

# Studies on the King Kwanggaito Inscription and Their Basis

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## I. The Nature of the King Kwanggaito Inscription

### 1. The Composition of the King Kwanggaito Inscription

The King Kwanggaito stele was erected in A.D. 414 in order to convey to posterity the meritorious achievements of King Kwanggaito 廣開土 (ruled 391-412) of Koguryō 高句麗. The stele is located in T'ai-wang 太王 Village, Chi-an 集安 District, Chi-lin 吉林 Province in northeastern China and lies approximately 4.5 km to the east of the chief town of the district, which corresponds to the site of Kuk-nai 國內 Fort, the former capital of Koguryō. The stele, 6.39 m in height, is composed of native breccial tufa and resembles a quadrate pillar slightly warped in shape. The margin of each of its four faces is marked by a peripheral line on all four sides, while each face is divided equally into vertical columns approximately 14 cm in width, with as a rule forty-one characters to each line, and the inscription itself is estimated to have originally consisted of 1,775 characters. It is an inscription of a scale befitting such an enormous stele, and it is only natural that it should have been regarded from an early stage as an inscription rich in content and of the first order in East Asia.

The King Kwanggaito inscription has had immeasurable significance for the study of ancient East Asian history. Soon after its discovery, Sakō Kageaki 酒匂景信 brought back to Japan in 1883 an "ink copy" 墨本 (here refers to any copy of an inscription in Indian ink and on white paper, either hand-written or rubbed), and thus Japanese studies of this inscription began. Since then already a century has passed, during which time research on the inscription has gained in depth and come to assume international proportions. But even so the decipherment of the inscription, for example, has not yet been finalized, and therefore the present situation is such that research has not yet been placed on a firm foundation. Having first squarely faced this state of affairs and reconfirmed the significance of the stele, we must then undertake to make further steady progress in its study.

On the basis of the stylistic characteristics of its content, the inscription as a whole is divided into two parts. At the end of the sixth line of the first face there is a two-character blank space, and the text up to this point represents the first part, which traces the mythological royal lineage of Koguryō as far as King Kwanggaito.

The inscription begins with an account of the legends surrounding the founder of Koguryō, who is called King Chumo 鄒牟 (also written 朱蒙 or 都慕). The legend of King Chumo as it appears in this inscription is important in that it represents the oldest record of this legend, and it has also drawn the attention of scholars on account of the abundance of motifs which it has in common with the various traditions of the peoples of ancient Northeast Asia, such as the union of heaven and a river (earth), the birth of a sage from an egg, and the journey in quest of a variety of trials to be surmounted. These further link up with the legend of King Tong-myōng 東明 and the myth of Tan-gun 檀君 and undergo further developments, becoming the historical source of Korean nationalism, while the trial involving the crossing of a floating bridge consisting of reeds and turtles relates interestingly enough to the Japanese tale of the white hare of Inaba 因幡.

As for King Kwanggaito, a remote descendant of the founder, we learn in brief for the first time that during his lifetime he was known as Yōngrak Tai-wang 永樂太王, while after his death he received the posthumous title of Kukgangsang Kwanggaitogyōng Pyōngan Hyo-daiwang 國岡上廣開土境平安好太王, that he ascended the throne in a *sin-myo* 辛卯 year (391) at the age of eighteen, and that he died in a *kab-in* 甲寅 year (412). This account is extremely valuable in that it corrects the errors of records such as the Korean classic *Samguk-sagi* 三國史記 and also supplements their contents.

If the above may be regarded as the introduction, then the remainder of the inscription corresponds to the main subject matter, which covers the greater part of the inscription and describes the achievements of King Kwanggaito. For convenience' sake it is usually divided into two parts, with the part as far as "*chon-ir-chōn-sa-baik*" 村一千四百 in the eighth line of the third face corresponding to the second part of the inscription and the remaining part, starting from "*su-myo-in-yōng-ho*" 守墓人烟戶, representing the third part. The second part starts from the seventh line of the first face and, as may be seen in its initial "*Yōngrak o nyōn, se che ūr-mi*" 永樂五年歲在乙未, it consists solely of passages introduced by an indication of the corresponding year of the Yōngrak era and the same year expressed according to the sexagenary cycle. Earlier, it was considered by some to be open to question whether or not "Yōngrak" does in fact represent the name of an era, but any such doubts were dispelled by the recent discovery of the inscription "*Yōngrak sip-p'ar nyōn Taise che mu-sin*" 永樂十八年太歲在戊申 in the *Mural Tumulus of Tōghūng-ri* 德興里壁畫古墳.<sup>1)</sup> Yōngrak is the oldest era-name of Koguryō, and also of Korea, that it has been possible to verify to date. The achievements of King Kwanggaito are described in concrete terms and with details of their content in eight sections introduced by this era-name Yōngrak and covering eight years.

(1) First, in the fifth year of the Yōngrak era, an *ūr-mi* 乙未 year (395), King Kwanggaito, leading his troops in person, attacked the Pai-li 穉麗.

The Pai-li were one of the Ch'i-tan (Khitan) 契丹 tribes, and in this, the first campaign undertaken by the king, he succeeded in defeating six to seven hundred *ying* 營 and seizing great numbers of cows, horses and sheep.

(2) In the following sixth year of the Yōngrak era, a *pyōng-sin* 丙申 year (396), the king again led his troops in person, this time invading Paikche 百濟 (referred to in the inscription disparagingly as Paikchan 百殘) and won unprecedented military gains. As soon as the king had surrounded the royal capital (present-day Seoul), King Ahwa 阿華 of Paikche offered gifts of slaves and cloth and pledged to become a thrall (*nogaik* 奴客) to Koguryō, and so the king took possession of 58 towns (*sōng* 城) and 700 villages (*chon* 村) belonging to these towns, incorporating them into the territory of Koguryō, and then returned in triumph with members of the royal family of Paikche and their ministers in hostage. This campaign had taken place in the context of tense developments in complex international relations in the course of which Wa 倭 had joined forces with Paikche in order to resist Koguryō, with Sirra 新羅 also becoming involved in these movements.

(3) Next, in the eighth year of the Yōngrak era, a *mu-sur* 戊戌 year (398), the king dispatched forces to Su-shên 肅愼, took a great number of captives, both male and female, and forced Su-shên to pay tribute.

(4) In the following ninth year of the Yōngrak era, a *ki-hai* 己亥 year (399), the king advanced in person as far as Pyōngyang 平壤 since Paikche had entered into an agreement with Wa, and there he decided to assist Sirra, which was faced by the inroads of Wa.

(5) Then, in the tenth year of the Yōngrak era, a *kang-ja* 庚子 year (400), the king sent 50,000 troops to the relief of Sirra; they advanced southwards as far as Sirra and Imna-kara 任那加羅 in the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula where they joined battle with Wa, forcing the latter to retreat, and they also seem to have fought with the people of Arra 安羅. As a result, Sirra came to pay tribute to Koguryō.

(6) In the fourteenth year of the Yōngrak era, a *kap-sin* 甲辰 year (404), Wa again sent naval forces up along the west coast of the Korean Peninsula, and so the king, leading his forces in person, intercepted and defeated them near Pyōngyang.

(7) In the seventeenth year of the Yōngrak era, a *chong-mi* 丁未 year (407), the king dispatched 50,000 troops to engage the enemy, who were struck a crushing blow. On account of the weathering of the surface of the stele, the identity of the enemy on this occasion is unclear, but there is a strong probability that it was Paikche in the southwestern part of the peninsula, and Koguryō occupied six towns, adding them to its territory. It is also possible that Wa participated in this engagement.

(8) In the twentieth year of the Yōngrak era, a *kyōng-sur* 庚戌 year (410), the king led his troops in person to attack the capital of East Fu-yü 夫餘. On this occasion the king showed clemency towards East Fu-yü, and ac-

accompanied by five *ya-lu* 鴨盧 (villages) the inhabitants of whom had become endeared of his virtuous example, he returned in triumph.

The activities and achievements of King Kwanggaito during the eight years described here in concrete terms in eight sections involved a wide area of the neighbouring countries of East Asia and are exhaustive in their details. In particular, the events relating to Wa are to be found recorded only in this inscription and are of great value. Only the agreement between Wa and Paikche, mentioned in the section for the ninth year of the Yŏngrak era, tallies with the content of the section for the sixth year of the reign of King Ahwa (397) in the *Samguk-sagi* and that for the eighth year of the reign of Emperor Ōjin 應神 (397) in the *Nihon-shoki* 日本書紀, which record the prince of Paikche's being taken hostage by Wa and the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries, and this represents a quite remarkable agreement for ancient historical sources. The king's achievements in the course of these eight years are expressed symbolically in condensed form in the nine characters "*sŏng ryuk-sip-sa, chon ir-chŏn-sa-baik*" 城六十四 · 村一千四百 (64 towns, 1,400 villages), referring to the expansion of new territory during his reign, and they are further extolled in his post-humous title of "Kwanggaitogyŏng Pyŏngan Hyo-daiwang" (Great King who extended the borders and brought peace).

The third part of the inscription deals with the regulations concerning grave keepers. Needless to say, the grave in this case is the mausoleum of King Kwanggaito, but the question of whether it correspond to the Taiwang-rŭng 太王陵 (JYM0541) or to the Changgun-chong 將軍塚 (JYM0001) still remains unsettled. But at any rate the 330 families who were requisitioned from throughout the country for the purpose of guarding the mausoleum were organized into fixed *kugyŏn* 國烟 and *kangyŏn* 看烟 according to their native *sŏng* 城 and these were each recorded on the face of the stele. Settlements for the grave keepers were probably constructed in the vicinity of the stele. The institution of grave keepers had been initiated at the time of the ancestral kings, but it was King Kwanggaito who first erected steles recording the regulations pertaining to grave keepers at each of the tombs of the ancestral kings.

At the same time, in regard to the grave keepers of his own tomb, he gave prior orders that only the "newly surrendered Han and Yie" (*sin-rai-Han-Yie* 新來韓穢), namely, the Han 韓 and Yie 穢 tribes whom he had overrun, should be requisitioned for this purpose. Following his death, his son King Changsu 長壽 (ruled 413-491), who actually attended to this matter, included among the grave keepers, in addition to the Han and Yie and to the measure of one in three, local inhabitants familiar with the ancient customs of grave keepers and, recording these in accordance with his father's practice, had the King Kwanggaito stele erected. The inscription ends with the following stipulation: "Henceforth grave keepers are not to be

permitted to sell each other; even should one be of ample means, one may not buy at will, while anyone who sells in contravention of the law will be punished and the buyer will be made by law to tend to the grave." This represents a concrete example of the ancient laws of Koguryō in their original form and is thus most valuable. In this manner there emerged a type of memorial stele assuming a form peculiar to Koguryō, which included as an indispensable feature the traditional regulations pertaining to grave keepers.

