



Aspect of the Relations between Koguryŏ and Silla

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This paper writes for the evolution of the relations between Koguryŏ and Silla. Especially, in this larger picture we examined the evolving aspects of the contact between Koguryŏ and Silla from the 3rd century when first direct contact was made until the fall of Koguryŏ in the middle part of the 7th century.

Koguryŏ and Silla's relationship started with Silla acknowledging the superiority of Koguryŏ in the middle of the 3rd century. Such a relationship continued there after so that by the first half of the 5th century Silla found itself in a subordinate position to Koguryŏ both politically and militarily. However, after the middle of the 5th century, growing self-awareness in Silla gave rise to an enormous change in the Koguryŏ-Silla relationship. Silla, which had driven out Koguryŏ *dangju*, made efforts to expand its internal administration and to advance in the direction of Gaya during the first half of the 6th century. On this basis, after the middle of the 6th century, Silla whole-heartedly participated in the war of the Three Kingdoms and, in the end, was victorious in the international war of East Asia.



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Introduction

Koguryŏ, founded by Jumong (Chumong) in 37 BC,¹ established its early capital in the area of modern Huanren² (K. Hwanin) China. At the time of its founding, Koguryŏ situated its capital in the basin of a river called Jolboncheon (Cholbonch'ŏn) or Biryusu (Piryusu). The new kingdom immediately went forth to extend its power and subjugate surrounding entities such as the Biryu (Piryu), Haeng-in, and the North Okjeo (Okchŏ). Afterwards, during the reign of King Yurimyŏng (Yurimyŏng), Koguryŏ moved its capital to Gungnaeseong (Kungnae-

¹ According to North Korean academic circles, the establishment of Koguryŏ by Jumong is placed at 277 BCE. Son Yeong-Jong, *History of Koguryŏ (Koguryŏsa)*, (Pyeongyang: The Science and Encyclopedia Publishing House, 1990), pp. 50-51.

² However, it is claimed recently in Chinese academic circles that there are verifiable early Koguryŏ ("Jolbon Buyeo") artifacts in the region of Tonghua in Jilin Province that point to the existence of a Koguryŏ capital area there. Wang Gueiyu et al., "Tonghwa jiangyan yiji qun suo zaidi dang Zuben Fuyu chujudi," *Tonbei shidi* 6 (2006), p. 44.

sōng) along the Amnok (C. Yalu) River at modern Ji'an (K. Jiban, Chiban), China and subjugated Yangmaek, Kaema, Kuda, Lelang by the reign of King Taemusin. From the moment of its establishment, Koguryō situated its capital in the basins of large rivers and vigorously attempted to conquer the surrounding polities.

The reason why early Koguryō stayed close to steep mountains and rivers and established its capital in the plain area was in consideration of military conditions and economic factors such as fertile lands and natural resources.³ It can be said that the geopolitical conditions of Koguryō ultimately greatly influenced the formation and evolution of the relations among the Three Kingdoms after the 3rd century.

Koguryō, of course, is shown in the documents as having an indirect relationship with Silla from the 1st century.⁴ However, direct contact between these two states arose in the middle of the 3rd century. This was because early Koguryō had devoted much of its energy to fighting with the surrounding polities and China. Recently, I have done a general examination of the relationships that evolved between Koguryō, Baekje, and Silla.⁵ Based on that examination, this paper will focus on the aspects of change in the relationship between Koguryō and Silla after the 3rd century.

1. Contact between Koguryō and Silla during the 3rd ~ 4th Centuries

The earliest contact between Koguryō and Silla that can be verified

³ Kim Young-ha, "The Meanings of Transfer of the Capital in the Ancient Society (Godae cheondo ui yeoksa jeok uimi)," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 36 (Hanguk godaesa yeongu, 2004), p. 7.

⁴ When King Daemusin subjugated Lelang, 5,000 people from Lelang fled to Silla. Silla dispersed them into 6 areas. *Samguk Sagi*, Vol. 1, Silla Bongi 1, Isageum Yuri 14th Year (AD 37).

⁵ Jung Woon-Yong, "Trends in Koguryō's Relationship with Baekje and Silla during the 4th~7th Centuries," *International Journal of Korean History* 8 (2005).

through the *Samguk sagi* occurs in the middle of the 3rd century, as shown in Historical Source-A below [Historical Source hereafter is abbreviated as HS]. Many researchers are strongly inclined to not take HS-A as historical truth. This is based on the opinion that the Chinese commanderies and the Okjeo (Okchō) and the East Ye at the time lay directly in between Koguryō and Silla thus cutting them off from each other. Additionally, Koguryō was under attack from Guan Qiuqian of the Wei, and would simply not have had the reserves to attack Silla.

Historical Source-A :

- 1) (245) Winter. In October the army was sent out and attacked Silla's northern border area. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 17, Koguryō Bongi [Pon'gi] 5, King Dongcheon [Tongch'ōn] 19th Year)
(245) Winter. In October Koguryō invaded the northern border area. Uro, leading the military forces, went out to engage Koguryō, but not being able to win withdrew to Maduchaek where they faced the enemy. That night was very cold. When Uro himself kindled the firewood to keep his troops warm while consoling them, everyone was sincerely moved. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 2, Silla Bongi 2, Isageum [Isagūm] Jobun [Chobun] 16th Year)
- 2) (248) Spring. In February Silla sent an envoy and established friendly relations. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 17, Koguryō Bongi 5, King Dongcheon 22nd Year)
(248) Spring. In February an envoy was dispatched to Koguryō and established friendly relations. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 2, Silla Bongi 2, Isageum Jeomhae [Chōmhae] 2nd Year)

In the case of HS-A1, there is a view that rejects the possibility that Koguryō attacked Silla in 245 through the Lelang (K. Nangnang) and Daifang (K. Daebang) commanderies but believes in the possibility that the invasion of Silla came through the territories occupied by the Okjeo

and the East Ye along the eastern coast of the Korean Peninsula.⁶ Actually, the Okjeo and the East Ye had already been incorporated into Koguryō's domain during years after King Taejo (53~146) and before Guan Qiujian's invasion.⁷ The results of the new analysis of the inscription of the Guan Qiujian Memorial Stele show that Guan Qiujian's invasion of Koguryō took place in 246 just as it was recorded in the *Zizhi Tongjian* (K. *Jachi Tonggam*) and the *Samguk sagi* and not twice in 244~245 as was previously understood.⁸ Based on this, those views that raised doubts about the accuracy of HS-A1 based on 'political circumstances' now have less ground for their arguments.

Incidentally, Koguryō's King Dongcheon (227~248) in March of 245 received a beauty as a consort who was presented from the east sea region.⁹ This event can be seen as a reflection of Koguryō's tributary rule over the Okjeo and the East Ye as well as suggesting that Koguryō was securing an advance military base to attack Silla.¹⁰ If this is the case, then it would be appropriate to accept HS-A1's value as a historical source. In particular, the case of the Silla Bongi improves the credibility of the source in question because it even describes in detail the war outcome for the man known as Uro.

Recently, a differing view has been raised that sees the contact between the two states, as shown in HS-A2, as a response by Saro (Silla) to the changes in the trading system of the Jinhan area.¹¹ The argument is

⁶ Jang Chang-Eun, 9, "3~5segi Koguryō · Silla gwangye ui jeonjaengsaajeok chui," *Koguryō yeongu* 24 (2006), p. 46.

⁷ ⁸ Lim Kihwan, "A study on the Diplomatic Relations between Koguryō and Lelang Country of China (Koguryō wa Nangnanggun ui gwangye)," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 34 (*Hanguk godaesa yeongu*, 2004), p. 150.

⁸ Jang Chang-Eun, op. cit. pp.47~48.

