

# Han Tombs of Lo-lang—Their Studies by Japanese Scholars

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## I. History of Lo-lang Province

### 1. Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom before the establishment of Lo-lang Province

Lo-lang 樂浪 was one of the four provinces<sup>2)</sup> created on Korean Peninsula by Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 of Han 漢 China in 108 B.C., the year in which he successfully crushed the Ch'ao-hsien 朝鮮 Kingdom of Yu-ch'ü 右渠, grandson of Wei Man 衛滿, at its capital Wang-hsien 王險, the present-day P'yöngyang<sup>3)</sup>. The province was to provide for the Han Empire a solid basis for its eastward expansion and control of the neighboring areas. The history of Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom preceding the above-mentioned conquest by Wu-ti may be divided into two periods: the period of Wei 衛 Dynasty (195-108 B.C.) from the time at which Wei Man overthrew King Chi Chun 箕準, allegedly a descendant of Chi-tzŭ 箕子, and established himself at Wang-hsien, until the death of Yu-ch'ü, and that of Chi 箕 Dynasty which is said to have been in successive subjection to Yen 燕 Kingdom and Ch'in 秦 Empire until the last king Chi Chun.

Wei Man was a Yen man who, upon his king Lu Wan's 盧縮 revolt against the Han court and flight to Hsiung-nu 匈奴, took refuge with a large number of followers in Korea, and later subjugated barbarians of Ch'ao-hsien and Chên-fan 真番 and Chinese refugees from Yen and Ch'i 齊 to be their king, taking up his residence at Wang-hsien. Some time between 187 and 180 B.C., he made a contract with the Chinese governor of Liao-tung 遼東 Province in Manchuria that his country would be a tributary to Han Empire. At the same time, he kept expanding his territory by annexing Lin-t'un 臨屯, Chên-fan, and smaller villages, until his rule extended over several thousand *li* both widthwise and lengthwise. Wei Man was succeeded by his son, who in turn was succeeded by Yu-ch'ü, a grandson of Wei Man. Yu-ch'ü enticed many Han subjects to take

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2) The others were: Hsüan-t'u 玄菟, Lin-t'un 臨屯, and Chên-fan 真番.

3) *Shih-chi* 史記, Ch'ao-hsien lieh-chuan 朝鮮列傳; *Han-shu* 漢書, Ch'ao-hsien lieh-chuan.

refuge in his kingdom; he never visited the Han court to pay tribute in person, nor would he let envoys of Chên-fan and Ch'ên-kuo 辰國 reach China by way of his land<sup>4)</sup>

In 109 B.C., Wu-ti sent an envoy to Yu-ch'ü in an attempt to bring back the kingdom under Han supremacy, but the king refused to yield to the Chinese emperor. Fearful of Wu-ti's wrath at his failure, the Han envoy stabbed a Ch'ao-hsien general escorting him to death, an offense which was promptly avenged by Yu-ch'ü. Finding a pretext in this incident, the Chinese emperor mobilized large army and navy to attack Wang-hsien; the city fell, only after a prolonged siege, in the next year, i. e. 108 B.C., when Yu-ch'ü's generals and chancellors assassinated him in a conspiracy and opened the city gates to the Chinese<sup>5)</sup>.

On the other hand, however, neither *Shih-chi* 史記 nor *Han-shu* 漢書 says a word about the Chi Dynasty preceding the Wei Dynasty. Somewhat detailed account about this dynasty is found only in *San-kuo-chih* 三國志, *Wei-shu* 魏書, *Han chuan* 韓傳, and in *Wei-lüo* 魏略 quoted in the scholium on the same text. As it is most probable that *San-kuo-chih* is based upon the latter source, now lost, a full account reconstructed from them would be as follows:

