EARLY KOREA

VOLUME TWO

THE SAMHAN PERIOD IN KOREAN HISTORY

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Editor's Introduction 7

Featured Articles—
The Samhan Period in Korean History

The Formation and Development of the Samhan
Yi Hyunkat 17

The Interregional Relations and Developmental Processes of Samhan Culture
Lee Jae hyun 66

Problems Concerning the Basic Historical Documents Related to the Samhan
Ju Bo Don 95

Sources in Translation
The Account of the Han in the Sang won zi—An Annotated Translation
Mark E. Byington 125

Studies on Early Korean History & Archaeology

Tomb at the Taho-ri Site in Ch'ang won
Yi Young Hoon 155

Studies from the Field

Dr. Kim Chae won and Professor Kim Won-yong and Their Contributions to Art History
Ahn Hui joon 179

About the Authors 205
In this second volume of *Early Korea* we continue to explore the early (pre-tenth century) history and archaeology of the Korean peninsula and surrounding regions through the presentation of selected scholarly works. This series of publications, produced by the Early Korea Project at Harvard University, is designed to provide up-to-date scholarship focused on early Korean history and archaeology in the English language in an effort to address the recognized underdevelopment of these fields in Western academia. The Early Korea Project seeks to develop a viable foundation for the study of these subjects in the English language through the establishment of working relationships with scholars in Korea and elsewhere, the organization of academic events, and the publication of the results of these activities. As one of these publications, *Early Korea* is an edited serial featuring a collection of scholarly articles, primarily in translation, each intended to address specific lacunae in the field in English. The articles in these pages are normally written especially for a Western readership though in some instances certain articles previously published in Korean for Korean readers have been selected for publication in English translation.

Each volume of *Early Korea* includes articles centered on a featured special theme, along with individual articles representing scholarship on various topics in early Korean history and archaeology. There is a section for articles written about the academic fields in Korea, including studies on how the fields developed and how they function, biographies of influential scholars and institutions, and other relevant studies intended to introduce these fields to Western readers. Lastly, beginning with the present volume we include a section for the annotated translation of certain historical texts relevant to the study of early Korean history. All together, these collections of articles are intended to address a variety of issues fundamental to the study of early Korean history and archaeology.
The featured theme of the present volume is the Samhan period (also called the Proto-Three Kingdoms period) of Korean history, generally understood as the period extending from about 500 B.C. to approximately 500 A.D., though some scholars place the start of this range a century or two later. Not only is this period poorly understood in English-language scholarship, it is a field just beginning to develop in Korea, where it has become the subject of much academic debate. As described in some of the articles in this volume, research on the history of the Samhan, or Three Han polities, in the southern part of the Korean peninsula, has been made particularly difficult by the fact that the few surviving historical documents that describe these polities present radically different pictures. The fact that accounts of the Samhan recorded in early Chinese dynastic histories are themselves at variance with one another in certain key respects regarding these polities is cause enough for confusion. However, the early records in the Korean Samguk sagi, a twelfth-century compilation of earlier records of unspecified origin, appear to present a view of the southern part of the Korean peninsula that is utterly irreconcilable with the descriptions of the same period in the Chinese sources and is moreover at odds with what archaeological data appear to reveal. Such differences naturally have produced a variety of conflicting schools of scholarship in Korea, with some scholars crediting the Korean sources over the Chinese, others preferring to regard the Chinese sources as more reliable, and a third group attempting to make balanced use of both types of source materials. More recently, the results of archaeological excavations have begun to introduce a great deal of new data relevant to the study of the Samhan period, which is prompting an overall reconsideration of our understanding of this period and of its importance in the history of the Korean peninsula and northeast Asia in general.

Part of this reconsideration involves periodization and attempting to fit the Samhan into the orderly presentation of Korean history. Traditional Korean historiography prior to the twentieth century had no established place for the Samhan as a discrete part of Korean history. This is primarily because the Samguk sagi, which came to represent the orthodox view of peninsular history from the first century B.C. to the tenth century A.D., described the southern regions of the peninsula from the end of the first century B.C., as dominated by the kingdoms of Paekche and Silla (traditionally established in 57 B.C. and 57 B.C., respectively), between which the independent state of Kaya polities existed until they were absorbed into one or the other of the kingdoms by the sixth century. Although the Samguk sagi makes mention of Mahan, Chinhan, and Pyōnhan, these are in general depicted as earlier polities that were destroyed or annexed during the first century A.D. By contrast, Chinese histories such as the Sanguo zhi and Hua Han shu describe the Samhan polities in detail as still existing in the mid-third century A.D., while making no mention of Paekche, Silla, and Kaya as independent kingdoms. Since the relevant sections of the Samguk sagi do not allow for the independent existence of the Samhan polities from the first century B.C. to about 500 A.D., this period came to represent the early phase of the histories of Paekche and Silla, and no Samhan period could be accommodated within this framework.

Korean historiography did acknowledge the existence of a polity called Chosŏn that existed in the northwestern part of the peninsula prior to the appearance of the three kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla. Chinese sources such as the Shi ji and Sanguo zhi describe in some detail events related to Chosŏn, including an early-second-century B.C. account of Wei Man, a native of the Yan state who attacked Chosŏn and became its ruler, displacing its previous king Chun, who is said to have fled southward to become the king of Han. If authentic, this would seem to be the earliest historical reference to the Han polities in the southern part of the peninsula. Several decades later, in 108 B.C., the Chinese Han empire destroyed Chosŏn and replaced it with the commandery of Lelang, based at modern Pyongyang. Three other commanderies were at the same time established in the regions surrounding Lelang, though by 75 B.C. these had all been reorganized, leaving Lelang governing the former territory of Chosŏn in the Taedong river basin, a portion of the eastern coast around Wonsan Bay, and the region around the Chaeryŏng river basin in modern Hwanghae Province. The vast peninsular regions to the south and east of the last-mentioned region would have been occupied by the Han polities, including the modern provinces of Kyŏnggi, Ch'ŏngch'ŏng, Cholla, Kyongsang, and, perhaps, part of Kangwŏn.

