

# The Development of Studies of the King Hao-t'ai 好太王 Inscription: with Special Reference to the Research of Mizutani Teijirō

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## Preface

A hundred years ago, in 1880, Second Lieutenant Sakawa Kageaki 酒匂景信 of the Artillery (who was in his 30th year) received a commission from the Ministry of War (dated 3 September, 1880) to proceed to China. Second Lieutenant Sakawa was promoted Lieutenant on 14 May, 1881 and received a commission to return to Japan, dated 4 October, 1883. The exact date of his return is regrettably unknown but since it was a military order it was presumably carried out by the end of the year. We should be glad to know the exact date since the most important item in Lieutenant Sakawa baggage was presumably a rubbing of the inscription of Yung-lo ta-wang 永樂大王碑文石摺 which he brought back as a souvenir.

In April, 1880, on the invitation of the Chinese Minister to Japan Ho Ju-chang 何如璋, Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬, the epigraphist and bibliographer, then in his 40th year, arrived in Japan. Yang seems to have returned to China after diverse cultural activities in May, 1884. That Sakawa and Yang, who were closely connected with the King Hao-t'ai inscription, were crossing the East China Sea in opposite directions during approximately the same period is a noteworthy historical coincidence.

The Yung-lo ta-wang inscription, brought by Lieutenant Sakawa, i.e. the King Hao-t'ai inscription 好太王碑文, was printed in hand-copied reduced-size form six years after his return in the 5th number of *Kaiyoroku* 會餘錄 (June, 1889) and this was widely used for a long period as *the* text of the inscription. Yang Shou-ching brought with him to Japan a quite large number of bronze and stone rubbings and in 1882 printed a collection of about 300 examples of bronze and stone rubbings in 4 *chüan* under the title *Huan-yü chen-shih t'u* 寰宇貞石圖, through the technical facilities of the Cabinet Printing Bureau 內閣印刷局. The King Hao-t'ai inscription was not among them. It was included for the first time in *Tseng-ting Huan-yü chen-shih t'u* 增訂寰宇貞石圖, printed in 1909. In this year, Yang printed a traced edition, *Kao-li Hao-t'ai*

wang 高麗好太王, in 6 *chüan* as a separate work. Although it is a traced edition, its value as a source is high, because it is a reproduction of the complete inscription in the original character size.

According to Yang's own postface to this work, the rubbing he first bought in Peking was "very blurred" but the two rubbings which his friend Ts'ao T'ing-chu 曹廷杰 gave him, although they had missing characters, were "very clear". He clearly states that he accepted Ts'ao's statement that they were "direct rubbings" 初拓本 and made outline tracings of the characters and printed them. He was mistaken in believing them to be "direct rubbings" but this text may be regarded as occupying the prime position in China as a source for the study of the inscription.

In addition to the strange coincidence of two men, Sakawa and Yang, there are the chance encounters of men and books, of Imanishi Ryū 今西龍 and *Sam-kuk-wi-sa* 三國遺事 in the past and recently Mizutani Teijirō's 水谷悌二郎 acquisition of a good rubbing of the King Hao-t'ai inscription. In 1943, when he had been studying the King Hao-t'ai inscription for more than ten years, Mizutani saw a set of twelve sheets of rubbings of the inscription in a second-hand book-shop in Hongō 本郷. The striking excellence of the rubbings remained in his memory. Two years later his studies had advanced steadily and he was seeking to bring them to a conclusion. In May, 1945 he remembered the set of twelve rubbings and when he went back to the book-shop it was fortunately still there and so he bought it. I heard from him directly that it was 15 May, 1945.

15 May, 1945 was at the peak period of big raids on Tokyo, after those of 16 February and 9 March. It was a time when many scholars and book-collectors were disposing of their collections because they were being evacuated. Mizutani told me that he studied the rubbings in the daytime and at night slept with them in a rucksack by his pillow. The end of the war saved Mizutani's life and the rubbings. On 23 December, 1949 he completed the first draft of *Study of the King Hao-t'ai Stele* 好太王碑考. Without Mizutani's coming on the rubbings (hereafter Mizutani Rubbings) his *Study* might not have been published and even had the rubbings escaped the fires of the war their whereabouts might have been unknown.

This short article partly repeats my *The Stele of King Hao-t'ai and I* 好太王碑と私 in *Kodai Higashi Ajia Shi Ronshū* 古代東アジア史論集, published March, 1978 but here I have given a new emphasis.

### 1. *A Study of the King Hao-t'ai Stele and the Mizutani Rubbings*

Mizutani Teijirō's *Study of the King Hao-t'ai Stele* was published in June, 1959 but the original draft of it was completed in December, 1949. Since Mizutani was interested in the stele of King Hao-t'ai and had been collecting materials from the 1930s, this monograph may be regarded as the

results of his researches over twenty years.

Mizutani noticed at the outset that the text of the inscription varied from rubbing to rubbing and from reproduction to reproduction and he was in fact unable to decide which was the true text of the inscription. In the case of many of the rubbings there was no clear indication by whom and when the rubbing was made. Even though books which reproduce these rubbings photographically in reduced size were clearly dated, it was very difficult to determine the date of the rubbings which had been used.

Mizutani compared in his study the following nine texts (six texts printed in reduced size, one "outline-traced" 双鈎本 text and two rubbings):

1. Text in the possession of Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 in *Shen-chou kuo-kuang chi* 神州國光集, No. 9 (1909).
2. Text in the possession of Yang Shou-ching in *Tseng-ting Huan-yü chen-shih t'u* 增訂寰宇貞石圖 (1909).
3. Text in the Chōhyōkaku 聽水閣 of the Mitsui 三井 family, printed by Hōshokai 法書會 in reduced size, 1912.
4. Text formerly in the possession of Wu Chiao-fu 吳椒甫, printed as *Chiu t'o Hao-t'ai-wang pei* 舊拓好太王碑 (1915).
5. Text in the possession of the Government-General of Korea, printed as *Kōkuri Kōtaiō-hi Shukuhon* 高句麗好太王碑縮本 (1918).
6. Photograph of part of the inscription in *Kōtei Kokushi no Kenkyū* 更訂國史の研究 by Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美 (1932).
7. Text brought to Japan by Sakawa 酒匂, printed in *Kaiyoroku* 會餘錄, No. 5 in reduced size (1889).
8. The fine rubbings cut up and bound in 12 volumes, formerly in the possession of Mizutani Teijirō.
9. Rubbings directly from the stele (Mizutani rubbings), in the possession of Mizutani Teijirō.

Generally, the progress of scholarship depends on new approaches and the discovery of new sources. Mizutani's *Study of the King Hao-t'ai Stele* shows both. Since he recognized the great differences in the reproduced texts, he attempted a comparison and tried to recover the original text of the inscription. He was following the normal method of research, which surprisingly had been neglected in the case of this important historical material over a period of sixty years. He was successful because he found new materials, in the first place the Mizutani rubbings. He first saw these rubbings at the Bungadō 文雅堂 bookshop in Hongō 本郷 in 1943 and returned to examine them carefully and purchase them on 15 May, 1945. He noted: "The rubbings I obtained on 15 May, 1945 had been made on yellowish, rather thick paper—described as 'Chinese paper'—using a double thickness with not very good ink of a rather grey shade. In paper and ink they were far from fine rubbings.

As each of the four faces of the stele had been rubbed in three sections, there were gaps between the sheets and parts which had not been rubbed. Nevertheless, apart from this defect the whole stele had been rubbed." Mizutani said of the nine sources he used that "it may be inferred that the rubbings (9) must be the closest to the actual form of the original inscription" and on the question whether these rubbings are entirely unaffected by "resurfacing with plaster" 漆喰假面 he said: "Doubt after all may remain whether these are true rubbings of the original stele of King Hao-t'ai . . . since first of all it appears that the part which might admit a suspicion of resurfacing with plaster cannot be found, I have decided for the present to take them as rubbings from the original stone and have studied the characters of the inscription as the chief source."

Mizutani's discussion is reasonable and cautious. In fact, they are undoubtedly the oldest and the best among the rubbings which are known to us and can actually be seen today. I should, however, like to keep open the possibility that an older rubbing may subsequently come to light.

The second rubbings on which Mizutani's studies are based are the "fine rubbings" 精拓本 formerly in his possession (8), which he describes:

The text has been cut up, two characters to a folded sheet, and bound together in a total of twelve volumes, three volumes for each face of the stele. The rubbing has been made with good ink on white paper laid upon fairly thick yellowish paper. The whole surface of the stele seems to have been rubbed but parts where the characters were indistinct have been cut out and thrown away.

The title on the cover is "Shotaku Kōtaiō-hi 初拓好太王碑", but because of the excellent paper and ink I call them "the fine rubbings".

It is regrettable that the present whereabouts of these rubbings are unknown but according to Mizutani the "cut up and bound" text 剪裝本 in the possession of Kaneko Ōtei 金子鷗亭 which was photographically reproduced in full in reduced size in *Shohin* 書品, No. 100 may be taken as a substitute for the "fine rubbings" formerly in his possession. In its original form the Kaneko text had two columns to a page and three characters in each column but in *Shohin* it has been pushed together with each page having four columns with six characters in each column. This text should be used more widely in the future.

I should describe the paper used in the Mizutani rubbings as comparatively thin Chinese paper, in a double thickness; each face of the stele has been rubbed in three sections, upper, middle and lower. The respective sizes of the sheets are:

	Stele Face	Section	Character Grid	Length (cm)	Width (cm)
1.	1st	Upper	1-13	180	150
2.		Middle	14-27	190	150
3.		Lower	28-41	196	142
4.	2nd	Upper	1-14*	182	124
5.		Middle	15-28	177	130
6.		Lower	28-41	192	132
7.	3rd	Upper	1-13	182	189
8.		Middle	14-27	189	183
9.		Lower	28-41	184	189
10.	4th	Upper	1-13	175	128
11.		Middle	14-27	182	127
12.		Lower	28-41	195	129

\* In line 14 of the upper section of the 2nd face the bottom halves of the ten characters have not been rubbed. This is a defect in the Mizutani rubbings.

