); the peremptory order to them by Wang Mang to furnish troops for his campaign; the naming of a Chinese prefecture—Gaogouli-xian—after the Koguryŏ tribes, and especially the statement that until Later Han times the Koguryŏ chieftain had held only the comparatively humble rank of "Marquis," all tend to suggest that before the revolt of 12 CE, the Gaogouli were simply a petty tribal confederacy amongst many others in the north-east, not unlike the Ye and the Okchŏ. Indeed, the title "prefectural marquis" was bestowed upon several of the chieftains of the Ye and Okchŏ in the first and second centuries, as will be shown. Moreover, since the *SGZ* shows that even as late as the third century CE, the position of the Koguryŏ king was still hedged around with restrictions springing from the power of the great tribal nobles, the Sonobu kings—ruling apparently throughout most of the first century CE—can scarcely have been anything more than primus inter pares. Very possibly the "marquisate" which indicated the "ruler" of Koguryŏ was no more than a Chinese administrative convenience, whereby one leading chieftain could be taken as the representative of the client tribes for all dealings with the Chinese and, as in this case, be held responsible for the actions of the tribe as a whole. It may be noted that although the capital of Koguryŏ was several times devastated by the Chinese in subsequent centuries, no later ruler of Koguryŏ ever visited the headquarters of a Chinese official, as Ch'u is alleged to have done.
32. For Kung's raids on the Chinese frontier commanderies, see the *HHS*, translated below. They began before 105, but in 109 Koguryŏ made peace with China—the submission to Xuantu mentioned here—until raiding broke out afresh in 118 CE.

But Cai Feng 蔡諷, governor of Liaodong, and Yao Guang 姚光, governor of Xuantu, considered Kung to be a threat to their two commanderies. So they raised an army to attack him. Kung made a pretence of surrendering and asked for peace, so the two commanderies halted their troops. But Kung secretly sent an army to attack Xuantu, where they burnt down the prefectural centre of Houcheng 候城, and also entered Liaosui 遼隊 (in Liaodong) and killed both officials and civilians.

Later, (Kung) again crossed into Liaodong, whereupon Cai Feng rashly set out after him at the head of his subordinates, leading to the defeat and annihilation of the government's army.[33]

When Kung died, his son Paekko 伯固 succeeded.[34]

At some time during the reigns of the Emperors Shun (順帝, 125-44) or Huan (桓帝, 146-68), Koguryŏ again raided Liaodong, and plundered Xinanju district (新安居鄉), as well as attacking Xi'anping (prefecture). On the way (they intercepted) and killed the prefect of Daifang 帶方, and carried off the wife and child of the governor of Lelang.[35]

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33. A very much more detailed account of these events is to be found in the *HHS*, and is translated below. Curiously enough, the *SGZ* leaves out any account of the siege of the administrative headquarters of Xuantu by Kung's army, which took place in the winter of 121/22, and climaxed the whole series of raids. The ruler of Koguryŏ was driven off by the combined forces of China and Puyŏ. The *SGZ* also omits here and below any mention of Kung's son and eventual successor, Susŏng 遂成.

34. The *SGZ* is in error here. As is shown by the *HHS* (confirmed by *Samguk sagi,* Ch. 15), Kung was succeeded by Susŏng, his son, who was in turn succeeded by *his* son Paekko. Susŏng's reign was evidently very short (122- before 132), and Paekko, who had a long reign (from before 132 until after 190) must have come to the throne as a minor. This may have led either Chen Shou or the author of the *Weilüe* to pass over the earlier reign. Later the *SGZ*'s account was accepted, and most of later genealogies of Koguryŏ rulers in Chinese sources similarly omit the extra generation between Kung and Paekko.

35. The *SGZ*'s dating is so vague here that it is almost impossible to say when this raiding would have taken place. The fact that a punitive expedition was undertaken in 169 might suggest the latter part of Emperor Huan's reign, when the Chinese were coming under serious pressure from the Xianbei, united for the first and only time in their history by a chieftain of genius, Tanshihuai 檀石槐, whose power stretched as far as Puyŏ and Liaodong.
The real object of Paekko's attack on Xi'anping may have been to extend his control over the independent "Small River Maek," who were certainly settled in this area less than a century later. See above. At this time Taifang, whose administrative centre lay somewhere near the modern city of Seoul, was still only a prefecture; it did not become a separate commandery until early in the third century. The prefect was apparently escorting the governor of Lelang's family to or from the commandery. In what follows the words Jiaping 嘉平 in the text are clearly a mistake for Xiping 熹平.