As described above, the Samguk sagi states that these southern regions came under the control of Silla and Paekche from 37 B.C. and 18 B.C. However, the conflicting data surviving in the Chinese sources, principally the Sanguo zhi, along with newly acquired archaeological data, present strong support for the argument that Paekche and Silla could not have taken shape as centralized kingdoms until much later: no earlier than the late-third century for Paekche and the mid-fourth century for Silla. Further, close analyses of the contents of the Samguk sagi reveal internal contradictions that may be indicative of chronological distortion. While many scholars
in Korea still maintain the reliability of the chronology presented in the *Samguk sagi* and discredit the accounts in the Chinese sources, an increasing number of scholars place greater value in the Chinese accounts, which were written in times contemporary with the events described, and hold that Paekche and Silla did not take shape until after the late-third century.

Acknowledging the existence of the Samhan polities until about the late third century A.D. and the likelihood that Paekche and Silla did not form centralized kingdoms until this time or later, scholars were faced with the problem of referring to the period from the first century B.C. to 500 A.D. as the early phase of the Three Kingdoms period. From the early 1970s some archaeologists and historians adopted the term "Proto-Three Kingdoms period," but some critics denounced this as a teleological term that did not recognize the role of the three Han polities known to have existed at this time in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. The alternate term "Samhan period" was favored by many scholars, and this currently seems to be the term most often used in Korean scholarship, though it is by no means used universally. Some scholars point out that its use should be restricted to the southern part of the peninsula, since the Koguryö kingdom had existed in the northernmost parts of the peninsula and adjacent regions of northeastern China since about the first century B.C. The problem of periodization and terminology was thus complicated by the need for inclusivity over all parts of the peninsula. Beyond this, many archaeologists had little use for periodization based on historical terminology, and preferred to refer to the period as the Iron Age, though this too was problematic for various reasons. Again, one major problem involves the fact that no single periodization schema yet proposed takes into account the variation in the cultural and socio-political development observed in different parts of the Korean peninsula.

As of the early twenty-first century, most (but certainly not all) mainstream scholars in Korea define the Samhan period as extending from about 300 B.C. (based on archaeological indices) to 500 B.C. (based primarily on historical data) to about 500 A.D. This period is of considerable importance, as it represents a time marked by drastic socio-cultural change occurring in the southern half of the Korean peninsula, prompting the development of increasingly complex social and political configurations, resulting in the formation of the states of Paekche, Silla, and Kaya. Since the origins of the earliest states in this region are to be traced to the Samhan period, the importance of this period as a subject of research can hardly be overstated. And with the recent introduction of an increasing pool of relevant archaeological data, the study of the Samhan period has become an active and dynamic field in Korean history and archaeology. The majority of articles presented in the present volume are intended to provide a general survey of the state of this important field as it exists today, offering an evaluation of the available historical and archaeological resources in an effort to reveal something of the form and character of the Samhan polities and how they interacted with their neighbors both within and beyond the Korean peninsula.

The three articles comprising the first section of this volume thus treat different aspects of the Samhan period, including historical developments, regional interaction, and historical sources. Following these, we introduce a new section for annotated translations of early historical texts relevant to the study of early Korean history, the article presented here being an annotated translation of the account of the three Han polities appearing in the third-century *Sungneori* with an appended, minimally annotated translation of the corresponding section of the *Hwa Hosabi*. As these classical texts are frequently referenced in the three preceding articles, this translation is intended specifically as a resource to be used in conjunction with the articles on the Samhan. The next section features an article on Tomb No. 1 at the Taepyeong cemetery in Changwon, which is a burial dated to the first century B.C. and is of great importance to the study of the Samhan period. This volume concludes with a retrospective by one of the leading art historians in Korea, offering a unique view of how the field of art history developed in Korea through biographical accounts of two of its pioneer scholars.

As previously stated, the articles presented in *Early Korea* are intended to provide Western readers with up-to-date scholarship on early Korean history and archaeology as presented by scholars active in those fields. Given the shortage of such publications in English and the dynamic nature of the fields in Korea and elsewhere in East Asia, the articles presented here may tend to mask some of the active debate and plurality of views that characterize scholarship in Korea. The majority of articles in this volume represent the views of leading Korean scholars active in the research of the topics they present, and as such may be understood as generally reflective of views accepted by a great many researchers in Korea, though certainly not by all of them. They are not unlike articles that may be found in academic journals in Korea, except that they provide additional levels of context for the benefit of Western readers. Since studies of early history and archaeology in Korea are conducted within conceptual frameworks that differ in some respects from those that Western scholars may find familiar, these articles...
may not address all of the concerns that tend to characterize corresponding research in Western scholarship; however, efforts have been made, in cooperation with the authors, to narrow this gap as much as possible through the review, translation, and editing of the articles presented here. It is hoped that readers will find these studies useful and informative as windows into these dynamic fields as they exist in Korea today.

As four of the articles on the Samhan period presented here are translations from manuscripts written originally in Korean, a brief word on translation conventions is in order. The editor has taken steps to impose a degree of uniformity throughout the translation of certain terms, to the extent that such an imposition does not alter the intended meaning of the original authors. Further, discussions of the Samhan call for a number of technical terms, some drawn from classical texts and others from modern theory as implemented in Korean scholarship, and as many of these have no adequate corresponding term in English, appropriate terms have been created. This is particularly the case when describing social structures for which no precise data are available and which therefore remain at a fairly vague conceptual level, though individual scholars may define them in different ways (terms such as “statelet,” “confederacy,” and “incipient state” fall into this category). Where possible, we have asked the authors to provide some level of in-text elaboration with regard to such terms. Some other terms, such as that for “polity,” are by nature vague in Korean and are translated in a similar manner. Here. With the exception of the authors’ names and the names of certain cities (such as Seoul and Pyongyang), Korean terms and names have been romanized using the McCune-Reischauer system prevalent in Western scholarly publications on Korea.

