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Chapters 44 and 45  
of the *Samguk sagi*:  
An Annotated Translation of  
Biographies of Eulji Mundeok  
and Others

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## Note on the Translation

Our translation of chapters 44 and 45 is based on the Jeongdeok edition (1512). We have relied on the Korean translation of the *Samguk sagi* published by AKS (2017) as well as the translation uploaded in the website of National Institute of Korean History<sup>1</sup> for collating the original text and making footnotes.

The Romanization of Korean terms follows the Revised Romanization system of the South Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism; 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 and Japanese in Hepburn.

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) translated by Edward W. Wagner. 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 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.

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

Works frequently cited in the notes have been abbreviated as follows: SS

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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>).

*Samguk sagi*; *SY Samguk yusa*.

Regarding the expression of age, we applied the traditional way of counting age (*se* 歲). A person is one year old at birth and becomes two *se* on New Year's Day. Therefore, an approximation of a person's age according to modern custom can be derived by subtracting a year; although this is not foolproof.

We used courtesy name for *ja* 字 and style name for *ho* 號.

The footnotes are consecutive throughout the Note on Translation, Introduction, and Translation.

## Introduction<sup>2</sup>

*Arma virumque cano*

I sing of warfare and a man at war.

*The Aeneid*, Virgil (70-19 BCE)

Biographies in the *Samguk sagi* are composed in a tripartite structure: introduction, body, and end, but they still vary in terms of format and length. The introductions are similar to one another; they identify the personage by a somewhat formulaic order of ancestry, birth, and family background. The main bodies proceed in chronological order but often vary. Normally, they narrate large-scale events spanning decades while short biographies may give accounts of only a few events or episodes. Monologues or dialogues may be employed as well. Conclusions summarize the person's death and surviving family. In cases of important figures, commentaries of past historians are included to provide a metatextual appraisal. Descendants or related minor figures may be appended,

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2. This English translation is the second product of the on-going project that aims to translate and annotate the entire biography section in the *Samguk sagi*. It started in the second semester of 2017 with the support of the research-education program at the Academy of Korean Studies to translate the biography of Kim Yusin (chapters 41, 42, and 43) and the result was published in the previous issue of this journal (Na et al. 2018). The first semester of 2018 undertook chapters 44 and 45. Professor Shin Jeongsoo was in charge of the project, and participating students were Evelyn Ruiz, Hee-sung Kim, Ja-kyung Lee, Jee-eun Kwon, Jinsook You, Myunghee Sul, Owen Stampton, and Sanghoon Na. We wish to thank Professor Joshua Van Lieu at LaGrange College and Charles D. Randles Jr. for editing our translations, and Dr. Chanmi Ko for advising us on style issues.

also in biographic form.<sup>3</sup>

Chapter 44 contains nine biographies of military leaders and statesmen. Among them, the seven are from Silla, who contributed to either the establishment or the unification of their country. Two-thirds lived during sixth and seventh centuries. Three men of the sixth century are from Silla, who participated in Silla’s territorial expansion through military force or trickery. Another three of the seventh century are from Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla, respectively. They played key roles in the wars between the Three Kingdoms or continental empires. One may find it surprising that the biography of Eulji Mundeok (fl. 610s), general of Goguryeo, is placed first in the chapter dominated by Silla figures, but he deserves it given his remarkable achievements.<sup>4</sup> Each biography is summarized as follows:

**Table 1. List of the Biographies in Chapter 44**

No	Figure	Country	Significant Activities	References in the Annals
1	Eulji Mundeok (fl. 610s)*	Goguryeo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Won a victory in the battle against the Sui army</li> </ul>	King Yeongyang Year 22 in the Goguryeo Annals
2	Geochilbu (502-579)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expanded territory by invading Goguryeo</li> <li>• Compiled the <i>National History (Guksa 國史)</i></li> </ul>	King Jingheung Year 6, 12; King Jinji Year 1 in the Silla Annals
3	Geodo (fl.70s)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subjugated the two neighboring states of Usisan and Geochilsan</li> </ul>	N/A
4	Isabu (fl.500s)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subjugated Gaya and Usan states</li> <li>• Expanded territory into Goguryeo and Baekje</li> </ul>	King Jijeung Year 6, 13; King Jingheung Year 2, 6, 23 in the Silla Annals

3. For example, the biography of Seol Chong (617-686), great scholar of Silla entails the brief summaries of the life of other notable writers or scholars such as Choi Seungwu (fl. 890s), Choi Eonwi (868-944), and Kim Daemun (fl. 700s). See SS 46, “Seol Chong.”

4. His achievements are already recorded in Chinese records, such as *Suishu* and *Zizhi tongjian*. Shin Chaeho (1880-1936), a nationalist historian during the Japanese occupation, wrote the *Eulji Mundeok jeon (Fictional Biography of Eulji Mundeok)*. In his preface, Shin (1955, 17) eulogizes the Goguryeo general as the greatest hero and his achievement as unprecedented in Korean history.

5	Kim Inmun (629-694)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Served as a palace guard in Tang court</li> <li>• Guided the Tang army to conquer Baekje</li> <li>• Led the Silla force to assist Tang Army in attacking Goguryeo</li> </ul>	Queen Jindeok Year 5; King Taejong Muyeol Year 3, 7, 8; King Munmu Year 2, 4, 8, 14; King Hyoso Year 3 in the Silla Annals
6	Kim Yang (808-857)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defeated by the faction of King Huigang</li> <li>• Executed King Minae and enthroned King Sinmu</li> </ul>	King Huigang Year 1; King Minae Year 1 in the Silla Annals
7	Heukchi Sangji (d. 689)	Baekje	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resisted the Tang force after Baekje collapsed</li> <li>• Led Tang's expeditions against Tibet and Turk</li> </ul>	King Uija Year 20 in the Baekje Annals
8	Jang Bogo (d. 846)*	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Established Cheonghae Garrison</li> <li>• Pacified the pirates and expanded maritime trade</li> <li>• Provided military support for ousting King Minae and enthroned King Sinmu</li> </ul>	King Heungdeok Year 3; King Minae Year 1; King Munseong Year 1, 8 in the Silla Annals
9	Sadaham (fl. 560s)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Hwarang</i></li> <li>• Led the front-line troops for subjugating Dae Gaya</li> </ul>	King Jinheung Year 2, 3 in the Silla Annals

Note: Single asterisk indicates that commentary is added to the personnel's biography.

The Chapter 45 differs from the other chapters in two matters: the nationality and time period of the individuals chronicled. Men from Goguryeo constitute five out of the ten. Temporally divided, six men lived before the sixth century. Both facts show that this chapter deviates from general features of the biography section that mainly focuses on the sixth and seventh centuries of Silla. Each biography is summarized as follows:

**Table 2. List of the Biographies in Chapter 45**

No	Figure	Country	Significant Activities	References in the Annals
1	Eul Paso (d. 203)*	Goguryeo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chief State Councilor</li> <li>• Established political order</li> <li>• Implemented the relief loan law</li> </ul>	King Gogukcheon Year 13 in the Goguryeo Annals
2	Kim Hujik (fl. 580s)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stopped a royal hunting spree</li> <li>• Set a model as a loyal advisor</li> </ul>	N/A
3	Nokjin (fl. 820s)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offered advice on state affairs to the chief minister</li> <li>• Quelled a revolt</li> </ul>	King Heondeok Year 14 in the Silla Annals
4	Milu (fl. 240s) Yuyu (fl. 240s)	Goguryeo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sacrificed their lives for the king in battle</li> </ul>	King Dongcheon Year 20 in the Goguryeo Annals
5	Myeonglim Dapbu (67-179)	Goguryeo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Executed King Chadae</li> <li>• Chief State Councilor to King Sindae</li> <li>• Defeated the invasion from Later Han</li> </ul>	King Chadae Year 20; King Sindae Year 2, 8, 15 in the Goguryeo Annals
6	Seok Uro (d. 253)*	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conquered the State of Gammun</li> <li>• Won the fight with the Wa troops</li> <li>• Instigated the invasion from Wa by provoking the Wa envoy</li> </ul>	Isageum Nahae Year 14; Isageum Jobun Year 2, 4, 15, 16; Isageum Cheomhae Year 3; Isageum Heulhae Year 1 in the Silla Annals
7	Bak Jesang (363-419)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rescued the king's brothers from Goguryeo and Wa</li> </ul>	King Nulji Year 2 in the Silla Annals
8	Gwisan (d. 602)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An exemplar of "Five Precepts for Laymen"</li> <li>• Killed in combat with Baekje</li> </ul>	King Jingpyeong Year 24 in the Silla Annals; King Mu Year 3 in the Baekje Annals
9	Ondal (d. 590)	Goguryeo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Won the fight against the army of Northern Zhou</li> <li>• Killed in combat with Silla</li> </ul>	N/A

Note: Single asterisk indicates that commentary is added to the personnel's biography.

We cannot give a definitive explanation of the organization of the chapter, but the biographies seem to be arranged thematically.<sup>5</sup> The first three involved domestic affairs: Eul Paso strengthened royal authority over aristocratic power in Goguryeo; Kim Hujik persuaded King Jinpyeong (r. 579-632) to give up hunting; and Nokjin delivered a didactic message for the chief minister of Silla. In the next two biographies, Milu and Yuyu, and Myeonglim Dapbu defended their countries from the Wei and the Han attacks respectively. In the next two biographies, Seok Uro and Bak Jesang sacrificed their lives amid tense relations between Silla and Wa, albeit for different reasons. In the last two biographies, Gwisan and Ondal are praised for noble deaths on the fields of battle.

In chapters 44 and 45, commentaries are added to only three figures: Eulji Mundeok, Jang Bogo,<sup>6</sup> and Seok Uro. Whether positive or negative, they played critical roles at difficult moments. Kim Busik must have viewed the past situations in parallel with his contemporary crisis.<sup>7</sup> By commenting on these three men of the past, Kim Busik might have intended to suggest solutions for internal conundrums and external threats of his time. Certainly, the moral and political lessons look obvious throughout the biographies for the issues which may transcend time; the social and political scenes in this old text can be worth reviewing.

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5. Yi Ugyeong (1997, 90-91) provides her interpretation of the arrangement of personages in Chapter 45 by noting that the adjoining biographies are thematically linked.

6. The commentary to Jang Bogo came from remarks of Du Mu (803-852), an eminent poet of Tang and Song Qi (998-1061), scholar of Northern Song (960-1127). They drew an analogy between Jang Bogo and Guo Ziyi (697-781), a notable Tang general.

7. In the twelfth century, the court of Goryeo was mired in a power struggle and was rife with corruption and conspiracy. Earlier, in 1126, Yi Jagyeom (d. 1126), maternal grandfather of King Injong (r. 1122-1146), abused his power. He and his underlings seized others' properties and took bribes. Eventually, he rebelled against the king's authority and set fire to the palace. In 1135, Monk Myocheong (d. 1135) and his followers revolted, calling for the relocation of the capital, but he was subdued by the royal troops under the command of Kim Busik in the following year. Externally, Goryeo was troubled by continual Jurchen attacks on its northern border for decades. After the Jurchen established the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) and soon destroyed the Liao (907-1125), Goryeo came under severe pressure.

## Translation

### 三國史記 卷 第四十四 *Samguk sagi*, Chapter 44

列傳 第四

Biographies 4

#### Part 1: The Biography of Eulji Mundeok<sup>8</sup>

乙支文德 未詳其世系 資沈鷲有智數 兼解屬文 隋開皇中 煬帝下詔征高句麗 於是左翊衛大將軍宇文述 出扶餘道 右翊衛大將軍于仲文 出樂浪道 與九軍至鴨 渌水文德受王命 詣其營詐降 實欲觀其虛實

The lineage of Eulji Mundeok [fl. 610s]<sup>9</sup> is unknown. He was self-possessed, brave, and resourceful. He was also well-versed in composition.<sup>10</sup> During the Kaihuang era [581-600]<sup>11</sup> of the Sui dynasty, Emperor Yang issued an edict declaring war on Goguryeo. Yuwen Shu [d. 616],<sup>12</sup> great general of Left Assisting Guard, marched from the Fuyu Circuit.<sup>13</sup> Yu Zhongwen [c. 545-613],<sup>14</sup> great general of Right Assisting Guard, proceeded from the Lelang

8. The present translation has benefited from the excerpt that Peter Lee translated in the *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*. See Lee 1993, 37-39.

9. This present biography is sourced from “Yu Zhongwen” in the *Suishu* 60, “Yuwen Shu” in the *Suishu* 61, and from “Suiji 5” of the *Zizhi tongjian* 181. According to chapter fifty-one of the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam (Revised and Augmented Korean Gazetteer 新增東國輿地勝覽)* (1530), Eulji Mundeok is recorded as a general from Pyeongyang. Hong Yangho also states that Eulji’s hometown was Seokdasan 石多山 in Pyeongyang and thus people in the region built a shrine to hold memorial services for him. See *Haedong myeongjang jeon* 1, “Eulji Mundeok.”

10. The record of Eulji Mundeok’s personal qualities and capability is found only in this biography.

11. This is a scribal error for the Daye 大業 era (605-618) because Kaihuang 開皇 is the reign title of Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 581-604) of the Sui dynasty. It was during the Daye era when Emperor Yang declared war on Goguryeo. According to the *Zizhi tongjian* 181, the edict was issued in the fifth month of the year *imo*, the eighth year (612) of the Daye era. It is also recorded in the 23<sup>rd</sup> year (612) of King Yeongyang’s reign in *SS* 20.

12. Yuwen Shu 宇文述 (d. 616), courtesy name Botong 伯通, was a general of the Sui dynasty. He was ethnically Xianbei 鮮卑. When Emperor Yang (r. 604-618) ascended the throne in 604, he appointed Yuwen Shu to be grand general of Left Assisting Guard. See *Suishu* 61, “Yuwen Shu.”

13. The region where the troops marched from was called a circuit (*do* 道). Fuyu Circuit lay in northern Manchuria. During the Joseon period, the circuit referred to the route taken by the local administrator when he inspected the territory for which he was responsible. By extensions, then, the circuit referred to the whole administrative unit and not just the route.

14. Yu Zhongwen 于仲文 (c. 545-613) distinguished himself in war during the reign of Emperor Wen (r.

Circuit.<sup>15</sup> They reached the Amnok River [Yalu in Chinese] together with nine armies.<sup>16</sup> Upon the royal order, Mundeok went to the camp of Sui and ostensibly surrendered, but in fact he was seeking to observe their strengths and weaknesses.

述與仲文 先奉密旨 若遇王及文德來 則執之 仲文等 將留之 尙書右丞劉士龍 爲慰撫使 固止之 遂聽 文德歸深悔之 遣人給文德曰 “更欲有議 可復來” 文德不顧 遂濟鴨淥而歸 述與仲文 既失文德 內不自安

Earlier Yuwen Shu and Yu Zhongwen had received a secret imperial edict. It stated, “Capture the king or Mundeok if you come upon them.” Thus, Zhongwen and others were about to detain him. Liu Shilong [d. 612],<sup>17</sup> assistant director of the Right of the Department of State Affairs,<sup>18</sup> was then serving as Commissioner of Pacification and he strongly opposed this plan, so they heeded him. Once Mundeok left, they deeply regretted having let him go and sent a man to lure him back with a message saying, “We wish to discuss something again with you. You should come back.” Mundeok did not look back and crossed the Amnok River to go home. Both Shu and Zhongwen were unsettled at having lost him.

述以糧盡欲還 仲文謂 “以精銳追文德 可以有功” 述止之 仲文怒曰 “將軍仗十萬兵 不能破小賊 何顏以見帝” 述等不得已而從之 度鴨淥水追之

Shu planned to withdraw because he was short of provisions.<sup>19</sup> Zhongwen said,

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581-604) and was appointed to be grand general of Right Assisting Guard when Emperor Yang acceded to the throne in 604. After his troops were defeated by Goguryeo forces, he was relegated to the position of subofficial functionary (*li* in Chinese 吏) and then incarcerated. See *Suishu* 60, “Yu Zhongwen.”

15. Lolang Circuit is presumed to have been in the southern region of Liaodong.

16. According to *Suishu*, in the first month of the eighth year (612) of the Daye era, twenty-four armies in total joined the campaign and were supposed to meet at Pyeongyang. However, in the seventh month, the nine armies were defeated, and only 2,000 horsemen came back alive. See *Suishu* 4, “Emperor Yang II.”

17. According to the *Zizhi tongjian*, “The emperor commanded Wei Wensheng (541-617), minister of penal affairs, and Liu Shilong (d. 612), right assistant director, to appease the people living in Liaodong [Goguryeo]” 命刑部尙書衛文昇 尙書右丞劉士龍撫遼左之民. See *Zizhi tongjian* 181, “Book of Sui” 5, Emperor Yang, Daye 8, Month 2.

18. The Department of State Affairs 尙書都省 had an assistant director of the Right and that of the Left, who performed their duties under the six ministries 六部. See *Suishu* 27, “Government Offices II.” See also Hucker 1985, 412n5059.

19. They departed from Liaodong carrying provisions for one hundred days. Each man was expected to

“If our elite troops are sent to pursue Mundeok, they will be successful.” Shu objected and Zhongwen retorted angrily, “How will you be able to face the emperor if you, general, cannot crush such a puny foe with a hundred thousand troops?” Shu and others were compelled to follow Zhongwen and crossed the Amnok River in pursuit of Mundeok

文德見隋軍士有饑色 欲疲之 每戰輒北 述等一日之中 七戰皆捷 既恃驟勝 又逼羣議 遂進東 濟薩水 去平壤城三十里 因山爲營

Mundeok saw the famished appearance of the Sui troops and sought to wear them down by feigning flight at every engagement. Shu and his troops won seven battles in a single day. Relying on their string of victories, the consensus insisted to finally advance east across the Salsu River and pitch camp on a mountain thirty *li* [22.5 km]<sup>20</sup> from the fortress.

文德遣仲文詩曰“神策究天文 妙算窮地理 戰勝功既高 知足願云止”

Mundeok sent the following poem to Zhongwen:<sup>21</sup>

When divine plans have permeated the heavens  
And subtle reckoning has spanned the earth,  
Battle victories are of a merit already great;  
Knowing satisfaction, do you not wish to call a halt?<sup>22</sup>

仲文答書諭之 文德又遣使詐降 請於述曰“若旋師者 當奉王 朝行在所” 述見士卒疲弊 不可復戰 又平壤城險固 難以猝拔 遂因其詐而還 爲方陣而行 文德出軍四面鈔擊之 述等且戰且行

Zhongwen sent a reply to admonish him. Mundeok again dispatched a

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carry more than three *seok* (approximately 180 kg) of weight. Many resorted to discarding the food. By the time they had reached the Amnok River, however, the army's shortage of provisions was acute. See *SS* 20, King Yeongyang, Year 23, Month 6. See also *Zizhi tongjian* 181, “Book of Sui” 5, Emperor Yang, Daye 8, Month 5.

20. One *li* was 0.75 km (0.5 mile)

21. This old-style verse (*gushi* 古詩) is the oldest extant example of the pentasyllabic quatrain in Korean literature. The old-style verse is Chinese verse genre that emerged in the second century. See Lee 2003, 40.

22. The line alludes to the *Daode jing* 44. The full quotation is, “Knowing what is enough, you will not be humiliated. Knowing where to stop, you will not be imperiled. And can be long-lasting” 知足不辱 知止不殆 可以長久. See Muller's English translation (available at <http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/daodejing.html>, accessed June 26, 2018).

messenger to fake a surrender and make a request of Shu, saying, “If you withdraw, I shall escort our king to pay a visit to the emperor in his temporary quarters.”<sup>23</sup> Shu observed that his soldiers were too exhausted to fight again and Fortress was too formidable to destroy at once. At last he submitted to Mundeok’s plot and withdrew his troops. While the troops were deployed into a quadrangle configuration<sup>24</sup> and marching, Mundeok sent out his army to attack them from four sides. Shu and his troops fought back while retreating.

至薩水 軍半濟 文德進軍 擊其後軍 殺右屯衛將軍辛世雄 於是 諸軍俱潰 不可禁止 九軍將士奔還 一日一夜 至鴨淥水 行四百五十里 初 度遼 九軍三十萬五千人 及還至遼東城 唯二千七百人

When they reached the Salsu River and were in the midst of fording it, Mundeok advanced his troops and dealt a severe blow to the rearguard, slaying Xin Shixiong [d. 612],<sup>25</sup> general of the Right Camp Guard. Then all the soldiers fell into great disorder and could no longer resist. The generals and soldiers of the nine armies fled for a day and night over 450 *li* [297.5 km] to the Amnok River. When they crossed the Liao River, the nine armies had numbered 305,000; when they came back to Liaodong Fortress, they numbered 2,700.

論曰 煬帝遼東之役 出師之盛 前古未之有也 高句麗一偏方小國 而能拒之 不唯自保而已 滅其軍幾盡者 文德一人之力也 傳曰『不有君子 其能國乎』信哉

Commentary: For the Liaodong Campaigns, Emperor Yang mobilized an enormous army, the likes of which had never been seen before. Goguryeo was a small, remote country, but it was able to expel the Sui forces. Not only did Goguryeo protect itself, but it also almost completely destroyed the Sui forces; this was the power of one man, Mundeok. It is said in the *Commentary*<sup>26</sup> that “Without superior men, how can a ruler order his state?” How true!

23. According to *Suishu* 81, “Gaoli” 高麗, the temporary quarters were at Liaodong Fortress: “The emperor [Yang] was camped at Liaodong Fortress” 上營於遼東城.

24. The quadrangle configuration was a diamond formation designed to fight against the enemy on four sides.

25. Xin Shixiong 辛世雄 (n.d.) took the route through Xuantu 玄菟 when he came to Goguryeo. He was killed while crossing the Salsu River. See *SS* 20, King Yeongyang, Year 23. See also *Zizhi tongjian* 181, “Book of Sui” 5, Emperor Yang, Daye 8, Month 5.

26. This *Commentary* refers to the *Zuozhuan* (*Zuo’s Commentary* 左傳). The full quotation is, “If one does not have noble men, how can one rule a domain? Your domain is not so backward!” 不有君子 其能國乎 國無陋矣. See *Zuozhuan*, “Lord Wen” 12. See also Durrant et al. 2016, 2:527.

## Part 2. The Biography of Geochilbu

居柒夫 或云荒宗 姓金氏 奈勿王五世孫 祖仍宿角干 父勿力伊濱

Geochilbu {some say Hwangjong},<sup>27</sup> family name Kim, was the fifth descendant of King Namul [r. 356-402]. His grandfather was *Gakgan* Ingsuk [n.d.] and his father was *Ichan* Mullyeok [n.d.].

居柒夫少 跡弛有遠志 祝髮爲僧 遊觀四方 便欲覘高句麗 入其境 聞法師惠亮開堂說經 遂詣聽講經

When he was young, Geochilbu followed his whims but had far-reaching ambitions. He had his head shaved to become a monk and travelled all around the country. Then he wanted to investigate Goguryeo and entered its territory. He heard that Dharma Master Hyeryang [fl. 550s]<sup>28</sup> had opened a lecture hall where he was giving sermons. Geochilbu thus went to hear him lecture on the sutras.

一日惠亮問曰“沙彌從何來”對曰“某新羅人也”其夕法師招來相見握手密言曰“吾閱人多矣 見汝容貌 定非常流 其殆有異心乎”答曰“某生於偏方 未聞道理聞師之德譽 來伏下風 願師不拒 以卒發蒙”師曰“老僧不敏 亦能識子 此國雖小 不可謂無知人者 恐子見執 故密告之 宜疾其歸”

One day, Hyeryang asked him, “Young novice [*sami*],<sup>29</sup> where have you come

27. Geochilbu 居柒夫 (502-579) was a general during the period of King Jinheung's reign. Though his name was transcribed as Hwangjong 荒宗 in Chinese characters, it would have been rendered as Geochilbu when the name was read in Korean pronunciation. The rendering of Geochilbu's name is worthy of note, due to the fact that the Chinese character *hwang* (rough or coarse 荒) is pronounced *geochil* in vernacular Korean and the character *jong* 宗 means *bo* (crossbeam), which sounds similar to the Sino-Korean *bu* 夫. His name appears in various forms: as 居七夫 on the King Jinheung's stele inscription at Changnyeong in South Gyeongsang province, as 居杵夫 on the same king's stele inscription at Maun Pass in South Hamgyeong province, and as 久遲布禮 in “Emperor Keitai” 繼體天皇 in the *Nihon shoki* 17.

28. Hyeryang 惠亮 was a Goguryeo Buddhist monk. The political situation of Goguryeo had become chaotic and showed signs of decline. Though it is unclear in which temple he stayed, it seems to have been located in either south of modern Gyeonggi province or north of North Chungcheong province since he met Geochilbu again when Geochilbu was occupying the territory north of Jungnyeong Pass in modern North Chungcheong province.

29. The word *sami* (novice monk 沙彌) is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *śrāmaṇera*. A novice monk in the Buddhist order is one who has taken the ten precepts 十戒. It is translated into Chinese variously as: “one who ceases from evil and does works of mercy, or lives altruistically” 息惡行慈; “a zealous man” 勸策男; “one who seeks quiescence” 求寂; “one who seeks the peace of *nirvāṇa*” 求涅槃寂. In this context, it refers to a person who cultivates the practices and views conducive to enlightenment.

from?” Geochilbu replied, “I am a man from Silla.” It was that night that Dharma Master Hyeryang summoned Geochilbu to meet with him. He took him by the hand, telling him in secret, “I have seen many men.”<sup>30</sup> From your appearance, I judge that you are no ordinary person. Perhaps you may have other intentions?” He responded, “I was born in a peripheral land and have not heard of the fundamentals of the way [of Buddhism]. Hearing of your virtue and fame, I thus came here to listen and receive your teachings. It is my wish that you, Master, do not deny me but rather enlighten me completely.” The master said, “Though being the incapable old monk that I am, I can still read you. This country may be small, but it does not mean that there is no one who can read others. I worry you may be found and captured, therefore I secretly advise you this—it would be best if you make haste and return whence you came.”

居柒夫欲還 師又語曰 “相汝鸞頷鷹視 將來必爲將帥 若以兵行 無貽我害”  
居柒夫曰 “若如師言 所不與師同好者 有如皞日” 遂還國返本從仕 職至大阿漚  
When Geochilbu was about to return, the master also said, “I see in your face the chin of a swallow and the eyes of a hawk; in the future you will surely become a general. If you were to come back commanding your troops, then I beseech you, do no harm unto me.” Geochilbu replied, “If it is as the Master says, then this would be something from which neither one of us could take enjoyment, so I swear on the bright sun. With this, he returned home, where he entered public office. His rank reached the position of *dae-achan*.

眞興大王六年乙丑 承朝旨 集諸文士 修撰國史 加官波珍漚

In the sixth year of King Jinheung’s reign [r. 534-576], *eulchuk* [545], he received the royal decree and gathered together men of letters to compile the national history.<sup>31</sup> He was promoted to the rank of *pajinchan*.

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See Charles Muller’s *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, 沙彌, 勤策男 (available at <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>, accessed June 14, 2018).

30. In this passage, Hyeryang states that he has “seen many men” but some scholars interpret this phrase as being more than just simply seeing many faces; the meaning of the two Chinese characters 觀相 hints at Hyeryang possessing physiognomic abilities to read the features of people and understand their character. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4: 707n24.

31. According to the account of the seventh month of the sixth year (545) of King Jinheung’s reign, Isabu (n.d) suggested compiling the national history (*guksa* 國史). Thereupon, the king ordered Geochilbu and others to do it. The compilation of national histories in the Three Kingdoms was

十二年辛未 王命居柒夫及仇珍大角滄·比台角滄·耽知迺滄·非西迺滄·奴夫波珍滄·西力夫波珍滄·比次夫大阿滄·未珍夫阿滄等 八將軍 與百濟侵高句麗 百濟人先攻破平壤 居柒夫等乘勝 取竹嶺以外高峴以內十郡

In the twelfth year, *sinmi* [551], the King commanded Geochilbu and his eight generals to join with Baekje forces and attack Goguryeo.<sup>32</sup> The eight generals are *Daegakchan*<sup>33</sup> Gujin [n.d.], *Gakchan* Bitae [n.d.], *Japchan* Tamji [n.d.],<sup>34</sup> *Japchan* Biseo [n.d.], *Pajinchan* Nobu [n.d.], *Pajinchan* Seoryeokbu [n.d.], *Dae-achan* Bichabu [n.d.],<sup>35</sup> and *Achan* Mijinbu [n.d.]. The people of Baekje first destroyed Pyeongyang<sup>36</sup> [modern Mount Bukhan Fortress] and then Geochilbu and the others, riding on the high of their victories, also took ten commanderies ranging from Jungnyeong Pass to the north of Gohyeon.<sup>37</sup>

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carried out with the ostentatious aim of showing the majesty of the state and royal family at a time of promulgation of codes of administrative law and external territorial expansion. It seems likely that he was promoted to *pajinchan* (Rank 4) later due to his contribution to compiling the national history.

