Lecture 1  
Premodern History - overview  

Three Kingdoms period (三國時代 삼국시대)  

Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla + Gaya!  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Traditional founding dates</th>
<th>alternative “plus 360 (6x60) years” theory(^1)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Silla</td>
<td>57 BCE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goguryeo</td>
<td>37 BCE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baekje</td>
<td>18 BCE</td>
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</table>

Official introduction of Buddhism  

| Goguryeo | 372 |
| Baekje   | 384 |
| Silla    | 527 |

Principal extant Korean sources on the Three Kingdoms period:  

- **Gwanggaeto Stele** 廣開土王陵碑 광개토왕릉비  
  erected by King Gwanggaeto’s son King Jangsu in 414  
  (rediscovered by Japanese 1883).  
- **Samguk-sagi** 三國史記 삼국사기  
  History of the Three Kingdoms (1145)  
  or ‘Histories of the Three Kingdoms’  
- **Dongmyeong-wang-pyeon** 東明王篇 동명왕편  
  Ballad of King Dongmyeong (c.1200) \(^2\)  
- **Samguk-yusa** 三國遺事 삼국유사  
  Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (c.1283)  
- **Jewang-un’gi** 帝王驪記 제왕운기  
  Rhyming record of Emperors and Kings (1287)  

Goguryeo (高句麗 高구려 c.37BCE~668CE)  

Jumong (King Dongmyeong) foundation myth (strong influence from northeast Asian shaman tradition).  

- Largely borrowed/inherited from the northern kingdom of Buyeo (夫餘 부여 ?~346)  

Capital: moved southwards from southern Manchuria into the Korean peninsula.  

First legendary settlement at Jolbon Buyeo (卒本夫餘 좌본부여)  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>3CE</th>
<th>Capital established at Gungnae-seong (國內城 국내성)</th>
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<td>209</td>
<td>Capital moved to Hwando-seong fortress (華都山城 환도산성)</td>
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<td>247</td>
<td>Pyeongyang-seong fortress (平壤城) temporarily becomes the capital – thought to be located in modern Jagang province of northern North Korea (though NK scholars assume it to have been the same site as modern Pyongyang).</td>
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<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Capital moved to Gungnae-seong fortress (國內城 국내성), modern Ji’an (集安市) of Jilin province, China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>472</td>
<td>Capital moved to Pyeongyang-seong (平壤城 平양성) – thought to be Daeseong-sanseong mountain fortress (大城山城) site 6-7km east of modern Pyongyang; argued by South Koreans not to be modern Pyongyang but somewhere slightly further north.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>586</td>
<td>Capital moved to Jang’an-seong fortress (長安城 장안성) – modern Pyongyang.</td>
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</tbody>
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1) From Ledyard “Galloping along with the horseriders: Looking for the Founders of Japan” Journal of Japanese Studies Vol1, No2 (Spring 1975). He suggests this for Baekje dates only, but in general Western scholars claim the Three Kingdoms did not emerge until the 4th century: Koreans disagree.  

2) Complete English translation:  
Most famous Goguryeo king:

**King Gwanggaeto the Great** (广開土大王 かんびつなおおう "wide opener of land" r.391–413)
- Greatly expanded Goguryeo’s territory in all directions, against ‘Khitan’ in the north and Baekje to the south.
- First “Korean” king to use his own era name (年號 연호) which was Yeongnak (永樂 영락 ‘long lasting pleasure’).

598–614 Goguryeo-Sui War (started by Goguryeo)\(^3\)

- **Sui China sends emissary to Goguryeo telling them to behave as a vassal state.**
- **Goguryeo attacks Sui inflicting hurt before withdrawing.** Enraged Sui emperor Wendi (文帝 r.541–604) sends army of 300,000 but suffers humiliating defeat.

612 Wendi’s son Emperor Yangdi (煬帝 r.604–618) leads a one million strong army against Goguryeo.

Defeated by **Eulji Mundeok** (乙支文德 을지문덕) at the Battle of Salsu river (讃水大捷 삼수 대첩) after Eulji sends his famous poem:

> 神策究天文 삼백구천문 Devine schemes are researched by heaven,
> 妙算窮地理 묘주궁지리 Subtle calculations penetrate the geography.
> 戰勝功既高 전승공기가 Much merit has been achieved in [your] war victories,
> 知足顯云止 지족원문지 [I] hope you will be satisfied and halt [your invasion].

- **Aborted Sui campaign (owing to revolt at home) against Goguryeo.**
- **Final Sui invasion attempt is also ‘defeated’ (questionable, according to Samguk-sagi Goguryeo sues for peace and Sui readily accepts).**

If not for Eulji Mundeok’s victory over Sui China, there might be no Korea today!
- **Major street in central Seoul is named Eulji-ro (음지로 “Eulji Road”) in his honour.**

Goguryeo-Tang war

- **Tang emissary holds ceremony for fallen Sui soldiers: fearing a new war, Goguryeo begins constructing a thousand li wall (千里長城 천리장성 cheolli-jangseong) in Liaodong, under the supervision of mangniji (莫離支 망리지) Yeon Gaesomun (淵葦蘇文 연개소문).**
- **Yeon Gaesomun invites Goguryeo nobles to watch a military parade outside of Pyeongyang fortress; he kills them all and then leads his army into Pyeongyang and kills King Yeongnu.**
- **Major Tang invasion, ostensibly to put down the Yeon Gaesomun rebellion, repelled by Ansi-seong fortress (安市城 안시성) lord Yang Manchun (楊萬春 양만춘 originally not named in the Samguk-sagi ) who had also resisted against Yeon Gaesomun.**

Modern day dispute between Chinese government and the two Koreas over the ethnic heritage of Goguryeo.
- As a result there has been renewed interest and focus on Goguryeo by South Korean scholars and media.
- Both sides are motivated by fears of irredentist claims over one another’s territory.
- Korea certainly has the stronger claim over historiography: from early on Goguryeo history was fully ‘internalized’ by the Korean people.