Mizutani, through obtaining the oldest rubbings known up to present, was thus able to bring his studies to a conclusion in *Study of the King Hao-t'ai Stele*. I should like to list the main points newly brought forward by Mizutani there:

- (1) He considered the original form of the stele and as a result the number of characters in the inscription as hitherto estimated has had to be re-considered.
- (2) The earliest form of the inscription transmitted in Japan (the Sakawa text) had been generally regarded as a rubbing, but from an inspection of it he maintained that it was not a rubbing but a "traced outline with a filled-in background" 双鉤廓填 copy. It has been necessary in consequence to reappraise the Sakawa text.
- (3) On account of the differences revealed by a comparison of the Mizutani rubbings with other rubbings he concluded that the original stele had been resurfaced with plaster.
- (4) By a close examination of the characters in the Mizutani rubbings where traces of plastering were not apparent, he corrected errors in previous readings, indicated characters that should be regarded as doubtful and also deciphered characters which had not been deciphered.
- (5) Studies of the inscription of King Hao-t'ai can be considered to have begun with Yokoi Tadanao's 横井忠直 account in *Kaiyoroku* 會餘錄, but Mizutani first introduced into the discussion "Higashi Fuyo Eirakutaiō-hime no Kai" 東扶餘永樂大王碑銘之解, which had been written by Aoe Hide 青江秀.

In this article I shall place the main points of Mizutani's article cited above in the development of the studies of the inscription and also try by reviewing the progress of the study over the twenty years since Mizutani's article to criticise and supplement it.

## 2. The Problem of the Total Number of Characters (The Estimated Number of Spaces and Columns)

In order to appreciate the significance of Mizutani's view of the number of spaces and columns, it is necessary to review the manner in which the problem had previously been treated.

This problem was mentioned by Muraoka Yoshisuke 邨岡良弼 in *An Ancient Stele of Koguryō* 高句麗古碑 (*Joranshawa* 如蘭社話, Vol. 8, November, 1888), in which the inscription appeared in print for the first time. He wrote in a preface to the inscription:

This stele is reported to have been recently excavated in Tung-kou 洞溝, north of the Ya-lu 鴨綠 River, Korea. It is 30 Chinese feet in height, some 15 feet in circumference and each of its four faces is deeply engraved with characters. Recently, a rubbing of the inscription was brought back to Japan, and a copy was made and published in the proceedings of the society for historians to study. The stele was very large and could not be rubbed on a single sheet and it was copied on scores of sheets of Mino paper. It was hard to prevent misarrangement of the pages in preparing them for printing. Further, since for convenience in the present printing, the *li-shu* 隸書 style characters were changed into standard forms errors probably were inevitable. The reader should kindly correct them. The date may be conjectured as the 3rd year of the Emperor Ingyō 允恭天皇三年. It is indeed a rare stele.

At the end of the inscription he added:

The south face of the original stele has 11 columns, the west 10 columns, the north 13 columns, the east 9 columns, a total of 43 columns. Each column has 41 characters making a total of 1764 characters. 13 characters are half missing and 228 characters have been completely erased.

The above is his general description of the stele.

This description contains some mistakes. For if one takes 43 columns and 41 characters to each column, the total must be 1763 characters. Why did Muraoka take it to be 1764 characters? It was because the text which he printed contained 1764 characters. The text as he printed it reads near the end:

……細城三家爲看烟口國岡上廣開土境好太王存時教言……

After 烟 and before 國 there is an indication of a broken and illegible character, but this indication seems to have been wrongly inserted during the preparation of the draft for printing or in the type-setting. If this is removed the total becomes 1763. This is not Muraoka's only mistake. He says that the number of completely erased characters is 228, but when one counts them in his text they come to 184. The basis of his miscalculation is not clear.

If it were held that the total number of characters in the text should be corrected to 1763, this would be calculating on the basis of 43 columns with 41 characters without a single space.

After Muraoka, Yokoi Tadanao 横井忠直 wrote in *Notes on the Excavation of a Koguryō Stele* 高句麗碑出土記 (*Kaiyoroku*, No. 5 May, 1889):

The stele excavated is 18 Chinese feet in height, its front and back are 5.6–5.7 feet in width and its two sides are 4.4–4.5 feet in width. The depth of the part underground is unknown. It faces north and south and all four faces are inscribed with characters. The south face has 11 columns, the west 10 columns, the north 13 columns, the east 9 columns, a total of 43 columns. Each column has 41 characters, approximately 1759 characters in all. The character size is not uniform: there are large characters of 5 Chinese inches, and characters perhaps as small as 3 inches. The depth of the engraving is 5–6 inches (sic) and there are 197 missing characters.

Yokoi's calculation is 4 characters less. This smaller calculation seems due to his believing that there was a four-character space at the end of the inscription. The figure of 197 missing characters agrees with my calculation of 13 half-missing characters and 184 wholly missing characters in Muraoka's text.

Kan Masatomo's 菅政友 *Study of the King Hao-t'ai of Koguryō Inscription* 高麗好太王碑銘考, which was serially published in *Shigakukai Zasshi* 史學會雜誌, No. 22–No. 25 (September–December, 1892) was epoch-making in studies of the inscription. He wrote of the stele:

The height is 18 Chinese feet, width 5.6–5.7 feet. The four faces have 1763 characters (43 columns with 41 characters in each column) and since they are deeply incised, even where they are damaged, the forms of the characters are still preserved in the grooves. The size of the characters allows the insertion of one's fist,

and thus corrects Muraoka's error. Since the text Kan relied on is different from the *Joranshawa* text, the above figure was independently calculated by

him on the basis of 43 columns, each with 41 characters.

Two years after Kan's article, Naka Michiyo 那珂通世 published *Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* 高句麗古碑考 in *Shigakukai Zasshi*, Nos. 47, 48, 49 (October–December, 1893). Naka simply cited Yokoi Tadanao's article in regard to the stele and its inscription, the total number of characters did not concern him.

Next, Miyake Yonekichi's 三宅米吉 *Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* appeared in *Kōkogakkai Zasshi* 考古學會雜誌, Vol. 2, Nos. 1–3 (January, April, July, 1898). Miyake wrote of the appearance of the stele:

Its form is almost that of a square pillar. Its north and south faces are 5.6–5.7 Chinese feet wide, its east and west faces 4.4–4.5 feet. The four faces are all inscribed: the south face 11 columns, the west 10 columns, the north 13 columns, the east 9 columns, a total of 43 columns with 41 characters in each column. The total number of characters is 1759. The surface of the stele is damaged in places and there are 197 missing characters. The characters are 3–5 inches wide and are incised to a depth of 0.5–0.6 inches.

His figures are taken unchanged from Yokoi's article, but he recognized for the first time that there was a two-character space in the 6th column of the south face after the character 日 and that the 7th column began with 永樂五年……. This was a correct conclusion but he did not reduce the total number of characters by two. Miyake published *Further Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* 高麗古碑考追加 in No. 5 (September) of the same journal, which will be discussed at length later.

I should like to look briefly at the descriptions given by Chinese scholars in the corresponding period. The earliest is in Wang Chih-hsiu's 王志修 *Kao-chü-li Yung-lo t'ai-wang pei k'ao* 高句麗永樂太王碑攷 (1895):

The stele stands 5 li to the north-east of the old city, on the bank of the Ya-lu River, facing east. Its height is more than 20 Chinese feet, width more than 8 feet and thickness as much as half of the width. It has no tortoise or coiled dragon decoration but the stone has been left in its original state. An inscription has been cut round the four faces, beginning on the east and ending on the north, with a total of 42 columns with 41 characters in a column, 1722 characters in all. The narrative is detailed and careful; the calligraphy is strict and regular, resembling the *li-shu* of Han.

"A total of 42 columns" is Wang's own figure. It was probably simply an error or it was due to the rubbing he saw being incomplete.

Next, in Cheng Wen-cho's 鄭文焯 *Kao-li kuo Yung-lo t'ai-wang pei shih-*



*wen tsuan-k'ao* 高麗國永樂太王碑釋文纂攷 (1898) there is the following description:

The above-ground part (of the stele) is about 18 Chinese feet in height. It faces north and south. Its approximate width is 5.6 feet. Its eastern and western sides are approximately 4.4 feet wide. The four faces are inscribed but the stone is irregular. There are 11 columns on the south face, beginning with 惟 and ending with 那; 10 columns on the west face, beginning with 利 and ending with 大; 13 columns on the north face, beginning with 赤 and ending with 烟; 9 columns on the east face, beginning with 七 and ending with 後. There are 43 columns in all with 41 characters in a column, 1709 in all. There are, however, differences in size, the larger being 5 inches and the smaller perhaps 3 inches. The depth of the cut is 5 or 6 inches but varies. There are 197 missing characters. There is no date at the end.

Again a new total, 1709, appears, but since his transcription closely follows the *Kaiyoroku* text, this total is probably an incorrect citation of the *Kaiyoroku* "1759". The "197 missing characters" agrees with *Kaiyoroku*.

Next, there is the *Feng-t'ien sheng Chi-an ku-chih Kao-chü-li-wang pei-wen* 奉天省輯安古跡高句麗王碑文, punctuated by Wang Chün (Yen-chuang) 王濬(彥莊) and collated by Kao Yung-hsing (Sung-shan) 高永興(松山), which has *Kao-chü-li-wang mu-pei chih-ming* 高句麗王墓碑誌銘 as its main text with two short notes, headed "General Discussion" 通考 added. At the end of the main text the total characters are worked out as 1799. As this total is calculated simply from the characters which he regards as sufficiently legible in his transcription, since he also indicates a further 5 missing characters if these are added on, it becomes 1804.

