

EARLY KOREA

VOLUME TWO

THE SAMHAN PERIOD IN KOREAN HISTORY

Mark E. Byington, ed.

Early Korea Project
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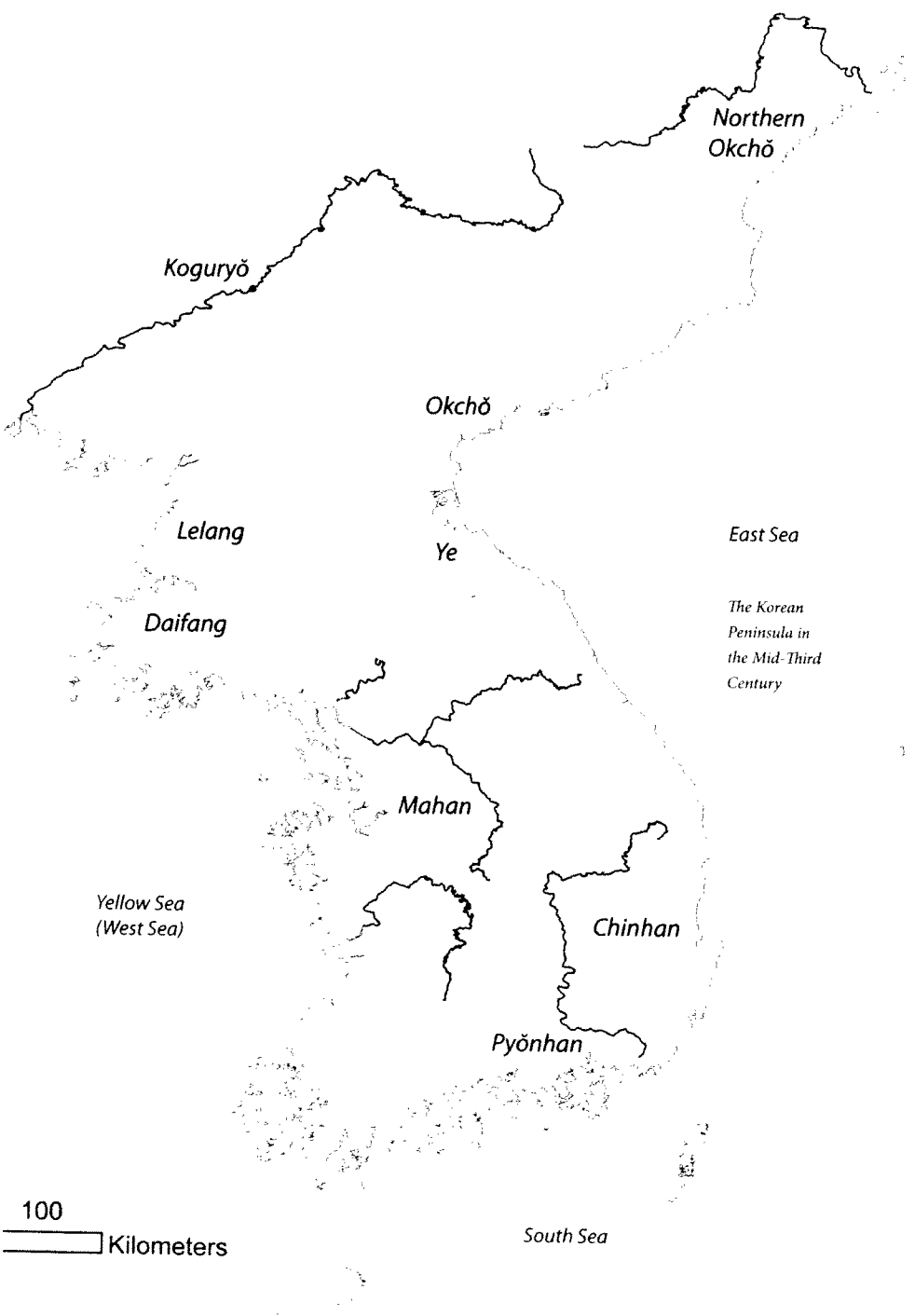
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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Mark E. Byington

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.



East Sea

The Korean Peninsula in the Mid-Third Century

Yellow Sea (West Sea)

100 Kilometers

South Sea

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 300 B.C. to approximately 300 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 18 B.C. and 57 B.C., respectively), between which the independent league 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 Pyŏnhan, 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 *Sanguozhi* and *Hou Hanshu* 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 300 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 *Shiji* and *Sanguozhi* 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 Wŏnsan 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'ungch'ŏng, Chŏlla, Kyŏngsang, 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 57 B.C. and 18 B.C. However, the conflicting data surviving in the Chinese sources, principally the *Sanguozhi*, 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 300 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 Koguryō 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 indexes) or 200 B.C. (based primarily on historical data) to about 300 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 *Sanguozhi*, with an appended, minimally annotated translation of the corresponding section of the *Hou Hanshu*. 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 Taho-ri cemetery in Ch'angwōn, 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 in 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 Horlyck provided valuable feedback and advice on various technical aspects of these articles. Thanks go also to Nita Sembrowich, Yun-hee 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.

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THE ACCOUNT OF THE HAN IN THE *SANGUOZHI* —AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION*

Mark E. Byington
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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 陳壽 (233-297) 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 晉 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 (*pian* 篇) divided into the chronicles of each state, being thirty for Wei, fifteen for Shu, and twenty for Wu.¹

At the time of the compilation of the *Sanguozhi*, the officially sanctioned histories of previous dynasties in China included the *Shiji* 史記, compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷 around 100 B.C., the *Hanshu* 漢書, compiled by Ban Gu 班固 between about 36 A.D. and 92 A.D., and the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, compiled by several authors between 72 A.D. and about 225. 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 commanded that his books be copied. Even then, it was not until the scholar-official Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451) was commissioned to prepare a commentary to Chen's *Sanguozhi* in 428 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* 東夷傳, 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” 東夷 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 Puyō, Koguryō, Okchō, Yilou, 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 *Weilüe* 魏略, written by Yu Huan 魚豢 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.² When Pei Songzhi wrote his commentary for the *Sanguozhi*, he likewise made good use of the *Weilüe*. 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 *Weilüe* and Chen Shou’s original text, it is evident that Chen based much of his treatment of the Han polities on the *Weilüe*, but he provided little more than terse summaries of the contents of that work. Pei Songzhi’s commentary on the Han section of the *Dongyizhuan* consists primarily of several passages extracted from the *Weilüe*, 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.³ At least two fragments of Jin-period manuscript copies of the *Sanguozhi* are known to exist, both discovered at

