

*Chapter Four*

The Yemaek Tungus of Central  
Manchuria and Korean Peninsula

Interactions between the Xianbei and the Yemaek Tungus



An-ak Tomb No. 3, Koguryeo royal mausoleum with records (頭上墨書) on Tong Shu (冬壽 d.357) 黃海道安岳: "Grand Procession" on eastern corridor, and "Kitchen, Meat Storeroom, and Carriage Shed" on eastern side-chamber.



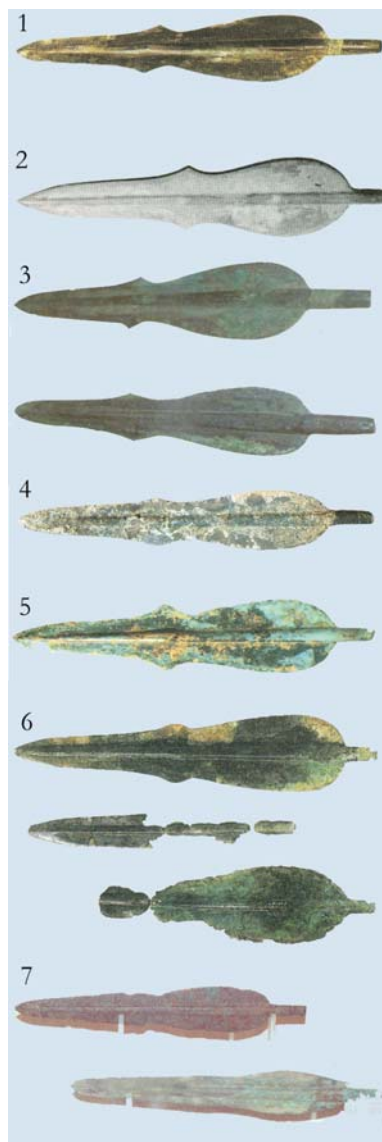
Bronze horn-shaped cup excavated at the Kyo-dong tomb no. 7, Chang-nyung, Kyung-nam, Korea



Horse-shaped cup excavated at Bok-cheon-dong, Pusan, Korea



Bronze cauldron excavated at the Dae-sung-dong tomb no. 47, Kim-hae, Korea



4.1. Broad-bladed Bronze Dagger from (1) Chaoyang, Dalinghe Basin; (2) Songhua River Basin; (3) Liaodong Peninsula 旅順樓上 三號墳; (4) Pyung-yang; (5) Song-guk-ri, Puyeo; (6) Yeo-chon City, Jeon-Nam; (7) Shenyang 鄭家窪 (a **transitional shape** to narrow-bladed dagger)

CHAPTER FOUR  
THE YEMAЕК TUNGUS OF CENTRAL MANCHURIA  
AND KOREAN PENINSULA  
INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE XIANBEI AND YEMAЕК TUNGUS

The central Manchurian plains around the Songhua and Liao rivers, as well as the mountain valleys around Hun, Yalu and Tae-dong rivers, were the home of the Yemaek Tungus who had founded Old Chosun, Puyeo, and Koguryeo. The southern Korean Peninsula was the home of rice-cultivating Yemaek cousins who had established ancient political entities that were collectively called Chin, Han, or Three Hans. Evidence of millet farming found in the Liaodong area is dated c.5000 BCE, and rice discovered in the Korean Peninsula dates from 2400-2100 BCE. The Upper Xiajiadian culture of western Manchuria possessed broad-bladed bronze daggers which, unlike the Han Chinese daggers, had their blade cast separately from their hilt. The blade of (broad-or-narrow-bladed) bronze daggers in Korea proper (central Manchuria and Korean Peninsula) was also cast separately from the hilt. Dolmen, the status symbol of ruling elites, characterizes the Yemaek culture of Korea proper, and differentiates it from the Donghu-Xianbei culture of western Manchuria or the Mohe-Nüzhen culture of eastern Manchuria.

The year 108 BCE stands as the historical date for the Han Chinese, for the first time in their history, to launch themselves into the modern-day Liao River basin and the northwestern coast of the Korean Peninsula. By the turn of the fourth century CE, the Murong-Xianbei of western Manchuria moved into the Liao River basin; and Koguryeo, entrenched in the mountainous Hun-Yalu river valleys, took over the Lelang commandery by 313 CE. The Xianbei learned to use stirrups c.300 CE, and this innovation seems to have entered the Korean Peninsula by courtesy of the incessant fighting between the Murong-Xianbei Yan and the Yemaek Tungus Koguryeo.

According to the *Weishu*, the Sushen-Yilow (the ancestor of Mohe-Nüzhen) of eastern Manchuria had been the subjects of Puyeo since the time of the Han dynasty. As the Puyeo exacted heavy taxes and corvée, they rebelled in 220-6. Puyeo made quite a few punitive expeditions but could not subjugate them because, though small in number, they dwelt in extremely rugged forests difficult of approach. The Mohe-Nüzhen Tungus remained backstage and were not heard from for the next 300 years.

## 1. Neolithic Period Followed by Bronze Age in Korea Proper

### RICE CULTIVATION IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA

According to Nelson (1993: 162-3), the *Mu-mun* pottery sites in the Korean Peninsula “contain semi-lunar reaping knives, making it not unreasonable to believe they represent the beginning of rice cultivation in Korea.” The carbonized rice discovered in the Korean Peninsula indeed dates from 2400-2100 BCE (ibid).<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a group of ancient southern Chinese who were cultivating rice crossed the Yellow Sea at the end of the Neolithic period and found a similar ecological niche in the southern peninsula.<sup>2</sup>

### BLADE OF BRONZE DAGGER CAST SEPARATELY FROM HILT

We find some hint of bronze in the Neolithic Hongshan culture (c.5000-3000 BCE). The Lower Xiajiadian culture (c.2200-1600 BCE) produced small bronze objects such as rings, knives, and handles. Most archeologists, however, believe that the full-fledged Bronze Age in Manchuria began with the Upper Xiajiadian culture (c.1200-600 BCE). Until c.1300 BCE, the hilt and the blade of bronze daggers in the Liaoxi and Liaodong regions were not separately cast.<sup>3</sup> The Upper Xiajiadian culture, however, possessed broad-bladed bronze daggers (琵琶形銅劍) which, unlike the Han Chinese daggers, had their blade cast separately from their hilt. Since the blade of broad-bladed daggers in Korea proper was also cast separately from the hilt, the origin of the broad-bladed daggers that are found in Korea proper is often traced to the Upper Xiajiadian culture.<sup>4</sup> Choi (2006: 27, 59-63), however, contends that the Bronze Age in the Korean Peninsula, represented by the broad-bladed bronze daggers, coarse-lined bronze mirrors, bronze arrowheads, crescent-shaped stone knives, disc-shaped stone axes, and plain *Mu-mun* pottery had commenced sometime between 2000-1500 BCE.

After showing various transitional shapes (變形銅劍), the broad-bladed bronze dagger was eventually transformed into the narrow-bladed slender dagger (細形銅劍 with its blade still cast separately from its hilt) by the Early Iron Age (400-0 BCE) in the Korean Peninsula.<sup>5</sup> Coarse-lined bronze mirrors (多鈕粗文鏡) became fine-lined bronze mirrors (多鈕細文鏡), and the plain *Mu-mun* pottery that had been fired at 500-700° C became the plain

<sup>1</sup> Evidence of millet farming found at the Liaodong area is dated c.5000 BCE, and that found in the Korean Peninsula is dated c.4000 BCE.

<sup>2</sup> By taking advantage of northeasterly winds, ships could sail in summer directly from the mouth of the Yangzi River toward the southwestern tip of the Korean Peninsula. It is quite possible that the first non-trivial landing of southern Mongoloid DNA on the Korean Peninsula was occasioned by the arrival of rice cultivators from southern China. See Kim (1986: 121), Kim and Kim (2005), and Choi (2006: 34).

<sup>3</sup> See Nelson (1995: 198-9) and Barnes (1993: 160-1).

<sup>4</sup> See Pai (2000: 200, 203) and Nelson (1993: 137-8). Nelson (1993: 133) notes: “Liaoning dagger is found abundantly in the Liaodong Peninsula and around Bohai Bay, as well as in Korea, but it is not found in China south of the Great Wall.” Barnes (1993: 162) contends that “the peninsular Bronze Age per se is defined by the intrusion of the Liaoning dagger from the Manchurian Basin.”

<sup>5</sup> A large number of iron axes are found in stone cists, jar-coffins, cairns covering stone-lined pits, and wood coffins in a pile of stones (cairn burials).

<sup>6</sup> See Choi (2006: 30-4, 60, 63, 90), Y. Oh (2006: 46, 50), K. Oh (2006: 523-4), and Cho (2005: 20, 237-41).



4.2. Dolmens unearthed at (from top) Liaodong Peninsula 海城縣 析木城; Mun-heung-ri, Kang-dong-gun, Pyung-yang; Eun-yul, Whang-hae-do; Su-ip-ri, Po-cheon-gun, Kyung-gi-do; Do-san-ri, A-san-myun, Ko-chang-gun, Jeon-ra-buk-do; and Ku-ji-bong, Kim-hae 龜旨峯, 金海

burnished pottery fired at 700-850° C. Bronze daggers in a transitional shape are found in abundance in the Liaodong area, whereas the narrow-bladed daggers are found in abundance below the Cheong-cheon River. In the Korean Peninsula, the burial remains from the Early Iron Age retained the narrow-bladed bronze dagger and the fine-lined bronze mirror.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE HIGHEST DENSITY OF DOLMEN IN YEMAEK COMMUNITY

In Asia, dolmen is found from southern India, Indo-China, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Taiwan to Kyūshū, but the highest density on earth (exceeding 100,000 units) is found in Korea proper. The word dolmen is Celtic in origin, from *tol* (table) and *men* (stone). The southern tradition of dolmen burials appeared later than the northern tradition of stone-cists burials. According to Nelson (1993: 159, 163), the staggering number of dolmen found in Korea proper suggests their indigenous origin as well as the possibility that the Yemaek ruling elites marked “their territory by means of their burial places, as occurred in the British Isles.” The Stonehenge in England was erected during this same period, the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze, c.1800-1400 BCE. Dolmens are numerous in Liaodong, especially in the Liaodong Peninsula, and known as far north as Jilin province, but are considerably denser in the Korean Peninsula than in the Manchurian plain.

Dolmens in Korea proper are believed to have been built during 2000-400 BCE. The so-called northern-type dolmen has huge slabs and capstones (weighing up to 300 tons), forming a cist-like chamber above ground. The so-called southern-type dolmen (including the capstone type without supporting stones) has a large capstone resting on several smaller stones at ground level with the burial in a (slab-built) stone cist or jar coffin in the ground underneath. Many scholars believe that the latter had evolved from the former, but quite a few scholars believe that the former had evolved from the latter. Broad-or-narrow-bladed bronze daggers and plain *Mu-mun* potteries appear in the Bronze Age dolmen burials, whereas stone daggers (together with other stone artifacts) and comb-patterned *Chul-mun* potteries appear in the Neolithic dolmen burials.<sup>7</sup> Necklaces of tubular beads as well as comma-shaped beads (*gok-ok*) appear in dolmen burials that connect the Korean Peninsula, Japanese Islands, and Manchuria

with the northern edge of Mongolia and Transbaikalia.<sup>8</sup> According to Barnes (1993: 166), the dolmen sites never yield iron, and hence dolmen-building is thought to have been discontinued by 300 BCE at the latest.

According to Nelson (1995: 16), dolmens in the central Manchurian plain and the Liaodong Peninsula reveal “close connections with those in the Korean Peninsula in content as well as construction.”<sup>9</sup> Similarities between the Manchurian basin and the Korean Peninsula, observed in the Neolithic sites in the form of comb-patterned *Chul-mun* pottery, continued in the Bronze Age sites in the form of plain *Mu-mun* pottery, broad-bladed bronze daggers, coarse-lined bronze mirrors, and dolmens. Dolmen, the status symbol of ruling elites, characterizes the Yemaek culture of central Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula. It differentiates the culture of Korea proper from the Donghu-Xianbei culture of the western Manchurian steppe or the Mohe-Nüzhen culture of the eastern Manchurian forest.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Ancient Yan and Chosun

### SHAOGONG'S YAN AND JIZI'S CHOSUN IN THE *SHIJI*

Chosun appears in the records of the ruler of Qi (685-643 BCE) in the *Guanzi*, compiled during the Warring States period. Yemaek Chosun, together with Yemaek Puyeo, appears in the *Shiji* records on Yan. The *History of Later Han* records that the areas of Ye, Ok-jeo, and Koguryeo originally belonged to the territory of Chosun.<sup>11</sup>

According to the *Shiji*, King Wu (r.1049/45-1043 BCE) of Western Zhou (1046-771 BCE) conquered Shang (1600-1046 BCE) in 1045 BCE, and commanded his half-brother, the Duke of Shao, to release Jizi (Ki-ja) from the imprisonment imposed on him by the last king of Shang (who was a relative of Jizi). The *Shiji* then created the legend that King Wu enfeoffed Shaogong as the ruler of Northern Yan, and also enfeoffed Jizi as the ruler of Chosun, an eastern neighbor of Yan. With a few strokes, Sima Qian (c.145-86 BCE) installed two legendary Han Chinese royal scions as founders of the states located in the traditional domain of both Donghu and Dongyi.<sup>12</sup> The first half of the Shaogong's Northern Yan (c.1045-222 BCE) and Jizi's Chosun (c.1045-108

<sup>7</sup> Choi (2006: 125-38) The Bronze Age broad-bladed daggers are found mostly in stone cist burials in the north of Han River, and mostly in dolmens in southern peninsula. The Early Iron Age narrow-bladed bronze daggers are found mostly in stone cist burials, but some of them are also found from dolmen burials. See Lee (2002: 88, 127, 132-3, 168).

<sup>8</sup> See Watson (1971: 131, 136). See also Lee (2002: 133-5).

<sup>9</sup> Xu (1995: 80) contends that “the Liaodong, Shandong, and Korean peninsulas had...close relationships among them in the Neolithic.” The Dongyi, who built dolmens around the Shandong peninsular region, were either absorbed or pushed into the Manchurian basin by the Han Chinese.

<sup>10</sup> Shelach (2009: 22) notes that, in central Manchuria east of the Chifeng region, “very few footed vessels are found from the second millennium BCE...which distinguishes the area from the tradition of the Chifeng region to the West.”

