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Chapter 41, 42, and 43  
of the *Samguk sagi*:  
An Annotated Translation of  
Biography of Kim Yusin

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## Note on the Translation

Several individuals have been involved in making this translation. Our thanks go to Soyun Lee, Owen Stampton, Duan Baihui, and Anca Ciceo, who made the footnotes; Charles Randles Jr., who edited this translation; Robert Erik Lionberger, who reviewed the first draft of the text; and Robert E. Buswell Jr. and A. Charles Muller, who were able to explicate Buddhist terminology.

The translators relied upon the Korean translation of the *Samguk sagi* published by the Academy of Korean Studies (2011) when faced with ambiguities in the original text in classical Chinese. The translators also consulted the Zhengde edition (1512) uploaded in the website of National Institute of Korean History.<sup>1</sup>

In translating the text into English, the translators have turned to *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi* (2012) that Edward J. Shultz completed, and benefited from the excerpts that John Jamieson translated in the *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* (1993, 109-13) edited by Peter H. Lee.

In making the footnotes, the translators have relied heavily on the Korean translation made by the Academy of Korean Studies.

The romanization of Korean terms follows the Revised Romanization system of the South Korean Ministry of Culture; exceptions have been made for the names of people and places that already have a widely accepted spelling in English-speaking countries. Chinese terms have been romanized in pinyin.

The translation of Korean institutional titles, together with Korean terms of distance, area, and linear measure, generally follows Edward J. Shultz, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi* and Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (1984). In translating passages from the Chinese classics we have mostly used the translations rendered by James Legge. The other translations used are recognized in the footnotes. The translation of Chinese institutional titles follows Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (1985).

Names of places or suffixes (mountains, rivers, monasteries, etc) are translated whenever possible. We have attempted to avoid such pleonasm as Hwangnyong-sa Monastery. On the other hand, some pleonasm have been retained. For example, some mountains identified by a single character, such as

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1. See National Institute of Korean History, *Samguk sagi* (available at <http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?itemId=sg>).

Hwansan, have been rendered in the form “Mount Hwansan.”

All dates are rendered according to the lunar calendar. This is approximate, as the lunar and solar calendars do not exactly coincide.

Brackets are used when English has been added by the translators for clarification and when dates have been rendered into their Western equivalents in the main text. However, parentheses are used for Western dates in the footnotes.

Braces are used to indicate notes added by the original compilers of the *Samguk sagi*.

Works frequently cited in the notes have been abbreviated according to the list below:

SS            *Samguk sagi*

SY            *Samguk yusa*

The footnotes and consecutive throughout the Note on Translation and the Introduction. However, for each biographical section, the numbering restarts.

## Introduction

The *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, or the *Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms*, is the official history of Silla, Goguryeo, and Baekje.<sup>2</sup> It is inarguably a text of central importance to ancient Korean history,<sup>3</sup> and yet it has remained untranslated in its entirety until now. Fortunately, the “Three Annals” from the work have been published in book form in reverse order. The third section, the “Annals

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2. On February 21, 2018, the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) announced that two different manuscripts of the *Samguk sagi* had been promoted from “Treasure” to “National Treasure” in recognition of the light they shed on the printing techniques and academic trends during Goryeo and the early Joseon period: “The *Samguk yusa* and the *Samguk sagi* Elevated as National Treasures”; “Paintings of Kim Hongdo and Sin Yunbok Designated as Treasures” (available at <http://www.cha.go.kr>, accessed April 6, 2018).

3. An Yeonghun (2010, 2n1) says that the value of the *Samguk sagi* as a historical text has been proven through extensive discussion. Some scholars, however, point out problems inherent in the text. Pointing out some chronological problems with its account of the early history of Silla, Best (2016, 6) recommends that historians should determine the credibility of all sources under their consideration. Byington (2016, 115), who translated one of the biographies in the *Samguk sagi*, also says that scholars studying the history of the Korean peninsula should take a considerable degree of caution when using the text.

of Baekje,” was translated by Jonathan W. Best (2006) who also wrote a comprehensive historical introduction to them. Great progress was made by Edward Shultz and Hugh Kang, with their successive translations of the second section, “Annals of Goguryeo” (2011) and the first section, “Annals of Silla” (2012).<sup>4</sup> Given the direction of this progress, the next logical section to be translated would be “Biographies.”

In fact, “Biographies,” on account of its rich content and the variety of figures found within its pages, should have taken priority. Only some parts have been translated, mainly as citations in academic articles. Mark Byington (1992) translated the eighth chapter of the “Biographies.” John C. Jamieson (1969, 12; 13; 46; 47; 55; 56; 79-210) rendered into English parts of biographies in Chapters 41, 44, and 45 for his dissertation. Hence we have undertaken this task, starting in this issue with the “Biography of Kim Yusin.” A partial translation by Jamieson is included in the *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* (1993, 109-11). Richard D. McBride II (1998) also translated important portions of it in his effort to discover Kim Busik’s intentions behind compiling the *Samguk sagi*.<sup>5</sup> They serve as important references for this complete, annotated translation. Once we have finished the entire “Biographies” section, we aim to reach further and translate “Monographs” and “Chronological Tables.”<sup>6</sup> By doing so, we hope, eventually, to see a complete English translation of the *Samguk sagi* in the future.

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4. Lee Byung Gon translated the entire *Samguk sagi* in 2015. Its target readership, however, is the general reader, and so it will not be consulted here.

5. He suggests that the sheer amount of space devoted to Kim Yusin, three of the ten chapters in “Biographies,” indicates his importance to Kim Busik in terms of a hidden agenda behind the writing of the biography itself. When the biography of Kim Yusin was composed, Goryeo was being pressured by the Jin dynasty (1115-1234), established by the nomadic Jurchen. They had forced Goryeo to cut relations with Song China and to serve Jin as a suzerain-state. This created an “identity crisis” for the Goryeo elite as they had until then identified themselves culturally, intellectually, and socially with Song China. Here arose the need for Goryeo to find a new national identity. As a descendent of the Silla aristocracy, Kim Busik portrayed Kim Yusin as the ideal Korean, the ultimate Confucian general and gentleman, a mastermind of political and military strategy and more, as he sought to use him to find Goryeo’s national identity (McBride 1998, 103; 135).

6. The two parts remain untranslated thus far, although for different reasons. The self-explanatory “Chronological Tables” has the least urgency, while “Monographs” requires tremendous expertise in the various topics in order to make a good translation.

### ***The Samguk sagi and its Compiler Kim Busik***

An overview of the *Samguk sagi* might be useful before beginning the biography of Kim Yusin 金庾信 (595-673). Known as the oldest surviving history of Korea,<sup>7</sup> the *Samguk sagi* was compiled by Kim Busik 金富軾 and ten other historians in 1145 upon the order of King Injong (r. 1122-1146).<sup>8</sup> Kim Busik's academic abilities and experiences along with his erudition in Chinese classics qualified him to compile the history.<sup>9</sup> His motives and purpose are explained clearly in his memorial to the throne written upon the completion of the *Samguk sagi*.<sup>10</sup> His primary motive was that some scholars and ministers, while well-versed in the Five Classics, the works of the philosophers, and the historical records of Qin and Han, were totally ignorant of their own history. His second motive was that the Chinese histories did not give a detailed account of foreign

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7. Prior to the *Samguk sagi*, there were several historical records, which had been lost. These included *Guksa* (*National History* 國史) compiled by Geochilbu in Silla in 545; a work in one hundred-volumes entitled *Yugi* (*Extant Records* 留記) was published in early Goguryeo, later revised into a five-volume *Sinjip* (*New Compilation* 新集) in the eleventh year of King Yeongyang (600); and in Baekje a history titled *Seogi* (*Documentary Records* 書記) was compiled by Goheung in the reign of King Geunchogo. One example is found in the biography of Geochilbu 居柒夫 (d. 579). He received the royal decree and gathered all together literary scholars and compiled the *National History* in the sixth year of King Jinheung's reign, *eulchuk* [545]. For more information, see Kang Jonghoon (2011, 233). Meanwhile, the *Hwarang segi* (*Annals of the Hwarang*) is a controversial text. It is assumed to have been written in the seventh century, roughly 500 years earlier than the *Samguk sagi*. Its validity as a historical source, however, has not been acknowledged because it is believed to have been lost. The manuscript, produced by Pak Changhwa in the 1990s is suspected to be a forgery. In the preface to his Korean translation of the *Hwarang segi* (2005) Yi Jongwook denies the charge of forgery by saying, "the discovery of the *Hwarang segi* is a blessing for the study of Silla history." Richard D, McBride II (2008, 8) challenges the authenticity of the manuscript and suggests that it is an "in-progress fictional history" rather than a forgery.
8. Kim Busik 金富軾 (courtesy name Ipji 立之, pen name Noecheon 雷川, posthumous name Munyeol 文烈, 1075–1151) is a key figure for understanding the historical situation of the twelfth century in Goryeo dynasty (918-1392). As a statesman, diplomat, general, and Confucian scholar, he was involved in many incidents and events. He came from the prominent Kim clan of Gyeongju, and was a scion of Silla royalty. He passed the civil service examination in 1096, and afterward held many important positions. One of his main achievements was the suppression of Myo Cheong's 妙淸 rebellion in 1136.
9. He participated in the compilation of the veritable records of Kings Yejong (r. 1105-1122). In addition, through his official visits to Song China in the eleventh year (1116) of King Yejong's reign and the third year (1125) of King Injong's reign, he had access to the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑) compiled by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), and would have gained insight on Chinese historiographic methods. See Jeong 2001, 8.
10. For the full text, see "Memorial for Submitting the *Samguk sagi*" 進三國史記表 in Chapter 44, *Anthology of Korean Literature in Chinese* 東文選.

matters; and third, the extant native histories were fragmentary or lacking. Therefore, a new history was needed to inform his contemporaries and next generations of their past.

The *Samguk sagi* is modeled on the annals and biography style 紀傳體, invented by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145-86 BCE) in his *Shiji* 史記; this style later became the basic format of official history in East Asia. It consists of four parts: basic annals (*bongi* 本紀, twenty-eight chapters), chronological tables (*yeonpyo* 年表, three chapters), monographs (*ji* 志, nine chapters), and biographies (*yeoljeon* 列傳, ten chapters).<sup>11</sup> The basic annals mainly deal with the achievements of the monarchs but also include important historical facts relating to politics, national disasters, wars, and diplomatic matters. The “Chronological Tables” correlate the reign periods of the kings of the Three Kingdoms with those of their Chinese counterparts. The monographs give an account of the social institutions of the Three Kingdoms with such topics as rites, music, clothing, dwellings, geography, and government offices. The biographies are devoted to the life of notable individuals in the Three Kingdoms.

### ***Biographies in the Samguk sagi***

In general, the biography section would cover a variety of people, but in the *Samguk sagi*, the majority of the biographies are those of noblemen who served as generals, warriors, and ministers. The chapters in “Biographies” are untitled, but they may be categorized roughly under the following rubrics, although some figures are ambiguous and atypical for chapters in which they appear.

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11. The *Samguk sagi* has no section for hereditary houses. Regarding this matter, McBride (2013, 503) suggests two possible reasons: the extant material for all three peninsular states was too scanty to compose such sections and the biography of Kim Yusin complements the “Basic Annals of Silla” by providing a more detailed description of the crucial events in the seventh century. Meanwhile, the royal house of Goryeo is arranged in hereditary houses in the *Goryeosa* (*History of Goryeo* 高麗史), completed in 1451. Its explanatory note states, “[According to *Shiji*] ‘Basic Annals’ are associated with the Sons of Heaven, and ‘Hereditary Houses’ with vassal states; in the present compilation of the *History of Goryeo*, ‘Monarchical Records’ are associated with hereditary houses” 天子日記 諸侯日世家 今纂高麗史 王紀爲世家.

**Table 1. Classification of Persons in “Biographies”<sup>12</sup>**

Chapters	Major Figures [Minor Figures]
Subject (Number of Personages)	
Chapters 41, 42	Kim Yusin 金庾信 (595-673)
Loyal generals (1)	
Chapter 43	Kim Yusin's descendants [Appended: Samgwang 三光 (fl. 668), Wonsul 元述 (fl. 672), Yunjung 允中 (fl. 725), Yunmun 允文 (fl. 733), Am 嚴 (fl. 779)]
Loyal generals (5)	
Chapter 44	Eulji Mundeok 乙支文德 (fl. 612), Geochilbu 居柒夫 (d. 579), Geodo 居道 (fl. 79), Isabu 異斯夫 (fl. 562), Kim Inmun 金仁問 (629-694), [Yangdo 良圖 (fl. 662)], Kim Yang 金陽 (808-857), [Kim Heun 金昕 (803-849)], Heukchi Sangji 黑齒常之 (d. 689), Jang Bogo 張保臯 (d. 846), [Jeong Nyeon 鄭年 (fl. 836)], Sadaham 斯多含 (fl. 562)
Loyal generals and ministers (12)	
Chapter 45	Eulpasso 乙巴素 (d. 203), Kim Hujik 金后稷 (fl. 580), Nokjin 綠真 (fl. 818), Milu 密友 (fl. 244), Yuyu 紐由 (fl. 244), Myeongrim Dapbu 明臨荅夫 (67-179), Seoguro 昔于老 (d. 253), Pak Jesang 朴堤上 (363-419), Guisan 貴山 (d. 602), Ondal 溫達 (d. 590)
Loyal generals and ministers (10)	
Chapter 46	Gangsū 强首 (fl. 671), Choi Chiwon 崔致遠 (fl. 885), Seol Chong 薛聰 (617-686), Choi Seungwu 崔承祐 (fl. 893), Choi Eonwi 崔彦摛 (868-944), Kim Daemun 金大問 (fl. 704), Pak Inbeom 朴仁範 (fl. 897), Wongeol 元傑 (fl. 897), Geoin 巨仁 (fl. 897), Kim Ungyeong 金雲卿 (fl. 841), Kim Suhun 金垂訓 (fl. 897)
Eminent scholars (11)	
Chapter 47	Hearon 奚論 (d. 618), [Chandeok 讚德 (d. 612)], Sona 素那 (d. 675), [Simna 沈那 (f. 640)], Chwido 駮徒 (fl. 660) [Bugwa 夫果 (d. 675); Pipsil 逼實 (d. 684)], Nulchoi 訥崔 (d. 624), Seol Gyedu 薛鬪頭 (d. 645), Kim Yeongyun 金令胤 (d. 684). [Heumchun 欽春 (fl. 660); Bangul 盤屈 (d. 660)], Gwanchang 官昌 (645-660), Kim Heumun 金欽運 (d. 655), Yeolgi 裂起 (fl. 662), [Gugeon 仇近 (fl. 662)], Biryongja 丕寧子 (d. 647), [Geojin 擧眞 (d. 647); Hapjeol 合節 (d. 647)], Jukjuk 竹竹 (d. 642), Pilbu 匹夫 (d. 660), Gyebaek 階伯 (d. 656)
Loyal subjects and warriors who sacrificed their lives for their country (22)	
Chapter 48	Hyangdeok 向德 (fl. 755), Seonggak 聖覺 (fl. 780), Silhye 實兮 (fl. 600), Mulgyeja 勿稽子 (fl. 212), Baekgyeol Seonsaeng 百結先生 (fl. 460), Geomgun 劍君 (d. 628), Kim Saeng 金生 (fl. 750), [Yo Geugil 姚克一 (fl. 872)], Solgeo 率居 (n.d.), Jieun 知恩 (fl. 887), Lady Seol 薛氏女 (n.d.), Domi 都彌 (fl. 150)
Virtuous and talented men (12)	

12. This table is adapted from the table of the contents in Jeong et al. (2012, 2:86; 87).

Chapter 49	Changjori 倉助利 (fl. 296), Gaesomun 蓋蘇文 (d. 666), [Namsaeng 男生 (634-679); Namgeon 男建 (fl. 666); Namsan 男産 (fl. 666); Hyeonseong 獻誠 (fl. 666)]
Disloyal ministers and tyrants (6)	
Chapter 50	Gungye 弓裔 (d. 918), Gyeonhwon 甄萱 (867-936)
Villainous rulers (2)	
81 persons in total <sup>13</sup>	

As expected, the Silla personages make up the greater portion; out of sixty-nine figures, fifty-six are from Silla, ten from Goguryeo, and only three from Baekje. In terms of chronology, more than half of the men (thirty-four) lived during the seventh century. This shows that Kim Busik had a great interest in the period of conflicts and unification, which reflects the historical situation of his country, when the Goryeo dynasty was in crisis (Sin 2011, 604-05).

### *Kim Yusin's Life and Biography*

Kim Yusin was a descendent of Kim Suro, the founder of Gaya.<sup>14</sup> His great-grandfather King Guhae 仇亥 surrendered to Silla in 532, and subsequently his family was incorporated into Silla aristocratic society. His grandfather Kim Muryeok 武力 crushed the Baekje forces in 554, and his father Kim Seohyeon 舒玄 also won a great victory against them. Although his forefathers settled in the capital, Gyeongju, three generations before Kim Yusin's birth, he was not born there. He was born in Manno-gun (modern Jincheon in North Chungcheong province), allegedly because that is where his father, Seohyeon, and mother, Manmyeong, ran away to when they fled the capital after King Jinheung (r. 540-576), the mother's uncle, disapproved the marriage.

Kim Yusin became a *hwarang* at the age of fifteen, and ever afterwards directed all of his efforts to protecting the dynasty from domestic and foreign threats, until, finally, the peninsula was unified. For these merits, he was posthumously titled Great King Heungmu 興武大王, which meant that he was

13. Sin Hyeongsik (2011, 603) counts a total of sixty-nine personages in "Biographies" but does not provide a basis for his calculation. For a general description of the "Biographies," see Sin 2011, 607-43.

14. Gaya was a tribal state established to the west of the Nakdong River. Its exact period of existence is contested among historians: for instance, some give its dates as 42-562 CE, but others argue the confederation only came into existence in the second century.

treated like the kings of Silla.

Kim Yusin's career is best understood in relation to Kim Chunchu 金春秋 (603-661), a grandson of King Jinji (r. 576-579) who later became King Taejong Muyeol. Kim Yusin and Kim Chunchu grew up together as close friends and forged a strategic alliance when Kim Chunchu married Kim Yusin's sister Munhui. Kim Yusin suppressed the rebellion led by Bidam against Queen Seondeok in 647 and played a decisive role in Kim Chunchu's ascension to the throne after the demise of Queen Jindeok in 654. Moreover, he helped King Taejong Muyeol repel foreign forces such as Baekje, Goguryeo, and the Malgal. He also successfully delivered provisions to Su Dingfang 蘇定方 (592-667), a Tang general trapped by the Goguryeo army. Finally, in 676, Silla achieved the first unification of the peninsula after defeating Baekje and Goguryeo in 660 and 668, respectively.

Although Kim Yusin's role in the unification is unquestionable, he has invited both positive and negative evaluations from scholars. Throughout the *Samguk sagi*, he is described as a virtuous subject of King Muyeol and a great mastermind who united the peninsula.<sup>15</sup> In the *Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty*, he is exclaimed as well for his distinguished personality and peerless achievements.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, there are some scholars who are skeptical of Kim Yusin's achievements. For example, in his book *Joseon sanggosa (Ancient History of Korea)*, Sin Chaeho (1880-1936), a nationalistic historian during the Japanese occupation, questioned the validity of the records used in Kim Yusin's biography, specifically, those that describe him as an undefeated general.<sup>17</sup>

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15. This is found in the passage from an account of the 16th year (692) of King Sinmun's reign in the "Annals of Silla" of the *Samguk sagi*: "Moreover while he was still alive, he obtained that excellent subject Kim Yusin and [together] they single-mindedly governed and unified the Three Hans [kingdoms]. Nothing can surpass his meritorious achievements" 況生前得良臣金庚信 同心爲政 一統三韓 其爲功業 不爲不多. In his commentary on the biography, Kim Busik represented the public sentiment towards Kim Yusin in the Goryeo period by writing "A man like Yusin, however, has been praised by our countrymen unceasingly even to the present day. It is natural for the officials [of Goryeo] to know him, but even stable boys and herd-boys also know him. This is because his character must have been different from the ordinary people" 若庚信 則鄉人稱頌之 至今不亡 士大夫知之可也 至於菟童牧豎 亦能知之 則其爲人也 必有以異於人矣.
16. The account is found in the *Annals of King Jungjong*, Year 27, Month 3, Day 1: "Since Kim Yusin helped King Taejong fight from all four quarters and stabilize the kingdom, his great achievements and reputable personality have been unmatched for all time" 夫庚信佐新羅 言金太宗 東征西討 以定王國 偉績重望 千古無比.
17. He states, "in general, his defeats are concealed while his small victories are exaggerated," in the *Joseon sanggosa* (Sin 2007, 566).

More recently, Tikhonov (1995, 257) takes a somewhat ambivalent stance that “Kim Yusin, as a representative new aristocrat of his time, worked well in administrative, military, diplomatic, defensive, and intelligence gathering areas as a shamanic caretaker and spiritual leader of his society.” All these opinions indicate that he is an interesting historical figure who deserves further study.

Kim Yusin’s achievements are mentioned in the “Annals of Silla,” and, more extensively, in his biography. The primary sources used by Kim Busik are a stele inscription and a no-longer extant biographical account of Kim Yusin. This explains why his biography is by far the longest account in “Biographies.” The biography narrates his family lineage, his life and career, and his military and political capabilities. It also offers complementary accounts of the domestic affairs of the Three Kingdoms and their diplomatic relations with neighboring countries such as Tang and Japan.<sup>18</sup> His biography serves as a significant source for the study of ancient Korean history and also for that of the East Asian geopolitics in the seventh century.

The biography has also been studied as literary text.<sup>19</sup> Im Hyeongtaek (1989) describes the biographies of the *Samguk sagi* as being “history and literature at the same time” and goes on to appraise the biography of Kim Yusin as “the greatest literary achievement until then” in the history of Korean literature. An Changsu (2004) deals with the text as an example of epic narrative from a standpoint of both non-fiction and fiction. Jeong Chunggwon (2009) examines the various functions or meanings inherent in the “Story of the Rabbit and the Turtle,” told to Kim Chunchu by a Goguryeo vassal.

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18. By comparing the same event recorded in the “Annals” with the events recorded in the “Biographies,” we can get a clearer picture. For example, while the rebellion by Bidam was briefly sketched in the “Annals of Silla,” it was described with more detail in the biography of Yusin. His well-known remark “Now the Three Hans have become one house” 三韓爲一家 is recorded only in this biography. For further comparisons between the contents of the “Annals” and the “Biographies,” see An 2004, 39-48.

19. An (2004, 10) posits that the biography of Kim Yusin has elements required for epic literature by addressing the entire course of one’s life from birth to death.