32. These eight generals occupied the territories between Jungnyeong Pass and Gohyeon during the 12<sup>th</sup> year (551) of King Jinheung. Out of the eight, only two generals, Tamji 耽知 (n.d.) and Bichabu 比次夫 (n.d.), are mentioned in the account of 12<sup>th</sup> year of King Jinheung's reign in *SS* 4. Out of the eight, three generals (Nobu, Bichabu, and Seoryeokbu) are found in the Jeokseong stele inscription at Danyang. Nobu is recorded as Naechalbuji 内礼夫智 and Seoryeokbu is as Seobujilji 西夫叱智 in the inscription.
33. The title of *daegakchan* 大角滄 was another name for *daegakkan* 大角干. Together with the title of *gakgan* 角干, the rank *gakchan* 角滄 was also another name for the highest rank *ibeolchan* 伊伐滄. It was an official rank of extraordinarily high status over the other 16 ranks of Silla.
34. Tamji 耽知 (n.d.) was a general at the time of King Jinheung's reign (r. 540-576). Yukio Takeda 武田幸男 suggests that he is the same person as *Pijin-ganji* Dumiji 彼珍干支 豆弥智 whose name appears in the Jeokseong stele inscription at Danyang. See Takeda 1979, 13. In the twelfth year (551) of King Jinheung's reign, together with Geochilbu and others, he participated in a war in which they occupied ten counties of Goguryeo between Jungnyeong Pass and Gohyeon (in modern Hwanghae province). In the fifteenth year (554) of King Jinheung's reign, as *ichan* (Rank 2) he participated in the battle of Gwansan Fortress.
35. Bichabu 比次夫 (n.d.) was as a general at the time of King Jinheung. It seems that he is the same person as *Agan* Bichabu 阿干 比次夫 whose name appears in the Jeokseong stele inscription at Danyang. He is from Takbu 啄部. He reached the rank of *dae-achan* (Rank 5). In the twelfth year (551) of King Jinheung's reign, as *agan* (or *achan*, Rank 6) he also participated in capturing ten counties of Goguryeo with Geochilbu.
36. Pyeongyang here refers to Nam Pyeongyang (South Pyeongyang), which is modern Mount Bukhan Fortress in Seoul.
37. The location of Gohyeon is unclear. In the *Haedong jido* (*Atlas of the Eastern Country* 海東地圖), the name Gohyeon appears in Goksan-gun, Hwanghae province. In the section "Mountains and Rivers of Goksan-gun" of the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam*, Gohyeon is presumed to be Mount Godal 高達山. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:708n31. There is another who estimates the modern location to be at Cheolryeong. There is yet another suggestion that it is located in modern Cheolryeong. See Yi 1997, 385.

至是惠亮法師 領其徒出路上 居柒夫下馬 以軍禮揖拜 進曰 “昔遊學之日 蒙法師之恩 得保性命 今邂逅相遇 不知何以爲報” 對曰 “今我國政亂 滅亡無日 願致之貴域” 於是 居柒夫同載以歸 見之於王 王以爲僧統 始置百座講會及八關之法

At this time, Dharma Master Hyeryang commanded his own group to go out on the road. Geochilbu dismounted from his steed and bowed to him with military courtesy. He went forth, proclaiming, “In the past when I travelled to learn, by my master’s grace bestowed upon me, I was able to preserve my life. Right now, reunited with one another, I do not know how I can repay you.” The master replied, “Now the political situation of my country is in disarray and the day of our destruction is on the horizon. It is my wish that you take me to your country.” With this, Geochilbu rode back together with him and let him meet with the king. The king appointed him director of monks<sup>38</sup> and it was from then on that the Hundred-Seat Assembly<sup>39</sup> and the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions<sup>40</sup> were held.

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38. The director of monks (*seung tong* 僧統) was the highest rank in the Silla Buddhist priesthood, also referred to as *guktong* 國統 or *saju* 寺主. Hyeryang was the first monk to be appointed to this position. This title is recorded as *saju* in SS 40, “Official Titles III.”

39. The Hundred-Seat Assembly refers to the gathering of many Buddhist monks that would read the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* 仁王經 in order to pray for peace of the nation. In the chapter “Protecting the State” 護國品 of this sutra, it is written that a reading of the *Sūtra for Humane Kings* twice a day was required for the kings to protect the state from calamities such as drought, flood, invasion, etc. The text has been popular throughout East Asia. First practiced in 559 in China, this ceremony also became strongly promulgated in Korea and Japan. Also called 仁王齋, 仁王般若會, 仁王道場, 百座道場, 百座會, and 仁王百高座道場. See Charles Muller’s *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, 百座會 (available at <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>, accessed June 14, 2018). The first event of the assembly in Korean history was held by Dharma Master Hyeryang in the 12<sup>th</sup> year (551) of King Jinheung’s reign.

40. The eight precepts 八關之法 are known as *palgwanjae* 八關齋 (“eight prohibitory commands 八關 and fasting 齋”): not to kill; not to take things not given; no ignoble (i.e., sexual) conduct; not to speak falsely; not to drink wine; not to indulge in cosmetics, personal adornments, dancing, or music; not to sleep on fine beds, but on a mat on the ground; and not to eat outside of regulation hours, i.e., after noon. They are the first eight of the ten precepts 十戒, that strict lay Buddhists were meant to follow for one day and night, six days per month, on the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth days of the lunar calendar. See Charles Muller’s *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, 八戒 (available at <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>, accessed June 14, 2018). However, in this context, they refer to the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions, known as Palgwan Assembly, which was a Buddhist ceremony held in the eleventh month for the purpose of appeasing the spirits of the soldiers who died in battle. The first ceremony was held by Dharma Master Hyeryang in the 12<sup>th</sup> year (551) of King Jinheung’s reign. Moreover, on the 10<sup>th</sup> month of the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of King Jinheung’s reign, the court established Palgwan assemblies in the outer compounds of monasteries for the war dead, and the assemblies lasted for seven days. See SS 4, King Jinheung, Year 33.

眞智王元年丙申 居柒夫爲上大等 以軍國事務自任 至老終於家 享年七十八  
 During the first year of King Jinji's reign [r. 576-579], *byeongsin* [576], Geochilbu became *sangdaedeung*<sup>41</sup> and was put in charge of both military and state affairs. He grew old and died at home. His age upon his death was seventy-eight.

### Part 3. The Biography of Geodo

居道 失其族姓 不知何所人也 仕脫解尼師今 爲干 時于尸山國·居柒山國 介居鄰境 頗爲國患 居道爲邊官 潛懷并吞之志

Geodo's surname has been lost and his place of origin is unknown.<sup>42</sup> At the time of *Isageum* Talhae [r. 57-80], he held a government position, becoming a *gan*.<sup>43</sup> Also at this time, the states of Usisan<sup>44</sup> [modern Ungchon, Ulsan] and Geochilsan<sup>45</sup> [modern environs of Dongnae, Busan] were situated on the neighboring borders, and they became a great concern for Silla. Geodo became governor of the border region, and he secretly aspired to devour them entirely.

41. The position of *sangdaedeung* (extraordinary rank one) represented the aristocracy as the head of the *Hwabaek* which was Silla's Council of Nobles.

42. Geodo 居道 (n.d.) was a local leader of Silla who was active at the time of King Talhae (r. 57-80). In two campaigns of conquest against the states of Usisan and Geochilsan, he came up with novel schemes and performed meritorious deeds. It was said that he was particularly adept at rallying the cavalry.

43. The Chinese character *gan* 干 means a chieftain or a ruler. Here its meaning has changed to a governor. It was at first a title given to independent local rulers such as the nine *gan* (chieftains) of Gaya (cf. SY2, "Wonders II," Record of Garak Kingdom) and the *geoseogan* and *maripgan* of Silla. Later, it came to be used to designate governors, such as Geodo and Pak Jesang, *gan* of Samnyang-ju. See SY1, "Wonder I," Kim Jesang. See also Seo 1993, 88-89.

44. The location of this state is modern Ungchon-myeon, Ulju-gun, Ulsan. This is also presumed to be Yeonghae-myeon, Yeongdeok-gun, North Gyeongsang province because the old name of Yeonghae was Usi 于尸. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:296n345. Although there is no record of the date when the state of Usisan was subjugated by Silla in SS, it is recorded as the 23<sup>rd</sup> year (79 CE) of King Talhae's reign in the *Essentials from the Histories of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguksa jeoryo* 三國史節要), *A Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Country* (*Dongguk tonggam* 東國通鑑), and *An Outline History of the East* (*Dongsa gangmok* 東史綱目). The origin of this information, however, is unknown.

45. Due to the fact that Dongnae-gun was once called Bon-geochilsan-gun, the state of Geochilsan is presumed to be located in the environs of modern Dongrae-gu, Busan (cf. Yi 1997, 385). According to the *Essentials from the Histories of the Three Kingdoms*, *A Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Country*, and *An Outline History of the East*, this state was subjugated to Silla in the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of King Talhae's reign.

每年一度 集羣馬於張吐之野 使兵士騎之 馳走以爲戲樂 時人稱爲馬技<sup>46</sup> 兩國人習見之 以爲新羅常事 不以爲怪 於是起兵馬 擊其不意 以滅二國

Once every year, he would gather a herd of horses in the plains of Jangto<sup>47</sup> [presumably modern Gampo, Gyeongju] where he would allow his soldiers to ride and have fun racing horses. People at that time came to call this play the feats of horsemanship. The people of the two [neighboring] countries would come to watch the event. Since they thought it was a normal event for the people of Silla, they did not consider it strange. Thereupon Geodo rallied his army, attacking them unawares and Silla laid waste to both countries.

#### Part 4. The Biography of Isabu

異斯夫 或云苔宗 姓金氏 奈勿王四世孫 智度路王時 爲沿邊官 襲居道權謀 以馬戲誤加耶或云加羅國取之

Isabu<sup>48</sup> {some say Taejong},<sup>49</sup> whose family name was Kim,<sup>50</sup> was the fourth-generation descendant of King Namul [r. 354-402]. During the reign of King Jidoro [r. 500-514],<sup>51</sup> he became inspector of the coastal areas. Imitating Geodo's

46. The feats of horsemanship (*magi* 馬技) was a type of game to train individuals in the skills of horse riding. This seems similar to be *mabui* 馬戲 appearing in the biography of Isabu in *SS* 44.

47. This is presumed to be modern Gampo-cup, Gyeongju. See Yi 1997, 386.

48. Isabu was a military general and statesman during King Jijeung's reign (r. 500-514). He was from the Tak district 啄部 or the Satak district 沙啄部 of the capital, Gyeongju. In the Jeokseong stele inscription at Danyang, his name is recorded as Isabu 伊史夫, in the *SY* as Ijong 伊宗, and in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 as Ijilbuchal 伊叱夫礼. In the fifth year of King Jijeung's reign (505), when Siljik-ju was established, he was appointed as its ruler. In the second year of King Jinheung's reign (541), he became minister of Military Affairs, being in charge of the central and regional military affairs. Later, in the sixth year of King Jijeung's reign (545), Isabu proposed compiling a national history 國史. In the twenty-third year (562), Gaya rose in revolt, and together with Sadaham 斯多含, Isabu led fifty-thousand cavalrymen and suppressed the rebellion.

49. This is a glossogram (*hundokja* 訓讀字) of the name of Isabu 異斯夫. When these characters are rendered into vernacular Korean, they are read as "Itbu" or "Isabu." In Old Korean, *tae* (moss 苔) seems to have been read *isa* (it) while the sound of *bu* 夫 is similar to *bo* (crossbeam), the meaning of *jong* 宗.

50. In the account of King Jicheollo in "Wonders I" of *SY* 1, Isabu was called Bak Ijong 朴伊宗, using the surname Bak. This example is similar to the case of Bak Jesang 朴提上. However, in those times, family names were not yet commonly used. When they began to be used, the family name "Bak" or "Kim" could have been added to the given name, which seems to cause this confusion.

51. This is the designation given to King Jijeung during his reign. King Jijeung was also known as "Jidaero" 智大路, "Jidoro" 智度路, or "Jicheollo" 智哲老. In "Wonders I" of *SY* 1, his name is recorded as "King Jicheollo" 智哲老王. In the inscription of the Yeongil Naengsu-ri stele of Silla 迎日冷水里新

strategy, he deceived Gaya {some say Gara} using the feats of horsemanship, and seized their territories.<sup>52</sup>

至十三年壬辰 爲阿瑟羅州軍主 謀并于山國 謂其國人愚悍 難以威降 可以計服 乃多造木偶師子 分載戰舡 抵其國海岸 詐告曰 “汝若不服 則放此猛獸 踏殺之” 其人恐懼則降

In the thirteenth year of King Jijeung's reign, *imjin* [512], he became the military governor of Aseulla-ju [modern Gangneung in Gangwon] and had plans to annex [the territories of] Usan State<sup>53</sup> [modern Ulleung Island in North Gyeongsang]. [Isabu] thought that since the people of Usan State were simple and violent, it would be difficult to defeat them by force but it would be possible to plan their subjugation. Then, he carved numerous wooden sculptures of lions, and distributed them among various warships. When these arrived at the shores of Usan State, he deceptively announced: “If you do not surrender, I shall release these savage beasts and they will crush you to death.” The people were afraid and quickly surrendered.

眞興王在位十一年 太寶元年 百濟拔高句麗道薩城 高句麗陷百濟金峴城 王乘兩國兵疲 命異斯夫 出兵擊之 取二城增築 留甲士戍之 時高句麗遣兵來攻金 峴城 不克而還 異斯夫追擊之大勝

In the eleventh year [550] of King Jinheung's reign, the first year of the Taibao era,<sup>54</sup> Baekje captured Dosal Fortress<sup>55</sup> in Goguryeo. Goguryeo then destroyed Geumhyeon Fortress<sup>56</sup> in Baekje. Seeing that the soldiers of both countries

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羅碑, erected in the late fifth century, his name is inscribed as “Jidoro Galmunwang” 智度路葛文王.

52. There is no record of the conquest of Gaya in the account of King Jijeung's reign in *SS* 4. If this event refers to the subjection of Bon Gaya 本加耶, then it took place in the 19<sup>th</sup> year (532) of King Beopheung's reign. However, the conquest of the entirety of Gaya is recorded in the account of the 23<sup>rd</sup> year (562) of King Jinheung's reign in *SS* 4, but it has been left out of the “Biographies.” The record here does not seem to be about the occupation of Bon Gaya but about the occupation of a part of the Gaya confederacy.

53. This is modern Ulleung Island in North Gyeongsang province. It was also called Mureung 武陵 and Ureung 羽陵. By conquering the Usan State, Silla was able to block the advance of Goguryeo towards the eastern coastal region, effectively blocking Goguryeo's diplomatic relations with Japan.

54. Taibao 太寶 or Dabao 大寶 (550-551) was the reign title of Emperor Jianwen of the Liang dynasty.

55. This is modern Doan-myeon in Goesan-gun, North Chungcheong province. The old name of Goesan-gun is Doseo-hyeon 道西縣. The attack on Dosal Fortress is recorded as having taken place in the first month of the 28<sup>th</sup> year (550) of King Seong's reign in *SS* 26.

56. There are two different opinions about its current location. The first is that it could be modern-day Jincheon-eup, Jincheon-gun in North Chungcheong province (Min 1983, 47), while the second is

were exhausted, the king seized the opportunity and ordered Isabu to dispatch troops to attack them. Isabu took both fortresses<sup>57</sup> and fortified them, stationing armored soldiers<sup>58</sup> to defend the installations. At that time, Goguryeo dispatched troops to attack Geumhyeon Fortress, but they could not overcome [the troops of Silla] and had to withdraw. Isabu gave chase and triumphed magnificently.

## Part 5. The Biography of Kim Inmun

金仁問 字仁壽 太宗大王第二子也 幼而就學多讀儒家之書 兼涉莊·老·浮屠之說 又善隸書射御鄉樂 行藝純熟 識量宏弘 時人推許

Kim Inmun [629-694],<sup>59</sup> courtesy name Insu, was the second son of Taejong the Great [r. 654-661]. From an early age, he started studying, reading many works of the Confucian traditions, as well as extensively learning the teachings of Zhuangzi, Laozi, and Buddha. He was also proficient in the clerical-script calligraphy, archery, horse-riding, and native music.<sup>60</sup> With his flawless practice of the arts and broad and diverse knowledge, his contemporaries admired him.<sup>61</sup>

永徽二年 仁問年二十三歲 受王命 入大唐宿衛 高宗謂“涉海來朝 忠誠可尚” 特授左領軍衛將軍

In the second year of the Yonghui era [651],<sup>62</sup> at twenty-three years of age,

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that it could be Mount Geumseong Fortress in Jeonui-myeon in South Chungcheong province (Yi 1997, 386). The detailed records about the attack to this fortress are found in the account of the 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the 28<sup>th</sup> year (550) of King Seong's reign in *SS* 26. It is also mentioned in the account of the 6<sup>th</sup> year (550) of King Yangwon's reign in *SS* 19.

57. They refer to both Dosal Fortress and Geumhyeon Fortress.

58. The armored soldiers (*gapsa* 甲士) could refer to elite troops (*jeongbyeong* 精兵). The number of the troops is recorded as one-thousand in the account of the eleventh year (550) of King Jinheung's reign in *SS* 4.

59. Kim Inmun 金仁問 is King Munmu's younger brother. He went to Tang in 651 upon the command of Queen Jindeok and became a palace guard where he played an important diplomatic role for Silla for twenty-two years.

60. This native music refers to the music of Silla.

61. He, Suiliang 賀逢亮 (n.d.), a scholar of Tang, described Kim Inmun's character in the inscription on the Memorial Stele of the Great Tang Conquest of the Baekje Kingdom (Daedang pyeong Baekjeguk bi 大唐平百濟國碑). It states, "Kim Inmun was warm-hearted and self-possessed. He was not a petty man who cared about trivial matters but a virtuous man with a noble spirit. His military prowess was great enough to put an end to wars. His literary writing was also elegant and influential" 金仁問 氣度溫雅 器識沈毅 無小人之細行 有君子之高風 武既止戈 文亦柔遠.

62. Yonghui 永徽 is the first reign title (650-655) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty.

he received the command of the king to enter Great Tang as a palace guard. Emperor Gaozong [r. 649-683] said, “You have come across the sea to present yourself at court. Your loyalty is commendable.” The emperor extraordinarily granted him the title General of the Left Metropolitan Guard.<sup>63</sup>

四年 詔許歸國觀省 太宗大王授以押督州摠管 於是 築獐山城以設險 太宗錄其功 授食邑三百戶

In the fourth year [653], the emperor allowed him to return home to pay respects to his parents. King Taejong appointed him adjutant grand commander of Apdok-ju [modern Gyeongsan in North Gyeongsang] whereupon Inmun built Jangsan Fortress<sup>64</sup> to secure a strategic point. King Taejong recorded his merit and granted him a tax village of three hundred households.

新羅屢爲百濟所侵 願得唐兵爲援助 以雪羞恥 擬諭宿衛仁問乞師 會高宗以 蘇定方爲神丘道大摠管 率師討百濟

Silla had been invaded frequently by Baekje and so [the king] wished to obtain military aid from Tang to wipe clean this disgrace. The king personally told Palace Guard Inmun to request Tang troops. At that time, Emperor Gaozong [r. 649-683] appointed Su Dingfang [592-667] as grand commandant of Shenqiu Circuit [in modern Outer Mongolia]<sup>65</sup> to command an expeditionary force to attack Baekje.

帝徵仁問 問道路險易 去就便宜 仁問應對尤詳 帝悅制授神丘道副大摠管 勅赴軍中 遂與定方濟海 到德物島

The emperor called in Inmun and inquired about the hazards of passages as well as the most expedient courses. Inmun's responses were extremely detailed. The emperor was pleased and appointed him adjutant grand commandant of the Shenqiu Circuit,<sup>66</sup>

63. The Metropolitan Guard 領軍衛 was included among the Sixteen Guards at the dynastic capital. It was created in 622 as a successor of the Left and Right Protective Guards inherited from the Sui dynasty's Twelve Guards system. See Hucker 1985, 314n3756.

64. This is presumed to be modern Mount Yongsan Fortress in Gyeongsan, North Gyeongsang province.

65. This post refers to the commander-in-chief of an expeditionary force to Shenqiu 神丘. Shenqiu was an honorific toponym for Yanranshan 燕然山, which is an old name of Hangaishan 杭愛山 in Outer Mongolia. Dou Xian 竇憲 (d. 92), Chariot and Horse General 車騎將軍 of Later Han, conquered Shenqiu by destroying the Xiongnu 匈奴 empire in 89 CE. Thus, Shenqiu Circuit appears to have been used to imply that Tang would subdue Baekje just as Later Han conquered Shenqiu.

66. Kim Inmun's appointment as adjutant grand commandant is not found in Chinese records. However,

decreeing that he must join the armies. He then crossed the sea with Dingfang, and arrived at Deokmul Island [modern Deokjeok Island in Incheon].

王命太子 與將軍庾信·眞珠·天存等 以巨艦一百艘載兵迎 延之至熊津口 賊瀕江屯兵 戰破之 乘勝入其都城滅之 定方俘王義慈及太子孝·王子泰等 廻唐 大王嘉尙仁問功業 授波珍浪 又加角干 尋入唐宿衛如前

The Silla king commanded the crown prince along with Generals Yusin [595-673], Jinju [d. 662], Cheonjon [d. 679], and others to meet them with one hundred huge vessels laden with troops and lead them to the entrance to Ungjin [modern Geumgang River estuary].<sup>67</sup> The enemy had garrisoned their troops alongside the river. The allied forces fought and defeated them. Then, taking advantage of this victory, they moved into the capital of Baekje and destroyed it. Dingfang captured King Uija [r. 641-660], Crown Prince Hyo [fl. 660s], Prince Tae [fl. 660s], and others, and hence returned [with them] to Tang.<sup>68</sup> The great king [Taejong] praised highly Inmun's meritorious achievements. He granted him the rank *pajinchan*, then later raised him to *gakgan* [Rank 1]. Soon after, Inmun entered Tang as a palace guard as before.

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according to the inscription of the Memorial Stele of the Great Tang Conquest of the Baekje Kingdom, Kim Inmun was an adjutant grand commandant and general of the Left Palace Guard.

67. Ungjin is the old name of Gongju, which was not the capital of Baekje at that time. Instead, Sabi (modern Buyeo) was the capital. Thus, it would have been correct if it had been written as the entrance to Sabi or the entrance to the Baekgang River (modern Geumgang River estuary). The record of the entrance to the Baekgang River is found in the account of the 20<sup>th</sup> year of King Uija's reign in *SS* 28. This error was made because the historian copied even the mistake in Su Dingfang's biography of the *Xin Tangshu* 111.
68. In the account of the 20<sup>th</sup> year of King Uija's reign in *SS* 28, it is recorded that "Su Dingfang seized the king, Crown Prince Hyo, and the Princes Tae, Yung, and Yeon, together with eighty-eight of high officials, and generals, and also some 12,807 of the common people, and sent them all as captives to the Tang capital" 定方以王及太子孝王子泰隆演及大臣 將士八十八人 百姓一萬二千八百七人 送京師. According to both the Memorial Stele of the Great Tang Conquest of the Baekje Kingdom and the Memorial Stele of Liu Renyuan's Achievements, General Su took 700 people, including *juwapyeong* (ministers at the highest rank), *dalsol* (officials at Rank 2), and others, as well as the king and princes. According to the *Jiu Tangshu*, "Baiji guo" 百濟國, Su Dingfang sent the following people to the Tang court as prisoners: King Uija, Crown Prince Yung, the royal princes Hyo and Yeon, as well as fifty-eight of Baekje generals and high officials. See *Jiu Tangshu* 199A, "Baiji guo" 百濟國. The *Nihon shoki* reports, "On the first day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month, General Su Dingfang and others captured the men of Baekje: 13 members of the royal family, including the king, Crown Prince Ryung and other princes, and 37 subjects, including the senior ministers, Sataek Cheonbok and Guk Byeonseong. 50 people in total were presented to the court" 十一月一日 爲將軍蘇定方等 所捉百濟王以下 太子隆等諸王子十三人 大佐平沙宅千福 國弁成以下卅七人 并五十許人 奉進朝堂. See *Nihon shoki* 26, "Empress Saimei" 齊明天皇, Year 6.

龍朔元年 高宗召謂曰 “朕既滅百濟 除爾國患 今高句麗負固 與穢貊同惡 違事大之禮 棄善鄰之義 朕欲遣兵致討 爾歸告國王 出師同伐 以殲垂亡之虜”

In the first year [661] of the Longshuo era<sup>69</sup> Emperor Gaozong summoned him and said, “We have destroyed Baekje, and thus eliminated your country’s affliction. Now Goguryeo, relying on its strength, has joined with the Yemaek [Huimo in Chinese] and committed the same crime.<sup>70</sup> They have violated the propriety of serving the great and rejected the righteousness of good neighbors. I wish to send troops to punish them. Return home to tell your king to send out troops for a joint strike and exterminate those forsaken savages.”

皇帝命邢國公蘇定方 爲遼東道行軍大總管 以六軍長驅萬里 迂麗人於涇江 擊破之 遂圍平壤 麗人固守 故不能克 士馬多死傷 糧道不繼

The emperor commanded Su Dingfang, duke of Xing State,<sup>71</sup> to be expeditionary commander-in-chief of the Liaodong Circuit.<sup>72</sup> With six armies he marched over ten-thousand *li*, encountered Goguryeo men at the Paegang River [modern Daedong River], and defeated them. Then he besieged but so steadfast was the Goguryeo defense that he could not subdue them. Many of his men and horses were killed or wounded, and his supply lines were cut off.

仁問與留鎮劉仁願 率兵兼輸米四千石·租二萬餘斛 赴之 唐人得食 以大雪解圍 還羅人將歸 高句麗謀要擊於半途 仁問與庾信 詭謀夜遁 麗人翌日 覺而追之 仁問等 廻擊大敗之 斬首一萬餘級 獲人五千餘口而歸

Inmun and Liu Renyuan [n.d.] at the garrison hurried to Dingfang, leading troops and carrying four thousand *seok* of rice and over twenty-thousand *gok* of unhusked rice.<sup>73</sup> The Tang men secured food, but because of heavy snow they

69. Longshuo 龍朔 is the third reign title (661-663) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty.

70. The Yemaek (Huimo in Chinese 穢貊) seems to have been the Malgal (Mohe in Chinese 靺鞨) under the rule of Goguryeo.

71. Su Dingfang was enfeoffed the duke of Xing State after beating Ashina Helu 阿史那賀魯 (d. 659), a Turkic khan in the Western Regions 西域, in 657 in the reign of Emperor Gaozong. See *Jiu Tangshu* 83. “Su Dingfang” 蘇定方.

72. This post refers to the commander-in-chief of the Tang troops on the expedition to Goguryeo through Liaodong route. Su Dingfang held the post in the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the 19<sup>th</sup> year of Goguryeo King Bojang’s reign. At that time, the emperor sent him to command thirty-five naval and land-route forces to attack Goguryeo. See *SS* 6, King Munmu, Year 1.

73. Both *seok* 石 and *gok* 斛 were the same amount of grain. See Heo 2003, 289. *Seok* is read *seom* in vernacular Korean, which is approximately 61 liters. See Shultz and Kang 2017a, 418. The amount of unhusked rice is recorded as over 22,000 *seok* in the account of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year (662) of King Munmu’s

lifted the siege and returned home. When the Silla men were about to return, Goguryeo planned to attack them en route. Inmun and Yusin devised a scheme and slipped away at night.<sup>74</sup> The Goguryeo men found out the next day and pursued them. Inmun and the others turned around to attack and routed them. They beheaded over ten-thousand men, captured more than five-thousand others, and then set out back home.