⁹ *Samguk sagi*, Vol. 17, Koguryō Bong 5 Bing Dongcheon 19th year (245) March.

¹⁰ Kim Hyun-sook, *A Study of Koguryō Territorial Rulling System (Koguryō ui yeongyeok jibae bangsik yeongu)* (Seoul: Mosineun saram deul, 2005), pp. 139~140.

¹¹ Yun Seongyong, "The Relations of Koguryō Silla during the 4th~5th Centuries (4~5segi Koguryō wa Silla ui gwangye)," *How Tomb and Eunryeong Tomb commemoratiing the 60th Anniversary*

that after Guan Qiujian's invasion of Koguryō, there was a military dispute between Wei and Han over the jurisdiction of the eight states of Jinhan, so naturally Saro would respond to any change of the existing trade system. However in this case, the nature of the trade and the products traded, and whether or not physical traces remain of such a trade network is something that will have to be substantiated.

Also in the case of HS-A2, due to the fact that no Chinese-style "brick room tombs" (塋室墓 : K. Jeonsilmyo, C. zhuanshimu,) from the 3rd century have been discovered in the northwestern Korean area, it would be difficult to acknowledge that Wei had restored the rule of the Chinese commanderies.¹² With this in mind, there is a view that after Guan Qiujian's invasion of Koguryō, only a kingship was conferred to King Bulnaeye so the transportation routes between Koguryō and Silla stayed open.¹³ Even though this may be the case, no accurate records have been found that explain why Koguryō and Silla had come into contact under the conditions of that time.

However, we can see that it is difficult to further question the credibility of HS-A1 as a historical source. Incidentally before Koguryō's invasion of Silla as mentioned in HS-A1, Silla had waged over 10 wars with Baekje during a period of nearly 100 years. In that process, Koguryō invaded and even defeated Uro, who had distinguished himself in battle many times. Silla was then put in the difficult situation of having to fight a war against both Baekje and Koguryō. However, Koguryō had also taken considerable damage from Guan Qiujian's invasion in 246. As a result, Koguryō's acceptance of Silla's offer for friendly relations can be seen as a measure for restoring its strength and

of the Excavation Symposium (Houchong ullyeong chong balgul 60nyeon ginyeom simpojieom) (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2006), p. 85.

¹² O Yeongchan, "Daebanggun ui gunhyeon jibae," *Ganghwa Hanguk godaesa* 10 (2003), p. 223.

¹³ Jang Chang-Eun, op. cit. p. 50

continuing its western advance policy.¹⁴

Thus, the earliest contact between Koguryō and Silla in the middle of the 3rd century which is verified through the historical literature was formed owing to the fact that both states needed friendly relations based on the offer of Silla which accepted the superiority of Koguryō's military strength. Historical sources show that the contact of these two states only appears later in the latter half of the 4th century as shown in HS-B. However, Koguryō-derived artifacts from around the first half of the 4th century have been excavated in Wolseongno in Gyeonju.¹⁵ So it is important to keep in mind that the documents do not always include the entirety of the relationship between Koguryō and Silla.

Historical Source-B :

- 1) (381) Widu was dispatched, entered Former Qin, and offered tribute. Fujian, the king of Former Qin, asked Widu, "What did you mean when you said 'the situation in Haedong [the Korean Peninsula] is not the same as before'?" (Widu) Answered, "It is like in China when an era undergoes an upheaval and the names (of the dynasties) change, so how can things be the same (as in the past)?"
(*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Isageum Namul 26th Year)
- 2) (391) In the spring, an envoy was sent to Silla and established friendly relations. The Silla king sent his nephew Silseong (Silsōng) as hostage. (*Samguk sagi* Vol. 18, Koguryō Bongi 6, King Gogugyang [Kogugyang] 9th Year)
(392) Spring. In January, an envoy sent by Koguryō arrived. The king thought Koguryō was powerful, so he sent Ichan Daeseoji's

¹⁴ Jung Woon-Yong, "Relationship between Silla and Baekje during the Period of Silla-Baekje Alliance (Naje dongmaenggi Silla wa Baekje gwangye)," *The Paek-San Hakpo* 46 (1996), p. 95.

¹⁵ Examples are the plate armor found in Wolseongno tomb 29, the green glazed pottery found in Wolseongno tomb Ga-5, and the glass artifacts found tomb Ga-13. See Yun Seongyong, op. cit. p. 86.

(Taesōji) son Silseong (to Koguryō) as a hostage. (*Samguk sagi* Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Namul 37th Year)

HS-B1 is generally understood that Silla was able to dispatch an envoy to Former Qin with Koguryō's assistance.¹⁶ Koguryō at the time was building a foundation to pursue King Sosurim's (371~384) policy of expansion and the reshaping of its internal institutions such as the adoption of Buddhism, the creation of a state Confucian academy, and the promulgation of a code of administrative law. In Silla's case, the pre-existing friendly relations with Baekje¹⁷ were broken in 373 due to an incident where the Baekje commander of Doksan Fortress surrendered to Silla¹⁸. At this point, it can be said that King Namul (356~402) formed friendly relations with Koguryō because he needed Koguryō's strength in order to build up his royal authority and control the power of the political opposition.¹⁹ Widu's statement during this time can be seen as a sign of Silla's self-confidence in its foreign affairs stemming from its plans to expand state power through its contacts with Former Qin within the political environment of three emerging kingdoms, as well as its need to emphasize its position within the international state of affairs.²⁰

¹⁶ Kim Jaewon & Lee Byungdo, *Hanguksa Godaepyeon* (Uryumunhwasa, 1959), p. 401. In addition to the *Samguk sagi* entry quoting the *Taiping yulan*, there are entries in the *Zhizhi tongjian* Vol. 104 Jinzhi 26 Xioawudi Taiyuan 2nd year (377) and 6th year (381) telling that Koguryō and Silla, as well as southwestern barbarians sent emissaries to the Former Qin and that the eastern barbarians and 62 countries from the west sent emissaries to the Former Qin.

¹⁷ See the entries to the Silla envoys at *Samguk sagi* Vol. 4 Baekje bongi 2 King Geunchogo 21st year (366) and 23rd year (368).

¹⁸ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 24 Baekje bongi 2 King Geunchogo 28th year and Vol. 3 Silla bongi 3 Isageum Namul 28th year.

¹⁹ Rho Chungguk, "Changes in the dynamic relationship between Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla (Koguryō · Baekje · Silla sai ui yeokgwangye byeonhwa e daehan il gochal)," *Tongbang hakji* 28 (1981), p. 60.

²⁰ Jung Woon-Yong, "Relational Transition between Silla and Koguryō form 5th and 6th Century: in connection with historic ruins and excavated materials (5-6segi Silla · Koguryō gwangye ui chui : yujeok yumul ui haeseok gwa gwallyeohayeo)," *Research of Silla Culture (Silla munhwaje haksul balpyohoe nonmunjip)* 15 (1994), p. 43.

However, Silla's plans were frustrated by Koguryō. We can find this reflected in HS-B2. In HS-B2, Koguryō, while deliberating on its relationship with Baekje, sent a 'cultivate friendship' envoy to Silla. But Silla having had experience with Koguryō's military superiority, accepted Koguryō's dominance and sent Silseong as a hostage. This incident in the first half of the 5th century marked the beginning of Silla's friendly but subordinate relationship with Koguryō. However, it was not until 400 that there was an direct occasion for the formation of this friendly subordinate relationship.

Ultimately, the relationship between Koguryō and Silla formed over the 3rd and 4th centuries and arose out of Silla's acute awareness of Koguryō's superior military strength. With Silla hoping to contain Baekje and Koguryō preparing its military advance in the direction of China, they formed friendly relations. Through this process, Silla, with Koguryō's assistance, was able to declare its existence on the international stage. However, Silla ended up walking down the path of being in a friendly but subordinate relationship under the weight of Koguryō's dominance.