In the second year of the Emperor Ling's Jianning 建寧 reign (169), Geng Lin 耿臨 then governor of Xuantu, led a punitive expedition against them, and succeeded in cutting off the heads of several hundred of the wretches. Paekko then surrendered, and was made a dependant of Liaodong. But during the Xiping 熹平 reign (172-78), he requested to be (transferred back) to the jurisdiction of Xuantu.

When Gongsun Du had become a warlord in the lands east of the sea, Paekko sent the *taega* Ugŏ 大加優居 and the *chubu* Yŏnnin 主簿然人 and others to help him in an attack upon the Mount Fu bandits (富山賊), who were then destroyed.[36]

Paekko died. Of his two sons, Palgi 拔奇 was the elder, and Yi Yimo 伊夷模 the younger. Palgi being unfilial, the people of the realm combined to establish Yi Yimo as king.[37] Since, from the time of Paekko onwards (Koguryŏ) had raided Liaodong on several occasions, and had moreover received over five hundred families of northern barbarians who had escaped (from Liaodong),[38] during the Jian'an reign 建安 (196-220) Gongsun Kang

36. The Mount Fu bandits are otherwise unknown. See the discussion in Gardiner, "The Gongsun Warlords of Liaodong," pt. 1, *Papers in Far Eastern History* 5 (March 1972): 69-71 and notes.
37. I suspect that here again a short reign has been left out. The *Samguk sagi* lists a king called Nammu, posthumous title Kogukch'ŏn-wang (故國川王男武), in between Paekko and Yŏnu, known as Sansang-wang (山上王延優), who must be the same as the *SGZ*'s Yi Yimo. See the discussion in Gardiner, op. cit., pp.83-89, and note 33.
38. These five hundred northern barbarians may well have been survivors from the Wuhuan tribes who had thrown in their lot with the Chinese warlords of the Yuan family. When the Yuan brothers were decisively defeated by Cao Cao in 207, in a battle in which the Wuhuan tribes were cut to pieces, the Yuan themselves, and many of their more prominent Wuhuan supporters, together with their retainers, fled to Gongsun Kang the successor of Gongsun Du in Liaodong (since 204). But Gongsun Kang put to death both the Yuan brothers and several of the leading Wuhuan; those who remained behind in Liaodong seem to have harboured a grudge against the Gongsun house, and went over to the Wei general Guanqiu Jian as soon as his forces invaded Liaodong in 237. It would not be surprising if several of them had escaped to Koguryŏ soon after Gongsun Kang's massacre.

    There are also other grounds for thinking that Gongsun Kang's invasion of Koguryŏ is unlikely to have taken place until after 207 (see Gardiner, "The Gongsun Warlords," pt. 1, 85). It is also unlikely that Palgi could have remained in Koguryŏ as a malcontent and a potential centre of disaffection for more than a few years at the most, before making the open move against his brother described by the *SGZ*. Thus either Paekko died in 207 or thereabouts—since he came to the throne before 132 this give him a reign of well over seventy years—or the *SGZ* has once again passed over a short reign in between Paekko and Yi Yimo—presumably that of the King Nammu mentioned in the *Samguk sagi*. See note 37.

sent out an army to attack (Yi Yimo), destroying his capital and burning down the subordinate (Koguryŏ) settlements. Palgi, resentful of the fact that he had been unable to gain the kingship in spite of being the eldest son, went and surrendered to Gongsun Kang, together with the [*tae*?]*ga* of the Sonobu, each leading more than thirty thousand people from the lower orders.[39] On his return (to Koguryŏ from Liaodong), he settled on the Piryu 沸流 River.[40] The northern barbarians who had surrendered (to Yi Yimo?) also revolted against him, and Yi Yimo changed his residence, setting up a new capital in the area where Koguryŏ is situated today.[41]

Afterwards, Palgi went over to live in Liaodong.[42] He had a son who stayed behind in Koguryŏ: he is the present *koch'uga* Pagwigŏ 駮位居.