**Baekje (百濟 백제. Japanese: くだら “Kudara”, c.18BCE~660CE)**

The least popular of the Three Kingdoms!
- **Baekje has been somewhat underrepresented (or even misrepresented) in Korean sources starting with the Samguk-sagi.**
- **Compared to Goguryeo and Silla, Baekje is typically said to have no distinct image (despite its refinement and South China - Japan relations).**
- **This began to change following the discovering of King Munyeong’s (武寧王 무령왕 r.501-523) tomb in 1971.**

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3) A good account of the war is in Graff, David. 2001: **Medieval Chinese Warfare.** Routledge.
Reasons for this:

Korean regionalism
- From the final defeat of Baekje (by Silla and Tang) onwards, the southwest region of the peninsula has supposedly been discriminated against.
- Modern North Korean historiography naturally emphasizes Goguryeo.
- In turn, modern South Korean historiography has traditionally emphasized Silla as the country which unified the peninsula (and defeated North Korea's Goguryeo).
  - The South Korean political establishment, starting with dictator Park Chung Hee (1961-79) hailed from the southeastern Gyeongsang provinces, the homeland of Silla.
  - As a result the southwestern Jeolla provinces experienced discrimination throughout the latter half of the 20th century culminating in the 1980 Gwangju massacre; this is still reflected in voting patterns today.
  - Whether retrospectively projected or not, the modern rivalry between the Gyeongsang and Jeolla provinces is popularly regarded as reflecting the ancient enmity between Silla and Baekje and the subsequent bias held against the former Baekje territory. However it should be noted that the Baekje homeland was further north around Seoul and South Chungcheong province.

Baekje's internationalism
- Baekje had close relations with Yamato Japan, as well as southern China.
- This international character has not fitted well with the ethno-nationalist (民族主義 민족주의 minjok-jului ) narratives of either North or South.
  - Post-colonial nationalist Korean historiography is strongly predicated on refuting the previous colonial Japanese narrative which claimed Japan had controlled peninsula territory in ancient times.
  - It presupposes a homogeneous Korean identity (language and ethnicity) of all three of the Three Kingdoms.
  - It is therefore anathema to Koreans that a non-Korean language and culture related to Japanese (associated with Baekje origins) may have existed anywhere on the peninsula. Likewise Japanese imperial historiography does not want to acknowledge its peninsula origins either.

"It will take a long time before a Korean historian or linguist can openly admit that the one-time homeland of the Japanese language lies on the Korean Peninsula, and that Korea was not always the monolingual Korean entity it is today. On the other hand, the idea that Korea has played a crucial role in the origins of Japan is not easily digestible for the Japanese historian or linguist, who would rather emphasize the role of local innovation..."

The problem is not made easier by the circumstance that Japan during its brief period of colonial rule over Korea (1910-1945) tried to explain all the historical connections between the two countries as having been initiated from the Japanese side. The claim was that Korea, or some parts of it, had been a Japanese "colony" already in protohistorical times. The reality is, of course, the opposite, since it was Japan that was colonized from Korea. Ever since the end of the isolation of the Jomon period, there has been a constant flow of demographic, cultural, and linguistic influences from Korea to Japan, which means that, historically, Japan has always been secondary to Korea. There is one important exception, however: Japan was the first to modernize, and it was exactly this discrepancy that became the root of the modern problems between the two countries." (Jahnunen 2010:85)4)

Baekje as a seafaring kingdom:
- Maintained strong relations with southern Chinese kingdoms.
- Directly contributed to - if not responsible for - the founding of Yamato Japan in 390CE.5)

*Chilido* seven-branched sword (七支刀 칠지도) 372CE.

Sent to Baekje prince Homuda who had just arrived in Japan. The sword still survives and is today housed at Isonomaki-jingū shrine (石上神宮) in Nara. Contains a 61 character inscription, some of which is indecipherable and some of which is highly open to interpretation.

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Baekje introduced Buddhism to Japan:

"Possibly the most important cultural accomplishment of [Baekje] King Seong's reign (r.523-554) was the initiation of Buddhist missionary work in Japan. The importance of this effort and its impact on later Japanese Buddhism and culture cannot be overstated. Too often the discussions of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan leave one with the impression that the Korean states were only passive conveyors of the Buddhist tradition to the island nation..."

On three occasions, in 538, 545, and 552, King Seong sent Buddhist statues and scriptures to the Japanese king with the request that he give the new doctrines careful consideration. In 552, it is recorded that King Seong sent a bronze statue and a carved stone statue of Maitreya along with various scriptures. In his letter to the King of Japan, King Seong recommended Buddhism to his counterpart on the basis that it was a doctrine far superior to Confucianism, and that it had found great favour in India, China and Baekje. King Seong in the final year of his reign in 554 had sent two scholarly monks, Tămhye and Tosin, and sixteen preaching monks to Japan to spread Buddhism there." (Grayson 2006:33)

Baekje capitals:

- Like Goguryeo, the Baekje capital gradually relocated southwards.
- 18BCE Established at Wirye-seong (江北魏置城, 강북위제성) north of the Han river (Seoul).
- 4CE Moved to Namhansan-seong mountain fortress (南阳山城, 남한산성) to the southeast of modern Seoul.
- 475 Moved south to Ungii (熊津 ‘bear port’) - present day Gongju city in South Chungcheong province.
- 538 Moved southeastwards to Sabi (西湖, 사비, present day Buyeo)
- Renames the state South Buyeo (남부여) and takes Buyeo as the royal surname.