In composition, this Koguryō-style inscription is made up of three parts consisting of an initial introductory part, which describes the royal lineage of Koguryō from the original founder down to King Kwanggaito, a second part extolling the meritorious achievements of the king set forth in eight sections covering eight years and symbolized by territorial expansion, and a third part prescribing the institution of grave keepers. When reconsidered from a more realistic viewpoint which takes into account developments in the history of Koguryō, may we not perhaps interpret each of these three parts as corresponding respectively to the age of the remote and sacred distant past, the age of glory and great achievements in the recent past, and, with a return to reality, to the age of the present and future full of further prospects?

## 2. The Characteristics of the So-called *Sin-myō* year Passage

Reflecting the high position occupied by Koguryō in ancient East Asia, the content of the King Kwanggaito inscription is of a highly international nature. As a result, there has been to date much discussion relating to the international relations described in the inscription, and the section of the inscription that has drawn the most attention in this respect has been the thirty-two characters of the so-called *sin-myō* year passage, namely:

百殘新羅舊是屬民由來朝貢倭以辛卯年來渡□破百殘□□新\*羅以爲臣民。

As a result of weathering over a long period of time, this passage contains characters which have worn away and are now undecipherable, and consequently there are a not inconsiderable number of conflicting views on its reading and interpretation. But nevertheless its true meaning is gradually coming to light, for in recent years the special position and special function of this passage within the inscription as a whole have come to be accurately grasped. Not only do the major countries of East Asia, such as Paikche, Sirra and Wa, all appear together in this short passage in addition to Koguryō itself, but the importance of this passage will also be recognized to a still greater degree than in the past if its special characteristics are properly understood.

The first characteristic of the *sin-myō* year passage lies in the fact that it is not an independent passage complete in itself, but a mere "prefatory

passage" as it were, namely, a statement prefixed to a main passage with the function of leading up to the content of that passage (i.e., the meritorious achievements of King Kwanggaito). As was noted earlier, the second part of the King Kwanggaito inscription containing this *sin-myo* year passage is composed of eight sections corresponding to eight years, and these sections may be further divided into two types, namely, those accompanied by a "prefatory passage" and those without one. The latter type invariably takes the form of a "*kyo-gyōn*" 教遣 (the King dispatched troops by his own order) type, beginning with the year of the Yōngrak era, the signs of the sexagenary cycle, and the phrase "*kyo-gyōn*" and passages of this type describe achievements resulting from the king's dispatch of troops.

By way of contrast, the former type begins with the year of the Yōngrak era, the signs of the sexagenary cycle, a "prefatory passage", and the phrase "*wang-kung-sor*" 王躬率 (the king himself led) or "*wang-sun-ha*" 王巡下 (the king made a tour of inspection); in this case the king himself took some direct action, with the majority of examples of this type describing the achievements of campaigns conducted by the king in person, and so we may refer to this type as the "*kung-sor*" type. The important feature of the *kung-sor* type is that it is always preceded by a prefatory passage that records the external circumstances that eventually necessitated and justified the need for the king to act in person. Hence the prefatory passage describes a situation that was critically unfavourable to Koguryō and posed such difficulties that it could be resolved only by the intervention of the king himself.

If we now reconsider the nature of the *sin-myo* year passage, we find that it has as its corresponding main passage the section for the sixth year of the Yōngrak era, belonging to the *kung-sor* type, and that it represents nothing other than the prefatory passage specifically for this section. The *sin-myo* year passage must not be interpreted independently of the main passage for the sixth year of the Yōngrak era, for it serves as the prefatory passage leading up to the great success of the campaign against Paikche that is described in the section for that year. Thus it records circumstances that were unfavourable to and posed problems for Koguryō, as a result of which the king was required of necessity to conduct the campaign against Paikche in person, and so it serves as the premise for the justification of this action on the part of the king. Therefore, the *sin-myo* year passage does not announce a situation in which Koguryō had the initiative and stood at an advantage, but rather describes an international situation in which Koguryō found itself in adverse circumstances while Wa held the initiative. Disregarding details for the moment, it is probably reasonable to interpret the *sin-myo* year passage as meaning something to the effect of "from *sin-myo* year (391) onwards Wa came to place Paikche and Sirra under its sway."

The second characteristic of the *sin-myo* year passage is to be found in the fact that not only does it represent the specific prefatory passage for the

sixth year of the Yōngrak era, but it also serves as a "major prefatory passage," namely, a prefatory passage relating to each of the subsequent sections dealing with Paikche, Sirra and Wa. That this *sin-myō* year passage is to be distinguished from prefatory passages in general may be assumed from the fact that it is placed at the start of the section in question (i.e., prefatory passage → year of the Yōngrak era → signs of the sexagenary cycle → "*wang-kung-sor*"), thus differing from the above-mentioned standard order; the order has, in other words, been inverted. This inversion represents a special form of rhetoric implying that the *sin-myō* year passage is not simply an ordinary prefatory passage limited in scope to the year in question, but that it is meant to function as a major prefatory passage relating to all the subsequent related sections.

In point of fact, it is only Paikche that is mentioned in the main passage for the sixth year, while Wa and Sirra, which are also mentioned in the *sin-myō* year passage, appear only in the sections for subsequent years. In other words, the *sin-myō* year passage represents the major prefatory passage common to the five sections describing the Paikche campaign in the sixth year of the Yōngrak era, the relief of Sirra in the ninth year, the campaigns against Wa and Arra in the tenth year, the Wa campaign in the fourteenth year, and what appears to have been a campaign against Paikche in the seventeenth year. The main gist of it lay in showing on the basis of a somewhat long-term view of future developments the grounds for the need and justification of Koguryō's counteroffensive against and repulse of Wa which had been making advances in the Korean Peninsula since that year (*sin-myō*).

As indicated in the above, the *sin-myō* year passage is of a special nature in its role as a major prefatory passage.<sup>2)</sup> That being so, the international position of Wa can by no means be considered to have been insignificant. To the contrary, that Koguryō held the position of Wa in rather high regard is clear from the fact that movements centred on Wa were first mentioned in the *sin-myō* year passage and that Koguryō kept a sharp watch on these movements from first to last.

## II. The Discovery of the Stele and Trends in the Study of the Inscription

### 1. The Actual Circumstances of the Discovery of the Stele

Following the fall of Koguryō, the status of Chi-an where the King Kwanggaito stele is located gradually declined, and especially after the birth of the Ch'ing 清 dynasty from Manchuria this region became an area to which access was forbidden and in which residence was banned, as a result of which it was left to run waste for a long period of time. It was only after the stele, a cultural object of considerable value, had been rediscovered that its existence came to be widely known, and this took place when large numbers of displaced persons drifted into the area in the second half of the

nineteenth century towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty.

It is to be surmised that the discovery of the stele started with the unearthing of old tiles at the site of a large neglected tumulus. Particularly prominent around the district centre of Chi-an, corresponding to the ancient capital of Koguryō, are the clusters of Koguryō tombs numbering tens of thousands. These include about a dozen large tumuli thought to be royal mausolea, and it was known that at one of them (the Taiwang Mausoleum) there were to be found old tiles about 29 cm long, 16 cm wide and 2 cm thick. The edge of these tiles was inscribed in delightful classic *li-shu* 隸書 style with the ten characters "Wuñ-tai-wang-rüng-an-yō-san-go-yō-ak" 願太王陵(陵)安如山固如岳 ("May the Taiwang Mausoleum be secure like a mountain and firm like a peak"), and they drew the attention of a local official.

Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty the popularity of epigraphy was also attracting the interest of local government officials, and in 1880 a certain local official in the province of Shêng-ching 盛京 sent some people to Chi-an in order to requisition the locals and have them excavate old tiles. According to some, this local official was the general (*chiang-chü* 將軍) of Shêng-ching, but there is a strong possibility that it was Chang Yüeh 章越, the district magistrate (*chih-hsien* 知縣) of Huai-jên 懷仁 District, who exercised control over the area at the time. It was a member of his staff by the name of Kuan Yüeh-shan 關月山 who carried out Chang Yüeh's instructions, and while supervising the excavations he would have either seen or heard of the huge stone standing immediately to the east of the excavation site and would have visited it forthwith. Discovering among the undergrowth an ancient stele inscribed with characters in the ancient *li-shu* style closely resembling the characters on the old tiles, he would have been beside himself with joy. The stele which he had discovered was the King Kwangaito stele.<sup>3)</sup>

In later years T'an Kuo-yüan 談國桓, who had been personally acquainted with Kuan Yüeh-shan in his youth, was to write, "Kuan Yüeh-shan was extremely interested in epigraphs, and in any spare time that he had in the course of his public duties he would seek them out in the country, thus discovering this stele in the wilderness among creeping grasses. Overcome with joy, he took hand-rubbings of a few characters." This informs us that Kuan Yüeh-shan immediately took a rubbing of the inscription, but that it was only a partial rubbing of a few characters. The execution of full-scale ink copies began in the following year, 1881. Some professional artisans having been engaged from T'ien-chin (Tientsin) 天津, they cleaned up the surface of the stele, proceeded to decipher the indistinct characters of the inscription obscured by the scars of weathering and, expending an enormous amount of labour, time and money, completed an "inked-in background" copy (墨水廓填本, see III. 1 below) of the inscription.

The first people to acquire copies of this "inked-in background" type were the successive district magistrates of Huai-jên District. Judging from



the fact that Chang Yüeh, the first district magistrate (1877–1882), presented a copy to Chang Hsi-luan 張錫鑾 and Chên Shih-yün 陳士藝, the second district magistrate (1882), presented a copy to Wu Ta-chêng 吳大澂, it must have been completed already around the year 1882. Sakō Kageaki, an intelligence officer who had been dispatched by the General Staff Office of the Japanese Army, then entered the area some time between April and August of the following year, 1883. Seeing through the designs of the artisan who was trying to push up the price, Sakō used threats to force him to sell one of his “inked-in background” copies. At the same time he also purchased some of the inscribed tiles from the Taiwang Mausoleum and returned to Japan within the same year. A mere three years had elapsed since the discovery of the stele.