Chi-tzŭ's descendants used to be the marquises of Ch'ao-hsien. After the decline of Chou 周 Dynasty, the lord of Yen assumed the title of a king and started expanding his territories in the east. The marquis of Ch'ao-hsien also assumed the title of a king and prepared for a war against Yen, with the intention of restoring the Chou rule, but his grandee K'ung 孔 advised him against it. As his successors were haughty and cruel, the king of Yen sent an army led by General Ch'in K'ai 秦開 to attack the western borderland of Ch'ao-hsien, and successfully took possession of a large tract of land over two thousand *li* up to Man-p'an-kan 滿潘干, dealing a big blow on the strength of Ch'ao-hsien. When China was united under the Ch'in rule, General Méng Tien 蒙恬 built the Great Walls which extended to Liao-tung in the east (214 B.C.). P'i 否, then the king of Ch'ao-hsien, decided to pay tribute to Ch'in in fear of an attack. After the death of P'i, Chun came to the throne. Some twenty years later, Ch'ên Shêng 陳勝 and Hsiang Yü 項羽 revolted against Ch'in<sup>6)</sup>, and many Chinese refugees escaping the civil war came from Yen, Ch'i and Chao 趙 to Ch'ao-

4) *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

5) *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; also *Han-shu*, Wu-ti chi 武帝紀.

6) The rebellion started in 209 B.C. This passage 'some twenty years' would put the date of Chun's succession some time around 230 B.C., an anachronism as it antedates even the unification of China in 221 B.C., the construction of Great Walls in 214 B.C., and the accession of P'i, his predecessor, thereabout.

hsien and was given home by Chun in the western part of the country. Now the account of *Wei-lüo* moves on to the rise of Wei Man, but in a completely different line from that of *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu*, though more ample in details:

Wei Man took refuge in the kingdom of Chi Chun, and asked the king to let him live in the western borderland, organizing Chinese refugees in defense of Ch'ao-hsien. King Chun trusted Wei Man to such a degree that he conferred upon the latter the title of an erudite and a jade insignia to be a lord over a land of one hundred *li*, entrusting Wei Man with the defense of the western border. But Wei Man exploited his position to establish his own influence among Chinese refugees. He sent to the king a false report that Han troops were invading the country in a great number and tricked the king into giving him a permission to send in a reinforcement. Having thus facilitated his march, he suddenly attacked the king. King Chun got out to the sea and sailed down to the land of Han 韓, where he assumed the title of the King of Han, but later his descendants ceased to rule.

The legend that King Wu-wang 武王 of Chou, after overthrowing the Yin 殷 Dynasty, enfeoffed Chi-tzŭ in Ch'ao-hsien, was obviously known to Chinese in the Former Han period, as it is related in *Shih-chi*, Sung Wei-tzu shih-chia 宋微子世家 and *Shang-shu-ta-chuan* 尚書大傳, Yin-chuan Hung-fan 殷傳鴻範. It cannot be determined, however, on what source *Wei-lüo* and *San-kuo-chih* based themselves when referring to Chi Chun as a descendant of Chi-tzŭ, with some forty generations in between. Wang Fu's 王符 *Ch'ien-fu-lun* 潛夫論, Chih-shih-hsing 志氏姓, after pointing out the existence of a marquis of Han who had his fief near Yen at the time of King Hsüan-wang 宣王 of Chou in a commentary on “普 (溥) 彼韓城, 燕師所完”, two lines from *Shih-ching* 詩經 (the Book of Odes), Ta-ya 大雅, Tang-chih-shih 蕩之什, tells us that the descendants of the marquis adopted Han-hsi 韓西 or Han 韓 as their clan-name and that they were attacked by Wei Man and moved to live in a land beyond the sea. Although this account lacks the name of Chi Chun, its content agrees with what *San-kuo-chih* and *Wei-lüo* say about him as quoted above, along with a passage which says that Chun's clansmen who stayed behind in Ch'ao-hsien also adopted the clan-name Han. They differ in their detailedness, but it would be safe to regard the account in *Ch'ien-fu-lun* as the knowledge of the Latter Han people about Chi Chun.

There still remains a problem: why neither *Shih-chi* nor *Han-shu* refers to Chun who flourished contemporarily with the early Han emperors, while he was so well-known to people under the Latter Han Dynasty? This question may be solved if one thinks that those sources referring to Chi-tzŭ but ignoring

Chi Dynasty did so because they did not accept the latter's claim of the descendancy as a fact, and further, that they mention of "barbarians of Chên-fan and Ch'ao-hsien" because they understood Ch'ao-hsien as a country of barbarians, but not as that of the so-called Chi Dynasty. Not only Chên-fan and Ch'ao-hsien, but also Lin-t'un, Wei-mo 濊貊 and Kao-chü-li 高句麗 were barbarians; "people of Lo-lang Ch'ao-hsien" also was an appellation for the barbarians of Ch'ao-hsien.