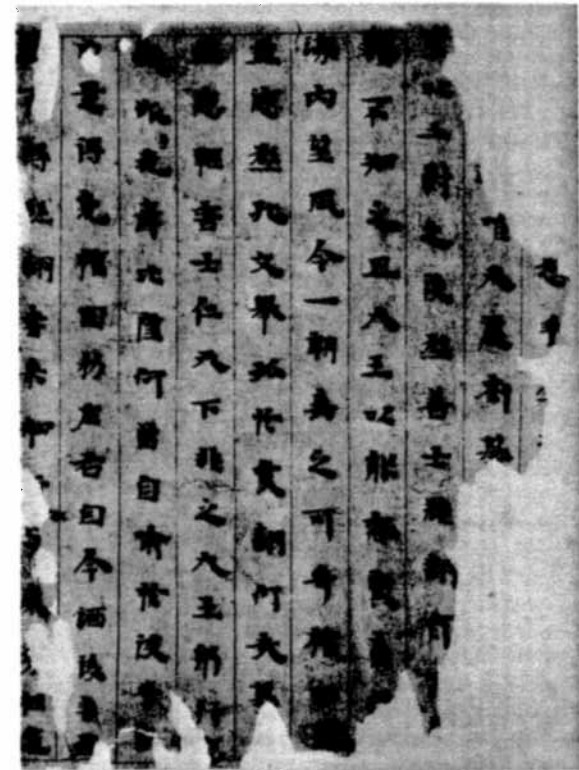


Figure 1.
Fragment of the
Wu Chronicle
section of a
Jin-period
manuscript of
the *Sanguozhi*
discovered
near Turpan
in 1924.

Turpan in northwestern China. The first was discovered in two sections in 1924 and later sold in Beijing, both winding up in separate private collections in Japan (Figure 1). The second was recovered archaeologically in 1965 from pagoda ruins at Turpan.⁴ 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 *Sanguozhi* was made in 1003 during the Xianping 咸平 reign (998-1003) of the Song dynasty (960-1279), and a surviving copy of the Wu chronicle dated to this year is in the Seikadō Library 靜嘉堂文庫 in Tokyo. Other editions printed during the Song dynasty include the Shaoxing edition 紹興本, printed during the Shaoxing reign (1131-1162), and the Shaoxi edition 紹熙本 printed during the Shaoxi reign (1190-1194). Several other woodblock editions were printed during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), including the 1596 Nanjian edition 南監本 of the Directorate of Education 國子監 in Nanjing, and the 1600 Beijing edition 北監本 printed by the Directorate of Education in Beijing, the former of which was edited by Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禎 (1546-1605). There is also the 1644 Jiguge edition 汲古閣本 edited by Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659).

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 二十四史. The Bona edition 百衲本 of the standard histories was printed during the 1930s and for much of the twentieth century was the edition most frequently used by scholars. The Bona edition of the *Sanguozhi* was compiled from lithographic copies of two Song editions. The first three chapters (*juan* 卷) of the Wei chronicle were taken from a copy of the Shaoxing edition in the collection of the Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 library in Shanghai, while the remainder, including the *Dongyizhuan*, was taken from a copy of the Shaoxi edition belonging to the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁 書陵部) in Tokyo. The Zhonghua edition 中華本 of the standard histories, first printed by the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 beginning in 1958, represented a large-scale effort to consult 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 *Sanguozhi* 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 *Dongyizhuan*, 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 *Dongyizhuan* in chapter 30 of the *Sanguozhi*, is based on the Song-period Shaoxi edition as printed by the Shanghai Zhonghua Xueyishe 上海中華學藝社 in 1931 (Figure 2). The Chinese text accompanying the

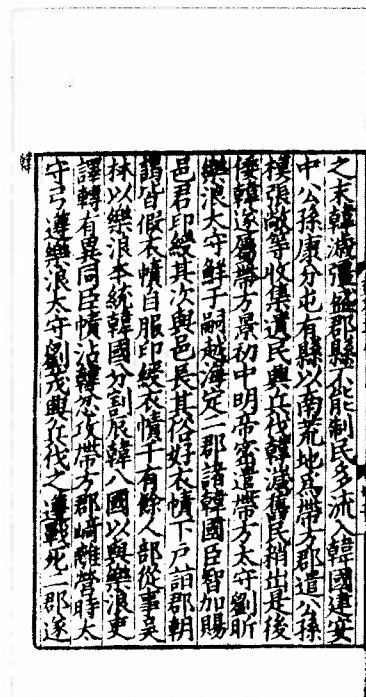


Figure 2. Page of the Han Account in the late-twelfth-century Shaoxi woodblock edition of the *Sanguozhi*.

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.⁵

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,⁶ and Michael C. Rogers' translations of the descriptions of Samhan society.⁷ 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 *Dongyizhuan*, 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 Hanshu* 後漢書, compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 in about 445. 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 polities, such as Puyō, Koguryō, Yilou, and Okchō, each of which was visited by the armies of Wei during their extended campaigns against Koguryō in the mid-240s. 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 politics 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 Hucker⁸ except where context suggests otherwise, in which case a translation is proposed to suit the evident context.

Notes

* 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.

¹ For a study of the *Sanguozhi* in English see Rafe de Crespigny, *The Records of the Three Kingdoms* (Canberra: The Australian National University Centre of Oriental Studies, 1970).

² The known surviving fragments of the *Weilüe* were assembled and published in Zhang Pengyi 張鵬一, *Weilüe jiben* 魏略輯本 (Shanxi: Wenxian zhengjichu, 1924).