A work of this nature demands the time and efforts of numerous people. The editor would like to express his gratitude to all involved in the production of this volume. The authors have been exceedingly kind and patient in providing the articles in this volume and working with the editorial team to render their ideas in English. The reviewers of these articles offered many very useful and thoughtful comments that allowed the authors to revise their drafts so as better to bridge the gap between scholarly frameworks.

Dr. Oh Youngchan at the National Museum of Korea was especially helpful in facilitating communications between Cambridge and Korea and in providing a great many useful materials that contributed to the completion of this work. In Cambridge, Javier Cha, Jonghyuk Lee, and Youn-mi Kim devoted much time and energy toward the collection of various kinds of data to be used in the articles and images in this volume, while Wayne de

Fremery picked up the pieces prepared by the Cambridge team and carried them through the production phase. Aeri Shin and Javier Cha assisted with the translation of the articles, while Ariane Perrin and Charlotte Horlyk provided valuable feedback and advice on various technical aspects of these articles. Thanks go also to Nita Sembrowich, Yun-bec Lee, and Alison Fillmore for their time and expertise, which contributed greatly to making this a better publication. The editor would like to thank members of the Early Korea Project Steering Committee, Jonathan Best, Richard McBride, and Martin Bale, as well as Pak Yangjin, for their insightful thoughts and recommendations during the conceptual phase of the present volume, as well as the staff of the Korea Institute and the Korean Studies faculty at Harvard University for their continued support of the Early Korea Project.

This publication and the organization that created it would not have been possible without the very generous supporters of the Early Korea Project. The editor, as director of the Early Korea Project, would like to thank the Korea Foundation for its support, which allowed for both the establishment and the continuation of the Project’s operations. And finally, a special expression of gratitude goes to the Northeast Asian History Foundation for providing support for all aspects of this publication and for assistance in its production.
The earliest extant written source for the history of the Samhan
polities of the Korean peninsula is the Sanguozhi 三國志, or
Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms, written by Chen Shou 車遜 (235-
297) in the latter half of the third century A.D. The Sanguozhi was initially
a privately compiled work undertaken by Chen Shou, who was a historian
and official of the Jin 眞 dynasty, born in the state of Shu 蜀 in what is now
Sichuan Province. Chen compiled the Sanguozhi as a history of the three
states that arose in the wake of the collapse of the Eastern Han dynasty:
Wei 魏, Wu 吳, and Shu. The work was composed of sixty-five scrolls (pián
策) divided into the chronicles of each state, being thirty for Wei, fifteen for
Shu, and twenty for Wu.

At the time of the compilation of the Sanguozhi, the officially san-
tioned histories of previous dynasties in China included the Shiji 史記, com-
piled by Sima Qian 史遷 around 100 B.C., the Hanhu 歷史, compiled by
Ban Gu 班固 between about 56 A.D. and 92 A.D., and the Dongguan Hanji
東觀漢紀, compiled by several authors between 72 A.D. and about 245.
Together these covered the histories of the Qin, Western Han, and Eastern
Han dynasties. Although Chen's work would eventually join these earlier
histories as the fourth of China's sanctioned histories, it received no official
recognition until shortly after Chen's death in 297, when the emperor com-
manded that his books be copied. Even then, it was not until the scholar-
official Pei Songzhi 費詩之 (372-441) was commissioned to prepare a com-
mentary to Chen's Sanguozhi in 438 and presented it to the emperor the
following year that the work was raised to the status of a sanctioned dynastic history.

The part of the Sanguozhi that is relevant to the Samhan of Korea appears in the Wei section of the work. In the final chapter of the Wei chronicle is a section called the Dongyizhuan, or Account of the Eastern Yi, in which various peoples and polities located in the Korean peninsula, southern Manchuria, and the Japanese archipelago are separately described. The term "Eastern Yi" was borrowed from a much earlier name of the late Shang period (circa 1000 B.C.), at which time it indicated groups who lived in what is now coastal Shandong and Jiangsu, located on the eastern extremes of the Shang state. During the Han period the name was reused to indicate the peoples living beyond Han's own eastern extremes, which were far more extensive than were those of Shang. However, this was a Chinese convention, and there is no reason to assume that any of the peoples described under that classifier ever referred to themselves using that term. The peoples described in the Dongyizhuan include Payó, Koguryó, Okchó, Yi, Ye, Han, and Wa. Among these, the account of the Han provides the most detailed information on the Samhan polities still available today.

Chen Shou did not name his sources for the information on the Han polities of the Korean peninsula, though he did have extensive access to the state archives. He is known to have made extensive use of a work called the Weiè, written by Yu Huan, only a few years before the compilation of the Sanguozhi. While this work is now lost, known only from passages cited in other works, it is believed to have been a detailed history of the Wei state. When Pei Songzhī wrote his commentary for the Sanguozhi, he likewise made good use of the Weiè. This is particularly so with regard to his commentaries for the account of the Han in the Dongyizhuan. From a comparison of Pei's extracts from the Weiè and Chen Shou's original text, it is evident that Chen based much of his treatment of the Han polities on the Weiè, but he provided little more than terse summaries of the contents of that work. Pei Songzhī's commentary on the Han section of the Dongyizhuan consists primarily of several passages extracted from the Weiè, some of which are quite detailed and provide valuable information about the history of the Korean peninsula from the early-second century B.C. to the mid-third century A.D.

