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Editorial Board

Journal of Inner and East Asian Studies invites contributions from all disciplines of the social sciences and humanities that deal with various aspects of Inner and East Asia. The scope of the journal includes Korea, China, Japan, Southeast Asia, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Russian Maritime Province, and the adjacent regions of Central Asia. We are particularly interested in works of an interdisciplinary focus and comparative and cross-cultural scholarship. By overcoming the limits of studies that focus on the single-country or single-area orientation, *JIEAS* intends to help historians and scholars of other disciplines working in areas other than East Asia to become better informed about the significant contributions of Inner and East Asian history to the discipline as a whole. Finally, the journal will provide manuscript fees of 1,000,000 Korean Won (approx. US $1000.00) for an article, 500,000 Korean Won (US $500.00) for a review article, and 300,000 Korean Won (US $300.00) for a book review or conference/field report. If you have any question or suggestions, please contact us at journal@koguryo.re.kr.

Contents

Special Issue: The Language(s) of Koguryŏ

Articles

Conference Report

Book Reviews

Special Issue:
The Language(s) of Koguryŏ

Guest Editor's Introduction

Werner Sasse, Universität Hamburg

Journal of Inner and East Asian Studies
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Guest Editor's Introduction

Werner Sasse, Universität Hamburg

There is no denying that the language (or sometimes the languages) a people in a political entity are speaking, is one of the most important elements of their culture and their identity. Research into what we can learn from various sources about the language of Koguryŏ is therefore of utmost importance for the understanding of Koguryŏ culture, especially in times when the age-old understanding that Koguryŏ is an integral part of Korean history is under attack.

However, trying to reconstruct the language or languages spoken in Koguryŏ is even much more important in an attempt to figure out the pre-history of all of the Northeast Asian realm, and the results will have a much deeper impact in a wider range of problems. Koguryŏ once was a powerful entity in the area, and a deeper understanding of the Koguryŏ language(s) touches upon open questions about migrations of the pre-historic people within the Korean peninsula, but also about early cultural ties with Northern and Southern Chinese cultures, with Manchurian and Sibirian cultures, and with cultures on the Japanese islands.

Some research has recently been done about the question of a possible relationship of the Koguryŏ and Japanese languages, and the time seemed to be ripe for putting this research into a broader perspective. Therefore a conference under the title of "The Language(s) of Koguryŏ, and the Reconstruction of Old Korean and Neighboring Languages" was planned by the Koguryo Research Foundation and the Korean Studies Section at Hamburg University/Germany, which brought a small number of scholars

from Korea, the USA, and Europe together (see the conference report in the back). It is planned to publish all papers in book form, but some articles are presented here already, in order to stimulate discussions among interested researchers as quickly as possible.

The articles selected for this special edition of the *JIEAS* have been brought together under the general idea that the range of problems should be documented, and as will be seen, some questions touch upon cherished ideas of recent research (and accepted opinions in the general public):

- what precisely is "the language(s) of Koguryŏ"?
- is "Korean" really an "Altaic" language?
- is there an "Altaic" language family at all?
- is there something like "Old Korean", or are there several languages in antiquity in Korea?
- is the Koguryŏ language related to Japanese, or not?
- is there one or more languages behind the place names of antiquity on the Korean peninsula?
- are the sources reliable at all?
- what kind of Chinese pronunciation can be used for interpreting the sources?

These and similar questions, together with serious discussions about historical-linguistic methodology and how it is applicable in the East Asian sphere, are still waiting for precise answers and must be taken up again. It is hoped that this special edition of the *JIEAS* will draw more scholars into getting involved in this kind of research, which lately seems to have come slightly out of fashion.

The guest editor wishes to thank the contributors for their easy cooperation. He feels that a couple of colleagues have become a couple of friends who can discuss their divergent views in an atmosphere of friendship and common interest. He hopes that many more colleagues will join in the discussion, and he is looking forward to many reactions, pro or contra, but interesting in any case.

About Early Paekche Language Mistaken as Being Koguryŏ Language

Toh Soo Hee, Ch'ungnam University

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About Early Paekche Language Mistaken as Being Koguryŏ Language

The language of Late Paekche (475-660) is clearly documented in the place names in *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 3, and 4, in the list of "Paekche place names." The place names in the language of Early Early Paekche, however, are documented in *Samsuk-sagi* Chiri 2, and 4, in the list of "Koguryŏ place names," and simply because of this heading they are falsely understood as being Koguryŏ language. How and where then can we look for the hidden language of Early Paekche? We must look in the surrendered area of Early Paekche (18 B.C.-475 A.D.) The area of Early Paekche was the central area of the peninsula (Han-chu 漢州 and Sak-chu 朔州 in *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 2, and 4), which had been occupied in the southward invasion of Koguryŏ. The people native in this occupied area (Paekche people) used their inherited place names. In other words, it is clear that the inherited (native) place names in *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4 are Early Paekche language. And the place names in Chinese, which correspond to these inherited place names, are Koguryŏ-style translations from after the Koguryŏ occupation. But the early Japanese scholars mistook the inherited place names as being Koguryŏ place names. This early misunderstanding (of around the year 1900) of taking these inherited place names for place names in the Koguryŏ language, a false suggestion originally proposed by Japanese scholars, has been accepted for too long, and even today some scholars still stick to this worthless assumption. But I proposed a different view in my dissertation 1977, claiming "Early Paekche language mistaken for Koguryŏ language," and I have since continued to do research into this question. In the end my continued research resulted in the reliable conclusion that the place names of *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4 indeed are not Koguryŏ language but Early Paekche language. This is the reason why many distinguished scholars in Korea and abroad have accepted my suggestion. Therefore, as long as no different opinion clearly falsifying my suggestion is being raised, research papers based on these sources hitherto considered to represent Koguryŏ language, which up to now would have the heading "XXX in the Koguryŏ language," must now be changed into "XXX in the (Early) Paekche language," because these sources in reality represent Early Paekche language.

About Early Paekche Language Mistaken as Being Koguryŏ Language

Toh Soo Hee, Ch'ungnam University

1

1.1. Awareness of the history of Paekche is normally fixed to the Ungjin-熊津-period of 63 years (475-538) and the Puyŏ-扶餘-period of 122 years (538-660). However, these 185 years do not exceed one quarter of the 678 years of Paekche history. But where did the remaining 493 years corresponding to three quarters of the Paekche history take place? If we want to find this secretly hidden Paekche history, we first have to overcome this biased view concentrating on the Ungjin-Puyŏ-period. Only then we can understand the history of Paekche in a new way and recognize it in an appropriate way. This suggestion is also absolutely useful when we discuss the history of the Paekche language.

In my paper of 1977 I argued on the basis of the place name sources of the Later Paekche period. But when I wrote the article, suddenly I felt some doubts. When the territory of Later Paekche is drawn up on the basis of *Samguk-sagi* 三國史記 Chiri 地理 3, the area is restricted to South Ch'ungch'ŏng and North and South Chŏlla. This is the territory over which Paekche ruled for 185 years (Ungjin 63 + Puyŏ 122 = 185) after the capital had been moved to Ungjin (today Kongju 公州) in the 1st year of King Munju (475). In this case, where is the territory of the 493 (668-185) years before that? And the question arose, that when the forgotten territory of the Early Paeckche is reconstructed, would the place names scattered in this area really be Paekche place names? This doubt triggered the final motiva-

tion for the articles 1979-80, 1982, 1984a,b, 1985a (" '前期 百濟語 研究", "Research into Early Paekche Language"). In the process of this research it became confirmed that the native place names in *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4, which had been thought to be Koguryŏ language, in reality were Early Paekche language.

1.2. The Chiri-chi 地理志 of *Samguk-sagi*, *kwŏn* 34-37 are composed of Chiri 1 (Silla), Chiri 2 (Koguryŏ), Chiri 3 (Paekche), and Chiri 4 (Koguryŏ, Paekche). In my paper I want to bring the fact to light again, that the so-called "Koguryŏ place names" recorded in Chiri 4 are in reality "Early Paekche language".

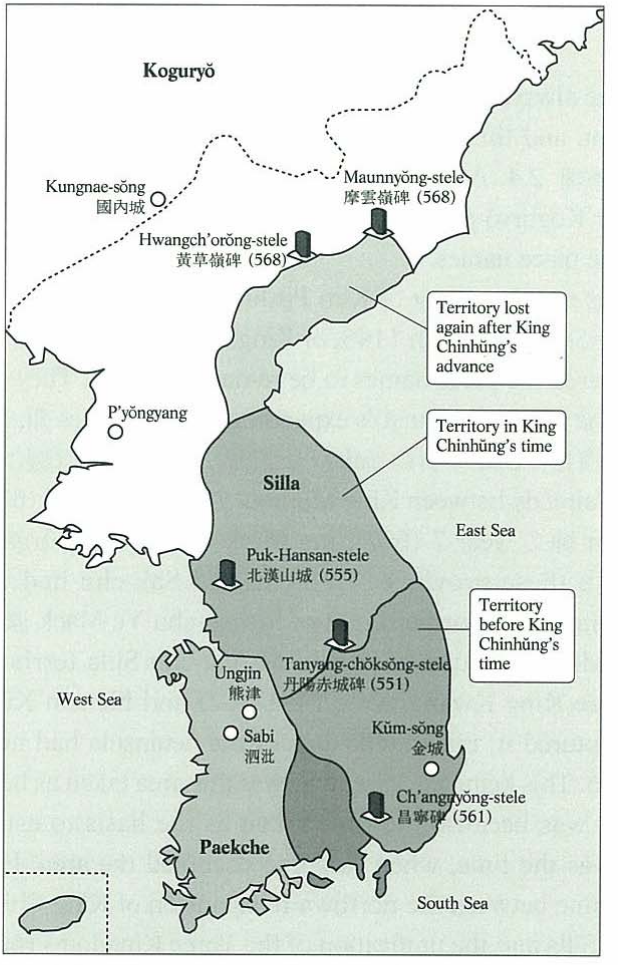
The first scholars who believed the records of *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 2 and Chiri 4 at face value and did comparative research into Koguryŏ language and Old Japanese language numerals were Naitō (內藤湖南 1907) and Shinmura (新村 1927). It is miraculous, how this early conviction continued the last half century, and how even today academic circles researching the history of the Korean language are unable to free themselves from this belief. However, I have undertaken a first step to understand the native place names recorded in pairs in the mentioned Chiri 4 as "Early Paekche Language Mistaken as Being Koguryŏ Language" in Toh Soo-Hee 1977, pp. 46-47. And I repeated this research on the basis of this first step (Toh Soo-Hee 1977, 1979-1980, 1982, 1984a,b, 1985a). At about the same time Kim Pang-Han (金芳漢 1980, 1981ab, 1982) also argued extensively from many points of view that the native place names in Chiri 4 are not Koguryŏ language. And Mabuchi (馬淵和夫 1982, 1999), Nam Pung-Hyŏn (南豊鉉 1985), Kim Wan-Chin (金完鎭 1987), Pak Pyŏng-Ch'ae (朴炳采 1988), and Chŏng Kwang (鄭光 2005) agreed with my suggestion.

I am returning to the question of "Early Paekche Language Mistaken as Being Koguryŏ Language" in this paper again. In other words, in the manuscript for this presentation I intend to go deeper into this question, rather than to bring supplements.

2

2.1. There are always two sides to written sources, just like green and red to a watermelon, and this is especially true with *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 2 and 4 (三國史記 地理 2,4. As indicated above, the *Samguk-sagi* is dividing into Chiri 2, 4 for Koguryŏ place names, Chiri 1 for Silla place names, and Chiri 3 for Paekche place names.

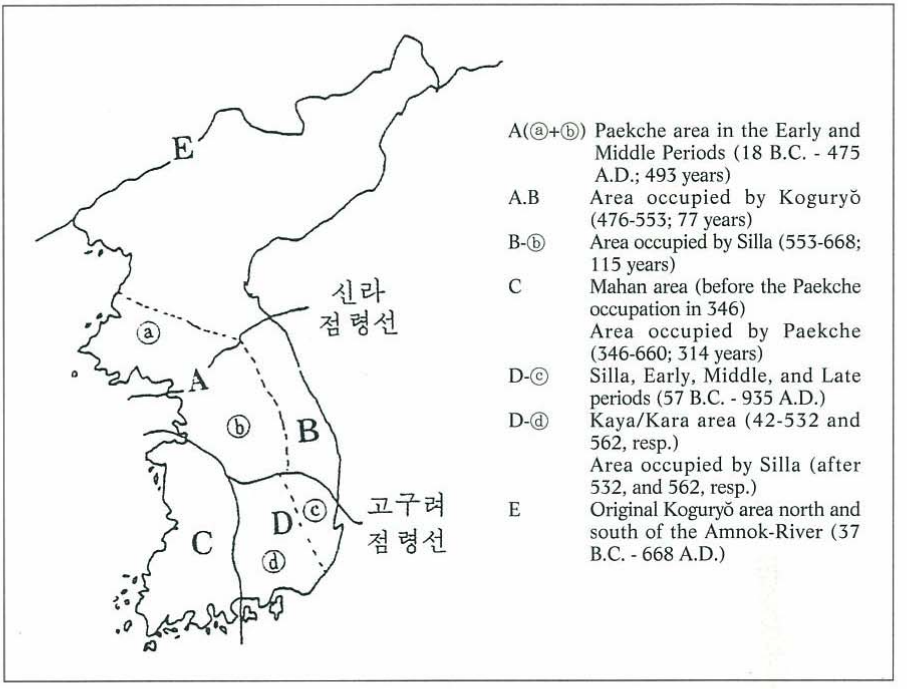
This was not the doing of Kim Pushik (金富軾 1075-1151) when he compiled the *Samguk-sagi* in 1145, or King Kyŏngdŏk (景德王 r. 742-765), when he ordered the place names to be re-named in 757. They only faithfully followed the basis of Koguryŏ's expanding in 3 provinces 州, Hansan 漢山 (> Han-chu 漢州), Usu 牛首(> Sak-chu 朔州), Hasŭlla 何瑟羅(> Myŏng-chu 溟州), when already between King Munmu 文武, year 17-18 (677-678), and King Sinmun 神文, year 7 (687), the whole country was organized into 9 provinces. In these provinces Han-chu and Sak-chu had earlier been Paekche territory, the northern part of Myŏng-chu Ye-Maek 濊貊 territory, and the middle and southern part of Myŏng-chu Silla territory. In other words, before King Kwanggaet'o (391-412) and his son King Changsu 413-491) captured it, this middle area of the peninsula had no connection with Koguryŏ. This being the case, why was this area taken as being Koguryŏ territory? It was because the time taken as the basis to establish these provinces, was the time, when Koguryŏ occupied the area. However, the occupation time between the northward expansion of King Chinhŭng (眞興 540-575) of Silla and the unification of the Three Kingdoms (660, 668) was really much longer. What was the secret intention to nevertheless select the Koguryŏ occupation rather than the 493 years of Paekche history or the 115 years of Silla occupation? It was that because, only after establishing "Koguryŏ territory" in this tricky way, there was a unification of three kingdoms. Had Silla absorbed the original area of Koguryŏ by name and reality, the map of the Unified Three Kingdoms would have looked much different. And also, had the time of King Chinhŭng been taken as the basis, the pirated three provinces (Chiri 2) would have been Silla territory, and had the Paekche period before the southward expansion of King Changsu been taken as the basis, Han-chu and Sak-chu among the three provinces would have



map. 1 Silla territory at the Time of King Chinhŭng 眞興 (540-576)

been Paekche territory, and Myŏng-chu would automatically have been left as Silla territory. (see <map 1>, <map 2>)

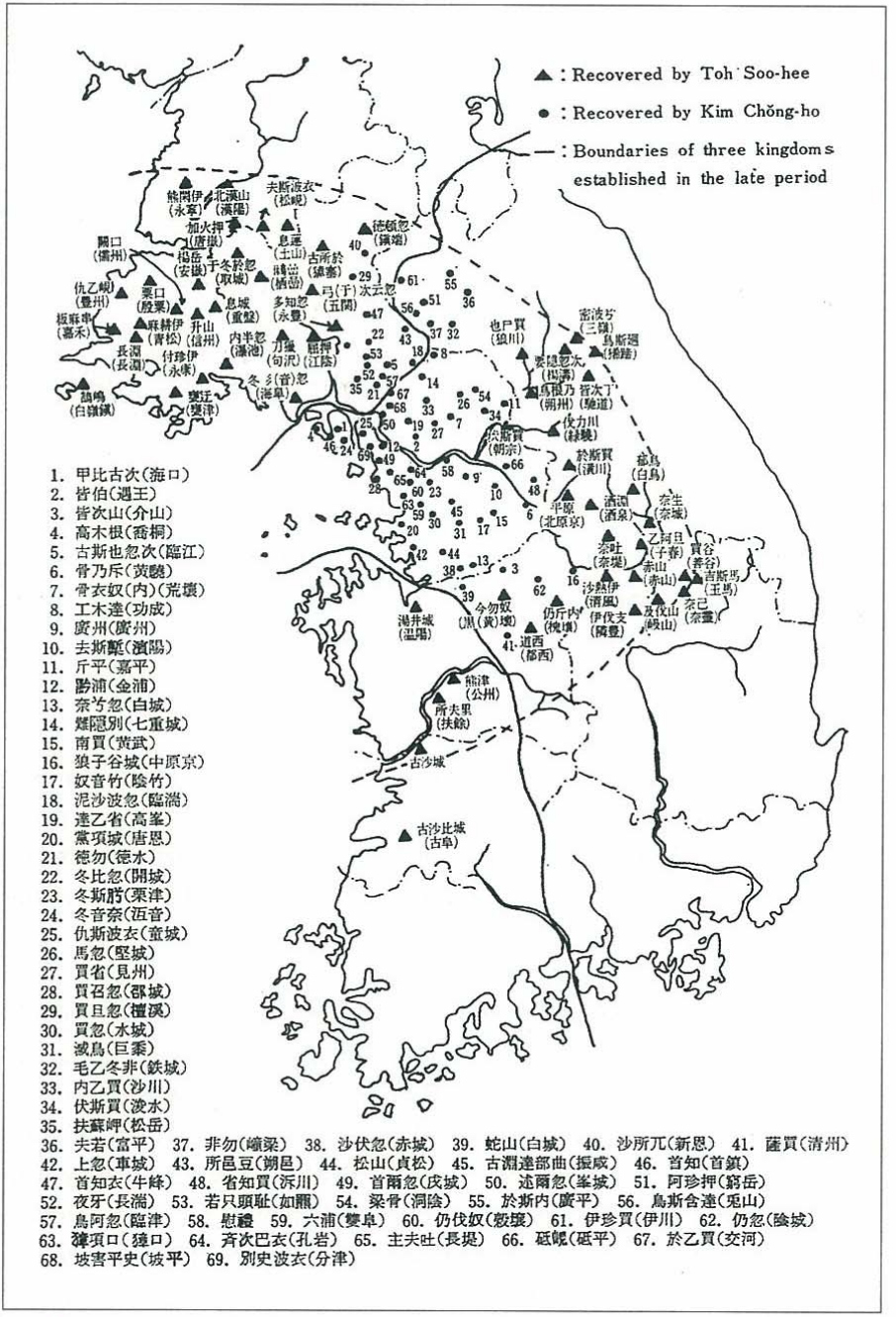
As demonstrated, if we free ourselves from the occupation time and inquire historically, the middle part of the peninsula (the 3 provinces mentioned above) was not originally Koguryŏ territory. So in the end, when we leave out the occupied area, the fact is revealed that Silla was unable to swallow but little of the Koguryŏ area, and therefore it becomes a "Unified Two Kingdoms". When we unveil the camouflage by which Silla with this tactics



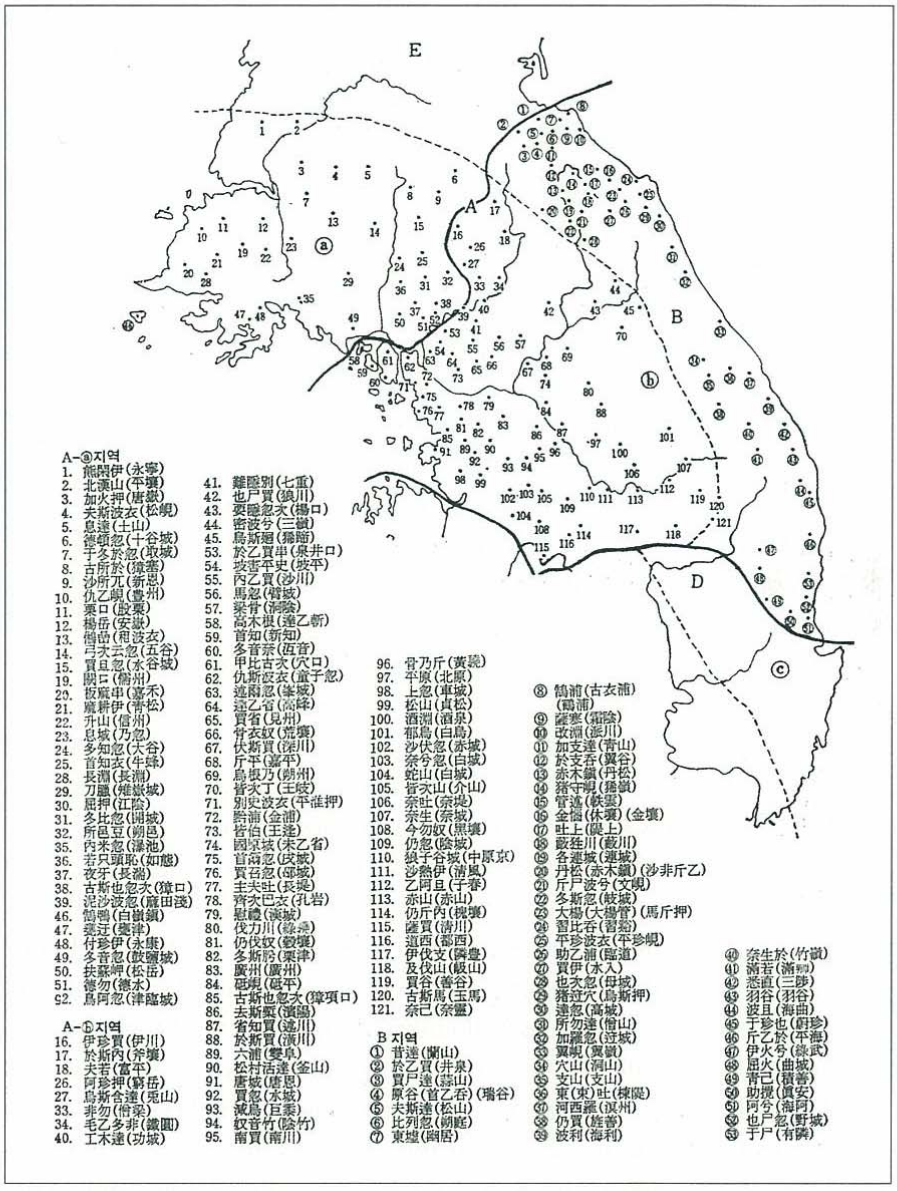
map. 2 Domains of the Three Kingdoms in the Early and Late Periods

wanted to make it look like "Unified Three Kingdoms", the fact that it was "Unified Two Kingdoms" becomes clear in our conscience. (see my paper 2002). The historical facts are hidden by magically synchronizing the period of Koguryŏ's occupation. It is regrettable that the research of the early scholars did not result in realizing this fact.

2.2. I have reconstructed the territory of the Early Paekche period (of 493 years) on the basis of the sphere in which the Paekche kings were active according to the Paekche annals of the *Samguk-sagi* 三國史記 百濟本紀. This territory corresponds to the area A-ⓐⓑin <map 2>. To the 69 place names among the "Koguryŏ" place names of Chiri 2, which already Kim Chŏng-Ho 金正浩 restored as Paekche place names in *Taedong-chiji* 大東地志 (1864), I found another 53 place names (before the *Taedong-chiji* there are also Koryŏ-sa chiri 1 高麗史 地理1 [1451] and *Chŭngbo Munhŏn-pigo* 增補 文獻備考 [1770/1908]. The Paekche place names found



map. 3 Estimated Domain of Early Paekche



map. 4 Distribution of Ancient Place Names in the Middle of the Peninsula in Areas A and B

this way amount to 122 place names, and for each one I found the location, and placed them (see <map 3>). And in area B, the middle and southern part is estimated to be the Silla area which collapsed because of the south-

ward invasion of Koguryŏ, and the northern part is estimated to be Ye-Maek 濊貊 territory. For each of the 53 place names I found the location and placed them. For the distribution of the place names in Chiri 2 see <map 1>, <map 2>, <map 3>, <map 4>.

2.3. Place names have the highest degree of usage in the vocabulay, because place names are the names on the basis of man's life. And also they are the most numerous ones among proper nouns. And their conservativeness is the strongest in the vocabulary. However, although it is universal that a place name, once created, is used alike from beginning to end, occasionally it is degraded to the name of a smaller unit, and survives like a fossil somewhere within the designated area. Saboˇl country 沙伐國, for instance, which had been swallowed during King Ch'ŏmhae's 沾解王 reign (247-61) was changed into the county name Saboˇl-county 沙伐州 > Sang-county 上州 > Sang-county 尙州, but the original place name Saboˇl survives today in "Saboˇl township 沙伐面" and "Saboˇl neighborhood 沙伐里", and Paekche's last capital "Soburi 所夫里" was changed into Puyŏ 扶餘 in 757 under King Kyŏngdŏk 景德王, but the original name is still used in the unchanged name of "Soburi 所夫里 (Sobu neighborhood)" for the village at the lower edges of Puso Mountain 扶蘇山 in front of the old Puyŏ museum. In this way all words did not become obsolete. Place names, therefore have extremely strong evidential power when working out problems in history.

Universally the cultural inheritance of a people who earlier had lived at some place gets worn down or completely lost in the course of time. But as an exception there are two cases of conservation. One is the remains buried underneath the earth, the other is the fixed place names above the earth. Remains under the earth are a well-known fact, so we need not repeat an explanation here. I will only try to verify how conservative place names are.

The place name of 'Babylon" where the Tower of Babel stood, which appears in the Book of Genesis in the Old Testament, as well as Ur, Abraham's home, and Uruk, Assur of the Assyrian Kingdom, and so on, have survived in today's Irak. Not only that, also the historical place name of 'Elat' , where young David defeated Goliath around 1100 B.C., is still in use unchanged until today. The old place names of the unified period, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jordan, Israel, and so on, are still in use almost unchanged. Or,

on the Hawaiian Islands, many indigenous place names like 'Hawaii, Molokai, Molokin, Wainapanapa, Wailau, Waikiki, Ohau, Honolulu' survived. In Sibiria, the original names of rivers, 'Aobj, Atobj, Brobj, Kobj, Sobj, Tymkobj' are still being used. Also, in Italy, the place names like 'Cuma, Neapolis ("the New City" > Napoli), Pozzuoli, Pompei, Sicily'of the times, when the Greek colony had been established before the Roman Empire, remained unchanged and survived. In names of states in the USA, almost half of them are surviving American Indian place names. And the old place names of the Chinese Shang 商 period (1766 B.C.-1122 B.C.) recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions are still in use today.

In Korea the same fact can be found. The Jurchen place names 童巾(T'unggwŏn 퉁권 = "bell 鐘")山, 豆漫 (T'umŏn 투먼 = 10.000 萬)江, 雙介 (Ssanggae 쌍개 = a hole 孔, a cave 穴)院, 斡合(Wŏhŏ 워허 = stone 石), 羅端(Ratan 라단 = seven 七)山, 回叱家(Hoeska 횟갸), 斡東(Odong 오둥), 禿魯(T'uru 투루)江 surviving and still in use in Hamgyŏng and P'yŏngan provinces, are cases of what I mean.

When no decisive objections can be raised it is only reasonable to apply the same principle to the place names in the central part of the Korean peninsula in antiquity (Early Paekche area (A) and Ye-Maek and Silla area (B)).

The special features emerging from the distribution of indigenous place names from *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4 in <map 5> is that it combines the area of Early Paekche (A = Han-chu and Sak-chu), the area of Ye-Maek (B = Northern part of Myŏng-chu), and the area of Kaya (D-ⓓ) (In Toh Soo-Hee 1985: 61-68 I have estimated the map of Kaya to be like <map 6> on the base of the distribution of the Kaya tumuli groups). On the other side are the middle and southern parts of Myŏng-chu (area B) combining with the area of Silla (D-ⓒ) below. The characteristic of the distribution maps is that it shows homogeneity of the Early Paekche language, the Ye-Maek language, and the Kaya language. On the other side, the Silla language and the Later Paekche language (area C) show homogeneity. The distinguishing characteristics of area C are identified by Chiri 3,4 (Paekche place names), and those of area D by Chiri 1 (Silla place names) (see Toh Soo-Hee 2002a)

As shown above, it is definite that the indigenous place names in the upper part of Chiri 4's Yŏngdong [嶺東 = east of Taegwallyŏng 大關嶺] area (= Myŏng-chu) are Ye-Maek language and those in the middle and southern parts are Silla language. Then it can be estimated without doubt that the indigenous place names of Chiri 4 in Yŏngsŏ [嶺西 = west of Taegwallyŏng 大關嶺] (= Han-chu and Sak-chu) are Early Paekche language. Both the Western and the Eastern area are under identical historical conditions, because proof lies in the characteristics of the distribution of the place names <map 3>, <map 4>.

3

3.1. The larger part of the place names in Chiri 4 (two thirds) are couplets. Then, are all place names - single ones, doublets, and translations into Chinese - all Paekche place names? And if not, which ones among them are Paekche place names? The correct answer to this question can be found in the nature of place name alterations.

As the first person to change indigenous place names into Chinese-like 2-character place names the Silla King Kyŏngdŏk (景德王, 742-765) has been pointed out. Of course, considering the nationwide change at one and the same time, King Kyŏngdŏk's work must be cited. On the other side we must not think that King Kyŏngdŏk's name changing of 757 was the first time that indigenous place names were sinified. Because translations into Chinese appeared here and there already before King Kyŏngdŏk at the time of the unification of the Three Kingdoms (downfall of Paekche 660, and of Koguryŏ 668) and maybe even earlier. For instance, even before King Kyŏngdŏk, Sabŏl-Kuk 沙伐國 was renamed Sang-Chu 上州, and Kammunso-Kuk 甘文小國 became Ch'ŏng-Chu 靑州. Many similar cases of renaming are recorded in the *Samguk-sagi* and *Samguk-yusa*. In the *Chŭngbo Munhŏn-pigo* (*kwŏn* 16: "Yŏji-ko 4" 增補文獻備考 輿地考4) this fact is reported as "In the 6th year of King Sinmun 神文王 [681-92] Sŏk Mountain 石山, Ma Mountain 馬山, Ko Mountain 孤山, and Sap'yŏng 沙平 were established. King Kyŏngdŏk renamed only one district 縣 in this way: Sap'yŏng 沙平 (> Sinp'yŏng 新坪)" (see Toh Soo-Hee 1982:271-273). To

judge cases like this, there is, as I have claimed repeatedly (1987:30-33, et al.), a strong possibility that place names in all of the country were fixed and renamed for administrational usage in an appropriate way after kings Kwanggaet'o and Changsu had enlarged the national territory to the largest size. In general, this possibility is supported by universal examples of renaming of place names. Normally, the reason for such revisions can be identified through inner or outer historical developments as cases like the unification of a country, the establishment of a new dynasty, or a rapid enlargement of the national territory (detailed examples omitted here). Therefore King Kwanggaet'o and King Changsu's expansion of the national territory was necessarily accompanied by fixing and renaming the placenames. This being the case the question arises, which king did the renaming?

3.2. From his stele (414) we can establish that King Kwanggaet'o had by 397 invaded until just north of Paekche's Han River 漢水, and pillaged no less than 58 walled towns 城 and 700 villages. On this stele Paekche place names like Adan-sŏng 阿旦城, Nadan-sŏng 那旦城, Moryŏ-sŏng 模盧城, Komagyara-sŏng 古莫耶羅城, Mich'u-sŏng 彌鄒城, and Komoru-sŏng 古牟婁城'appear unchanged, and if compared with the place names of year 2 of Tang Gaozong (669) from north of the Amnok River 鴨錄水 (between earlier and later ones the later ones), they are much different. On top of that, place names carry the suffix 城 only, and there is no suffix like '州', or '郡', or '縣'. By this we can therefore verify that in King Kwanggaet'o and King Changsu's times the place names of Chiri 4 had not been changed.

Another question on the other side is, how long, after King Changsu had seized Paekche's 漢忽 (廣州), Koguryŏ had actually ruled the occupied area. In reality Paekche had only for a short time retreated in deep hatred and anger, had then recaptured the lost territory, and had continued to proceed northward, while also Silla in similar fashion had continuously planned to go north. Attacked from two countries proceeding northward, Koguryŏ soon had to return the occupied area to Paekche and Silla, and to return to their own territory north of the Taedong 大同 river. In the foreword to *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4 it says:

> 長壽王十五年 移都平壤 歷年一百五十六年 平原王 二十八年 移都長安城 歷年八十三年 寶臧王二十七年而滅 (In the year 15 of King Changsu 長壽王 [i.e. 427] the capital was moved to P'yŏngyang, 156 years later, in the year 28 of King P'yŏngwŏn 平原王[585], the capital was moved to Changan-sŏng 長安城, and after 83 years, in the year 27 of King Pojang 寶臧王 [668], [Koguryŏ] collapsed.)

In other words, 156 years after the capital had been moved to P'yŏngyang, it was again moved back north to Changan-sŏng 長安城. This moving must have been unavoidable because of the two-sided attack by Paekche and Silla. In this case the beginning of the former capital P'yŏngyang coming under threat must have started at a much earlier period, and almost half of the 156 years must have been an unstable situation. Silla's period of occupying this central region, on the other side, is much longer, namely 193 years between King Munmu's moving the capital to Ungjin and the downfall of Koguryŏ 668. On the basis of the length of the occupancy the possibility that Silla did the reorganizing and renaming, cannot be ruled out completely. But such a possibility is highly unlikely, because the place names which form the basis of King Kyŏngdŏk's renaming are overwhelmingly inside Koguryŏ territory. Therefore, if the reorganizing and renaming of the place names of *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4 had been done early, it would clearly have been carried out by Koguryŏ. For the period in question I would suggest that it happened between King Changsu's surrender in 475 and the time of King Munja 文咨王(492-518) or King Anjang 安臧王(519-529).

3.3. Up to now we have examined from various angles the possibility of the renaming having taken place in Koguryŏ. We must now take a close look at the character of the place name sources for *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4.

I suppose that the basic source consulted by King Kyŏngdŏk for the renaming of Paekche's and Koguryŏ's place names was the same as for Chiri 4. Of the 165 so-called Koguryŏ place names in Chiri 4, 99 placenames have alternative names. In comparison, only 21 of the 147 Paekche place names in Chiri 4, and of the 134 Silla place names in Chiri 1 only 17 have alterna-

tive names. The ratio of having two names among the three is Koguryŏ : Paekche : Silla = 57% : 14% : 13%. In this way the Silla place names (Chiri 1) and the Paekche place names (Chiri 4) having alternative names are only 1/4th of the Koguryŏ ones in Chiri 4. This fact is evidence for Koguryŏ having carried out an extensive renaming in all of the country or in the occupied region after having enlarged its territory south and north. Compared with the complete renaming of the 32 place names north of the Amnok River 鴨錄水, renamed in the year called [Tang] Zongzhang 2 (669), like 'hol 忽 > sŏng 城, tal 達 > san 山, ap 押 > ak 岳, kap 甲 > hyŏl 穴', the renaming of the "Koguryŏ" place names in Chiri 4 (my "Early Paekche" place names) is of minor scale. I would say, the reason why the scale of renaming (translating into Chinese) in the [T'ang] Tsung-chang 2 (669)'s renaming is much larger proves that Koguryŏ carried out the renaming adjusting the extent to the different needs at different times. The recording of the two sets of place names has not been carried out at the same time, with the recording of *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 2, 4 (757) being 88 years later than [Tang] Zongzhang 2 (669).

Summarizing and concluding what has been said so far, it can be presumed that the largest administrational reorganizing and renaming in Koguryŏ was conducted during the relatively stable times of King Munja and King Anjang's reign (492-518).

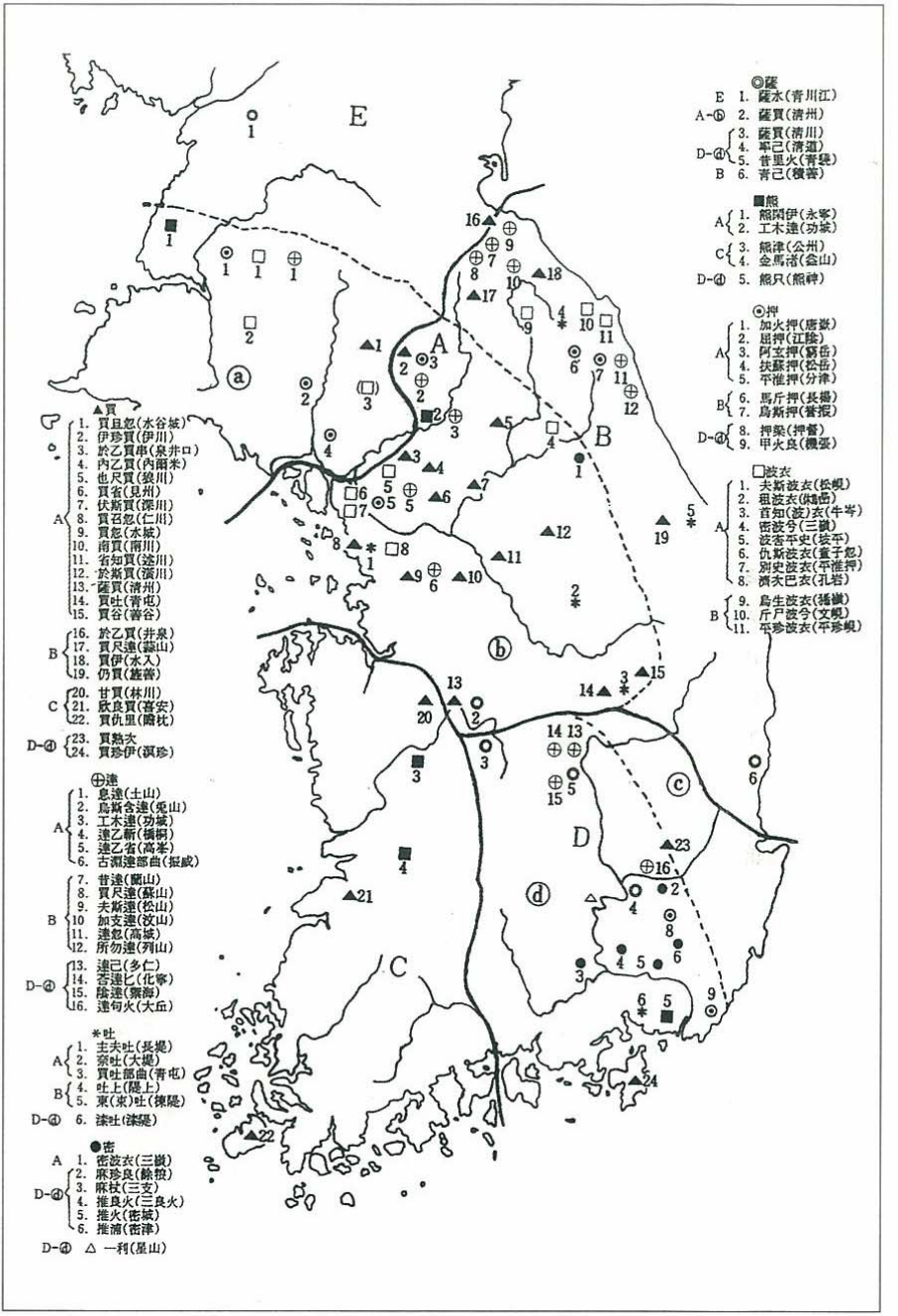
The names from Han-chu and Sak-chu, which are presumed to have been translated by Koguryŏ at that time (<map 4>, area A), from Chiri 4:

Early Paekche>Koguryŏ // Early Paekche>Koguryŏ // Early Paekche>Koguryŏ

租波衣	> 鵂巖	漢忽	> 漢城	首知衣	> 牛嶺
刀臘	> 雉嶽	屈於押	> 江西	若只頭恥	> 朔頭-衣頭
耶耶,夜牙	> 長淺城	也尸買	> 生川	要隱忽次	> 楊口
密波兮	> 三峴	烏斯	> 猪足	馬忽	> 臂城
首知	> 新知	冬音奈	> 休陰	達乙省	> 高烽
伏斯買	> 深川	皆次丁	> 王岐	別史波衣	> 平淮押
未乙省	> 國原城	冬斯	> 栗木	古斯也忽次	> 獐項

南買	> 南川	滅烏	> 駒城	省知買	> 述川
於斯買	> 横川	去斯斬	> 楊根	買忽	> 水城
松村活達	> 釜山	古斯也忽次	> 獐項口	仇斯波衣	> 童子忽
皆伯	> 王逢,王迎	灘隱別	> 七重	於乙買串	> 泉井口
毛乙冬非	> 鐵圓	非勿	> 僧梁	功木達	> 熊閃山
於斯內	> 斧壤	阿珍押	> 窮嶽	古斯也忽次	> 獐項
泥沙波忽	> 麻田淺	烏阿忽	> 津臨城	甲比古次	> 穴口
達乙斬	> 高木根	買旦忽	> 水谷城	德頓忽	> 十谷
于次呑忽	> 五谷	內米忽	> 池城,長池	古所於	> 獐塞
夫斯波衣	> 仇史峴	奈吐	> 大堤	今勿內	> 萬弩

Strictly speaking, the renaming of the Koguryŏ place names is not really translating them into Chinese, but rather a direct translation of the elements within the place names. Take for example 買 + 忽 becoming 水 "water, river" + 城 "walled town" ("+" here marks the boundary of elements or morphemes), 於乙 + 買 + 串 becoming 泉 "fountain" + 井 "well" + 口 "mouth, opening" (that is 於乙 becoming 泉, 買 becoming 井, and 串 becoming 口) a.s.o., where only the elements or morphemes in the place name were written with Chinese characters having the same meaning. The translators had utmost respect for the structure of the indigenuos place names. I maintain that they held fast to the structural principles of the place names, because had they changed the order of the morphemes at their own will, the place names would have been demolished. Especially 皆 + 伯 which became 王逢/王迎 can be read element by element like '개 + 맞이', and the word order is according to Korean grammar. And also the translations followed the Korean grammar completely, see 王 + 逢(迎) (the meaning is "the place, where the beauty named Han 漢 met King Anjang 安臧王 (519-529)"). Later, however, King Kyŏngdŏk broke with this principle, and his translation attitude is directly opposite, resulting in 遇 + 王, which follows Chinese grammar. And if we presume that O + 烏阿 + 忽 became 津 + 臨 + 城, we can in the same context understand, how King Kyŏngdŏk changed 津臨 into 臨津, because 臨津 in the Kwanggaet'o stele also follows this structure "王臨津言曰-- …The King reached the ferry and said:..."). Of course there are exceptions to this.

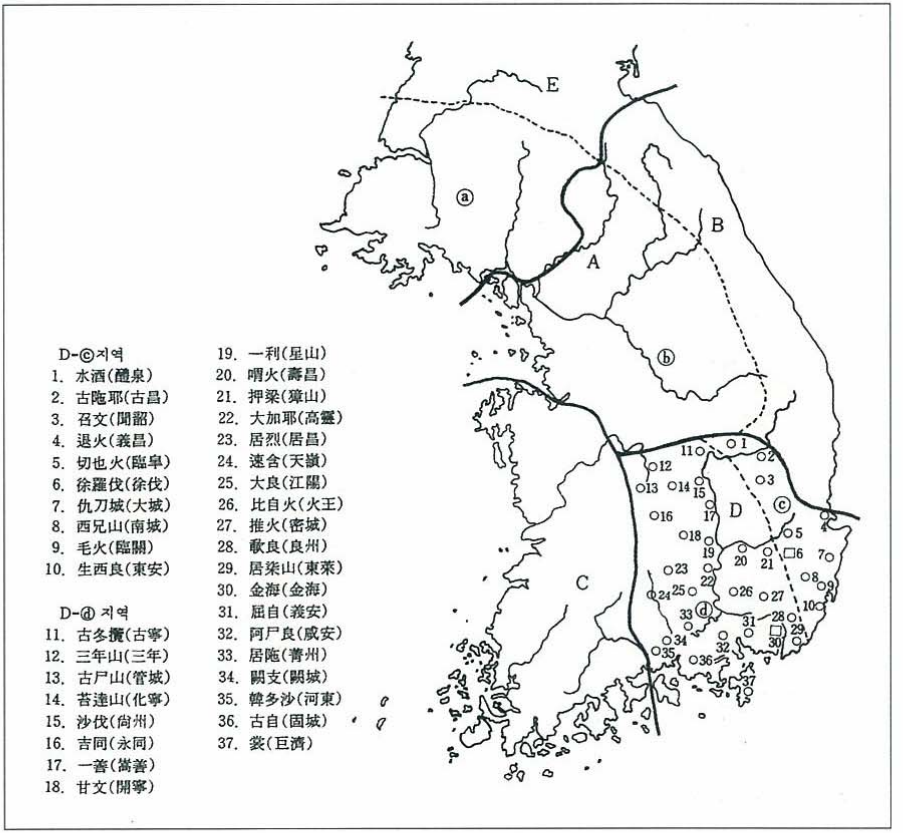


map. 5 Characteristic Distribution of Place Name Morphemes in the Korean Peninsula in Antiquity

4

4.1. I presume that among the indigenous place names in *Samguk-sagi* Chiri 4 the ones of Han-chu and Sak-chu (Yŏngsŏ 嶺西 area) are Early Paekche language, the ones of the northern part of Myŏng-chu (Yŏngdong 嶺東 area) are Ye-Maek language, and those of the middle and southern areas below are Silla language. In short, my conclusion is based on the distribution you see in <map 5>, which shows the special features of the place names, which are sources for direct proof just as relics are in archaeology.