Later (Yi Yimo) again attacked Xuantu commandery, which joined forces with Liaodong to inflict a major reverse upon the raiders.

Yi Yimo had no legitimate offspring, but had an affair with a (girl of the) Kwannobu, on whom he fathered a child called Wigung 位宮.[43] When Yi Yimo died, this boy was made king, and he is the present king Kung of (Ko-) guryŏ. His great grandfather Kung had been able to open his eyes and focus on objects as soon as he was born, (an omen which led) the people of Koguryŏ to feel an aversion for him. And indeed, when he grew up he proved cruel and tyrannical, frequently going out on plundering expeditions, until (in the end) the kingdom was utterly ruined.[44] The present king was also able

39. These figures are probably exaggerated, but do not appear inconsistent with the figure of 10,000 given in the text above for those who "eat in idleness and do not work in the fields, being supplied by the lower orders." *HHS* Liezhuan 75, 9A (translated below) speaks of the surrender of a Koguryŏ noble to Lelang in 47 along with 10,000 dependants. Of course, ten thousand is a commonly used numerical cliché in Chinese, and can often be taken as merely meaning "a lot."
40. The original Koguryŏ capital of Holbon, mentioned on the Kwanggaet'o Stele, was situated in the valley of the Piryu, which is almost certainly identified with the modern Hunjiang 渾江, a tributary of the Yalu. Palgi was returning to this old, devastated capital of Koguryŏ, which had been abandoned by Yi Yimo.
41. I.e. in Hwando. See the opening paragraph of the account of Koguryŏ.
42. Presumably as a result of renewed pressure from Yi Yimo. Cf. the latter's raids of Xuantu mentioned below.
43. As already pointed out in the *SGZ*, the royal wives of Koguryŏ rulers were expected to come from the Chŏllobu, and presumably only their offspring were deemed legitimate. The Kwannobu and Sunnobu seem to have held a somewhat inferior status to the tribes Sonobu, Kyerubu and Chŏllubu.
44. This of course is a Chinese view. The *Samguk sagi* calls Kung, Taejo-daewang 大祖大王 and Kukcho-wang 國祖王, gives him a reign of 94 years and obviously approves of him, an

to open his eyes and focus on people as soon as he was born and dropped to the ground. Now amongst the people of Koguryŏ, the word for 'like' is '*wi*' 位; so, because he was "like" his ancestor (Kung), they called him "Wigung."[45] He was brave and strong, well able to sit a horse, and an expert hunter and archer. In the second year of the Jingchu 景初 reign (238), Sima Xuanwang 司馬宣王 (i.e. Sima Yi 司馬懿) led his forces on the punitive campaign against Gongsun Yuan, and Kung sent his *chubu* and *taega* with several thousand men to assist the imperial army. But in the third year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign (242), Kung raided[46] Xi'anping, (46) and two years later he was defeated by Guanqiu Jian, as is described in the latter's biography.

The Eastern Okchŏ

The Eastern Okchŏ lie to the east of the great mountain Kaema 蓋馬 in Koguryŏ,[47] living along the coast of the great sea. Their territory is narrow in the north-east, but stretches out towards the south-east,[48] (occupying an area of) about a thousand (square) *li.* In the north (their lands) border upon the Ŭmnu 挹婁 (Ch. Yilou) and Puyŏ; in the south (upon the territory inhabited

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attitude which we may assume reflects that of the official Koguryŏ historians of the sixth and seventh centuries. It would seem that Chen Shou or his source are trying to draw a moralistic parallel here, heralded by an appropriate evil omen. Indeed the whole historical account of Koguryŏ's dealings with China here emphasises the role of the former as recalcitrant barbarians who brought down upon their own heads the wrath of the celestial empire, leading to the destruction of Wigung's kingdom.