## Translation

### 三國史記 卷 第四十一 *Samguk sagi*, Chapter 41

輸忠定難靖國贊化同德功臣開府儀同三司檢校太師守太保門下侍中判尚書吏禮部  
事集賢殿大學士監修國史上柱國致仕金富軾奉宣撰

By the order of Your Majesty this is compiled by Kim Busik, who retired from the office of Merit Subject with Full Loyalty, Stabilizing State, Assisting Edification, Shared Virtue, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Grand Preceptor of the Royal Storehouse, Acting Grand Protector, Chancellor, Superintendent of Ministries of Personnel and Rites, Grand Secretary of the Hall of Assembled Worthies, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, and Supreme Pillar of State.

列傳 第一  
Biographies 1

金庾信 上  
Kim Yusin, Part One

金庾信 王京人也 十二世祖首露 不知何許人也 以後漢建武十八年壬寅 登龜峯望  
鶴洛九村 遂至其地 開國 號曰加耶 後改爲金官國 其子孫相承 至九世孫仇亥或云  
仇次休 於庾信爲曾祖 羅人自謂少昊金天氏之後 故姓金 庾信碑亦云『軒轅之裔少  
昊之胤』則南加耶始祖首露 與新羅同姓也

Kim Yusin was from the capital [Gyeongju].<sup>1</sup> His twelfth-generation ancestor

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1. The capital (modern Gyeongju in North Gyeongsang province) was comprised of six administrative districts. Only the residents of the capital were eligible to be included in the bone-rank system and receive an official rank. The ancestors of Kim Yusin resided in the Sahwe 沙喙 district which was one of the six administrative districts. This is according to the inscription on the Jeokseong monument 赤城碑 in Dangyang, erected when King Jinheung (r. 534-576) of Silla inspected the newly conquered territory of Goguryeo.

was Suro,<sup>2</sup> [however] his place of origin is not known.<sup>3</sup> In the eighteenth year<sup>4</sup> of the Jianwu era of the Later Han, *imin* [42 CE], Suro climbed up Turtle Peak<sup>5</sup> and looked out over the nine villages of Garak.<sup>6</sup> He then went to them and established a state. He called it Gaya,<sup>7</sup> later its name was changed to the Kingdom of Geumgwan.<sup>8</sup> His descendants followed in succession [to the throne] until Guhae<sup>9</sup> {some say Gujahyu}, his ninth-generation descendant. Guhae is the great grandfather of Yusin. The people of Silla said they were the descendants of Xiaohao Jintian shi, and therefore took Kim [transliteration of Jin 金] as their surname.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Yusin's stele reads, "[He was] Xuanyuan's

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2. According to *SY*, Suro 首露 (d. 199) was the founder of Gaya, a confederation that ruled the central southern part of the Korean peninsula from the first through sixth centuries. In chapter one of the *Samguk sagi* (*The History of the Three Kingdoms*, hereafter *SS*), Suro was described as an intelligent, wise negotiator who solved territorial disputes between the Kingdom of Eumjeupbeol 音汁伐國 and the Kingdom of Siljikgokguk 悉直谷國 in 102, the twenty-third year of King Pasa's reign. His tomb is located in Gimhae in South Gyeongsang province. The name Suro can be interpreted as "the one who first appeared." This refers to the foundation myth of Gaya in *SY* in which he was the first boy hatched from the six golden eggs. "Suro" corresponds to the archaic Korean words, "suri," "sul," or "sol," which mean a "high rank," "the head," or "divinity."
  3. Interpretations vary: it may mean that his parents cannot be traced, that his country of origin is unknown, or that personal information about him is not available.
  4. Jianwu 建武 is the reign name of Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r. 25-57 CE), the founder of the Later Han dynasty.
  5. In chapter two of *SY*, Turtle Peak (Gubong 龜峯) is recorded as "Guji" 龜旨 with a note mentioning that it was named because it looked like a turtle lying down.
  6. There were nine villages in Garak (modern Gimhae in South Gyeongsang province) before Suro became the ruler of Gaya. The nine chiefs representing each village ruled a total of one hundred households according to chapter two of *SY*.
  7. In a broad sense, Gaya is a general term referring to the tribal states which were established in the middle and lower reaches of the Nakdong River. In a narrower sense, it specifically indicates the state that was located in Gimhae, which was later called the Kingdom of Geumgwan.
  8. Geumgwan was the most powerful polity of the Gaya confederation, which was also called Bon Gaya 本伽倻 meaning "Original Gaya." Geumgwan Gaya was later conquered by King Beopheung of Silla in 532. The name Geumgwan appears in chapter one and chapter thirty-four of *SS*.
  9. Guhae 仇亥 is also recorded as Guhyeong 仇衡 and Guchung 仇衝 in *SY*. He was the tenth and last ruler of Gaya (Geumgwan). According to *SY*, Guhae, the son of King Gyeomji 鉗知 (r. 492-521), was enthroned in 521. Later, he surrendered to King Beopheung in 532. After Gaya was annexed, the royal family of Gaya was incorporated into the bone-rank system of Silla as true bone and referred to as the New Kim clan 新金氏.
  10. This legendary figure is believed to be one of the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors 三皇五帝, mythological rulers of China. His personal name is Yi 摯. An alternative rendering of Shaohao 少昊 is 少皞. He is called Shaohao because he was said to have emulated and cultivated the virtues of Taihao 太昊 (also known as Fuxi 伏羲). He was regarded as the progenitor of the Kim clan 金氏. He is believed to have adopted for his reign the virtue of metal (*jinde* 金德) from among the five virtues or phases (*wude* 五德 or *wuxing* 五行).

descendant<sup>11</sup> and Shao Hao's heir.” Accordingly, Suro, the founder of Southern Gaya,<sup>12</sup> had the same surname as the royal family of Silla.<sup>13</sup>

祖武力 爲新州道行軍摠管 嘗領兵獲百濟王及其將四人 斬首一萬餘級父舒玄官至  
蘇判·大梁州都督安撫大梁州諸軍事 按庾信碑云 『考蘇判金道衍』不知舒玄或更名  
耶 或道衍是字耶 疑故兩存之

[Yusin's] grandfather, Muryeok,<sup>14</sup> became adjutant grand commander of Sin-ju circuit.<sup>15</sup> Leading his troops, he captured the king of Baekje<sup>16</sup> and his four generals<sup>17</sup> and beheaded over ten-thousand people.<sup>18</sup> [Yusin's] father Seohyeon<sup>19</sup> reached the rank of sopro,<sup>20</sup> became governor of Daeryang-ju, and was pacification commander of Daeryang-ju Various Military Affairs.<sup>21</sup> According

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11. A legendary Chinese ruler, the Yellow Emperor 黃帝. Xuanyuan was named after the region where he lived.
  12. This refers to the Kingdom of Geumgwan. Southern Gaya appears to have been called this due to its position relative to Dae-Gaya in Goryeong.
  13. Based on the inscription found on the Stele for Great Master Jingyeong, in Changwon Bongnim Monastery, and a record found in a reliquary that had been placed in the foundation stone of the stupa at Hwangnyong Monastery, the surname Kim as used by the Gaya people was recorded as New Kim 新金 to distinguish it from that of the Silla royal family. This can be interpreted as meaning that Yusin's lineage later acquired the surname due to his great accomplishments in war, and to the fact that his mother was the granddaughter of *Galmunwang* Ipjong, the daughter of Sukheuljong, and that his sister Munhui became the wife of King Taejong Muyeol.
  14. Muryeok is Yusin's grandfather and the youngest son of King Guhae, the last king of Geumgwan Gaya. He was given true bone status after surrendering to Silla in 532. He joined the military forces of Silla at the battle of Jeokseong, in Danyang, against Goguryeo in 551. He was appointed military governor of Sin-ju in 553. In the following year, he led Silla forces in combat against the Baekjae military commanded by King Seong at [the battle of] Mount Gwansan Fortress in Okcheon, resulting in a great victory.
  15. Sin-ju circuit was established after Silla conquered the northeastern part of Baekje during the fourteenth year of King Jinheung's reign. The administrative division included modern Gwangju and Hanam in Gyeonggi province.
  16. This is King Seong of Baekje. He was killed by Adjunct General Gogan Dodo under Military Governor Muryeok.
  17. This is also recorded as *jawpyeong* 佐平, the highest rank in the Baekje sixteen-grade scale.
  18. According to the record of King Jinheung's 15<sup>th</sup> year (554) in chapter four of *SS*, they beheaded 29,600 soldiers.
  19. Chapter two of *SY* offers a different account. It says that he is *Japgan* Seoun and the great-grandson of King Guhae. *Japgan* is the third-degree bureaucratic rank in Silla. Seohyeon attacked Goguryeo's Nangbi Fortress in the 51<sup>st</sup> year (629) of King Jinpyeong's reign. See chapter four of *SS*.
  20. This is different from the account found in the record of King Muyeol's first year in chapter five of *SS* and in the section “Wonders I” in the first chapter of *SY*, in which Sohyeon is said to hold the highest rank, *gakgan*.
  21. Daeryang-ju is modern Hapcheon in South Gyeongsang province. During the reign of King Jinpyeong, the governor of a district *ju* 州 concurrently served as the military commander of the

to Yusin's stele,<sup>22</sup> "His father was *Sopan* Kim Soyeon."<sup>23</sup> It is not known whether his name was changed to "Seohyeon," or if "Soyeon" was his courtesy name. Due to this uncertainty, both have been retained.

初舒玄路見葛文王立宗之子肅訖宗之女萬明心悅而目挑之不待媒妁而合  
At some point, Seohyeon was charmed when he saw Manmyeong,<sup>24</sup> the daughter of Sukheuljong,<sup>25</sup> who was the son of *Galmunwang*<sup>26</sup> Ipjong.<sup>27</sup> He cast his eyes on her and tempted her into a relationship without waiting for an arrangement by a matchmaker.

舒玄爲萬弩郡太守將與俱行肅訖宗始知女子與玄野合疾之囚於別第使人守之忽雷震屋門守者驚亂萬明從竇而出遂與舒玄赴萬弩郡

Seohyeon became governor of Manno-gun<sup>28</sup> and intended to leave [for his post] with her. Sukheuljong learned that his daughter was in an illicit relationship with Seohyeon. He was enraged and locked her up in an annex, and sent men to guard her. Suddenly, lightning struck the gate of the annex. The guards were alarmed and confused. Manmyeong exited through the opening [where the lightning struck],<sup>29</sup> and finally, went to Manno-gun with Seohyeon.

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district.

22. This refers to Kim Yusin's stele mentioned in the historian's commentary in chapter twenty-eight of SS. The stele seems to have existed until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century since it is mentioned in the poem "Kim Yusin's Stele" written by Gu Bongnyeong 具鳳齡 (1526-1586).
23. The two names may be variants of the same name since they are similar in sound. See Yi 1977, 615.
24. Manmyeong is the niece of King Jinheung (r. 540-576), cousin of King Jinji, and aunt of King Jinpyeong (r. 579-632). Conservative aristocrats in Silla would have opposed the marriage between a member of the Silla royal family and a descendent of Gaya's royal clan. This kind of illicit relationship may have been a means for the young couple to gain an unspoken approval from their families.
25. He is a younger brother of King Jinheung.
26. The term *Galmunwang* was used as an honorific for men who were uncles or fathers-in-law to a king.
27. He is the younger brother of King Beopheung and father of King Jinheung.
28. This is modern Jincheon in North Chungcheong province.
29. Jeong et al. (2012, 2:712) and the National Institute of Korean History have translated the Chinese character 竇 into Korean as *changmoon* ("window") and *ttullin gumeong* ("penetrating hole"), respectively. McBride (1998, 109) rendered it into English as "a hole [in the wall]." Since 竇 means "opening" and it might have been created by the immediately preceding lightning strike, we have translated it as "opening" and placed our explanation in the brackets following it.

舒玄 庚辰之夜 夢熒惑鎮二星降於己 萬明亦以辛丑之夜 夢見童子 衣金甲乘雲入堂中 尋而有娠 二十月而生庾信 是真平王建福十二年 隋文帝開皇 十五年乙卯也  
 On the night of *gyeongjin* day, Seohyeon dreamt of two stars, Hyeong<sup>30</sup> and Hok,<sup>31</sup> falling on him. On the night of *sinchuk* day, Manmyeong dreamt that a boy clad in golden armor floated into her room on a cloud. Soon afterwards, she was pregnant, and after twenty months gave birth to Yusin.<sup>32</sup> It was the twelfth year of the Geonbok era of King Jinpyeong,<sup>33</sup> the tenth year of the Kaihuang era of Emperor Wen of Sui, the year *eulmyo* [595].

及欲定名 謂夫人曰 “吾以庚辰夜吉夢 得此兒 宜以為名 然禮不以日 月為名 今庚與庾字相似 辰與信聲相近 況古之賢人有名庾信 蓋以命之” 遂名庾信焉

Seohyeon, while deciding on the name [of his child], said to his wife, “I begot this child with the auspicious dream [I had] on the night of *gyeongjin* day, thus his name should be Gyeongjin. However, according to the *Book of Rites*, [the name of] a day or a month should not be used for [personal] names.<sup>34</sup> Now, in terms of shape, the characters ‘Gyeong’ and ‘Yu’ look similar to each other and, in terms of sound, ‘Jin’ and ‘Sin’ are close to each other. Furthermore, there was an ancient worthy by the name of ‘Yu Xin.’<sup>35</sup> Why not give [the child] this

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30. This refers to Mars. It was believed that the appearance of this star heralded war, and that soldiers would scatter once it disappeared.
31. This refers to Saturn and appears once every twenty-eight years. It symbolizes trust. People believed that their country would prosper if this star appeared. They also believed that if the star disappeared and then reappeared later, they would acquire more land.
32. The first chapter of *SY* presents a different account of the myth regarding his birth in the section “Wonders I.” In the section about Kim Yusin, the diviner Chunam 楸南, who had been unfairly killed by King Bojang, was reborn as Kim Yusin in order to take revenge on Goguryeo. In the section “Taejong Chunchu Gong” 太宗春秋公 in chapter one and in the section “A Flute to Calm Ten Thousand Waves” 萬波息笛 in chapter two of *SY*, Yusin is described as one of thirty three celestials living in Trāyastriṃsa who descended to Silla. The thirty three celestials live on the top of Mt. Sumeru in the second of the six heavens of the desire realm 六欲天. See Charles Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* 三十三天 (available at <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>, accessed February 3, 2018).
33. The 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Geonbok era is the seventeenth year (595) of King Jinpyeong’s reign. In the sixth year (584) of King Jinpyeong’s reign, the reign name was changed from Hongje 鴻濟 to Geonbok 建福.
34. This prohibition is found in “Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part I” (Qu Li I 曲禮上) of *Liji*. The full quotation is “In giving a name to a son, it should not be that of a state, nor of a day or a month, nor of any hidden ailment, nor of a hill or river” 名子者不以國 不以日月 不以隱疾 不以山川.
35. Yu Xin (513-581) was a famous writer and high official of the Northern Zhou dynasty 北周 in China. His surname is Yu 庾 and given name is Xin 信.

name?” Accordingly, Seohyeon named him Yusin.

萬弩郡 今之鎮州 初以庾信胎 藏之高山 至今謂之胎靈山  
 {Manno-gun is now Jinju. Earlier, Yusin's placenta was buried on a high mountain, so it is even now called Mount Taeryeong [Numinous Mountain of Placenta].<sup>36</sup>}

公年十五歲爲花郎 時人洽然服從 號龍華香徒 眞平王建福二十八年 辛未公年十七歲 見高句麗·百濟·靺鞨侵軼國疆 慷慨有平寇賊之志 獨行入中嶽石堀 齋戒告天誓盟曰“敵國無道 爲豺虎 以擾我封場 略無 寧歲 僕是一介微臣 不量材力 志清禍亂 惟天降監 假手於我”

Lord Yusin became a *hwarang* (flower youth) at the age of fifteen.<sup>37</sup> His contemporaries willingly followed him and were called Yonghwa hyangdo (Fragrant Disciples of the Dragon Flower).<sup>38</sup> In the twenty-eighth year of the Geonbok era, *sinmi* [611], Lord Yusin was seventeen. Seeing Goguryeo, Baekje, and the Malgal invade and attack his country's borderland, he was passionately determined to defeat the brigands. Entering alone into a stone grotto on Central Peak,<sup>39</sup> he purified himself<sup>40</sup> and swore a pledge to Heaven, saying, “Lawless enemy countries disturb our lands like wolves and tigers. Hardly a year goes by

36. This is modern Mount Gilsang (“Mountain of Good Fortune” 吉祥山) in North Chungcheong province, Jincheon. It is said Kim Yusin was born in Jincheon and his placenta was buried on this mountain behind his birthplace. The national sacrificial service 國行祭 was performed at a shrine built at the foot of the mountain.

37. According to the section “Kim Yusin” in chapter one of *SY*, he mastered the art of swordsmanship and became a *hwarang* at the age of eighteen.

38. This is the name of the *hwarang* group under Yusin's leadership. The name Yonghwa originates from Pumnaga 龍華樹, or dragon-flower tree in the *Sutras of Maitreya* 彌勒經. This tree is known by its shape that is said to look like a dragon blowing hundreds of kinds of precious flowers. It is believed that when Maitreya descends from the Tuṣita Heaven, he will attain Buddhahood under this tree. *Hyangdo* refers to those who burn incense and bow to the Buddha. Maitreya is known as the Messianic Buddha and is popular in troubled times.

39. This is a nickname of the mountain located in the middle of the mountains revered by the people of Silla. It is presumed to be modern Mount Danseok (Stone-cutting Mountain 斷石山).

40. The Chinese characters for “he purified himself” are *jaegye* 齋戒. In general, *jaegye* comprises ritual and purification. It is not clear, however, whether the ritual was actually carried out or not. As for purification, Kim Yusin may have abstained from food in general, or from strong smelling vegetables in particular. It could also be possible that he purified himself simply in a spiritual sense. Although James Legge translated 玄冕齋戒 as “fasting and vigil” in “The Single Victim at the Border Sacrifices” (Jiao te sheng 郊特牲) in *Liji*, W. P. Mei translated 必齋戒沐浴 as “purify and bathe himself” in “Will of Heaven” (Tian zhi zhong 天志中) in *Mozi* 墨子.

in peace. Although I am [just] one insignificant subject, unaware of my ability, I am determined to settle this great turmoil. If only heaven would look down at and aide me.”

居四日 忽有一老人 被褐而來曰 “此處多毒蟲猛獸 可畏之地 貴少年爰來獨處 何也”  
答曰 “長者從何許來 尊名可得聞乎” 老人曰 “吾無所住 行止 隨緣 名則難勝也”

He remained there for four days until suddenly an old man,<sup>41</sup> clad in hemp garments, came [up to him] and said, “This is a frightful place with lots of poisonous insects and ferocious beasts. Why did you come and stay here by yourself, my noble youth?” [Kim Yusin] said, “Sir, where do you come from? May I hear your venerable name?” The old man said, “I do not stay anywhere. I move or stay as conditions allow.<sup>42</sup> My name is Nanseung.”<sup>43</sup>

公聞之 知非常人 再拜進曰 “僕新羅人也 見國之讐 痛心疾首 故來此 冀有所遇耳 伏乞長者憫我精誠 授之方術”

Upon hearing this, Lord Yusin realized that he was no ordinary man. He prostrated himself twice and approached the old man saying, “I am a man of Silla. Seeing my country’s enemies has caused my heart to ache and my head to hurt. That is the reason I came here. I only hoped to come across something. I beseech you, Sir, show compassion for my earnest sincerity and give me a prescription [for the ills of my country].”

老人默然無言 公涕淚懇請不倦 至于六七 老人乃言曰 “子幼而有并三國 之心不亦壯乎” 乃授以秘法曰 “慎勿妄傳 若用之不義 反受其殃”

The old man was quiet and uttered not a word. Lord Yusin wept and implored him tirelessly, six or seven times. Finally, the old man spoke and said, “You are but a youth, yet determined to annex the three kingdoms. How brave!”<sup>44</sup> Then, as he gave him a secret method, he continued, “You mustn’t pass this on

41. This old man can be interpreted as a celestial god, a mountain spirit, or a Daoist transcendent.

42. The word “condition” is the English equivalent of *yeon* 緣, which is the Chinese equivalent for the Sanskrit word *pratyaya*. But in this passage, *suyeon* 隨緣 means something like “in accordance with conditions,” or “following conditions,” or “going along with conditions.”

43. The *Avatamsaka Sutra* 華嚴經, also known as the *Flower Garland Sutra*, describes the ten stages through which a bodhisattva must pass in order to attain supreme enlightenment. Nanseung is a bodhisattva of the fifth stage.

44. This comment by Nanseung invites source criticism which claims that Yusin was determined only to resist Baekjae, and not annex the three kingdoms. See Ju 2007, 8.

recklessly. If it is used for unrighteous purposes, you will court disaster instead.”

言訖而辭行二里許追而望之不見唯山上有光爛然若五色焉

Having thus spoken, the old man took leave and walked for about two *ri*.<sup>45</sup> Yusin pursued him, but he was nowhere in sight. There was only a light on the mountain top. It was radiant and shone in five colors.

建福二十九年鄰賊轉迫公愈激壯心獨携寶劍入咽薄山深壑之中燒香告天祈祝若在中嶽誓辭仍禱“天官垂光降靈於寶劍”三日夜虛角二星光芒赫然下垂劍若動搖然

In the twenty-ninth year [612] of the Geonbok era, with the neighboring marauders squeezing in even tighter, Lord Yusin mustered his courage, took up his precious sword by himself, and went into a deep valley on Mount Yeolbak.<sup>46</sup> He burned incense and implored Heaven; and when he swore the oath on Central Peak, he prayed some more saying, “Office of Heaven<sup>47</sup> send down a light and let a spirit descend into my precious sword.” After three days and nights, rays of light shone down brightly from the Emptiness<sup>48</sup> and the Horn,<sup>49</sup> and the sword appeared to quiver.<sup>50</sup>

45. One *ri* 里 is approximately 0.75 kilometer (0.5 mile).

46. This is Yeolbak Pass in Ulsan, Ulju.

47. This refers to a big star. In *Shiji*, “Treatise on Heaven’s Offices” (Tianguan shu 天官書), the commentary *Suoyin* (*Exploring Obscurities* 索隱) by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679-732) states, “The configuration of the heavens has five offices. An office means a constellation. Constellations are given higher or lower ranks just like the official ranks in the ministries. Therefore, they are called the Offices of Heaven” 天文有五官 官者 星官也 星座有尊卑 若之官曹列位 故曰天官.

48. Based on traditional Chinese astronomy, this is one of twenty-eight mansions located in the Black Tortoise of the North 北方玄武. This mansion is responsible for one’s life and official career. Two constellations in this mansion are Aquarius and Equuleus.

49. This is the first of the twenty-eight mansions located in the Azure Dragon of the East 東方青龍. It is believed to administer punishment and military affairs in the human world.

50. Star motifs are found on two other occasions in Kim Yusin’s biography: In Seohyeon’s dream, the Hyeong and Hok stars fell on him, and soon thereafter his wife Manmyeong became pregnant (Chapter 41 of *SS*); an ominous star appeared in the sky accompanied by an earthquake (spring of 673, Chapters 43 of *SS*). According to An Yeonghun (2010, 9; 17), Hyeong and Hok are associated with warfare, and thus their appearance in Seohyeon’s dream may herald the birth of a military leader. Baleful stars are usually considered a portent of a national disaster but here they are used to portend Yusin’s death. Overall, stars appear at critical junctures in Yusin’s life; this reflects folk beliefs of the time, when the sun, moon, and stars were revered.