4.2. In my introductory remarks I confessed that I was tempted to do



map. 6 Distribution of Place Names in the D-ⓓ Kaya/Kara and D-ⓒ Silla (Early, Middle, and Late periods) Areas

research on Early Paekche Language, while I was working on Late Paekche Language. And now I must confess that I was tempted to do research on Koguryŏ Language, while I was working on Early Paekche Language. Because when reestablishing the language source material, which has falsely been taken as Koguryŏ Language, as actually being Early Paekche Language, the responsibility arises to fill the empty space by looking for Koguryŏ Language through new methodology. Therefore I have tirelessly collected Koguryŏ Language items in the old sources, starting with Koguryŏ place names in the original territory of Koguryŏ. On the basis of this material I have published some results in 2000, 2002a, 2002b, and 2004. I will even more diligently continue to do research on the language of Koguryŏ.

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Samguk-sagi 三國史記. 1145. comp. Kim Pushik 金富軾 (1075-1151)

Samguk-yusa 三國遺事. 1285. comp. Iryŏn 一然 (al. Kim Kyŏnmyŏng 金見明, 1206-1289)

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The Ethnolinguistic History of the Early Korean Peninsula Region: Japanese-Koguryŏic and other Languages in the Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla kingdoms

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The Ethnolinguistic History of the Early Korean Peninsula Region: Japanese-Koguryŏic and other Languages in the Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla Kingdoms

Most attempts to explain the early ethno-linguistic history of the Korean Peninsula region suffer from one or more basic flaws, the most important of which is selective omission of data from the sources. One theory alone clearly explains the historical, linguistic, and archaeological data. The Puyŏ-Koguryŏic people, who came from the Liao-hsi region (as did the Wa, or Proto-Japanese) and overran the Korean Peninsula region in the first few centuries of our era, spoke Puyŏ-Koguryŏ, a language related to Japanese. In Liaotung and southern Manchuria, the native peoples spoke Chinese and unknown languages, but in most of the Korean Peninsula itself they spoke Proto-Korean Han languages. The Puyŏ-Koguryŏic rulers who set themselves above the conquered peoples were annihilated by the T'ang-Silla alliance at the end of the Three Kingdoms period. The substratum peoples reemerged under Han-speaking Silla rule and Old Korean became the sole language of Korea.

The Ethnolinguistic History of the Early Korean Peninsula Region: Japanese-Koguryŏic and Other Languages in the Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla Kingdoms[1]

Christopher I. Beckwith, Indiana University

Upon the scholarly discovery of the Koguryŏ language in 1907, and ever since, there has never been any doubt that it is genetically related to Japanese. Unfortunately, the details of that relationship, and the question of possible relationships with other languages, especially Korean, remained murky for nearly a century primarily because no one undertook the necessary groundwork—a careful philological study of the medieval texts in which most of the remains of the Koguryŏ language are found.[2] That study has now been done, together with close linguistic analysis of the resulting data and examination of other data and theories connected to Koguryŏ (Beckwith 2004).[3]

However, several scholars—notably Juha Janhunen (2005), Martine Robbeets (2005), James Unger (2005), and Alexander Vovin (2005b) —have recently proposed various other explanations of the linguistic history of Korea before the Middle Korean period. Since these scholars also claim to describe the history and distribution of all languages once spoken in the Korean Peninsula area in general, not only the former Koguryŏ-ruled parts

1 This is a revised version of a paper, "The Location and Linguistic Identification of the Koguryŏ Language," given a the Conference on the Language(s) of Koguryŏ and the Reconstruction of Old Korean and Neighboring Languages, held in Hamburg at Universität Hamburg, September 23-24, 2005. I would like to thank the organizers, Professors Werner Sasse and An Jung-Hee, and the sponsor, the Koguryo Research Foundation, for their kindness and generity.

2 This judgment applies equally to Beckwith (2000).

3 See the review by Sasse (2004). The same sources contain important material on other early Korean languages as well, and are fundamental to all scholarly investigation of the topic.

of what is now Korea, it is necessary for them to discuss the history of the Koguryŏ language[4] in the context of the history of the Korean language, to the extent possible on the basis of the sources. Unfortunately, that is precisely the problem: they do not do this. In fact, in order to be able to make their arguments, they must discount the ancient and medieval sources written by Chinese and Koreans in Chinese, because the material those sources contain explicitly contradicts their views. Therefore, they contend that the ancient and early medieval sources written in Chinese, which contain the very historical and linguistic material that has revealed the existence of the languages under discussion and constitutes virtually the only data on them, including both the Chinese dynastic histories and the Samguk Sagi geographical chapters, are unreliable (Unger 2005; Vovin 2005b), and they therefore claim to reject them. Yet it is not actually true that they reject the sources per se. In fact, they only omit selections of data from these sources that falsify their theories. They give no reasons, whether philological or any other kind, for rejecting the selected pieces of information they claim to reject, and they appear to be unaware that the sources of most of the basic information upon which they rely are the very same sections of the very same texts that they claim to reject.[5] Janhunen (2005), who is unaware of (or has in any case not consulted) the majority of the primary sources or studies of them, simply ignores virtually all relevant data entirely. Robbeets (2005) claims most of the preserved Koguryŏ linguistic data—including words, function morphemes, and syntax rules—are too "scarce" and "fragmentary"

4 The Koguryŏ language is variously renamed by them. The names they most commonly use are "Japonic" or "Japanic" and "Para-Japonic," terms evidently invented by Juha Janhunen (who has also innovated similar terms, such as "Para-Mongolic," for other areas). These terms are historically and linguistically incorrect, misleading, and in this case prejucial with respect to the data.

5 It is actually impossible for a scholar working on the topic to reject *all* of the material because the Chinese sources contain practically the only data in existence on the subject of the early ethnolinguistic history of the Korean Peninsula area. The language in which all of the early sources from China, Korea, and Japan are written is Classical Chinese. It takes specialized Sinological knowledge in order to properly interpret and evaluate these and other early Chinese sources and early Chinese linguistic problems. Perhaps because the Japanese sources written in Chinese have been translated into Japanese and commented on in Japanese-language publications these scholars seem to believe they are somehow more reliable than the other Chinese-language sources; in any case they do not comment on the reliability of the Japanese sources.

to be used; accordingly, she too ignores or rejects them, and with them most of the data.[6] But in linguistics, as in any scientific field, it is not acceptable to ignore or throw out data simply because a cherished theory would only be tenable if the data did not exist.

1. The Sources on the Languages of the Early Korean Peninsula Region

The mere existence of the Koguryŏ language—more precisely, the Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language, which had at least five dialects, namely Puyŏ, Koguryŏ, Ŏkchŏ, Ye-Maek, and Puyŏ-Paekche, described in the *San Kuo chih* 三國志, *Chou shu*, and other sources—presents insuperable difficulties for several theories of linguistic relationship involving Korean, Japanese, and other languages in Northeast Asia.[7] For this reason, scholars who have supported those theories— nearly all of whom are Japanologists—previously ignored the Koguryŏ language, or suggested that the data could be safely ignored.

1.1. The Pre-Three Kingdoms Period

Our knowledge of pre-Three Kingdoms Korea and the surrounding region comes exclusively from a small number of Classical Chinese historical texts—primarily the *Han Shu*, the *San kuo chih*, and the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書—and from archaeology. Since archaeology by itself does not tell us anything about the languages spoken by the bearers of the cultures in Korea at that time, it is necessary to combine the study of archaeological material with the study of the Chinese sources in order to try and form a picture of this period, just as it is necessary to combine these two kinds of data in the study of other areas of the world in ancient and early medieval times. It is known from historical sources that there were influxes of people into Korea from the area of northeastern China during the Warring States period. The

6 On her attempt to apply statistics and probability theory to historical-comparative linguistics, see the comments in Beckwith (forthcoming).

7 For discussion of these theories see Beckwith (2004: 164-235).

identity of the languages spoken by these groups is unknown and there are no sources that indicate what they might have been, though it is probable that some of the people spoke Old Chinese dialects. The first linguistically identifiable group consists of the Chinese speakers who established the Han Dynasty commandery of Lo-lang in northwestern Korea. This outpost survived as a Chinese speaking colony for about half a millenium, and its existence is well supported by archaeological remains, including inscriptions (Gardiner 1969). There was also one archaeologically known pre-Three Kingdoms migration into Korea, though there is no historical evidence to support or clarify it. This is the migration of the bearers of what is essentially one culture who moved from an unknown location to two known destinations: the late Mumun culture of the southern Korean Peninsula and the Yayoi culture of western Japan.[8]

1.2. The Three Kingdoms and Early United Silla Periods

Like the previous period, our knowledge of Korea during the Three Kingdoms and early United Silla periods is dependent on historical sources written in Chinese, whether Chinese dynastic histories (primarily the *Chou shu, Liang shu, Nan shih, Chiu T' ang shu, and Hsin T' ang shu*) or Korean-authored histories (primarily the *Samguk sagi*[9]). In fact our only knowledge of nearly everything concerning Korean history, languages, culture, etc., during these periods derives from material written in Chinese.[10]

8 The traditional dating to the fourth century BC has recently been challenged, but the scholars who follow the new dating also argue that the Jomon culture of Japan was many thousands of years older than has previously been thought. That would put Japan far ahead of its time in many aspects of cultural development compared to the rest of the world, including even Mesopotamia. This is doubtful. Moreover, due to the well-known instability of the carbon-14 sequence during much of the first millenium BC, their chronology is highly suspect. The dating of the Yayoi migration will remain unclear until a careful, complete dendrochronology sequence is done for both Korea and Japan during this period.

9 Of other Korean sources, the *Samguk yusa* is much less reliable as a historical source. The material in the *Koryŏ sa* on this period is largely repeated verbatim from the *Samguk sagi*, but from an early copy of it, making it a valuable textual check on the latter source.

10 There are a few brief references to early Korea in non-Chinese sources, notably Old Tibetan and Arabic. The earliest Tibetan reference is in a late eighth century geographical text, where the country

Even the Korean inscriptions are all in Chinese.[11] There are a few passages dealing with Korea in early Japanese historical works—which are also written in Chinese—but they are so vague or legendary that their interpretation depends upon Chinese sources or Korean sources written in Chinese. It is, in short, impossible to dispense with this material and hardly permissible to cavalierly eviscerate it.

2. The Koguryŏ Language Corpus

Turning to the actual data and the scholarly problems involved, one of the most important issues is the identification, dating, and geographical location of the extant Puyŏ-Koguryŏic linguistic material (Beckwith 2003, 2004).

The philologically verified corpus of the Koguryŏ language,[12] including Archaic Koguryŏ and Old Koguryŏ, consists of 141 words and function morphemes.[13] No full-text sentences are preserved, but much grammatical infor-

(actually 'united Silla' by that time) is called *KeβuLi* [keuli] (Bacot 1957), from MChi *keuli*, i.e., NMan *gāoli* [kauli], NKor *Koryŏ ~Koguryŏ*. The earliest Arabic reference is in a ninth century Arabic geographical text, where the name of the country is given as *al-Šīlā*[ʃi:la:] i.e., Silla (Ibn Khurdāhbih 1889: 70).

11 Vovin (2005b) argues that the Koguryŏ inscriptions, which are all written in Chinese reflect an Old Korean substratum language. However, two out of his three examples (the only examples) are normal Classical Chinese, while the remaining example concerns what appears to be the very last character in its inscription—hardly solid evidence for any theory. A textual error or lacuna of some kind is certainly involved, not a substratum influence. See Beckwith (forthcoming).

12 This material is to be distinguished sharply from the unverified raw data, from which all scholars previously drew their data and on which everyone based their conclusions, so everyone involved is culpable and no one is really to be blamed. Now that the philology has been done, however, so that errors of many kinds, ghostwords, and other false or unctain examples have been eliminated from the corpus, regardless of whatever theory one might create about the corpus there is no longer any excuse for using the raw data, or for citing examples from older works—such as Lee (1964), Lewin (1973), Whitman (2002) (cited in Unger 2005) and so forth—which are based on the raw data. The only conceivable reason for scholars continuing to do this would seem to be avoidance of issues and data that disprove their theories.

13 Including AKog *wi-[位] 'to look like' (Beckwith 2004: 32 n. 10), which as Sasse (2004: 105) rightly notes I overlook from my summary list at the end of the book. Checking the Old Chinese rhyme, it appears that 位 rhymes in the *Odes* only once, and with a word that evidently has a final affricate or at any rate something other than *-p (which I suggest on page 32); it is accordingly reconstructed by Starostin (1989: 572) as *wrəɢ. Since the Old Chinese final of 位 is however in some

mation, including basic syntactic structure, is in fact preserved in the Old Koguryŏ toponym collocations (Beckwith 2004: 50-92, 116-120).

2.1. Archaic Koguryŏ

The earliest record of the Koguryŏ language consists of 15 glossed words and function morphemes recorded in the account of Koguryŏ in the *San kuo chih*, completed in the late third century CE, "which reflects data collected by the Wei 魏 expedition that passed through both Koguryŏ and Puyŏ territory in the mid-240s" (Byington 2004: 70) and in the *Hou Han shu*, completed in the mid-fifth century, and other sources.

The Archaic Koguryŏ language was spoken by the Koguryŏ people in Late Antiquity, when the Koguryŏ Kingdom was located mainly in the area of modern-day Liaotung and southern Manchuria. However, the Koguryŏ people, from the earliest historical account of them in 12 CE on, are also known as 貊 Maek[14] (Beckwith 2004: 34). The people of the 濊貊 Ye-Maek Kingdom told the Chinese that they were the same people as the Koguryŏ, and the *San kuo chih* remarks that their language is almost identical to that of the Koguryŏ, though their clothing is slightly different. Moreover, the sacred ancestral cave of the Koguryŏ was located in Ye-Maek territory, and the Koguryŏ ruling elite went there every year for ceremonies dedicated to their main god or gods (Beckwith 2004: 43-44). This indicates that the spiritual center of the Koguryŏ nation was in Ye-Maek, and supports the other evidence in the text that the Ye-Maek area had been settled in Antiquity by the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic people (SKC 30: 848) during one of their periodic incursions into the northern Korean Peninsula. It is in any event unavoidable that although the Ye-maek area was politically distinct at the time of the ancient Chinese reports, the Ye-Maek were a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic people who

doubt on other grounds (cf. the discussion of similar finals in Sagart 1999: 52-56), causing doubt about the value of the transcriptional character, I give the Archaic Koguryŏ form here as *wi- for the time being.

14 The name is also written 貉 etc. As Mark Byington (p.c., 2004) has argued, this ethnic group is presumably to be distinguished from a people of the same name who were located well inside the early Chinese culture zone centuries earlier during the Warring States period.

spoke a dialect of Archaic Koguryŏ (or 'Puyŏ-Koguryŏ') from Antiquity onward. The Ŏkchŏ, who lived to the north of the Ye-Maek and east of the Koguryŏ, also spoke a dialect of Koguryŏ (SKC 30: 846). Therefore, the ancient form of the Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language, Archaic Koguryŏ (or Archaic Puyŏ-Koguryŏ), was not spoken solely in Liaotung and southern Manchuria (as is widely claimed, without any reference to the sources) but also on the entire east coast of the Korean Peninsula down to the far southeastern corner, where Chin Han, the predecessor of Silla, was located.

2.2. Old Koguryŏ

The majority of the preserved Koguryŏ language consists of Old Koguryŏ words and function morphemes in toponym collocations recorded in the mid-eighth century, five centuries later than the Archaic Koguryŏ material (which was recorded in the middle of the third century). These forms are found in several medieval sources, principally the relevant Chinese dynastic histories; the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, which was composed in the twelfth century CE but includes material from early medieval sources; the *Koryŏ sa* 高麗史, which was composed still later but includes extensive quotations of material from the Samguk Sagi and other early sources; and various Japanese sources.

The Koguryŏ language material included in the *Samguk sagi* dates to the period between the Sui and T'ang dynasty Chinese invasions of the Koguryŏ Kingdom in the late sixth to mid-seventh centuries and the Silla onomastic reform of the mid-eighth century, when King Kyŏngdŏk (景德王) ordered the place names of his kingdom to be converted into Chinese. This administrative change was recorded with glosses of many toponyms in the languages then spoken in Korea. Of those preserved in the *Samguk sagi*, the largest number are names of places in the former Koguryŏ Kingdom. Unfortunately, not all of the names are glossed, and of those that are glossed, many are simply new Chinese names replacing old Chinese names, or they must be discarded for various philological reasons (Beckwith 2004: 50-92). After eliminating all uncertain forms, and adding a new one, ヘン pen "man, person (人)", which has recently been identified from Japanese mate-

rial (Kiyose 2004: 237), there are 126 firmly identified Old Koguryŏ words and function morphemes. Additional or alternate forms cited in previous publications are not usable because of philological problems.[15]

2.3. Identification of the Language of the Koguryŏ Toponyms

Many have pointed out that the Samguk Sagi does not explicitly say, for example, "These words are in the Koguryŏ language, which was spoken by the Koguryŏ people in the territory of the Koguryŏ Kingdom during the reign of the Koguryŏ ruler King Kwanggaet'o (廣開土王)." With the exception of a few words specifically discussed in various parts of the text or in other sources, this is a correct observation, although the Samguk Sagi does explicitly say that the toponyms were the names of places in the former Koguryŏ Kingdom. However, there is probably not a single medieval source on the Early Middle Ages which makes such a full, clear, unambiguous statement about any language in eastern Eurasia, and perhaps anywhere.[16] It is hardly surprising, then, that Kim Pusik does not suddenly step aside, abandon his medieval world-view, and comment for the sake of modern scholars, "By the way, these words are in the Koguryŏ language, which was spoken by the Koguryŏ people throughout the former Koguryŏ Kingdom." The *Samguk sagi*—like all the other medieval sources on Koguryŏ, Paekche, Silla, and so on—is no exception to the rule. Although this fact has encouraged many scholars to argue that the language of the Koguryŏ toponyms was not the language spoken by the Koguryŏ people, these scholars cite little or no any actual data to support their claim. In fact, far from citing the ancient and medieval sources or attempting to explain them, Robbeets (2005), Unger (2005), and (to a lesser extent, since he does actually cite some of the sources) also Vovin (2005b), claim that they are not reliable. That leaves few or no sources for them to deal with, so they can propose whatever may come to mind. They have thus created an argument which may be paraphrased as follows:

15 This is explained in detail in Beckwith (2004), q.v.
16 Some of the remarks in the *San kuo chih* and the *Liang shu* come close.

> The language of the toponyms of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom is not the Koguryŏ language but some other language that was spoken there before the Koguryŏ conquered the area.[17] The language of the Koguryŏ Kingdom was a form of Korean (Unger 2005; Vovin 2005b), a language related to Korean (Robbeets 2005), or some other language (Janhunen 2005).

This argument goes back several decades in the literature and is solidly disproved by the data in the Chinese sources, as has already been demonstrated (Beckwith 2004: 18-20, 236-249). However, since the above scholars cite neither the sources nor the latter study of them—other than a few error-filled citations of it (q.v. Beckwith, forthcoming)—and continue to select only the bits of data that fit their views and to ignore the rest, it is necessary to reexamine the problem.

3. Distribution of the Koguryŏ Linguistic Data

Seven of the fifteen attested Archaic Koguryŏ words and morphemes are attested in Old Koguryŏ. Except for one word attested only in the area north of the Yalu in both Archaic and Old Koguryŏ, all seven forms are attested in both areas—that is, Archaic Koguryŏ in the north, Old Koguryŏ in the central and central east-coast Korean Peninsula region and, in two cases, in both

17 See, e.g., Kim (1985, 1983, 1981). Cf. Mabuchi (1999: 145 [610]), whose view is based on a proposal by Kôno Rokurô that has been followed by many scholars. Lee Ki-moon and Park Pyŏng-ch'ae (quoted in Toh 1989: 446) suggest that even though the spoken language of the Koguryŏ Kingdom was Puyŏ-Koguryŏ, the toponyms may well have remained in the original substratum language. As for the putative conservatism of toponyms to which the latter scholars, as well as Toh (repeated in Toh 2005) and Vovin (2005b) refer, this is a linguistic folk-belief. In any territory that has been occupied successively by people speaking different languages in preliterate times or areas, there are indeed always a few toponyms that preserve earlier linguistic forms, but the vast majority are in the current dominant spoken language. In literate societies, any extreme can occur, from near total retention, as in Hawaii (one of the standard putative examples of 'conservativeness'), to near total replacement, as in Korea itself a mere century after the Silla conquest. It is nothing short of astounding that those who cite the putative conservativeness of toponyms as 'proof' that the Koguryŏ toponyms of Korea are in some other mysterious language overlook the fact that these toponyms—the same ones which provide most of our data on the Koguryŏ language—were all changed by fiat, and the historical record of that change is our source. The early Korean Peninsula is perhaps he worst example in the entire known world of a place with conservative toponyms.

the north and the central and eastern areas.

3.1. Distribution of the Old Koguryŏ Toponyms

There are three distinct geographical areas from which Old Koguryŏ lexical material is preserved in the *Samguk sagi*.

3.1.1. *The part of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom north of the Yalu River in Liaotung and southern Manchuria.* This is the area of the ancient Koguryŏ Kingdom that is described in the *San kuo chih* and *Hou Han shu* accounts in which the Archaic Koguryŏ words are preserved.

3.1.2. *The part of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom in the eastern Korean Peninsula which was previously the Ye-Maek Kingdom.* This is the same area described as Puyŏ-Koguryŏ-speaking in the *San kuo chih* and *Hou Han shu* accounts.

3.1.3. *The part of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom in the central and west-central Korean Peninsula.* Some of this territory had earlier been ruled by the Puyŏ-Paekche, the close ethnolinguistic relatives of the Koguryŏ, and it is quite possible that some of the toponyms are actually relics of the Puyŏ-Paekche dialect of the common Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language. In addition, part of the area had earlier belonged to the Ye-Maek Kingdom, so some of the toponyms in that area were undoubtedly Puyŏ-Koguryŏic in origin even before the Koguryŏ conquest. Toh Su-hee (1987, 1989, 1994) and other scholars have in fact argued that the language of the early Paekche Kingdom in the west-central part of the Korean Peninsula was a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic language and the toponyms in the *Samguk sagi* from this particular area are therefore in Puyŏ-Paekche rather than in Koguryŏ.[18] Since the Paekche Kingdom is known to have actually been formed only in the fourth century (Gardiner 1969: 43), and the Koguryŏ forced the center of the Paekche king-

18 Toh (2005) has recently changed his views on these issues, though it is not clear why.

dom to shift southward in the fifth century, there could be at most only very minor differences between Puyŏ-Paekche toponyms and Puyŏ-Koguryŏ toponyms. Considering the form in which they are transcribed, it is not surprising that few linguistic differences are detectable. The Chinese accounts actually note that there were only minor differences between the Puyŏ-Paekche and Old Koguryŏ dialects of the common Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language (Beckwith 2004: 38-39).

3.2. An Inexplicable Error

Due evidently to failure either to glance at the relevant chapters of the *Samguk Sagi* itself or to read the recent philological-linguistic study of the toponyms[19] in that source (Beckwith 2004), some scholars (Janhunen 2005; Unger 2005;[20] Vovin 2005b) openly claim or imply that the text includes only toponyms from the central Korean Peninsula area of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom. This claim is false.[21] The *Samguk sagi* gives several lists of glossed toponyms of places in Koguryŏ north of the Yalu, each list being preceded by a title which explicitly states that the names are of localities north of the Yalu. Although the *Samguk sagi* is written in Classical Chinese, these toponyms too have been discussed in English (Beckwith 2004: 89-92). The *Samguk sagi* also includes toponyms from the former Ye-Maek Kingdom region (Beckwith 2004: 83-88), which was already Puyŏ-Koguryŏ-speaking in Antiquity, as noted above. Overlooking this material is a gross error that alone falsifies the view that the language of the Koguryŏ toponyms was not the Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language.[22]

19 Note that *toponyms* are to be clearly distinguished from *morphemes* (which include free lexemes, function morphemes, etc.). Most toponyms consist of more than one morpheme and also contain syntactic information.

20 Unger quotes Whitman (2002) as his authority on this.

21 The only way to explain this claim, which has been repeated from paper to paper over several decades, is that those who have made the claim did not read, or even glance at, the *Samguk Sagi* itself, perhaps because it is written in Classical Chinese.

22 Toh (1987, 1989, 1994), basing himself on work by specialists in Korean historical geography, has located many of the toponyms recorded in the *Samguk Sagi*. Unfortunately, he has ignored not only the northern toponyms in that source but also the historical accounts of Ye-Maek in the *San kuo chih*,

In the *Samguk sagi* there are 19 glossed and linguistically identified toponyms from the region north of the Yalu, 14 from the east-central coast (former Ye-Maek Kingdom) region, and 88 from the central and west-central Korean Peninsula regions. Each full toponym usually includes two or more words and grammatical morphemes. In very many cases they are repetitions of other occurrences. Six Old Koguryŏ words and one grammatical function morpheme are found in both the northern and the three central regions: OKog *kuər 'walled city, fort (城)' ; OKog *pɨy 'country, nation; commandery; Puyŏ'; OKog *tar 'mountain; high' ; OKog *ɓaɨp 'crag, high mountain' ; OKog *kaɨp 'cave, hole (in a mountain)' ; OKog *par 'second-growth paddy rice' ; and OKog *na 'genitive-attributive marker' (Beckwith 2004: 239, 250-252). All except *par are among the most frequently occurring, best-established Old Koguryŏ forms. It is necessary to emphasize that these morphemes occur together with other Old Koguryŏ morphemes in the toponyms. The mutual relationship of the other morphemes is therefore indicated even without further attestations. By contrast, the absence of the best-attested of these Old Koguryŏ toponym words—*kuər, *pɨy, *tar, and *ɓaɨp—from the area of Silla and Kara, and their rarity or absence in Paekche, is striking. The semantic equivalents of these words in Silla or in Middle Korean are so wildly different phonetically from the Old Koguryŏ forms, the two sets cannot be reconciled. By contrast, all of them have good, or at least probable, Japanese etymologies. The unrelatableness of the Han languages and the Japanese-Koguryŏic languages is crystal clear even in the late antique and early medieval periods.

The single most frequently occurring Old Koguryŏ word is *kuər 'walled city, fort (城)' ,[23] from AKog *kuru [溝婁] 'id.' (Beckwith 2004:

and he has in many cases used a later Silla Chinese name of a place instead of its Koguryŏ name. He has also drawn unacceptable historical and linguistic conclusions about the materials (v. Beckwith 2004). Nevertheless, the maps in his work may be used, with great caution, to get an idea of the geographical locations of the toponyms outside of the northern Koguryŏ area.

23 In his paper's sole actual citation of any of my research on Koguryŏ, Vovin (2005: 8, n. 22 and on his handout, page 3, note 1) says, "Beckwith reconstructs *xuər (203: 57)." The date and page in this citation suggests it comes from a prepublication manuscript, since no such work ("Beckwith 2003") is listed in his bibliography, which includes only my book (Beckwith 2004), wherein the form in question is reconstructed as *kuər. I do give the Middle Chinese pronunciation of one of the transcrip-

41), which occurs in dozens of toponyms all over Koguryŏ Kingdom territory, but nowhere in former Silla or Kara territory. There are two examples from the former Paekche Kingdom, but this is to be expected, since the kingdom was founded and ruled by Puyŏ-Koguryŏ-speaking people (Beckwith 2004: 34, 37-40) and it is known that two languages were spoken there, one a Puyŏ-Koguryŏ dialect, the other a Han dialect (Kôno 1987). By contrast, there are no examples at all of this word from the area of the former Silla kingdom, and indeed, the Chinese sources agree that the Silla people spoke a completely different language from that spoken by the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic peoples, and that the Silla language could only be understood by the Paekche (*LS* 54: 806; *NS* 79: 1973). These remarks make no sense whatsoever in the view propounded by Unger (2005) and Vovin (2005b), according to which Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla all shared the same language, Old Korean.[24] By contrast, it is not surprising that the people of Paekche, who are specifically known to have used two languages, could understand a language closely related to one of their own languages.

Unlike the Koguryŏ Kingdom area, which has dozens of examples of OKog *kuər 'walled city, fort' in its toponyms, the Silla-Kara area has no examples whatsoever of this word, but is covered instead with toponyms which have the word *pur, from earlier *puri, as clearly shown on Toh Soo-hee's maps. Moreover, the Chinese sources remark that the Silla word for 'walled city, fort (城)' was 健牟羅 *güan-muw-la, i.e., Silla *konmura (*LS* 79: 1973; *NS* 79: 1972; cf. Beckwith 2004: 41 n. 32), which consists of two parts, Silla *kon 健 'great' and Silla *mura. Although *kon is well attested and has good Han-Paekche and Korean cognates, as shown by Kôno (1987) and Vovin (2005b), the word *mura has not yet been definitely identified with a Korean word. However, if the Old Japanese word *mura 'village' is a loanword from Silla, as seems very likely, the Silla word *kon-

tional characters (忽) as *χuər, with the special symbol (*) used to mark such forms, but the other transcription (骨) is *kuər. For discussion see Beckwith (2004).

24 Reference to this sorce material (discussed in Beckwith 2004: 38-39) is accordingly omitted by them. Although Vovin (2005b) quotes brief passages from the *Chou shu* in an attempt to disprove Kôno's (1987) demonstration that two languages were used in the Paekche Kingdom, his interpretation contains errors and cannot be accepted (Beckwith, forthcoming).

mura 'walled city' literally means 'big village' (Kiyose and Beckwith, forthcoming). In any case it is obvious that Silla *mura has absolutely nothing to do with Old Koguryŏ *kuər. This confirms, once again, the statements in the Chinese sources that the language of Silla was completely different from that of Koguryŏ. If the nations of Three Kingdom period Korea all spoke Korean, as claimed by Unger (2005) and Vovin (2005b), however, the statements would make absolutely no sense.

As mentioned above, half of the preserved Archaic Koguryŏ words and morphemes are also found in Old Koguryŏ, including the most frequently occurring word, OKog *kuər 'walled city, fort' , which descends, completely regularly, from Archaic Koguryŏ *kuru 'id.' (Beckwith 2004: 41). The word is found in dozens of toponyms all over the former Koguryŏ Kingdom territory, and only in that territory.[25] The Old Koguryŏ words from the undeniably Puyŏ-Koguryŏic speaking areas of the north and east are also not distinguishable from the Old Koguryŏ words meaning the same thing from the central and west-central Korean Peninsula area. This indicates that the toponym words from the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic-ruled areas of the Korean Peninsula are in the Koguryŏ language or in another Puyŏ-Koguryŏ dialect. The only possible conclusion is that the Koguryŏ language, or the common Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language, was at one time used in all three areas. In other words, the lexical material from the west-central Korean Peninsula area is philologically indistinguishable from the lexical material of the other dialects of the same language spoken in the former Ye-Maek region and the region north of the Yalu.

Nevertheless, the fact that the toponyms are in the Koguryŏ language certainly does not tell us that *everyone* in the Koguryŏ Kingdom spoke Koguryŏ. Some of the toponyms appear to be Koguryŏ calques or folk-etymologized Koguryŏ phonetic imitations of earlier names which were originally in another language or languages and it is virtually certain that the Koguryŏ language was a superstratum spoken alongside the local language or languages. (See further below.)

25 With the exception of two Puyŏ-Koguryŏic toponyms in Paekche, q.v. below.

As noted above, a few examples of Puyŏ-Koguryŏic words are found in the area of the former Paekche Kingdom. But this should not be puzzling. The ancient and medieval Chinese ethnolinguistic sources tell us—and due to a brilliant paper by the late Kôno Rokurô (1987) it is well known—that two languages were spoken in the Paekche Kingdom.[26] The language of the native people was a Han language, 'Han-Paekche' , which Kôno's study shows must be related to Korean; it was certainly the descendant of the language of Ma Han. The other language was "Puyŏ-Paekche," a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic dialect spoken by the ruling class.

There cannot be any doubt about the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic ethnolinguistic origins of the Puyŏ-Paekche. They themselves told the Chinese historians explicitly that they were of Puyŏ-Koguryŏic stock. The origin myth the Paekche related to the Chinese is virtually identical to that of the Puyŏ and the Koguryŏ, as is obvious in the original Chinese historical sources. The claims to the contrary that have been made (Unger 2005: 4) require maintaining that the ruling class of a powerful kingdom would falsely claim to be the relatives of their worst enemies.

4. The 'Korean' Theories

It has already been established that the Koguryŏ ruling class spoke the Koguryŏ language—or perhaps more precisely, the 'Common Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language' —throughout the Koguryŏ Kingdom, and that other languages including Chinese and several Han (Korean) dialects or languages are known to have been spoken in Koguryŏ and Paekche territory. The Koguryŏ-Korean theory (Robbeets 2005; Unger 2005) has already been disproven (Beckwith 2002, 2004). There is no scientific excuse for discussing it further.

Some, including Robbeets (2005) and Unger (2005), would also like to pursue the theory that *Japanese* and *Korean* are genetically related, regardless of the demonstrated lack of a relationship between the Koguryŏ lan-

26 See note 24.

guage—a close relative of Japanese, as is generally accepted—and Korean. Nevertheless, a century of energetic attempts to demonstrate a genetic relationship between Japanese and Korean have failed, and the proposal-which was unlikely to begin with—should be abandoned. Robbeets (2005) also supports the 'Macro-Altaic' proposal, a 'distant relationship theory' that is one of a veritable family of doubtful 'Altaic' proposals (q.v. Beckwith 2004: 220-223, 231-234, 241), but as with the previous two proposals, careful linguistics has already disproved the 'Altaic' idea (Georg 2005; Vovin 2005a).

A variant of this approach now claims that Korean is the direct descendant of Koguryŏ, and Silla had little, if anything, to do with it.[27] This argument contends that the Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language was in fact Old Korean (Unger 2005; Vovin 2005b). This is different from the views of earlier scholars. Lee Ki-moon, Kim Bang-han, Murayama Shichirô, and Nicholas Poppe, who argue that Korean is an 'Altaic' language, do not say it is a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic language. They do argue that Koguryŏ and Korean are 'Altaic' languages, but they always put Korean in a different branch from Japanese and Koguryŏ, although they disagree about how high up in the stemma the node should be (Beckwith 2004: 12-26). The basis for the new theory of Unger and Vovin is, again, either the omission of entire sources or the use of raw data—especially the use of earlier studies based on the latter unreliable material, which they quote approvingly in their papers.

With regard to the identifications of Koguryŏ words with Korean words (and some 'Altaic' words) by Lee Ki-moon (1983), Bruno Lewin (1973), and Gisaburo N. Kiyose (1986, 1991), the few likely examples among them are examined carefully in Beckwith (2004: 164-183) and either falsified or shown not to be evidence of a genetic relationship. The examples are based on bad data (i.e., uncritically selected bits of raw *Samguk sagi* material), weak theory (particularly the untenable 'Altaic' theory and its many

27 Silla should thus be ignored by the proponents of this theory, but in fact much is made of putative Silla attestations of Koguryŏ words. The failure to examine the sources philologically and weed out the corrupt, unclear, or ambiguous examples—i.e., the unusable data—dooms this and all other such arguments.

virus-like mutations), or both.[28] The theory that Korean is a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic language or, vice versa, that Koguryŏ and the other Puyŏ-Koguryŏic languages are Korean, ignores virtually all the ethnolinguistic and historical data on all the languages concerned—including Koguryŏ, Japanese, Silla, and Korean. It is unsupportable and makes absolutely no sense either linguistically or historically. It must be rejected.[29]

5. The 'Japonic' Speculation

Finally, there is yet another view. Although the language preserved in the toponyms from the former Koguryŏ Kingdom must be identified with the Koguryŏ (or Puyŏ-Koguryŏ) language, as shown above, and although that language is certainly related to Japanese, as has been known for a century (Beckwith 2004: 9), it has been argued that the language called 'Koguryŏ' is actually not the speech of the people who founded and ruled the Koguryŏ Kingdom but a substratum language related to Japanese. The proponents (Janhunen 2005; Unger 2005; Vovin 2005b) thus posit a hypothetical language which is virtually identical to the language identified as Koguryŏ, and which has identical established relationships, but is simply much older.

The 'Japonic' speculation, shown in Figure 1, argues that the Koguryŏ (or Puyŏ-Koguryŏ) language was restricted to the area north of the Yalu River, and that the material in the *Samguk sagi* which has been called 'Koguryŏ' is actually not the same language. According to the 'Japonic' proponents, the Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language is something else—Korean (Unger 2005; Vovin 2005b), Gilyak (Janhunen 2005), Tungusic (Janhunen 2005),[30] or whatever. They argue that the language preserved in the *Samguk sagi*

28 The same evaluation applies to the recent work in the same vein by Itabashi (2003). See the detailed criticism of the arguments of Unger (2005) and Vovin (2005b) in Beckwith (forthcoming).
29 This does *not* mean, however, that Koguryŏ is not a language of Korea, or that Koguryŏ history and culture is unrelated to Korean history and culture. The official Chinese dynastic histories alone refute such a claim and point out the many ways in which Koguryŏ language, culture and history were sharply distinct from those of China.
30 Janhunen contends that the Puyŏ language was probably related to Gilyak, while the Koguryŏ language was probably Tungusic. He does not support either conjecture with any actual evidence.

toponyms, their 'Japonic' , is a close relative of Japanese that was once spoken in the central and southern Korean Peninsula and is descended from the language of the first millenium BCE migrants who brought a new archaeological complex to southern Korea (where it is known as the Mumun culture) and northern Kyushu (where the people are identified as the Wa and their culture is known as the Yayoi). They propose that these people did not die out in Korea; their 'Japonic' language survived, continued to develop, spread across the peninsula, and is preserved in the toponyms from the central Korean Peninsula region which were recorded in the eighth century (over a millenium after the Mumun-Yayoi migration) and eventually copied into the *Samguk sagi* (Unger 2005).[31]

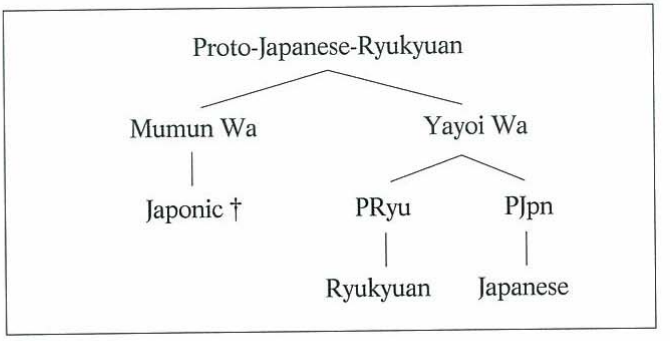

Figure 1. The 'Japonic' speculation

As noted above, the 'Japonic' speculation depends crucially on the proponents' omission of data from the same sources they use to construct their speculation, or on their mistaken belief that the sources do not contain such data. As shown herein, the idea is falsified by the actual existence of the very data they mistakenly believe does not exist, by application of Occam's Razor to their convoluted arguments, and by the demonstration that the language of the recorded toponyms of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom must be identified specifically with the language spoken by the ruling Koguryŏ stratum.

In addition, there is the remarkable fact that the toponyms in question

31 Vovin (2005b) does not give any details on his version of the speculation.

are found exclusively in the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic ruled areas of the Korean Peninsula, not in Silla or Kara. According to the 'Japonic' proponents, the language spoken by the Mumun-Wa culture bearers in the southern Korean Peninsula was identical to Proto-Japanese, and the Japanese-related words in the toponyms from the former Koguryŏ Kingdom are remnants of that language. If this were correct, the toponyms from the southern Korean Peninsula areas in the *Samguk sagi* should contain an even higher percentage of such words than those in the central Korean Peninsula areas or the former Koguryŏ Kingdom areas north of the Yalu. In fact, the identified 'Japonic' words do not occur at all in the territory of Silla and Kara, with one or two doubtful exceptions. Some Japanese-related words do occur in the territory of the Paekche Kingdom. However, according to the 'Japonic' proponents, the Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language—including Paekche and Koguryŏ—was actually just Old Korean (Unger 2005; Vovin 2005b), so any Japanese-related lexical material found in the toponyms from Paekche could only be relics of the ancient language spoken by the Mumun-Wa culture bearers.

A well-known example of such a lexeme is the Paekche and Old Japanese word *kɨ 'walled city, fort (城)', which is discussed by Unger (2005) and Vovin (2005). There are two examples of the Old Koguryŏ word *kuər 'walled city, fort' in linguistically Puyŏ-Koguryŏic toponyms from the former Paekche kingdom area, but there are several examples of 基 *kɨ 'walled city, fort' (Vovin 2005b: 8 n. 21), which is generally believed to be a related form (Yun 1994) descended from an earlier *kuy, which goes back to Common-Puyŏ-Koguryŏic *kuru. In view of the simultaneous existence of two examples of *kuər in the same territory, Paekche *kɨ should only be a specifically 'Japonic' form. The word 基 ~ 紀 *kɨ (*JDB* 236) 'walled city, fort' also appears in Old Japanese sources on Paekche, and in Japanese toponyms (cf. Unger 2005: 2). Though the word found in Japanese names is widely thought to be a borrowing from Paekche, an inherited Common Japanese-Koguryŏic *kuru could have become *kɨ purely internally in Japanese (Beckwith 2004: 41 n. 32; cf. Yun 1994). The word does seem to be more worn down by time and phonological change than the Koguryŏ word—it *looks* older. Since the 'Japonic' theory argues that the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic people spoke Korean, they could not have been

the donors of a Japanese-related lexeme to Paekche. The conclusion would seem clear: the the Paekche word *kɨ must be one of the linguistic residues of the ancient Mumun-Wa language once spoken in southern Korea,[32] and the 'Japonic' scenario is thus supported historically and linguistically.

However, there are at least three serious problems with this example. Firstly, the same sources that go to great pains to tell us about the two languages of Paekche (Han-Paekche and Puyŏ-Paekche) never mention a hypothetical third language (i.e., 'Japonic'). Secondly, it is difficult or impossible to identify any actual Paekche linguistic material—whether Puyŏ-Paekche or Han-Paekche—with the Proto-Japanese language specifically. Thirdly, and fatally for the idea that Paekche *kɨ supports the 'Japonic' theory, the Chinese sources specifically state that Ma-Han, the territorial predecessor of Paekche, did not have any 'walled cities, forts (城)' , unlike Pyŏn-Han and Chin-Han. That means the early Puyŏ-Paekche ancestor of the word *kɨ 'walled city, fort' —which is clearly inherited from attested Archaic Puyŏ-Koguryŏ kuru 'id.' —could only have been introduced by the Puyŏ-Paekche conquerors (who founded the Paekche Kingdom) along with the thing itself, and the word subsequently underwent and completed its phonological changes by the time of its transmission to Japan along with historical and geographical information, not long before the Korean Peninsula toponyms preserved in the Samguk Sagi were recorded in the mid-eighth century. Therefore, as is already generally accepted, Japanese *kɨ must be a loanword from Puyŏ-Paekche *kɨ, which is inherited—via an intermediary Proto-Puyŏ-Paekche form *kuy or the like, from *kur(u)—from Archaic Puyŏ-Koguryŏ *kuru, as shown in Figure 2.

32 Both Unger (2005) and Vovin (2005b) do suggest it is a loanword. However, Vovin compares OKog *kuər to Mongol *qoto(n)* and other Central Eurasian words for "city," despite the fact that these spurious etymologies have already been disproved (Beckwith 2004: 4-5); they are further conclusively disproved by the existence of the Archaic Koguryŏ form of the same word, *kuru (Beckwith 2004: 4-5). Vovin's incorrect reconstruction of the Middle Chinese reading of the transcription characters involved (q.v. Beckwith 2004: 4-5) is to blame for this mistake.