45. This etymology is suspect. According to the *Samguk sagi* the personal name of this king was "Uwigŏ" 憂位居, a name which shows a close similarity to those of Wigut'ae 尉仇台, Kanwigŏ 簡位居 and Wigŏ 位居 in the account of Puyŏ, as well as to the Pagwigŏ 駁位居 mentioned a few lines earlier. "Wigŏ" would appear to be a recurring element in Koguryŏ and Puyŏ names whose meaning is uncertain. It seems possible that the author of the source on which Chen Shou is drawing here went out of his way to stress the parallel between the contemporary king of Koguryŏ and his ancestor for moralistic reasons of his own.
46. See above, notes 29 and 35.
47. Either Paektusan or Kwanmobun (both of which are over 8,000 metres high) or one of the other mountains of the north-eastern massif which shuts off the coastal strip inhabited by the Okchŏ from the valley of the Yalu. In Former and Later Han times there was a prefecture of Xuantu called Xikaima 西蓋馬, "Western Kaima." It had disappeared by the time of the Jin survey in 283.
48. Almost certainly a garble. The correct reading is presumably that given in the parallel text of the *HHS*: "The territory is narrow from east to west, but extends a long way from north to south."

by) the Yemaek 濊貊.[49] Their total population runs to (no more than) five thousand families. They have no supreme ruler, but from one generation to another each village or settlement has its own elder. Their language is in general similar to that of Koguryŏ, but here and there there are some differences.

At the beginning of the Han dynasty the Yan refugee Wi man 衛滿 (Ch. Wei Man) made himself King of Chosŏn, and at this time all the Okchŏ became subject to him. When in the second year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign (109 BCE) of Emperor Wu, (the imperial forces) attacked Chosŏn,[50] Wi man's grandson Youqu 右渠 (Kor. Ugŏ) was put to death, and his territory divided into four commanderies, Okchŏ-sŏng 沃沮城. (The Walled Town of the Okchŏ) became (the headquarters) of Xuantu commandery. Later this commandery was subject to the incursions of the Maek barbarians,[51]

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49. The term Yemaek 濊貊 is used in a number of different senses in Chinese documents of this period. Maek (Ch. Mo) originally appears in pre-Qin texts as a name for various north-eastern tribes, and the people of Koguryŏ could be described as "men of the Maek" (貊人), as in *HS*. The term Ye 濊 is found most frequently as a name for the tribes who lived in the coastal strip of eastern Korea, south of the Okchŏ—as for example in the preceding account of Koguryŏ, where these tribes are called Eastern Ye. Presumably they were also regarded as falling into the category of Maek—hence the combined form. However, as can be seen from the account of Puyŏ, the Ye were also believed by the Chinese to have been the original inhabitants of central and southern Manchuria.

    The distinction between Eastern Ye and the Okchŏ also appears to have been difficult to observe in practice. See footnote 51.

50. Although the two armies despatched by Emperor Wu against the state of Chosŏn left China in the autumn of 109, the campaign was not concluded with the capture of the Chosŏn capital until late in the summer of 108. The death of the king and the administrative reorganization of the country thus belong to the year 108 BCE.

51. "夷貊"—This phrase is often taken as referring to Koguryŏ, and certainly be used for that people (although the form "夷貊" is confined to this passage). However, the fact that Xuantu commandery, owing to the attacks of certain barbarians, was transferred to an area *closer to Koguryŏ* (in 75 BCE) makes it quite clear that these attacks could not have come from Koguryŏ itself—presumably at this time the five tribes were a petty and loosely organised confederacy attached to Gaogouli prefecture which, throughout the Han period, served as the administrative centre of Xuantu commandery. Thus what incursions there were must have been due to the activities of another tribal group—very probably the "Eastern Ye"; as already seen these were regarded as "Maek." The administrative reorganization which placed the Okchŏ under Lelang commandery in 75 also joined to Lelang certain districts inhabited by Ye tribes—notably the prefectures of Huali, Buer and Yatoumei. Some of these centres had probably fallen under the jurisdiction of Lintun 臨屯 when that commandery was set up in 108, since the prefecture which contained the administrative headquarters of Lintun, Dongyi 東暆, also figures in the list of seven "eastern" prefectures at that time. Since Lintun is said to have contained fifteen prefectures when originally set up, it is obvious that the greater part of its