King Geunchogō (近古皇, 근초고왕) r.346-375)

- Dramatically expanded Baekje’s territory killing the Goguryeo king in battle.

King Muryeong (武寧王, 무령왕) r.501-523)

- Suppressed rebellions and reasserted control over the nobility.
- Continued war with Goguryeo to the north and invaded Gaya to the southeast.
- In 512 Goguryeo attacked deep into Baekje territory but King Muryeong rode into battle defeating them.
- His tomb was discovered in 1971 with its treasures remaining; greatly enhancing Baekje’s brand image!
- The Baekje foundation story of Onjo, is also tied into that of Goguryeo and Buyeo.

Famous tragic general:

Gyebaek (側伯, 계백) 612-660):

Led an army of 5,000 in the final defence of the Baekje capital against the Silla general Kim Yusin’s much larger forces at the Battle of Hwangsanbeol (黃山伐戰, 황산벌전투). Gyebaek died fighting and Baekje was destroyed.

663 Restoration attempt led by Buyeo Pung (扶餘豊, 부여풍), the son of the last Baekje king, departed from Japan with 27,000 men; joined forces with the remnant Baekje army but was defeated by Chinese Tang army. Subsequently several thousand Baekje refugees were resettled in Japan, especially in Emperor Tenji’s new capital of Ōtsu (大津); the former nobility were given Japanese ranks equivalent to their Baekje titles.

Silla (新羅, 신라) c.57BCE~935)

The late developer but ultimate victor!

- Foundation myths associated with the three royal clans of Bak (朴 백), Seok (昔 석) and Kim (金 김).
- Ultimately the Kim clan came to dominance and hence is the most popular surname in Korea today!

Capital: Gyeongju in the region of modern Gyeongju city (慶州 경주); didn’t move!

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Three indigenous Silla institutions:

**Golpum** *(骨品 골품)* ‘bone rank’ system of hereditary rank and caste

*seonggol* (聖骨 성골) Hallowed Bone rank - rank of divine monarchs; became extinct in 654.

*jin’gol* (眞骨 진골) True Bone rank - aristocracy directly related to the Hallowed Bone monarchs; monopolized the first 5 of the 17 ranks of government.

**Head rank** six (六頭品 육두품) - could hold all ranks of government office up to the 6th but no higher.

**Head ranks** five, four - lower ranks entitled to government office.

**Head ranks** three, two and one - are not clear but likely indicated commoners.

- Head rank six came into conflict with the more privileged True Bone aristocrats who threatened royal authority; they were often better educated than the True Bone and as a result were more trusted by later monarchs.

**Hwabaek** (和白 화백) council

- Powerful advisory council of True Bone rank nobles.
- Governed by unanimous decision on matters including declarations of war, and succession to the throne, as well as the adoption of Buddhism.
- Held their councils at four sacred locations around the capital: Cheongsong-san (青松山 'green pine mountain') to the east, Uji-san (于知山) to the south, Pijeon (皮田) to the west and Geumgang-san (金剛山 'diamond mountain') to the north.
- Increasingly came into conflict with the consolidation of royal authority; following the death of Queen Jindeok, the last Hallowed Bone rank monarch, and rise to the throne of Kim Chunchu (金春丘 금춘추 King Muyeol 武烈王 무열왕) who had been a former head of the Hwabaek himself, its became greatly weakened.

- With the process of Tang style Sinicization following the unification wars, the Hwabaek was marginalized; prime ministerial power of the *sangdaedueung* (上大等), head of the Hwabaek, was in part assumed by the royal office of the *Jipsabu* (執事部 established 651) headed by the *jungs* (中侍).

**Hwarang-do** *(花郎徒 화랑도 'flowering youth disciple') order:*

- An organization of aristocratic warrior youths, headed by True Bone rank, apparently formed in 517.
- Presumed to have taken the Five Secular Injunctions (世俗五戒) Laid down by Buddhist monk Won’gwang (覺光 541-630) in 613, as a code: 
  
  "...serve your sovereign with loyalty; tend your parents with filial piety; treat your friends with sincerity; do not retreat from a battlefield; be discriminating about the taking of life."

  (Lee 1969:79)
- Was a martial cult based around belief in the Maitreya Buddha (彌勒佛 미륵불):
  
  "What sustained the hwarang was this belief in Maitreya, the patron saint of the institution, and the belief that their members were no less than reincarnated Maitreyas."  (Lee 1969:14)
- Following the unification wars (against Baejké and Goguryeo), its martial vigour became diminished.

- An alternative tradition, also recorded in *Samguk-sagi*, describes the hwarang as elite youth selected by the court for their beauty and ability in the arts.
- Later itinerant musicians would also trace their tradition to the Hwarang.

Silla’s most famous general:

**Kim Yusin** (金庾信 김유신 595-673):

- Gaya roots: was the 13th descendent of King Suro (首羅 수로왕 42-199), founder of Geumgan Gayu (金官伽倻 금관가야); and the great-grandson of its last king. Upon surrender to Silla in 532, the Gaya royal family was accorded True Bone rank status and married into the Silla royal clan.
- As a hwarang Yusin led a small group called the Yonghwahyang-do (龍華香徒 용화향도 ‘fragrant followers of the dragon flower’ where dragon flower refers to the dragon tree in the prophecy of the Maitreya Buddha’s coming.)
- A one man war machine: decisively participated in some thirteen victorious battles!
- Culminated in the final overthrow of Baejké.