More should be studied about the Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom of Chi Dynasty. The time when Korea or its native barbarians first came to knowledge of Chinese could have been in the days of King Wu-wang of Chou as in the legend of Chi-tzũ; but more possibly it was when Ch'ao-hsien natives were subject to Yen Kingdom. The area was then known as a big market to Chinese traders under the name of "the interest of Ch'ao-hsien and Chên-fan" or "the interest of Wei-mo, Ch'ao-hsien and Chên-fan"<sup>7)</sup>. What best demonstrates this commerce with Yen is the distribution of *ming-tao* 明刀 coins of Yen unearthed in the Yalu Basin<sup>8)</sup>. They had been reported from about ten places, all in P'yŏngan Namdo and P'yŏngan Pukdo, up until 1945; they are divided into three groups, four in the Yalu Basin, two in the Ch'ŏngch'ŏnggang Basin, and two in the Taedonggang Basin, not including uncertain reports; none has ever been found either in the east or west of the region. That is to say that their distribution is limited to an area to the south of the Yalu and to the west of the Ch'ŏngch'ŏnggang and the Taedonggang, with the highest density in the middle basin of the Yalu; in the Taedonggang Basin, it appears not in the lower part but only in the upper part, where the coins seem to have reached by way of some tributaries of the Yalu. Judging from this, one may conclude that those *ming-tao* coins found their way into Korean Peninsula, starting from the lower basin of the Yalu up into the middle basin, from there they spread along tributaries into the basins of the Ch'ŏngch'ŏnggang and the Taedonggang.

*Ming-tao* coins must have ceased to circulate upon the end of Yen Kingdom in 222 B.C. or when the half-*liang* coins of Ch'in come into use. This puts a latest limit to the chronology of the coin. The fact that the distribution is limited to the Upper Taedonggang Basin and does not reach the Lower Basin, together with the lack of reported findings of the coin either from P'yŏngyang, Wei Man's capital Wang-hsien, or from the ruins of provincial capital of Lo-lang on the southern bank of Taedonggang opposite to P'ŏngyang, indicates that the *ming-tao* coins had ceased to circulate, much earlier than 108 B.C. when Wu-ti created the Lo-lang Province, even before the time when Wei Man chose

7) *Shih-chi*, Huo-chih lich-chuan 貨殖列傳, Wu-shih Lo 烏氏保; *Han-shu*, Ti-li-chih 地理志.

8) Ryōsaku FUJITA, "Chōsen hakken no meitōsen to sono iseki 朝鮮發見の明刀錢と其遺蹟" (*Chōsen Kōkōgaku Kenkyū* 朝鮮考古學研究, 1937).

Wang-hsien for his capital. Even if one is to assume a very late date of the *ming-tao* circulation in Yen region, the lack of their finding from P'yöngyang would be difficult to interpret, for they would have been brought in by Wei Man in such a case. A number of new findings have been reported since 1945, also more often in P'yöngan Pukdo than in P'yöngan Namdo. This must be because *ming-tao* was out of circulation in the days of Wei Man. If so, it is evident that the coins were brought to West Korea, a region between the Yalu and the Taedonggang, much earlier than the beginning of Wei Dynasty. This introduction of *ming-tao* may be ascribed to the early trade with Yen, or to the refugees at the downfall of Yen Kingdom or during the civil war in the last days of Ch'in Empire. Anyway they must have been brought in during a period from the fourth century B.C. until the third century B.C. In particular, 209 B.C. and therearound when Chinese refugees streamed in from Ch'in may be considered to be the latest extent of *ming-tao* circulation, as the Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom of Wei Dynasty was established only in the beginning of the second century B.C.

As it was the case with the Ch'ao-hsien operation of Wu-ti, to enter Korea from Yen (Hopei) or Chao (Shansi), one goes over Liao-tung (Manchuria) and then takes a route by the sea until he reaches the mouth of Yalu River, while from Ch'i (Shantung) he leaves Shantung Peninsula to cross the sea and lands at the mouth of one of the three great rivers, Yalu, Taedonggang and Hangang. Wei Man came in his flight overland and crossed the River P'ei 溱 (Yalu) to reach Korea. As he had been in charge of defense on the western border where Chinese refugees lived in great number, before overthrowing King Chi Chun and taking up residence at Wang-hsien, the land of Ch'ao-hsien as the home of the "barbarians of Ch'ao-hsien" should be identified with the region between the Yalu and the Taedonggang. As already pointed out, this area overlaps with the geographical distribution of *ming-tao* coins.