<sup>11</sup> 管子 卷二十三 輕重甲 第八十 桓公曰 四夷不服...管子對曰...朝鮮不朝 [管仲 d.645 BCE] 史記 卷一百二十九 貨殖列傳 第六十九 夫燕亦勃碣之間...北鄰烏桓夫餘 東綰穢貉[貊]朝鮮...之利

後漢書 卷八十五 東夷列傳 濊 濊及沃沮句麗本皆朝鮮之地也

<sup>12</sup> 史記 卷四 周本紀 第四 武王…  
命召公釋箕子之囚  
史記 卷三十八 宋微子世家第八 箕  
子者紂親戚也…周武王伐紂克殷…  
訪問箕子…封箕子於朝鮮 而不臣也

三國志 魏書 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 滅傳  
昔箕子既適朝鮮 作八條之教 以教  
之 無門戶之閉而 民不為盜 其後四  
十餘世 朝鮮候准僭號稱王

According to the *Shiji*, Jizi was one of  
the several upright ministers who had  
dared to reprimand the cruel Shang  
king. King Wu released Jizi from his  
confinement, but Jizi decided not to  
serve a usurper and went into exile.

史記 卷三十四 燕召公世家 第四  
周武王之滅紂 封召公於北燕 宋忠曰  
有南燕 故云北燕 其在成王時 召公  
為三公 自陝以西 召公主之 自陝以  
東周公主之…自召公以下九世至惠侯  
…當周厲王[857/53-842/28]..莊公二十七  
年[664 BCE] 山戎來侵 我齊桓公  
救燕..使燕共貢天子 如成周時職 使  
燕復修召公之法…

太史公曰…召公爽可謂仁矣…[北]燕  
外迫蠻貉 內措齊晉 崎嶇疆國之間  
最為弱小 幾滅者數矣 然社稷血食  
者八九百歲…豈非召公之烈邪

史記 卷四十三 趙世家 第十三 敬  
侯 九年 [378 BCE] 齊伐燕 趙救燕

左傳 魯襄公二十八年 [545 BCE] 夏  
齊侯陳侯蔡侯 北燕伯[燕懿公]杞伯  
胡子沈子白狄朝于晉 宋之盟故也

韓非子 有度 燕襄王[襄公 r.657-  
618] 以河為境 以薊為國

<sup>13</sup> See Byington (2003: 33 and 37).

BCE) were all contemporaneous with the Bronze Age Upper Xiajiadian period (c.1200-600 BCE).

King Wu enfeoffed Shaogong as the ruler of “Northern Yan.” He was presumably given the responsibility for the area around modern Beijing (old Jicheng 薊城) that controlled the entrance to China’s Central Plain. The *Shiji* notes that there must have been a “Southern Yan” that did not belong to the territory enfeoffed to Shaogong. The Duke of Shao, however, seems to have remained in the Zhou capital, and there is no evidence that he had ever resided at his new fief of “Northern” Yan.

The *Shiji* records the enfeoffment of Shaogong in 1045 BCE, and then the narrative skips to the rule of ninth-generation descendant (惠侯 c.865-827 BCE), where the narrative picks up again. The *Shiji* then records that the Rong tribes attacked Yan, but Huan Gong of Qi sent troops in 664 BCE and saved the Yan. The *Shiji* also records that Zhao attacked Yan in 378 BCE. The *Zizhi Tongjian* records an attack on the Yan by Qi in 332 BCE. No meaningful record of (Northern) Yan, however, appears in chronicles until after the 330s BCE. According to Sima Qian, the Shaogong’s Northern Yan, “pressed by barbarians from outside and pushed by Qi and Jin from inside,” remained “the smallest and the weakest” among the Zhou feudal states, and yet managed to survive more than 800 years, despite several crises that threatened to destroy it (幾滅者數矣), and this remarkable fact should be attributed to the virtues of Shaogong.

#### DATING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE YAN LONG WALL

It was in the final few years of the King Zhao’s reign (r.312-279 BCE) that Yan had allegedly burst out of its small confined area around Beijing, and achieved the greatest territorial expansion (led by one heroic general Qin Kai) toward the Northeast, the traditional domain of the Donghu and Dongyi.<sup>13</sup>

According to the *Wei Lǐe*, when the Zhou became weak, the ruler of the Yan assumed the title of king in 323 BCE; then the “Lord of Chosun, the forty generations descendant of Jizi” also declared himself king; and these two states came to the brink of fighting each other. The armed conflicts between Chosun and Yan finally occurred---most likely sometime after the Yan victory over Qi in 284 BCE. According to the *Wei Lǐe*, the Yan dispatched a general named Qin Kai to invade the western region

of Chosun, (燕乃遣將秦開攻其西方) and acquired land of two thousand *li*. The *Wei Lie* does not mention the construction of the Yan Long Wall.<sup>14</sup>

According to the *Account of the Xiongnu* in the *Shiji*, it was during the reign of King Zhao of Qin (306-251 BCE) that the Qin built a Long Wall as a defense against the Hu. It was also the same time period that King Wuling of Zhao (r.325-299 BCE) built a Long Wall and changed the customs of his people, ordering them in 307 BCE to adopt the Hu dress and to practice riding and shooting. According to the *Zizhi Tongjian*, King Wuling stated, as of 307 BCE, that “in the north of our country, there exist the Yan and the Donghu.” According to the *Shiji*, “a little later (其後),” apparently sometime after 306 BCE, Qin Kai, who had earlier been taken hostage by the “Hu” and enjoyed their fullest confidence, appeared in the state of Yan. After returning to Yan, Qin Kai mounted a surprise attack on the “Donghu,” making the “Donghu” retreat about a thousand *li*. The *Shiji* then notes that the Yan constructed a “Long Wall” from Zhaoyang to “Xiangping” (noted, by Wei Zhao, to have been located at Liaodong in his time), and established Five Commanderies (Shanggu, Yuyang, Youbeiping, Liaoxi, and Liaodong) as a defense (not against the Donghu or Chosun but) against the “Hu.”<sup>15</sup> The *Shiji* does not clarify the implications of the term “Donghu” appearing twice between the term “Hu.”

Yan was roundly beaten by the Qi in 314 BCE and King Kuai (噲) was killed, but his son Zhao (昭王) was able to attract scholars, including the capable militarist Le Yi (樂毅) from Wei, and to reconstruct palaces in the very first year of his reign, 312 BCE. The Yan state became wealthy by 284 BCE, but King Zhao observed that his soldiers were indulging in pleasure-seeking, unmindful of combat duties. King Zhao thereby appointed Le Yi as the chief commanding general and ordered him to launch an attack on Qi in alliance with Zhao, Chu, Hann, and Wei. The allied forces defeated the Qi army in the west of Qi land. Le Yi led the Yan army to capture the capital, acquiring the treasures of Qi, and continued to stay in Qi for five more years until 279 BCE, subjugating the entire Qi land except for two cities.

According to the *Zizhi Tongjian*, the new King Zhao had asserted in 312 BCE: “Since Yan is small in territory and weak in strength, we cannot yet revenge the debacle (燕小力少 不足以報)

史記 卷三十四 燕召公世家 第四  
易王初立 [r.332-321 BCE] 齊...伐我 [314 BCE] 燕君噲死 齊大勝... 立太子平 是為燕昭王 [r.312-279 BCE] 齊...而襲破 燕孤極知燕小力少 不足以報 然誠 得賢士以共國...於是昭王為隗改築宮而師事之 樂毅自魏往二十八年[284 BCE] 燕國殷富 士卒樂執輕戰 於是遂以樂毅為上將軍與秦楚三晉合謀以伐齊 齊兵敗...盡取齊寶...其餘皆屬燕 六歲 [279BCE] 子惠王立...樂毅亡走趙...齊悉復得其故城 [272 BCE] 韓魏楚共伐燕 燕武成王立...[265 BCE] 齊...伐我 拔中陽... [251 BCE] 趙...圍其國 [244 BCE] 趙使李牧攻燕 拔武遂...[228 BCE] 燕見秦且滅六 國 [226 BCE] 秦攻拔我薊...燕王亡 徙居遼東...[222 BCE] 秦拔遼東 虜燕王喜 卒滅燕

<sup>14</sup> 三國志卷三十 魏書三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳第三十 韓傳 魏略曰 昔箕子之後朝鮮侯 見周衰 燕自尊為王 [323 BCE] 欲東略之 朝鮮侯亦自稱為王 欲興兵逆擊燕以尊周室...燕乃遣將秦開攻其西方 取地二千餘里至滿番汗為界 朝鮮遂弱 及秦并天下 使蒙恬築長城 到遼東...及漢以盧綰為燕王 朝鮮與燕界於涓(沛)水  
史記 卷四十 楚世家第十 懷王[312-279 BCE] 四年 [325 BCE] 秦惠王初稱王 六年 [323 BCE] 燕韓君初稱王  
A passage in the *Yantielun* (鹽鐵論) states that Chosun transgressed the border and raided Yan's eastern territories, and also that (the Yan attacked and repulsed the Donghu, opening up one thousand *li* of territory, and then) the Yan crossed Liaodong and attacked Chosun.



鹽鐵論 卷八 朝鮮踰徼 劫燕之東地  
卷九 襲走東胡 辟地千里 度遼東  
而攻朝鮮 See also Bai (2009: 325).

<sup>15</sup> 史記 卷第一百十 匈奴列傳 第五  
十...燕北有東胡山戎...臨胡貉...秦昭  
王時 [306-251 BCE] ...築長城以拒胡  
而趙武靈王 [r.325-299 BCE] 亦變俗  
胡服習騎射 [資治通鑑 307 BCE] 北  
破林胡...築長城...其後[306-279 BCE]  
燕有賢將秦開 匈為質於胡 胡甚信  
之 歸而襲破走東胡 [283-279 BCE]  
東胡卻千餘里...燕亦築長城 自造陽  
至襄平 韋昭云今遼東所理也...置上谷  
漁陽右北平遼西遼東郡 而拒胡...後  
秦滅六國 [221 BCE] 而始皇帝使蒙  
恬...築...城...起臨沮至遼東萬餘里

<sup>16</sup> 資治通鑑 卷三周紀三 赧王 三年  
[312 BCE] 知燕小力少 不足以報...  
八年...趙武靈王...曰 吾國東有齊中  
山 北有燕東胡 西有樓煩秦韓之邊  
三十一年 [284 BCE]...曰齊大而燕小  
賴諸侯之助 以破其軍...卷四 周紀四  
赧王三十六年 [279 BCE] 是時齊地  
皆屬燕...燕昭王曰齊國固樂[毅]所有  
非燕之所得也 樂君若能有齊與燕並  
為列國結歡同好以抗諸侯之難 燕國  
之福...昭王薨惠王立...樂毅...遂奔趙...  
齊人殺騎劫...而齊七十餘城皆復焉

史記 卷八十 樂毅列傳 第二十 樂  
毅賢好兵...燕昭王怨齊...燕國小辟遠  
力不能制...曰 齊...地大人眾 未易  
獨攻也...使樂毅為上將軍...趙楚韓魏  
燕之兵以伐齊 破之齊西 諸侯兵罷  
歸 而燕軍樂毅獨追 至于臨菑...樂  
毅留徇齊五歲 下齊七十餘城...以屬  
燕...喜...欲攻趙...趙遂圍燕

of 314 BCE”; and immediately after the attack on Qi in 284 BCE, it was asserted that “Since Qi was great and Yan was small, the Qi army could be destroyed with the assistance of other states (齊大而燕小 賴諸侯之助).” It is most likely that Qin Kai had stayed as hostage in the Hu land until 284 BCE. He could thereafter have returned home to launch an attack on the Donghu and construct the Yan Long Wall before the year 279 BCE when King Zhao died, Le Yi escaped to Zhao, and the newly conquered Qi land was all lost.<sup>16</sup> The Chinese cultural element of the Shaogong’s Yan could have had direct influences upon the region of the five newly established commanderies from 283-222 BCE, i.e., at most for a 61-year period before its downfall.

Yan was attacked by the Hann-Wei-Chu allied forces in 272 BCE, and was attacked by the Qi in 265 BCE. The Yan capital was besieged by the Zhao army in 251 BCE, and Yan was attacked once again by the Zhao in 244 BCE. Qin captured the Yan capital (薊) in 226 BCE and the last Yan king in 222 BCE, and conquered all the remaining states by 221 BCE.

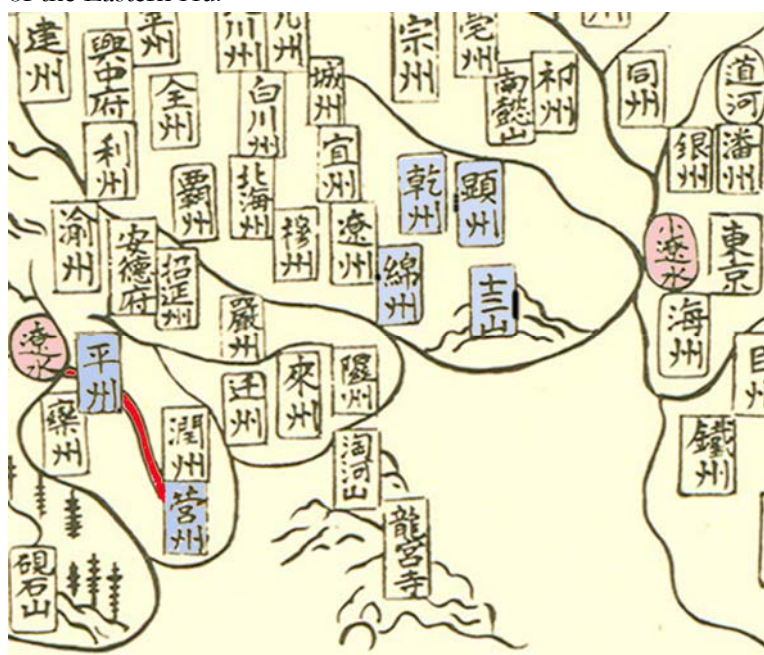
#### THE YAN LONG WALL REACHES XIANGPING IN LIAODONG

According to the *Shiji*, a Qin general named Meng Tian conquered the Ordos area in 215 BCE and started constructing the Long Wall. Meng Tian awed and terrified the Xiongnu and, mobilizing 300,000 men, continued the construction work (mostly with tamped earth) until his death six years later in 209 BCE.<sup>17</sup> Meng Tian’s wall consolidated and linked other walls that were built by the Warring Period states, including the Yan Long Wall. The *Shiji* records that the Qin Long Wall started at Lintao and extended to Liaodong to a distance of almost ten thousand *li*.