For many centuries the only copies of the Sanguozhi were manuscripts written on paper before the method of printing with woodblocks gained currency in the tenth century. At least two fragments of late-period manuscript copies of the Sanguozhi are known to exist, both discovered at Turpan in northwestern China. The first was discovered in two sections in 1924 and later sold in Beijing, both windings up in separate private collections in Japan (Figure 1). The second was recovered archaeologically in 1935 from pagoda ruins at Turpan. They are both fragments of scrolls consisting of only several lines, and both represent sections of the Wu Chronicle of the Sanguozhi. Analysis of the texts of both specimens reveals differences with surviving print copies of the work, indicating that some degree of variation existed among different manuscripts even at this early time.
The first woodblock printing of the Sanguochi was made in 1003 during the Xianfeng emperor's reign (968-1005) of the Song dynasty (960-1127), and a surviving copy of the Wu chronicle dated to this year is in the Seikadō Library in Tokyo. Other editions printed during the Song dynasty include the Shaoxing edition 湖南本, printed during the Shaoxing reign (1131-1162), and the Shaoxi edition 蘇州本 printed during the Shaoxi reign (1190-1194). Several other woodblock editions were printed during the Ming dynasty (1668-1644), including the 1566 Nanjing edition 南京本 of the Directorate of Education, the 1644 Nanjing edition 南京本 edited by Mao Jiong 毛尙, and the 1600 Beijing edition 北京本 printed by the Directorate of Education in Beijing, the former of which was edited by Peng Mengdun 濟明。There is also the 1644 Jiguge edition 水本 edited by Mao Jiong 毛尙 (1599-1669).

There were other editions printed between the Song and Ming periods, but the major editions of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) and later were based on the editions described above. The most widely used modern editions are those that form part of reprints of the entire collection of the twenty-four standard histories in the Bibliothèque nationale. The Bona edition 吉林本 of the standard histories was printed during the 1910s and for much of the twentieth century was the edition most frequently used by scholars. The Bona edition of the Sanguochi was compiled from lithographic copies of two Song editions. The first three chapters (juan 2) of the Wei chronicle were taken from a copy of the Shaoxing edition in the collection of the Hanfenlou 漢芬樓 library in Shanghai, while the remaining, including the Dongyi zhuan, was taken from a copy of the Shaoxi edition belonging to the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaičhō Shoryōbu 宮內省 留外局) in Tokyo. The Zhonghua edition 中華本 of the standard histories, first printed by the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 beginning in 1918, represented a large-scale effort to collate the best surviving editions of the histories and to collate and punctuate them, introducing editorial notations to indicate suspected errors in the original texts. The Zhonghua edition of the Sanguochi was first published in 1959, and was created by consulting Qing-period editions based on the Jiguge and two Directorate of Education editions of the Ming, as well as the Bona edition. With regard to the Dongyi zhuan, however, the Zhonghua edition appears strongly to favor the Qing editions.

The following translation of the Account of the Han, which comprises one part of the Dongyi zhuan in chapter 10 of the Sanguochi, is based on the Song-period Shaoxi edition as printed by the Shanghai Zhonghua Xuciyihua 上海中華書局 in 1951 (Figure 2). The Chinese text accompanying the translation is likewise copied from this source. For the sake of annotating the translation, the Shaoxi text was compared with that of the Jiguge edition and the modern Zhonghua edition. Such a comparison reveals a number of variations in the text, the majority of which are of little consequence. However, there is in the Account of the Han a single significant difference between the Shaoxi and Jiguge editions, regarding a political event dating to about 246 (the Han attack on Daifang's Qili Camp), which leads to rather different interpretations of the text. In this instance, the difference between conflicting versions of the text has significant implications for how we understand the relationship between the Samhan and the Chinese commanderies.

Portions of the contents of the Account of the Han have been previously published in English translation, most notably Kenneth H. J. Gardiner's translations of certain passages related to political events, and Michael C. Rogers' translations of descriptions of Samhan society. However, to date no translation of the full text has, to the translator's knowledge, yet been published. The following translation represents part of an English translation of the full text of the Dongyi zhuan, of which the Account of the Han is but one part. While this portion of the text warrants a full annotated commentary with discussion of the contents of other related sources and archaeological data, the annotation in the present publication is limited in scope. Since this translation is intended to provide a useful reference to accompany the articles on the Samhan appearing in this volume, the commentary here is included primarily to explain historical context, identify differences between editions, and offer alternate interpretations of text. Following the translation of the Account of the Han is a translation of the corresponding account in the Hou Hanhshu 漢書, compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 in about 441. A comparison between the two accounts is valuable, as there are significant differences between them in key respects. The text here translated is based on the punctuated Zhonghua edition.
While there is some disagreement regarding the precise time periods represented by the various descriptions contained in the Account of the Han, they are believed in general to reflect conditions current in the mid-third century A.D. This is certainly the case for the descriptions of the northerly peoples and politics, such as Puyó, Koguryó, Yidu, and Okhó, each of which was visited by the armies of Wei during their extended campaigns against Koguryó in the mid-4th century. It is equally certain that many of the political events related in the Account of the Han refer to the mid-third century as well, though some scholars suggest that some of the social circumstances described may refer to a somewhat earlier time period. However, the majority of the Account of the Han presents the socio-political configuration of the middle of the third century A.D., in which the three Han polities engaged in active relations with the Chinese commanderies centered on modern Pyongyang, with the inhabitants of the Japanese islands, and with each other. While these descriptions and accounts pose many interpretive challenges for those attempting to reconstruct the political history of the Korean peninsula in the third century, they are nevertheless extremely valuable as resources for understanding this important period of Korean history prior to the emergence of the southern kingdoms of Paekche and Silla. As the pool of archaeological data continues to increase, we may expect to learn much more about the peoples and events described in this early account of the Han polities of southern Korea.