## 2. Period from the establishment of the province until its downfall

As stated above, Ch'ao-hsien before Wei Dynasty was greatly different in its social structure. Although there were rulers called kings like Chi Chun described in *Wei-lüo*, the main body of population consisted of the barbarians of Ch'ao-hsien, Chên-fan, etc., organized, perhaps, as a kind of tribal state. Newly-arrived Chinese immigrants were gathered in a certain part of the land and formed their own communities separate from those of the natives. In contrast to this, the Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom of Wei Man was formed by the over thousand people whom he had taken along and the early refugees from Yen and Ch'i who had been living apart from natives. Under the reign of

King Yu-ch'ü, the nation must have consisted of the second or third generation descendants of those Chinese immigrants, as was the king himself. Yu-ch'ü is said to have enticed more Chinese into his country, to keep Chinese to be the nucleus of the state as they had been in the days of Wei Man. When in Yen, Wei Man had experienced the centralized rule of Ch'in and Han Empires. Consequently, organization of his government must have been different from that of the preceding dynasty of Ch'ao-hsien. The strong controlling power of Ch'ao-hsien's state organization is best demonstrated by the fact that Yu-ch'ü was able to repulse and bitterly harass the Han army and navy for a full year.

It was most undesirable to Han China that Yu-ch'ü's kingdom with such strength should be antagonistic to her. Moreover, another big nightmare of Chinese was a possible alliance between Ch'ao-hsien and Hsiung-nu. *Han-shu* says, in praise of Wu-ti's achievements, that in the east he conquered Ch'ao-hsien and established the provinces Hsüan-t'u and Lo-lang to cut off the left arm of Hsiung-nu, while in the west he conquered Ta-yüan 大宛 and the thirty-six countries, allied with Wu-sun 烏孫, established the provinces Tun-huang 敦煌, Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 and Chang-yeh 張掖, and used Erh-chiang 婼羌 as a partition to sever the right shoulder of Hsiung-nu, thus causing the Shan-yü Ku-t'e 單于孤特 flee away far beyond the desert and bringing peace to all the borderlands<sup>9)</sup>. The Han pressure on Hsiung-nu as this could not be a mere by-product of the conquest of Ch'ao-hsien; on the contrary, it should be regarded to have been the final goal of Wu-ti's efforts, which he had prepared with utmost care and foresight. Anyway, Wu-ti's conquest of Ch'ao-hsien and subsequent establishment of Lo-lang and three other provinces were a realization of his large-scale plan for the control of this region, which was itself a part of a still greater scheme aiming at a final subjugation of Hsiung-nu. The joy felt by the Han Chinese upon gaining vast territories and security is most directly reflected in the phrase "from Tun-huang in the west to Lo-lang in the east" which people loved to quote from then on.

Lo-lang Province was established over the former domain of Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom, and is said to have covered the present-day P'yöngan Namdo, P'yöngan Pukdo, Hwanghaedo and even Kyönggido. Lin-t'un occupied the abode of Wei-mo, covering Kangwöndo and a part of Hamgyöng Namdo. Hsüan-t'u ruled over the native Wo-chü 沃沮, stretching into Hamgyöng Namdo, Hamgyöng Pukdo and a part of P'yöngan Pukdo. As for the location of Chên-fan, there have been two conflicting theories identifying it with the northern and southern parts of the peninsula respectively. In recent years, however, the south theory has gained more support, but scholars differ on more detailed

9) *Han-shu*, Wei Hsien lich-chuan 韋賢列傳, Wei Hsüan-ch'eng 韋玄成.

identification, whether it was the middle part of the peninsula or the southern end. Later, in 82 B.C., Lin-t'un and Chên-fan were abolished and Hsüan-t'u retired into Liao-tung Province; of the counties which had been under the control of Hsüan-t'u, three joined Lo-lang Province, and seven in the east of the ridge belonged to a newly appointed Chief Commandant of East of Lo-lang 樂浪東部都尉<sup>10)</sup>. After overthrowing Wang Mang 王莽, the Latter Han government abolished the office of chief commandants in border provinces, and the Chief Commandant of East of Lo-lang also ceased to rule, so that the seven counties in the east of the ridge were abandoned<sup>11)</sup>.