2. Amicable Relations and Confrontation between Koguryō and Silla in the 5th Century

In the early years of the 5th century, Silla was dealing with a considerable crisis due to incursions from the Wa. Koguryō, responding to Silla's request, deployed its military within Silla's territory and repelled the Wa. From that moment on, Silla's position as a friendly subordinate to Koguryō solidified even further. The Wa invasion and Koguryō's assistance can be seen in HS-C.

Historical Source-C :

(399) Silla's King sent an envoy saying, "The Wa have filled our border area and are destroying our fortresses and moats. Since you regard us,

your retainer slaves, as part of your own family, we humbly beseech you to assist us." (Yeongnak, Yōngnak) 10th Year (400), the order was sent down to dispatch 50,000 infantry and cavalry to assist Silla as much as possible. In the past there was never a time when the Silla *maegeum* (*maegūm*) himself would come to discuss affairs The Silla *maegeum* came himself to present tribute. (Monument of King Gwanggaeto)

In HS-C above, the Silla king, while requesting reinforcements from Koguryō, called himself a "retainer slave". It can be seen that this sort of relationship began with Silla's recognition of Koguryō's superiority and the sending of Silseong as a hostage as shown in HS-B2. Such an expression notwithstanding, there had never been an instance when the king of Silla offered tribute himself to Koguryō. However looking at HS-C, the Silla king went to Koguryō himself to pay tribute after the Wa were driven out with Koguryō's assistance.²¹

It can be seen that Koguryō had a worldview that consisted of a hierarchical international order centered on itself as the state descended from heaven with all the neighboring states in attendance and submitting tribute in exchange for tokens of power and other commodities.²² It can be said that after the Silla king paid direct tribute to Koguryō, Silla became fully incorporated into Koguryō's worldview and fell deeper into subordination with Koguryō. This appears clearly in the *Samguk sagi*.

Historical Source-D :

1) (412) King Namul's son Bokho (Pokho) was sent to Koguryō as a

²¹ Kim Jung-Bae, "The Territorial Problem of Koguryō and Silla with a special focus on the archeological materials uncovered in the Sunheung area (Koguryō wa Silla ui yeongyeok munje -Sunheung jiyek ui gogohak jaryo wa gwallyeohayeo)," *The Journal of Korean History (Hanguksa yeongu)* 61 · 62 (1988); Kim Jung-Bae, *Hanguk godaesa wa gogohak* (Sinseowon, 2000), pp. 327-328.

²² Noh Taedon, "Samguk sidaein ui cheonhagwan," *Gangjwa Hanguk godaesa* 8 (Garakguk sajeok gaebawon, 2002), pp. 193-194.

hostage. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Isageum Silseong 11th Year)

- 2) (417) ... After Silseong returned and became king, he resented King Namul for sending him to a foreign country as a hostage, so he planned to exact vengeance by harming King Namul's sons. So he sent a messenger to Koguryō to fetch a man he had known during his time in Koguryō and secretly arranged for this man to kill Nulji on sight. In order to bring Nulji and the Koguryō man together, he had the man wait in the middle of the road on which Nulji would be traveling. However, when the Koguryō man saw Nulji, he saw how Nulji's form and mind were bright and graceful and that he had an air of a gentleman about him. In the end he said to Nulji, "Your king tasked me to kill you, but upon seeing you I cannot bear to do it." and then ran off. Nulji, filled with resentment, assassinated King Silseong and became king himself. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan [Maripkan] Nulji Coronation Year)

In HS-D2, judging by Silseong's resentment at being sent to Koguryō as a hostage, it can be assumed that the life of a hostage in Koguryō was very restrictive. Accordingly in HS-D1, although the reason why King Silseong (402~417) sent King Namui's son Bokho to Koguryō as a hostage was primarily the same reason he himself had been a hostage – because of Koguryō's domination – there is also a sense of vengeance in the act as well. However, from Koguryō's perspective, Silla's sending of hostages symbolized good faith and submission and was one diplomatic process of their world view.²³

Also, as most researchers would agree, HS-D2 shows Koguryō's influence in the succession of Silla kings through its intervention.

²³ Yang Kee-seok, "The Significance of hostages during the Three Kingdom Era (Samguk sidae ui injil ui seonggyeok e daehayeo)," *Sahakji* 15 (1981). pp. 46~47.

Furthermore, the power of Koguryō's influence on the succession of Silla kings was quite literally in the capital of Silla. The fact that Koguryō's power was in Silla territory can be confirmed from the expression *dangju* (*tangju* : commander of small military unit) in Silla land' found on the Jungwon (Chungwōn) Koguryō Monument which meant that the Koguryō army was stationed within Silla territory. The fact that some areas of Gyeongsangbuk-do (Kyōngsangbuk-do) Province which were definitely Silla territory are referred to as originally being Koguryō territory in the geography section of the *Samguk sagi* appears to have some connection with the stationing of 'dangju in Silla land'.²⁴

Accordingly, it can be assumed that the relationship of the two states in the first half of the 5th century continued to be friendly with Koguryō having the upper hand in the relationship. However, the amicable relationship began to change after King Nulji(417~458) ascended to the throne.

Historical Source-E :

- 1) (418) Spring. In January the king's younger brother Bokho returned from Koguryō with Pak Jesang (Pak Chesang) who was a *nama* (official of the 11th rank). In the fall the King's younger brother Misaheun (Misahūn) fled home from Wa. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Nulji 2nd Year)
- 2) (424) Spring. In February an envoy was sent to Koguryō and furnished engagement gifts. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Nulji 8th Year)
- (424) Spring. In February Silla sent an envoy and furnished engagement gifts. The king warmly greeted and comforted them.

²⁴ Jung Woon-Yong, "The Southern Border of the Koguryō Sphere of Influence in the 5th century (5segi Koguryō seryeokgweon ui namhan)," *Sachong* 35 (1989). pp. 22~23.

(*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 18, Koguryō Bongi 6, King Jangsu [Changsu] 12th Year)

- 3) (427) The capital was relocated to Pyeongyang. (*Samguk sagi* Vol. 18, Koguryō Bongi 6, King Jangsu 15th Year)
- 4) (433) Fall. In July Baekje sent an envoy to request peaceful and friendly relations, and the king accepted his request. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Nulji 17th Year)
- 5) (433) Fall. July an envoy was sent and entered Silla and requested peaceful and friendly relations. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 25, Baekje Bongi 3, King Biyu 7th Year)

HS-E1 shows that in the beginning of King Nulji's reign, the king's younger brothers, who had been hostages in Koguryō and Wa, both returned to Silla. In the case of Bokho's return, the biography of Pak Jaesang in the *Samguk sagi* states that King Jangsu of Koguryō sent Bokho back home after listening to Pak Jaesang's persuasive argument that the hostage exchange system implies a government of the Five Hegemons. However, the Kim Jaesang section of the *Samguk yusa* alternatively states that Kim Jaesang took Bokho back home without Koguryō knowledge. When you compare these two records in the context of HS-E2, the *Samguk sagi* account can be judged closest to the truth. It can be seen that up to that time, there were cases of hostages being returned between the two states which were maintaining a friendly relationship. One thing that symbolized the friendly relations between the two states was the pot, so-called Ho-u (Ho'u), with King Gwanggaeto inscribed on it that was excavated from the Ho-u Tomb (King Jangsu 3rd Year, 415).²⁵

²⁵ Kim Jaewon, *Houchong gwa Ullyeongch'ong*. National Museum of Korea (Gungnip bangmulgwan, 1948), p. 12. However, some recent researchers have regarded the *Eulmyonyeon* inscription as referring to either 475 or 535 and believe that it was made by Koguryō. See Lee Juhern, Lee Yonghyun & Yu Hyeeseon, "Houchong, Eullyeongchong chulto yumul: togi wa cheongdong jepum eul jungsim euro," *Hou Tomb and Eullyeong Tomb Commemorating the 60th Anniversary of the Excavation Symposium* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2006), pp. 69–70.

