



EARLY KOREA

RECONSIDERING EARLY KOREAN HISTORY
THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGY

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Early Korea Project
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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Mark E. Byington

This is the first volume of *Early Korea*, a series of publications designed to provide a forum for scholarship on the early history and archaeology of the Korean peninsula and its neighboring regions. While scholarly papers and a very small number of monographs treating this subject have appeared in English in recent decades, this is the first publication series in English dedicated to the development of the field of Early Korean Studies ("early" here indicates those historical periods prior to the tenth century). Each volume will have a special section of articles focused on a selected theme or topic, that of the present volume being a survey of how recent archaeological advances have influenced views of early Korean history. In addition, *Early Korea* will feature a section for other selected studies on early Korean history and archaeology, such as the survey of Korean ceramic technologies to be found within these covers. A third section will treat the field itself, covering method and theory, field technologies, biographies of influential scholars, and histories of key institutions: the present volume includes two articles treating heritage management in South Korea. Such an arrangement is intended to provide English-language access to a broad range of scholarly work and practical context relevant to studies of Early Korea. Article topics are selected to address the concerns of western readers in an effort to build a foundation for continued studies of early Korean history and archaeology in the English language.

As stated above, the featured theme of this volume focuses on how the field of archaeology influences perceptions of early history in Korea, or more specifically, how the archaeological advances of the past few years have had an impact on how scholars understand the history of the earliest states on the Korean peninsula. This theme was selected for the first volume in recognition of the fact that the sheer volume of archaeological data collected since the early 1990s has generated a flurry of academic activity

to keep up with the new discoveries. These findings are open to a broad range of interpretation, and they demand and necessitate a reconsideration of how the earliest Korean states formed and developed. Since little of this new wave of reinterpreting history has appeared in English, the articles in the first section are intended to provide a summary update of the past decade and more of historical archaeology in Korea.

The three articles featured in this section, which were translated from Korean, are arranged by region, the first two articles being individual treatments of the archaeology of Koguryō and Paekche, and the third article treating Kaya and Silla together. Although these articles are intended to represent a survey of recent archaeological advances and the historical interpretations they have prompted, the field of relevant scholarship in Korea is extremely dynamic and there are many informed voices offering widely variant interpretations of the archaeological data. Such healthy academic discourse is fueled by a continuing stream of newly recovered data, and these articles will show that the field of early history and historical archaeology in Korea is very much alive and moving at a fast pace. Given this situation, the reader is reminded that the articles herein each represent one voice among many, and that the authors, who are all specialists in the topics they address, were asked to express their own views and interpretations, which are of course not necessarily shared by all of their colleagues in the field. Each of these three articles represents an informed expression as it might appear in an academic publication in Korea.

The article on Korean ceramic technologies developed from a lecture that the article's author presented in 2007 at the Lectures on Korean Archaeology series at Harvard University. This series, which was organized by the Early Korea Project at Harvard University with the support of the Academy of Korean Studies, was designed to provide a series of lectures on key topics in Korean archaeology for the benefit of western scholars. The lecture on Korean ceramic technologies offered a survey of Korean ceramics from the earliest times to the tenth century and attracted much attention. The author was asked to prepare an expanded version for publication in the present forum, and the result is to be found herein.

Unlike the articles described above, the two treatments on heritage management in Korea were written not by Korean scholars, but by foreign scholars who have engaged in many years of active archaeological fieldwork in Korea and who continue to focus their research on Korean archaeology. They offer an interesting and useful perspective on how the practice of archaeology is conducted in Korea, including rescue archaeology and

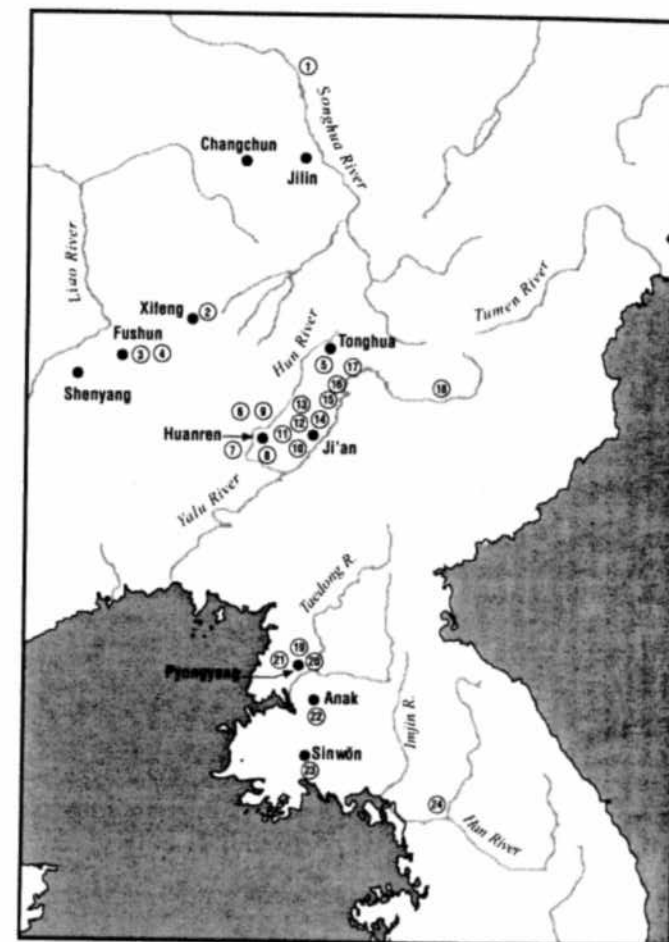
heritage protection, subjects very rarely addressed in the English language. Readers are referred to the brief biographies of the six authors near the end of this volume so that they may be introduced to the names and faces of those who have kindly contributed their scholarship.

Early Korea is one of the publications of the Early Korea Project, which was established and designed to develop studies of early Korean history and archaeology in the English language, primarily through building scholarly networks, organizing academic forums, and making the results broadly available in publication. The editor, who is also the director of the Early Korea Project, would like to express his gratitude to the Korea Foundation, which provides operational support for the Early Korea Project. He would also like to thank the Northeast Asian History Foundation for the generous support that makes this publication possible.

A great many people devoted many valuable hours and days of their time toward the production of the present volume, and the editor would like to acknowledge their efforts and extend his thanks. First, thanks go to the authors of the articles appearing in this volume for sharing their scholarship. The concept of the present volume was developed in consultation with Martin Bale, Jonathan Best, Richard McBride, and Oh Youngchan. Yeon-joo Kim and Si Jin Oh worked tirelessly in the Early Korea Project offices to organize and manage the many details involved in assembling the materials for production, while Wayne de Fremery provided his energies and expertise during the production phase. Jack Davey, Pearl Im, Hansung Kim, Hyung-Wook Kim, Youn-mi Kim, and Aeri Shin all helped to translate the Korean articles and provided related research. The technical and creative input of Alison Fillmore, Yun-hee Lee, Kenneth Robinson, Nita Sembrowich, and John Ziemer were invaluable in developing the look and format of this publication. The editor would also like to thank the staff of the Korea Institute and the Korean Studies faculty at Harvard for their support of the Early Korea Project and its publications. The efforts of these friends and colleagues and many more contributed to the successful completion of this publication.

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Map by Jeff Cosloy

Koguryŏ sites have been found as far north as the Songhua River and as far south as the Han River drainage system and northern Kyŏngsang Province in South Korea. Sites have also been found as far west as the Liaodong region. Chinese and North Korean scholars have led the excavation and study of Koguryŏ sites and focused on the tombs and fortifications in and around the sites of Koguryŏ's capitals in the modern cities of Huanren, Ji'an, and Pyongyang.

Koguryŏ tombs can be classified into two types based on their appearance (stone-piled tombs and earth-mounded tombs) or on the mode of burial (vertical shaft-style and horizontal entrance-style). All Koguryŏ tombs containing mural paintings are of the horizontal entrance-style. Tombs developed from vertical shaft-style to horizontal entrance-style and from stone-piled types to earth-mound types. There are also two varieties of Koguryŏ fortress, which were usually constructed of stone: those built on plains and those on mountains. Capital cities contained at least two fortresses, one built on a plain for general use and one in a more mountainous area for emergency defense; in the outlying regions mountain fortresses were built. Early mountain fortresses were built for the defense of the capital but as Koguryŏ's territory expanded, more and more mountain fortresses were built in provincial areas. These local mountain fortresses functioned as military outposts and as centers of provincial administration. Artifacts excavated from tombs and fortresses include a variety of gold, gilt bronze, iron, and bronze ware, as well as jade, celadon, glazed and unglazed pottery, and stone tools. These artifacts were used as ornaments, weapons, armor, horse-riding equipment, storage vessels, and ritual implements.

Sites and artifacts suggest that Koguryŏ's material culture was influenced by central China, the Northern dynasties, and western cultures, and that it maintained an international yet independent aspect. After Koguryŏ's collapse, its material culture was transmitted by the movements of its displaced people to Silla and Parhae (Ch. Bohai), and was eventually inherited by Koryŏ.

The Accumulation of Archaeological Data and Changes in Perspective

Tombs

The greater part of Koguryŏ's archaeological data come from tombs. Tomb studies were rejuvenated after the 1980s and as data increased, perspectives regarding Koguryŏ tombs originating from the Colonial period

were revised. This change in perspective also demanded amendments to our interpretation of Koguryŏ tombs. The first of these corrections deals with the existence of new tomb structures that were originally overlooked in the traditional classification scheme for Koguryŏ tombs. Until the 1970s it was generally accepted that the earliest Koguryŏ tombs were the stone-piled type. These were then superseded by earth-mounded tombs, which were in turn replaced by earth-mounded tombs containing interior mural paintings. This argument was based on the fact that murals were found only within earth-mounded tombs and it was thought that mural tombs represented the most developed form of the earth-mounded tomb. However, murals have since been found in stone-piled tombs as well. Upon excavation, the stone-piled Tombs 41, 1045, and 1408 in the Yushanxia cemetery as well as the Angled-Ceiling Tomb 折天井塚 in Ji'an were found to contain fragments of mural paintings.¹ This proved that murals were also painted in stone-piled tombs. In addition, earth-mounded tombs with stone base platforms, originally classified simply as earth-mounded tombs, were built only between the fifth century and early sixth century. This means that there is no clear relationship between the disappearance of stone-piled tombs and the appearance of earth-mounded tombs. Also, the Moduru tomb in Ji'an and Tombs 1 and 2 at Chigyŏng-dong in P'yŏngsŏng lack murals but possess the typical two-chamber design of mural tombs, which implies that the transition between stone-piled and earth-mounded tombs was not strictly linear.