5
Traditionally the most celebrated general of Korean history, there is less focus on him now since he participated in the unification wars which saw Silla defeat Baekje and Goguryeo through an alliance with Tang China, and also failed to conquer more of Goguryeo’s northern territories.

The Gaya states (伽倻 가야 c.42CE~534,562)

- Located in between Baekje and Silla around the Nakdong river basin.
- Two main "confederacy" states: Geumgwan Gaya (금관伽倻 금관가야 also called Bon Gaya 本伽倻 본가야) and Dae Gaya (大伽倻 대가야).
- Ultimately absorbed by Silla.
- Gaya maintained links with early Japan and exported both bronze and iron culture, contributing to the formation of the Japanese Yayoi period (弥生 c.300BCE-300CE).

Gaya and the Mimana controversy (Korean: Imna 任那國 임나국; Japanese: みなま 任那 Mimana)

- To help justify their colonization of Korea in 1910, Japanese historians claimed that the Gaya confederacy had been an ancient Japanese colony called the Mimana Nihonfu (任那日本府 ‘Mimana Japan office’).
- Mimana Nihonfu is a term found only in the Japanese history, Nihon shoki (720) but Mimana/Imna is separately attested in earlier sources, including the Gwanggaeto Stele.

百殘新羅舊是屬民由來朝貢
Baekje and Silla people originally people belonging [to Goguryeo] who paid tribute.

而倭以辛卯年來 渡海破百殘 □□□羅 以爲臣民
But in the Sinmyo year (391), Wae came across the sea and defeated Baekje [and Silla], making them {their} subjects.

- However, Japanese archaeologists failed to identify the Mimana.

- It was most likely quite the opposite circumstance, that from early on the region of Gaya transmitted Yayoi bronze and iron culture to Japan and that the Gaya immigrants contributed to the formation of the proto-Japanese Wa (倭) people (prior to the subsequent Baekje migrations - if they happened).
- The main thing to know is that Gaya exported iron to the Japanese isles as iron was not produced in Japan until the sixth century (then using smelting techniques transmitted from Baekje).

Northern and Southern Kingdoms period (南北國時代 南北朝時代)

consisting of Unified Silla (668-935) and Balhae (渤海 발해 698-926)

Balhae (698-926)

- Established by the northern remnants of Goguryeo who refused to submit to Silla.
- Vast continental empire covering much more of Manchuria than Goguryeo had, but with less territory on the Korean peninsula.
- Ultimately conquered by the Khitan Liao dynasty (907-1125).

Balhae is a part of the same history dispute with China as Goguryeo:

- Balhae was not included in the Samguk-sagi and so was neglected from orthodox Korean historiography though it was included in other early Korean sources; this fact was occasionally lamented by Korean scholars.
- It was equally neglected by Chinese historiography!

Typical view of South Korean historians:

The Chinese are going to great lengths to make Balhae history Chinese history based on the fact that the former rulers of Manchuria – the Goguryeo, Balhae and Manchus (descendants of the Malga) – have since been assimilated as Chinese...
Although the [former] territory of Balhae is now inside the present day territory of China, it [can only be considered] appropriate and reasonable to say that the dominant (주체적) ethnic group (종족) of Balhae was of Goguryeo lineage. Anyone with even a modicum of basic common sense about history would be able to think like this, so why do only the Chinese think differently?.

If the history of Goguryeo and Balhae becomes that of China, we will receive an indescribable wound. That is to say, we will become a people without history and so lose [our] ethnic dignity and experience the fate of the disappearance of the Korean people’s existence. Therefore we must absolutely defend Goguryeo and Balhae history with our own strength.” (Seo 2010)  

Reasons Balhae wasn’t “Chinese” in the historical sense:
- Scholars from Balhae sat the Tang examination for foreigners, similar to Silla.
- Balhae used its own era names (年號 연호), which even Silla stopped doing – only the Chinese emperor was meant to have his own era names, and Korean ‘kings’ were expected to use them.

Unified Silla (668–935)
- “Unified Silla” is a modern term; they just called themselves Silla still.
- Post unification the Silla court became increasingly Sinicized: the court adopted Tang dress and they actively practiced the Confucian ideal of “serving the great” sadae (事大 사대) which involved acknowledging subservience to China. For this reason, modern Korean scholars do not get overly excited about this period.
- It did, however, see the continuous thriving of Buddhist culture including, for example, the construction of Seokgur’am grotto (石窟庵 석굴암 it. ‘stone cave hermitage’ during the reign of King Gyeongdeok (r.742–65).
- Alongside Buddhism, arts and literature flourished.
- Confucianism, as an ethical system for ‘good governance’ also developed: the National Confucian Academy (國學 국학) was established in 682.

Later Three Kingdoms (後三國 후삼국)

Later Baekje (892–936)
Established by Yi Gyeonhwon (李勤晩 이건훤 867–936)
- Thought to be a Head Rank Six military officer who had been given charge of coastal defense in the western region from where he established a power base and rebelled in 892.
- In 927 Gyeonhwon led a surprise attack on the Silla capital of Gyeongju. According to the Sanguk-sagi, he forced the Silla King Gyeong’ae (景哀王 r.924–927) to commit suicide and raped his queen whilst the Later Baekje army plundered the city. He then enthroned Gyeongsun (敬順王 r.927–935), supposedly Gyeong’ae’s ‘brother’ and last king of Silla, before returning west.
- Chose his 4th son, Geumgang (金剛), as his successor causing resentment by his older sons. Consequently in 935 his first son, Sin’geom (神頤), imprisoned him in a temple and killed Geumgang. After three months, Gyeonhwon escaped to Later Goguryeo together with his youngest son and daughter and concubines.
- The same year, Gyeonhwon joined Wang Geon’s campaign against Later Baekje and himself led the van attack against his son, Sin’geom, who surrendered and was subsequently spared by Wang Geon.