## 2. The Commencement of Studies on the Inscription and Later Developments

It was not long before “inked-in background” copies of the King Kwanggaito stele became known to people in the central part of China. Li Hung-i 李鴻裔, who had two copies in his possession, gave one to his acquaintance P'an Tsu-yin 潘祖蔭, who lent it to his disciple Yeh Ch'ang-ch'ih 葉昌熾 and had him study it. These people were all well-known literati and bureaucrats at the time and representative figures in epigraphical circles. Yeh became absorbed in the decipherment of this unrecorded inscription and identified it as an inscription that had been written in memory of the achievements of King Sōchōn 西川 of Koguryō (ruled 270–292). But despite a further nine days' efforts, he was in the end unsuccessful in arranging all the leaves of his copy in their proper order and was unable to reconstruct the inscription. Although he erred in his view that it was an inscription relating to King Sōchōn and although his reconstruction of the inscription remained unfortunately incomplete, his efforts still represented what was probably the first study of this inscription in China.

It was rather in Japan that research on the inscription was actively pursued. This research, utilizing the “inked-in background” copy just brought back to Japan by Sakō, was initially centred on the General Staff Office, which happened to be starting to attach importance to the collation of geographical information for military purposes. The first completed study was *An Interpretation of the Inscription of Yōnrag Taiwang of East Pu-yü* 東夫餘永樂大王碑銘解 (composed in July 1884) by Aoe Shū 青江秀, a naval commissioner, who correctly pointed out that it was from the King Kwanggaito stele erected in 414, and he also added objective explanatory comments. This was followed a little later by *A Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* 高句麗古碑考 (composed in about December 1884) by Yokoi Tadanao 横井忠直 of the Compilation Department of the General Staff Office. Although he mistakenly placed the erection of the stele in the year 474, he identified the *sin-myō* year of the so-called *sin-myō* year passage as 391, and his study as

a whole represented a detailed historical elucidation of the inscription that anticipated the direction to be taken by subsequent studies.

When compared with these Japanese studies, the study by Yeh Ch'ang-ch'ih is found to be somewhat lacking in content, and having been undertaken in September of the Western calendar, it was a little earlier than Yokoi's study but later than that by Aoe. However, it may be seen that by a strange coincidence research on the King Kwanggaito stele had been initiated in both China and Japan in the same year. Based primarily on Yokoi's research, the fifth volume of the Asia Society's 亜細亞協會 *Kaiyoroku* 會餘錄 was then published (1889). It contained a lithographic copy in reduced size of the "inked-in background" text (Sakō text), a transcription, an account of the discovery of the stele, and an interpretation of the inscription, and these were to provide the foundations for all subsequent studies of the inscription, exerting considerable influence both within Japan and abroad.

Following Yokoi's research, there successively appeared a number of full-scale studies, namely, Kan Masatomo's 菅政友 "Study of the Inscription of Hyo-daiwang of Koguryō" 高麗好太王碑銘考 (*Shigakkai Zasshi* 史學會雜誌, Nos. 22-25, 1891), Naka Michiyo's 那珂通世 "Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō" 高句麗古碑考 (*Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, Nos. 47, 49, 1893), and Miyake Yonekichi's 三宅米吉 "Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō" 高麗古碑考 (*Kōkogakkai Zasshi* 考古學會雜誌, Vol. 2, Nos. 1-3, 1898). Each of these studies set value on the inscription as a historical source for the period in question and added detailed historical comments on the individual sections of the inscription in which were developed ideas that were to become the generally accepted theses in research on this inscription. The reason that these views, formulated within the short span of only ten years after the publication of *Kaiyoroku*, cannot be disregarded even today is that they represented the results of careful historical investigations based directly on the inscription itself.

Also important is the fact that these studies appeared in connection with the so-called "chronology debate" in the field of ancient history, a debate that represented an ordeal undergone in the course of the development of modern historical studies in Japan. In these discussions in which, in opposition to the view advocating that ancient historical works should be regarded as divine texts and that the dignity of the traditional "national history" of Japan should be preserved, it was attempted to make also the ancient historical works objects of textual criticism, the King Kwanggaito stele was often given as an example, and whereas Naka and Miyake were proponents of the critical school and well-known controversialists, Yokoi, who belonged to the traditionalist school, abandoned his initial view and ended up maintaining that the inscription was unrelated to King Kwanggaito. The views on the inscription that were to become generally accepted took account of this "chronology debate" and were established on the basis of the research results of the critical school.

Nevertheless, although these generally accepted views may be on the whole satisfactory, there remained no small number of questions that were left for further examination in the future. Of particular importance was the question of the transcription of the inscription, which constitutes the basis of all related research. A large number of characters, representing more than one tenth of the whole text, were already worn away, and there are not a few that still await decipherment. In particular, the generally accepted view on the inscription is founded on the transcription given in the Sakō text and follows the readings determined by the artisans who produced this text, and so properly speaking it ought to have been made the object of a scrupulous critique. Furthermore, notwithstanding painstaking efforts to arrange the well more than one hundred leaves of the Sakō text, these efforts proved to be ultimately unsuccessful, as in the case of Yeh Ch'ang-ch'ih. This constituted a further weakness of the generally accepted view.

It was Miyake who, gaining access to a "direct rubbing" 原石拓本 in the possession of the Komatsu-no-miya 小松宮 family, attempted to emend the earlier transcription in his "Addenda to a Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō" 高麗古碑考追加 (*Kōkogakkai Zasshi*, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1898). His attempt was relatively successful, and his painstaking transcription is marked throughout by brilliant gems of inspiration. But this was not utilized in further research, and there was a temporary halt in the quest for direct rubbings, which ought to have in fact been a first priority. This was in part because of the advent of the age of "lime rubbings" 石灰拓本, which were made by applying lime to the surface of the stele in order to make the characters stand out and in which due regard was not necessarily paid to the true identity of the characters. The actual conditions under which these lime rubbings were made was exposed on the basis of an on-the-spot survey of the stele in 1913 by Imanishi Ryū 今西龍 in his "On the Stele of the Mausoleum of Kwanggaitogyōng Hyo-daiwang" 廣開土境好太王陵碑に就て (1915) and Sekino Tei 關野貞 in his "Ruins of the Koguryō Period in Chi-an District, Manchuria, and near Pyōngyang" 滿州輯安縣及び平壤附近に於ける高句麗時代の遺蹟 (*Kōkogakkai Zasshi*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1914). Although they emphasized the dangers to which lime rubbings exposed research on the inscription, they did not take the further step of undertaking to decipher the text of the original stele. This was to require a further lapse of time.

It was Mizutani Teijirō 水谷悌二郎 who, having criticized the lime rubbings, was to actively pursue the task of determining the original characters of the inscription in his "Study of the Hyo-daiwang Stele" 好太王碑考 (*Shohin* 書品, No. 100, 1959). On the basis of the many variant characters to be found in the different ink copies of the King Kwanggaito stele, he pointed out that there existed a variety of ink copies, both old and new, and he differentiated between that brought back by Sakō, his own cherished direct rubbing (the Mizutani text), and the widely circulating lime rubbings. Asserting further

that earlier transcriptions had been unable to avoid misreadings owing to the fact that some of the characters had been "masked with lime", he closely examined each character of the inscription individually and presented his own new transcription, the so-called Mizutani transcription, which went far beyond the level of earlier transcriptions. Although Mizutani's research was not without its shortcomings and errors, he deserves to be highly praised in that he raised the issue of a re-examination of the transcription, fundamental to any study of the inscription, and also actively pursued this task, accomplishing remarkable results. He also rendered a great service in prompting a fundamental reconsideration of methods and bringing about a turning point in the too optimistically inclined research of the past that had ignored such questions. Any future research on the inscription will need to be pursued on the basis of a proper evaluation of this turning point.

### 3. The Present State of Studies on the Inscription

Given this background of the considerable interest that has been evinced in the King Kwanggaito stele, many studies have accumulated both in Japan and overseas. The first matter to draw one's attention is the actual history of the research on the inscription, including the circumstances of its discovery, and in this respect the achievements of Ri Chin-hui 李進熙 in his *Study of the Inscription of the Mausoleum of King Kwanggaito* 廣開土王陵碑の研究 (1972) and Saeki Arikiyo 佐伯有清 in his *History of Studies on the King Kwanggaito Stele* 研究史 廣開土王碑 (1974) are considerable; in addition to describing the present state of research, they also critically inquire into the ideological nature of studies on the inscription. In addition, the present writer discussed the internal system of government in Koguryō in his "Koguryō's Territorial Control as Seen from the King Kwanggaito Stele" 廣開土王碑からみた高句麗の領域支配 (*Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 No. 78, 1979), while the Koguryō remains in the Chi-an plain of which the stele itself also forms one part have been surveyed and reported on by Chinese archaeologists. In this manner, in keeping with the multifaceted nature of the inscription, various related topics are being investigated in both breadth and depth.

Among these, that which has provoked the most discussion and drawn the greatest attention is the question of the international relations recorded in the inscription, which appear in condensed form in the so-called *sin-myō* year passage in the first half of the main body of the inscription. In particular, the latter half of this passage has traditionally been read as follows: "However, Wa came in the *sin-myō* year, crossed the sea (?), defeated Paikchan (Paikche), ?? Sirra (by another reading, defeated Paikchan, *Imna* and Sirra), and made them subjects." Although the interpretation of 以.....來 as "in the *sin-myō* year" should be corrected to "since the *sin-myō* year up until now", the two illegible characters (? ?) or "Imna" must be read as a verb, and the

character for “sea” 海 must be regarded as undecipherable at the present stage, this does not alter the general import of the passage, which would have it that Wa placed Paikchan and Sirra in some sort of state of subordination.

In contrast to this interpretation centred on Wa, there was later put forward a new interpretation running directly counter to the above reading, and this has won such overwhelming support in both North and South Korea that it now occupies the position of the generally accepted view in these two countries. This new interpretation was first conceived of around 1940 and later published by Chǒng In-bo 鄭寅普 in his “Brief Interpretation of the Inscription of the Mausoleum of Kwanggaitogyǒng Pyǒngan Hyo-daiwang” 廣開土境平安好太王陵碑文釋略 (Seoul, 1955). According to this view, the meaning of the passage is not sufficiently clear as it stands and ought to be interpreted as follows: “Then Wa [invaded Koguryǒ], [and Koguryǒ also] crossed the sea [to Wa], and they attacked one another. Then Paikchan intrigued [with Wa] and invaded Sirra. [Taiwang] wondered why Paikchan and Sirra, which were both liege to him, should take such action.” Not only have five words or phrases absent in the inscription (enclosed in square brackets) been supplemented, but the original wording of the inscription is also brief in comparison with the complex content of the words attributed to Taiwang, and when compared with the inscription itself, this interpretation is simply too forced.