In the following translation, efforts have been made to retain the syntax and tone of the original text while attempting to render a readable English narrative. When a decision has been made to depart from the original text due to a suspected miscopied character, this is specified in the footnotes. This translation and the accompanying Chinese text both distinguish the PEI Songzhi commentary from the original text of Chen Shou’s work by printing each in a different color. The punctuation is based loosely on that of the Zhonghua edition, though the translator has made some adjustments based on his own reading of the text, and note of this is made when these readings depart from those of the Zhonghua text or of the majority of scholars. Chinese official titles generally follow the translations proposed by Charles Hucker except where context suggests otherwise, in which case a translation is proposed to suit the evident context.

Notes
1 The author would like to thank Jonathan Best, Richard McBride, and anonymous reviewers for their many valuable and helpful comments on the translation that follows.
3 The known surviving fragments of the Hwijàe were assembled and published in Zhang Pengyi 张鹏一, Weisâ jihun 御史日簿 (Shanxi: Wuxian zhengji, 1914).
6 For further discussion of these implications, see Yun Yong-ku 尹龍九, “Samhan ti taejung kyojoy kwa kii sônggyok - Cho-Wi ni Tongi kyôngnyak kwa kwallón hayo” 三韓の初代政体に於ける 朝鮮の朝廷形態と規律 (Sanghans’ Relations with China and Its Character – Related to Gao Wei’s Eastern Campaign), Kukseoksa tongchong 国史探権 (1999): 99-116.
The Account of the Han

From Chapter 30 of Sanguozhi (Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms)
By Chen Shou

Translated by
Mark E. Byington

The land of the Han lies to the south of Daifang, bound on the east and west by the sea; it adjoins the land of the Wa on the south and covers an area of about four thousand li. There are three kinds of Han, the first being Mahan, the second Chinhan, and the third Pyōnhan. Mahan was anciently the state of Chin 允. Mahan lies in the west. Its people are indigenes. They plant crops, know sericulture, and produce silk cloth. Each polity has a chief, the most powerful calling themselves ścić, while the lesser ones are called ıpča. They live scattered between the mountains and the sea, and do not have city walls.

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1 Daifang Commandery was established circa 100 A.D. when the Goguryeo rulers of Liaodong detached the southern section of Lelang Commandery as a separate administration in an effort to reestablish control over that region. Daifang was located in modern Hwanghae Province in the Chaebigong river basin and the coastal region to its west.

2 Terms like ścić 聲智 and ıpča 色稽 appear to be graded titles. Most scholars interpret this passage to mean that the chiefs of the larger, more powerful polities held the title of ścić, while those of lesser polities held the title of ıpča.
Among their offices are Wei's Fief Lord Conforming to the Good 背夫楊之君, Allied Marquis 辛之侯, Leader of Court Gentlemen 中所卿, Defender 郗時, and Leader of One Hundred 百吏．

The Marquis Chun, having usurped the title of King, was attacked and driven out by the Yan refugee Wei Man.

cannot be recovered. The terms that follow (Anya and Koya) appear to be polity names, though it is curious that in both cases they are polities of Pyongan, nor Mahan. Ch'iu-ki and Ch'ini may be ranks, titles, or village names, while Pun and Yon appear to be personal names. Some scholars read this obscure passage differently, suggesting that at least four polity names are mentioned.

These are all titles that would have been conferred by the Wei court upon recognized leaders among the Han polities. They are titles that were often given to non-Chinese leaders who engaged in relations with the Chinese court, and many of the titles are also known from discoveries of metal seals that were presented to those leaders. While Wei-period seals given to leaders of the Xioguo 狄國, Wuhan 烏丸, Xianbei 羯, and Qi peoples are known to exist, to date there are none associated with the Han of southern Korea. One later Jin-period seal, however, bears the inscription 背夫楊之侯 (Jin's Han Leader of One Hundred Conforming to the Good), which would have been similar to those seals issued by the Wei. Fief Lord is a title rarely found on seals of the Wei and Jin periods, though the similar Fief Leader is often seen (a Fief Leader ranked higher than a Leader of One Hundred, who in turn ranked higher than a Leader of One Hundred 百吏). The titles Allied Marquis 和之侯 (literally Marquis Reverting to Righteousness) and Leader of Court Gentlemen 中所卿 do often appear on Chinese seals given to foreign leaders, Jin-period specimens of seals bearing these titles given to Xianbei leaders having been found, but no such seals are known to exist in Korea. The title Defender 郗時, however, is not typically found on seals given to foreign leaders, though references to it and variations of it are found in various textual sources (the translations of the three last-mentioned titles follow those proposed by Hucker, though in some cases their applicability in the Korean case may be questionable).

The Shaozi and Jiggo editions both have the name as the Marquis Chun 背夫楊 in this passage. However, in both cases he is called the Marquis Chun, who is depicted as a traveler who dies during his journey. The text describes his death and the subsequent events related to his legacy.

1. The Shaozi edition reads Sinshunju 聖新祿, while the Jiggo edition reads Sinshunju 聖新祿, the characters for both being 聖新祿 differing by only one stroke. The difference is significant when considering the account of the Han attack on Qii Camp described below.

2. The Shaozi edition reads Ubah 鉤, while the Jiggo edition reads Chiban 君賓. While the Sangwochi renders this as Wokhi 月支, the Haowan 暢苑 and Hanyuan 阮別 refer to it as Mochki 麻稽, which is the form preferred by scholars in Korea.