仁問又入唐 以乾封元年 扈駕登封泰山 加授右驍衛大將軍 食邑四百戶

Inmun went to Tang again and in the first year [666] of the Qianfeng era [666-668] ascended Mount Tai<sup>75</sup> with the imperial retinue to perform the *fengshan* sacrifices.<sup>76</sup> He was promoted to grand general of the Right Courageous Guard<sup>77</sup> and granted tax villages comprising four hundred households.

摠章元年戊辰 高宗皇帝遣英國公李勣 帥師伐高句麗 又遣仁問徵兵於我文武大王與仁問 出兵二十萬 行至北漢山城 王住此 先遣仁問等 領兵會唐兵 擊平壤月餘 執王臧 仁問使王跪於英公前 數其罪 王再拜 英公禮答之 即以 王及男產·男建·男生等還

In the first year of the Zongzhang era [668-669],<sup>78</sup> *mujiin* [668], Emperor

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reign in SS 6: “loaded with four thousand *seok* of rice and more than twenty-two thousand *seok* of unhusked rice” 載米四千石租二萬二千餘石 赴平壤.

74. This scheme is described in detail in SS 42: “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 by stealth and quickly crossed the river to rest by the coast” 時麗人伏兵 欲要擊我軍於歸路 庚信以 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 至貳河 急渡岸 休兵.
75. Mount Tai is a mountain of historical and cultural significance located in Shandong province, China. It was regarded as a sacred mountain where the emperor personally paid homage to Heaven and Earth in the *fengshan* sacrifices 封禪. Mount Tai has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1987.
76. The *fengshan* sacrifices were “the most important of all that the emperor could perform in Ancient China, as symbolized the legitimacy of the imperial authority and the ability to unify and pacify the empire.” See Lopez 2016, 1. The character *feng* 封 refers to the worship of Heaven by building an altar with a pile of soil and conducting sacrifices on Mount Tai. The next character *shan* 禪 refers to the worship of the Earth by leveling the ground and performing sacrifices on Mount Yunyun 云云山 or Mount Tingting 亭亭山 around Mount Tai. See *Shiji* 28, “Book of Fengshan” 封禪書.
77. Courageous Guard 驍衛, one Left and one Right, was a military unit in the Sixteen Guards of Tang, serving at the dynastic capital. See *Xin Tangshu* 49A. “Baiguan” 4A.
78. Zongzhang 摠章 is the sixth reign title (668-669) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty. The character 摠 is a variation of 總, so it is recorded as 摠章 in the *Jiu Tangshu*, the *Xin Tangshu*, and the

Gaozong sent the duke of Ying State, Li Ji [d. 669],<sup>79</sup> to command the armies to subdue Goguryeo and further dispatched Inmun to enlist our [Silla] army. Munmu the Great [r. 661–681] and Inmun then set out with an expedition of two-hundred thousand soldiers. They reached Mount Bukhan Fortress.<sup>80</sup> The king stayed there and sent Inmun with others in advance to join the Tang forces. They attacked for more than a month before finally capturing King Jang [r. 642–668].<sup>81</sup> Inmun made the king kneel before the duke of Ying and then enumerated his crimes. The king kowtowed twice [asking for forgiveness]. The duke of Ying accepted his apology with courtesy and then immediately took the king, Namsan [n.d.], Nameon [n.d.], Namsaeng [634–679],<sup>82</sup> and others back to Tang with him.

文武大王 以仁問英略勇功 特異常倫 賜故大瑑角干朴紐食邑五百戶 高宗亦聞仁問屢有戰功 制曰“爪牙良將 文武英材 制爵疏封 尤宜嘉命” 仍加爵秩 食邑二千戶 自後侍衛宮禁 多歷年所

In recognition of his brilliant tactics and valiant action, Munmu the Great bestowed upon Inmun the tax villages comprising five hundred households that had once been granted to the late *Daetak gakgan*<sup>83</sup> Pak Yu [fl. 660s]. Emperor Gaozong also heard that Inmun time and again had achieved merit in battle,

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*Zizhi tongjian*. However, only 摠 is used in SS.

79. Duke of Ying, Li Ji 李勣 (583–669) was a Tang general. His original name was Xu Shiji 徐世勣. Emperor Gaozu of Tang 唐高祖 (r. 618–635) called him Chunchen 純臣 and granted him the family name Li 李. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 33, he was enfeoffed as the duke of Ying in 637. He was appointed to be adjutant grand commander of the Liaodong Circuit in 668 and participated in the subjugation of Goguryeo.
80. According to the account of the 9<sup>th</sup> year of King Munmu's reign in SS 6, the place name is Hansan-ju 漢山州 instead of Mount Pukhan Fortress. Yi (1997, 389) assumes that Hansan-ju is correct. Hansan-ju is the site of modern Mount Namhan Fortress.
81. Both Jang 臧 and Bojang 寶臧 are King Bojang's personal name. According to the account of the first year of King Bojang's reign in SS 21, he was not given a posthumous title because he lost his kingdom 失國故無諡.
82. Namsan 男產 (fl. 660s), Nameon 男建 (fl. 660s), and Namsaeng 男生 (634–679) are Yeon Gaesomun's sons. Because the eldest son, Namsaeng, surrendered to Tang in 666 when losing in the power struggle with his younger brothers, his name appears to be recorded last. The second son Nameon continued to resist the Tang forces at Pyeongyang, but was captured and taken to Tang. The third son, Namsan, was sent to submit to Tang by King Bojang when Pyeongyang was besieged. See SS 22, King Bojang's 27<sup>th</sup> year. See also SS 7, King Munmu, Year 8, Month 9.
83. The character *tak* 瑑 in *daetak gakgan* 大瑑角干 is probably a typographical error. It is recorded as 大角干 in the account of the 10<sup>th</sup> month of King Munmu's 8<sup>th</sup> year in SS 7.

so he issued an imperial pronouncement<sup>84</sup> stating, “[Inmun is] my talons and fangs and an excellent general as brilliant in letters as he is in war. He is worthy of a higher rank, many fiefs, and more honor.” The emperor then granted him a higher rank and tax villages comprising two-thousand households. After this, he served as a guard of imperial residence for many years.

上元元年 文武王納高句麗叛衆 又據百濟故地 唐皇帝大怒 以劉仁軌爲雞林道大摠管 發兵來討 詔削王官爵 時 仁問爲右驍衛員外大將軍臨海郡公 在京師立以爲王 令歸國以代其兄 仍策爲雞林州大都督開府儀同三司 仁問懇辭不得命 遂上道 會 王遣使入貢且謝罪 皇帝赦之 復王官爵 仁問中路而還 亦復前銜

In the first year [674] of the Shangyuan era [674-675],<sup>85</sup> King Munmu accepted the Goguryeo rebels as subjects and seized former Baekje lands. Enraged, the Tang emperor, appointed Liu Rengui [597-681]<sup>86</sup> as grand commander of the Gyerim Circuit<sup>87</sup> and sent troops to strike Silla. He decreed that the king be stripped of his office and titles. At that time, Inmun was in the imperial capital as Supernumerary Grand General of the Right Courageous Guard<sup>88</sup> and duke of Linhai Commandery. The emperor established him as king [of Silla] and ordered him to return to his country and replace his elder brother, investing him as Area Commander-in-Chief of Gyerim Prefecture, Commander Unequaled in Honor.<sup>89</sup> Inmun’s sincere refusal was denied and he set out on the road. Then, the king sent an emissary to pay tribute and beg forgiveness. The emperor

84. The Chinese character for the “imperial pronouncement” is *je* 制 (literally, “emperor’s writing”).

85. Shangyuan 上元 is the eighth reign title (674-675) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty.

86. Liu Rengui 劉仁軌 (597-681) was a general of the early Tang period. He joined the campaign against Baekje in 660 and was appointed as inspector of Daebang-ju for his merit in suppressing the Baekje restoration forces. He also contributed to the subjugation of Goguryeo as assistant to General Li Ji in 668. See *Jiu Tangshu* 84 and *Xin Tangshu* 108.

87. Gyerim Circuit 雞林道 refers to Silla.

88. The Right Courageous Guard 右驍衛 was a military unit in the Sixteen Guards of Tang. The “supernumerary” (*yuan'ai* 員外), as a prefix to titles, was used to indicate appointees beyond the authorized quota for the position. The emperor gave this title to Kim Inmun as a reward of his meritorious service in destroying Goguryeo. Another title, duke of Linhai Commandery 臨海郡公, was bestowed upon him for his merit when Tang conquered the Yemaek. This is inscribed on the Master Nanghye Memorial Stele at Seongju Monastery, written by Choi Chiwon 崔致遠 (b. 857).

89. Gyerim Circuit 雞林州 refers to Silla. Commander Unequaled in Honor 開府儀同三司 was an honorific title for eminent generals, and then a prestige title for both civil officials and military officers of rank lb (junior first rank) from Sui. See Hucker 1985, 275n3105. Queen Jindeok was the first ruler who received the title, followed by King Muyeol, King Munmu, and Kim Inmun.

pardoned him and restored his royal office and titles.<sup>90</sup> Inmun turned around midway to Silla and returned to resume his former duties.

調露元年 轉鎮軍大將軍行右武威衛大將軍 載初元年 授輔國大將軍上柱國臨海郡開國公左羽林軍將軍

In the first year of the Tiaolu era [679-680]<sup>91</sup> he was transferred to the position of Grand General of the Garrison Army, Acting Grand General of the Right Martial Awe Guard.<sup>92</sup> In the first year [690] of the Zaichu era,<sup>93</sup> he was invested as Great Bulwark General of the State, Supreme Pillar of State, Dynasty-founding Duke of Linhai Commandery, General of the Left Plume Forest Army.

延載元年四月二十九日 寢疾薨於帝都 享年六十六 訃聞上震悼 贈祿加等 命朝散大夫行司禮寺大醫署令陸元景·判官朝散郎直司禮寺某等 押送靈柩

On the twenty-ninth day of the fourth month in the first year [694] of the Yanzai era [694],<sup>94</sup> he became bedridden with illness and died in the imperial capital [Chang'an]<sup>95</sup> at the age of sixty-six. Upon the announcement of his death, the emperor,<sup>96</sup> shaken with grief, bestowed burial clothing and a higher

90. It seems that Emperor Gaozong did not have any other choice but to accept King Munmu's apology because he had no time to deal with Silla. At that time, the Tibetans encroached upon the various border prefectures which the Tang had previously set up in the tribal territories on the Sichuan border. See Twitchett 1979, 285.

91. Tiaolu 調露 is the tenth reign title of Emperor Gaozong from the sixth month of 679 to the eighth month of 689.

92. Grand General of the Garrison Army 鎮軍大將軍 was the title given to military officers of rank 2b (junior second rank) in Tang. See *Xin Tangshu* 46, "Ministry of War" 兵部. Martial Awe Guard 武威衛 was a military unit in charge of palace security. Left Guard and Right Guard 左右衛 was headed by one general-in-chief and two generals respectively. See *Jiu Tangshu* 44, "Government Offices 3" 職官 3. *Xing* (acting 行) was usually used when the appointee was of lower rank than was appropriate for the office. See Hucker 1985, 244n2561.

93. Yi Byeongdo (1997, 389) states that Zaichu 載初 is the reign title (690) of the de facto ruler Empress Wu 武后. On the other hand, Jeong et al. (1998, 4:704) mistakenly made a note that it is the reign title of Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 of the Tang dynasty, which was adopted by National Institute of Korean History for its digital version (available at <http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?itemId=sg>). However, it seems more reasonable that it is the reign title of Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 under the aegis of Empress Wu. See Twitchett 1979, xviii.

94. Yanzai 延載 was the reign title of Empress Wu of Zhou from the fifth month of 694 to the twelfth month of the same year. Thus, the second year of the Yanzai era seems to be a typographical error.

95. In 582, Emperor Wen 文帝 of the Sui dynasty built his new capital in modern Xian, called Daxing (Great Prosperity 大興). Daxing was renamed Chang'an (Perpetual Peace) in 618 when Li Yuan 李淵 (566-635) proclaimed himself the Emperor Gaozu (r. 618-626) of the Tang empire.

96. For designation for the emperor, the Chinese character *sang* 上 is used here instead of *je* 帝. Kim

rank upon him, and ordered Liu Yuanjing [n.d.], an anonymous man, and others to escort the coffin to Silla. Liu Yuanjing was Grand Master for Closing Court, Acting Official at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, Director of Imperial Medical Office. The anonymous man was Administrative Assistant, Gentleman for Closing Court, Auxiliary at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices.

孝昭大王追贈太角干 命有司 以延載二年十月二十七日 窆于京西原 仁問七 入大唐 在朝宿衛 計月日 凡二十二年 時亦有良圖海滄 六入唐 死于西京 失其行 事始末  
 King Hyoso the Great [r. 692-701] presented him with the posthumous rank of *taedae gakgan* and ordered the responsible authorities to bury the coffin in the plain west of the capital<sup>97</sup> on the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month in the second year [695] of the Yanzai era. Inmun went seven times to Great Tang and served as a palace guard in the court. If the days and months were counted, it would amount to twenty-two years in all. During this same period there was also *Haechan*<sup>98</sup> Yangdo<sup>99</sup> who went six times to Tang and died in the Western Capital [modern Xian].<sup>100</sup> The details of his activities, however, are lost.

## Part 6. The Biography of Kim Yang

金陽字魏昕 太宗大王九世孫也 曾祖周元伊滄 祖宗基蘇判 考貞茹波珍滄 皆以 世家爲將相 陽生而英傑

Kim Yang [808-857], courtesy name Wiheun, was the ninth-generation

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Inmun died in 694 when Wu Zetian (r. 690-705) was a ruler of China.

97. This plain is located at the foot of the present-day Seo-ak (Western Hill 西岳), also called Mount Seondo 仙桃山, west of Gyeongju in North Gyeongsang province. A fragmentary piece of Kim Inmun's tombstone was discovered in Seo-ak Confucian Academy 西岳書院 in 1931 and is now preserved in Gyeongju National Museum.

98. The rank *haechan* 海滄 is another name for *pajinchan* 波珍滄, the fourth-degree bureaucratic rank in Silla. It was also called *haegan* 海干.

99. Yangdo was a general of true bone status in Silla. He contributed to the subjugation of Baekje in 660, but failed to suppress the remnant forces of Baekje in 661. He was one of the nine generals who delivered provisions to General Su Dingfang in 662. See SS 6, King Munmu, Year 2. He was sent to Tang with Heumsun to offer apologies in 669, but died in prison in 670. See SS 6, King Munmu, Year 10.

100. The Western Capital (Xijing in Chinese 西京) refers to Chang'an 長安, which was called Xijing in the first year (742) of the Tianbao era (742-756). Under the regime of Empress Wu, the designation of Luoyang as the permanent Eastern Capital 東京 was made in 657. It was a symbolic affirmation that the political power held by northwestern aristocrats was transferred to the officials from the northeast who supported Empress Wu. See Twitchett 1979, 257-58.

descendant of Taejong the Great [r. 604-661]. His great-grandfather was *Ichan* Juwon [n.d.], his grandfather *Sopan* Jonggi [n.d.],<sup>101</sup> and his father *Pajinchan* Jeongyeo [n.d.].<sup>102</sup> As members of an influential family, they became generals and ministers. He was born intelligent and bright.

太和二年 興德王三年 爲固城郡太守 尋拜中原大尹 俄轉武州都督 所臨有政譽

In the second year [828] of the Taihe era, the third year of King Heungdeok [r. 826-836], he became governor<sup>103</sup> of Goseong-gun [modern Goseong in South Gyeongsang]. Soon thereafter, he was appointed as magistrate<sup>104</sup> of Jungwon [modern Chungju in North Chungcheong],<sup>105</sup> and then was transferred to the post of governor-general of Muju [modern Gwangju in South Jeolla]. In all his posts, he was praised for his governance.

開成元年丙辰 興德王薨 無嫡嗣 王之堂弟均貞 堂弟之子悌隆 爭嗣位 陽與均貞之子阿淪祐徵·均貞妹婿禮徵 奉均貞爲王 入積板宮 以族兵宿衛 悌隆之黨金明·利弘等來圍 陽陳兵宮門 以拒之曰 “新君在此 爾等何敢兇逆如此” 遂引弓射殺十數人 悌隆下裴萱伯射陽中股

In the first year of the Kaicheng era,<sup>106</sup> *byeongjin* [836], King Heungdeok died

101. Kim Jonggi 金宗基 was the son of Kim Juwon. He became *sijung* (chief minister) in the sixth year (790) of King Wonseong's reign and resigned in the tenth month of the same year. His sons were Kim Jeongyeo 金貞茹 (n.d.) and Kim Jangyeo 金璋如 (n.d.).

102. He was the sixth-generation descendent of King Taejong Muyeol. He was known as the fifth-generation descendent of Kim Inmun, the second son of King Taejong. As *ichan* (second-degree rank), he advanced to *sijung* in the 13<sup>th</sup> year (777) of King Hyegong's reign. When Queen Seondeok died without an heir, the senior statesmen regarded *Ichan* Kim Juwon as the greatest potential candidate for the throne. His house was 20 *li* (approximately 15 km) north of the Alchoen Stream. It overflowed when he attempted to cross the stream, resulting in his failure to present himself to the court. A court official declared that the rainfall was the expression of the will of Heaven. Consequently, *Sangdaedeung* Kim Gyeongsin was placed on the throne (see SY2, “Wonders II”). Indignant at his father's failure to be king, his son Kim Heonchang raised a revolt in the 14<sup>th</sup> year (822) of King Heondeok's reign. He called his kingdom Jang-an 長安 and proclaimed the reign title of *gyeongun* 慶雲. His revolt, however, was quelled by royal forces.

103. This position was eligible for those who held bureaucratic rank from *saji* (thirteenth-degree rank) to *achan* (sixth-degree rank).

104. The characters for the magistrate are *daeyun* 大尹, which appear only here. *Daeyun* (*dayin* in Chinese) was governor of a commandery in the Han dynasty and referred to district magistrate in the Qing dynasty. See Hucker 1985, 474n6111. According to Jeong Gubok, the official in charge of a secondary capital was called *sasin* 仕臣. Since Jungwon was a secondary capital, the official name of *daeyun* was likely *sasin*. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:589n247.

105. This was one of the five secondary capitals of Silla: Jungwon (modern Chungju), Buk-won (modern Wonju), Geumgwon (modern Gimhae), Seowon (modern Cheongju), and Namwon (modern Namwon).

106. Kaicheng is the reign title (836-839) of Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (r. 826-840) of Tang.

without an heir. His cousin Gyunjeong [d. 836]<sup>107</sup> and another cousin's<sup>108</sup> son Jeryung [d. 838]<sup>109</sup> competed for the throne. Yang, together with Gyunjeong's son *Achan* Ujing [d. 839]<sup>110</sup> and the husband of Gyunjeong's sister Yejing [d. 849],<sup>111</sup> put forward Gyunjeong as king. Yang then entered Jeokpan Palace and guarded it with his private army.<sup>112</sup> When Jeryung's faction, including Kim Myeong [d. 839]<sup>113</sup> and Ihong [d. 839],<sup>114</sup> besieged the palace, Yang stationed

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107. Kim Gyunjeong 金均貞 (d. 836) was the grandson of King Wonseong (r. 785-798), son of Kim Yeyeong (n.d.), and father of King Sinmu (r. 839). King Aejang (r. 800-809) elevated him to *dae-achan* and tried to disguise him as a prince, hoping to send him as a hostage to Wa, but Kim Gyunjeong declined this. He became *sijung* in the third year (812) of King Heondeok's reign and participated in state affairs. When the revolt by Kim Heonchang erupted in the tenth year (822) of King Heungdeok's reign, he led the three armies and quelled it. He became *sangdaedeung* in the tenth year (835) of the King Heungdeok's reign. Upon the king's death, he was defeated by Jeryung (later King Huigang) in the scramble for the throne and then was killed amidst the turmoil. Later when his son Kim Ujing ascended the throne, he was given a posthumous name, Seongdeok the Great. See SS 10.
108. This other cousin is Kim Heonjeong 金憲貞 (n.d.), older brother to Kim Gyunjeong.
109. Kim Jeryung is recorded as Gaeryung 愷隆 or Jeong 儻驥 in "Royal Chronology" of SY 1. He was King Heungdeok's nephew by the male line and *Gakgan* Kim Heonjeong's son. He was also a great-grandson of King Wonseong (r. 785-798). After winning a bloody competition for the throne against Gyunjeong, he became King Huigang in 836 but killed himself when Kim Myeong (later King Minae) rose in rebellion in 838.
110. Kim Ujing 金祐徵 (d. 839) was King Sinmu's personal name. He was Kim Gyunjeong's son. As *dae-achan*, he together with his father went to battle to subdue the uprising by Kim Heonchang in 822. He became *sijung* in the third year (828) and resigned in the sixth year (831) of King Heungdeok's reign. He reassumed the position of *sijung* in the ninth year (834) and resigned again the next year when his father was appointed as *sangdaedeung*. After King Heungdeok died without a son in 836, Ujing supported his father as king but lost in the political competition. Then he entrusted himself to Commissioner Jang Bogo at Cheonghae Garrison. When King Huigang's throne was usurped by Kim Myeong, he led Jang Bogo's 5,000 soldiers and raided the capital, ascending the throne in 839. He died, however, of a tumor on his back soon after.
111. Kim Yejing 金禮徵 (d. 849) was the brother-in-law of Kim Gyunjeong. Together with Kim Ujing and Kim Yang, he supported Kim Gyunjeong as king but to no avail. He also went to Cheonghae Garrison to entrust himself to Jang Bogo. He helped Ujing to take the throne and remove King Minae. He became *sangdaedeung* in the second year (840) of King Munseong's reign and held the position until 849.
112. A private army was comprised of one's household members. This became the power base of the local gentry in the late period of Silla.
113. Kim Myeong 金明 (d. 839) was King Minae's personal name. He was the great-grandson of King Wonseong (r. 785-798) and a son of *Deaachan* Kim Chunggong 金忠恭 (d. 835). He helped Jeryung to defeat Gyunjeong and his faction at the battle in the palace and to ascend the throne. He became *sangdaedeung* in the second year (837) of King Huigang's reign and staged an insurrection together with *Sijung* Ihong 利弘 (d. 839), killing the close aides of the king, who hanged himself to death. He then sat on the throne in 838. However, next year when Kim Yang, Kim Yejing, and Kim Ujing came to attack Gyeongju with Jang Bogo's 5,000 soldiers, he was killed by the guards in his Wollyu residence. See SS 10, King Minae, Year 2.
114. Ihong (d. 839) was *sijung* under the reign of King Huigang (r. 836-38) and his rank was *achan*

soldiers at the gate of the palace to defend against them, saying, “The new king is here. How could you dare to rebel like this?” Then he drew his bow and killed more than ten soldiers. Bae Hwonbaek [fl. 830s],<sup>115</sup> one of Jeryung’s man, shot him in the thigh with an arrow.

均貞曰“彼衆我寡 勢不可遏 公其佯退 以爲後圖” 陽 於是 突圍而出 至韓歧 一作韓祇市 均貞沒於亂兵 陽號泣旻天 誓心白日 潛藏山野 以俟時來

Gyunjeong said, “We are outnumbered and cannot reverse the tide of battle. You should pretend to withdraw and prepare for the future.” At the time when Yang broke through the besieging enemy and reached the marketplace of Hangi<sup>116</sup> [or Hanji (presumably around Baengnyul Monastery in Gyeongju)], Gyunjeong was killed by the rebel forces. Yang wailed to Heaven and swore vengeance to the sun.<sup>117</sup> He hid himself in a rural area waiting for an opportunity.

至開成二年八月 前侍中祐徵 收殘兵 入清海鎮 結大使弓福 謀報不同天之讎 陽聞之 募集謀士士卒 以三年二月 入海 見祐徵 與謀舉事

In the eighth month of the second year [837] of the Kaicheng era, the former *Sijung* Ujing gathered the remnant soldiers and entered Cheonghae Garrison<sup>118</sup> [modern Wando in South Jeolla]. Together with Commander-in-Chief<sup>119</sup>

(Rank 6). He became *sijung* in the second year (837) of King Huijang and staged an insurrection together with *Sangdaedeung* Kim Myeong, killing the close aides of the King and supporting Kim Myeong as king. When Kim Ujing with an army borrowed from Jang Bogo attacked Gyeongju, he fled to the mountain forests. King Sinmu sent his horsemen to seek him out and killed him.

115. Bae Hwonbaek 裴萱伯 (fl. 830s) was *achan*. Together with *Sijung* Kim Myeong and *Achan* Ihong, he supported Kim Jeryung.

116. This refers to Hangi district (*hangi bu* 韓歧部 or 韓祇部), one of the six districts of the Silla capital.

117. This is an expression used to ensure that one’s promise or oath will never be broken. The sun is the essence of the vital or active force of Heaven, *yang qi* (the active force 陽氣) and the symbol of a sovereign. In chapter 13 of *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan* 說文解字繫傳 (Appended Commentary to the *Shuowen jiezi*), the sun is defined as *shi* 實, which represents inexhaustible force of the sun.

118. This was a military garrison established on Wando Island by Jang Bogo in the third year (828) of King Heungdeok’s reign. With an army of ten-thousand men allotted to him, it was his duty to prevent Tang pirates from trafficking in Silla people. King Munseong (r. 839-857) wanted to make Jang Bogo’s daughter his second consort, but he faced the objection of court officials. Jang Bogo was resentful and rose in rebellion. When he was assassinated by Yeomjang, Cheonghae Garrison was abolished in the 13<sup>th</sup> year (851) of King Munseong’s reign and the forces were relocated to Byeokgol-gun (modern Gimje, North Jeolla province).

119. Commissioner (*daesa* 大使) was an official title given to Jang Bogo. It did not come from the administrative system of Silla but rather from that of Tang, where “commissioner” sometimes

Gungbok [787-846],<sup>120</sup> he planned a retaliation against their enemy, with whom they could not exist under the same sky. Upon hearing this, Yang drafted strategists and soldiers. In the second month of the third year [838], he crossed the sea and met Ujing, with whom he planned to undertake the enterprise.

三月 以勁卒五千人 襲武州 至城下 州人悉降 進次南原 迂新羅兵 與戰克之 祐徵以士卒久勞 且歸海鎮 養兵秣馬

In the third month, with five thousand elite soldiers, he made a surprise attack on Muju. When his forces reached the foot of the fortress,<sup>121</sup> all the people of Muju surrendered. He then marched forward to Namwon where he encountered the Silla royal troops. He engaged them in battle and defeated them. As Ujing saw that his soldiers had long toiled, he returned to Cheonghae Garrison and allowed the soldiers rest and fed the horses.

冬彗孛見西方 芒角指東 衆賀曰“此除舊布新 報冤雪恥之祥也” 陽號爲平 東將軍十二月再出 金亮詢以鷓洲軍來 祐徵又遣驍勇閻 長·張弁·鄭年·駱金·張建榮·李順行六將統兵 軍容甚盛 鼓行至武州鐵冶縣北川 新羅大監金敏周 以兵逆之 將軍駱金·李順行 以馬兵三千 突入彼軍 殺傷殆盡

In winter, a comet appeared from the west with its tail pointing to the east. People celebrated it saying, “This is an auspicious omen that augers the replacement of the old with the new and vengeance that will cleanse our shame.” Yang, now titled General Who Pacifies the East,<sup>122</sup> went forward again in the twelfth month. Kim Yangsun [d. 847]<sup>123</sup> came with Muju<sup>124</sup> soldiers, and Ujing

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referred to a provincial governor or an official entrusted with a special mission.

120. Gungbok 弓福 (d. 846) was Jang Bogo's original name. He was also called Gungpa 弓巴 in the section “King Sinmu, Yeomjang, Gungpa” of *SY2*.

121. Yi Byeongdo (1997, 391) sees Muju 武州 as modern South Jeolla province. And instead of interpreting 城下 as the foot of the fortress, he translates it into a proper noun, Seongha 城下, which he sees as modern Gwangju.