In an attempt to offset these shortcomings, Kim Sǒk-hyǒng 金錫亨, in his *Study of Early Korean-Japanese Relations* 初期朝日關係研究 (Pyǒngyang, 1966), reduced the number of supplementary insertions to two and proposed an interpretation centring on Koguryǒ, namely: “Because Wa came [to Koguryǒ] in the *sin-myǒ* year, [Koguryǒ] crossed the sea and defeated Paikchan, ?? Sirra, and made Paikchan and Sirra subjects.” In addition, Chǒn Kwan-u 千寬宇, in his “Reconsideration of the Inscription of the Mausoleum of King Kwanggaito” 廣開土王陵碑文再論 (Seoul, 1979), offered another interpretation centring on Paikchan in which, having read the character “*pa*” 破 as “*ko*” 故 or some other character, he interprets the passage in question as follows: “Because Wa had since the *sin-myǒ* year crossed the sea [and come to Paikchan], Paikchan [in liaison with this Wa] was about to invade (將侵 ?) Sirra and make Sirra its subject.” Although their conclusions differ, the prototype of all these interpretations is to be found in the views of Chǒng, and not only can one perceive the extent of his influence, but there was even born the tendency, perhaps stimulated by the view to be mentioned below that the inscription was later falsified, to interpret the inscription by substituting characters without any firm grounds for doing so. What is more, there are even indications that this tendency is being carried over in certain circles in a still more facile manner.

But as was pointed out earlier, the *sin-myǒ* year passage is in the first place a “prefatory passage” that, properly speaking, describes a situation

unfavourable to Koguryō, and therefore any interpretation that gives the initiative to Koguryō is untenable. Even in the case of the other interpretations, they all require the addition of supplementary words absent in the inscription, and this in itself represents a manipulation and interpretation of the text in excess of what would be normally permissible. The meaning of the inscription is sufficiently clear as it stands without the addition of any supplementary words, and the *sin-myō* year passage is no exception.

Apart from the above trends, steady but unobtrusive progress has been made in methods for accurately interpreting the international relations reflected in the inscription. In his "Two or Three Questions Concerning the Stele of the Mausoleum of King Kwangaito" 廣開土王陵碑をめぐる二、三の問題 (*Shyoku-Nihongi Kenkyū* 續日本紀研究, No. 159, 1972), Maezawa Kazuyuki 前澤和之 regards the *sin-myō* year passage as an interpolation relating not only to the section for the sixth year of the Yōngrak era but also to a number of other sections, and he also notes that among these sections there are some with "*wang*" 王 (king) as their subject and some beginning with "*kyo-gyōn*" 教遣 (the King dispatched troops by his own order). Hamada Kōsaku 濱田耕策, in his "Study of the Inscription of the Mausoleum of King Kwangaito Koguryō" 高句麗廣開土王陵碑文の研究 (*Chōsenshi Kenkyūkai Ronbunshū* 朝鮮史研究會論文集, No. 11, 1974), classified these into two types, namely, the "*wang-kung-sor*" 王躬率 (or "*wang-sun-ha*" 王巡下) type and the "*kyo-gyōn*" type, and having discovered that the former invariably takes a prefatory passage while the latter does not, he further pointed out that the function of each of the prefatory passages is to explain the adverse circumstances which forced the king to conduct the campaigns in person and that therefore the prefatory passages always describe a situation unfavourable to Koguryō.

He also maintains that a series of campaigns each spanning two years (and covered by two sections of the inscription), which begin with the *kung-sor* type and end with the *kyo-gyōn* type, is repeated three times in succession. But we find it difficult to agree with this stylistically too well-regulated interpretation, for insofar as the passage for the eighth year describes a campaign against Su-shên, it cannot be held that the passage for the sixth year, describing a campaign against Paikche, and the passage for the eighth year describe a single organically interrelated series of campaigns. Nevertheless, the above two studies merit high appraisal in that, using internal criteria gained on the basis of the actual style of the chronologically arranged passages themselves, they introduced methods of objective interpretation into the existing interpretations of the inscription that had tended to rely on subjective inspiration.

At the same time, there also appeared new currents in the decipherment of the inscription, which constitutes the basis of all studies on the inscription. That which attracted especially strong interest lay not so much in the direction of the quest for the inscription in its original form as had already been pointed to by Mizutani's transcription, but was found rather in the view put

forward by Ri Chin-hüi that parts of the inscription had been altered and fabricated. This assertion was to have a considerable impact both in Japan and overseas, and it evoked a variety of responses. Ri emphasized that in 1883 Sakō Kageaki, dispatched by the Japanese General Staff Office, altered some of the characters in a manner advantageous to the Japanese invasion of the Asian mainland, that Sakō himself made an ink copy which he then brought back with him to Japan, and that around 1900, in order to cover up Sakō's misdeed, the General Staff Office applied lime to fabricate the characters and made a lime rubbing thereof. Ri further went on to also criticize the picture of ancient Japanese history that had been created on the basis of the false inscription and the very nature of Japanese historical circles that had continued to accept this picture.

But there are not a few facts that are incompatible with or contradictory to this view. These include the afore-mentioned circumstances of the discovery of the stele and of Sakō's acquisition of a copy of the inscription, the techniques for preparing an "inked-in background" copy, carefully executed with great effort and at enormous expense (see below), the fact that Sakō himself abandoned the attempt to arrange the leaves of the Sakō text which still remains incompletely ordered (see below), the existence of characters disadvantageous to the Japanese invasion other than those held to have been fabricated, and the testimony of the Chinese who prepared the ink copy denying any fabrication.

Furthermore, among the twelve characters specified by Ri as fabrications, namely, "*rai-to-hai-pa* 來渡海破 ([face] I. [column] 9; *sin-myō* year passage), "*hoa*" 和 (II. 6), "*ka-ra*" 加羅 and "*Woai-man-woai*" 倭滿倭 (II. 9), and "*Tai-bang*" 帶方 (III. 3), there are three characters (underlined) which it is impossible or extremely difficult to decipher on account of weathering, but the remaining characters are all original characters that may be checked on the direct rubbings. In regard to the decipherment of the text, Ri is to be criticized for having greatly erred in identifying the direct rubbings of the Mizutani text, etc., as lime rubbings (see below).

A work that made a new and positive contribution to research in this field was Wang Chien-ch'ün's 王健群 *Study of the Hyo-daiwang Inscription* 好太王碑研究 (Ch'ang-ch'un 長春 1984), which presents the transcription of as many as 1,655 characters. An idea of the number of characters newly deciphered by him may be gained when one compares them with the 1,566 characters of Mizutani's transcription, and further originality and value are to be found in the fact that Wang's transcription is based on an actual inspection of the original stele. In the view of the present writer, however, there are among the eighty-nine characters held by Wang to have been newly deciphered a little more than fifty truly deserving to be so described, and these include more than thirty that we would hesitate to accept as correct readings, while there are also instances not included in these figures where

Wang follows earlier erroneous readings. Thus, although we are fully prepared to recognize the value of Wang's transcription which, grounded as it is in his own on-the-spot investigations, has merits not to be found in other studies, it cannot completely replace Mizutani's transcription. Both must be referred to in conjunction and may be regarded as providing a valuable foundation for future research. Taking account of the above trends in the study of the inscription over a period of one hundred years, the present writer put together investigations undertaken from his own standpoint and published them in the form of *East Asia and the History of Koguryō* 高句麗史と東アジア (1989).

Nevertheless, the situation regarding the decipherment of the King Kwanggaito stele is fraught with such difficulties that problems still remain after Wang's transcription based on an on-the-spot investigation of the original stele, and there will be no escaping this predicament in the future either. There still remains some lime on the surface of the stele, and it has been placed under careful protection with the application of cement and chemical resins, but it is rather the scars of severe weathering that impress themselves most upon the eyes of the beholder. Not only is a still more meticulous investigation of the original stele to be desired, but the utilization of reliable related materials is called for anew. This is why high value is to be set by the various ink copies, especially the direct rubbings that convey the original appearance of the surface of the stele prior to the application of the "lime mask", and for this reason the quest for and examination of the direct rubbings becomes once again an immediate and practical issue.<sup>4)</sup>

### III. The Initial Execution of Ink Copies and Their Varieties

#### 1. The Varieties of and Changes in the Ink Copies of the Inscription

With the increasing circulation of ink copies of the King Kwanggaito stele, it came to be noticed that the ink copies differed in regard to the presence or identity of certain characters, and the different varieties of copies also became a subject of discussion. The first ink copy to be brought to Japan was that introduced in 1883 by Sakō Kageaki, an intelligence officer for the General Staff Office. For many years this was believed to be an ordinary rubbing, but in 1939 Katori Hozuma 香取秀眞 revised this view, identifying the rubbing in question as one of the so-called "traced outline with filled-in background" 双鉤廓填本 type, in which the outline of the character strokes is traced in ink and the background surface brushed over with ink to leave the character strokes themselves untouched. But recently the present writer, considering the basic process of tracing the character strokes to have been omitted in the case of the Sakō text, has adopted the view that, strictly speaking, it is more accurate to describe it as belonging to the "inked-in background" 墨水廓填本 type in which the background is inked over without having traced



the outline of the character strokes.<sup>5)</sup>

The characteristics of an "inked-in background" copy are in brief as follows. (1) In the original ink copy the area surrounding the character strokes is carefully filled in with pale Indian ink in a pointillist fashion, requiring an enormous amount of labour, time and money; then it is gone over once more a little more roughly with dark Indian ink. (2) On account of the unevenness and weathering of the surface of the stele, large sheets of paper cannot be used, and it is drawn on many smaller leaves of paper; the Sakō text consists of more than 130 such leaves. (3) A precondition for inking-in with pale Indian ink is an exemplar of what is to be copied, and it is to be surmised that a rubbing taken directly from the stele was used for this. In other words, since the characters remain indistinct on a direct rubbing, the artisan did not recognize the direct rubbing to have any primary value, and using this as an exemplar, he would decipher it to the best of his ability and copy it according to his own decipherment on to another sheet of paper, after which he would touch it up in order to bring out clearly the individual strokes. The result was a so-called "inked-in background" copy.