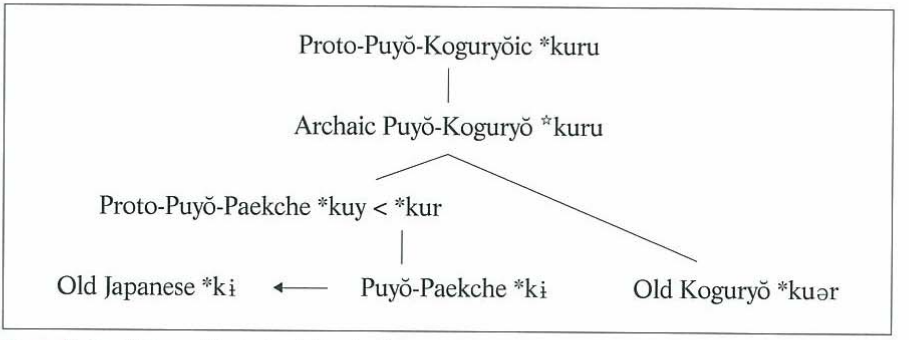

Figure 2. Puyŏ-Koguryŏic 'walled city, fort'

Finally, one of the insuperable problems for the 'Japonic' speculation is the fact that the toponyms containing lexical material clearly related to Japanese are not found at all in the southeastern Korean Peninsula area (the Silla Kingdom territory) or along most of the south coast (former Kara territory), and only a few of them are found in the southwestern Korean Peninsula (Paekche territory). So where, then, are the 'Japonic' toponyms located? In the territory of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom, from its far southern border to its far northern border. The distribution is remarkably clear and provides unambiguous evidence in favor of equating the language spoken by the Koguryŏ people with the language of the toponyms in their kingdom—a not unreasonable connection. But this distribution constitutes a fatal difficulty for the 'Japonic' proponents, as well as for those who argue that the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic languages of Koguryŏ and Paekche were, like the languages of Silla and Kara, all simply Old Korean (Unger 2005; Vovin 2005b). One archaeologist trying to make sense of the 'Japonic' speculation (without being aware of the proponents' faulty linguistics and nonexistent philology) refers to this bewildering difficulty as the 'geographical inversion' problem (Hudson 1999: 97). It is, indeed, an insuperable problem for the 'Japonic' speculation. But for the Japanese-Koguryŏic theory (Beckwith 2004), which is based on the actual linguistic and historical data, there is no problem. See Figure 3.

6. The Languages of the Early Korean Peninsula Region

The pertinent facts which must be accounted for by any proposal are in actuality accounted for only by the simplest one, which also accords very well with other historically better-known examples.

Consider the history of the Germanic-speaking Franks. They conquered Gaul, where the spoken language was a colloquial form of Late Latin. The Franks retained their Germanic language, Old Frankish, for several centuries, and built a powerful kingdom. But it split into three warring kingdoms upon the death of Louis the Pious in 840 CE. The subsequent Oaths of Strasbourg, dated 842, were sworn in Old French (a Romance language descended from spoken Latin), the language of territory that later formed part of France, and Old High German, the language of territory that later formed part of Germany. The Franks in France bestowed their name, some Frankish loanwords, and some other linguistic influences on the local Romance tongue before shifting their speech to the latter language. When the Old Norse-speaking Vikings settled in Normandy later in the same century, they found Romance-speaking French. The Vikings, who were mainly single male warriors, took local wives, quickly acculturated to the local French culture, and shifted from Old Norse to French, which they spoke

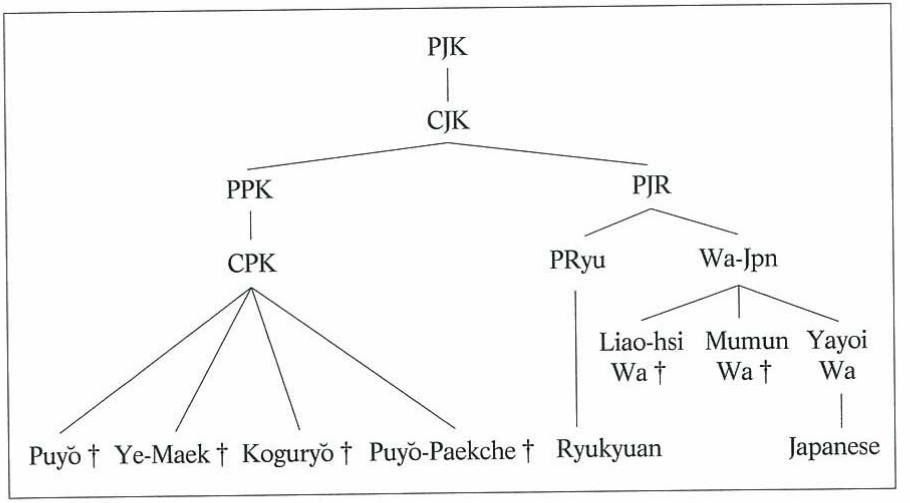

Figure 3. The Japanese-Koguryŏic languages

when they conquered England in 1066. There the descendants of the French-speaking Normans eventually acculturated in turn to the Anglo-Saxon (Germanic) speaking English. Another well-known example of this process is the history of the repeated conquests of Iranian-speaking Central Asia and the repeated Iranization of the conquerors, including Tokharians, Turks, Arabs, and Mongols, until finally the later large-scale migration of Turks into northern Central Asia caused much of the region to shift to Turkic. There are many other such examples. Unger's (2005) misunderstanding and misrepresentation of this overwhelmingly well-attested, normal historical process is difficult to fathom.

Unlike the 'Korean' and 'Japonic' theories discussed above, the Japanese-Koguryŏic theory has been developed on the basis of careful philological, historical, and linguistic study of the sources that have been preserved. While the study or presentation may contain mistakes, the theory has the unusual merit, in this field, of agreeing with the data found in the sources. Applying the same methodology—i.e., use of the methods of philology, history, and comparative-historical linguistics—to the early Korean Peninsula area as a whole, especially in the light of the important presentation and discussion of early Old Korean data in Vovin's (2005) paper, a fairly clear picture emerges, one which accords with and accounts for the known facts about the ethnolinguistic history of the early Korean Peninsula area, including archaeology, history, and linguistics.

- The language of the Korean Peninsula before the intrusion of the Mumun-Yayoi culture into southern Korea in the first millenium BCE. is unknown, but in view of subsequent history it was undoubtedly Proto-Korean (i.e., Proto-Han).
- The Mumun-Yayoi culture bearers spoke Proto-Japanese.
- The Han peoples' languages were very heavily influenced by Proto-Japanese — accounting for the long-noted similarity of the otherwise unrelatable Japanese and Korean languages — but the Proto-Japanese language died out on the Korean Peninsula before the intrusion of the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic peoples early in the first millenium CE.
- The Puyŏ-Koguryŏic peoples overran the entire peninsula and ended up dom-

inating all of it except the southeastern realms of Pyŏn Han (later Kara) and Chin Han (later Silla). According to the theories of Unger (2005) and Vovin (2005b), these are the very areas where the Japanese-related Mumun-Yayoi 'Japonic' language should be best preserved in the toponyms. But in fact, no 'Japonic' forms at all have been unambiguously found in these regions,[33] which have strikingly different toponyms from the central and northern Korean areas known to have been dominated by the Koguryŏ people. Much the same point applies to the Paekche Kingdom area. The presence of a few Puyŏ-Koguryŏic toponyms in the Paekche region is due to the fact that the kingdom was founded by a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic people who spoke a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic language. It had a Puyŏ-Koguryŏic-speaking superstratum and a Han-speaking substratum, as shown by Kôno (1987).

- The Puyŏ-Koguryŏic peoples spoke dialects of the Puyŏ-Koguryŏ language, which was different from the languages of Pyŏn Han (later Kara) and Chin Han (later Silla), and from the native language of Ma Han (later Paekche).
- In all early Korean Peninsula area states where the social structure is well known, the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic-speaking people are described in the sources as a superstratum ruling over a substratum they treated as slaves. In Paekche, the substratum language is known to have been a Han dialect, i.e., a dialect of Old Korean. In each of the other former Puyŏ-Koguryŏic states of Korea the substratum would also seem to have been one or more Han languages (and in far northwestern Korea and Liaotung, Chinese also). The ruling class moved the substratum peoples around at will (as attested by King Kwanggaet'o's memorial inscription) and thus spread the Han dialects further to the north.
- The Puyŏ-Koguryŏic peoples had a powerful influence on the Han dialects spoken in their territory. This is true especially of the Koguryŏ, who named or renamed many places in their kingdom in the Koguryŏ language. But in the seventh century CE the power of the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic-ruled Koguryŏ Kingdom and the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic-ruled Paekche Kingdom was broken by the T'ang-Silla alliance. Many Puyŏ-Koguryŏic people were killed, and most of the remainder were forcibly removed to central China. Shortly afterward

33 There are some debatable forms, particularly one Silla area toponym syllable that could represent the Japanese-Koguryŏic word *mir "three," but as Unger (2005) notes, they are all problematic.

the Puyŏ-Koguryŏic languages became extinct.

- Under the rule of the Han-speaking Silla conquerors, the previously subservient non-Puyŏ-Koguryŏic-speaking peoples of the Koguryŏ and Paekche territories recovered their former position and absorbed any remaining Puyŏ-Koguryŏic people. In Paekche, it is likely that the Puyŏ were already speaking a Han dialect even before the fall of the kingdom.
- The resurgent Han dialects were somewhat different from the ancestor of Middle Korean, as shown by Vovin (2005b) in his study of Korean loanwords in Jurchen and the Paekche words transcribed in Japanese sources. Middle Korean — the lineal ancestor of Modern Korean — evidently descends from another Han dialect, such as that spoken in Kaesŏng, near the area of modern Seoul, not from the Silla dialect, as argued by Lee Ki-moon and others (cf. Kiyose and Beckwith, forthcoming).
- However, the Silla dialect must have become the official language. That would mean there were noticeable differences between the local dialects and the "standard Old Korean" language of the time, which itself changed to reflect the local dialect when the capital moved from one region to another. This explains the apparent shift back and forth between progressive and conservative features in the data, in that many grammatical morphemes disappear and reappear in each Korean dynasty from the Silla period down to Middle Korean (Hiroomi Kanno, p.c., 2006).
- It is not certain how early the early Korean loans to Jurchen are, but even if they date back as far as the Parhae Kingdom, as argued by Vovin (2005b), the reason the loans are Korean is not that the Koguryŏ people spoke Korean—an impossibility in any case, based on the actual Koguryŏ language data—but that after the annihilation of the Koguryŏ people the resurgent substratum language of most of the former Koguryŏ Kingdom was a Han language, i.e., one or more dialects of Old Korean.

Progress in the study of Korea, as in studies of other areas of the world, is possible only through intensive research on and careful use of the sources that do exist. If scholars will now abandon speculation and turn to that difficult task, we may finally begin to achieve a deeper understanding of the early ethnolinguistic history of the Korean Peninsula area.

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Other Abbreviations and Sigla

AJpn	Archaic Japanese
AKog	Archaic Koguryŏ
CJK	Common Japanese-Koguryŏic
CPK	Common Puyŏ-Koguryŏic
id.	'the same'
Jpn	Japanese
MKor	Middle Korean
NKor	New Korean (= Modern Korean)
OKog	Old Koguryŏ
OKor	Old Korean
p.c.	personal communication
PJK	Proto-Japanese-Koguryŏic
PJpn	Proto-Japanese
PJR	Proto-Japanese-Ryukyuan
PPK	Proto-Puyŏ-Koguryŏic
PRyu	Proto-Ryukyuan
q.v.	'which see'
v.	'see'
*	mark for an ordinary reconstructed form
⋆	mark for a reconstruction of a Chinese character transcription

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As the most ancient of the Three Kingdoms of Korea, Koguryŏ is also the one whose linguistic identity and ethnic connections are the least obvious. Although Koguryŏ happens to be the kingdom that has come to give the modern international name to Korea, the homeland of ethnic Koreans, surprisingly little can be said of the actual ethnic groups that once lived, and the languages that were spoken, within the territory of Koguryŏ. General considerations of regional history and areal linguistics nevertheless permit some conjectures which, though they can never be proven, allow Koguryŏ to be linked with the ethnic history of the surrounding regions, that is, Manchuria, China, and Japan.

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Introductory premises

To approach the question concerning the ethnic and linguistic identity and evolution of Koguryŏ, it is necessary to accept certain general introductory premises without which no further work on the issue would be possible. These include the following:

(1) *Koguryŏ was a multiethnic and multilingual state.* By regional standards, Koguryŏ (1st century BCE to 668 CE)[1] was an exceptionally long-lived, large and mighty state, whose territory extended from the central part of the Korean Peninsula to the core of continental Manchuria.[2] Importantly, the Koguryŏ territory also comprised the peninsula of Liaodong. In later times, the territory once occupied by Koguryŏ has continuously been inhabited by several ethnic groups, speaking several different

1 The culturally neutral abbreviations BCE and CE are used here instead of the conventional Western notions BC and AD, which are contextually hardly suitable for discussions of East Asian history.

2 For the general interpretation and dating of the political history of early Korea I follow Gardiner (1969) and Ledyard (1975), who convincingly argue against the traditional claim that Silla would have been the oldest of the Three Kingdoms of Korea. By all tokens, both Silla and Paekche were creations of the early 4th century, while Koguryŏ existed several centuries earlier, though it was re-established in the 4th century. The idea proposed by Ledyard (1975: 242) that the mythical founding dates of Silla and Paekche antedate their actual historical formation by six 60-year cycles (360 years) is both brilliant and persuasive, though probably impossible to prove.

languages belonging to several different language families. This is also the situation today, when the one-time Koguryŏ territory is divided between the two Korean states, P.R. China, and the Russian Federation. It may therefore be taken for certain that Koguryŏ, at the time of its existence as a separate kingdom, was both ethnically and linguistically highly diversified. Koguryŏ was never a nation state of some single ethnic group, but an empire-like political entity whose identity was based on regional considerations at the intersection of China, Manchuria, and Korea-Japan. The question as to what language was spoken in Koguryŏ therefore inevitably has no single and simple answer.

(2) *Chinese was used as an imported prestige language.* The only language that is beyond any question documented from the actual chronological and territorial context of Koguryŏ is Chinese. It is well known that immediately before the founding of Koguryŏ, the territory of Koguryŏ was administered as a system of Chinese military commanderies. With the commanderies came considerable numbers of immigrant population, including soldiers, administrators, and merchants. A large part of the immigrant population must have spoken Chinese, which also came to be the principal language of prestige culture and documented literary use in Koguryŏ. Chinese was used as a language of administration and historical records in Koguryŏ, as is most famously illustrated by the stele of Kwanggaet'o (417 CE). Even so, Chinese was an imported language in Koguryŏ, apparently never spoken by the masses native to the region. There is also no reason to assume that Chinese could have been the actual dynastic language of the ruling elite of Koguryŏ. In fact, Chinese was a historical newcomer also in the adjacent territory of the former 'Chinese' state of Yan (11th century BCE to 222 BCE), whose political sphere partly overlapped with that of Koguryŏ, especially as far as the Liaodong peninsula was concerned. However, the territory of Yan was ultimately linguistically Sinicized, and it is possible that parts of the Liaodong Peninsula have been continuously Chinese speaking since the period of the Chinese commanderies. It is even likely that the Chinese language in Liaodong and Korea evolved into distinct local forms, different from those spoken in the political centers of China proper, though the differences were

later extinguished by new waves of immigration.[3] In actual Korea, Chinese as a spoken language may have disappeared by the beginning of the Unified Silla (668 CE).

(3) *Korean was originally the language of Silla.* The fact that Korean or, more exactly, the immediate ancestor of the Old Korean predecessor of Middle Korean, spread from the territory of the Silla Kingdom, is now more or less generally accepted, although there is disagreement concerning the dating of this linguistic expansion. However, the very circumstance that Korea in the Three Kingdoms period was politically divided into three separate states speaks for the assumption that there were also at least three languages on the peninsula. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is therefore natural to assume that the linguistic unification of Korea was a direct result of the political unification under the Unified Silla. This is also suggested by the remarkable dialectal homogeneity and, hence, shallow depth of Modern Korean.[4] In Silla, Korean appears to have been relatively indigenous, and the language is likely to have represented an old local continuum from at least the time of the Chinhan tribal union (1st to 3rd centuries CE), on which Silla was based. Just how long before that time the lineage of Korean was present in the Silla territory, is impossible to tell, but there are reasons to assume that of all known languages spoken in Korea, Korean may, indeed, have the most ancient local roots. Geographically, Silla (in the southeast) represented a *cul-de-sac* on the Korean Peninsula, and any linguistic expansions to the peninsula would have introduced new languages

3 In his important book on Koguryŏ, Beckwith (2004: 93-105) attempts a reconstruction of what he calls 'Archaic Northeastern Middle Chinese', which would have been the dominant variety of Chinese spoken in the region at the time of the compilation of the original sources of the *Samguk Sagi*, that is, in the early period of the Unified Silla (7th to 9th centuries CE). While the postulation of such a form of local Chinese is perfectly justified, the question as to how this variety should be reconstructed, and to what extent it can be reconstructed, remains, of course, to be discussed.

4 The assumption by Vovin (in this volume) that the linguistic unification of Korea would have been completed already before the Three Kingdoms period seems difficult to reconcile with the historical and linguistic realities. It goes without saying, however, that the early Korean language must have involved at least some degree of internal variation, and this variation was extinguished by the Silla expansion. This interpretation leaves open the possibility that even Old Korean and Middle Korean may have represented two parallel (though closely-related) lineages of early Korean (Koreanic).

from the north and west, pushing relatively older languages towards the southeast, the territory of Silla.

(4) *The language of Paekche was Para-Japonic.* In view of the likelihood that not only Koguryŏ but also Silla and Paekche were multiethnic and multilingual entities, the linguistic expansion of Korean must have resulted in the replacement of an unknown number of local languages all over the Korean Peninsula. This process of linguistic assimilation may well have been anticipated by the presence of Korean-speaking individuals and communities in some parts of Paekche and Koguryŏ even before the unification under Silla, for the state borders between the Three Kingdoms are likely to have been rather loose and did not necessarily coincide with any exactitude with ethnic and linguistic boundaries. In particular, there is evidence of 'bilingualism' in Paekche, suggesting that part of the Paekche population may actually have spoken contemporary forms of Korean, while another part spoke the Paekche dynastic language, as used by the ruling elite of the kingdom.[5] Most importantly, it seems possible to identify this other language with the language underlying the so-called Old Koguryŏ toponyms, recorded mainly from central Korea in the late Three Kingdoms period. It has now been unrefutably confirmed that the language of these toponyms represents a form of speech closely but collaterally related to the Japonic languages (Japanese-Ryukyu), as spoken on the Japanese Islands. In view of this collateral relationship, the peninsular language in question cannot be identified as Japonic in the strict sense, but, rather, as *Para-Japonic.*[6] Para-Japonic is, in

5 The idea of Paekche 'bilingualism' was launched by Kôno (1987), though he speaks somewhat misleadingly of the 'bilingualism' of the Paekche *language.* On the language of Paekche, cf. also Toh Soo-hee (1986).

6 The excellent philological treatment of the 'Old Koguryŏ' toponymic corpus by Beckwith (2004) leaves no longer any doubt about the genetic identity of the underlying language. Beckwith's proposal to call the language family by the name 'Japanese-Koguryŏic' is, however, less lucky and can hardly be recommended for general use. Since Japonic (Japanese-Ryukyu) will always remain the better documented part of the family, any extinct language collaterally related to Japonic is certainly better identified as *Para-Japonic,* a term introduced (in the shape *Para-Japanic*) in Janhunen (1996: 204). Strictly speaking we will never know how diversified Para-Japonic was, for it may have comprised several distinct languages. The situation is reminiscent of other language families with lost but historically documented collateral branches, such as the case of Mongolic and Para-Mongolic (i.e.

fact, the only other linguistic entity apart from Korean and Chinese that is documented from protohistorical Korea. The presence of Para-Japonic in Paekche is perfectly congruent with the archaeological and historical evidence suggesting that the immediate origins of early Japanese culture and statehood (Yamato) were located in Paekche (Kudara).[7] All of this also confirms the conventional assumption that the Japonic language family entered the Japanese Islands from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula in connection with the expansion of the late bronze age Yayoi Culture (from the 4th century BCE or earlier).

So far for the premises. The identification of the dynastic languages of Silla and Paekche as (Ancient) Korean and Para-Japonic, respectively, does not, however, provide an immediate answer to the question as to what language had a dynastic status in Koguryŏ, and what other languages were spoken in this kingdom. This question should, in the first place, be dealt with against the background of the general ethnic and linguistic history of southern and central Manchuria. It happens that there are as many as three concretely identifiable and still extant language families whose homelands seem to have been located in this very region, either within or adjacent to the territory of Koguryŏ, in what might also be called the Koguryŏ sphere. The three language families are Mongolic, Tungusic, and Amuric.

The languages of the Koguryŏ sphere

The original boundary between Mongolic and Tungusic seems to have run along the Liao basin, with Mongolic being spoken to the west and Tungusic to the east of the river. The historical states based in Liaoxi, starting with the

Khitan and other Khitanic languages).

7 The role of Paekche in the formation of Japan as a political entity has been stressed by several Korean scholars, notably Hong Wontack (1994). The evidence typically quoted in this context comprises historical, philological, archaeological, and ethnological facts, but, curiously, there is no direct mention of the linguistic dimension of the question. The location of the immediate geographical origins of Japonic in Korea is an issue which many Korean and Japanese scholars are apparently still reluctant to discuss in open terms due to the possibility of political misinterpretation.

Northern Wei of the Tabghach (386-534) and ending with the Liao of the Khitan (907-1125) were documentably dominated by populations speaking Mongolic (or, more specifically, Para-Mongolic) languages. The language of the historical Mongols in western Manchuria and eastern Mongolia is best seen as a northern offshoot of the Mongolic language family from its Liaoxi homeland. All the Mongolic-related ethnic groups were known to the early Chinese by the generic name Xianbei, which may, course, also have comprised non-Mongolic-speaking populations.[8]

It is more difficult to present an unambiguous lineage for Tungusic speakers, but possible clues are provided by the ethnonymic link that may exist between the documentably Tungusic Jurchen of the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) in southern and central Manchuria and the earlier Sushen (3rd to 6th centuries CE) in the same region. This ethnonymic link might also comprise the so-called Wiman Chosŏn tribal state in southern Manchuria and northern Korea (2nd century BCE), which is often regarded as a predecessor to Koguryŏ prior to the founding of the Chinese commanderies. Another ethnonymic link connects the protohistorical Mohe, one of the population sections of Koguryŏ, with the kingdom of Parhae(Bohai) (698-926) in northern Korea and eastern Manchuria, which may be seen as a direct successor state to Koguryŏ and a predecessor to the Jin of the Jurchen.[9] In broad outlines, the areal history of the Tungusic language family parallels that of Mongolic. In the Tungusic case there was a northward expansion along the

8 While the Para-Mongolic identity of the Khitan language has been fully confirmed by the recent progress made in the decipherment of the Khitan scripts, the scarce database preserved of the language of the Tabghach has been interpreted in a variety of ways in the past. Conclusive arguments in favour of a Mongolic connection of the Tabghach language were, however, presented already by Ligeti (1970), who also emphasizes the Xianbei connection of the Tabghach.

9 It has to be noted that the mentioned ethnonymic links are not perfect. For a recent discussion of the etymological poblems of the Chosŏn-Sushen-Jurchen complex, cf. Janhunen (2004); for a source-based survey of the Mohe-Parhae issue, cf. Reckel (1995: 18-199).The question concerning the exact nature of the continuity from Koguryŏ to Parhae would certainly deserve more research. In any case, the traditional Korean view, according to which Koguryŏ was a purely 'Korean' kingdom, while Parhae was basically a 'Manchurian' entity, is poorly motivated. From the Korean point of view, it would be more correct to say that the Three Kindgoms period was followed by a Two Kingdoms period, during which the two actors on the Korean scene were Parhae and the Unified Silla, as already proposed in Janhunen (1996: 151).

Sungari-Amur basin, which resulted in the formation of the so-called Amur Tungusic and Northern Tungusic subgroups, of which the Northern Tungusic subgroup subsequently spread from the Middle Amur region even further northwards, ultimately covering almost all of Siberia. In spite of its great geographical extension, the Northern Tungusic expansion was by all tokens a secondary and very late phenomenon (probably starting only in the early 2nd millennium CE).[10]

This means that the Liao basin very probably already in Koguryŏ times corresponded to the borderline between Mongolic and Tungusic, two language families that have interacted in the region for millennia, and which both produced expansive offshoots towards the north. Liaoxi was never a part of Koguryŏ, whereas Liaodong formed an integral part of the Yan state, which also comprised Liaoxi and northeastern China proper. The Yan state anticipated territorially Northern Wei and Liao in the western half of southern Manchuria, and it must have comprised Mongolic speakers, possibly even as the dominant ethnolinguistic element. On the other hand, in the eastern half of southern Manchuria, Koguryŏ was followed by Parhae and Jin, both of which were quite certainly dominated by Tungusic speakers.

In this historical context, the role of the Liaodong Peninsula emerges as crucial. Since it was successively a part of both Yan and Koguryŏ, and later of both Liao and Jin, while it never belonged to either Northern Wei or Parhae, it is difficult to determine what the linguistic identity of its pre-Chinese population may have been. In principle, both Mongolic and Tungusic can have been spoken in Liaodong, either contemporaneously or successively, but it is also possible that the peninsula originally had another language that was neither Mongolic nor Tungusic, nor, of course, Chinese. However this may have been, it is likely that the language once spoken in Liaodong had an impact on the formation of the linguistic situation of Koguryŏ and, in particular, on the choice of the dynastic language of the kingdom. From this point of view, it may be concluded that the dynastic language of Koguryŏ can have been either Mongolic or Tungusic, or something else.

10 The argumentation here follows the lines presented in more detail in Janhunen (1996: 167-172 and *passim*).

When it comes to the non-Mongolic and non-Tungusic alternative, a possibility is offered by Amuric, a small language family today represented by the single isolate language Ghilyak (*Nivkh*), spoken in the Amur Delta region (Amur Ghilyak) and on northern Sakhalin (Sakhalin Ghilyak). Historically, Ghilyak is a typical example of areal marginalization. There is no doubt that the language family was originally centered far to the south of its present location, probably in central or southern Manchuria. Apart from its geographical relocation, Ghilyak has also undergone a process of typological reorientation, which has made it structurally relatively different from the Altaic typology otherwise prevalent in Manchuria. Assuming that the Amuric family in Koguryŏ times was still located in central or southern Manchuria, its original structural orientation is likely to have been closer to the Altaic type. However, even in its present form, Ghilyak shows many diagnostic areal features, including vowel rotation and nominal classifiers, shared by both Korean and other languages of Greater Manchuria.[11]

One specific political context with which the Amuric language family could be tentatively linked is offered by the vaguely documented tribal state of Puyŏ (*Fuyu*), once centered in the region between the Liao and Sungari basins. On the ethnic map of protohistorical Manchuria, Puyŏ remains an odd entity which cannot immediately be connected with the presumable lineages of Mongolic and Tungusic speakers. The role of Puyŏ 'horseriders' in the history of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and even Japan (Yamato), has long been a matter of debate with no conclusion in sight, but the one thing certain is that the Puyŏ tribes were at times powerful enough to play a political role independent from Koguryŏ. The information that Puyŏ would have invaded its southern neighbours, or influenced their dynastic history should not, however, be taken at face value.[12] There is even less reason to believe that

11 The issue of vowel rotation (verticalization of palato-velar vowel harmony) has been much debated in Korean linguistics, but it seems impossible to deny the presence of the phenomenon in Korean. For the general areal background I can only refer to Hattori (1979) and Janhunen (1981).

12 The foundation myths discussed in this connection by, for instance, Beckwith (2004: 29-32 and *passim*) should be taken for what they are—folklore. They may well reflect ancient political and cultural power relationships, but they have most probably nothing to do with actual ethnic identity issues, and even less with the linguistic origins and connections of any of the peoples and populations

the diffuse suggestions of Chinese historical sources concerning a linguistic 'identity' between Puyŏ and Koguryŏ should be taken seriously. However, Puyŏ must have had a single dynastic language, and this language was most likely different from the dynastic languages of the neighbouring states.

The assumption that the Puyŏ dynastic language was Amuric will, of course, always remain at the level of a hypothesis. The most notable circumstance in this context is that Ghilyak, in its historically attested forms, has items of cultural vocabulary that are not shared with, and apparently not borrowed from, any of the other known languages of the region. A language spoken in historical times by a tiny population (today less than 5,000) of culturally 'primitive' fishermen and sea mammal hunters, Ghilyak surprisingly has native items for, for instance, metal names such as 'iron' (*wat~wec*) and 'silver' (*dota*). This means that some of the vocabulary items conventionally assumed to be Tungusic loanwords in Ghilyak may actually be Amuric loanwords in Tungusic. Some of these items are specifically shared with only the Jurchenic (Jurchen-Manchu) and Amur Tungusic subgroups of Tungusic, such as, for instance, the words for 'gold' (Ghilyak *ays/ng* < **aysVn* = Manchu *aisin*), 'pig' (Ghilyak *olghong* < **ulgVn* = Manchu *ulgiyan*), and 'hundred' (Ghilyak *ny-rhangq* < **-tangkV* = Manchu *tanggû*).[13] It thus appears plausible that Ghilyak is the last remnant of a language of 'higher' culture that was once spoken in central or southern Manchuria.

The routes of the Japonic expansion

A temporary conclusion of the preceding discussion is that we can list as many as six languages or language families in Korea and southern

concerned. The terms 'Puyŏ-Koguryŏ' and 'Puyŏ-Koguryŏic', as used by Beckwith (2004: 33-38), are therefore not only premature but also void of any verifiable substance.

13 The important and promising field of lexical parallels between Amuric and Tungusic is seriously underexplored, the main works still being those by Kreinovich (1955) and Panfilov (1973). It goes without saying that there are also actual Tungusic loanwords in Ghilyak, but an analysis of the layers and directions of borrowing remains to be carried out. An ingenious starting point for this work is offered by the series of papers by Robert Austerlitz on Ghilyak internal reconstruction, initiated with Austerlitz (1981). On the Ghilyak metal names, cf. Austerlitz (1984).

Manchuria in Koguryŏ times: Chinese (Sinitic), Korean (Koreanic), Japonic (Para-Japonic), Mongolic (with Para-Mongolic), Tungusic, and Amuric. With good reason we can place Korean in southeastern Korea, Japonic in southwestern Korea, Mongolic in the western half of southern Manchuria, Tungusic in the eastern half of southern Manchuria, Amuric somewhere to the north of Mongolic and Tungusic, and Chinese all over the region as the language of a cultural superstratum. If any one of these languages was the dynastic language of Koguryŏ, the most likely candidate would seem to be Tungusic, for the other languages concerned were all connected with other political entities and historical lineages: Korean with Silla, Japonic with Paekche, Mongolic with Yan and its successor states in Liaoxi, Amuric possibly with Puyŏ, and Chinese with the military commanderies in the region.

There is, however, a persistent conception that the dynastic language of Koguryŏ was, after all Japonic (Para-Japonic). This conception is primarily connected with the identification of the 'Old Koguryŏ' toponyms of Korea with the state of Koguryŏ.[14] However, it has been noted long ago that, in reality, the principal territory of the toponymic corpus is located in central Korea, in an area that was only secondarily transferred from Paekche to Koguryŏ. It is therefore more likely that the toponyms basically represent the language of Paekche, rather than the language of Koguryŏ. This is also more congruent with the presumable linguistic history of the Korean Peninsula. Assuming that the one-time Para-Japonic-speaking population of Paekche was gradually covered by the Korean language expanding from Silla, it is natural that the last remnant islets of Para-Japonic speakers would have remained exactly in the territory of the toponymic corpus, that is, in the former borderland between Paekche and Koguryŏ, a region that was located sufficiently far from the political power centers of both Paekche and Koguryŏ. At this time, the rest of the former Paekche territory may already have been predominantly Korean speaking, while a major part of the former

14 The most important advocator of the Para-Japonic identification of the dynastic language of Koguryŏ is now Beckwith (2004). The following discussion will therefore focus on countering some of his arguments.

Koguryŏ territory, never conquered by Silla, would have retained the original linguistic profile of Koguryŏ.

Another circumstance to be considered in this context is that Korean and Japanese, even in their modern forms, constitute a bilateral *Sprachbund*, in which the two languages are more or less isomorphic (earlier possibly also isophonic). Since this structural parallelism cannot be explained by contacts across the Korea Strait, its most likely explanation is that the underlying linguistic interaction took place at a time when Japonic (Para-Japonic) was still spoken in parts of Korea. In other words, Korean has a Japonic (Para-Japonic) substratum. At the same time, Japonic has a Korean adstratum as a reminiscence from its coexistence with Korean (Koreanic) on the Korean Peninsula.[15] The bilateral relationship of Korean and Japanese is very special even in the larger context of the so-called Altaic (or Ural-Altaic) typological sphere, and it is best explained by assuming profound linguistic interaction in the Silla-Paekche area of southern Korea.[16] There is no specific information suggesting that similar interaction took place in the territory of Koguryŏ. The Jurchen-Manchu language, historically spoken in the northern part of former Koguryŏ, is, of course, typologically close to both Korean and Japanese, but this closeness is of a less specific kind.

On the other hand, it seems difficult to deny that a small number of Para-Japonic toponyms is attested from the original Koguryŏ territory, including the area north of the Amnok(Yalu) River. It is, however, not a question of the entire northern part of Koguryŏ but, rather, of the coastal belt comprising northwestern Korea and parts of the Liaodong Peninsula. Unfortunately, this small corpus[17] does not contain some of the most diag-

15 On the contextual background of the Koreo-Japonic *Sprachbund*, cf. Janhunen (1999). It may be noted that the convergence of Korean (Koreanic) and Japanese (Japonic) also belongs to the issues that are difficult to deal with in the national frameworks of Korean and Japanese scholarship. As an alternative, many scholars therefore still turn to the Altaic Hypothesis, which 'allows' the structural parallelism to be explained as a result of divergence. Unfortunately, the divergent explanation is incorrect in this case, as is also pointed out by Beckwith (2004: 164-183).

16 I am not going here into the special problematics connected with the Kaya League (Mimana) in the coastal borderzone of Silla and Paekche, which, in the absence of any other obvious alternative, is also likely to have been Japonic speaking. Possibly, Kaya should be seen more as a political than as an ethnic phenomenon, but its position in protohistorical Korea is still in many respects enigmatic.

17 The corpus is presented by Beckwith (2004: 89-92), who lists 8 "unsurrendered cities," 3

nostic Para-Japonic elements with unquestionable Japonic cognates (such as numerals). Some of the words occurring in the toponyms, like the item for 'city' (roughly **kur*), may also represent regional cultural vocabulary, which, even if it ultimately were of a Japonic (Para-Japonic) origin, can have been current in many languages. Even so, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the typonymic corpus implies the presence of at least some Para-Japonic-speaking communities in the western coastal parts of Koguryŏ. It is another matter what the correct ethnohistorical explanation of this situation should be.

The problem is connected with the routes by which the Japonic language family moved on the continent towards the Japanese Islands. It is now increasingly commonly recognized that Japonic, unlike Korean, was not native to Korea, but had relatively recently arrived to the peninsula from continental China, where its most immediate source region would seem to have been the Shandong Peninsula. However, Shandong was probably not the 'original' homeland of Japonic, either, for the typological features reconstructable for Pre-Proto-Japonic suggest a non-Altaic-type language with areal connections further to the south. It is therefore plausible to assume that Japonic was once located somewhere on the southeastern coast of China, perhaps in the Yangtse basin, from where the linguistic lineage moved northwards along the coast.[18] The crucial question is how Japonic reached the Korean Peninsula. There seem to be four possible models of explanation:

(a) *The sea route from Shandong to Korea.* In this model, Japonic would have arrived directly by the sea route from Shandong. The sea route in question has obviously long been used for both commerce and warfare, as well as

"surrendered cities," 5 "renegade cities," and 2 "captured cities" north of the Amnok River having names with possible Para-Japonic elements.

18 This scenario, proposed in Janhunen (1997), is accepted by Beckwith (2004), who has also postulated lexical parallels between Japonic and southern continental languages, notably "Tibeto-Burman." An alternative framework of a similar type is being developed by Alexander Vovin (personal communication). So far, the etymological evidence is hardly binding, but the typological implications have an independent diagnostic value even if no material parallels were ever found.

for human migrations. Considering that the expansion from southern Korea to Japan (in the Yayoi period) also took place by sea, there should have been no technical problems for a sufficiently large number of people to move from Shandong to Korea (slightly before the Yayoi period) and to start a viable speech community there. As always, the expansion of the language would also have taken place by way of language shift, which means that the volume of the primary migration need not have been particularly large. Obviously, the language gained its position due to the cultural (including social, economic, and military) superiority of its speakers. Assuming that Japonic had thus arrived in what later came to be Paekche, the language could well have started an expansion not only eastwards to the Japanese Islands, but also northwards along the western coast of Korea. This expansion could then explain the Para-Japonic toponyms in Koguryŏ. [19]

(b) *The sea route from Shandong to Liaodong to Korea.* While the previous model brings Japonic directly from Shandong to the subsequent Paekche territory in southwestern Korea and only then to Koguryŏ, it is also possible that the primary migration was directed from Shandong to Liaodong, that is, to a part of the subsequent Koguryŏ territory. The distance from northern Shandong to the tip of Liaodong is slightly shorter than from Shandong to Korea, and this sea route has also been in active use since ancient times. From Liaodong, Japonic could have spread either directly by sea or along the coastal belt of western Korea to the subsequent territory ot Paekche, and only then further to the Japanese Islands. This does not mean, however, that the whole extension of this route at any one time would necessarily have been simultaneously Japonic speaking, for the language could have disappeared at the one end while it was still advancing at the other end.

(c) *The land route from Shandong to Liaodong.* A variant of the previous model, this explanation implies that the Japonic expansion from China to

19 A preliminary simplified version of this model, without consideration of the possibility of a secondary northward expansion of Japonic (Para-Japonic) along the western coast of Korea, was first proposed in Janhunen (1996: 230-231).

Korea took place all the way along the coast, without the seaways being involved to any significant degree. This model would bring Japonic from Shandong first to Liaoxi, a part of the Yan state, and only then further to Liaodong, also a part of Yan, as well as Korea, including both Koguryŏ and Paekche. Assuming that the preceding expansion of Japonic from the south to Shandong had followed the coastal land route, it would not appear impossible that the same basic method of expansion continued also north of Shandong. On the other hand, the Japonic expansion involved a random process, rather than a consciously planned operation, which is why the methods and principles of expansion need not have remained the same all the time.

(d) *Separate routes to Liaodong and Japan.* While in the previous three models it is presupposed that there was only a single primary expansion, which spread Japonic from Shandong to Korea, either directly (a), via Liaodong (b), or also via Liaoxi (c), it is, in principle, possible to postulate a more complex mechanism with two separate movements. In this case, one movement would have brought Japonic from Shandong to Liaoxi (Yan) and/or Liaodong (Koguryŏ), and another from Shandong via southern Korea (Paekche) to Japan (Yamato). This would imply that the 'Old Koguryŏ' toponyms represent a Para-Japonic idiom that separated from the lineage of Japonic (proper) already on the Chinese continent. It is, however, not immediately clear whether the 'Old Koguryŏ' corpus should in this case be understood as representing the northern lineage (Koguryŏ) or the southern one (Paekche).[20]

There is perhaps no need for the time being to take a definitive stand either against or in favour of any of the four alternative models, for they are, after all, relatively close to each other. It is basically a question of how large the

20 This is the preferred model of Beckwith (2004: 241-249 and *passim*), who seems to assume that the Yayoi migration was not directly connected with any of the Korean states or their predecessors. Rather, the Yayoi migration would only minimally have touched Korea on its way from China to Japan (northern Kyushu). Since the Yayoi population would also not have left any remnant Japonic or Para-Japonic speakers in Korea, the total attested Para-Japonic corpus would represent the language of Koguryŏ and its offshoots elsewhere in Korea.

area covered by Japonic and Para-Japonic was in Korea and adjacent regions. In the maximal case (c-d), Japonic and/or Para-Japonic would have been present, though not necessarily simultaneously, all over the Yellow Sea coast from Shandong to Liaoxi to Liadong to Korea to Japan. In the minimal case (a), only Shandong and the southwestern part of Korea would ever have been covered by Japonic on its way towards the Japanese Islands. From the point of view of simplicity, the minimal model (a) is to be preferred to the maximal model (c-d), but the truth may also lie between these extremities (b). One source of information that may shed light on the question in the future is archaeology, but we should not be too optimistic about the possibilities of archaeology to solve questions that basically belong to the realm of linguistics.

It has to be noted that the presence of Para-Japonic toponyms in what seems to be have been original Koguryŏ territory does not necessarily mean that Para-Japonic was also the dynastic language of Koguryŏ. Koguryŏ may, however, have been a region where Japonic and/or Para-Japonic contacted with the other languages of southern Manchuria, and traces of these contacts may still be preserved in the Japanese language. Probable cultural loanwords from Manchurian languages into Japanese include, for instance, the items for 'shoe' (*kutu* = Mongolic **gutu.l*), 'soup' (*siru* = Mongolic **silö*), 'barley' (*mugi* = Manchu *muji*), and 'seven' (*nana* = Tungusic **nada/n*).[21] Irrespective of which model is adopted to explain the Japonic expansion, the only route by which these words can have reached Japanese is along the western coast of Korea. Most probably, the loan contacts took place at a time when the lineage of Japonic was still present in Korea. Of course, there was also a period, several centuries long, when mutually intelligible forms of Japonic were spoken on both sides of the Korea Strait. In this period, which must have lasted till the Kofun period of Japan (4th to 6th centuries CE), loanwords can have passed also from Manchuria to Korea to Japan.[22]

21 The item for 'seven' is also discussed by Beckwith (2004: 180-181), who is sceptical of the etymological connection, though he correctly mentions that items for 'seven' have been borrowed all over Eurasia.

Concluding remarks

Of the six known linguistic lineages present in the Koguryŏ sphere, only Chinese and Korean cannot with any likelihood be connected with the dynastic language of the kingdom. Of the others, Mongolic and Amuric also seem to have been more marginal to Koguryŏ than Tungusic and Para-Japonic. The Tungusic identification is supported by the fact that most of the Koguryŏ territory later emerges as Tungusic (Jurchenic) speaking, and there is no evidence suggesting of any major Tungusic expansion in the region after the Koguryŏ period. In any case, a large section of the population once governed by Koguryŏ must have been linguistically Tungusic. However, one important issue that can never be approached with any exactitude is the factor of linguistic extinction. Most likely, the language density of Korea and adjacent regions has been consistently declining during the last several millennia. The original diversity must have been far greater than that suggested by just the six lineages identifiable in the region today. It can therefore never be ruled out that the dynastic language of Koguryŏ was, after all, one of these subsequently extinct languages, whose name is perhaps still preserved in the variety of ancient ethnonyms recorded in Chinese sources.[23]

It is also a question of what the role of a dynastic language was in early Korea and Manchuria. If a dynastic language was something spoken only by a tiny ruling elite (the ruling house), possibly an elite specially invited or accepted from a neighbouring country, as is often the case, the whole ques-

22 It is important to note that credible Manchurian etymologies datable to the Three Kingdoms period or earlier have so far been found specifically in Japanese, rather than Korean. This is congruent with the situation that Korean was long confined to the relatively isolated southeastern corner of the peninsula, while the main route of cultural influences passed along the western coast. More intensive contacts between Korean and Manchurian languages (Jurchen and, later, Middle Mongol) were initiated only in the Koryŏ period (from the 10th century CE), cf. also Lee (1958).

23 On the problems of connecting ancient ethnonyms with modern linguistic lineages, cf. Janhunen (1996: 235-236). Beckwith (2004: 44-45 and *passim*) nevertheless feels able to regard the ancient ethnonyms Ye and Maek of the Korean-Manchurian borderline as "more or less the same" as Koguryŏ. Even if the relevant Chinese sources may suggest so, it is more likely that different ethnonyms imply ethnic differences. We simply do not know what the ethnic and linguistic identity of the Ye Maek was, but it was very probably in some way distinct in the Koguryŏ context.

tion concerning the dynastic language of Koguryŏ would not have much ethnohistorical significance. Such dynastic languages would, however, not have survived long. More likely, a dynastic language was an idiom relatively widely used in administrative, economic, and military contexts. In the Koguryŏ case, it is reasonable to assume that the dynastic language was supported by a considerable proportion of the local population. However, considering that the political weight of Koguryŏ was biased towards the south and west, its dynastic language may well have been an idiom spoken specifically in the coastal zone extending from Liaodong to northwestern Korea.