For Wang's text to have only five missing characters is a very great reduction in comparison with *Kaiyoroku's* 197 and it is necessary consequently to say something about Wang's inscription itself. Wang, although he follows the text (rubbing) of the inscription, changes characters according to his own opinion, fills up the text of missing sections and makes it continuous. Thus it results in an addition of more than 40 characters to the total. This addition of more than 40 characters, however, is between the second and third faces. In other words he adds one column to the second face or one column to the third. For even though in this section of the rubbing Wang used there were no characters that could be accurately read, he recognized undeniable traces of the existence of a column. (In fact, very soon after it was possible to establish the existence of a new column, the first column. I shall discuss this further below.)

After Wang Yen-chuang's work, Jung Hsi 榮禧 wrote *Kao-chü-li Yung-lo ta-wang mu-pei lan-yen* 高句麗永樂大王墓碑譚言 (preface date, 1903). This was

inspired by Wang Yen-chuang's work and was an enlargement of it. In the text of the inscription all Wang Yen-chuang's altered characters and textual additions were adopted. The total number of characters was also 1799. But there were two or three points of difference. At any rate Jung Hsi seems to have had another rubbing in his possession and to have compared it with Wang's text. There is no point in our making a detailed comparison. Even though Wang Yen-chuang's total of 1799 characters is simply noted, there is a reason as we have seen for the addition of the 40 or more characters. Both Wang's work and Jung's which seems to follow it, have slight value as sources because of the textual changes and additions but they still cannot be completely discarded. Their conjecture of a missing first column on the third face has to be acknowledged.

To return once more to Japan, up to the time of Miyake the largest frame had been of 43 columns with 41 characters in each column and the total number of characters had been calculated on this basis. Soon, however, scholars were able to examine the text of the inscription *in situ* and the problem of the total number of characters was taken further.

In October, 1913 an on-the-spot investigation was undertaken in Chi-an hsien 輯安縣 by a group led by Sekino Tei 關野貞 and Imanishi Ryū 今西龍.

As a report of the investigation, Sekino first published *Remains of the Koguryō Period in Chi-an hsien in Manchuria and in the Vicinity of Pyongyang* 滿洲輯安縣及び平壤附近に於ける高句麗時代の遺蹟 in *Kōkogaku Zasshi*, Vol. 5, Nos. 3 and 4 (November–December, 1914). At the end of Section 5 (*Kōkaido-ō hi*) he writes:

On close examination, not only has plaster been applied between the characters, but sometimes the strokes of the characters have been supplemented and also completely new characters have been cut in the plaster. But *in these supplementations the original characters seem not to have been misrepresented* (my italics). Nevertheless they cannot be absolutely trustworthy (for example, 生口一千人 has been taken as 生白一千人).

There have already been studies of the inscription by other scholars but since they are all based on rubbings, when I looked at the original inscription I found some apparent errors in readings. In particular, the 14 columns on the third face were taken as 13 and the 1st column has been completely ignored in all their discussions (as the characters in the 1st column were all obliterated except for the last one, the column was omitted from the rubbings). As Imanishi is responsible for the detailed study, I shall not discuss here but leave to his publication.

Imanishi published his report *Kōkaidokyō Kōtaiō Ryōhi ni tsuite* 廣開土境好太王陵碑に就て as a supplement to Vol. 2 of *Nihon Kodaishi* 日本古代史 (by Kume Kunitake 久米邦武; in 2 vols, May, 1915) in the series *Teisei Zōho Dai*

*nihon Jidaishi* 訂正増補 大日本時代史.

Imanishi spent more than ten days on the spot in the investigation of the stele and the inscription. Among the results of Imanishi's investigation the following two points relate to the total number of characters.

- (1) Probably no characters were inscribed at the beginning of the 10th column on the second face.
- (2) The third face had hitherto been taken as having 13 columns but the 1st column had been overlooked and consequently there were 14 columns on this face.

It is regrettable that he did not estimate how many characters were not inscribed at the beginning of the 10th column on the second face. This column had been hitherto taken to have 41 characters and it was assumed that characters 1-17 were illegible.

The 1st column of the third face had been overlooked because the characters were virtually unrecognizable. Imanishi discovered two characters, 辭 in the 27th position and 潰 in 41st position and so proposed the existence of a column. Imanishi did not take a rubbing or a photograph of the new character 辭. The last character 潰 had been clearly recognizable in the Sakawa text but had been mistakenly treated as the last character in the second column. As noted above, if an exact rubbing were made, traces of characters could be recognized at the righthand edge of the third face and for this reason Wang Yen-chuang probably produced the text of a column in this position. Although Imanishi added a column, he merely cautiously gave the approximate figure of "about 1800 characters" for the total number of characters.

Incidentally, while Imanishi's report is added to Vol. 2 of the above *Nihon Kodaishi*, there is a transcription of the complete inscription, entitled *Kōrai Kōtaiō-hi* 高麗好太王碑 at the beginning of Vol. 1, which is followed by a photograph of a rubbing of the four faces and *Kōrai Kōtaiō-hi Setsumei* 高麗好太王碑説明 by the editor. The explanation 説明 is of course not by Imanishi, and the transcription at the beginning of Vol. 1 also cannot be purely Imanishi's work. The transcription was made by Tanemura Sōhachi 種村宗八 of the Waseda University Publication Department, using Imanishi's report.

The on-the-spot investigation of Sekino and Imanishi was the first attempt to read the characters from the stele itself. In spite of their discovery of the space without characters at the beginning of the last column on the second face and the existence of the first column of the third face, some fault may be found with their work. Nevertheless, even though there were several on-the-spot investigations in the subsequent fifty years, not a single scholar looked closely into the state of the beginning of the last column on the second face until Mizutani Teijirō reopened the question in his study. He put forward the new opinion that not only at the beginning of the last

column but also at the beginning of the previous 9th column no characters were inscribed. Mizutani's study was based not on on-the-spot investigation but entirely on rubbings, photographed rubbings and photographs, but he arrived at a new proposal as a result of a twenty-year devotion to the study of this inscription as a private scholar.

Consideration of the original form of the stele is part of the external criticism in the study of the inscription and the issue of the total number of characters must begin with the original form of the stele. The present condition of the stele which has been exposed to the weather for 1500 years since its erection cannot readily reveal its original form. Nevertheless, some possibility for conjecture still remains for us today. The first question which arises here is whether the various larger and smaller defects in the stone, which stand out so prominently today are actually man-made or the result of weathering: whether the larger and smaller V-shaped defects which continue over the first and second faces are original defects in the stone. The next question is the defect on the upper part of the second and third faces and the third question is the defect at the beginning of the 1st column of the fourth face. The question of the inscription must be preceded by an investigation of these points. As appears even from a photograph the first defect seems to be due to the stele having at some time fallen over and being broken into three pieces. Even if the irregularity of the surface is disregarded, at least these three defects must be considered.

While Imanishi proposed that there were no characters at the beginning of the last (10th) column on the second face, Mizutani, by comparing photographs and rubbings of this section, suggested that in the preceding 9th column there were no characters in the first seven spaces and in 10th column there were no characters in the first seventeen spaces. These "seven spaces" and "seventeen spaces" cannot be positively asserted but they may be regarded as a reasonable approximation.

Mizutani's second proposal concerning the total number of characters related to the upper part of the 1st column on the fourth face. This question was first raised in Miyake's two articles. Miyake in his first article *Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* read the section at the beginning of the 1st column of the fourth face as:

七, □利城, 三家爲看烟, 豆奴城, 國烟一看烟二, 奧利城, 國烟二看烟八……

This was the same as the Sakawa text. But when he was able to see the rubbing in Prince Komatsu's household immediately afterwards he changed the reading in *Further Study on an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* to:

□□□□□□□城□□□城三家爲看烟豆奴城國烟一看烟二奧利城國烟二看烟八……

He took the total number of characters on the fourth face to be 373. Since there are 9 columns on the fourth face, if each column is calculated at 41 characters, there must be 369 characters. So how did he have 4 characters more? The repetition of □□□城 in the passage cited above is probably a careless error in the process of making the original draft or in the type-setting. If the four characters repeated are removed, the beginning of the fourth face will read □□□□□□□城三家爲看烟……. This was probably Miyake's original intention. Then why did he add dots on the righthand side of the four illegible characters at the beginning? Up to Miyake's time it was thought that there must be 41 characters in each line, but as the rubbing in Prince Komatsu's household which he was able to see was completely without any trace of characters in the first four places (either the paper was blank or there was no paper at all) he marked these spaces with dots to distinguish them from the following 3 illegible characters. Miyake's treatment at this point is very strict and also brilliant. It is confirmed by Mizutani's findings. This is why Mizutani's article is important.

Mizutani conjectured from the state of the stone in this section as it appeared in the rubbing and photographs that the stone had been damaged from the beginning and no characters had been cut here. The reasonableness of this conjecture can be recognized from the continuity of the text from the end of the third face. Thus as he determined, the beginning of the fourth face is four characters lower than the other columns, reading:

七也利城三家爲看烟……

The four characters 七也利城 correspond to Miyake's □□□城. Linked with the end of the third face, it reads:

彌鄒城國烟一，看烟七，也利城三家爲看烟……

As Mizutani points out, it is impossible to suppose that there are four characters between …國烟一看烟 and 七也利城.

