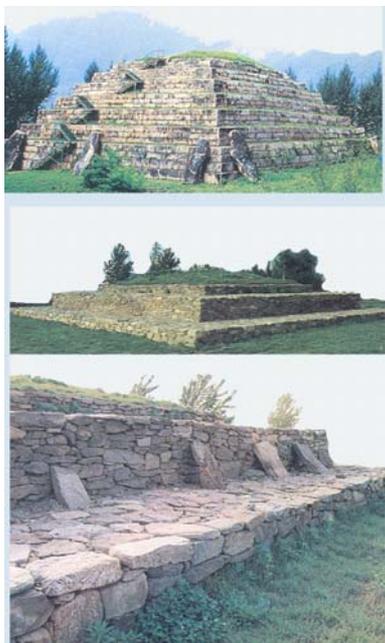


IC-5.S-4.5-0402



1. Koguryeo Tomb of General 將軍塚, Ji'an (top), and Paekche Seok-chon-dong 石村洞 Tomb No. 4. with supporting stones 支撐石, Seoul (bottom)

1 三國志 魏書 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 韓傳 魏略曰 王莽地皇時(20-22) ...我等漢人...爲韓所擊得...皆斷髮爲奴 積三年矣...景初中(237-9) 明帝...越海定二郡...臣智激韓忿 攻帶方郡...時太守弓遵 樂浪太守劉茂 興兵伐之 遵戰死

² See Lee (1984: 36-37).

3 周書 卷四十九 列傳 第四十一 異域上 百濟者 其先蓋馬韓之屬國 夫餘之別種 有仇台者始國 晉書 卷九十七 列傳 第六十七 四夷 馬韓 武帝太康元年 二年

Paekche: An Offshoot of the Puyeo-Koguryeo in Ma-han Land

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The Samguk-sagi records that Chu-mong came down from the Northern Puyeo to the Chol-bon Puyeo area (around the Hun-Yalu river valleys) to found the Koguryeo dynasty, and also that a son of Chumong and his followers came down to the Han River basin area to found the Paekche Kingdom. The majority of the Paekche population was apparently composed of the Ma-han people. The Paekche rulers had maintained the court ritual of presenting sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and also to the shrine of Tong-myung, the legendary founder of both Puyeo and Koguryeo (identified as Chu-mong by the Samguk-sagi who was the father of Onjo, the official founder of Paekche kingdom). Paekche later moved its capital further south to Sabi at the Kum River basin area in 538, calling itself, even briefly, the Southern Puyeo.

According to the Dongyi-zhuan, a large number of Han Chinese was taken prisoner by the Han people sometime between 17-19 AD. It was during the reign of King Onjo (18 BC-28 AD), the founder of the Paekche kingdom. The Dongyi-zhuan further records that the allied forces of Le-lang and Dai-fang commanderies (under the dominion of Wei) launched a large scale attack against the Han River basin area in 246. In the ensuing battle, the governor of Dai-fang was killed.¹ It was during the reign of King Koi (234-86) in Paekche. By the mid-third century, Paekche seems to have been actively expanding and consolidating its power base around this area. This attack by the Le-lang and Dai-fang forces was

apparently to disrupt and prevent the unification of tribal chiefdoms under the emerging leadership of the Paekche.² The Dongyi-zhuan, however, simply records that Paekche was one of the Ma-han states in the Three Han area.

In 260, King Koi appointed six ministers to handle specified administrative functions, established sixteen grades of official rank, and prescribed colors for official dress in accordance with rank. In 262, King Koi decreed that officials who accepted bribes or practiced extortions would be expelled from office after paying a three-fold penalty. The king received his subjects in majestic attire. Such a conspicuous performance by King Koi, as was recorded in the Samguk-sagi, coupled with his military exploits against the Le-lang and Dai-fang allied forces, seems to have made the Zhou-shu record him (K'ia-u-yi) as "the founder of Paekche in the Dai-fang area (see CCI, p. 618)."³

By the time King Mi-cheon of Koguryeo conquered the Le-lang Commandery in 313, Paekche came to occupy the Dai-fang Commandery. With the final southward flight of the Jin court in 317, the Han Chinese went out of the picture.