The second aspect that needs correction is the study of stone-piled tombs dating between the early Iron Age and the early Koguryŏ period. Bronze daggers and iron implements have been found together in tiered stone-piled tombs in the Wudaoling Goumen 五道岭沟门 site in Ji'an,² while pottery and stone tools found in the Gangouzi 干沟子 cemetery³ in Changbai County are related to the Bronze Age Xituanshan Culture 西团山文化 in Jilin. In addition, the Wanfabozi 万发拨子 site in Tonghua contains both early Iron Age dwellings as well as Koguryŏ stone-piled tombs, revealing the chronological connection between the early Iron Age culture and Koguryŏ.⁴ Other artifacts linking the early Iron Age and early Koguryŏ have been found in the regions of Xinbin, Tonghua, and Huanren. Thus, the builders of the stone-piled tombs resided along the Yalu and Hun Rivers even before Koguryŏ was established, and constituted the major component of the people of Koguryŏ.

Third, massive tombs (over thirty meters long per side), originally thought to be exclusive to the Tonggou basin of Ji'an, have since been



Figure 1. Koguryŏ Tombs at Shanchengxia Cemetery in Ji'an. Photo by author.



Figure 2. Tomb at Haozigou. Photo by author.

Figure 3. (below) Koguryŏ Tomb
—Hunting Scene from the Tomb of
Danu

found elsewhere. One such tomb in Ji'an, Tomb 1 of the Haozigou 蒿子沟 site, measures more than thirty meters on each side and has large supporting stones around which burnt stone and roof tiles were found.⁵ Such features also characterize certain tombs in the Tonggou basin of Ji'an that are believed to have been the tombs of Koguryŏ kings. The original reporter of the Haozigou excavation argued that it belonged to King Tongch'ŏn, but this claim requires much further investigation.

Fourth, mural tombs and earth-mounded tombs have been found distributed over a larger region than they were previously thought to occupy. Until recently, mural tombs had been found only in the northwestern part of the peninsula (where the Chinese commanderies of Lelang and Daifang had been located) and the Ji'an and Huanren regions. However, recently a mural tomb has been found in Fushun City in Liaoning Province.⁶ Tomb 1 in the Shijia cemetery in Fushun is an earth-mound stone-chamber tomb containing paintings that depict scenes of daily life. Near these tombs is the Gaoer Mountain fortress 高尔山城, which is thought to be the remains of the Koguryŏ fortress of Sin-sŏng 新城. Further, vaulted ceiling Koguryŏ-style stone chambers have also been investigated in P'an'gyo, Yongin, and Ch'ungju in South Korea, and are thought to be related to Koguryŏ's southern military campaigns.



Fortresses

The typical Koguryŏ fortress features walls built of wedge-shaped stones. This type of stone-walled fortress has been found spread over a broad area extending as far north as the Songhua river basin, as far east as the Tumen river basin, and as far west as the Liaodong region (Figure 4). In the south they have been found in the Han river basin and in the northern part of North Kyŏngsang Province. These sites provide data for understanding the process of Koguryŏ's territorial expansion and its methods of controlling local regions.

Recently, increased attention has been paid to the Koguryŏ fortresses in South Korea. Traces of Koguryŏ fortresses and forts have been confirmed along the Imjin River drainage system, the Yangju basin, the Han River drainage system, the North Ch'ungch'ŏng region, and Taejŏn. The distribution of fortresses and smaller forts at key points along transit routes centered on riverways implies that Koguryŏ expanded from the Imjin River region through the Yangju basin, passed southward beyond the Han River, and finally reached the southern regions of the Korean peninsula.⁷

In North Korea, traces of Koguryŏ buildings and earth-mounded tombs have been surveyed in and around the mountain fortress on Changsu Mountain in Sinwŏn-ni, Hwanghae Province.⁸ North Korean scholars believe that the Koguryŏ sites in this region, including the mountain fortress and tombs, correspond to Koguryŏ's secondary capital of Southern P'yŏngyang or Han-sŏng built after the collapse of the Lelang commandery. However, the lack of precise reports or a chronological basis for the dates of these sites raises considerable doubt about the logic of this claim.

Recently joint surveys have been conducted at the Anhak Palace site in Pyongyang by scholars from both South and North Korea.⁹ However, while there is some debate over whether Anhak Palace served as the Koguryŏ capital immediately after the removal to P'yŏngyang, it was not possible to achieve any new results in this regard within the limited scope of the joint survey. Instead, the project served to reinforce the previous arguments by North Korean scholars that Anhak Palace is indeed the P'yŏngyang-sŏng that became the capital of Koguryŏ upon relocation to this region.



Figure 4. Koguryŏ Fortress at Yanzhoucheng, Liaoning. Reprinted by permission
Northeast Asian History Four.



Figure 5. Wangjianglou Cemetery at Huanren. Photo by Mark E. Byington.

Differing Interpretations of New Archaeological Data

The huge differences between Chinese and North Korean perspectives on Koguryŏ are reflected in their interpretations of the archaeological material. Moreover, the excavation reports of each country are very terse and do not contain much information about site features or stratigraphy, making it difficult to place much confidence in many of their arguments. As a result, Koguryŏ archaeological materials have been used as tools to support self-centric views of history, leading to biased historical understandings without offering any new methodologies or perspectives on research.

In China Koguryŏ is viewed as a regional authority established by one of the minority nationalities of China's northern regions. More specifically, some Chinese scholars maintain that Koguryŏ was a polity of the Gao Yi tribe 高夷族, one of the ancient minority nationalities that resided within the Xuantu commandery of Western Han. They assert that Koguryŏ was established as a state in 37 B.C. by Chumong, who came south from Puyŏ and absorbed the neighboring cultures. Further, they view Puyŏ as the earliest state-level polity to form in China's northeastern regions and see its relationship with Han as that of a subject tributary. "Cholbon-Puyŏ Culture" is used as support for this claim.¹⁰

Cholbon-Puyŏ Culture refers to the combination of the stone-piled tomb culture along the Fuer and Hun Rivers, the center of early Koguryŏ, and the culture of the Puyŏ state. Since this argument identifies Cholbon-Puyŏ Culture as the culture of early Koguryŏ, it also deemphasizes the existence of the unique culture represented by stone-piled tombs along the lower and middle reaches of the Yalu River. The basis for this view of Cholbon-Puyŏ Culture is the similarity of the gold earrings found in the early Koguryŏ stone-piled tombs at the Wangjianglou cemetery in Huanren to those found in the middle stratum of the Puyŏ cemetery site of Laoheshen in Yushu¹¹ and to those recovered from the tombs at the Xichagou cemetery in Xifeng.¹²

Finds of Han Chinese coins have also been cited as evidence for this argument. Although we may suppose, on the basis of the gold earrings and Han coins, that there was some contact with Han or Puyŏ, much more evidence is required to determine whether these cultural features in fact indicate an ethnic connection. By contrast, in stone-piled tombs the corpse was placed on the surface of the ground and then covered with stones, which distinguishes the populations on the middle and lower reaches of the Yalu River from those of China, where tombs were built so that the corpse was placed deep below the ground. Such tomb construction can be said to constitute evidence showing Koguryŏ's unique identity.

The argument that Koguryŏ developed through the influence of Puyŏ, described as a subject state of the Han, can be said to represent a leap in logic that ignores the indigenous populations of the Yalu and Hun river basins. Such arguments from Chinese scholars reflect materialistic interpretations based only on historical records stating that Chumong, Koguryŏ's founder, came southward from Puyŏ. This Chinese perspective of Koguryŏ archaeology begins with the understanding that Koguryŏ, like the other ethnic polities of China's northeastern regions, was part of Chinese history, and ultimately forms a link to China's nationalistic strategy advocating the theory of the multi-ethnic unitary state.

North Korean perspectives stand in direct opposition to those of China. In North Korean scholarship, which emphasizes the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance in the development of history, the goal of archaeological research is simply to prove that Pyongyang was the center of historical development. A clear example of this is the recent "Taedong River Culture Theory,"¹⁴ which argues that human civilization itself originated in the Taedong River valley. Koguryŏ sites are understood within the context of this theory. Therefore, Koguryŏ sites and artifacts are used as material proof that Pyongyang has always been the center of historical development. This bias is clearly illustrated through the restoration of the tombs of Tan'gun and King Tongmyŏng. King Tongmyŏng's tomb, located in Chinp'a-ri, is an earth-mounded stone chamber tomb with a base platform. While North Korea recognizes that the early Koguryŏ capital was located in Ji'an, in China, the restoration of the tomb as that of King Tongmyŏng was based on the assumption that when the capital was moved to P'yŏngyang-sŏng the tomb of the progenitor was also relocated. Therefore, the tomb became a propaganda tool for claiming legitimate succession of Koguryŏ tradition in the Pyongyang region (Figure 6).

As discussed above, while Chinese and North Korean perspectives of Koguryŏ stand in such stark contradiction, new data are used not to advance toward a more realistic understanding of Koguryŏ history, but simply as tools for emphasizing more self-centric depictions of history. The differences in perspective between these two countries have become more pronounced along with recent political changes affecting the Korean peninsula. While some South Korean scholars have adopted a nationalistic view regarding Koguryŏ, this was primarily a response intended to counter Chinese distortions of history. The majority of South Korean scholars try to remain objective and maintain an empirical approach to research based on archaeological and historical data.