122. General Who Pacifies the East (*pyeongdong janggūn* 平東將軍) was the title given to Kim Yang when he was assigned to attack Gyeongju. It meant that he was a general who rose from Wando Island to pacify Gyeongju, located in the east of the island.

123. The first name of Kim Yangsun 金亮詢 is transcribed as 良順 in *SS 10*. In the competition for the throne after the death of King Heungdeok he supported Kim Gyunjeong as king, but his faction was defeated. Then he entrusted himself to Jang Bogo in Cheonghae Garrison. He helped Kim Yang to support Kim Ujing as king. In the fifth year (843) of King Munseong's reign, he became *sijung*, from which he resigned next year. In the ninth year (847) of King Munseong's reign, he broke in revolt with *Pajinchon* Heungjong 興宗 (n.d.), only to be killed.

124. Muju 鷓洲 is an alternative transcription for 武州 (modern Gwangju).

dispatched six agile and brave generals to lead the troops. They were Yeomjang [fl. 840s],<sup>125</sup> Jang Byeon [n.d.], Jeong Nyeon [n.d.],<sup>126</sup> Nakgeum [n.d.], Jang Geonyeong [n.d.], and Yi Sunhaeng [fl. 830s]. With great splendor, the troops marched to the drumbeat until they arrived at Bukcheon in Cheorya-hyeon [in modern Naju in South Jeolla]<sup>127</sup> of Muju. Kim Minju [n.d.], a director of the Silla official army, deployed his troops against them. Generals Nakgeum and Yi Sunhaeng charged with their three-thousand cavalymen and broke the lines of the royal forces, killing or injuring most of them.

四年正月十九日 軍至大丘 王以兵迎拒 逆擊之 王軍敗北 生擒斬獲 莫之能計 時王顛沛逃入離宮 兵士尋害之 陽 於是 命左右將軍領騎士 徇曰 “本爲報讎 今渠魁就戮 衣冠士女百姓 宜各安居 勿妄動” 遂收復王城 人民案堵

On the nineteenth day of the first month of the fourth year [839], the troops arrived in Daegu. King [Minae] confronted them with his army. Kim Yang's army counterattacked and defeated the royal army. Countless men were captured and beheaded. At that time, the king fled, barely stumbling into the temporary royal quarters.<sup>128</sup> The soldiers searched him out and killed him. Then, Yang ordered the generals who accompanied him to have their cavalymen ride throughout the area and tell the people, “Our original intention was to take revenge upon our enemy. Now the ringleader has been killed. Noble persons and common people! Live in peace and cause no further incident.” Finally, they

125. Yeomjang 閻長 (n.d.) is also written as 閻丈 in the *Shoku Nihon Kouki* 續日本後紀 (*Continuation of the Nihon Kouki*). As a man from Muju, he engaged in the enterprise, where he along with Kim Yang ousted King Minae in order to support Kim Ujing as king. In other words, he helped Jang Bogo in supporting Kim Ujing. However, when Jang staged a rebellion at his garrison in 846, Yeomjang assassinated him. King Munseong granted him the sixth rank *agan* (or *achan*) in recognition of his achievement (cf. SY 2). He then became the governor of Muju and quelled the revolt by Yi Changjin 李昌珍 (n.d.) who was deputy general of Jang Bogo. Yeomjang dispatched Yi Sojeong 李少貞 (n.d.) to Japan in an attempt to trade with the country. See *Shoku Nihon Kouki* 11, “Jowa” 承和, Year 9.

126. This name, Jeong Nyeon 鄭年 (n.d.), is also transcribed as Jeong Ryeon 鄭連. He went to Tang with Jang Bogo and became junior general of the Wuning Army. When Jang Bogo returned to Silla and established Cheonghae Garrison, Jeong Nyeon entrusted himself to him. For more details, see the biography of Jang Bogo in SS 44.

127. This is located in the vicinity of modern Bonghwang-myeon in Naju, South Jeolla province. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:355n315.

128. The temporary royal quarters were a palace built away from the royal court for use during imperial tours. Facing the invading soldiers of Cheonghae Garrison, King Minae was perplexed and hid himself in the Wollyu residence (cf. SS 6).

reclaimed the royal palace and the people felt relieved.

陽召萱伯曰“犬各吠非其主 爾以其主射我 義士也 我勿校 爾安無恐”衆聞之曰  
“萱伯如此 其他何憂”無不感悅

Yang summoned Hwonbaek and told him, “Dogs bark at everyone but their master. You shot me on behalf of your master, so you are a man of honor. I will not charge you. Be at ease and fear not.” Upon hearing this, the people said, “If Hwonbaek has been treated like this, why should the others worry?” All were moved and delighted.

四月清宮 奉迎侍中祐徵卽位 是爲神武王 至七月二十三日 大王薨 太子嗣 位  
是爲文聖王 追錄功 授蘇判兼倉部令 轉侍中兼兵部令 入唐聘問 兼授公檢校衛  
尉卿

In the fourth month, the palace was cleared to welcome the ascension of *Sijung* [Chief Minister] Ujing as King Simnu [r. 839].<sup>129</sup> On the twenty-third day of the seventh month, the great king died, and the crown prince succeeded to the throne as King Munseong [r. 839-857]. The king recorded the additional merit of Yang and granted him the rank of *sopan*<sup>130</sup> concurrently with the post of minister of granaries. Then he promoted Yang to the position of *sijung* concurrently with the post of minister of military affairs. The Tang [emperor] sent envoys for a courtesy visit and granted him a title of Honorary Chief Minister of the Court of the Imperial Regalia.<sup>131</sup>

大中十一年八月十三日 薨于私第 享年五十 訃聞大王哀慟 追贈舒發翰 其贈贈  
殮葬 一依金庾信舊例 以其年十二月八日 陪葬于太宗大王之陵

In the eleventh year [857] of the Dazhong era,<sup>132</sup> on the thirteenth day of the eighth month, Kim Yang died at his residence at the age of fifty. The great king [Munseong] learned of his death and was shaken with grief. The king presented

129. King Sinmu was the forty-fifth king of Silla. He ascended the throne in the fourth month in 839 and died of illness in the seventh month of the same year.

130. The rank *sopan* was another name of the third-degree bureaucratic rank *japchan* 迺滄

131. Investigating Censor was a sinecure and Chief Minister of the Court of the Imperial Regalia was of the junior third rank 從三品. The Court of the Imperial Regalia was the office in charge of ceremonial weapons, gear, and other accouterments used by the emperor and other dignitaries in court audiences and sacrificial ceremonies.

132. Dazhong (847-860) is the reign title of Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 847-859) of Tang.

him the rank of *seobalhan*<sup>133</sup> posthumously and ordered that his funeral rites and burial fully conform to the old precedent of Kim Yusin. On the eighth day of the twelfth month of the year, he was buried next to the tomb of Taejong the Great.<sup>134</sup>

從父兄昕 字泰 父璋如 仕至侍中波珍浪 昕幼而聰悟 好學問

Kim Heun [803-849]<sup>135</sup> was Kim Yang's elder cousin,<sup>136</sup> whose courtesy name was Tae. The rank of his father, Jangyeo [fl. 810s], reached *pajinchan*. From childhood he was bright and fond of learning.

長慶二年 憲德王將遣人入唐 難其人 或薦昕太宗之裔 精神朗秀 器宇深沈 可以當選 遂令入朝宿衛

In the second year [822] of the Changqing era,<sup>137</sup> King Heondeok [r. 809-826] planned to send an envoy to Tang but had difficulties in finding the right person. Then, someone recommended Huen by saying that he was a descendant of King Taejong<sup>138</sup> and had a mind of great capacity, making him qualified for the job. Therefore, the king commanded him to enter the Tang court to serve as a palace guard.<sup>139</sup>

133. *Seobalhan* 舒發翰 was also called *seobulhan* 舒弗邯, *gakgan* 角干, or *juda* 酒多. It is another name of *ibeolchan*, the highest bureaucratic rank in Silla.

134. There are two burial mounds at the tomb of King Taejong at the foot of Seo-ak in Gyeongju: one with a circumference of sixty meters located fifteen meters away from the front of the tomb; the other has a circumference of eighty-six meters and is located to the south of his tomb. Yi (1997, 392n20) assumes the former to be grave of Kim Yang and the latter to be that of Kim Yusin.

135. Kim Heun 金昕 (803-849) was an aristocrat of true bone status and the ninth-generation descendant of King Muyeol. His name is recorded as Prince Kim Heun 王子金昕 in the account of the 17<sup>th</sup> year of King Heondeok's reign. His great-grand father was *Ichan* Kim Juwon 金周元, whose position reached *sangjae* (councilor of state 上宰). His grandfather was *Sopan* Kim Jonggi 金宗基 (fl. 790s) who served as *sijung* (chief minister). His father was Kim Jangyeo 金璋如 (fl. 810s) who also served as *sijung* and whose rank was *pajinchan* (Rank 4).

136. Elder cousin (*jongbuhyeong* 從父兄) has twofold meaning: one's older male cousin and a brother of one's father. Here the former meaning is adopted. Given that the name of Kim Yang's father was Jeongyeo 貞茹 and that of Kim Heun's father was Jangyeo 璋如, they were probably brothers.

137. Changqing (847-860) is the reign title of Emperor Muzong 穆宗 (r. 820-824) of Tang.

138. He was the ninth-generation descendent of King Muyeol. Although he was not a prince, he is recorded as such (cf. SS 10), which was designed to allow him to go to Tang as a palace guard. On the other hand, in the Stele Inscription of Master Nanghye at Seongju Monastery 聖住寺朗慧和尚碑文, he is described as court envoy prince [Kim] Heun 朝正王子昕. A court envoy (*chaozheng* 朝正) was sent from Silla to Tang in order to congratulate the emperor on the occasion of the lunar new year. See Uhlmann 2012, 124.

139. This episode is omitted in the "Silla Annals" of SS. In the Stele Inscription of Master Nanghye, it is stated that he entered Tang in the early Changqing era 長慶 in 822. He reentered Tang in the 17<sup>th</sup> year (825) of King Heondeok for two purposes: one was to have some Silla students such as

歲餘請還 皇帝詔授金紫光祿大夫試太常卿 及歸 國王以不辱命 擢授南原太守 累遷至康州大都督 尋加伊淦兼相國

About a year later, Kim Heun requested to be allowed to return home. The emperor issued a decree to grant him the title of Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon<sup>140</sup> and Acting Chamberlain for Ceremonials.<sup>141</sup> Upon Heun's return, the king specially appointed him the magistrate of Namwon<sup>142</sup> for his fidelity to the royal command. He repeatedly raised Heun's position until he appointed him the commander-in-chief of Gangju [modern Jinju in South Gyeongsang], and soon after promoted him to the rank of *ichan*<sup>143</sup> concurrently with minister of state.<sup>144</sup>

開成己未閏正月 爲大將軍 領軍十萬 禦清海兵於大丘敗績 自以敗軍 又不能死 綏不復仕宦 入小白山 葛衣蔬食 與浮圖遊<sup>145</sup>

In the first intercalary month of the Kaicheng era, *gimi* [839], he became a

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including Choi Ijeong 崔利貞, Kim Sukjeong 金叔貞, and Pak Gye-eop 朴季業 of the Imperial Academy return to their homeland. The other was to make a request for twelve new students to be enrolled at the Imperial Academy, including Kim Yunbu 金允夫, Kim Ipji 金立之, and Pak Yangji 朴亮之. The request was accepted.

140. Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon 金紫光祿大夫 was the senior third rank 正三品 in the official rank system of Tang. It had been an honorific title conferred on officials of high distinction from the Three Kingdoms era. See Hucker 1985, 168n1159.
141. Chamberlain for Ceremonials refers to the minister of Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang si* in Chinese 太常寺) which was in charge of rites, music, and ancestral rituals in the ancestral shrine of the royal lineage and shrine of guardian deities of the state. See *Jiu Tangshu* 44 and *Xin Tangshu* 48. *Sbi* (acting or probationary 試) was a prefix to titles of sinecure. See Hucker 1985, 168n5204.
142. Namwon (in modern North Jeolla province) was originally Goryong-gun of Baekje. The remnants of Goguryeo were relocated to this place after the collapse of Bodeok State in 683. When it became one of the secondary capitals of Silla, it came to be called Namwon. Since the administrative districts remained unchanged until the demise of Silla, its administrative unit was never changed into *gun* (county). Therefore, it had never been governed by a magistrate (*taesu* 太守). The title should have written as mayor (*sasin* 仕臣).
143. The rank *ichan* is another name of the second rank *icheokchan* 伊尺淦, which is also called *igan* 伊干, *ilcheokgan* 一尺干, and *ichan* 夷粲.
144. Minister of State (*sangguk* 相國) had been an unofficial reference to the highest-ranking officials of the central government from Tang on. It was also called *jaesang* 宰相 or *jaebo* 宰輔. While minister of state was reserved for the officials of the second rank or higher in Tang dynasty, the position of *jaesang* was given to those who held offices such as *sangdaedeung* 上大等, *sijung* 侍中, *byeongburyeong* 兵部令, and *sasin* 私臣 in Silla. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:674n9.
145. According to the Stele Inscription of Master Nanghye composed by Choi Chiwon 崔致遠 (b. 857), when Master Nanghye Muyeom was searching for a place to live after returning from Tang, Kim Heun, who had retired from government office, asked him to reside in a temple southwest of Ungcheon-ju (in modern Changwon, South Gyeongsang province). Later, Master Nanghye repaired it and named it Seongju Monastery 聖住寺.

grand general and led ten thousand soldiers against the troops of Cheonghae Garrison, but was defeated in Daegu. Because of his defeat and failure to die with dignity, he did not take a government position again and retreated to Mount Sobaek. He wore hempen clothes and lived on vegetables, making friends with Buddhist monks.

至大中三年八月二十七日 感疾終於山齋 享年四十七歲 以其年九月十日 葬於奈靈郡之南原 無嗣子 夫人主喪事 後爲比丘尼

On the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of the third year [849] of the Dazhong era, he died of illness at his secluded dwelling at the age of forty-seven. On the tenth day of the ninth month of the year, he was buried on a hill south of Naryeong-gun [modern Yeongju in North Gyeongsang]. With no son, his wife took care of his funeral. After that, she became a Buddhist nun.

### Part 7. The Biography of Heukchi Sangji<sup>146</sup>

黑齒常之 百濟西部人 長七尺餘 驍毅有謀略 爲百濟達率兼風達郡將 猶唐刺史云 Heukchi Sangji [630-689]<sup>147</sup> was a man of the western capital district<sup>148</sup> in Baekje. Over seven *cheok*<sup>149</sup> tall [2.10 m], he was agile, valiant, and resourceful. As *dalsol*<sup>150</sup> of Baekje, he was general of Pungdal-gun<sup>151</sup> [presumably modern Naju in South Jeolla], which was said to be a position equivalent to the prefect of Tang.<sup>152</sup>

146. The present translation has benefited from the translation conducted by John Jamieson in “The *Samguk sagi* and the Unification Wars.” See Jamieson 1969, 180-81.

147. Heukchi Sangji 黑齒常之, courtesy name Hangwon 恒元, was a military general of Baekje. He is known as a leader of the Baekje restoration movement after the capital fell in 660 to the Silla-Tang alliance. According to the epitaph inscription found in Luoyang, his ancestors were of the Buyeo clan 扶餘氏, the royal family of Baekje, but since his ancestor was enfeoffed with Heukchi State 黑齒國, his descendants took this name. Heukchi State is presumed to be modern Deoksan at Yesan in South Chungcheong province.

148. The western district was one of the five capital districts (*bu* 部) of Baekje.

149. One *cheok* is approximately 24 centimeters (approximately 9.5 inches) prior to Tang (seventh century), and from Tang forward, approximately 30.5 centimeters (12 inches). See Shultz and Kang 2017a, 417. Therefore, he was about 213 centimeters.

150. *Dalsol* 達率 was the second rank in the sixteen bureaucratic grades of Baekje. There were thirty officials in the rank.

151. Although the location of Pungdal-gun is unclear, it is presumed to be modern Naju in South Jeolla province

152. Prefect or *cishi* 刺史 was head of a prefecture (*chou* in Chinese 州).

蘇定方平百濟 常之以所部降 而定方囚老王 縱兵大掠 常之懼 與左右酋長十餘人 遯去 嘯合連亡 依任存山自固 不旬日 歸者三萬 定方勒兵攻之 不克 遂復二百餘城  
When Su Dingfang [592-667] subdued Baekje, Sangji surrendered with his group but became frightened when he saw Dingfang imprison the old king and let his soldiers ruthlessly plunder [Baekje]. He fled with about ten chieftain aides, rallied other escapees, and held out at Mount Imjon<sup>153</sup> [modern Mount Bongsu in Yesan, South Chungcheong]. In less than ten days, thirty thousand people came to him. Dingfang forced his troops to attack them but could not win. Finally, Sangji recovered over two hundred fortresses.

龍朔中 高宗遣使招諭 乃詣劉仁軌降 入唐爲左領軍員外將軍洋州刺史 累從征伐 積功 授爵賞殊等

During the Longshuo era [661-663],<sup>154</sup> Emperor Gaozong [r. 649-683] dispatched an emissary to call upon him to parley. Soon Sangji went over to Liu Rengui [601-685] and surrendered. He went to Tang and was appointed as Supernumerary General of the Left Metropolitan Guard and Prefect of Yangzhou.<sup>155</sup> He participated in successive campaigns and accumulated merit for which the emperor granted him titles and special awards.

久之 爲燕然道大摠管 與李多祚等 擊突厥破之 左監門衛中郎將爨寶璧 欲窮追邀功 詔與常之共討 寶璧獨進 爲虜所覆 舉軍沒 寶璧下吏誅 常之坐無功 會周興等 誣其與鷹揚將軍趙懷節叛 捕繫詔獄 投繯死

After a long time passed,<sup>156</sup> he became Grand Commander of Yanran Circuit.<sup>157</sup> He joined with Li Duozuo<sup>158</sup> [d. 707] and others to attack and destroy the Tujue [Turks]. Commandant of the Left Gate Guard, Cuan Baobi [ca. d.

153. Mount Imjon is modern Mount Bongsu located in Yesan in South Chungcheong province

154. Longshuo 龍朔 is the third reign period (661-663) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty.

155. Yangzhou 洋州 is a typographical error for Shayangzhou 沙洋州, as evidenced by the epitaph inscription of Heukchi Sangji.

156. According to the biography of Heukchi Sangji in the *Jiu Tangshu* 109, he became grand commandant of Yanran Circuit in the third year (687) of the Chuigong era.

157. Yanran Circuit 燕然道 was the area where the tribe of the Turks (Tujue in Chinese 突厥) lived, which is now around Urad Rear Banner 烏拉特後旗 of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. It was occupied by Tang during Emperor Taizong's reign and the Yanran Protectorate was established there.

158. Li Duozuo 李多祚 (d. 707) was an ethnically Mohe general of the Tang dynasty. He was known for his participation in the successful coup of 705 that overthrew Wu Zetian 武則天 and returned her son Emperor Zhongzong to the throne. See the biography of Li Duozuo in the *Jiu Tangshu* 109 and the *Xin Tangshu* 110.

687], in contention for merit, wanted to pursue them to the end. Although an imperial decree called for a joint attack with Sangji, Baobi advanced alone. He was overcome by the barbarians, and the whole army collapsed. Baobi was sent to be executed, and Sangji's merit was negated for being implicated in the incident. At this time, Zhou Xing<sup>159</sup> [d. 691] and others falsely accused him of joining Zhao Huaijie<sup>160</sup> [ca. d. 687], the commandant of Soaring Hawk Guard,<sup>161</sup> in rebellion. [Sangji] was arrested and sent to the imperial prison to be hanged.<sup>162</sup>

常之御下有恩 所乘馬爲士所箠 或請罪之 答曰“何遽以私馬 鞭官兵乎” 前後賞賜 分麾下無留貲 及死 人皆哀其枉

Sangji treated his men with kindness. Once, when his riding-horse was whipped by a soldier, some people<sup>163</sup> asked him to punish the soldier. Sangji replied, “How could I flog a government soldier just because of my personal horse?” He distributed all his rewards among those under his command, keeping nothing for himself. When he died, all mourned the injustice done to him.

## Part 8. The Biography of Jang Bogo<sup>164</sup>

張保臯 羅紀作弓福 鄭年年或作連 皆新羅人 但不知鄉邑父祖

Jang Bogo [787-846]<sup>165</sup> {the *Silla Record* names him Gungbok} and Jeong

159. Zhou Xing 周興 (fl. 690s) was a secret police official of the Tang dynasty and Wu Zetian's Zhou dynasty. He was largely responsible for carrying out her actions to wipe out senior members of Tang's Li imperial clan. His biography is recorded in the *Xin Tangshu* 209.

160. Zhao Huaijie 趙懷節 (ca. d. 687) was a Tang general during the reigns of Emperor Gaozong (r. 649-683) and Emperor Zhongzong (r. 683-684; r. 705-710).

161. By 607, Tang Garrison Militia had split into two types, the Cavalry Garrison 驃騎府 commanded by a cavalry general and a Chariot and Horse Garrison 車騎府 commanded by a chariot and horse general. In 607 the garrisons were reorganized into a single type called the Soaring Hawk Garrison 鷹揚府 headed by a commandant 郎將. See Hucker 1985, 379n4618.

162. This is based on the biography of Heukchi Sangji in the *Xin Tangshu* 110. *Jiu Tangshu* 109 states, “he was incarcerated and finally hanged himself” 繫獄 遂自縊而死. His death is also recorded in the *Zizhi tongjian* 204: “In winter, tenth month, *muo*, he was hanged” 冬十月 戊午 常之縊死.

163. According to the biography of Heukchi Sangji of the *Jiu Tangshu* 109, “Vice Commissioner Niu Shijiang and others asked him to whip the soldier” 副使牛師獎等請鞭之.

164. The present translation has benefited from the excerpt that Peter Lee translated in the *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*. See Lee 1993, 220.

165. His original name was Hwalbo, meaning a child good at shooting an arrow. He was also called Gungbok 弓福 and Gungpa 弓巴 where the character gung 弓 means a bow. For more details about the meaning of each name, see Noh 1978, 28. Around twenty years of age he went to Tang and

Nyeon [n.d.]<sup>166</sup> {another source writes “Ryeon” for “Nyeon”} were both from Silla, but their father, grandfather, and hometown were unknown.

皆善鬪戰 年復能沒海底 行五十里不噎 角其勇壯 保阜差不及也 年以兄呼保阜 保阜以齒 年以藝 常齟齬不相下 二人如唐 爲武寧軍小將 騎而用槍 無能敵者

Both of them were excelled in combat. Nyeon, moreover, could dive into the sea and swim fifty *li* without losing his breath. Bogo was a little behind Nyeon in bravery and strength. Nyeon called Bogo “Older Brother.” Bogo with his seniority and Nyeon with his skills competed not to be outdone. They went to Tang and both became junior generals of the Wuning Army.<sup>167</sup> Their horsemanship and spear handling were unparalleled.

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served as a junior general of the Wuning Army 武寧軍 in Xuzhou 徐州 (in modern Jiangsu province 江蘇省). At that time, he took Jang as his surname and changed his personal name to Bogo 保阜. In Japanese records, the name Bogo is written as 寶高. When he was serving in the army, the Tang government enforced a policy of downsizing its military forces. Therefore, he left his position and engaged in trade. He then established Fahua Temple in Chishan-cun, Qingning-xiang, Wendeng prefecture and owned land that yielded 500 *seok* of rice a year. Later, he returned to Silla and established Cheonghae Garrison on Wando Island with ten thousand soldiers stationed under the royal approval in the third year of King Heungdeok (828) in order to prevent pirates from capturing and enslaving Silla people. Then he managed maritime trade among Tang, Japan, and Silla. In the seventh year of King Munseong's reign (845) he attempted to make his daughter a second wife of the king but failed due to the opposition of court officials. Then he plotted a revolt, but was killed by Yeomjang in 846. According to *Shoku Nihon Kouki*, however, he died in 842. See *Shoku Nihon Kouki* 11, “Jowa” 承和, Year 9. Most of this biography in *SS* was sourced from the biographies of Jang Bogo and Jeong Nyeon in chapter three of *Fanchuan wen ji* 樊川文集, a collection of writings by the Tang poet Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852). The compiler of this biography in *SS* consulted Silla materials only for adding annotations to the text. He copied the historian's comments (*shilun* 史論) in “Silla” in the *Xin Tangshu* 220. Jang Bogo is also frequently mentioned in the *Nitto kyūho junreigyōki* (*Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* 入唐求法巡禮行記), a diary written by Ennin (793-864), a Japanese Buddhist monk in Tang. See Reischauer 1955, 100n438.

166. The dates of his birth and death are not known. The story of animosity and later reconciliation between Jeong Nyeon and Jang Bogo spread so widely in China that Du Mu wrote their biographies. They are put together in the same place in the *Fanchuan wen ji* 3 as well as in *SS*. In this biography, the account that Jang Bogo became a minister and Jeong Nyeon took charge of Cheonghae Garrison does not correspond with that of the “Silla Annals.” See *SS* 11, King Munseong, Year 1.

167. Wuning 武寧 is the present-day Jinshan in Jiangsu province. The Wuning Army was the Xuzhou commissioner's army, identified by a flag with serrated edges. See Hucker 1985, 575n7851. From 817 to 819, the army was at the forefront in attacking and defeating the rebel troops led by Li Shidao 李師道 (d. 819), who was a military commissioner of Pinglu 平盧 (Shandong in modern Taian). According to *SS*, he was a military commissioner of Yunzhou 鄆州, the capital of Pinglu (cf. *SS* 10, King Heondeok, Year 11, Month 7). He was a grandson of Li Zhengji 李正己 (732-781), a Goguryeo migrant, and created a formidable base of power in the vicinity of the Shandong peninsula founded on the *fanzhen* 藩鎮 system, a governmental structure involving administration through regional commissioners.

後保臯還國 謁大王曰“遍中國以吾人爲奴婢 願得鎮清海 使賊不得掠人西去” 清海新羅海路之要 今謂之莞島 大王與保臯萬人 此後海上無鬻鄉人者

Later, Bogo returned home and had an audience with the great king<sup>168</sup> and said, “When traveling around China, I found that our people are taken as slaves. I request Your Majesty to build a garrison at Cheonghae so that the pirates cannot capture our people and take them west.” Cheonghae was a strategic point on Silla’s coastal sea routes and refers to Wando Island today [Goryeo period].<sup>169</sup> The great king granted Bogo ten thousand people.<sup>170</sup> Thereafter,<sup>171</sup> the trafficking of Silla people<sup>172</sup> into slavery no longer occurred on the coast.

保臯既貴 年去職饑寒 在泗之漣水縣 一日言於戍將馮元規曰 “我欲東歸 乞食於張保臯” 元規曰 “若與保臯所負如何 奈何去取死其手” 年曰 “饑寒死 不如兵死快 況死故鄉耶” 遂去 謁保臯 飲之極歡

When Bogo rose to high position [in Silla], Nyeon lost his position<sup>173</sup> [at the Tang court] and lived in hunger and cold in the Lianshui prefecture<sup>174</sup> of Sishui<sup>175</sup> [modern Xuzhou in Jiangsu]. One day, he said to Defense General Feng Yuangui,<sup>176</sup> “I will go back to the east and beg Jang Bogo for food.” Then,

168. The great king refers to King Heungdeok (r. 826-836). He is recorded as “king” in the *Fanchuan wen ji* 3, but the compiler of *SS* changed the title to the “great king.”

169. This sentence is provided by the compilers of *SS*.

170. According to the “Silla Annals,” it seems most likely that these “ten thousand soldiers” refer to Jang Bogo’s private army, rather than the government army, who were stationed in Cheonghae Garrison under the court approval. See Noh 1978, 28-29. It is stated in the account of the fourth month of the third year of King Heungdeok’s reign, “Later he returned to Silla and had an audience with the king to garrison 10,000 soldiers at Cheonghae” 後歸國謁王 以卒萬人鎮清海.

171. *Fanchuan wen ji* 3 contains the more specific date as “from the Taihe year and thereafter” 自太和後. Taihe 太和 refers to the reign title of Empire Wenzong of Tang, lasting from 827 to 835.