This makes the assumption of a Para-Japonic dynastic language for Koguryŏ appear somewhat more plausible than it otherwise would. Japonic was, after all, the dominant language of Paekche, which was located in the southern part of the same western coastal zone of Korea of which Koguryŏ dominated the northern part. The cultural and political links of Koguryŏ and Paekche are undeniable historical facts, and they could well have been supported by a linguistic link, as well. The main weakness of this scenario is that it is, then, difficult to understand why Koguryŏ and Paekche would at all have been separate states, if they were dominated by the same linguistic group with a similar cultural profile. While it may be taken for certain that there were Para-Japonic speakers in those (southern) parts of Koguryŏ that had once belonged to Paekche, the assumption that Para-Japonic also had played a dominant role in the rest of Koguryŏ since the time of its founding is considerably less well argumented.[24]

Also, the mere assumption of a linguistic unity or affinity between Paekche and Koguryŏ does not give an answer to the question as to which of the two kingdoms would territorially first have been embraced by the

24 It is a considerable merit of Beckwith (2004) that he has demonstrated the potential relevance of Para-Japonic for Koguryŏ. Even so, the greatest merit of his book lies in the philological analysis, which should leave no competent linguist uncertain about the fact that there *was* such a thing as Para-Japonic or 'Koguryŏic' , spoken in parts of Korea. This is an important message that should no longer be ignored in any serious study of Japanese and Korean linguistic prehistory. At the same time, Beckwith' s critique of the Altaic Hypothesis is justified, and it can only be hoped that the practice of comparative linguistics in both Korea and Japan can ultimately liberate itself of the antiquated paradigms of distant genetic comparisons.

Japonic or Para-Japonic language (or languages). An expansion from the south (Paekche) towards the north (Koguryŏ) would certainly be relatively easy to place in the context of what is otherwise known of the ethnic and linguistic history of Greater Manchuria. An expansion from the north (Koguryŏ) towards the south (Paekche) would, on the other hand, imply that Japonic or Para-Japonic was once the dominant language all over the Liaoxi and Liaodong region (the Yan state area).[25] This is a framework for which more linguistic and extralinguistic evidence would have to be presented before it can be accepted as a convincing alternative. Meanwhile, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to conclude that the likeliest candidate for the dominant and, hence, dynastic language of Koguryŏ still remains Tungusic.

25 However this may have been, Beckwith (2004: 37-40) goes clearly too far when he assumes that the Para-Japonic linguistic sphere also comprised Puyŏ in the context of 'Puyŏ-Koguryŏic' . The etymology of 'Puyŏ' proposed by Beckwith (2004: 53 note 11) is hardly decisive in this context. Geographically, Puyŏ was an entity whose territory extended far to the heart of Manchuria in the Sungari basin, a region certainly dominated by ethnic groups other than Para-Japonic speakers. The more moderate assumption that only the ruling elite of Puyŏ would have been Para-Japonic speaking would, on the other hand, be ethnohistorically inconclusive.

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When was Korean First Spoken in Southeastern Korea?

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When was Korean First Spoken in Southeastern Korea?

The weakest assumption about the prehistory of Korea and Japan is that proto-Korean was spoken in the southeastern peninsula from time immemorial. The Yayoi migrants departed for Japan from there, and much evidence shows that proto-Japanese was their language. Yet comparison of Korean and Japanese does not indicate such a late separation of proto-languages. Also, the so-called Koguryŏan placenames are better interpreted as showing that a form of Japanese was once spoken on the peninsula I hypothesize that this language was related to Korean but had been separated from it for many centuries, and been relexified by the language(s) accompanying wet-field rice and other features of Mumun culture that diffused from the southern peninsula during the second millennium BCE. If the precursor of Japanese had itself been one of those languages, it is hard to explain Korean-Japanese syntactic parallels, which would have required intensive, long-term contact, for there is no archaeological evidence of a distinctively Sillan culture in the south prior to the 4th century CE.

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People seem to have spoken Korean throughout the peninsula at least since it was unified by Silla in the 7th century, and it is therefore widely believed that a form of Korean must have been spoken in the southeastern corner of the peninsula, where Silla was originally located, from at least Mumun times. I want to question this belief because, of all the many assumptions commonly made by historians and linguists, it is the most poorly supported and the one that most complicates our understanding of the relationship between the Korean and Japanese languages. For the past several years, I have been studying the Korean-Japanese relationship in the light of recent archaeological and anthropological research as well as work in historical linguistics, and believe that, whether or not Korean and Japanese turn out to be genetically related languages, proto-Korean was probably not spoken in the Yŏngnam area when the Yayoi migration to Japan began. Consequently, I doubt that there was a Koguryŏan language distinct from Korean. Although Koguryŏan, Paekchean, and Sillan could have been distinct languages, a better hypothesis at present is that they were all just varieties of Old Korean, which did not penetrate the southeast until sometime after 300 CE.

Let me begin by noting briefly some pertinent NON-LINGUISTIC facts about Sillan culture. First, "[t]he archaeology of the Late Iron Age (0-300 CE) of the Kyŏngju basin is virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the Yŏngnam region (southeastern Korea). This means that on the basis of material culture, we cannot see a major distinction between the areas that

later become Kaya and Silla" (Barnes 2004:16). Second, "it is impossible to speak of a 'Silla' before the manifestation of their physical means of identification.... The fourth century was the time period in which the infrastructure for the Silla state was laid, with Silla material and ethnic identity fully formalized in the fifth century" (Barnes 2004:36). Barnes's assessment is supported, for example, by parallels between shamanistic practices in Silla, which persisted even after the official adoption of Buddhism, and ethnographic information about the kingdoms of Puyŏ and Paekche (Lee 2004:50-54), as well as by a comparison of early historical records showing Silla's precarious position between the competing interests of Yamato and Koguryŏ in the late 4th and early 5th centuries (Allen 2004).

If we look for LINGUISTIC evidence that requires placing Korean in the Yŏngnam area centuries before the kingdom itself appears, we simply don't find any. It may be true that Sillan royalty spoke an early form of Old Korean, but there is no guarantee that a different language was used in the region before the late 4th century. Apart from the Chinese word list *Kyerim yusa* of the Koryŏ period, extended texts in Old Korean comprise just the twenty-five *hyangga*, the oldest of which are the fourteen recorded in the 12th-century *Samguk yusa*. Of those fourteen, thirteen are supposed to have been written by Sillans, but one was attributed to a prince of Paekche, and all were composed in the 7th century or later, most during the 8th. The other eleven hyangga are found in the mid-10th-century biography of the priest Kyunyŏ. As Lee and Ramsey (2000:48-49) state, "Interpretation of these short poems is not an easy task. Mysteries abound, and much remains undeciphered." Moreover, we need to be cautious when drawing inferences about Old Korean from Middle Korean documents of the 15th century. It is possible that, with a better understanding of *kugyŏl* reading and writing practices of the pre-*han'gŭl* period, we may discover that the latter was somewhat aberrant with respect to the main lines of dialect development. Recently discovered evidence of inkless interlinear notations in Late Old and Early Middle Korean manuscripts (Kobayashi 2004) have yet to be adequately analyzed and interpreted linguistically.

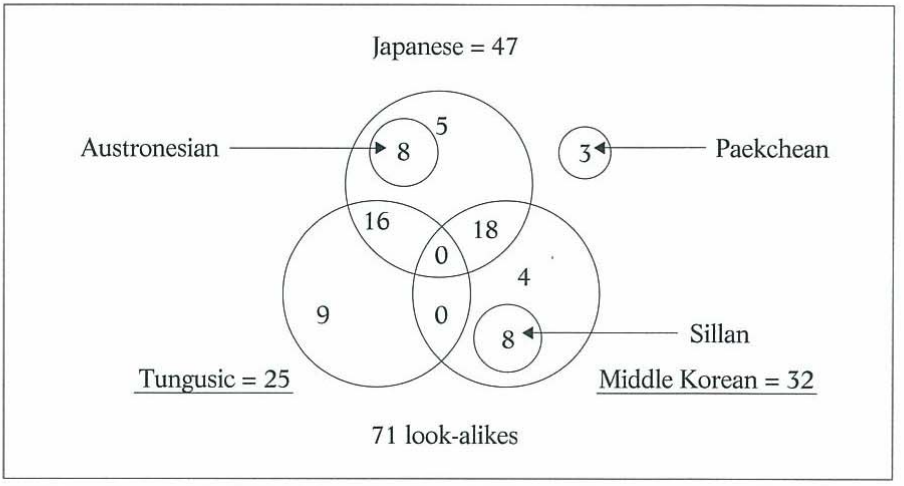
At any rate, whether Old Korean was the original language of the Silla kingdom is a separate matter. Fukui (2003:223-24) is, to my knowledge, the

only linguist who has raised it explicitly, and he offers just one argument to support the identification. (When I spoke with him last March, he told me it was his ONLY argument.) In passages in *Nihon shoki* referring to the peninsula, OJ *kwi* 'fortress' is commonly associated with Paekche; a synonym, OJ *sasi*, seems to be cognate with MK *cas* 'fortress', which is used in reference to places in Silla. The so-called Koguryŏan word for 'fortress', written with the character 忽, was *hol, as Fukui reconstructs it. Since OJ *sasi* resembles neither *hol (which has been compared with OJ *kura* 'storehouse') nor OJ *kwi* (which Yun 1994 argues derives from the same source as *hol), Fukui reasons that MK *cas* must go back to a Sillan word. But this assumes that Koguryŏan and Paekchean were distinct languages from Sillan, which is precisely the point in contention. Indeed, OJ *sasi* may be a borrowing rather than a cognate. This is certainly the impression one gets from the placename *musasi* < OJ *muzasi* < *mu(.)nV.sasi, which obviously contains the morpheme *sasi* and has been written with the *ateji* 武藏 since the Nara period. The characters here imply that OJ *kura* 'storehouse' (the usual gloss on 藏) was thought of as a synonym of *sasi*. Musashi was a frontier area where, according to *Nihon shoki*, immigrants from Paekche as well as Silla were settled at the end of the 7th century, and the name may have been coined around that time by peninsular settlers who knew the corresponding Old Korean word. (The Ainu word *casi* 'fortress' may be a by-product of this innovation, though Vovin (1993) thinks the resemblance in form and meaning is accidental.)

Linguistic evidence thus does not help us determine when the Korean language arrived in the southeastern peninsula, and despite traditional Korean legends implying great antiquity, the preponderance of the non-linguistic evidence suggests that a language like Japanese was spoken in the area at least as until the 3rd century BCE, and perhaps for quite a while afterward. It is even conceivable that the founders of Silla originally spoke a para-Japonic language (to use Juha Janhunen's term) but gave it up as their domain expanded, much as the Franks gradually abandoned Frankish for the somewhat oddly named lingua franca of their Romance-speaking subjects. But even if Korean was always the language of Sillan royalty, which is certainly possible, it does not follow that Korean was the dominant language of

the Yŏngnam area before the 4th century. On the contrary, the Yayoi migration theory of Japanese linguistic origins implies that para-Japonic was the dominant language of the area at an earlier time. One cannot meaningfully discuss the origins of Korean or Japanese without taking the origins of the other into account.

I won't attempt to summarize the archaeological and biological evidence that Yayoi culture was brought to Japan by migrants, but instead state what I think are the three most important linguistic arguments for that hypothesis. First, if Japanese had been spoken in Japan much earlier, we would expect to find greater linguistic diversity there than we actually do (Hudson 1999:92, Whitman 2002:260). For later reference, note also that the high degree of homogeneity of Japanese dialects means that substratal contributions of pre-Yayoi language could only have occurred during the short period before proto-Japanese began to spread out of northern Kyūshū and split into dialects. Second, to the extent that Ainu can be taken as representative of languages spoken in Japan during the Final Jōmon period, even a severe critic of Martin 1966 and Whitman 1985 would probably agree that there are more lexical matches between Japanese and Korean than between Japanese and some putative Jōmon language (cf. Patrie 1982). Interest has recently revived for finding Ainu etymologies for names that seem meaningless in Old Japanese or are written with *ateji*, a search earlier pursued by such scholars as Basil Hall Chamberlain and Murayama Shichirō. Without passing judgment on new work along these lines by avocational researchers like Nagata (2001, 2005) and Ōyama (2002, 2003), it is worth noting that they implicitly agree that Japanese was not itself a Jōmon language. Third and finally, whether one thinks Japanese proper was related to Koguryŏan, to Korean, or to neither, the well-known *Samguk sagi* placename data show that Japanese-like words were once used on the peninsula. Despite clear signs of trade throughout the Jōmon period between the islands and peninsula, there is no evidence of permanent habitation by Jōmon type people on the continent (Nakahashi 2005:122, 202-206; Mori 2005), and it is doubtful trade contacts alone could have introduced words that found their way into local placenames. Para-Japonic evidently spread from—not to—Korea, and such a diffusion is easier to explain as a result of than as a precursor to the



115 Koguryŏan words(including 4 from *Hou Han shu*)

Yayoi migration.

Many scholars, myself included, have assumed that non-Korean morphemes recovered from the *Samguk sagi* chapters headed "Koguryŏ" and "Paekche" are actually fragments of distinct Koguryŏan and Paekchean languages, though Kim Panghan explicitly warned against making that assumption. Beckwith (2004) has gone much further, arguing that those languages were genetically unrelated to Korean but came from the same source as Japanese. I am now, however, inclined to agree with Kim. The distribution of tentative etymologies for the placename morphemes in Itabashi's (2003:189) analysis of essentially the same data discussed by Beckwith supports Kim's view, regardless of what one thinks of the inferences Itabashi draws from it. As the diagram above makes clear, overlapping etymologies are few compared with the number of Japanese, Tungusic, and Korean words that, respectively, resemble so-called Koguryŏan words.

Whitman summarized the situation aptly when he wrote (2002:263), "[T]he Japanese material looks like Japanese, the Korean material looks like Korean, et cetera. Furthermore, none of the decipherable toponyms refer[s] to the historical homeland of Koguryŏ north of the Yālù river, and none of the toponyms associated with Japanese designate localities north of the Taedong river; most are south of the Han river basin. Some 'Japanese'

toponyms (such as the number 'three' [*mil]) are also found in the Silla sections of the *Samguk sagi*."

I hasten to point out that this assessment of the *Samguk sagi* evidence undercuts not only the claims of Beckwith 2004 but also some I made in Unger 2001 and Unger 2003. I argued that words like OJ *mi-* 'three' must have been borrowed from Koguryŏan in light of OJ *sakikusa*, a plant name written 三枝, which, as Whitman (1985) observed, seems to preserve a cognate of MK *ŭe(k)* ~ *ŭey(h)* < OK *seki (?~ *saki) 'three'. As has long been recognized, one can reconstruct Koguryŏan *mil or *mit 'three' on the basis of doublet writings in *Samguk sagi*. If, however, this form is just a remnant of a para-Japonic language (not necessarily Koguryŏan), this interpretation, which in any case has been criticized by both Serafim (2003) and Beckwith for unrelated reasons, must be abandoned. One must say instead that OJ *mi-* is a native morpheme and that the *saki* 'three' of *sakikusa* is not cognate but rather a borrowing from Korean, even if Korean and Japanese diverged from a common source. (Otherwise, Japanese would unnaturally have had a pair of exact native synonyms for the cardinal number 'three'.)

This underscores the point I made earlier about the interdependence of hypotheses regarding the the origins of Korean and Japanese. Whatever the reasons for the lexical similarities between Korean and Japanese may be, pure chance is the least likely. If the languages diverged from a common source, then our slow progress in sharpening the phonemic correspondences in the proto-Korean-Japanese reconstruction, difficulty in reducing the unmatched residues in both languages, and inability to find cognates among words associated with wet-field cultivation and metallurgy (Rozycki 2003:454-55, Blench 2005:44) all imply that the two languages separated much earlier than the Yayoi migration. On the other hand, if Korean and Japanese were not genetically related, then Korean cannot have been the sole language of the Yŏngnam area from time immemorial, because the archaeological evidence points to that area as the place from which the Yayoi migrants embarked. Indeed, if Japanese and Koguryŏan had a special relationship not shared by Sillan or Korean, as Beckwith thinks, then what Hudson (1999:97) calls a "geographical inversion" problem arises. The capitals of Koguryŏ and Silla are in the wrong ends of the peninsula with respect

to the most likely starting point of the Yayoi migration.

Beckwith addresses this problem by arguing that Korean speakers of pre-Silla Chinhan were enveloped by Koguryŏan-Japanese speakers who lived in Liáoxī sometime before 400 BCE. He is not sure whether "the ancestors of the Yemaek state of eastern Korea ... moved by land to Liádōng and Korea with Wiman Chosŏn" of legendary fame, but he states that "at about the same time ... some did move by sea to the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula and to northern Kyūshū; these were the Yayoi or Wa, the ancestors of the Japanese." "Others," he continues, "eventually moved overland into southern Manchuria to found the Puyŏ kingdom. Still later, the Koguryŏ and other Puyŏ-Koguryŏic peoples also moved by land into Liáodōng, southern Manchuria, and Korea. The latest to move were a group of Wa, who migrated by sea to the Ryūkyūs at around that time, and the Puyŏ-Paekche, who conquered the Mahan area of Korea (the western south-central region, focused on the area of modern Sŏul) in the mid-fourth century" (Beckwith 2004:36-37).

Though some parts of this scenario are supported by Chinese historical notices, I find it hard to accept it as a whole for several reasons. Beckwith (2004, 29-32) makes much of the similarities among the progenitor myths of Koguryŏ, Puyŏ, and Paekche, which he thinks have echoes in Japanese myths, but fails to acknowledge that the trope of being born from an egg is applied not only to Tongmyŏng (or Chumong) of Koguryŏ but also to Hyŏkkŏse of the Pak clan, T 'arhae of the Sŏk clan, and Alchi of the Kim clan of Silla (Lee 2004:57). The Sillan versions mention a character named Ho-gong, who is said to come from Wa, and the myth of T 'arhae makes even more detailed references to Japan (Lee 2004:58-59), which is odd if Koguryŏan-Japanese and Sillan-Korean culture were fundamentally unrelated. I also think Beckwith's reliance on Chinese ethnographic identifications of Korean Yemaek with later Koguryŏ is unwise. As Byington explains (2003:55-58), the Ye or Huī (穢) "do not seem to have been known in China until after Yān's occupation of Liáodōng around 282 B.C.[E.]" while the Maek or Mò (貊 or 貉) were "located to the west or southwest of Yān" (55-57), i.e. in western Hèběi. Neither group was in Liáoxī at the time Beckwith places them there, and neither was connected with the other or

with the Huìmò, that is Yemaek, of Korea (ibid.). Chinese historians used old names to refer to new peoples on their expanding frontiers, as shown by changes in the denotation of such terms as Dōngyí 東夷, Sùshèn 肅慎, and Hàn 韓. The Dōngyí of Zhōu times lived in Shāndōng and points farther south, but in Hàn times in Manchuria and Korea (Byington 2003:57-58). The Sùshèn of Hàn times were the Yìlóu 挹婁 of Manchuria, who lived far to the east of the original group (Byington 2003:61-62), and the Hàn of the Warring States period lived in what is now Hénán, though the same name was, of course, later used for southern Korea. Even the Japanese got into the act, glossing the characters for Sùshèn *misipase* (perhaps related to *emisi* 'northern rustics') to name a strange group of visitors to Sado Island, who could just as easily have been Gilyak as Tungus.

There are also many linguistic problems with Beckwith's argument, a full discussion of which would take us far beyond the topic at hand. To mention just one item related to the previous discussion, if Ye and Maek were recycled names for two distinct groups of earlier people, then Beckwith's reconstructed Chinese form *kormak 穢貊 (2004:50 n2) was probably not an attempt at transcribing the actual ethnonym used by people living in Yemaek territory. Hence, Beckwith's tempting comparison of OJ *koma* 'Koguryŏ' with 穢貊 may be mistaken. Furthermore, Japanese words thought to be ancient borrowings from Late Old or Early Middle Chinese retain Chinese final obstruents (e.g. *niku* 'flesh', *pude* 'writing brush'), whereas *koma*, if from *kormak or *kotmak, does not. At any rate, OJ *koma* meant 'Koguryŏ', not 'Yemaek'. It is possible that the meaning changed after Koguryŏ gained control over Yemaek territory, but Beckwith thinks the connection was due to ethnic links between Yemaek and Koguryŏ that Japanese knew firsthand. One could try to save Beckwith's etymology by arguing that 百済 was a simplified writing of 貊済; since百済 in one *Nihon shoki* passage is associated with OJ *kumanari*, which can be analyzed as K *kom* 'bear' (cf. J *kuma* id.) and K *nay* < *nari 'river', we can perhaps equate 貊 with 'bear'. In fact, the capital of Paekche from 475 to 538 was Ungjin 熊津 'bear port', and was moved in 538 to Sabi 泗沘 on the the Kūm (?< *kuma) river. This justifies taking 貊 or 穢貊 as a Chinese gloss on a word meaning 'bear'; if it were the totem animal of both the Yemaek and

Paekche people, it might have been important also to their ethnic cousins, the Koguryŏans. But all this is impossible under Beckwith's theory, which denies any genetic connection between Korean and the "Koguryŏic-Japanese" languages, for the only reason to link OJ *nari* in *kumanari* with 'river' is K *nay* < *nari 'river'. Under what circumstances could Korean have loaned its word for 'river' to surrounding "Koguryŏic-Japanese" languages at the same time it borrowed its word for 'bear' from them? Furthermore, the name 百済 or 伯済 was in use for the southwest quadrant of the peninsula long before the kingdom of Paekche was established (Kirkland 1983). Although the resemblance between OJ *kudara* 'Paekche' and *kumanari* has been often remarked upon, there are more than a dozen different theories about the origin of the name *kudara*, some of the best of which dispense with 'bear' morphemes entirely (Anselmo 1974:23-48).

Archaeological evidence also fails to support Beckwith's association of Yemaek as precursors of Koguryŏ. As Sarah Nelson has written,

> A common Korean interpretation of the time period after about 1000 BCE is that a nomadic group, sometimes specified as the Yemaek ... entered the peninsula from the north, bringing new pottery styles and rice agriculture with the stone tool technology to carry it out. In this interpretation the Yemaek also buried their dead in stone cists and erected enormous dolmens to mark their chiefs.... This is a simplistic argument based loosely on historical sources .... The archaeological data cannot so easily be fitted into a Yemaek pigeonhole, and as Manchurian archaeology becomes better known, the mosaic becomes more complex, not simpler. Many of the sites of Liáoníng, Jílín, and Hēilóngjiāng provinces appear to be those of settled farmers .... The archaeological materials, with the exception of pottery types, do not lend themselves easily to regional treatment.... A relatively consistent assemblage of artifacts in the megalithic period of Korea suggest a similar way of life for ordinary villagers throughout the peninsula.... In this society, bronze artifacts and gemstone beads appear to function as status markers for the elite. Necklaces of tubular beads were often with the dead. Occasionally comma-shaped beads ... which became an important symbol in the Silla kingdom, as well as in Yamato Japan, appear in burials,

> usually in conjunction with tubular beads, perhaps signifying some specific role or status. (Nelson 1993:111-13)

Let me now leave Beckwith's theory to build on Nelson's last comment and outline an alternative. Mori Kōichi has pointed out that tubular beads and *magatama* made of hard jade were produced almost exclusively in the Noto peninsula of northern Japan during most of the Jōmon period and traded by sea over a large area. Contact is also shown by the appearance in Late-Final Jōmon period Japan of upper incisor tooth ablation, which originated two millennia earlier in the southern Shāndōng-northern Jiāngsū area (Han & Nakahashi 1996). This contact was not necessarily a matter of Jōmon people undertaking long voyages, though they may have; more likely, it involved long trade chains with several short-distance links. Wilhelm Solheim has described such a trade network in the East China Sea, which he calls Nusantao. Although the kind of evidence Solheim presents for Nusantao is sometimes cited by critics of the hypothesis that Austronesian spread rapidly from Formosa starting about 6000 years ago (e.g. Oppenheimer & Richards 2001), the idea of a Nusantao trade network is in no way incompatible with that hypothesis, and should be researched independently of the question of Austronesian origins, without making an hasty guesses as to the language or languages used within the network. The fact that, by the 3rd century BCE, sea trade extended from China as far west as Poompuhar in the Paṇḍya kingdom of southern India indicates that network, even if composed of short links, covered vast distances. The seafaring Dông Son people of northern Vietnam, whose advanced bronze work spread throughout Southeast Asia during the 1st millennium BCE and who were physically similar to the Yayoi migrants (Matsumura & Hudson 2005), no doubt played a role in it. Although research in Ryūkyū archaeology does not support a direct southern route for the entry of wet-field rice techniques into Japan (Takamiya 2001), it is possible that network travel between coastal Jiāngsū and southern Korea preceded the later Yayoi migrants from there to northern Kyūshū (Solheim 2000:4-5).

This version of Solheim's hypothesis bears a superficial resemblance to Beckwith's idea that his Liáoxī group originated in a Tibeto-Burman lan-

guage area of ancient southern China, but differs significantly on matters of geography, chronology, and language. It is also more in keeping with Nelson's emphasis on multiple inputs to the wet-field rice culture of Mumun Korea. Others have noted that the Yayoi migration must have involved multiple settlements, if only because evidence of warfare in Japan is found only from the Middle Yayoi onward. Although areas north of Shāndōng may have played a role in the Nusantao network, it is noteworthy that the closest match for Yayoi bones found on the Chinese coast so far (Nakahashi 2005) are from southern Jiāngsū. Recent research on the spread of wet-field rice also points to the Yángzī delta as a center of diffusion (Fuminori 1998). Links to the kingdoms of Wú and Yuè may perhaps also be inferred from the inclusion of two or three dozen mirrors in Japanese burials starting with the Mikumo Minami Kōji Tomb near Fukuoka (1st c. BCE). This practice was thought to be unique to Japan until the 1983 discovery of 38 mirrors in the tomb of the second king of Nán Yuè in Guǎngzhōu (Mori 1993:88, 91; 2005:146). There may also be parallels between folk practices and myths in the old Yuè area of China and Yayoi Japan (Kudō 1999, Suwa 2005).

Notice that, under the Nusantao middle-route hypothesis for the source of the Mumun and Yayoi cultures, Korean and Japanese cannot just be two continuations of a single language of the western and southern shores of ancient Korea that had been greatly influenced by Nusantao speech. Just as with the classical divergence hypothesis, the comparative evidence is too weak to justify taking the Yayoi migration itself as the cause of the extended period of physical separation, without which distinct Korean and Japanese could not have developed. If Korean and Japanese were genetically related, lexification by the Nusantao traders could only have affected pre-Japanese of the southern peninsula while it was still out of touch with pre-Korean. On the other hand, if Korean and Japanese were not genetically related, then the language of the traders must itself have been pre-Japanese; contact and interaction with Korean could only have occurred after the Yayoi migrations. In either case, Korean had to be a relatively late arrival in the Yŏngnam area.

It might seem that bringing a third language into the picture would favor explaining Korean-Japanese linguistic similarities purely in terms of

borrowings, but a genetic relationship is still conceivable. As just remarked, Nusantao speech could have been served as a lexifier of pre-Japanese before it resumed contact with Korean. (Indeed, for reasons I will not go into here, I suspect this is the more likely alternative.) If the language of the Yayoi migrants were a low mesolect or basilect of the resulting creole, it would be easy to explain not only the smallish residue of Korean-Japanese lexical cognates but also the large number of syntactic parallels. Note also that hypothesizing a relexification of pre-Japanese before it displaced pre-Yayoi languages is much more realistic than seeing it as a variety of Korean that picked up many pre-Yayoi words after crossing to Japan (e.g. Maher 2004). Not only was the opportunity for substratal Jōmon impact on Japanese limited (as noted above), but also, if Korean and Japanese were genetically related, Korean could not have resumed contact with Japanese until long after the creolization that preceded the Yayoi migration.

Nevertheless, even if the divergence hypothesis holds, the borrowing of words like OJ sakikusa needs to be explained. On this point, Beckwith makes the valuable suggestion that Kofun culture was brought to the islands, not by northern horseriders (Ledyard 1975) or invading Paekcheans (Hong 1994), but rather by Japonic speakers who had "learned how to fight continental style, using horses, armor, the latest weapons, and so forth, in order to survive" (Beckwith 2004:23). Unlike Beckwith, I do not see these as Japanese veterans toughened by unsuccessful campaigns against Koguryŏ, but rather as para-Japonic speakers, born on the peninsula, who survived the conflicts that created the states of Paekche and Silla as well as Koguryŏ, learned the ways of their conquerors through hard experience, and absconded to the islands, where they used their skills and knowledge to gain security, prosper, and ultimately gain power. Note especially that this interpretation is much more in keeping with the chronology of Korean-Japanese interactions described by Ledyard, even if one rejects his identification of Emperor Ōjin and his successors as Puyŏ leaders.

To repeat one last time, the early histories of the Japanese and Korean languages are intertwined. Para-Japonic was either a creolized form of a related language long separated from Korean or an unrelated language with roots in the Jiāngnán area of China. In either case, we should not imagine

that Sillan was spoken in Yŏngnam from ancient times, that it was the exclusive source of Old Korean, or that the kingdom of Silla wiped out the languages as well as the states of Paekche and Koguryŏ. It is not impossible that Paekchean and Koguryŏan were distinct languages from Sillan, but considering how quickly the peninsula became monoglossic, I see no reason to think they were in the absence of a credible case relating one or more of them to some non-peninsular language. For that purpose, Japanese is not a candidate since a form of it was no doubt spoken on the peninsula. Hence, for the time being, I prefer to think of Koguryŏan, Paekchean, and Sillan as three early varieties of Korean that displaced residual Chinese and para-Japonic speech in a north-to-south advance, reaching the southeastern corner of the peninsula in the turbulent 4th century. Whether Korean, so understood, had some affiliation with Tungusic, Mongolic, or other SOV languages is unclear, but thinking of Korean as a successful intruder rather than as a survivor in situ from neolithic times should make it easier to investigate that question and to understand how Japanese got to its present range.

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Koguryŏ and Paekche: Different Languages or Dialects of Old Korean?

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Koguryŏ and Paekche: Different Languages or Dialects of Old Korean?*

This paper deals with two perennial questions such as whether the language of the Koguryŏ state was related to Korean or Japonic and whether there was any bilingualism in the state of Paekche. I address these two problems from a new angle that involves analysis of loanwords found in the languages of Koguryŏ and Paekche neighbors, namely Manchu and Jurchen in the North, and Western Old Japanese in the South. In addition, I will also attempt a re-examination of certain textual evidence. On the basis of both evidence from loanwords and textual evidence I come to the conclusion that the linguistic situation during the *Samguk* period was quite homogenous. Namely, both Koguryŏ and Paekche were some dialect forms of Old Korean. No reliable evidence can be found for languages other than Korean on the Korean peninsula during the *Samguk* period, although it is possible that other languages were present there at an earlier date.

* In this article the Yale transcription is used instead of the McCune-Reischauer System.

Koguryŏ and Paekche: Different Languages or Dialects of Old Korean?

The Evidence from Texts and Neighbors

Alexander Vovin, University of Hawaii at Manoa

This paper deals with two perennial questions such as whether the language of the Koguryo state was related to Korean or Japonic and whether there was any bilingualism in the state of Paekche. I will address these two problems from a new angle that involves analysis of loanwords found in the languages of Koguryo and Paekche neighbors, namely Manchu and Jurchen in the North, and Western Old Japanese in the South. In addition, I will also attempt a re-examination of certain textual evidence.

The answers to these questions up to date were sought predominantly on the basis of Koguryo and Paekche place names recorded in the vol. 35, 36 and 37 of the *Samkwuk saki* (1145 AD). However, in the hierarchy of sources allowing us to determine genetic affiliation of a language that is no longer spoken today, place names should be placed on the lowest level of reliability:

(1) actual texts;
(2) loanwords in neighboring languages;
(3) place names and other proper nouns.

Place names certainly represent a less reliable source than loanwords (and especially documented loanwords), because they are ahistoric; in other words we cannot pin any language preserved exclusively in place names down to a particular polity without a second independent piece of evidence. Moreover, exclusive reliance on place names can lead to erroneous results.

Let us imagine that the only linguistic evidence we had at our disposal from Kiev Russia period would be place names. We would then see that some of them are Slavic, and some of them are Finno-Ugric. We can then quite erroneously conclude that Kiev Russia was a bilingual Slavic-Finno-Ugric state, or we can fall even for a greater fallacy, and claim that the language of Kiev Russia was Finno-Ugric, and explain Slavic place names as a newer layer resulting from the later conquest by Muscovite Russia. I trust that both these hypothetical solutions are quite reminiscent of certain opinions we encounter today in research on both the Koguryo and Paekche languages.

Therefore, I will concentrate below on two other sources: loanwords and textual evidence.

1. Japonic nature of the Koguryo language vs. Old Korean loanwords in Jurchen and Manchu.

The Koguryo place names recorded in the vol. 35 and 37 of the *Samkwuk saki* represent a powerful mix. Some of these place names resemble Japonic, others Korean, third (much fewer in number) Tungusic, and fourth some unknown language(s). The Koguryo debate was always connected with the interpretation of the Japonic portion. Basically speaking, two different interpretations of it emerged, which I will term 'romantic' and 'realistic' (without any negative connotations implied). Romantic approach insisted on interpretation of Japonic portion of Koguryo place names as evidence for the fact that either whole Koguryo population, or at least Koguryo elite spoke some kind of a Japonic language (Murayama 1963; Yi 1963, 1981, Beckwith 2004, to name just few selected publications). Realists, on the other hand, suggested that Japonic elements in Koguryo place names represent previous substratum language, which predates Koguryo (Kim 1983, Kim 1993, 240-61; Janhunen 1996; Mabuchi et al. 2000, 521-679; Song 1999; again to name just few selected publications). The very fact that the debate goes endlessly for more than 40 years, is a good testimony to a no-win situation. Therefore, we must look for a solution elsewhere.

I believe that such a solution can be found in the study of loanwords in the languages of western and northern neighbors of Koguryo, namely in

Jurchen and Manchu. Although the Jurchen language is attested from twelfth to sixteenth centuries by inscriptions, palace memorials and dictionaries, usage of the Manchu data, in spite of the fact that Manchu is a dialect of Jurchen and it is attested only from the seventeenth century, is indispensable due to the two following reasons. First, Manchu is in many respects more archaic than Jurchen; and, second, there are many more texts preserved in Manchu than in Jurchen. Although Jurchen is not attested before the twelfth century, the presence of Jurchen tribes in the area to the north of Amlokkang and Twumangkang rivers is well documented for several centuries before that, and it is furthermore likely that historically Manchuria was the homeland of Tungusic speakers before their expanse to the North and West. Thus, we should expect that some of Jurchen tribes were either directly ruled by Koguryo, and others were in a continuous contact with the latter. Before addressing the issue of loanwords in Jurchen and Manchu, it would be wise to consider some further historical implications.

Shortly after the fall of Koguryo in 667 AD, Tay Choyeng, a former Koguryo general, founded the Parhae state in 686 AD. Parhae incorporated most of the former Koguryo territory. Although the linguistic and ethnic identity of the Parhae elite remains controversial (Janhunen 1996, 138-39, 152), and nothing remains today of the Parhae language in the form of texts, due to these two facts we should presume that there was a certain cultural and linguistic continuity between Koguryo and Parhae elites. We would also expect that the Parhae language, or more precisely the language of the Parhae elite was exerting a considerable influence on the Jurchen language prior to the Khitan conquest of Parhae in 926 AD for more than 200 years.

Consequently, we would expect to find a certain amount of loanwords plus traces of structural influence from the language of Koguryo and Parhae elites in the Jurchen and Manchu languages. If this language were Japonic, as romanticists argue, we should be able to find Japonic-looking loanwords in Jurchen and Manchu. As a matter of fact, there are none. On the other hand, both Jurchen and Manchu include a certain amount of obviously Korean-looking loanwords, which do not occur in other Tungusic languages. Furthermore, there are traces of structural influence that can be attributed to a language of Korean type. I present the evidence below.

Vocabulary

Basic vocabulary

(1) Ma. *fulehe* 'root' < *puleke,[1] not attested in any other Tungusic language, including Jurchen. Cf. MK *pwulhwuy* LH[2] 'id.' < PK *pwulukwuy. It is interesting that Manchu has doublets for this word: in addition to *fulehe*, there is also Ma. *da* 'root,' which is apparently a native Tungusic word, cf. Ewk. *daVacaan*, Sol. *dagasã*, Or. *daha*, Ul. *daaca(n)*, Nan. *daacã* (Cincius 1975, 188-89), Jur. *da* (Kane 1989, 206). Note that Ma. *fulehe* does not agree with MK *pwulhwuy* in its vocalism, which suggests that the word was borrowed from a dialect different from a predecessor of Middle Korean.

(2) Jur. *niama* 'heart' (Kane 1989, 892), Ma. *niyaman* 'id,' contrary to (Cincius 1975, 534) cannot be related to Ewk. *mēwan* and other similar Tungusic forms reflecting PT *miawan, because there are simply no regular correspondences. Cf. MK *nyem-thong* LL 'heart' , where *-thong* is a suffix for body parts (Martin 1992, 811). Since MK /ye/ can go back to both PK *ye and *ya (Kim 1993, 275-96), we possibly have here a perfect match even in vocalism.

(3) Jur. *‰ingun* 'cold, chilly' (Kiyose 1977, 102), Ma. *singkeyen* 'chilly' cannot be related to Ewk. *iŋii* 'frost,' Sol. *inigigdi* 'cold,' Ew. *iŋi-* 'to freeze, to catch cold,' Neg. *iŋi-* ~ *ini-* 'to freeze,' Or. *iŋeñi* 'cold,' Ud. *iŋinihi* 'cold,' Ul. *siŋgun* 'cold,' Uil. *siŋguu-* 'to freeze,' Nan. *siiŋgu-* 'to get cold, to become stiff with cold' (Cincius 1975, 321), because the forms without an initial *s-* would be expected in Jurchen and Manchu. Cf. EMK *sik-un* (時根, Kyeylim # 204), MK *sik-* L (attributive form *sik-un*) 'to be cold' < PK *sink-/*sink-un.[3]

(4) Ma. *biyoran* 'cliff of red earth,' 'precipitous bank' (Zakharov

1 On the reconstruction of Manchu intervocalic -h- as *-k- and Manchu intervolcalic -k- as *-nk- see (Vovin 1997).

2 The following abbreviations are used to indicate Middle Korean pitches: L - LOW pitch, H - HIGH pitch, R - RISING pitch.

3 On the origin of Middle Korean non-leniting intervocalic obstruents -p-, -t-, -k-, and -s- from PK clusters of the *-nC- type (more rarely *-lC-) see (Vovin 2003).

1875, 545), 'cliff of red earth' (Norman 1978, 32), (Hu 1994, 98), cited with somewhat aberrant meanings as 'cliff, precipice' in (Cincius 1975, 84), and 'hohes Ufer aus kahler Erde' in (Hauer 1955, 102). The word is not attested in Jurchen. Cincius cites alongside the Manchu form Sol. *biraxan* 'mountain' (Cincius 1975, 84), attested, as it seems, only in Ivanovskii' s materials. Note also irregularity in vowel correspondences between Manchu and Solon vowels in the first syllable. Cf. MK *piley* LL ~ *pilyey* LL 'cliff, precipice,' MdK *pyelang* 'id.' Korean dialect data collected in (Choy 1978, 101-102) probably indicate that MK *piley* LL ~ *pilyey* LL is more innovative phonetically than MdK *pyelang*, as the data from diverse dialects seem to support the latter form. In any case, we again have a discrepancy in vocalism between Manchu and Middle Korean, similar to (1) and (2) above.

(5) Ma. *cecere-* 'to press tightly,' 'to embrace tightly' (Norman 1978, 42) does not have parallels in other Tungusic languages. Cf. MK *cicul-* LH, MdK *cicilu-* 'to press down,' 'to weigh on' (Nam 1997, 1274). Once again we see a discrepancy in vocalism, suggesting that the Manchu word was borrowed from an Old Korean dialect, different from the predecessor of Middle Korean, see also (1) and (4) above.

(6) Jur. *in* 'his,' (cf. Ma. *in-i* 'his' , gen. case form), Ma. i 'he, she, it' is not attested in other Tungusic languages. Cf. MK *i* H 'this.' It is well known that third person pronouns often originate from demonstratives.

(7) Jur. *se-* (Jin 1984, 252), Ma. *se-* 'to say' has no parallels in other Tungusic languages. Cf. MK *ho-* ~ *hoy-* 'to do, to say' < PK *hyo-. The sequence */hy/ in PK usually gives /s/ in later stages of the language, cf. MdK *sikhi-* 'to make smbd. do,' a causative form of MdK ha- 'to do.' Again the discrepancy in vocalism is present, cf. (1) and (4-5) above.

(8) Jur. *neu' u* 'younger sister' (Kane 1989, 268) or *niyohun* (Kiyose 1977, 113) (no apparent Ma. cognate),[4] not attested in other Tungusic languages. Cf. MK *nwuGui* LL 'sister (of a male)' . Again the discrepancy in vocalism is present, cf. (1), (4-5) and (7) above.

4 Kane provides Ma. *non* 'younger sister' as a cognate, but the development even from Jur. *niyohun* to Ma. *non* seems to face several problems, such depalatalization of /ny-/ to /n-/ and loss of intervocalic /-h-/. It is even more difficult to explain Jur.neu' > Ma. *non*.

(9) Ma. *nitan* 'weak, faded (of color),' *nitara-* 'to become weak,' Jur. *nitara-* 'weak, faded,' not attested in other Tungusic languages. Cf. MK *nyeth-* L 'shallow, pale (of color).' Again the discrepancy in vocalism is present, cf. (1), (4?5) and (7-8) above.

Cultural vocabulary

(10) Ma. *fucihi* 'Buddha' < *puciki. Cf. MK *pwuthye* LL 'id.' < OK *pwutukye.[5] The source for Korean word is, of course, EMC *but* (佛) 'Buddha.' Notice that Manchu word has two Korean features: initial voiceless *p- rather than *b-, and also reflex of Korean suffix *-kye. Again the discrepancy in vocalism is present, cf. (1-2), (4-5) and (7-9) above.

(11) Ma. *boobai* 'treasure' , not attested in Jurchen. Cf. MK *pwopoy* RH 'jewel, treasure.' Manchu could be alternatively a direct loan from EMC *paw' paj^{h}* (寶貝), which is a source for the Korean word, but it is not plausible either chronologically or linguistically (we would rather expect Manchu /f/ < *p under this scenario, and certainly cannot expect EMC *paw'* with a rising tone to be borrowed as a long vowel in Manchu). It is even more phonetically implausible that the Manchu *boobai* would be borrowed from LMC *puaw ʹ puajˋ*, EM *pɔwˇ pujˋ*, or Mod. Chin. *bao^{3}bei^{4}*.

(12) Ma. *fatan* 'comb-like tool used for working silk on the loom' (Norman 1978, 84), (Hu 1994, 260). Not attested in other Tungusic languages. Cf. MK *potoy* LH 'comb of a loom' (Hwungmong II, 18a). Manchu form must have been borrowed from a form like *poton(-i), which might again indicate different dialectal origin.

(13) Ma. *fisen* 'seed,' *fisike* 'millet' < *pisinke also borrowed into some South Tungusic languages (Cincius 1977, 38), Cf. MK *psi* H (?) 'seed' < PK *pVsi. Discrepancy in vocalism and final *-n* in Manchu may again indicate that it was borrowed from a different Old Korean dialect than a predecessor of Middle Korean, cf. (1-2), (4-5), (7-10) and (12) above.

5 Also borrowed from some variety of Old Korean into Western Old Japanese as *potökë* 'Buddha.'

Morphology

Nominal morphology

(1) One of the most striking differences between Manchu and Jurchen on the one hand and other Tungusic languages on the other is the presence of the genitive case in Manchu and Jurchen, and its absence in other Tungusic languages. Typologically this feature can also be explained by para-Mongolic influence, since both Mongolic and Khitan languages have a genitive case marker. However, it is more likely that this case originated in Manchu and Jurchen under Korean rather than under para-Mongolic influence. The reason for this is quite simple: the main allomorph of the genitive case marker in both Manchu and Jurchen is *-i*, with the allomorph *-ni* found only after stems in *-ng* (in both Manchu and Jurchen) and stems in *-n* (Jurchen). Thus, Ma. and Jur. *-i* cannot be a direct loan from para-Mongolic genitive case marker *-n.[6] It is a different story with Korean. One of the MK genitive markers is *-oy* ~ *-uy* < PK *-o-Ci ~ *-u-Ci, where *-i is the genitive/locative case marker itself, while *-o- ~ *-u- represent in all probability the intercalating vowels. This is further supported by OK data, where this genitive/locative case marker is usually written with the character 矣 (EMC *hi*ˀ), e.g.:

者郎矣皃史
ki *LANG-hi* CUs-i[7]
Ki[pha Hwa]*lang-GEN* image-NOM
Image *of Hwarang* Kipha (Hyangka IV, 5)

心音矣命
MOSom-hi MYENG
heart-GEN order
orders *of the heart* (Hyangka X, 3)

6 Actually attested as *-n* in Khitan, e.g.: *kuei-n* 'country-GEN.'
7 Parts written semantographically in Old Korean and Old Japanese texts are transcribed in capital letters.