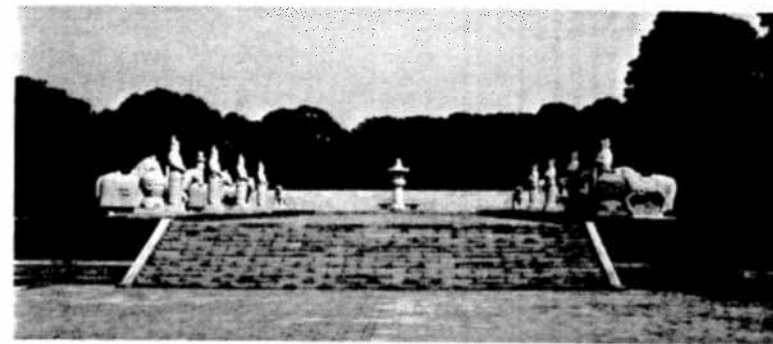


Figure 6. Tomb of King Tongmyŏng. Photo by author.

Points of Debate from Recent Research Results

Early Stone-Piled Tombs and Koguryŏ's Origins

Since they are found only on the middle reaches of the Yalu and Hun Rivers in northeastern China, stone-piled tombs are understood as a burial form unique to Koguryŏ (Figure 7). In this structure, after stones are first placed on the ground surface, the corpse is placed on top and then covered with more stones. This is very different from the Chinese method of burial in which corpses were interred underground. Interest in the origins of stone-piled tombs began with a focus on tombs built on a massive scale, such as the Taiwang and Jiangjun tombs, and early research was based on the theory of cultural diffusion (Figures 8 and 9). However, since stone-piled tombs seem to be unique to Koguryŏ, more recent efforts seek to understand their origins in relation to the formation of the Koguryŏ polity or to its tribal beginnings.

Until the 1970s, scholars thought of Koguryŏ stone-piled tombs as a product of a megalithic culture and sought their origins in the Mukpang-ni style dolmens of the Bronze Age or the piled stone burials* at Gangshang

* In this article the term "piled stone burial" 積石墓 is used to indicate an early form of burial that is less developed than the structurally complex "stone-piled tomb mound" 積石塚 that appeared in the early Koguryŏ period - Ed.

Figure 7. Koguryŏ Stone-Piled Tombs at Maxiangou,
Ji'an. Photo by Mark E. Byington.



岗上 and Loushang 楼上 in the southern part of the Liaodong peninsula.¹⁴ However, this view was criticized on the basis that a large temporal and spatial gap separates the stone-piled tomb mounds of Koguryŏ from the piled stone burials of the Liaodong peninsula and the dolmens of the northwestern part of the Korean peninsula.

From the 1980s, bronze daggers began to be excavated from stone cairns thought to be tombs dating from the early Iron Age located in an area extending eastward from the Qianshan mountain range to Ji'an.¹⁵ In particular, excavations of the piled stone burials in the Wudaoling Goumen site in Ji'an yielded slim daggers and other bronze artifacts in association with iron arrowheads.¹⁶ The Dadianzi 大甸子 and Wangjianglou 望江楼 cemeteries in Huanren also contained early piled stone burials.¹⁷ Based on such new data, some scholars seek the origin of Koguryŏ stone-piled tomb mounds in the piled stone burials built from the fourth to third centuries B.C. in the Huanren and Ji'an regions to the east of the Qianshan mountain range.¹⁸ According to this position, the communities that built the stone-piled tomb mounds in the Yalu river basin even before the Koguryŏ state was established were the proto-Koguryŏ people who later comprised the core population of the Koguryŏ state.¹⁹



Figure 8. Taiwang Tomb in Ji'an. Photo by author.



Figure 9. Jiangjun Tomb (Tomb of the General) in Ji'an. Photo by author.

Recently, piled stone burials thought to have been built between the late Warring States and the Western Han periods have been surveyed in the Gangouzi cemetery in Jilin's Changbai County (Figures 10 and 11).²⁰ These tombs consist of a stone cist, a piled stone structure in round layout, on top of which a cremation had been carried out. These features also characterize early Koguryŏ stone-piled tombs of the Huanren and Ji'an regions as well as piled stone burials in the Bronze Age cemeteries at Gangshang and Loushang in the southern part of the Liaodong peninsula. Therefore, the piled stone burials from the Gangouzi cemetery have been understood as a transitional form linking the Bronze Age piled stone burials of the Liaodong peninsula and Koguryŏ stone-piled tomb mounds. According to the excavation report, the Gangouzi tombs can be taken as confirmation that the Bronze Age piled stone burials in the southern part of the Liaodong peninsula are the origin of Koguryŏ stone-piled tomb mounds. On the other hand, pottery vessels recovered from the Gangouzi tombs have been seen as sharing characteristics with the pottery of the Xituanshan culture in Jilin.²¹ As this Bronze Age culture was the predecessor of the Puyŏ state, this view is connected with the Cholbon-Puyŏ culture theory, which sees Puyŏ as the origin of the culture of proto-Koguryŏ.

Since all three proposed points of origin for Koguryŏ's stone-piled tombs (the Bronze Age tombs in the southern part of the Liaodong peninsula, the early Iron Age piled stone burials east of the Qianshan mountain range, and the Xituanshan culture in Jilin) indicate locations in present-day China, Chinese scholars conclude that Koguryŏ history is part of Chinese history. This view is also expressed in the designation of early Koguryŏ sites as belonging to a Cholbon-Puyŏ culture.²² Since piled stone burials yielding bronze daggers are seen as Bronze Age sites of the proto-Koguryŏ period, while early Koguryŏ tombs in the Huanren, Tonghua, and Xinbin regions are seen as a combination of piled stone burials of the proto-Koguryŏ period and elements of Puyŏ culture, Koguryŏ's early material culture is therefore understood as being related to that of Puyŏ. However, in the tombs in the Laoheshen cemetery at Yushu, which represent typical Puyŏ tombs,²³ the corpse was interred below ground within a wood coffin or wood chamber set into an earthen pit, which differs fundamentally from the Koguryŏ stone-piled tomb in terms of burial style and construction materials.

By contrast, North Korean scholars understand the piled stone burials containing bronze daggers, including those in the Wudaoling Goumen site in Ji'an, as Kuryŏ sites. They argue that Kuryŏ 句麗 was a state that existed before Koguryŏ and formed between the fifth and third centuries



Figure 10. Tomb at Gangouzi. Photo by author.



Figure 11. Tomb at Gangouzi. Photo by author.

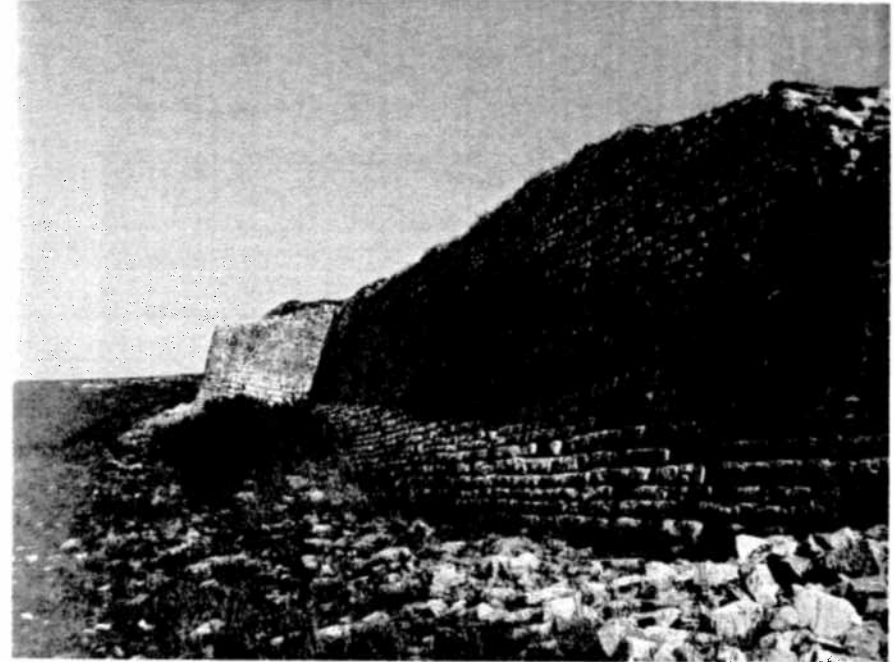
B.C., while Koguryō was established in the early-third century B.C.,¹⁴ and they emphasize that Koguryō was the first among the Three Kingdoms to develop as a state.

As a result, although sites associated with the transitional phase spanning the Bronze Age, early Koguryō, and early Iron Age have been surveyed, no methodology has been developed for using these new data to research early Koguryō. Even in South Korea, which has maintained a relatively objective stance compared with China or North Korea, the lack of full access to new data prevents South Korean scholars from developing their research. Therefore, although it is agreed that the early stone-piled tombs are key to the study of Koguryō, these tombs cannot presently be used as data for research to give specific form to the interpretations of Koguryō's origin and formation.

Fortresses, Capital Cities, and Removals of the Capital

There are four types of Koguryō fortress walls: those constructed of wedge-shaped stones, those consisting of a rammed earth base surfaced with stone, those built of a mixture of both earth and stone, and those built of rammed earth. All of these types can be found in plains regions, while fortresses built in outlying regions are generally constructed of stone. Fortresses included such features as gates and walls, while bastions and ramparts were built in the walls and towers were built in the corners, emphasizing their defensive functions. The fortress interiors contained guard posts and watchtowers built in elevated areas, along with reservoirs or wells and springs, and constructions for building sites and troop campgrounds. Moats or defensive trenches were dug to surround the fortress. Koguryō mountain fortresses can be periodized into earlier and later types with the fourth century as the point of division.¹⁵ Pre-fourth century mountain fortresses concentrate on the regions of Huanren, Ji'an, Xinbin, and Tonghua and were built to take advantage of natural geographical features such as cliffs and steep hillsides, so that only a portion of the fortress walls were built of stacked wedge-shaped stones. Because of this, early fortresses were military in nature and were used to defend the capital region and to control main transit routes. Later mountain fortresses are distributed everywhere within the scope of Koguryō's expanded territory. Such fortresses had gates built on flat land or gentle slopes, facilitating ready access, and combined the functions of serving as a residential area in normal times and as a defensive retreat in times of emergency. Many of the large-scale mountain fortresses were composed of inner and outer walls or of a main fortress with ancillary forts, and they functioned as centers of provincial administration.¹⁶

Figure 12. Koguryō Fortress at Yanzhou,
Liaoning. Photo by au



From shortly after the foundation of the state, Koguryō's capital cities contained two fortified settlements: a walled town and a mountain fortress for defensive use. This dual structure persisted throughout each of the three removals of the capital city. Scholars agree that Koguryō's capitals consisted of these two types of structures. The only remaining issue is the lack of agreement between historical texts and archaeology regarding where these capitals were located and when they were moved.