Kung-sun To 公孫度, a governor of Liao-tung who claimed himself to be the Marquis of Liao-tung and Inspector of P'ing-chou 平州, died in 209 A.D. and was succeeded by Kung-sun K'ang 公孫康. K'ang created a new province called Tai-fang 帶方 by dividing the wasteland lying to the south of T'un-you 屯有 County of Lo-lang. He suppressed militarily the Han and Wei peoples who had been so powerful that even Chinese provincial authorities had not been able to control ever since the middle of the second century. Many Chinese who had been lost to Han land were recovered as the result of his efforts, and Han and Wo 倭 became subjected to Tai-fang Province<sup>12)</sup>. Kung-sun Yüan 公孫淵, son and successor of K'ang, became the target of an military expedition in 238 led by General Ssü-ma I 司馬懿 of Wei 魏 China. At the same time, other Wei troops crossed the sea and conquered Lo-lang and Tai-fang. Thereupon all of the provinces Liao-tung, Tai-fang, Lo-lang and Hsüan-t'u came under the control of Wei Dynasty of China<sup>13)</sup>. The effect of this conquest is manifestly shown in the fact that in 239, the following year, an envoy from the queen of Wo arrived in Tai-fang Province<sup>14)</sup>.

After Wei Dynasty was replaced by Chin 晉 Dynasty, both Lo-lang and Tai-fang belonged to the latter. Envoys from numerous Han states came to the Colonel of Eastern Barbarians 東夷校尉 at Hsiang-p'ing 襄平 of Liao-tung<sup>15)</sup>. On the other hand, Kao-chü-li was getting more and more powerful and frequently made inroads into these Chinese provinces. Chang T'ung 張統 of Liao-tung who occupied Lo-lang and Taifang fought Kao-chü-li year in year out,

10) *Han-shu*, Chao-ti chi 昭帝紀; *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書, Tung-i lieh-chuan 東夷列傳, Wei. 'The ridge' means the Tan-tan Ta-ling 單單大嶺, the present-day Taebak Mountains. The seven counties had formerly belonged to Lin-t'un Province.

11) *San-kuo-chih*, Wei-shu, Tung-i chuan 東夷傳, Tung Wo-chü 東沃沮; Wei; *Hou-han-shu*, Kuang-wu-ti chi 光武帝紀; Tung-i lieh-chuan, Wei; Tung Wo-chü.

12) *San-kuo-chih*, Wei-shu, Tung-i chuan, Han.

13) *San-kuo-chih*, Wei-shu, Ming-ti chi 明帝紀; Kung-sun To lieh-chuan 公孫度列傳, Yüan 淵; Tung-i chuan, Hsü 序; Han.

14) *San-kuo-chih*, Tung-i chuan, Wo-jên 倭人. Wo is an old Chinese name for Japanese.

15) Hsiang-p'ing is the present-day Liao-yang 遼陽.

until Wang Tsun 王遵 of Lo-lang decided to take refuge with his followers of over thousand families under Mu-yung Kuei 慕容廆 of Hsien-pei 鮮卑 in 313. This put an end to the history of the two provinces, Lo-lang and Tai-fang<sup>16)</sup>. Nevertheless, Lo-lang had survived other provinces and flourished for four hundred and twenty years since the Former Han Dynasty. Of course it had its ups and downs. They are most distinctly reflected in the movement of population recorded in the Ti-li-chih 地理志 or Chün-kuo-chih 郡國志 of *Han-shu*, *Hou-han-shu* and *Chin-shu* 晉書. Let us trace down the process of Lo-lang's decline using those figures as a material.