(2) Another pure typological feature is the reduction of the number of cases in general. This trend probably started under the Korean influence, but was further reinforced by the Mongolic influence.

Verbal morphology

(1) Ma. alternation of stems *bi-* ~ *bisi-* 'be' is likely to mirror the MK alternation *is-* ~ *isi-* 'exist'.

(2) Ma. finite *-bi* is usually taken as a stem of *bi-* 'exist' (Sunik 1962, 320-22), but it is strange that a bare verbal stem is used as a finite indicative form. Cf. OK form *-ta-pi* [-ta-bi] (written as 如 'be like,' cf. MK *-taβi* LH 'like' < *tap-i, an adverbialization of the verb *taβ-* R 'to be like').[8] Examples:

卵乙抱遣去如
ALH-ur AN-kwo *KA-ta-pi*
egg-ACC embrace-CONV *go-IND-FIN*
[she] *goes away*, embracing [him as] an egg (Hyangka VI, 4)

慕人有如
KULI-NU-N SALOM-I *IS-ta-pi*
long for-PRES-ATTR/REAL person-NOM *exist-IND-FIN*
There is a person who is longed for (Hyangka IX, 8)

Thus, we can see that Manchu and Jurchen were influenced to a certain degree by some dialect of Old Korean, spoken on the territory of Koguryo and then Parhae. Incidentally, this fact has great value for the linguistic history of the Korean peninsula, demonstrating that the language of 'pseudo-Koguryo' place names was not the language of the Koguryo state. It strong-

8 There is consensus among almost all scholars to read this character as *-ta* rather than *-ta*-pi when it is used as a marker of verb' s final form (Ogura 1929), (Yang 1965), (Hong 1956), (Kim 1980), (Kim 1993), (Cen 1994), (Yu 1996), (Sin 2000). The only exception is the position of Ceng Yelmo, who reads it as *-yo* (Ceng 1965, 103). Both points of view are incorrect in my opinion, and I plan to challenge them in greater detail in a different publication.

ly suggests that the Koguryo elite actually spoke some form of Old Korean. Thus, we have to come to an undeniable conclusion that the linguistic situation on the Korean peninsula was much more homogeneous in third-tenth centuries than it is usually thought, with the Old Korean language not being solely confined to Silla.

1a. Korean morphology in Koguryo inscriptions

Although there are no extant texts in the Koguryo language, it has been pointed out that Koguryo inscriptions in Classical Chinese have a Korean-like word order (Hong 1957, 225) and include at least one particle 之 that sometimes cannot be interpreted as a Chinese grammatical marker but as a final clause marker (Yi 1981, 71-72), (Nam 2000, 60-66), (Pay 2003, 410-11). While SOV word order will not offer us any help in establishing affiliation of the Koguryo language, the morphology is much more promising. Let us look at the examples. The first one occurs in the last line of the famous Kwangkaytho taywang inscription:

> 買人制令守墓之
> Purchased people [should] be made to protect the grave (KKP 11.9)[9]

Particle 之 here cannot be interpreted as pivot pronoun 'them' in the Classical Chinese pivot construction, because we would expect in this case a sentence like: *買人制令之守墓, with 之 being placed after the causative 令. The same is even truer in the following inscription from the Phyengyang fortress, where 之 is used after the intransitive verb 'to go over' :[10]

9 Cited on the basis of Ho Hungsik' s edition (Ho 1984). In the numeric notation the first numeral indicates the page and the second the line.

10 Two notes are necessary here. First, Hong Kimun interprets 行涉 as "cultivate" (1957, 234) and Nam Phwunghyen takes it as "expand, take over" (Nam 2000, 64). No "cultivation" is certainly mentioned here, and I doubt that "expansion" is meant either. The character 涉 is quite clearly either intransitive or quasi-tranitive verb meaning "to cross over." In addition, Pay (2003, 411) has 步 "to walk," and not 涉 "to cross over." In Chosen kinseki sora printed edition the character 涉 is used (Sôtokufu 1920, 9), but in the photo of the rubbing of the inscription provided on page V in the plate section, the radical "water" on the left cannot be read. However, it is possible that it is a defect of the photo.

自此西北行涉／步(?)之
From here [it] goes [over?] to the north-west (KPP I, 9.2-3)[11]

It is interesting that the same sentence-final 之 is found in the Silla inscriptions. Pay defines it as a form of final predication and further notes that it is last seen in the *Sengcwu sek pwul myeng* inscription (967 AD), and attributes this 'disappearance' to a sound change (Pay 2003, 410-11). I believe though that there is an absolutely transparent cognate of this OK final predication form, which becomes apparent if we take into consideration Chinese historical phonology and gaps in the distribution of initial consonants in Early Middle Chinese. The character 之 has EMC reading /tsyi/. There were no syllables *ti, *thi, or *di in EMC, and final /i/ could combine only with retroflexes *tr-*, *trh-*, and *dr-*, or with affricates *ts-*, *tsh-*, *dz-*, *tsy-*, *tsyh-*, and *dzy-*. Thus, the choice of /tsyi/ for OK *ti was quite natural, and we could easily identify OK 之 /ti/ with MK final tentative verbal marker *-ti*. Since there is no possible cognate in Japonic, once again we can conclude that the Koguryo language represented an Old Korean dialect.

There is one more Koguryo inscription, where another particle appears, which cannot be explained on the basis of Chinese:

寐錦之衣服建立處伊者賜之
The place where Maykum' s clothes were enshrined granted this (KCP 15.11-12)[12]

I believe that the character 伊 here can be interpreted only as the OK marker of the nominative (ergative?) case *-i*.[13] Although case marker *-i* is also present in Western Old Japanese, it does not occur in other varieties of Japonic (including later varieties of Central Japanese), which makes it a perfect can-

11 This inscription is cited on the basis of the *Chôsen kinseki sôran* edition (Sôtokufu 1920, 8-9). It does not appear in (Ho 1984).
12 Cited on the basis of Ho Hungsik' s edition (Ho 1984).
13 In *hyangchal* and *itwu* texts 伊 has phonetic value /i/. There are also cases when 伊 is used as nominative case marker in hyangcha and itwu texts, e,g.佛伊 /PWUT[U]KYE-i/ 'Buddha-NOM' (Hyangka XIX, 3) or身伊 /MWOM-i/ 'body-NOM' (Hyangka XXIV, 10).

didate for a loan from Old Korean into Western Old Japanese (Vovin 2004, 2006).

Thus, in addition to the form of final predication 之, it is possible to identify in Koguryo inscriptions one more morphological marker 伊 that is undeniably Korean. Therefore, in spite of the scanty nature of Koguryo inscriptions, we can definitely see that a language that underlies them is some variety of Old Korean.

2. Paekche' s "bilingualism" and Paekche words in Western Old Japanese.

It seems to be accepted by a majority of scholars in the field that there were two Paekche languages: "aristocratic" Paekche that is believed to be a Puyo-type language, and "commoners" Paekche that is treated as one of the local Han-type languages. The evidence for this belief seems to be based predominantly on the following passage found in the *Zhou shu* (周書):[14]

> 王姓夫餘氏號於羅瑕民呼爲鞬吉支夏言竝王也妻號於陸夏言妃也
> King belongs to the Puyo clan; gentry call [him] 於羅瑕, and commoners call [him] 鞬吉支. In Chinese it equals 'king.' [His] wife is called 於陸, in Chinese it means 'queen' (ZS XLIX, 886)[15]

It can be seen from this passage that nobility called the king 於羅瑕 and common people called him 鞬吉支. The conjecture that this might be used as a proof for existence of bilingualism in Paekche was first presented by Konô Rokurô, who pointed out the inherent danger of arguing for bilingualism on the basis of one word, but, nevertheless tried to support this point of view with further argumentation (Konô 1987, 78ff).

I believe that this kind of argument is too weak. For example, in Western Old Japanese there were several terms of reference for the sover-

14 The same passage is found in the *Bei shi* (北史): (BS XCIV, 11a). Cited according to the revised edition of the fourth year of the emperor Qianlong reign (1740 AD).
15 Cited according to the Zhonghua shu ju edition (Zhong hua shu ju 1971), where Roman numerals indicates volume and Arabic numerals page number.

eign, with two most frequent: *opo-kîmî*, lit. 'great lord,' which seems to be used only by nobility, as far as we can conclude on the basis of texts, and *mî-kaNtô*, lit. 'honorable gate,' that was used by both members of nobility and commoners. Let us imagine a hypothetical situation that Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese would have suffered the same fate as Old Korean, with no or almost none texts surviving. But there might be once a visitor from China, with a pen-name 臭山翁 'Old Man from a Stinky Mountain,' who left his description of Japan in early eighth century, where we find the following hypothetic passage:

> *公卿謂王號於布几眉民呼爲眉加途
> *Nobility call king 於保几眉, and commoners call [him] 眉加途.

Thus, we would get a wonderful opportunity to argue that EMC 於保几眉 /epokimi/ and 眉加途 /mikado/ represent the evidence for 'bilingualism' in Ancient Japan.

The Paekche language in a sense is luckier than the Koguryŏ language because a number of its lexical items are documented in Western Old Japanese texts. Nevertheless, similar to the case of Koguryŏ, the main bulk of research on the Paekche language seems to be concentrated on the place names, see, e.g. the latest monograph by To Swuhuy (To 2005). The welcome exceptions that deal directly with the Paekche words as recorded in Old Japanese texts are the articles by Kôno Rokurô (1987) and John Bentley (2000), although the latter also partially deals with place names. Contrary to Kôno' s central goal of demonstrating that there was a 'bilingualism' in Paekche, and Bentley' s attempt to find 'cognates' in Tungusic languages, my goal is to evaluate this lexical evidence on its own terms, and see whether we can demonstrate that language of Paekche represented by these words was Korean, Japonic, or Tungusic. Our main source on these Paekche words is the *Nihonshoki* (Annals of Japan, 720 AD), where most of them are preserved. One may present a reasonable objection to their preferential treatment over Paekche place names from the *Samkwuk saki* on the basis of the fact that many of them (but not all) also occur as parts of Paekche place names. However, there are two serious counterarguments to such an objec-

tion. First, they come from a foreign source: it is highly unlikely that Japanese in Kofun and Asuka periods would be engaging in a language documentation project learning and glossing place names from extinct or endangered languages on the Korean peninsula. Second, sometimes the Nihonshoki text has side notes explaining that these words belong to the Paekche language. Therefore, we have philological evidence that these words indeed belong to the Paekche language. In addition, some of these words were borrowed into Western Old Japanese, as I will demonstrate below. It is possible to identify these words as loans from some Old Korean dialect(s) due to three factors: a) they are attested almost solely in Western Old Japanese (the only branch of the Japonic family that was in direct contact with Old Korean), very rarely in Eastern Old Japanese, and practically never in Ryukyuan; b) these words have semantic doublets that occur throughout the Japonic language family, c) they have quite straightforward OK and/or MK etymologies (Vovin 2004). Let us see how the data square against the idea that the state of Paekche was bilingual. Before proceeding to the data I have to warn my readers that I excluded the data from place names recorded in the *Samkwuk saki* on purpose, due to the reasons outlined in the beginning of this article. I have also decided to exclude all Paekche words found in Old Japanese texts if they represent doubtful phonetic transmission or have no apparent etymology in any of the language families of the region that could be immediately identified. Thus, Bentley discusses altogether 81 Paekche words in his article (Bentley 2000, 426-38). Out of these 39 are place name based. Other 24 have multiple problems with their segmentation, identification, documentation, and/or phonology, so I limit my list to 18 items only that are quite transparent for analysis and are reliably attested:

(1) Let us start with 鞬吉支 (EMC kjən-kjit-tsje)[16] 'king,' a title of the king used by Paekche commoners, according to the passage from the *Zhou shu*,

16 The last character 支 is usually used in both OK and OJ scripts with its reading *ki, reflecting OC *kje, but since here we are dealing with Chinese transcription, we have to assume that its EMC value was used.

cited above. This word also appears as the title of Paekche kings, namely 百濟王 [*KuNtara-nö*] kokishi (コキシ) "king of Kudara" in the *Nihonshoki katakana* glosses (NS IX, 260, 263),[17] (NS X, 276), (NS XIV, 377), (NS XVII, 23, 26), (NS XIX, 75, 77, 83), (NS XX, 109), and also as the title of Kara/Mimana kings (NS VI, 176). What is even more interesting that it is used twice as a title of Koguryo kings (NS X, 282), (NS XX, 104). Its variant *konikishi* (コニキシ、昆キシ) is attested as well, and not only in reference to Paekche kings (NS IX, 257), (NS XI, 310), (NS XIV, 377), (NS XXIV, 190, 197), but also to a Koguryo king (NS XIV, 387). Two reasonable questions arise: a) why did Japanese borrow the word from the language of Paekche commoners; and b) why, if it really belongs to a local Han language, as claimed, e.g. by Kôno Rokurô (1987, 78ff), it surfaces as a title of a king of Koguryo, where, according to the romantic approach, no Han-type languages were spoken? It certainly would be expected that Japanese would borrow from the 'aristocratic' Paekche language rather than from the language of the commoners, and it is even more unlikely that if Koguryo kings spoke a Japonic language they would use a term borrowed from the language of Paekche commoners.

(2) Let us now turn our attention to the 'aristocratic' title of the king: 於羅瑕 (EMC ʔjə-la-ɣɐ). There is also a Paekche word corresponding to this title and documented in the *Nihonshoki*, although in somewhat corrupt forms: *orikoke* (オリコケ) (NS XIX, 72).[18] In addition, I also think that we have a loanword in Western Old Japanese that represents the same Paekche word. There are two words, WOJ *ira-tu kô* and *ira-tu mê* that according to Omodaka et al. were appellations of high esteem for man and woman respectively (JDB 105). Based on the textual usage it appears, though that both were some kinds of titles, e.g.:

17 The references to the data fom the *Nihon shoki* are provided on the basis of the *Kokushi taikei* (国史大系) edition (Kuroita 1971). Roman numerals indicate numbers of volumes and Arabic numerals pages in the *Kokushi taike* edition.

18 Kôno believes that Koguryo' s king title *worikokisi* (ヲリコキシ) attested in (NS XIX, Kinmei-7), represents a contamination of *orikoke* and *kokisi* (Kono 1987, 80). I was unable to find *worikokisi* in the above mentioned source. However, a quote from the *Paykcey ponki* (百濟本記) there contains both *orikoke* (オリコケ) and *worikoke* (ヲリコケ) as titles of Koguryo king and prince (NS XIX, 73).

藤原伊良豆賣乎波婆婆止奈母念
Puntipara **ira-tu mê-woNpa** papa tö namö omöp-u
Fujiwara **noble(?)-GEN/LOC woman-ACC(EMPH)** mother DV PT think-ATTR
[I] thought **of the noble woman** [from the] Fujiwara [clan] as of [my] mother (SM 25)

The most interesting problem here is the meaning of the word *ira-*, as the rest of the title is quite transparent: *-tu* is the genitive/locative marker[19] and *mê* 'woman' and *kô* 'lad (in this case)' are gender tags, perfectly attested in Japonic. The word *ira-*, on the other hand, cannot be explained on the basis of the internal Japonic evidence, and it is not attested as reference to nobility in any other branch of Japonic. Since Western Old Japanese is the only branch of Japonic that consistently raised PJ *e to /i/ (Thorpe 1983), (Serafim 1985), (Miyake 2003), (Frellesvig and Whitman 2004), we can suggest that both pre-WOJ forms *era- and *ira- are equally possible. Paekche *eraGa 'king' that we can surmise on the basis of 於羅瑕 (EMC ʔjə-la-ɣæ), fits very nicely with the tentative pre-WOJ *era-, with the expected development of -G- > -∅- in Japonic. The WOJ *ira-* must be a loanword, as it is not attested in other branches of Japonic.[20] It is very well known from history that titles become 'degraded' in meaning in time, e.g.: WOJ *kîmî* 'lord' > MdJ *kîmî* 2nd person familiar pronoun; OK *nilim* 'lord, ruler' > MdK *nim*, polite suffix, 'beloved' (in poetry); Xiong-nu *drang-ga 'emperor' > Mong. *daruGa* 'chief, commander.

(3) Paekche 'aristocratic' word for the queen *oluk (於陸), recorded in the above-mentioned passage from the *Zhou shu*, is further supported by *koni-woruku* (コニヲルク) 'great queen' recorded in the *Nihonshoki* as a

19 In all likelihood, borrowed from Old Korean genitive marker 叱 /cɨ/ (Vovin 2006, forthcoming).
20 It is possible that EMdJ and MdJ era "great" represents a cognate. It seems that *era-* is first atested in texts originating in the Kantô area (KKJ 148), (Maeda 1990, 149), from where it spread to other Japanese dialects. Since the Kantô area is known for sporadic retention of proto-Japonic mid vowels (cf. also MdJ *sugos-* 'to pass' vs. WOJ and MJ *sugus-* 'id.'), it is quite possible that we have here another piece of evidence for initial /e/ in this word.

title of Paekche queens (NS XXVI, 269). Kôno also notes that there is *woriku* (ヲリク) in reference to a queen of Koguryo (NS XXI, 130) (Kôno 1987, 80). There are also Koguryo queens' titles recorded as *orike* (オリケ) and *worikuku* (ヲリクク) (NS XIX, 73) Thus, if his equation with the Koguryo word is right, one might be inclined to think that this is indeed a 'Puye' word. But does it mean that we can demonstrate that it is Japonic? Quite clearly, the Japonic etymology is not feasible. On the other hand, it seems that an internal Korean etymology is likely. First, note the variation of *u~i* in Japanese transcription. It probably indicates that there was a different vowel that was not present in Japanese. Second, cf. MK *wòló-* ~ *wòlG-* 'to rise' < PK *wòlók-. The possible etymology is then *wol(G)-ok 'the exalted one.'

(4) Although Paekche' s 'commoners' word for 'queen' is not recorded in the *Zhou shu*, Kôno cogently demonstrated on the basis of glosses in the *Nihonshoki* (NS XIV, 362), (NS XXVI, 273) that there is another word for queen, *pasikasi* (ハシカシ) (Kôno 1987, 81). Kôno' s conclusion that it must belong to 'commoners' language, on the other hand, is completely *ad hoc*. If it were so, by his logic we would expect that some kind of Korean etymology would be possible for this word, since it comes from a commoners' language. But this is clearly not the case.

(5) Kôno further brings two more words as a proof for bilingualism in Paekche, namely *sasi* (サシ) (NS X, 277), (NS XIV, 388) and *kï* (キ、基)[21] (NS XIX, 59, 93) both meaning 'fortress.' We certainly have no evidence, which of them is 'aristocratic' and which one is not, but the etymologies are certainly suggestive for Kôno' s bilingualism hypothesis. As Kôno correctly

21 Kôno transcribes this word as /ki/, apparently on the basis of the *katakana* usage (Kôno 1987, 82). Bentley, on the other hand, transcribes this word as *kɨ (Bentley 2000, 425), which is correct (although /i/ seems to be more appropriate notation). Unfortunately, Bentley does not provide any textual verses and lines for his citation of Paekche words in the *Nihonshoki*, and I was unable to find any evidence in the *Nihonshoki* where the *man' yôgana* sign 基 was used to transcribe the Paekche word *kï 'fortress.' The sign 基 was used to transcribe Paekche word for fortress in the *Samkwuk saki* (SKS XXXVI, 4a), and the /i/ vowel can be also confirmed on the basis WOJ *kï* 'fortress.'

notes, Paekche *sasi* can be clearly identified with MK *cás* 'fortress' and *kï* with WOJ *kï* 'fortress.' There are, however, two problems, and to pay Kôno his tribute, he does not hide the first one, as he mentions that the latter word is a loan from Paekche to Japanese. There is certainly another dimension to this problem, too. The same word occurs in Koguryo place names, transcribed as *xuɔt 'fortress.'[22] But there is nothing specifically Japonic about this word, as it represents famous Inner and East Asian Wanderwort, cf. Mong. *qoto(n)*, Ma. *xecen* 'city,' Ainu *kotan* 'settlement,' etc. Thus, while Paekche *casi is likely to be a native word, Paekche *kï* is a loan that ultimately came from Inner Asia, and from there was also borrowed into Western Old Japanese. The second problem is that *sasi* is used as a reference to a Koguryo 'fortress' as well (NS XXVII, 291).

Thus, Kôno' s evidence for 'bilingualism' is really non-evident. First, we cannot conclude with certainty whether doublets for titles really belonged to two different languages. Quite to the contrary, they probably belonged to the same. Second, doublets for 'fortress' are also not indicative, since one of them turns out to be a common Wanderwort in the region. The case for existence of a specific 'aristocratic' Japonic-type language in Paekche evaporates even more, if we look at other Paekche vocabulary preserved in the *Nihonshoki*?[23]

(6) Paekche *arosi, arusi* (アロシ, アルシ, 阿留之)[24] 'bottom, below' (NS XIV, 388), (NS XVII, 17, 26), (NS XIX, 52, 54, 59, 60, 63, 68). The obvious parallels are MK *àlá, àláy* (< *àlá-áy) 'below, bottom.' Although *-si* in the Paekche word needs to be explained, neither Kôno nor Bentley offers such an explanation. One can clearly see that this *-si* occurs in all three Paekche directional terms that are attested in the *Nihonshoki*: *arosi/arusi*

22 Beckwith reconstructs *xuər (2003, 57).

23 This list was previously studied in (Bentley 2000, 424-28), but since Bentley's point of view is that Paekche is originally a Tungusic language (Bentley 2000, 424), it is necessary to re-evaluate some of his etymologies.

24 Some Paekche words in the *Nihonshoki* and the *Shoku Nihongi* (796 AD) are preserved only in interlineal *katakana* transcription, not in the *man' yôgana* transcription. I will be providing either *kana or man' yôgana* spelling in the parentheses.

'below,' *okosi/ukosi* 'north,' and *aripisi* 'south.' One might be tempted to posit a 'directional' suffix *-si* in the Paekche language on the basis of its distribution, but I think that there is a more simple explanation, if we look at usage of these terms in the texts. All of them and in all cases occur before following nouns, that is, they are apparently found in a modifier position. Therefore, this *-si* obviously is cognate to OK genitive marker *-cï* (叱) and MK genitive marker *-s*.[25] Consequently, we can reanalyze these three directional terms as *aro-si/aru-si* 'below-GEN, lower' *oko-si/uko-si* 'north-GEN, northern,' and *aripi-si* 'south-GEN, southern.' Thus, we obtain not only the lexical, but also the morphological evidence for the Korean nature of the Paekche language.

(7) Paekche *okosi, ukosi* (オコシ, ヲコシ, ウコヲシ) 'above, north' (NS XVII, 17), (NS XIX, 52, 54, 68). Bentley compared this word with [W]OJ *okös-* 'to raise, to get up' (Bentley 2000, 425), but in spite of the good phonetic fit, the semantic side of the comparison is more than doubtful, and the morphology and the syntactic usage mentioned above in (6) rule it out completely. I believe that MK *wuh* L 'top, above,' which both Kôno (Kôno 1987, 77) and Bentley also mention, is quite a transparent cognate. Since MK *wuh* L 'top, below' is a monosyllabic noun which belongs to a rare accent class with initial LOW pitch, the most probable reconstruction would be PK *wuku LH/LL. It is also likely that Paekche *oko-si* 'northern' in the meaning 'north' was borrowed into Western Old Japanese as a unit: WOJ *kôsi* 'North.' '[26] A couple of textual examples:

25 Incidentally, OK 叱 /cï/ is transcribed in the *Nihonshoki* as /si/ (NS XVII, 29).

26 It is usually believed that this word in Western Old Japanese is a derivation of WOJ *kôs-* 'to cross over' (Tsuchihashi 1957, 34), (JDB 293). However, in reality WOJ *kôsi* is used in the WOJ texts as a geographical term referring to the historical Hokuriku region (北陸道), which used to include the following provinces: Wakasa (若狭), Echizen (越前), Kaga (加賀), Noto (能登), Etchû (越中), Sado (佐渡) and Echigo (越後). Although the character 越 used in the later texts to write the verb *kôs-* 'to cross over' is present in the name of the three provinces out of the seven, I doubt that it has any specific semantic connection with WOJ *kôsi* 'North' for two reasons: first, one had to cross mountains going from Yamato plain in any direction, not necessarily only in northern; and, second, Hokuriku region is located exactly in the Northern to North-Eastern direction from Yamato.

登富登富斯　故志能久迩迩　佐加志賣遠　阿理登岐加志弖
töpö-töpö-si // **kôsi**-nö kuni-ni // sakasi mê-wo // ar-i tö kîk-as-i-te
distant-distant-FIN // **North**-GEN province-LOC // wise woman-ACC // exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB
[He] heard that in the distant province of the **North** there is a wise woman··· (KK 2)

之奈射可流　故之能吉美良等　可久之許曾　楊奈疑可豆良枳　多努之久安蘇婆米
sina-N-sakar-u // **kôsi**-nö kîmî-ra-tö // ka-ku si kösö // YAnaNkî kaNturakî // tanôsi-ku asôNp-am-ë
(sun-LOC-separate-ATTR)[27] // **North**-GEN lord-PLUR-COM // thus-INF PT PT // willow wig // pleasant-INF // enjoy-TENT-EV
[I] wish to enjoy [the party, when we put on] wigs [made of] willow [branches] with [my] lords of the **North**, which is far from the sun (MYS XVIII, 4071)

WOJ *kôsi* 'North' does not have any counterparts in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan. This limited distribution points to the fact that it is not a native word. Therefore, it is likely that we deal here with a loanword from Paekche *okosi*.

(8) Paekche *aripisi* (アリヒシ, 阿利比志) 'south' (NS IX, 260), (NS XVII, 24), (NS XIX, 55). This word is clearly a cognate of MK *alph* L, as was pointed out by Bentley (2000, 427). Again, as in the previous case, unusual LOW pitch on a monosyllabic noun allows us to reconstruct PK *alpoH LH/LL. As mentioned above in (6) and (7), *-si* in *aripi-si* is a genitive case marker, therefore it has to be analyzed as *aripi-si* 'south-GEN, southern.'

(9) Paekche *kumu, komu, kuma* (クム, クマ, コム, 久麻) 'bear' (NS XIV,

27 This is my own interpretation of *sinaNsakaru, amakura-kotoba* that applies to *kôsi*. On interpreting OJ *sina* in *makura-kotoba* as 'sun,' see (Murayama 1970). This is contrary to the prevalent view, identifying it with 'slope' (Takagi et al 1962.4, 268), but I should note *passim* that WOJ *sina* 'slope' is a ghost, as it simply does not exist.

388), (NS XVII, 28) superficially looks like WOJ *kuma* 'id.,' but we should keep in mind that MK *kwom* R 'bear' having a rising pitch points to an earlier disyllabic structure: PK *kwomo 'bear.' This is one of the very few words that usually are accepted as a potential Koreo-Japonic cognate. However, Paekche in three cases out of four shows the same raising of *o to /u/ as WOJ *kuma* does, and it is further confirmed by Paekche *mure* 'mountain' (borrowed into WOJ as *mure* 'mountain') as compared with MK *mwolwo* LH and *mwoy* R 'mountain' (see (12) below). This leaves us with two choices: either WOJ *kuma* is a loanword from Paekche, or, if one wants to insist on Koreo-Japonic genetic relationship, one must maintain that both Paekche and Western Old Japanese underwent *independently* the same innovation. In addition, while Western Old Japanese underwent the raising of all mid vowels (*o > /u/ and *e > /i/), the raising of *e > /i/ did not occur in Paekche, as witnessed by Paekche *syema* 'island' and *nyerim* 'master' (see (14) and (19) below) vs. WOJ *sima* 'id.' Thus, the loanword solution seems to be simpler and more elegant. Bentley' s other comparisons with Ma. *kûwa-tiki* 'bear cub' and *kûwa-tiri* 'an animal resembling a bear' (Bentley 2000, 425) are completely unrealistic from the point of view of the Manchu historical phonology.

(10) Paekche *kuti* (倶知) 'falcon' (NS XI, 311). Bentley correctly points out that this word was also a short-lived loan in Western Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese, as it is attested in the *Wamyôshô* (WMS XVIII, 1b), where it is also identified as a word of Paekche origin. And I should add, it is attested *only* in the *Wamyôshô*. The comparison with Ma. *heturhen* 'small hawk' (Bentley 2000, 426) must be rejected due to the lack of regular correspondences in vowels and unexplained morphology in the Manchu form.

(11) Paekche *nare, nari* (ナレ, ナリ) (NS XVII, 28, 29), (NS XIV, 388); (那禮) (NS IX, 247) 'stream.' Bentley is right to compare this word with MK *nayh* R 'stream,' and he also mentions the transcription 那利 in the *Samkwuk saki* (Bentley 2000, 427), but he does not indicate the source exactly. This transcription is not listed either in the index to the *Samkwuk*

saki (Payk 1956) or in the new index of the Old Korean script (Song 2004), so it is impossible to determine whether this transcription actually belongs to Paekche.[28] The comparison with MK *nayh* R < *naCih LH can be further strengthened by OK NAli (川理) 'river' attested in (Hyangka IV, 6), where the second syllable is written phonetically as /li/. Bentley' s other comparisons with Tungusic, such as Ma. *niyari* 'swamp,' Ewk. *ña:rut* 'lake,' Ew. *ñarika* 'swamp,' etc. (Bentley 2000, 427) must be rejected for semantic, phonetic, and morphological reasons.

(12) Paekche *mure* (ムレ) (NS IX, 262), (NS XIX, 92), *mura, mora* (ムラ, モラ) 'mountain' (NS XV, 412).[29] Bentley correctly compares this word with MK *mwolwo* LH, but besides providing the correct meaning 'mountain,' he also misglosses it as a 'ridge' (Bentley 2000, 426). There is no meaning 'ridge' for this word, as it is a *hapax legomenon*, attested in the commentary to the *Yongpi echenka* (YP IV, 21b) exclusively in the meaning 'mountain.' However this *hapax legomenon* is well supported by MK *mwoy* R 'mountain,' amply attested in Middle Korean texts. Paekche *mure* 'mountain' was also borrowed into Western Old Japanese as *mure*, which appears not only in placenames, but also in WOJ poetry. As there are no attestations in Ryukyuan and Eastern Old Japanese, it can only be a loan. Bentley further adduces proto-Tungusic *mulu 'ridge,' which is reconstructed incorrectly. There are Neg. *mulu* 'horizontal beam supporting the roof,' Nan. *mulu* 'ridge of the roof,' and Ma. *mulu* 'mountain ridge, ridge of the roof, spine (of animals and birds)' (Cincius 1975, 555).[30] First of all,

28 It is possible that Bentley has a typo here: there is Paekche place name 乃利阿縣, where 乃利 is supposed to transcribe Paekche *nari* 'river' (To 2005, 57). However, in both cases where 乃利阿縣 appears in the *Samkwuk saki* (SKS XXXVI, 6b; XXXVII, 9a), it has nothing to do with 'river.' It is also possible that he meant *Nihonshoki* rather han the *Samkwuk saki*, as there is 那利 in a Paekche place name 久麻那利 (NS XIV, 388), also written semantographically as 川 'river' in 熊川 and transcribed in *katakana* as *nare* in (NS XVII, 29)

29 Bentley indicates that this word was also recorded in the *Nihonshoki* in the *man' yôgana* spelling as 武禮 (Bentley 2000, 425), but I could not locate this spelling in the *Nihonshoki*. I believe that it is not included into the index of the *Nihonshoki* either (Ôno 1976).

30 *Ud.muje* 'horizontal beam supporting the roof' is also listed there, but it obviously cannot be a cognate of other Tungusic words for phonetic reasons.

Bentley' s reconstruction is incorrect phonetically, as Nan. /u/ indicates proto-Tungusic central vowel *ï, thus we have *mïlï, with vocalism incompatible with PK *wo. Second, Bentley' s statement that the "Tungusic form appears to have originally pointed to something of great height" (Bentley 2000, 426) is not fully supported by the data. Thus, this Tungusic 'etymology' should be dismissed.

(13) Paekche *syema* (セマ, 斯麻)[31] 'island' (NS XIV, 368), (NS XVI, 6), (NS XVII, 22). Bentley notes: 'The obvious cognates are MK *syem* R and J *sima* LL 'island, territory' (Bentley 2000, 426). This is a *de facto* accepted position among those linguists who support Koreo-Japonic as a valid genetic unit rather than a *Sprachbund*, see, e.g. (Whitman 1985, 234). There is problem, however, with viewing J *sima* as a cognate, rather than a loan. WOJ *sima* has cognates amply attested throughout Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966, 351), (Hirayama 1967, 334). EOJ *sima* also appears three times (MYS XIV, 3367, MYS XX, 4355, 4374), although one of these poems has no typical Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XIV, 3367). Thus, there could be no doubts that we deal with a proto-Japonic lexical item. However, the necessary condition for this comparison on the Korean side is the assumption that proto-Korean underwent breaking PK *i > MK /ye/ that was originally suggested by (Yi 1958; Yi 1959). However, Yi' s assumption is based mostly on external data of questionable nature, so it is unreliable for the purpose of establishing Koreo-Japonic cognates. Whitman does not include a correspondence of MK /ye/ : OJ /i/ into the list of his vocalic correspondences, either (Whitman 1985, 129). Therefore, this correspondence is irregular, and the comparison should be treated as an early loan dating back to the period of mutual coexistence at the Korean peninsula. The direction of loan must be from Korean into Japonic, unless the strong internal evidence indicating breaking of *i > /ye/ is provided for the Korean language

31 The *katakana* spelling セマ occurs as a Japanese phonetic gloss, but the character spelling 斯麻 occurs in a quote from a now lost Paekche source *Paekche sinsen* (百済新撰), so it represents Paekche' s orthography, but not the Japanese spelling of it. Both, however, represent roughly the same phonetic value, as EMC reading of 斯麻 is /syema/.

history. In all likelihood, the word was borrowed into proto-Japonic as *sema, but then underwent a merger of *e and *i, which is typical after coronals for all varieties of Japonic.

(14) Paekche *koni* (コニ) 'big, large' (NS IX, 257), (NS XI, 310), (NS XIV, 377), (NS XXIV, 190, 197). Kôno compares this word with MdK adnominal form *khu-n* 'big' (Kôno 1987, 79), and Bentley also adds the comparison with MK adnominal form *ha-n* 'many', on the basis of the fact that MK *khu-* 'may go back to *huku-' (Bentley 2000, 426). However 'may' is clearly excessive, since MK *khu-n* indeed goes back to EMK *huku-n* (黑根) (Kyeylim #348), as demonstrated by Yi Kimun (Yi 1991, 18). Bentley maintains that 'both MK *ha-* and *khu-* 'big' are likely related to this Paekche word in a complicated fashion, which cannot be elucidated here. ···the *-ku-* element and *ha-* are what I believe related to PCH *kəni' (Bentley 2000, 426). It remains unclear how Bentley arrives at his segmentation of *huku-* as *hu-ku-, and what does the mysterious element *hu- then mean? In addition to this ad hoc segmentation, one also has to explain difference in vocalism between MK *ha-* 'to be many' and EMK *huku-* ~ MK *khu-* 'to be big.' In short, these two words cannot be reconciled etymologically, and one has to choose. I think that Kôno's solution is right, and we have to compare Paekche *koni* with MK *khu-n* H (why Kôno cites only Modern Korean form is unclear). There are several reasons for that. First, the vocalism of Paekche *koni* agrees better with MK *khu-* than with MK *ha-*.[32] Second, semantic fit is also better with MK *khu-*. Third, there is no reason to reject the idea that Paekche might be as innovative as MK and less archaic than EMK in the respect to the development of initial aspirates, in other words the same development *huku-* > *khu-* might have occurred in the Paekche language centuries earlier than it did in Middle Korean. There was no difference for

32 The distinction between WOJ /kô/ and /kö/ survived into MJ at least until 921 AD, wen the *Kokin waka shû* was compiled, the last text that differentiates /kô/ and /kö/ consistently. Since the contrast between WOJ /kî/ and /kï/ was already lost by that time, transcribing Korean high central vowel /u/ with mid central /ö/ was the only available option. The same is true of the *Kyeylim yusa* transcription 黑根, where Sun Mu, a speaker of Early Mandarin, who also had no /ï/, opted to transcribe EMK *huku-n* as/həikən/.

speakers of Old Japanese between *k-* and *kh-*.

(15) Paekche *kaso* (カソ, 柯曾) 'father' (NS XVII, 26). Bentley notes that the word is also found as OJ *kasö* 'father' (NS XIV, 376) (Bentley 2000, 436). However, it is found only in WOJ and MJ, with no attestations in EOJ or Ryukyuan. Given the fact that there is another WOJ word for 'father,' *titi*, attested throughout Japonic, WOJ *kasö* should be treated as a loan from Paekche (Vovin 2004).

(16) Paekche *nyerim* (ネリム, ニリム, 二林, 爾林) 'lord, master, king' (NS XIV, 368), (NS XVI, 7), (NS XIX, 75), (NS XX, 109). Both Kôno and Bentley correctly identify this word with MK *nim* R < *nilim (Kôno 1987, 76), (Bentley 2000, 426). I should add that *nirin* (ニリン) is also used as a *katakana* gloss for the title of a Silla king (NS VI, 177).

(17) Paekche *kopori* (コフリ, コホリ, 己富里) 'district' (NS XVII, 27, 32). Both Kôno and Bentley correctly identify this word with MK *koWol* LL, *koGwolh* LL, *kwoGwolh* LL,[33] and *kwoGulh* LL 'district' and indicate that Paekche *kopori* was borrowed into WOJ as *kopori* (Kôno 1987, 84), (Bentley 2000, 425).

(18) Paekche *sitoro* (シトロ) 'belt' (NS XV, 412). Both Kôno and Bentley (with reference to Kôno) correctly identify this word with MK *stuy* H 'belt.' Kôno further suggests that the protoform was *s(i)' tuli, although he notes that MK stuy has high and not a rising pitch (Kôno 1987, 77). This does not present any difficulty in my opinion, as PK *situri LHH would normally give MK *stuy* H, if the vowel in the first syllable was deleted.

2a. A text in the Paekche language?

Among *Silla hyangka* there is a text that might be a text in the Paekche lan-

33 Attested as *a hapax legomenon* in *cwokhoWol* 'millet district' < *cwoh-koWol 'millet+district' (YP II, 22b).

guage. I mean *Setongyo* (Hyangka VI), which I provide below together with a relevant passage that precedes it in the *Samkwuk yusa*:

> 聞新羅眞平王三公主善花美艶無雙。剃髮來京師。以薯蕷餉閭里羣童。郡童親附之。乃作謠・誘郡童而唱之云。
> [Paekche' s Yam Boy] heard that the third princess of the king Cinphyeng of Silla had no equals in her beauty. [He] shaved his head and came to Kyengcwu. [He] fed young boys of the district with yam. Young boys of the district became attached to him. Then [he] composed a song and asked young boys to sing it. [The song] said:
>
> 善花公主主隱　他密只嫁良置古　薯童房乙夜矣卵乙抱遣去如
> SENGHWA KWONGCWU NILIM-un // NOM KUSUk-i El-a TWU-kwo // SE-TWONG-PANG-ur PAM-Ohi ALH-ur AN-kwo KA-ta-pi
> Senghwa princess lady-TOP // other secret-ADV marry-INF put-GER // Yam-boy-?-ACC night-GEN/LOC egg-ACC embrace-GER go-IND-FIN
> Princess Senghwa has married secretly from others and embracing Yam Boy as an egg [she] goes away (Hyangka VI; SKY II, 27b9-28a2)

Thus we deal here with a song composed by a youth from Paekche, who comes to Silla's capital Kyengcwu and teaches local boys a song that they sing in the streets of the city. Did he compose it in the Paekche or in the Silla language? The chances are 50-50, but at least it is quite clear that he and the local boys could communicate. However, there is one feature that makes me think that the song is actually in the Paekche, and not in the Silla language.

Setongyo is believed to be one of the two oldest of the *hyangka*, tentatively between 579-632 AD (Hong 1956, 28). If it were written in the Silla language it seems to be at odds with the fact that the accusative marker, used twice within this poem is written with the character 乙 /ur/. The character 乙 is used for writing the accusative marker only in the *Kyunye hyangka* and in the *Toicangka* (XVI, 6; XVII, 2; XVIII, 2; XX, 8; XXI, 3; XXVI, 1; etc.). Meanwhile in the rest of Silla *hyangka* (with the notable exception of Setongyo), the accusative case marker is consistently written with the character 肹/Gur/[34] (II, 3, 4; III, 5, 6, 7; IV, 8; VII, 1, 5, 7; XII, 2). The same

character 阿/Gur/ appears only once as an accusative marker in the *Kyunye hyangka* (XVI, 7). It is quite apparent that we are dealing here with two temporal varieties of the same marker, with the expected development *-Gur* > *-ur* (Vovin 1995, 229). The usage of *-ur* and not *-Gur* in the Setongyo that is the earliest known *hyangka* then is best explained as a form from a different dialect, which already underwent the development of *-G-* > *-∅-*. This interpretation can be further strengthened by the fact that while 阿/Gur/ is not used in the writing of Paekche proper names in the *Samkwuk saki*, 乙 /ur/ does appear in Paekche proper names (Song 2004, 770-71).

Thus, if the above proposal is correct, it turns out that the language of Paekche as used by the Yam Boy who would become in due time Paekche' s king Mu was Korean. Although the above poem leaves room for various interpretations, one thing is crystal clear: its language is Korean, and not Japonic.

Conclusion

Therefore, on the basis of all evidence presented above, the answer to the question: "How many languages were spoken on the Korean peninsula during the *Samkwuk* period?" should be rather straightforward: it was just Old Korean, which certainly had its regional dialects in Koguryo and Paekche. This certainly does not rule the fact that there was once a Japonic language spoken on the Korean peninsula, but it was a substratum language.

34 Due to the computer font limitaton I use this character, and not its allograph, which is actually used in *the hyanga*.

References

- Primary Sources:

Chinese

BS	Bei shi, 7th century
ZS	Zhou shu, early 7th century

Japanese

KK	Kojiki kayô, 712 AD
MYS	Man' yôshû, ca. 759 AD
NS	Nihonshoki, 720 AD
SM	Senmyô, 7-8th centuries AD
WMS	[Ruiju] Wamyôshô, 931-38 AD

Korean

Hyangka	Hyangka, sixth-tenth centuries AD
Hwungmong	Hwunmong cahoy, 1527 AD
KCP	Kokwulye cwungwen pimun, 449 AD
KKP	Kokwulye Kwangkaytho taywang pimun, 414 or 415 AD
KPP I	Kokwulye Phyengyang seng pyekmun, #1, 446 (?) AD
Kyeylim	Kyeylim yusa, 1103 AD
SKY	Samkwuk yusa, 1289 AD
SKS	Samkwuk saki, 1145 AD
YP	Yongpi echenka, 1445 AD

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Articles

The Three in One, the One in Three: The Koryŏ Three Han as a Pre-modern Nation

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The Three in One, the One in Three: The Koryŏ Three Han as a Pre-modern Nation

This article seeks to explore the formation of Koryŏ identity from 918 to 1170 by focusing on several aspects of early Koryŏ. Considering the possibility of the existence of a pre-modern nation in Koryŏ, the article seeks to illuminate the questions of (a) a common name for the people and the land they inhabited and (b) the delineation of a historic homeland. By looking into these aspects, I hope to at least sketch the possibility of a pre-modern Koryŏ nation. Concretely, I shall investigate the notion of the Three Han (三韓 Samhan) and the way this notion acquired a supradynastical connotation that separated it from the historical actuality on the peninsula. Resulting in a notion of the Three Han that was both supradynastical and territorially delimited entity, held in protective stewardship by the Koryŏ kings, this notion suggests the possibility of a pre-modern Koryŏ nation within the borders of the Amnok and Tuman Rivers.

The Three in One, the One in Three: The Koryŏ Three Han as a Pre-modern Nation

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Introduction

Are nations recent phenomena? Are they ancient entities, perennial forms of human societal organization? Or are they neither; neither necessarily modern, nor perennially present, but contingent forms of collective organization that can be found in different ages and places? In East Asia in particular there have been long-term territorial and political communities during pre-modern times with sophisticated administrative mechanisms and highly developed cultures. Would it not at least be possible that highly sophisticated states that existed hundreds of years and inhabited a stable core territory developed an identifiable national consciousness? Orthodox Western theories on nation-formation which deny this possibility, have been exported to East Asia, but have ironically never dealt with the East Asian situation (for some exceptions, see Duncan 1998 and Duara 1994). This paper seeks to address this issue by examining some aspects of early Koryŏ 高麗 (918-1170).

Observing Koryŏ history over the longue duree reveals that the interplay between subjective (mythical, historical, religious) beliefs and institutions, politics and history gave rise to a structure of relations and processes that became independent of those subjective beliefs. This structure provided the community with a framework for its members across generations. In essence, this structure formed the nation (Armstrong 1982). The identity of

such a community is located in the boundaries that define the criteria for membership. Boundaries soften or harden, so that the "cultural stuff it encloses" varies from time to time (Barth 1969). The persistence of the group, its fundamental identity, then, is located in the structure that governs its boundaries. In early Koryŏ, such a structure developed around the historical notion of the Three Han (Samhan 三韓).