In HS-E3, Koguryō relocated the capital from Gungnaeseong (Kungnae-sōng) in Ji'an to Pyeongyangseong (Pyōngyang-sōng). Within the unfolding process of its military expansion west into Liaohe, the move to Pyeongyang was an aggressive defensive measure against Silla and Baekje which were developing in the rear.²⁶ Through this process, Koguryō thoroughly cracked down and purged any resisting backlash from the power of the nobles regarding this move.²⁷ Koguryō's policies can be seen as a response to the insecurity caused by Silla and Baekje.

Because of this, it can be seen that Silla and Baekje, as shown in HS-E4, made establishing friendly relations with each other a top priority. A year after contact was made in HS-E4, wedding gifts of fine horses, white eagles, gold, and pearls, and so forth were exchanged and sincere efforts were made to create friendship. Although most researchers regard this contact between Silla and Baekje to be representative of the Silla-Baekje Alliance, such contacts between the two states also existed in 366 and 368 in the years before the Toksan Fortress incident in 373. Accordingly, there is no reason to regard HS-E4 as the formation of the Silla-Baekje Alliance. On the contrary, the creation of the Silla-Baekje Alliance was not simply preparing a defense against Koguryō but is seen an independence movement for Silla which wanted to free itself from Koguryō military interference.²⁸ Thus the dating of the alliance between Silla and Baekje is revealed in the Jungwon Koguryō Monument.

²⁶ Park Kyung-Chul, "Analysis of Koguryō Military strategies focusing on Koguryō's military strategy goals after the relocation of the capital to Pyeongyang (Koguryō gansa jeollyak gochal eul wihan siron: Pyeongyang cheondo ihu Koguryō gansa jeollyak ui jihyangjeom eul jungsim euro)," *Sahka yeongu* 40 (1989), p. 56.

²⁷ Suh Yong-dae, "The Motivation behind Koguryō's Decision to Relocate the Capital to Pyeongyang – wiht a special focus on the strengthening of the monarchical and central ruling structure (Koguryō Pyeonyang cheondoui donggi: wanggwon mit jungang jipgwon jeok jibae cheje ui ganghwa gwajeong gwa gwallyeonghaye)," *Korean Studies (Hanguk munhwa)* 2 (1981), pp. 126–128.

²⁸ Shin Hyong-sik, "Silla wangwi gyeseung go," *Hyeam Yu Hongryeol baksa hwangap ginyeom nonchong* (Tamgudang, 1971), p. 74.

Historical Source-F :

- 1) (449) In May the Koguryō great king's royal ancestor hoped to be like brothers with the Silla *maegeum* for generations upon generations in the 23rd day, the gab-in day, of December the Dongi (C. dongyi) *maegeum* arrived, ruler and subjects, at Ubōl Fortress. (Jungwon Koguryō Monument)
- 2) (450) Fall. In July while a Koguryō frontier general was hunting at Silchik field, Samjik, the commander of the Haseulla Fortress, mobilized his troops and killed the general. The Koguryō king heard the news and was enraged sent an envoy saying, "I poured my heart into creating friendly relations with the (Silla) great king, but now through a military mobilization, my frontier general has been killed, is this righteousness?" And the Koguryō king raised an army and attacked the western border of Silla. Only when the (Silla) king humbly apologized did they (the attacking army) return. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Nulji 34th Year)
- 3) (454) Fall. In July the army was dispatched and attacked Silla's northern border. (*Samguk sagi* Vol. 18, Koguryō Bongi 6, King Jangsu 42nd Year)
(454) Fall. In July Koguryō attacked (our) northern border. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Nulji 38th Year)
- 4) (455) Winter. In October Koguryō attacked Baekje. The King sent the army and rescued Baekje. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Nulji 39th Year)

The event mentioned in the inscription on Jungwon Koguryō Monument in HS-F1 took place in 449, so we can assume that the monument was erected after the July in 450.²⁹ Furthermore, the Jungwon Koguryō

²⁹ Jung Woon-Yong, "The Year of Jungwon Koguryō Monument Built (Jungwon Koguryō bi ui geollip yeondae)," *The Paeksan Hakbo* 76 (2006), p. 160.

Monument emphasizes the brotherly relationship with Silla, which differs from the Monument of King Gwanggaeto which portrays Silla as a tributary state. This suggests that a change in the Silla-Koguryō relationship took place at around 450. This can be seen in HS-F2 when the Commander of Haseulla Fortress killed a Koguryō general who had been out hunting at Silchik. The incident in HS-F2 captures the general sentiment of Silla society at that time which wanted to throw off the severe oppression of Koguryō. Koguryō, which did not want to break amicable relations with Silla, ceased its attack and accepted Silla's sincere apology.³⁰

However by this time, Koguryō, using the Sobaek Mountain Range as a border, was securely expanding and maintaining its front line in the area of Joryeong (Choryōng) and Jungnyeong (Chungnyōng) with Jungwon as a base of operations while maintaining Jangmisan Fortress (Changmisan-sōng) in Chungju (Ch'ungju) and Ondalsan Fortress (Ondalsan-sōng) in Danyang (Tanyang), etc. in preparation for an anticipated Silla military operation.³¹ By using Jungwon as a base of operations, any war that could be waged would be along the lines described in HS-F3. As shown in HS-F3, it is conceivable that Silla, which had received attacks from Koguryō, planned to cooperate militarily with Baekje in order to prepare for an anticipated Koguryō offensive. As a result as shown in HS-F4, Silla was able to come to Baekje's assistance when it fell under attack by Koguryō. From looking at all of this, it can be said that the actual Silla-Baekje Alliance formed at around 455.³²

³⁰ For an explanation of historical source F-1 and F-2, see Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1989), pp. 6~7.

³¹ Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1994), p. 47.

³² Jung Woon-Yong, "Review the Periods of Silla-Baekje Alliance Revealed from the Exchange of Envoys in 『Samguk Sagi』 (*Samguk sagi kyobing gisa reul tonghae bon Naje dongmaeng sigi ui jae geomto*)," *The Journal of Baekje Research Institute (Baekje yeongu)* 44 (2006), p. 200.

Although Silla was at war with Koguryō and the Silla-Baekje Alliance was formed, Silla was not completely free from the oppression of Koguryō. It is conceivable that the incidents in HS-F3·4 might be local small-scale battles. Because of this, the Koguryō army was still stationed in the Silla's capital just as before, and under these circumstances, a portion of the provincial areas also still had *danju*. Silla's inability to completely throw off the yoke of Koguryō power appears below in HS-G.