³ A valuable study of the textual history of the *Sanguozhi* appears in Ozaki Yasushi 尾崎康, *Seishi Sōgen-ban no kenkyū* 正史宋元版の研究 [Studies of the Song and Yuan Printings of the Standard Dynastic Histories] (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1989).

⁴ See Guo Moruo 郭沫若, "Xinjiang chutu de Jinren xieben Sanguozhi canjuan" 新疆出土的晋人写本三国志残卷 [The Jin-Period Manuscript Fragment of *Sanguozhi* Excavated in Xinjiang], *Wenwu* 文物, no. 8 (1972): 2-6.

⁵ For further discussion of these implications, see Yun Yong-gu 尹龍九, "Samhan ūi taejung kyosōp kwa kū sōngkyōk - Cho-Wi ūi Tongi kyōngnyak kwa kwallyōn hayō" 三韓의 對中交涉과 그 性格-曹魏의 東夷經略과 관련하여 [Samhan's Relations with China and Its Character - Related to Cao Wei's Eastern Campaigns], *Kuksagwan nonchōng* 國史館論叢 85 (1999): 99-126.

⁶ Kenneth H. J. Gardiner, *The Early History of Korea*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1969): 10, 21-22.

⁷ See Peter H. Lee, ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization, Volume 1: From Early Times to the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993): 8-9, 21-24.

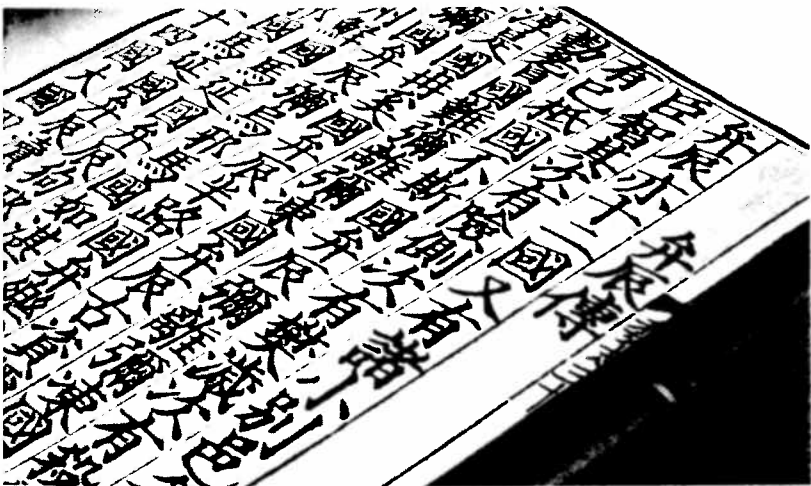
⁸ See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

SANGUOZHI

THE ACCOUNT OF THE HAN

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

Translated by
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The [land of the] Han lies to the south of Daifang,¹ bounded 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. Chinhan was anciently the state of Chin 辰. Mahan lies in the west. Its people are indigenes. They plant crops, know sericulture, and produce silk cloth. Each [polity] has a chieftain, the most powerful calling themselves *sinji*, while the lesser ones are called *ūpch'a*.² They live scattered between the mountains and the sea, and do not have city walls.

¹ Daifang Commandery was established circa 200 A.D. when the Gongsun 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 Chaeryōng river basin and the coastal region to its west.

² Terms like *sinji* 臣智 and *ūpch'a* 邑借 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 *sinji*, while those of lesser polities held the title of *ūpch'a*.

三國志 東夷傳
與倭接，方可四千里。有三種，一曰馬韓，二曰辰韓，三曰弁韓。
辰韓者，古之辰國也。馬韓在西。其民土著，種植，知蠶桑，作綿布。
各有長帥，大者自名為臣智，其次為邑借。散在山海間，無城郭。

In all there are more than fifty [Mahan] polities, including Wōnyang, Mosu, Sangoe, Lesser Sōksak, Greater Sōksak, Uhyumot'ak, Sinbun'go,¹ Paekche, Songnobulsa, Irhwa, Kot'anja, Kori, Noram, Wōlchi, Charimoro, Sowigōn, Kowōn, Mangno, Piri, Chōmnibi, Sinhūn, Chich'im, Kuro, Pimi, Kamhaepiri, Kop'o, Ch'iriguk, Yōmno, Arim, Saro, Naebiri, Kamhae, Mallo, Pyōkpiri, Kusaodan, Illi, Pulmi, Uban,⁴ Kuso, Ch'ōmno, Morobiri, Sinsodo, Mangno, Korap, Imsoban, Sinunsin, Yōraebiri, Ch'osandobiri, Illan, Kuhae, Purun, Pulsabunya, Wōnji, Kōnma, and Ch'ori. The larger polities have more than ten thousand households, while the smaller ones have a few thousand. The [Mahan population] as a whole comprises over one hundred thousand households. The Chin king governs from the polity of Wōlchi.⁵

Sometimes the *sinji* add special titles, such as *Sin Un'gyōnjo* Anya Ch'ukchi Pun and *Sin laburye* Kuya Chinji Yōm.⁶

¹ The Shaoxi edition reads Sinbun'go 臣濱活, while the Jiguge and other Ming editions have Sinbunhwal 臣濱活, the characters *ko* 活 and *hwal* 活 differing by only one stroke. The difference is significant when considering the account of the Han attack on Qili Camp described below.

⁴ The Shaoxi edition reads Uban 友半, while the Jiguge edition reads Chiban 支半.

⁵ While the *Sanguozhi* renders this as Wōlchi 月支, the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 and *Hanyuan* 翰苑 refer to it as Mokchi 目支, which is the form preferred by scholars in Korea.