In *Han-shu*, Lo-lang Province is recorded to have had 25 counties, 62,812 houses and a population of 406,748, while *Hou-han-shu* gives the number of counties at 18, seven counties in the east of the ridge less because they had been abandoned by the time of the record, with 61,493 houses and a population of 257,050. In other words, the province had houses only 1,320 less under the Latter Han Dynasty than under the Former Han; but when it comes to the number of houses per county, *Han-shu* has 2,512.5 against *Hou-han-shu's* 3,416.2, making the ratio higher under the Latter Han Dynasty. On the other hand, the population itself decreased sharply by 149,698, nearly one hundred fifty thousand, as compared to the Former Han. *Chin-shu* lacks the number of population, while giving the number of counties as 7 in Tai-fang and 6 in Lo-lang, with 8600 houses, 4900 and 3700 in Tai-fang and Lo-lang respectively. The province had lost between the Latter Han and Chin Dynasties 5 counties and 52,892 houses, illustrating how it went downhill to see its own collapse. Between the Former and Latter Han, the figures show that Lo-lang was the province which enjoyed the highest prosperity. This should be regarded to be mostly due to the abolition of Chên-fan and Lin-t'un Provinces and the retreat of Hsüan-t'u Province into Liao-tung, as some of the counties thus abandoned came under the control of Lo-lang. Nevertheless the abolition of the Chief Commandantship of East accompanied by the abandonment of the seven counties in the east of the ridge in 30 A.D. came to the province as a stepback, though political circumstances at the central government of Latter Han called for it.

To the seven counties, the last-mentioned move meant a liberation from the political pressures from Han China, only next to the foregoing abolition of the provinces Chên-fan and Lin-t'un in the profoundness of its impact. It is easy to imagine that this independency newly gained by the seven counties should affect the surrounding tribes. In fact this development is revealed in the movement of the tribes on Chinese borders, which became more intensified than before during the first part of the Latter Han period. In particular, Kao-

16) *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, Chin-chi 晉紀, Hsiao-min 孝愨, Shang 上.



chü-li, Wei-mo, Fu-yü 夫餘 and Hsien-pei started making frequent inroads into Hsüan-t'u, Liao-tung, Lo-lang or Tai-fang. All these should be regarded as the result of such new development as mentioned above. In China, the Latter Han's fall opened room for a prolonged internal strife that three contending kingdoms fought against each other for more than eighty years. Even Chin Dynasty which managed to unify China lost its power after the death of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 and was so weakened that it kept only two provinces on Korean Peninsula. After the Civil War of Yung-chia 永嘉 in 311 in which the capital Lo-yang 洛陽 was almost completely destroyed, the Dynasty was rapidly approaching its destruction. Having lost the source of assistance, Lo-lang and Tai-fang had to be left isolated in such a remote region and was not able to hold too long in face of the Kao-chü-li who acted on the offensive taking advantage of this chance. The two provinces met their tragic end in 313, only three years after the Civil War. It is well known that the officials and people of those provinces who had no place to return, mostly took refuge in Han states or in Japan, making great contribution to the culture of those countries.

Though weakened, Lo-lang and Tai-fang Provinces with a history of 420 years had been a strong support and shelter for Han states in the south. Consequently the downfall of the two provinces disturbed them to a great degree, to say nothing of Japan which had to face this serious situation. As Kao-chü-li seemed to be preparing a further penetration southward, the Han states had to defend themselves in a hurry. It was around the middle of the fourth century soon after the end of Lo-lang and Tai-fang, that Paekche first, next Silla, and then Imna (Mimana) under a Japanese support, became kingdoms, perhaps as a measure to cope with the tense situation. This move opened a new scene of history on the peninsula, but the scene was not at all peaceful, but was rather dismal. For Japan, since the middle of the fourth century, threw in her troops, using Imna as a base, for the security of South Korea, the very front of Japan's defense. This resulted in a conflict between Kao-chü-li and Japan allied with Imna over Korean Peninsula from the end of the fourth century on. Later Paekche and Silla joined the scene, and the struggles lasted as long as over ten years.

When forming kingdoms, Paekche, Silla and Imna must have had as a foundation the knowledge and technology concerning politics, economy and military affairs which they had learned during many years of their contact with Lo-lang and Tai-fang. Moreover, refugees from those provinces must have helped their efforts to a great extent. Here we find a tradition of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Provinces.