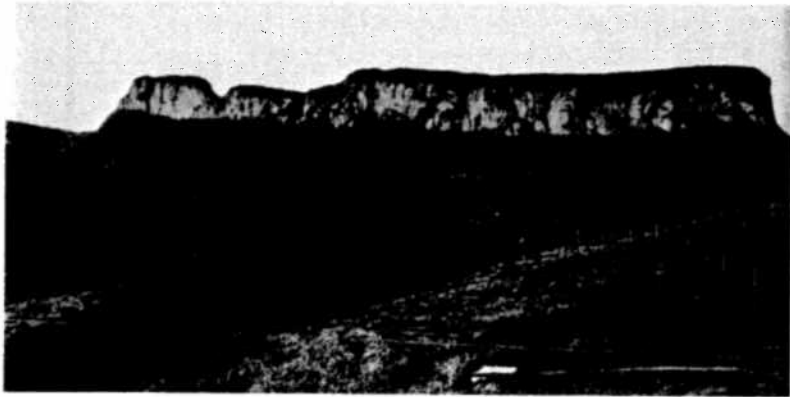


Figure 13. Wunü Mountain Fortress. Photo by author.



Figure 14. Kungnae Fortress.
Photo by author.

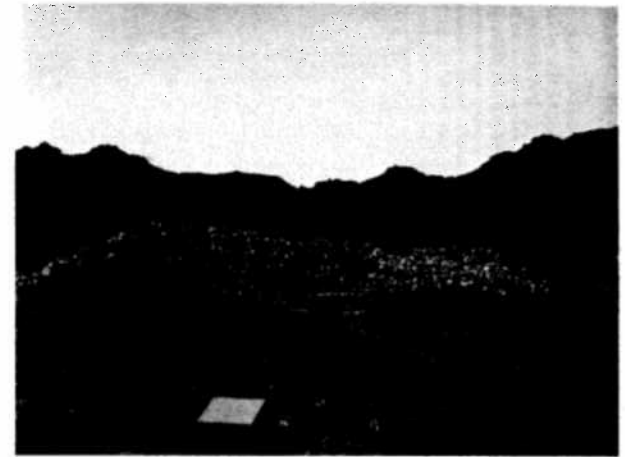
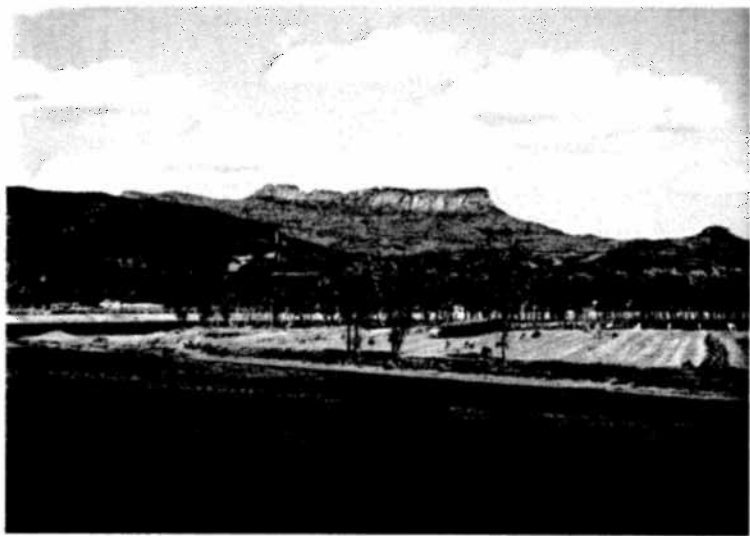


Figure 15. Hwando Mountain Fortress. Photo by author.

Cholbon, Koguryŏ's first capital, is believed to have been located in what is now the Huanren region. According to the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 and *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事, King Tongmyŏng decided to establish his capital around the Cholbon River, thought to be the present-day Hun River, which runs through Huanren County in Liaoning Province before flowing into the Yalu. For this reason, researchers seek the early capital cities of Cholbon-sŏng and Hŭlsŭnggol-sŏng in the Huanren region.

First, Hŭlsŭnggol-sŏng is believed to be Wunü Mountain Fortress 五女山城 in Huanren County (Figure 16).²⁷ Since it is located on the summit of Wunü Mountain without easy access and with only a small inner area that is unsuitable for normal residential use, scholars believe that this was the mountain fortress built as a defensive refuge for the capital city to be used in times of emergency. Excavation of the summit uncovered early Koguryŏ artifacts and features.²⁸ These findings and historical records stating that the capital was built in the mountains to the west of Cholbon lead scholars to believe that Wunü Mountain Fortress was Hŭlsŭnggol-sŏng built for the defense of Cholbon-sŏng.²⁹

Figure 16. Wunü Mountain, Hun River in Foreground. Reprinted by permission of the Northeast Asian History Foundation.



Cholbon-sŏng, the walled town of Koguryŏ's first capital,¹⁰ is thought to be one of two walled sites: Xiaguchengzi 下古城子 or Lahacheng 喇哈城.¹¹ The inscription on the Kwanggaet'o stele states that Koguryŏ's founder built a fortress on a mountain to the west of Cholbon; if this refers to the fortress ruins on Wunü Mountain, then Cholbon-sŏng must have been located to the east of Wunü Mountain Fortress. The Lahacheng walled site is located east of Wunü Mountain Fortress, but it has been submerged by the construction of the Huanren Dam. Survey reports of the site say only that Lahacheng was built of wedge-shaped stones;¹² this information alone is not enough to determine whether or not it was built in the early Koguryŏ period. Currently, Xiaguchengzi is the only site in Huanren that can be investigated as a possible location of the capital's walled town. It is situated southwest of Wunü Mountain rather than to the east and thus does not tally with the data from the Kwanggaet'o stele.¹³ However, because Xiaguchengzi is the only walled town site in this region that has produced early Koguryŏ artifacts, it is tentatively assumed to be the remains of Cholbon-sŏng (Figure 17).

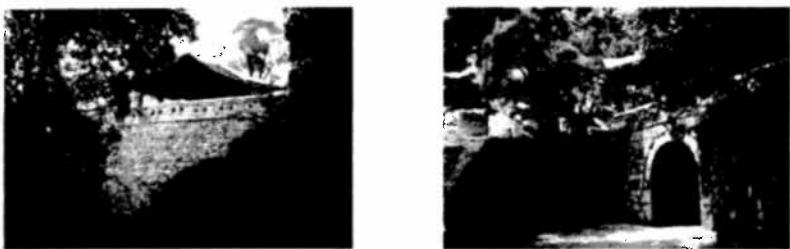
Figure 17. Xiaguchengzi Walled Site, Huanren. Photo by Mark E. Byington.

The first relocation of the capital was from Cholbon to the Kungnae region. Some scholars believe that the new capital, Winaam Fortress in Kungnae, was located in the Huanren region¹⁴ or in the Tonggou basin in Ji'an,¹⁵ but no site from either of these regions has been identified as Winaam Fortress. In addition, recent investigations of the walled site in Ji'an City and the nearby Shanchengzi Mountain Fortress site all failed to provide archaeological evidence to suggest that either walled site could have been built prior to the fourth century. This makes it difficult to place much confidence in the historical records that state that the capital was moved to Kungnae in A.D. 3. There are, however, no particular challenges to the view that the Hwando fortress appearing in records after the reign of King Yuri is to be identified with Shanchengzi Mountain Fortress and that Kungnae-sŏng is to be identified with the ancient walled site in Ji'an City.

Another problem relating to the capital during the Kungnae period concerns the locations of the P'yŏngyang fortress built in 247 and the Tonghwang fortress in P'yŏngyang to which the capital was removed in 343. It is clear that the P'yŏngyang fortress built in 247 is not the fortress located in modern Pyongyang City; however, the possibility exists that the P'yŏngyang fortress that was expanded in 334 and the Tonghwang fortress



Figure 18. Views of Pyongyang Fortress. Photos by author.



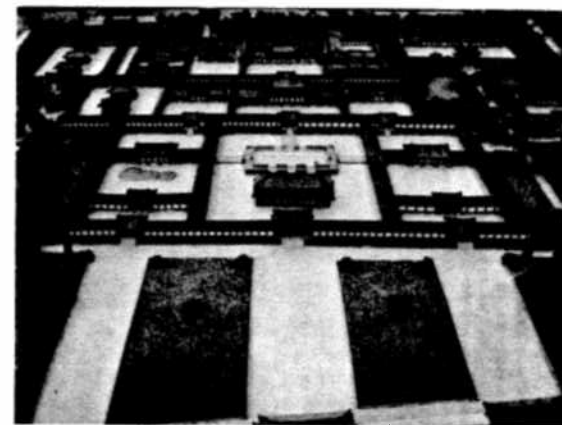
mentioned in records dated to 343 were located in northwestern Korea, since by those times Koguryŏ had already occupied regions formerly governed by the Lelang and Daifang commanderies in that area.¹⁶ Until now, there has been no active debate over the issue, but recently some scholars have suggested that the Tonghwang fortress of P'yŏngyang is to be identified with the ancient walled site at Liangren in Changchuan on the north bank of the Yalu.¹⁷ This view is connected with that which identifies Tomb 1 at Haozigou in Ji'an as the tomb of King Tongch'ŏn and finds some support in the fact that the Liangren region is a broad plain located to the east of Ji'an.¹ However, the walled site in Liangren is of earthen construction, which differs from the typical Koguryŏ fortresses constructed of stone, and the archaeological dating of the walled site does not support the idea that it was the site of Tonghwang Fortress.