⁶ This passage is very difficult to parse, but the translator here transliterates the titles based on their evident parallel structure: 臣雲遼支報安邪 跋支濱 / 臣離兒不例拘邪 泰支廉. The initial *sin* 臣 element appears to be a remnant of the title *sinji*, while the longer transliterated terms that follow immediately may be descriptive or honorific prefixes to these titles, the original meaning of which

有爰襄國、牟水國、桑外國、小石索國、大石索國、優休牟涿國、臣濱活國、伯濟國、連盧不斯國、日華國、古誕者國、古離國、怒藍國、月支國、咨離牟盧國、素謂乾國、古爰國、莫盧國、卑離國、古離卑國、臣蒙國、支侵國、狗盧國、卑離國、監美卑離國、古蒲國、致利鞠國、再路國、兒林國、卑離國、古離卑國、感美國、萬盧國、辟卑離國、白斯烏旦國、一離國、不彌國、友半國、狗素國、狗素國、內卑離國、蘇塗國、莫盧國、古臘國、臨素半國、臣雲祈國、如來卑離國、楚山塗卑離國、一離國、狗美國、不雲國、不斯濱邪國、爰池國、乾馬國、楚離國、凡五十餘國。大國萬餘家，小國數千家，總十餘萬戶。辰王治月支國。臣智或加優呼，臣雲遼支報安邪跋支濱，臣離兒不例拘邪泰支廉之號。

Among their offices are Wei's Fief Lord Conforming to the Good 魏率善邑君, Allied Marquis 歸義侯, Leader of Court Gentlemen 中郎將, Defender 都尉, and Leader of One Hundred 伯長.⁷

The Marquis Chun,⁸ 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 Kuya) appear to be polity names, though it is curious that in both cases they are polities of Pyōnhan, not Mahan. Ch'ukchi and Chinji may be ranks, titles, or village names, while Pun and Yōm appear to be personal names. Some scholars read this obscure passage differently, suggesting that at least four polity names are mentioned.

⁷ 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 Xiongnu 匈奴, Wuhuan 烏丸, Xianbei 鮮卑, Qiang 羌, and Di 氐 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 晉率善韓伯長 (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 邑君 is a title rarely found on seals of the Wei and Jin periods, though the similar Fief Leader 邑長 is often seen (a Fief Leader ranked higher than a Leader of One Thousand 什長, who in turn ranked higher than a Leader of One Hundred 佰長). The titles Allied Marquis 歸義侯 (literally Marquis Reverting to Righteousness) and Leader of Court Gentlemen 中郎將 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 都尉, 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).

⁸ The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both have the name as the Marquis Hui 侯淮 in this passage. However, in both cases he is called the Marquis

其官有魏率善邑君、歸義侯、中郎將、都尉、伯長。侯淮既僭號稱王，為燕亡人衛滿所攻奪。

The *Weilüe* says that in ancient times Jizi's descendant, the Marquis of Chosŏn, witnessed the decline of Zhou. When [the ruler of] Yan adopted the title of King (323 B.C.) and wanted to invade the lands to the east (i.e., Chosŏn), the Marquis of Chosŏn also took the title of King and desired to rouse his troops to attack Yan in return, intending thereby to honor the Zhou house. But his Grandmaster Ye 禮 remonstrated with him, 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.⁹ But later [Chosŏn's] heirs became increasingly arrogant and cruel, so Yan sent the general Qin Kai 秦開 to attack [Chosŏn's] western regions, seizing over two thousand *li* of territory up to Manpanhan 滿番汗,¹⁰ which became its border, and Chosŏn subsequently weakened. When Qin unified the world (in 221 B.C.) it had Meng Tian 蒙恬 build a long wall reaching to Liaodong. At this time the Chosŏn king Pu 否 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 準 came to the throne. After more than twenty years Chen She 陳涉 and Xiang Yu 項羽 rose, and the world was in turmoil. The people of Yan, Qi, and Zhao suffered

Chun 侯準 in the passage from the *Weilüe* which follows (the Jiguge edition uses an archaic form of the character for Marquis). The Zhonghua edition emends this to read Chun, as does this translation.

⁹ The Shaoxi edition has 使禮西說燕燕止之, while the Jiguge edition has 使禮西說燕以止之 ("he sent Ye westward to persuade [the king of] Yan to call off [his plans]"). The Zhonghua edition follows the Shaoxi.

¹⁰ The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both have Manpanhan 滿番汗, but the Zhonghua edition emends the second character to read 滿番汗. Panhan 番汗 is listed in the *Hanshu* as one of the districts of Liaodong, believed to have

魏略曰，昔箕子之後朝鮮侯，見周衰，燕自尊為王，欲東略地，朝鮮侯亦自稱為王，欲與兵逆擊燕以尊周室。其大夫禮諫之，乃止。使禮西說燕，燕止之，不攻。後子孫稍弱，燕乃遣將秦開攻其西方，取地二千餘里，至滿番汗為界，朝鮮遂弱。及秦并天下，使蒙恬築長城，到遼東。時朝鮮王否立，畏秦畏之，略服屬秦，不肯朝會。否死，其子準立。二十餘年而陳、項起，天下亂。燕、齊、趙民愁苦，猶納亡任準。

hardships and gradually fled to Chun, who set them up in his western regions. When the [emperor of the Chinese] Han [empire] made Lu Wan 盧縮 the king of Yan, the Pei River¹¹ became the border between Chosŏn and Yan. When [Lu] Wan rebelled and went over to the Xiongnu (in 195), the Yan man Wei Man took to flight, dressing in barbarian style and, crossing the Pei River eastward, went to Chun and submitted to him. He told Chun he sought to reside on his western border, to take in refugees from the Middle Kingdom¹² and become Chosŏn's border guard. Chun trusted and favored him, granting him the title of Erudite 博士, presenting him with a jade staff, enfeoffing 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 Chun 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 Chun. Chun 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.

been located near the Yalu River. There may be some connection between Manpanhan and Panhan, and it is possible to read the passage here translated as "[Wei] Man's Panhan," though it would be an unusual reading.

¹¹ The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both read Xiu River 洧水 in both references in this paragraph, but it is generally understood that this is an early transcriptional error for Pei River 溱水, a name attested in other early sources.

¹² The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions have 故中國亡命, but the Zhonghua edition emends 故 to 救, which is syntactically appropriate.