3. This passage is very difficult to parse, but the translator here transliterates the titles based on their evident parallel structure: 金屬外示 聖新祿, 頌時, 鉤曰, 體百師, 當千幅, 德千幅, 德千幅, 當千幅, 當千幅, 當千幅

The initial on 聖 element appears to be a remnant of the title sin, while the longer transliterates terms that follow immediately may be descriptive or honorific prefixes to these titles, the original meaning of which is lost.
The Wöuld says that in ancient times Liü's descendant, the Marquis of Choson, witnessed the decline of Zhou. When the ruler of Yan adopted the title of King of Yi (512 B.C.), and wanted to invade the lands to the east (i.e., Choson), the Marquis of Choson also took the title of King and desired to come his troops to attack Yan in return, intending thereby to honor the Zhou house. But his Grandmaster Ye 燕 demur, so [this plan] was laid aside. He sent Ye westward to dissuade [the king of] Yan, who called off [his plans] and did not attack. But later Choson's heirs became increasingly arrogant and cruel, so Yan sent the general Qin Kai 蘇 to attack Choson's western regions, seizing over two thousand li of territory up to Manpanhan 萬年漢, which became its border, and Choson subsequently weakened. When Qin unified the world (423 B.C.), it had Meng Tian 孟軻 build a long wall reaching to Liaodong. At this time the Choson king Pu 烏 came to the throne. He feared that Qin would attack him, so he decided to submit to Qin but did not dare to attend court. When Pu died his son Chun 殷 came to the throne. After more than twenty years Chen She 謝 and Xiang Yu 始皇 rose, and the world was in turmoil. The people of Yan, Qi, and Zhao suffered hardships and gradually fled to Chün, who set them up in his western regions. When the [emperor of the Chinese] Han [empire] made Lu Wan 蘇 the king of Yan, the Pei River 北 became the border between Choson and Yan. When [Lu] Wan rebelled and went over to the Xiongnu in 111 B.C., the Yan man Wei Man 未起來 took to flight, dressing in barbarian style and, crossing the Pei River eastward, went to Chün and submitted to him. He told Chün he wanted to reside in his western border, to take in refugees from the Middle Kingdom, and become Choson's border guard. Chün trusted and favored him, granting him the title of Viscount 諂子, presenting him with a jade staff, enclosing him with one hundred li of land, and commanding him to guard the western border. [Wei] Man attracted masses of refugees, whose numbers gradually increased. As a deception he sent a man to inform Chün that Han [Chinese] troops had arrived on various routes and begged leave to enter the court as a guard, whereupon he presently returned and attacked Chün, Chün fought with [Wei]. Man but was unsuccessful.

[Chun] took his officials and fled by sea. He settled in the land of Han and called himself the King of Han.

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The Account of the Han
—Mark F. Byington
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The Wulun says that his sons and relatives 1 who remained in the state therefore adopted the surname Han. Chun ruled on the sea 2 and did not engage in communication with Choson.

His lineage was later discontinued, but there are today still those among the Han people who perform ritual sacrifice for him. During the period of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.) they were subordinated to Lelang Commandery, to which court they paid obeisance each season.

The Wulun says that earlier, when Ugo 3 had not yet been overthrown, the Choson minister Wulun 4 had admonished Ugo but was ignored, so he went eastward to the Chin state. At that time over two thousand households of people left with him to settle, and they moreover did not render tribute to or communicate with Choson. 5

1 The Shouxi reads 子发, while the Jigae reads 子去, the latter is followed in the Zhonghua edition and in this translation.
2 The intent of the passage is probably that he ruled in lands beyond the purview of Choson rather than literally on the sea.
3 Ugo was the last ruler of Choson. He is described in the shi as the grandson of Wei Man.
4 It is possible that the passage should read 子居 instead, with the character gong 郡 (presenting tribute) being read as shen 馀, so that the meaning would be "he moreover did not engage in communication with Choson or Chinbôn." This is the reading proposed by Zhang Pengxi in his 1914 collation of the surviving fragments of the Wulun. See Zhang Pengxi 行杨, Wulun juhe 无所居 (Shanxi: Wenshan zhengji chu, 1924), 224A. Since it is likely that Chinbôn 叠若国 was located in modern Hwanghae Province, immediately to the south of Choson, there is logic to this reading. At the time of Wang Mang's Dihuang reign (20-21 A.D.), Chi's 6 of Yomun 辰辰 served as Chinhan's Right Chief, and heard that the land of Lelang was excellent and its people well off and happy, so he fled and wanted to submit. As he left his village he saw a boy scattering sparrows in a field. His language was not that of a Korean. Han person. Upon inquiry, the boy said, "We are [Chinese] Han people and my name is Huilai 希来. Some 5,000 of us were cutting timber when we were captured by the Han, and we were all made to cut our hair and become slaves. This was three years ago." Chi's said, "I am just now about to submit to Lelang. Would you like to go along?" Huilai replied "Yes," and Chi of Chinhan 7 therefore took Huilai to Hanzi District. 8 The district informed the commandant, and the commandant then made Chi an interpreter. Then at Cenzhong 陈中 he [with a Chinese force] boarded a large boat in order to enter Chinhan and take back Huilai's comrades who had submitted [to Chinhan]. Someone one thousand of them were still left, the other five hundred having already died. Chi then told Chinhan, "You must return the five hundred people, for if you do not, Lelang will send ten thousand troops in ships to come and attack you," Chinhan said: "The five hundred are already dead. We can only send indemnities for them." Then they sent fifteen thousand people of Chinhan and of the events described in this passage, Chinbôn would have been heavily influenced by Choson. After Han conquered Choson, Chinbôn was incorporated as the commandery of Zhentan.
5 The shen 馀 preceding Chi's name may be spurious, as it seems to have no clear meaning.
6 Hanbô は本 was one of the districts of Lelang's Southern Section, later part of Daolou Commandery. It was a small district located in the upland regions of the Chaoerong river basin, perhaps along the Sonoing River in North Hwanghae Province.
At the end of the reigns of emperors Huan and Ling (ca. 180s), the Han and Ye people grew strong and the commandery districts could not control them, so many people migrated to the Han polities. During the Ji'an reign (196-210), Gongguan Kang divided off the abandoned territories to the south of Tunyuan Commandery and established the commandery of Daifang. He sent Gongguan Mo公孫模 and Zhang Chiang张騫 to gather up the refugees and raised troops to send against the Han and Ye. The former inhabitants gradually came [back to the commanderies], after which the Wa and Han eventually became subject to Daifang.