and was consequently transferred to the north-west of Koguryŏ, to the place which is now known as the former headquarters of Xuantu.[52] The Okchŏ were then once more placed under the jurisdiction of Lelang.[53] Since the Okchŏ were to be subject to Lelang although they were far away (from that commandery), the Han government, bearing in mind the size of the territory to be controlled, separated off the lands east of the great Tandan range (單單大嶺)[54] and established the position of "Commandant of Eastern Lelang" (東部都尉) with headquarters at the walled town of Bunai (Pullae-sŏng 不耐城),[55] and controlling seven prefectures.[56] The Okchŏ tribes at this time were all attached to the prefecture (which carried their name).

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territory had been abandoned. The commandery of Zhenfan 眞番, apparently situated in southern Korea, had likewise been abandoned seven years earlier (in 82 BCE). Evidently in southern and eastern Korea, the Chinese administrators were operating at the end of very attenuated lines of communication, and could not maintain themselves without considerable effort on the part of the central government, which by this time had other more pressing concerns.

The *SGZ*'s reference to "barbarian incursions" suggests that the Ye tribes were involved in military action against the Chinese outposts, and it seems possible that they were expanding into and taking over areas once inhabited solely by Okchŏ. This is supported by the frequent references by the *SGZ* to petty Ye principalities, under the general heading of "Eastern Okchŏ," and also by the recent discovery of a seal from a tomb near P'yŏngyang bearing the inscription "Ye prince of Pujo" (夫租薉君). See T. Okazaki, "Fuso Wai-gun gin' in o meguru shomondai," *Chōsen Gakuho* 46 (January 1968) and below, note 56. The tomb appears to belong to the second half of the first century BCE. Pujo 夫租, Chinese reading, Fuzu, seems to have been the original reading of the name which appears as Okchŏ 沃沮 in the *SGZ*.

52. "Former" because the headquarters of Xuantu were once more shifted closer to Liaodong in the years 105-06 CE, following the raids of Kung of Koguryŏ.
53. Presumably "once more" because Okchŏ had been governed from the administrative headquarters of Lelang commandery once before, when that city was the capital of the independent kingdom of Chosŏn.
54. Apparently refers to the mountain spine of peninsula Korea shutting off the narrow eastern coastal strip from the headwaters of the Taedong, Han and Kŭm Rivers.
55. Bunai or Pullae was evidently a place of considerable importance. Its chieftain continued to appear pre-eminent as compared with the other petty principalities of eastern Korea after Chinese control was withdrawn in Later Han times, and the town was the site of a triumphal inscription erected to celebrate the campaigns of the Chinese general Guanqiu Jian in 245 CE. Unfortunately it is almost impossible to give any precise identification since the name—which according to Han seals is more correctly Puri 不而—went out of use after the third century.
56. The seven prefectures are those which appear at the end of the list of Lelang prefecture in the *HS*: they are Dongyi 東暆, Bu'er 不而 (i.e. Bunai: see previous note), Cantai 蠶台, Huali 華麗, Yetoumei 邪頭昧, Qienmo 前莫, and Fuzu 夫租 (see note pages 29-30). Fuzu (Kor. Pujo 夫租) was, as seals show, the original form of the word Okchŏ 沃沮. Presumably the phonetically quite different Okchŏ arose through a graphic corruption.

But in the sixth year of Emperor Kuangwu's reign (30 CE), when the post of commandant was abolished in border commanderies,[57] that of (Commandant of Eastern Lelang) naturally lapsed, and thereafter the various barbarian chieftains living in the prefectures were (recognised as) "prefectural marquises" (縣中渠帥爲縣侯).[58] Pullae 不耐, Hwaryŏ (i.e. Huali 華麗) and the Okchŏ (tribal area) all became marquisates (although), since the barbarians fought each other more and more, it is only the Ye Marquis of Pullae who continues up to the present time to make appointments to the offices of *gongcao* 功曹, *zhubu* 主簿, and the other various *cao* 曹, in all cases using men of Ye stock to till them.[59] The fact the elders (渠帥) of all the Okchŏ towns and villages call themselves "Thrice Venerable" (三老) is also due to the system which obtained in the (Han) prefectures and marquisates.[60]