According to the *Shiji*, the Long Wall built by the Yan [sometime between 283-279 BCE], and rebuilt by Meng Tian of Qin sometime between 215-209 BCE, reached “Liaodong.” The *Hanshu* records the suppression of the Lu Wan’s rebellion in 195 BCE by general Zhou Bo, who chased Lu Wan all the way to the Long Wall and established five commanderies, including the Liaodong Commandery. According to the *Hanshu*, all of those five commanderies were located [as of 195 BCE] west of the Qin Long Wall, and none of them was located outside the Wall.<sup>18</sup>

The crucial question is the location of the “Liao River” and “Liaodong” prior to the Han Wudi’s conquest of Chosun in

108 BCE. Modern historians understand the “Liaodong” appearing in the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* to have been located east of the “modern-day” Liao River, and further identify Liaoyang as Xiangping. If Liaoyang of the modern-day Liaodong had indeed been the eastern terminus of the Yan Long Wall, however, the eastern front of the Yan Kingdom must have been wide open to the hostile Chosun, and then the Yan Long Wall could not have constituted an effective defense system even against either the Hu or the Eastern Hu.<sup>19</sup>



Liao River and Lesser Liao River. *Di Li Tu*, Cao Wanru, et al. (1990: 72)

#### ANCIENT LOCATION OF THE LIAO RIVER AND LIAODONG

The author of *Di Li Tu* (地理圖) is Huang Shang (黃裳) of the Southern Song (1127-1279), “a man from Pucheng County, Longqing Prefecture in the east of Lizhou (today’s Jiange County, Sichuan Province). This is one of the eight maps Huang presented to Zhao Kuo (趙擴 sometime between 1189-94), who was then the king of Jia (嘉王) and later became the Southern Song Emperor, Ningzong (寧宗 r.1194-1224). The aim of drawing and presenting this map was to remind the king that half of the territory opened up by the ancestors was still in the hands of the enemy. The map was obtained by a man called Wang Zhiyuan (王

<sup>17</sup> According to the *Account of Meng Tian*, it took 10 years (c.220-210 BCE) to finish construction of the Long Wall. 史記 卷八十八 蒙恬列傳 第二十八 始皇二十六年 秦已并天下 乃使蒙恬將三十萬衆北逐戎狄收河南 築長城...起臨沮至遼東 延袤萬餘里...暴師於外十年...是時蒙恬威振匈奴 史記 卷六 秦始皇本紀第六 三十二年 [215 BCE] ...始皇乃使將軍蒙恬發兵三十萬人北擊胡 略取河南地 三十三年...城河上爲塞 又使蒙恬渡河取...築亭障...三十四年 [213 BCE] 適治獄吏不直者 築長城及南越地 See also Bodde (1986: 42, 62-6).

<sup>18</sup> 漢書 卷四十 張陳王周傳 第十周勃 燕王盧綰反 勃...擊下...後擊綰軍沮陽...追至長城[195 BCE] 定上谷十二縣 右北平十六縣 遼東二十九縣 漁陽二十二縣...定郡五縣七十九

<sup>19</sup> As if anticipating such a critical view, never mind the absence of any supporting documentary material in dynastic chronicles or any archeological evidence, the PRC government officially extended the Yan Long Wall to have its eastern terminus at the mouth of the modern-day Cheong-cheon/Dae-nyung rivers in the Korean Peninsula.

<sup>20</sup> Excerpt from Qian Cheng and Yao Shi-ying in Cao Wanru, et al. (1990: 23). The Luan River flows north of Yan Shan (燕山) and south of Chengde (承德), reaching Parhae (Bo Hai 渤海) after crossing the Great Wall (colored red) in the west of old Pingzhou (平州) and Yingzhou (營州).

<sup>21</sup> 史記 卷十二 孝武本紀 第十二 天子既已封禪泰山..並海上 北至碣石 巡自遼西 歷北邊...以今年為元封元年 [110 BCE]...其明年伐朝鮮 [109 BCE]



4.3. East (pink) and West (green) of the Ancient Liao River (遼水/灤河) below the Great Wall

<sup>22</sup> 呂氏春秋 卷十三 有始覽 遼水出碣石山 [Zhishi Mountain] 自塞北東流 直至遼東之西南入海 [呂不韋]

淮南子 卷十三 墜形訓 遼水出碣石山 [Jieshi Mountain] 自塞北東流 直至遼東之西南入海 [西漢 劉安]

Schreiber (1949-55: 379-80) states that there ran a line of fortifications in a northerly direction of the Changli (昌黎) District "which were first built at the time of the [Warring] States by the kingdom of Yan and which were later incorporated into the Great Wall of China built by Qin Shihuangdi."

<sup>23</sup> 史記 卷一百一十五 朝鮮列傳 第五十五 朝鮮王滿者 故燕人也 自始全燕時 嘗略屬真番朝鮮 為置吏 築障塞 秦滅燕 屬遼東外徼 漢興 為其

致遠, 1193-1257) in Sichuan Province. In 1247, Wang had the map engraved on stone in Suzhou. The tablet is now preserved in the Suzhou Stone Tablet Museum."<sup>20</sup> Historians have failed to notice the fact that the *Di Li Tu* shows that the present-day Luan River (灤河) was called the Liao River (遼水) in former times, while the present-day Liao River was called the Lesser Liao River (小遼水).

If the map is correct, the "Liaodong" recorded in the *Shiji* could have implied the east of the Luan River. This would mean that the location of not only the Yan Long Wall but also the Qin Long Wall would approximately coincide with the location of the now extant Great Wall. Shanhai'guan, where the Great Wall begins, could have marked the eastern boundary of Liaodong in the final days of Yan and also at the time of Qin and Han prior to the Wudi's conquest of Chosun in 108 BCE. The Yan Long Wall with its eastern terminus in "Liaodong" would then have constituted a sensible defense system against the Hu, Donghu, and Chosun.

According to the *Shiji*, Han Wudi visited Taishan and then journeyed north by sea to arrive at "Jieshi" in 110 BCE, and thence made a tour "from Liaoxi" to the northern border areas.<sup>21</sup> The Jieshi Mountain is located in the modern-day Changli prefecture to the east of the modern-day Luan River. The *Lüshichunqin*, completed in 241 BCE, states that the Liao River originates in the Zhishi Mountain and flows into the sea southwest of Liaodong, and the *Huai'nanzhi*, completed sometime before 139 BCE, states that the Liao River originates in the Jieshi Mountain and flows into the sea southwest of Liaodong. The area around Jieshi could therefore have been "Liaodong" before the Wudi's conquest of Chosun.<sup>22</sup> I will examine more closely the records of *Shiji* and other chronicles in Appendix 4.1.

#### INTERACTIONS BETWEEN HAN CHINESE AND YEMAEK CHOSUN

After the fall of Yan in 222 BCE, Old Chosun had so grown in strength and territory as to interrupt, in the second century BCE, the contact between the Former Han dynasty and the petty walled town states of Chin (the later period Three Han) located south of the Han River in the Korean Peninsula. In early 109 BCE, the King of Chosun invaded Liaodong [located east of the Luan River] and killed a Han Chinese officer (in charge of the eastern part of Liaodong). Being seriously concerned about a

possible alliance of the Chosun with the Xiongnu, Wudi (r.140-87 BCE) launched an attack on Chosun in the autumn. Wudi ordered a 7,000-man Qi army to cross the Gulf of Parhae (Bohai) from Shandong, and a 50,000-man army to march from Liaodong to attack the capital of Chosun. The Han Chinese army went through a series of fierce battles and setbacks, but the King of Chosun was at last killed a year later, in summer of 108 BCE. Soon the capital of Chosun fell to the Han army, enabling Wudi to establish four commanderies, thus “severing the left arm of the Xiongnu (以斷匈奴之左臂).” Within three decades after the Wudi’s conquest, only the Lelang commandery in the Tae-dong River basin remained (until about 313 CE, together with the Daifang Commandery that was established by the Gongsun rulers in the area south of Lelang sometime between 206 and 220 CE).<sup>23</sup>

According to the *Shiji*, the General of the Left marched out “from Liaodong,” leading a large number of “Liaodong soldiers” (率遼東士 如淳曰遼東兵多) who may be understood to have been recruited from the Han Chinese who had settled in the area during the presumed Yan-Qin-Han occupation period of 283-108 BCE. According to the *Shiji*, the General of Left was commanding the fierce “Yan-Dai soldiers” (將燕代卒悍). The “Yan-Dai” region traditionally refers to the modern-day Hebei region, up to Shan’haiguan in the east. The contingent force from Liaodong that led the attack was defeated and dispersed (遼東兵先縱敗散), and the captain (卒正) was beheaded. In the meantime, the 7,000-man Qi naval force that had launched a direct attack on the capital of Chosun was also defeated and dispersed. The General of the Left from Liaodong attacked the Chosun army in the “west of the Pei River” (擊朝鮮涓水西軍), but was not able to defeat it to move forward (未能破自前).

According to the *Shiji* and *Hanshu*, the Pei River (涓水爲界) was the pre-Wudi border between the Han Empire and Chosun. The modern-day Luan, Daling, Liao, Yalu, Cheongcheon, and Tae-dong rivers have been proposed by various scholars as plausible candidates for the Pei River. In order to have a “Chosun army in the west of the Pei River,” however, the most likely candidate may have to be narrowed down to the Daling River: the Yellow Sea in the “west” of the Yalu, Cheongcheon and the Tae-dong rivers obviously could not accommodate a Chosun army. The Liaodong must then have implied the east of

遠難守 復修遼東故塞 至涓水爲界  
屬燕 燕王盧綰反 入匈奴 滿亡命...  
魁結蠻夷服而東走出塞 渡涓水 居  
秦故空地..稍役屬真番朝鮮蠻夷及故  
燕齊亡命者王之 都王儉...傳子至孫  
右渠...元封二年 [109 BCE]...何...遼  
東東部都尉...發兵襲攻殺何...天子募  
罪人擊朝鮮 其秋 遣樓船將軍...從  
齊浮渤海 兵五萬人 左將軍...出遼東  
卒正多率遼東兵先縱 敗散...坐法斬  
樓船將軍將齊兵七千人先至王儉...樓  
船軍敗散走...左將軍擊朝鮮涓水西軍  
未能破自前 天子...乃使...諭右渠...  
遣太子...人衆萬餘 持兵 方渡涓水  
使者...宜命人毋持兵 太子...復引歸  
左將軍破涓水上軍...至城下...樓船亦  
...數月未能下...左將軍...將燕代卒 悍  
...今兩將圍城...以故久不決...元封三  
年夏 [108 BCE] 尼鷄相...殺朝鮮王  
右渠來降 王儉城未下 左將軍...誅...  
以故遂定朝鮮 爲四郡...左將軍徵至  
坐爭功...弃市 樓船...爲庶人  
漢書 卷六 武帝紀第六 元封二年  
[109 BCE] 朝鮮王攻殺遼東都尉...秋  
...將應募罪人擊朝鮮...三年...夏...朝  
鮮斬其王右渠降 以其地爲樂浪臨屯  
玄道 真番郡  
漢書 卷九十五 朝鮮傳 第六十五  
漢興 復修遼東故塞 至涓水爲界...傳  
子至孫右渠...真番辰國欲上書見天子  
又雍闕弗通 元封二年 天子募罪人  
擊朝鮮...其秋 遣樓船將軍...從齊浮勃  
海...兵五萬...左將軍...出遼東...卒多率  
遼東士 如淳曰遼東兵多也 兵先縱 敗  
散...樓船將齊兵七千人先至王儉...樓  
船軍敗走...左將軍擊朝鮮涓水西軍  
未能破...左將軍...將燕代卒 悍  
漢書 卷七十三 韋賢傳 第四 十三  
孝武皇帝愍中國罷勞 無安寧之時...  
北攘匈奴降昆邪十萬之衆 置五屬國

起朔方以奪其肥饒之地 東伐朝鮮起  
玄菟樂浪 以斷匈奴之左臂  
漢書 卷九十六下 西域傳 第六十六  
下 孝武之世 圖制匈奴 患其兼從西  
國... 開玉門 通西域 以斷匈奴右臂

In 82 BCE, the Zhenfan and Lintun  
commanderies were abolished, and the  
Xuantu commandery was forced to  
withdraw to the far northwest [200 //  
north of the Liaodong commandery] in  
75 BCE. See Lee (1984: 19).

<sup>24</sup> Translation of the *Biographies of the  
Money-Makers* by Watson (1961: 443).  
史記 卷一百二十九 貨殖列傳 第六  
十九 夫燕亦勃碣之間 一都會也 南  
通齊趙 東北邊胡 上谷至遼東 地踔  
遠人民希 數被寇 大與趙代俗相類  
人民雕悍 少慮...北鄰烏桓夫餘 東  
綰穢貉[貊]朝鮮真番之利



4.4. Korea Proper

<sup>25</sup> 史記 卷第一百十 匈奴列傳第五  
十 冒頓既立 是時東胡疆盛 遂東襲  
擊...大破滅東胡王而虜其民人及畜產  
三國志 卷三十 魏書三十 烏丸鮮卑  
東夷傳 第三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳

the modern-day Luan River.

Many scholars assume that the Han army had marched from the vicinity of modern Liaoyang because they believe it was the location of Xiangping, the alleged seat of Yan Liaodong commandery. If this is so, then Chosun must have been physically disconnected from the Xiongnu ever since c.283 BCE by the Shaogong's Yan, that had supposedly occupied modern-day Liaodong, in which case the Wudi's feat would hardly merit being extolled as the "severing the left arm of the Xiongnu."

The absurdity of such a reading of historical records, encountered in almost every East Asian history book that happens to touch on this specific episode, may be traced to the intellectual negligence that condoned the misspecification of the location of the Liao River and Liaodong prior to the Han Wudi's conquest of Chosun. It can be traced, as well, to the careless presumption that the modern-day toponym "Liao River" may be applied retrospectively to ancient times.