建福四十六年 己丑秋八月 王遣伊滄任末里 波珍滄龍春·白龍 蘇判大因·舒玄等  
率兵攻高句麗娘臂城 麗人出兵逆擊之 吾人失利 死者衆多 衆心 折衄 無復鬪心

In the forty-sixth year of the Geonbok era, *gichuk* [629], in autumn, the eighth month, the king sent *Ichan* Immalli,<sup>51</sup> *Pajinchan* Yongchun,<sup>52</sup> *Pajinchan* Baengnyong, *Sopan* Daein, *Sopan* Seohyeon, and others to lead troops, and attack Goguryeo's Nangbi Fortress.<sup>53</sup> The Goguryeo people dispatched troops to counterattack them. Our [Silla] men lost the advantage and the dead were numerous. Their spirit was broken and shrank to the point that none would fight again.

庾信 時爲中幢幢主 進於父前 脫胄而告曰 “我兵敗北 吾平生以忠孝自期 臨戰不可不勇 盖聞 ‘振領而裘正 提綱而網張’ 吾其爲綱領乎”

Yusin was the Commander of the Central Banner at that time. He came forward to his father, removed his helmet and announced, “Our soldiers were defeated. I promised myself that I would be loyal and filial my whole life. In the face of battles, I cannot help but be courageous. We have heard [the saying], ‘Shake the collar and the fur coat will be straightened; lift the headrope and the whole net will open.’<sup>54</sup> I will be the headrope and the collar.”

迺跨馬拔劔 跳坑出入賊陣 斬將軍 提其首而來 我軍見之 乘勝奮擊 斬殺五千餘級  
生擒一千人 城中兇懼無敢抗 皆出降

Then he mounted his horse, drew his sword, and leapt over a trench into the enemy's camp,<sup>55</sup> where he beheaded the general. He came back carrying the

51. Immalli appears only here.

52. He is the father of King Taejong Muyeol. Yongchun is the son of King Jinji and the son-in-law of King Jinpyeong. He is also called Yongsu 龍樹. In the 44<sup>th</sup> year (622) of King Jinpyeong's reign, when Yongchun was *ichan*, he became an administrator in the Palace Bureau and was in charge of three palaces: Daegung Palace, Yanggung Palace, and Saryang Palace. He supervised the construction of the nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyong Monastery. See the section “Stupas and Images” in chapter three of *SY*.

53. There are various suggestions as to the location of location of Nangbi Fortress; the most convincing assumption is that it is modern Mount Banwol Fortress in Pocheon in Gyeonggi province.

54. This phrase means to get to the heart of the matter when solving a problem. According to Jeong et al. (2012, 4:659n53), this is a modified quotation from the *History of Song* (*Songshi* 宋史), “Monograph of Officialdom” (*Zhiguanzhi* 職官志), in which a similar phrase reads: “Hold the main rope of a net then all the mesh holes will open; lift up the collar of a coat then all the wool will be straightened out” 提綱而衆目張 振領而群毛理. However, it is unlikely that the quotation was from the *Songshi* because the *Songshi* was published in 1345 after the *Samguk sagi* was completed in 1145.

55. The following passage is a slightly different account from that found in chapter four of *SS*. The

head. When our [Silla] army saw this, they followed up this victory and made a spirited attack, beheading over five thousand enemy soldiers and capturing one thousand. Those inside the fortress were too frightened to resist, and all came out to surrender.

善德大王十一年壬寅 百濟敗大梁州 春秋公女子古陔炤娘 從夫品釋 死焉 春秋恨之 欲請高句麗兵 以報百濟之怨 王許之

In the eleventh year<sup>56</sup> of Great Queen Seondeok, *imin* [642], Baekje destroyed Daeryng-ju.<sup>57</sup> Gotosorang,<sup>58</sup> the daughter of Lord Chunchu,<sup>59</sup> had followed her husband Pumseok,<sup>60</sup> and died [as a result].<sup>61</sup> Chunchu felt vengeful<sup>62</sup> and asked for Goguryeo troops to seek retribution against Baekje. The queen approved this.

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incident occurred in King Jinpyeong's 51<sup>st</sup> year (629), "Three times in [to the ranks of the enemies], three times out [of the ranks], each time beheading generals or capturing their flags" 三入三出 每入或斬將 或奪旗.

56. The 11<sup>th</sup> year of Great Queen Seondeok refers to the ninth year (641) of the Inpyeong era. This is the only case in the Biography of Kim Yusin where the year of the queen's reign, rather than the era name, is recorded.
57. This place appears as Daeya Fortress in the record of the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Queen Seondeok's reign in chapter five of *SS*.
58. Gotosorang was the daughter of Kim Chunchu. She was married to Pumseok, alongside whom she died when Daeya Fortress fell to the Baekje army.
59. "Lord Chunchu" was the honorific used with King Taejong Muyeol's personal name.
60. Pumseok was the son-in-law of King Taejong Muyeol. During his term as governor of Daeya-ju, he incurred the resentment of his private advisor *Saji* Geomil when he took his wife. When Daeya Fortress was attacked by Baekje in the 11<sup>th</sup> year (642) of Queen Seondeok's reign, Geomil, alongside Mocheok and others, secretly communicated with Baekje. Consequently, the fortress fell into the hands of the enemy, resulting in the death of Pumseok and his wife, and their bodies were buried in the capital of Baekje. Later, in the second year (648) of Queen Jindeok's reign, Kim Yusin achieved a huge victory at the Battle of Okmun Valley, and captured eight Baekje generals. He exchanged the captives for the bones of Pumseok and his wife, and returned them to Silla.
61. The collapse of Daeya Fortress is recorded in detail in the biography of Jukjuk 竹竹 in chapter forty-seven of *SS*. According to this, Pumseok first killed his wife and then committed suicide. There is a different account in King Uija's second year, chapter twenty-eight of *SS*. In this account, he is killed by Baekje General Yun Chung when he and his wife come out to surrender.
62. His grief is more vividly portrayed in the record of Queen Seokdeok's 11<sup>th</sup> year in chapter five of *SS*, which reads: "When Chunchu heard this, he leaned against a pillar and stood all day long without blinking and not even noticing if people and things passed in front of him" 春秋聞之 倚柱而立 終日不瞬 人物過前而不之省.

將行 謂庾信曰 “吾與公同體 爲國股肱 今我若入彼見害 則公其無心乎” 庾信曰 “公若往而不還 則僕之馬跡 必踐於麗·濟兩王之庭 苟不如此 將何面目以見國人乎” 春秋感悅 與公互噬手指 歃血以盟曰 “吾計日 六旬乃還 若過此不來則無再見 之期矣” 遂相別

As he was leaving, he said to Yusin, “You and I are one body;<sup>63</sup> we are legs and arms to our country. Today, if I enter their territory, and am harmed, would you not care?” Yusin replied, “If you go and do not return, my horse’s hooves will certainly trample the courts of both the King of Goguryeo and the King of Baekje. If I do not respond like this, how could I face the people of this country?” Chunchu was greatly pleased. Together, with Yusin, each bit his own finger and they sucked each other’s blood to make an oath. Chunchu said, “By my reckoning, I will return in sixty days. If I don’t come back within this period, there will be no chance to meet again.” They bade each other farewell.

後庾信爲押梁州軍主 春秋與訓信沙干 聘高句麗 行至代買縣 縣人豆斯 支沙干贈青布三百步 旣入彼境 麗王遣太大對盧盖金館之 燕饗有加

Sometime later, Yusin became the military governor of Amnyang-ju.<sup>64</sup> Chunchu and *Sagan*<sup>65</sup> Hunsin paid an official visit to Goguryeo. Along their way they arrived at Daemae-hyeon. *Sagan* Dusaji,<sup>66</sup> a local man, presented them with three hundred *bo*<sup>67</sup> of hemp cloth. When they crossed the border, the king sent<sup>68</sup> *Taedaedaero*<sup>69</sup> Gaegeum,<sup>70</sup> to make accommodations for them and to host a banquet.

63. This expresses the close relationship between brothers-in-law.

64. This is modern Gyeongsan in North Gyeongsang province.

65. This is another name for *sachan*.

66. This name is mentioned only once here. It is recorded that he already held the eighth-degree bureaucratic rank of *sagan*, when Kim Chunchu’s entourage arrived at Daemae-hyeon (modern location unknown). However, in the 11<sup>th</sup> year (642) of Queen Seondeok’s reign, it does not seem possible for Dusaji, as a local man, to possess such a title. Rather, he seems to have been awarded the title later in recognition of the merit he gained when he presented three hundred bo of silk cloth to Kim Chunchu’s party.

67. *Cheongpo* 青布 means blue linen. *Bo* 步 is a unit of length. Since one *bo* is equal to 1.53 meters, 300 *bo* amounts to approximately 459 meters.

68. This refers to King Bojang of Goguryeo. He is also referred to as “Goguryeo King Gojang” 高藏 in the record of Queen Seondeok’s 11<sup>th</sup> year in chapter five of *SS*.

69. *Taedaedaero* 太大對盧 is the prestige title made up by adding *tae* (the greatest) to *daedaero*, the highest rank in Goguryeo’s office rank system.

70. Gaegeum 盖金 refers to Yeon Gaesomun 淵蓋蘇文 (d. 666). The Chinese character *geum* 金 may indicate the meaning of his indigenous name, which is transcribed as Somun 蘇文.

或告麗王曰“新羅使者 非庸人也 今來 殆欲觀我形勢也 王其圖之 俾 無後患” 王欲橫問 因其難對而辱之 謂曰“麻木峴與竹嶺 本我國地 若不 我還 則不得歸”

Someone reported to the King of Goguryeo, “The Silla envoy is not an ordinary man. Today, he probably comes here to observe our situation. Your Majesty should come up with a plan lest there be trouble in the future.” The king wanted to humiliate Chunchu with an unexpected demand that would be difficult to answer. He said, “The Mamokhyeon<sup>71</sup> and Jungnyeong<sup>72</sup> passes were originally our territory. If your country does not return [the ownership of these passes] to me, you may not go back to your country.”

春秋答曰“國家土地 非臣子所專 臣不敢聞命” 王怒囚之 欲戮未果

Chunchu replied,<sup>73</sup> “The matter of territory is not something a subject can determine by himself. I am not in a position to follow your order.” Furious, the king locked him up and threatened to kill him [to get the two passes] but to no avail.

春秋以青布三百步 密贈王之寵臣先道解 道解以饌具來 相飲酒酣 戲語曰“子亦嘗聞龜兔之說乎 昔 東海龍女病心 醫言‘得兔肝合藥 則可療也’ 然海中無兔 不奈之何 有一龜 白龍王言‘吾能得之’

Chunchu secretly gave the three hundred *bo* of hemp cloth to Seon Dohae, the king's favorite retainer. Dohae came [to Chunchu] with delicacies and they drank wine together. In an exhilarated mood, he playfully said, “Have you heard the story about the turtle and the rabbit?”<sup>74</sup> Once upon a time, a daughter of the

71. Located on the lowest elevation between Joryeong and Jungnyeong, Mamokhyeon (modern Gyerip Pass 麻木峴) served as a transportation hub at the time.

72. Jungnyeong is a huge uphill pass located between Yeongju and Danyang. Only Jungnyeong is mentioned in the record of Queen Seondeok's 11<sup>th</sup> year in chapter five of *SS*.

73. His reply is introduced in more detail in the record of Queen Seondeok's 11<sup>th</sup> year in chapter five of *SS*. It says: “I came to uphold my queen's order to request troops. Your Majesty has no intention of aiding your neighbor in this difficulty but [instead] threatens [the queen's messenger, me] for the return of land. Even if I die, I do not know about anything else [other than my queen's order]” 臣奉君命乞師 大王無意救患以善隣 但威劫行人 以要歸地 臣有死而已 不知其他.

74. This story originates from “The Crane and the Crab” and “The Monkey and the Crocodile” *Jakata* tales, or “Birth Stories,” a collection of 550 mythological stories concerning the previous births of Gautama Buddha. *Jakata* tales were native to India, passed through China, and appeared in *SS*. In Korea, the latter one has evolved into many variations over the course of transmission such as fictions like “Tale of a Rabbit” (*Tokkijeon* 토끼傳) and *pansori* such as “Song of the Water Palace” (*Sugung ga* 水宮歌).

Dragon King in the East Sea suffered a heart disease. A physician said, 'If we had a rabbit's liver<sup>75</sup> with which to concoct a medicine, then [the disease] could be cured.' However, in the sea there were no rabbits, so nothing could be done. [Then] a turtle said to the Dragon King, 'I can obtain it.'

遂登陸見兎言 '海中有一島 清泉白石 茂林佳菓 寒暑不能到 鷹隼不能侵 爾若得至 可以安居無患' 因負兔背上 游行二三里許

So, the turtle landed on the shore. He saw a rabbit and said, 'Under the sea there is an island. Clean spring water flows through white stones in a lush forest with luxurious fruits. Cold and heat cannot reach it. Hawks and falcons cannot invade. If you go there, you can peacefully live without worries.' So, the turtle carried the rabbit on its back and swam for about two or three *ri*.

龜顧謂兎曰 '今龍女被病 須兔肝爲藥 故不憚勞 負爾來耳' 兎曰 '噫 吾神明之後能出五藏 洗而納之 日者 小覺心煩 遂出肝心洗之 暫置巖石之底 聞爾甘言徑來 肝尚在彼 何不廻歸取肝 則汝得所求 吾雖無肝尚活 豈不兩相宜哉'

Then the turtle turned around and said to the rabbit, 'Recently, the Dragon King's daughter has become ill. A rabbit's liver is needed to make the medicine, so I will spare no efforts to carry you there.' The rabbit said, 'Ah, I am the descendant of a god and can take out my five internal organs, wash them, and put them back. The other day, I felt a little irritation in my heart, so I took out my liver and heart to wash them. I placed them under a boulder for a while. Having heard your sweet talk, I came right away. The liver is still there. Why not turn back and return to get the liver? Then you will get what you are looking for and I can still live without a liver, how would this not suit us both?'

龜信之而還 纔上岸 兔脫入草中 謂龜曰 '愚哉 汝也 豈有無肝而生者乎' 龜憫默而退” Believing this, the turtle went back. Just as they reached the shore, the rabbit fled and escaped into the grass, saying to the turtle, 'How foolish of you! How can one be alive without a liver?' The turtle was embarrassed and withdrew without a word.”

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75. This story is also included in Buddhist scriptures with slight variations: In the Indian version, a crocodile's wife wants to eat a monkey's heart, and in Chinese Buddhist scriptures the crocodile is replaced with a turtle.

春秋聞其言 喻其意 移書於王曰『二嶺 本大國地分 臣歸國 請吾王還之 謂予不信有  
如皞日』<sup>76</sup> 王迺悅焉

Upon hearing this story, Chunchu understood his intent and had a letter delivered to the king saying, “The two passes were originally your territory. Let me go back to my country and petition my king to return them. If you say that I am not sincere, by the bright sun I swear that I am.” The king was pleased.

春秋入高句麗 過六旬未還 庾信揀得國內勇士三千人 相語曰 “吾聞 見危致命 臨  
難忘身者 烈士也 夫一人致死當百人 百人致死當千人 千人致死當萬人 則可以橫行  
天下 今國之賢相 被他國之拘執 其可畏 不犯難乎”

Chunchu did not come back until sixty days after entering Goguryeo. Yusin selected the three thousand bravest soldiers<sup>77</sup> in the country and told them, “I have heard that a man of honor is ready to sacrifice his life in a crisis and denies himself when encountering difficulties. If one fights to the death, he can match one hundred foes. If one hundred men fight to the death, they can match one thousand foes. If one thousand men fight to the death, they can match ten thousand foes. We can prevail in the world [as long as we fight to the death]. Now the worthy minister of our country is detained in another country. We shall face this difficulty without fear.”

於是衆人曰 “雖出萬死一生之中 敢不從將軍之令乎” 遂請王 以定行期

Thereupon the people said, “Even if there is only a slim chance of survival,<sup>78</sup> how could we dare disobey your command!” Finally, he petitioned the queen to decide on the date for the expedition.

時高句麗諜者浮屠德昌 使告於王 王前聞春秋盟辭 又聞諜者之言 不敢復留 厚禮  
而歸之 及出境 謂送者曰 “吾欲釋憾於百濟 故來請師 大王不許之 而反求土地此非  
臣 所得專 嚮與大王書者 圖這死耳”

At that time, the monk Deokchang, a spy from Goguryeo, sent a man to report

76. See the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經; hereafter *Shijing*), part 1, book 6, verse 9.

77. In the 11<sup>th</sup> year (642) of Queen Seondeok in chapter five of SS, the number of soldiers is given as ten thousand.

78. This refers to a very dangerous situation in which one is unlikely to survive. A similar expression is found in the *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wen xuan* 文選), “Letter in Reply to Ren Shaoqing” (Bao Ren Shaoqing shu 報任少卿書): “A subject who exposes himself to a thousand deaths without regard for his own single life, and rushes to the defence of his country—that is a great man” 夫人臣出萬死不顧一生之計 赴公家之難 斯已奇矣 (Birch 1965, 97).

to his king. The king had already heard Chunchu's pledge and now also heard the spy's words. He could not hold Chunchu anymore and returned him with great courtesy. When Chunchu crossed the border, he told his escort, "I came to request troops in order to avenge my hatred on Baekje. Your great king did not allow this; instead, he sought our land. This is not something a subject can negotiate by himself. Earlier, when I gave your great king my word, it was just a ruse to escape death."

此與本記 眞平王十二年所書 一事而小異 以皆古記所傳 故兩存之

{This is the same incident that was recorded in the twelfth year of King Jinpyeong<sup>79</sup> in the *Annals* but in a somewhat different version.<sup>80</sup> Since both have been transmitted from the *Gogi* (*Ancient Record*), both are retained.}

庾信爲押梁州軍主 十三年爲蘇判 秋九月 王命爲上將軍 使領兵伐 百濟加兮城·省熱城·同火城等七城 大克之 因開加兮之津

Yusin was the military governor of Amnyang-ju and became *sopan* in the thirteenth year [of Queen Seondeok's reign]. In autumn, the ninth month, the queen appointed Yusin supreme general<sup>81</sup> and commanded him to lead troops against the seven fortresses of Baekje, which included Gahye Fortress,<sup>82</sup> Seongyeol Fortress,<sup>83</sup> and Donghwa Fortress.<sup>84</sup> [Silla] greatly defeated them and so opened Gahyejin.<sup>85</sup>

79. This is a typographical error for the 11<sup>th</sup> year (642) of Queen Seondeok.

80. In the 11<sup>th</sup> year (642) of Queen Seondeok in chapter four of *SS*, it offers a different narrative as follows: "Chunchu secretly had a man report this to his queen. The queen ordered Grand General Kim Yusin to lead a death squad of 10,000. Yusin led the troops across the Han River, crossing Goguryeo's southern border. When the Goguryeo King learned of this, he released Chunchu to return home" 春秋潛使人告本國王 王命大將軍金庾信 領死士一萬人赴之 庾信行軍過漢江 入高句麗南境 麗王聞之 放春秋以還。

81. See Queen Seondeok's 13<sup>th</sup> year (644) in chapter five of *SS*: "The queen, appointed [Kim] Yusin grand general" 王命庾信爲大將軍。

82. Gahye Fortress (modern Goryeong in North Gyeongsang province) appears here for the first time.

83. Seongyeol Fortress (presumably modern Uiryeong in North Gyeongsang province) appears here for the first time.

84. Donghwa Fortress (located in modern Gumi in North Gyeongsang province) appears here for the first time.

85. Gahyejin is presumed to refer to the area of modern Dojin-ri, Ugok-myeon, Goryeong in North Gyeongsang province.

乙巳正月 歸未見王 封人急報 百濟大軍來攻我買利浦城 王又拜庾信 爲上州將軍 令拒之

In the first month of *eulsa* [645], upon returning [from attacking Baekje], Yusin had yet to have an audience with the Queen. The border warden<sup>86</sup> reported an urgent message that a major Baekje force had come to attack our [Silla's] Maeripo Fortress.<sup>87</sup> The Queen selected Yusin again and appointed him general of Sangju [Upper Ju].<sup>88</sup> Then she ordered him to drive the Baekje force off.

庾信聞命卽駕 不見妻子 逆擊百濟軍走之 斬首二千級 三月 還命王宮 未歸家又急 告百濟兵出屯于其國界 將大舉兵侵我 王復告庾信曰 “請公不憚勞邁行 及其未至備之” Upon hearing these orders, Yusin immediately rode off without seeing his wife and children. He counterattacked the Baekje forces and defeated them, beheading two thousand soldiers. In the third month, upon returning to his country, he reported [his victory] to the palace, but again, before he even reached his home, there was an urgent message. Baekje troops had been dispatched. They were camped along the borders of the kingdom and were about to mobilize a great number of troops to attack us [Silla]. The Queen told Yusin, once again, “I ask that you go quickly, without hesitation, and prepare the troops before Baekje reaches us.”

庾信又不入家 練軍繕兵 向西行 于時 其家人皆出門外待來 庾信過門 不顧而行 至五十步許駐馬 令取漿水於宅 啜之曰 “吾家之水 尙有舊味” 於是軍衆皆云 “大將軍猶如此 我輩豈以離別骨肉爲恨乎” 及至疆場 百濟人望我兵衛 不敢迫乃退 大王聞之甚喜 加爵賞

Again, Yusin did not stop by his home.<sup>89</sup> He trained his troops, repaired the weapons, and then headed west. Meanwhile, his whole family came out and waited for him in front of the gate to his house. Yusin, however, passed by the gate without looking back. After going fifty *bo* or so, he stopped his horse and ordered [his man] to get boiled rice water. He drank it and said, “The water

86. This refers to an official who guarded the border.

87. Maeripo Fortress is presumed to be located around Haman in South Gyeongsang province.

88. Sangju 上州 was an administrative unit that was established in the northwestern part of Gyeongju as Silla expanded its territory.

89. This practice is seen in *Mencius*, “Li Lou II” 離婁下: “Yu and Ji, in an age when the world was being brought back to order, thrice passed their doors without entering them” 禹稷當平世 三過其門而不入. See *Mencius* 4B:29; Legge 1960, 2:335.

from my home still has the old flavor.” Immediately, all the soldiers said, “If our grand general is like this, how could we lament the separation from our families?” As the military guards arrived in the territory, the people of Baekje soon retreated, not daring to approach. On hearing of this, the Great Queen was extremely pleased and granted government titles and awards.