Historical Source-G :

- 1) (464) through this Koguryō sent 100 of its elite soldiers to watch over Silla Silla's king knew that Koguryō with all its lies was watching over Silla and sent a secret envoy to the cabinet members to tell them to "kill the roosters they are raising in their homes." The cabinet members aware of the true meaning of those words then killed all the Koguryō soldiers within the capital. Only one Koguryō soldier survived and he ran back to his country and let everyone know what had happened. The Koguryō king immediately sent the army and stationed them at Chukjongnyu Fortress (Ch'ukchongnyu-sōng). The ill-will between the two states started from this incident (*Nihonshoki* Vol.14, Yūryaku 8th Year February)
- 2) (468) Spring. In February the king attacked Silla Siljikchu Fortress (Silchikchu-sōng) with 10,000 Malgal (C. Mohe) soldiers and took it. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 18, Koguryō Bongi 6, King Jangsu 56th Year)
(468) In the spring, Koguryō and Malgal assaulted Silchik Fortress at the northern border. Fall. In September everyone over 15 years old in Haseulla (Haseulla) was drafted into corvée labor and built a fortress in Niha. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Jabi [Chabi] 11th Year)
- 3) (470) Samnyōnsan Fortress was built. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Jabi 13th Year)

- 4) (475) In September the king attacked Baekje with 30,000 troops and forced Hanseong which was the Baekje capital to fall, killing, who's name was King Yeogyeong, and returned with 8,000 captives. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 18, Koguryō Bongi 6, King Jangsu 63rd Year)
- 5) (481) Spring. In February the king visited Biyeol Fortress (Piyōl-sōng), consoled the troops and gave them cloth. In March, Koguryō and the Malgal attacked the border in the north and annexed 7 fortresses such as Homyeong Fortress (Homyōng-sōng), etc. and kept advancing to Mijilbu. Our Silla army and the reinforcements from Baekje and Gaya divided our forces along different roads and stopped the Koguryō-Malgal army. The enemy troops were routed, and we chased them all the way to Niha and annihilated them. We sliced off over 1,000 heads. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Soji 3rd Year)

In the case of HS-G1, the credibility of the content and dates remains controversial. However if HS-F3·4 is understood as a small-scale conflict and the Silla reinforcements were not a large number, looking at the circumstances of the Three Kingdoms at the time, there probably existed only about 100 troops per *danju* per locale within Silla territory, including the capital.³³ Accordingly, by looking again at HS-G1, the situation in 464 can be understood in this context. In this case in HS-G1, we need to pay attention to the fact that the resentment between Koguryō and Silla was due to the massacre of all the Koguryō troops stationed in Gyeongju (Kyōngju).

HS-G1 from Silla's position, which at the beginning of the 5th century was enduring the suppression of Koguryō's power, was a proactive expulsion of Koguryō's power. Because Silla of this period had received Koguryō weapons and armaments and had heavy cavalry in

³³ Jung Woon-Yong, *ibid.*, p. 200.

reserve, it became more difficult for Koguryō to subjugate Silla.³⁴ Due to this, Koguryō, as seen in HS-G2, attacked Siljik Fortress which was Silla's northern military base. By doing this Koguryō could maintain the dominion of the *dangju* who were in the interior of Gyeongsangbuk-do Province and the eastern coastal region by striking the critical military areas in Silla's north.³⁵ However, it can be seen that Koguryō's attempt to realize its goals ended in failure since in the spring, Silla mobilized the people of Haseulla and built a fortress in Niha.

As shown in HS-G3, Silla threatened Joryeong and Jungnyeong that had been until then Koguryō's bases in Jungwon by passing over Chupungnyeong (Ch'up'ungnyōng) and constructing Samnyeonsan Fortress in Boeun. During King Jabi's reign, many other fortresses were ultimately constructed for the purpose of creating a defense network.³⁶ In the end, Koguryō attacked Baekje's Hanseong, as described in HS-G4, relying on a military strategy of converging two lines of attack from the east and the west in order to maintain the balance at the front line.³⁷ At this time, Baekje managed to drive off Koguryō with the assistance of Silla's dispatched reinforcements, but Hanseong could no longer serve as the capital, and the death of King Gaero in battle only added to the loss. In the end, Baekje relocated its capital to Ungjin.

Unlike Baekje, Silla did not get attacked, so in 481 the Silla king made a royal tour along the eastern sea coast all the way to Biyeol Fortress, as shown in HS-G5. Silla's military operations immediately

provoked a strong counteroffensive from Koguryō. Mobilizing the Malgal, Koguryō annexed 7 fortresses and advanced all the way Mijilbu in the neighborhood of Gyeongju. It can be seen that Koguryō in this war was using *dangju* stationed in Silla territory to advance the attack.³⁸ This war ultimately resulted in failure for Koguryō due to the allied Silla-Baekje-Gaya counterattack. As a result of this war, the power of the Koguryō *dangju* that were stationed in Silla territory most likely began to shrink to north of the Sobaek Mountain Range.³⁹

Additionally, Koguryō in 484 launched an attack on Silla's Mosan Fortress, but suffered a huge defeat due to the military maneuvers of the Silla-Baekje allied forces.⁴⁰ Afterwards, Silla rebuilt Samnyeonsan Fortress and Gulsan (Kulsan) Fortress, and Baekje built Usan Fortress⁴¹ to strengthen the defenses against Koguryō. Thanks to this defense, the attacks of Koguryō in between 480~490 on Silla for the most part ended in failure, stopped by the defenses of the Silla-Baekje allied forces. In the end, after the war of 481, not only did Silla completely extract itself from the influential power of Koguryō but also was able to defend itself against the military attack of Koguryō by allying itself with Baekje.

3. Competition between Koguryō and Silla during the 6th ~ 7th Centuries

Silla, which had freed itself of Koguryō oppression in the later half of the 5th century, focused on its internal politics and expanding its power in the direction of Gaya at the beginning of the 6th century. In terms of its relationship with Koguryō, Silla pushed the Koguryō *dangju*, who

³⁴ Lee In-cheol, "Koguryō's Southward Expansion and Armed Cavalry System (4-5segi Koguryeo ui namjin gwa jungjang gibyeong)," *Military History (Gunsu)* 33 (1996), p. 282.

³⁵ Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1994), p. 52.

³⁶ Jang Chang-Eun, "A Study on the Area of Fortification and Battles in the Period of Silla Kingdom between King Jabi and Soji and its Meaning (Silla Jabi-Soji wangdae chukseong-gyojeon jijeok ui geomto wa geu ui-mi: Sobaek sanmaek ilae Silla-Koguryō ui yeongyeok hyangbang gwa gwallyeonyeoyo)," *Silla sahakbo* 2 (2004), p. 8.

³⁷ Kim Young-ha, "On the Function and Purpose of Royal Tours and Hunts System (Koguryō ui sunsuje)," *The Korean Historical Review (Yeoksa hakbo)* 106 (1985), p. 50.

³⁸ Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1989), p. 13.

³⁹ Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1994), p. 54.

⁴⁰ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 3 Silla bongi 3 maripgan Soji 6th year.

⁴¹ *Samguk sagi* Vol. 3 Silla bongi 3 maripgan Soji 8th year, and Vol. 26 Baekje bongi 4 King Dongseong 8th year.

previously had been stationed within Silla territory south of the Sobaek Mountain Range, north of the Sobaek Mountain Range. We can estimate that Silla assumed control of the territory in question around 500.

Historical Source-H :

(500) Fall. In September the king made a royal tour to the Nari-gun. There was a certain man from the Gun named Paro (P'aro) who had a 16-year old daughter named Byeokhwa (Pyökhwa), who was truly a beauty within the kingdom. Her father dressing her in embroidered silk, placing her in his cart and covering her with beautifully colored silk offered her to the king on the road going back, the king stopped in Gota-gun and stayed at an old woman's house the old woman said, "If a dragon wears a fish's clothes then he will be caught by the fisherman" The king upon hearing this was terribly embarrassed (Samguk sagi, Vol. 3, Silla Bongi 3, Maripgan Soji 22nd Year)

In HS-H above, it can be seen that King Soji on one occasion was touring the Sunheung (Sunhüng) area in 500 in what used to be a Koguryö *dangju* station. This shows the complete consolidation of Silla's control in the area in question during this period. It can be seen that Paro who had offered his daughter to King Soji was a local power who had collaborated with the power of the Koguryö *dangju* that had earlier been stationed there. Therefore, as soon as Koguryö power was driven out, Paro offered his daughter to the king as part of his plan to save himself.⁴² Thus the old woman from the Gota-gun, who was still worried about the possibility that Koguryö power might still have survived in the Sunheung area, warned King Soji about his behavior and his security.⁴³

42 Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1989), p. 26.