Sima Qian (145-86 BCE), contemporaneous with Wudi (r.140-87 BCE), wrote in the *Huozi Liezhuan* (*Money-Makers*): "Yan situated between the Gulf of Bohai and Jieshi (勃碣之間), is also a major city (一都會). The region of Yan communicates with Qi and Zhao in the south, borders the lands of the Xiongnu in the northeast (東北邊胡), and extends as far as Shanggu and Liaodong (至遼東), a distant and remote area, sparsely populated and often subject to barbarian raids. On the whole the customs are similar to those of Zhao and Dai (趙代俗相類), but the people are as fierce as hawks... On the north it adjoins the Wuhuan and Fuyu tribes and on the east it controls the profits derived from trade with the Yemaek Chosun and Zhenfan peoples (東綰穢貉朝鮮真番之利)."<sup>24</sup> The year 108 BCE, therefore, may well stand as the accurate historical date for the Han Chinese, for the first time in their history, to enter the lower basin of the modern-day Liao River and the northwestern coast of the Korean Peninsula.

#### THE ORIGIN OF WEI MAN: A DONGHU YAN STATE

The *Shiji* records that the power of Donghu had reached its peak at the time Maodun (r.209-174 BCE) became Shanyu. According to the Han section of *Dongyi-zhuan* (in the *Weishu* of the *Sanguozhi*), it was shortly after the Donghu were subjugated (c.210 BCE) by the Maodun's newly emerging Xiongnu Empire

that a “Yan” person named Wei Man came to Chosun (sometime after 209 BCE according to the record of *Ye-zhuan*, and sometime after 195 BCE according to the record of *Han-zhuan*) with a topknot and wearing barbarian clothes (魋結夷服). Wei Man was entrusted with the custody of refugees in the western frontier district, but he eventually usurped the throne of Chosun.<sup>25</sup> Historians assume that Wei Man was a Han Chinese who came from the “Shaogong’s Northern Yan.” If one takes account of the timing of Wei Man’s appearance “in Donghu clothes complete with a topknot,” however, the “Yan state” from which Wei Man came might well have been some other Yan state of Donghu.

According to the *Shiji*, Lu Wan (265-193 BCE) was a childhood friend of Liu Bang. Gaodi had appointed him the King of Yan on September 30, 202 BCE. When Gaodi died on April 25, 195 BCE, Lu sought refugee with the Xiongnu (in the same month) who made him the “king of Donghu.” The Donghu had been conquered by Maodun c.210 BCE. The Lu Wan’s “Donghu” kingdom might well have been the “Yan” state of Donghu.<sup>26</sup>

During the hundred years from 337-436 CE, there appeared five Yan states that have been designated as Former Yan (337-70), Later Yan (386-407), Western Yan (385-94), Southern Yan (398-410), and Northern Yan (409-36). Surprisingly, the rulers of the so-called “Northern” Yan, located in the Hebei-Liaoxi area, were Han Chinese, while the rulers of all other Yan states, including the Southern Yan that was located in the Shandong Peninsula, were all Murong Xianbei. The fact that the latter-day Xianbei founders called their states *Yan* suggests the possible existence of an entity called Donghu Yan. The fact that all those transgressors of a sort who did not want to identify themselves as Han Chinese, such as Gongsun Yuan (in 237 CE), An Lushan (in 756) and Shi Siming (in 759), styled themselves the King of *Yan* also suggests the possible existence of a Donghu Yan entity other than the Shaogong’s Northern Yan.

A series of conflicts between the Chosun and Yan people from 323-195 BCE that was recorded in the Chinese chronicles suggests a fairly intimate relationship (mostly in the form of incessant warfare, as usual, between any good neighbors) having been maintained among the peoples of Shaogong’s Northern Yan, some other Yan state of Donghu-Xianbei, and Yemaek Tungusic Chosun.

韓傳...及綰反入匈奴 [195 BCE] 燕人衛滿亡命 爲胡服...詣準降 說準求居西界 收中國亡命 令守西邊...遂還攻準 準...走...居韓地自號韓王 滅傳...陳勝等起 [209 BCE] 天下叛秦 燕齊趙民避地朝鮮數萬口 燕人衛滿 魋結夷服 復來王之 晉書 卷一百八 載記 第八 慕容廆...鮮卑人也...號曰東胡...曾祖莫護跋...乃斂髮襲冠 Murong Hui’s great-grandfather bound his hair together.

<sup>26</sup> 史記 卷九十三 韓信盧綰列傳 第三十三 盧綰親與高祖...漢五年[202 BCE]...迺立盧綰爲燕王...故燕王臧荼子衍出亡在胡...高祖崩[195 BCE] 盧綰遂將其衆亡入匈奴 匈奴以爲東胡盧王...孝景中六年[152 BCE] 盧綰孫他之 以東胡王降 爲東胡王來降也 See 曲英傑, “周代燕國考” 歷史研究, 1996. 5, “由銅器銘匱設到匱, 燕有別,” 北京文博, 1997. 2, “說匱,” 考古與文物, 2000. 6.

<sup>27</sup> See Wagner (2001: 5, 64-6, 72, 76, 80, 100), (2008: 86-8, 97, 201), and Barnes (1993: 149-51), (2007a: 65-6).

<sup>28</sup> See also Barnes (2001: 83-4, 113).

<sup>29</sup> According to Wagner (2001: 1, 64, 65), there is no archeological evidence to clarify the “iron production technology for the period before the state monopoly” in China. After 117 BCE, however, we are sure that “cast iron was produced in blast furnaces.”

<sup>30</sup> Barnes (2007a: 65-6) continues: “In a bloomery furnace, charcoal was not

used in great quantities, so the iron ore did not melt completely. Instead, the product was a spongy mass of iron and slag called a bloom” that must be refined through hammering (to expel the slag impurities) in the forging-welding process. The iron produced in China could be decarburized. Such iron “is malleable and thus can be hammered, but it does not leave slag residue in the forging process.”

<sup>31</sup> According to Di Cosmo (2002: 72), “a rich inventory of iron items including knives, daggers, and armor” dating to the ninth century BCE was found along the Amur River, and “there are indications that relations existed between Transbaikalia and the Chinese northeast, possibly following the ancient routes of communication through the forests of Manchuria and on the large waterways that run north to south.” Watson (1971: 44) states that the “movement both ethnical and cultural between Manchuria and the Minusinsk basin [around the Upper Yenisei River], along the flat land of the middle Amur, must have been easier during the climate optimum.”

<sup>32</sup> 三國志卷三十 魏書三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳第三十 夫餘傳 南與高句麗 東與挹婁 西與鮮卑接 北有弱水…於東夷地域最平敞 土地宜五穀…不寇鈔 國有君王 皆以六畜名官 有馬加牛加豬加狗加…邑落有豪民 名下戶皆為奴僕 諸加別主四出道 大者主數千家 小者數百家 食飲皆用俎豆 會同拜爵洗爵…正月祭天

#### AVENUE OF THE DIFFUSION OF BLOOMERY IRON CULTURE

A foundry site (where already-smelted iron was remelted and cast into products) dated third century BCE was excavated at Xinglong (興隆) County, Hebei, about 100 km northeast of Beijing, outside the Great Wall. Finds include cast-iron molds for implements, charcoal, iron ore, and slag. The inscription on the molds (右 followed by 回 under 𠂇) is read *You Lin* (右廩) and generally believed to indicate that this was a (Shaogong’s Northern) Yan ironwork site. Remains of the Han period “iron-smelting” were found at Qinghezhen (清河鎮) in Beijing Municipality.<sup>27</sup>

Barnes (1993: 152) contends that the Yan “produced a greater abundance of iron artifacts than Qin, the strongest state,” as manifested by the “iron foundries excavated at several Yan sites,” and also by “the earliest-known iron armor…from Yan.” Barnes contends that the iron culture of China was transmitted to Korea through Shaogong’s Yan. Barnes (ibid: 153) takes the traditional view that “the state of Yan expanded into the lower Manchurian Basin, creating a cultural synthesis from the various elements of nomadic, agricultural and state-level societies,” and believes that the Shaogong’s Northern Yan was “instrumental in initiating the Korean Iron Age from 400 BCE.”<sup>28</sup>

Mainland China had adopted the “indirect” method of producing high-carbon [cast] iron in a blast furnace that was decarburized in the process of manufacturing the final iron or steel objects. According to Wagner (2001: 65), there is “no direct evidence” for the use of the bloomery method at any time in China.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the people of the Korean Peninsula had adopted the “direct” bloomery method to produce low-carbon [wrought] iron that was carburized in the process of manufacturing the final objects.<sup>30</sup> Wagner (2008: 97) states that “there is some evidence that Korean iron technology may have come from the Scythians, and that…the dates which have been proposed range from the 8th to the 3rd century BCE.” Barnes (2007a: 66) contends that the “bloomery iron production on the southern Korean Peninsula must have begun close in time to the establishment of the commanderies, as non-Chinese wrought iron objects from the peninsula and forging technology started to appear in later Middle Yayoi [in Japan].” The bloomery wrought-

iron culture of Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula could have arrived through the gently sloping section of the Greater Xing'an Range, and/or following the waterways connecting the Kerulen-Argun, Onon-Shilka, Amur, Nen, Songhua, and Liao rivers that served as an alternative avenue of communication and diffusion of nomadic iron metallurgy.<sup>31</sup> This subject is further investigated in *Addendum 5: "Iron-Making in China and Elsewhere in the World."*

No blast furnace has ever been reported to have been excavated either in Manchuria or in the Korean Peninsula. It is obvious that the Han Chinese (Northern) Yan that had been using the "blast furnace technology" could not have transmitted the "bloomy technology" to the Korean Peninsula. The fact that the Beijing area belonged to the blast furnace culture while the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria belonged to the bloomy culture implies that the Shaogong's Yan could not have expanded as far as the modern-day Liao River area, "initiating the Korean Iron Age," as Barnes contends.

### 3. Interactions between the Murong-Xianbei Yan and the Yemaek Puyeo-Koguryeo

#### THE YEMAEC PUYEO RECORDED IN THE DONGYI-ZHUAN

Puyeo, together with Xiongnu and Koguryeo, was regarded as a potential menace to the Wang Mang's short-lived (9-23 CE) Xin dynasty. The first recorded instance of the Puyeo king sending envoys to the Later Han court was 49 CE. The *Dongyi-zhuan* gives a 930-letter description of Puyeo. It is the first systematic history on Puyeo appearing in the Chinese dynastic chronicles. The following is a summary.<sup>32</sup>

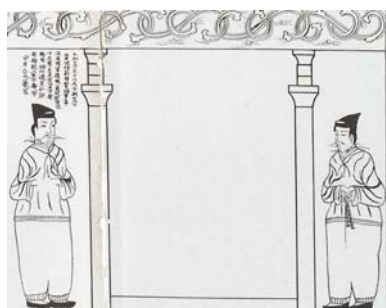
Puyeo borders Xianbei in the west, Yilou in the east, Koguryeo in the south, and Nenjiang (Non'ni River) in the north. Among the Eastern Barbarian states, only Puyeo occupies the great plain, suitable for the planting of five grains. The titles of officials are designated after livestock such as horse-*ka*, cow-*ka*, pig-*ka* and dog-*ka*, lesser officials being in charge of several hundred households and the higher ones several thousand. When holding rites to the Heaven in January, they drink, sing, and dance every day. They offer drinking cups to each other and ceremonially wash every cup. [Modern-day Koreans still maintain

國中大會 連日飲食歌舞...衣尚白...  
兄死妻嫂 與匈奴同俗...家家自有鎧  
仗...行道晝夜無老幼皆歌 通日聲不  
絕...諸加自戰 下戶俱擔糧飲食之...  
漢末 公孫度雄張海東...時句麗 鮮  
卑疆 度以夫餘在二虜之間 妻以宗  
女...正始中 幽州刺史毋丘儉討句麗  
遣玄菟太守王頎詣夫餘...麻余死 其  
子衣慮年六歲 立以爲王...今夫餘庫  
有玉璧珪瓚數代物...蓋本滅貊之地  
魏略曰 昔北方有高離之國者 其王  
者侍婢有身 王欲殺之 婢云有氣如  
雞子來下 我故有身 後生子...名曰  
東明...善射 王恐奪其國也 欲殺之  
東明走...東明因都王夫餘之地

<sup>33</sup> 晉書 卷一百八 載記第八 慕容廆  
涉歸死...迎廆立之...初 涉歸有憾於  
宇文鮮卑 廆...入寇遼西 殺略甚衆  
帝遣幽州諸軍討廆...自後復掠昌黎..  
又率衆東伐夫餘 [285] 夫餘王依慮  
自殺 廆夷其國城 驅萬餘人而歸...  
迎入依慮之子爲王...遂復夫餘之國  
資治通鑑 卷八十一 晉紀三 武帝  
太康七年[286] 故扶餘王依慮子依羅  
求帥見人 還復舊國 請援...遂復扶餘  
資治通鑑 卷九十七 晉紀十九 穆帝  
永和二年[346]夫餘居于鹿山 爲百濟  
所侵 部落衰散 西徙近燕 而不設備  
燕王皝 遣世子儁 帥慕容軍 慕容恪  
慕輿根 三將軍 萬七千騎 襲夫餘...  
虜其王玄及部落五萬餘口 而還  
See also Lee (1984: 21-2).

<sup>34</sup> 廣開土王碑文  
廿年庚戌 [410] 東夫餘舊是鄒牟王  
屬民 中叛不貢 王躬率往討  
三國史記 高句麗本紀 第七 文咨明  
王三年[494] 夫餘王及妻孥以國來降  
See also Lee (1984: 22).





4.5. Tong Shu (d.357) appearing as aide-de-camp on south wall of western side-entrance in An-ak Tomb No. 3

this custom.] Since everyone keeps singing on the road, the sounds of singing can be heard all day long. They adore white clothes, wearing caps decorated with gold and silver ornaments, jackets with large sleeves, trousers, and leather shoes. Like the Xiongnu, when an elder brother dies, the younger one takes his wife. Keeping armor and weapons in every house, the [aristocratic 豪民/諸加] *ka* people engage in fighting, while the lower class households supply food for them. They bury the living with the dead, sometimes numbering a hundred people. As the Xianbei and Koguryeo became stronger during the last years of Later Han, Gongsun Du married the daughter of a member of his family to the king of Puyeo. Sometime between 240-8, the Youzhou Governor Guan Qiujian attacked Koguryeo, and dispatched the Governor of Xuantu to Puyeo. Precious jade artifacts are handed down from generation to generation in the royal house. The elders say that their ancestors (from Kori, according to the foundation myth) took refuge in this **Yemaek** land a long time ago.