The "inked-in background" copy represented one expedient means for dealing with the weathering of the stele. Another countermeasure was the lime rubbings mentioned earlier, which were made towards the same end. Although it is no easy task to build up each of the more than 1,770 characters with lime while paying due attention to the decipherment of each individual character, once the lime has been applied, it will last for some time. Above all, it has the advantage of enabling one to dispense with the enormous amount of labour, time and money required in making an "inked-in background" copy. As a result, it became possible to meet the demands of buyers and to establish a system of mass production as it were. In this manner there evolved three varieties of ink copies, each differing in the manner of its execution, namely, direct rubbings, "inked-in background" copies, and lime rubbings. There were also a number of other techniques used in preparing ink copies of the inscription, but they were also based on the above three types, which may be said to represent the three basic techniques.

## 2. The Direct Rubbings as They Appear in the Different Views of Changes in Ink Copies

Once it was recognized that there existed a number of varieties of ink copies, it also came to be realized that there appeared to be some sort of sequential order in these variations. Not only Mizutani, who first raised this question, but also Ri Chin-hui and Wang Chien-ch'ün have examined the transitions in the execution of ink copies, and each has published his views on these changes. We shall now present their views in order to clarify the points at issue.

Mizutani divided the whole process of changes into the following three

phases:<sup>6)</sup>

- Phase I (1884- ): Execution of the "traced outline with filled-in background" copies; Sakō Kageaki text (extant), P'an Tsu-yin text, Wu Ta-chêng (Chên Shih-yün) text, etc.
- Phase II: (1887- ): Execution of direct rubbings; Yang I 楊頤 text, Mizutani Teijirō text (extant), etc.
- Phase III: (1889- ): Execution of lime rubbings; Li Yün-ts'ung 李雲從 text, Wu Chiao-pu 吳椒甫 text (lithographic copy extant), Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉 text (photographic copy in reduced size extant), etc.

Next, Wang Chien-ch'ün grouped the changes into four phases:<sup>7)</sup>

- Phase I (1875- ): Main period of the execution of "traced outline with added ink" 双鉤加墨本 copies (equivalent to "traced outline with filled-in background" copies).
- Phase II: (*circa* 1887- ): Period of the execution of both "traced outline with added ink" copies and direct rubbings.
- Phase III: (*circa* 1889- ): Main period of the execution of direct rubbings.
- Phase IV: (*circa* 1902- ): Main period of the execution of lime rubbings.

At first sight the above two views give the impression of differing considerably in content, but when considered in relation to the question of the execution of direct rubbings, this is seen to be not necessarily so. In both cases, the execution of direct rubbings is considered to have begun with that of Yang I in 1887, and both views are in essential agreement in so far as they adopt a theory of three changes, namely, "traced outline with filled-in background" copies → direct rubbings → lime rubbings. All else that is required is some minor modifications in accordance with our earlier comments, changing "traced outline with filled-in background (/with added ink)" copy to "inked-in background" copy and correcting the date of their initial execution to 1881. But in regard to the question of the commencement of the making of lime rubbings, and therefore the termination of the making of direct rubbings, there remain discrepancies between these two views that cannot be ignored. These discrepancies are bound up with the question of how to define the character of the extant Mizutani and Li Yün-ts'ung texts, but here we shall merely point out the existence of this problem and return to it later.

By way of contrast to the above two views, there is also the five-phase theory of Ri Chin-hüi.<sup>8)</sup> His division into five phases is in itself quite clear, but their content, definition and interrelationship involve subtle points which

are by no means easy to fathom. However, taking our hint from his expression "third treatment" and positing a first and second treatment in order to present his ideas in a manner readily understandable to all, his theory may probably be set out as follows:

- Phase I (1882- ): Period of the execution of "traced outline with added ink" copies, with the first treatment of the surface of the stele being carried out; Chên Shih-yün (Wu Ta-chêng) text, Sakō text (extant), P'an Tsu-yin text, etc.
- Phase II (1887- ): Period of the execution of full-scale rubbings, with lime *not* yet applied to the *whole* surface; Yang I text, Komatsu-nomiya text (Miyake Yonekichi's transcription extant), Li Yün-ts'ung text, etc.
- Phase III (1899- ): Period of the execution of lime rubbings, with the second treatment being carried out and lime applied to the *whole* surface (so-called "lime-plastering operation"); Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 text (extant), Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬 text (photographic copy in reduced size extant), etc.
- Phase IV (a little after phase III- ): Third treatment carried out; Wu Chiao-pu text (lithographic copy extant), Chavannes text (photographic copy in reduced size extant), etc.
- Phase V (after phase IV- ): Lime steadily peels away; Mizutani text (extant), Kaneko Ōtei 金子鷗亭 text (extant), etc.

In this case too some modifications are required to the starting point of phase I and the designation of the ink copies, but such changes will not bring Ri's view any closer to that of Mizutani or Wang. In fact their ideas on the subject are totally different, for in the case of Ri, he asserts that the first treatment with lime had already been performed during phase I and that there was lime on the surface of the stele throughout all five phases. This assertion is a distinctive feature of his view that the stele was altered and fabricated by members of the Japanese Army. Thus, in the view of Ri, the stele was plastered with lime from first to last and, as for the ink copies, there were only two stages, namely, "traced outline with added ink" copies → lime rubbings. This means that no direct rubbings were ever made and hence there is no possibility of any such rubbings existing today.

In regard to the question of the existence of direct rubbings, the three-stage theories of Mizutani and Wang are diametrically opposed to the two-stage theory of Ri, and there are further differences of opinion in the views of Mizutani and Wang. This is because the grounds on which each bases his views differ. Especially important is the fact that there are differences in the evaluation of the extant rubbings, such as the Mizutani, Kaneko and Li Yün-ts'ung texts. That being the case, which evaluation of these views is to

be considered correct then? We would venture to suggest that the above three ink copies are all direct rubbings. Our reasons for saying so will be given later.

At this stage we do, however, wish to comment on Ri's assertion, accompanied by specific reasons, that the Mizutani text is a lime rubbing dating from around the mid-1930's.<sup>9)</sup> According to Ri, since the two characters "sōng" 城 (I. 10. [character] 27) and "man" 滿 (II. 10. 28) of the Mizutani text are not to be found in or before his third phase and only appear in the lime rubbings of the fourth phase and later, the Mizutani text in which these two characters are to be found must be a lime rubbing.

But, in the first place, only the lower right-hand part of the character "sōng" remains somewhat obscurely visible in the Mizutani text, while the character for "man" can be made out as a whole only indistinctly. Ri declared ever so simply that these characters could be read thus because he had been able to utilize the fruits of earlier transcriptions, but in actual fact the form of these characters is not such that they can be immediately read in this fashion by someone who sees them for the first time, as may be readily ascertained by anyone who cares to do so. The reason that these characters do not appear in the ink copies of the third phase and earlier is that the artisans who prepared Sakō's "inked-in background" copy and Miyake Yonekichi *et alia*, who deciphered the Komatsu-no-miya text, were unable to read them, while those who made the earlier lime copies did not apply any ink to them simply because they too were unable to read them. But the fact that these characters could not be deciphered does not prove that traces of the characters to the extent appearing the Mizutani text did not exist on the surface of the stele prior to the fourth phase. Therefore, there is no special reason to conclude that the Mizutani text represents a lime rubbing. The two characters in question were of course from the first "sōng" and "man," and one can only marvel at the fact that those who made the lime rubbings during the fourth phase were able to correctly read these indistinct characters.

Next, Ri also states that since the condition of the inter-column vertical lines and general weathering scars as they appear in the Mizutani text are the same as those of a photograph taken in 1935, the Mizutani text must be a rubbing made in the same year 1935. But this assertion is incorrect and too simplistic. As long as any differences with the condition of the stele prior to this photograph are not verified, it is not possible to draw any simple conclusion in regard to a specific date. But it is interesting to note that whereas all the strokes of the character "sōng" are clearly visible on this photograph of 1935<sup>10)</sup> (namely, the upper left-hand part has also been built up with lime), the Mizutani text gives only an indistinct indication of the lower right-hand part and completely lacks the upper left-hand part. In other words, the Mizutani text clearly differs from this photograph taken during the period of lime rubbings, and the assertion that it date from 1935 is

quite baseless.

#### IV. The Direct Rubbings and Their Significance

##### 1. The Present State of the Direct Rubbings

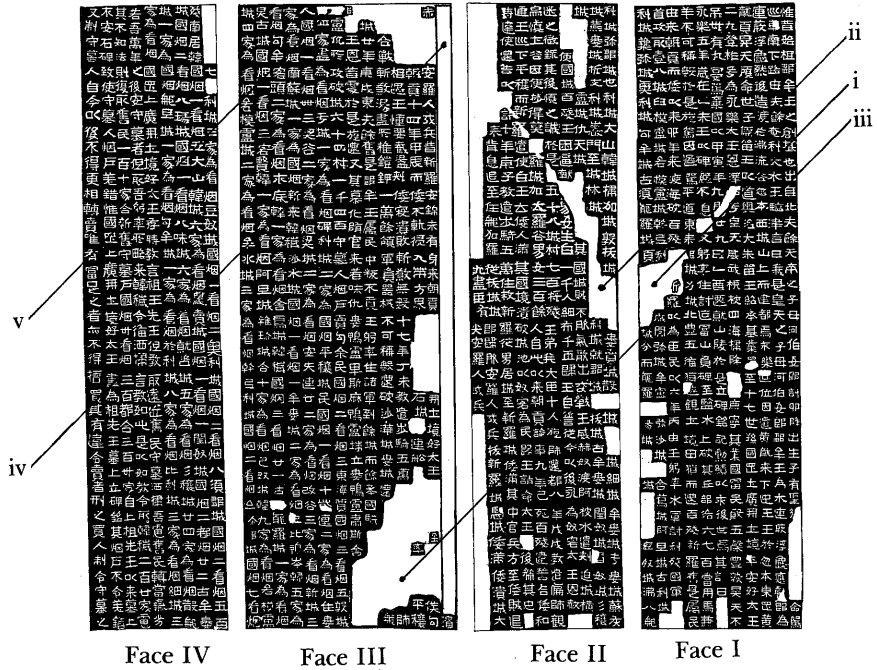
Since the suspicion that the Mizutani text may have been a lime rubbing has been dispelled, let us next consider the reasons for its being a direct rubbing. Firstly, no traces of lime are to be found on the Mizutani text. An examination of the text reveals that, compared with lime rubbings, it has been more carefully gone over with a dabber so that the weathered state of the surface of the stele, including the individual characters, has been brought out in fine detail. And nowhere are there to be discerned any traces of lime on the text. This is a fact of fundamental importance.