Later Goguryeo (901–918)
Established by Kim Gung’ye (金弓辰 김궁은 857–918)
- Said to have been a secondary son of Silla king but was raised as a monk and later became a bandit.
- In 901 he considered himself powerful enough to declare himself king; in 904 he renamed the kingdom Majin (摩曇 마진).
- 905 moved his capital eastwards from Song’ak to Cheolwon (鐵嶺 철린) and in 911 he renamed the kingdom Taebong (泰封 태봉) but became increasingly tyrannical.
- In 918 he murdered his wife and two sons. Thereupon Wang Geon, one of Taebong’s highest generals, rebelled against Gung’ye’s tyranny; Gung’ye fled and was killed.

Goryeo (高麗 고려 918–1392)

- Founded by Wang Geon (王建 王建 877–943) who became the first king.
- Under-appreciated longevity: lasted 474 years.
- Buddhism and arts continued to flourish.
- Growth of Confucianism and emergence of Confucian trained yangban (兩班 양반) scholar-officials.

Capital: Gaegyeong (開京 개경) - modern day Gaeseong city located just across the border inside North Korea (modern site of the former Kaesong Industrial Complex).

Wang Geon’s Ten Injunctions 943 (訓要十條 훈요십조)

- Originally said to be have been Wang Geon’s final will, there is a strong argument by Breker (2010) that they were created in fact by the later 6th king, Hyeonjong (顯宗 显宗 r.1009–31).

1. Importance of Buddhism
   - Support and encouragement of Buddhism: both the doctrinal gyo (敎 교) and meditation seon (禪 선) schools.

2. Temples must be built according to geomantic principles.
   - Temples should not be wantonly set-up everywhere otherwise terrestrial force will be dissipated.

3. Succession
   - The eldest son should succeed the king but if he is not considered worthy the second son should be chosen. If he too is not worthy, any other son people consider best should be chosen.

4. Goryeo is not Tang China
   - It has a different geography and so does not have to copy China’s institutions and dress. It certainly shouldn’t copy any Khitan institutions or dress.

5. Importance of Pyeongyang
   - The Western capital Pyeongyang has excellent geomantic properties, especially that of water and so there should be a royal visit four times a year (2月, 5月, 8月 and 11月) with the king residing there for a total of more than one hundred days.

6. Festivals
   - The Buddhist festival of Yeondeunghui (煬燈會 연등회) worshipping Buddha and geomantic/shamanic festival of Palgwanhui (八關會 박관회) worshipping the spirit of heaven, five sacred and other mountains and rivers, and the dragon god) are both important and should be observed. There should be no changes.

7. Rule fairly
   - The king must: listen to sincere criticism and banish those who slander; not overly exploit or tax the people and learn the difficulties of agriculture.

   "Men of yore said that under a tempting bait a fish hangs; under a generous reward an able general wins victory; under a drawn bow a bird dare not fly; and under a virtuous and benevolent rule a loyal people serves faithfully. If you administer rewards and punishments moderately, the interplay of yin and yang will be harmonious." (Sources of Korean Tradition 1997:155)

8. Discriminate against Baekje!
   - Do not trust people from the former region of Baekje and do not allow royalty to marry them. Former Baekje slaves should never be allowed into government service.

   "The topographical features of the territory south of Gongju and beyond the Gongju river are all treacherous and disharmonious; its inhabitants are treacherous and disharmonious as well."

9. Officials and military
   - Pay salaries fairly to officials and aristocracy according to merit and needs of the state: do not waste or lavish too much.

   "If the public treasury is wasted upon those without merit or upon one’s relatives or friends, not only will the people come to resent and criticize such abuses, but those who enjoy salaries undeservedly will also not be able to enjoy them for long."

   - Treat soldiers and the military well as Goryeo is under constant threat of invasion.

10. Read books!

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"Read widely in the classics and in history; take the past as a warning for the present."

Pluralist identity of early to mid Goryeo

The injunctions contain a pluralist message. In each of the injunctions, a message different from and perhaps contradictory to one or more of the other injunctions may be read. Even if the injunctions themselves would not give rise to contradictory interpretations, the historical context of the themes expressed in them often would" (Breuker 2010:403)

Three failed Khitan (Liao dynasty) invasions 993; 1010; 1018 - all repulsed

- The final of these involved the sacking of Gaegyeong but it ended in defeat of the Khitan army by aged Goryeo civilian general Gang Gamchun (姜邯薦 948-1031).
- Main library destroyed :(

1135 Myocheong’s Rebellion (妙清之亂 묘청지란)

- Myocheong was a mystic Buddhist monk and geomancer from Pyeongyang who gained influence over King Injong (仁宗王 이종 왕 r.1122-46). He urged the capital to be moved to Pyeongyang and for military campaigns to be undertaken against the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115-1234) to the north would surrender to their demands.
- The king initially agreed with these plans and visited Pyeongyang several times, but the central aristocracy (largely descended from Silla) strongly opposed such developments.
- Myocheong led his own armed uprising declaring a new name for Goryeo as Daewi (大為 대위 ‘great accomplishment’) and an independent reign era of Cheon’gae (天開 개천 ‘celestial opening/beginning’); his army was named the ‘Heaven sent army of loyalty and righteousness’ (天遣忠義軍 천선충의군).
- The uprising was crushed by a government army led by Kim Busik (金富식 1075-1151) a more pragmatic civilian aristocrat descended from Silla: he was also the primary author/compiler of the Samguk-sagi

Period of military rule (1170-1270 武臣政權 무신정권)

- Rebellion occurred against the arrogance of the civil officials and reaction to the prevailing mentality of ‘revering civil culture whilst looking down on the military’ (崇文賤武 숭문하무 a modern term).
- After a lot of killing, Goryeo came under control of the Choe military house (1196-1258).
- Despite the bloodshed literary arts and Seon (禪 선) Buddhism received patronage from the military and continued to thrive.