Murong Hui (r.285-333), at the age of seventeen, invaded Puyeo in 285 and returned with ten thousand prisoners, provoking the Puyeo king, Ui-ryeo, to commit suicide. In 346, Murong Huang, Hui's son, dispatched three of his sons, including the crown prince, with 17,000 cavalymen to attack the Puyeo, capturing the king and taking fifty thousand prisoners.<sup>33</sup> King Kwaggaeo (r.391-413) of Koguryeo subjugated the Puyeo in 410. The Puyeo royal house surrendered itself to Koguryeo in 494.<sup>34</sup>

#### YEMAЕК KOGURYEO: "QUICK-TEMPERED FEROCIOUS PILLAGERS"

The *Dongyi-zhuan* also gives a brief description of Koguryeo (37 BCE-668 CE) as follows.<sup>35</sup> It is located one thousand *li* to the east of Liaodong, bordering the Chosun **Yemaek** in the south, Ok-jeo in the east, and Puyeo in the north, with its capital located below Hwan-do. About 30,000 households live within a radius of two thousand *li*. There are many high mountains and deep valleys, but no plains or fertile farmlands. Even with their utmost efforts at farming, they are always short of foodstuffs, and a moderate diet became their custom. And yet the people are fond of constructing palaces and decorating ceremonial halls. They construct big buildings around their houses, and hold services to the deities of land and grain, divine

<sup>35</sup> 三國志 魏書 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 高句麗在遼東之東千里 南與朝鮮濊貊

stars, and ancestor deities. They are quick tempered and ferocious, and fond of pillaging. Since the Koguryeo people are a variety of the Puyeo, their language and customs are similar to those of Puyeo, but their clothing and temperament are somewhat different. Their king comes from one of the five [aristocratic] clans, and always takes his queen from a specific clan. The upper class people (坐食者), numbering 10,000, never work in the fields, and the lower class people carry in grains, fish and salt from distant places to supply them. Men and women gather together and enjoy singing and dancing every night. They brew good wine. They appear to run rather than walk. They hold rites to Heaven in October. They construct tombs by piling up stones, spending enormous resources. They are strong and adept in warfare, producing excellent bows (called **Maek**-bows), and subjugating all the Ok-jeo and Eastern **Ye** people. Their horses are small and adept at climbing mountains. Wang Mang (9-23 CE) attempted to use the Koguryeo army in attacking the Hu (Xiongnu), but the “*Ko-guryeo*” soldiers merely pillaged local provinces. The Koguryeo king [Yuri r.19 BCE-18 CE] was killed. Wang Mang decreed all under heaven to call the “*Superior-guryeo*” thenceforth the “*Base-guryeo*.” The king [Dae-mu-sin r.18-44] sent tribute [to the Later Han court] in 32 CE, and began to use the title of king. During the years 105-25, the Koguryeo king [Tae-jo r.53-146] frequently invaded Liaodong and pillaged. During 125-67, the Koguryeo army invaded and pillaged Liaodong again. On their way to attack Xianping, the Koguryeo army killed the Governor of Daifang, and captured the wife and children of the Governor of Lelang. In 172-7, as Gongsun Du consolidated his power in Liaodong, the king of Koguryeo dispatched an army to help him destroy bandits. Sometime between 205-21, however, Gongsun Kang sent an army to attack Koguryeo. In 238, when Sima Yi (懿) led an army to attack Gongsun Yuan, the Koguryeo king [Dong-cheon r.227-48] helped the Wei army by dispatching several thousand soldiers. In 242, the Koguryeo king pillaged Xianping.

Gongsun Du began his career as a petty official in the Xuantu commandery, and was appointed Governor of Liaodong in 190 by Dong Zhuo (d.192). Du managed to establish a separatist regime, and launched attacks against Koguryeo in the east and Wuhuan in the west. When Du died in 204, his son Kang succeeded him. The Gongsun rulers annexed Lelang

東與沃沮 北與夫餘接 都於丸都之下 方可二千里 戶三萬 多大山深谷 無原澤 隨山谷以為居 食潤水 無良田 雖力佃作 不足以實口腹 其俗節食 好治宮室 於所居之左右立大屋 祭鬼神 又祀靈星 社稷... 其人性凶急 喜寇抄... 扶餘別種 言語諸事多與夫餘同... 本有五族... 本涓奴部為王... 今桂婁部代之... 絕奴部世與王婚... 其國中大家不佃作 坐食者萬餘口 下戶遠擔米糧魚鹽供給之 其民喜歡舞... 善藏釀... 行步皆走 以十月天... 金銀財幣盡於送死 積石為封... 其馬皆小便登山 國人有氣力習戰鬪 沃沮東濊皆屬焉... 出好弓 所謂貂弓是也 王莽初發高句麗兵以伐胡(匈奴)... 為寇盜... 誘其句麗侯駒至而斬之[瑠璃王]... 王莽... 布告天下 更名高句麗為下句麗... 漢光武帝八年 [32 CE] 高句麗王遣使朝貢 始見稱王至殤安之間 [105-6-25] 句麗王宮[太祖王 r.53-146] 數寇遼東 [c.121]... 宮死子伯固立 [新大王r.165-79]... 順桓之間 [125-44-46-67] 復犯遼東 寇新安居鄉 又攻西安平 于道上殺帶方令 略得樂浪太守妻子... 熹平中[172-7]... 公孫度之雄海東也 伯固遣... 等助度擊富山賊... 自伯固時 數寇東... 建安中 [196-219] 公孫康出軍擊之... 景初二年 [238]... 司馬宣王... 討公孫淵 宮[東川王 r.227-48]遣... 將數千人助軍 正始三年 [242] 宮寇西安平東沃沮... 臣屬句麗... 貂布魚鹽海中食物千里擔負致之 又送其美女

<sup>36</sup> 三國志卷八 魏書八 公孫度... 本遼東 襄平人... 為董卓中郎將 [184-9] 薦度為遼東太守 度起玄菟小吏... 東伐高句麗 西擊烏丸... 初平元年[190] ... 自立... 度曰 我王遼東... 度死 子

康嗣位...是歲建安九年也[204]...康死 [221]...衆立恭爲遼東太守..太和二年 [228] 淵脅奪恭位 明帝卽位拜淵...遼東太守 淵遣使南通...孫權...立淵爲燕王 [233] ...景初元年 [237]...自立爲燕王 置百官有司...二年 [238] 司馬宣王[宣帝司馬懿] 征燕...斬淵父子...遼東 帶方 樂浪 玄菟悉平

<sup>37</sup> 資治通鑑 卷七十一 魏紀三 明帝太和二年 [228] 十二月 公孫氏 漢時所用 遂世官相承 水則有海 陸則阻山 外連胡夷 絕遠難制 而世權日久 今若不誅 後必生患...帝不從 拜淵...遼東太守 景初二年 [238] 帝召司馬懿於長安 使將兵四萬 討遼東...四千里征伐...還往幾日 對曰 往百日

<sup>38</sup> 三國史記 卷第十七 高句麗本紀第五 東川王 二十年[246]秋八月 魏遣幽州刺史毋丘儉 將萬人 出玄菟來侵 王將步騎二萬人 逆戰於沸流水上敗之 乃領鐵騎五千 進而擊之

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Di Cosmo (2002: 43)

See also Lee (1984: 20, 23-4, 29-30).

<sup>40</sup> 晉書 卷一百八 載記第八 慕容廆陰結高句麗及宇文段國等 謀滅廆以分其地 太興初 [318-21] 三國伐廆...明年 高句麗寇遼東 廆遣衆擊敗之 三國史記 高句麗本紀 第五 美川王二十年[319] 我及段氏宇文氏使共攻慕容廆 See Schreiber (1949-55: 419).

<sup>41</sup> 安岳 3 號墳 冬壽 頭上墨書 永和十三年[357] 十月戊子朔廿六日 癸[丑]使持節都督諸軍事 平東將軍 護撫夷校尉 樂浪[相] 昌黎玄菟帶方太守 都鄉侯 幽州遼東 平郭都鄉

commandery, and established the Daifang commandery from the southern portion of Lelang. Koguryeo continually fought against the Gongsun rulers. When Kang died in 221, his younger brother Gong succeeded him.<sup>36</sup> In 228, Gong was replaced by (Kang's son) Yuan, who proclaimed himself King of Yan in 237 but was killed fighting the Wei expeditionary force in 238.<sup>37</sup> The Lelang and Daifang commanderies were taken over by the Cao Cao's Wei (220-265), and then by the Western Jin (265-316).

In 246, King Dong-cheon fought against the 10,000-man Wei army, leading 20,000 infantry and mounted soldiers. According to the *Samguk-sagi*, 5,000 of the Koguryeo soldiers engaged in that battle were the iron-armored cavalrymen that must have looked like the cavalrymen in the 4th century Koguryeo mural paintings of the An-ak Tomb No. 3.<sup>38</sup>

The hereditary warrior aristocracy in Koguryeo did not work in the fields; it devoted itself to combat, raiding neighbors and extracting tributes in order to supplement deficient resources from its own mountainous terrain. The *Dongyi-zhuan* records that the Ok-jeo people of the Eastern Sea coast carried cloth, fish, salt, and other marine products on their backs to Koguryeo, a distance of more than 200 miles.

In Puyeo and Koguryeo, kings were at first chosen by an elective process, alternating the kingship among important tribal leaders. (The same practice appeared also in Silla.) When the right to the throne became permanently secured by a single royal clan in Koguryeo, the system of succession was often lateral. Upon the death of King Koguk-cheon (r.179-97), his younger brother married the widowed queen and became King San-sang (r.197-227). The practice of marrying a sister-in-law originated in the custom of Puyeo and Xiongnu. The father-to-son succession is recorded in Koguryeo from the reign of San-sang. Even then, the queen was drawn from an important non-royal ruling clan. The Puyeo and the Koguryeo were not nomads, and yet they had retained nomadic social formations with a martial flavor, and maintained an aristocratic warrior class whose main occupation had been the practice of war.<sup>39</sup>

#### MURONG-XIANBEI YAN FIGHTING YEMAEK KOGURYEO

During the third century, Koguryeo was still entrenched in the Hun-Yalu river valleys. In the late third century, the Murong

Xianbei moved down into the Liao River basin and cut off Lelang from Western Jin. The *Samguk-sagi* records frequent armed conflicts between the Koguryeo and the Murong Xianbei from 293 to 296. In 311, the Xiongnu sacked the Jin capital at Luoyang, and Koguryeo took over the Lelang commandery in 313. In 319, Koguryeo, in coalition with two Xianbei tribes, Yuwen and Duan, attacked Murong Hui (r.285-333), but was defeated by the troops led by Hui and his son Huang. Hui let another son, Ren, defend Liaodong.<sup>40</sup> In 320, the Koguryeo army attacked Liaodong but was beaten back.

When Murong Huang succeeded his father in 333, his younger brother, Ren, rebelled in the Liaodong area. According to the *Zizhi Tongjian*, one of Huang's officers, named Tong Shu, a Han Chinese from Liaodong, sided with Ren after Huang's initial defeat in 333, and then, when Ren was crushed by Huang in 336, fled to Koguryeo. Tong Shu appears as one of the two military aids-de-camp (帳下督) in the mural painting of a Koguryeo royal mausoleum (on the south wall of the western side-entrance at Anak Tomb No. 3, Hwang-hae-do) with a 68-letter inscription over his head (頭上墨書) reporting that he had held various high-ranking positions and died incumbent in 357 at the age of 69.<sup>41</sup>

The armed conflicts between the Xianbei and the Koguryeo continued from 339 to 342. There is, however, no record of conflicts during the 41-year period between 343-84. According to the *Samguk-sagi*, Koguryeo mounted an attack on Liaodong in 385, fifteen years after the fall of Former Yan.

In 392, King Kwang-gae-to (r.391-413) mounted an attack on the Qidan in the north, and brought back 10,000 Koguryeo people previously captured and taken away by the Qidan army. Koguryeo seems to have occupied the Liaodong area sometime between 392-9. According to the *Jinshu*, the king of Later Yan (Murong Sheng, r.398-401) invaded Liaodong and took away five thousand households to "Liaoxi" in 400. According to the *Samguk-sagi* (corroborated by the *Zizhi Tongjian*), the Koguryeo army invaded an area north-east of Longcheng in 402, and the king of Later Yan (Murong Xi, r.401-7) "invaded Liaodong" (but failed) in 405. According to the *Jinshu*, the Koguryeo army had invaded the Yan Commandery (寇燕郡) sometime before 405. The Deuk-heung-ri Tomb of a Koguryeo dignitary named Zhen (鎮 331-408) contains the record that he held the position of

敬上里 冬壽字□安年六十九 薨官  
資治通鑑 卷九十五 晉紀十七 慕容  
廆卒...仁舉兵...皝...遣軍...與庶弟...  
司馬遼東 修壽共討仁... 皝兵大敗...  
壽...遂降於仁...慕容皝討遼東...咸康  
二年...慕容皝將討慕容仁...修壽...東  
走...奔高麗

<sup>42</sup> 三國史記 卷第十八 高句麗本紀  
第六 故國壤王 二年[385] 王出兵四  
萬襲遼東 廣開土王 二年[392] 北伐  
契丹...招諭本國陷沒民口一萬而歸..  
十年[400] 燕王盛...自將兵三萬襲之  
...拔新城南蘇二城..徙五千餘戶而還  
十二年 [402] 王遣兵攻宿軍[龍城東  
北] 燕平州刺史慕容歸棄城走  
十五年 燕王熙來攻遼東...不克而還  
...十八年 北燕王雲...祖父高和 句麗  
之支屬 (See sidenote 48, Chapter 5.)