十六年丁未 是善德王末年 眞德王元年也 大臣毗曇·廉宗 謂女主不 能善理 舉兵欲廢之 王自內禦之 毗曇等屯於明活城 王師營於月城 攻守十日不解 丙夜 大星落於月城 毗曇等謂士卒曰 “吾聞落星之下 必有 流血 此殆女主敗績之兆也” 士卒 呼吼 聲振天地 大王聞之 恐懼失次

The sixteenth year, *jeongmi* [647], is the last year of Queen Seondeok and the first year of Queen Jindeok. High officials, Bidam<sup>90</sup> and Yeomjong,<sup>91</sup> believing a queen is not fit to govern well,<sup>92</sup> raised troops and wished to depose her.<sup>93</sup> The Queen defended the palace from within. Bidam and others were stationed at Myeonghwal Fortress,<sup>94</sup> while the royal army was camped at Wolseong.<sup>95</sup> Battles raged for ten days without any resolution. At midnight<sup>96</sup> a large shooting star fell at Wolseong. Bidam and his aides said to the soldiers, “We were told that blood must flow from under a falling star. This is the precursor of the female ruler’s defeat.” Heaven and earth were shaken with the sound of the troops shouting and howling. Upon hearing this, the Great Queen was afraid and panicked.

庾信見王曰 “吉凶無常 惟人所召 故紂以赤雀亡 魯以獲麟衰 高宗以 雉雉興 鄭公以龍鬪昌 故知德勝於妖 則星辰變異 不足畏也 請王勿憂”

Yusin had an audience with the queen saying, “Good fortune and bad fortune

90. As an *ichan*, he had the position of *sangdaedeung* in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Queen Seondeok. By staging a rebellion, together with Yeomjong, against the queen, he almost occupied the palace. The rebellion was suppressed and Bidam was executed by Kim Yusin and his troops.

91. His rank and title are unknown. He was the central figure involved in Bidam’s rebellion.

92. The Chinese characters for “queen” are 女主 (lit. female lord); they can be interpreted as “mistress,” a derogative appellation for the queen.

93. This rebellion broke out right before the death of Queen Seondeok and was suppressed by Kim Yusin ten days later.

94. Myeonghwal Fortress was built across modern Cheongun-dong and Bomun-dong, both of which are located to the south of the Bomun Tourist Complex in Gyeongju.

95. Wolseong (“Moon Fortress”) was where the royal palace was located, which is in modern Inwang-dong in Gyeongju.

96. This refers to the third watch (11 pm to 1 am) of the night (7 pm to 5 am), which was divided into five watches: the first watch *gap* 甲, second *eul* 乙, third *byeong* 丙, fourth *jeong* 丁, and fifth *mu* 戊.

are uncertain; only humans cause these [conditions]. That was why Zhou was ruined in spite of the red bird's appearance<sup>97</sup> and Lu declined despite the capture of the kirin.<sup>98</sup> [Emperor] Gaozong rose to prosperity when the cock pheasant<sup>99</sup> was crowing and the Duke of Zheng thrived even though the dragons fought each other.<sup>100</sup> "Therefore, [we] know virtue triumphs over evil. And thus, celestial anomalies do not deserve any concern. Your Majesty must not worry."

乃造偶人 抱火 載於風鳶而颺之 若上天然 翌日 使人傳言於路曰“昨夜 落星還上” 使賊軍疑焉 又刑白馬 祭於落星之地 祝曰“天道 則陽剛而陰柔 人道 則君尊而臣卑 苟或易之 即爲大亂 今毗曇等以臣而謀君 自下 而犯上 此所謂亂臣賊子 人神所 同疾 天地所不容 今天若無意於此 而反 見星怪於王城 此臣之 所疑惑 而不喻者也 惟天之威 從人之欲 善善惡惡 無作神羞” 於是督諸將 卒奮擊之 毗曇等敗走 追斬之 夷九族

Then he made a puppet, set fire to it, tied it to a kite, and cast it upwards. It looked like [a star] soaring up into the sky. The following day he had men spread a rumor on the road saying, “The star that fell went back to the sky last night,” which perplexed the enemy soldiers. [Yusin] also sacrificed a white horse at the site where the star fell, praying, “According to the way of Heaven, *yang* is strong and *yin* is gentle. According to the way of man, rulers are superior and subjects are lowly. If these were reversed, there would be great chaos. Presently, Bidam and others, as subjects, plot to usurp the throne and thus they have offended their superior. These men are the so-called ‘rebellious ministers and villainous sons’<sup>101</sup> whom men and gods alike would hate and Heaven and Earth will not tolerate. But now, Heaven does not seem to care about this situation and instead, an ominous star appeared in the royal fortress. This is what I, as

97. This is a phoenix, also known as *fenghuang* 鳳凰.

98. The kirin was believed to be a benevolent and auspicious animal that appeared only under the reign of a sage King.

99. The character *gu* 雉 refers to the cry of a cock peasant, which was thought to be an ominous sign.

100. It is recorded in *Zuozhuan* as follows: “[In China’s Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BCE)] there was a great flood in Zheng, and dragons fought in the Wei Pond outside the Shi Gate. The inhabitants of the capital asked permission to tie them up. Zichan would not permit it, saying, ‘When we fight, dragons take no notice of us, so why should we alone take notice when dragons fight?’” 鄭大水 龍鬥于時門之外洧淵 國人請為祭焉 子產弗許 曰 我鬥 龍不我覬也 龍鬥 我獨何覬焉 禳之 則彼其室也 吾無求於龍 龍亦無求於我. See *Zuozhuan*, “Zhaogong,” 19<sup>th</sup> year; Durrant 2016, 1567.

101. This expression is from *Mencius* 3B:9. The full quotation is, “Confucius completed the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror” 孔子成春秋 而亂臣賊子懼. See Legge 1960, 2:283. The rebellious ministers and villainous sons refer to the people who are so evil that anyone may decapitate them on sight.

your subject, am confused about and do not understand. May the majesty of Heaven, according to what we people hope for, love the good and shun the evil, and let nothing occur to your shame!” Immediately, he urged the various generals and soldiers to vehemently attack them, and Bidam and the others fled in defeat. [Yusin] chased and beheaded them, killing their entire families.<sup>102</sup>

冬十月 百濟兵來圍茂山·甘勿·桐岑等三城 王遣庾信 率步騎一萬拒之 苦戰氣竭 庾信謂丕寧子曰 “今日之事急矣 非子 誰能激衆心乎” 丕寧子 拜曰 “敢不惟命之從” 遂赴敵 子舉眞及家奴合節隨之 突劔戟 力戰死之 軍士望之 感勵爭進 大敗賊兵 斬首三千餘級

During the winter of the tenth month, Baekje troops came and surrounded three fortresses at Musan, Gammul, and Dongjam. Yusin, sent by the queen, led ten thousand foot soldiers and horsemen and resisted them. Their spirit and strength were exhausted, fighting in the bitter battle. [Then] Yusin said to Biryongja,<sup>103</sup> “Today’s situation is urgent! If not you, then who can boost the morale of our soldiers?” Biryongja bowed and replied, “How could I dare not follow your command?” Accordingly, he advanced towards the enemy camp. His son Geojin and his house slave Hapjeol followed him; clashing swords and spears, they fought the enemy with all their strength, but were killed. Seeing this, the soldiers were so moved that they charged the enemy lines and utterly defeated the enemy soldiers, beheading more than three thousand.

眞德王太和元年戊申 春秋以不得請於高句麗 遂入唐乞師 太宗皇帝曰 “聞爾國 庾信之名 其爲人也如何” 對曰 “庾信雖少有才智 若不籍天威 豈易除鄰患” 帝曰 “誠君子之國也” 乃詔許 勅將軍蘇定方 以師二十萬 徂征百濟

In the first year<sup>104</sup> of Queen Jindeok’s reign and the Taehwa era, *musin* [648], Chunchu could not obtain what he sought from Goguryeo, so he entered Tang to request troops.<sup>105</sup> Emperor Taizong said, “I have heard of Yusin’s fame in

102. The characters for “the entire families” are *gujok* 九族, which literally means nine families or the nine degrees of kindred, including both paternal and maternal families and relatives.

103. Biryongja was a commander during the reigns of both Queen Seondeok and Queen Jindeok. He was killed at the battle of Musan Fortress. For his biography, see chapter forty-seven of *SS*.

104. *Taehwa* (“Great Peace”) is the era name of Queen Jindeok. It was abolished in the fourth year (650) of her reign as Silla adopted the Chinese reign title *Yonghui* 永徽.

105. According to chapter five of *SS*, in the second year (648) of Queen Jindeok’s reign, Kim Chunchu and his son Munwang (d. 665) were sent to Tang as envoys. Chunchu requested to visit the Guoxue (National University 國學) to observe the ceremony honoring Confucius and to hear the lectures;

your country. What kind of a man is he? Chunchu replied, “Although Yusin is somewhat talented and clever, how can we easily remove the anxieties caused by our neighboring states without borrowing your heavenly might?” The Emperor said, “Indeed, [your country is] a land of gentlemen.” Following this audience, he issued an imperial edict stating that General Su Dingfang,<sup>106</sup> with two hundred thousand troops, should lead an attack against Baekje.<sup>107</sup>

時庾信爲押梁州軍主 若無意於軍事 飲酒作樂 屢經旬月 州人 以庾信爲庸將 譏謗之曰 “衆人安居日久 力有餘 可以一戰 而將軍慵 惰如之何” 庾信聞之 知民可用 告大王曰 “今觀民心 可以有事 請伐百濟 以報大梁州之役”

At this time, Yusin was the military governor of Amnyang-ju and often spent months drinking wine and playing music as if he had no interest in military matters. The people in Amnyang-ju considered Yusin an unworthy general and criticized him saying, “People have lived in peace for a long time and we have enough strength left within us to go to war once again but still, our general is indolent. What should we do?” Yusin, hearing of this, knew that the people could be mobilized and said in a report to the Great Queen, “Judging from the people’s sentiment, it is worth a try. Allow us to strike Baekje as revenge for the battle at Daeryang-ju.”

王曰 “以小觸大 危將奈何” 對曰 “兵之勝否 不在大小 顧其人心何如耳故紂有億 兆人 離心離德 不如周家十亂同心同德 今吾人一意 可與同死生 彼百濟者不足 畏也” 王乃許之 The queen said, “But what shall we do if we, the small, end up bringing danger upon us by offending the great [Baekje]?” Yusin replied, “Victory or defeat in war does not depend on the size of the country, but on the hearts of the people. Therefore, in the past, King Zhou<sup>108</sup> had millions of men, but they were divided

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Emperor Taizong permitted this. In addition, he asked for Tang’s help to deliver Silla from the constant attacks of Goguryeo and Baekje and this was also granted by Taizong. Moreover, through the information gathered from Silla aristocratic youth, who played political and diplomatic roles as palace guards, Silla gained diplomatic supremacy among the three nations.

106. Su Dingfang (592-667) was a Tang dynasty general. Su joined Commander Cheng Mingzhen 程名振 in the campaign against Goguryeo in 655. He attacked Baekje and captured its king, Uija, in 660.

107. This statement is inaccurate. At this time (648), Taizong of Tang did not order Su Dingfang to dispatch troops, although he granted Kim Chunchu’s request. The order was issued in 660.

108. King Zhou 紂王 (trad. r. 1075-1046 BCE) was the last king of the Shang dynasty, who, bewitched by his concubine Daji 妲己, was notorious for debauchery and barbarous cruelty.

in heart and practice.<sup>109</sup> Hence, they could not match ten able men of the Zhou dynasty, who were one in heart and one in practice. Now that we are of the same mind, we can live and die together. The Baekje forces are not worth fearing.” The queen thus approved his plan.

遂簡練州兵赴敵 至大梁城外 百濟逆拒之 佯北不勝 至玉門谷 百濟輕之 大率衆來 伏發擊其前後大敗之 獲百濟將軍八人 斬獲一千級

The soldiers of Amnyang-ju were selected and trained to face the enemy. When they arrived outside Daeryang Fortress,<sup>110</sup> Baekje resisted them. [The Silla troops] pretended to be defeated and fled to the Ongmun Valley [Jade Gate Valley].<sup>111</sup> Baekje disparaged them and came with a large army [out of the fortress]. [The Silla men], ambushed the Baekje troops from the front and back, and routed them. Eight Baekje generals were captured and one thousand soldiers<sup>112</sup> were either beheaded or captured.

於是使告百濟將軍曰 “我軍主品釋及其妻金氏之骨 埋於爾國獄中 今爾裨將八人 見捉於我匍匐請命 我以狐豹首丘山之意 未忍殺之 今爾送死二人之骨 易生八人 可乎” At this time [Yusin] sent a man to tell a Baekje general, “The bones of our military governor Pumseok<sup>113</sup> and his wife Lady Kim were buried in the prison of your country. Your eight adjunct generals whom I captured are now groveling and begging for their lives. I cannot bear to kill them, because I know the meaning of the saying that foxes or leopards, [when dying], head toward the hill where they were born.<sup>114</sup> Now, can you send the bones of the two deceased in

109. This is quoted from the *Shujing* (*Book of Documents*; hereafter *Shujing*), “Great Declaration II” (Qin shi II 秦誓中), which reads: “Shou [King Zhou] has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men; [they are] divided in heart and divided in practice; I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men, one in heart and one in practice” 受有億兆夷人 離心離德 予有亂臣十人 同心同德. See Legge 1960, 3:292.

110. This is located in modern South Gyeongsang province, Hapcheon. It is also written as “Daeya Fortress” 大耶城 in Queen Seondeok’s 11<sup>th</sup> year (642), chapter five of SS.

111. This is presumed to be around Guwon-ri in Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang province.

112. In the Qin dynasty, a soldier who took the head of an enemy officer was promoted one rank. From this practice, the character *geup* 級 is used to count the decapitated heads of an enemy. In this phrase, it would be inaccurate to interpret it as saying that a thousand enemy soldiers were beheaded. Rather, because of the characters *chamhoek* 斬獲, we render the phrase as “one thousand soldiers were either beheaded or captured.”

113. Pumseok is the son-in-law of Kim Chunchu and the governor of Daeryang-ju.

114. This is quoted from *Liji*, “Tan Gong I” 檀弓上. The full quotation is, “For music, we use that of him from whom we sprang; in ceremonies, we do not forget him to whom we trace our root. The

exchange for the eight who are alive?”

百濟仲常一作忠常佐平言於王曰“羅人骸骨 留之無益 可以送之 若羅人失信 不還我八人 則曲在彼 直在我 何患之有” 乃掘品釋夫妻 之骨 櫛而送之

Beakje's *Jwapyeong* Jungsang {some write it Chungsang<sup>115</sup>} said to his king, “The bones of the Silla people are not useful for us to keep and may be sent back. Should the Silla people break their promise by not repatriating our eight generals, the crookedness would lie in them while righteousness would lie in us. How can there be anything to worry about?” [The Baekje people] then exhumed the bones of Pumseok and his wife, placed them in a coffin, and sent them back.

庾信曰“一葉落 茂林無所損 一塵集 大山無所增” 許八人生還 遂乘勝入百濟之境 攻拔嶽城等十二城 斬首二萬餘級 生獲九千人 論功增秩伊瀆 爲上州行軍大總管 又入賊境 屠進禮等九城 斬首九千餘級 虜得六百人

Yusin said, “Though a single leaf may fall, it does not make the forest any less dense. Though a bit of dirt gathers, it does not make a grand mountain any bigger.”<sup>116</sup> [Having said that,] he let the eight people return with their lives. At last [Yusin], riding in victory and entering the territory of Baekje, attacked and destroyed twelve fortresses, including Ak Fortress. He decapitated more than twenty thousand soldiers and captured nine thousand prisoners alive. In evaluating this achievement, he was promoted to *ichan* and became adjutant grand commandant of Sangju. He again entered the enemy's territory and crushed nine fortresses, including Jinrye.<sup>117</sup> He took more than nine thousand heads and six hundred prisoners.

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ancients had a saying, that a fox, when dying, adjusts its head in the direction of the mound (where it was whelped); manifesting thereby (how it shares in the feeling of) humanity” 樂樂其所自 禮不忘其本 古之人有言曰 狐死正丘首 仁也。

115. His official rank was *jwapyeong* during the reign of King Uija of Baekje, before he surrendered himself to Silla in the seventh year of King Muyeol (660). He was appointed to general commander of Sangju 上州 in 661.

116. This proverb seems to have been invented by Kim Yusin.

117. This is modern Geumsan in South Chungcheong province.

春秋入唐 請得兵二十萬來 見庾信曰 “死生有命 故得生還 復與公相見 何幸如焉” 庾信對曰 “下臣仗國威靈 再與百濟大戰 拔城二十 斬獲三 萬餘人 又使品釋公及其夫人之骨 得反鄉里 此皆天幸所致也 吾何力焉”

Chunchu, after having entered Tang and successfully requesting two hundred thousand soldiers, returned and met Yusin, saying, “Death and life have their fixed times,<sup>118</sup> so I am returning alive and we are seeing each other again. How fortunate this is!”<sup>119</sup> Yusin replied, “I, as your subject, relied on the august spirit of the country and engaged Baekje twice in great battles and destroyed twenty fortresses. I had more than thirty thousand people either captured or beheaded; moreover, I returned the bones of Pumseok and his wife to their hometown. All these are due to blessings from Heaven. How could it be done on my own merit?”

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118. This is quoted from the *Analekts* 12:5. The full quotation is, “Death and life have their determined appointment; riches and honors depend upon Heaven” 死生有命 富貴在天. See Legge 1960, 1:253.

119. Here he seems to have in mind his return from Tang in the winter of the second year (648) of Queen Jindeok. On the way to Silla, “On the sea he met a Goguryeo patrol. His attendant, On Gunhae, donning a high ceremonial cap and the clothes of a high official, sat topside. The patrol, seeing him, thought he was Chunchu and captured and killed him.” Thanks to Gunhae’s self-sacrifice, Chunchu managed to survive and return to Silla. For more details, see the record of Queen Jindeok’s second year, Chapter Five of SS.

## 三國史記 卷 第四十二 *Samguk sagi*, Chapter 42

輸忠定難靖國贊化同德功臣開府儀同三司檢校太師守太保門下侍中判尙書吏禮部  
事集賢殿大學士監修國史上柱國致仕金富軾奉宣撰

By the order of Your Majesty this is compiled by Kim Busik, who retired from the office of Merit Subject with Full Loyalty, Stabilizing State, Assisting Edification, Shared Virtue, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Grand Preceptor of the Royal Storehouse, Acting Grand Protector, Chancellor, Superintendent of Ministries of Personnel and Rites, Grand Secretary of the Hall of Assembled Worthies, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, and Supreme Pillar of State.

列傳 第二

Biographies 2

金庾信 中

Kim Yusin, Part Two

(太和)二年秋八月 百濟將軍殷相 來攻石吐等七城 王命庾信及竹 旨·陳春·天存  
等將

軍 出禦之 分三軍爲五道 擊之 互相勝負 經旬不解 至於僵屍滿野 流血 浮杵

In the second year [of the Taehwa era, 649],<sup>1</sup> in autumn, the eighth month, Baekje's General Eunsang<sup>2</sup> came and attacked seven fortresses, including Seokto.<sup>3</sup> The queen ordered Generals Yusin, Jukji,<sup>4</sup> Jinchun,<sup>5</sup> Cheonjon,<sup>6</sup> and

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1. The era name Taehwa does not appear in the original text but is included on the basis of the previous chapter.

2. Eunsang (n.d.) was a general during the reign of King Uija of Baekje. His rank *juwapyeong* appears in the third paragraph of this chapter.

3. Seokto Fortress is presumed to be modern Munansan Fortress in Jincheon in North Chungcheong province.

4. Jukji (n.d.) was a general of true bone status 眞骨 at the time of Unified Silla. He was the son of Duke Suljong 述宗公, a senior statesman of Queen Jindeok. In *SY*, he is also referred to as Jukman 竹曼 and Jigwan 智官. He was active as a *hwarang* during the latter years of King Jinpyeong's rule.

5. Jinchun was a general of true bone status. He appears to be the same person known as Jinsun 眞純 in the record of the first year (661) of King Munmu in chapter six of *SS*.

6. Cheonjon (d. 679) was a general of true bone status. His activities are recounted in the records of the third year (649) of King Jindeok and of the seventh year (660) of King Muyeol of *SS*.

others to go out to stop them. Silla divided the Three Armies so as to strike them from along five routes. The combat continued for ten days with no winner or loser. Corpses piled up in the fields and blood flowed so heavily that shields floated in it.<sup>7</sup>

於是屯於道薩城下 歇馬餉士 以圖再舉 時有水鳥東飛 過庾信之幕 將士 見之 以爲不祥 庾信曰 “此不足怪也” 謂衆曰 “今日必有百濟人來謀 汝等佯不知 勿敢 誰何” 又使徇于軍中曰 “堅壁不動 待明日援軍至 然後 決戰”

At this time, [the Silla troops] camped at the foot of Dosal Fortress,<sup>8</sup> ate, rested their horses, and planned to campaign again. Then a water-bird flew eastward, passing over Yusin's tent; [the other] generals and soldiers saw this and took it as a bad sign. Yusin said, “This is not something out of the ordinary.” He said to the gathering of soldiers, “Baekje people will certainly come today to spy on us. Pretend you do not know anything about this and do not ask who they are.” He also had men go among the soldiers saying, “Guard your positions firmly and do not move. Wait until tomorrow after which relief troops will arrive; then we will engage in a decisive battle.”

諜者聞之 歸報殷相 殷相等謂有加兵 不能不疑懼 於是庾信 等一時奮擊 大克之 生獲將軍達率正仲·士卒一百人 斬佐平殷相·達率 自堅等十人及卒八千九百八十人 獲馬一萬匹·鎧一千八百領 其他器械 稱是 及歸還 路見百濟佐 平正福與卒一千人來降 皆放之 任其所往 至京城 大王迎門 勞慰優厚

When the spies heard this, they returned and reported it to Eunsang. Eunsang and the others, thinking there would be an increase in troops, could not help but grew wary and fearful. Thereupon Yusin and others struck out, attacking them all at once and soundly defeating them. They captured General *Dalsol* Jeongjung and one hundred soldiers, and beheaded ten officers, including *Jwapyeong* Eunsang, and *Dalsol* Jagyeon, and [beheaded] 8,980 soldiers. Besides this, they captured ten thousand horses and [eighteen hundred suits of armor, as well as many other armaments. On the road home, Kim Yusin saw

7. A similar description is found in *Shujing*, “Wucheng” 武城: “Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars” 前徒倒戈 攻于後以北 血流漂杵. See Legge 1960, 3:315.

8. Dosal Fortress is in modern Jeungpyeong in North Chungcheong province. Originally, it had been the Doseo-hyeon Fortress of Goguryeo. This is presumed to be Mount Iseong Fortress of Jeungpyeong. Cheonan is also suggested as the location of Dosal Fortress.

that *Jwapyeong* Jeongbok of Baekje brought one thousand people with him to surrender. He freed them [and allowed them] all to go wherever they wanted. When they arrived in the capital, the Great Queen welcomed them at the gate, and complimented and treated them with special generosity.

永徽五年 眞德大王薨 無嗣 庾信與宰相關川伊滄謀 迎春秋伊滄 卽位 是爲太宗大王

In the fifth year<sup>9</sup> [654] of the Yonghui era, Great Queen Jindeok passed away without an heir. Yusin hatched a plan with *Ichan* Alcheon,<sup>10</sup> Councilor of State,<sup>11</sup> to enthrone *Ichan* Chunchu. He became Great King Taejong.