準乃置之於西方。及漢以盧縮為燕王，朝鮮與燕界於溱水。及竊反，入匈奴，燕人衛滿亡命，為胡服，東度溱水，詣準降。說準求居西界，故中國亡命為朝鮮藩屏。準信寵之，拜為博士，賜以圭，封之百里，令守西邊。滿誘亡命，衆稍多。乃詐遣人告準，言漢兵十道至，求入宿衛，遂遣攻準。準與滿戰，不敢也。將其左右宮人走入海。居韓地，自號韓王。

The *Weilüe* says that his sons and relatives¹⁴ who remained in the state therefore adopted the surname Han. Chun ruled on the seas¹⁵ and did not engage in communication with Chosŏn.

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 *Weilüe* says that earlier, when Ugo¹⁶ had not yet been overthrown, the Chosŏn minister Yŏkkyegyŏng 歷給卿 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 Chosŏn.¹⁷ In

¹⁴ The Shaoxi reads 其子友親, while the Jiguge reads 其子及親; the latter is followed in the Zhonghua edition and in this translation.

¹⁵ The intent of the passage is probably that he ruled in lands beyond the purview of Chosŏn rather than literally on the seas.

¹⁶ Ugo was the last ruler of Chosŏn. He is described in the *Shiji* as the grandson of Wei Man.

¹⁷ It is possible that the passage should read 亦與朝鮮真番不相往來, with the character *gong* 貢 (presenting tribute) being read as *zhen* 真, so that the meaning would be "they moreover did not engage in communication with Chosŏn or Chimbŏn." This is the reading proposed by Zhang Pengyi in his 1924 collation of the surviving fragments of the *Weilüe*. See Zhang Pengyi 張鶴一, *Weilüe jiben* 魏略輯本 (Shanxi: Wenxian zhengjichu 文獻徵輯處, 1924): 21:4A. Since it is likely that Chimbŏn 真番 was located in modern Hwanghae Province, immediately to the south of Chosŏn, there is logic to this reading. At the time

魏略曰，其子友親留在國者，因冒姓韓氏。準王海中，不與朝鮮相往來。其後絕滅，今韓人猶有奉其祭祀者。漢時屬樂浪郡，四時朝謁。魏略曰，初，右渠未破時，朝鮮相歷給卿以謀右渠不用，東之辰國。時民隨出居者二千餘戶，亦與朝鮮真番不相往來。

the time of Wang Mang's Dihuang reign (20-23 A.D.), Ch'i 讎 of Yŏmsa 廉斯 served as Chinha'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 scaring sparrows in a field. His language was not that of a [Korean] Han 韓 person. Upon inquiry, the boy said, "We are [Chinese] Han 漢 people and my name is Hulai 戶來. Some 1,500 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." Ch'i said, "I am just now about to submit to Lelang. Would you like to go along?" Hulai replied "Yes," and Ch'i of Chin[hàn]" therefore took Hulai to Hanzi District.¹⁸ The district informed the commandery, and the commandery then made Ch'i an interpreter. Then at Cenzhong 琴中 he [with a Chinese force] boarded a large boat in order to enter Chinha and take back Hulai's comrades who had submitted [to Chinha]. Some one thousand of them were still left, the other five hundred having already died. Ch'i then told Chinha, "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." Chinha said, "The five hundred are already dead. We can only send indemnities for them." Then they sent fifteen thousand people of Chinha and

of the events described in this passage, Chimbŏn would have been heavily influenced by Chosŏn. After Han conquered Chosŏn, Chimbŏn was incorporated as the commandery of Zhenfan.

¹⁷ The *bin* 辰 preceding Ch'i's name may be spurious, as it seems to have no clear meaning.

¹⁸ Hanzi 含賈 was one of the districts of Lelang's Southern Section, later part of Daifang Commandery. It was a small district located in the upland regions of the Chaeryŏng river basin, perhaps along the Sŏhŭng River in North Hwanghae Province.

至王莽地皇時，廉斯讎為辰韓右渠帥，聞樂浪土地美，人民饒樂，亡欲來降。出其邑落，見田中驅雀男子一人，其語非韓人。問之，男子曰，我等漢人，名戶來，我等單千五百人伐材木，為韓所繫得，皆斷髮為奴，積三年矣。讎曰，我當降漢樂浪，汝欲去不。戶來曰，可。辰讎因將戶來來出詣含賈縣。縣言郡，郡即以讎為譯，從琴中乘大船入辰韓，逆取戶來降韓。尚得千人，其五百人已死。讎時曉謂辰韓，汝遣五百人。若不肯，樂浪當遣萬兵乘船來擊汝。辰韓曰，五百人已死，我當出贖直耳。

fifteen thousand bolts of cloth from Pyŏnhan.¹⁹ Ch'i received them and immediately returned. The commandery reported Ch'i's merits and presented him with official cap and fields and manor. His sons and grandsons [continued to receive this favor] for several generations until the fourth year of Emperor An's Yanguang reign (125 A.D.), when [the entitlement] was discontinued.

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 Jianan reign (196-220), Gongsun Kang divided off the abandoned territories to the south of Tunyou District²⁰ and established the commandery of Daifang. He sent Gongsun Mo 公孫模 and Zhang Chang 張敞 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 Jingchu reign (237-240), Emperor Ming [of the Wei dynasty] secretly sent the Daifang Governor, Liu Xin 劉昕, and the Lelang Governor, Xianyu Si 鮮于嗣, across the sea to stabilize the two commanderies. The *sinji* of the various Han polities were presented with seals and cordons of Fief Lords 邑君, while their subordinates were presented with paraphernalia for Fief Leaders 邑長. It was the habit

乃出辰韓萬五千人，牟韓布萬五千匹，鑄收取直還。郡表鑄功義，賜冠額、田宅，子孫數世，至安帝延光四年時，故受復除。桓、靈之末，韓濊強盛，郡縣不能制，民多流入韓國。建安中，公孫康分屯有縣以南荒地為帶方郡，遣公孫模、張敞等收集遺民，與兵伐韓濊，舊民稍出，是後濊韓遂屬帶方。景初中，明帝密遣帶方太守劉昕、樂浪太守鮮于嗣越海定二郡，諸韓國臣智加賜邑君印綬，其次與邑長。

¹⁹ The Shaoxi edition reads Mohan 牟韓 instead of Pyŏnhan 弁韓, but this is likely to be a transcriptional error.