晉書 卷一百二十四 載記第二十四  
慕容盛 盛率衆三萬 伐高句麗 襲其  
新城南蘇 皆克之 散其積聚 徙其五  
千餘戶于遼西  
慕容熙 改元曰光始...[401]...熙北襲  
契丹 大破之...高句麗寇燕郡 殺略  
百餘人 熙伐高句麗...以攻遼東...於  
是城內嚴備 攻之不能下...乃引歸  
熙...襲契丹...輕襲高句麗 周行三千  
餘里 攻木底城...不克而還...中衛將  
軍馮跋...推慕容雲爲主..雲得而弑之  
慕容雲 寶之養子也 祖父和 高句麗  
之支庶...故以高爲氏焉..賜姓慕容氏  
馮跋詣云...公自高氏名家 何能爲他  
養子 雲遂即天王位 復姓高氏

<sup>43</sup> 遼史 卷四十九 志第十八 禮志一  
遼本朝鮮故壤 箕子八條之教 流風  
遺俗 蓋有存者

Lee and de Barry (1997: 29) notes:

“...eight articles [were] observed in Old Chosun, of which only three – stipulations against murder, bodily injury, and theft— are known today.”  
 三國志卷三十 魏書三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳第三十 漢傳 昔箕子既適朝鮮 作八條之教 以教之 無門戶之閉而 民不為盜

<sup>44</sup> 三國史記 卷第十三 高句麗本紀第一 始祖東明聖王...先是扶餘王...相..曰 日者天降我曰 將使吾子孫立於此...自稱天帝子解慕漱來都焉...河伯之女..幽閉於室中..為日所照 引身避之 日影又逐 而照之因而有孕  
 [北]魏書 卷一百 列傳 第八十八 高句麗者出於扶餘...先祖朱蒙..母河伯女 為夫餘王閉於室中 為日所照 引身避之 日影又逐既而有孕...朱蒙續日本紀 卷第四十 桓武天皇 延曆八年十二月 百濟遠祖都慕王者 河伯之女 感日精而所生  
 三國志 卷三十 魏書三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳第三十 夫餘傳 魏略曰 昔北方有高離之國者 其王者侍婢有身...婢云有氣如雞子來下 我故有身...名曰東明

遼史卷一 本紀第一 太祖上 姓耶律氏...字阿保機 母夢日墮懷中有娠 魏書 卷二 太祖紀第二 太祖道武皇帝諱珽 昭成皇帝之嫡孫...母...夢日出室內 寢而見光自牖屬天 焮然有感 以建國三十四年 [371]...生太祖

See sidenote 61 of Chapter 6; sidenote 18 of Chapter 9; and also Ratchnevsky (1991: 17) for the Mongol myth.

<sup>45</sup> Schreiber (1949-55: 392) quotes the *Beidang'shuzhao* (北堂書鈔): “the... ancestor of Murong Hui...came down

Governor of Youzhou. The *Samguk-sagi* records armed conflicts between Koguryeo and Later Yan in 404 and 406. The *Jinsbu* also records that Murong Xi attacked Koguryeo sometime after 405. Peace was restored after the downfall of the Murong rulers in 407 by the coup staged by a person of Koguryeo origin, Ko Un (高雲), whose position (天王位) was filled two years later by his Han Chinese general Feng Ba, the founder of Northern Yan. <sup>42</sup>

We see the replay of an intimate relationship (i.e., armed conflicts) between the people called “the Yan” and the Yemaek Tungus. The name of the Yemaek Tungus antagonist changed from Chosun to Koguryeo, but the name of the opponent remained identical, “Yan.”

Farris (1998: 77) notes that the Xianbei learned to use the stirrups c.300 CE, and “the first Koreans to use the horse in combat were soldiers of Koguryeo doing battle with the Xianbei.” The technique of using stirrups seems to have entered the Korean Peninsula by courtesy of the incessant fighting between the Murong-Xianbei Yan and the Yemaek Koguryeo.

According to the Ye Section of *Dongyi-zhuan*, Ki-ja (Jizi) in Chosun had formulated the Eight Clauses of Instruction and educated the people. The incessant fighting between the Xianbei and the Yemaek Tungus seems to have generated a strong enough cultural assimilation between these two peoples as to find in the *History of Liao* the statement that the Oidan Liao, the descendants the Yuwen-Xianbei, had originated from the old Chosun land, having the [identical] customs and tradition of “the Ki-ja’s (Jizi’s) Eight Clauses of Instruction.”<sup>43</sup>

The *Samguk-sagi* and *Samguk-yusa* state that the mother of Chumong, the founder of Koguryeo, became pregnant by the sunlight that clasped her and cast its rays over her body. The *Dongyi-zhuan* notes a similar story for the founder of Puyeo. The “light conception motif” was shared also by the Tuoba-Xianbei as well as the Qidan-Xianbei. The *Weishu* states that the mother of Tuoba Gui, the founder of Northern Wei dynasty, became pregnant after she dreamed of the sunlight coming into her room, and also that Empress Gao of Xiaowen’di (r.471-99) gave birth to Xuanwu’di (r.499-515) after dreaming of sun light chasing her body. The *Liaoshi* states that the mother of Abaoji, the founder of Qidan-Xianbei Liao dynasty, became pregnant after she dreamed that the sun sank into her lap. The Mongols (of the Qidan-

Xianbei provenance) believed that Chinggis Khan was conceived “by a ray of light which penetrated through the rooflight of the tent.”<sup>44</sup> The Murong-Xianbei and Koguryeo had also shared the “descent from heaven motif” for the founder’s forefather.<sup>45</sup>

#### Appendix 4.1. Location of Ancient Liao River and Yan Long Wall

##### LIADONG: EAST OF THE MODERN-DAY LUAN RIVER

On the basis of the following historical records, Yoon (1986: 43-58) has contended that the present-day Luan River was formerly the Liao River prior to the conquest of Chosun by Han Wudi in 108 BCE.<sup>46</sup>

According to the *Shiji*, Shihuangdi’s army “captured the Yan capital of Ji” in 226 BCE; then the King of Yan “took control (收) of the region of Liaodong and made himself king of it”; the Qin army attacked Liaodong in 222 BCE and captured the last king of Yan; Shihuangdi journeyed to Jieshi in 215 BCE, where “he had an inscription carved on the gate of Jieshi”; his son made a trip to Jieshi in the very first year (209 BCE) of his accession to the throne and “added inscriptions to all the stones that the First Emperor had earlier set up”; and the Second Emperor “went as far as (遂至) Liaodong and then returned to the capital.” The Jieshi Mountain is located in the modern-day Changli prefecture to the east of the modern-day Luan River. Yoon has contended that the area around Jieshi was “Liaodong,” where the last king of Yan was captured, and hence the Liao River could have been the modern-day Luan River.<sup>47</sup>

According to the topology section of the *Weishu* (History of Northern Wei), Ying-*zhou* (營州) of Northern Wei (386-534), with its seat at Helongcheng (和龍城), had, as of 525-34 CE, six commanderies (郡), including Liaodong, Lelang (that included Daifang county), and Changli (that included Longcheng). The Liaodong commandery is further recorded to have included Xiangping that was maintained throughout the Former Han, Later Han, and Western Jin period, abolished thereafter, but reestablished in 520-24. As of 520-34, Koguryeo was occupying the modern-day Liaodong area, and Ying-*zhou* was apparently located in the modern-day Liaoxi area.<sup>48</sup>

According to the geography section of the *Jinshu*, Cao

from heaven...riding a white horse.”  
東國李相國全集 卷第三 古律詩 東  
明王篇并序...得舊三國史 見東明王  
本紀...漢神雀三年...本記云 夫余..  
其相...曰 日者天降我曰 將使吾子  
孫立國於此...解慕漱為天帝子來都  
初從空中下 身乘五龍軌...騎鵠紛袿  
襪...首戴烏羽之冠

<sup>46</sup> At the time when North Korea was proclaiming its “*Juche*” (主體) ideology in the early 1960s, Ri Ji-rin (李址麟) in North Korea claimed, in order to erase an “unwanted” chapter of Korean history, that “the Han commanderies were located entirely outside of the Korean Peninsula,” placing the Liao River farther to the west, the modern-day Luan River. Yoon Nae-hyun in South Korea, apparently detached from the *Juche* ideology, has later identified the Liao River with the present Luan River, without properly crediting Ri Ji-rin, incurring the wrath of the Korean historians’ society. See Seo Young-su, “Kojosun ui Wichi’ wa Kang’yeok,” in *Hanguk-sa Si’min Kang’jwa* 2, 1988, 19-50, and Yi Hyung-gu, “Ri Ji-rin kwa Yun Nae-hyun ui Kojosun Yeon’gu Bi’gyo” in *Yeoksa Hakbo*, 146, 1995, 285-319.

<sup>47</sup> Sentences in quotation marks are the translation by Watson (1993: 41, 52, 65). The modern-day Luan River is the largest river flowing in the west of the Jieshi Mountain.  
史記 卷六 秦始皇本紀 第六 二十  
一年[226 BCE]...取燕薊城...燕王東  
收遼東而王之 二十五年[222 BCE]...

攻燕遼東 得燕王喜 三十二年 [215 BCE] 始皇之碣石 使燕人...刻碣石門 壞城郭 決通堤防 三十六年...遷北河榆中三萬家 拜爵一級...二世皇帝元年 [209 BCE] 二世東行郡縣...至碣石...而盡刻始皇所立刻石 石旁著大 臣從者名 以章先帝成功盛德焉 皇帝曰 金石刻盡始皇帝所為也...刻石...遂至遼東而還

<sup>48</sup> 魏書 卷一百六上 地形志二上 第五...營州 治和龍城...領郡六...昌黎郡...龍城...建德郡...遼東郡 秦置 後罷 正光[520-5]中復 治固都城 領縣二 戶一百三十一...襄平 二漢 晉屬 後罷 正光中復 有青山 新昌...正光中復 樂良郡 前漢武帝置 二漢 晉曰樂浪 後改 罷 正光末復...帶方...冀陽郡...營丘郡

<sup>49</sup> 晉書 卷十四 志第四 地理上 平州...於周為幽州界 漢屬右北平郡 後漢末 公孫度自號平州牧 及其子康 康子文懿[淵]並擅據遼東... [238] 魏置東夷校尉 居襄平 而分遼東昌黎玄菟帶方樂浪五郡為平州 後還合為幽州...咸寧二年十月 [276] 分昌黎遼東玄菟帶方樂浪等郡國五置平州 統縣二十六 戶一萬八千一百

<sup>50</sup> 後漢書 卷七十四 袁紹劉表列傳 第六十四下 公孫康遼東人...中平元年 還為本郡守...因東擊高句麗 西攻烏桓 威行海畔 ...會襄平...初平元年乃分遼東為遼西中遼郡 並置太守...自立為遼東侯平州牧...承制設壇墠於襄平城南 襄平縣屬遼東郡 故城在今平州盧龍縣西南 See Yoon (1986: 53).

<sup>51</sup> See Wu (1999: 654, 664-5). 水經注 易水武陽蓋燕昭王之所城也

Cao's Wei established a High Commissioner for Dongyi Affairs ([護]東夷校尉), and let him reside at Xiangping [before and after the destruction of Gongsun family in 238], and divided five commanderies (Liaodong, Changli, Xuantu, Daifang and Lelang) to establish Ping-*zhou*, that was later merged into You-*zhou*. The *Jinsbu* further records that, in October 276 CE, Western Jin divided the five commanderies to establish Ping-*zhou* that governed 26 counties and 18,100 households.<sup>49</sup> Yoon (1986: 313) has contended that, according to the *Hou Hanshu*, Xiangping county belonged to the Liaodong commandery in Ping-*zhou* that was located to the east of the Luan River.<sup>50</sup> *Di Li Tu* indeed shows that Ping-*zhou* was located to the east of the modern-day Luan River.

#### SHAOGONG'S YAN RELOCATES ITS CAPITAL TO SOUTHWEST

The Shaogong's Yan remained confined to the small Beijing area hemmed in on the north and east by the Donghu and Dongyi, on the west by the Xiongnu, and on the south by the militant Qi, and it was only during the reign of King Zhao (r.312-279 BCE) that the Yan had supposedly burst out of its small confined area, greatly expanding its territory toward the northeast. And yet King Zhao somehow decided, presumably at the very peak of Yan's military might and in the midst of unprecedented northeasterly conquest, to move his court in the opposite direction to Wuyang (武陽) near Yixian (易縣), located southwest of Jicheng, purportedly to construct a new capital in a much grander scale.<sup>51</sup> It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that the territory of Shaogong's Northern Yan could ever have extended much beyond the modern-day Luan River or the Great Wall now extant.

Shim (2002: 302) notes that the “post-Qin people still considered the area in the Luan and Daling River valleys as Chosun.” Shim quotes *Huai'nanzhi*: “At the eastern end [of Han], beyond Jieshi Mountain, [we] pass through Chosun, a state of benevolent and great people.” *Yantielun* records that the state of Yan is said to have been blocked by Jieshi Mountain. The Sima Qian's *Shiji* also records that Yan was located between the Parhai (Bohai) and Jieshi Mountain.<sup>52</sup>

According to the *Shiji*, the long wall, built by Yan c.283-279 BCE and rebuilt by Qin c.215-209 BCE, reached “Xiangping in Liaodong.” Many scholars assume that Xiangping (襄平), the

eastern terminus of the Yan Long Wall recorded in the *Shiji*, was the seat of Yan’s Liaodong Commandery, and further specify the modern-day Liaoyang as the location of ancient Xiangping. They ignore the fact that Xiangping and Liaoyang (遼陽) were clearly recorded as separate entities in the *Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu*.<sup>53</sup>

#### ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDINGS FROM THE SO-CALLED “YAN LONG WALL” SITES

Chinese archeologists typically imagine that the Yan Long Wall runs an east-west path, commencing from the vicinity of Doulun in Inner Mongolia (about 250 km north of Beijing), going eastward along the far northern frontier of Youbeiping, and passing to the north of Chifeng and Aohan, north of Fuxin. Remains of several separate lines of fortifications are found from the Karachin East Wing Banner (southwest of Chifeng) in the west to the Fuxin district (northeast of Chaoyang) in the east. There are two roughly parallel lines of fortifications: one running 20 km north of the small Chifeng plain, attributed to the Qin period; and one running 30 km south of the small Chifeng plain, regarded as the Yan Long Wall. There is also a third line of fortifications further south which is regarded as the Han Long Wall, although only the Qin was recorded to have been the *Builder of the Long Wall* and the Han was recorded to have been the *Builder of the Forts and Fences* (秦築長城 漢起塞垣) by the chroniclers such as Fan Ye (范曄 398-446), the compiler of *Hou Hanshu*. Many people imagine that the walls extend further to the west and east.<sup>54</sup>

The lines of fortifications (built with tamped earth and stone), alleged to be the “long walls” constructed by the Yan or Qin, are comprised of lookout posts, ramparts, ditches, small and large forts, beacon towers, and stone walls blocking mountain passes. The stone walls are mostly built on hills and high mountain peaks. The largest forts appear on both banks of the Laoha River. Archeological excavations since the mid-1970s in the section of the wall near Chifeng reveal the presence of the Upper Xiajiadian and the Ordos bronze cultures. According to Di Cosmo, both outside and inside this line of fortifications the only cultural remains are non-Chinese. The whole area was inhabited exclusively by non-Chinese, mostly pastoral people. Di Cosmo states that “the original dwellers may have been Donghu, that is, a non-Chinese nomadic group that the written sources place in the

<sup>52</sup> 鹽鐵論 卷九 險固...燕塞碣石  
史記 卷一百二十九 貨殖列傳 第六十九 夫燕亦勃碣之間 一都會也 南通齊趙 東北邊胡 上谷至遼東 地踔遠 人民希...有漁鹽棗栗之饒 北鄰高桓夫餘 東綰穢貉[貊]朝鮮真番之利

<sup>53</sup> See Byington (2003: 91-2).