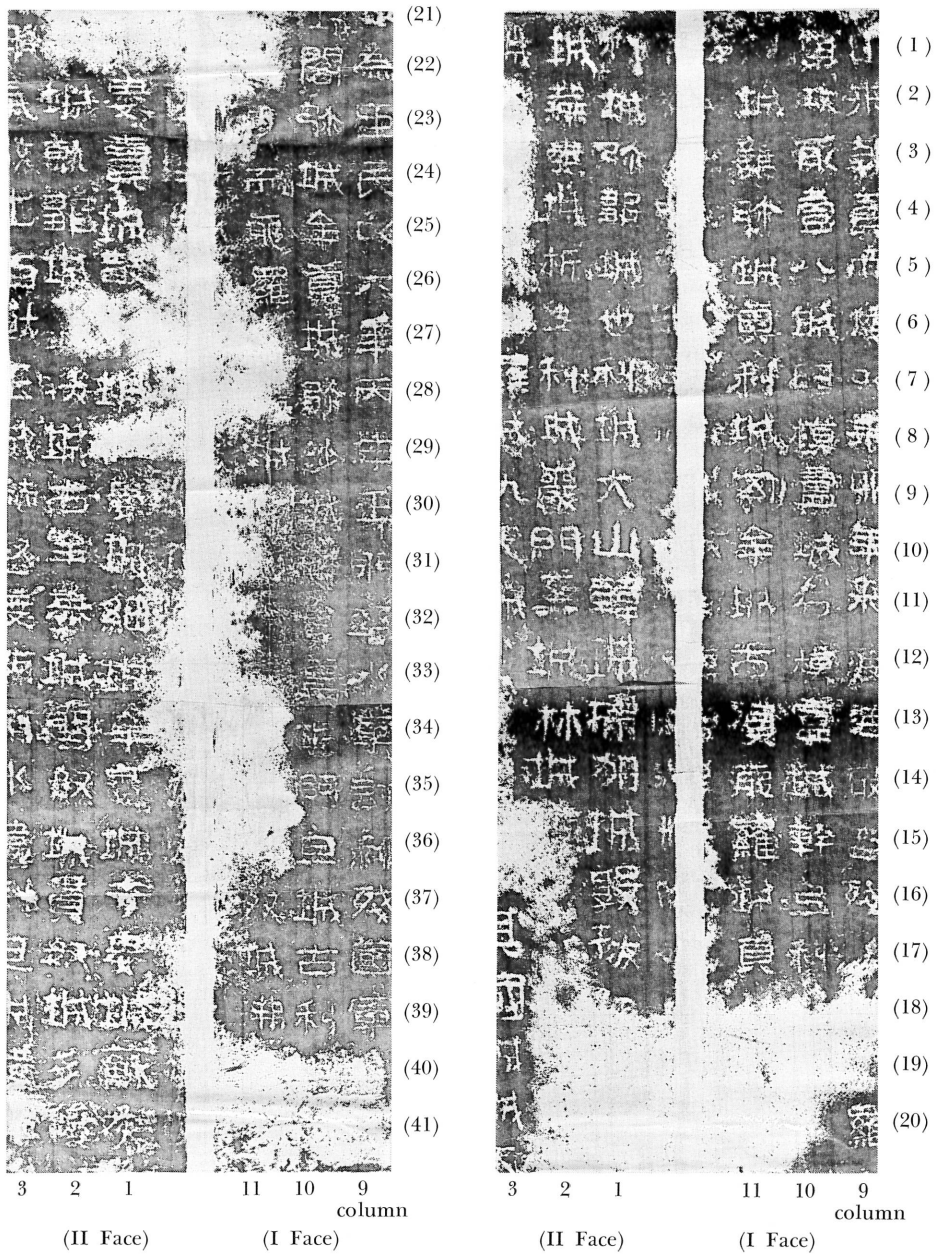
In short, he does not admit the existence of 7 characters in the 9th column and 17 characters in the 10th column of the second face, and 4 characters in the 1st column of the fourth face, 28 characters in all. He believes that these characters did not exist from the beginning and the total number of characters in his transcription is 1784. This figure cannot be taken as finally accurate but it cannot be denied that it provides a new standard in the study. Mizutani published his *Study of the Stele of King Hao-t'ai* in June, 1959 and I in April of that year published a commentary on it in *Rekishī Kyōiku*, Vol. 7, No. 4. As part of it dealt with the question of the total number of characters, I should like to recapitulate here.

The stele is a square pillar of natural stone and there is virtually no

sign of its having been dressed. As it is in its natural state, there may be parts where the general pattern of the writing is broken or where it is only partially preserved. When one views it in this way, there are questions which Mizutani has not touched on. There is the question of the conspicuous defect which goes over the first and second faces. The defect is greatest at the angle of the two faces. On the first face it gradually becomes shallower and slants upwards to the right; on the second face it similarly becomes shallower and slants upwards to the left. If one could actually measure the depth of the damage at the angle one could positively prove it, but in so far as it is not possible, one simply has to estimate it. I consider, however, it must be recognized that the 9th to the 11th columns on the first face and the 1st to 3rd columns of the second face may be reduced by two or three characters per column. Mizutani believed that there were originally characters cut in this damaged area.

I hold the above view not only because the damage must be taken as existing from the beginning but also because, although 41 characters a column was the rule, I recognize the possibility of the rule being broken due to the condition of the surface of the stone. In this connection I shall raise a new question, i.e. my conjecture that there is a column of characters hitherto completely unnoticed along the edge of the angle between the first and second faces. Among the numerous rubbings only that which was in the possession of the Museum of the Government-General of Korea shows this. The Museum's rubbing was printed in reduced size as *Kōkuri Kōtaiō-hi Shukuhon* in 1918. From this on the righthand side of the last (11th) column on the first face traces of about 20 righthand halves of characters can be detected and on the lefthand side of the 1st column on the second face similarly traces of about 20 lefthand halves of characters can be detected and the left- and righthand sides seem to fit together to form one character. This has not been noticed by anyone up to the present, but I think that the person who made the rubbing rubbed it unawares and fortunately it was left untrimmed and so reproduced. If this may be taken as correct this must be described as an important vestige which confirms the existence of a further column of characters in the angle of the first and second faces. The total of these characters of which only about 1/3 of their form remains in each case may be estimated at about 20, and it is regrettable that not one can be accurately read. It is, however, possible to infer in general terms what was written there.

The seventy-nine characters in the last two columns on the first face (from the 4th character in the 10th column to the 41st character in the 11th column) all list names of towns, a total of more than twenty. The ninety-three characters in the first two and a half columns of the second face (from the 1st character in the 1st column to the 11th character in the 3rd column) also all list the names of towns, a total of more than thirty. These names



*Kōkuri Kōtaiō-hi Shukuhon*

Printed by the Government-General of Korea (1918)

of towns more than fifty in all (171 characters) relate to the "58 towns" which the army of King Hao-t'ai captured in his invasion of Paekche in A.D. 396 (永樂六年丙申). About this no-one has had any doubt from the time of Kan, Naka and Miyake.

Kan said: "Among the names from 壹八城 on there are occasional missing characters and although the number of towns is not clear it is probably 51 or 52".

Naka said: "In the listing of the captured towns from 壹八城 on there are occasional missing characters. Although the number is not clear it is probably 54" and he pointed out that this does not agree with the clearly stated "58 towns" further on in the inscription, adding "The '58 towns' does not agree with the number listed [54]. Are there omissions in the names of the towns or did the King of Paekche present him with several towns besides those listed?"

Miyake wrote:

Although there are various missing characters between 壹八城 and 仇天城, the names of 44 towns are quite clear. If the defective names are supplemented as has been attempted in the text, they become 54. But if there were many single-character names among the defective ones, the number could become 58. It cannot, however, be determined whether the names of the 58 towns of the "58 towns and 700 villages" further on the text were all listed.

He tried very hard to account for the names of 58 towns here, but in fact he stated that he could count 54 names. When the column along the edge of the angle, which I propose is accepted, the insufficiency of characters noted by the three scholars is removed and there is a possibility of all the names of the 58 towns having been listed here.

In this case, however, if it is assumed that the column along the edge had the regular 41 characters, the number of characters would be too great for 4 towns ( $58-54=4$ ) or 7 towns ( $58-51=7$ ). Therefore even though the column along the edge is accepted it probably had only 20 or so characters. In addition, although the three scholars calculate 51 or 54 towns by keeping to the pattern of 41 characters in every column, as I assume original damage to the stele in this area, I think that in the last three columns of the first face and the first three columns of the second face it certainly cannot be affirmed each has 41 characters. Therefore I simply cannot regard the 1784 character total of Mizutani's transcription as definite.

To sum up, the problem of the total number of characters in King Hao-t'ai inscription started out with a calculation of 43 columns with 41 characters each. Then the number of characters in the upper part of the 10th column on the second face was reduced and a column (of 41 characters)



was added at the beginning of the third face. Mizutani proposed the removal of 7 characters at the top of the 9th column and 17 characters in the upper half of the 10th column of the second face and 4 characters at the top of the 1st column on the fourth face, a total of 28 characters. Finally I proposed several spaces in the 9th, 10th and 11th columns of the first face and in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd columns of the second face, and the existence of a column (20 or so characters) along the edge of the angle of the first and second faces. If these are counted up, the addition of about 30 characters to the first totals (1764, 1759 characters) may be assumed but a more precise figures cannot be calculated.

### 3. The Problems of "Traced Outline with Filled-in Background" Copying and "Resurfacing with Plaster"

Lieutenant Sakawa returned to Japan in the winter of 1883 or early in the spring of the next year. The Sakawa text of the inscription was first deposited in the General Staff Office to which he was attached and immediately a reproduction was made by the "traced outline" method. It was repeatedly copied by scholars who began to study it. The original Sakawa text was divided into more than 130 sheets and consequently required time for correct arrangement. Before it had been properly arranged, a direct copy in the original size was made by the Tokyo Museum in 1886 and published with the inscription from the four faces bound in four separate volumes. When the sheets had been more or less properly arranged, the original text was presented at the end of 1888 to the Emperor Meiji in the name of Captain Sakawa Kageaki (he had been promoted in May, 1884). In July, 1890 it was transferred from the custody of the Imperial Household Library to the Tokyo Museum.