Mongol invasions (1231-58)

Saw the carving of the 2nd Korean Tripitaka (八萬大藏經 팔만대장경 ‘80,000 Tripitaka’ completed 1236-1251)
- Created in the belief that it would help protect Goryeo from the Mongol invasions.
- Today kept at Haein-sa temple (海印寺)
- The 1st Tripitaka had been carved in response to the 1011 Khitan invasion but was largely lost during the Mongol invasions.
- According to Kang (2003:139) during the Muromachi period (1337-1573), the Japanese sent emissaries some 80 times requesting copies of the Tripitaka. The first time, in 1388, the Japanese offered both treasure and 250 Goryeo prisoners kidnapped by Wakō pirates in return for the Tripitaka.

"The importance of this collection is not widely recognized, although it is the basis of many of the modern scholastic collections of Buddhist scriptures, such as the Taishō Tripitaka made by the Japanese in the 1920s and 1930s. This lack of knowledge about the Tripitaka Koreanum obscures not only its own cultural importance but the brilliance of the Buddhist culture of Goryeo as well.” (Grayson 2002:98)

Sambyeolcho rebellion 1270-73

- (三別抄 삼별초 Three Elite Patrols), initially led by Bae Jungson (裵仲孫 배중손 d.1271), continued to resist against the Mongols. From Ganghwa-do island they retreated south to Jin-do island (珍島 진도) and finally to Jeju-do island (濟州道).
- At the time, it was described as an insurrection but is now celebrated as part of the national tradition of resistance to foreign

Goryeo under Mongol Yuan domination (1258-1356)

Failed invasion attempts of Japan 1274 and 1281:
- The first invasion involved some 15,000 Mongol troops and 5,600 Goryeo soldiers. The second invasion of 1281 was on an even larger scale but ended in disaster.
- 25th-30th Goryeo kings all have the character chung (忠 'loyalty') in their posthumous names.
- Goryeo kings married Mongol princesses; Goryeo princes resided in the Yuan capital (modern Beijing).
- 28th-31st Goryeo kings all had Mongolian names.

Red Turban invasions 1359-60, and continuous Japanese pirate raids:
- In 1359 the anti-Yuan Red Turban 'bandits' (紅巾賊 홍건적) army invaded Goryeo and occupied Pyeongyang before being repelled. The next year in 1360 a second Red Turban invasion reached the capital Gaegyeong, forcing the king, Gongmin-wang (恭愍王), and the court to flee south to Andong (North Gyeongsang province).
  - Both the 2nd Red Turban invasion and Japanese pirates were defeated by generals Choe Yeong (崔瑩 최영 1316-88) and Yi Seonggye (李成桂 이성계 1335-98 future king Taet-woang of Joseon dynasty).

Joseon (朝鮮 조선 1392-1910)
- Established by former general Yi Seonggye.
- Lasted 518 years!
- From the beginning the Joseon dynasty was strongly influenced by Neo-Confucian ideologues and was anti-Buddhist.

Capital: established in 1394 at Hanseong (漢城 漢城), modern day Seoul.

Admonitions to the New King:
- Presented by the Inspector-General office (司憲府 사헌부 Saheon-bu) to king Taejo (aka Yi Seonggye) shortly after declaring the new dynasty.
- Included the following 10 suggestions on how to be a good Confucian king which were by extension, of course, criticism on what had gone wrong with Goryeo:
  1. Establish rules and laws.
  2. Have a clear system of rewards and punishments.
  3. Distinguish between superior and inferior men of talent.
  4. Accept remonstrance (諫 諫) by your ministers:
     "The sovereign’s majesty is like thunder: his power is as weighty as iron. Is it an easy thing for the minister to brace the thunder and bear the heavy weight to offer his sovereign words as if to cure his ailments? And yet the difference between accepting and rejecting such advice can mean the difference between good fortune and disaster, between profit and loss for the state." (Sources Vol.1 p275)
  5. Root out slanderous talk.
  6. Beware of indulgence and dissoluteness:
     "The desire to be in repose in the palace: to feast on fine food: to enjoy the ministrations of your queen and palace women, the pleasures of the hunt, raising dogs and horses: and to amuse yourself with flowers and plants: all these things harm men's disposition and dissipate their will. Therefore, one must exercise caution. For indeed, the Mandate of Heaven is a transient thing." (Sources Vol.1 p276)
  7. Respect frugality and economy.
  8. Shun eunuchs. "The problem of eunuchs is an old one."
  9. Weed out unqualified Buddhist clergy.

"We beseech Your Majesty to round up these Buddhist clerics and examine them carefully on their doctrine and practice. Those who truly know the doctrine and truly practice virtue should be allowed to teach; all the others should be made to let their hair grow out and return to their former occupations."
Regulate access to the palace.

“We beseech Your Majesty to order the gate guards to prohibit the unauthorized entry of anyone without official position, and especially to spurn shamans who practice women’s magic and those who cunningly flatter.”

Most famous Korean king ever.