漢書 卷二十八上 地理志第八上 遼東郡 秦置屬幽州...縣十八 襄平 有牧師宮 新昌無慮 遼陽 險瀆西安平 後漢書 志第二十三 郡國五 遼東郡 秦置 十一城...襄平 新昌...無慮...西安平...玄菟郡 武帝置 六城...高句麗...遼陽...

A large quantity of spade coins (布幣/布錢), inscribed with the two characters that may be read as either Rangping or Xiangping (饒坪), was found in the region between the modern “Liaoyang and the center of the Liaodong Peninsula,” and is understood to have been minted at Xiangping (襄平) and dated to the third century BCE. Quite a few scholars seem to believe that the Liaodong Commandery of Yan had even enjoyed the authority of minting “spade” coins. They seem to believe that the so-called “Xiangping spade coins” constitute the conclusive evidence for the location of Liao River, Liaodong, and Xiangping. See Byington (2003: 91-2). The two characters inscribed on the spade coins (饒坪) imply “belt” and “field,” respectively, while the characters of Xiangping recorded in the *Shiji* (襄平) imply “rolling up” and “flat,” respectively.

<sup>54</sup> There are no traces of a long wall in



the east of the Yiwulu Mountains (醫巫閼山). See Byington (2003: 75-91).



4.6. Ming Pale & Qing Willow Palisade



4.7. The *Nihon Henkai Ryakuzu* (日本邊界略圖) was executed by Takahashi Kageyasu (高橋景保 1785-1829) in 1809. This map owes to the Pieter de Hondt map of 1751 based on the Jesuit surveys, and shows the Great Wall ending at Shan'haiguan and then connected with the Qing Willow Palisades (柳條邊) that overlaps the Ming Wooden Palisade (邊牆).

northeast and against whom the state of Yan fought.” Di Cosmo further states: “the walls were not built to separate steppe and sown, nomad and farmer. [They were built] to establish a strong military presence...to control the movement of people.” There is no evidence that the walls protected the Han Chinese settlements in areas traditionally inhabited by alien peoples engaged mainly in pastoral activities. We still do not know “the precise function of the walls,” nor “what they were actually defending,” but clearly they served “to defend the surrounding non-agricultural territory” from some threat.<sup>55</sup>

The sole basis for attributing the line of fortifications running from Karachin Banner to Fuxin to the work of the Yan (dating to no later than 299 BCE) seems to be the “long wall” mentioned in the *Shiji*. Since most historians believe that the ancient Liaodong and the Liaodong Commandery established by the Yan were located east of the modern-day Liao River, they imagine, in the absence of conclusive archeological evidence, that the Qin Long Wall (and by the same token, the Yan Long Wall) ran a good deal farther north and east than the Great Wall now extant, crossing the modern-day Liao River.

Oddly, the PRC Han Chinese archeologists cannot bring themselves to a halt even at the modern-day Liaoyang (identified as Xiangping, the eastern terminus recorded in the *Shiji*) in Liaodong. They claim, on the basis of such questionable evidence as the “Yan-style” roof tiles, the discovery of the remains of the Yan Long Wall in places beyond the modern-day Liaodong, even as far down as northwestern Korea. In spite of the fact that there exists no extant walls or towers south of Shenyang, they believe that the Yan Long Wall curves to the south at Tieling, passing between Fushun and modern Shenyang, running southward west of Huanren (桓仁), passing the Yalu River, and arriving at the mouth of the Dae-nyeong River (大寧江 that joins the mouth of Cheong-cheon River). Byington (2003: 91) states that “Chinese scholars believe this to be the eastern terminus of Yan’s long wall based on finds of Yan-style roof tiles” near Pak-cheon (博川), never mind the fact that the undated remains of a wall along the bank of the Dae-nyeong River was apparently “built to defend against an attack from the north.”

As early as 2004, the PRC government had finished construction of a massive “replica” of the alleged Ming Great

Wall segment (with the official Eastern Terminus) at the Hu Mountain, Dandong City, facing the Yalu River. Though belatedly, in April 2009 after a two-year (ex-post) government mapping *study*, the PRC State Bureau of Surveying and Mapping (國家測量局) and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (國家文物局) officially announced that the Great Wall spans 8,850 km instead of the length that had been commonly estimated at about 5,000 km (stretching from Jiayu Pass to Shan'haiguan). The newly-mapped section that allegedly began to be built in 1469 now officially commences at the mouth of the Yalu River. Apparently, the *Bian Qiang* (邊牆), “the makeshift fences (障塞) made of earth, stones, bricks, and woods,” interspersed with gate towers (關門), “constructed from 1437-42 and 1479-81 by the Ming military households in Liaodong (屯田軍士) to defend the Liaodong area from the intrusion of the Mongols and the Nüzhen,” was taken as the newly “discovered” section of the Ming Great Wall. The makeshift fences metamorphosed into the “brick” Long Wall in the hands of modern PRC construction companies. The official China Daily reported that the mapping project would continue for another 18 months in order to *establish* the sections built during the Yan-Qin-Han dynasties --- though the maps for alleged Yan-Qin-Han Long Walls that reach down below the Cheong-Cheon River area right above Pyung-yang, the modern-day capital of North Korea, had already been published together with the PRC map for the Ming Great Wall.<sup>56</sup>

If we take the PRC view, since the Yan-Qin long wall had already reached the northwestern corner of the Korean Peninsula down to the Dae-nyung River, the so-called Wudi's conquest of Chosun (that had its capital at Pyung-yang) in 108 BCE must have been a relatively simple excursion within a radius of 70 km. Furthermore, the vanquished rulers of Chosun must have been the pure blooded Han Chinese, i.e., the scions of Wei Man, who is assumed to have come from the Shaogong's Yan around 200 BCE.

Yan had neither a fearsome Shihuang'di, nor such an assiduous general as Meng Tian (with concrete records on his wall-construction efforts), or a tyrannical centralized autocracy (that can mobilize enormous manpower) either. Nevertheless, it has long been taken for granted that the Yan Long Wall, reaching as far down to the Yalu River or further south to the Dae-nyeong

<sup>55</sup> Di Cosmo (2002: 148-50, 157)

The excavation of a large number of bronze objects, such as knives with ringed handles, horse- and bird-motif ornaments, bell ornaments, buttons, earrings, and belt hooks places this area in a cultural context that is fully outside the Central Plain sphere.

<sup>56</sup> The quotes are from Kim (2004: 550).

The mapping project apparently constitutes an important part of the Operation Northeast (東北工程: 東北邊疆歷史與現狀系列研究工程) that was officially commenced by the PRC government on February 18, 2002 to consolidate the historicity of the PRC rule on China's northeast.



4.8. Long Walls extended by the PRC State Bureau of Surveying & Mapping: Ming walls and Han-Qin/Yan walls

<sup>57</sup> See Yi Hyung-gu, “Ri Ji-rin kwa Yun Nae-hyun ui Kojosun Yeon'gu Bigyo,” in *Yeoksa Hakbo*, 146, 1995, 316.

<sup>58</sup> 魏書 卷一百 列傳第八十八 高句麗 世祖時[太武帝]... 璉[長壽王]始遣使者..拜璉爲都督遼海諸軍事征東將軍領護東夷中郎將 遼東郡開國公高句麗王..至其所居平壤城...遼東南一千餘里...南至小海北至舊夫餘..魏時其地東西二千里 南北一千餘里...

太和十五年[491] 璉死...拜璉孫雲[文咨明王 r.491-519]使持節都督遼海諸軍事征東將軍領護東夷中郎將 遼東郡開國公...神龜[518-9]中雲死...又拜其世子安[安藏王r.519-31] 爲安東將軍 領護東夷校尉 遼東郡開國公 高句麗王...安死 子延[安原王 r.531-45] 立出帝初詔加延...領護東夷校尉 遼東郡開國公...



4.9. A massive replica of the alleged Ming Great Wall segment constructed by the PRC construction companies at Hu Shan, Dandong (虎山 丹東市).

<sup>59</sup> 魏書 卷一百六上 地形志 二上 第五

<sup>60</sup> 漢書 卷二十八 地理志 第八上... 東北曰幽州 其山曰醫無閭...第八下

River, did exist; and Chinese historians keep drawing a preposterously long wall on maps without ever questioning the feasibility of such a long wall being constructed in a few years by “the smallest and the weakest” among the Zhou states (that had, in the words of Sima Qian, barely managed to stay in existence 幾滅者數矣 surrounded by the Hu-barbarians and the strong Qi-Jin states 崎嶇疆國之間). Not only the PRC government, but most Western experts as well endorse the claims of Chinese archeologists that have never been substantiated by any extant historical documents.

#### THE LIADONG COMMANDERY OF FORMER HAN AND NORTHERN WEI

Yoon has contended that the toponym Liao River was shifted from the modern Luan River to the modern Liao River after the Wudi’s conquest of Chosun in 108 BCE.<sup>57</sup>

According to the *Weishu*, Koguryeo King Chang-su (r.413-91) first sent an envoy to the Northern Wei court during the reign of Tuoba Tao (Tai Wudi r.423-52), and the Wei court bestowed on him a lengthy set of titles including “High Commissioner for Dongyi Affairs, Duke of Opening Country in Liaodong Commandery (遼東郡開國公), King of Koguryeo.” Wei bestowed the almost identical set of titles, always including the title “Duke of Opening Country in Liaodong Commandery,” to subsequent Koguryeo kings until its downfall. The *Weishu* further records that Pyung-yang was located 1,000 *li* southeast (東南) of “Liao,” and Koguryeo’s border reached the old Puyeo in the north and a small sea in the south, its territory being spread over 2,000 *li* east-west, and “1,000 *li* north-south.”<sup>58</sup> According to the *Weishu*, then, it is obvious that Pyung-yang could not have been located 1,000 *li* south or southeast of the modern-day Liaodong, and the “Liao” appearing in the *Weishu* must have implied the area around the modern-day Luan River. The *Weishu* was compiled by Wei Shou (魏收, 505-72) and others (taking advantage of the various Wei chronicles compiled under the Tuoba-Xianbei rulers during 398-471) under the auspices of the first Xianbei emperor of Northern Qi (550-77) during 551-4. The compilers, therefore, must have been relatively free from the Sinocentric ideology.

According to the *Weishu*, Si prefecture (司州) with its seat at Ye (鄴城) had 12 commanderies (領郡十二), 371,675 households, and 1,459,835 persons. Ding prefecture (定州) had 5

commanderies, 177,501 households, and 834,274 persons, and Taiyuan commandery of Bing prefecture (太原郡, 并州) had 10 counties, 45,006 households, and 482,140 persons. By way of contrast, the Ying prefecture (營州) had six commanderies including Liaodong but, surprisingly, had a paltry 1,021 households and 4,664 registered population.<sup>59</sup> The Ying prefecture of Northern Wei seems to have been confined, as of 525-34, to the “no-man’s lands” somewhere between the Luan River and Chaoyang on the upper Daling River in modern Liaoxi.

According to the *Hanshu*, the Liaodong commandery (of You prefecture 幽州) had eighteen counties including Xiangping (襄平), 55,972 households, and 272,539 persons during the Former Han period.<sup>60</sup> According to the *Weishu*, however, Liaodong commandery (noted as had been established by Qin, later abolished, “reestablished” during 520-4) had only two counties including Xiangping (recorded to have been maintained throughout the Former Han, Later Han and Western Jin period), and a mere 131 households and 855 persons. The Liaodong commandery appearing in the *Hanshu* seems to imply the administrative unit established by Han Wudi with its seat at Xiangping and located in the east of modern-day Liao River, while the Liaodong commandery appearing in the *Weishu* seems to imply the administrative unit (complete with Xiangping) established “in name only” by the Northern Wei rulers (in 520-4) and located in the east of modern-day Luan River.<sup>61</sup>

The twelfth century *Di Li Tu* suggests that the traditional usage of Liao River for the modern Luan River continued for a long time even after the Wudi’s conquest of Chosun, while the present-day Liao River had already begun to be called Lesser Liao River, allowing Liaodong to imply the east of the modern Luan River some times (as recorded in the *History of Northern Wei*), or the east of the modern Liao River at other times (as recorded in the *Hanshu*). The above historical records seem to be consistent with the thesis suggested by the *Di Li Tu*.

#### LOWER XIAJIADIAN TRADITION AT THE BEIJING AREA

The proto-Altaic speech community of Donghu-Xianbei and Dongyi-Tungus, sharing the tradition of comb-patterned pottery and broad-bladed bronze daggers, were all connected with the Neolithic Hongshan culture (c.5000-3000

...上谷郡...漁陽郡...右北平郡...遼西郡 秦置...屬幽州 戶七萬二千六百五十四 口三十五萬二千三百二十五 縣十四...柳城...徒河.. 又有揭石水... 遼東郡 秦置 屬幽州 戶五萬五千九百七十二 口二十七萬五千三十九 縣十八 襄平 有牧師宮...新昌 無慮... 遼陽... 安市...西安平... 玄菟郡 武帝元封四年開屬幽州 戶四萬五千六 口二十二萬一千四百五 縣三...高句麗...西蓋馬... 樂浪郡 武帝 元封三年[108BCE]開 屬幽州 戶六萬二千八百一十二 口四十萬六千 七百四十八 縣二十五 朝鮮...帶方..

後漢書 志第二十三 郡國五...上谷郡...漁陽郡...右北平郡...遼西郡 秦置...五城 戶萬四千一百五十五... 遼東郡 秦置...十一城 戶六萬四千一百五十八... 襄平 新昌 無慮...安市...西安平... 玄菟郡 武帝置...六城 戶一千五百九十四...高句麗...西蓋...遼陽 故屬遼東 樂浪郡 武帝置...十八城 戶六萬一千四百九十二...朝鮮...帶方...遼東屬國.. 別領六城...徒河 故屬遼西...無慮 有醫無慮山 ...險瀆...