In May, 1889 the Asiatic Society published as the 5th number of its organ *Kaiyoroku* 會餘錄 a special issue on the King Hao-t'ai stele and produced a reduced-size lithographic printing of the Sakawa text and thus made a very great contribution to the dissemination of the inscription.

In contrast to the studies of Kan Masatomo in 1891 and Naka Michiyo in 1893, which were both merely textual studies of the inscription, Miyake Yonekichi's *Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō*, published in *Kōkogakkai Zasshi*, Vol. 2, Nos. 1-3, between January and March, 1898, opened a new field in the archaeological interpretation of the Sakawa rubbings. Miyake was a staff member of the Museum with the closest access to the Sakawa rubbings. Probably as a result of publishing this article, Miyake was immediately afterwards given the opportunity to inspect the rubbing of the inscription in the household of Prince Komatsu, and was able to make a comparison with the Sakawa text. He then published *Further Study of an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* in Vol. 2, No. 5 of the same magazine.

Miyake seems to have accepted both texts as rubbings, describing the Sakawa text as "the earlier rubbing" and the Prince Komatsu text as "the later rubbing". He said of the former:

The character forms of this inscription are archaic but relatively few are hard to read. As, however, the surface of the stone is irregular and damaged and consequently there are places where the rubbing is not clear, thick ink was afterwards smeared over the background of the individual characters so as to make the strokes of the characters clear. This was reasonable but it must be suspected that at the same time many strokes were added or obliterated and the original forms were lost.

By contrast he writes of the "later rubbing":

This later rubbing is just as it was rubbed but because the surface of the stone is very irregular there are places where many of the forms of the characters are not clear and are very hard to read, which is very regrettable.

About fifty years after Miyake, Mizutani Teijirō examined the Sakawa rubbings with Katori Hozuma 香取秀真, professor of the Tokyo Art School. They decided that it was not a rubbing but a "traced outline with filled-in background" copy. This new viewpoint became the starting point for Mizutani's *Study of the King Hao-t'ai Stele*. His "traced outline with filled-in background" view was developed as follows:

- (1) Mizutani thought that while "traced outline" copies were commonly made in China as a method of reproducing valuable old rubbings, he would have to say that the Museum "traced outline" copy was not from a rubbing; rather it had been traced directly on the stone. And he gives reasons to support his assumption.
- (2) He cites as a basis for his assumption the detailed reports that two copies of the inscription were obtained by two epigraphers in Peking (Wu Tacheng 吳大澂 and P'an Tsu-yin 潘祖蔭) at almost the same time as the Sakawa text arrived in Japan. It could be inferred that the method by which these rubbings were produced and their general appearance was similar to the Sakawa text. He also found an account of a further rubbing of the same kind. Including the Sakawa text there were at least four examples, made at almost the same time. He concluded that a "traced-outline" period, as it were, preceded the making of normal rubbings.
- (3) As the reason why normal rubbings were not made, he accepted the report that the surface of the stone was covered with moss. The period of rubbings began after the moss had been burned from the stone.
- (4) When normal rubbings became possible, so that the clearest possible

rubbing might be made, not only were the damaged parts of the stele filled with plaster but plaster was also added to make good the indistinct characters. When the indistinct characters were made good, the earlier "traced outline" texts were used as the basis. On this Mizutani says that the traced outline texts "must represent the interpretation of the earliest—perhaps the discoverers of the stele—on-the-spot decipherers of the inscription". Further, the traced outline texts "must have had authority on the spot for a long time afterwards. The characters of the later rubbings agree with the traced outline text simply because those who made rubbings on the spot, when they had plastered the surface used the traced outline text as a model". Mizutani does not express it clearly but he seems to have assumed the existence of a traced outline text as the basic reference of those who made on-the-spot rubbings. His remarks on this reference text and on traced outline texts in general may be noted. He says: "The characters of a traced outline text which may be described unkindly as selected at the whim of the tracer cannot strictly compare with the characters of a rubbing which by its nature cannot admit the subjective view of the rubber".

- (5) When the period of rubbings was reached, through the repeated taking of rubbings, characters which were unclear in the traced outline text became clear and characters which had been wrongly traced were revised and so several versions with partially differing characters came into existence. The use of plaster played a part in these revisions. The original stele was consequently changed. Here the question of "resurfacing with plaster" emerges.

Above I have enumerated the main points of what Mizutani says about the Sakawa text but regrettably I find it difficult to give direct support to a number of them.

- (1) He was too hasty in thinking with Professor Katori that the Sakawa text could be taken as a "traced outline with filled-in background" copy and that this "traced outline" copy was not based on a rubbing but made directly on the stele. It probably has after all to be taken as a "traced outline" based on a rubbing, as generally believed. The extant Sakawa text itself probably does not admit Mizutani's view of it as traced directly on the stele.
- (2) It is important to point out that the three or four earliest texts known of the King Hao-t'ai inscription are all "traced outline with filled-in background" texts, produced by the same method, but the idea that "traced outline" copies were made, because rubbings were not possible, probably is unacceptable. If the condition of the stele was such that a rubbing was not possible, so regular a "traced outline" copy as the Sakawa text should, I think, not have been possible either.

The appearance in Peking of three or four "traced outline with filled-in

background" copies at almost the same time as the arrival of the Sakawa text in Japan in 1883 must have been the result of a temporary device by someone who made them all or arranged for them to be made. As I shall suggest below, the Sakawa text shows an interpretation which would only be possible for a person possessed of considerable resources in epigraphical knowledge. The "someone" is unknown, but I can put forward a strong candidate: Kuan Yüeh-shan 關月山 who was on the scene at about this time and strove to publicize and disseminate the inscription.

If Mizutani's view that it is a "traced outline with filled-in background" copy is rejected, how should it be defined? I think it more appropriate to call it a copy "with the background filled in with watered ink" 墨水廓填本 following the expression seen in *Huang-hua chi-ch'eng* 皇華紀程 by Wu Ta-cheng 吳大澂. From my own experiments I have discovered, since "tracing the outline" and "filling in the background" have to be done in two stages, they require an unusual amount of time and labour. If, however, one fills in around the characters with comparatively thin ink and makes the white characters stand out, a remarkable saving in time and labour is possible. In the present Sakawa text there are many parts where thick ink has been smeared round the characters at the time of mounting. There are many parts also which remain in their original watered ink state. Stressing these original parts I should like to change Mizutani's "traced outline with filled-in background" to "with the background filled in with watered ink".

- (3) Mizutani believed that a "traced outline" copy was made before rubbings because of the report which partly circulated that the stele had been covered with moss. The stele could have been partly covered by moss, but almost no traces of it can be seen in the Sakawa text. Even had there been more, it need not have been so great as to prevent the making of rubbings. I do not accept that "a traced outline" on the stone was the only means because of the existence of moss but should like to regard the Sakawa text as a "traced outline" copy based on a rubbing. What kind of rubbing?

There was a report which has been connected with the Sakawa text that persons had previously been sent from Tientsin to make rubbings. A rubbing from this background might have been the original of the "traced outline" copy. One method adopted today in reading inscriptions where the stone surface is rough and the characters are not clear is first to take a rubbing and to add in red parts of conjectured characters, i.e. to trace over the rubbing and write in the characters in red. The Sakawa text may have been a tracing of the red characters written in like this. The Sakawa text was not directly traced from a rubbing itself but went through the intermediate stage of these red characters. In this sense it seems to have the dual character of a rubbing and a transcription.

- (4) Mizutani's idea of a "traced outline copy made directly on the stele"

carries with it the further question of "resurfacing with plaster". Mizutani maintained that (1) the "traced outline" period ended with the removal of the moss; (2) though normal rubbings came to be made; (3) to make the rubbings sharp, repairs with plaster were made; (4) and when these repairs were being made a text of the "traced outline" period must have had authority on the spot for a long time. The characters of the later rubbings agree with the traced outline text simply because those who made rubbings on the spot, when they had plastered the surface, used the "traced outline" text as a model. He thus proposed a new explanation for the beginning of the practice of plastering which had been called into question before. This, in other words, was "plastering" which used the "traced outline" text as its model.

This question arose from the report of the on-the-spot survey by Sekino and Imanishi in the autumn of 1913. A character by character investigation is only found in Imanishi's report but the general description given by the two scholars is almost identical. Nevertheless, since there are differences of nuance, I shall give both, regardless of repetition, beginning with Sekino's which was published earlier in 1914.

Sekino says (*Kōkogaku Zasshi*, Vol. 5, Nos. 3 and 4):

There is a man called Ch'u P'eng-tu 初鵬度 living in a straw hut by the side of the stele, whose occupation is making rubbings. He says that he is in his 66th year and he has been here *for thirty years* (my italics). He was ordered to make rubbings by the district magistrate of that time. There was moss on the surface of the stele and when he burned it off the corner of the stele was damaged. As the surface was too rough and the character of the rubbings lacked clarity, he has been plastering the spaces around the characters with lime mortar *for the past ten years or so*. After that he patched places with lime *every year*. On close examination, not only has plaster been applied between the characters, but sometimes the strokes of the characters have been supplemented and also completely new characters have been cut in the plaster. But *in these supplementations the original characters seem not to have been misrepresented* (my italics). Nevertheless they cannot be absolutely trustworthy (for example, 生口一千人 has been taken as 生白一千人).

There have already been studies of the inscription by other scholars but since they are all based on rubbings, when I looked at the original inscription I found some apparent errors in readings. In particular, the 14 columns on the third face were taken as 13 and the 1st column has been completely ignored in all their discussions (as the characters in the 1st column were all obliterated except for the last one, the

column was omitted from the rubbings). As Imanishi is responsible for the detailed study, I shall not discuss here but leave to his publication.