Such a structure is dependent on several factors; on the presence of a named human population, the possession of a named and relatively extensive historic territory, a strong sense of a common past/descent, present and future/fate, a relatively unified economic, administrative and social structure, a shared public culture based upon religion, traditions and language and a common focus of worship in the ruler (Smith 2000, 65-76; Grosby 1997, 2, 26; Reynolds 1984, 335). Communities more or less in possession of these characteristics may be described as "communities bound together by ties of due and lawful order" (Reynolds 1983, 381), in which the modern requirement for nationhood of equality before the law was fulfilled by "the common worship of the god of the land and subjection to the king of the land who, in turn, received the authority to rule that land and the people of the God from that God" (Grosby 1997, 2). Region-transcending identities, or the idea of belonging to a community that is too large to allow general interpersonal relationships, is possible under such a structure, which is not governed by modernity or indeed necessarily modern.

The basis for such a structure to come into existence is the presence of a named population and its possession (or strong memory of) a named and relatively extensive historic territory. A nation can then come into existence, when, quite literally, mental and physical boundaries harden. When the constitutive myth of a community, its historical narrative of descent and fate, is selected among the various alternatives a community will invariably have, "heterogeneous, but related cultural practices" are unified and are imagined to be homogeneous - and to have always been so (Duara 1995, 168; Duara 1994, 168-9). The emergence of such a historical narrative signifies the hardening of the group boundaries; the selection of one narrative automatically means the exclusion of other possible narratives. In early Koryŏ, the notion of the Three Han fulfilled such a function.

With reference to the notion of the Three Han, this paper will explore the formation of Koryŏ identity from 918 to 1170 by focusing on these two aspects of early Koryŏ. Due to spatial considerations, I shall only look into (a) a common name for the people and the land they inhabited and (b) the delineation of a historic homeland. By looking into these aspects, I hope to at least sketch the possibility of a pre-modern Koryŏ nation. Such essential features as Koryŏ's foreign relations, the ruler as a focus of common worship, Koryŏ's repository of myths and history and its social, administrative and economic structure I shall leave for a future paper.

The Making of the Three Han in Koryŏ: 918-1170

The Koryŏ period offers many examples of the different uses of 'Samhan' or the Three Han, but the concept itself clearly antedates this period. Its earliest occurrences can be traced to Chinese histories that incorporated information about the peninsula and its inhabitants. Traditionally, it was explained as the collective appellation of three early historical communities in the south of the peninsula, Mahan 馬韓, Pyŏnhan 卞韓 and Chinhan 辰韓 (Shin Hyŏnung 2003, 1-29). Here, however, I shall only occupy myself with the later use of the term as a general appellation for the Korean peninsula, its states and its inhabitants which came from a consistent use of the term in titles, edicts, inscriptions, epitaphs and popular folk songs during the Koryŏ period, as well as from a sense of historical unity that I will discuss below. Roughly speaking, 'Samhan' appeared in three different meanings or senses; it occurred in the sense of the historical Three Han, in the sense of the historical Three Kingdoms along with its derivative use referring to the Later Three Kingdoms, and in the sense of the Korean peninsula and its inhabitants.

Textual evidence from this period points at the formation on the Korean peninsula of an identity that assumed the common provenance and destiny of the different peoples that made up the 'Samhan' (No T'aedon 1982, 129-156). The disintegration of Silla in the ninth century into three competing states, the Later Three Kingdoms, each of which had fallen back on its pre-unification predecessor for legitimative purposes, was

another historical contingency that advanced the sense of identification with the historical 'Samhan' . References during the early Koryŏ period all point to the Three Han in the sense of the Later Three Kingdoms; most representative of this use is perhaps the ritualized expression "T'aejo unified [pacified] the Three Han" that is found in many royal edicts and inscriptions. Clearly, the references are to the historical unification of the peninsula under the rule of the founder of the Koryŏ state (*KS* 1:7a; 2:2a-b; 2:12a; 2:15b). This usage continues until the end of the dynasty (*KMC* 469:6). Nonetheless, other usages of 'Samhan' can also be found during this period, although with less frequency. A letter that T'aejo sent to his great rival Kyŏn Hwŏn in 928 mentions the Three Han. 'Samhan' here can be interpreted in two complementary ways, both as pertaining to the contemporary political situation on the peninsula and as a comprehensive designation of the peninsula (*Samguk sagi* 50: 473). T'aejo's use of 'Samhan' prefigured its use during the Koryŏ dynasty. As used by Wang Kŏn in his letter to Kyŏn Hwŏn, it utilized the historically produced semantic range of 'Samhan' to the fullest extent; the same notion at once described the current situation on the peninsula and appealed to the past when it had been unified. These two usages, in short, are most frequent during the early years of the Koryŏ dynasty.

'Samhan' as a general designation for the Korean peninsula and its inhabitants came into wide use during the Koryŏ dynasty. Koryŏ rulers possessed the right "to rule over [the territory of] the Samhan" (*KS* 2:34a; 5:29a).[1] This idea was enforced by the occasional letter of investment from Chinese dynasties, in which Koryŏ is identified with 'Samhan' (See *KS* 2: 3b; 3:3a; 7: 33a). The availability of the term 'Samhan', already enriched by centuries of rather loose use by Chinese chroniclers, combined with the political circumstances on the peninsula during the late ninth and early tenth centuries and made it possible for this term to gradually become a comprehensive designation of the peninsula and its peoples. This transition was

1 In Buddhist inscriptions and epitaphs from the same period, 'Samhan' is used in the same manner. Some extant epitaphs for famous literati from distinguished clans also use 'Samhan' as an alternative designation for the peninsula; see *KMC* 39:14, 40:21; 41:8, 11-2.

'complete' when in 1136 Koryŏ sent a diplomatic letter to the Song 宋, mentioning among other things that "our Samhan have served the Chinese court generation after generation since the Han 韓 and the Tang 唐" (*KS* 16: 38b-39a). The Three Han had 'aged' significantly since the beginning of the dynasty when 'Samhan' was predominantly a synonym for the Later Three Kingdoms (*Han'guk kodae chungse komunsŏ yŏn'gu* — hereafter *HKCKY* 5: 18; 341: 12; *TMS* 31: 21b; *Chōsen kinseki sōran* — hereafter *CKS*- 469; *KMC* 70: 16). Incidentally, Injong's diplomatic letter came some thirty years after Sukchong had issued bronze coins of two different denominations, bearing the inscriptions "Samhan t'ongbo" and "Samhan chungbo" (*KS* 79: 11b; 79:15a).

During the middle Koryŏ, the meaning of the ambiguity-laden concept of 'Samhan' as a general designation of the peninsula became more significant, while the identification of 'Samhan' with the Three Later Kingdoms decreased. Instead, a tendency to identify 'Samhan' with its original meaning, the three historical Han states of Mahan 馬韓, Chinhan 辰韓 and Pyŏnhan 卞韓, became prominent (*KS* 57:1a; 72:1a; 7:33a-b; 56:1a; 57:1a; 72:1a). These different usages of 'Samhan' were used indiscriminately; in a 13th century memorial to the throne, for instance, 'Samhan' is, at different places, both used as an equivalent for the Three Later Kingdoms and as a general designation for the peninsula (*KS* 74:29b; 120:12b). Despite the obvious ambiguity of the name 'Samhan', a tendency can be distinguished toward the separation of the term 'Samhan' from the historical actuality of the peninsula.

While the sometimes indiscriminate use of the different meanings of 'Samhan' continues, from the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty, there is a clear shift in emphasis toward the term coming to signify a supradynastical entity that does not entirely correspond with Koryŏ. In a memorial from 1220 it was hoped that the 'Samhan' would know one million years of peace and tranquility (*KS* 120:12b). An edict of 1385 mentioned that the Koryŏ kings had protected the 'Samhan' for generations, a notion that had been recurring from the middle Koryŏ on (*KS* 135:42a-b). Extant documents of the Koryŏ testify to the enormous importance of the notion of 'Samhan' as the community of people on the peninsula; there is not one extant document

that contains the name Koryŏ.[2] Instead, we find the designation 'Samhan' that is used for the people and the peninsula (*HKCKY* 4:11; 6:32; 7:42; I, 23:10-1; I, 29:11; I, 32:7-8). The idea of a supradynastical entity called the 'Samhan' crystallizes during the late Koryŏ, but it was present in some form or other from much earlier, as is testified to by the epitaph for Ch'oe Sajŏn 崔思全 (1067-1139), of 1140. According to this epitaph, Ch'oe remonstrated Injong 仁宗 for giving free reign to his family-in-law, saying that "the Three Han are the Three Han of the Three Han. They do not stop at being Your Majesty's Three Han. Our former lord T'aejo has worked hard to achieve this and I beg Your Majesty not to be negligent [in taking care of it]" (*KMC* 70:12-3). According to the same epitaph, Injong agreed and declared that he should "put the Three Han in order again" (*KMC* 70:6).

Curiously, at the same time that the designation 'Samhan' obtained a supradynastical connotation, it was also grounded in history more firmly than before. The Geography Section of the *Koryŏsa* treats 'Samhan' as a historical entity that existed before the Three Kingdoms, as does the Costume Section (*KS* 56:1a; *KS* 57:1a; *KS* 72:1a). Perhaps the most convincing testimony to this growing historical perception of the Three Han is the poem on the epitaph for Cho Yŏnsu of 1325 that alludes to Tan'gun: "Our ancestor from P'yŏngyang/the holy hermit Wang Kŏm/His people are still with us/What a wonderful leader he is!/He lived for thousands of years/ before the 'Samhan' came into being/[....]" (*KMC* 451:17-19). A conflation of these two senses is distinguishable in statements that claim that Koryŏ succeeded to and "possessed" the Three Han, while simultaneously it is apparent that 'Samhan' was more than the historical reality that Koryŏ offered. 'Samhan' is described as incorporated in Koryŏ territory, but the two entities are not conflated, but on the contrary kept separate (*KS* 135: 42a-b; 74:29b; *TMS* 46: 18b; *CKS* 177). 'Samhan' represented the past of Koryŏ in its obviously historical quality; its present through an identification of 'Samhan' with the people of Koryŏ (*KS* 107: 20a; 126: 47a; *KMC* 388:

2 Those Koryŏ documents that use the word 'Koryŏ' prominently, such as the *Koryŏsa*, the *Koryŏsa chŏryo or* the genealogies of Koryŏ lineages, were all (re-)compiled after the transition to Chosŏn dynasty.

19) and its future through dissociation with Koryŏ when Koryŏ was declining (*KMC* 434: 5). Note incidentally that the separation of the notions of 'Samhan' and 'Koryŏ' enables the identification of 'Samhan' with Koryŏ' s past, present and future.

'Samhan' was used in a number of distinctive ways; it surfaced as a synonym for the Three Later Kingdoms; it was also a synonym for the Three Kingdoms, the 'Samguk' (which itself was another synonym for Koryŏ); it was used as an alternative designation for Koryŏ; it retrieved its original meaning as a name for the historical Three Han states on the peninsula; and finally, and for our purposes most significantly, it acquired a supradynastical connotation that separated it from the historical actuality on the peninsula. In this sense, 'Samhan' came to be used as distinct from Koryŏ in a sense that represented both the country and its people, while other contemporary designations for the peninsula, such as 'Tongbang' 東方/東邦, 'Tongguk' 東國, 'Ch'ŏnggu' 靑丘 and 'Haedong' 海東 mainly appeared in contrast with or reference to Sinitic civilization. The importance of 'Samhan' increases when it is realized that the official dynastic name of Koryŏ was only used in diplomatic documents, formal statements (such as the opening lines of a tombstone inscription) and the like and never in domestic documents or in the main texts of tombstone inscriptions.

A Historic Homeland in Koryŏ

The notion of a historic homeland is of immediate importance to the process of nation formation. In the case of Koryŏ, the historic homeland was more or less possessed by the people who according to themselves were supposed to inhabit it. Nonetheless, even during the early Koryŏ dynasty and certainly during the Chosŏn dynasty, there were heated discussions with much at stake about the precise boundaries of the ancestral lands of the people of the peninsula. In other words, to some extent the boundaries of the historic homeland were subject to redefinition. The Koryŏ dynasty was founded by reuniting the three states that had come into being after the disintegration of the Silla state. The territory of Koryŏ was thought to be limited, i.d. not subject to endless expansion. As a spatially limited realm, the people who inhab-

ited this particular piece of land were somehow different from all the peoples that lived in other territories. The notion of limitedness is indispensable for the notion of distinction, much like naming is.

The perception of the spatial finiteness of Koryŏ has been well documented from the beginning of the dynasty. It is of course hardly surprising that the inhabitants of the states on the Korean peninsula, bordered by the sea on three sides, should have experienced the spatial restrictedness of their states; resources comparable to the immense resources the Chinese and northern dynasties had at their disposal, were simply not available. This subsequently determined the realistic expectations one could entertain on the possibilities of spatial expansion. Consequently, territorial ambitions in Koryŏ were limited. The famous debates on expansion to and subjugation of the north (the only region to which expansion was practically feasible) were debates with, at least spatially, clearly limited goals. Both Wang Kŏn's expansionist dreams and the ultimately failed attempts at subjugation of the northern plains by Yun Kwan's Nine Fortresses were essentially aimed at creating safe borders and not at the acquisition of ever more territory (Ch'u Myŏngyŏp 1999; Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn 1978, 28).

As the turbulent foreign politics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries clearly show, there were different opinions about the guarding of the borders, about the question what lands belonged to Koryŏ and where the borders should run. The most pertinent frontier problem was in the north. Although historical arguments were used to solidify claims to territories associated with the glory of former days, these arguments were often purely rhetorical and possessed little claim to historical veracity-which the speakers knew very well. Most instances of overt territorial identification with Koguryŏ 高句麗 were occasioned by immediate territorial threats-that often menaced more territory than those few pieces of undisputed Koguryŏ territory that Koryŏ controlled. The relatively limited nature of identification with Koguryŏ is remarkable: identification seems to have been mainly of a territorial-political nature. It was in other words to a significant extent both limited and opportunistic. By the time of Wang Kŏn's 王建 unification of the peninsula, a more or less fixed idea of the historical homelands of the peninsula's people had come into existence and within these historically deter-

mined borders the future of Koryŏ was imagined to take place-as well as the past to have taken place.

Apart from its name, there is in fact only limited evidence that suggests that Koryŏ considered itself the direct successor of the state of Koguryŏ. From the beginning of the dynasty, Koryŏ quite consistently traced back its historical descent to three different states; Paekche 百濟, Silla and Koguryŏ, often represented by the comprehensive name of the Three Han.[3] In a limited sense, Koryŏ saw itself as a successor of Koguryŏ; namely, in the sense that the state of Koryŏ had been forged during five decades of intensive warfare between the three states into which the state of post-668 Silla had disintegrated. These three states had mutatis mutandis come to identify themselves with the pre-unification states of Paekche, Silla and Koguryŏ. The Koryŏ state was the latest to come into being; both this fact and its position in the north of the peninsula made the choice for identification with Koguryŏ obvious. Direct Koryŏ identification with Koguryŏ was limited to worship of Koguryŏ's founding ancestor, strong identification with Koguryŏ's later capital of P'yŏngyang 平壤 and the appropriation of a selected part of Koguryŏ's historical memories (Duncan 2004: 90-117). And perhaps more significantly, Koryŏ looked towards Koguryŏ, towards the north, in search of an example and not out of a sense of being directly related. Identifications by twentieth-century historians of Koryŏ with Koguryŏ expansionism reveal more about the intellectual climate during the colonial period in twentieth-century Korea than about Koryŏ history. Koryŏ's policies confirm that all through its history, it in effect duplicated Koguryŏ's defensive strength, and not its offensive expansionism, as for instance Kim Pusik's commentaries on Koguryŏ's battles in the *Samguk sagi* show (*SGSG* 44:420; 49:464-465). Previous research has already shown that bureaucratically, culturally and linguistically, the Koryŏ state built on the vestiges of Silla rather than Koguryŏ. The selectivity with which some elements of Koguryŏ's legacy were celebrated and remembered and other elements were

3 This did not mean, however, that Koryŏ's territory was thought to be limited to the historical territory of the Three Han. As will be shown, Koryŏ's historical territory was thought to be much larger than the historical territory associated with the historical Three Han.

more or less discarded speaks volumes with regard to the notion of historical succession in Koryŏ, as does the fact that none of Koryŏ's aristocratic families seems to have claimed a man of Koguryŏ stock as their founding ancestor (Duncan 2004, 91). Koguryŏ cultural influences did exist, such as in the field of astronomy and astrology, but these co-existed with cultural influences from Silla, Paekche, Manchuria and China (Kim Ilgwŏn 2003).

Domestically, the territorial notion of 'Samhan' had evolved into a notion of supradynastical but territorially grounded entity which the Koryŏ kings kept in protective stewardship. Several sources attest to the presence of this notion, stating that "our country completely possesses the Samhan", that "the territory of Koryŏ contains the Samhan" and that "generations of Koryŏ kings have protected the Samhan" (*KS* 74:29b; 135: 42a-b). It is also mirrored in contemporary Chinese sources, particularly in letters of investment. The 933 Later Tang 後唐 letter of investment mentions that T'aejo "unified the mighty Five Tribes and attained control of the territory of the Three Han". A 1049 investment of Munjong's 文宗 son as heir apparent described Koryŏ as "the old territory of the Samhan and the former name of Paekche" (*KS* 2:3b; 7:33a-b). Two letters of investment from the Song sent to Sŏngjong 成宗 in 983 and 985 elaborate on the same theme: "you [i.d. Sŏngjong] possess the old territory of the Samhan and the former feudal lands of Paekche" (*KS* 3:6a).

The Amnok 鴨綠江 formed the boundary between Koryŏ and foreign ground in the northwest, while the significantly shorter Tuman 豆滿江 did so in the northeast. The lands to the north of the Amnok had been the old territory of Koguryŏ, while the lands to the south of it were considered to have belonged to Silla, though historically this is inaccurate (*KS* 3: 6a; 82: 42b-43a). One entry in the *Koryŏsa* even claims the territory north of the Amnok to have belonged to Silla (*KS* 14:21a-b). Koryŏ references to the Amnok as the border of the country appear as early as the reign of Kungye 弓裔, as for instance in the puzzling mirror inscription that predicted Wang Kŏn's ascendancy. According to the interpretation of the scholars of Kungye's court, Wang Kŏn would "first grab the chicken and then strike the duck," which meant that Wang Kŏn would first occupy Silla (also known as Kyerim 鷄林, Chicken Grove) and then bring the peninsular territory up to

the Amnok River (literally "duck-like green river) under his control (*KS* 1:7b.). The belief that the Amnok River was the 'natural' northern boundary of Koryŏ was a widespread notion during the Koryŏ and was believed to have existed from times immemorial, since "our country has made the Amnok river its boundary ever since [the establishment of] Kija's old territory" (*KS* 7:33a-34b). The whole of Koryŏ was believed to be south of the Amnok (*KS* 2:19a). Pak Illyang 朴寅亮 (?-1096) in a famous memorial to the Liao 遼 emperor stated that "the shape and energies of the Amnok river divide our country [from others] and form a boundary" (*TMS* 39: 5b-6b; 28:5a-6b). Ch'oe Ham 崔諴 (fl. mid-twelfth century) wrote a formal expression of gratitude to the Jin 金 emperor, claiming that "the frontiers of our country have from times immemorial run until the Amnok River. It is only a recent event that the Khitan took it away from us" (*TMS* 35: 23b-24b). Both men emphasized that the Amnok River had been a boundary demarcating the line between their country and others, whether barbarian or not. Their point of view was not uncommon, despite the prevalent historiographical tendency to ascribe a strong Koguryŏ-successionist identity to Koryŏ.[4] In 1117 the assembled officials (百官 *paekkwan*) offered a memorial to Yejong 睿宗 in which they congratulated the ruler with the return of Ŭiju 義州, imagined as ancient Silla territory according to the text, into Koryŏ territory (*KS* 14:20a-22b). This text, that was obviously meant for court consumption only, emphasizes the (imagined) status of the Amnok as the time-honored

4 Koryŏ opposition was fierce every time the Liao tried to establish fortifications and bridges along the Amnok river in what was considered to be Koryŏ territory. This kind of fierce opposition should, however, not be equated with Koguryŏ-like expansionism. Koryŏ's attitude was directly informed by security concerns, and not by expansionist ambitions. Munjong's reign is known as the zenith of Koryŏ and is characterized by its stability. At this time, protests against the construction of Liao fortifications at the Amnok were at their peak, which makes it impossible to characterize these protests as expressions of expansionism. The fierce protests in the preceding and succeeding reigns of Chŏngjong and Sŏnjong are similar. See *KS* 6:16b; 10:8b; 10:15a. A case in point that shows the nature of Koryŏ's diplomatic assertiveness not to be expansionist, is the realization that although the east of the Amnok River is undoubtedly Koryŏ territory, the land west of it are not. Both Sukchong and Yejong and their officials admitted this and did not attempt to lay claims to this territory. On the contrary, they complied with Liao or Jin requests not to station garrisons at the Amnok at places that would threaten to make incursions on Liao or Jin territory. See *KS* 11:30s-b; *KS* 13:19b-20b. For a discussion of this subject, see Breuker 2003.

boundary of both Silla and Koryŏ. In fact, the legitimation for considering the Amnok as such is wholly traced back to its imagined function as such during the Silla. This tracing of legitimation is remarkable in the sense that the majority of modern historians have called attention to the fundamentally Koguryŏ-based identity of Koryŏ, starting with the name of the dynasty. To be sure, there is as discussed before a definite and important Koguryŏ element in Koryŏ identity, but territorial identification with Koguryŏ was, as is evident from the citation above, by no means exclusive or even taken for granted. A 1126 memorial to the Jin emperor identifies the Amnok with Koguryŏ territory and hence Koryŏ's (*KS* 15:20a-21a.; *TMS* 35: 6b-7b). The only significant difference with the 1117 text mentioned above is location of territorial legitimation in Koguryŏ; the 1117 text after all had traced the origin of the Amnok boundary to Silla. This contrast is important and resurfaces in comparisons of other diplomatic writings with writings meant for domestic consumption.

The establishment of the Amnok River, and to a lesser extent that of the Tuman River, as physical and natural boundaries delineated the Koryŏ historic homeland. With the Amnok and Tuman guarding the northern border and with the sea watching over the other three borders, a clear picture of Koryŏ's homeland emerges: "Our Haedong blocks the sea at three sides. Only one side is connected to the mainland. The width of the peninsula nears 10,000 *ri*" (*KS* 56:1a). And "[...] the territory of Koryŏ is surrounded by the sea on three sides and one side is supported by mountains. Its girth measures several thousand *ri*" (*KS* 137:23b; *KS* 136:15a). This historically formed notion of the Amnok River guarding the north is also mirrored in the symbolic function it assumed. The crossing of the Amnok came to mean to go or to return from abroad.[5] In 1055, Munjong, upon hearing that the imperial Liao envoy had crossed the Amnok, immediately cut down on the number of side dishes at meals and forbade music to be performed and animals to be slaughtered or hunted (*KS* 7:35a-b; *KS* 64:18a.). Reports on barbarian

5 See for instance *KMC* 424: 5 (returning from the Yuan court is styled as "crossing the Amnok"); *KMC* 496: 12 (King Ch' unghye is welcomed by his officials on his return from the Yuan at the banks of the Amnok); *TMS* 15:14a.

incursions in the northern territories assumed urgency when the court was informed that they had "crossed the Amnok". In this case, the natural defensive function of the Amnok River and the strongholds that had been built and manned along its banks and its symbolic meaning as the boundary between Koryŏ and the barbarians converge. The Amnok and Tuman Rivers provided Koryŏ not only with an easily defensible natural boundary, but also with a symbolic boundary that marked the transition into foreign territory. At the same time, they were inextricably connected to a kind of "frontier mentality". It was at the banks of these rivers that the country had to be defended. The list of skirmishes, struggles and battles that took place there is virtually endless.[6] In his famous victory in 1018, Kang Kamch'an 姜邯贊 (948-1031) virtually wiped out the Khitan army at the battle near the fortress of Hŭnghwajin 興化鎭 (Ŭiju) (*KS* 9a-12b). The defensive line of fortresses built by Tŏkchong 德宗 in 1031 and 1032 also testifies to the frontier mentality of the Amnok region. This line of fortresses ran from the ancient capital of Koguryŏ, Kungnaesŏng, on the west coast where the Amnok River ran into the sea to the east coast, measuring more than a thousand li in total (*KS* 82: 31b-32a; *KSC* 4: 5a). These fortresses were physical representations of Koryŏ's symbolic boundaries. Even more so than the events recorded in the Koryŏsa, inscriptions and epitaphs from the early and middle Koryŏ give a trenchant picture of the reality of the northern border in the lives of Koryŏ officials. In short, the northern boundary of the Amnok and Tuman Rivers was of the utmost importance for Koryŏ, both defensively and ideologically.

The northern frontier's importance did not derive entirely from the functions of the Amnok River. The northern part of the peninsula also

6 In 993, Sŏ Hŭi negotiated his famous settlement with the Liao armies to regain these parts of the Koryŏ territory. Sŏngjong had sent censor Yi Kyŏmŭi there to build frontier fortresses, but the Jurchen kidnapped him and only one out of three soldiers came back. In 1016 a large Khitan army invaded via this route. The *Koryŏsa* reports that tens of thousand soldiers died in the ensuing battle. When the Khitan sent an envoy to Koryŏ to restore relations, they were not allowed to cross the Amnok. "In the 7th year of Hyŏnjong in the first month of spring of kyŏngsul day the Khitan generals Yaryulseryang and Sogullyŏl invaded Kwakchu. Our armies fought them and tens of thousands died. Plundering the possessions of our soldiers the Khitan armies left. On *kabin* day a Khitan envoy of 10 people arrived at the Amnok River, but they were not received" (*KS* 4:19b). In the early twelfth century, when Yun Kwan built his Nine Fortresses in the Hamgyŏng area, he did so in order to protect this territory. See *SGSG* 34: 421-2; *KS* 3: 6a; *KS* 58:32b.

housed two mountains that were at the centre of the founding myths of Koguryŏ and Koryŏ. Mt. Paektu 白頭山 and Mt. T'aebaek 太白山 both figure prominently in the myths and legends of the peninsula.[7] Although the Amnok River figures more prominently in the annals of the Koryŏ due to its strategic importance, Paektu and T'aebaek loom impressively at the background of the historic homeland of Koryŏ. The Amnok and Tuman Rivers find their origins in Mt. Paektu, from which much of their symbolic meaning derives. To begin with, Mt. Paektu was imagined as the place of origin of the royal Wang clan, spurious though this assertion may be (*KS segye* 1: 1a). The foundation myth of Koryŏ did not provide an explanation for the origins of the peninsula and its people, but merely an account and legitimization of the provenance and road to power of the Wang clan. By way of the Great Trunk (大幹 *taegan*) mountain range of Mt. Paektu, the geomantic auspiciousness of Kaegyŏng 開京, Wang Kŏn's birthplace, was confirmed (*KS* 72: 11b-12a; 39: 18b-19a). A memorial from 1357 from the Deputy Director of the Institute of Astronomical Observation reiterated the importance of the Paektu mountain range for Koryŏ's well-being and quoted a work ascribed to Tosŏn 道詵, stating that "*The Record of the Jade Dragon* 玉龍記 says that our country originated in Mt. Paektu and ends in Mt. Chiri 智異山" (*KS* 39: 18b-19a). This statement is confirmed in the *P'ahanjip* (*P'ahanjip, kwŏn* 1).

7 There is considerable confusion with regard to Mt. T'aebaek. Not only is here also a Mt. T'aebaek in Kangwŏndo which during Silla was worshipped as one of the Five Sacred Peaks 五岳, Mt. T'aebaek was also frequently used for Mt. Paektu. And to add to the confusion, Mt. Myohyang was also called Mt. T'aebaek before it acquired its present name. Due to spatial considerations, the question of Mt. T'aebaek will not be settled here, but some observations may be made. *The Shinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* only recognizes the Mt. T'aebaek in Kangwŏndo, while the *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo* 增補文獻備考, relying on the authority of famous historian and geographer Han Paekkyŏm 韓百謙 (1552-1615) to establish that there are two Mts. T'aebaek; one in Kangwŏndo, the other in Hamhŭngdo, to the north of Mt. Paektu. This is roughly what Chinese sources also state, although confusion with Mt. Paektu does occur. Koryŏ period sources such as the Samguk yusa and the Samguk sagi consistently conflate Mts. Paektu and T'aebaek. See *STYS* 3b-4a; *CMP* 13: 25a-b; *CMP* 20: 30b; *CMP* 23: 33b; *KS* 58:39a; *SGYS* 1: 199-200; *SGSG* 13: 145; *SGYS* 2: 199. Modern scholarship has not settled the question, but what matters here are the contemporary identifications of Mt. T'aebaek, even though they may have been mistaken. From this perspective, both Mts. Paektu and T'aebaek were frequently identified with each other and with other historically and religiously important mountains. See Rogers 1982, 33-36.

This notion was first explicitly articulated in the myths surrounding the geomancer Tosŏn 道詵 (827-898), whose legend played a crucial role in the legitimization of the rule of the Wang clan. When he supposedly met with Wang Kŏn's father, he had just returned from Mt. Paektu where he had been initiated into the practices of geomancy (Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn 1975, 101-146). In this manner, the relationship between Koryŏ, the Wang clan, geomancy and Mt. Paektu was strengthened. The belief that Mt. Paektu occupied a special position in the spiritual and geomantic life on the peninsula predates the Koryŏ period.[8] Mt. Paektu is mentioned prominently in the myths of descent of Koguryŏ and Paekche. The source of the Amnok River, Mt. Paektu figured as the background of the birth of Ko Chumong 高朱蒙, the later king Tongmyŏng 東明. Chumong, who had been conceived at the bank of the Amnok, founded Koguryŏ at the foot of Mt. Paektu (*SGYS* 1: 199-200; *SGSG* 13: 145; *SGYS* 2: 199). Tongmyŏng was revered all through the Koryŏ as the founding ancestor of Koguryŏ and, by way of his son Onjo, as that of Paekche as well. On the site of Tongmyŏng's palace in P'yŏngyang, the Yŏngmyŏng-sa 永明寺 was built, which would become famous for lodging Ado 阿道 (d.u.), the monk that transmitted Buddhism to Koguryŏ. The Koryŏ monarchs frequently visited King Tongmyŏng's palace whenever they were in Sŏgyŏng 西京 (which had been Koguryŏ's capital P'yŏngyang).[9] A shrine dedicated to Tongmyŏng and one dedicated to his mother "because she gave birth Chumong, the founder of Koguryŏ" stood in the mountains just outside of Kaesŏng (*Gaoli Tujing*, 178-179). The ancestral rites that were frequently held in honor of Tongmyŏng and the several honors that were bestowed upon his spirit, confirm the continued importance of Tongmyŏng both on a popular and an ideological level (*KS* 4: 9b; 13:3b-41; 58:31a; *KSC* 7:7b). It is also noteworthy that Koryŏ had a Chungmo-hyŏn

8 And not from that period onwards, as is argued in Rogers 1982. Rogers' argument is based on an identification of Mt. T'aebaek with Mt. Paektu, but the Mt. T'aebaek mentioned as object of sacrificial rites was the Kangwŏndo T'aebaek. See Rogers 1982, 33-36.

9 According to the *Koryŏsa* and the *Koryŏsa chŏryo* the palace was visited by Sŏnjong in 1087, by Sukchong in 1102, by Yejong in 1109 and 1116, by Injong in 1127 and 1132 and by Ŭijong in 1169. See *KS* 10:13b; *KS* 11: 35b; *KS* 14: 11a; *KS* 15: 22a; *KS* 19:2b. The fact that Yŏngmyŏng-sa had been the place of the temporal burial of T'aejo (haengjaeso) adds much significance to the importance of this palace.

中牟縣. Chungmo 中牟 is one of the names Ko Chumong appears under in the *Samguk sagi*. The Koryŏsa mentions that the name of the Silla *hyŏn* Toan 道安 was changed into Chungmo after the transition to Koryŏ. It was located on undisputed Silla territory (*KS* 57:22b). According to Yi Kyubo 李奎報 "[t]he mysterious tales of King Tongmyŏng are so well known that even ignorant men and simple women can tell them" (*Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* 3:1a; translation Rutt 1975, 48-54). Geomancing monk cum rebel leader Myoch'ŏng 妙清 (?-1135) took advantage of the legends and legitimacy associated with Mts. Paektu and T'aebaek and named the first of his eight saints (八聖 *p'alsŏng*) "Country-Protecting T'aebaek Holy Hermit of Mt. Paektu" 護國白頭岳太白仙人 (KS 127:29a). This was, according to Myoch'ŏng, none other than Manjusri himself, a bodhisattva often associated with Mt. Paektu; the remaining seven 'guardian angels' of Koryŏ were also manifestations of Buddha's, bodhisattva's and deva's and associated with the Koryŏ landscape.

Mt. T'aebaek formed the background of the myth of Ko Chumong, just as Mt. Paektu did and is in fact often found to be identical with Mt. Paektu. It was thought to be the origin of the Han River 漢江 that flows through the peninsula (*Yŏkchu yŏktae kosŭng pimun* 4:475.) According to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠, the survivors of Koguryŏ had gathered at the foot of Mt. T'aebaek after their defeat to the combined Tang-Silla armies and it had been there that Tae Choyŏng 大祚榮 (r. 699-719) had proclaimed the founding of Parhae 渤海 (*SGSG* 46: 442-443).

The special position in both peninsular geography and mythology occupied by the Amnok River and Mts. Paektu and T'aebaek is not unique. Mt. Chiri in the south-west of the peninsula, for instance, is also a mountain richly adorned with mythological and historical lore (*P'ahanjip*, chapter 1). The Taedong River 大洞江 and the Yesŏng River 禮成江 are similarly ornamented with tales, legends and histories. The difference is that neither Mt. Chiri nor both rivers were in contested frontier territory. The Amnok River and Mts. Paektu and T'aebaek were. The fact that they were positioned at the frontier and sometimes out of Koryŏ's influence, made their functions all the more significant. The *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 and the *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 新增東國與地勝覽 mention that, probably

sometime during the 15th century, a stele had been discovered in Hoe'ryŏng 會嶺, a *tohobu* 都護部 [Protection District] located near Mt. Paektu. This stele had been erected by Yun Kwan 尹瓘 during his expedition against the Jurchen and it had four characters meaning "border of Koryŏ" (高麗之境) engraved on it (*STYS* 50: 33b; *SJS* 155:1a). The other inscriptions on the stele had been chiseled off by "barbarians". Yun Kwan's stele is a tangible symbol for the importance of the whole Mt. Paektu region, rivers, mountains and all.

Through the five centuries of Koryŏ's existence, the northern frontier has always been a contested area, an arena of continuous warfare and battle. There were only short periods of relative peace and tranquility. The automatic identification of the Mts. Paektu and T'aebaek and of the Amnok River with the natural and symbolic borders of Koryŏ, of the peninsula, was achieved during centuries of protracted warfare in those areas. Above, we have seen that a certain sense of a simultaneously historical and supradynastical entity came into being during the eleventh to twelfth centuries, which was among other ways expressed in the new meanings of 'Samhan' and other designations for the peninsula and its people. This also showed in the disconnection of the notion of 'Koryŏ' and the notion of the peninsula and its people, resulting in the prevalent view of Koryŏ entirely as a state. Geographically bounded historical events (mainly battles), myths and legends, national and local religious worship and the geographical circumstances of Korea-surrounded by the sea on three sides, walled of by mountains on the one remaining side-gave rise to the formulation of the idea that the peninsula was naturally and symbolically bordered by the Amnok River and Mts. Paektu and T'aebaek. "Ŭiju is the gateway to our land/heavily defended since old"; this is how Chŏng Mongju 鄭夢周 expressed this notion that was shared by a majority of Koryŏ literati. In this manner, a historic homeland was created where the Samhan were supposed to live and where in 991 Jurchen that were not considered as belonging to the Samhan and who were living at the banks of the Amnok "were driven away and made to live outside [the territory associated with] Mt. Paektu" (*KS* 3:24a).

The realization of a limited historic homeland is mirrored in the idea that there was a historic community that ought to live there. This communi-

ty was not necessarily coterminous with Koryŏ. The Three Han go beyond the ruler in the end, for "the Three Han are the Three Han of the Three Han" and not exclusively of the ruler. At the same time, such a contextualization of the ontologically unassailable position of the ruler puts into perspective the absolute nature of his status. Apparently, this status depended on its connection to the land and the people and on the condition that the ruler took good care of them. The latter is in itself is a classical Confucian doctrine, though not an undisputed one, because of its inherent revolutionary potential. The emphasis on the land and the people-the Three Han-is not necessarily Confucian; rather, it seems to be a Koryŏ elaboration of Confucian political theory. It points, however, to the assumption of an entity that is larger than Koryŏ and that transcends it not spatially but temporally. The idea of the temporal finity of Koryŏ, in other words the disconnection between Koryŏ and Samhan, is also supported by for instance the prevalent historiosophical beliefs that were based upon the theory of the Five Phases (Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn 1978, 17-51). This theory assumed the continuous alternation of the five phases and explained the rise and fall of states using the sequence in which the five phases change into each other, resulting in a view of history that did not lend itself for perpetual states and everlasting dynasties. It lent itself all the more, though, for politically subversive prophecies that employed this concept by emphasizing that the natural course of the present dynasty had expired It had various applications during the Koryŏ, but one that is of particular relevance here, is the old prophecy that predicted the fall of Kungye and the rise of Wang Kŏn and limited the lifespan of the Koryŏ dynasty to twelve generations or 360 years (*KS* 1:7a-b; Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn 1978, 39-40.) This prophecy, that surfaced on and again during the Koryŏ, shows both the awareness of the inherent finity of the dynasty and the manner in which it is connected to the theory of the five alternating phases, as is demonstrated by several instances (*KS* 130:39b; 128:22b).

The assumption of the existence of a more principal entity than Koryŏ itself and of its temporal finity, effectively "devalues" Koryŏ and makes it susceptible for pluralist approaches. The Samhan, however, spatially limited by the sea on three sides and the mountains and rivers on the other side,

were thought to be granted a temporally more or less limitless existence, as we have seen above.

Conclusion

The use of names during the Koryŏ for the land, the state and the people has perhaps surprisingly devalued the designation 'Koryŏ' . The preference for non-state designations for the peninsula and its people firmly enthroned the ubiquitous 'Samhan' or Three Han as the most important naming notion. It united several distinctly differing meanings in one name. In the twelfth century this resulted in a supradynastical notion of the 'Samhan' that separated it from the historical actuality on the peninsula. In this sense, 'Samhan' became different from the contemporary state of Koryŏ, while still embodying it-or being embodied by it-in its historical senses. 'Samhan' represented the past of Koryŏ in its obviously historical quality; its present through an identification of 'Samhan' with the people of Koryŏ and its future through dissociation with Koryŏ when Koryŏ was declining.

The complicated historical genesis of the Koryŏ state that gave it plural lines of descent also conditioned the usability of its myths of origin. The state of Koryŏ had to deal with several competing myths of origin, which meant that any claim to the past could be thwarted by an equally strong counter claim departing from another historical perspective. This is of course precisely what happened when competing forces collided, but at the same time it has become clear that the tracing of legitimation in Koryŏ ultimately led to the Three Han. It is certainly true that at times there existed an ambition to reconquer Koguryŏ lands, but at the same time it has become clear this was not as fundamental to Koryŏ identity as has often been claimed. Besides, expansion to the north cannot be simply equated with Koguryŏ. Continuity between Koguryŏ and Koryŏ must rather be located in Koryŏ's historical memories, its astronomy, its myths. On the other hand, a Silla-derived identity also existed at the same time and was even expressed by the same persons. The contradiction involved is only apparent, because the background against which these claims to the past were made was not Koguryŏ- successionism or Silla-successionism, but Samhan-successionism. It is still a con-

tradiction on the surface-the level at which the notions of successionism are propagated by individuals and groups, but it should be realized that these images of either Silla or Koguryŏ that were conjured up were completely context-dependent. If we look at the circumstances that conditioned the production of such images, we find that underneath Koryŏ identity was more ambiguous, plural, fragmented and multi-faceted than its outward presented image suggested. On a deeper level, then, or in other words, against its historical background over a long period, the contradiction between Koguryŏ and Silla ceases to exist and gives way to what was the fundamental element of Koryŏ identity: succession to and embodiment of the Samhan. The complicated notion of Samhan was not without contradictions itself, but these were not caused by politically motivated competing claims to Koguryŏ and Silla.

The Three Han constituted the background of Koryŏ's historical identity, having evolved over a long period of time. The Three Han provided its people with a structure of relations, processes and historical associations that became independent of the subjective beliefs out of which it had evolved. This structure allowed members of the community to refer to a framework of shared ideas, memories and experiences with regard to who they were and where they were supposed to live. It also offers some solid clues to investigate early Koryŏ as a pre-modern nation, as it embodied Koryŏ's past, present and future, and presents connections to other constituent parts of Koryŏ's identity as a pre-modern nation; its social, economic and administrative structure, the place of the ruler as focus of common worship and a shared culture of traditions, customs and language. These aspects have not been treated here, but I hope that this examination of a common name for the people and the land they inhabited and the delineation of a historic homeland in Koryŏ has shown that the existence of a pre-modern Samhan nation in Koryŏ is by all means possible.

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The Nagamori Proposal for Developing Land in Korea, and the Korean Reactions in 1904

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The Nagamori Proposal for Developing Land in Korea, and the Korean Reactions in 1904

The Japanese proposal for developing land in Korea during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) attempted to bring all uncultivated land in Korea under cultivation so as to increase agricultural production and to effect a large scale immigration of Japanese farmers. But the proposal was seen by Koreans as an aggressive venture to seize a chunk of Korean territory, thus provoked the vehement opposition movement among Koreans, conservative and progressive alike. Korean nationalist historians have highlighted the opposition as an earliest incidence of mass nationalist movement. However, the movement was led by the conservative elements in terms of leadership and ideology, though it was fully supported the progressives like the nationalist press. While the conservative elite had a moral obligation to defend the land bequeathed by the ancestors even at maximum cost, the progressive elite valued the land as a national resource to be developed for building economic foundation of an independent nation. Therefore, this study brings to light an ideological distinction in the movement, hitherto obscured by an inclusive definition based on the unity of Korean resistance.

The Nagamori Proposal for Developing Land in Korea, and the Korean Reactions in 1904

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Introduction

This study explores the Korean reactions against the Japanese demand for land under the so called the Nagamori proposal for developing all uncultivated land in Korea during the middle of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). The ambitious proposal offered by a former Japanese high-ranking official, Nagamori Fujiyoshirō 長森藤吉郎, and actively supported by the Japanese government, intended to lease all Korean "wasteland 荒蕪地" to bring it under cultivation using Japanese capital and technologies for the next fifty years. The Nagamori proposal precipitated an intense opposition by Koreans, conservatives and progressives alike, because the proposal was feared as an aggressive Japanese venture to seize a chunk of Korean territory for the sake of Japanese immigrants under the name of land development.

The previous studies on the topic tend to emphasize an aggressive nature of the Japanese demand and an intensity of patriotic reactions against it on the part of Koreans. Awed by the patriotic zeal expressed by Korean protests, in particular the opposing demonstrations led by the Poan-hoe 輔安會 (Preservation Society) of conservative literati, these studies highlight the opposition movement as an early exemplar of Korean nationalist mass movement (Yun Pyŏngsŏk 1964, 71; Sin Yongha 1994, 77-79).[1] While it is

1 For example, Yun Pyŏngsŏk sees the movement as "a mass movement to save the country." Sin

beyond question that the movement as a whole fervently supported a patriotic cause to defend Korean territory from the anticipated Japanese encroachment, there existed a difference between the conservative and progressive protesters in term of their ideological orientation.

It is no doubt that both parties demonstrated the unity in denouncing the proposal as an aggressive act of the greedy and untrustworthy neighbor, as has been emphasized by the Korean nationalist scholars. Still, this study highlights an ideological difference between the two groups of protesters, obscured hitherto by the weight of the unity so much valued by the Korean nationalist scholars. In rejecting the proposal, the conservatives represented by Confucian memorialists had a traditional sense of moral obligation to defend the land bequeathed by their ancestors at maximum cost, while the progressives represented by the new press were concerned with the indigenous development of the land to build an economic foundation of a strong and independent nation. Thus, this study takes a comparative approach to identify an ideological difference within the opposition movement, rather than subsuming it under the unity of the opposition. And the study is organized accordingly; the conservative reaction vis à vis the progressive reaction. Yet, an explanation about the proposal provocative of such reactions is in order.