The second transfer of the capital was the removal in 427 from Kungnae to P'yŏngyang-sŏng. The *Samguk sagi* states that Koguryŏ moved the capital to P'yŏngyang-sŏng in 427 and that Changan Fortress, built in 552 (and also located in the Pyongyang region), became the new capital in 586.¹⁸ From these documents, we know that there were two transfers even after the move to the Pyongyang region. Four fortress sites remain in modern Pyongyang: Taesŏng Mountain Fortress, Anhak Palace, Ch'ŏngam-ni Earthen Fortress, and Pyongyang Fortress. Taesŏng Mountain Fortress is a mountain fortress and Pyongyang Fortress combines a mountain fortress and a walled compound in a plain, while the remaining sites are all walled towns built on flat land. Pyongyang Fortress, which was a combination of mountain fortress and plains town, is believed to have been built during King Yangwŏn's reign,

¹ The king's posthumous name (東川王) indicates that he was buried in a plain to the east of the capital - Ed.

Figure 19. Scale model of Anhak Palace. Photo by author.

but it is unclear whether the earlier Anhak Palace or Ch'ŏngam-ni Fortress was the original P'yŏngyang-sŏng. North Korean scholars regard Anhak Palace and Taesŏng Mountain Fortress as the walled town that was built immediately after the removal of the capital to the Pyongyang region. However, the published data alone do not provide sufficient evidence to substantiate the claim that Anhak Palace was built immediately after the removal to P'yŏngyang. It has also been argued that Ch'ŏngam-ni Fortress was the early P'yŏngyang-sŏng because the site yielded roof tile ends similar to those recovered from tombs in Ji'an.¹⁹ The 2006 excavation of Anhak Palace conducted jointly by North and South Korean archaeologists⁴⁰ did not produce



any definitive proof that Anhak Palace was built directly after the movement of the capital to P'yŏngyang. Nevertheless, considering the relationship between Kungnae Fortress and Hwando Mountain Fortress in the Kungnae region, it is plausible that Anhak Palace was the plains town associated with Taesŏng Mountain Fortress.

Problems in Identifying Royal Tombs in Ji'an

In China, some thirteen large-scale tombs in the Ji'an region have been attributed to Koguryŏ kings who ruled from the mid-first century to the late-fifth century.⁴¹ Moreover, it has been recently argued that the tombs

Figure 20. Qianqiu Tomb (Tomb of a Thousand Autumns) in Ji'an. Photo by author.



of the first twenty-seven Koguryŏ kings (that is, all Koguryŏ kings except for the last king Pojang) can be found in the Huanren and Ji'an regions.⁴² These two positions are based on the presumption that Koguryŏ moved to the Kungnae region (i.e., Ji'an) in King Yuri's reign, but there is as yet no proof that the capital was moved to Kungnae in A.D. 3. There is also not yet enough evidence to verify the dates that would establish the designation of these sites as tombs of kings. To prove that certain Ji'an tombs are those of the first twenty-seven Koguryŏ kings, it is necessary first to prove that Koguryŏ kings who died after the removal to P'yŏngyang were returned to the former capital city for burial. Further, it is necessary to explain the nature of the three large tombs at Kangsŏ in northwestern Korea, which scholarship generally accepts as tombs of Koguryŏ kings. Without such evidence, the idea that all Koguryŏ kings were buried in China carries little weight.

The excavations of the tombs in the Ji'an region focused on survey and reconstruction and were not thorough, which raises problems for the Chinese interpretation. Further, the reports do not explain the methodology used to establish the precise dates for each of those structures determined to be royal tombs. Although it is explained that tile morphology is the basis for determining the dates of early royal tombs, given that tiles can be used over a long period, they are by themselves hardly a reliable indicator for dating the tombs. In addition, the condition of the tombs, historical records, and historical circumstances are often used to assign dates without any further verification. For example, since the Xida tomb had been completely dug out, it is identified as belonging to King Mich'ŏn, whose tomb



Figure 21. Xida Tomb (Great Western Tomb) in Ji'an. Photo by Mark E. Byington.



Figure 22. Tile Shards on Linjiang Tomb (River-Viewing Tomb) in Ji'an. Photo by Mark E. Byington.

deseccration is described in historical records (Figure 21). Also, the Taiwang tomb is identified as belonging to King Kwanggaet'o by virtue of associating it with the nearby Kwanggaet'o stele.

Another problem that must be considered when attempting to identify royal tombs is the overall system of tomb construction in Koguryō. The surveys of large-scale tombs in the Ji'an region resulted in new discoveries regarding their structure. However, in the report on the excavation and survey of Koguryō tombs in Ji'an the large scale of the tombs and their imposing locations, the roof tiles and tile ends found among the piled stones, the attendant burials, altar platforms, tomb precincts, and auxiliary facilities are all cited as evidence for assigning those tombs to kings.⁴³ However, such elements show no consistent developmental trends over time,⁴⁴ which casts doubt on the attribution of the tombs as those of kings. For example, the altar platform adjacent to some of the larger tombs began to appear from a very early period, but the construction technique does not show any development or refinement over time. There is also no evident standardization in the way attendant burials were constructed over time. In addition, there is no sequential or correlative relationship evident in the scale of the tomb precinct or in the scale and chronology of the tombs themselves. Therefore, although thirteen tombs in Ji'an have been attributed to Koguryō kings, since none of these tombs has been comprehensively investigated it is still not possible to reconstruct Koguryō's tomb system.

Nevertheless, the excavation reports of the royal tombs in Ji'an are very important to the study of Koguryō tombs. For example, the tiered structure of early royal tombs provides circumstantial evidence suggesting that tiered-style stone-piled tomb mounds developed from the construction form seen in the fourth to third century B.C. piled stone burials in the Wudaoling Goumen cemetery in Ji'an and the Gangouzi cemetery in Changbai, and that Koguryō stone-piled tombs developed from the piled stone burials of the early Iron Age. Another contribution is confirmation of the existence of roof tiles and tile ends on various tomb mounds (Figure 22). The existence of roof tiles and tile ends at the Qianqiu tomb, the Taiwang tomb, and the Jiangjun tomb has long been known, providing evidence of some construction on top of the tomb, which has been viewed as a complex consisting of a tomb and a ritual hall.⁴⁵ Moreover, the survey of royal tombs at Ji'an has shown that roof tiles begin to appear earliest on Tomb 2378 at Maxiangou, which has been dated to the first century, while tile ends have been found at the Xida tomb and Tomb 992 of Yushanxia cemetery, both of which are dated to the fourth century (Figure 23). Stones and tiles fused together by

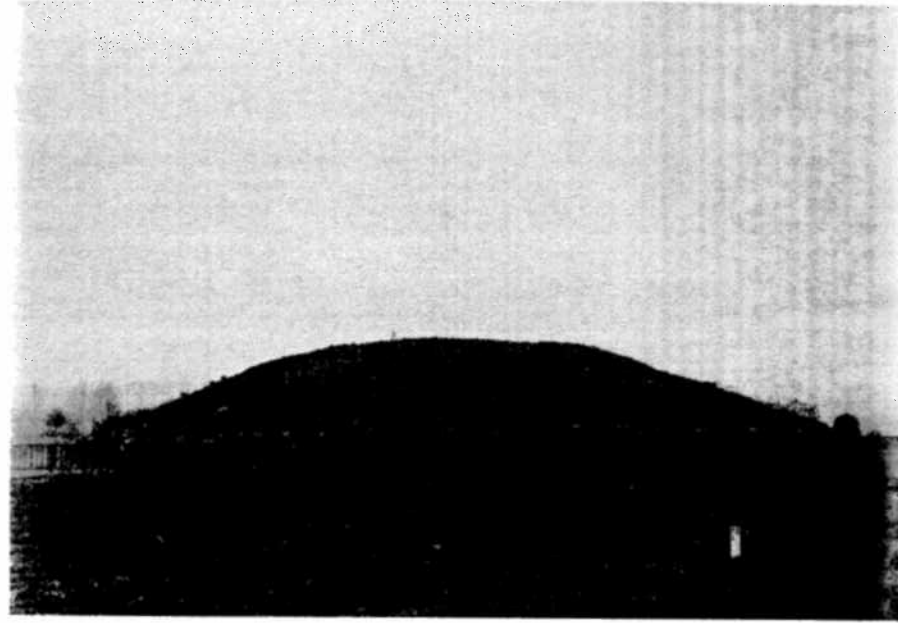


Figure 23. Tomb 992 at Yushanxia Cemetery, Ji'an. Photo by an



Figure 24. Koguryŏ Mural from the Tomb of the Four Spirits in Jilan.

fire have been recovered from the tops of royal tombs dating up to the third century, making it difficult to imagine the existence of constructions on top of the mounds. Hence, the detailed analysis of crematory rituals on top of the tombs has been suggested as a research topic to accompany the study of constructions on top of the mounds.

The Debate Surrounding the Mural Tombs

The debate over mural tombs begins with the question of their place of origin. Mural tombs are, along with stone-piled tombs, one of the representative burial forms of Koguryŏ, and until now the practice of painting murals on the walls of tombs has been understood as reflecting the influence of China. However, the construction materials of Koguryŏ mural tombs as well as the location and structure of the burial space differ from those of China. Chinese mural tombs were popularly built in the Han period with a concentration on the Central Plains, but they gradually declined from the end of the Han period. Throughout the Wei and Jin periods, the northern Chinese provinces of Gansu and Liaoning became the center of Chinese mural tombs. While the mural tombs in Gansu Province preserve the Han-period tradition of brick construction, those of Liaoning are built from stone rather than brick and do not feature murals depicting the heavenly realm.⁴⁶ Comparing the Koguryŏ mural tombs to contemporary Chinese examples, decorative elements such as lotus and 卍-shaped motifs only appear in Koguryŏ tombs and the images of the Four Spirits are depicted differently from those in Chinese tombs (Figure 24). In addition, depictions of daily life also differ from those of northern China, as well as from murals in the Han period.⁴⁷ For these reasons, it can be said that Koguryŏ mural tombs, rather than having been simply modeled after those of China, were influenced by the funerary arts of Han-period China, and that Koguryŏ tombs containing the Four Spirits motif, which differ from those of China, can be seen as a Koguryŏ reinvention.