永徽六年乙卯秋九月 庾信入百濟 攻刀比川城克之 是時百濟君臣 奢泰淫逸 不恤國事 民怨神怒 災怪屢見

In the sixth year of the Yonghui era, *eulmyo* [660], in autumn, the ninth month, Yusin entered Baekje, attacked Dobicheon Fortress,<sup>12</sup> and conquered it. At this time, the King of Baekje and his retainers, indulged in luxury and women and did not attend to state affairs. People became resentful and the gods were enraged. So calamities and strange incidents frequently occurred.

庾信告於王曰 “百濟無道 其罪過於桀紂 此誠順天弔民伐罪之秋也”

Yusin reported to the queen, “Baekje has lost its principles and its crime is greater than that of King Jie and King Zhou. This is the time, in accordance with Heaven, to console the people and punish the wicked.”

9. Yonghui was the era name during the reign of Emperor Gaozong of Tang while the fifth year here refers to the first year of King Taejong Muyeol's reign.

10. Alcheon (n.d.) was a general of Queen Jindeok. In the fifth month of the fifth year of Queen Seondeok's reign (636), as *ichan*, and together with General Piltan, he defeated the army of General Uso of Baekje that had attacked Doksan Fortress.

11. The title *jaesang* (Councilor of State 宰相) was given to those who held either the third or higher rank in the position of *pingzhangshi* (Manager of Affairs 平章事) in the Tang dynasty. In Silla, the title was held by those who held offices such as *sangdaedeung* 上大等, *sijung* 侍中, *byeongburyeong* 兵部令, and *sasin* 私臣. However, holding these positions did not guarantee the person would also hold the title of *jaesang*. A unique aspect of the role of *jaesang* during the Silla period is that it was ranked into three grades: *sangjaesang* 上宰相 (*daesang* 大相), *chajaesang* 次宰相 (*ijae* 二宰), and *jesamjaesang* 第三宰相. It emerged in the seventh century and was maintained until the end of the Silla dynasty.

12. Dobicheon Fortress is located in modern Yeongdong in North Chungcheong province..

先是 租未垓級滄爲夫山縣令 被虜於百濟 爲佐平任子之家奴 從事勤恪 曾無懈慢 任子憐之不疑 縱其出入 乃逃歸 以百濟之事 告庾信

Before this, *Geupchan Jomigap*,<sup>13</sup> magistrate of Busan-hyeon,<sup>14</sup> was captured and taken to Baekje. He became the house slave of *Jwapyeong Imja*.<sup>15</sup> He was diligent and reverent in his services; he was never negligent. Imja felt compassion for him and did not doubt him, and allowed him to come and go on his own. Therefore, he fled home and informed Yusin of Beakje's domestic situation.

庾信知租未垓忠正而可用 乃語曰 “吾聞任子專百濟之事 思有以與謀而 未由 子其爲我 再歸言之” 答曰 “公不以僕爲不肖 而指使之 雖死無悔”

Yusin knew that Jomigap was faithful and useful, so he said, “I have heard that Imja was in charge of Baekje's state affairs, and intended to talk with him, yet I have had no chance until now. You will go back again and tell him for me.” [Jomigap] replied, “My lord did not consider me unworthy but appointed me to the task to return to Imja. Even though I may die, I will have no regrets.”

遂復入於百濟 告任子曰 “奴自以謂 既爲國民 宜知國俗 是以出遊累旬 不返 不勝犬馬戀主之誠 故此來耳” 任子信之不責

Accordingly, he went back to Baekje and reported to Imja, “Since I became a subject of this country, I, your servant, have been saying to myself I should know your customs. So I wandered around for dozens of days without turning back. I was not able to overcome the longing that dogs and horses have for their master, so I came back here.” Imja believed him and did not reproach him.

租未垓伺間報曰 “前者 畏罪不敢直言 其實 往新羅還來 庾信諭我 來告於君曰 ‘邦國興亡 不可先知 若君國亡 則君依於我國 我國亡 則吾依於君國’” 任子聞之 嘿然無言 租未垓惶懼而退 待罪

[Later] Jomigap seized a chance to declare, “Last time I feared punishment, and so I did not dare tell you the truth. Truthfully, I went to Silla and returned. Yusin exhorted me to come back to inform you, my lord, that ‘The rise and fall

13. Here is the first time the name Jomigap 租未垓 appears. As for the character *gap* 垓, in other editions of *SS* it is written differently (e.g., *ap* 押 in Sin Hoyoel's edition and *gon* 坤 in Yi Jaeho's edition).

14. This is modern Jinwi-myeon in Pyeongtaek.

15. Imja appears only here. He was a minister of Baekje during King Uija's reign. Later in league with Kim Yusin, he helped Kim destroy his own country Baekje.

of a country cannot be known beforehand. If your country is to perish, you may depend on my country. If my country perishes I will count on your country.” Hearing this, Imja remained silent without a word. Jomigap retreated, fearful and anxious about [his possible] punishment.

數月 任子喚而問之曰 “汝前說庾信之言 若何” 租未垵驚恐而對 如前 所言 任子曰 “爾所傳 我已悉知 可歸告之” 遂來說兼及中外之事 丁寧 詳悉 於是愈急并吞之謀  
Several months later, Imja summoned him. He asked, “What were Yusin’s words [which] you previously delivered?” Jomigap was fearfully surprised and reiterated what he said before. Imja said, “I am already well aware of the message you delivered. You may go back and report to him.” [Jomigap] came to report it and explained the situations inside and outside of the Baekje court, which were very detailed. Shortly thereafter, the plot to annex [Baekje] gained momentum.

太宗大王七年庚申夏六月 大王與太子法敏 將伐百濟 大發兵 至南川 而營 時入唐請師波珍浪金仁問 與唐大將軍蘇定方·劉伯英 領兵十三萬 過海到德物島 先遣從者文泉來告

In the seventh year of Great King Taejong, *gyeongsin* [660], in summer, the sixth month,<sup>16</sup> the Great King, with Crown Prince Beopmin,<sup>17</sup> mobilized a large number of troops to subjugate Baekje and arrived at Namcheon,<sup>18</sup> where they set up camp. At that time, *Pajinchan* Kim Inmun,<sup>19</sup> who had gone to Tang asking for military assistance, arrived with the Tang Grand Generals, Su Dingfang and Liu Boying,<sup>20</sup> at the head of 130,000 troops, crossing the sea and

16. The precise date of when King Muyeol arrived in Namcheonjeong was the eighteenth day of the sixth month. See the record in King Muyeol’s seventh year (660) in chapter five of *SS*.

17. Beopmin is the personal name of King Munmu, who was the firstborn son of King Muyeol. In the third month of the second year (655) of King Taejong, he became Crown Prince and when Taejong died, he succeeded to the throne. See chapter six of *SS*.

18. Namcheon is located in modern Icheon in Gyeonggi province. In the tenth month of the twenty-ninth year (568) of King Jinheung, Namcheon-ju was established after Bukhansan-ju was abolished; but in the seventh month of the twenty-sixth year (604) of King Jinpyeong, Namcheon-ju was abolished and Bukhansan-ju was restored. See chapter thirty five of *SS*.

19. Kim Inmun (629-694) was the second son of King Taejong Muyeol. In the fifth year (651) of Queen Jindeok, he became *pajinchan* at the age of twenty-three when he entered Tang as a palace guard. Following that, he was sent as an envoy to Tang seven times both before and after the unification war. In the seventh year (660) of King Muyeol he became assistant adjutant grand commander of the Shengqiu circuit and arrived with the Tang army to destroy Baekje. On account of his meritorious deeds, he was promoted to the highest official rank, *gakgan*.

20. Liu Boying was a general of the Tang dynasty. Under the command of Su Dingfang, he launched the

landing at Deongmul Island. They had first sent an attendant, Muncheon,<sup>21</sup> in advance to announce their arrival.

王命太子與將軍庾信·眞珠·天存等 以大船一百艘 載兵士會之 太子見 將軍蘇定方 定方謂太子曰 “吾由海路 太子登陸行 以七月十日 會于百濟 王都泗泚之城”

The king ordered the Crown Prince, Generals Yusin, Jinju,<sup>22</sup> Cheonjon, and others to take a hundred large ships, carrying soldiers, to meet them. The Crown Prince met General Su Dingfang. Dingfang said to him, “I will go by sea and you, prince, go by land. On the tenth day of the seventh month, we will meet at Baekje’s capital, Sabi Fortress.”<sup>23</sup>

太子來告大王 率將士 行至沙羅之停 將軍蘇定方·金仁問等 沿海 入伐伎浦 海岸泥濘 陷不可行 乃布柳席 以出師 唐·羅合擊百濟滅之此 役也 庾信之功爲多於是唐皇帝聞之 遣使褒嘉之

The Crown Prince reported this to the Great King. [The Great King] led his generals and soldiers to Sara Garrison.<sup>24</sup> General Su Dingfang and Kim Inmun came to Gibeolpo<sup>25</sup> along the coast but ran aground, unable to land because of the thick coastal mud. Willow rush mats were spread permitting the armies to proceed. Tang and Silla, joining in the attack on Baekje, destroyed it. In this campaign, Yusin’s merit was remarkable. The emperor of Tang, hearing of it, sent an emissary to praise and congratulate him.

將軍定方謂庾信·仁問·良圖三人曰 “吾受命以便宜從事 今以所得百濟 之地 分錫公等爲食邑 以酬厥功 如何”

General [Su] Dingfang said to Yusin, Inmun, and Yangdo,<sup>26</sup> “I received an order

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invasion on Baekje, and in the twelfth month of the same year (660), he went to war in the invasion of Goguryeo as the Expeditionary Commander-in-Chief of the Pyeongyang circuit 平壤道行軍總管.

21. Muncheon was director 大監 during the reign of King Taejong Muyeol. He went to Tang and then participated in the expedition to Goguryeo with Su Dingfang. He passed along Su Dingfang’s letter to King Munmu and delivered the King’s reply.

22. Jinju (d. 662) was a general of true bone status in the seventh century. His surname was Kim.

23. Sabi was another name for modern Buyeo in South Chungcheong province.

24. The location of Sara Garrison is unclear.

25. Gibeolpo is located in modern Seocheon in South Chungcheong province.

26. Yangdo was a general of true bone status in the seventh century. He eventually reached the position of *daeachan*. He went to Tang as a palace guard and was proficient in Chinese. He had been dispatched six times to Tang as an envoy. See chapter forty-four of SS.

to manage affairs appropriately, so I will now distribute the acquired territory of Baekje among you as *sigeup*<sup>27</sup> [tax villages], which is a reward for your accomplishments. How would that be?”

庾信對曰“大將軍以天兵來 副寡君之望 雪小國之讐 寡君及一國臣民 喜抃之不暇 而吾等獨受賜以自利 其如義何” 遂不受

Yusin answered, “You, Grand General, came with heavenly troops to help realize our ruler’s wish to take revenge on the enemy of [this] small country. From our ruler down to all the officials and people throughout the country, there is unceasing joy. How can it be appropriate if only three of us enrich ourselves by accepting such gifts?” So he did not accept [the offer].

唐人既滅百濟 營於泗泚之丘 陰謀侵新羅 我王知之 召羣臣問策 多美公進曰 “令我民 詐爲百濟之人 服其服 若欲爲賊者 唐人必擊之 因與之戰 可以得志矣”

Once the men of Tang had defeated Baekje, they camped on the hill of Sabi, secretly planning to invade Silla.<sup>28</sup> When our king learned of it, he summoned all the officials together to ask for a countermeasure. Lord Dami came forth and said, “Order our people to disguise themselves as Baekje men by wearing their clothes and to act as if they were going to rebel. The men of Tang will surely strike at them, then we can use this as an excuse to fight and achieve our aim.”

庾信曰“斯言可取 請從之” 王曰“唐軍爲我滅敵 而反與之戰 天其祐 我耶” 庾信曰 “犬畏其主 而主踏其脚 則咬之 豈可遇難 而不自救乎 請大 王許之”

Yusin said, “This idea is worth taking. I ask you, Your Majesty, to follow his plan.” The king replied, “The Tang army has destroyed the enemy for us. If we turn against them and fight, would Heaven help us?” Yusin said, “A dog fears its master, but if the master steps on its paws, the dog would bite him. Why shouldn’t we save ourselves when endangered? Your Majesty, I beg you to grant permission.”

27. *Sigeup* (tax village) were lands where the Silla aristocracy could take the grain tax for their own use. It was an award bestowed in recognition of specific instances of meritorious service to the state.

28. After the annihilation of Baekje, Gaozong of Tang ordered Su Dingfang to occupy territory as far as Silla’s borders. This can be conjectured through the report from Su Dingfang to Gaozong saying that although Silla was a small country, they were harmonious and could not be easily beaten. See *Jiu Tangshu* 83 and *Xin Tangshu* 111.

唐人諜知我有備 虜百濟王及臣寮九十三人·卒二萬人 以九月三日 自泗 泚泛船而歸 留郎將劉仁願等 鎮守之

The men of Tang learned of our [Silla's] preparations through spies. Taking the King of Baekje, his ninety three retainers, and twenty thousand soldiers as prisoners<sup>29</sup> on the third day of the ninth month, they set sail from Sabi to return [to Tang]. A group including Vice Commandant Liu Renyuan<sup>30</sup> was left behind to defend the area.

定方既獻俘 天子慰藉之曰 “何不因而伐新羅” 定方曰 “新羅其君仁而 愛民其臣忠以事國 下之人事其上如父兄 雖小不可謀也”

When Su Dingfang presented the prisoners, the Son of Heaven [Tang Emperor] complimented them but asked, “Why did you not follow through with an attack on Silla?” Dingfang answered, “The Silla king is benevolent and loves his people, while his officials serve their country with loyalty. Those below serve those above as if they served their fathers or older brothers. Even though Silla was a small country, we could not plot against them.”<sup>31</sup>

龍朔元年春 王謂百濟餘燼尙在 不可不滅 以伊瀆品日·蘇判文王·大 阿瀆良圖等爲將軍 往伐之 不克 又遣伊瀆欽純一作欽春·眞欽·天 存·蘇判竹旨等濟師高句麗·靺鞨謂 新羅銳兵皆在百濟 內虛可擣 發兵水陸並進 圍北漠山城 高句麗營其西 靺鞨屯其東 攻擊浹旬 城中危懼 忽有大星落於賊營 又雷雨震擊賊等疑駭 解圍而遁

In the first year [663] of the Longshuo era, in spring, the [Silla] king thought that the remnant forces of Baekje should be wiped out. He appointed *Ichan* Pumil,<sup>32</sup> *Sopan* Munwang,<sup>33</sup> *Daeachan* Yangdo, and others as generals to go out

29. In chapter twenty-eight of *SS*, the soldiers were referred to as people 百姓, and the total number was said to be 12,807 people.

30. Liu Renyuan was a Tang general. He joined the 644-645 campaign against Goguryeo and, as vice commandant with Grand Commandant Su Dingfang, subjugated Baekje in 660. When Su Dingfang took King Uija and his people as prisoners and returned to Tang, Liu Renyuan was left behind to keep the Ungjin Commandery.

31. This account is not found in the *Book of Tang* (*Tangshu* 唐書), though a related passage is briefly recorded in the third chapter of *Jiu Tangshu*, in the *Annals of Gaozong* “...having first reprimanded them, then pardoned them” 責而宥之, which is also recorded in chapter twenty-eight of *SS*.

32. Pumil was a general of true bone status in the seventh century. He was the father of Hwang Gwanchang 官昌 (645-660).

33. Munwang (d. 665) was the third son of King Taejong Muyeol.

and attack them but they could not overcome them. He also dispatched *Ichan* Heumsun<sup>34</sup> {some write it Heumchun}, Jinheum,<sup>35</sup> Cheonjon, *Sopan* Jukji, and others to reinforce their troops. [Then] Goguryeo and the Malgal<sup>36</sup> thought that they could attack Silla because all of the Silla's elite troops stayed in Baekje and the country was empty. They sent troops by land and sea; advancing together they encircled Mount Bukhan Fortress.<sup>37</sup> Goguryeo forces camped in the west and Malgal troops were stationed in the east. They attacked for dozens of days. Those within the fortress were frightened. Suddenly a large shooting star fell on the enemy's camp along with heavy rains, thunder, and lightning. The enemy soldiers, perplexed and frightened, lifted the siege and ran away.

初庾信聞賊圍城曰“人力既竭 陰助可資”詣佛寺 設壇祈禱 會有天變 皆謂至誠所感也

Before this, when Yusin heard that the enemy had encircled the fortress, he said, “Now that our men's strength is exhausted, we must rely on divine intervention.” He went to a monastery, where he built an altar and prayed. Just then the heavens shook and all the people said that his complete sincerity moved Heaven.

庾信嘗以中秋夜 領子弟立大門外 忽有人從西來 庾信知高句麗諜者 呼使之前曰 “而國有底事乎” 其人俯而不敢對 庾信曰 “無畏也 但以實告” 又不言

Yusin, once on a mid-autumn night, stood along with his sons outside the main gate. Suddenly, a man came from the west. Yusin, knowing that he was a spy from Goguryeo, called the man before himself and asked, “Has anything happened in your country?” The person, stooping down, did not dare to

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34. Heumsun (598-680) was a Silla general and Kim Yusin's younger brother. He was also called Heumchun 欽春. He became a *hwarang* when he was young. His virtue and loyalty were greatly respected. He participated in the campaign against Baekje as a general (660) and against Goguryeo as *gakgan* (668).

35. Jinheum was appointed adjutant grand commander of Haju in the first year (661) of King Munmu's reign and adjutant grand commander of Namcheon-ju in 662, when he was executed for negligence in state affairs.

36. The Malgal (Mohe in Chinese) were a Tungusic people who lived primarily in modern Northeast Asia. They constituted a major part of the population in Balhae and are considered to be the ethnic group from whom the Jurchen are descended.

37. Mount Bukhan Fortress was located at the northernmost strategic location in Silla at the time. It is the stone fortress at Mount Bukhan in Seoul.

answer. Yusin said, “Do not be afraid, but tell me the truth.” Again he did not answer.

庾信告之曰“吾國王 上不違天意 下不失人心 百姓欣然 皆樂其業 今爾見之 往告而國人” 遂慰送之 麗人聞之曰“新羅雖小國 庾信爲相 不可輕也”

Yusin told him, “The king of my country did not go against the will of Heaven above and he did not lose the hearts of people below. All the people are happy and enjoy their work. Now that you have seen this, go and tell the people of your country.” Yusin cajoled him into going home. The people of Goguryeo, hearing of this, said, “Although Silla is a small country, as long as Yusin is a minister there, it cannot be taken lightly.”

六月 唐高宗皇帝遣將軍蘇定方等 征高句麗 入唐宿衛金仁問 受命來告 兵期 兼諭 出兵會伐

In the sixth month, Emperor Gaozong of Tang dispatched General Su Dingfang and others to conquer Goguryeo. *Suwei* [Palace Guard] Kim Inmun, having received the imperial edict, came to report the expedition date and also instructed [Silla] to send out troops to attack together.

於是文武大王率庾信·仁問·文訓等 發大兵向高句麗 行次南川州 鎮守劉仁願 以所領兵 自泗泚泛船 至鞋浦下陸 亦營於南川州 時有司報 “前路有百濟殘賊 屯聚瓮山城遮路 不可直前”

At this time, Great King Munmu led Yusin, Inmun, Munhun,<sup>38</sup> and others, and sent out a great army to Goguryeo. When he marched to Namcheon-ju,<sup>39</sup> [he saw that] Grand Defender Liu Renyuan had also set up a camp there<sup>40</sup> after leading his troops from Sabi to Hyepo Harbor by ship. At this time, an officer in charge reported, “The remaining forces of Baekje are stationed at Ongsan

38. Munhun (d. 667) was of true bone status. At the time of King Munmu's first year of reign (661) he became adjutant grand commander of Haseo-ju and in the following year was appointed chief minister.

39. This ju 州 was established in Icheon in Gyeonggi province

40. It would be more accurate for Liu Renyuan's troops to have camped at Siigok Garrison than Namcheonju because the next passage in the report states that “the remaining forces of Baekje are stationed on the front road to Ongsan Fortress.” This occurrence is recorded in King Munmu's first year (661) in chapter six of *SS* as follows: “Eighth month. The Great King, leading various generals, arrived at Siigok Garrison, where they stayed at that time” 八月 大王領諸將 至始飴谷停留。

Fortress<sup>41</sup> ahead of us, blocking the way. We cannot go straight forward.”

於是庾信以兵進而圍城 使人近城下 與賊將語曰 “而國不龔 致大國之討 順命者賞 不順命者戮 今汝等 獨守孤城 欲何爲乎 終必塗地 不如出降 非獨存命 富貴可期也” Thereupon, Yusin led his troops and encircled the fortress; he commanded a man to approach the fortress and deliver a message to the enemy general saying, “Your country’s disrespect has brought [upon itself] punishment from the Great State [Tang]. [However,] those who obey [my] command will be rewarded. Those who disobey it will be slaughtered. Now that you alone keep this isolated fortress, what do you want to do? In the end [if you defend it], you shall fall to the ground. It would be better for you to come out and surrender. Then you will not only preserve your life but you can also expect to obtain riches and honors.”

賊高聲唱曰 “雖葢爾小城 兵食俱足 士卒義勇 寧爲死戰 誓不生降” 庾信笑曰 “窮鳥困獸 猶知自救 此之謂也” 乃揮旗鳴鼓攻之 大王登高見戰士 淚語激勵之士皆奮突 鋒刃不顧 九月二十七日 城陷 捉賊將戮之 放其民 論功賞賚將士 劉仁願亦分絹有差 於是饗士秣馬 欲往會唐兵

The enemy shouted loudly, “Even though this is a small fortress, both weapons and food are enough and the soldiers are loyal and brave. We would rather die fighting than surrender alive. We swear.” Yusin laughed saying, “Even birds and animals in a difficult situation know how to save themselves. Isn’t this the case for them now?” Then with banners flying and drums beating, he assailed them. The Great King went up the hill, where he looked at his warriors and exhorted them while shedding tears. All the soldiers vigorously charged [the enemy] without turning away from their spears and swords. On the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month, the fortress fell. They captured the enemy generals and killed them, but released the people. In evaluating merit, rewards were given to generals and soldiers. Liu Renyuan also distributed silk in accordance to their merit. Then, after feeding the soldiers and horses, they wanted to meet the Tang troops.

41. Mount Ongsan Fortress is presumed to be Mount Gyejok Fortress 鷄足山城, which is located in modern Daejeon.

大王前遣大監文泉 移書蘇將軍 至是復命 遂傳定方之言曰 “我受命萬里 涉滄海而討賊 艤舟海岸 既踰月矣 大王軍士不至 糧道不繼 其危殆甚矣 王其圖之” Previously, the Great King had sent Director Muncheon to deliver a letter to General Su [Dingfang]. He came back to make his report to the king and delivered Dingfang’s words saying, “I received the imperial decree and sailed ten thousand *ri* across the sea to punish the enemy. It has already been over a month since I moored my ships on your banks. Your Majesty’s soldiers, however, have not arrived yet. Supply lines have been cut. This is an extremely precarious situation. Your Majesty must make a plan for this.”