Paekche under the reign of the warrior kings Keun Chogo and Keun Kusu represents the most expansionist era (346-384) for the kingdom. In Samguk-sagi, the expression of "King Keun Chogo and (or let) Crown Prince Kusu" very conspicuously appears three times. One can find such an expression in Nihongi also. According to the Samguk-sagi, Keun Kusu, in the year 369 as the Crown Prince, routed the 20,000-man-strong Koguryeo army and captured five thousand Koguryeo soldiers. In November 369, the King held a grand military parade south of the Han River, fluttering yellow flags [just like the Chinese emperors]. The conquest of the entire Ma-han area occurred immediately thereafter. In 371, King Keun Chogo, together with the Crown Prince, invaded Koguryeo with 30,000 troops, and King Koguk-won (331-371) of Koguryeo was killed by an arrow in a battle at Pyung-yang. In 377, King Keun Kusu led thirty thousand soldiers and attacked Pyung-yang.⁴ Before the appearance of King Kwang-gae-to the Great in 391, Koguryeo had constantly been battered by Paekche.

According to the Jin-shu (in Annals), an embassy

其主頻遣使入貢方物 七年八年十年 又頻至... 咸寧三年復來

The Jin-shu, in Biographies, records the embassies to the Jin court sent by a certain king of Ma-han in 277, 280 and 281 that must have been King Koi.

⁴ 近肖古王 二十四年 秋九月 高句麗王斯由帥步騎二萬 來屯雉壤 分兵侵奪民戶 王遣太子以兵徑至雉壤 急擊破之 獲五千餘級 其虜獲分賜將士 冬十一月 大闕於漢水南 旗幟皆用黃 二十六年 高句麗舉兵來 王聞之 伏兵於湏河上 俟其至 急擊之 高句麗兵敗北 冬 王與太子帥精兵三萬 侵高句麗 攻平壤城 麗王斯由力戰拒之 中流矢死 (S2: 31)

神功 攝政卅九年 ... 於是其王肖古及王子貴須 亦領軍來會... 四邑自然降服 是以百濟王父子及荒田別木羅斤資等...(NII: 357)

近仇首王 三年 王將兵三萬 侵高句麗 平壤城 (S2: 32)

辰斯王 六年 九月 王命達率真嘉謨伐高句麗 拔都坤城 虜得二百人 (S2: 45)

⁵ 晉書 卷九 簡文帝 二年 六月 遣使拜百濟王餘句 爲鎮東將軍 領樂浪太守

Among the five stone-mounded tombs excavated south of Han River at Seok-chon-dong, Seoul, the largest one (Tomb No. 3) may

be the grave of King Keun Chogo. The step-pyramid design of these tumuli compares closely to the stone tombs of Koguryeo in the Tong-gou region including the one believed to be the grave of King Kwang-gae-to. See Best (2002: 183-89).

⁶ 晉書卷九 孝武帝十一年 以百濟王世子餘暉爲使持節 都督 鎮東將軍 百濟王

⁷ Best (1979: 128) and (1982: 453).

⁸ Prior to 567, with the exception of the single embassy sent to the Northern Wei court in 472 (inciting Wei to take military action against Koguryeo), the exchange of emissaries was conducted exclusively with the southern dynasties. Perhaps the existence of a Paekche colony in the Liao-xi area had prevented an early development of friendly relationship between Paekche and northern dynasties. Paekche sent more than 63 missions to the courts of mainland China during 372-652. See Best (1982: 452).

⁹ Best (1982: 480)

舊唐書 東夷列傳 百濟 武德十五年 璋卒 ...太宗素服哭之 新唐書 帝爲舉哀玄武門

¹⁰ 冊府元龜 卷九九一 外臣部 備禦四 貞觀十七年 九月 帝謂使人曰...爾國以婦人爲主爲隣國 輕侮

from Paekche had arrived at the court of Eastern Jin in 372, and then a Jin envoy was sent to the Paekche court, granting Keun Chogo the title of “General Stabilizing the East and Governor of Le-lang.”⁵ The Samguk-sagi records that Keun Chogo sent another embassy to the Eastern Jin in 373. Jin-shu also records the arrival of a Paekche mission in 384. The Jin-shu records that the title of “Commissioner Bearing Credentials, Inspector-General, General Stabilizing the East, and King of Paekche” was granted to King Chim-nyu in 386.⁶