172. The characters for “Silla people” are *hyangin* (local people or fellow countrymen 鄉人), which refers to Jang Bogo’s fellow countrymen. Du Mu records it as “Silla people” 新羅人 in his *Fanchuan wen ji* 3.

173. *Fanchuan wen ji* provides a little more information about his unemployment: “As things went awry, he lost his position” 錯寞去職. However, it does not tell exactly what went wrong.

174. The name Lianshui is derived from the Lianshui River. It is the present-day Lianshui County 漣水縣 in Jiangsu province of China. At that time, it was a county located in northern area of Huaishui 淮水, 60 li (45 km) away from the administration office of Chuzhou 楚州. In this county Silla Quarters 新羅坊, special settlements of Silla people, were established. See *Nitto kyūho junreigyōki* 4, “Huichang” 會昌 5, Month 7, Day 9.

175. Sishui 泗水 is a tributary of Huaishui 淮水 and also called Sihe 泗河. Here it refers to Sishui (modern Xuzhou in Jiangsu).

176. Feng Yuangui 馮元規 (n.d.) was a general of Tang and a close friend of Jeong Nyeon.

the general asked, “Don’t you have a grudge against Bogo? Why are you going to go there and die at his hands?” Nyeon replied, “I would rather die in war in my homeland than die of hunger and cold here.” He finally left and presented himself to Bogo, who was greatly pleased to drink with him.

飲未卒 聞王弑國亂無主 保臯分兵五千人與年 持年手泣曰 “非子不能平禍難” 年入國 誅叛者立王 王召保臯爲相 以年代守清海 此與新羅傳記頗異 以杜牧立傳 故兩存之

Before finishing their drinks,<sup>177</sup> they heard that the king [King Huigang] was killed<sup>178</sup> and so the country fell into disarray without a sovereign. Bogo entrusted Nyeon with five thousand soldiers and grabbed his hands, saying in tears, “No one but you can quell this revolt.”<sup>179</sup> Nyeon entered the capital [Gyeongju], killed the traitors, and enthroned a new king<sup>180</sup> [Sinmu, r. 839]. The new king called in Bogo to appoint him to be a minister and ordered Nyeon to guard Cheonghae instead.<sup>181</sup> {This is very different from the record in the biographies of Silla.<sup>182</sup> But as Du Mu (803-852) wrote this, both have been retained.}<sup>183</sup>

177. This phrase seems to have been added for a dramatic effect and thus is unreliable. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:736n155.

178. When Kim Myeong (later King Minae) and Chief Minister Kim Ihong raised troops to stage a rebellion in 838, King Huigang (r. 836-838), the 43<sup>rd</sup> king of Silla, realizing that he could not stop it, hanged himself in the palace. See *SS* 10, King Huigang, Year 3.

179. According to the account of the first year of King Minae’s reign in *SS* 10, this sentence is preceded by the following: “The ancients had a saying, ‘A person who sees what is right yet does nothing lacks courage.’ Although I may be unworthy, I will follow your order” 古人有言 見義不爲 無勇 吾雖庸劣 唯命是從. This was Jang Bogo’s response when Kim Ujing asked him for military assistance to avenge those who made King Huigang pass away.

180. This specifically means that Jeong Nyeon helped Jang Bogo support Kim Ujing as King Sinmu. Upon his accession to the throne, King Sinmu granted Jang Bogo the title of *gamui gansa* (military commander moved by righteousness 感義軍使). See the account of King Sinmu’s reign of *SS* 10.

181. Jang Bogo was granted a title of *gamui gansa* for supporting King Sinmu, but never served as a minister in the court according to all the sources found in China, Korea, and Japan. Therefore, it is not reliable that Jeong Nyeon took over his post at Cheonghae Garrison (cf. Jeong et al. 2012, 4:736n156).

182. The biographies of Silla seem to be those compiled based on Silla materials and included in the biographical section of the *Old History of the Three Kingdoms*, which was compiled during early Goryeo period. This suggests that Kim Busik rewrote the biographies for *SS*.

183. According to Jeong et al. (2012, 4:736n160), the biographies of Silla are likely to have been retained in the “Silla Annals” of *SS*, not in “Biographies” of *SS*.

論曰 杜牧言『天寶安祿山亂 朔方節度使安思順 以祿山從弟賜死 詔郭汾陽代之 後旬日復詔李臨淮 持節分朔方半兵 東出趙·魏

Commentary:<sup>184</sup> Du Mu<sup>185</sup> wrote, “During the Tianbao era [742-756],<sup>186</sup> An Lushan [ca. 703-757]<sup>187</sup> rose in revolt. An Sishun [ca. 695-756], who served as military commissioner of the northwestern area,<sup>188</sup> killed himself at the imperial command because he was a younger cousin of Lushan. The emperor [Xuanzong, r. 712-756] issued a decree that Guo Fenyang [697-781]<sup>189</sup> take over his post. Ten days later, the emperor decreed again that Li Linhuai [708-764]<sup>190</sup> carry a tally, take

184. *Commentary* is a section of the original text marked with the heading *non ual* 論曰, which is presumed to have been written by the compiler Kim Busik. He did not compose any of this commentary but simply cited the passages from *Fanchuan wen ji* 3 and the commentary of “Silla” in *Xin Tangshu* 220.
185. Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852) was a prominent poet of late Tang China and grandson of Du You 杜佑 (735-812), the author of the *Tongdian* (*Encyclopedic History of Institutions*: 通典). His courtesy name was Muzhi 牧之, and penname Fanchuan 樊川. Born in the Tang capital Chang’an (modern Xian) into an elite family, he passed the civil service examination in 828 at the age of 25. Du Mu held many official positions in various locales through the years, but he never achieved a high rank, perhaps due to his detachment from any political factions. Later in life, he collected his lifelong literary work. His nephew Fei Yanhan 裴延翰 posthumously published it in twenty volumes under the title *Fanchuan wen ji* (*Literary Collection of Fanchuan*). The third volume contains the “Biographies of Jang Bogo and Jeong Nyeon” 張保臯鄭年傳.
186. Tianbao 天寶 is the reign title of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, from 742 to 756.
187. An Lushan 安祿山 (ca. 703-757) was a Tang general of Iranian and Turkish descent and a leader of the An Lushan Rebellion in 755. He was the son of a Soghdian officer in the army of Qapaghan Qaghan. After their ruler died in 716, the An family sought refuge in Tang China. Just at that period the frontier policies of the emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-756) were providing opportunities for men of non-Chinese origin, such as An Lushan and his cousin An Sishun, to serve in the Chinese armies. As a military governor, he was summoned to Chang’an, the Tang capital, in 743 and managed to gain favor with Emperor Xuanzong, his consort Yang Guifei, and powerful chief minister Li Linfu. This allowed An Lushan to amass significant military power. However, Li Linfu died in 752 and his demise led to an intense struggle between An Lushan and Yang Guifei’s cousin Yang Guozhong who attempted to take over Li Linfu’s position. Finally, in 755, claiming that he had received a secret command from Emperor Xuanzong to remove Yang Guozhong, An marched on Luoyang, the eastern capital of Tang. After he had taken Luoyang, he proclaimed himself emperor of the Great Yen 大燕皇帝 in 756. Although An Lushan’s forces occupied Chang’an later, he was assassinated in his bed by the eunuch Li Zhuer 李猪兒 (n.d.) with the connivance of his own son, An Qingxu 安慶緒 (d. 759). See Twitchett 1979, 469-79.
188. The characters for the northwestern area are *sakbang* 朔方, which literally means the northern region, and here it refers to the northwestern area of Tang, the west of Hengshan county 橫山縣 in Shanxi province today. In Tang China, eight commissioners were in charge of provincial armies.
189. Guo Fenyang 郭汾陽 (697-781) was a general of Tang. Both his original name and courtesy name were Ziyi 子儀. He came from Zheng county 鄭縣 of Henan province 河南省. In 755 when An Lushan rose a rebellion, he, as the governor of Lingwu prefecture 靈武郡, became the military commissioner of the northwestern area. He suppressed the rebellion of Shi Siming 史思明 (d. 761) and this military merit earned him the title, Prince of Fenyang 汾陽郡王 in 762. Thereafter he came to be called Guo Fenyang.
190. Li Linhuai 李臨淮 (708-764) was a general of Tang. His original name was Guangbi 光弼 and his

half of the troops of the northwestern area, and go eastward to Zhao<sup>191</sup> [modern Zhaocheng, Shanxi] and Wei<sup>192</sup> [modern Xia, Shanxi].

當思順時 汾陽·臨淮 俱爲牙門都將 二人不相能 雖同盤飲食 常睇相視 不交一言  
及汾陽代思順 臨淮欲亡去 計未決 詔臨淮 分汾陽半兵東討 臨淮入請曰 “一死固甘  
乞免妻子” 汾陽趨下 持手上堂 偶坐曰 “今國亂主遷 非公不能東伐 豈懷私忿時耶”  
及別執手泣涕 相勉以忠義 訖平巨盜 實二公之力

When Sishun was military commissioner, Fenyang and Linhuai both served as superintendents of the flag unit.<sup>193</sup> They were on bad terms with each other. Even when they ate together at the same table, they always cast side-glances at each other without a word. Then, when Fenyang took the place of Sishun, Linhuai wished to run away but could not. By a decree, the emperor commanded Linhuai to take half of Fenyang's troops and go east to destroy [the rebel forces]. Linhuai went to Fenyang and pleaded, 'I am ready to die but I beg you to spare my wife and children.' Fenyang rushed down to him, grabbed his hands, and brought him up to the hall. Sitting face to face with him, Fenyang said, 'The country is now in disarray and the emperor has fled from the palace. No one but you can subdue the east. So how can I harbor a personal grudge in such a time?' As they parted, they held each other's hands in tears and encouraged each other with loyalty and righteousness. Eventually the formidable bandit was defeated due to the two generals' merits.

知其心不叛 知其材可任 然後 心不疑 兵可分 平生積憤 知其心 難也 忿必見短  
知其材 益難也 此保臯與汾陽之賢等耳 年投保臯 必曰 “彼貴我賤 我降下之  
不宜以舊忿殺我” 保臯果不殺 人之常情也 臨淮請死於汾陽 亦人之常情也

One can deploy soldiers without hesitation only after knowing that their minds will not turn and their talents can be employed. Having accumulated animosity

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ancestors were the Kitans. When An Lushan rose in rebellion, he entered the government service on the recommendation of Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697-781). After achieving merit in subduing the revolt of Shi Siming, he became a merit subject and was granted a title of Prince of Linhuai 臨淮郡王 in 762, so he was called Li Linhuai thereafter. Linhuai Commandery is the southeastern area of the present-day Si county in Anhui province.

191. This refers to the present-day Zhaocheng county 趙城縣 of Shanxi province.

192. This refers to the present-day Xia county 夏縣 of Shanxi province.

193. The characters for the flag unit are *yamen* 牙門, i.e., the headquarters or office of the head of an agency. The term designates the entrance to the tent or enclosure where a campaigning general is to be found, marked by his serrated flag (*ya* 牙). See Hucker 1985, 575n7862.

toward each other all their lives, it was difficult for them to know each other's mind. When angry, they could only see each other's shortcomings, making it all the more difficult for them to recognize each other's talent. In this regard, Bogo and Fenyang were equal in wisdom. When Nyeon decided to rely on Bogo, he must have thought to himself, 'He is noble and I am lowly. If I submit to him, he surely will not kill me for past resentment.' Indeed, that Bogo did not kill him was a matter of human decency. Linhuai asked Fenyang for death; this too was a matter of human decency.

保臯任年事 出於己 年且饑寒 易爲感動 汾陽·臨淮平生抗立 臨淮之命 出於天子 擢於保臯 汾陽爲優 此乃聖賢遲疑成敗之際也 彼無他也 仁義之心 與雜情並植 雜情勝則仁義滅 仁義勝則雜情消 彼二人 仁義之心既勝 復資之以明 故卒成功

Bogo entrusted Nyeon with the task on his own decision. Nyeon, in the grip of hunger and cold, was easily moved by this. Although Fenyang and Linhuai were at odds for a long time, it was easier for Fenyang to make a decision<sup>194</sup> than for Bogo, because the order given to Linhuai was from the Son of Heaven. This was situation in which even sages and worthy men cannot foresee success or failure. Likewise, if the mind of benevolence and righteousness is intermingled with trivial feelings and those trivial feelings prevail, benevolence and righteousness disappear. If benevolence and righteousness prevail, trivial feelings vanish. In the minds of those two people, benevolence and righteousness prevailed and their brilliant discernment finally brought a successful end to the mission.

世稱周·召爲百代之師 周公擁孺子 而召公疑之 以周公之聖·召公之賢 少事文王 老佐武王 能平天下 周公之心 召公亦且不知之 苟有仁義之心 不資以明 雖召公尙爾 況其下哉

People called Duke Zhou [fl. ca. 1100 BCE]<sup>195</sup> and Duke Zhao [n.d.]<sup>196</sup> the

194. Yi (1997, 396) translated the phrase 汾陽爲優 into "Fenyang was superior to Bogo" because he interpreted the character 優 as "superior." On the other hand, Jeong et al. (2012, 2:758), taking the context into account, translated the phrase into "It was easier for Fenyang to make a decision." 優 is interpreted as "easier." Jeong's interpretation is adopted here.

195. Duke Zhou 周公 was a son of King Wen 文王 (ca. 1099-1050 BCE) of Zhou dynasty and younger brother of King Wu 武王 (1046-1043 BCE). His name was Dan 旦. He assisted King Wen and King Wu in founding the Zhou dynasty (1046-771 BCE). After the death of King Wu, he served his young nephew, King Cheng 成王 (r. 1042-1021 BCE), as his advisor and laid a solid foundation of the Zhou court.

196. Duke Zhao 召公 was the younger brother of Duke Zhou and his name was Shi 奭. He was an advisor

teachers of all generations. But when Duke Zhou was an advisor to the young king [King Cheng of Zhou], Duke Zhao doubted Duke Zhou. In their youth, Duke Zhou served King Wen [r. ca. 1100-1050 BCE]<sup>197</sup> with sagacity and Duke Zhao with wisdom. In their old age, they assisted King Wu [r. 1046-1043 BCE]<sup>198</sup> in pacifying the whole kingdom. But Duke Zhao did not know what was on Duke Zhou's mind. Although one has a mind of benevolence and righteousness, he might not have discernment. Duke Zhao was such a case. Then what about those who were less than him?

語曰“國有一人 其國不亡”夫亡國 非無人也 丁其亡時 賢人不用 苟能用之 一人足矣』  
The saying goes, ‘If there is [even] one person, the state will not fall.’ In general, a state collapses not because it has no people but because it fails to employ men of wisdom in a time of crisis. If the state were to employ men of wisdom then even one would be enough.”

宋祁曰『嗟乎 不以怨毒相甚 而先國家之憂 晉有祁奚 唐有汾陽·保臯 孰謂夷無 人哉』  
Song Qi [998-1061]<sup>199</sup> wrote,<sup>200</sup> “Ah, there have been people who did not harm each other out of poisonous grudge but rather put their country's concern before anything else. They were Qi Xi [620-545 BC]<sup>201</sup> of Jin<sup>202</sup> and Fenyang

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to King Wu and King Cheng. He is renowned for benevolent care for his people when serving as a governor. The song “Gantang” (sweet pear-tree 甘棠) in the *Shijing* is dedicated to his way of rule.

197. King Wen 文王 (r. 1099-1050 BCE) was father of King Wu, the founder of the Zhou dynasty, and was also called Xibo 西伯. Confucian scholars of later generations praised him as a sage-king.

198. King Wu 武王 (r. 1046-1043 BCE) was the founder of the Zhou dynasty. His name was Jifa 姬發, and Confucian scholars of later generations acclaimed him as a worthy king. His father was King Wen.

199. Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061) was a scholar of Northern Song. As the senior compiler (*suchan* 修撰) of the Historiography Institute (*saguan* 史館), he compiled the *Xin Tangshu* in collaboration with Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007-1072). Ouyang Xiu took charge of the annals, tables, and treatises, while Song Qi was responsible for the biographies. The compilation of the history began in 1052 and lasted for 17 years before being completed.

200. The following statement was sourced from the historian's comment (*zan yue* 贊曰) in “Silla” of the *Xin Tangshu* 220. Kim Busik regarded Song Qi as the author of the historian's comments of the *Xin Tangshu*. Although there is no material evidence supporting this, it seems most likely that this comment was written under the supervision of Song Qi, judging from his role relating to the biographies.

201. Qi Xi 祁奚 (620-545 BCE) was a high minister of Jin 晉 during the Spring and Autumn period. He was renowned for his service to the country with impartiality. When he decided to retire, he recommended his enemy Jie Hu 解狐 (d. 570) as successor to Lord Dao of Jin 晉悼公 (r. 573-558 BCE). Asked by Lord Dao as to why he recommended his adversary, Qi Xi replied that Jie Hu was a competent man, which mattered much more than personal feelings.

202. Jin 晉 was one of the countries during the Warring States period. It was located in the vicinity of the

and Bogo of Tang. Who, then, could say that there are no such men among the barbarians?”

## Part 9. The Biography of Sadaham

斯多含 系出真骨 奈密王七世孫也 父仇梨知級滄 本高門華胄 風標清秀 志氣方正 時人請奉爲花郎 不得已爲之 其徒無慮一千人 盡得其歡心

Sadaham [n.d.]<sup>203</sup> was a descendant of true bone status. He was the seventh descendant of King Namil [r. 356-402]<sup>204</sup> and his father was *Geupchan* Guriji [n.d.]<sup>205</sup> He was the scion of a high-status family. He had a fine and outstanding presence. His strong will and spirit were righteous and incorruptible. At that time, people petitioned him to become a *hwarang*,<sup>206</sup> which he reluctantly accepted. No less than a thousand people followed him, and he won the favor of them all.

眞興王命伊滄異斯夫 襲加羅一作加耶國 時斯多含年十五六 請從軍 王以幼少不許 其請勤而志確 遂命爲貴幢裨將 其徒從之者亦衆

King Jinheung [r. 540-576] ordered *Ichan* Isabu [n.d] to launch a raid on Gara State<sup>207</sup> [modern Goryeong in North Gyeongsang] {some write it Gaya}.<sup>208</sup>

At this time, Sadaham was around fifteen or sixteen, and requested to join the army. Due to his youth, the king would not permit it. But he was persistent and

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present-day Taiyuan county 太原縣 in Shanxi province.

203. Sadaham was a *hwarang* leader of Silla in King Jinheung's reign (540-576). When the king conquered Gaya, Sadaham went into battle at the age of fifteen or sixteen. With his foremost merit, the king gave him land and captives as a reward, but he refused them three times. When the king insisted, he asked for the wasteland of Alcheon, thereby winning a good reputation. With the death of Mukwanrang, his friend to the death, Sadaham wailed with great sorrow. Seven days later he too died. He was seventeen years of age at the time, which is assumed to be the 25<sup>th</sup> year (564) of King Jinheung's reign.
204. Namil 奈密 is another appellation of King Namul, the 17<sup>th</sup> king of Silla. Namil is also rendered as 那密.
205. *Geupchan* was the ninth-degree bureaucratic rank of Silla. It was also called *geobeolganji* 居伐干支, *geupbeolchan* 級伐滄, *geupbeolgan* 級伐干, or *guepgan* 級干.
206. The term *hwarang* can mean both the leader of the group and the group itself. In the present context, it refers to a *hwarang* leader.
207. Gara State 加羅國 refers to Dae Gaya, which was located in modern Goryeong, North Gyeongsang province.
208. This is recorded in the account of the 23<sup>rd</sup> year (562) of the King Jinheung's reign. According to the "Silla Annals" of SS, the Gaya people rose in rebellion, so the King Jinheung ordered Isabu to subjugate them.

determined. Finally, the king appointed him to be adjutant general of Noble Banner.<sup>209</sup> Many followed him into battle.

及抵其國界 請於元帥 領麾下兵 先入旃檀梁 旃檀梁 城門名 加羅語謂門爲梁云 其國人 不意兵猝至 驚動不能禦 大兵乘之 遂滅其國

When they arrived at the border of the country [Gara], Sadaham asked a marshal<sup>210</sup> to allow him to lead troops. He first reached Jeondanyang<sup>211</sup> {Jeondanyang was the name given to the gate of a fortress. In the Gara language, “yang” referred to a door}. The people of Gara were greatly surprised by the sudden attack, so they could not defend themselves. The great army took advantage of this, and went on to annihilate the country.

泊師還 王策功賜加羅人口三百 受已皆放 無一留者 又賜田固辭 王強之 請賜闕 川不毛之地而已

When the army returned, the king evaluated Sadaham’s merit and bestowed upon Sadaham three hundred Gara people.<sup>212</sup> He received them but soon released them all with not one left behind. The king also granted him fields but he obstinately declined. The king insisted, so he asked only for the wasteland of Alcheon [modern Bukcheon in Gyeongju].

含始與武官郎 約爲死友 及武官病卒 哭之慟甚 七日亦卒 時年十七歲

Sadaham once promised Mugwanrang [n.d.] that he would be a friend until death.<sup>213</sup> When Mugwanrang died of illness, he keened inconsolably. Seven days later he too died. At the time, he was seventeen years of age.

209. Gwidang (noble banner 貴幢) was one of the six *jeong* (garrisons) located in modern Sangju, North Gyeongsang province. *Jeong* refers to the six military divisions established in each of the *ju* provincial administrative units before the unification of the Three Kingdoms. Sangju-jeong was established in the 13<sup>th</sup> year (552) of the King Jinheung reign and later renamed Gwidang in the 13<sup>th</sup> year (673) of the reign of King Munmu. It was built after Daedang (great banner 大幢) was established around Gyeongju in 544.

210. The marshal (*wonsu* 元帥) was not an official title used at the time. The term appears to have been added later. It refers to General Isabu 異斯夫 in this biography.

211. Jeondanyang 旃檀梁 is presumed to be the gate of the royal fortress of Dae Gaya. The last character *yang* 梁 refers to the gate of the fortress. *Jeondan* 旃檀 is a fragrant tree. Its leaves and fruits are used for medical purposes, and the wood is employed for making Buddha statues.

212. According to the “Silla Annals,” King Jinheung rewarded him 200 captives instead of 300. See the account of 23<sup>rd</sup> year of King Jinheung’s reign of SS 4.

213. The characters for “a friend until death” are *sau* 死友, which means a close friend who made a promise to be a companion unto death.

## 三國史記 卷 第四十五 *Samguk sagi*, Chapter 45

列傳 第五

Biographies 5

### Part 1. The Biography of Eul Paso<sup>214</sup>

乙巴素 高句麗人也 國川王時 沛者於畀留·評者左可慮等 皆以外戚擅權 多行不義 國人怨憤 王怒欲誅之 左可慮等謀反 王誅竄之 遂下令曰 “近者 官以寵授 位 非德進 毒流百姓 動我王家 此寡人不明所致也 今汝四部 各舉賢良在下者” 於是四部共舉 東部晏留

Eul Paso<sup>215</sup> was from Goguryeo. During the reign of King Gukcheon [r. 179-197]<sup>216</sup>, *Paeja*<sup>217</sup> Eobiryu [n.d.],<sup>218</sup> *Pyeongja*<sup>219</sup> Jwagaryeo [n.d.],<sup>220</sup> and others wielded power by taking advantage of the relationship of the royal consort clan. They committed many wrongdoings and the people were resentful. The king was angered and wished to execute them. [Subsequently] Jwagaryeo and others planned a rebellion, but the king executed or banished them.<sup>221</sup> The king issued a decree, “Recently positions have been awarded through favoritism and ranks granted without regard to merit. This poison now flows among the people and troubles our royal house. This is because I, the man of little virtue, lack sagacity.

214. The present translation has benefited from Peter Lee’s (1993, 42-43) translation.

215. This biography consists of material from the records of the twelfth year (190) and the thirteenth year (191) of King Gogukcheon (r. 179-197) in *SS* 16.

216. This is King Gogukcheon, the ninth king of Goguryeo. He was also called King Gukyang 國襄王.

217. *Paeja* was the third-degree rank in the early Goguryeo bureaucratic system. In the section “Gaogouli” of the *Sanguo zhi* 30, it is stated, “When there was a *daero*, a *paeja* was not employed and when there was a *paeja*, a *daero* was not employed” 其置官有對虛 則不置沛者 有沛者 則不置對虛. This implies that these offices shared the same functions.

218. He was a member of royal clan and high-ranking official during the reign of King Gogukcheon.

219. Little is known about this title. Some scholars have suggested that it could be related to administration of the inner-capital area 內評 or the administration of the outer-capital region 外評. One scholar has suggested that it might refer to the district (*bu* 部) magistrate. See Yim 1987, 53n106.

220. Jwagaryeo was a relative of Queen U 于王后 (fl. 190s). Relying on their fathers’ influence, the brothers and sons of Eobiryu and Jwagaryeo seized children, fields, and houses. For more detailed account, see *SS* 16, King Gogukcheon, Year 12.

221. Jwagaryeo and others planned a rebellion with the four sub-clans of Yeonna in 190. In the fourth month of 191, they attacked the capital, but King Gogukcheon quelled the revolt. See *SS* 16, King Gogukcheon, Year 12 and Year 13.

Now, from all four districts,<sup>222</sup> you are to recommend worthy men in your charge.” Thereupon, the four districts together recommended Anryu of the Eastern District.<sup>223</sup>

王徵之 委以國政 晏留言於王曰 “微臣庸愚 固不足以參大政 西鴨滌谷左勿村乙巴素者 琉璃王大臣乙素之孫也 性質剛毅 智慮淵深 不見用於世 力田自給 大王若欲理國 非此人則不可”

When the king summoned Anryu to entrust him with the management of state affairs, Anryu said to the king, “Your humble subject is mediocre and stupid and therefore not adequate to oversee great matters. In Jwamul village (modern Manpo, Jagang)<sup>224</sup> of the western Amnok-gok,<sup>225</sup> there is a man named Eul Paso, who is a descendant<sup>226</sup> of the great official Eul So (n.d.) of King Yuri’s reign (19 BCE -18 CE). He is strong in character and his wisdom is profound, but he has been unrecognized by the world and diligently labored in the fields to support himself. If Your Majesty wishes to manage state affairs, it is impossible to do so without this man.”

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222. Scholars suggest that native clans formed five tribal confederations in the northern Korean peninsula and the southern part of Manchuria. The five tribes were later absorbed into the five-district system of Goguryeo. The district (*bu* 部) was suffix to the titles of these five local polities. Shultz and Kang (2017a, 71n15) translated the five Goguryeo tribes as follows:

- (i) Gyeru District = the “Inner Tribe” or the “Yellow Tribe”
- (ii) Yeonna District (Jeollo District) = the “Northern Tribe” or the “Rear Tribe”
- (iii) Hwanna District (Sunno District, Upper district) = the “Eastern Tribe” or the “Tribe on the Left”
- (iv) Gwanna District (Gwanno District) = the “Southern Tribe” or the “Front Tribe”
- (v) Biryu District (Yeonno District, Sonno District, Lower District) = the “Western Tribe” or the “Tribe on the Right”

The royal families resided in the Gyeru District. The clans from Yeonna District traditionally married their daughters off to Goguryeo kings.

223. The Eastern District refers to the Sunno District. The five districts originally named in native terms later acquired new names according to their geographic location in relation to the royal residence. The use of this name in this biography indicates that Goguryeo was consolidating royal authority during King Gogukcheon’s reign.

224. “Village” is the translation of *chon* (*cun* in Chinese 村). This term first appeared in the *Sanguo zhi*. It is often found in the historical records of the Northern and Southern dynasties. Later, the *Tang Code* recorded *cun* as a local administrative unit. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that the term *chon* was used during King Gogukcheon’s reign, well before *Sanguo zhi* began to circulate in the third century.

225. The accounts of the Goguryeo Annals of SS offer the description of *gok* as having streams, hills, and mountains. So, this place is presumed to be near Jolbon, Gungnae, and the Amnok River basin areas where small native tribes settled. By the early fifth century, *gok* was incorporated into the administrative system, and kings dispatched magistrates to govern it. For more details, see Kim 2007, 212.

226. Literally “a grandson.” It is chronologically problematic that Eul Paso was a grandson of Eul So who had lived about 170 years earlier. For this reason, the character 孫 is translated as a descendent.