大王問羣臣 “如之何而可” 皆言深入敵境輸糧 勢不得達矣 大王患之咨嗟 The Great King asked all the officials, “What should I do?” All of them answered that they were unable to advance deep into the enemy’s territory to deliver the provisions in this situation. The Great King worried, sighing deeply.

庾信前對曰 “臣過叨恩遇 忝辱重寄 國家之事 雖死不避 今日是老臣 盡節之日也 當向敵國 以副蘇將軍之意” 大王前席 執其手下淚曰 “得公賢弼 可以無憂 若今茲之役 罔愆于素 則公之功德 曷日可忘”

[Then] Yusin came forth and said, “Your subject has undeservingly received much favor and assumed heavy responsibilities. Even if I were to die, I would never shun state affairs. Today is the day your old subject will die for the country. It is an opportune moment to enter the enemy’s country to respond to General Su’s wish.” The Great King went to him, taking hold of his hands and said in tears, “I have such a worthy aide in you. Now I can be free from concern. If this task is carried out as usual with no mistake, then how can your virtuous deeds be forgotten in the future?”

庾信既受命 至懸鼓岑之岫寺齋戒 卽靈室閉戶 獨坐焚香 累日夜而 後出 私自喜曰 “吾今之行 得不死矣” 將行 王以手書告庾信 “出疆之後賞 罰專之 可也”

Receiving the order, Yusin went to a grotto shrine at Hyeongojam,<sup>42</sup> where he purified himself, and entered the Numinous Chamber.<sup>43</sup> Closing the door

42. Hyeongojam [Hyeon-go-jam] 懸鼓岑 literally means “hanging drum hill.” This is a very steep and high hill that resembles a drum hanging upside down. Hyeongojam and the previously mentioned Central Peak where Kim Yusin learned the secret method may in fact be the same place.

43. The Numinous Chamber (Yeongsil 靈室) is a hall housing statues of Buddha. In this context, it is

and sitting alone he burned incense for several days and nights. He came out delighted, saying, “I shall not die on this journey.” When [Yusin] was about to leave, the king, by his own hand, wrote a letter to him that read, “After crossing the border, rewards and punishments are at your disposal.”

十二月十日 與副將軍仁問·眞服·良圖等九將軍 率兵載糧 入高句麗之界  
壬戌正月二十三日 至七重河 人皆恐懼 不敢先登

On the tenth day of the twelfth month [Yusin] along with nine generals,<sup>44</sup> including Adjutant General Inmun, Jinbok,<sup>45</sup> and Yangdo, led soldiers carrying provisions to the border of Goguryeo. On the twenty-third day of the first month, in *imsul* [662], they reached the Chiljung River,<sup>46</sup> but they were all fearful and no one dared to board first.

庾信曰 “諸君若怕死 豈合來此” 遂先自上船而濟 諸將卒相隨渡河 入高句麗之境  
慮麗人要於大路 遂自險隘以行 至於棘壤

Yusin said, “If you all fear death, why did you agree to come here?” He boarded first and crossed the river. Then all the other generals and soldiers crossed the river one after another to enter Goguryeo territory. Worrying that Goguryeo might attack them on the main road, they took a rugged and narrow path to reach Sanyang.<sup>47</sup>

庾信與諸將士曰 “麗·濟二國 侵凌我疆場 賊害我人民 或虜丁壯 以斬 戮之  
或俘幼少 以奴使之者久矣 其可不痛乎 吾今所以不畏死赴難者 欲藉大國之力  
滅二城 以雪國讐 誓心告天 以期陰助 而未知衆心如何 故言及之 若輕敵者  
必成功而歸 若畏敵 則豈免其禽獲乎 宜同心協力 無不以一當百 是所望於諸公  
者也”

Yusin said to his generals and soldiers, “Goguryeo and Baekje, these two countries, have invaded our territory and harmed our people. For a long time,

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used to mean a room of supernatural powers.

44. Only three generals, Kim Inmun (629-694), Jinbok, and Yangdo, are identified among the nine generals.

45. The Chinese character for *bok* 服 in Jinbok is written as *bok* 福 in the “Silla Annals.” Since the account in the first year of King Munmu agrees with this record, the name Jinbok 眞服 seems to be simply a variation of “Jinbok” 眞福. Following Kim Yusin, he went to Chiljung River 七重河 and delivered the provisions to Su Dingfang in 662.

46. Chiljung River is modern Imjin River, located in Paju in Gyeonggi province.

47. Sanyang seems to be a region in Hwanghae province around north of the Imjin River.

adult men have been captured and slaughtered, and children have been taken as slaves. How can this not be lamentable? I do not fear death and rise to the challenge of destroying the two capitals [of Goguryeo and Baekje]. I rely on the Great State's power to avenge my enemies. I have vowed in my heart, prayed to Heaven, and awaited divine intervention. I do not know what's in your heart and therefore I'm telling you this. If you make light of the enemy, you shall succeed and return. If you fear the enemy, then how can you avoid being taken captive? Be of one mind and unite all efforts, then one can match a hundred foes. This is what I expect from all of you.”

諸將卒皆曰“願奉將軍之命 不敢有偷生之心”乃鼓行向平壤 路逢賊兵 逆擊克之 所得甲兵甚多 至獐塞之險 會天寒烈 人馬疲憊 往往僵仆

All the generals and soldiers said, “We desire to obey your command, General, and we do not seek to save our own lives [but to sacrifice them]” Accordingly, as they sounded the drums, they advanced to Pyeongyang. When they encountered enemy soldiers on their way, they met them head-on and overcame them, so they were able to take much armor and weapons. Reaching the rugged path of Jangsae,<sup>48</sup> they faced bitterly cold weather. The people and horses were so exhausted that they often fell to the ground.

庾信露肩執鞭 策馬以前驅 衆人見之 努力奔走 出汗不敢言寒 遂過險 距平壤不遠 Yusin, exposing his shoulders<sup>49</sup> and holding a whip, spurred his horse forward. The people, seeing this, strived hard to run after him. They were sweating, and did not dare say that it was cold. At last, they passed through the rugged path. Pyeongyang was not far from there.<sup>50</sup>

庾信曰“唐軍乏食窘迫 宜先報之”乃喚步騎監裂起曰“吾少與爾遊 知爾志節 今欲致意於蘇將軍 而難其人 汝可行否”

Yusin said, “The Tang troops are in dire need of food. We should notify them

48. Jangsae is modern Suan in Hwanghae province..

49. By intentionally exposing his shoulders, he might want to show that he did not care about bitter cold weather.

50. The exact distance is found in chapter six of *SS*, King Munmu's second year: “Yusin and others reached Jangsae, a distance of 36,000 *bo* (55.08 km) from Pyeongyang” 庾信等至獐塞 距平壤三萬六千步. One *bo* was approximately 1.53 meters.

first.” Soon he summoned Bogigam<sup>51</sup> Yeolgi<sup>52</sup> saying, “When I was young and associated with you, I noticed your integrity.<sup>53</sup> I now want to convey my intentions to General Su but it is difficult to find the right man. Would you do it?”<sup>54</sup>

裂起曰“吾雖不肖濫中軍職 況辱將軍使令 雖死之日 猶生之年”

Yeolgi said, “Being unworthy, I have already undeservingly taken the position in the central army. How much more could I insult you by disobeying your order! Even if it is the day of my death, I would consider it my birthday.”

遂與壯士仇近等十五人 詣平壤 見蘇將軍曰“庾信等領兵致資糧 已達近 境”定方喜以書謝之 庾信等行抵楊隩 見一老人問之 具悉敵國消息 賜之布帛 辭不受而去 Subsequently, along with fifteen brave soldiers, including Gugeun, he [Yeolgi] advanced to Pyeongyang<sup>55</sup> and met General Su. He said, “Yusin and others have led soldiers carrying provisions. They are already near the border.” Dingfang, delighted, expressed his gratitude in a letter. When they reached Yango,<sup>56</sup> Yusin and the others met an old man and asked him [about the domestic situation]. The old man told them everything about the enemy country. Yusin gave him hemp and silk, but he refused to take them and went on his way.

庾信營楊隩 遣解漢語者仁問·良圖及子軍勝等 達唐營 以王旨餽軍糧 定方以食盡 兵疲 不能力戰 及得糧 便廻唐

Yusin set up camp at Yango and sent those who could speak Chinese to the Tang camp, including Inmun, Yangdo, and his son Gunseung.<sup>57</sup> They delivered

51. *Bogigam* was a military officer in charge of the cavalry.

52. See chapter forty-seven of *SS* for the biography of Yeolgi. When Kim Yusin was a *hwarang*, it appears that Yeolgi was a member of his group.

53. This indicates that Kim Yusin had known Yeolgi for a long time because they had lived together in the same *hwarang* cohort. The term *yu* 遊, translated as “associated,” was used to specifically reflect the communal life of the *hwarang* band.

54. In this passage, Kim Yusin persuaded Yeolgi to undertake the task. The same incident is described differently in Yeolgi’s biography. There, it is said that he volunteered for the job. Unfortunately, there is no way to know which version is accurate.

55. It took two days to arrive at Pyeongyang. See the biography of Yeolgi in chapter forty-seven.

56. This is presumed to be modern Gangdong in Pyeongyang. The place was where Kim Yusin’s troops arrived on the sixth day of the second month in the second year (662) of King Munmu.

57. Gunseung (n.d.) is Kim Yusin’s son by his concubine (about whom nothing is known). Based on his proficiency in Chinese, it seems that he acted as an envoy to Tang.

the provisions as per the royal instructions.<sup>58</sup> Since food had run out and the soldiers were exhausted, Dingfang could not fight well. [But] when he received the provisions, he immediately departed to Tang.<sup>59</sup>

良圖以兵八百人 泛海還國 時麗人伏兵 欲要擊我軍於歸路 庾信以 鼓及桴 繫羣牛腰尾 使揮擊有聲 又積柴草燃之 使煙火不絕 夜半潛行 至瓢河 急渡岸休兵 [Kim] Yangdo, with eight hundred soldiers, returned to his country [Silla] by sea.<sup>60</sup> At this time, Goguryeo soldiers laid in ambush and intended to attack our [Silla] troops on their way home. Yusin tied drums and sticks to the flanks and tails of cows, so they would make noise when their wagging tails struck [the drums]. He also burned stacks of firewood and straw, and did not let the smoke and fire die down. At midnight [the Silla troops] reached Pyoha<sup>61</sup> by stealth and quickly crossed the river to rest by the coast.

麗人知之來追 庾信使萬弩俱發 麗軍且退 率勳諸幢將士分發 拒擊敗之 生禽將軍一人 斬首一萬餘級 王聞之 遣使勞之 及至賞賜封邑爵位有差

The Goguryeo people, knowing this, pursued them. Yusin commanded the archers with *manno*<sup>62</sup> to shoot as one and the Goguryeo troops retreated temporarily. He encouraged all the generals and soldiers in each unit to proceed in different directions and to confront the Goguryeo troops in battle. Yusin defeated them, capturing one general and beheading more than ten thousand soldiers.<sup>63</sup> Having heard of this, the king sent a messenger to express his

58. According to chapter six of *SS*, in the second year (662) of King Munmu, Kim Yusin headed for Pyeongyang with more than two thousand wagons loaded with four thousand *seok* of rice and more than twenty-two thousand *seok* of unhusked rice. The amount of unhusked rice is recorded as 22,250 *seok* in the biography of Yeolgi in chapter forty-seven of *SS*.

59. According to chapter six, chapter twenty-two, and the biography of Kim Inmun in chapter forty-four of *SS*, Su Dingfang's troops returned to Tang because heavy snow prevented them from fighting.

60. The eight hundred soldiers seem to be a transportation corps consisting of old people. It would probably be dangerous for them to go by land, so they chose to go by sea.

61. Pyoha is a branch of the Imjin River. It is written as “Gwacheon” 瓢川 in the second year of King Munmu in chapter six of *SS*, while it is recorded as “Horoha” 瓠瀘河 in the reply to Xue Rengui in the 11<sup>th</sup> year (671) of the King Munmu in chapter six of *SS*.

62. *Manno* (“ten-thousand crossbow” 萬弩) is a weapon for shooting numerous arrows at the same time.

63. According to the biography of Kim Inmun in chapter forty-four of *SS*, in addition to the above-mentioned military achievements, he also captured five thousand enemy soldiers. But chapter six of *SS* provides a different account: “Yusin beheaded more than ten thousand people, captured *Sohyeong* Adalhye and other soldiers and [took] over 100,000 weapons” 斬首一萬餘級 虜小兒阿達兮等 得兵械萬數.

appreciation. When [Yusin and his men] arrived, [the king] granted tax villages and government titles each according to his merit.<sup>64</sup>

龍朔三年癸亥 百濟諸城 潛圖興復 其渠帥據豆率城 乞師於倭爲援助 大王親率庾信·仁問·天存·竹旨等將軍 以七月十七日 征討 次熊津州 與鎮守劉仁 願合兵 八月十三日 至于豆率城 百濟人與倭人出陣 我軍力 戰大敗之 百濟與倭 人皆降

In the third year of the Longshuo era, *gyehae* [663], several fortresses in the Baekje area secretly plotted to restore [the kingdom]. The leader,<sup>65</sup> stationed at Dusol Fortress,<sup>66</sup> asked for military assistance from the Wae [Wa].<sup>67</sup> The Great King personally led<sup>68</sup> generals, including Yusin, Inmun, Cheonjon, and Jukji, on a military expedition on the seventeenth day of the seventh month. Coming to Unjin-ju,<sup>69</sup> they combined forces<sup>70</sup> with Grand Defender Liu Renyuan's troops and arrived at Dusol Fortress on the thirteenth day of the eighth month. As the Baekje and the Wa troops came out of their camp, our [Silla] troops vigorously fought and soundly defeated them. The Baekje people and the Wa surrendered together.

64. In chapter six of *SS*, King Munmu's second year (662), it states, "In evaluating their merit, the court gave goods, land, and slaves from Bonpi Palace, dividing them equally between Yusin and Inmun" 論功 中分本彼宮財貨·田莊·奴僕 以賜庾信·仁問.

65. In chapter six of *SS*, King Munmu's third year (663), it states, "The former Baekje Commander, Boksun, and the monk Dochim [both] welcomed the former Prince Buyeo Pung, and enthroned him" 百濟故將福信及浮圖道琛 迎故王子扶餘豐立之.

66. The name Dusol Fortress appears here for the first time. Its exact location is unclear but Jeong (2011) suggests it might be Wiamsan Fortress in North Jeolla province, Buan. Due to the similar pronunciation between Dusol (Doulu in Chinese) and Juryu (Zhoului in Chinese 周留), Dusol is presumed to be Juryu Fortress. See Jeong et al. 2011, 2:686n69.

67. The Wa troops are recorded in the 21<sup>st</sup> year of King Uija in chapter twenty-eight of *SS*, "[Tang and Silla joint forces] encountered Japanese reinforcements at the mouth of the Baek River and, engaging them in battle four times, were victorious on each occasion. In this action, they burned four hundred Japanese vessels" 遇倭人白江口 四戰皆克 焚其舟四百艘.

68. This is recorded differently in the record of the third year (663) of King Munmu's reign in chapter six of *SS*, "...the King commanded Kim Yusin and others, totaling 28 [another source states 30] generals" 王領金庾信等二十八[一云三十]將軍.

69. Ungjin-ju is modern Gongju in South Chungcheong province.

70. According to chapter twenty-eight of *SS*, in the twenty-first year of King Uija's reign (662), Tang General Sun Renshi's support forces were joined by Liu Renyuan's troops at Ungjin to advance toward Juryu Fortress by land. On the other hand, Liu Rengui's naval force advanced on the same fortress by proceeding from the Ungjin River into the Baek River.

大王謂倭人曰“惟我與爾國 隔海分疆 未嘗交構 但結好講和 聘問交通 何故今日與百濟同惡 以謀我國 今爾軍卒在我掌握之中 不忍殺之 爾其歸告爾王 任其所之”

The Great King spoke to the Wa people saying, “My country and your country are separated by the sea and there has never been any conflict. Our agreement was concluded by the exchange of envoys and friendly ties. Why do you do evil with Baekje today and plot against my country? Your soldiers are now in my hands, but I cannot bear to kill them. You may go back and report to your king and go wherever you wish.”

分兵擊諸城降之 唯任存城 地險城固 而又糧多 是以攻之三旬 不能下 士卒疲困 厭兵

[Yusin] divided his troops, attacked several fortresses, and defeated them. Only Imjon Fortress<sup>71</sup> was on rugged terrain and built with strong walls; they [the inhabitants of the fortress] also had enough provisions.<sup>72</sup> For this reason [Silla] could not overtake it even after a thirty-day siege. The [Silla] soldiers became exhausted and tired of war.

大王曰“今雖一城未下 而諸餘城保皆降 不可謂無功”乃振旅而還 冬十一月二十日 至京 賜庾信田五百結 其餘將卒賞賜有差

The Great King said, “Although one fortress was not conquered, all the other fortresses have surrendered. We cannot say there is no achievement.” Then, he withdrew his troops and returned. In winter, the tenth day of the eleventh month, he arrived in the capital<sup>73</sup> and granted Yusin 200 *gyeol*<sup>74</sup> of rice land. The other generals and soldiers were given awards in accordance with their merit.

71. Imjon Fortress is in modern Yesan South Chungcheong province. It was the main base and garrison for the Baekje restoration forces which were stationed there from the fall of Baekje in 660 to the end of 663.

72. In chapter six of *SS*, it states, “Jisusin alone held out at Imjon Fortress and did not surrender” 獨遲受信據任存城不下. See also chapter twenty-eight of *SS*, “Only Jisusin, who held the Imjon Fortress, did not yet capitulate” 獨遲受信據任存城未下.

73. According to chapter six of *SS*, in the third year (663) of King Munmu, the troops departed on the fourth day of the eleventh month. This indicates that it took sixteen days to go to Gyeongju from Yesan in South Chungcheong province.

74. *Gyeol* 結: land measurement of approximately 8,025 square meters (9,600 square yards).

三國史記 卷 第四十二  
*Samguk sagi*, Chapter 43

輸忠定難靖國贊化同德功臣開府儀同三司檢校太師守太保門下侍中判尙書吏禮部  
事集賢殿大學士監修國史上柱國致仕金富軾奉宣撰

By the order of Your Majesty this is compiled by Kim Busik, who retired from the office of Merit Subject with Full Loyalty, Stabilizing State, Assisting Edification, Shared Virtue, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Grand Preceptor of the Royal Storehouse, Acting Grand Protector, Chancellor, Superintendent of Ministries of Personnel and Rites, Grand Secretary of the Hall of Assembled Worthies, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, and Supreme Pillar of State.

列傳 第三

Biographies 3

金庾信 下

Kim Yusin, Part Three

子三光·元述·孫允中·允文·玄孫巖 附

The biographies of Yusin's sons, Samgwang and Wonsul, the biographies of his grandsons Yunjung and Yunmun, and that of his great-great-grandson, [Kim] Am, are appended to this biography.

麟德元甲子三月 百濟餘衆 又聚泗泚城反叛 熊州都督發所管兵士攻之 累日霧塞  
不辨人物 是故不能戰 使伯山來告之 庾信授之陰謀 以克之

In the first year of the Linde era, *gapja* [664], in the third month, the remaining people of Baekje gathered at Sabi Fortress again rose in rebellion. The Commander-in-Chief of Ungju mobilized his soldiers and attacked them, [but] a thick fog covered the land for several days. One could not distinguish the men from their surroundings. For this reason the commander could not fight. He sent Baeksan to report this. Yusin gave him a secret stratagem,<sup>1</sup> which helped overcome the enemy.

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1. This expression is used to describe Kim Yusin's extraordinary wisdom.

麟德二年 高宗遣使梁冬碧·任智高等來聘 兼册庾信奉常正卿 平壤郡開國公食邑二千戶 乾封元年 皇帝勅召庾信長子大阿滄三光 爲左武衛翊府中郎將仍令宿衛  
 In the second year [665] of the Linde era, [Emperor] Gaozong sent Liang Dongbi, Ren Zhigao, and other envoys to Silla for a courtesy visit. At the same time he invested Yusin as *fengchang zhengqing* [chamberlain for ceremonials], *Pingrangjunyifu kaiguogong* [dynasty-founding Duke of Pyeongyang-gun], and granted him two thousand households as tax villages. In the first year [666] of the Qianfeng era, the Emperor issued an edict summoning Yusin's first son, *Daeachan*<sup>2</sup> Samgwang,<sup>3</sup> and appointed him *zuowuwei yifu zhonglangjiang* [commandant of the Left Militant Guard Standby Garrison], and then allowed him to stay as a palace guard.<sup>4</sup>

擡章元年戊辰 唐高宗皇帝 遣英國公李勣 興師伐高句麗 遂徵兵於我 文武大王欲出兵應之 遂命欽純·仁問爲將軍 欽純告王曰“若不與庾信 同行 恐有後悔”  
 In the first year of the Zongzhang era, *mujin* [668], the Tang Emperor sent the Duke of Ying, Li Ji,<sup>5</sup> to raise troops to attack Goguryeo. Accordingly, he drafted soldiers from us [Silla]. Great King Munmu, wishing to dispatch troops in response, ordered Heumsun and Inmun to serve as generals. Heumsun reported to the king, “If we do not go with Yusin, I fear we will regret it.”

2. *Daeachan* is the fifth-degree bureaucratic rank in Silla.

3. Samgwang is Kim Yusin's firstborn son. According to chapter six of *SS*, when he went to Tang as a palace guard in 666, he did not possess the rank of *daeachan* but, rather, that of *nama*, an eleventh-degree bureaucratic rank. In chapter six of *SS*, the following is recorded: “Cheonjon's son Hanrim and Yusin's son Samgwang [each] at the rank of *nama* entered Tang as palace guards” 天存之子漢林 庾信之子三光 皆以奈麻入唐宿衛·

4. Palace guard or *suwei* 宿衛 (lit, guard of the lodgings) refers to the aristocratic youth or students who were sent from the neighboring countries of Tang and resided at the palace as night guards and “hostages.” See Jamieson 1969, 40. They played both political and diplomatic roles at the Tang Court, promoting the security of their own countries. Starting with the arrangement made by Kim Chunchu in the second year (648) of Queen Jindeok, when his son Kim Munwang was allowed to stay in Tang as a guard, until Kim In 金因 in the tenth year (870) of King Gyeongmun, a total of 16 Silla figures occupied this position. See Sin 1966, 9.