## II. Results of the Investigation of Lo-lang Ruins

The period between the establishment of Lo-lang Province in 108 B.C. and the end of existence of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Provinces used to be called the Lo-lang period or the Lo-lang-Tai-fang period. Archeological investigations, however, revealed groups of remains each different in its variety and combination. So I would like to divide the Lo-lang period into three, the early period (Former Han, 108 B.C.-6 A.D.), the middle period (Wang Mang and Latter Han, 7-220 A.D.), and the late period (Three Kingdoms and Western Chin, 221-313 A.D.), with an emphasis on the first two periods as Lo-lang Province enjoyed its maximum prosperity under the Former and Latter Han Dynasties.

Han ruins are centered about Taedonggun, P'yŏngan Namdo, opposite to P'yŏngyang across the Taedonggang, along the southern bank of which the mud walls of the provincial capital of Lo-lang and Han tombs as many as 1,400 are densely distributed. A vast fertile plain spreads itself along the Taedonggang and rolls in numerous low hills. Those hills and level grounds are both covered by sepulchral mounds distributed in an area about 8 kilometers from east to west and about 4 kilometers from north to south. According to the register and map of Lo-lang tombs prepared by the Government-General of Chōsen in 1925-1926, there are counted 446 with wooden sepulchral chamber and 926 with brick sepulchral chamber. Later investigations disclosed the existence of many more tombs hidden underground without mounds, necessitating some correction to the above-quoted figures. Yet it is still Sŏgamni and Chŏngbaengni in the neighborhood of the Lo-lang Site, where the greatest number of tombs are gathered around. The Site itself is situated, just in the middle of those tombs, on the height of T'osŏngni on the bank of Taedonggang, and parts of the foot of its walls can be seen even today.

### 1. Investigations before 1912

Archeological excavations of these Lo-lang ruins were initiated by Dr. Tadashi SEKINO in October, 1909. At that time, Dr. SEKINO, together with Messrs. Seiichi TANI and Shun'ichi KURIYAMA, had been commissioned by the Korean Government to make a survey of ancient sites and remains, chiefly objects of architecture and fine arts, covering whole Korea. The excavation of Lo-lang tombs also was a part of this project. He identified two brick tombs with one and two chambers respectively, and found several objects buried with the dead. In the same year, Drs. Yoshiyuki HAGINO and Ryū IMANISHI excavated another

tomb and found some objects, too. In October, 1910, the following year, Dr. SEKINO again excavated two more tombs. His investigations from September, 1911, on were continued on commission from the Government-General of Chōsen which took over Korea in that year. Also in the same year a brick tomb using the brick bearing the name of Chang Fu-i 張撫夷, governor of Tai-fang, was found by Mr. Seiichi TANII, and was again excavated for investigation in September, 1912, at which excavation he obtained many more bricks with inscriptions. During the excavation of October, 1911, a ruined city called Tangt'osōng was found and identified as the site of the provincial capital of Tai-fang. Another ruined city which was found also during this excavation was identified as the site of Nien-t'i 黏蟬 County<sup>17)</sup>.

## 2. Investigations between 1912 and 1916

A new phase developed upon the discovery of the Nien-t'i Monument and the organized excavation activities on the Lo-lang tombs. As for the so-called Nien-t'i Monument, its discovery was made by Dr. IMANISHI who in September, 1913, visited the ruins of a city which had been found by Dr. SEKINO, in order to make an on-the-spot study. As it was after dark, Dr. IMANISHI was not able to read the inscription too well. So he came back the next day and made some rubbings. A careful study of these rubbings revealed that the inscription described a sacrifice made by a chief of Nien-t'i County to a mountain god P'ing-shan-chūn 平山君. As the above-mentioned ruins were situated close to this monument, the identity of the former was confirmed. This site measures 139.2 to 150.7 meters from east to west and 117.6 to 125.6 meters from north to south, covering an area about 16,500 square meters. In the same month, the long-planned investigation of the Lo-lang Site also was done by Dr. IMANISHI and Mr. TANII. Also in this year, a tomb with wooden chamber was found by an accident, bringing to the light the existence of such kind among the Lo-lang tombs, beside brick-chambered ones.<sup>18)</sup>

In 1916, the Government-General of Chōsen, in order to organize investigations under a fixed policy, promulgated newly a "Koseki oyobi Ibutsu Hozon Kitei 古蹟及び遺物保存規定 (Regulation for Conservation of Ruins and Remains)" and set up its executive body, a Koseki Chōsa Iinkai 古蹟調査委員會 (Commission for Investigation of Historic Remains). Also opened in the same year was

17) *Chōsen Koseki Zufu* 朝鮮古蹟圖譜, Vol. I, with Explanations, 1915, Chōsen Sōtokufu Koseki Chōsa Tokubetsu Hōkoku 朝鮮總督府古蹟調査特別報告, Vol. IV, *Rakurōgun Jidai no Iseki* 樂浪郡時代の遺蹟, Text, 1927.