Secondly, both the paper and ink have taken on a timeworn appearance. The ink has already started to flake away, while the paper is old and in a rather damaged condition. Paper and ink of good quality would not have been used in the first place, but even so, when compared with the later lime rubbings, the damage has reached quite an advanced stage, and there is no denying its greater antiquity. One also feels concern for its preservation.

Thirdly, the inked-in parts differ from those of the lime rubbings. To date, primarily differences in characters and changes in character strokes have been considered when probing the characteristics of the various ink copies, and this has produced considerable results. But the more one limits oneself to the characters and character strokes, the greater is the danger of falling into unexpected pitfalls. It is the basic view of the present writer that one should compare circumspectively and with due regard to their interrelationship not only the characters and character strokes but also the manner in which the ink copies were made. Thus it will be necessary for us to digress a little at this stage to review the process of changes in lime rubbings.

It was noted earlier that there are a number of views on the period when lime rubbings were first made. The present writer assumes it to have been in the early 1890's. The Wu Chiao-pu text, which is plastered with lime, was acquired at the time of the "Sino-Japanese war," and this should be taken to signify the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. Furthermore, the Naitō Konan and Yang Shou-ching texts predate the Wu Chiao-pu text, and this group of three texts probably represents the first lime rubbings. Next, let us turn our attention to the inking-in of the paper, a precondition for taking rubbings, paying especially close attention to the portions which were not inked in but left blank. Taking particular note of (i) the section of face I extending from the middle left up towards the right, (ii) the section of face II extending from the middle right up towards the left, (iii) the section at the bottom right of face III, (iv) the first column of face III, and (v) the first character of the ninth column of face III, and taking as our criteria the

Type A (Sakō Kageaki : Text)



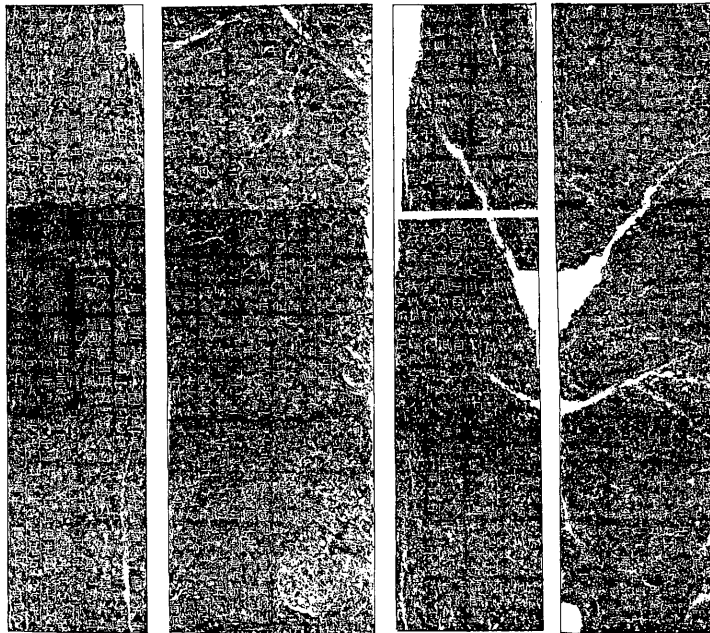
Face IV

Face III

Face II

Face I

Type B-3 (Mizutani Teijirō : Text)



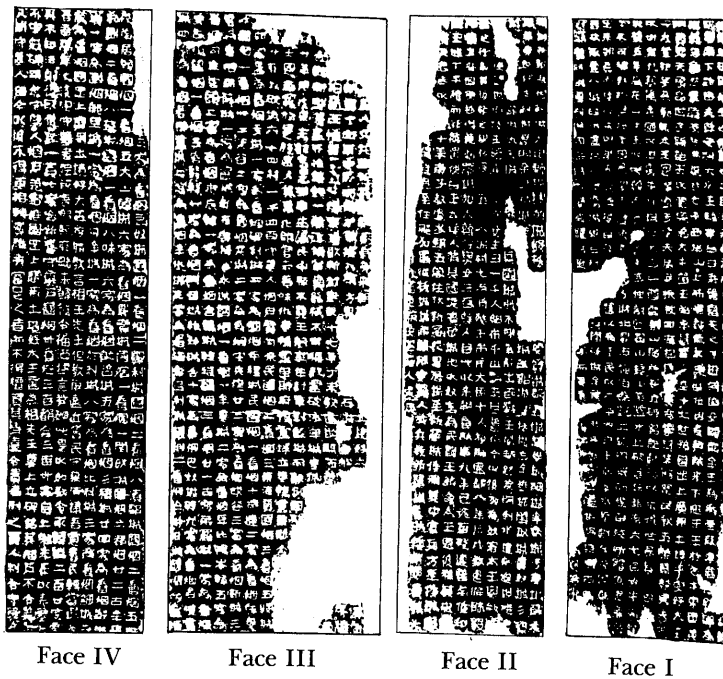
Face IV

Face III

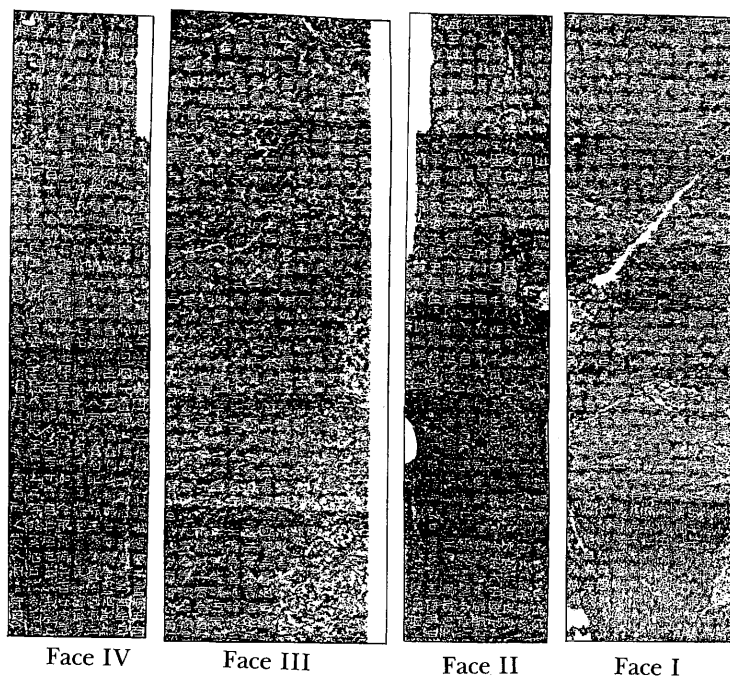
Face II

Face I

Type C-1 (Naitō Konan : Text)



Type C-3 (Adachi Kōichi : Text)



presence or absence and spread of these sections, it is found that the lime rubbings may be broadly divided in the order of their execution into three types (C-1 and so on, C-2 and C-3).

Details will be omitted here<sup>11)</sup>, but let us consider just one example, that of the text originally in the possession of Adachi Kōichi 足立幸一 which, dating from about the middle of 1930, belongs to type C (lime rubbings) -3. When compared with the Mizutani text, the state of our criteria (iii) and (v) are similar in both cases, whereas (i), (ii) and (iv) differ, and the two texts can thus be clearly distinguished. In the cases of the other types, the earlier their date of execution, the greater are their differences with the Mizutani text.

In the fourth place, there is a difference in the usage of paper. In the case of the Mizutani text, a total of twelve leaves has been used, one for each of three sections on each face, while as far as we are aware only four leaves, one for each face, have been used for the lime rubbings, and at present no exception to this has yet been found.

Finally, the Mizutani text would appear to have been made by Li Yün-ts'ung, a skilled rubbing artisan of the late Ch'ing dynasty. This point will be further discussed below, but it is at any rate a decisive fact.

The Mizutani text is in all respects a direct rubbing unconnected with lime, and therefore a direct rubbing does exist. What is more, there also exist other direct rubbings made by the same artisan. The present state of each of these is as follows:

- (1) Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan 中央研究院 B text: Hanging scroll (only face III extant), in the possession of the Fu Ssü-nien 傅斯年 Library, The National Research Institute of History and Philology 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 of Taiwan. The forty-four leaves on which the rubbing was made have been mounted on a single piece of ground paper in the form of a hanging scroll, but the individual leaves are marked by many holes, indicating the age of the paper. The rubbing itself has not been particularly well done, and the character strokes are rather full-formed.
- (2) Mizutani Teijirō text: Twelve leaves (complete text), originally in the possession of Mizutani Teijirō; purchased in 1943, but origin unknown. Each face has been rubbed in three sections (upper, middle and lower), with three leaves for each face, resulting in a total of twelve leaves, all in double thickness. The rubbing has been carefully executed, with ink applied over the greatest possible area, and the characters are slender in shape.
- (3) Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan A text: Twenty-four leaves (complete text), also in the possession of the Fu Ssü-nien Library. Each face has been rubbed in six vertical sections with six leaves for each face (except for face III, which has been rubbed in three sections with two leaves for



- each section), resulting in a total of twenty-four leaves, all in double thickness. It is a well-done rubbing executed by the same artisan who produced (2), with the ink well applied, and the characters are slender in shape.
- (4) Kaneko Ōtei text: Four volumes (complete "cut and bound" text), in the possession of Kaneko Ōtei; purchased around 1950, but origin unknown. It is in the form of folded books with two columns to a page and three characters in each column, but as is always the case with "cut and bound" texts, the more than one hundred undecipherable characters have been omitted. The method of rubbing is identical to that of (2) and (3).
- (5) Im Chang-sun 任昌淳 text: Two volumes (incomplete "cut and bound" text), in the possession of Im Chang-sun. The method of binding is similar to that of (4), but of the four original volumes the last two have been lost. The rubbing was made by the same artisan as that who made (2), (3) and (4). A postscript by Ts'ai Yu-nien 蔡右年 and a transcription by Wang Hsü-fan 王續藩 have been appended.
- (6) *Sōtong* 書通 text: Four hanging scrolls (complete temporarily bound text, photographically reproduced in reduced size). The photographs appeared in the supplement to the first issue of *Sōtong* (September 1973), but details of the whereabouts and origin of the originals are unknown. A total of apparently approximately seventy leaves have been mounted on four pieces of ground paper in the form of four hanging scrolls, corresponding to the four faces. The method of rubbing is identical to that of (2), (3), (4) and (5).