1. Nagamori Proposal for Developing Land in Korea

On May 31 of 1904 in the early month of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese cabinet decided key policies to be pursued with Korea in order to establish firmer political and economic control in the peninsula, thus eventually establishing a protectorate. The decision called for the defense operation in the peninsula, the supervision of foreign affairs, the management of financial administration, the control over railway lines and telegraph network, and the development of primary industries like agriculture, forestry, mining and fishing. The cabinet made it clear that the purpose of the agri-

Yongha defines the movement as a precursor to the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement of the succeeding years.

cultural development in Korea was to increase grain production for supply to Japan as well as to secure the agricultural colony for emigration of Japanese farmers (*Nihon gaikō bunsho* 日本外交文書 [Diplomatic Documents of Japan] 37-1: 351-56. Hereafter it will be referred as NGB).

To promote agricultural migration and agricultural development in Korea, both the Japanese government and private firms were eager to publicize the highly optimistic view on the potentials of Korean agricultural growth. One agricultural survey delegation in March 1904 from the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce presented a report about the land usage in Korea. In it, the total area of more than 1.4 million chō - 33 percent of the total arable land - was estimated as easily reclaimable land for new cultivation, which in the future could support an additional population of seven millions. (*Chuhan Ilbon kongsagwan kirok* 駐韓日本公事官記錄 [Records of the Japanese Legation in Korea] 22: 97-101. Hereafter it will be referred as *CIKK*). And the report asserted that as the population density in Korea was far below those of Japan and China, the influx of seven million immigrants would not cause any land shortage for individual cultivators as long as the above vast tract of untilled land was to be opened fully to cultivation.

Furthermore, the climate and the terrain of Korea were similar to Japan, hence Japanese immigrants would have little difficulty in adjusting to the new environment. With regard to human advantages, the Japanese were superior to Koreans in terms of health, intelligence and capital equipment, therefore they would be in position to command Koreans' obedience and diligence. The annual land tax from newly reclaimed land was projected to increase by 8 million yen, the amount equal to the current total revenue of the Korean government. To the ordinary Koreans, the export of grains and raw materials would create effective demand for manufactured products of Japan (*CIKK* 22: 98-9).

By June 6, 1904, the Japanese government's intention to develop Korean agriculture and to encourage agricultural migration was conveyed officially to the Korean government through the proposal initiated by Nagamori Fujiyoshirō, a former Ministry of Finance official (Kimijima 1979, 269-70). Nagamori had been active in negotiating a concession to reclaim all Korean wasteland with Korean court officials since his retirement from the

Ministry of Finance post in December 1903. His land developing proposal together with the suggestion to monopolize several commodities like wine, tobacco, ginseng, etc, had been delivered to the close officials of Kojong 高宗 as a means to increase the revenue of the royal treasury. Nagamori approached such influential court officials as Yi Chaesun first and Kwŏn Chungsŏk later to persuade a land development plan under which the right to develop all Korean wasteland not owned by the government and private individuals would be granted to a Japanese national, presumably Nagamori himself. Nagamori asserted that he drew out a favorable response from Korean side including Kojong and was about to sign an agreement with the Ministry of Royal Household on March 18. But its Minister, Min Pyŏngsŏk maintained that the ownership of land after development should be articulated in the contract, and further than that the importance of the whole issue demanded review and decision by the State Council. Nagamori then asked for counsel from Minister Hayashi Gonsuke in the Japanese legation in Seoul (*NGB* 37-1: 573-77).

In its formation, the Nagamori proposal was a cooperative work involving the Japanese minister in Seoul, Hayashi and high-ranking officials in Tokyo like Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 and Foreign Minister Komura Jūtarō 小村壽太郎 (Kimijima 1979, 275-78). In late March when Ito visited Korea, Minister Hayashi presented a private paper listing the economic concessions such as construction of railways and building cable and postal networks as well as the rights for costal and inland shipping, fishing and mining, that should be exclusively managed by Japan to implement successfully the goals of the Korea-Japan Protocol a month ago. Included in it was the right for land development and usage. Hayashi cited the growing voice of the Japanese immigrants to lift the current treaty ban on foreign land ownership beyond 10 Korean *ri* (about 2.5 miles) from the treaty ports. But he was worried that the revision of the treaty regulation not only put the Korean government in trouble, but also allowed the other foreign investors to accumulate profit (by claiming the most favored nation clause). To circumvent these difficulties he suggested the Japanese individual farmers be given cultivation and usufruct rights for them to increase production by applying advanced agricultural skills, or one private concessionaire be given the right

to develop wasteland in Korea, so that he might sublet his land concession to general farmers under the guidance of the Japanese government (*NGB* 37-1: 283-84). Thus, the Korean land development idea was consulted with Itō prior to its adoption among the key Japanese policies toward Korea at the Japanese cabinet decision in the end of May.

On April 8, Minister Hayashi reported to Foreign Minister Komura the past negotiations between Nagamori and Korean court officials for the first time, and he asked for the Japanese government's initiative in future negotiations with Korean part. Hayashi seems to decide that the political circumstances were favorable for the official approach, as the Japanese military power was felt among the Koreans and the Korean government became increasingly pro-Japanese, as was shown by the Korean government's announcement to repeal all treaties with Russia on May 18 (*Kojong sillok* 44: 42a). Komura showed keen interest in the proposal by suggesting extension of the lease beyond original twenty-five years and succession of the lease by the original contractor's successors or heirs as well as by demanding Hayashi's support for Nagamori's effort (*NGB* 37-1: 579-80). There is little doubt that the agricultural development adopted in the May 1904 cabinet decision was based on the Nagamori proposal.

The Nagamori proposal presented to the Korean government on June 6 as a draft contract between Minister of Royal Household and Nagamori contained following terms. All uncultivated land, forest, and meadow not clearly under private or government ownership and at the same time not reserved for graveyards, shrine sites, and forbidden forests by the court were to be exclusively entrusted to Nagamori for reclamation, rearrangement, improvement, and settlement. The Korean government continued to hold the ownership of the above wasteland. It was the duty of Nagamori not the Korean government to provide capital for the project. Nagamori would possess the right to use the land for a variety of profitable purposes such as growing grains, planting trees and fruits, grazing, fishing and hunting. The taxation of the land was to be suspended for the first five years after its development. The contract was to be valid for fifty years, and could be extended under mutual agreement. At the termination of the contract, the Korean government would be obligated to reimburse all capital invested in the land as well

as the interest of 5 percent annum for the investment. The right and duty of the contract could be passed to Nagamori's heir or trustee (*Ku Hanguk oegyo munsŏ* 舊韓國外交文書 [Diplomatic Documents of Old Korea] 7: # 8107, 119-120, hereafter *KHOM*).

In the proposal, the ownership of developed land by the Korean government was included because of the Korean officials' demand, but the extension of lease period to fifty years and beyond in accordance with the Japanese foreign minister's suggestion as well as the compensation duty for the whole investment made the future Korean government's claim for ownership a distant and costly business. In short, the Nagamori proposal intended to control a vast tract of Korean uncultivated land permanently in the name of land development.

2. Opposition Move by the Conservatives

The opposition movement to the Nagamori proposal was led by the conservative literati and former officials who, at first, following the traditional format of presenting memorials to the throne, pressured the government to reject the proposal, but later staged mass rallies to that end. The opposition was one instance in the ongoing anti-Japanese and anti-reform protests by the conservative elements reactivated in the aftermath of e Queen Min's assassination in October 1895. Although the 1896 righteous armies were subdued, conservative groups continued to stage protests against Japanese inroads and modern reforms. A number of local literati and former officials set up sit-in centers in Seoul for presenting memorials to the throne and sending circulars enlisting sympathizers to oppose the major events of Japanese inroad as well as Korean reform endeavors such as the Independence Club activities in 1898, the circulation of Japanese bank note in 1903, the conclusion of Korea-Japan Protocol and the Nagamori proposal for developing land in 1904, and finally the protectorate treaty of 1905, the last event touching off another righteous army uprisings led by conservative elements (Sŏ 1992, 39-62).

After the Nagamori proposal was presented to the Korean government, and put under review of the State Council, its content was revealed to the

public, though its secret negotiation had been agreed upon by Korean and Japanese authorities. The new press like the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* 皇城新聞 (Imperial Capital News) and the *Cheguk sinmun* 帝國新聞 (Empire News) were especially active in reporting the proceedings within the government as well as the opposing outcry outside the government. The *Hwangsŏng sinmun* in particular spread the opposition sentiment through writing its vehement editorials and publishing the memorials and letters denouncing the proposal.

Kim Kiu's Incidence

From mid-June, the opposition move was begun by conservative literati and ex-officials. The Japanese minister in Seoul strongly demanded the Korean government's investigation and punishment of those twenty three cosigners of a circular (*t'ongmun* 通文) condemning unceasing Japanese requests for economic concessions including vast uncultivated land, as they were arousing anti-Japanese feeling at the critical time when Japan engaged in the war to secure peace in Asia and independence of Korea (*KHOM* 7: # 8143, 146-47).

Kim Kiu 金箕祐 who identified his profession as a Confucian wrote the circular in point with his colleague, Yi Kiha, and tried to get consent from a reputed high official, Hŏ Wi 許蔿, then a judge at the Highest Court, before spreading the circular throughout the country to convene sympathizers in front of the Japanese legation. Hŏ Wi dissuaded Kim, as no decision had been made as to the Nagamori proposal yet. Kim Kiu delivered his circular to the Hwangsŏng sinmun, which held publishing it fearing the Japanese pressure. But the circular was anyhow obtained by a Japanese local newspaper, the *Daitō sinbun* 大東新聞, to be published for general readers. Shortly, Kim Kiu, Hŏ Wi and a few of his colleagues were summoned by the Japanese chargé d'affaires, Hagiwara Moriichi 秋原守一, for questions (*CIKK* 24: 82-4).

As to Hagiwara's question on what motivated issuing the circular, Kim replied; "All Koreans had felt deep indignation against Japanese pursuit of profit in railway construction and fishing with a host of evil consequences [to Korean people]. Now Japan wanted forests, rivers and lakes, and uncul-

tivated lands, causing agitations among Koreans. With unending Japanese demands like these, all territory of Korea is bound to be at Japanese hands. Facing this situation, how can one sit calm waiting for death without uttering a word" (*CIKK* 24: 83). Kim insisted that his action was solely out of his own indignation, as to Hagiwara's quest for any director behind the affair. Hagiwara transferred Kim and his colleagues to the Korean police asking for further interrogation and punishment to discipline conservative literati's actions of arousing ill-feeling against Japan.

The Korean police chief, Sin T'aehyu, questioned about Kim's design to incite the people's feeling for political purpose. Kim responded that he had no reason to be outspoken, if the government was able to protect the people and the territory, but "conceding to foreign demands had become an order of the day to the government" (*CIKK* 24: 84). Therefore, upon facing this critical situation, he could tolerate no speech or no action. Thus, the report on Kim Kiu shows his antipathy toward compromising Korean officials was as deep as that against Japanese demanders.

Shortly after the interrogation by the Korean police, Kim Kiu was released. Hagiwara directed a strong warning to the Korean government that its tolerance with anti-Japanese elements like Kim actually encouraged them to spread anti-Japanese sentiment, thus leading to growing restiveness among the populace, and harming mutual cooperation much needed at this critical moment of the war. He warned of the policing intervention with the situation to restore order, if the Korean government remained neutral (*KHOM* 7: #8212, 216). Yet, apparently avoiding political risk in punishing the protesters, the Korean foreign minister informed the Japanese minister that Kim had been released, because he had no intention to arouse ill-feeling against Japan among the people, and that gatherings of literati for national petitions had hardly constituted a crime in conventional Korean politics (*KHOM* 7: # 8252, 251).

Conservative Memorialists' Argument

As the local Korean and Japanese newspapers from mid-June began to report on the content of the Nagamori proposal and Korean reactions against it, there came a flood of memorials, circulars, letters, editorials in newspapers,

either individually or collectively, to deny the Nagamori proposal and to present countermeasures to frustrate it. It was the occasion when a foreign demand producing a national crisis was brought into public arena for discussion and judgment. The occasion was unfortunate for those facing a national crisis, but provides an effective opportunity for us to know how they legitimized their opposition.

All protesters defined the Nagamori plan as the illegitimate attempt to occupy the land under public or private ownership by the powerful and greedy outsider. And all protesters were motivated by the zeal to defend their territory in jeopardy. They were, to be sure, important activists in the resistance against Japanese imperial aggression. Yet, this study is more interested in the content rather than the weight of their resistance. To describe their protests as being uniformly motivated by "patriotic" or "national" sentiment, one stops short of comprehending difference in ideas and values that informed their resistance. As this study distinguishes conservative and progressive elements in their protest, their thoughts and actions are described separately.

The conservative memorialists like their progressive colleagues decided not to be persuaded by the Nagamori proposal of land development, as they saw it as still another incidence of foreigners' unsatisfied desire to take economic resources from their country. So far, the rights to coastal fishing, lumbering, mining, and railway construction were given to them. All were threatening the livelihood of the people, but the Japanese demand for all uncultivated land posed the gravest threat to the country, because it was concerned not only with the economic well-being and community life of the common people but with the moral obligation of the ruling elite.

Many worried that the Japanese enclosing of forests, fields, and waterways would strip the residents there of extra necessities for their daily living like firewood, grass, fishes, and so on. A conservative memorialist, Pak Ŭihyŏn with the senior third rank, paid heed to the helpless fate of those with no landed properties, eking out a living by tilling, grazing, and foraging in mountain valleys and wild fields:

"Even though forest, flat land, fallow and barren land, [and rivers and lakes]

> look like uncared-for, they were indispensable resources for the people's daily use. Out of them the people get materials for clothes, make utensils, get valuables to sell. In deep mountain valleys and open wild fields, our people who barely eke out a living by tilling, grazing, foraging, and gathering firewood were proportionately eight or nine [*sic*] out of ten. Once granted to the Japanese, every mountain and stream will all belong to their boundary. Then our people with no place to appeal to cannot regain dwelling place, cut off from food and clothes, and stripped of valued resources" (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 28, 1904).

Another fear for the Nagamori project was its social repercussions in villages where mixed settlement (*chapkŏ* 雜居) of Japanese immigrant farmers among Korean peasants would be bound to produce a host of problems between them, causing a great disruption in the Korean countryside. Many anticipated that Korean peasants would suffer from dislocation and persecution at the intrusion of their Japanese neighbors in villages, because they were no match to the Japanese in terms of agricultural skills and available power. Yi Kŏnha with the junior first rank feared for the mass of Korean peasants to be uprooted as a result of penetrating Japanese settlers equipped with superior skills in land cultivation (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 27, 1904)

In the memories of the conservative memorialists, no recommendable relationships had existed in the contacts between two nationals. Thus, it was a foregone conclusion that their encounters in village settings would be violent as well as unequal. The memorial by Hŏ Sik and other literati predicted:

> "Between the two, the strong and the weak are too obvious. We have suffered long their oppression and insult. Slightly provoked in road encounters, the Japanese were used to insulting or even killing Korean victims, while Koreans never dared to touch even their hair. Once allowed the mixed settlement in field, cultivating, fertilizing, and irrigating, they will outdo us in skills, and push us away. No one will stand their vehemence" (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 29, 1904).

The memorialists were certain that the fifty-year lease was a virtual surren-

der of a chunk of Korean territory to the Japanese, because the weak and poor Koreans would stand little chance to redeem the land, when the scheming Japanese were intending to occupy it permanently. The seizure of land by foreigners should be fought against at maximum cost, because no nation had been established without territory, and no people had survived without land resources. Furthermore, the current king and subjects, in particular those privileged by the state, were admonished to have acute sense of moral obligation to preserve such a territory as had been handed down to them through scrupulous care of the former kings, since King T'aejo 太祖 (Yi Sŏnggye) had created the nation with utmost hardship. The memorial by Hŏ Sik, Yi Sŭngu, and other literati made that point clear:

> "T'aejo, braving wind and rain afield, painstakingly had established our country's territory. The later kings in succession inherited and defended it to hand down to our current emperor in perfect state like stainless golden urn. Who in the government are not the descendants of former meritorious subjects? When the emperor minding T'aejo's hardship in establishing [our country] and the later kings'toil in defending it, and when the government officials minding their ancestors' sincerity in assisting their monarchs, how could they give away even one inch of the territory to outsiders. Such action is to betray the intention of ancestral kings and to incur the censure from later generations, defaming ancestors by being betrayers to the country" (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 29, 1904).

In addition to the resolute denial, even at maximum cost, of what was deemed as the land occupation design under the name of land development, the memorialists pressed the government to proceed ahead with measures for reclaiming follow and wasteland to frustrate the demand in preemptive way. Yi Kŏnha, who estimated the area covered by the proposal at as large as two thirds of entire Korean territory, maintained that no arable land be left untilled to discourage otherwise covetous demand from outside. He pointed out that the neglect on the part of landowners to reclaim fallow and wasteland caused by flood and drought had led to shrinking of tilled land to a half of that from the beginning of the dynasty. The reason behind this deplorable state had been the seizure of land by palaces and the powerful at the expense

of small peasants, forcing them to disperse, therefore leaving no available hands for reclaiming. He proposed for the establishment of a special bureau in the government to care for reclaiming businesses, supplying techniques and tools as well as more rigorously engaging peasants in agricultural works. Then, in near future there would be no idle land to grant to foreigners so as to support their settlement" (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 27, 1904).

As this study is to distinguish conservative and progressive (or innovative) elements in the Korean reactions to the foreign economic demand, so it is proper to illustrate why these memorialists' response to the Japanese land demand is understood as having conservative characteristics. First of all, in the Chosŏn state, land was never perceived simply as a means of production, but had moral significance. Inherited land was recognized as a token of ancestral achievement. Hence it should be preserved with scrupulous care and passed down to next generations. Likewise the whole land of the country was regarded as a patrimony writ large. The monarchs with support from their subjects had moral obligation to preserve and pass it down to their heirs. When the memorialists urged Kojong and his officials to reject the Japanese demand for land at maximum cost, they in fact reminded them of the moral duty any thing but unknown to them.

Second, their suggestion for more commitment to land reclamation on the part of the government can be interpreted in light of a conventional way to claim landownership. Apart from legal possession of land, the active use of land was highly appreciated as a token of its ownership in cases of landownership disputes in the Chosŏn era. In typical Chosŏn courts of landownership disputes, the plaintiff' s claim for land in dispute proved to be definitive, when it was supported by two means; First, the plaintiff was supposed to produce the evidences of legitimate acquirement, say, through inheritance, purchase, or gift. Second, the former claim was to be collaborated by the evidences that the disputed land was under actual control of the plaintiff by ways of cultivation, residence, or forest protection. The second claim was not legal obligation. But legal practice dictated it, as the public were aware of the fact that the land uncared by owners might weaken their ownership claim over time despite the clear legal stipulation that guaranteed against it (Pak Pyŏngho 1974, 176-95). Thus, more rigorous use of land

urged by Yi Kŏnha and others represented a conventional measure to control land in active way so as to make its ownership securer than otherwise. They assumed that the active reclamation of land so far left untilled would provide no excuse for the Japanese to seek for it, as the practice had been demonstrated as one positive aspect of possession of land in dispute.

Third, the memorialists' fear for land encroachment by Japanese immigrants in interior land was predictable considering the conventional knowledge that the weaker parties in power structure in villages had been vulnerable to aggressive pursuits of landed properties by the powerful ones. There had been a general consensus among the reformers in the later Chosŏn era, conservative or progressive, that the landed wealth had been progressively in the hands of the powerful who had been advantaged in their access to the power of governmental authorities as well as to economic means than their less fortunate neighbors. In the penetration of Japanese immigrant farmers far superior in power background and agricultural skills, Korean peasants were believed to be predicted losers in contests for land seizure. In short, the conservative memorialists' countermeasures against the Japanese land demand were inspired by conventional norms, practice, and problems concerned with land.

3. Hagiwara's Vindication for the Nagamori Proposal

On June 27, the State Council decided to turn down the Nagamori proposal, criticizing Foreign Minister for bringing the issue that he should have rejected from the beginning, and thus responded the protesters' indictment against those officials for neglecting their official duty by accepting the proposal as the topic of negotiation. (*NGB* 37-1: 586; *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 4, 1904) On June 29 Foreign Minister delivered the official rejection of the Korean government for following four reasons; First, the proposal was in conflict with the objectives of Ŏgongwŏn 御供院 (Office of Royal Supplies) lately established to engage in reclamation work. Second, since so called wasteland had been already under taxation by the state, and large part of it had been under private ownership, its unscrupulous development would cause great disruptions. Third, if excluding land of official or private owner-

ship as indicated in the proposal, there left no other type of land in the country. Fourth, it was wrong for the state to go against the mind of the general public (*minsim* 民心), who became highly agitated by and restive against the proposal deeply concerned with their lot (*CIKK* 22: 117).

Immediately, the Korean government received a humiliating exhortation from Japanese charge d'afaires (Hagiwara Moriichi), who charged that the Korean government with no will and means to implement land development project was pitiably swayed by short-sighted opinions of some ignorant people. Refuting the reasons provided by the Korean government as weak pretext, Hagiwara warned Korean officials against losing the best opportunity for national strength and wealth out of their suspicion and misunderstanding of the proposal (*KHOM* 7: # 8168, 172-5).

To Hagiwara, the aim of Ŏgongwŏn (Office of Royal Supplies) to develop sources of national wealth sounded quite right, but it was unbelievable that the Korean government was able to bring out huge capital and advanced skills needed for such a massive enterprise. With respect to the Korean government's claim that even wasteland had been under taxation, he retorted under what kind of law it had been taxed, and who in the world would have accepted that Korea had such an immense tax base. And Hagiwara classified land in Korea according to "universal" three instead of two categories of owners - state, government's institutions, and private individuals, the land under state's ownership being the target of the project. Against the Korean government's concern about the growing voice of opposition, he demanded that knowledgeable officials in charge resolutely pursue with the long-term project of national importance, disregarding expectable voices of dissenters who blindly followed each other with little expertise in the matter. Hagiwara's message was explicit. He not only had little consideration for the argument of the conservative protesters, but also had little confidence in the Korean government's ability to carry out the project.

Even though Hagiwara declared to the Korean government that his government's policy to develop Korean land resources would never be affected by its rejection of the Nagamori proposal, he felt the need to moderate the speed in pursuing with the proposal. He reported to Foreign Minister Komura that as he worried about inciting the opposition and losing

three or four high-ranking officials in favor of the proposal, he would not expedite the process. He chose to persuade opposers, and expected the protests to calm down soon, as had been always the case with Korean protests which had a tendency to lose intensity so quickly (*NGB* 37-1: # 660, 586).

Accordingly, a detailed explanation for purposes and benefits of the Nagamori plan was composed, and distributed to Kojong and his high officials. (*NGB* 37-1: # 662, 587-8) The document titled "Hwangmuji kaegan'an pyŏnmang 荒蕪地開墾案辨妄" (Vindication for Developing Wasteland) was a defense of the proposal against the arguments of Korean conservatives who deemed it as little more than a land acquisition scheme to bring Japanese immigrants en masse as well as to exploit Korean agricultural resources (*NGB* 37-1: # 663, 588-90).

The vindication said the intentions of the proposal were mistaken by Koreans in four points, and gave explanation to them; First, the ownership of reclaimed land should belong to the Korean state as stipulated in the draft agreement, so the worry about the seizure of Korean land was groundless; Second, it went without saying that forest land under definite private ownership for the purposes of securing firewood, logs, and graveyard should not be included in the definition of wasteland. Furthermore, the agreement was ready to preclude those types land whose ownership had been unclear, yet commonly used by village communities for gathering firewood and cutting logs; Third, with regard to the issue of massive Japanese immigration, the labor demand in Japan now undergoing intense industrialization — all the more so after the Russo-Japanese War — would deter agricultural immigration to overseas including Korea. Moreover, high cost involved in immigration and living overseas would discourage Japanese farmers from moving to Korea and competing their Korean neighbors. Therefore, the reclaimed land would be in the hands of Korean peasants instead of Japanese immigrants. To ensure this point, the agreement was ready to include a stipulation that majority of workforce for the project should consist of Korean peasants, like the one in the Agreement of Seoul-Pusan Railway Construction; Fourth, that large population of Japanese in Korea would cause security problems in countryside was also groundless. Because wage level for Japanese laborers

was higher than that of Koreans, and prospect of profits to individual immigrant farmer was uncertain, there would come only limited numbers of Japanese like technicians and managers, who were to stay at defined area under strict regulations.

And then, the vindication told the benefits to be gained by Korean side; The bulk of development capital would eventually flow into pockets of Korean laborers who would make up almost all of workforce; As most of reclaimed land would belong to the Korean peasantry, they could find either base for living or mean for increasing their wealth; Regarding the size of increased arable land, even conservative estimate put it at the same size as current arable land, leading to doubling of both rice export and land tax.; There would be double increase in the amount of custom duty for rice to be exported; The growth of crop cultivation would facilitate the development of related industries in agricultural tools, transportation, and so on; In addition, the land development project would generate tutoring effects on the Korean peasantry in their farming; Thus, no other way than this project would bring greater benefits to Korean agriculture, and guarantee firmer base of Korean finance.

The vindication included the Japanese need for the project as well as its management; The recent shift of agricultural population to growing industrial sector as well as the exit of quality grain in Japan required for grain import from Korea; Due to the uncertainty of profit returns on this project, the Japanese government would provide favorable conditions to induces private investors, whose monopoly of profits, nonetheless, would be prohibited by joint authorities of Japan and Korea.

Compared with the June 6 draft contract as officially presented to the Korean government, the vindication carried a major compromise on the part of the Japanese, namely, the exclusion from the definition of wasteland of forest land which had been used communally for gathering firewood, cutting logs, apparently considering a reason for Korean rejection (Kimijima 1979, 282-3). The contents of the vindication was publicized by the Japanese legation, yet the effects of this appeal to Korean audience were dubious, as the opposition movement was further gaining its momentum as we will see in the next developments.

4. The Agriculture and Mining Company

Some Korean high officials like Kim Chonghan and Yi Tojae submitted the plan to establish a joint-stock company for reclaiming wasteland, building irrigation networks, planting trees and cutting timber as well as for mining operations. The company named "Nonggwang hoesa, 農鑛會社" (Agriculture and Mining Company) was to be capitalized at 10 million won, and to be owned and run exclusively by Korean nationals. Apparently, to allow no share to foreigner (i.e. Japanese), the company regulations restricted the transfer of stocks by selling and pawing to close relatives only, the violation of which would incur forfeiture and penalty against the stock. Foreigners could join the company only as hired engineers and technicians (*CIKK* 22: 135-6; *NGB* 37-1: 595-6).

The minister of royal household granted the establishment of the company on July 11, referring mining operations to the review of the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. Since there emerged a growing consensus both inside and outside of the government on developing land and other natural resources by Koreans themselves, the Korean government officials in charge had no reason to reject the plan. Furthermore, the plan could be used as an excuse for rejecting the Nagamori plan, thus pacifying public opposition against it, as Hagiwara pointed out (*NGB* 37-1: # 669, 592; # 670, 593).

Hagiwara charged that the Korean government gave permission to the company which totally lacked the capability to carry out the project requiring huge capital and advanced technology simply to secure an excuse for ignoring the sincere Japanese advice to build national wealth of Korea (*KHOM* 7: # 8197, 201-2; # 8203, 207-8). He rallied support from British and Italian ministers interested in Korean mining concessions to exert further pressure to Kojong and his officials. On July 16, Kojong ordered the abolition of Ŏgongwŏn (Office of Royal Supplies) which granted the company charter, thus nullifying it (*NGB* 37-1: # 674 & # 675, 597).

5. The Poan-hoe 輔安會 Demonstration Led by the Conservatives

The Poan-hoe-led demonstration against the Nagamori plan have received several scholarly attentions, because the event has been marked as a rare success in frustrating an imperial aggression through Korean struggle, however temporary as it might be. Yun Pyongsŏk defines the demonstrations as "the mass movement to save the country" as it enlisted the participation of both the government officials above and the general citizens below in its rank (Yun 1964, 71). Yun empathizes the unity of social classes in defiance of the aggressive economic demand, which was deemed as serious threat to the very survival of the country. Yun's definition is too an obvious one to provide further insights into the nature of the movement.

Kimijima Kazuhini sees the movement as "anti-imperial as well as anti-feudal struggle" (Kimijima 1979, 288). His definition is based on the targets of the struggle, as he sees Korean mass stood up against the imperial economic aggression of Japan, and against the Korean government suspected of making compromises with foreign demands. But the target of struggle often has nothing to do with nature or characteristics of that struggle.

Sin Yongha sees the demonstrations as "the anti-Japanese nationalist movement" which frustrated the Japanese demand for uncultivated fields, and sees the Poan-hoe as a precursor to the following social associations, which led what has been referred as the patriotic enlightenment movement. Sin regards the struggle against imperial aggression as prime virtue of nationalist movement, and he fails to see the conservative orientation in the Poan-hoe leaders (Sin 1994, 77).

Although above three authors present very well-documented account of the Korean struggle against the Nagamori plan, their definition of the movement was either too obvious in the case of Yun's or dependent upon its opponent in the cases of Kimijima nd Sin, still all see the movement as united in a national cause to defend the territory. Without downplaying the patriotic activism brought into light by above three scholars, the current study emphasizes conservative attitude of its leadership, thus contrasting it with progressive or nationalist voices of new intellectuals. For this purpose, it is proper to begin with one conservative memorial by Yi Sunbŏm 李舜範,

because the sympathizers of the memorial formed the core leadership of the Poan-hoe Society, and the government persecution against its author triggered a collective action on the part of its sympathizers.

On July 7, 1904, a senior official at Pongsangsa (Office of Sacrificial Rites), Yi Sunbŏm together with dozens of literati presented a memorial to the throne, denouncing the Nagamori's plan to open Korea's wasteland to cultivation as a scheme for outright seizure of Korean territory. Yi had agonized over the unfulfilled revenge on the Japanese assassination of Queen Min in 1895. The Japanese, far from making an apology, say, by delivering the murderers, were even more contemptuous toward Koreans and making even harsher demands over time. Now they desired to turn over almost nine tenths of Korean territory to their possession in the name of developing wasteland. The people deprived of the sources of natural and agricultural products would be bound to disperse, leaving the king no one to support him. Yi lamented the neglect of the monarch in preserving the territory passed down by Heaven and former kings, and in protecting the people living on it.

Yi offered an active and full usage of land as a preemptive way to frustrate Japan's desire for land. As we have seen in his conservative colleagues' memorials, this solution was inspired by the traditional practice to demonstrate the actual holding of land by active usage by its claimant. Despite Yi's legitimate warning that Japan's intention lay in the massive immigration of its farmers to Korea's interior, his measures to counter this unprecedented national crisis were not anything beyond traditional agricultural guidelines. Yi believed the Japanese greed for land could be frustrated by nurturing the solid peasantry who were to be carefully guided with such conventional means of agricultural management; to let plants and fishes grow by selecting the time for their exploitation, to lose no time for crops, to reduce spending, to work diligently enough not to leave land fallow, and so on.

Anything but innovative in defending the land perceived to be lost, Yi's memorial was intended more for the moral indictment against the Japanese who tried to take the sovereign land of the neighboring nation whose political independence and territorial integrity they had promised to uphold as well as their servile Korean collaborators. Hence, he urged the king to take

resolute action in rejecting the Japanese proposal to open wasteland and in punishing Korean traitors who were to sell their country to foreigners. He also insisted that Korean government request the Japanese government to punish its minister to Korea for his harming friendly relationship between two nations by arousing hostile feeling among Korean populace (*Kojong sillok* 44: 48b-50a).

Yi Sunbŏm presented the emotion-charged memorial with fifty cosigners, and had daily gathering at *soch'ŏng* 疏廳 (sit-in place for memorialists), at the house of one cosigner, waiting for the monarch's reply. Meanwhile, he was taken to the Japanese police bureau for interrogation. Yi stated there that he could not tolerate leasing such a large tract of land to Japan, as it was gravely concerned with national sovereignty (*CIKK* 22, 125-6). Later Yi surrendered himself at P'yŏngniwon 平理院 (the court under the Law Ministry) to be imprisoned, as Kojong accepted the State Council's offer to punish him on the charge of extreme expressions addressed to the monarch and the foreign diplomat (*Kojong sillok* 44: 50a; *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 12, 1904). Simultaneously, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Yi Hayŏng tendered resignation, as he saw growing criticism against him by memorialists including Yi Sunbŏm (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 13, 1904; *CIKK* 23: # 448, 289).

Song Suman 宋秀萬, who would become a leader of the Poan-hoe, had been an active protester against the Japanese policies to Korea, and now was one of cosigners of the memorial by Yi Sun-pŏm. After the arrest of the chief memorialist (i.e. Yi Sunbŏm), Song and other cosigners also surrendered themselves at the court, soliciting equal punishment. The law official replied that as the punishment had been already meted out to the chief memorialist by the order of the royal court, there would be no further arrest for the rest of signatories. In defiance of the order of dismissal, they gathered at a guild house at the Chongno Street 鍾路 on July 13 and called their gathering the Poan-hoe (the Preservation Society). The officers from the Korean police visited the site and demanded an immediate dismissal, as it was inappropriate for Confucian literati to convene at a guild house voicing their opinion instead of at their individual home (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, August 1, 1904, Song's kong'an 供案 (Confession)). But, there they gave talks to audience, and issued the circular to government officials to enlist sympathizers. The

circular defined the issue as the national crisis with the life and death of both nation and country at stake. Therefore, all subjects of Korea should come and join the gathering to build a broad consensus in rejecting the Japanese demand (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 16, 1904, *chappo* 雜報 (Miscellanea)). Thus, Song and his colleagues wanted their gathering under the name of the Poan-hoe at the Chongno Street to be the center of the legitimate public opinion (*kongron* 公論) calling for preservation of the nation's territory, disregarding any debate going on within the government or the court (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, August 1, 1904, Song's kong'an).

Because Song Suman and his colleagues wanted to create an alternative center of public opinion apart from the institutionally established one (i.e. the state council meeting) within the government, his notion of public opinion should shed some light on the characteristics of the protest movement initiated by him. The debate shortly after the arrest between Song Suman and Kuniwake Shiyōtarō 國分象太郎, a secretary of the Japanese legation on the topic of public opinion is suggestive for understanding how they thought public opinion should be formed in a nation.

Kuniwake dismissed the opposition as blank opinion (*kongron* 空論) with no practical value, confined to the unproductive class of people. Song argued that in establishing the current public opinion his colleagues correctly followed the convention under which critical issues of the state had been determined by the opinion of Confucian literati (*saron* 士論). Moreover, since the current opposition was strongly supported by ordinary people, as had been demonstrated lately by the large crowd on the Chongno Street, Song maintained that it surely merited public opinion:

> Song: In our country, when controversial issues were under debate, opinion of literati class had been adopted in determining the fundamental policies of the state for five hundred years. In Western countries, the people's rights (*minkwŏn* 民權) decide the fundamental policies. Hence, the opinion of literati class is equivalent to people's right in the West. … With regard to the current issue even ignorant men and women know its unacceptability. Therefore, the opposition is sure to be the public opinion of the entire nation.
>
> Kuniwake: This cannot be public opinion.

Song: What constitutes public opinion?

Kuniwake: In case there exists the general opinion by men of considerable wealth and reputation, it can be called as public opinion.

Kuniwake admonished that even though the opposition seemed like the public opinion of the whole nation, it was unwise to follow it, because there could have been no progress in Japan's wealth if the prevalent objection against modernization had not been overcome by the insightful minds in the government. But Song insisted that Korean opponents against the opening of the country had been all upright and insightful minds (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, August 1 & 2, 1904, Song's *kong'an*).

The debate clearly shows that the public opinion Song Suman wanted to build was anything but what is formed through democratic process of public debate. Instead, Song believed that public opinion should be led by Confucian literati class. Song implied that the opinion of those Confucian literati who objected to the opening of Korea should have been adopted as the public opinion of Korea. It is true that he wanted broader participation of ordinary people in his opposition movement. Nevertheless, it did not occur to him that there should be a certain methods to represent opinions of ordinary people in building the broad public opinion to cope with the national crisis precipitated by the Japanese demand for land.

The Korean government called the voices of the opposition inclusively as popular opinion (*yŏron* 輿論), and cited it as one key reason to turn down the Nagamori proposal, because the government should not run against the popular opinion in its high tide, lest it should lose people's mind (minsim, 民心) (*KHOM* 7: # 8191, 197). Though upset by the strength of the protest movement, the Japanese authorities were hardly impressed by it. They relegated the protestors as "disorderly crowd" (*nanmin* 亂民) inimical to Korea-Japan alliance at the critical time of war emergency. And they judged that the movement was led by conservative literati who were unable to entertain the concept of national economic development (*KHOM* 7: # 8236, 237-9).

It was Japanese authorities that first took action to suppress the protest rallies held daily on the street. On July 16, the acting president, Song Suman

and his aide, Song Insŏp were taken with much ado to the Japanese legation for interrogation (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 18, *chappo*). The Korean government protested to the Japanese legation that the Japanese authority had no right to persecute Korean nationals and demanded immediate release of two men (*KHOM* 7: # 8210, 213). The Japanese legation expressed the deep concern about the growing anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans stirred by the literati's recent circulars and broadsides, and requested for the Korean government's pledge to suppress the anti-Japanese actions like the Poan-hoe demonstrations before delivering the two instigators to Korean authorities (*KHOM* 7: # 8211, 213-4; # 8215, 218). The Korean government agreed, and two men were transferred to the Korean police for persecution afterwards (*KHOM* 7: # 8231, 231). The arrest of two leaders hardly subsided the protest rallies. Rather, it incited the public to join the rallies to outcry the release of two leaders, as an English newspaper published in Seoul predicted.[2]

In the meantime, the Poan-hoe, dispatching their representatives to the State Council and the Foreign Ministry, pressed the government hard to publicize its rejection of the Nagamori proposal. Upon repeated edicts commanding dismissal, the new acting president, Wŏn Sesŏng replied that they would not retreat even under capital punishment, until the Japanese should turn down the proposal, or at least the government should explicitly announce its rejection (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 20, 1904).

On July 21, Minister Hayashi who had just returned from Tokyo noticed the Korean government that the Japanese army command in Korea would deploy its soldiers in Seoul area to keep order at the recent agitations there, because the security of Korean peninsula was vital to the ongoing military operations (*KHOM* 7: # 8226, 226). On the next day, July 22, the biggest protest of reportedly 2,000 crowd took place, since July 13 when the protest had begun on the Chongno Street. The peddlers from all parts of the country and those who styled themselves as Catholics were the most con-

2 On July 27, the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* quoted in Korean translation the editorial of the *Korea Daily News*, which criticized the Japanese intervention with the protest and the arrest of two literati who received much respect from the Korean public.

spicuous. The Korean police failed to disperse them, and they would not listen to the repeated edicts from Kojong. In the late afternoon the Japanese military police (*kenpei* 憲兵) finally intervened, capturing several protesters including the acting president, Wŏn Sesŏng. Then, the protest turned violent, causing physical damages. It was not until midnight that the Japanese kenpei with firing managed to bring order. Thus, the Poan-hoe incident provided an opportunity and pretext for the Japanese military to take full control of policing task in Korea.

Alarmed by the growing crowd and their clashes with Japanese soldiers, the Korean government tried to pacify the public outcry by admitting its failure in dealing with the wasteland management. On July 23, the government placed public notice throughout Seoul to the effect that leaving the land waste also meant misgovernment, from now on the government would be able to carry out the reclamation plan, therefore there should be no negotiation of conceding even one inch of land to foreigners, as had been already made clear to them. Meanwhile, all high-ranking officials under charges from memorialists decided to tender resignation (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 25, 1904, *chappo*).

On August 1, Foreign Minister Yi Hayŏng and State Councilor Sim Sanghun visited Minister Hayashi, and requested for the withdrawal of the Nagamori proposal, conveying Kojong's order. Hayashi recommended to Komura that the proposal be put off not to incite further the Korean public and to save the collapsing Korean cabinet (*NGB* 37-1: # 682, 691-3). Apparently, considering still uncertain progress of the war with Russia, further antagonizing Koreans by pushing for the plan would lead to the political risks that outdid the economic benefits to Japan. On September 29, the Japanese government ordered the suspension of further negotiation of the plan (*NGB* 37-1: # 688, 607). But it was never dead, as its objectives were to be revived in the Oriental Development Company in 1908.

The primary concern of a Korean nationalist historian, Yun Pyŏngsŏk in his article on the Nagamori proposal is to emphasize the aggressive nature of the Nagamori plan and the determined opposition by Koreans, which succeeded in killing it, albeit for a few years. Yun does not attempt to clarify the elements which might help us understand the nature of the opposition either

as traditional reaction against foreign aggression or as modern nationalist reaction. He summarizes the reasons for the rejection expressed in various protest documents in four points; Firstly, the Japanese were intent on seizing whole Korean territory in the end, starting from the wasteland; Secondly, the Japanese settlers would come Korea en masse under the slogan of agricultural development, but were bound to distress Korean peasants to dispersion; Thirdly, their mixed residency among Koreans severely would disrupt the civil order of the country, as had been clearly shown by the unlawful behaviors of the Japanese railway workers; In the fourth, those Koreans who lived on exploiting natural resources like fire-woods, timbers, grasses, fish, wild animals, and so on would lose their means of living (Yun 1964, 51-3).

In a sense, Yun' s four points comes from all in Confucian minds intent on defending people' s livelihood at the threat of foreign encroachment. Yun maintains that the initial protest took the form of conventional political remonstration by central officials and local yangban through presenting memorials and distributing circulars. But as the Japanese were ever determined to push forward with the plan, the opponents set up the Poan-hoe under the slogan of "poguk anmin 輔國安民" (supporting the state and stabilizing the people). The Poan-hoe provided a rallying point for the general public including high-ranking officials as well as ordinary citizens. Thus, Yun argues that the traditional form of protest developed into "the mass movement to save the country" (*kuguk minjung undong* 救國民衆運動) for which he does not explain in light of either continuity with or departure from traditional form of popular movement. Yun highlights the participation of ordinary men united in their opposition with their social seniors (Yun 1964, 70-1).

Yet, the movement's broader base per se does not necessarily indicate any change in the nature of the movement, unless one proves the presence of new set of people with unconventional ideological orientation. From the beginning, the recruiting effort of the Poan-hoe was directed to government official sympathetic to its cause rather than the general public. Among ordinary participants, the most conspicuous was the peddlers who were mobilized by their guild leaders who had always felt the their economic interests

had been threatened by the advance of the Japanese immigrants[3] (*ČIKK* 22: 150). Their conservatism was well known especially after they had become instrumental in suppressing the Independence Club activities in 1898. There is no indication that some new intellectuals from modern schools or enlightened elements active in the Independence Club activities joined the Poan?hoe demonstrations.

To nationalist historians including Yun, what they value is the unity and the strength of Korean resistance against the weight of Japanese imperialism rather than analytical concept useful to understand it. In figurative language, what matters is the size of whale, not whether it is fish or animal. Unless it did not occur to the leadership that the energy of the mass demonstration could be translated into popular enthusiasm to open new land thereby increasing economic resources of the nation, there was no clue for the movement to depart from traditional type of protests calling for preservation of the territory for depending livelihood and fulfilling moral obligation.

6. Nationalist Discourse on Developing Wasteland

Though united in their objection to the Nagamori plan, the underlying rationales for the objection were not uniform. To put differing voices of the objection under any inclusive category, therefore, does disservice to clarifying them. As the arguments of the conservatives has been surveyed, now we will be look at those of the progressives, even though there was no chronological sequence in happenings of them. One memorial by a progressive politician and the editorials of Hwangsŏng sinmun are chosen to represent the nationalist argument with regard to the Nagamori plan.

Hong Kŭngsŏp's Proposal for Developing Wasteland

As was mentioned earlier, a conservative official, Yi Sunbŏm's memorial drew many conservative sympathizers, but elicited the government's perse-

3 The Japanese legation report shows that at least two prominent guild leaders were actively involved in the Poan-hoe demonstration.

cution due to its severe expressions addressed to the monarch as well as the Japanese diplomat. Yet, with respect to his agricultural proposal marked by more vigorous adaptation to agricultural cycles, there was little which might sound innovative to the contemporaries. Far programmatic and innovative than Yi's proposal was that offered by the former councilor (*ŭigwan* 議官) of Chungch'uwŏn 中樞院 (Privy Council), Hong Kŭngsŏp 洪肯燮. Hong had been a member of the Independence Club in 1898, and later became a founding member of the Yusin-hoe 維新會 (Renovation Society), forerunner of the Ilchin-hoe 一進會. His suggestion was based on realistic evaluation of general human propensities and current practices on land. In essence, Hong's suggestion was that since the presence of untilled lands aroused the desire of foreigners to grab them, the government should encourage the reclamation through distributing cultivation rights (not ownership rights) among private parties, in fact, private corporations, which were to prevent foreigners' land occupation by preemption.