5. Duke of Ying Li Ji (d. 669) was a Tang general. During the late Sui dynasty he served under Li Mi 李密 (582-618), rebel leader against the Sui dynasty, and surrendered to the Tang dynasty. Emperor Gaozu of Tang (566-635) called him Chunchen 純臣 and granted him the family name Li 李. In the first year (666) of the Qianfeng era 乾封, he was appointed adjutant grand commander-in-chief of Liaodong at the age of eighty. He made great contributions to the subjugation of Goguryeo. See *Xin Tangshu* 18. See also *Jiu Tangshu* 33.

王曰“公等三臣 國之寶也 若摠向敵場 儻有不虞之事 而不得歸 則其如 國何 故欲留庾信守國 則隱然若長城 終無憂矣”

The king said, “You three<sup>6</sup> are the jewels of our country. Should you all go into enemy territory and some mishap prevents your return, what then of the country? Hence, my wish is to keep Yusin here to protect the country. Because he is like a great wall, I will be free from concern in the end.”<sup>7</sup>

欽純 庾信之弟 仁問 庾信之外甥 故尊事之 不敢抗 至是告庾信曰 “吾等不材今從大王 就不測之地 爲之奈何 願有所指誨”

Heumsun was Yusin's younger brother and Inmun was his sister's son, so they paid him great respect and never dared defy him. Coming upon the time [for their departure], they reported to Yusin saying, “Although we are not equal to the task, we obey the Great King and will embark on an uncharted course. What should we do? We would like your guidance.”

答曰 “夫爲將者 作國之干城 君之爪牙 決勝否於矢石之間 必上得天道 下得地理 中得人心 然後可得成功 今我國以忠信而存 百濟以傲慢而亡 高句麗以驕滿而殆 今若以我之直 擊彼之曲 可以得志 況憑大國 明天子之威稜哉 往矣勉焉 無墮乃事”

He replied, “The general serves as the shield and wall of the country and as his king's talons and fangs. He determines victory or defeat in the middle of fierce battle. Only when he attains the heavenly way, understands topographic features, and wins human hearts, can he command success. Our country survives today on account of our loyalty and faithfulness, and Baekje and Goguryeo have perished because of their pride and arrogance. We will achieve our goal this time simply by striking at their deviousness with our uprightness. How much more so [will we strike them] with the support of the august power of the Great State's brilliant Son of Heaven! Go now and try your best. Do not fail your mission.”

二公拜曰 “奉以周旋 不敢失墮”

The two noblemen bowed and said, “We will follow your instructions properly. We dare not fail or fall down [on the job].”

6. These three ministers are Kim Yusin, Kim Heumsun, and Kim Inmun.

7. In the eighth year of King Munmu in chapter six of SS, another explanation is given for Kim Yusin staying behind, “...the King had Yusin remain in the capital because of an illness” 王以庾信病風留京.

文武大王既與英公 破平壤 還到南漢州 謂羣臣曰 “昔者百濟明禮王在 古利山 謀侵我國 庾信之祖武力角干 爲將逆擊之 乘勝俘其王及宰 相四人與士卒 以折 其衝又其父舒玄 爲良州總管 屢與百濟戰 挫其銳 使不得犯境

After Great King Munmu, with the Duke of Ying,<sup>8</sup> destroyed Pyeongyang he came back to Namhan-ju<sup>9</sup> and addressed his officials saying, “Formerly, when King Myeongnong of Baekje was at Mount Gori,<sup>10</sup> he planned to invade our country. [Then] Yusin’s grandfather Gakgan Muryeok, a military commander, counterattacked them. Making a vigorous attack, he ended their assault by capturing the king, his four ministers, and their soldiers. Furthermore, his father Seohyeon became adjutant grand commander of Yangju and fought against Baekje again and again. He blunted their sharp weapons and prevented them from intruding on our borders.

故邊民安農桑之業 君臣無宵旰之憂 今庾信承祖考之業 爲社稷之臣 出將入相 功績茂焉 若不倚賴公之一門 國之興亡未可知也 其於職賞 宜如何也”

Thus people in the border regions could work well in farmlands and mulberry fields, and the king and his officials did not have to dress before dawn and eat after sunset to take care of state affairs.<sup>11</sup> Now, Yusin, having inherited the legacy of his grandfather and father, became the minister of the state.<sup>12</sup> As a general on the battlefield and as a minister in the court, his meritorious achievements were great. If we had not relied on Lord Yusin’s family, it is uncertain whether our state would have survived or perished. As to a position and a reward for him, what should be done?”

8. Duke of Ying 英公 refers to Li Ji 李勣.

9. Namhan-ju refers to Hansan-ju 漢山州. This is the site of Namhan Mountain Fortress.

10. Mount Gori is modern Mount Hwansan 環山 in Okcheon in North Chungcheong province. It is referred to as Gwansan Fortress 管山城 in the fifteenth year (554) of King Jinheung, in chapter four of SS.

11. This sentence contains a Chinese idiomatic expression *xiao gan* 宵旰, which is a truncated form of *xiao yi gan shi* 宵衣旰食 meaning “to dress before dawn and eat after sunset.” It is a metaphor for diligence in governing. See Jamieson 1969, 213n18. However, Jeong et al. (2011) interprets this sentence differently as follows: “The king and his ministers worked ceaselessly on state affairs without concern for themselves.” See Jeong et al. 2011, 2:735.

12. The original word for state is *sajik* 社稷, which can refer to the Altar of Earth and Grain (*sajikdan* 社稷壇), or the Gods of Earth and Grain, but here it is used as synecdoche to mean “country.”

羣臣曰“誠如王旨”於是授太舒發翰之職 食邑五百戶 仍賜輿杖 上殿 不趨 其諸寮佐 各賜位一級

The officials said, “Truly, Your Majesty, do as you wish.” Thereupon Yusin was given the title of *taedae seobalhan*<sup>13</sup> and two thousand households as tax villages. He was also granted a carriage and a staff, and the privilege to walk at his leisure when entering the court.<sup>14</sup> Each of his assistants was promoted by one grade.

摠章元年 唐皇帝 旣策英公之功 遂遣使宣慰 濟師助戰 兼賜金帛 亦授詔 書於庾信 以褒獎之 且諭入朝 而不果行 其詔書傳於家 至五世 孫失焉

In the first year [668] of the Zongzhang era, the Tang Emperor rewarded the Duke of Ying for his merit. He sent an envoy to complement those [Silla people] who, by reinforcing the [Tang] troops, had helped fight. He bestowed gold and silk [on them]. He also sent a decree to Yusin, praising and rewarding him. Furthermore, he instructed Yusin to come to the imperial court. However, in the end, this did not happen. The decree was preserved in Yusin's household but was lost by the fifth generation.

咸寧 四年癸酉 是文武大王十三年 春 妖星見 地震 大王憂之 庾信進曰“今之變異 厄在老臣 非國家之災也 王請勿憂” 大王曰“若此則寡人所 甚憂也” 命有司祈禳之

The fourth year of the Xianning era,<sup>15</sup> *gyeyu* [673], was the thirteenth year of Great King Munmu. In the spring, there appeared an ominous star and an earthquake occurred. The Great King was worried about it. Yusin came forward [to the king] and said, “Today's strange phenomenon foreshadows the misfortune of this old subject, not the disaster of this country. Your Majesty, I ask you not to worry.” The Great King said, “If this is so, then it is precisely what I worry about most.” He commanded an officer in charge to pray to dispel the ill omen.

13. This is also called *taedae gakgan* 太角干. By adding *taedae* (“the greatest”) to the highest rank *gakgan*, this prestige title was made to distinguish Yusin's merit.

14. It was a great privilege for a subject not to have to walk briskly when he entered the court at that time. A similar example is found in the *Sanguo zhi*: “In 230, [Cao Rui] summoned Cao Zhen to the imperial capital Luoyang, where he promoted him to Grand Marshal and awarded him the ceremonial privileges of carrying a sword and wearing shoes into the imperial court, as well as not having to walk in briskly during imperial court sessions” [太和] 四年 朝洛陽 遷大司馬 賜劔履上殿 入朝不趨. See the Biography of Cao Zhen in “Weishu 9” of the *Sanguo zhi*.

15. Xianning 咸寧 refers to Xianheng 咸亨 (670-673), Emperor Gaozong's reign name. The character *ning* 寧 was replaced by *heng* 亨 in order to avoid using the personal name of the Goryeo King Jeongjong.

夏六月 人或見戎服持兵器數十人 自庾信宅泣而去 俄而不見 庾信聞之曰  
“此必陰兵護我者 見我福盡 是以去 吾其死矣”

In the summer, the sixth month. Some people saw scores of men dressed in armor and bearing weapons. They were weeping and departing from Yusin's house, and disappeared after a while. On hearing of this, Yusin said, “They must be the troops from the underworld<sup>16</sup> who protected me. Seeing that my good fortune is exhausted, they have departed. I will die soon.”

後旬有餘日 寢疾 大王親臨慰問 庾信曰 “臣願竭股肱之力 以奉元首 而犬馬之疾至此 今日之後不復再見龍顏矣”

About ten days after that event, Yusin became bedridden with an illness and the Great King personally paid a visit. Yusin said, “I wish to serve my Lord, exerting all the strength in my legs and arms, but your humble servant's<sup>17</sup> illness is severe. After today, I may not see Your Majesty's face again.”

大王泣曰 “寡人之有卿 如魚有水 若有不可諱 其如人民何 其如社稷何”

The Great King sobbed and said, “I need you as much as a fish needs water. If something unavoidable happens, what should I do with these people and this country<sup>18</sup>?”

庾信對曰 “臣愚不肖 豈能有益於國家 所幸者 明上用之不疑 任之勿貳 故得攀附 王明 成尺寸功 三韓爲一家 百姓無二心 雖未至太平 亦可 謂小康

Yusin replied, “Your subject is foolish and unworthy. How could I be of any help to the country? I was fortunate because my illustrious king employed me without question<sup>19</sup> and entrusted me with responsibility without suspicion. Thus, it is only by relying on Your Majesty's brilliance that I could achieve even an inch of merit. Now the Three Hans have become one house<sup>20</sup> and the

16. The troops from the underworld (*eumbyeong* 陰兵) are also mentioned in the fourteenth year (297) of Isageum Yurye in chapter two of *SS* that states, “...*eumbyeong* of the former King [Michu] helped them fight” 先王以陰兵助戰也.

17. The characters for “Your humble servant” are *gyeonma* 犬馬, which literally means “(your) dog and horse.” This is how Yusin humbly refers to himself before the King.

18. The word used for “country” in the text is *sajik* 社稷, see note 12 above.

19. This is a quote from *Shujing*, “Da Yu mo” 大禹謨. The full quotation is, “In your employment of worthy men, let no one come between you and them. Cast aside evil without hesitation” 任賢勿貳 去邪勿疑. See Legge 1960, 3:55.

20. This phrase refers to the unification of the three kingdoms after the fall of Baekje and Goguryeo. It

people's hearts are united. Although we have not yet reached the era of Great Peace, we still can call [this time] the period of Small Tranquility.<sup>21</sup>

臣觀自古繼體之君 靡不有初鮮克有終 累世功績 一朝隳廢 甚可痛也 伏願殿下知成功之不易 念守成之亦難 疏遠小人 親近君子 使朝廷 和於上 民物安 於下 禍亂不作 基業無窮 則臣死且無憾” 王泣而受之

Your subject has observed that from ancient times few kings have ended their reigns as well as they began them.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the merits and achievements of many generations can in one morning suddenly fall to ruin. This is extremely lamentable. Prostrate, I implore Your Majesty to know that it is not easy to achieve merit and that one should be mindful that maintaining achievements is also difficult. Please stay away from petty men and keep company [only] with the virtuous. Up in the court make harmony, and down among the people and other creatures make peace. If calamities do not occur and the dynastic foundations last forever, then your subject can die with no regrets.” The king wept and took the words to heart.

至秋七月一日 薨于私第之正寢 享年七十有九 大王聞訃震慟 贈賻彩帛 一千匹 租二千石 以供喪事 給軍樂鼓吹一百人 出葬于金山原 命有司立碑 以紀功名 又定入民戶 以守墓焉

As autumn approached, on the first day of the seventh month, [Yusin] died in the bedroom of his house. He had lived seventy-nine years. The Great King learned of his death and was shaken with grief. He sent a thousand bolts of colored silk and two thousand *seok* of unhusked rice for the funeral service and sent a hundred drummers and pipers from the martial band. They escorted Yusin's funeral procession to his grave on the Geumsan Plain.<sup>23</sup> There, the officer in charge was ordered to erect a stele recording Kim Yusin's meritorious works.

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is the first evidence that the historian recognizes the three kingdoms as the Three Hans 三韓. The same recognition is also seen from the inscription on the monument in Cheongju, Uncheon-dong 淸州雲泉洞事蹟碑, which was erected in the sixth year (686) of King Sinmun.

21. The expression “Small Tranquility” is borrowed from *Liji* (*Book of Rites* 禮記), “Li Yun” 禮運, which states, “Any rulers who did not follow this course were driven away by those who possessed power and position, and all regarded them as pests. This is the period of what we call Small Tranquillity” 如有不由此者 在勢者去 衆以爲殃 是謂小康. See Legge 1885, 367.
22. This is a quote from *Shijing*: “All are [good] at first, but few prove themselves to be so at the last” 靡不有初 鮮克有終. See *Shijing*, part 3, book 3, verse 1.
23. This is presumed to be Mount Songhwa 松花山 in Gyeongju in North Gyeongsang province.

A household was selected to guard the tomb.<sup>24</sup>

妻智炤夫人 太宗大王第三女也 生子五人 長曰三光伊滄 次元述蘇判 次元貞海千次長耳大阿滄 次元望大阿滄 女子四人 又庶子軍勝阿滄 失其母姓氏

Yusin's wife, Lady Jiso, was the third daughter of Great King Taejong. She had given birth to five sons. The eldest was *Ichan Samgwang*. After him was *Sopan Wonsul*, then *Haegan Wonjeong*, followed by *Daeachan Jangi*; and the last was *Daeachan Wonmang*. She [also] had four daughters. Besides these children, there was his concubine's son, Achan Gunseung; the family name of his mother has been lost.

後智炤夫人 落髮衣褐 爲比丘尼 時大王謂夫人曰 “今中外平安 君 臣高枕而無憂者 是太大角干之賜也 惟夫人宜其室家 儆誠相成 陰功茂焉 寡人欲報之德 未嘗一日忘于心 其餽南城租每年一千石” 後興德大王封公爲興武大王

Later, Lady Jiso, shaved her hair, donned thick hemp clothing, and became a Buddhist nun. At that time, the Great King said to the Lady, “Now, things are peaceful at home and abroad, and the ruler and ministers sleep peacefully, without worries. This is what *taedae gakgan* [Yusin] gave us as a gift. I think you, my Lady, have properly managed the household.”<sup>25</sup> Both your care and admonition have made it possible. The hidden merit [you have earned] is abundant. I want to repay your virtue. In my heart, there has never been a day when I have not thought of this. Let me send an annual allotment of one thousand *seok* of unhusked rice from Namseong Fortress.”<sup>26</sup> Later, Great King Heungdeok<sup>27</sup> invested Lord Yusin as Great King Heungmu.<sup>28</sup>

24. This indicates Silla's practice of having guardians for tombs. According to chapter sixteen of *SS*, in King Sindae's fifteenth year (179), when Myeongnim Dapbu 明臨答夫 (67-179) was buried, twenty households were assigned as tomb guardians. This practice is also mentioned in the inscription on the Stele of King Gwanggaeto.

25. This phrase is modeled on an expression found in *Shijing*. The expression is, “This young lady is going to her future home, and will order well her family” 之子于歸 宜其家人. See *Shijing*, part 1, book 1, verse 6.

26. This refers to Namsan Fortress, which was also called New Namsan Fortress 南山新城. A storehouse for tax grain seems to have been in this place. See King Munmu's third year (663) in chapter six of *SS*.

27. King Heungdeok (r. 826-836) was the forty-second king of Silla

28. Great King Heungmu or Heungmu Daewang 興武大王 is the posthumous title given to Kim Yusin. According to the *Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom* (*Dongguk tonggam* 東國通鑑) it was given in the tenth year (835) of King Heung's reign. On the other hand, according to “Wonders I”

初法敏王 納高句麗叛衆 又據百濟故地有之 唐高宗大怒 遣師來討 唐軍與靺鞨營於石門之野 王遣將軍義福 春長等禦之 營於帶方之野

Earlier, King Beopmin<sup>29</sup> accepted the Goguryeo rebels<sup>30</sup> as subjects. He also occupied and secured the former territory of Baekje. Emperor Gaozong of Tang was enraged and sent troops to attack [Silla]. Tang and Malgal troops camped on the plains of Seongmun.<sup>31</sup> The king sent generals, including Uibok<sup>32</sup> and Chunjang,<sup>33</sup> to resist them. They were garrisoned on the plains of Daebang.<sup>34</sup>

in chapter one of *SY*, the title was conferred during the reign of King Gyeongmyeong (r. 917-924). Dissatisfied with social circumstances, Yusin's descendants took part in a rebellion led by Kim Yung 金融 in the sixth year (770) of King Hyegong's reign (765-780) and were executed. Afterwards, Yusin's family rehabilitated its name. Such a situation was at odds with the previous autocratic tendencies of King Muyeol's house in the mid-Silla period. This is one example showing the elevation of a noble family's social status in the late Silla period; such practices facilitated the formation of aristocratic alliances or coalitions.

There are some who argue that investing Kim Yusin as *Heungmu Daewang* is in fact a new form of the early Silla practice of conferring the honorific title of *Galmunwang* 葛文王 on the King's relatives.

29. Beopmin 法敏 was the name of King Munmu (r. 661-681). During the Three Kingdoms period, there are several examples of a personal name used for a king's title; two examples are the inscription on the tombstone of King Muryeong (r. 501-523) of Baekje, where he appears as King Sama, and the case of King Yeongnyu (r. 618-642) of Goguryeo who was called King Geonmu 建武王.
30. Some believe that the rebel crowds of Goguryeo refer to the righteous militia (*uiyonggun* 義勇軍); however, it seems right to call them the restoration army (*buheunggun* 復興軍). According to chapter twenty-two of *SS*, in 669, the year following Goguryeo's surrender to Silla, Anseung 安勝, son of King Bojang (r. 642-668) of Goguryeo, leading over four thousand households, also surrendered to Silla.
31. At Mount Unma, in the northwestern part of Seoheung in modern Hwanghae province, there is a temple called Seongmun Monastery. It is assumed that the temple took the name of the surrounding place.
32. Uibok 義福 was a general of true bone status during the time of King Taejong Muyeol. Uibok, who became general of Haju 下州將軍 in the eighth year (661, second month) of King Taejong Muyeol (cf. chapter five of *SS*), Achan Uibok 義服 who became Adjutant Great Commander of Sangju 上州總管 in the first year (661) of King Munmu (cf. chapter six of *SS*), and Uibok 宜福 who was appointed Oath Banner Adjutant Grand Commander 誓幢總管 in the eighth year (668) of King Munmu, are thought to be one and the same person.  
In the second month of 661, when Uibok, a general of Haju, took part in the battle, the remaining Baekje forces attacked Sabi Fortress, and forced Silla to retreat. The Grand Banner 大幢 and the Oath Banner 誓幢 withdrew and, in the fourth month, were followed by the Haju troops. They were defeated by the Baekje army at Bingolyang 賓骨壤 (modern Goby-myeon, Jeongeup in North Jeolla province). Afterwards, in 668, Uibok participated in the conquest of Goguryeo. After returning from Tang, where he had followed the Duke of Ying Li Ji, he fought against it at the battle of Seongmun in 672.
33. Chunjang 春長 was a Silla general. In 668 he took part in the conquest of Goguryeo and, together with Uibok, fought against the Tang army at the battle of Seongmun in 672. In the third month of the eighteenth year (678) of King Munmu, *Daechan* Chunjang became chief minister, but resigned in the first month of the following year due to illness.
34. This location is unclear. It is presumed to be in Pyeongsan in Hwanghae province, which is south of Seoheung, where the battle of Seongmun took place.

時 長槍幢獨別營 遇唐兵三千餘人 捉送大將軍之營 於是諸幢共言 “長槍營獨處成功 必得厚賞 吾等不宜屯聚 徒自勞耳” 遂各別兵分散 唐兵與鞞鞞 乘其未陣擊之 吾人大敗 將軍曉川·義文等死之

At that time, the Long Spear Banner<sup>35</sup> was camped separately [from the other troops] and encountered more than three thousand Tang soldiers, whom they captured and sent to the grand general's camp. Thereupon, the soldiers of all the other banners said, “The Long Spear Banner, though camping alone, won a victory. They will be generously rewarded. We don't have to be stationed together. This is nothing but a waste of our labor.” Accordingly, each troop separated themselves from one another. The Tang and Malgal troops took advantage of the disarrayed formation and attacked Silla. We [Silla forces] were greatly defeated and our generals, including Hyocheon<sup>36</sup> and Uimun,<sup>37</sup> were killed.

庾信子元述 爲裨將 亦欲戰死 其佐淡凌止之曰 “大丈夫 非死之難 處死之爲難也 若死而無成 不若生而圖後效” 答曰 “男兒不苟生 將何面目以見吾父乎” 便欲策馬而走 淡凌攬轡不放 遂不能死

Yusin's son Wonsul,<sup>38</sup> who was an adjunct general,<sup>39</sup> wished to fight to the death. [However,] his aide-de-camp, Damneung, stopped him and said, “It's not difficult for a great man to die, but it's difficult to choose when and where

35. The Long Spear Banner 長槍幢 was established in the twelfth year (672) of King Munmu. In the second year (693) of King Hyoso its name was changed to Scarlet Collar Oath Banner 緋衿誓幢 and became one of the nine Oath Banners. It was comprised of units using long spears intended to block the enemy cavalry.

36. Hyocheon 曉川 (d. 672) was a Silla general. In the twelfth year (672) of King Munmu, at Seongmun, he fought against the Tang army led by Gao Kan 高侃 and Li Jinxing 李謹行, and was killed in action. His official rank was *daeachan* 大阿湊.

37. Uimun 義文 (d. 672) also fell in the same battle. His official rank was *sachan* 沙湊.

38. Wonsul 元述 was Kim Yusin's second son. He participated in the battle of Seongmun as an adjutant general (*bijang* 裨將), and although the other seven generals—Hyocheon 曉川, Euimun 義文, Sansé 山世, Neungsin 能申, Duseon 斗善, Annaham 安那含, and Yangsin 良臣—were killed, Wonsul ran away. Hearing of this, Yusin asked King Munmu to sentence his son to death, but the King refused. Rejected by his father, Wonsul could not return to his home, so he retired to a village farm, where he lived hidden for several years. After Yusin's death, Wonsul returned home, but his mother would not accept him. He spent some time at Mount Taebaek, and after that, in the fifteenth year (675) of King Munmu, despite taking part in the battle against Tang at Maesocheon Fortress, he turned down an official post offered by the government.