43 Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1994), p. 60.

Subsequently, Silla established Siljik Province⁴⁴ while organizing a system of local administration along the lines of *ju* (州), *gun* (郡), and *hyeon* (縣), and established actual control in the area south of the Sobaek Mountains Range between the northern part of Gyeongsangbuk-do Province and the shores of the East Sea while taking corresponding military measures against Koguryö.⁴⁵ The construction of 12 fortresses built in King Jijeung's time such as Pari Fortress (P'ari-söng) and Misil Fortress built in the 5th year of King Jijeung (504) can be understood as the completion of the defensive preparations against Koguryö.⁴⁶ Afterwards, there were no military contacts between Koguryö and Silla in the first half of the 6th century until 550.

Historical Source-I :

- 1) (548) Spring. January Koguryö attacked Baekje's Doksan Fortress with 6,000 Ye troops. The Silla general Jujin (Chujin) came and rescued (Baekje), so (Koguryö) was forced to withdraw without victory. (Samguk sagi, Vol. 19, Koguryö Bongi 7, King Yangwon [Yangwön] 4th Year)
(548) Spring. February Koguryö, together with the Ye, attacked Baekje's Doksan Fortress. Baekje asked (Silla) for help, so king send general Jujin with a strong force of 3,000 to attack Koguryö. Jujin killed and captures many Koguryö soldiers. (Samguk sagi, Vol. 4, Silla Bongi 4, King Jinheung 9th Year).
- 2) (550) January Baekje attacked Koguryö and seized Doksan Fortress. In March Koguryö attacked Baekje's Geumhyeon Fortress (Kümhyön-söng). Silla took advantage of the situation to occupy

44 Samguk sagi Vol. 4 Silla bongi 4 King Ji jeung 6th year (505).

45 Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1994), p. 63.

46 Jang Chang-Eun, "Silla sanggogi Koguryö gwangye wa jeongchi seryeok yeongu," Ph.D. dissertation, Kungmin univ. (2007), p. 147.

both fortresses. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 19, Koguryō Bongi 7, King Yangwon 9th Year)

(550) January Baekje seized Koguryō's Doksan Fortress. In March Koguryō took Baekje's Geumhyeon Fortress. King Jinheung took advantage of the exhaustion of the two kingdom's forces and ordered *Ichan* Isabu to lead forces against the two fortresses, which Isabu occupied. He strengthened fortifications at both places and left 1,000 soldiers behind to guard the fortresses. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 4, Silla Bongi 4, King Jinheung 11th Year)

In the *Samguk sagi*, it is recorded that Koguryō and Baekje had already waged war with each other a total of 10 times in the first half of the 6th century. Silla's participation in the military alliance under these circumstances was at first only at the battle at Doksan Fortress north of the Han River in 548 as shown in HS-I1, but as can be seen in HS-I2, in 550 Silla's involvement increased to the extent that it had managed to occupy Dosal Fortress and Gumhyeon Fortress in the chaos of the war between Baekje and Koguryō. On the other hand, Silla, after completely establishing its defense against Koguryō, found itself in a subtle conflict with Baekje by planning a military advance in the direction of Gaya.⁴⁷ This was only possible because Silla had military resources to spare since it was not in a war with Koguryō and because it had established a stable internal administrative structure.

The battle of Doksan Fortress seen in HS I-1 in 548 was an instance of Silla responding to a request for assistance from Baekje which had been under attack from Koguryō. This was the first and the last collaborative defense of the Silla-Baekje allied forces in the 6th century. Koguryō's attack on Doksan Fortress at the time can be seen as an operation to set the foundation for an attack on Baekje's Hanseong. It can

⁴⁷ Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (1996), p. 120.

also be seen that Silla at the time received Baekje's request for aid and provided assistance in order to gain more experience in conducting military operations in the lower basin of the Han River.⁴⁸ Afterwards as shown in HS-I2, Silla's capture in 550 of Dosal Fortress (Tosal-sōng) and Gumhyeon Fortress demonstrated its aggressive plan to gain a foothold in the Han River basin. Via that action, Koguryō and Silla became thrust into an actively confrontational situation in and around the Han River basin.

Historical Source-J :

(551) The king sent down the order (to attack) to Geochilbu (Kōch'ilbu) and the others. Silla attacked Koguryō and took advantage of the circumstances to occupy 10 *guns*. (*Samguk sagi*, Vol. 4, Silla Bongi 4, King Jinhennng 12th Year)

According to the Jeokseong (Chōksōng) Stone Monument in Danyang, it can be seen that Silla had already crossed over the Sobaek Mountain Range before 551 and prepared a military position in the Danyang area.⁴⁹ Also just like it states in HS-J and the Biography of Geochilbu in the *Samguk sagi*, Koguryō's power was driven out from the middle and upper reaches of the Namhan River. At this time, Baekje marched through the area surrounding Hanseong all the way to Koguryō's South Pyeongyang and recovered 6 *guns*.⁵⁰ Koguryō's state of crisis was due to the military threats from Northern Qi and the Tujue among others as well as internal strife among the nobles surrounding succession disputes.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Jung Woon-Yong, op. cit (2005), p. 100.

⁴⁹ Pyon Tae-Sup, "Danyang Jinheungwang jeokgyeongbi ui geollip yeondae wa seonggyeok," *Sahakji* 12 (1978), p. 33.

⁵⁰ *Nihon shoki* Vol. 19 Kimmei 13th year (551).

⁵¹ Noh Tae-don, "International Politics in East Asia during the 5th-6th Centuries and Koguryō's External and Internal Relations (5-6segi dong asia ui gukkje jeongse wa Koguryō ui daeoe gwangye)," *Dongbang hakji* 44 (1984), pp. 48-50.

Under these circumstances, Koguryō entered into a secret agreement with Silla and gave tacit approval for Silla to occupy as many areas snatched from Baekje as possible in the lower reaches of the Han River basin.⁵² It can be seen that Koguryō used this tactic to create a split between Silla and Baekje as part of its greater scheme to dissolve the Silla-Baekje Alliance. At this time, Baekje could not solidify its grasp on the Han River basin because of a difference in opinion among the powers of the nobles on how to hold the Han River basin.⁵³ As a result Silla established a Sinju⁵⁴ in the basin of the lower reaches of the Han River and incorporated it into its territory. Due to all of these factors, the Silla-Baekje Alliance was virtually walking down the path to its dissolution. But in order to maintain the alliance Baekje married King Seong's daughter to King Jinheung's wife in Silla. In the end, King Seong of Baekje in 554 attacked Gwansan Fortress (Kwansan-sōng) in order to cut off the transportation routes of the Silla advance into the Han River basin but ended up being disastrously defeated and ultimately killed in battle.⁵⁵

On one hand during this period, Koguryō was restoring its stability internally and externally during the reign of King Pyeongwon (559~590). However the appearance of the Sui Dynasty in China presented a rising key threat to Koguryō which up to this point had maintained equilibrium by having diplomatic relations with both the South and the North Dynasties in China. In this light, Koguryō abandoned its offensive in the direction of Silla and Baekje in order to have stability in the south. Under

52 Noh Tae-don, "On the Loss of the Han River Area in the Late Koguryō Dynasty (Koguryō ui Hansu yuyeok sangsil ui wonin e daehayeo)," *The Journal of Korean History (Hanguksa yeongu)* 13 (1976), p. 54.

53 Kim Joo-Seong, "The Occupation and Loss of the Han River Basin during the Reign of King sōng (Seong Wang ui Hangang yuyeok jeomnyeong gwa sangsil)," *Wars Throughout the History of Paekche (Baekjesa sang ui jeonjaeng)* (Seogyong munhwasa, 2000), p. 315.