During the Jingchú reign (237-240), Emperor Ming of the Wei dynasty secretly sent the Daifang Governor, Liu Xin刘殷, and the Lelang Governor, Xianyu Shi线宇涉, across the sea to stabilize the two commanderies. The 使 of the various Han polities were presented with seals and cords of Fief Lords巴氏, while their subordinates were presented with paraphernalia for Fief Leaders巴氏. It was the habit of their people to enjoy robes and caps, so when the common people proceeded to the commandery to pay respects to the court they all made their own robes and caps. In all, over one thousand of them carried their own seals with cords and wore their own robes and caps.

The Regional Retainer, Wu Lin, seeing that Lelang had originally governed the Han polities, divided off eight polities of Chinhan and gave them to Lelang. But as there were inaccuracies on the part of the interpreters, the Han of Sinbun'go (Sinbun'go-gu) became angry and attacked Daifang's Qili Camp. At that time the Governor, Gong Zun弓遵, and the Lelang Governor, Liu Mao刘茂, raised an army to go to Lelang.

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11 The term 下, literally "lower households," appears elsewhere in the Dongyishao of the Sanguosi (in the accounts of Koguryo, Ye, and Wu), but is rarely seen elsewhere. Context suggests that it referred to an unlanded peasantry, though it may have the more general meaning indicating those members of the population who were neither rulers nor of the empowered classes. The term "common people" would seem to suffice here.

12 This passage differs significantly in meaning between the Shaoxi and Jiguge editions. The Shaoxi edition reads 周易, while the Jiguge edition reads 朕易, the latter being very difficult to parse. The Shaoxi edition also lists 御用法典 (Sinbun'go-guk) as one of the polities of Mahan, while the Jiguge edition reads the name as 本邦法典 (Sinbun'gwadok). It is plausible that the characters shin and ben might be easily miscopied. If the characters shin and ben were likewise confused within the Shaoxi edition, then the passage above may be read as 朕易, the Sinbun'go Han became angry, which is syntactically preferable to the Jiguge edition's 朕易, the Sinbun'go Han became angry and attacked...
army to attack them. Zun died during the battle, but the two commanderies presently subdued the Han.

Their customs have little by way of law or discipline. Although the central townships of the polities have leaders, their villages are all scattered, so they cannot readily exercise control over them. They do not follow the etiquette of kneeling and bowing. For their residences they build earthen chambers with thatched roofs. They are shaped like tomb mounds and the doors are in their upper portions. Whole families live therein, having no distinction between old and young, or male and female.

In their burials they have inner coffins, but lack outer coffins. They do not know how to ride oxen or horses. Their oxen and horses are used entirely [as sacrifices] to send off the dead. They consider stone beads as precious valuables, sometimes sewing them into their clothing as decorations, or sometimes hanging them from their necks or ears. They do not regard gold, silver, or fine brocade as of value. Their people are by nature fierce and brave. They wear nothing on their heads, but coil their hair up into wedge-shaped knots, like radiant soldiers.

They wear cloth robes, and on their feet they wear leather sandals.

When in their country it happens that officials order the construction of city walls, the various strong young men all pierce the skin on their backs, through which they run a large rope, then they use this to attach themselves to a wooden pole about a zhong in length, and they spend the day singing as they work. They do not regard this as painful, but rather use it to spur themselves to work and consider it moreover to be healthy.

It is their practice, when they complete the planting of seed in the fifth month, to hold a sacrifice to the gods and spirits. The people all sing and dance and drink spirits day and night without rest. When they dance, several tens of people rise together and follow one another, stamping the ground, bending and rising, their hands and feet responding to one another. The musical rhythm is similar to the [Chinese] Bell Dance. In the tenth month when the farm work is done, they [celebrate in this manner] again. They believe in gods and spirits, and a person is appointed in each of their central townships to oversee the sacrifice to the spirit of heaven, whom they call the Lord of Heaven (chïng-gan).

Each of the various polities also has a separate village, which they call a sodo, where they set up a large log, from which they suspend bells and drums to serve the spirits. Anyone who is in flight and reaches one of these places is not forced to return, so [many in Mahan] are given to thievery. The rite of setting up a sodo is similar in ways to that of Buddhist stupas, but there are differences in what they consider to be good or evil.

Daïiang's Qii Camp.* The selection among these options determines the identity of the principal agent in this battle, and there is much academic debate on this subject.

The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both read as in this translation, though the Zhonghua edition transposes two characters to read 其自倍乘要 (they have outer coffins but lack inner coffins).

The term "radiant soldiers" 光兵 is otherwise unknown, and there is no consensus as to what the reference means. Textual corruption is likely.

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143
The various polities located in the northern regions near the commanderies are rather familiar with ritual propriety, while those located at a distance resemble together like prisoners or slaves. They have no unusual things of value, and their animals and plants are basically the same as those of the Middle Kingdom. They produce large chestnuts as big as pears, and they also produce fine-tailed chickens, all of which have tails more than five chi long. Their men sometimes tattoo their bodies.

There are also the Chuho 車胡, who live on a large island in the sea to the west of Mahan. Their people are rather short and small, and their language is not the same as that of the Han. They all shave their heads like the Xianbei. Their only clothes are of leather, and they are good at raising oxen and pigs, and the clothes have a top but no bottom, so it is almost as though they were naked. They come and go by boat, buying and selling in the markets of Han.

Chinhan lies to the east of Mahan. Its elders have for generations said that long ago refugees came to the Han polities to avoid service in Qin, and Mahan separated some of its territories on its eastern borders and gave it to them. They have towns with walls and palisades. Their language is not the same as that of Mahan, as they refer to a state as a country, bows as crescents, thieves as bandits, and drinking spirits as imbibing wine. They refer to one another as “confrere.” In this they are similar to Qin people, so these are not just the names of things used in Yan and Qi. They refer to people of Lelang as Ajan. People of the east say “A” when referring to themselves, suggesting that Lelang people were originally their remnant peoples. Some now refer to Chinhan as Qin-Han 吉韓. At first there were six polities, but they gradually separated into twelve.