These represent the earliest diplomatic contacts (between Paekche and Chinese dynasties) formally recorded in a Chinese dynastic history.⁷ Unlike Koguryeo that bordered upon the dynasties of mainland China and maintained a close relationship (namely, frequent warfare) with them from the time of its foundation, any detailed historical accounts relating to Paekche (or Silla) are absent from the Chinese dynastic chronicles prior to these Jin-shu records. Furthermore, one has yet to recognize the fact that Jin-shu records all these contacts with the Paekche kingdom in its Annals only. In its “Barbarian Section” of Lie-zhuan (Biographies 67), a careless copy of Dongyi-zhuan, it solely mentions the extinct Ma-han and Chin-han as if Paekche (or Silla) does not exist on the Korean peninsula.

The ritual acts of presenting nominal tributes and awarding grand titles in return enhanced the prestige of the rulers of both Paekche and the dynasties of mainland China, providing symbolic support for dynastic self-esteem and respective claims of legitimacy.⁸

By the turn of the fifth century, King Kwang-gae-to of Koguryeo overran Paekche’s capital (in 396). His son, King Changsu (413-91), moved the capital southward in 427 from the narrow mountain valleys of Yalu to Pyung-yang at the Taedong River basin, and seized the Paekche capital at Han-song in 475, beheading King Kaero. After the loss of the Han River basin to Koguryeo, Paekche had to relocate its capital south to Ung-jin.

Under the reign of Mu-nyung (501-23), Paekche was fully recovered from the aftermath of disastrous defeat of 475. Silla, however, occupied the Han River basin in 553, opening a direct sea route to China. Silla at last extinguished the entire

Kaya Federation by conquering Tae Kaya in 562, and encircled the entire land frontiers of Paekche. After Silla's occupation of the Han River basin, Silla became Paekche's primary foe.

When King Mu (600-641) of Paekche died, Tai-zong of Tang himself donned white robes and issued a statement of grief at the Xuan-wu Gate in the northern wall of the capital city.⁹ King Uija (641-660) of Paekche captured more than 40 Silla castles in 642 and, forming a military alliance with Koguryeo, laid a joint siege upon the Tang-hang Fortress at the mouth of the Han River in 643 in order to cut off the Silla's access to the Yellow Sea. Queen Sun-duck (632-47), the first of the three woman rulers of Silla, sent a desperate memorial to the Tang court. Best (1982: 482) quotes *Ce-fu Yuan-kui*: Tai-zong promised to take some concrete measures to stop their aggression, but could not help voicing to the envoy his opinion that Silla's troubles might be "attributed to the fact that the kingdom was ruled by a woman and consequently lacked the respect of its neighbors."¹⁰ What an odd prophecy to be uttered by Tai-zong on the impending fate of Tang under the Empress Wu!

DATING THE FOUNDATION OF THE PAEKCHE KINGDOM

Since virtually all Japanese historians accept the thesis that the Yamato kingdom was established in the Japanese islands sometime during the fourth century, they want to believe that the Paekche and Silla kingdoms also appeared in the Korean peninsula sometime during the fourth century.

Shoku-Nihongi was finished by the Yamato court in 797. It is the official history of the Yamato kingdom covering the period between 697 and 791. Its record for the ninth year of Kanmu (781-806) states that Kanmu's mother was an offspring of the Paekche King Mu-nyung (501-23). The record also tells that Chu-mong (the founder of Koguryeo who was the father of the Paekche's founder) was born to the daughter of River God (*Habaek*). It further declares that Kanmu's mother was therefore a descendant of Chu-mong. The records of Shoku-Nihongi on the following year state that King Keun Kusu (375-84) was the "sixteenth" king of Paekche when counted from the Paekche's great ancestor, Chu-mong.¹¹ Shouku-Nihongi apparently regards Chu-mong as the symbolic

¹¹ 續日本紀 桓武天皇 延曆八年...皇太后 姓和氏諱新笠...后先出自百濟武寧王之子純陀太子...其百濟遠祖都慕王者 河伯之女 感日精而所生 皇太后即其後也...延曆九年七月...貴須王者 百濟始興第十六世王也 夫 百濟大祖都慕大王者 日神降靈 奄扶餘而開國...諸韓而僞王 (NS 5: 448-52, 468-72)