王遣使以卑辭重禮聘之 拜中畏大夫 加爵爲于台 謂曰“孤叨承先業 處臣民之上 德薄材短 未濟於理 先生藏用晦明 窮處草澤者久矣 今不我棄 幡然而來 非獨孤之喜幸 社稷生民之福也 請安承教 公其盡心”

The king sent an official with humble words and extreme courtesy to invite Eul Paso to accept the position of *jungoedaebu* [royal attendant]<sup>227</sup> and the additional rank of *utae* [Rank 6].<sup>228</sup> The king said, “I have undeservingly inherited the legacy of the former kings and have been placed above the people but I am of shallow virtue and limited talent; yet have I to govern well. Long have you, sir, concealed your talent through the dark of night and the light of day, dwelling among the remote ponds and grasses.<sup>229</sup> And yet now, you do not ignore my request; you have changed your mind and come here. This is not only my own joy and luck but also the good fortune of the people and the state.<sup>230</sup> I wish to receive your instructions. You shall devote your mind to this task.”

巴素意雖許國 謂所受職 不足以濟事 乃對曰“臣之駑蹇 不敢當嚴命 願大王選賢良 授高官 以成大業” 王知其意 乃除爲國相 令知政事

Although Paso intended to accept the king's request, he felt that the position conferred on him was not [sufficiently] high enough to govern well. He responded, “Old, crippled horse that I am, I would not be able to carry out your commands. I hope Your Majesty will select a wise and worthy man and offer him a higher office to carry out the great enterprise.” Having understood his intention, the king bestowed upon him the title of chief state councilor and ordered him to oversee state affairs.

於是 朝臣國戚 謂巴素以新聞舊 疾之 王有教曰“無貴賤 苟不從國相者 族之” 巴素退而告人曰“不逢時則隱 逢時則仕 士之常也 今上 待我以厚意 其可復念舊隱乎” 乃以至誠奉國 明政教 慎賞罰 人民以安 內外無事

227. This title appears only in SS 16 and SS 45. It may have originated from an office in the Chinese court or be another name for *jungni daebyeong* (Rank 7 中裏大兄) who served as a senior advisor to a king.

228. This is a high office rank in Goguryeo's government system. *Utae* may be cognate with *utchi* meaning a higher person. In the *Sanguo zhi* 30, it is recorded as *utae* 優台.

229. Literally, “concealed talent in the darkness and brightness,” which refers to his reclusive life. The expression “concealed talent” 藏用 was cited from the *Yijing*, “Jici I” 繫辭上: “Display all the virtues and conceal all the talent” 顯諸仁藏諸用. The expression “darkness and brightness” 晦明 originated from a sentence: “It is dark at night and bright during the day” 夜晦日明.

230. Literally, “the spirits of land and grain,” which is often quoted as a metonym for the state because land and grain were crucial to the existence of the state as an agricultural society.

Court officials and royal relatives reacted with resentment, saying that Paso, being a newcomer, estranged the old officials. The king issued a decree: “Regardless of status, noble or humble, I will exterminate the entire clan of anyone who refuses to obey the chief state councilor.” Paso left the court and announced, “When the time is inappropriate, one must seclude oneself. When the time is right, one must serve. This is the way of the scholar. Now that the king has treated me with generosity, how could I think of returning to those past days of seclusion?” Thereupon, with the utmost devotion, he served the country. He was brilliant in governing the state and edifying the people, and careful in meting out rewards and punishments. The people were at peace, and there were no problems at home or abroad.

王謂晏留曰“若無子之一言 孤不能得巴素以共理 今庶績之凝 子之功也” 迺拜爲大使者 至山上王七年 秋八月 巴素卒 國人哭之慟

The king told Anryu, “If not for your advice, I would have been unable to recruit Paso to join us in governing. All of these many achievements are due to your merit.” On this account, he elevated Anryu to *daesaja* [Rank 6].<sup>231</sup> In the eighth month, autumn, of the seventh year [203] of King Sansang’s reign [r. 197-227], Paso died. All the country wailed and grieved over his death.

## Part 2. The Biography of Kim Hujik<sup>232</sup>

金后稷 智證王之曾孫 事眞平大王爲伊滄 轉兵部令 大王頗好田獵 后稷諫曰“古之王者 必一日萬機 深思遠慮 左右正士 容受直諫 孳孳矻矻 不敢逸豫 然後德政醇美 國家可保 今 殿下日與狂夫獵士 放鷹犬 逐雉兔 奔馳山野 不能自止 老子曰「馳騁田獵 令人心狂」書曰「內作色荒 外作禽荒 有一于此 未或不亡」由是觀之 內則蕩心 外則亡國 不可不省也 殿下其念之” 王不從 又切諫 不見聽

Kim Hujik<sup>233</sup> was the great-grandson of King Jijeung [r. 500-514]. He served

231. *Daesaja* was probably a high office in charge of tax collection. A number of the office ranks of Goguryeo were appended with the term *saja*. The holders of *saja* ranks were in charge of the administration of the royal and aristocratic houses that they served. For more details, see Lee 1984, 52.

232. The present translation has benefited from Peter Lee’s (1993, 44-45) translation.

233. He was a loyal official who served King Jinpyeong. In this biography, he admonishes the king for his indulgence in hunting by quoting passages from the *Shujing* and the *Daodejing*. His remonstrance implies that his contemporaries expected a ruler to cultivate particular virtues and qualities as Silla established new institutional frameworks as a more formal centralized kingdom.

Jinpyeong the Great [r. 579-632] as *ichan*, and became the minister of military affairs.<sup>234</sup> The king loved hunting. Hujik admonished him, saying,<sup>235</sup> “The kings of yore attended to the myriads affairs of state every day. They thought deeply and prepared for the future. Surrounded by upright advisors, they accepted their honest admonitions. They were industrious and would not dare to indulge in leisure and pleasure. Therefore, they were able to achieve the beauty of virtuous government and preserve the country. Now, Your Majesty, every day [you associate] with reckless men and hunters, releasing hawks and dogs to pursue pheasants and rabbits. You gallop in the hills and on the plains without knowing when to stop. Laozi said, ‘Horse-riding and hunting in the wilderness will drive the human mind to insanity.’<sup>236</sup> The *Shujing* (*Book of Documents*) says, ‘When the palace becomes a wilderness of lust and the country becomes a wilderness for hunting; the existence of even one of these has never been but the prelude to ruin.’<sup>237</sup> Considering this, if you are dissolute within, the country will collapse without. Therefore, you must reflect on your conduct. I beseech Your Majesty to think on this.” The king did not follow [his advice]. Hujik admonished him earnestly yet again, but the king would not heed him.

後后稷疾病將死 謂其三子曰“吾爲人臣 不能匡救君惡 恐大王遊娛不已以至於亡 敗是吾所憂也 雖死 必思有以悟君 須瘞吾骨於大王遊畋之路側” 子等皆從之

Later, Hujik fell ill. Facing imminent death, he told his three sons, “As a subject,

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This also suggests that the Confucian and Daoist thought was already widely accepted in Silla society in sixth century. Posterity has praised Hujik’s loyalty by titling this episode “The Admonition from the Grave.”

234. In the second year (580) of King Jinpyeong’s reign, *Ichon* Hujik became the minister of military affairs. For more detailed account, see SS 4.

235. The full quotation of his speech is included in chapter 52 of the *Dongmunseon* 東文選 which was published in 1478 at the order of King Seongjong (r. 1469-1494). The piece is included in the memorials and policy proposals (*ju-ui* 奏議) section with the title “Memorial Presented to King Jinpyeong” 上眞平王書.

236. For more details, see chapter 12 of the *Daodejing*.

237. This expression is quoted from the *Shujing*. As Taikang 太康 (n.d.), the third ruler of the Xia dynasty (21<sup>st</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century BCE), was negligent in state affairs and indulged in hunting, the state had fallen. His five brothers resented him and wrote a song to admonish him. The lyric of the second song reads, “It is in the Lessons: When the palace becomes a wilderness of lust and the country becomes a wilderness for hunting; When wine is sweet and music is the delight; When there are lofty roofs and carved walls; The existence of even one of these things has never been but the prelude to ruin” 訓有之內作色荒 外作禽荒 甘酒嗜音 峻宇彫牆 有一于此 未或不亡. See *Shujing*, “Wuzi zhi ge” 五子之歌.

I could not rectify the king's misdeeds. I am afraid that he will not stop seeking his pleasures and thereby ruin the country. This is my great concern. Even though I die, I surely wish that I could awaken him. You must bury my bones at the roadside on the king's hunting route." His sons followed his wish.

他日王出行半路有遠聲若曰“莫去”王顧問“聲何從來”從者告云“彼后稷伊瀆之墓也”遂陳后稷臨死之言大王潸然流涕曰“夫子忠諫死而不忘其愛我也深矣若終不改其何顏於幽明之間耶”遂終身不復獵

One day, the king was out hunting. Along the way, he heard a call from afar which sounded like “Do not go!” Looking back, the king asked, “Where did that voice come from?” The attendant replied, “The grave of *Ichan Hujik*<sup>238</sup> is over there,” and he reported on Hujik's last words before his death. Shedding copious tears, the king said, “Even after his death, he did not forget to offer loyal admonition. This man deeply cared about me. If I do not mend my ways, how shall I face him in the underworld?” Never again did the king go hunting.

### Part 3. The Biography of Nokjin<sup>239</sup>

祿眞 姓與字未詳 父秀奉一吉瀆 祿眞二十三歲始仕 屢經內外官 至憲德大王十年 戊戌 爲執事侍郎

Neither the family name nor the courtesy name of Nokjin<sup>240</sup> is known. His father was *Ilgilchan* [Rank 7] Subong [n.d.]. Nokjin first took office at the age of twenty-three. After filling various court and provincial posts, he became attendant gentleman of the Chancellery Office<sup>241</sup> in the tenth year of King Heondeok's reign, *musul* [818].

238. An earth-mound tomb in Hwangseong-dong, Gyeongju in North Gyeongsang province is known to be Kim Hujik's grave. A stele was erected in front of the grave in the 36<sup>th</sup> year (1710) of King Sukjong's reign (r. 1674-1720) to commemorate the loyalty of Kim Hujik. North Gyeongsang province designated the tomb site as Monument No. 31.

239. This biography has benefited from Peter Lee's translation. See Lee 1993, 124-25.

240. The Silla Annals of *SS* mentions Nokjin (fl. 810s) only briefly; King Heondeok (r. 809-826) bestowed the rank *dae-achan* (Rank 5) upon him for his contribution to the suppression of the rebellion led by Kim Heonchang (d. 822). For detailed account, see *SS* 10, King Heondeok, Year 14.

241. This executive office carried out confidential missions ordered by kings. The chief minister was assisted by two attendant gentlemen as deputy ministers. The office ranks from *nama* (Rank 11) to *achan* (Rank 6) were eligible to take the position.

十四年 國王無嗣子 以母弟秀宗 爲儲貳 入月池宮 時忠恭角干爲上大等 坐政事堂 注擬內外官 退公感疾 召國醫診脈 曰“病在心臟 須服龍齒湯” 遂告暇三七日 杜門不見賓客

In the fourteenth year [822], the king, being without an heir, appointed his younger brother Sujong [d. 836]<sup>242</sup> as heir apparent and let him reside in Wolji Palace.<sup>243</sup> At that time, *Gakgan* Chunggong<sup>244</sup> became *sangdaedeung*<sup>245</sup> and presided in the Administration Hall<sup>246</sup> over the selection of officials for court and provincial service. After his withdrawal [from office], Chunggong became ill. The state physician<sup>247</sup> took his pulse and said, “You have a sickness of the heart and need dragon tooth soup.”<sup>248</sup> Finally, Chunggong requested a twenty-one day leave. He closed his gate and did not receive guests.

242. He was a younger brother of King Heondeok (r. 809-826) by blood. Kim Sujong was appointed *sangdaedeung* (extraordinary rank one) in the eleventh year (819) of King Heondeok's reign. Three years later, he became *bugun* (crown prince 副君). This term appears only in this one biography out of the entire Silla Annals of SS. He became King Heungdeok (r. 826-836).

243. This is assumed to be an attached palace for the crown prince because Woljijeon 月池典 and Wolji-akjeon 月池嶽典 are recorded in the section of the Office of Palace for Princes 東宮官 in SS 39. It is presumed to be the Imhae Palace near Anapji (Pond of Geese and Ducks 雁鴨池).

244. Chunggong (d. 835) was the grandson of King Wonseong, and father of King Minae. He is the fourth son of crown prince Kim In-gyeom who was posthumously invested as Hyecheon the Great. He served as chief minister of Chancellery Office from 817 to 821 during King Heondeok's reign and *sangdaedeung* for about thirteen years from 822 to 835 during King Heungdeok's reign. Therefore, the account of SS 10 that he died in the 13<sup>th</sup> year (821) of King Heondeok's reign is obviously wrong. It is reasonable to place his death year after the 10<sup>th</sup> year (835) of King Heungdeok's reign. He is also a brother of King Heondeok and King Heungdeok. He contributed to the suppression of the revolt led by Kim Heonchang in 822. By the time, Chunggong became the most powerful political figure in charge of personnel affairs of the court and provincial offices. When his daughter became Queen Munmok, consort of King Huigang, he became *galmunwang*. His son Kim Myeong took the throne after forcing King Huigang to commit suicide.

245. In the 18<sup>th</sup> year (521) of King Beopheung's reign (r. 514-540), *Ichan* Cheolbu (d. 534) was the first official who was appointed *sangdaedeung*. As a representative of the aristocrats, *sangdaedeung* headed the Council of Nobles, called Hwabaek, to render decisions on the important matters of state. However, the establishment of the Chancellery Office in the fifth year (651) of Queen Jindeok's reign (r. 647-654) brought a significant change to the court dynamics. With the highest administrative office in the court hierarchy directed by kings, the power of *sangdaedeung* began to decline, which implies the king's authority grew in Unified Silla. But as the king's rule weakened in the late Silla period, *sangdaedeung* held more power than the chief minister.

246. This is the place where officials administered state affairs in the early Silla period. Originally, they used a hall inside the palace. This place had been used as the main office for officials since the administration hall was built in Geumseong in the fifth year (138) of the reign of *Isageum* Ilseong (r. 134-154).

247. The most qualified physician in the country became the state physician (*gugui* 國醫), also called the top physician (*sangui* 上醫).

248. These are fossilized animal teeth (*long chi* in Chinese 龍齒), traditionally believed to treat palpitations, anxiety, insomnia, mania, and others.

於是 祿真造而請見 門者拒焉 祿真曰 “下官非不知相公移疾謝客 須獻一言於左右 以開鬱悒之慮 故此來耳 若不見 則不敢退也” 門者再三復之 於是引見 祿真進曰 “伏聞寶體不調 得非早朝晚罷 蒙犯風露 以傷榮衛之和 失支體之安乎” 曰 “未至是也 但昏昏嘿嘿 精神不快耳”

At that time, Nokjin went and requested an audience with Chunggong but the gatekeeper refused him. Nokjin said, “I, as a humble officer, know that the chief state councilor refuses visitors because of his illness. But I should offer words in person to dispel his worries and depression. That alone is why I have come. I cannot withdraw without seeing him.” The gatekeeper refused him three times before [finally] admitting him. Nokjin came forth [into the room] and said, “I have heard that your precious body is not well. Is this because you go to the court early and retire late [all the while] being exposed to the wind and the dew, and have [therefore] impaired your circulation and your four limbs feel uncomfortable?” “My ailment is not bad as all that,” Chunggong replied. “I merely feel slightly dazed and without cheer.”

祿真曰 “然則公之病 不須藥石 不須針砭 可以至言高論 一攻而破之也 公將聞之乎” 曰 “吾子不我遐遺 惠然光臨 願聽玉音 洗我胸臆”

Nokjin said “If that is the case, then your ailment does not require medicinal minerals or stone needles.<sup>249</sup> It can be dispelled only by the righteous words and lofty dialogue. Would you listen [to what I have to say]?” Chunggong said, “You have not ignored me, but rather graced me with your presence. I wish to hear your noble voice, so that I might clear my mind.”

祿真曰 “彼梓人之爲室也 材大者爲梁柱 小者爲椽榱 偃者植者各安所施 然後 大廈成焉 古者 賢宰相之爲政也 又何異焉 才巨者置之高位 小者授之薄任 內則六官·百執事 外則方伯·連率·郡守·縣令 朝無闕位 位無非人 上下定矣 賢不肖 分矣 然後王政成焉”  
Nokjin said, “When a master carpenter<sup>250</sup> builds a house, he uses hefty pieces of lumber for beams and pillars, and smaller ones for rafters and purlins. Only after crooked and straight pieces are set in the right places will you have a great house.

249. This is a generic term for the treatment of a disease by using medicine and acupuncture.

250. This was a post within the ministry of works (*dongguan* 冬官) in the Zhou dynasty. The person at this position produced the poles of a rack on which musical instruments were suspended, dishware, and archery targets for the imperial court. See the explanation of the master craftsmen 梓人 in “Kaogongji” (Record of Trades 考工記) of the *Rites of Zhou* 周禮 6.

This was how worthy ministers conducted the affairs of state in ancient times. Why should it be any different [now]? If you place men of great talent in high positions and lesser men in lower positions then from the six ministers<sup>251</sup> and one hundred officials<sup>252</sup> at court all the way down to the provincial governors,<sup>253</sup> county magistrates,<sup>254</sup> and prefectural magistrates,<sup>255</sup> the whole of government will be free of dysfunctional offices and all offices will be free of incompetent men. The high and low shall be defined, the wise and unworthy shall be differentiated; only then will the king's rule be complete.

今則不然 徇私而滅公 爲人而擇官 愛之則雖不材 擬送於雲霄 憎之則雖有能 圖陷於溝壑 取捨混其心 是非亂其志 則不獨國事溷濁 而爲之者 亦勞且病矣

Now it is not so. The pursuit of private interest undermines the public good, and those in government appoint officials to benefit individuals. If they favor a person, even an untalented one, they contrive to promote him to the very heavens.<sup>256</sup> If they hate a person, despite him being an able man, they make him grovel in the ditch. If selecting officials confuses their minds and [distinguishing] right from wrong disturbs their intent then not only will the affairs of state be muddled but also those who administer them will become both weary and ill.

251. The six ministers originally meant the six officials of the Zhou dynasty in charge of the Office of Heaven (*tianguan* 天官) for state administration; Office of Earth (*diguan* 地官) for education; Office of Spring (*chunguan* 春官) for social and religious institutions; Office of Summer (*xianguan* 夏官) for the army; Office of Autumn (*qiuguan* 秋官) for justice; and Office of Winter (*donguan* 冬官) for population, land, and agriculture. But here, they just refer to overall central government offices under the Chancellery Office.

252. This is a generic term for the officials who served the high-ranking officials or noblemen in the central government. It is also found in the “Pan Geng III” 盤庚下 of the *Shujing*: “Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy, (with my people)!” 嗚呼邦伯師長百執事之人 尚皆隱哉。

253. The term *bangbaek* (*fangbo* in Chinese 方伯) refers to a provincial governor. Here, it means the governors of nine *ju* 州.

254. This post of *yeonsol* (*lianshuai* in Chinese 連率) is another name of *taesu*, chief magistrate of counties. Wang Mang (45 BCE–23 CE), a Western Han official, introduced a new administrative system modelled after that of the Zhou dynasty. Under the system, *taesu* had the appellations, *zuzheng* 卒正, *lianshuai* 連率, and *dayin* 大尹 according to their social rank.

255. In this account, *gunsu* (magistrate of gun 郡守) presumably refers to *sosu* 少守 or *jesu* 制守 who were dispatched as magistrates to large prefectures. *Hyeollyeong* (magistrate of *hyeon* 縣令) is believed to be the magistrate of small prefectures. Unified Silla had nine provinces called *ju* which were comprised of 304 *hyeon*. This number approximately corresponds to the number of *sosu* and *hyeollyeong* combined. SS 9 indicated that there were 85 *sosu* and 201 *hyeollyeong*.

256. Literally, “clouds and sky,” which is a metaphor for a higher position.

若其當官清白 蒞事恪恭 杜貨賂之門 遠請託之累 黜陟只以幽明 予奪不以愛憎 如衡焉 不可枉以輕重 如繩焉 不可欺以曲直 如是則刑政允穆 國家和平 雖曰開 孫弘之閣 置曹參之酒 與朋友故舊 談笑自樂可也 又何必區區於服餌之間 徒自 費日廢事為哉” If said officials serve with integrity and perform their duties prudently, they will shut the gate to bribery and distance themselves from special interests. They will decide promotions and demotions on the basis of whether a candidate is bright or dull. They will neither confer nor revoke appointment on the basis of love or hatred. Like a scale, they cannot be deceived as to what is heavy and what is light. Like a plumb line, they cannot be fooled as to what is crooked and what is straight. Thus in both punishment and administration, trust and harmony will manifest themselves, and the country will be at peace. You may then open the gate like [Gong]sun Hong<sup>257</sup> and serve wine like Zao Can;<sup>258</sup> you may chat cheerfully with friends and enjoy yourself. How could you then worry about medicine, idle away your time, and discontinue your work?<sup>259</sup>

角干 於是謝遣醫官 命駕朝王室 王曰 “謂卿剋日服藥 何以來朝” 答曰 “臣聞祿真之言 同於藥石 豈止飲龍齒湯而已哉” 因為王一一陳之

*Gakgan* [Chunggong] then sent the doctor away and ordered a carriage and left for court. The king said, “I told you to set the date and take medicine. Why have you come to court?” He replied, “I heard Nokjin’s words, and they were like medicine and acupuncture combined. How could I do nothing more than drink dragon-tooth soup?” Chunggong then recounted every detail to the king.

王曰 “寡人爲君 卿爲相 而有人直言如此 何喜如焉 不可使儲君不知 宜往月池宮” 儲君聞之 入賀曰 “嘗聞君明則臣直 此亦國家之美事也” 後熊川州都督憲昌反叛 王舉兵討之 祿真從事有功 王授位大阿飡 辭不受

The king said, “I, the man of little virtue, am the ruler and you are the chief

257. Gongsun Hong 公孫弘 (200–121 BCE) is a statesman during the reign of Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BCE) of Han dynasty. He is known for opening the eastern annex of his house to invite guests for political advice.

258. Cao Can 曹參 (d. 190 BCE) was the second chancellor during the reign of Emperor Hui (r. 195–188 BCE) of the Han dynasty. He devoted himself to preserving the law and order established by his predecessor Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 BCE) who was a respectable statesman. He never presented his personal opinions on trivial matters nor did he let others do so. According to the *Shiji*, he drank with people until they became so drunk that they could no longer utter a word about their thoughts 欲有所言 復飲之 醉而後去 終莫得開說. For more detailed account, see *Shiji* 54.

259. This lengthy message reflects a concern for meritocracy as the basis for good governance, and thus illustrates the level of his contemporaries’ understanding of Confucian thought.

state counselor; how delightful that [we] have one who offers honest advice like this! You simply must report this to the heir apparent. Go [now] to the Wolji Palace!”<sup>260</sup> Upon listening to Chunggong, the heir apparent came to congratulate the king, saying, “Earlier, I heard that if the ruler is bright, the officials will be honest. This indeed is a beautiful thing for the country.” Later, when Heonchang,<sup>261</sup> governor of Ungcheon-ju, rebelled, the king raised an army and crushed the revolt. Nokjin served in the army and distinguished himself. The king conferred the title of *dae-achan* upon him, but Nokjin declined [the honor].<sup>262</sup>

#### Part 4. The Biography of Milu and Yuyu

密友·紐由者 並高句麗人也 東川王二十年 魏幽州刺史卅丘儉 將兵來侵 陷丸都城 王出奔 將軍王頎追之 王欲奔南沃沮 至于竹嶺軍士奔散殆盡 唯東部密友 獨在側 謂王曰 “今追兵甚迫 勢不可脫 臣請決死而禦之 王可遁矣” 遂募死士 與之赴敵力戰 王僅得脫而去

Milu [fl. 240s] and Yuyu [d. 246]<sup>263</sup> were both from Goguryeo. In the twentieth year [246] of King Dongcheon’s reign [r. 227-248],<sup>264</sup> the regional chief of

260. The fact that the king immediately shared Nokjin’s advice with the crown prince suggests that Sujong already held high political status.

261. Heonchang (d. 822) was also called Heonjeong 憲貞. He was the seventh-generation descendent of King Muyeol (r. 654-661). His father was Juwon 周元 (fl. 780s) who became *sangdaedeung*. In the eighth year (807) of King Aejang’s reign (r. 800-809), Heonchang, as *ichan*, became chief minister, but was demoted to governor of Mujin-ju in the fifth year of King Heondeok’s reign (813). Next year, he was appointed chief minister again but was demoted once more to governor of Cheong-ju (modern Jinju, South Gyeongsang province) in the eighth year of the King Heondeok’s reign (816). In 821, he became the governor of Uncheon-ju where he revolted in 822 because his father failed to take the throne. He proclaimed a new country name Jangan 長安 and a new reign year Gyeongun 慶雲. But when the king’s army besieged his fortress, Heonchang committed suicide. For more detailed account, see *SS* 10, King Heondeok, Year 13 and Year 14.

262. Nokjin may have declined the rank of *dae-achan* (Rank 5) because of external pressure. Under Silla’s office rank system, the highest rank he was allowed to take was *achan* (Rank 6) because he was of head-rank 6.

263. This biography is based on the account of the twentieth year (246) of the King Dongcheon in *SS* 17. The translation has benefited from Shultz and Kang’s (2017a, 123-26) translation.

264. Gwanqiu Jian’s attack on Goguryeo is described in detail in several resources, for example, the stele inscription of Gwanqiu Jian’s achievements, “Gwanqiu Jian” in *Sanguo zhi* 28, “Gaogouli” in *Sanguo zhi* 30, and “Gaoli” in *Bei Shi* 94. According to these sources, the Gwanqiu Jian’s attack began in the autumn in the fifth year (244) of the Zhengshi era of Wei, and Hwando Fortress was sacked in the following year (245). However, *SS* recorded the whole event happened in 246, which

Youzhou [modern Hebei in China], Guanqiu Jian [d. 255]<sup>265</sup> from Wei,<sup>266</sup> led troops to attack [Goguryeo] and destroyed Hwando Fortress.<sup>267</sup> The king escaped and fled, but General Wang Qi<sup>268</sup> [fl. 240s] pursued him. The king wished to flee to South Okjeo [modern Hamheung in South Hamgyeong].<sup>269</sup> By the time he reached Jungnyeong Pass,<sup>270</sup> most of his troops had run away. Only Milu from the Eastern District<sup>271</sup> remained at his side. Milu said to the king “Now, the pursuing enemy troops are pressing hard upon us. This situation will not allow us to escape. I am determined to fight to the death, and block their way so Your Majesty can escape.” Accordingly, Milu recruited a suicide squad and charged the enemy. They fought with all their strength, and the king barely escaped.

依山谷 聚散卒自衛 謂曰 “若有能取密友者 厚賞之” 下部劉屋句前對曰 “臣試往焉” 遂於戰地 見密友伏地 乃負而至 王枕之以股 久而乃蘇 王間行轉輾 至南沃沮 魏軍追不止 王計窮勢屈 不知所爲 東部人紐由進曰 “勢甚危迫 不可徒死 臣有愚計 請以飲食 往犒魏軍 因伺隙 刺殺彼將 若臣計得成 則王可奮擊決勝” 王曰 “諾”

Setting their back against the mountain valleys, the king rallied the dispersed troops to defend themselves. He said, “I will greatly reward anyone who can bring Milu back.” Yu Okgu [n.d.] from the Lower District<sup>272</sup> came forth and

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corresponds to the account of the *Zizhi tongjian* 75.

265. Guanqiu Jian was a Wei general who managed Liaodong region. Gwanqiu Jian's courtesy name was Jonggong 仲恭. He was a man from Wenxi Xian in Hedong. He was appointed to be regional chief of Youzhou, and took charge of Liaodong Region from 233 to 236. At this time, Gwanqiu Jian subjugated Hwando and sent Wang Qi, adjutant general and governor of Xuantu (Hyeondo) Commandery, to pursue after the King Dongcheon. After the triumph over Goguryeo, Guanqiu Jian was promoted to General of the Left. In 254, with great ambition, he raised a rebellion but failed. For more details, see *Sanguo zhi* 28, “Gwanqiu Jian.”