The second debate surrounding mural tombs involves the identities of their occupants. Considering the expense of constructing a mural tomb, it is believed that these tombs were built for the Koguryŏ elite. However, the construction materials and structure as well as the mural paintings themselves differ from those of Koguryŏ's traditional stone-piled tombs. And given that most mural tombs are distributed in northwestern Korea, where the Lelang and Daifang commanderies had formerly existed, we may surmise that mural tombs had a different origin from stone-piled tombs.⁴⁸ Considering that mural tombs started appearing around the mid-fourth

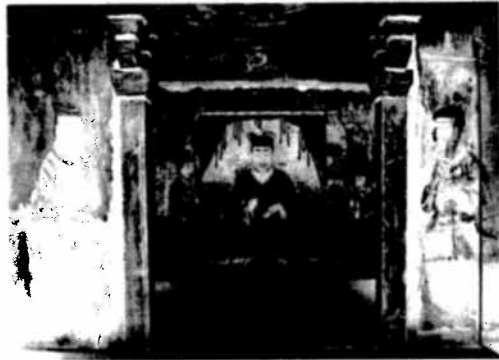


Figure 25. (right) Image of Tomb Occupant in Tomb 3 at Anak. Photo by author.

Figure 26. (below) Exterior of Tomb 3 at Anak. Photo by author.

century, and that at this time Koguryŏ kings were referred to as “Taewang” (大王), meaning “king among kings,” it appears that the mural tombs of northwestern Korea may have been those of people of Lelang and Daifang who had been incorporated into the central aristocracy of Koguryŏ.

Tomb 3 at Anak is central to the debate over the identity of tomb occupants. We know from the ink inscription discovered within the tomb that it was constructed in A.D. 357, and since the central figure named in the inscription is Dong Shou 冬壽, he is believed to have been the occupant (Figure 25). However, in North Korea, the occupant of this tomb has been variously viewed as Dong Shou, then as King Mich’ŏn, and finally as King Kogugwŏn. Recently, following the excavation of Tomb 3 at T’aesŏng-ni, which has the same structure as that of Tomb 3 at Anak, North Korean scholars identified this tomb as that of King Mich’ŏn⁴⁹ and emphasized that Tomb 3 at Anak must have belonged to King Kogugwŏn. Because Tomb 3 at Anak is the largest-scale mural tomb known and its paintings are the most elaborate examples yet found,



North Korean scholars argue that it must have belonged to a king, specifically King Kogugwŏn, who was killed during a battle with Paekche. If Tomb 3 at Anak is identified as that of a king, then Tomb 3 at T’aesŏng-ni, which shares its structure, must also

be considered a royal tomb. However, for Tomb 3 at Anak to be the tomb of King Kogugwŏn, several problems must be resolved. First, we must assume that Koguryŏ could not have had a practice of returning the deceased to his home region for burial since Kogugwŏn died when the capital was still at Kungnae. Second, given that burial practices tend strongly toward conservatism, we would have to explain what could cause the abandonment of the traditional stone-piled tomb in favor of a mural tomb. Third, we must explain how Tomb 3 at Anak could be related to the grandiose stone-piled tombs of Ji’an. Only when such problems are resolved can the claim that Tomb 3 at Anak and Tomb 3 at T’aesŏng-ni are Koguryŏ royal tombs be regarded as plausible.

Recently Tomb 1 of the Koguryŏ tombs at the Shijia cemetery in Fushun was confirmed as a single chamber tomb built of stone containing murals depicting daily life.⁵⁰ This tomb is located in the westernmost region of Koguryŏ territory near the Gaoer mountain fortress. In terms of scale, structure, and method of construction, Tomb 1 at Shijia is different from the mural tombs in northwestern Korea or the Ji’an and Huanren regions in China. Because of this difference, further research regarding the occupant of the tomb is necessary.

Expectations Regarding the Study of Artifacts

Because most Koguryŏ artifacts have been excavated from fourth- and fifth-century tombs, some fragmentary research on tomb artifacts has been accomplished, but such studies have not been especially active. However, thanks to Chinese excavations of Koguryŏ sites, various types of Koguryŏ materials and artifacts have been revealed.

Koguryŏ pottery includes gray, black, and white vessels made of clay fired at high temperatures. Besides four-handled long-necked jars, long-necked urns, long-necked jars, deep bowls, elongated jars, two-handled jars, globular jars, straight-mouthed jars, wide-mouthed jars, steamers, pots, shallow bowls, cups, plates, and dishes—all of which are flat-bottomed vessels—cylinder-shaped tripods, chamber pots, and ceramic stoves have also been found.⁵¹ In North Korea, Ronam-ni type pottery is regarded as the prototype for Koguryŏ pottery. However, Ronam-ni type pottery combines a variety of techniques and is interpreted as being a modification of prehistoric Korean pottery influenced by Chinese gray ware.⁵² When looking at the development of Koguryŏ pottery through the example of the four-handled long-necked jar, one observes a gradual evolution from a globular shape to one with pronounced shoulders, showing an overall tendency

of the body to grow longer and narrower over time (Figure 28).⁵³ Ceramic stoves are found in tombs along with four-handled long-necked jars, pots, and plates; they have a square opening set off-center on one of the longer sides, with a rounded opening on the top to hold a pot, opposite of which is a chimney flue. This kind of stove is different from those found in China or Lelang and is of a style unique to Koguryŏ.

Glazed pottery is dark and appears in opaque brownish-green and brownish-yellow varieties.⁵⁴ Since glazed long-necked pots, cups, steamers, cooking pots, and ceramic stoves have primarily been found in tombs, it is very likely that they were produced as grave goods. Four pieces of celadon were excavated from Tomb 3319 in the Yushanxia cemetery.⁵⁵ The shape of the vessel and the color of the glaze are the same as those of the Eastern Jin-period pottery recovered from Tomb 4 of the Guojiashan cemetery in Nanjing. This and the inscribed roof tile end, bearing a cloud motif and the characters 丁乙, found in the same tomb, suggest that Tomb 3319 was built in A.D. 357. In addition to these examples, a white porcelain pot was excavated from Tomb 2208 of the Yushanxia cemetery site.⁵⁶

Regarding bronze vessels, tripods and handled tripods similar to Eastern Jin-period examples have been excavated from Tomb 96 of Qixingshan and Tomb 68 of Yushanxia cemetery.⁵⁷ In addition, examples of bronze cooking pots, steamers, and covered bowls have been unearthed from tombs as well as habitation sites. Covered bowls with cross-shaped lid handles have also been excavated from Silla tombs such as the southern mound of Great Tomb at Hwangnam, Ünnyŏngch'ŏng (Silver Bell Tomb), Ch'ŏnmach'ŏng (Heavenly Horse Tomb), and Houch'ŏng, and they have been used, along with horse gear and ornaments, as data for comparative studies of Koguryŏ and Silla.⁵⁸ Among bronze vessels, bronze cauldrons, a style of cooking vessel associated with northern nomadic traditions, have been excavated in Ji'an and Linjiang.⁵⁹

Koguryŏ armor, horse trappings, and personal ornaments have been viewed primarily in terms of their relationship to those of the Three Yan states in northern China.⁶⁰ Depictions of visored helmets, neck guards, body armor, leg and shin guards, as well as arm protectors have been found in tomb murals, but the only actual specimens that have been excavated are lamellar armor consisting of gilt-bronze or iron scales attached to a leather base.⁶¹ The only actual specimens of horse armor were excavated from Tomb 992 in the Yushanxia cemetery, but semi-circular and three-leaf shaped horse visors are also depicted in mural paintings.⁶² Other horse trappings that have been excavated include bits, stirrups, saddles, and bridle



Figure 27. Koguryŏ Pottery Types. Reprinted by permission of the *Northeast Asian History Foundation*.

ornaments, while metal decorative ornaments for quivers are known from Tomb 1 in Maxiangou. Horse trappings began to be included as burial goods at the end of the third century, as evidenced by the bits discovered in Tomb 242-2 at Wanbaoding cemetery in Ji'an, and are common in tombs from the mid-fourth century onward. After the fifth century, horse trappings are also found at habitation sites such as Bawangchao Mountain Fortress in Jilin Province and the hilltop forts of Ach'asan in Seoul. After the sixth century they were no longer used as burial goods. Comparative studies of horse trappings have focused primarily on those of Koguryŏ, the Three Yan states, Silla, Kaya, and Wa.⁶⁴

Koguryŏ ornaments recovered from tombs include metal crowns and crown decorations, earrings, belt segments, bracelets, and shoes.⁶⁴ The feathering technique and form and the three-leaf motif used in the gilt-bronze crown and wing-shaped crown decorations recovered from the Taiwang tomb influenced crown decorations of Silla.⁶⁵ Koguryŏ earrings were made of both large and small metal rings. Of the small ring styles, earrings with a sphere composed of small linked rings, petal-shaped earrings, and cone-shaped pendulum earrings constructed by soldering are characteristic Koguryŏ styles. Large ring-shaped earrings from Tomb 1 at Maxiangou in Ji'an are very similar to those from the northern mound of the Great Tomb at Hwangnam in Kyŏngju. Since this type of earring was also excavated at Nŭng-dong in Seoul, as well as at Chinch'ŏn and Ch'ŏngwŏn, it is believed that Koguryŏ earrings and their manufacturing techniques influenced those of early Silla.⁶⁶

There are two types of Koguryŏ bracelet, those with embossed designs on the exterior and those without any decoration. In cross-section, Koguryŏ bracelets first appear as either circular or oval and over time become square or rectangular. There are also different styles of belt ornaments, one being a Jin style and another style featuring belt links with suspended heart-shaped pendants.⁶⁷ Jin-style belt ornaments have been found primarily in fourth-century stone-piled tombs concentrated on the Ji'an region, but the form with waist pendants, such as that discovered at Tomb 3296 at the Yushanxia cemetery, has not been found in any Jin-style belt ornaments belonging to the Jin or Three Yan states. Belt links with suspended heart-shaped pendants have also been excavated from habitation sites, but appear later than Jin-style ornaments. This style was widely used by Paekche and Silla from the mid-sixth century until the first half of the seventh century. Additionally, although in the *Beishi* 北史 and the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 Koguryŏ people are said to have worn yellow leather shoes, those Koguryŏ shoes that



Figure 28. Four-Handled Long-Necked Jar from Mongch'ŏn Walled Site, Seoul. Reprinted by permission of the Northeast Asian History Foundation.

have been excavated in tombs have gilt-bronze bottoms with square spikes. Such shoes were used in funeral ceremonies in each of the Three Kingdoms.