Pyŏnjin also has twelve polities, and they likewise have various small detached villages, each having a chieftain. The greatest are called suri 墨, the next being hisiseub 他的, then pinye 貝, then sarbok 檀, and then siphua 似花.


Pyŏnjan is frequently referred to as Pyŏnjin 井氏, which may reflect the nature of its association with Chinhan.

In the Jiguge edition the characters of the term siphua 似花 are reversed to read 花似.

The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both have 阪氏, but the Zhonghua assumes a missing 氏 and renders it as translated here, Pyŏnjin Nangno-녀.

In the Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both read 阪氏, which not only seems to have another missing 氏 but also repeats the three characters of the previous polity’s name. It is possible that there is some corruption in the text, or perhaps both Chinhan and Pyŏnjan had polities named Kunmi.
The Account of the Han
—Mark E. Byington

Pyŏnhan and Chinhon together have twenty-four polities. Large polities have four or five thousand families, while small ones have six or seven hundred. In all there are forty or fifty thousand households. Twelve of the polities are subordinate to the Chin King. The position of Chin King is usually filled by men of Mahan, who succeed one another over generations. The Chin King cannot set himself up as king.

The Wider says that this illustrates that they were people who came in from elsewhere, therefore they were controlled by Mahan.

Their land is rich and beautiful, good for planting grain and growing rice. They know how to cultivate the silkworm, and they produce a fine silk cloth. They ride xen and horses and have them pull carts. In the customs and practices of marriage they have some distinctions between men and women. They use large bird feathers to send off their dead, the intent being to allow the deceased to fly upward.

The Wider says that they build their houses by piling up logs horizontally similar to those of the courts.

...
There are three kinds of Han: the first is Mahan, the second Chinhan, and the third Pyonyin. Mahan lies in the west, and it has fifty-four polities. It adjoins Lelang on the north and Wa on the south. Chinhan lies in the east and has twelve polities. It adjoins Yemue on the north. Pyonyin lies to the south of Chinhan, and it has twelve polities. It also adjoins Wa on the south. In all they have seventy-eight polities, among which is the polity of Paekche.

Larger polities have over ten thousand households, while smaller ones have several thousand families. They each lie between the mountains and the sea, and their combined land covers over four thousand li, bounded by the sea on the west and east.

Although this text may have been based on Western source materials, the fact that the Han are said to have adjoined northward with Lelang rather than Daiping indicates a perspective of the Han period. Daiping was established in the southern section of Lelang circa 100 A.D.

While the general perspective of this description is that of the Han period, the emphasis here placed on the polity of Paekche suggests an understanding current at the time of the mid-sixth-century compilation of the Hou Hanshu, by which time the kingdom of Paekche had become known to the Chinese.

The interpretation of this passage is necessarily based on the lengthier description of the same practice in the Sanguo zhi, without which this passage would not be clear.
usually perform sacrifice to the gods and spirits in the fifth month at the end of planting, drinking and gathering together the day and night. They sing and dance in groups, and when dancing several people follow each other, stepping on the ground in harmony. They do this again in the tenth month when the tar work is done. The various central townships each select one person to oversee the sacrifice to the spirit of heaven, whom they call the Lord of Heaven (Jiexian). They also set up suda, erecting a large log from which they suspend bells and drums to serve the spirits. Their southern borders are near the Wa, so there are also some who tattoo their bodies.

In Chinchin, the elders say that there were refugees from Qin who came back with harsh service, so they went to the Han polities, and Mahan separated some of its territories on its eastern borders and gave it to them. They refer to a state as a country, bows as crescents, thieves as bandits, and drinking spirits as inhaling wine. They refer to one another as "confrere," in which they are similar to Qin people, therefore some refer to them as Qin-Han people.

They have walled towns and palisades, houses and chambers. The various small detached villages each have chiefmen. The greatest are called spro, the next being kontlu, then pongs, then sarhae, and then apostha. Their land is rich and beautiful, good for producing the five grains. They know how to cultivate the silkworm, and they produce a fine silk cloth. They ride oxen and horses and have them pull carts. In their marriage practices they have rites. Travelers yield the road to one another.

Their country produces iron, and the Ye, Wa, and Mahan all come to barter for it. In all of their transactions they use iron as currency. Their custom is to enjoy singing, dancing, and drinking and playing the zither. When a baby is born they like to make its head narrow, so they always press it with stones.

The Pyunjin reside intermixed with the Chinhan, with whom they share similar walled towns and clothing, but there are differences in their languages and customs. Their people are all tall and large. Their hair is beautiful, their clothing is clean, and their punishments and laws are rigid and strict. Their country lies near the Wa, so they tend to tattoo their bodies.

Earlier, when the Choson king Chun was defeated by Wei Man, he took several thousand of his remaining followers and fled by sea. He attacked Mahan and defeated it, then set himself up as the King of Han. Chun's line was later cut off, but the Mahan people again set themselves up as the kings of Chin. In the fourteenth year of the Jianwu reign (44 A.D.), the Han man of Yomsa, Somasi, and the others went to Lelang to present tribute. [Emperor] Guangwu then offered Somasi as the chief of the Lord of Han [China]. Yomsa (township) became a part of the commandery, and the emperor made him subject to the Lelang Commandery, having them present themselves in court each season. At the end of the reign of Emperor Ling (r. 168-189), the Han and Ye grew strong, and the commanderies could not control them. There were hardships and rebellion among the people, and there were many [residents of the commandery] who fled to the Han.
To the west of Mahan, on an island in the sea, there is the polity of Chuhu. Its people are short and small, they shave their heads, and they wear leather clothes with a top but no bottom. They are good at raising cows and pigs. They come and go by boat, trading in the markets of the Han.