54 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 4 Silla bongi 4 King Jinheung 14th year (553).

55 Kim Young-ha, *The Military and Political structure of Korean Ancient Society (Hanguk godae sahoe ui gunsa wa jeongchi)* (Korea University minjok munhwa yeonguwon, 2002), p. 132.

these circumstances during the early part of King Yeongyang (Yōngyang)'s reign (590~619), Ondal was sent to war in order to recover the areas north of the Han River and west of Gyeriphyeon (Kyeriphyōn) and Jungnyeong (Chungnyōng).⁵⁶ However, Ondal's quest to recover the formerly lost territory only resulted in his death. So Koguryō and Silla at the end of the 6th century remained in confrontation with other in the Han River and the Namhan River basins. This ultimately led to an international conflict in the 7th century.

By the beginning of the 7th century, Koguryō hoping, to recover the lands north of the Han River attacked Silla's Bukhansan Fortress (Pukhansan-sōng) in 603, but Silla's King Jinpyeong (Chinp'yōng) (579~632) himself crossed the Han River and defended it from Koguryō.⁵⁷ Koguryō which was also launching continuous attacks on Baekje at this point, captured prisoners of war in Silla's northern frontier and took Silla's Umyeongsan (Umyōngsan) Fortress.⁵⁸ When Koguryō's offensive intensified, Silla sent *Geolsapyo* (乞師表) to Sui in 608 to request assistance. Additionally, after the collapse of the Sui dynasty and the rise of the Tang, Silla complained that dispatching envoys was difficult because of Koguryō's interference. However, at that time the Tang was hesitant to intervene in the conflict of the three kingdoms and urged Silla and Baekje to resume friendly and peaceful relations with Koguryō.⁵⁹

Later Koguryō came under attack by Kim Yusin from Silla. Although in 629 Koguryō managed to take Nangbi Fortress in the eastern frontier, in 638 its attack on Silla's Chiljung Fortress failed. With increased pressure from the Tang which was gradually consolidating its

56 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 45 yeoljeon 5 Ondal.

57 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 4 Silla bongi 4 King Jinpyeong 25th year 603.

58 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 20 Koguryō bongi 8 King Yeongyang 18th year.

59 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 4 Silla bongi 4 King Jinpyeong 48th year (626) and Vol. 27 Baekje bongi 5 King Mu 27th year (626).

control over China, Koguryō strengthened its preparations against the Tang by erecting a great wall what is called Cheollijanseong (Ch'öllijang-sōng). Particularly after Yeon Gaesomun (Yōn Kaesomun) seized power, Koguryō adopted a hard line toward Silla and Tang. Yeon Gaesomun, who was obsessed with the recovery of territory, took the lead himself in attacking Silla in 644.⁶⁰ At this point, Silla advised Tang of the alliance between Koguryō and Baekje.⁶¹ That Koguryō and Baekje came together at this time can be seen as a mutual effort to contain Silla. Following this development, Silla wholeheartedly pursued relations with the Tang.

At that time, Koguryō with Baekje captured Silla Danghang Fortress and cut off the transportation route between Silla and the Tang. Baekje additionally attacked Silla Daeya Fortress and murdered Kim Chunchu's son-in-law Kim Pumseok and his wife. In regards to this, Silla sent Kim Chunchu to Koguryō to request assistance, but Koguryō, having already tied itself to Baekje, rejected Silla's request and instead demanded the return of the land north of Jungnyeong (Chungnyōng).⁶² Steadily increasing its defenses against the pressure of Koguryō and Baekje, Silla in 648 sent Kim Chunchu to the Tang to request assistance. At this time, the Tang was facing frustration in its military campaigns against Koguryō and was becoming acutely aware of the need to cooperate with Silla.⁶³ Under these circumstances, Silla and the Tang joined forces militarily.

As a result, in 660 the combined forces of the Tang and Silla

60 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 21 Koguryō bongi 9 King Bojang 3rd year (644).

61 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 5 King Silla bongi 5 Seondeok 12th year (643).

62 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 21 Koguryō bongi 9 King Bojang 2nd year (643) and Silla bongi 5 King Seondeok 11th year (642).

63 Kim Young-ha, "The International Background of Koguryō's Internal Trouble – pertaining to Tang's strategic incremental changes (Koguryō naebu ui gukkje jeok baegyeong: Dang ui dangye jeok jeollyak byeonhwa wa gwallyeon hayeo)," *The Journal of Korean History (Hanguksa yeongu)* 110 (2000), p. 44.

vanquished Baekje. The Tang attack on Baekje was a drastic change in policy from persistently attacking Koguryō, even after Emperor Taizong was defeated at Ansi Fortress in 645. In the year following the destruction of Baekje by the Silla-Tang allied forces, the Tang attempted to attack Koguryō with Silla support. Koguryō successfully defended itself against this attack and launched its own retaliatory assault on Silla's Bukhansan Fortress.⁶⁴

However, upon Yeon Gaesomun's death in 665, the Koguryō ruling class became embroiled in internal strife. The disorder of the ruling class accelerated the secession of local powers. Using this opening, the Silla-Tang allied forces attacked Koguryō. At this time, Tang while systematically seizing the various fortresses of regions that constituted Koguryō's actual military foundation, attacked Koguryō's Pyeongyangseong. This was the strategy of the Tang which was aware of the fragmentation of the Koguryō aristocracy and the unrest of the seceding elements in the Koguryō localities.⁶⁵

Koguryō engaged the Silla-Tang allied forces and put up armed resistance for a month. However, in the end Koguryō fell in 668 when King Bojang (Pojang : 642~668) surrendered. After the fall of Koguryō, Tang revealed its plans to have dominion not only of the former lands of Koguryō and Baekje but over the whole Korean Peninsula. As a result, Silla, while supporting Koguryō refugees, fiercely confronted Tang. At this time although Koguryō's refugees struggled against the Tang to restore Koguryō, Silla joined forces with them to fight against the Tang, although Silla's intention was not to restore Koguryō.⁶⁶ The war between

64 *Samguk sagi* Vol. 6 Silla bongi 6 King Munmu 1st year (661) · 2nd year (662) and Vol. 22 Koguryō bongi 10 King Bojang 20th year · 21st year (662).

65 Lim Kihwan, "Koguryō's War with sui and tang (Koguryō wa Su-Dang ui jeonjaeng)," *Korean History (Hanguksa)* Vol. 4. (Hangilsa, 1994), p. 186.

66 Yang Byung-Ryong, "Koguryō Refugees fight Against Tang in the War between Silla and Tang (Na-Dang jeonjaeng jinhaeng gwajeong e boineun Koguryō yumin ui dae dang jeonjaeng)," *Sachong* 46 (1997), p. 38.

Silla and Tang ended in 676.

In the final analysis, in the first half of the 6th century Koguryō saw the end of its superior relationship over Silla but did not have any military clashes with Silla for 50 years. During this time Silla extended its influence toward the direction of Gaya and began competing with Baekje. Later, from the latter half of the 6th century, Silla had a direct collision with Baekje by advancing into the basins of the lower reaches of the Namhan and Han rivers. However, Silla at this time was no longer subordinate to Koguryō. Afterwards, the fighting between these two states that had stretched for almost 100 years began to exhibit aspects of a much bigger East Asian international war within the framework of an alliance of Koguryō-Baekje-Japan and an alliance of Silla-Tang by the beginning of the 7th century. Under such circumstances, Koguryō, being unable to overcome the secession of the local powers and the instability of its government rife with internal conflict within the ruling class, fell to Silla-Tang allied forces.