Imanishi's report was published in October, 1915 as *Kōkaidokyō Kōtaiō Ryōhi ni tsuite* 廣開土境好太王陵碑について. He spoke first about the man who made the rubbings:

At this stele there is an old man in sixty-sixth year (in 1913), called Ch'u P'eng-tu who may be described as the caretaker. He has put up a permanent scaffolding and employs a workman to make rubbings continuously. The workman puts sheet after sheet of Korean paper on the surface of the stele and makes the rubbings. Since the operation is simple a set of four sheets costs less than 10 yen. According to this old man, this stele had a thick growth of moss *until thirty years ago* (my italics) and since it was not clear whether there was a surviving inscription, on the orders of the district magistrate he burned off the moss and revealed the characters. At this time a part of the stele was damaged. Afterwards he lived by the stele and engaged in the making of rubbings.

He continues with the subject of the repairs with lime mortar:

Since many of the characters in the rubbings made on the surface of the stele as it stood were very indistinct and their forms were unclear, part of the first face where the surface had a deep fault was filled with mud. Besides, all four faces were plastered with lime mortar simply to bring out the forms of the characters and small irregularities around them were levelled out. This was done simply to make the rubbings clear. Thus among the characters some were formed entirely by the workman and very many were partially repaired by him.

As it was sufficient for the person who made the rubbings to bring out the characters clearly and nothing else mattered, the 1st column on the third face, for example, was not rubbed. Since it does not appear that very much attention was paid to the forms of original characters when the repairs were made, great caution is needed in historical studies using this inscription as a source. I have seen in the possession of Hori Takeo an excellent rubbing which does not give any indication of any work on the stele surface or of retouching of the rubbing with ink.

He indicated character by character whether it had been repaired etc. Although from a present-day point of view, the indication is inadequate, there are many valuable suggestions in it. One of them is the indication of characters "cut in the plaster" (six examples). Another is the indication of

characters which had earlier been read in texts but had become "indistinct" (twenty-one examples).

The explanations of Sekino and Imanishi were almost identical. They describe how Ch'u P'eng-tu who was in his sixty-sixth year in 1913 had taken on the work of making rubbings thirty years before and was the caretaker of this stele. "Thirty years before" corresponds with 1883 (the time Sakawa visited the stele). If this is accepted, almost all the rubbings would have a direct or indirect connection with this man. A section in Sekino's report, in particular, "As the surface was too rough . . . he has been plastering the spaces around the characters with lime mortar" is not mentioned by Imanishi. "For the past ten years or so" is just after the Russo-Japanese War. Thus in the roughly twenty years from Sakawa's time to the Russo-Japanese War, while Ch'u P'eng-tu's rubbings were being made on the spot, a number of specialist rubbers were sent a number of times from Peking and made excellent rubbings as may be discerned in the Chinese documents. The only pity is that it is not possible to obtain actual rubbings which can clearly be shown to have been made in this period (1883-1904).

To sum up, the Sakawa text which is regarded as a "transcription" has many defects but as the earliest transcription has a noteworthy quality of excellence. Also it was widely disseminated through the copied text in reduced size in *Kaiyoroku* and had a very great influence on the reading of indistinct original rubbings. The problem of "resurfacing with plaster" perhaps arose more or less from the beginning, but with the rise in demand particularly in Japan at the time of the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, there seems to have been a general large-scale use of lime mortar to bring out clear characters acceptable to amateurs.

The stages seen by Mizutani and myself are as follows:

1. Mizutani Stele	Suematsu Stele	
2. Moss	Rubbing	ca. 1880
3. Traced outline copy on the stone (Sakawa, P'an, Wu, etc. texts)	Red characters	
4. Moss removed	Background filled with watered ink (Sakawa, P'an, Wu, etc. texts)	
5. Rubbing	Fine rubbing (Mizutani, former Mizutani, Kaneko, etc. texts)	
6. Repeated resurfacing with plaster	Repeated retouching with plaster	after 1894
7. Variant rubbed texts	Variant rubbed texts	after 1904

#### 4. The Problem of Transcription

Mizutani's transcription may be regarded as the most reliable today. The excellence of the "Mizutani rubbings" is the basis for it. But not everyone could have achieved his transcription with it. It was only achieved by Mizutani after researching earlier transcriptions and studies and intense concentration on these rubbings over many years.

He cites the following examples (marked with a circle) from his own new transcription as "some interesting characters":

Face	Column	Position in column	
1	3	41	履 <sup>○</sup>
1	4	2	龍首昇天 <sup>○</sup>
2	1	29-30	那且城 <sup>○</sup>
2	4	8	殘主 <sup>○</sup>
2	5	22	殘主 <sup>○</sup>
3	2	13	寐錦 <sup>○</sup>
3	14	30	國烟一 <sup>○</sup>
3	14	33	看烟三 <sup>○</sup>
3	14	39	國烟一 <sup>○</sup>
4	1	5	七 <sup>○</sup>

Then there are those which he lists additionally as "others":

1	1	29-31	降世生 <sup>○</sup>
1	5	17	振被四海 <sup>○</sup>
1	7	38	六七百營 <sup>○</sup>
1	9	36	討滅殘國 <sup>○</sup>
1	10	22	關彌城 <sup>○</sup>
2	3	20-23	殘不 <sup>○</sup>
2	4	17	男女生口 <sup>○</sup>
2	4	41	先 <sup>○</sup>
2	5	3	迷之愆 <sup>○</sup>
2	7	38-41	矜其忠 <sup>○</sup>
2	8	36	官軍方至 <sup>○</sup>
3	4	4	鋒 <sup>○</sup>
3	7	6	王恩普覆 <sup>○</sup>



4	2	35	看烟
4	6	15	但取吾躬巡

He regards the above examples on which he has a new opinion as "noteworthy" but I value above all his proposing 剖卵降世生圖. These six characters clearly appear as 剖卵降出生子 in the Sakawa text. Imanishi detected 子 as a character "repaired by cutting in the plaster", but he made no mention of 出. According to the Mizutani rubbings, however, the upper half of 世 is obliterated by a major fault in the stone (slanting from left to right). Respect must be shown for the effort of the person who first read it as 出 but the perspicacity of Mizutani who decided that it was 世 must be even more highly regarded. He says that the character after 生 cannot be described as clear but it seems to be 而. I follow him in reading 而 as it fits the sentence also. The founder King Tsou-mou "fell out when the egg cracked and begat a son" 剖卵降<sup>x</sup>出<sup>x</sup>して子を生み does not make sense, but "he descended into the world when the egg cracked and from birth . . ." seems perfect. Next there is his transcription 履龍首昇天. 履 was previously taken as 黃 and this had not been questioned. Mizutani, however, by looking closely at the Mizutani rubbings was able to decide that it was 履. 首 has previously been taken as 頁, understood in the sense of 負, but Mizutani correctly thought that 首 has been wrongly changed into 頁.

There are a total of more than 50 characters where his new interpretation is equally valuable. In addition, it should not be overlooked that there are some 20 characters which, although they had all previously been read, Mizutani could not confirm and so treated them as "unclear". For to reject previous interpretations is as significant as providing new ones. For example,

Face	Column	Position in column	
1	9	13	以辛卯年來渡□破百殘 (previously taken as 海 <sup>x</sup> )
2	6	29	以來朝貢□事 (previously taken as 論事 <sup>x</sup> )
3	2	19	未有身來□□ <sup>o</sup> (previously taken as 朝貢)

He admits that there are as many as 10 characters where he is doubtful but has followed the previous interpretation. It is regrettable that he did not indicate these 10 characters in his transcription. Mizutani's transcription is thus strict and circumspect and so may be relied on. If, however, I have

to say whether his judgements are generally decisive regrettably I must answer in the negative. In any study perfection is not so easily to be expected.

I myself from examining the Mizutani rubbings should like to raise the following new queries about several characters which escaped Mizutani's notice. 因 in the 27th place in the 3rd column on the first face is one. This character has not previously been questioned by anyone. Through a comparison, however, with 因 in the 10th place in the 8th column on the first face, I think that it should perhaps be read as 天. Secondly, the character in the 4th place in the 10th column on the first face has hitherto be read as 壹 except by Miyake who in his second article changed it to 寧. As a result of seeing the text in Prince Komatsu's household he confirmed that it was not 壹 and tentatively changed it to 寧. From the Mizutani rubbings Miyake's tentative suggestion becomes a strong possibility. Thirdly, Mizutani treated the character in the 36th place in the 7th column of the second face as unclear, but Imanishi and Lo Chen-yü read it as 恩. It can be decided that 恩 is probably correct from the Mizutani rubbings, especially from a reduced photograph of them. Fourthly, the character in the 40th place in the 8th column on the second face has been accepted in all transcriptions as 賊. Mizutani also takes it as 賊, but I would read it as 敗 from an inspection of the Mizutani rubbings. It is strange that 倭 which appears often in the inscription should only here become 倭賊. I think that this passage should perhaps be read: "the Wo were beaten back".

These are only my tentative proposals; there is still much work to be done on the transcription of the King Hao-t'ai stele. The existence of the Mizutani rubbings may not leave us despondent.

To sum up, there are in all many examples in Mizutani's transcription, which amend previous interpretations and offer new explanations for characters which had been regarded as unclear. One cannot decide in a hurry whether they are correct, important and acceptable.