²⁰ Tunyou 屯有 was one of the districts of Lelang, believed to have been located near modern Hwangju, North Hwanghae Province.

of their people to enjoy robes and caps, so when the common people²¹ 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 cordons 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 Sinch'aekch'ŏm (Sinbun'go?)²² became angry and attacked Daifang's Qili Camp. At that time the Governor, Gong Zun 弓遵, and the Lelang Governor, Liu Mao 劉茂, raised an

²¹ The term 下戶, literally "lower households," appears elsewhere in the *Dongyizhuan* of the *Sanguozhi* (in the accounts of Koguryŏ, Ye, and Wa), 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.

²² This passage differs significantly in meaning between the Shaoxi and Jiguge editions. The Shaoxi edition reads 臣憤沾韓忿 while the Jiguge edition reads 臣智激韓忿, the latter being very difficult to parse. The Shaoxi edition also lists 臣濟活國 (Sinbun'go-guk) as one of the polities of Mahan, while the Jiguge edition reads the name as 臣濟活國 (Sinbunhw'al-guk). It is plausible that the characters *chōm* 沾, *ko* 活, and *hwal* 活 might be easily miscopied. If the characters *pun* 濟 and *ch'iek* 憤 were likewise confused within the Shaoxi edition, then the passage above may be read as 臣濟活韓忿 (the Sinbun'go Han became angry), which is syntactically preferable to the Jiguge edition's 臣智激韓忿 (the *sinji* aroused the Han to anger). The passage would then read "the Sinbun'go Han became angry and attacked

其俗好衣憤，下戶詣郡朝謁，皆假衣憤，自服印綬衣憤千有餘人。部從事吳林以樂浪本統韓國，分割辰韓八國以與樂浪，吏譯轉有異同，臣憤沾韓忿，攻帶方郡崎離營。時太守弓遵、

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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ They wear cloth robes, and on their feet they wear leather sandals.

Daifang's Qili Camp." The selection among these options determines the identity of the principal agent in this battle, and there is much academic debate on the matter.

¹³ The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both read as in this translation, though the Zhonghua edition transposes two characters to read 其葬有棺無槨 (they have outer coffins but lack inner coffins).

¹⁴ The term "radiant soldiers" 爨兵 is otherwise unknown, and there is no consensus as to what the reference means. Textual corruption is likely.

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 *zhang* in length,¹⁵ 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 they consider it more-over 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 (*ch'ön'gun*).

Each of the various polities also has a separate village, which they call a *sodo*, where they set up a large log,¹⁶ 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.

¹⁵ One *zhang* 丈 equaled approximately 2.4 meters.

¹⁶ The Jiguge edition has 立大本 rather than 立大木.

其國中有所為及官家使築城郭，諸年少勇健者，皆鑿脊皮，以大繩貫之，又以丈許木錘之，通日囉呼作力，不以為痛，既以勤作，且以為健。常以五月下種訖，祭鬼神，群聚歌舞，飲酒晝夜無休。其舞，數十人俱起相隨，踏地低昂，手足相應，節奏有似鐸舞。十月農功畢，亦復如之。信鬼神，國邑各立一人主祭天神，名之天君。又諸國各有別邑。名之為蘇塗。立大木，縣鈴鼓，事鬼神。諸亡逃至其中，皆不遺之，好作賊。其立蘇塗之義，有似浮屠，而所行善惡有異。

樂浪太守劉茂與兵伐之，遭戰死，二郡遂滅韓。其俗少綱紀。國邑雖有主帥，邑落雜居，不能善相制御。無跪拜之禮。居處作草屋土室，形如冢，其戶在上，舉家共在中，無長幼男女之別。其葬有棺無槨，不知乘牛馬，牛馬盡於送死。以瓔珠為財寶，或以綴衣為飾，或以縣頸垂耳，不以金銀錦繡為珍。其人性彊勇，魁頭露髮，如爨兵，衣布袍，足履革踰躄。

The various polities located in the northern regions near the commanderies are rather familiar with ritual propriety, while those located at a distance assemble 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,¹⁷ all of which have tails more than five *chi* long.¹⁸ Their men sometimes tattoo their bodies.

There are also the Chuho 州胡, 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, as 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.¹⁹

Chinhan lies to the east of Mahan. Its elders 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

¹⁷ The Jiguge edition has 細尾鷄 rather than 細尾雞.

¹⁸ Assuming a Wei-period *chi* 尺 of 24.12 cm, five *chi* would be approximately 1.2 meters.

¹⁹ The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both read 市買中韓, but the Zhonghua edition transposes the final two characters to read 市買韓中, which is probably correct.

其北方近郡諸國差晚禮俗，其遠處直如囚徒奴婢相聚。無他珍寶。禽獸草木略與中國同。出大栗，大如梨。又出細尾雞，其尾皆長五尺餘。其男子時時有文身。又有州胡在馬韓之西海中大島上，其人差短小，言語不與韓同，皆髡頭如鮮卑，但衣韋，好養牛及豬。其衣有上無下，略如裸形。乘船往來，市買中韓。辰韓在馬韓之東，其耆老傳世，自言古之亡人避秦役來適韓國，馬韓割其東界地與之。有城柵。其言語不與馬韓同，名國為邦，弓為弧，賊為寇，行酒為行觴。

imbibing wine. They refer to one another as “confere.” 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 秦韓. At first there were six polities, but they gradually separated into twelve.