266. Also known as Cao Wei 曹魏 (220-266). It was one of the three major states in the Three Kingdoms period (220-280).

267. In the third century, it was the capital of Goguryeo. It is presumed to be Shanchengzi Fortress in modern Jian, Jilin province, China.

268. Wang Qi's courtesy name was Kongshuo 孔碩. He was a man from Donglai in China. Later, his post was changed from the governor of Xuantu Commandery to the governor of Daifang Commandery.

269. South Okjeo is presumed to be modern Hamheung in South Hamgyeong province. According to *Sanguo zhi* 28, when the King Dongcheon fled to Maegu, Wang Qi chased the king for a thousand *li* (approximately 750 kilometers) passing Okjeo, and reached the south border of Suksin. Here, Maegu refers to South Okjeo. For more detailed information, see *Sanguo zhi* 28, “Gwanqiu Jian.”

270. Jungnyeong Pass 竹嶺 is presumed to be modern Hwangcho Pass 黃草嶺, or Jungnyeong Pass 中嶺 in northwest of Hamheung.

271. See note 223.

272. See note 222.

said, “I will go and check.” He eventually found Milu fallen on the battlefield. Yu carried him on his back and returned. The king laid Milu on his lap and after a long while [Milu] revived. The king went by round-about routes to South Okjeo, but the Wei troops pressed on [the king] incessantly. The king did not have a strategy and had exhausted his strength; he was at a loss as to what to do. A person from the Eastern District, Yuyu, stepped forward and said “Although the situation is very critical and urgent, we must not die in vain. I have a humble strategy; I request permission to take food to feed the Wei troops. I will seize the opportunity to stab the general to death. If my plan is successful, then Your Majesty can attack them with all our might and achieve victory.” The king replied, “Permission granted.”

紐由入魏軍詐降曰“寡君獲罪於大國 逃至海濱 措躬無地矣 將以請降於陣前 歸死司寇 先遣小臣 致不腆之物 爲從者羞” 魏將聞之 將受其降 紐由隱刀食器 進前拔刀 刺魏將胸 與之俱死 魏軍遂亂

Yuyu went to the troops of Wei and feigned surrender, saying that “My Lord committed crimes against your great country and fled to the coast. He has nowhere to stay and requests to surrender to you in front of your camp to ask the judge for death.<sup>273</sup> First, he has sent me to present some trifling goods for your soldiers to eat.” When the Wei general<sup>274</sup> heard this, he accepted the surrender. Yuyu had hidden a knife amongst the tableware. Moving forward, he drew the knife and stabbed the general of Wei in the chest, killing him and [then] himself. The Wei troops fell into turmoil.

王分軍爲三道 急擊之 魏軍擾亂 不能陳 遂自樂浪而退 王復國論功 以密友·紐由爲第一賜密友巨谷 青木谷 賜屋旬 鴨綠豆訥河原以爲食邑 追贈紐由爲九使者 又以其子多優爲大使者

The king, dividing the troops along three routes and immediately attacked the Wei troops. They were in disarray and unable to form a defensive

273. The expression of *gwisa* 歸死 refers to “surrender to death” and *sagu* 司寇 means “the judge,” meaning that he would surrender and take due punishment. This expression is found in *Zuozhuan* as follows: “I will go home to die. In wisdom I cannot match you” 我將歸死吾知不逮. See *Zuozhuan*, “Zhaogong” Year 20; Durrant et. al. 2016, 1571. A similar expression is also found in the biography of Dengxun 鄧訓 of *Hou Hanshu* 16, which reads “Bow till the forehead touches the ground and come to surrender” 稽顙歸死.

274. He is considered to be the chief of the squad sent by Wang Qi.

line. Eventually, they withdrew from Lelang [modern Pyeongyang, South Pyeongan].<sup>275</sup> The king regained the country. Milu and Yuyu were foremost in merit. He granted Milu Geo-gok and Cheongmok-gok, and to Yu Okgu the plain at Dunul Stream, a tributary of the Amnok River,<sup>276</sup> as tax villages. He elevated Yuyu posthumously to the rank of *gusaja*<sup>277</sup> and his son Dau to *daesaja*.

### Part 5. The Biography of Myeonglim Dapbu

明臨答夫 高句麗人也 新大王時 爲國相 漢玄菟郡太守耿臨 發大兵欲攻我 王問羣臣戰守孰便 衆議曰 “漢兵 恃衆輕我 若不出戰 彼以我爲怯數來 且我國山險而路隘 此所謂一夫當關 萬夫莫當者也 漢兵雖衆 無如我何 請出師禦之”

Myeonglim Dapbu [67-179]<sup>278</sup> was from Goguryeo. He became the minister of state during the reign of King Sindae [r. 165-179]. The governor of the Han commandery of Xuantu, Geng Lin [n.d.]<sup>279</sup> raised a large army and wished to invade us.<sup>280</sup> The king consulted with his ministers as to whether it would be

275. “Nangnang” is the Korean pronunciation of “Lelang,” the Chinese commandery which existed in northwestern Korea between the second century BCE and the fourth century CE, with its capital near modern Pyeongyang. It is not certain how accurate this heroic episode is. However, it seems true that the Wei troops retreated due to the Goguryeo counterattack. This is valuable record that shows the escape route of the Wei forces.

276. The location of this plain is uncertain. Considering Dunul Stream sounds similar to the Dongno Stream, it is presumed to be a field around modern Dongno Stream in Ganggye in North Pyeongan province.

277. *Gusaja* appears in the account of the twentieth year (246) of King Dongcheon's reign in *SS* 17. It is also found in *SS* 40, which reads “*Jwajeon, Ubo, Daejubu, Guksang, Gusaja, and Jungoedaebu* are seen in the *Gogi (Ancient Record)*” 左輔·右輔·大主簿·國相·九使者右見本國古記.

278. This biography is a reproduction of the records of the eighth year (172) and the fifteenth year (179) of King Sindae (r. 165-179) in *SS* 16. The present translation has benefited from Shultz and Kang's (2017a, 103-05) translation.

279. Genglin (fl.170s) was a person who lived in the reigns of Emperor Xiao Huan (r. 146-168) and Emperor Xiao Ling (r. 168-189) of Later Han. He was a governor of the Han Commandery of Xuantu. According to the account of the fourth year (168) of King Sindae in *SS* 16, Genglin invaded Goguryeo as the governor of Xuantu, and killed hundreds of soldiers. Then, King Sindae surrendered himself and begged to be subjugated to Xuantu. This story is also found in the account of the second year of the Jianning era in “Gaogouli” of the *Hou Hanshu* 85, which reads, “The governor of the Han commandery of Xuantu, Geng Lin, conquered it and beheaded hundreds of people. Baekgo (King Sindae) surrendered and begged for annexation to Xuantu” 玄菟太守 耿臨討之斬首數百級伯固降服乞屬玄菟云.

280. According to *SS* 16, Genglin invaded Goguryeo in the fourth year (168) of King Sindae. It also recorded the great army of the Han approached Goguryeo to attack in the eighth year (172) of King Sindae without mentioning the name of the governor of Xuantu, Genglin. Based on *Sanguo zhi* 30,

better to attack or to remain on the defensive. Most of those consulted said, “With their superior numbers, the Han troops think little of us. If we do not go out to fight, they will think we are frightened and will repeatedly invade us. Moreover, our country has rugged mountains and narrow paths, of which has been said, ‘If one man holds the pass, ten-thousand cannot take it.’ Although the Han army is innumerable, there is nothing that they can do to us. We request that our army be sent to resist them.”

荅夫曰 “不然 漢國大民衆 今以強兵遠鬪 其鋒不可當也 而又兵衆者宜戰 兵少者宜守 兵家之常也 今 漢人千里轉糧 不能持久 若我深溝高壘 清野以待之 彼必不過旬月 饑困而歸 我以勁卒迫之 可以得志”

Dapbu said, “It is not so. Han is a great country with many people. Now with powerful troops coming to fight far [from their homeland], their blades cannot be defeated. Moreover, this is the consensus of the great military tacticians that whoever has the greater number of troops should attack, while the side with fewer should defend.<sup>281</sup> Now the men of Han are transporting their provisions from a great distance; they will not be able to sustain their campaign for a long time. If we dig deep trenches, raise high ramparts, clear the fields, and wait, in no more than a few weeks, they are sure to retreat because of hunger and fatigue. Then, if we use our strong troops to press on them, we can achieve our goal.”

王然之 嬰城固守 漢人攻之不克 士卒饑餓引還 荅夫帥師數千騎迫之 戰於坐原 漢軍大敗 匹馬不反 王大悅 賜荅夫坐原及質山爲食邑 十五年秋九月卒 年百十三歲 王自臨慟 罷朝七日 以禮葬於質山 置守墓二十家

The king consented and closed the gates of the fortress to make a firm defense. The men of Han attacked the fortress, but failed. When their troops retreated due to hunger, Dapbu pursued them leading a thousand cavalry. They fought the enemy at Jwawon.<sup>282</sup> The Han army suffered such a crushing defeat that not even a single

*Hou Hanshu* 85, and *Zizhi tongjian* 56, however, Genglin invaded Goguryeo in 169.

281. This is a citation of the *Sunzi bingfa* (*Sun Zi's Art of War* 孫子兵法), which reads, “It is the rule in war, if our forces are ten to the enemy’s one, to surround him; if five to one, to attack him; if twice as numerous, to divide our army into two. If equally matched, we can offer battle; if slightly inferior in numbers, we can avoid the enemy; if quite unequal in every way, we can flee from him. Hence, though an obstinate fight may be made by a small force, in the end it must be captured by the larger force” 故用兵之法 十則圍之 五則攻之 倍則分之 敵則能戰之 少則能守之 不若則能避之 故小敵之堅 大敵之擒也. For more details, see *Sunzi bingfa* 3.

282. *Zuoyuan* in Chinese 坐原. The exact location is unknown. It is in the list of unknown places in *SS*

horse returned home. The king rejoiced and granted both Jwawon and Jilsan<sup>283</sup> as tax villages to Dapbu. In the fifteenth year [of King Sindae's reign], autumn, the ninth month, [Dapbu] died at the age of 113 years. The king himself mourned [at the casket hall], and suspended court assemblies for seven days. Myeongnim Dapbu was buried at Jilsan with full rites. Twenty households were assigned as tomb guardians.<sup>284</sup>

## Part 6. The Biography of Seok Uro

昔于老 奈解尼師今之子 或云 角干水老之子也 助賁王二年七月 以伊滄爲大將軍 出討甘文國破之 以其地爲郡縣 四年七月 倭人來侵 于老逆戰於沙道 乘風縱火 焚賊戰艦 賊溺死且盡

Seok Uro [d. ca. 253]<sup>285</sup> was the son of *Isageum* Naehae [r. 196-230]. {Some say he was a son of *Gakgan* Suro.}<sup>286</sup> In the second year [231] of King Jobun's reign [r. 230-247], the seventh month, *Ichhan* [Seok Uro] became grand general, and set out to destroy the Gammun State [modern Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang].<sup>287</sup> He destroyed the country, and annexed its territory as counties

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37 三國有名未詳地分。However, it may not be too far from Gungnae Fortress since Myeonglim Dapbu was able to pursue the retreating enemy after defending the fortress and exterminate them there. The same place name was mentioned in the record of the sixth year (184) of King Gogukcheon in *SS* 16, which reads, “The Han dynasty commander of Liaodong raised troops to attack us. The King dispatched Crown Prince Gyeshu to resist them, but he was not successful. The king personally led elite cavalry and fought with the Han army at Jwawon, and defeated them” 漢遼東太守興師伐我王遣王子闕須拒之 不克 王親帥精騎往 與漢軍戰於坐原 敗之。

283. *Zhishan* in Chinese 質山. The exact location is unknown. It is included in the list of unknown place names in *SS* 37 三國有名未詳地分. However, the place name is found in the account of the twenty-second year (3) of King Yuri (r. 19 BCE-18 CE) in *SS* 13, which reads “The King went hunting on the north side of Jilsan Mountain and did not return for five days” 王田于質山陰 五日不返. The place name also appears in the record of the fifty-fifth year (107) of King Taejo in *SS* 15, which reads “The King went hunting on the south side of Jilsan Mountain and captured a purple roebuck” 王獵質山陽 獲紫獐.

284. They guarded royal or noble tombs by cleaning, maintaining, and patrolling the tomb precincts. The inscription on the Stele of King Gwanggaeto (r. 391-412) records that three hundred and thirty households were assigned as tomb guardians for the deceased King, which indicates that this practice had further developed in Goguryeo. The biography of Kim Yusin suggests that this custom existed in Silla as well. For more details, see *SS* 43.

285. A member of royal house and general. He was the father of King Heulhae (r. 310-356), and his wife was the Lady Myeongwon (n.d.), the daughter of King Jobun (r. 230-247). He was recorded as Uroeam 于老音 in “Royal Chronology” of *SY* 1, which reads, “the sixteenth *Isageum* Heulhae's family name is Seok. His father is *Gakgan* Euroeam who was the second son of King Naehae” 第十六乞解尼叱今昔氏 父于老音角干 即奈解王第二子也。

286. This indicates the possibility that he might not be a prince.

287. *SS* 34 indicates that Gaeryeong-gun 開寧郡 was previously the small state called Gammun. King

and prefectures.<sup>288</sup> In the seventh month of the fourth year, the Wa<sup>289</sup> invaded. Uro counterattacked at Sado [modern Yeongdeok, North Gyeongsang].<sup>290</sup> He took advantage of the winds and set fire to the enemy warships. They all drowned without a single survivor.

十五年正月 進爲舒弗郡兼知兵馬事 十六年 高句麗侵北邊 出擊之 不克 退保馬頭柵 至夜 士卒寒苦 于老躬行勞問 手燒薪樵暖熱之 羣心感喜如夾纊

In the fifteenth year, first month, Uro was made *seobulhan*<sup>291</sup> and concurrently administered military affairs. In the sixteenth year, Goguryeo invaded the northern border area. Uro went out to defeat them, but failed. He withdrew to a defensive position at the Madu Palisade.<sup>292</sup> When night fell, the soldiers suffered from biting cold, and Uro himself went around to console his troops and stoke the fires to keep the men warm. Many were deeply moved and gladdened as if he had wrapped them in cotton batting.

沾解王在位 沙梁伐國舊屬我 忽背而歸百濟 于老將兵往討滅之 七年癸酉 倭國使臣葛那古在館 于老主之 與客戲言 “早晚 以汝王爲鹽奴 王妃爲爨婦” 倭王聞之怒 遣將軍于道朱君 討我

When King Cheomhae [r. 247-261] was enthroned, Saryangbeol State [modern Sangju, North Gyeongsang],<sup>293</sup> formerly subject to our country, suddenly betrayed us and again allied itself with Baekje. Uro led troops to launch an attack and annihilated it. In the seventh year, *gyeyu* [253],<sup>294</sup> the envoy Galnago

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Jinheung (r. 540-576) dispatched a military governor and named it Cheongju 靑州. Gaeryeong is modern Gaeryeong-myeon, Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang province. For more information, see SS 34, “Gaeryeong-gun.”

288. Yi (1997, 412n15) asserts that the account of Silla’s subjugation of Gammun State in the second year (231) of King Jobun is unreliable.

289. This indicates the inhabitants of the Japanese islands. For more detailed information on this term, see Shultz and Kang 2017b, 26n15. See also Best 2006, 65-66.

290. This place was frequently invaded by Japanese and therefore a fortress was built. SS 2 indicates that the Sado Fortress was destroyed by the Wa troops in 292 and then rebuilt in 293 during King Yurye’s reign (r. 284-298).

291. *Seobulhan* is also written as *seobalhan*. This is another name of *ibeolchan* (or *gakgan*), the first-degree bureaucratic rank in Silla.

292. Its location is unclear. Some say that it is modern Geochang, South Gyeongsang province, but it is more likely to be in the southeast of modern Gyeongju because there is a record in which King Pasa (r. 80-112) ordered the leader of Madu Fortress to attack Gaya in 106. See SS 1, King Pasa, Year 27.

293. Saryangbul State is modern Sangju, North Gyeongsang province. It was also called Sabeol State.

294. In this biography, Uro died in the seventh year (253) of King Cheomhae (r. 247-261). However, SS

from Wa stayed in an official guest house; Uro was in charge of taking care of him. He jokingly told the guest, “Soon I will make your king a salter slave and your queen a kitchen maid.” Upon hearing about this, the king of Wa was outraged and sent General Udojugun to attack us.

大王出居于柚村 于老曰 “今茲之患 由吾言之不慎 我其當之” 遂抵倭軍 謂曰 “前日之言 戲之耳 豈意興師至於此耶” 倭人不答 執之 積柴置其上 燒殺之乃去  
The king went out and stayed in Uyu village [modern Uljin, North Gyeongsang]. Uro said, “Now this trouble was caused by my reckless speech; I will handle this.” Thereupon, he went to the Wa troops and said, “What I said before was just a joke. How could I have ever thought that you would raise troops to come this far?” The Wa men seized him without a word and built a pyre, placing him on top of it. They burned him to death, and then left.

于老子 幼弱不能步 人抱以騎而歸 後爲訖解尼師今 味鄒王時 倭國大臣來聘 于老妻請於國王 私饗倭使臣 及其泥醉 使壯士曳下庭焚之 以報前怨 倭人忿 來攻金城 不克引歸

The son of Uro<sup>295</sup> was too young and weak to walk. [So,] another person held him as he returned on horseback. Later, he became *Isageum* Heulhae [r. 310-356]. In the reign of King Michu [r. 262-284], an envoy of Wa paid a courtesy visit. The wife of Uro asked the king to personally feast him. When [the envoy] was greatly intoxicated, [the wife] had a strong man drag him out to the yard and burn him to death; this was to avenge a past grudge.<sup>296</sup> The Wa people were enraged and came to attack Golden City [modern Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang], but failing [to destroy it], they returned.

論曰 于老爲當時大臣 掌軍國事 戰必克 雖不克 亦不敗 則其謀策必有過人者 然以一言之悖 以自取死 又令兩國交兵 其妻能報怨 亦變而非正也 若不爾者 其功業亦可錄也

Commentary: Uro, as a high official, managed military and state affairs. He

2 records his death at the hands of the Wa in 249. See SS 2, King Cheomhae, Year 3.

295. The son of Uro refers to King Heulhae (r. 310-356). There is a chronological problem here because King Heulhae took the throne in 310, approximately 60 years after Uro died, and reigned for forty-seven years thereafter.

296. The anecdote in the record of Empress Jingu 神功皇后 in *Nihon shoki* 9 supports the account of the revenge of Uro's wife. See *Nihon shoki* 9, “Empress Jingu” 神功皇后, Year 9.

inevitably won in battle, but even if he did not prevail, he never lost. His stratagems were surely superior to others. And yet, a careless word led to his death and drove two states to fight. His wife took revenge, but it was perverse and wrong. Had events been otherwise, there undoubtedly would have been many more of his meritorious deeds to record.

### Part 7. Biography of Bak Jesang

朴堤上 或云毛末 始祖赫居世之後 婆娑尼師今五世孫 祖阿道葛文王 父勿品波珍滄 堤上仕爲敵良州干 先是實聖王元年壬寅 與倭國講和 倭王 請以奈勿王之子末斯欣爲質 王嘗恨奈勿王 使已質於高句麗 思有以釋憾於其子 故不拒而遣之 又十一年壬子 高句麗 亦欲得末斯欣之兄卜好爲質 大王又遣之

Bak Jesang [n.d.]<sup>297</sup> {also known as Momal}<sup>298</sup> was descended from the progenitor Hyeokgeose [r. 69 BCE-4 CE]<sup>299</sup> and was a fifth-generation descendant of *Isageum Pasa* [r. 80-112]. His grandfather was *Galmunwang Ado* [n.d.], and his father *Pajinchan* Mulpum [n.d.].<sup>300</sup> Jesang was appointed the *gan* of Samnyang-ju [modern Yangsan, South Gyeongsang].<sup>301</sup> Earlier, Silla made

297. The story of Jesang also appears in the accounts of King Namul and Kim Jesang in “Wonders I” of *SY 1* with the surname Kim. Presumably, Jesang didn’t use a surname during his lifetime but then the following generations labeled him as either “Bak” by his paternal lineage or “Kim” by his maternal line. For more details, see U. Kim 1979, 53.

298. Jesang’s name was recorded as 毛麻利叱智 which is pronounced Momari Jilji in modern Korean. It is hard to know how this was pronounced in Japanese. Jilji 叱智 was an honorific title according to the *Nihon Shoki* 7. Some scholars hypothesize that the characters 毛麻利 were similar in meaning to 堤上, which can be translated as “atop an embankment.” In this interpretation, Mo 毛 referred to *tol*, *to*, or *teol* which sounds similar to *duk* and *dok* meaning an embankment in modern Korean. “Mari” 麻利 is similar as *meori* which would mean atop or head. See Yi 1997, 414n19.

299. He was the founding ancestor of Silla. Born from an egg, he was raised by village people. He was unusually precocious, so at the age of thirteen he was enthroned. People gave him surname Bak because the egg looked like a gourd, which was then called *bak* in the vernacular. See *SS 1*, *Geoseogan* Hyeokgeose and *SY 1*, “Wonders I.”

300. The account of Jesang’s lineage in this text is questionable. Bak Ado was granted the title *galmunwang* in the fifteenth year (148) of *Isageum Ilseong*’s reign (r. 134-154). See *SS 1*, *Isageum Ilseong*, Year 15. Here is a chronological void of at least two hundred fifty years because Jesang was active during the reign of King Nulji (r. 417-458). It is also dubious that Jesang’s father was *pajinchan* (rank 4) because his son Jesang was *nama* (rank 11) and was posthumously elevated to *dae-achan* (rank 5). Jang (2004, 56n47) explains that this problem occurred because the compilers of *SS* presumably intended to connect his ancestry to a representative figure with surname Bak, *Isageum Pasa*.

301. The account of “Wonders I” of *SY 1* addresses Jesang with the Chinese court appellation, chief magistrate (*taesu* 太守) of Samnyang-ju. Despite the slight differences in the names, the titles

peace with the kingdom of Wa in the first year of King Silseong [r. 402-417], *imin* [402]. The king of Wa requested the son of King Namul [r. 356-402], Prince Misaheun [d. 429]<sup>302</sup> as a hostage.<sup>303</sup> Since King Silseong harbored a deep grudge against the late king for many years for having sent him off as a hostage to Goguryeo,<sup>304</sup> he decided to take his revenge on the [late king's] son and thus, without reluctance, handed him over to the Wa. Again, when Goguryeo asked for prince Misaheun's older brother Bokho [n.d.]<sup>305</sup> as a hostage in the eleventh year, *injja* [412], the king also sent him away.

及訥祗王即位 思得辯士 往迎之 聞水酒村干伐寶靺·一利村干仇里洒·利伊村干波老三人有賢智 召問曰 “吾弟二人 質於倭·麗二國 多年不還 兄弟之故 思念不能 自止 願使生還 若之何而可” 三人同對曰 “臣等聞敵良州干堤上 剛勇而有謀 可得以解殿下之憂” Then, King Nulji [r. 417-458] ascended the throne.<sup>306</sup> He sought for a persuasive negotiator to bring [the two princes] back. He heard of three men, Beolbomal [n.d.], the *gan* of Suju village [modern Yecheon, North Gyeongsang], Gurinae [n.d.], the *gan* of Illi village [modern Goryeong, North Gyeongsang], and Paro [n.d.], the *gan* of Ii village [modern Yeongju, North Gyeongsang]. They were said to be worthy and intelligent. The king summoned them and asked, “My two brothers were taken as hostages to Wa and Goguryeo

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indicate the same administrative unit of modern Yangsan City. The title “chief magistrate” in *SY* which was an error because the legal code of Jin 晉 dynasty (265-420) was not introduced to Silla until King Beopheung promulgated a legal code in 520.

302. He is also known as Mihae 美海 or Mijilhui 未叱喜. His name appears as 微叱許知 in the *Nihon Shoki* 7. Misaheun was the son of King Namul and the brother of King Nulji. He was taken to Wa as a hostage in the first year (402) of King Silseong's reign and was detained until the second year (418) of King Nulji's reign. He passed away in the thirteenth year (429) of King Nulji's reign and was posthumously honored with the title *seobulhan* (Rank 1).
303. The account of King Namul and Kim Jesang in “Wonders I” in *SY* 1 gives a different narrative, stating that Misaheun was sent to the kingdom of Wa in the thirty-sixth year (390) of King Namul's reign.
304. Silseong, the son of *Ichan* Taesoji was sent by King Namul to Goguryeo to be a hostage in 392 and returned in 401. He was enthroned in 402 when King Namul died because the sons of the former king were too young. For more information, see *SS* 3, King Namul, Year 37 and Year 46.
305. He was the son of King Namul and brother of King Nulji and also known as Bohae 寶海. Bokho was sent to Goguryeo in the eleventh year (412) of King Silseong and returned home in the second year (418) of King Nulji
306. King Nulji was the crown prince of late King Namul, but when he was considered too young to ascend the throne, the crown went to his uncle Silseong instead. Years later, according to *SS* 3, King Silseong sent Nulji as a hostage to Goguryeo and then sent an assassin to kill him. The plan failed and it was Nulji who returned home to kill Silseong and assume the throne. For more details, see the account of enthronement year (417) of *Maripgan* Nulji in *SS* 3.

respectively, and have been unable to return home for years. Because they are my brothers, I can't help missing them and wishing for their safe return. What can be done about this?" The three wise men said unanimously "We heard that Jesang, the *gan* of Samnyang-ju, is a man of great valor and wits. He would be the right man to solve your concerns."

於是 徵堤上使前 告三臣之言而請行 堤上對曰 “臣雖愚不肖 敢不唯命祗承” 遂以聘禮入高句麗 語王曰 “臣聞交隣國之道 誠信而已 若交質子 則不及五霸 誠末世之事也 今寡君之愛弟在此 殆將十年 寡君以鶴鶩在原之意 永懷不已 若大王惠然歸之 則若九牛之落一毛 無所損也 而寡君之德大王也 不可量也 王其念之” 王曰 “諾” 許與同歸

Thereupon Jesang was summoned before the king. The king told him the recommendations from the three subjects and asked him to go [to Goguryeo]. Jesang replied, “Though I'm worthless and unintelligent, how could I go against the royal order?” Thus, he entered Goguryeo to pay a courtesy visit as an envoy. Jesang said to the king of Goguryeo “I heard that the principle for maintaining good ties with neighboring countries lies only in sincerity and faith. Exchanging hostages makes us look inferior even to the Five Hegemons.<sup>307</sup> Truly, this is what happens at the end of the world. My Lord [in Silla] misses his brother who has remained here for nearly a decade. His heart is like a wagtail [stuck] on a hill,<sup>308</sup> and his thought ceaselessly revolves [around his brother]. If Your Majesty shows us mercy by permitting his brother to return, it would be like a single hair off nine oxen;<sup>309</sup> there will be no damage to you and he will endlessly praise your

307. They are the five rulers (*wuba* in Chinese 五霸) of the Chinese states. They broke away from the existing feudal system of Zhou dynasty to establish individual power during the Spring and Autumn period of China. The five powers mostly refers to Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公, Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王, King Helu of Wu 吳王闔閭, and King Goujian of Yue 越王勾踐. Although all five lords succeeded in making their countries rich and powerful in a short period of time, they were regarded with little respect by Confucius scholars for their resorting to trickery, schemes, and other dishonorable means to achieve their goals.

308. A wagtail is a waterfowl. So, if such bird is on a hill, it is a metaphor of the loss of home and frantic search for its kin. It is quoted from *Shijing*, which reads “There is the wagtail on the level height; When brothers are in urgent difficulties” 鶴鶩在原兄弟急難. The situation is often compared to when one's brother is in a dire situation. For the full quote, see *Shijing*, part 2, book 1, verse 164 (“Chang Di” 常棣).