Thus it may be seen that we have complete texts and incomplete texts, rubbings preserved in the manner in which they were originally taken and those which have been cut and bound, originals and photographs, etc., and the present state of each rubbing differs. Although there are no two rubbings of the same format, what is important is the fact that there do actually exist six direct rubbings or photographs of such rubbings. It was these direct rubbings that the present writer had been seeking up until now.

## 2. The Types of Direct Rubbings and Their Changes

Although the present state of each of the extant direct rubbings differs, when examined on the basis of the criteria of rubbing technique (quality of execution, size of characters), inking (presence and extent of blank spaces), and usage of paper (number of sections and leaves for each face, total number of leaves, and thickness), they may be classified into three types.

The first is type B (direct rubbings) -1, to which (1), the Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan B text, belongs. Its manner of execution is rough, its characters are full-formed, and a considerable area has been left blank without applying

any ink. The extant face III has been temporarily mounted in the form of a hanging scroll, but a restoration of its original state at the time when the rubbing was actually made reveals that as many as forty-four leaves were used for face III alone, which was divided into eleven vertical sections, with four leaves for each section. Such features are peculiar to this rubbing and distinguish it from the other five direct rubbings.

The remaining five direct rubbings are similar in regard to technique and the extent of inking, and so they would appear to have been executed by the same artisan within a certain period of time. They may, however, be divided into two types according to the manner in which the paper has been used. That which we shall refer to as type B-2 corresponds to (6), the *Sōtong* text, which at present is temporarily mounted in the form of hanging scrolls. But at the time of the actual execution of the rubbing, each face was divided into nine vertical sections with perhaps two leaves for each section (on account of the poor quality of the photographs, further confirmation of the number of leaves per section will be necessary in the future), in which case the total number of leaves works out to approximately seventy-two (face III has about eighteen). In this respect it differs from the other five direct rubbings.

Next is type B-3, to which the Mizutani text belongs. As was noted above, it consists of twelve leaves, and each face has been rubbed on three leaves in three sections. It is also worth noting that it has been rubbed on double-thickness paper. The use of double-thickness paper represents a measure to prevent damage to the paper when taking a rubbing such as might be caused by the unevenness of the surface of the stele and protuberances due to weathering. Owing to the limitations deriving from the present state of the materials constituting types B-1 and B-2, it has not yet been possible to ascertain whether or not this feature is common to these two types as well.

In the case of (3), the Chung-yang Yeh-chiu-yüan A text, the usage of paper would appear to differ from type B-3, but its present state of preservation differs from its original state. As for (4), the Kaneko text, and (5), the Im Chang-sun text, there would appear to be virtually no hope of being able to ascertain their original state owing to the fact that they have been made into "cut and bound" texts, but there do still remain some clues to their original state. Let us first consider the Chung-yang Yeh-chiu-yüan A text, which at present has six leaves for each face. Among the four faces, faces I, II and IV each consist of six leaves corresponding to six vertical sections. If, however, we join the lower edge of the first section to the upper edge of the second section, we find that they fit together perfectly, whereas the lower edge of the second section and the upper edge of the third section overlap. This means that the first and second sections originally constituted a single sheet of paper, while the second and third sections were separate sheets. An examination continued in this manner reveals that each of these three faces was originally rubbed in three sections on three sheets of paper.

The rubbing of face III at present consists of six leaves in three vertical sections, with two adjoining sheets for each section, but a similar examination shows that the two adjoining sheets originally constituted a single sheet of paper and that the three sections have been preserved in their original state. Therefore, at the time of the original rubbing it would have consisted of three leaves for each face in three sections, giving a total of twelve leaves, and this also tallies with the description "twelve hanging scrolls" recorded in the register for this rubbing. Needless to say, the manner in which the rubbings have been executed is identical for each leaf, and they have also been done on double-thickness paper. Hence the Chung-yang Yeh-chiu-yüan A text belongs to type B-3, as does the Mizutani text.

The remaining Kaneko and Im texts have been cut and bound with two columns to a page and three characters in each column, and since it is normal practice in such cases to omit, in accordance with the deciphering ability of the binder, those parts that he has been unable to read and to cut away superfluous parts other than the actual characters, the task of reconstructing their original state presented extreme difficulties. Through the kindness of the owners, however, we were able to carefully examine these two texts, and taking note of the subtle differences in the finish of each leaf, we met with a reasonable measure of success. As a result, it came to light that each face of both the Kaneko text and the Im text (face I) was originally rubbed on three leaves in three sections and that they were later cut and bound. In the case of the Im text, there is no longer any room for doubting the fact that it too originally consisted of twelve leaves. In other words, there are no features incompatible with the view that these two texts also belong to type B-3.

On the basis of the results of our above investigations of the extant direct rubbings, we have been able to point to the existence of three types. As for the relative age and sequential relationship between these three types, if we collectively consider the criteria mentioned earlier, it is probably reasonable to assume that they underwent changes in the order B-1 → B-2 → B-3. Of special importance in this respect is the size of the sheets of paper and the number of sheets used. The hand-rubbing made by Kuan Yüeh-shan immediately after the discovery of the stele is said to have been done with "one character on each leaf" and on "parchment about one foot in width", and even once complete copies of the "inked-in background" type began to be made, "paper similar to ordinary writing paper" was used, an actual example of which is the Sakō text with more than 130 leaves. The reason that so many leaves were necessary was that (if we disregard early instances of a shortage of paper) it was impossible to use larger sheets of paper because of the unevenness of the surface of the stele and the protuberances due to weathering. But eventually, as a result of improvements in rubbing techniques, larger sheets of paper gradually came to be used while the number

of leaves declined. For example, if we consider face III, the total of forty-four leaves in eleven sections of type B-1 is closest to the approximately forty leaves in ten sections of the Sakō text, followed by the eighteen leaves in nine sections of type B-2, while type B-3 consists of three leaves in three sections, and in the subsequent age of lime rubbings this becomes a single leaf. It may be said that the lime rubbings, suited to a system of mass production and consumption, were perfected following a transitional period of direct rubbings.

When considering the characteristics of the above types, particularly worthy of close attention is the "postscript" by Ts'ai Yu-nien (dated 1891) appended to the Im text, for it suggests that this text represent one of the rubbings made by Li Yün-ts'ung.

The Hyo-daiwang stele is located on the summit of a high mountain to the east of China in the former land of Fu-yü and on the border of the present-day district of K'ai-yüan 開原. The mountain overlooks the Liang River 遼河, and the west of the Liang River corresponds to *Kao-li* 高[句]麗. Since it is a remote and dangerous region, there are extremely few books that contain this stele. In the *chi-ch'ou* 己丑 year of the Kuang-hsü 光緒 era [1889], a merchant by the name of Po-ku-ch'i 博古齊 dispatched an artisan to the site to take some rubbings, and after a period of several months he returned with more than ten copies. The imperial clansman Po Hsi 伯兮 (chancellor [*chi-chiu* 祭酒]), Wang Chêng-ju 王正孺 and Huang Chung-t'ao 黃仲瑛 (both junior compilers [*pien-hsiu* 編修]), Ch'ên Tzū-p'ei 沈子培 (of the Ministry of Justice [*hsing-pu* 比部]), T'ien Ch'ih 天池 (houseman [*shê-jên* 舍人]) and myself, [Ts'ai] Yu-nien, each bought one copy for ten pieces of silver. My houseman immediately bound it, and I also procured the transcription by Wang Hsü-fan of Hsiao-lien 孝廉 in Shan-tung 山東, which has been appended to the end of this bound copy. The above was recorded by [Ts'ai] Yu-nien in the second month of the *hsin-mao* 辛卯 year [1891].

Perhaps because of the oral tradition that the King Kwanggaito stele lay in a remote outlying district, the reference to the location of the stele in the above postscript is quite erroneous, but as for the rest of its content, being based as it is on personal experience and knowledge, it is of considerable value. The most important point is that this rubbing was made in the "*chi-ch'ou* year of the Kuang-hsü era," namely, 1889, and that "Po Hsi" (Shêng Yü 盛昱), "Wang Chêng-ju" (Wang I-jung 王懿榮) and others bought copies of the rubbings. Although no mention is made of Li Yün-ts'ung, judging from the dates and people appearing in the postscript, there is no doubt whatsoever that this rubbing may be attributed to him. The Im text represents, namely, one of the several rubbings made by Li Yün-ts'ung and is

one of the texts that were bought for ten pieces of silver from Po-ku-ch'i of Liu-li-chang 琉璃廠 in Peking by T'ien Ch'ih together with his acquaintances Shêng-yü, Wang I-jung, Huang Shao-chi 黃紹箕 (Chung-t'ao), Ch'ên Ts'êng-chin 沈曾植 (Tzū-p'ei) and Ts'ai Yu-nien, after which it was cut and bound in four volumes. The artisan "dispatched to the site to take some rubbings" was Li Yün-ts'ung himself, and thus for the first time we have been able to confirm the identity of the Li Yün-ts'ung text, a text which has to date been so well-known through various records.

That being so, we are now in a position to form some idea of the nature of the different types of direct rubbings. Since the Im text belongs to type B-3, the Mizutani text, Chung-yang Yeh-chiu-yüan A text and Kaneko text, all of the same type, may also be positively identified as rubbings made by Li Yün-ts'ung. The view espoused in some circles that the Mizutani and Li Yün-ts'ung texts represent lime rubbings can, after all, only be regarded as erroneous. In addition, there is also a strong possibility that type B-2, which was produced by the same technique as used in the case of type B-3, was also made by Li Yün-ts'ung. If that be so, it may have been the case then that Li Yün-ts'ung first made a trial rubbing in accordance with the prevalent method of paper-usage (type B-2) and, having made some improvements of his own, then set out in earnest to produce a great number of rubbings (type B-3). Type B-1, on the other hand, predates the above two types, and although it may correspond to the Yang I text of 1887 that marked the start of the age of direct rubbings, the possibility that it represent direct rubbings used as exemplars during the foregoing age of "inked-in background" copies can also not be so lightly dismissed.

In the above we have been able to ascertain that the direct rubbings underwent changes that resulted in at least three different types. It is impossible to determine whether the oldest type served as exemplars for "inked-in background" copies or whether they were full-scale direct rubbings, but the existence of at least four direct rubbings made by Li Yün-ts'ung in 1889 has been verified, and there is one further copy (photograph) that may also be attributable to him.