In addition to the artifacts described above, hoes, sickles, and axes have been found in stone-piled tombs. These finds, as well as large tools such as plowshares, iron hoes, and sickles from stone chamber tombs, have led to studies on agricultural production, particularly triangular plowshares or rakes and iron hoes appearing after the fourth century, which differ from Chinese examples and are unique to Koguryŏ.⁶⁸ The most common Koguryŏ weapons were arrowheads in various shapes. Iron arrowheads shaped like axe blades, which are unique to Koguryŏ, were in continuous use from a very early period. Arrowheads developed along with spears. Spears appear with slender iron heads shaped like swallow-tails while others have a base attached to the iron head. Large swords and large ring-pommel swords began to appear as grave goods from the second century. These iron swords and spears have been found along with horse trappings and armor in tombs primarily dating from the fourth century and later.⁶⁹

Studies of roof tiles have mainly been carried out by South Korean scholars as the number of investigations of fortresses and ancillary forts in the southern part of the Korean peninsula has increased.⁷⁰ Koguryŏ tiles are gray or red in color; on their interior faces are impressions of fabric, while their outer faces contain cord marks or lattice patterns. Because roof tiles have been collected from the mounds of early-period stone-piled tombs without a base platform, it is thought that they were used from Koguryŏ's early period. After the middle period red tiles were widely used, and these have been understood to have been associated with kingly authority.⁷¹ The use of roof tile ends appears to have begun in the fourth century. They are either circular or semi-circular in shape and were decorated with curled clouds, lotus, honeysuckle, or monster face motifs.⁷² Tile ends with curled cloud patterns have been recovered from the Kungnae-sŏng site in Ji'an City and from massive stone-piled tombs with tiered base platforms, some of which yield inscriptions dating them to the early-to-late-fourth century, providing a basis for the establishment of a chronology for the tombs. Tile ends with lotus patterns have been excavated from the Qianqiu tomb, the Taiwang tomb, the Jiangjun tomb, Tomb 1 of Kyŏngsin-ni, and Tomb 2 of Changchuan, as well as from the sites of Kungnae-sŏng and Hwando Mountain Fortress and the Pyongyang region. The lotus-pattern tile ends are divided into either six or eight sections by a double- or triple-line border, and the center of the tile features either embossed or Y-shaped lines. The tile ends with lotus designs, which replaced those with curled

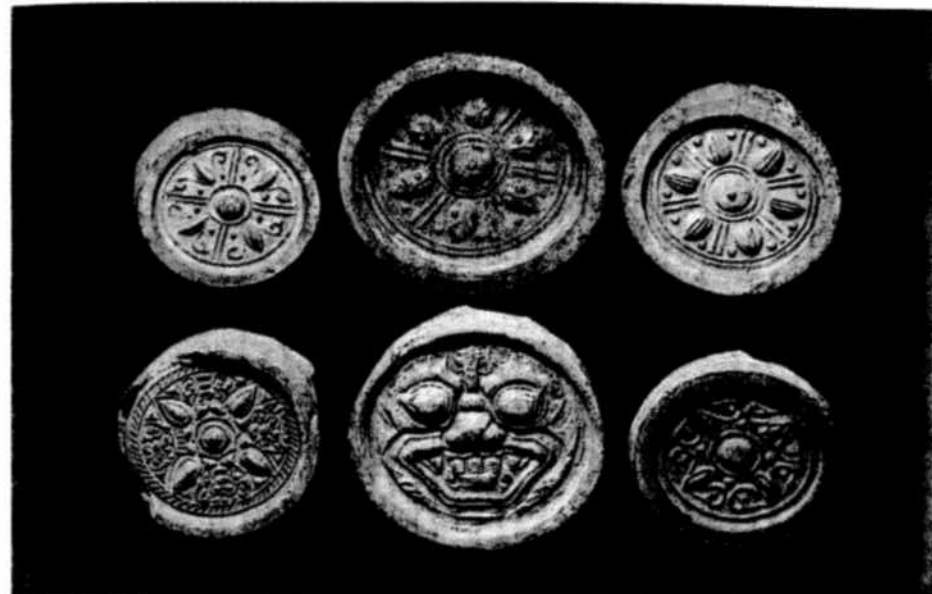


Figure 29. Koguryŏ Tile Ends. Reprinted by permission of the Northeast Asian History Foundation.



Figure 30.
Koguryŏ Tile End
with Monster Face
Pattern. Reprinted
by permission of
the Northeast Asian
History Foundation.

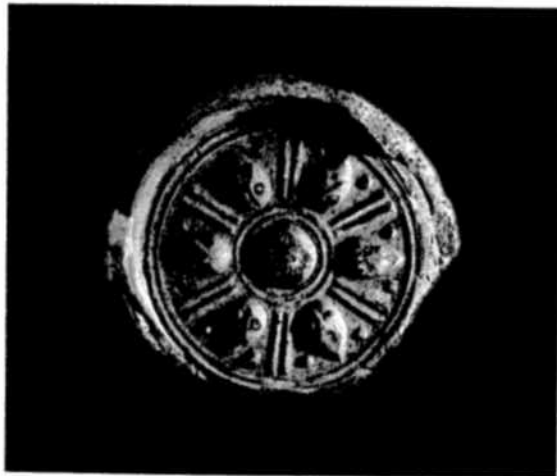


Figure 31.
Koguryŏ Tile
End with Lotus
Pattern. Reprinted
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Asian History
Foundation.

cloud designs, came into widespread use at the end of the fourth century in connection with the advent of Buddhism in Koguryŏ.⁷³ A large number of bricks were excavated from the Kŭmgang temple and Chŏngnŭng temple sites in Pyongyang, and bricks were excavated along with roof tiles from the Dongtaizi building site in Ji'an. Bricks are square, rectangular, triangular, or fan-shaped and were decorated with cord marks, rhomboid patterns, and lotus designs.

Toward an Advancement of Koguryŏ Archaeological Research

Scholars generally accept that Koguryŏ was the first of the Three Kingdoms to develop as an early state on the Korean peninsula and that it led the development of the material culture of the Three Kingdoms. This was possible because Koguryŏ was located in a very advantageous geopolitical location that facilitated access to the advanced culture of the continent. This perspective of Koguryŏ is attested by large-scale stone-piled tombs such as the Taiwang tomb and Jiangjun tomb and mural tombs depicting Four Spirits motifs such as the Great Tomb at Kangsŏ. Koguryŏ has therefore become the standard for interpreting and dating the cultural remains of Paekche, Silla, and Kaya. The great accumulation of archaeological data from all parts of the Korean peninsula since the 1980s has prompted reconsideration of the cultural evolutionary perspective that saw only a one-way influence of the culture of the continent on the formation and development of Koguryŏ, Paekche, Silla, and Kaya. We can no longer deny the influence of Koguryŏ, as well as the continent, on the material culture of the Three Kingdoms.

Although the Koguryŏ archaeological data accumulated so far are not rich enough to make a constructive contribution to the reconstruction of Koguryŏ history, the results of research on Koguryŏ archaeology have provided evidence for understanding the processes of Koguryŏ's growth and development. From the stone-piled tombs in the Yalu and Hun River valleys we can trace the evolution of Koguryŏ from a minor polity to an early state. And through the differentiation of stone-piled tombs according to their outer form and scale we can infer the existence of Koguryŏ's powerful kings. Moreover, through the process of change in the forms of various tombs, such as the stone pile, earth mound, and mural tombs, which co-existed in the fourth and fifth centuries, we can also know that Koguryŏ attained a centralized government with a king occupying the paramount position.

Nevertheless, one problem that remains unresolved is the incongruity between historical documents and archaeological data. A representative

example is the matter of the removals of the capital and the locations of each of the capital cities. The excavation of Wunü Mountain Fortress, widely accepted as the site of Hülšunggol-söng, failed to reveal any concrete evidence of early Koguryŏ activity; instead, according to excavation results, the site was primarily active during the fourth and fifth centuries. Similarly, the variety of different arguments regarding the removal of Koguryŏ's capital to Kungnae is a result of the inability of archaeological data to corroborate historical documents. This kind of problem, which one often encounters in historical archaeology, centers on the question of whether to grant more weight to archaeological data or to historical records, and will likely continue until enough archaeological data have accumulated.

To solve this problem and use archaeological materials to reconstruct Koguryŏ history, archaeological research that until now has mainly focused on the areas of Koguryŏ's capitals must be expanded to include the provincial regions. Further, since one of the most urgent tasks in Koguryŏ archaeological research is the provision of a reliable chronology, full-scale excavation of sites should be conducted in order to understand the stratigraphy of each site's features and artifacts, especially given that Chinese and North Korean stratigraphic work is likely to miss certain changes through time. Further, there is a need for more comprehensive excavation reports. We cannot understand the overall condition of a site if reports cover only certain representative artifacts and features. There is also a need for site accessibility and joint excavation projects. This has not yet occurred because of the closed nature of historical perspectives in China and North Korea. Open access to sites and joint excavations would provide an opportunity to overcome differences in historical perspective and would solve the problem of securing objective data, which has been a major obstacle for archaeological studies in South Korea. If an objective reconstruction of Koguryŏ could be attained, China's recent distortions of history could be corrected.

Notes

¹ Kang Hyŏn-suk 강현숙, "Koguryŏ kobun" 고구려고분 [Koguryŏ Tombs], in *Che 27-ae Han'guk Kogohak Chŏnguk Tŏchŏe—Koguryŏ kogohak ūi che minje* 제27회 한국고고학전국대회 고구려 고고학의 계몽제 [The 27th Plenary Conference of Korean Archaeology—Some Problems in Koguryŏ Archaeology], ed., Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe 韓國考古學會 (Seoul: Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, 2003): 22.