Pyōnjin¹⁰ also has twelve polities, and they likewise have various small detached villages, each having a chieftain. The greatest are called *sinji* 臣智, the next being *hōmch'ūk* 險例, then *pōnye* 樊濊, then *sarhae* 殺夷, and then *ūpcha* 邑借.¹¹ Their polities are Sajō, Pulsa, Pyōnjin Mirimidong, Pyōnjin Chōpto, Kūn'gi, Nanmirimidong, Pyōnjin Kojamidong, Pyōnjin Kosunsi, Yōmhæ, Pyōnjin Pallo, Pyōn[jin] Nangno,¹² Kunmi, Pyōn[jin] Kunmi,¹³ Pyōnjin Mioyama, Yōdam, Pyōnjin Kamno, Horo, Chusōn, Mayōn, Pyōnjin Kuya, Pyōnjin Chujoma, Pyōnjin Anya, Mayōn,¹⁴ Pyōnjin Tongno, Saro and Ujung.¹⁵

¹⁰ Pyōnhan is frequently referred to as Pyōnjin 弁辰, which may reflect the nature of its association with Chinhan.

¹¹ In the Jiguge edition the characters of the term *ūpcha* 邑借 are reversed to read 借邑.

¹² The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both have 弁樂奴國, but the Zhonghua assumes a missing 辰 and renders it, as translated here, Pyōnjin Nangno-guk.

¹³ The Shaoxi and Jiguge editions both read 弁軍彌國, which not only seems to have another missing 辰 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 Pyōnhan had polities named Kunmi.

相呼皆為徒，有似秦人，非但燕、齊之名物也。名樂浪人為阿殘。東方人名我為阿，謂樂浪人本其殘餘人。今有名之為秦韓者。始有六國，稍分為十二國。弁辰亦十二國，又有諸小別邑，各有渠帥，大者名臣智，其次有險例，次有樊濊，次有殺夷，次有邑借。有已祗國、不斯國、弁辰彌離彌凍國、弁辰接達國、勤耆國、難彌離彌凍國、弁辰古資彌凍國、弁辰古淳是國、冉美國、弁辰半路國、弁樂奴國、軍彌國、弁軍彌國、弁辰彌烏邪馬國、如湛國、弁辰甘路國、戶路國、州鮮國、馬延國、弁辰走漕馬國、弁辰安邪國、馬延國、弁辰漕盧國、斯盧國、倭中國。

Pyönhan and Chinhan 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 *Wailüe* 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.¹⁶ 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 the customs and practices of marriage they [observe appropriate] 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 *Wailüe* says¹⁷ that they build their houses by piling up logs horizontally similar to [our] prisons.

¹⁴ This is the second occurrence of a polity named Mayön-guk 馬延國 in this list. Some corruption is evident.

¹⁵ The name of the last polity is written Ujung-guk 優中 in the Shaoxi and Jiguge editions but as Uyu-guk 優由國 in the Zhonghua edition.

¹⁶ The Shaoxi edition has 土地肥美宜種五穀及稻, but the Jiguge edition includes an additional character to read 土地肥美宜移種五穀及稻. The Zhonghua edition follows the Shaoxi, as does this translation.

¹⁷ The Shaoxi edition reads 魏略曰, while the Jiguge edition reads 魏略云.

Their country produces iron, and the Han, Ye, and Wa all come to [trade for] it. In their various markets they use iron to purchase goods, the same as coins are used in China. They also provide [iron] to the two commanderies. Their custom is to enjoy singing, dancing, and drinking spirits. They have a zither that is shaped similar to a *zhu*, and when plucked it also produces pleasant notes. When a baby is born they press stones to its head to make it narrow, so now Chinhan people all have narrow heads. The men and women who live close to the Wa also tattoo their bodies. When they march into battle their weaponry is the same as that of Mahan. It is their custom when travelers meet on the road always to stop and yield the way to the other.¹⁸

The Pyönjin reside intermixed with the Chinhan. They also have walled towns. Their clothing and residences are the same as those of Chinhan, and their languages, laws and customs are similar, but they differ in their sacrifices to gods and spirits. They always build their kitchens to the west of the doorway.¹⁹ Their Tongno polity lies adjacent to the Wa. The twelve polities also have kings.²⁰ Their people are all large-framed, their clothing is clean, and they wear their hair long. They also make a wide fine cloth. Their laws and customs are especially rigid and strict.

¹⁸ The Shaoxi edition reads 皆住讓路 as translated here, but the Jiguge edition reads 皆住讓路, which seems to be in error.

¹⁹ Some researchers assume that this passage relates to the previous reference to sacrifices, in which case it could refer to the placement of a shrine to the gods of the kitchen as in China.

²⁰ The passage could be read either as "the twelve polities also [each] have a king" or as "the twelve polities also have a king [who rules over them all]."

國出鐵、韓、濊、倭皆從取之。諸市買皆用鐵，如中國用錢，又以供給二郡。俗喜歌舞飲酒。有瑟，其形似筑，彈之亦有音曲。兒生，便以石厭其頭，欲其扁。今辰韓人皆扁頭。男女近倭，亦文身。便步戰，兵仗與馬韓同。其俗，行者相連，皆住讓路。舟辰與辰韓雜居。亦有城郭。衣服居處與辰韓同。言語法俗相似，祠祭鬼神有異。施籠皆在戶西。其清盧國與倭接界。十二國亦有王。其人形皆大，衣服潔清，長髮。亦作廣幅細布。法俗特嚴峻。

弁、辰韓合二十四國，大國四五千家，小國六七百家，總四五萬戶。其十二國屬辰王。辰王常用馬韓人作之，世世相繼。辰王不得自立為王。魏略曰，明其為流移之人，故為馬韓所制。土地肥美，宜種五穀及稻。晚蠶桑，作縑布。乘駕牛馬。嫁娶禮俗，男女有別。以大鳥羽送死，其意欲使死者飛揚。魏略曰，其國作屋，積柴木為之，有似牢獄也。

HOU HANSHU

(The Account of the Han from the
“Biographies of the Eastern Yi” 東夷列傳
in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, or
History of the Eastern Han Dynasty.)

There are three kinds of Han: the first is Mahan, the second Chinhan, and the third Pyōnjin. Mahan lies in the west, and it has fifty-four polities. It adjoins Lelang⁴¹ on the north and Wa on the south. Chinhan lies in the east and has twelve polities. It adjoins Yemaek on the north. Pyōnjin 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.⁴² 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.