Perplexing modern historians, however, the Wei rulers as well as the chroniclers who compiled the *Weishu* (551-4) apparently felt comfortable with such *Hanshu* records cited above that were compiled from 57-75 CE, and never bothered to give any explanation for what appears to be an “anomalous” phenomenon to modern readers.

<sup>61</sup> See also sidenote 20, Chapter 5.

<sup>62</sup> At the Liulihe site (琉璃河 房山), several bronze artifacts with the inscription of *Yan Hou* (燕侯) together

with other Shang-Zhou burial goods were excavated. An inscription naming *Yan Hou* was also found in Rehe — specified as 熱河凌源縣 海島營子村 馬廠溝 in Yoon (1986: 49). Rawson (1999: 410) states: “This connection suggests either that the influence of Yan extended northward into Liaoning or that bronzes from near Beijing were captured and taken to Liaoning.” The artifact from the Rehe area, however, may rather suggest the existence of some other Yan state of Donghu.

<sup>63</sup> Byington (2003: 42-3) states that “the archeological culture of the Yan state ... bore a distinct regional quality... that differed... from the states closer to the Zhou core in the Central Plains. This regional distinction would persist through both Zhou periods and into the Qin and Han empires.”

<sup>64</sup> Nelson (1995: 10) states that the nature of Dongbei Neolithic sites is different from that along the Yellow river, but similar to the earliest (incised) pottery-bearing sites in Hebei, the area where the early Yan was located.

<sup>65</sup> See NRICP (2001: 389). The practice of using bronze knife money seems to have spread from the Qi state of the Shandong Peninsula region into the north-central mainland, including the Zhao and Yan states. The Qi knife coins bear three characters reading “Qi Fa Huo” that may be translated into “the authorized currency of Qi.” The reverse usually has a single character.

BCE) that maintained a clear continuity with the Early Bronze Age Lower Xiajiadian culture (c.2200-1600 BCE).

The burials of Lower Xiajiadian culture were found at the Liulihe site, about 10 km southeast of Fangshan and about 45 km southwest of Beijing. It is believed to have been the location of the first capital of Shaogong’s Northern Yan (1045-222 BCE). Guo (1995b: 178) contends that the cultural traditions of Lower Xiajiadian constituted the “pre-Yan culture,” and “were still kept in the Yan State culture of Western Zhou.” According to Guo (ibid: 148), the character for *Yan* “is found on oracle bones, suggesting that the state of Yan coexisted with the Shang.” This ancient Yan state could have been the ancestor of Donghu Yan.<sup>62</sup>

The first half of Shaogong’s Yan was contemporaneous with the Bronze Age Upper Xiajiadian culture (1200-600 BCE). The conspicuous regional characteristics around Beijing and northern Hebei include the bronze weapons and ornaments of the so-called Northern Complex traditions, a Sinocentric euphemism for the Hu-Donghu-Dongyi tradition. According to Byington (2003: 39), the “majority of the population of the Yan state, if not the capital city, did not derive their heritage from the Central Plains but were instead indigenous, having made their home in the Beijing region and farther north for a very long time.” The indigenous population, Byington (2003: 42) states, “continued to cohabit this region surrounding the Yan capital at Liulihe and comprised a considerable portion of the population of the Yan state. It is likely, however, that the more remote regions... remained for a time beyond the direct administrative control of the government of the Yan marquis.”<sup>63</sup>

Archeologists have long recognized a distinct northern character associated with the culture of the Zhou-period Yan state.<sup>64</sup> According to Janhunen (1996: 224), “it is unlikely that the ancient kingdom of Yan would originally have contained any Sinitic elements” and “ethnic foundation of the kingdom of Yan... may have incorporated Pre-Proto-Mongolic elements in its ethnic composition.” Janhunen states that the formation of the ancient kingdom of Yan “in the territory of the modern Hebei Province in parallel with the Zhou dynasty... took place in an ethnic environment dominated by elements other than Han Chinese. ... The well-documented later involvement of the Murong and Tuoba in the region might... mean that this was the

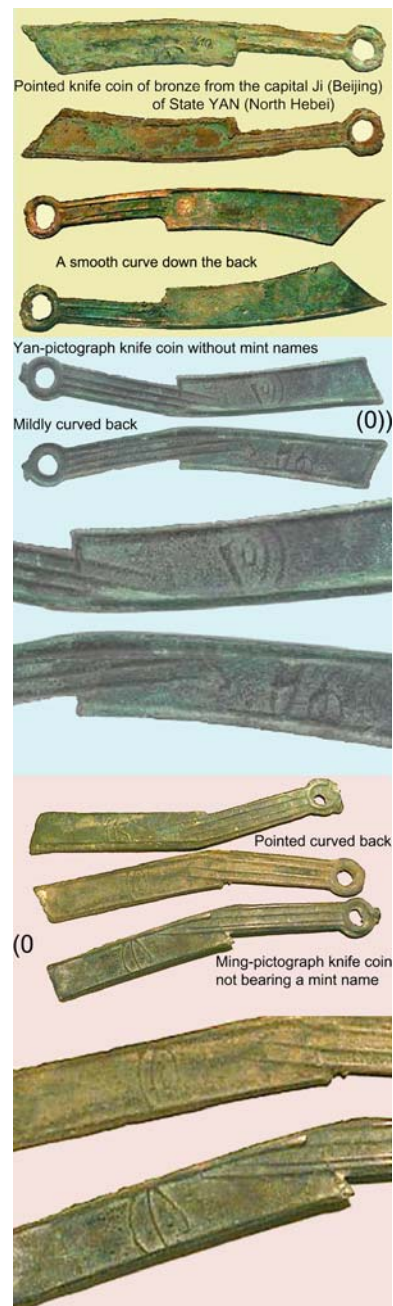
very homeland of the Xianbei, not a region which they occupied secondarily as alien conquerors (ibid: 194).”

#### THE SO-CALLED “MING” KNIFE COIN (明刀錢)

The production of pointed bronze knife coins (青銅尖首折刀幣) with a smooth curve (弧形) down the back began some time in the Middle Zhou period (c.770-600 BCE). They are the closest in style to genuine knives. <sup>65</sup>

The so-called “*Ming*” knife coin does not have a pointed tip, and it does have a pointed or mildly curved back. It has a pictograph that might be read as *Ming*. The “*Ming*” knife coins do not bear the mint name. These are by far the most common of all knife coins and must have been cast in vast numbers. They are found over a wide area of Liaoxi, Liaodong, the northwestern region of the Korean Peninsula (above the Cheong-cheon River), and the Hebei region around Beijing. <sup>66</sup> The manufacturing of *Ming* knife coins occurred during the period c.300-100 BCE that belongs to the dawn of the Iron Age, and overlaps almost exactly with the vortical period beginning with the Qin Kai’s exploits and construction of the Yan Long Wall in 283-279 BCE, witnessing the Meng Tian’s construction of the Qin Long Wall in 215-209 BCE, and ending with the Han Wu-di’s conquest of Chosun in 108 BCE.

There are, however, two distinct types of the so-called *Ming* knife coins, the first with a “Yan” pictograph and the second with a “*Ming*” pictograph. Both types have many different reverse inscriptions with no indications of the mint name or denominations. According to Zhang (2004), the knife coin with pictograph “(0))” ---which depicts an eye and should be read as Yan (燕, 匱)--- was manufactured in the Yan State, and the knife coin with pictograph “(0)” ---which depicts “brightness” and should be read as *Ming* 明, indicating the *Ming* Barbarians of Ki-ja (Jizi 箕子之明夷), i.e., the Chosun State--- was manufactured in Chosun. This may suggest that the bronze knife coins with the *Ming*-pictograph were manufactured, together with narrow-bladed bronze daggers, by the Yemaek Chosun (called the *Ming* Barbarians) in the Liaodong area and the northwestern region of the Korean Peninsula. The knife coins with the Yan-pictograph could have been manufactured by the Donghu-Xianbei Yan in the Chifeng-Dalinghe area of Liaoxi. It remains a conundrum that the



4.10. Knife Coins

(top) with pointed tips from Beijing area; (middle) with Yan “(0))” pictograph; and (bottom) with Ming “(0)” pictograph.

<sup>66</sup> In the Liaodong and northwestern region of the Korean Peninsula, the *Ming* knife coins are often excavated in bundles together with the narrow-bladed bronze daggers, a large amount of iron farming tools and, sometimes, *ondol*-the hypocaust flooring system that has never been found at any Han Chinese sites. See Park (2009) and Nelson (1993: 183).

<sup>67</sup> Shelach (2009: 31-2) notes: "The most common artifact types found in the Chifeng area during the Upper Xiajiadian period are tools, weapons, horse fittings and ornaments. Typical tools include knives, axes and chisels while the most common weapons include daggers, socketed axes and arrowheads. Helmets and swords... were also typically found in this area. ...Typical to the Upper Xiajiadian period bronze industry are naturalistic depictions of wild and pastoral animal motifs cast on... tools, weapons and vessels... The artifacts themselves, as well as their decorative motifs, are very different from the bronzes produced in the contemporaneous Zhou states but are closely affiliated to the bronze industry in other parts of the Northern Zone and areas of the steppe northwest of it. Very similar artifacts were found, for example, at sites of the Xinle... culture of northern Liaoning. ...Similar bronzes from this period, especially bronze swords, were also found...in eastern Jilin and Liaoning, the Liaodong peninsula, the Korean peninsula and even as far as Japan."

excavation sites of both types of knife coins overlap considerably.

According to Shelach (2009: 31), "the large scale of local metal production in the Chifeng region during the late second and early first millennium is attested...by evidence of large-scale copper ore mines dated to the Upper Xiajiadian period [1200-600 BCE]." A large mine was found at the Dajing site, some 8 km north of the Xilamulun River, that yielded evidence of smelting and casting. Shelach (1999: 161) states that "seven pieces of molds found at this site suggest that tool production accompanied the large-scale [copper] mining carried out at the Dajing site."<sup>67</sup>

#### NO EVIDENCE OF PRE-WUDI CHINESE CULTURE IN LIAODONG

No dynastic chronicles had recorded that the Chinese had ever constructed long walls between Xiangping and Dae-nyung River. There is no archeological evidence for the Yan-Qin-Han long walls around the modern-day Liao River region or in the Korean Peninsula, except some objects such as the pieces of roof tiles or potteries that are claimed to be in the "Yan or Han style" by the Chinese scholars. Neither is there any convincing archeological evidence of the Han Chinese civilization in the modern-day Liaodong area that can be dated to the periods of 283-222 BCE or 206-108 BCE, the two centuries between the Qin Kai's exploits and the Han Wudi's conquest of Chosun.

The relics excavated at the northwestern peninsular sites around modern Pyung-yang maintain the tradition of non-Chinese narrow-bladed bronze dagger culture not only during the century after Wei Man's usurpation (c.200-108 BCE), but even during the century after the Wudi's conquest of Chosun (108-0 BCE). According to the PRC view, the Pyung-yang area in the northwestern corner of the Korean Peninsula must have been placed "right below" the Yan Kingdom (complete with the Yan Long Wall with its eastern terminus at the Dae-nyung River) and then "right below" the Han Empire during the 200-year period between 300-108 BCE. Archeologists, however, have failed to find evidence from the Lelang sites to suggest any conspicuous inflow of the Han Chinese culture even after 108 BCE prior to the early first century CE. Instead, they have found that the burial remains of the ruling class for the period c.200-0 BCE were rather interspersed with the so-called "Northern Complex" traditions.<sup>68</sup>

At the northwestern peninsular sites, horse fittings,

bronze hubcaps-bells-fixtures for chariots, bronze daggers-spears-arrowheads, and iron swords-spears-axes were found at the Early Iron Age wood-coffin pit burials (which lack stone slabs and linings). An inscription on one weapon from a pit burial dates it to 221 BCE (before the Wei Man's arrival c.200 BCE), and another inscription on a silver seal from a pit burial dates it to c.128 BCE (after the Wei Man's arrival but before the Wudi's Lelang period).<sup>69</sup> The burial remains for the period c.200-0 BCE included the sunbeam-cross motifs (十字日光文), copper cauldron (銅鍑), a bronze dagger with twisted birds-shaped hilt (觸角式銅劍), and animal-shaped ornaments (銀製杏葉) of the Xiongnu tradition.<sup>70</sup> The burial remains of the early Lelang period (108 BCE-0) maintained the culture of the non-Chinese narrow-bladed bronze dagger and fine-lined bronze mirror, although a greater amount of iron swords and wrought iron tools have been found in wooden-framed tombs. Y. Oh (2006: 63) states that "in the Lelang tombs, the burial of Northern style artifacts [such as the gold buckle with turquoise inlays from Seok-am-ri No. 9 Lelang tomb] ceased only by the early first century CE."<sup>71</sup> According to Y. Oh (ibid: 85), the burial remains excavated at the Lelang sites do not show any significant Han Chinese influences until after the early first century CE, and even after that time the so-called Han Chinese style observed at the Lelang sites finds no directly corresponding counterparts in mainland China.<sup>72</sup>

The established interpretations of the history of Yan and Chosun beg the question of what the term "Liaodong" means. Scholars have failed to pay due attention to the simple fact that "Liaodong" is a toponym dependent on its relations to the Liao River. Only with the correct specification of the location of the ancient Liao River, can one avoid creating anomalous episodes in East Asian history.

In his archeological study on the Northern Frontiers of China during the first millennium BCE, Shelach (2009: 14) states that "the Zhou states [i.e., the Shaogong's Northern Yan] seem to have expanded in the northeast as far as the Beijing area...and perhaps even further east to the area of the modern city of Qinhuangdao."

<sup>68</sup> See Y. Oh (2006: 46, 51, 53, 84-5).

<sup>69</sup> See Nelson (1993: 184-6) and Y. Oh (2006: 51-3).

<sup>70</sup> See Y. Oh (2006: 56-64).

<sup>71</sup> There appeared the transitional and localized wooden chamber burial with iron swords, various iron implements, and lacquered plates-cups-coffins. A wooden chamber burial for a Lelang official (Ko Sang-hyun) with a narrow-bladed bronze dagger, a fine-lined mirror, horse-mask, bell, crossbow and chariot fixtures was dated 14 CE, and another burial of a high ranking Han Chinese official of Lelang (with various lacquered artifacts) was dated 100 CE. See Nelson (1993: 188).

<sup>72</sup> It was after the second century CE that there appeared the Han Chinese-style brick chamber tombs (ibid).



4.11. Barnes (1993: 135)



Chapter 5 begins at 141.