4th King Sejong the Great (世宗大王 세종대왕 1418-50)

- Taejong’s 3rd son: celebrated as the most enlightened king in Korean history.
- In 1420 he developed the Jiphyeon-jeon ‘Hall of Worthies’ (集賢殿 lit. ‘hall of gathered wise people’) into a royal research institute which:
  - Provided a secure position for scholars chosen by Sejong.
  - Developed movable type and printed many books, both Chinese but also many new Korean works including histories, books on farming, medicine and music.
  - Developed a system of musical notation, jeonggan-bo (井間譜).
  - Invented or improved various scientific instruments including a rain gauge, sundials, water clocks and instruments for astronomical measurements.
  - Improved farming techniques with better seed strains and irrigation.
- The Jiphyeon-jeon was most productive during Sejong’s reign, and was later closed by Sejo the usurper (after scholars there plotted against him).

Economic policy:

- Farmland was divided into 6 grades of quality whilst harvests each year were differentiated according to the weather into 9 degrees (bad to good).
- Taxes were then calculated accordingly.

Foreign policy:

- In 1419, advised by his father Taejong, a military invasion of Tsushima island was successfully carried out defeating the Japanese Wakō pirates based there.
- Subsequently the Sō clan of Tsushima was granted the right to trade at three Korean ports (三浦 sampo ), Busan, Ulsan and Jinhae.
- In the far northeast, between 1434-49, six garrisons (六鎭 yukjin ) were established securing the Tumen River border region against the Jurchen people (a process which had begun with campaigns involving Yi Seonggye’s father during Goryeo king Gongmin’s [r.1351-74] reign).
- Jurchen people continued to live in the northeast of Korea into the 20th century.

Negatives:

“...he was, of course, a man of his own age and not ours. He confirmed the execution of an official’s wife for committing adultery; he supported an official who divorced his wife for failing to bear him a son; and he approved an order that yangban women should not be allowed out onto the streets of the capital in daytime.” (Pratt 2006:124)

Hangul script (한글 han’geul)

- Invented by King Sejong himself in 1443.
  - There is a debate over whether he invented it himself, or it was invented by other scholars in his name, but all evidence points to him.
  - Scholars of the Jiphyeon-jeon actually opposed the project.

1446 promulgation of the han’geul (aka hangul) script

- Officially named hunmirjeong’eum (訓民正音 환민정음 ‘correct sounds to instruct the people’) after the title of the promulgation text but referred to by most Confucian officials as eormun (儒文 vulgar/vernacular writing) or amgeul (암글 ‘women’s script’).
- Not named han’geul until 1912.

Hideyoshi Japanese Invasions 1592-98
Collectively referred to in Korean as the Imjin-waeran (壬辰倭亂, 임진왜란 - 'Japanese disturbance/war of the Imjin year [1592]')
- More specifically the Imjin-waeran refers to the 1592 invasion whilst the 1597 'surge' was termed the Jeong'yu-jaeran (丁酉再亂, 정유재란 'repeat war of the Jeong'yu year')
- Hideyoshi’s invasion force of some 156,000, led by the Christian general Konishi Yukinaga (小西行長) landed on Busan in May 1592 and in just 20 days had taken Seoul, continuing up to Pyeongyang.
- Korea was completely surprised and unprepared for the invasion.
- King Seonjo and the court fled to Uiju on the far northwestern border with Ming China.
- Only the southwestern province of Jeolla successfully repulsed the Japanese onslaught, allowing it to become a base of operations for both local uibyeong ‘righteous armies’ (義兵, 의병), and the navy led by Admiral Yi Sunsin.
- Days after Seoul was taken, Admiral Yi Sunsin (李舜臣, 이순신 1545-98) destroyed 37 Japanese ships and maintained control of the western coast helping to cut off supplies to the overextended Japanese.
- Japan withdrew, leaving around 43,000 troops occupying fortresses on the southeast coast; Ming China opened peace negotiations which ultimately failed, leading to the second invasion attempt of 1597, involving a Japanese force of some 120,000.
- The objective of the 2nd invasion was no longer invading China, but gaining control of the southern region of Korea, thus it focused on Jeolla and Gyeongsang provinces.
- At the outbreak of the 2nd invasion, Yi Sunsin was imprisoned on false charges owing to the jealousy of his rival admiral Won Gyun (元均 1540-97); only after Won Gyun was defeated in battle (losing many ships) was Yi Sunsin reinstated; he subsequently won a string of victories against the Japanese armada.
- Despite Yi Sunsin's exploits, the Japanese were never entirely defeated but ultimately withdrew on orders sent following the death of Hideyoshi (which itself was kept secret).
- Yi Sunsin remains today as South Korea's most popular national hero.
  - He won significant battles against the Japanese and died fighting (but not in any large defeat).
  - Whilst North Korea has Kim II Sung, South Korea has no modern military heroes, e.g. equivalent to Mannerheim, so the memory of Yi Sunsin is evoked as the imagined symbol of victory over the Japanese.
  - Chungmuro (忠武路) street in central Seoul is named after his posthumous title Chungmu (忠武 'loyal warrior')

Manchu Invasions 1627 and 1636
- The dominant faction of the Joseon court was staunchly pro-Ming and anti-Later Jin (Jurchen-Manchu Qing); they refused to deal with the Later Jin before the two Manchu invasions of 1627 and 1636.
  - First Invasion of 1627 (Jeongmyo-horan 丁卯胡亂, 정묘호란 'barbarian disturbance of the Jeongmyo year')
    - Later Jin invaded with a force of 30,000; King Injo and the court fled to Ganghwa-do island.
    - A peace was negotiated on terms as fraternal allies and the Jurchen withdrew.
  - Second Invasion of 1636 (Byeongja-horan 丙子胡亂, 병자호란 'barbarian disturbance of the Byeongja year')
    - Later Jin declared itself the Qing dynasty, but was ignored by Joseon.
    - Qing Emperor Hong Taiji (洪太極, 1626-43) led the invasion with around 100,000 troops.
    - The Joseon court once again fled to Ganghwa-do, but King Injo could not reach it and took refuge in Namhansanseong mountain fortress (南漢山城, 남한산성) to the southeast of Seoul together with some 120,000 others where they were besieged by the Qing. Rather than attack, the Qing simply waited for their supplies to run out and after 45 days, in
January 1637, Injo surrendered and was forced to bow before the Qing Emperor pledging vassalage.