Since (these new) principalities were small, they came under pressure from the largest of the (adjacent) kingdoms, and eventually became subject to Koguryŏ. (The men of Ko-) guryŏ established leaders to control them, and made them responsible one to another; they also appointed Great

57. A rather curious formulation, in view of the statement in *HHS* Ji 志 28, 5B that "In the sixth year of Jianwu (30), the post of commandant was abolished in the various commanderies… it was only generally retained in border commanderies."

The suppression of the post of Commandant of Eastern Lelang was probably no more than a recognition of changed circumstances in the peninsula since the end of the Former Han dynasty. During the rule of Wang Mang the Han tribes could not be prevented from raiding the Chinese settlements and carrying off large numbers of the population as slaves while from 25 to 30 Lelang came under the control of a local warlord, Wang Tiao 王調. To the north, Koguryŏ was hostile to China from 12 to 33. In such circumstances it seems likely that Emperor Guangwu's act was essentially a decision not to attempt to regain ground which had already been lost. Nearer to his capital there were other, more pressing concerns, such as the rival emperor in Sichuan, not put down till 36, and the hostility of the Xiongnu.

58. The parallel passage in *HHS* Liezhuan 75 seems rather confused here: 後皆以封其帥渠爲沃沮侯. "Thereafter, all their leaders enfeoffed as Okchŏ marquises."

59. These offices were all minor posts found on the staff of a typical Han prefecture. *Gongcao* 功曹 is generally translated "Department of Merit" and was concerned with making recommendations for promotion; *zhubu* was the head of the prefectural secretariat. Other *cao* or departments would be responsible for such matters as the supervision of agriculture, apprehension of criminals. However there is no guarantee that the tribal leader who carried these titles amongst the Ye fulfilled similar functions to the earlier Han officials—cf. the role of the *chubu* in Koguryŏ.

60. "Thrice Venerable" is a comparatively humble title, and in China its holder was something like a village elder. Taken together with some of the indications already discussed, this suggests that the Okchŏ tribal elders were subservient to an intrusive tribal aristocracy of Ye stock.

Noble (*taega*) to supervise the collection of tribute, consisting of a kind of cloth manufactured by the Maek people, fish, salt and other seafoods. In order to bring (this tribute in) they have to carry the goods on their backs for a thousand *li*. They also send their beautiful women to be servants and concubines (in Koguryŏ), where they are always treated as slaves.[61]

The territory (inhabited by the Okchŏ) is fertile; facing the sea and backed by the mountains, it is suitable for the cultivation of the five grains, and the people themselves are good farmers. By nature they are honest, straightforward, and brave. But they have few oxen or horses; this is why they are good at holding lances and fighting on foot. In their food and drink, houses and clothes, and their rules for polite behaviour, they resemble (the men of) Koguryŏ.

The *Weilüe* states:

> Their marriage customs are as follows: By the time a girl is ten years old, they have already arranged her betrothal, and she is received into her future husband's family and reared there as his (future) wife. When she reaches maturity, she is sent back home, and her family require a sum of money to be paid before she is restored to her husband.[62]
>
> As to their funerals, they construct a great wooden sarcophagus more than a hundred feet long, open at one end, where it is provided with a kind of door. Those who have just died are placed in this (receptacle) until their shape has dissolved[63] and their skin and flesh decomposed. The bones are

61. If Taesŭng 戴升, the Koguryŏ *taega* who surrendered to Lelang commandery in the winter of 47/48 CE is taken to be one of those installed in the subject territories to collect tribute and slaves, then Koguryŏ's control of the Okchŏ and Ye settlements may have begun within a few decades of the revolt against China in 12 CE. See translation from *HHS*.