309. This is a reference to “a drop in the ocean.” It originated from “Letter in Answer to Ren An” 報任少卿書 written by Sima Qian (145-86 BC), which reads “If I fell before the law and were executed, it would make no more difference to most people than one hair off nine oxen” 假令僕伏法受誅若九牛亡一毛.

virtue. Please consider this carefully.” The king said, “Permission granted.” And so Jesang was able to return home together [with Prince Bokho].<sup>310</sup>

及歸國 大王喜慰曰 “我念二弟 如左右臂 今只得一臂 奈何” 堤上報曰 “臣雖奴才 既以身許國 終不辱命 然高句麗大國 王亦賢君 是故 臣得以一言悟之 若倭人 不可以口舌諭 當以詐謀 可使王子歸來 臣適彼 則請以背國論使彼聞之”

When [the two] returned, the king was delighted and consoled. Then he said, “I always thought of my two brothers as my right and left arms. Now that I only have one arm returned, what shall I do [about the other]?” Jesang replied, “Inadequate as I am, I’ve pledged my life to this country, so I shall honor my duty to the end. However, Goguryeo was a great country and its king a good and wise ruler. That was why I was able to enlighten [the king] with just a few words. When it comes to the Wa, however, it will not be possible to move them with words alone; we must devise a plan that will bring the return of the prince. When I leave for Wa, please spread the word that I am a traitor to the country and make sure it is heard in Wa too.”

乃以死自誓 不見妻子 抵栗浦 汎舟向倭 其妻聞之 奔至浦口 望舟大哭曰 “好歸來” 堤上回顧曰 “我將命入敵國 爾莫作再見期”

Thereupon, Jesang pledged to give up his life [for the cause]. Without even seeing his wife and children, he arrived at Yulpo [a port in modern Ulsan] and set sail for Wa. Jesang’s wife, upon hearing the news, rushed to the port. Watching the ship sail away, she let out a heart-wrenching wail and said, “Come back safely.” Jesang looked back and said, “I am on a royal mission to enter the enemy country. Do not expect to see me again.”

遂徑入倭國 若叛來者 倭王疑之 百濟人前入倭 讒言新羅與高句麗謀侵王國 倭遂遣兵 邏戍新羅境外 會高句麗來侵 并擒殺倭邏人 倭王乃以百濟人言爲實 又聞羅王囚未斯欣·堤上之家人 謂堤上實叛者

Thereafter [Jesang’s ship] made it to Wa. Jesang pretended he was a traitor on the run, but the king of Wa had his doubts. Previously a person from Baekje who entered Wa had falsely accused Silla and Goguryeo of scheming to strike Wa together. Thus, Wa had dispatched soldiers to patrol the Silla border. Just then, Goguryeo launched an attack and killed the Wa soldiers. The king came

310. According to SY1, Jesang entered Goguryeo in disguise and succeeded in sneaking away with Bohae.

to take the Baekje claims as true. Moreover, after hearing that the Silla king had imprisoned the families of Misaheun and Jesang, he decided that Jesang had indeed betrayed his country.

於是出師將襲新羅 兼差堤上與未斯欣爲將 兼使之鄉導 行至海中山島 倭諸將密議 滅新羅後 執堤上·未斯欣妻孥以還 堤上知之 與未斯欣乘舟遊 若捉魚鴨者 倭人見之 以謂無心喜焉

At this time, the Wa king raised an army to attack Silla. He appointed both Jesang and Misaheun to be generals and let them guide the troops. The army reached Haejungsan Island [modern Tsushima Island, Japan]. The Wa generals conspired to capture the families of Jesang and Misaheun after they wiped out Silla. Being aware of this, Jesang went boating with Misaheun and pretended to enjoy fishing and catching ducks. Upon seeing this, the people of Wa were convinced that the two were pleased without a care.

於是堤上勸未斯欣潛歸本國 未斯欣曰“僕奉將軍如父 豈可獨歸” 堤上曰“若二人俱發 則恐謀不成” 未斯欣抱堤上項 泣辭而歸

Taking the opportunity, Jesang advised Misaheun to secretly [make an escape] back to his country. Misaheun said, “I look up to you, general, like a father. How could I return alone?” Jesang replied, “If two people go missing at the same time I fear our plan will be foiled.” Misaheun threw his arms around Jesang’s neck and bid a tearful farewell and left.

堤上獨眠室內晏起 欲使未斯欣遠行 諸人問“將軍何起之晚” 答曰“前日 行舟勞困 不得夙興” 及出 知未斯欣之逃 遂縛堤上 行舡追之 適煙霧晦冥 望不及焉 歸堤上於王所 則流於木島 未幾使人以薪火燒爛支體 然後斬之

Left alone in his chamber, Jesang allowed himself to oversleep to help Misaheun run far away. People asked, “General, why are you waking up so late?” He answered, “The boating yesterday left us so exhausted that we couldn’t rise early.” By the time Jesang came out, people realized that Misaheun had escaped. They tied Jesang up and took the boat to pursue [the prince]. Just then a thick smoky fog darkened the sky making it difficult to see. Jesang was taken back to face the king. He was banished to Mok Island<sup>311</sup> at once. Not long thereafter [the king of Wa] sent men to roast

311. The island seems to be situated somewhere between Wa and Silla, but the exact location remains unknown. It may be Mokchul Island which Wa attacked in the seventeenth year (73) of *Isageum* Talhae

him, trunk and limb, upon a wooden pyre, and then decapitate his corpse.<sup>312</sup>

大王聞之哀慟 追贈大阿滄 厚賜其家 使未斯欣 娶其堤上之第二女爲妻 以報之初 未斯欣之來也 命六部遠迎之 及見握手相泣 會兄弟置酒極娛 王自作歌舞 以宣其意 今鄉樂憂息曲 是也

The king [Nulji] lamented his death after hearing the news. He posthumously elevated Jesang's rank to *dae-achan* and generously rewarded his family with royal gifts. The king ordered Misaheun to take Jesang's second daughter as his wife to repay him [for his sacrifice]. Earlier when Misaheun returned home, the king sent [officials of] six districts<sup>313</sup> to welcome his brother far outside the city. The king and his brother, upon meeting, held hands and burst into tears. Finally, all the brothers gathered together to hold a banquet and rejoice to the fullest. The king composed a song and dance to express how he felt. The is the song "Anxiety Ceases"<sup>314</sup> in the local music of today.<sup>315</sup>

## Part 8. The Biography of Gwisan<sup>316</sup>

貴山 沙梁部人也 父武殷阿干 貴山少與部人籌項爲友 二人相謂曰 “我等期與士君子遊 而不先正心修身 則恐不免於招辱 盍聞道於賢者之側乎” 時圓光法師入隋遊學 還居加悉寺 爲時人所尊禮 貴山等詣門 摳衣進告曰 “俗士顛蒙 無所知識 願賜一言 以爲終身之誠”

Gwisan [d. 602]<sup>317</sup> was from Saryang District. His father was *Agan*<sup>318</sup> Mueun.<sup>319</sup>

(r. 57-80). However, *Nihon Shoki* writes that Bak Jesang and his party were killed not on Mok Island but in another place called Hamjung 檻中. See *Nihon Shoki* 9, “Empress Jingu” 神功皇后, Year 5.

312. *SY1* shows a detailed account of the tortures that Jesang suffered before death. According to *Nihon Shoki*, a total of three envoys from Silla were executed, Jesang included. See *Nihon Shoki* 9, “Empress Jingu,” Year 5.

313. This refers to the six districts of Gyeongju where the Silla noble class resided.

314. This song, called “Usik gok” in Korean, survived only until the Goryeo period and has since been lost.

315. This refers to the music of Goryeo in the time of Kim Busik.

316. This translation benefited by the excerpts “Won-gwang Goes to China for Study” from *Haedong goseungjeon* translated by Peter Lee. See Lee 1993, 82.

317. He is also mentioned in “Won-gwang’s Studies in Tang” in *SY4*.

318. This is another name of *achan*, a sixth-degree bureaucratic rank of Silla, which was also called *acheok-gan*.

319. The dates of Mueun’s birth and death are unknown. He was an armed guard during King Jinpyeong’s reign (r. 579-632). He was born in Saryang District in Gyeongju. His rank was *agan* 阿干. Mueun could have been of head-rank six because he was elevated to *nama* posthumously after his son Gwisan died in battle.

When Gwisan was young, he was friends with Chuhang [d. 602]<sup>320</sup> from the same district. The two of them said to one another, “We have promised to associate with learned men and gentlemen, but if we do not first rectify our minds and cultivate ourselves,<sup>321</sup> I am afraid that we will inevitably bring disgrace upon ourselves. Why not learn the way at the side of a worthy man?” At that time, Dharma Master Won-gwang [555-638]<sup>322</sup> had returned from studying in Sui and was staying in Gasil Monastery [presumably modern Unmun Monastery in Cheongdo, North Gyeongsang].<sup>323</sup> He was treated with respect by his contemporaries. Gwisan and other youths went to visit him. Holding up the hems of their clothing,<sup>324</sup> they advanced and said: “We ignorant laymen know nothing about the [Dharma]. We wish to hear your instruction. We will bear it in our mind for the rest of our lives.”

法師曰“佛戒有菩薩戒 其別有十 若等爲人臣子 恐不能堪 今有世俗五戒 一曰事君以忠 二曰事親以孝 三曰交友以信 四曰臨戰無退 五曰殺生有擇 若等 行之無忽” 貴山等曰“他則既受命矣 所謂殺生有擇 獨未曉也”

The master said, “Among the Buddhist precepts there are Bodhisattva

320. There is no detailed information available on Gwisan and Chuhang, but based on this biography, they are assumed to be the members of the *hwarang band*.

321. The principles of “rectifying the heart” 正心 and “self-cultivation” 修身 are found in the “eight specific points” (*batiaomu* in Chinese 八條目) of the Daxue: “Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts” 欲修其身者先正其心, and “Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated” 心正以後身修.

322. Dharma Master Won-gwang (555-638) was a monk of high virtue who lived in Silla. He was from Gyeongju, and his family name was Bak or Seol. At thirteen, he left home to become a Buddhist monk. At thirty, he reconstructed the Geumgok Temple on Samgi Mountain, An-gang (modern Angang-eup, Gyeongju in North Gyeongsang province), and there engaged in ascetic practices. In the eleventh year (589) of King Jinpyeong’s reign, he went to study abroad in Chen 陳 (557-589). First he stayed at the Zhuangyan Monastery in Jinling (modern Nanjing, China), and after studying *Satyasiddhi-sāstra* (*Treatise on Establishing Reality* 成實論) and *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Nirvana Sutra* 涅槃經), among other texts, he went to Huqiu Mountain (modern Suzhou, China) in Wu 吳 and made efforts to purge himself of all thoughts and attain calm of mind. He became widely known as a Buddhist teacher. By request of King Jinpyeong, Wongwang returned to Silla with envoys *Nama* Jemun and *Daesa* Hoengcheon in 600. He stayed in Samgi Mountain and taught the *Mahayana sutras* there. He wrote several books on the *Tathāgatagarbha* (*Womb of Thus Gone Ones* 如來藏). See SY 4 “Won-gwang’s Studies in Tang.”

323. This refers to Gaseulgap Temple. According to SY 4, when Dharma Master Won-gwang returned from Sui, he stayed in Gaseulgap Temple. This gloss indicates that Gaseulgap was also called Gosi Temple and that it was then known as Unmun Temple. Therefore, Gasil Monastery may be the modern Unmun Temple in Cheongdo-gun, North Gyeongsang province, or another temple around the area. See “Won-gwang’s Studies in Tang” in SY 4.

324. This implies a show of respect by moving forward slowly.

precepts,<sup>325</sup> which are divided into ten. However, since you are somebody else's subjects, I am afraid you are not able to practice them. Presently there are five precepts for laymen:<sup>326</sup> first, serve your king with loyalty; second, tend to your parents with filial piety; third, treat your friends with sincerity; fourth, do not retreat in battle; and fifth, be discerning about the taking of life. Do not neglect to practice these precepts!" Gwisan and his friend said, "We are ready to practice the first four, but as for so-called 'discerning about the taking of life,' we still do not understand it well.

師曰“六齋日·春夏月不殺 是擇時也 不殺使畜 謂馬牛雞犬 不殺細物 謂肉不足一嚮 是擇物也 如此 唯其所用 不求多殺 此可謂世俗之善戒也” 貴山等曰“自今已後 奉以周旋 不敢失墜”

The master answered, "Do not kill during the six monthly fast days,<sup>327</sup> and the months of spring and summer. This means being considerate about timing. Do not kill domestic animals such as cows, horses, chickens, dogs, and tiny creatures whose meat is less than a mouthful. This is [called] choosing creatures. If you follow this, you will take only what you need without killing unnecessarily. These may be called the great precepts for lay practitioners." Gwisan and his friend said, "From now on we will keep these in all circumstances. We will never fail to observe them!"

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325. Also called "great vehicle precepts" 大乘戒 or "Buddha-nature precepts" 佛性戒. Among the Buddhist precepts, there are the Theravada precepts and the Mahayana precepts. In Mahayana Buddhism, the ten Bodhisattva precepts are those the bodhisattvas 菩薩 must follow. Those ten precepts are: not killing, not stealing, not engaging in illicit sexual behavior, not lying, not selling alcohol, not speaking of other's faults, not praising yourself while disparaging others, not harming others by your own stinginess, not being angry, and not denigrating the Three Jewels. The Bodhisattva precepts gained acceptance around the time Dharma Master Won-gwang returned to Silla in the twentieth year (600) of King Jinpyeong's reign.

326. These are the five precepts for laymen and were introduced by Dharma Master Won-gwang to Gwisan and Chuhang when they went looking for a maxim that could be their lifelong commandment. The *hwarang* later came to follow these precepts. Confucian and Buddhist scholars have presented different theories that trace the underpinning philosophy of the precepts to Confucianism or Buddhism. It may also be the case that the principles were instituted by the state for people to follow (Lee 1984, 342).

327. In the Buddhist community, these refer to the fasting days which are the eight, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth. People believed that the Four Heavenly Kings were on the lookout to determine the good or evil of their acts during these six days. Therefore, they had to be especially careful on these days.

眞平王建福十九年壬戌秋八月 百濟大發兵 來圍阿莫一作英城王使將軍波珍干  
乾品·武梨屈·伊梨伐·級干武殷·比梨耶等 領兵拒之 貴山·箒項 並以少監赴焉  
百濟敗退於泉山之澤 伏兵以待之 我軍進擊 力困引還 時武殷爲殿 立於軍尾  
伏猝出 鉤而下之

In the nineteenth year of the Geonbok era<sup>328</sup> of King Jinpyeong [r. 579-632], *imsul* [602], in autumn, the eighth month, Baekje dispatched a large number of troops<sup>329</sup> and laid siege to Amak {some write Ayeong} Fortress [in modern Namwon, North Jeolla].<sup>330</sup> The king commanded generals to take soldiers to drive them away; the generals were *Pajingan* Geonpum<sup>331</sup> [n.d.], Murigul [n.d.], Iribeol [n.d.], *Geupgan* Mueun [n.d.], and Biriya [n.d.]. Gwisan and Chuhang too went to war as junior directors. Baekje forces were defeated and retreated to a marsh at Cheonsan Mountain [modern Mount Hwangsan, in North Jeolla], where they hid their troops in ambush. Our Silla troops pursued and fought. Having exhausted all their strength, they turned home. At that time Mueun [Gwisan's father], in the rearguard, stood at the very end of the army. The Baekje soldiers set an ambush and suddenly charged. They caught Mueun with a hook and took him down.

貴山大言曰“吾嘗聞之師曰‘士當軍無退’豈敢奔北乎”擊殺賊數十人 以己馬出父  
與箒項揮戈力鬪 諸軍見之奮擊 橫尸滿野 匹馬隻輪 無反者 貴山等金瘡滿身  
半路而卒 王與羣臣 迎於阿那之野 臨尸痛哭 以禮殯葬 追賜位貴山奈麻 箒項大舍  
Gwisan shouted, “I once heard from my master that a man of honor does not retreat when he engages in battle; how dare I flee in defeat?” He then attacked and killed dozens of men while using his own horse to send his father away.

328. This was the reign title of King Jinpyeong. It was used from the sixth year (584) of King Jinpyeong's reign to the second year (633) of Queen Seondok's reign (r. 632-647).

329. This account accords with the entry of the twenty-fourth year of King Jinpyeong's reign in *SS* 4 and the record of the third year of King Mu's reign (r. 600-641) in *SS* 27. According to the Baekje Annals of *SS*, during that time *Jwapyeong* Haesu led forty thousand mounted infantry soldiers and attacked Silla. The reasons for this attack were the death of King Seong in an ambush by Silla in 554, and the seizure of the Han River area by Silla.

330. Also recorded as Mosan Fortress or Ayeong Fortress. It is assumed to be Halmisan Fortress in modern Ayeong-myeon, Namwon-si in North Jeolla province. The perimeter of the fortress is 632.8 m, and currently the north wall remains intact. In this place, many Silla, Gaya, and Baekje pottery pieces have been excavated.

331. Geonpum was a general of true bone status during King Jinpyeong's reign. According to the Baekje Annals of *SS*, he was commander-in-chief of the Silla troops together with Mueun in the battle in Amak Fortress in 602.

He engaged in battle alongside Chuhang and together, lunging with their spears, they fought hard. Having seen this, all the troops fought even harder. The field was strewn with the corpses of the enemy. Neither a single horse nor a single carriage returned home.<sup>332</sup> Gwisan and his friend, deeply cut all over their bodies, succumbed [to their wounds] on the way back. The king, along with other officials, went to the plains of Ana [near modern Haman in South Gyeongsang]<sup>333</sup> to receive them. He cried bitterly before the fallen and had them interred with full rites. The king granted the posthumous titles of *nama* [Rank 11] to Gwisan and *daesa* [Rank 12] to Chuhang.

### Part 9. The Biography of Ondal<sup>334</sup>

溫達 高句麗平岡王 時人也 容貌龍鐘可笑 中心則曉然 家甚貧 常乞食以養母 破衫弊履 往來於市井間 時人目之爲愚溫達 平岡王少女兒好啼 王戲曰 “汝常啼聒我耳 長必不得爲士大夫妻 當歸之愚溫達” 王每言之 及女年二八 欲下嫁於上部高氏公主對曰 “大王常語 汝必爲溫達之婦 今何故改前言乎 匹夫猶不欲食言 況至 尊乎 故曰 ‘王者無戲言’ 今大王之命 謬矣 妾不敢祇承” 王怒曰 “汝不從我教 則固不得爲吾女也 安用同居 宜從汝所適矣”

Ondal lived during the time of King Pyeonggang [r. 559-590]<sup>335</sup> of Goguryeo. He was ugly and slow, but he had a keen mind. As his family was very poor, he was always begging for food to support his mother. He would walk around the market streets in ragged clothes and shoes. People called him Foolish Ondal. At that time, the king's young daughter often cried. The king would jokingly say to her, “You cry all the time and hurt my ears. When you grow up, you will never be a nobleman's wife. I shall marry you off to Foolish Ondal.” The king said this every time [she cried]. When the princess reached the age of sixteen, the king wished to give her in marriage to a man of the Go clan,<sup>336</sup> from the Upper District. The princess said, “You used to tell me that I was to marry Ondal; why

332. This record is reproduced exactly as the entry corresponding to the third year of King Mu's reign (602) in SS 27.

333. Ana is another name of Aryang recorded in the inscription of the Stele of New Fortress at Mount Namsan in Gyeongju. It is presumed that Aryang is the modern Haman region.

334. This present translation has benefited from Peter Lee's (1993, 55-57) translation.

335. In Chapter 19 of the *Samguk sagi*, a note is added to the biography of King Pyeongwon: “King Pyeongwon was also called the Good King upon the Pyeonggang (flat hill)” 平原王 或云平岡上好王.

336. See note 222.

do you change your words, now? Even a lowly man is reluctant to break his word, so much more so should the noblest of all be. That is why it is said that, ‘The king does not joke.’ Your order is misguided. I cannot obey it.” Furious, the king said, “If you do not follow my instruction, you are no longer my daughter. Why do we live together? Go wherever you please!”

於是 公主以寶釧數十枚繫肘後 出宮獨行 路遇一人 問溫達之家 乃行至其家 見盲老母 近前拜 問其子所在 老母對曰 “吾子貧且陋 非貴人之所可近 今聞子之臭 芬馥異常 接子之手 柔滑如綿 必天下之貴人也 因誰之俯 以至於此乎 惟我息 不忍饑 取榆皮於山林 久而未還” 公主出行 至山下 見溫達負榆皮而來 公主 與之言懷 溫達悖然曰 “此非幼女子所宜行 必非人也 狐鬼也 勿迫我也” 遂行 不顧 公主獨歸 宿柴門下 明朝更入 與母子備言之 溫達依違未決 其母曰 “吾息至陋 不足為貴人匹 吾家至窶 固不宜貴人居” 公主對曰 “古人言 ‘一斗粟猶可春 一尺布猶可縫’ 則苟為同心 何必富貴然後 可共乎” 乃賣金釧 買得田宅·奴婢·牛馬·器物·資用完具 初買馬 公主語溫達曰 “慎勿買市人馬 須擇國馬病瘦而見放者 而後換之” 溫達如其言 公主養飼甚勤 馬日肥且壯

Thereupon, the princess, wearing scores of precious bracelets [under her sleeves], left the palace and wandered alone.<sup>337</sup> On the street, she chanced to meet someone and asked the way to Ondal's house. When she arrived, she saw Ondal's old blind mother. The princess approached and bowed deeply in front of her and asked where her son was. “My son is poor and humble,” the old mother replied, “he is not a man with whom a noble person could associate. Now, I can tell that your scent is unusually fragrant; when I touch your hand, it feels as soft and smooth as cotton. You must be of the noblest birth. Who has tricked you into coming here? I believe my son was unable to bear his hunger any longer and went to gather elm bark<sup>338</sup> on the mountain a long while ago; he has yet to come back.” The princess left and walked until she reached the foot of the mountain. There, she found Ondal returning, carrying elm bark. The princess told him her thoughts. Furious, he said, “This is not how a young girl is supposed to behave. You can't be human, you must be a fox spirit. Stay away

337. This story is often compared with another famous tale of Princess Seonhwa 善花 (n.d.) for the shared banished-princess motif. According to *SY2*, “King Mu,” the princess was kicked out of the palace by King Jinpyeong (r. 579-632) of Silla under the scheme of Seodong 薯童 (d. 641), who spread rumors that she opened her window every night to let him into her bedroom. Later, he married the princess, and became King Mu (r. 600-641), the thirtieth king of Baekje.

338. In times of famine, people ate the bark of elms and pines.

from me.” He turned his back on her and walked away. The princess returned to Ondal’s house alone and spent the night by its brushwood door. The following morning, she went inside again, and explained her thoughts to Ondal and his mother. Ondal was still uncertain whether or not to believe her. His mother broke in, “My son is so humble, barely a fitting husband for a noble woman. Our shabby dwelling is hardly a place in which a noble person can reside.” The princess replied, “The ancients said, ‘even a peck of millet we can pound it; even a foot of cloth, we can sew it.’ Truly if we are of one mind, why must we be rich and noble to live together?” Thereafter she sold her bracelets and bought a house and land, male and female slaves, cattle, and utensils. In this way, the house was furnished with all the necessities. One day, when Ondal was about to buy a horse, the princess told him, “Listen, do not buy the horse from a merchant. You should find a horse abandoned by the court because it is sick or skinny. Then [offer some bracelets in] exchange for it.” Ondal did as he was told, and the princess devotedly reared the animal; it soon grew fat and sturdy.

高句麗常以春三月三日 會獵樂浪之丘 以所獲猪鹿 祭天及山川神 至其日 王出獵 羣臣 及五部兵士皆從 於是溫達以所養之馬隨行 其馳騁常在前 所獲 亦多 他無若者 王召來 問姓名 驚且異之 時 後周武帝出師伐遼東 王領軍逆戰 於肄山之野 溫達爲先鋒 疾鬪斬數十餘級 諸軍乘勝奮擊大克 及論功 無不以 溫達爲第一 王嘉歎之曰 “是吾女壻也” 備禮迎之 賜爵爲大兄 由此寵榮尤渥 威權 日盛

Every spring, Goguryeo held a hunt on the third day of the third month on Nangnang [Lelang] Hill.<sup>339</sup> At the end of the hunt, the captured boars and deer were sacrificed to heaven and the deities of the mountains and rivers.<sup>340</sup> When the day for the hunt arrived, the king too went hunting, followed by an army of ministers and soldiers from the five districts.<sup>341</sup> Ondal accompanied them on the horse that [the princess] had looked after. He was constantly galloping in the front and caught a lot of game. No one could outperform him. The king

339. This record provides important evidence that Goguryeo had a custom of holding a hunt followed by a sacrifice to heaven and the deities of mountains and rivers on the third day of the third month. The tradition of hunting continued into the later years of the kingdom. This is validated by a passage in *Suishu* 81: “[Goguryeo] every spring and autumn held a hunt on the hills. The king attended it himself” 每春秋郊獵 王親臨之.

340. Many records note that in Goguryeo sacrifices were made to heaven. The sacrifices were propitiations for good weather and an abundant harvest. The founder of Goguryeo was believed to have descended from heaven.

341. These soldiers from the five districts are thought to form the central military force of Goguryeo.

summoned Ondal, asked his name, and he was surprised by the answer. At that time, Emperor Wu (r. 561-578) of the Later Zhou invaded Yodong [Liaodong in Chinese].<sup>342</sup> The king led troops in a counterattack on the plains of Isan.<sup>343</sup> Ondal was in the vanguard and fought vigorously, cutting down dozens of the enemy. Seizing the moment, the Goguryeo troops launched a fierce attack and routed them. After the victory, when merits were being considered, all endorsed Ondal for the highest honors. The king applauded him, saying, “He is my son-in-law.” Finally, he prepared due ceremony to receive Ondal, and conferred on him the rank of *daehyeong* [rank 7]. Thereafter, Ondal enjoyed more favor and glory, and his authority and power increased day by day.

及嬰陽王即位 溫達奏曰 “惟新羅 割我漢北之地 爲郡縣 百姓痛恨 未嘗忘父母之國 願大王不以愚不肖 授之以兵 一往必還吾地” 王許焉 臨行誓曰 “鷄立峴·竹嶺已西 不歸於我 則不返也” 遂行 與羅軍戰於阿旦城之下 爲流矢所中 踣而死 欲葬 柩不肯動 公主來撫棺曰 “死生決矣 於乎歸矣” 遂舉而窆 大王聞之悲慟

When King Yeongyang [r. 590-618] ascended the throne, Ondal reported to the king, saying, “Ever since Silla took the land north of the Han River<sup>344</sup> and made it their *gun* and *hyeon*, our people have felt bitter and have never forgotten their homeland. So, I wish that Your Majesty should not consider this humble man worthless but give me soldiers. I will go and assuredly take back our land.” The king gave his permission. Upon his departure, Ondal swore, “I will not return until I have retaken Gyerip Pass<sup>345</sup> and the areas west of Jungnyeong Pass!” He set forth on the campaign. He was shot by stray arrows while fighting Silla troops at the foot of Adan Fortress [modern Mount Acha Fortress, Seoul].<sup>346</sup> He fell to the ground

342. The dynasty mentioned is the Later Zhou (951-960), but, given the timeline, it may have been mistaken for the Northern Zhou (557-581). The Yodong region refers to western territory of Goguryeo.

343. The location is uncertain.

344. This corresponds to other historical records. In the twelfth year (551) of King Jinheung in SS 4, the king ordered Geochilbu to take ten counties (*gun*). In the biography of Geochilbu, Silla took ten counties from within Gohyeon, north of Jungnyeong Pass, indicating that Silla occupied the areas north of the Han River. It also matches the entry of the seventh year (551) of King Yangwon's reign, in SS 19, which mentioned that ten fortresses were seized by Silla.

345. This is assumed to be modern Haneuljae located on the northeastern hill of Saejae.

346. There is a fortress called Ondal Fortress two kilometers southwest of Yeongchun-myeon, Danyang, North Chungcheong Province. Legend has it that Ondal built this fortress to resist the invasion from Silla. Many scholars claimed Adan Fortress is the modern Mount Acha Fortress in Gwangjin-gu, Seoul. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:770n139.

and died. As the funeral was about to begin, the bier refused to budge. The princess came and stroked the coffin, saying, “Life and death are already determined. Alas! You should return [to the where you came from]!” At that time, the bier [could be] lifted and was laid underground. Upon hearing this, the king grieved.

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