- Terms of the surrender included severing ties with Ming; behaving as a vassal state to Qing (i.e. sending tribute); sending two princes as hostages to Qing and dispatching troops to aid Qing against the Ming.

Subsequent to the overthrow of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and establishment of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1912), Joseon came to regard itself as the last bastion of Confucian civilization. They looked down on Qing China and restricted relations such that they remained largely unaware and uninterested in its contacts with the West and new technologies and knowledge.

- Only a certain small group of scholars, known as the "Northern Learning" school (北學派 복학파) took active interest in contemporary China towards the end of the 18th century, but they had little political influence at the time.

17th~18th Centuries

- Koreans' popular notion of 'traditional Korea' essentially relates to the 17-18th centuries.
  
  "When Koreans today look back on their past and the civilization their ancestors created before Japan and the West began to play such an important role on the peninsula, it is the culture of the latter half of the Joseon dynasty that most often comes to mind. For it was only after 1600 that the family structure solidified into the Confucian patriarchy Koreans today view as traditional. Only after 1600 did rival political camps adopt the rigid factional postures that have come to symbolize traditional political culture, and not until after 1600 did Koreans begin enjoying the vernacular fiction and folk arts that modern Koreans consider products of traditional culture." (Sources II 1997:4)

- This was a period of domestic peace (without popular uprisings which came in the 19th century) and relative - albeit unequal - prosperity.
- Population grew from perhaps around 6–9 million in 1681, to 8–12 million in 1814.

Slavery (奴婢 노비 'slave')

"The Joseon elite heavily relied on slaves for every step of their lives. It was probably slaves... who delivered most of the letters... [and] performed errands such as delivering food and catching fish. They traded goods and conducted land transactions for their masters. They even received bodily punishments in lieu of their masters... During the 16th and 17th centuries, a yangban household often had from several dozen slaves to several hundred, and these slaves constituted the economic foundation for the ruling elite of the time." (Habouš 2009:230)

- During the 17-18th centuries, and from perhaps as early as the 11th century, around 30% of the population were hereditary slaves.
- There were both official government slaves and private slaves.
- Commoners were said to marry their children to slaves in order for them to avoid military service.
- Hereditary slavery came under criticism by the si/hak ‘practical learning’ (實學 식학) scholars, including Yu Hyeong-won (柳惺遠 유휘원 1622-73), Yi Il and Yu Suwon, as being un-Confucian.
- By the late 18th century the slave population had declined to around 10%; in 1801 King Sunjong (1800–34) emancipated nearly all government slaves.

Last great but tragic king:

21st King Yeongjo (英祖 양조 b.1694 r.1724-76)

- Longest reign in Korean history.
- Genuinely concerned for the plight of commoners; would go to visit them at the palace gates and visited Jongno market where he spoke with merchants.
- Tried to reduce the tax burden on commoners.

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• Tried hard to reign in political factions at the court.
• Closed down around 300 unauthorized private schools.
• Insecure because his mother was of low birth and he was accused of murdering his older step brother, the previous king. As a result he strove hard to be the most perfect Confucian king.
• In 1762 killed his own son Prince Sado by having him locked in a rice chest where it took him eight days to die (this was to avoid the moral dilemma of being a good Confucian king and not 'executing' his son).

Prince Sado (思悼世子 사도세자 1735–62)
• Went insane due to the pressure from his father to be perfect.
• Nominated regent when married aged 15 in 1749
• Married to Lady Hyegyeong (惠慶宮 洪氏 혜경궁 홍씨 1735-1815) who wrote in han’geul a detailed account of her husband’s descent into madness and death, titled Hanjung-nok (南中錄 한중록 1795).14
• In 1759 was replaced as heir apparent by his own son, future King Jeongjo.
• Drank heavily; had fits of violence; brought prostitutes into the palace; killed people at random.
• Refused to drink poison so was locked in a rice chest where he expired.

22nd King Jeongjo (正祖 정조 r.1776–1800)
• Very good king, felt guilty for his father’s death which he had witnessed as a young child.
• Concerned for welfare of poor: distributed grain and accepted petitions.
• Tried to protect abandoned children.
• Abolished office that hunted runaway slaves (wanted to abolish slavery completely but failed).
• Taught personally at the Gyujanggak royal library (奎章閣 규장각) established in Gyeongbukgung palace in 1776.
• Approved the building and rebuilding of Buddhist temples though not within the walls of Seoul; founded Yongju-sa temple (龍珠寺 용주사) himself, near Suwon, where rites were held for his father.
• At the same time he remained a diligent Neo-Confucian: during his reign he paid 70 processional visits to royal tombs around Gyeonggi-do (perhaps out of guilt for his own father’s death).
• In 1789 he had his father’s remains reburied at a geomantically auspicious spot on Mount Hwa south of Seoul; in 1794 he began building a castle-city nearby called Hwaseong (華城 화성 completed 1796 – modern Suwon city, now a UNESCO heritage site) and intended to move the court here but ultimately didn't.