62. In spite of the *SGZ*'s statement about the general similarity of language and customs between Koguryŏ and the Okchŏ, there seems here, as Kim Yŏl-gyu points out, a clear difference between a society which practised matrilocal marriage (Koguryŏ) and one practising patrilocal marriage (Okchŏ). See Kim Yŏl-gyu, "Hanguk sinhwa wa tonggwa uirye" [Korean Myth and Rite of Passage], *Silla Kaya Munhwa* 3 (June 1971): 82-84. As Kim points out, this does not necessarily imply that Koguryŏ was completely matriarchal society, since the succession to the throne as the *SGZ* makes clear, went from father to son, even when the son was not a son of the principal wife. Possibly the Koguryŏ marriage custom should be regarded as an ancient survival in an otherwise largely patrilineal society.

63. "才使覆形"—I am not certain that I have understood this passage correctly. The parallel text in *HHS* omits these four characters, and they clearly make little difference to the general

> then collected and put in (another) outer coffin, members of one family being placed together in the same coffin. They also carve a wooden image of the deceased, and (generally) numbers of carved images correspond to the numbers of the deceased buried therein. They also (have the custom) of hanging up a three-legged pitcher containing rice at the "door" of the (temporary) sarcophagus.

When Guanqiu Jian undertook his punitive expedition against Koguryŏ, Kung, King of Koguryŏ, fled to the Okchŏ. (Guanqiu Jian) then sent the army ahead to attack, and all the Okchŏ settlements were ravages, more than three thousand severed heads being taken. Kung escaped to the Northern Okchŏ, also called Mul-kuro 買溝婁,[64] more than eight hundred *li* away from (the land of) the Southern Okchŏ.[65]

The manners and customs of both groups of Okchŏ are generally the same, but the northerners border upon the (lands of) the Ŭmnu who delight in making piratical descents (upon their coast). The Northern Okchŏ fear them, and during the summer months they always take the precaution of retiring to deep caves amongst the mountains in order to protect themselves. During the winter the sea-lanes are frozen, and boats cannot get through; then they come down to live in their villages again.

Wang Qi sent out a separate force to pursue Kung (to the Northern Okchŏ) and punish him.[66] (This force) reached the easternmost boundary of the Okchŏ, and asked the oldest inhabitants whether there were any more people living to the east of the sea. The old men replied, "Once upon a time the men of our country were going out fishing when they encountered a wind which drove their ships eastwards for several tens of days, until they

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meaning of the account.

64. I have accepted K. Shiratori's suggestion here, reading "買滿婁" following the parallel in the Biography of Guanqiu Jian, rather than "買滿婁", which the present text of *SGZ* Ch. 30 gives. Shiratori believed that "買" represented the Korean word *mul*, which occurs in several placenames in the *Samguk sagi* meaning water or stream. Thus Mul-kuro would be "Fort on the Water," presumably referring to the main settlement of the Northern Okchŏ. See H. Ikeuchi, "The Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty," *Mem. Toyo Bunko* series B, no. 4 (1929), 89-90. For "*kuro*" as fort, see above, account of Koguryŏ.

65. Southern Okchŏ is clearly the same as the earlier Eastern Okchŏ.

66. Wang Qi, governor of Xuantu, was one of the lieutenants of Guanqiu Jian. See the account of the Puyŏ above for his visit to that country.

came upon an island. There were people on the island, but they were unable to understand their language; they apparently had the custom of taking a virgin and drowning here in the sea in the seventh month of the year." They also said that there was another country in the midst of that sea, entirely inhabited by women, without any men. They also said that they had once come upon a robe which had floated ashore out of the sea. In shape it was like a Chinese dress, but the two sleeves were thirty feet long! They also found part of a damaged ship cast ashore by the waves, together with a man who had a second face in the back of his neck. He was alive when they discovered him, but they were unable to communicate with him; he refused to eat, and eventually died. All these realms lie in the great ocean to the east of the Okchŏ lands.[67]

67. Much of this clearly belongs to the realm of traveller's tale. Wang Qi's officers may have believed it, but there is no reason why anyone else should. On the other hand the island where people sacrifice to the sea has a genuine sound, and could even have been part of the Japanese archipelago. Presumable the girls were "brides of the sea," offered to the ocean in exchange for a good fishing season or immunity from storms. The custom parallels that of giving brides to the Yellow River in ancient China.