Hong worried that as railway lines were going to reach every corner of the interior, mixed residency (*chapgŏ* 雜居) and colonization (*singmin* 植民) would be soon the order of the day. The lands and houses around railway stations as well as uncultivated lands were to be increasingly in the hands of foreigners (i.e., the Japanese). The problem of land seizure became worse, as the dishonest and the ignorant sold out their plots for immediate profits (*Hwangsŏng sinmun,* June 25, 1904, *chappo*).

As to the reason for the poverty of the Korean peasantry, an interesting congruity of opinion between Hong and contemporary Western observers was that the lack of protection for private properties in Korea stifled individual peasant's zeal for productive pursuits (Bishop 1970, 236). Despite peasants' natural tendency to open new land in pursuit of benefit, their enthusiasm died down, as soon as a host of landlords such as palaces, government agencies, military units, powerful families, and local big shots took away their products of hard toil.

Hong recommended the government had to take systematic approach to get rid of the poverty of the peasantry instead of occasional punishing of corrupt officials. Thus, All uncultivated land or wasteland should be placed under the control of the government not the court, thus from the Office of

Royal Supplies (Ŏgongwŏn 御供院) to the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry (Nongsanggong-pu 農商工部). The rights to open, to construct dams and dikes, and to cultivate crops and plants were to be granted to the corporations consisting of local residents.

The uncultivated land or wasteland was to be placed under permanent joint ownership of the government and the people, hence no sale or transfer of the land would be allowed to either the Ministry or the corporations. Instead, the Ministry possessed merely the rights for administration and taxation, while the corporations got the right to cultivate and the duty to pay taxes; the corporations operated through the capital and labor contributed by local residents took initiatives in how to utilize the land growing corps, vegetables, plants, mulberry trees, or opening mines. The local or the ministry officials dispatched were subjected to punishment in case they forcibly transferred the established rights of corporations to other parties. The corporations in turn were prohibited from secretly selling or transferring their rights. The Ministry were to make manuals and tools for cultivators to use. Foreign technicians and tools might be introduced; As the first step of work, an umbrella organization was to be set up in Seoul in order to guide would-be local corporations how to organize themselves and how to start the enterprise as well as to guarantee the payment of taxes (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 27, 1904, *chappo*).

Editorials of the Hwangsŏng sinmun *for Developing Wasteland*

As all the protesters were united in denouncing the Nagamori plan as a territorial aggression by the greedy and untrustworthy neighbor, the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, the most widely read new press at the time, published the conservatives' memorials, and supported their demonstrations. The editorial board of the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* shared the criticism of the conservatives against the Japanese territorial aggression, the Korean government's inaction, and the neglected development of uncultivated land. Nonetheless, in the editorials of the press, progressive perspectives and ideas than those of the conservative protesters can be discernable, hence treated separately here. The most striking feature in the agricultural proposal by the editors is the creation of patriotic peasantry awakened to the harsh reality of the compet-

ing world and armed with patriotic zeal to achieve land development for the purpose of building nation's economic foundation. Here, the editorials are rearranged under three major topics according to their direction of speech; charges against the Japanese intention, charges against the government officials, and appeal to the general public.

Charges against the Japanese Intention. The editor was grieved not only by Japan's continued extortion of economic benefits, but also by the loss of opportunities to produce them for Korean themselves. So far, the Japanese had forced the Korean government to grant the rights for timber cutting, fishing, and railway construction to them. Now they demanded the lease of all Korean wasteland for reclamation and development. By taking all Korean natural resources including mines, forests, seas, rivers, lakes, and bottom lands in their permanent possession, the Japanese not only deprived the Koreans of their basic means for living, but also of the chances for them to develop sources of national wealth in the future when their administration would be renovated and their intelligence enhanced. The real motivation of the Japanese in these instances were solely for gaining profits from Korea and had nothing to do with the protection of Korean independence and territorial integrity, which had always been pledged in the agreements between Korea and Japan (*Hwangsŏng sinmun* June 25 & 27, 1904, *nonsŏl* 論說).

The Japanese reasoning that Koreans did not realize the needs of developing natural resources, therefore the neglected task should be undertaken by them sounded apologetic and superfluous to the editorialist. The Japanese, instead of forcefully taking the rights of Koreans to develop their own natural resources, confined their role to showing examples by furnishing Koreans with technical and personnel assistance. He asserted that if Japan had genuine intention to advice reform in Korea's administration — the professed commitment by the Japanese — it should foster the engagement of Koreans in order to effect such reform (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*. June 28, *nonsŏl*).

The editor hardly trusted the goodwill of Japan expressed in the Japanese charge d'affaires, Higiwara's vindication for the Nagamori proposal, emphasizing that what had been actually done by the Japanese immi-

grants and their authorities in Korea betrayed the professed intention of Japan (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 8 & 9, 1904, *nonsŏl*). The editor argued that massive immigration of Japanese farm workers would be inevitable, because the scale of project would require investors to mobilize a large workforce. To him, one major source of anti-Japanese sentiment among the populace was unlawful actions of Japanese railway coolies who assaulted local officials and commoners, extorted villagers' properties, and tore up grave grounds, yet were unchecked by their railway company managers. Likewise, much larger population of Japanese farm workers would create major social disruptions across the Korean countryside, contrary to the Japanese prospect. To the editor, illegal and widespread purchases of land in southern coastal areas and along the Seoul-Pusan Railway were a sure sign that the Japanese would persist in purchasing land under the name of land development even by unlawful means of transactions.

Although the current Japanese proposal called for the uncultivated land not under governmental or private ownership, there would be no question that the Japanese settlers, once permitted to reside interior land, were very likely to acquire private land by any means, as had been shown along the Seoul-Pusan railway line as well as in costal areas in the south and the west. And aggressive Japanese cultivators were bound to create violent conflicts with Korean farmers eventually bringing in Japanese soldiers in the name of protecting their citizens, yet nobody knew what would happened next. Such a sequence was the order of these days in incidents precipitated by Japanese railway workers. The current request for all Korean wasteland was still another example of Japan's breach of faith such a short while after it had promised the integrity of Korean territory immediately after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. Therefore, the editor could not place any trust upon the promises and intentions offered in the Hagiwara's vindication for the Nagamori proposal.

Charges against the Government Officials. After a series of concession rights handed over to Japan, Korea came closer to the loss of national sovereignty with vast tract of the nation's territory at peril of foreign possession. The State Council should turned down the Nagamori proposal instantly upon receipt. If the high officials had been resolute in their rejection, the cur-

rent humiliation could have been avoided. Unless they engaged in serious self-criticism (*pansŏng* 反省) about the duty they neglected and devoted themselves to the task of self-strengthening, the same humiliation as experienced would follow in succession (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 30, *nonsŏl*).

Appeal to the General Public. The editor reminded the readers of the paper' s lengthy treatise on improvement of Korean agriculture, in which it contended that the first priority should have been placed on the return of fallow land to cultivation to increase national income as well as to counteract foreigners' demand for it.[4] More importantly, he cited himself as asserting the task was as much "the duty of society and individuals as that of government officials." Men of means (chabon'ga 資本家) should have set up corporations to invest in land development. After the attempt to grasp wasteland had already made by the Japanese, people circulated letters and presented memorials to stop it, however this sort of reactions "hardly effectuated the patriotic project [of land development]" (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 4, 1904, *nonsŏl*).

The editor saw the whole issue in Social Darwinist perspective, and demanded awaking to realities of the competitive world:

> "Alas, our fellow countrymen! In general, the way to protect sovereign rights and to preserve nation's territory lies only in just enforcement of laws and heartfelt enthusiasm of the people [for those goals]. Confronted with this world of competition wherein the superior prevail, while the inferior perish, if our politics and people's intelligence are not yet enlightened, how can we expect to protect sovereign rights and to preserve the territory of our nation. Of late, our Korea, its power waning and its fate being perilous, has been not only caught in widespread troubles within, but also beset with humiliations and threats without. As foreigners' infringement upon our sovereignty for independence as well as their extortion of the nation's profits are ever growing day after day and year after year, what can be left after their exhaustive demands? Alas, upon inquiring into how this has come about, we realize that this is surely due to the igno-

4 The essay titled "Nongŏp kaeryang ch'aek" [Strategies to Improve Agriculture] appeared in series from April 11 through 23, 1904 at the editorial section of the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*.

> rance of our government and people. Thus, we cannot but tolerate humiliations of foreign people and invite covetous attentions of foreign nations. Is this not deplorable and grieving?" (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 19, 1904, *nonsŏl*).

Then, the editor appealed to the self-respect of the people for them to take the land development task in their own hands, instead of being outdone by the Japanese:

> "The current issue of [the Japanese request for] the forest and riverside areas has the same origin. If our government did keep the fairness of laws and our people did have patriotic zeal, taking it our prime duty to protect national sovereignty and achieving mental and physical unit to preserve our territory, how could there be such demand and threat from foreigners? ··· Oh our fellow countrymen! In what reason do you take the humiliation granted as if there were something inferior to Japan in our land and people? [Rather than accepting it], the humiliation should be the source to censure and to urge each individual. With the awakening of our intelligence and the growth of national power, there will be no more humiliation like this. At this humiliation, all should feel common indignation, and instead of being overwhelmed by the lament for our weakness, all should fully exert mind and spirit to accomplish the unity for the great task of safeguarding national independence and territory. With no halt on this course, there will be sure chance for it" (*Hwangsŏng sinmun*, July 19, 1904, *nonsŏl*).

To the nationalist editor, the responsibility to keep national sovereignty was no longer the task confined to the ruling elite of the society. The Korean mass were also to have duty and ability for such task. Yet, the mass were not deemed to form such consciousness. Therefore, they should be aroused and educated to awaken to a political consciousness that their action would play key role in consolidating their nation's sovereignty. In reclaiming the country's waste or neglected lands, ordinary peasants were encouraged to have patriotic zeal that their endeavor would contribute to building the economic foundation of the nation. In the past, Korean peasants had engaged in reclaiming wasteland in order to expand their economic base. And the gov-

ernment had encouraged their enterprises by suspending taxation or granting ownership of reclaimed land. But the reclamation of land had been motivated by economic reasons on part of peasants who had anticipated the increase of income and private holding. For the government, the reclamation had been welcomed as a way to guarantee additional source of revenue as well as the well-being of the peasantry. Neither the peasantry nor the government had felt the need to have patriotic motivation in their reclamation attempts.

We are very curious about how this politically motivated nationalistic agriculturalist whom the editor offered as an ideal might behave under economically unfeasible circumstances. Nevertheless, whether real or imagined, such attribute bestowed on the ideal agriculturalist by nationalist intellectuals served as a critical standard to distinguish him from the rest of peasants, who lacked such qualification, thus were considered as "ignorant." Therefore, to nationalist intellectuals, the peasants who worked on fields or by extension those who engaged in economic activities were required first of all to have clear political consciousness that what they were doing was for the consolidation of the nation's economic foundation.

The patriotic zeal for agricultural development which the editorial board of the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* were eager to foster among Korean populace were not given its concrete working plan. In other words, the editors did not present any economic program which could translate the patriotic energy into a feasible enterprise. Their program was mainly intellectual engineering. Still, their idea was an important precursor of economic nationalism that economic activities of individual were closely associated with political objectives of nation.

It was not until 1907 that Korean economic nationalism found its expression in the masses. Then, Korean nationalists launched a nationalistic campaign for material contributions based on individual's patriotic concern for the nation's economic progress. In 1907, the new Korean press circle launched a nationwide campaign to collect contributions form individuals in order to repay foreign debts owed mostly to the Japanese government, appealing to patriotic minds for eliminating the economic cause of foreign dependency, thus paving the road for economic self-development.

In the present study, the interest is not about the lack of concrete working plan for developing wasteland at the editorial board of the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, but about the idea that the progress in national economy can be achieved through mobilizing voluntary contribution of patriotic masses, the idea shared by the organizers of the national debt redemption campaign in 1907 and the Korean production movement of 1923-24. The editorialists thought that patriotism could function as moving force behind the growth of national agricultural production unlike Confucian economists who saw the best chance for it in the sturdy peasantry whose minds were not swayed by any concerns other than agricultural pursuits.

According to the definition of nationalism adopted in this study, it involves political awakening to the role of individuals in the achievement of nation's goals — the nation's wealth and strength in case of this study. The origin of modern nationalism in Korea dated from the moment when a certain group of the established elite began to feel the need to tell the ordinary people to have new consciousness that they should contribute something for the development of their nation.

Conclusion

The Japanese had a firm belief that agricultural land in Korea was underdeveloped. The Japanese government demanded the lease of entire uncultivated land in Korea for agricultural development for the next fifty years. The ultimate aim of this ambitious project was to settle a large population of Japanese agricultural immigrants — as large as seven millions by one estimate. The Nagamori proposal was known to the public in early June of 1904, and it was met by a strong opposition from conservative literati. Those who spearheaded the movement were conservative minds. The conservative literati expressed their deeply held conviction that the integrity of Korean territory should be preserved even at maximum cost.

Over time the protest took the form of mass movement, and there was an eruption of debate for the usage of land. In the central or national level of the response, there emerged new intellectual elite and political groups who had acquired new attitudes about handling economic resources of the

nation. They began to see them as the economic foundation of a modern and independent nation. Thus, their idea about the nation's economic resources was not far from that of the Japanese nationalists. But the Korean counterpart insisted on the preemptive development and usage of economic resources for the nation's political objectives, going beyond the conventional call to preserve the land from foreign infringement on economic and moral grounds. The new intellectuals had a changing attitude to the mass in that they felt a sense of mission to teach the mass (i.e. the peasantry) how important their role was in building the state. The mass were told to realize their role in developing agriculture into one of major industry of the nation. Thus, to the progressive minds, the land did not remain simply as an inalienable inheritance to be defended by the moral descendants. Further than that, the land should be transformed into an economic foundation of a modern and independent nation, to be developed by the awakened patriotic mass of peasants.

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Conference Report

International Conference on the Language(s) of Koguryŏ and the Reconstruction of Old Korean and Neighboring Languages

September 23-24, 2005 Center of Korean Studies at Universität Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany

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"The International Conference on the Language(s) of Koguryŏ and the Reconstruction of Old Korean and Neighboring Languages" took place in Hamburg on September 23-24, 2005. The conference was hosted by the Center of Korean Studies at Universität Hamburg and cosponsored by the Koguryo Research Foundation. The one and a half day symposium featured nine presentations by linguists from Europe, the United States and Korea. The seminar room on the second floor of the Asia-Africa Institute held a full house of presenters, moderators, discussants and students with a common interest in the languages once spoken on the Korean peninsula and in the neighboring areas.

Although entitled "International Conference," the character of the meeting was first described as a workshop. The set-up was less formal and more practical than that of a conference in the sense that speakers who did not feel ready to present a full-fledged paper were encouraged to contribute a summary of what they had in mind as a basis for discussion. Some of the contributions to the conference were skillfully translated by the organizers into English or Korean and all of them were compiled into a volume with proceedings, so that the presentations were easily accessible to the international audience.

In order to ensure fruitful discussions the number of invited speakers was deliberately kept small. The limitation on the number of participants indeed created an open atmosphere, free for anyone to enter the debate and contribute original or daring ideas. But the reverse of the medal was that the

cancellation of a number of guest speakers reduced the core of presenters to a bare minimum. In my opinion, the relatively small number of active participants occasionally deprived the debate of alternative viewpoints and made it more difficult to reach a state of the art. The preliminary conference schedule included promising titles by the professors Lee Sang Oak, Young Kyun Oh, Johannes Reckel, John Whitman and Theresa Case, but, unfortunately, they were not able to attend the meeting. Professor Choi Hee Su from Yanbian University in China contributed a paper called "Investigating Koguryŏ Language through Koguryŏ Culture" to the conference proceedings. Since the speaker was unavoidably detained, the audience was asked to read the paper later.

The primary purpose of the conference was to exchange knowledge and scholarship on the language(s) of Koguryŏ. The topic of the conference extended to the relationship of the Koguryŏ language(s) with Old Korean and with other neighboring languages. The greetings from President Kim Jung Bae of the Koguryo Research Foundation also defined a long-term goal, which is to establish the identity of the Korean nation and to defend the Korean history from distortion. With nationalism on the rise in Asia and elsewhere, it is important to prevent the proliferation of misinformation regarding Koguryŏ, its history, its culture, and its language(s).

We sometimes refer to the language of Koguryŏ as a single one, but the *-s* between parentheses in the conference title implies that this is not necessarily the case. The plural hints at a variety of Koguryŏ languages, but perhaps its interpretation differed from participant to participant. For some the *-s* could indicate that a number of place names on the vast Koguryŏ territory reflect not Koguryŏ, but other languages. For some it could refer to the dialectal varieties of Koguryŏ or to the different historical stages, Archaic and Old Koguryŏ. For others the plural could define Koguryŏ as a multilingual and multiethnic state. And still others would stress the parentheses or simply leave the plural out.

The organizers did a great job. Not only in finding a title to this conference that suited all tastes, but also in finding food, beverages and accommodations that satisfied our multi-cultural and multi-culinary expectations. Finding a generally accepted balance between time-management and

table-manners, between formal and informal discussions required watering the wine and making compromises. A consensus on the conference meals was almost as hard to reach as an agreement on the identification and classification of the language(s) under consideration, but Prof. Sasse, Prof. An and their team of colleagues at the Center for Korean Studies kept it all under control.

After the greetings from the President of the Koguryo Research Foundation, followed by some welcoming remarks by our host and head of the Center of Korean Studies in Hamburg, Prof. Sasse, the presentations began. In what follows I intend to report on the character and the content of the papers that were read and on how the presentations related to the opinions of other speakers. This report is based on my own observation and interpretation of what happened. Written by an active participant of the conference, it is subjective by its very nature.

Prof. Toh Soo-Hee from Ch'ungnam University in Korea set the ball rolling with a Korean presentation translated as "About Early Paekche Language mistaken as being Koguryŏ Language." He argued that *Chiri* 4, the record of the *Samguk sagi* that traditionally is believed to reflect Koguryŏ toponyms, in reality reflects Early Paekche language. He started from the geopolitical observation that the west-central part of the Korean Peninsula was Paekche territory until Koguryŏ forced the Paekche kingdom to shift southward in the fifth century. Stressing the strong evidential power of place names, he located the toponyms recorded in *Chiri* 4 on the map and based his conclusions on their distributional patterns. He found that the toponyms from Chiri 4 that can be situated in the west-central part of the Peninsula must reflect Early Paekche language, while those situated along the north and central east coast are Ye-Maek language and those distributed in the south-east reflect Silla language.

In his paper "Location and Linguistic Identification of the Koguryŏ Language" Prof. Christopher Beckwith from Indiana University in the US discussed the Koguryŏ language in space and time. He divided the Koguryŏ corpus into two historical stages, Archaic Koguryŏ and Old Koguryŏ and discussed the geographical distribution of the Koguryŏ toponyms. He agreed

with the first speaker that the toponyms in the west-central part of the Peninsula could reflect the language of the early Paekche kingdom. However, he was unwilling to treat Early Paekche as a separate language that is significantly different from the Koguryŏ language. According to Beckwith the language of the early Paekche kingdom is Puyŏ-Paekche, a dialect of Koguryŏ, along with some other regional varieties such as the Ye-Maek and the Okchŏ dialects. After its southward shift, two different languages were spoken in the Paekche society, Puyŏ- and Han-Paekche. As far as the linguistic classification of the Koguryŏ language is concerned, Beckwith thought that it is certainly related to Japanese. He rejected the idea that Koguryŏ is related to Korean or to any other Altaic language and, finally, he rejected the para-Japonic theory that the language of the toponyms reflects not Koguryŏ, but a sister language of Japanese-Ryukyu once spoken in southern Korea.

In his talk "Koguryŏ and Paekche: Different Languages or Dialects of Old Korean? The evidence from texts and neighbors," Prof. Alexander Vovin from the University of Hawaii at Manoa in the USA questioned Beckwith's viewpoints on the Japanese-Koguryŏic language family and on the bilingualism in the kingdom of Paekche. Skeptical about the reliability of toponyms as linguistic evidence, Vovin chose a different perspective than the previous speakers, namely textual evidence and loanwords. Presuming that Koguryŏ was spoken in Parhae after the fall of Koguryŏ, he expected to find Koguryŏ loanwords in Jurchen and Manchu. The Korean-looking words and grammatical morphemes in Jurchen and Manchu suggested to Vovin that the Koguryŏ language is some form of Old Korean and that the linguistic situation during the three Kingdoms period was more homogeneous than it is usually thought. Vovin further argued against Paekche bilingualism because the handful of preserved doublets for titles does not necessarily indicate the simultaneous existence of two different languages in one society. He concluded that Koguryŏ and Paekche are nothing but dialects of Old Korean.

Exploring the interface between ethnology and linguistics, Prof. Juha Janhunen from the University of Helsinki in Finland contributed a presentation titled "The Lost Languages of Koguryŏ." He proposed a number of premises concerning the linguistic and ethnic identity of Koguryŏ as a basis

for further developing our ideas. The premises pictured Koguryŏ as a multi-ethnic and multilingual state that used Chinese as a prestige language but had a dominant and dynastic language of its own. Janhunen found historical and geographical indications to identify the dominant language as Proto-Tungusic. He also connected Proto-Amuric, the ancestor of Ghilyak (Nivkh), with an old stratum of political and cultural dominance in the region of the former Koguryŏ territory. Janhunen was in agreement with Prof. Toh that the language of the Old Koguryŏ corpus of toponyms recorded from the central-west part of the Peninsula is not Koguryŏ, but Paekche. He classified this language as the peninsular sister language of Japonic, collaterally related to the lineage of Japanese-Ryukyu. He concluded with a rather pessimistic note that the chances of identifying the lost languages of Koguryŏ in a more detailed way are relatively low.

Prof. James Unger from the Ohio State University in the USA addressed the question "When was Korean First Spoken in Southeastern Korea?" On the basis of archaeological, anthropological and linguistic considerations, he rejected the idea that a form of Korean was spoken there before the fourth century. The Yayoi migration theory of Japanese linguistic origins suggested to Unger that a sister language of Japanese-Ryukyu was spoken in the outh-eastern area. The speakers of this para-Japonic language shifted to an early form of Old Korean around the third century. The *Samguk sagi* toponyms were taken as evidence that Japanese-like words were once used on the peninsula, but they were not interpreted as manifestations of Koguryŏ language. Unger agreed with Vovin that the languages of Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla were dialects of Old Korean. As far as the classification of Koguryŏ as a form of Old Korean is concerned, among other possibilities, he did not exclude the possibility of a remote genetic relationship between Korean and Japanese or between Korean and Tungusic.

Dr. Stephan Georg contributed a presentation titled "Chips from an anti-Altaic workshop: Turkic *z (r2) and Korean *r in the newest version of the Altaic hypothesis." He started by apologizing that this is a topic which only marginally touches upon the theme of the symposium. He did not add in what marginal way the languages of Koguryŏ were touched and did not mention whether a reflex of Korean *r can be found in Koguryŏ. He did not explain in

what way Koguryŏ could stand in a relationship to Old Korean or to the neighboring languages which he refers to as Altaic. In fact, his paper did not mention the word "Koguryŏ" once. Instead he proclaimed how he wears the title "Anti-Altaicist" with pride and how he keeps up the opposition for those who believe that Japonic, Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic are not genetically related. Although certainly relevant on an Altaic forum, I fail to see how this paper has contributed to the goal of the present conference, which is to join our forces in order to find out more about the languages of Koguryŏ and their relationship to Old Korean and the neighboring languages.

Feeling encouraged by the unexpected opportunity that I was given as a guest speaker, I presented my "comments on Japanese-Koguryŏic comparative historical linguistics" that I initially submitted as a basis for discussion. Challenged by Prof. Beckwith's recent book *Koguryŏ, the Language of Japan's Continental Relatives,* I pointed out some difficulties that confront us when attempting to relate Koguryŏ to Japanese. When sifting the Japanese-Koguryŏ etymologies along the same criteria as I applied on the Japanese-Korean evidence in earlier work, I found that Japanese and Korean are relatively better relatable within the limits of the comparative method than are Japanese and Koguryŏ. This is not a matter of the time depth that separates them; it is a matter of the accessibility of the Koguryŏ data. If we are willing to accept Beckwith's stance that the linguistic evidence is strong enough to relate Japanese and Koguryŏ, we must *a fortiori* agree with studies such as Samuel Martin's Lexical Evidence Relating Korean to Japanese (1966) and John Whitman's The Phonological Basis for the Comparison of Japanese and Korean (1985).

Prof. Song Ki Chung from Seoul National University in Korea contributed "Some Observations on the Chinese Characters Used to Write Korean Words during the Three Kingdoms Period." He reviewed the ways in which Chinese writing can be used to represent a foreign language in general and to transcribe Korean in particular. Prof. Song took an agnostic stance as to whether the languages of the three kingdoms were different languages or different dialects of a single language. However, the title of his presentation suggests that he regards the languages of Silla, Paekche and Koguryŏ as linguistic varieties of a common Korean source. He concluded

his presentation with a statistical analysis of the number of words in the Old Korean record and he calculated character frequencies. He provided an appendix of Koguryŏ vocabulary in which the Chinese characters used to write the Koguryŏ words are read with the modern Sino-Korean readings.

Prof. An Jung-Hee from Universität Hamburg in Germany delivered an unscheduled but welcome presentation entitled "Revisiting Negation in the Kyunyŏ-Hyangga and a New Interpretation." She meticulously examined Chinese characters or character clusters used for negation in the eleven *hyangga*, recorded in the biography of the priest Kyunyŏ. These verses are written in the early Koryŏ period, but they are considered to reflect Silla Old Korean. Her contribution was not a phonological, but a syntactical study. Looking into the graphic representation of the texts, she analyzed the negational morphemes according to their distributions, their combinations and the syntactical circumstances in which they occur. On the basis of this philological research, she was able to correct some previous erroneous interpretations of the Silla verses.

As a conclusion, it is clear that the question as to what languages were spoken in Koguryŏ has no simple answer. The same is true for the question about the relationship of Koguryŏ to Old Korean and to the neighboring languages. The academic debate was engaging in a way that differences in opinion were expressed freely but respectfully. Our disagreement included various aspects of the problem such as the reliability of toponyms as linguistic evidence (Toh vs. Vovin); the question whether the *Samguk sagi* toponyms reflect Koguryŏ language (Toh, Janhunen, Unger vs. Beckwith), the interpretation of the Chinese characters underlying the toponyms; the representation of Koguryŏ as a monolingual or a multilingual state (Vovin vs. Janhunen); the description of Koguryŏ as a dialectal variety of Old Korean or as an unrelated language (Vovin, Unger, Song vs. Beckwith); the question of bilingualism in Paekche (Vovin vs. Beckwith), the nature of the Koguryŏ-Japanese relationship (Vovin vs. Beckwith), the former use of para-Japonic in the southeastern part of the peninsula (Beckwith vs. Janhunen, Unger); the overall linguistic classification of the Koguryŏ languages (Beckwith vs. Robbeets) and the accurate application of the methodology of historical linguistics.

For all the differences, we would probably agree that there was a Koguryŏ kingdom where at least one dominant, now extinct language was used and that we can call that language Koguryŏ. As Koguryŏ spread its influence geographically and culturally, language must have been involved too. The Three Kingdoms Period is marked archaeologically by monumental tomb burials, but, unfortunately the languages of Silla, Paekche and Koguryŏ are not so well preserved. The data that are left to identify Old Korean and Koguryŏ are scarce, fragmentary and speculative, but thanks to careful philological studies such as the ones presented during the conference, it is not impossible to reconstruct some phonological, morphological and syntactic features. As for the relationship of Koguryŏ with neighboring languages, Literary Chinese was imported as a prestige language, but there is no reason to assume that Chinese was spoken by the masses, that it was the actual dynastic language or that it stands in a close genetic relationship to the dominant language of Koguryŏ. The toponyms recorded in the *Samguk sagi* show that Japanese-like words were used on the former territory of Koguryŏ. Whether they are due to borrowing, substratum influence or common ancestorship, we also find similarities between Koguryŏ and the languages of Silla and Paekche, Korean and Tungusic, which are unlikely to be the result of sheer chance.

The presentations offered at the conference represented informed and balanced scholarship. A healthy balance was maintained between attempts to identify the Koguryŏ language as such and studies that compared Koguryŏ to neighboring languages. Careful philological studies of individual words in individual texts of individual languages and broader comparative approaches crossing linguistic boundaries successfully worked in tandem in an attempt to demystify the Koguryŏ language(s). The misinformation regarding Koguryŏ's ancient past threatens our understanding of history and it threatens peaceful coexistence in East Asia. Defending the truth implies researching all the facts that can throw a light on Koguryŏ's past. These facts are spread over multiple disciplines such as history, archaeology and — last but not least — linguistics. What is true for the evidence in any other discipline, also goes for Koguryŏ historical linguistics: "what is not looked for will not be found."

Book Reviews

Wigurŭ yumok cheguksa (744-840)
위구르 遊牧帝國史 (A History of the Uighur Nomadic Empire)
By Chŏng Chaehun. Seoul: Munhak kwa chisŏngsa, 2005. 500 pages. ₩28,000 (Hardcover)

Woo Duck Chan, Pusan University of Foreign Studies

Wigurŭ yumok cheguksa is an illuminating account of the history of the Uighur Empire (744-840) in Mongolia. This is the first book by Professor Chŏng Chaehun who has published numerous articles on the history of the Uighur and the Tujue since the mid-1990s. This book, a revision of the author's doctoral dissertation, includes 373 pages of text and 127 pages of appendices and reference matters.

The Uighur (Huihu 回紇) empire represents one of the most important periods in Central Eurasian history. The Uighur history is divided into the Uighur Empire from 744 to 840 and the West Uighur Kingdom after 840.[1] The Uighurs had replaced in the mid-8th century the Turkish (Tujue 突厥) Empire that had previously ruled the nomadic world for 200 years. The transfer of power from one Turkic speaking tribe to another and the creation of one empire within the territorial limits of its predecessor could be viewed as a simple change in the ruling class. Under the leadership of talented rulers, the Uighurs took advantage of divisions among the powerful peoples of Central Asia, and they took the supreme position by founding a stable and united empire.

1 Important introductory books on the Uighur history includes, Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories: A Study in Sino-Uighur Relations* (744-840)(Canberra, 1972), Abe Takeo, *Nishi-uiguru kokushi no kenkyū* (Kyoto, 1955); Annemarie von Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo 850-1250* (Wiesbaden, 1973); and Özkan İzgi, *Uygurlarin Siyasî ve Kültürel Tarihi* (Ankara, 1987).

However, the Uighur Empire, after having prospered for a century, fell to the Kirghiz, another Turkic people in 840. Unlike their predecessors in Mongolia, such as the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Ruanruan 蠕蠕 and the Tujue, the Uighurs were not absorbed by their successors. One group of the Uighurs fled southwards with their last Qaghan 可汗 as they hoped to be welcomed into China. However, they were decisively refused by the Tang 唐, and they wandered along the Great Wall and then disappeared, most probably absorbed by the Khitans 契丹.

The majority of the dispersed Uighur tribes, however, made their way toward west and created the West Uighur Kingdom. Their territory spread over the northern and southern skirts of the East Tianshan range 天山山脈 where they chose the sedentary mode of life. They occupied an important strategic area for traffic and trade between China and Inner Asia and functioned as a bridge the cultural exchange between the East and West. The Uighurs exerted great cultural influence upon the Mongols during the early stage of the Mongol Empire. The Mongol language was indeed recorded with the Uighur alphabet, and they were also instrumental in the shaping of the Mongol administration. Among the non-Muslim Turkic peoples, none had reached the degree of civilization attained by the Uighurs, who developed a culture in many respects more sophisticated than Muslim Turks.

Chapter 1, "the early period (744-755): the process of building the nomadic states," examines the formation of the Uighur Empire. The author utilized the Old Turkic Inscriptions,[2] important sources that have often been overlooked by most previous studies, to provide a detailed portrayal of the process of the nomadic state formation. He emphasizes the role of Qarlïgh Qaghan 葛勒可汗 (747-759) in the early Uighur Empire. To organize the people (bodun) as member of state (el), the Qaghan reorganized other clans of the Uighur tribe as "federate group" 聯盟集團 ruled by the "core group"

2 For more information on the Old Turkic Inscription, see Talât Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington, 1968), and Hüseyin Namik Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazitlari* (Ankara, 1994).

中核集團, that is, the Yaghlaqar clan. He also seized Turks and non-Turkish nomad tribes and organized them as "subordinate group" 從屬集團. He set up the ruling structure and mobilized the subject people by installing his sons as "feudal lords." However, the author claims that Qarlïgh Qaghan's efforts were not enough to ensure his elevation to the position of supreme ruler in the nomadic world. He was only able to seize the area of Ötüken and failed to obtain the recognition by the Tang of his status as the Qaghan. The Qaghan had to suppress the rebellion of other tribes in the nomadic world and adjust his policy toward the Chinese.

Chapter 2 examines "the middle period (755-787): the development and limits of the nomadic state." Here the author's descriptions are limited to historical facts well-known in previous studies. The An Lushan 安祿山 Rebellion was the important event that led to the end of the Middle Age in Chinese history. In 755 when An Lushan began his rebellion and seized the capital of Tang, the Chinese emperor asked for the Uighur Qaghan's assistance. The Qaghan immediately sent troops to suppress the rebellion, and as a reward he obtained great amount of tributes from China. He was also given the Chinese princess, Ningguo gongzhu 寧國公主 in marriage and was recognized as supreme ruler of nomadic world by the Tang dynasty.

The author stresses on the role and efforts of Bögü Qaghan (759-780) who tried to reform the nomadic world. He reconstructed the Sino-Uighur relations which were aggravated after the return of the Chinese princess in 759. He received a great amount of tributes from China that reinforced his power base. By 765 the Uighurs at last took position of the supreme ruler of nomadic world as all other nomadic powers had been weakened during the rebellions of An Lushan and Shi Siming 安史之亂. After Sino-Uighur relations had been restored, Bögü Qaghan wanted to secure the goods from China, and he pressured the Tang court to allow the Sogdians, the international merchants of the time, to engage in trade freely in China.

Beginning 775, however, Sino-Uighur trade suddenly contracted due to the Sogdians' violent activities in China's main cities and the imbalance of the

silk-horse trade. Bögü Qaghan planned to press China through a show of military force, but Ton Bagha Tarqan opposed the Qaghan's plan. Ton Bagha Tarqan then led the coup d'état and took over the supreme position as Alp Qutlugh Bilge Qaghan. The author asserts that this change of power led to the isolation of the Uighurs as the Tang made peace with Tibetans.

Chapter 3, "the late period (787-839): the development and collapse of the nomadic state," represents perhaps the best part of the book. The author examines the expansion of the Uighur control to Beiting 北庭 area and the change of ruling authority. It was the Uighurs who took the initiative to bring about improvement in Sino-Uighur relations when Tibetans broke with the Tang in spring 787. The Uighur Qaghan married the Chinese princess and obtained a chance to expand his rule to the Peiting area. However, when the Uighur exacted a great amount of tributes, tribes who lived near Beiting rebelled and joined Tibetans. After the Uighur and the Chinese lost their control of the Beiting, Qutlugh led his troops to retake that region several times and successfully seized a part of Western region. At the court, the authority of ruling Yaghlarqar clan fell into the hand of Qutlugh, a member of Ediz clan, and he succeeded to Qaghan as Huaixin Qaghan 懷信可汗 (795-805).

To reinforce his authority, Huaixin Qaghan was very aggressive in pursuing the policy to expand into the Silk Road instead of depending on the Chinese aid. This policy was continued by his successors, and the author emphasizes the role of Zhaoli Qaghan 昭禮可汗 (824-832), who paved way to gain the legitimacy of the Qaghan of Ediz clan. The Qaghan also adopted the Manichaeism for the ideological enhancement and gained the support of manichees. It is noteworthy that the author attempted to restore the defaced parts of the inscription of Toquz Uighur Qaghan. While the author, who is a historian, not a linguist, made an admirable attempt to restore the inscriptions, his restored texts remains one more possible interpretation.

As for the collapse and dispersion of the nomadic state, the author argues that the anthrax epidemic may have been one of the important factors. The

anthrax epidemic is serious in that it kills both humans and animals at the same time. A massive loss of animals alone would have affected the nomads greatly, but if the humans had also been infected, it could have indeed been a crucial factor. The author's assertion can not be ruled out, but it will require more verifiable scholarly evidences.

As the author himself emphasized confidently in the preface, this is the first systematic treatment of the history of the Uighur Empire in the world. In my opinion, one of the most useful sections in this book is the appendix of the Old Turkic Inscriptions, arguably the most important materials relating to the history of the Uighur Empire. The book could have received a more careful editing, but it is still a superb work of many insights into the Uighur history that overcame the limits of historical sources. The author has made a great contribution to the development of the Central Eurasian studies, and I hope the book will soon be available in English for a wider audience it deserves.

Koguryŏ ŭi sŏbang chŏngch'aek yŏn'gu
高句麗의 西方政策 研究 (A Study of Koguryŏ's Western Policy)
By Yi Sŏngje. Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn, 2005. 238 pages. ₩14,000 (Hardcover)

Yi In Ch'ŏl, Koguryo Research Foundation

The "Western Policy" in the title refers to Koguryŏ's policy toward various dynasties in North China from 435 to the reign of King Yŏngyang 嬰陽 (590-618). During the most of this period, China was divided into Northern and Southern dynasties until the Sui 隋 (581-618) unified China in the late 6th century. The southern dynasties were Song 宋 (420-479), Qi 齊 (479-502), Liang 梁 (502-557), and Chen 陳 (557-89), while the northern dynasties were the Northern Wei 北魏 (386-534), Eastern Wei 東魏 (534-50), Western Wei 西魏 (535-57), Northern Qi 北齊 (550-77), and Northern Zhou 北周 (557-81). Here the author deals mainly with Koguryŏ's relations with the northern dynasties. The author views the period as the heyday of Koguryŏ and focuses on its western policy to gain an insight into the Koguryŏ-centered interstate relations in East Asia. The basic premise is that Koguryŏ's western policy changed from time to time and according to the threat of its opponents, but it always sought to maintain peaceful co-existence. He also approaches various issues in Koguryŏ's foreign policy during the fifth and sixth centuries from the institutional framework of tributes and investitures, with much emphasis on the frontier region of Liaoxi 遼西.

The author begins with an examination of Koguryŏ's relations with the Northern Wei around the year 435 (23rd year of King Changsu's 長壽王 reign). That year, Koguryŏ dispatched an embassy to present a memorial and

tributes and accepted an investiture in return. This Koguryŏ action came about as a result of deterioration of the political situation in the Northern Yan 北燕, and the growing possibility that Northern Wei may invade Koguryŏ. The Northern Yan tried to elicit Koguryŏ's assistance when the Northern Wei attempted to assert its rule directly over it. While the Northern Wei was at its peak, its expansion to the east was blocked by Koguryŏ's military power. Koguryŏ's policy was to recognize the 'superiority' of the Northern Wei, but at the same time seek the Northern Wei's recognition of its own vested interests in the Liaoxi and *Dongyi* 東夷 regions.

Chapter two outlines Koguryŏ's relations with the Song and Northern Wei. When its attempt to expand into the Northern Yan and the *Dongyi* regions was thwarted by Koguryŏ, the Northern Wei came to view Koguryŏ as an enemy state and adopted an aggressive strategy. As Koguryŏ's relations with the Northern Wei deteriorated, it became one of the leaders of the anti-Northern Wei forces. However, Koguryŏ exploited its diplomatic leverage to minimize the Northern Wei's military actions at its western border by maintaining friendly relations with the Song, the Northern Wei's rival state to the south. In the end, Koguryŏ remained outside of the confrontation between the Northern Wei and Song or Rouran 柔然.

Chapter three examines how the Northern Wei came to recognize Koguryŏ's separate sphere of interest. In the later years of his reign, King Changsu resumed official relations with Northern Wei. The Northern Wei had pressured Koguryŏ by supporting and insinuating military cooperation with Koguryŏ's traditional enemies such as Paekche and Mulgil (Wuji 勿吉). Koguryŏ tried to improve its relations with Northern Wei, but the Northern Wei court demanded that its embassy be allowed to pass through the territory of Koguryŏ on its way to Paekche and that Koguryŏ send royal princesses to be married to the Northern Wei leader. To counteract this Northern Wei's anti-Koguryŏ policy, Koguryŏ attacked and took the capital of Paekche and forced Kumoxi 庫莫奚 and Khitans 契丹 to flee toward the Northern Wei. Koguryŏ's aggressive military actions were a part of the strat-

egy of indirect confrontation to bring the Northern Wei into a peaceful settlement with Koguryŏ. When Koguryŏ was seen as a force to be reckoned with, the Northern Wei changed its policy and began to recognize Koguryŏ's standing in the interstate relations.

Chapter four focuses on Contention over the issue of refugees between Koguryŏ and the Northern Qi. After the fall of Northern Wei, Koguryŏ tried to control refugee population as it sought to expand into the Yingzhou 營州 area. While Koguryŏ did not occupy the area directly, many refugees came under its rule. The Northern Qi and Koguryŏ soon confronted each other over the issue, Koguryŏ ultimately agreed to return the refugees in order to maintain peaceful relations with the Northern Qi. With a peaceful border, Koguryŏ was then able to resolve its internal problems.

The final chapter looks into Koguryŏ's strategy to counter the expanding Sui influence in the Liaoxi region. In 598 Koguryŏ took the initiative to attack the Liaoxi and the Sui retaliated with the force of 300,000 troops. It is important to note that Koguryŏ took the initiative as it had attacked the Sui even as it fully expected retaliation. The Sui Wendi in the 590s had sent a letter threatening attack if Koguryŏ prevented its expansion into the Liaoxi, and Koguryŏ had accepted the Sui expansion as a way to maintain a triangular balance of power with the Tujue 突厥. However, when the Sui rapidly brought the Liaoxi under its control and threatened to upset the balance of power, Koguryŏ attacked the Liaoxi to restore the balance of power. Koguryŏ's objective was the Sui recognition of its influence in the region, not the escalation of hostility. Koguryŏ was able to maintain a balance of power in the region until the early 7th century. The Tang replaced the Sui and gradually pacified all potential allies of Koguryŏ, and by the time of Tang Taizong's invasion of Koguryŏ, the balance of power had been broken irreversibly. Koguryŏ was no longer able to check the military expansion of the Tang Empire.

Since the 5th century, Koguryŏ was able to deal effectively against the strong Chinese dynasties. However, it also faced challenged from the northern

dynasties, Paekche, Silla, and Malgal (Mohe 靺鞨), etc. This book brings a fresh perspective by focusing Koguryŏ's relations with the Northern dynasties. Instead of simplified framework of Koguryŏ's the "China-policy," the book takes a more complex approach of the "Western-policy." While Koguryŏ maintained close relations with western powers in the 5th and 6th centuries, its western policy was designed to force the northern dynasties to accept coexistence with Koguryŏ. The author used the terms of the "tribute" and "investiture" to in his approach toward the interstate relations, but not in a simple way to analyze institutional conventions or to represent the international hierarchy. The author carefully placed the tribute system in historical context to bring out a comprehensive view of the interstate relations.

The book attaches a great importance on the geopolitical significance of the Liaoxi, the place where Koguryŏ, the Northern dynasties, and the Inner Asian nomadic powers intersected. Koguryŏ and the Northern dynasties confronted each other here and a triangular balance of power was established with the nomadic powers. However, the multi-centered geopolitical configuration of the time and the checks and balances precluded hegemony of any single power. The Northern Wei was held in check not merely due to Koguryŏ's military capability, but also due to the possibility of the involvement by the southern dynasties and Rouran. As the author stresses that Koguryŏ's aggressive policy had neutralized Northern Wei's hostile posture toward Koguryŏ, it would have been helpful if he had provided more detailed historical background to the Northern Wei's situation.

Previous studies have claimed that Koguryŏ's southern expansion was an outcome of its frustration in the west. On the other hand, this book sees Koguryŏ's attack on Paekche, the Kumoxi, and the Khitans as a part of the strategy to force the Northern Wei to adopt a more friendly policy toward Koguryŏ. However, in view of the fact that Paekche requested military assistance from the Northern Wei, this assertion is a little questionable. Wouldn't it have been more likely that Koguryŏ took the preemptive strike against Paekche in order to prevent the Northern Wei-Paekche alliance? Moreover, the framework of the Koguryŏ-Sui-Tujue balance of power requires much

more detailed information on the Tujue advances to the Liaoxi than provided here. The author believes that the fall of Koguryo came as the Tang Taizong had irreversibly broken the balance of power that Koguryŏ maintained in the late 6th and early 7th centuries. However, we cannot overlook other factors such as Koguryŏ's internal power struggles and the strategic misjudgments.

The author's expert knowledge in Koguryŏ-Northern Wei relations comes across clearly, and the book contains much insight on Koguryŏ's foreign relations and policies in the 5th and 6th centuries. However, his exclusive focus on Koguryŏ-Northern Dynasties relations may hinder a more comprehensive understanding of the interstate relations of the time involving various states in Northeast Asia. It is hoped that future studies will approach Koguryŏ's foreign policy from wider ranging and more diverse perspectives.

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