Now I shall indicate differences between Mizutani's new interpretations (disregarding for the moment their correctness) and earlier views. Since it is simply for reference, only the views of Imanishi, Miyake and the text printed in reduced size in *Kaiyōroku* are compared. As Yokoi Tadanao's transcription appeared in *Kaiyōroku*, it would have been appropriate to have adopted it except that there were misprints in it. The *Kaiyōroku* text, as noted before, can be regarded as "a kind of transcription". At the same time, the following tables aid the understanding of the Sakawa text which is the original of the *Kaiyōroku* text and help us to appreciate that the differences between the Sakawa text and the texts of later rubbings cannot be resolved simply as a matter of deliberate recutting and alteration of characters due chiefly to Japan-Korea relations.

Face	Column	Position in column	Mizutani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyoroku</i> (1889)
1	1	29	世 (character repaired on plaster)	出	出	出
1	1	31	圃	子	子	子
1	2	2	幸	車	□	軛
1	2	33	我	我	我	木
1	2	35	葭	葭	葭	葭
1	3	23	不	永	不	永
1	3	25	世 (though similar to 世 some discrepan- cies)	世?	□	世
1	3	41	履	黃	黃	黃
1	4	2	首	頁	頁	頁
1	4	5	顧	顧?	顧	頤
1	4	14	興	興	興	興
1	4	24	□	傳?	□	𠄎
1	4	26	十	十?	十	十
1	4	32	上	上	上	士
1	5	13	□	□	□	𠄎
1	5	19	振	柳	柳	柳
1	5	20	被 (or may be 撫)	被	被	被
1	5	36	穀	穀?	穀	檠
1	6	33	示	永	示	永
1	6	38	辭 (may be 銘 or 記)	□	□	言
1	7	11	稗	碑	稗	碑
1	7	12	麗 (uncertain)	麗	麗	麗
1	7	13	不 (uncertain)	□	不	不
1	7	14	□ (uncertain)	息	□	息
1	7	16	□	□	又	又
1	7	21	過 (unclear)	叵	叵	叵

Face	Column	Position in column	Mizutani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyoroku</i> (1889)
1	7	24	□	負	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	負
1	7	25	□	山	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	碑
1	7	32	丘	丘	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	丘
1	7	34	洛	洛 (uncertain)	洛	洛
1	7	37	百	百 (uncertain)	百	百
1	7	38	營	當 (uncertain)	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	當
1	7	39	牛	牛	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	用
1	7	41	羣	群	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	兼
1	8	12	□	娶 (similar to 娶 in form)	駕	駕
1	8	14	道	道 (uncertain)	道	道
1	8	15	東	東 (uncertain)	東	東
1	8	16	來	來? (uncertain)	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	耒
1	8	17	□	□	□	目
1	8	18	城	□	城	城
1	8	25	海	狷 (uncertain)	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	狷
1	8	31	狷	狷 獵?	獵	獵
1	8	41	民	民 (appears to be 我)	民	民
1	9	8	辛	辛? (resembles 來; to be taken as 辛)	耒	耒
1	9	13	□	海	海	海
1	9	19	鬲	□? (should be 新)	□	斤
1	9	33	□	水	大	水
1	9	36	滅	科?	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	利
1	10	1	首	首	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	首
1	10	4	壹	壹	◻ <sup>◦</sup>	壹

Face	Column	Position in column	Mizutani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyōroku</i> (1889)
1	10	22	關	關	關	關
1	10	32	舍	□舍?	舍	舍
1	11	4	珍	彌	彌	弥
1	11	13	須	模	須	須
1	11	14	耶	厓	能	厓
1	11	17	莫	頁	頁	頁
1	11	23	□	分?	分	分
1	11	25	耶	能?	能	厓
1	11	28	瑑	場?	易	易
1	11	37	奴	奴	奴	奴
1	11	40	□	□	□	八
1	11	41	□	□	□	甌
2	1	17	□	拔	拔	拔
2	1	18	城	□	城	城
2	1	21	□	城	□	□
2	1	22	陔	□	□	□
2	1	27	邕	□那?	□	□
2	1	29	那	□	□	□
2	1	30	且	婁	□	□
2	1	37	□	弓亏?	夸	夸
2	1	41	灰	□	灰	灰
2	2	11	□	至?	至	至
2	2	22	利	□	利	利
2	2	41	穰	穰?	穰	穰
2	3	4	陔	□	□	□
2	3	7	盧	羅	盧	盧
2	3	15	□	□進?	□	□
2	3	16	□	□至?	□	□
2	3	20	殘	賊	賊	賊
2	3	22	邕	服	服	肱
2	3	23	義	氣	氣	氣
2	3	26	□	百	交	交
2	3	27	戰	戰	戰	戰
2	3	31	怒	怒	怒	奴

Face	Column	Position in column	Mizutani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyoroku</i> (1889)
2	3	34	利	利	被	被
2	3	37	刺	刺	刺	刺
			(character cut in plaster)			
2	4	4	便	便	□	便
			(unclear)			
2	4	5	□	國	國	國
2	4	7	而	百	百	百
2	4	9	主	王	王	王
2	4	13	□	出	□	□
			(unclear on stele)			
2	4	17	口	白口?	□	白
2	4	24	匹	匹	五	五
2	4	25	□	歸	歸	歸
2	4	41	先	□	□	□
2	5	3	愆	銜	徽	徽
2	5	22	主	王	王	王
2	6	8	得	得	得	得
2	6	10	□	新	□	□
			(character rewritten in clay)			
2	6	29	□	論?	□	論
2	6	41	和	和	和	和
			(unclear on stele)			
2	7	36	□	恩	□	□
2	7	37	齣	後	後	後
2	7	38	矜	稱	稱	稱
2	7	41	馭	□	□	□
2	8	1	□	時	寺	寺
2	8	2	遣	違	違	違
2	8	5	告	告	告	吉
2	8	8	□	訴?	言	言
2	8	36	軍	兵	軍	兵
			(character cut in plaster)			
2	8	37	方	方	方	方
			(character cut in plaster)			

Face	Column	Position in column	Mizntani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyōroku</i> (1889)
2	8	38	至	至	至	至
			(character cut in plaster)			
2	9	1-7	no characters	□	□	□
2	9	8	□	□	□	□
2	9	9	来	來	◦ □	來
2	9	11	急	息	◦ 息	息
2	9	28	□	滿?	□	滿
2	9	30	□	拔	拔 ◦ □	拔
2	9	34	□	扞	◦ □	扞
2	9	37	滿	滿?	滿	滿
2	9	38	倭	倭?	倭 ◦	□
2	9	39	潰	潰	潰 ◦	潰
2	9	40	城	城	城 ◦	城
2	9	41	□	□六?	大	大
2	10	1-17	no characters	□	□	□
2	10	18	□	九	九	九
2	10	20	更	臣?	臣	臣
2	10	21	□	有	有	有
2	10	22	来	□	尖	尖
2	10	27	兵	兵?	兵	兵
2	10	28	滿	滿?	□	□
2	10	33	其	□	□	□
2	10	41	言	□	□	□
3	1	1-26	□	no characters	no characters	no characters
3	1	27	辭	辭	no characters	no characters
3	1	28-40	□	□	no characters	no characters
3	1	41	潰	潰	no characters	no characters
3	2	1	□	□	◦ 赤	赤
3	2	2	以	□	□	□
3	2	4	隨	□	□	□

Face	Column	Position in column	Mizutani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyōroku</i> (1889)
3	2	13	寐	安 (slightly unclear on stele)	安	安
3	2	19	□	朝	朝	朝
3	2	20	□	貢	貢	貢
3	2	35	□	□	□	至
3	2	36	寐	□	□	□
3	2	37	錦	□	□	□
3	2	40	僕	□	僕	□
3	2	41	句	□	句	潰
3	3	12	而	而	而	而
3	3	36	率	□	□	率
3	3	40	平	平	平	僕
3	3	41	穰	穰	穰	句
3	4	4	鋒	□	□	□
3	4	8	幢	幢	幢	幢
3	4	12	刺	刺	刺	刺
3	4	40	□	□	□	平
3	4	41	師	城?	師	穰
3	5	10	穫	稚	穫	稚
3	5	28	溝	溝?	溝	溝
3	5	32	□	還?	還	還
3	5	33	□	□	□	□
3	5	34	城	□	城	□
3	5	41	師	□	□	師
3	6	25	討	討?	討	諸
3	6	32	城	城	拳	拳
3	6	34	駭	駢	駢	駢
3	6	41	□	那?	□	□
3	7	1	□	□	□	目
3	7	6	覆	處	處	處
3	7	29	揣	□	揣	揣
3	7	30	社	立	立	立



Face	Column	Position in column	Mizutani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyoroku</i> (1889)
3	7	37	𪛗	□	□	□
3	7	38	廬	□	□	□
3	8	1	𪛗	□	□	□
3	8	2	凡	凡城?	凡	侏
3	9	1	民	□	□	□
3	9	8	于	亏	亏	亏
3	9	33	皆	皆?	□	𪛗
3	9	40	□	住?	住	住
3	10	9	□	梁?	梁	梁
3	10	16	□	梁	梁	梁
3	10	32	□	改?	改	改
3	10	34	二	三	三	三
3	12	12	求	永	示	永
3	12	13	底	底	底	底
3	12	33	□	家?	□	□
3	12	34	耶	𪛗	能	𪛗
3	13	1	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗	𪛗
3	13	10	客	客?	客	客
3	13	25	十	十七?	十	十
3	13	39	白	各	白	舍
(舍 or 各, 摸羅城 appears elsewhere)						
3	14	7	各	舍	舍	舍
3	14	25	氏	弓	弓	弓
3	14	30	一	二	二	二
3	14	33	三	三	三	△
3	14	34	弥	弥	彌	𪛗
3	14	35	𪛗	旧*	鄒	𪛗
3	14	39	一	七	七	七
4	1	5	七	□	□	七
4	1	6	也	□	□	□
4	1	7	利	□	□	利
4	1	8	城	□	城	城

\*may be 𪛗

Face	Column	Position in column	Mizutani (1959)	Imanishi (1913)	Miyake (1898)	<i>Kaiyōroku</i> (1889)
4	2	28	七	一	一	一
4	2	35	看	都	看	都
4	3	8	瑒	瑒	瑒	瑞
4	3	32	穰	穰 (or 穰)	穰	穰
4	4	7	那	那?	那	𨾏
4	6	15	巡	率	率	率
4	8	14	唯	惟	惟	惟
4	9	16	雖	雖	唯	唯
4	9	41	之	之	之	×

### 5. Pak Si-hyōng's 朴時亨 *Koang-kai-to oang rung pi* 廣開土王陵碑 and After

In the autumn of 1963, four years after the publication of Mizutani's *Kōtaiō-hi Kō*, the Research Institutes of History, Archaeology and Folklore Studies of the Academy of Social Sciences in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea organized a survey team on the King Hao-t'ai stele, which proceeded to Chi-an 輯安 and carried out an on-the-spot survey.