⁴¹ Although this text may have been based on Wei-period source materials, the fact that the Han are said to have adjoined northward with Lelang rather than Daifang indicates a perspective of the Han period. Daifang was established in the southern section of Lelang circa 200 A.D.

⁴² While the general perspective of this description is that of the Han period, the emphasis here placed on the

[The three together] formerly comprised the polity of Chin 辰. Mahan being the largest [of the three], they all took one of [the Mahan] as the Chin King, who ruled all of the lands of the three Han from his capital in the polity of Mokchi. At first all of the various polities took Mahan people to be their kings.

Mahan people know how to till fields and engage in sericulture. They make brocade cloth and produce large chestnuts as big as pears, and they have long-tailed chickens with tails five *chi* in length. Their villages lie intermixed, and they also have no walled towns. They build earthen chambers shaped like tomb mounds, on top of which they make a door. They do not know to kneel or bow, and they do not distinguish between old and young or male and female. They do not value gold or fine fabric, and they do not know how to ride oxen or horses. They only value stone beads, which they sew into clothing as decoration or wear suspended from their necks or ears. In general they wear nothing on their heads but coil up their hair into wedge-shaped knots, and they wear cloth robes and straw sandals.

Their people are tough and brave. When their young men work to build chambers, they pierce the skin of their backs with rope and hang from this a large piece of wood and sing [as they work], considering this to be beneficial for their health.⁴³ They

polity of Paekche suggests an understanding current at the time of the mid-fifth-century compilation of the *Hou Hanshu*, by which time the kingdom of Paekche had become known to the Chinese.

⁴³ The interpretation of this passage is necessarily based on the lengthier description of the same practice in the *Sanguozhi*, without which this passage would not be clear.

皆古之辰國也。馬韓最大，共立其種為辰王，都目支國，盡王三韓之地。其諸國王先皆是馬韓種人為。馬韓人知田蠶，作綿布。出大栗如梨。有長尾雞，尾長五尺。邑落雜居，亦無城郭。作土室，形如冢，開戶在上。不知跪拜。無長幼男女之別。不貴金寶錦罽，不知騎乘牛馬，唯重環珠，以綴衣為飾，及騾頭垂耳。大率皆魁頭露紒，布袍草履。其人壯勇，少年有築室作力者，輒以繩貫脊皮，繩以大木，唯呼為健。

韓有三種，一曰馬韓，二曰辰辰，三曰升辰。馬韓在西，有五十四國，其北與樂浪，南與倭接。辰韓在東，十有二國，其北與濊貊接。升辰在辰韓之南，亦有二國，其南亦與倭接。凡七十八國，伯濟是其一國焉。大者萬餘戶，小者數千家，各在山海間，地合方四千餘里，東西以海為限。

usually perform sacrifice to the gods and spirits in the fifth month at the end of planting, drinking and gathering together day and night. They sing and dance in groups, and when dancing several tens of people follow each other, stepping on the ground in harmony. They do this again in the tenth month when the farm 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 (*ch'ön'gun*). They also set up *sodo*, erecting a large log from which they suspend bells and drums to serve the spirits.⁴⁴ Their southern borders are near the Wa, so there are also some who tattoo their bodies.

In Chinhan, the elders say that there were refugees from Qin who came to avoid 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 imbibing wine. They refer to one another as "confrere," in which they are similar to Qin people, therefore some refer to them as Qin-Han 秦韓.

They have walled towns and palisades, houses and chambers. The various small detached villages each have chieftains. The greatest are called *sinji* 臣智, the next being *kömch'ük* 儉側, then *pönji* 樊祗, then *sar-hae* 殺美, and then *üpch'a* 邑借.⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁴ This passage would not be easily interpreted without reference to the corresponding description in the *Sanguozhi*.

⁴⁵ The terms *kömch'ük* 儉側 and *pönji* 樊祗 are written *hömch'ük* 險側 and *pönye* 樊虞 in the *Sanguozhi*.

常以五月田竟祭鬼神，晝夜酒會，群聚歌舞，舞輒數十人相隨蹋地為節。十月農功畢，亦復如之。諸國邑各以一人主祭天神，號為天君。又立蘇塗，建大木以縣鈴鼓，事鬼神。其南界近倭，亦有文身者。辰韓，耆老自言秦之亡人，避苦役，適韓國，馬韓割東界地與之。其名國為邦，弓為弧，賊為寇，行酒為行觴，相呼為徒，有似秦語，故或名之為秦韓。有城柵屋室。諸小別邑，各有渠帥，大者名臣智，次有儉側，次有樊祗，次有殺美，次有邑借。土地肥美，宜五穀。知蠶桑，作縑布。乘駕牛馬。嫁娶以禮。行者讓路。

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 Pyōnjin 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 Chosōn 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 twentieth year of the Jianwu reign (44 A.D.), the Han man of Yōmsa, Somasi 蘇馬謨, and others went to Lelang to present tribute. [Emperor] Guangwu enfeoffed Somasi as the Fief Lord of Han [China's] Yōmsa [township] 漢廉斯邑君 and made him subject to Lelang Commandery, having them present themselves in court each season.⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁶ The preceding account is not included in the *Sanguozhi*.

國出鐵，鐵、倭、馬韓並從市之。凡諸貿易，皆以鐵為貨。俗喜歌舞飲酒鼓瑟。兒生欲令其頭扁，皆押之以石。弁辰與辰韓雜居，城郭衣服皆同，言語風俗有異。其人形皆長大，美髮，衣服潔清。而刑法嚴峻。其國近倭，故頗有文身者。初，朝鮮王準為衛滿所破，乃將其餘衆數千人走入海，攻馬韓，破之，自立為韓王。準後滅絕，馬韓人復自立為辰王。建武二十年，韓人廉斯人蘇馬謨等詣樂浪貢獻。光武封蘇馬謨為漢廉斯邑君，使屬樂浪郡，四時朝謁。靈帝末，韓、漢並盛，郡縣不能制，百姓苦亂，多流亡入韓者。

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.

馬韓之西，海島上有州胡國。
其人短小，髡頭，衣韋衣，有
上無下。好養牛豕。乘船往來，
貨市韓中。