¹² 帝王韻紀 百濟始祖名溫祚...與母兄殷祚南奔立國 殷祚立五月而卒

三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 一云始祖沸流王...北扶餘王解扶婁庶孫 母召西奴 卒本人延陀勃之女...生子二人 長曰沸流 次曰溫祚 寡居于卒本 後朱蒙不容於扶餘...南奔至卒本 立都 號高句麗 娶召西奴為妃...及朱蒙在扶餘所生禮氏子孺留來 立之為太子..於是沸流謂弟溫祚曰...我母氏傾家財助成邦業...不如奉母氏南遊卜地 別立國都 與弟率黨類...至彌鄒忽以居之 (S2: 15)

¹³ It also records that King Hye was the thirtieth king of Paekche when counted from Chu-mong while the Samguk-sagi records him as the twenty-eighth king of Paekche counted from King Onjo.

新撰姓氏錄 第三帙 左京諸蕃下 百濟朝臣 出自百濟國都慕王三十世孫惠王也 百濟公 出自百濟國都慕王二十四世孫汶淵王也 石野連 出自百濟國人近速王孫

億頼福留也 (SS: 286-287)

¹⁴The Shinsen Shoujiroku records a clan that has the seventh king of Paekche, Saban (234 AD), as its progenitor. It further records two clans that have King Piryu (the eleventh King of Paekche, 304-344) as their progenitor who was, the Shinsen Shoujiroku specifies, the descendant of King Chogo (the fifth King of Paekche, 166-214). It records a clan that has a descendant of the thirteenth King of Paekche, Keun Chogo (346-375) as its progenitor. We can see that the Shinsen Shoujiroku records the Paekche kings who, according to the Samguk sagi, ruled during 166-214 (King Chogo) and in 234 (King Saban) as the progenitors of some Yamato ruling clans. Furthermore, we can see that the Shinsen Shoujiroku clearly distinguishes Keun Chogo (the thirteenth King) from Chogo (the fifth King) by recording that the eleventh King Piyu was a descendant from the latter.

新撰姓氏錄 第三帙 右京諸蕃下
春野連 出自百濟速古王孫比流
王也 汶斯氏 春野連同祖 速古
王孫比流王之後也 半毗氏 百濟
國沙半王之後也 (SS: 301, 304)

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founder of Paekche.

The Samguk-sagi regards Onjo (the third son of Chu-mong) as the official founder of Paekche. Samguk-sagi further records that King Keun Kusu was the fourteenth king of Paekche when counted from Onjo. That is, according to the Samguk-sagi, King Keun Kusu (375-84) should be the “fifteenth” king if counted from Chu-mong. The Chewang-un’gi, a Korean chronicle compiled in 1287, states, however, that Onjo’s elder brother (Chumong’s second son) was the first king of Paekche, who died five months after enthronement. That is, there was an ephemeral king between Chu-mong (the symbolic founder of Paekche) and his third son Onjo who should have been recorded as the official founder of Paekche. Such a possibility was indeed acknowledged by the Samguk-sagi itself in a footnote. According to the Chewang-un’gi, however, the Samguk-sagi should have recorded Onjo as the second king and his elder brother as the official founder of Paekche in the main text instead of suggesting such a possibility in the footnote as a mere conflicting story.¹²

The Shinsen Shoujiroku (A New Compilation of Clan Register) was finished by the Yamato court in 815 under the auspices of King Saga (786-842). It records that King Munju(475-77) was the “twenty-fourth” king of Paekche when counted from Chu-mong while the Samguk-sagi places him as “twenty-second” king of Paekche counted from the official founder, King Onjo.¹³

Unlike the tradition of Samguk-sagi, the tradition of both Shoku-Nihongi and Shinsen Shoujiroku that were compiled by the Yamato court was to have Chu-mong stand for the symbolic founder of Paekche. Furthermore, the latter two records apparently do not regard Onjo as the de facto founder of Paekche, or as the second king of Paekche when counted from Chu-mong but regard him, just like the Chewang-un’gi, as the third king of Paekche.¹⁴ In any case, these records of the extant Japanese chronicles clearly contradict the arguments of modern Japanese historians that Paekche was established in the fourth century.

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