Three years later in 1966 Kim Sok-hyōng 金錫亨 and Pak Si-hyōng, two important members of the survey team published their works: Kim's *Ch'o-ki Cho-Ir koan-kyōi yon-ku* 初期朝日關係研究 and Pak's *Koang kai to oang rung pi*. They seem to have great significance for the background and basis of the survey rather than for its results.

Before this book, Kim had written an article entitled "On the Separate Countries of the Japanese Archipelago Belonging to the Three Kingdoms of Korea" 三韓三國の日本列島内分國について in the periodical *Ryōk-sa Kōa-hak* 歴史科學 (Pyongyang) in January of the year of the survey. This article was expanded into the above book. In the book there is naturally a chapter dealing with the King Hao-t'ai stele. The seven passages in the inscription concerned with the Wo are taken up and the actual condition of characters is discussed in detail without any addition to the previous transcriptions. Nevertheless, in his interpretation of the people of Wo who appear in these passages and more particularly in his manner of reading 而倭以辛卯年來渡海破百殘□□□羅以爲臣民 (the characters marked with a circle, he regards as unclear) in which he takes the subject of "crossed the sea and defeated Paekche" to be "Koguryō" we have typical examples of Kim's writing.

Pak Si-hyōng's *Koang-kai-to oang rung pi* which was published in the same year as Kim's book is commendable as a pioneer monograph on the King Hao-t'ai stele. Its main text consists of the following four chapters:

- I. The Erection of the Stele and an Account of Ancient Documents Relating to the Inscription;
- II. The Circumstances of the Rediscovery of the Stele;
- III. The International Relations of the Various States of East Asia in the Period of King Hao-t'ai;
- IV. Commentary on the Inscription.

The fourth chapter especially engaged the writer's efforts and is very exhaustive. For each section of the inscription he gives (1) the original text, (2) translation, (3) analysis of the characters and punctuation and also gives an interpretation as "The Historical Facts". Like Kim in the passage on crossing the sea, . . . he takes the subject as the Koguryō army (although there are some slight differences).

Pak adds two appendices to his main text: In the first "Descriptions and Studies of the Inscription and their Publication" he compiles exhaustively in historical order Chinese writings (as well as one by a French scholar) on the stele, and in the second "The Machinations Undertaken by the Japanese Imperialists after the Rediscovery of the Stele and their Evil Nature" he explains the circumstances of the arrival of the inscription in Japan and the subsequent course of events. The second appendix, in particular, is in a certain sense more noteworthy than the main part of the book. For the historical viewpoint and the historical feeling of the author himself or in his country are revealed in it. Pak says of the arrival of the inscription in Japan:

In 1884 a captain of the Japanese General Staff Office, the intelligence officer Sakawa (Sakawa Kageaki), while passing through the Chi-an area, happened to see rubbings being sold and bought a set. The Japanese deposited the rubbings in the Imperial Household Library and made a separate hand-copy which was placed in the Imperial Museum. A reduced-size reproduction of the hand-copy was made for the magazine *Kaiyoroku*, No. 5 (February, 1889 issue) and there *Notes on the Excavation of a Koguryō Stele* by Yokoi Tadanao who was also an officer of the General Staff Office and a member of the Historical Association, a transcription and *On an Ancient Stele* were additionally published. Afterwards the King Hao-t'ai stele became widely known in Japan.

The above description, apart from some minor points which should be corrected, is already known and contains nothing new. If there were anything, it would be to decide that Sakawa Kageaki was an "intelligence officer". This has to be regarded as the perspicacity of the author Pak. Nevertheless, to treat Gondō Seikei's 權藤成卿 *Nanensho* 南淵書 in detail as principal evidence for "the machinations undertaken by the Japanese imperialists after the rediscovery of the stele and their evil nature" is not reasonable in itself.

How the works of Kim and Pak are read in their own country and what effect they have had is unknown but they have presented a major problem to Japanese historians. For, in narrow terms it is a matter of the interpretation of “Wo 倭” as it appears in the inscription and generally it is of a major concern to the question of the Mimana 任那 administration and the establishment of the ancient Japanese State. The publication of an almost complete translation of Kim’s work under the revised title *The History of Ancient Korean-Japanese Relations: The Yamato State and Mimana* 古代朝日關係史—大和政權と任那— in October, 1969 is the most important response. Next, Nakatsuka Akira’s 中塚 明 article *The Korean Problem in Modern Japanese Historiography with Special Reference to Kōkaidōryōhi* 近代日本史學史における朝鮮問題—とくに「廣開土王陵碑」をめぐって— in *Shisō* 思想 (March, 1971) was directly provoked by the works of Kim and Pak and reviewed the treatment of the King Hao-t’ai inscription in the narration and the approach of ancient Japanese history from Meiji to the present day. In a certain sense it can be regarded as a pioneering article which developed the question of the King Hao-t’ai inscription as a modern historical problem.

Following Nakatsuka’s article, historical facts and documents concerning the inscription were unearthed by Saeki Yūsei 佐伯有清, Ri Chin-hui 李進熙 and Furuta Takehiko 古田武彦 and others. Firstly, the detailed biography of Lieutenant Sakawa who first brought the inscription to Japan; secondly, the career of Yokoi Tadanao, the actual editor of *Kaiyōroku*, No. 5 and the discovery of his *On an Ancient Stele of Koguryō* 高句麗古碑考 which preceded *Kaiyōroku*; thirdly, the involvement of personnel of the General Staff Office and others not only with the inscription but also with the actual stele. Representative monographs are: Ri Chin-hui’s *Study of the Tomb Inscription of Kōkaidō* 廣開土王陵碑の研究 (October, 1972; enlarged and revised ed., November, 1974); Saeki’s *A History of Studies of the Kōkaidō Stele* 研究史 廣開土王陵 (August, 1974) and *The Kōkaidō Stele and the General Staff Office* 廣開土王陵と參謀本部 (May, 1976). Among them I shall particularly discuss Ri Chin-hui’s.

Ri’s book combines the proposals of Mizutani with those of Kim and Pak and adds also new materials collected by himself. At first sight, it is a digest of studies from Mizutani onwards but he also develops others’ views to their fullest extent and puts forward his own individual ideas. Thus it stirred the reading public and historical circles.

Special features of Ri’s book are in accordance with his new techniques: a “materials section”, appended to the main text (pp. 1–222; in the enlarged ed., pp. 1–252), consisting of (1) “Documents”, 14 Chinese documents and 1 Korean, all photographically reproduced from the originals (pp. 1–52); (2) important photographs (pp. 53–99) ((1) and (2) are contained with the main text in one volume); (3) “Transcription”, the complete text in 12 versions on 12 separate sheets; (4) “Rubbings”, 4 rubbings on 4 sheets (in the enlarged

edition 5 rubbings on 5 sheets) in proportionate reduced size ((3) and (4) are in a separate volume). The "materials section" is equally valuable with the main text for future students.

The most important section of the main text is where Ri develops his new ideas. The main points are: firstly he accepts as it stands Mizutani's view that the Sakawa text was a "traced outline with filled-in background" copy made directly on the stele. I shall not repeat here my differing view given in Chapter 3. Secondly, he makes a major change in the "resurfacing with plaster" question put forward by Mizutani and decides that the text was altered by Lieutenant Sakawa. In consequence "a traced outline with added ink" Sakawa text emerges. Thirdly, in keeping with the second argument he proposes second and third "plastering operations" were performed by persons connected with the General Staff Office to prolong the effect of Sakawa's alteration.

This is how I understand Ri's new theory but since Ri's account is very logically presented and seems to be supported by the exhaustive materials in the Appendix gathered according to his new idea, my understanding may not be a true understanding and have elements of misunderstanding in it. Nevertheless, in my former article *The King Hao-t'ai stele and I* I mentioned Furuta Takehiko's article criticizing Ri's theory, *Criticism of the Theory of the Alteration of the King Hao-t'ai Inscription: On Li Chin-hui's Study of the Tomb Inscription of Kōkaidō* in *Shigaku Zasshi*, Vol. 82, No. 8 and I wrote: "In the views of both there are acceptable and unacceptable points of detail but in the general argument I side with the opinion of Furuta". For Ri's new theory, I think, in its starting points follows Mizutani's error of a "traced outline with filled-in background", even though he changes the description to "a traced outline with added ink" 「双鉤加墨」本.

Whether we adopt "we are right and the others are wrong" and "the old is wrong, the new is right" or the opposite view as our approach to study, when we think about it, we find that the actual practice is not easy. In this article I have tried to give a general view of the development of studies of the King Hao-t'ai inscription. The study of the inscription has not passed beyond the bounds of "external criticism" as it is called in introductory textbooks to historiography. The "internal criticism", I feel strongly, is the problem that has now to be dealt with. Yet we must be very happy to know that this "internal criticism" is already under way.