39. Adjutant general, or *bijang* 裨將, refers to the *bujang* 副將 of the troops. In the biography of Sadaham, in chapter forty-four of SS, Sadaham is mentioned as having participated in the conquest of Gara as a *bijang*. According to chapter four of SS, during the 23<sup>rd</sup> year (562) of King Jinheung, he assisted the general.

to die. It's better to live and plan for future retaliation than to die with no gain.” Wonsul replied, “A man does not drag out his unworthy life. [If this were otherwise] how could I face my father?” He was about to whip his horse to run forward, but Damneung, holding the reins, would not let him go. In the end, he could not go to die.

隨上將軍出蕪蕘嶺 唐兵追及之 居烈州大監阿珍含一吉干 謂上將軍曰 “公等努力速去 吾年已七十 能得幾時活也 此時是吾死日也” 便橫戟突陣而死 其子亦隨而死

Following the supreme general,<sup>40</sup> Silla troops left Mui Pass.<sup>41</sup> The Tang troops pursued them. *Ilgilgan* Ajinham,<sup>42</sup> director of Geoyeol-ju,<sup>43</sup> said to the supreme general, “You should try your best to run away quickly. I am already seventy years old. How much longer can I live? This is the very day for me to die.” Immediately, taking his spear, he charged towards the enemy camp and was killed, and his sons followed him and were also killed.

大將軍等 微行入京 大王聞之 問庾信曰 “軍敗如此 奈何” 對曰 “唐人之 謀不可測也 宜使將卒各守要害 但元述不惟辱王命 而亦負家訓 可斬也” 大王曰 “元述裨將 不可獨施重刑” 乃赦之

The grand general and others quietly entered the capital. The Great King heard of this and asked Yusin, “[If] our army has been defeated like this, what should we do now?” He replied, “The Tang’s scheme is difficult to fathom. It is necessary to have generals and soldiers guard critical locations. Incidentally, Wonsul not only dishonored the royal commission but he also disregarded his family motto;<sup>44</sup> he deserves death.” The Great King said, “Wonsul is merely

40. Supreme general, or *sangjangun* 上將軍 is the highest rank among generals. In this passage it is unknown who he was exactly. It is believed to be either Chunjang 春長 or Uibok 義福.

41. Mui Pass 蕪蕘嶺 is presumed to be modern Cheongseok-hyeon in Geumcheon in Hwanghae province, or Ui Pass between Seoheung and Gaeseong.

42. *Ilgilgan* 一吉干 also appears as *ilgilchan* 一吉澹 or *eulgilgan* 乙吉干, which was the seventh-degree bureaucratic rank in Silla. Ajinham 阿珍含 is mentioned as Annaham 安那含 in chapter seven of *SS*, during the twelfth year (672) of King Munmu. At the age of seventy, Ajinham died at the battle of Mui Pass while trying to gain time for the Silla troops to retreat.

43. Geoyeol-ju 居烈州 is modern Geochang in South Gyeongsang province. It is also mentioned in chapter six of *SS*, as either Geoyeol Fortress or Geoyeol-ju, in the third and fifth year (665) of King Munmu, and in chapter eight, in the fifth year (685) of King Sinmun.

44. There is no detailed description of Kim Yusin’s family motto 家訓, but is believed to be something similar to the Five Commandments for Laymen 世俗五戒 of the eminent monk Wongwang (541-

an adjunct general. It is not right to sentence him alone to such a severe punishment.” Thus, the king pardoned him.

元述慙懼 不敢見父 隱遁於田園 至父薨後 求見母氏 母氏曰 “婦人 有三從之義 今既寡矣 宜從於子 若元述者 既不得爲子於先君 吾焉得 爲其母乎” 遂不見之  
Ashamed and afraid, Wonsul did not dare see his father and hid in a rural area. After his father passed away, he sought out his mother. She said [to him], “A woman [lives according to] the principle of the three obediences.<sup>45</sup> Now that I have become a widow, I must follow my son; but, a person like you, Wonsul, could not be a worthy son to your late father. How then, could I be your mother?” Accordingly, she did not meet him.

元述慟哭擗躄而不能去 夫人終不見焉 元述嘆曰 “爲淡凌所誤 至於 此極” 乃入太伯山

Wonsul wept, beating his chest and stamping his feet in sorrow. He could not bring himself to leave. [Nevertheless,] Lady Jiso never saw him again. Sighing, Wonsul said, “Damneung’s error in judgment, has led to such a severe outcome.” Before long, he went to live on Mount Taebaek.

至乙亥年 唐兵來 攻買蘇川城 元述聞之 欲死之 以雪前恥 遂力戰有功賞 以不容於父母 憤恨不仕 以終其身

Approaching the year *eulhae* [675], the Tang troops arrived to attack Maesocheon Fortress.<sup>46</sup> Wonsul heard of this and wanted, through death, to wipe away his former shame. Consequently, he fought with all his strength. He rendered distinguished services and was rewarded. He still remained sorrowful for not being accepted by his parents. From then until the end of his life, did

638) (e.g., serve the King with loyalty 事君以忠; tend parents with filial piety 事親以孝; treat friends with sincerity 交友以信; never retreat from a battlefield 臨戰無退; be discriminate about the taking of life 殺生有擇).

45. According to the *Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (*Yili* 儀禮), “Mourning Attire” (Sangfu 喪服), when a woman is young she has to follow her father’s will. After leaving her home and marrying, she has to follow her husband’s will; and, after her husband dies, she has to follow her eldest son’s will (However, it is worth noting that Wonsul was the second son). These are the so-called “three obediences” 三從之道.

46. This is assumed to be the same as Maeseong-hyeon Fortress 買省縣城 that appears in chapter thirty five of SS. It is presumed to be modern Yangju-dong in Yangju in Gyeonggi province, but interpretations vary.

not take up a government post.

嫡孫允中 仕聖德大王 爲大阿滄 屢承恩顧 王之親屬 頗嫉妬之

Yusin's legitimate grandson Yunjung<sup>47</sup> was made *daeachan* during Great King Seongdeok's reign and often won the king's favor. The king's family and relatives were very jealous of him.

時 屬仲秋之望 王登月城岑頭眺望 乃與侍從官 置酒以娛 命喚允中

The fifteenth day of mid-autumn. The king climbed the peak of Wolseong and looked out over the land. Wine was set up and he enjoyed it with his officials in attendance. Then he summoned Yunjung.

有諫者曰 “今宗室戚里 豈無好人 而獨召疎遠之臣 豈所謂親親者乎”

An official remonstrated, “There are many good people in the royal household but now you summon only a distant subject. How can this be called ‘being close to those close to you’<sup>48</sup>?”

王曰 “今寡人與卿等 安平無事者 允中祖之德也 若如公言 忘棄之 則非善善及子孫之義也”

The king said, “By virtue of Yunjung's grandfather, we now live in peace without a care. If we, as you said, forget this, it would not be ‘the way of doing good to the good and their descendants.’”<sup>49</sup>

遂賜允中密坐 言及其祖平生 日晚告退 賜絕影山馬一匹 羣臣缺望而已

The king gave Yunjung the seat of honor next to him and talked about his grandfather's life. At sunset, Yunjung asked to be excused. He was granted a horse from Jeolyeongsan.<sup>50</sup> The courtiers were dissatisfied and resentful.

47. Yunjung 允中 who became chief minister 中侍 in the twenty-fourth year (725) of King Seongdeok, and Yunchung 允忠 who was appointed general in the thirty fifth year (736) of the same King are thought to be the same person.

48. This expression is seen in *Zhongyong (Doctrine of the Mean 中庸)* 20: “Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives” 仁者人也 親親爲大. Legge 1960, 1:405.

49. This expression is seen in *Gongyangzhuan*, “Zhaogong,” 20<sup>th</sup> year

50. Jeolyeongsan is modern Yeongdo Island in Busan. Yeongdo Island was originally called Jeolyeong Island. Until the late Joseon period, there had been a horse ranch there.

開元二十一年 大唐遣使教諭曰 “靺鞨渤海 外稱蕃翰 內懷狡猾 今欲出兵 問罪卿亦發兵 相爲掎角 聞有舊將金庾信孫允中在 須差此人爲將”

In the twenty first year [733] of the Kaiyuan era, Great Tang sent [the Silla king] envoys with an imperial decree stating,<sup>51</sup> “Though the Malgal Balhae<sup>52</sup> outwardly call themselves my frontier vassal, they are in reality harboring treacherous thoughts. I now wish to punish the offenders by sending troops against them. You should mobilize your troops to act in concert with us in a pincers movement. I have heard that Yunjung, the former general Yusin’s grandson, is there. You should appoint him general.”

仍賜允中金帛若干 於是大王命允中·弟允文等四將軍 率兵會唐兵 伐渤海

Further, [the Emperor] granted Yunjung some gold and silk. At this time the Great King commanded four generals, including Yunjung and his younger brother Yunmun,<sup>53</sup> to lead troops, alongside the Tang forces, and subjugate Balhae.<sup>54</sup>

允中庶孫巖 性聰敏 好習方術 少壯爲伊瀆 入唐宿衛 間就師 學陰陽家法 聞一隅則反之以三隅 自述遁甲立成之法 呈於其師 師憮然曰 “不圖吾子之明 達至於此也” 從是而後 不敢以弟子待之

Kim Am, Yunjung’s son by a concubine, was intelligent and agile by nature. He was fond of learning the occult arts. He became *ichan* as a young man and entered Tang as a palace guard. He occasionally studied the occult arts with a master of the Yin-Yang School.<sup>55</sup> From one lesson, he could gain three

51. In the ninth month of 732, King Mu (r. 719-737) of Balhae sent his general Jang Munhyu 張文休 to attack Tang at Dengzhou (in modern Shandong province). Jang Munhyu killed Weijun 韋俊, prefect of Dengzhou, and raided the town. In 733, Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713-756) sent Chamberlain He Xingcheng 何行成 and Supernumerary Minister of the Court of the Imperial Stud Kim Saran 金思蘭 as envoys to Silla to confer upon King Seongdeok the title Commander Unequaled in Honor, Governor General of Ninghai 開府儀同三司寧海軍使 and urge him to attack Balhae. See the record of the thirty second year (733) of King Seongdeok in chapter eight of SS.

52. Malgal Balhae 渤海靺鞨 refers to the state established by the Malgal people (also known as the Mohe people). It appears as a country name in *Jiu Tangshu* 199.

53. Yunmun 允文 was the younger brother of Yunjung, a grandson of Kim Yusin.

54. According to the thirty second year (733) of King Seongdeok in chapter eight of SS, heavy snow fell just in time, blocking the mountain paths. More than half of the Silla army perished and the army had to retreat without any gains.

55. The original text says the “methods of the Yin-Yang School” 陰陽家法. This refers to the magical arts 術法 that predetermine good and bad fortune 吉凶禍福, based on the four seasons 四時 and points of the compass 方位.

other lessons by himself.<sup>56</sup> He wrote *A Quick Method for Transformation*<sup>57</sup> and presented it to his master. His master exclaimed, “I never knew that your brilliance reached so far.” From this moment on he did not treat Am as a disciple.

大曆中還國 爲司天大博士 歷良·康·漢·三州太守 復爲執事侍郎·涇 江鎮頭上  
所至盡心撫字 三務之餘 教之以六陣兵法 人皆便之

During the Dali era [766-779], he returned to Silla and was appointed erudite of celestial phenomena.<sup>58</sup> Having served as governor of Yangu, Gangju, and Hanju—the Three *Ju*—he became an attendant gentleman of the chancellery office and commander of Paegang garrison.<sup>59</sup> Wherever he went, he devoted his mind to find ways to comfort and care for the people. Taking advantage of the leisure time afforded by the three farming seasons, he taught the people the Six Battle Formations<sup>60</sup> which they all found useful.

56. This shows his outstanding capacity to understand. This phrase is a modified form of the passage from the *Analec*s 7:8, which reads, “When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson” 舉一隅 不以三隅反 則不復也. See Legge 1960, 1:197.

57. Kim Am 金巖 wrote the *A Quick Method for Transformation* 遁甲立成之法, while in Tang. Wagner’s translation for the title is “*Principles of Transformation of Substances*.” But, *A Quick Method for Transformation* is more appropriate because his work showed a quick method to make one’s body invisible and how to attract good fortune 吉 and avoid misfortune 凶 by taking advantage of the changing nature of *yin* and *yang*.

58. The erudite of celestial phenomena 司天大博士 was the position given to the person in charge of observing astronomical phenomena. The original name of the position was “astronomy professor” 天文博士. The erudite of celestial phenomena is thought to have had astronomy professors under him.

59. Paegang garrison 涇江鎮, situated in Pyeongsan in Hwanghae province, was the highest military and administrative organization in the reclaimed territory north of the Yeseong River and south of the Daedong River. “Commander” 頭上 is an abbreviation for “commander and great supervisor” 頭上大監.

60. The Six Battle Formations 六陣兵法 is mentioned in chapter seven of *SS*, during the fourteenth year (674) of King Munmu’s reign. The text says King Munmu went to inspect the troops in front of Yeongmyo Monastery, and there he watched Seol Sujin’s Six Battle Formations. This indicates the stratagem was already being used at the time of King Munmu. This battle formation was invented by Li Jing 李靖 (571-649) of Tang, who based it on Zhuge Liang’s Eight Battle Formations (*Ba zhen fa* 八陣法). Wagner’s translation for the 六陣兵法 is “six column battle formation” (Wagner 1984, 85) while both Jamieson’s and Shultz’s are “Six Column Maneuver” (Jamieson 1969, 160; Shultz and Kang 2012, 238). However, the word “column” is omitted here because the character jin 陣 refers to a formation rather than a column.

嘗有蝗蟲 自西入涇江之界 蠢然蔽野 百姓憂懼 巖登山頂 焚香祈天 忽風 雨大作 蝗蟲盡死

One day, a swarm of locusts had flown over the Paegang River valley from the west and the fields were alive with them. People were afraid and did not know what to do. Kim Am climbed to the top of the mountain, burned incense, and prayed to Heaven. Suddenly a strong wind rose up along with a heavy rain and the locusts died.

大曆十四年己未 受命聘日本國 其國王 知其賢 欲勒留之 會大唐使臣高 鶴林來 相見甚懼 倭人認巖爲大國所知 故不敢留乃還

In the fourteenth year of the Dali era, *gimi* [779], Kim Am was sent to Japan for a courtesy visit.<sup>61</sup> The king of Japan, knowing of his wisdom, wanted to detain him. At the same time Gao Helin, an emissary of Great Tang, arrived. They were greatly pleased to meet each other.<sup>62</sup> Since the Wa came to know that Kim Am was famous in the Great State [China], they did not dare keep him, but let him go home.

夏四月 旋風坌起 自庾信墓 至始祖大王之陵 塵霧暗冥 不辨人物 守陵 人聞其中 若有哭泣悲嘆之聲 惠恭大王 聞之恐懼 遣大臣 致祭謝過 仍於 鷲仙寺 納田 三十結 以資冥福 是寺 庾信平麗·濟二國 所營立也

In the summer, during the fourth month, a whirlwind suddenly kicked up and went from Yusin's tomb to the tomb of the Great Founder King.<sup>63</sup> The day grew dark and the sky was so obscured by dust and fog that one could not distinguish men from their surroundings. The guards heard something like the sound of bitter, grief-filled crying coming from within the tombs. Great King Hyegong, learning of this, became fearful and sent high officials to offer sacrifices and apologies. Then, he donated thirty gyeol of rice-land to Chwiseon Monastery

61. Kim Am visited Japan as an envoy in 779 on the King's orders. This is recorded in chapter thirty five of the *Chronicles of Japan Continued* (*Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀). The delegation was comprised of Kim Am and four other envoys.

62. Kim Am probably became friends with Gao Helin during the former's time as a palace guard in Tang.

63. In chapter one of *SY*, in the story of "King Michu and the Bamboo-leaf Army" 味鄒王 竹葉軍, Ilyeon notes that the lineage of the royal Kim family started with King Michu (r. 262-284). Thus the Great Founder King seems to refer to King Michu 味鄒王, the founder of the Kim clan, rather than Hyeokkeose, the progenitor of Silla.

[for them] to pray for Yusin's repose.<sup>64</sup> This temple had been established by Yusin after he pacified the two kingdoms of Goguryeo and Baekje.

庚信玄孫新羅執事郎長清 作行錄十卷 行於世 頗多釀辭 故刪落之 取其 可書者 爲之傳

Jipsarang<sup>65</sup> Jangcheong,<sup>66</sup> Yusin's great-great-grandson, wrote a ten-volume<sup>67</sup> Biographical Account [of Kim Yusin] which has come down to us. Since there were too many invented stories [about Kim Yusin] in it, compilers discarded some and selected what were worthy to make this biography.

論曰 唐李絳對憲宗曰 “遠邪佞 進忠直 與大臣言 敬而信 無使小人參焉 與賢者遊 親而禮 無使不肖預焉” 誠哉 斯言也 實爲君之要道也 故書曰 『任賢勿貳 去邪勿疑』  
Commentary: Li Jiang<sup>68</sup> of Tang said in front of Emperor Xianzong,<sup>69</sup> “Stay

64. A similar account is also found in the section “Kim Yusin” in chapter one of *SY*. The royal Kim clan used to gather every spring at Jaemae Valley 財買谷 where Yusin's wife was buried. At the entrance to the valley, a hermitage was built for the purpose of praying for the repose of the deceased. It was called the Chamber of Pine Bloom (*Songhwa-bang* 松花房).

65. *Jipsarang* 執事郎 refers to the scribe 郎 of the chancellery office 執事省. Initially “scribe” was *sa* 史, but King Gyeongdeok (r. 742-765) changed it to *rang* 郎. During King Hyeogong's reign (765-780) it was changed back to *sa*. The scribe of the chancellery office 執事郎 is the lowest among the five ranks in this office.

66. The only mention of Kim Jangcheong 金長清 is here. In the sixth year (770) of King Hyeogong, Daechan Kim Yung 金融 rebelled and was executed. He is presumed to be one of Kim Yusin's descendants. Some attribute Kim Jangcheong's compilation of *A Biographical Account of Kim Yusin* 金庚信行錄 to his desire to rehabilitate the Kim lineage, as it had declined on account of Kim Yung.

67. It is believed that Kim Jangcheong wrote this to remove the stigma from the name of Kim Yung who had been sentenced to death after the rebellion in 770. This biography covers the events up until Kim Am's visit to Japan as an envoy in 779; however, it does not mention the posthumous investment of Kim Yusin as *Heungmu Daewang* by King Heongdeok in 835. Therefore, the date of composition can be set sometime in between 779 and 835. Moreover, it seems the biography was compiled for the posthumous investment of Kim Yusin. It also constituted the main source for the present three volumes of his biography. Most of Kim Yusin's life is romanticized, such as his lifelong loyalty for the country, his community-oriented spirit, and his invincibility in wars. According to Lee Ki-baik, all of these contributed to his image as a great historical figure. Kim Busik stated there were many exaggerated aspects that had to be omitted from this biography.

68. Li Jiang 李絳 was a loyal subject of Emperor Xianzong (r. 805-820) of Tang. After passing the literary licentiate examination (*jinsbi ke* 進士科) and the erudite literatus examination (*hongci ke* 宏辭科), he became a royal secret inspector. In addition, he was a member of the Hanlin Academy, and expressed opposition to Xianzong's decisions on several occasions. The passage here reproduces the words Li Jiang said to Xianzong, and can be found in his biography. See *Xin Tangshu* 152 and 164.

69. Xianzong 憲宗 was an emperor during the late Tang. He modelled his politics after those of the previous emperors Taizong (r. 626-649) and Gaozong (r. 649-683). He wanted to pass reform laws and erect a monument eulogizing his virtuous deeds (*shengzheng bei* 聖政碑), but he abandoned his

away from the wicked and sycophantic, and employ the loyal and upright. When speaking with high officials, treat them with respect and trust. Do not have petty men participate in government. When associating with worthies, be intimate yet courteous. Do not allow unworthy men to interfere.” How trustworthy this saying is! Truly this is the essential way for the ruler. Hence, the *Book of Documents* says, “In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Cast aside evil without hesitation.”<sup>70</sup>

觀夫新羅之待庾信也 親近而無間 委任而不貳 謀行言聽 不使怨乎不以 可謂得六五童蒙之吉 故庾信得以行其志 與上國協謀 合三土爲一家 能以功名終焉

Judging from Silla’s treatment of Kim Yusin, their relations must have been intimate and close without estrangement. Responsibility was entrusted to him without suspicion. His plans were carried out and his words heard, which did not make him feel resentful for not being appreciated. It can be said that he acquired the “Six in the fifth place: Childlike folly brings good fortune.”<sup>71</sup> Hence, Yusin was able to achieve his purpose, by cooperating and planning with the Great State [China], to unite the territories of the three kingdoms to make one family. He could conclude his life with merit and fame.

雖有乙支文德之智略·張保臯之義勇 微中國之書 則泯滅而無聞 若庾信 則鄉人稱頌之 至今不亡 士大夫知之可也 至於蒞童牧豎 亦能知之 則其爲人也 必有以異於人矣

Although there was the resourcefulness of Eulji Mundeok<sup>72</sup> and the courage of

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plans when Li Jiang opposed the idea.

70. The *Book of Documents*, or *Shujing* 書經, is one of the Five Confucian Classics. It is also known as *Shangshu* 尚書. The quotation reproduced here is from “Da Yu mo” 大禹謨. See Legge 1960, 3:55.

71. See the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), Hexagram 4. See Richard Wilhelm’s (1977, 23) translation *The I ching: or Book of Changes*. “Six in the fifth place” refers to the fifth line 第五爻 among six lines 六爻 of the hexagram 卦. The fifth line is the broken line (*yin* 陰) that represents yielding and receptive power. This is interpreted to mean that those in a high position who seek instruction from others like children (*dongmong* 童蒙), will bring good fortune (*gil* 吉). Likewise, Silla’s benevolent rulers sought advice from their subjects and they harmonized each other, so they were able to achieve the great enterprise of unifying the Three Kingdoms.

72. This refers to the strategy used by Eulji Mundeok 乙支文德 when Emperor Yang of Sui (r. 604-618) sent Yu Zhongwen 于仲文 and Yuwen Shu 宇文述 to invade Goguryeo. In order to examine the enemy’s situation, Eulji Mundeok pretended to surrender; because of this, Goguryeo was able to defeat the great army of the Sui dynasty. For details, see SS chapter forty-four, “Biography of Eulji Mundeok.”

Jang Bogo,<sup>73</sup> they would not have been heard of and would have been forgotten if it had not been for the books of China.<sup>74</sup> A man like Yusin, however, has been praised by our countrymen unceasingly even to the present day. It is natural for the officials [of Goryeo] to know him, but even stable boys and herd-boys know him also. This is because his character must have been different from the ordinary people.

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73. This refers to Jang Bogo's righteous conduct and bravery as he fought for King Sinmu to take back the throne from the usurper.

74. Eulji Mundeok is mentioned in the *Book of Sui* (*Suishu* 隨書), chapter sixty, "Biography of Yu Zhongwen" and chapter sixty-one, "Biography of Yuwen Shu," and also in the *Zizhi tongjian*. Jang Bogo is recorded in Du Mu's 杜牧 *Fanchuan's Collected Writings* (*Fanchuan wenji* 樊川文集) 3 and in *Xin Tangshu* 220.

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