² Ji'anxian Wenwu Baoguan suo 集安县文物保管所, "Ji'an faxian qingtong duanjian mu" 集安发现青铜短剑墓 [A Bronze Dagger Tomb Discovered in Ji'an], *Kaogu* 考古, no. 5, 1981: 467-468, 470.

³ Piao Runwu 朴润武, "Changbaixian Gangouzi mudi diaocha" 长白县干沟子墓地调查 [Investigation of the Gangouzi Cemetery in Changbai County], in *Zhongguo kaogu jicheng—Dongbei juan* 中国考古集成·东北卷 [Compendium of Chinese Archaeology—Northeast Volume], eds., Sun Jinji 孙进己, Feng Yongqian 冯永谦, and Su Tianjun 苏天钧 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997): 870-873; Jilinsheg Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 吉林省文物考古研究所, "Jilin Changbaixian Gangouzi mudi fajue jianbao" 吉林长白县干沟子墓地发掘简报 [Summary Report on the Excavation of the Gangouzi Cemetery in Jilin's Changbai County], *Kaogu* 考古, no. 8, 2003: 45-66; Sun Renjie 孙仁杰, Chi Yong 迟勇, and Zhang Dianjia 张殿甲, "Yalujiang shangliuyu youan kaogu diaocha" 鸭绿江上流域右岸考古调查 [Archaeological Survey of the Right Bank of the Upper Reaches of the Yalu River], *Dongbei shidi* 东北史地, no. 5, 2004: 17-23.

⁴ Guojia Wenwuju 国家文物局, ed., "Tonghua Wanfabozi yizhi" 通化万发拨子遗址 [The Wanfabozi Site in Tonghua], in *1999 Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 1999中国重要考古发现 [Important Archaeological Discoveries in China in 1999], ed., Guojia Wenwuju 国家文物局 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2001): 26-30.

⁵ Zhang Fuyou 张福有, Sun Renjie 孙仁杰, and Chi Yong 迟勇, "Ji'an Haozigou mudi diaocha yu Dongchuanwangling kao" 集安蒿子沟墓地调查与东川王陵考 [A Survey of the Haozigou Cemetery in Ji'an and a Study of the Tomb of King Tongch'ŏn], *Dongbei shidi* 东北史地, no. 3, 2006: 5-8.

⁶ Liaoningsheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 辽宁省文物考古研究所 and Fushunshi Bowuguan 抚顺市博物馆, "Liaoning Fushunshi Shijia yizhi fajue jianbao" 辽宁抚顺市施家遗址发掘简报 [Summary Report on the Excavation of the Shijia Site in Liaoning's Fushun City], *Kaogu* 考古, no. 10, 2007: 29-41.

⁷ Ch'oe Chong-t'aek 최종택, "Kogohak sang ūro pon Koguryŏ ūi Han'gang yuyŏk chinch'ul kwa Paekche" 고고학상으로 본 고구려의 한강유역 진출과 백제 [An Archaeological Perspective of Koguryŏ's Advance into the Han River Region and Paekche], *Paekche yŏn'gu* 백제연구 28, 1999: 135-170; Ch'oe Chang-yŏl 최장열, "Han'gang pujan Koguryŏ poru ūi ch'ukcho sigi wa kü söngkyŏk" 한강북안 고구려 보루의 축조시기와 그 성격 [The Period of Construction of Koguryŏ Forts on the Northern Bank of the Han River and Their Characteristics], *Sŏul Taehakkyo söksa hagwi nonmun* 서울대학교 석사학위논문 [Seoul National University Master's Thesis], 2001; Sim Kwang-ju 심광주, "Kyŏnggi-do chiyŏk Koguryŏ yujŏk ūi yŏn'gu hyŏnhwang kwa kwaje" 경기도지역 고구려유적의 연구현황과 과제 [An Overview of the State of Research on Koguryŏ Sites in Kyŏnggi Province], *Kyŏnggi chiyŏk Koguryŏ yujŏk chŏngbi hwaryong ūl wihan haksul t'ŏronhoe* 경기지역 고

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⁹ Tongbuga Yŏksa Chaedan 동북아역사재단, *Koguryŏ Anbakkung chosa pogosŏ 2006* 고구려안학궁조사보고서 2006 [Report on the 2006 Excavation of Anhak Palace] (Seoul: Tongbuga Yŏksa Chaedan, 2007).

¹⁰ Wang Mianhou 王绵厚, "Zailun Liaodong 'erjiang' he 'erhe' shangliu qingtong wenhua yu Gaogouli qiyuan" 再论辽东“二江”和“二河”上流青铜文化与高句丽起源 [A Reconsideration of the Bronze Culture of the Upper Reaches of the Two Rivers and the Origins of Koguryŏ], *Gaogouli yu Huimo yanjiu* 高句丽与濊貊研究 [Studies of Koguryŏ and Yemaek] (Harbin: Haerbin Chubanshe, 2005): 37.

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¹⁴ Chŏng Ch'an-yŏng 정찬영, "Kiwŏn 4-segi kkaji ūi Koguryŏ myoje e kwanhan yŏn'gu" 기원4세기까지의 고구려 묘제에 관한 연구 [A Study of Koguryŏ Tombs Until the Fourth Century A.D.], *Kogo minsok nonmunjip 5* 고고민속논문집 5 [Collected Articles on Archaeology and Folklore 5] (Pyongyang: Sahoe Kwahagwŏn Kogohak Yŏnguso, 1973): 4-62; Sahoe Kwahagwŏn Kogohak Yŏnguso 사회과학원 고고학연구소, *Chosŏn kogohak kaeyo* 조선고고학개요 [Summary of Korean Archaeology] (Pyongyang: Kwahak Paek kwa Sajŏn Ch'ulp'ansa, 1977).

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¹⁶ Zhang Xueyan 张雪岩, "Ji'an qingtong duanjianmu ji xiangguan wenti" 集安青铜短剑墓及相关问题 [Bronze Dagger Tombs in Ji'an and Related Issues], in *Gaogouli yanjiu wenji* 高句丽研究文集 [Compendium of Koguryŏ Studies], eds., Geng Tiehua 耿铁华 and Sun Renjie 孙仁杰 (Yanji: Yanbian Daxue Chubanshe, 1993): 89-97.

¹⁷ Liang Zhilong 梁志龙 and Wang Junhui 王俊辉, "Liaoning Huanren chutu qingtong yiwu muzang ji xiangguan wenti" 辽宁桓仁出土青铜遗物墓葬及相关问题 [Bronze-yielding Tombs in Huanren, Liaoning, and Related Issues], in *Zhongguo kaogu jicheng—Dongbei juan* 中国考古集成—东北卷 [Compendium of Chinese

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²⁸ According to the results of the excavation of Wūnū Mountain Fortress, the third cultural stratum belonged to early Koguryŏ, but pottery of the same early Koguryŏ style has been excavated at Kungnae-sŏng and from the fourth-century tombs in Ji'an. It probably has a very wide time range. See Liaoningsheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 辽宁省文物考古研究所, *Wunūshancheng* 五女山城 [Wūnū Mountain Fortress] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2004).

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³⁶ These references are all to be found in the Wŏnmun 原文 volume of *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, Yi Pyŏngdo edition, 2 volumes (Seoul: Ŭryu Munhwasa, 1977). For the 247 construction of Pyŏngyang-sŏng, see p. 158 (Tŏngch'ŏn 21:2); for the 343 removal to Tonghwang-sŏng, see p. 165 (Kogugwŏn 13:7); for the 334 expansion of Pyŏngyang-sŏng, see p. 164 (Kogugwŏn 4:8).

³⁷ Zhang Fuyou 张福有, "Gaogouli diyi ge Pingrangcheng Ji'an Liangmin ji guo zhi dongbei dazhen—Xincheng" 高句丽第一个平壤城集安良民即国之东北大镇新城 [Koguryŏ's First Pyŏngyang-sŏng, Liangmin in Ji'an as the Great Garrison of the Northeast—Sin-sŏng], *Dongbei shidi* 东北史地, no. 4, 2004: 11-17.

³⁸ See *Samguk sagi*: for the construction of Changan-sŏng, see p. 178 (Yangwŏn 8); for the transfer of the capital to Changan-sŏng, see p. 180 (Pyŏngwŏn 28).

³⁹ Sekino Tadashi 関野貞, "Kōkuri no Heijō oyobi Chōanjo ni tsuite" 高句麗の平壤及び長安城に就いて [On Koguryŏ's Pyŏngyang and Changan-sŏng], in *Chōsen no kenchiku to seijutsu* 朝鮮の建築と藝術 [Korean Architecture and Art], ed., Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1941).

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⁴⁴ Kang Hyŏn-suk 강현숙, "Chungguk Killimsŏng Chiban Koguryŏ wangnŭng ūi kujo e taehayŏ" 중국 길림성 집안 고구려 왕릉의 구조에 대하여 [Regarding the Structure of Koguryŏ Royal Tombs in Ji'an, Jilin Province], *Han'guk kodaesa yŏn'gu* 韩国古代史研究 41, 2006: 5-45.

⁴⁵ Geng Tiehua 耿铁华, "Gaogouli mushang jianzhu jiqi xingzhi" 高句丽墓上建筑及其性质 [Constructions on Top of Koguryŏ Tombs and Their Character], in *Gaogouli yanjiu wenji* 高句丽研究文集 [Compendium of Koguryŏ Studies], eds., Geng Tiehua 耿铁华 and Sun Renjie 孙仁杰 (Yanji: Yanbian Daxue Chubanshe, 1993): 98-112.

⁴⁶ Kang Hyŏn-suk 강현숙, "Koguryŏ wa Chungguk pukpang ūi 4-5-segi pyŏkhwabun pigyo" 고구려와 중국 북방의 4-5세기 벽화분 비교 [Comparison of Mural Tombs of Koguryŏ and Fourth and Fifth Century Northern China], *Koguryŏ Yŏn'gu Chaedan ch'ŏngsŏ* 6 고구려연구재단총서 6 [Koguryŏ Research Foundation Report 6] (Seoul: Koguryŏ Yŏn'gu Chaedan, 2004): 11-48.

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