Conclusion

In this larger picture we examined the evolving aspects of the contact between Koguryō and Silla from the 3rd century when first direct contact was made until the fall of Koguryō in the middle part of the 7th century. I will conclude this paper by briefly summarizing its contents.

War records of the two states of Koguryō and Silla in the *Samguk sagi* for 245 in the middle part of the 3rd century can be considered accurate, a position that differs from the previously accepted view. At the time, Silla formed friendly and peaceful relations with Koguryō after struggling against its military strength which was powerful enough to defeat Silla's illustrious General Uro in 248. By then, Koguryō was sustaining heavy attacks from Wei's Guan Qiujuan's invasion, while Silla was under threat of frequent wars with Baekje. Accordingly, it can be seen that due to the needs of the time these two states formed friendly

relations.

Afterwards in 381, Silla was able to send envoys to Former Qin with Koguryō's help. At the time Silla expressed its self-confidence in foreign affairs stemming from its plans to expand its state power in the political environment of the emerging Three Kingdoms. However, such self-confidence from Silla was dampened when Koguryō started considering relations with Baekje, sending a 'cultivate friendship' envoy to Silla, and taking Silseong as hostage. Silla, having already experienced Koguryō's military strength, acknowledged Koguryō's superiority and began friendly subordinate relations. Silla's subordinate position was further solidified in 400 when King Gwanggaeto of Koguryō rescued Silla from a Wa invasion, and the Silla king himself went to present tribute to Koguryō to show his gratitude. At the time, Koguryō had a worldview of a hierarchical international order centered on itself as the state descended from heaven. With Silla giving Koguryō tribute, Silla's subordination to Koguryō grew deeper.

Afterwards in the first half of the 5th century, Koguryō continued its friendly domination over Silla. This can be seen clearly from Koguryō's influence on the succession of King Nulji and the stationing of Koguryō *dangju* in Silla territory starting with the Silla capital as seen in the Jungwon Koguryō Monument. Under these circumstances, Koguryō relocated the capital to Pyeongyangseong, Silla in 433 and 434 once again furthered friendly ties with Baekje by way of precaution against Koguryō.

In July of 450, Silla's desire to shed its subordinate relationship with Koguryō was manifested in the murder of a Koguryō frontier general by the Commander of Haseulla Fortress. Koguryō, in regards to this incident, accepted Silla's apologies in order to continue its amicable relationship with Silla. Afterwards, Koguryō in the latter part of 450 erected the Jungwon Koguryō Monument to make a public display of the relationship between the two states. However, the Jungwon Koguryō Monument which expressed the relationship between Koguryō and Silla

as one between brothers differed from the earlier Monument of King Gwanggaeto which saw Silla as a tributary state. Such a difference shows that the nature of the relationship between Koguryō and Silla was changing during that time.

Afterwards in 454, Koguryō invaded Silla's northern area, and in 455 Silla went to Baekje's aid when the latter was under attack by Koguryō. It can be inferred that through these circumstances the concrete form of the Silla-Baekje Alliance in 455 revealed itself. However, these two incidents can be seen as having aspects of a small-scale localized war. This is due to the fact that the Koguryō *dangju* continued to be stationed within Silla's territory.

The first action against the *dangju* can be seen in 464. This is undoubtedly related to the massacre of the Koguryō army stationed in Gyeongju in 464 as described in the *Nihon Shoki*. Afterwards, Silla built Samnyeonsan Fortress in Boeun (Poŭn) and took precautions against any military expansion by Koguryō which was interested in expanding its power by turning the Jungwon area into a base of operations. Within this situation, Koguryō took Baekje's Hanseong and after securing its Jungwon base, Koguryō took decisive action to attack Silla in 481, making use of the *dangju* stationed in Silla.

However, in 481 Koguryō's attacks failed, stopped by the mobilized defense of Silla and reinforcements from Baekje and Gaya. It can be seen that after Koguryō's failure in this war, the Koguryō *dangju* that had been stationed within Silla territory were completely pushed north of the Sobaek Mountain Range. Afterwards, Silla rushed into a construction project to create a defense network against Koguryō with the building of new mountain fortresses and the repair of the preexisting mountain fortresses.

As a result, Silla successfully gained control over all of its territory to the extent that King Soji was able to take a royal tour all the way to modern Yeongju (Yōngju) in 500. Subsequently, Silla in the early years of King Jijeung (Chijŭng)'s reign focused on building mountain

fortresses and completed its defenses against Koguryō. The first half of the 6th century passed without any military competitions between Koguryō and Silla. By the middle of the 6th century, military conflicts between Koguryō and Silla in 548 arose from Silla's decision to support Baekje which was then under attack from Koguryō. This was the first unified defense stratagem for the Silla-Baekje Alliance in the 6th century. Silla now had experience in military activities in the basin of the lower reaches of the Han River and immediately launched an aggressive campaign to expand its territory.

In 551, Silla crossed over the Sobaek Mountain Range and captured 10 Koguryō *guns*. At the time, Koguryō, which was under military threat from the Northern Qi and the Tujue on one hand and struggling with the internal strife among its ruling class on the other, was sustaining much damage. Moreover, Baekje had advanced all the way to Koguryō's Pyeongyang and captured 6 *guns*. Under these circumstances, Koguryō hoping to break apart the Silla-Baekje Alliance made a secret agreement with Silla, giving tacit approval for Silla's seizure of the lower Han River basin. Afterwards, Koguryō which had been feeling a threat from the new established Sui Dynasty, sent Ondal during King Yeongyang's reign to recover the areas of Gyeriphyeon and Jungnyeong in order to stabilize the southern area. But this failed, as can be seen in Ondal's death in battle. After this, Koguryō's desire to recover the land north of the Han River turned into concrete action with its attack in 603 on Silla's Bukhansan Fortress. But this two was stopped by Silla's defenses and ended in failure.

Afterwards, Yeon Gaesomun seized power in Koguryō and called for a hard line policy toward Silla and the Tang. Yeon Gaesomun, who was obsessed with recovering territory, decided in 644 to attack Silla himself. At this time, Silla in order to shed its diplomatic isolation and contain Koguryō and Baekje informed the Tang that Koguryō and Baekje had formed an alliance.

At this point, Koguryō took Silla's Danghang Fortress and cut off

the most convenient transportation routes between Silla and the Tang. In addition, Baekje murdered Kim Chunchu's son-in-law and his wife at Daeya Fortress. In response, Silla sent Kim chunchu to Koguryō to request assistance, but Koguryō, which had already formed a relationship with Baekje, refused and instead demanded that Silla return the land north of Jungnyeong. Under these circumstances, Kim chunchu went to the Tang in 648 and requested assistance. It can be seen that at that time the Tang was dealing with military frustration against Koguryō and was fully aware of the need to ally itself with Silla.

Ultimately the Silla-Tang allied forces toppled Baekje in 660 and they launched an offensive against Koguryō in 661. After the death of Yeon Gaesomun in 665, the Koguryō ruling class became absorbed in internal conflicts and the secession of local elements accelerated. The Silla-Tang allied forces were aware of these developments and in the end destroyed Koguryō in 668.

Koguryō and Silla's relationship started with Silla acknowledging the superiority of Koguryō in the middle of the 3rd century. Such a relationship continued there after so that by the first half of the 5th century Silla found itself in a subordinate position to Koguryō both politically and militarily. However, after the middle of the 5th century, growing self-awareness in Silla gave rise to an enormous change in the Koguryō-Silla relationship. Silla, which had driven out Koguryō *dangju*, made efforts to expand its internal administration and to advance in the direction of Gaya during the first half of the 6th century. On this basis, after the middle of the 6th century, Silla whole-heartedly participated in the war of the Three Kingdoms and, in the end, was victorious in the international war of East Asia.