### 3. The Significance of the Direct Rubbings

We believe that we have now been able to determine the present state of the direct rubbings to the best of our ability and to describe in general terms the changes that they underwent. We have, in other words, provisionally accomplished our goal of seeking out the direct rubbings. The periodic classification of the various kinds of ink copies of the King Kwanggaito stele, including the direct rubbings, may accordingly be given anew as follows:

Phase I (1881- ): Period of the execution of "inked-in background" copies. A by-product of this period was the direct rubbings of type B

that were taken as exemplars in order to produce these "inked-in background" copies of type A.

Phase II (1887- ): Period of the execution of direct rubbings. These began to be made once it was realized that direct rubbings were of value in themselves, and a transition from type B-2 to B-3 (Li Yün-ts'ung texts) may be discerned.

Phase III (early 1890's- ): Period of the execution of lime rubbings. Lime rubbings were taken almost exclusively, but with the lapse of time the lime began to peel off, resulting in a number of changes, namely, type C-1 → type C-2 → type C-3, being discernible, and a still more detailed classification is also possible.

Although the characteristics of the various types of ink copies of each of the above three phases differ, it has been our long-standing belief that there is not one type of ink copy without any significance and that they are all worthy objects of both aesthetic appreciation and academic research. It may be difficult to guarantee the accuracy of the characters in the case of the "inked-in background" copies and lime rubbings, but if we look upon them as a bold challenge against the unreasonableness of nature as reflected in weathering, they too become historical products of considerable interest. But when it comes to laying the foundations of the historical study of the King Kwanggaito stele, it is the direct rubbings to which the greatest importance should be attached first and foremost, and in regard to this point there should be no objections.

The period during which direct rubbings were made in earnest was limited to a mere few years, and even if one includes the secondary period during which they were used as exemplars, it was still only about ten years in all. Although the number of rubbings taken during this period would have been by no means great, we have nevertheless been able to ascertain six copies. This, we consider, is a fact deserving special mention in the history of research on the King Kwanggaito stele, for it means that research will now be grounded for the first time on a firm basis of reliable historical material. The different research trends that have up until now tended to lapse into the facile must be steadily overcome by basing future research on these direct rubbings. In this respect it is indeed fortunate that the basic task of gathering together and publishing the direct rubbings has been brought to fruition in our *Collection of the Direct Rubbings of the King Kwanggaito Stele*.<sup>12)</sup>

As is to be readily foreseen, however, even though we may have consolidated the foundations of research on the inscription through the acquisition of direct rubbings, this does not mean that all our problems will be immediately resolved, and we must be prepared for continuing difficulties in the future. The unreasonableness of nature in the form of weathering, with

which the producers of the various types of ink copies and the great numbers of decipherers and researchers have contended over the past hundred years, is steadily worsening, and there is no means of halting it. But in order to surmount this difficulty and make further progress, the examination and study of the direct rubbings, alongside the reinvestigation of the stele itself, will continue to assume an ever greater importance.

### Notes

- 1) Pak Chin-uk 朴晋煜 (ed.), *The Koguryō Mural Tumulus of Toghūng-ri* 德興里高句麗壁畫古墳, Pyōngyang, Kwahak-paiggywa Sajōn Churpansa 科學百科事典出版社, 1981.
- 2) Hamada Kōsaku 濱田耕策, "A Study of the Inscription of the Mausoleum of King Kwanggaito of Koguryō" 高句麗廣開土王陵碑文の研究 (*Chōsenshi Kenkyūkai Ronbunshū* 朝鮮史研究會論文集, No. 11, Tokyo, 1974); Takeda, "A Reconsideration of the *sin-myo* year Passage of the King Kwanggaito Inscription" 廣開土王碑文辛卯年條の再吟味 (*Studies in Ancient History* 古代史論叢, Vol. I, Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1978).
- 3) Takeda, "A Brief Study of the 'Hibun no yuraiki'" "碑文之由來記" 考略 (*Studies on Oriental History in Honour of Dr. Enoki Kazuo* 榎一雄博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢, Tokyo, Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1988).
- 4) Takeda, "The Present Stage of Studies on the King Kwanggaito Stele" 廣開土王碑研究の現段階 (*Collection of the Direct Rubbings of the King Kwanggaito Stele* 廣開土王碑原石拓本集成, Tokyo, Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大學出版會, 1988).
- 5) Suematsu Yasukazu 末松保和, "The Current of Studies on the Hyo-daiwang Inscription" 好太王碑文研究の流れ (*Lectures on the Ancient History of Japan within the World of East Asia* 東アジア世界における日本古代史講座 Vol. 3, Tokyo, Gakuseisha 學生社, 1981).
- 6) Mizutani Teijirō, *A Study of The Hyo-daiwang Stele* 好太王碑考 (Tokyo, Kaimei Shoin 開明書院, 1977).
- 7) Wang Chien-ch'ün, *A Study of the Hyo-daiwang Stele* 好太王碑研究 (Chang-ch'ün, Jên-min Ch'u-pan-shê 人民出版社, 1984).
- 8) Reference was made to Ri Chin-hui *A Study of the King Kwanggaito Mausoleum Stele* 廣開土王陵碑の研究 (Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1974), and *id.*, *The Riddles of the Hyo-daiwang Stele* 好太王碑の謎 (Tokyo, Kōdansha 講談社, 1985).
- 9) See n. (8).
- 10) Ikeuchi Hiroshi 池内宏, *T'ung-kou* 通溝, Vol. I (Nichiman Bunka Kyōkai 日滿文化協會, 1938, plate 27). It might also be mentioned that lime rubbings of type C-3 (see below) made in the mid-1930's also all show the character "sōng" with distinct strokes built up with lime.
- 11) See n. (4).
- 12) See n. (4).





Remarks

\* Indicates a character that tallies in part with the character on the stele.

國 Indicates a conjectured character.

□ Indicates an undecipherable character.

Appendix: Transcription of the King Kwanggaito Inscription (廣開土王碑釋文)

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
殘南居韓國烟一看烟五太山韓城六家為看烟農賣城國烟一看烟七閏奴城國烟二看烟廿二古牟婁
城國烟二看烟八塚城國烟一看烟八味城六家為看烟就咨城五家為看烟多穰城廿四家為看烟散那
城一家為國烟那旦城一家為看烟句牟城一家為看烟於利城八家為看烟比利城三家為看烟細城三
家為看烟國罽上廣開土境好太王存時教言祖王先王但教取遠近舊民守墓洒掃吾慮舊民轉當羸劣
若吾萬年之後安守墓者但取吾躬巡所略來韓穢令備洒掃言教如此是以如教令取韓穢二百廿家慮
其不知法則復取舊民一百十家合新舊守墓戶國烟卅看烟三百都合三百卅家自上祖先王以來墓上
不安石碑致使守墓人烟戶差錯唯國罽上廣開土境好太王盡為祖先王墓上立碑銘其烟戶不令差錯
又制守墓人自今以後不得更相轉賣雖有富足之者亦不得擅買其有違令賣者刑之買人制令守墓之

Face IV

14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
鴨盧凡所攻破城六十四村一千四百守墓人烟戶賣句余民國烟二看烟三東海賈國烟三看烟五敦城
民四家盡為看烟丐城一家為看烟碑利城二家為國烟平穰城民國烟一看烟十嘗連二家為看烟俳婁
人國烟一看烟卅三梁谷二家為看烟梁城二家為看烟安夫連廿二家為看烟□谷三家為看烟新城三
家為看烟南蘇城一家為國烟新來韓穢沙水城國烟一看烟一牟婁城二家為看烟國比鴨岑韓五家為
看烟句牟客頭二家為看烟求國韓一家為看烟舍葛城韓穢國烟三看烟廿一古園耶羅城一家為看烟
國古城國烟一看烟三客賢韓一家為看烟阿旦城雜珍城合十家為看烟巴奴城韓九家為看烟白模盧
城四家為看烟各模盧城二家為看烟牟水城三家為看烟幹氏利城國烟一看烟三彌鬪城國烟一看烟

Face III

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
利城彌鄒城也利城太山韓城掃加城敦拔城
城燕婁城析支利城巖門城味城
城城儒城盧城仇天城城國城殘不服義敢出百戰王威赫怒渡阿利水遣刺迫城
侵便圍城而殘主困逼獻男女生口一千人細布千匹跪王自誓從今以後永為奴客太王恩赦先
迷之愆錄其後順之誠於是得五十八城村七百將殘主弟并大臣十人旋師還都八年戊戌教遣偏師觀
肅慎土谷因便抄得莫羅城加太羅谷男女三百餘人自以此來朝貢論事九年己亥百殘違誓與倭和
通王巡下平穰而新羅遣使白王云倭人滿其國境潰破城池以奴客為民歸王請命太王恩慈稱其忠誠
遣使還告以計十年庚子教遣步騎五萬往救新羅從男居城至新羅城倭滿其中官軍方至倭賊退
侵背急追至任那加羅從拔城城即歸服安羅人戍兵新羅城城倭倭潰城大
盡更安羅人戍兵滿其

Face II

11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
惟昔始祖鄒牟王之創基也出自北夫餘天帝之子母河伯女郎剖卵降世生而有聖命駕
巡幸南下路由夫餘奄利大水王臨津言曰我是皇天之子母河伯女郎鄒牟王為我連葭浮龜應聲即為
連葭浮龜然後造渡於沸流谷忽本西城山上而建都焉不樂世位天遣黃龍來下迎王王於忽本東踞履
龍首昇天顧命世子儒留王以道興治大朱留王紹承基業遷至十七世孫國罽上廣開土境平安好太王
二九登祚號為永樂太王恩澤洽于皇天威武振被四海掃除庶寧其業國富民殷五穀豐熟昊天不
弔卅有九宴駕棄國以甲寅年九月廿九日乙酉遷就山陵於是立碑銘記勳績以示後世焉其辭曰
永樂五年歲在乙未王以稗麗人躬率往討過富山資山至鹽水上破其三部洛六七百營牛馬羣
羊不可稱數於是旋駕因過襄平道東來闕城力城北豐五備海遊觀土境田獵而還百殘新羅舊是屬民
由來朝貢而倭以辛卯年來渡破百殘新羅以為臣民以六年丙申王躬率軍討伐殘國軍
南攻取寧八城白模盧城各模盧城幹氏利國城關彌城牟盧城沙城囿葛城阿旦城古利城
利城雜珍城奧利城句牟城古須耶羅城莫城而耶羅國瑑城於利城農園國豆奴城沸

Face I