18) *op. cit.*

the Sōtokufu Hakubutsukan (Government-General Museum) with the purpose of publicly displaying the remains obtained at those investigations. There were two categories of investigations, the general investigation conducted annually and the special investigation conducted specifically on important remains in parallel with the former. In autumn of this year, the first of the special investigations was started with the excavation of 10 Lo-lang tombs, 6 with wooden chamber. During this excavation Dr. SEKINO, Messrs. TANI and KURIYAMA were joined by Messrs. Tsunekichi OBA, Keikichi OGAWA and Takeshi NOMORI. The six brick tombs included 3 with one chamber, 1 with two chambers, 1 with three chambers, and 1 exceptional case which had two independent chambers under single mound. This result showed diversity in the structure of brick sepulchral chambers. As for the tombs with wooden chamber, none was preserved complete. It was learned, however, that the floor was square timbers laid down in parallel, the walls were made of the same kind of square timbers piled up one on top of the other so as to form a room in the shape of a well crib, and the ceiling was also square timbers laid across the top of walls, and that two or three lacquered wooden coffins were interred in the chamber, with various objects placed at the northern end and western side of the coffin, close to the head of the dead. This excavation done by professional archeologists for the first time revealed the real picture of Han tombs when a similar work had never been done even in China. Moreover, it presented to the scholastic world abundant materials to be used as the standard remains in studying Han objects, such as many bronze and lacquered vessels, weapons, horse and chariot equipments, personal ornaments made of gold, silver, pearls or jewels, burial jades such as *pi* 璧, jade pig as *wo-yü* 握玉 (grasping jade), etc., and unglazed pottery as burial utensils. This not only was a great contribution to Orientalists but also made an epoch in the history of archeological investigations<sup>19)</sup>.

After a long interval, the investigation of Lo-lang remains was resumed in autumn of 1924, and five tombs were newly excavated. Those who took part in this investigation were Mr. Ryōsaku FUJITA who had just been put in charge of the Project of Investigation of Historic Remains, Mr. OBA who had participated in the aforementioned 1916 excavation, and Messrs. Akio KOIZUMI and Seisuke FUJITA. All of those tombs except one, of which excavation was stopped half-done, had wooden chambers, and two of them contained a great number of lacquered vessels bearing inscriptions and dates of the Former Han and Wang Mang, to make a sensation among the scholars. Those lacquered vessels are especially noteworthy also because the process of their production is indicated by the names of the responsible governmental office, the workers and

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19) *op. cit.*

the supervising official. This discovery stimulated a re-examination of the remains obtained at the 1916 excavation and led to another discovery among them of some lacquered vessels bearing the date of Wang Mang. This has a great significance as those dated inscriptions not only indicate the time at which they were actually produced, but also offer an important clue to the chronology of Han tombs. Also significant is that, together with those found in 1916, they demonstrated for the first time the true picture of Han lacquer art and varieties of its decorative designs<sup>20)</sup>.

Encouraged by this result, Dr. Yoshito HARADA, Professor at the Faculty of Letters, Imperial University of Tokyo, Mr. Kingo TAZAWA of the same university, and Mr. Akio KOIZUMI excavated two tombs in autumn of 1925, the following year. One of the tombs had brick chamber, and the other, wooden chambers. The latter was the first wooden-chambered tomb which was preserved in perfect condition even with complete ceiling timbers, and enabled the scholars to study its structure in the most minute details. The original plan of the chamber appeared to have been accommodation of a couple, with something like an outer case for two coffins; a later addition of another coffin necessitated an expansion of the case; still another coffin was again added, and accommodated in an additional single chamber outside of and separate from the original chamber, thus greatly complicating the whole plan of construction. Burial objects were all well-preserved, in particular most of the lacquer wares found in almost perfect shape, but their distribution did not necessarily reflect the original locations. At this excavation a wooden seal was found in the coffin of the occupant and revealed that this was the family tomb of *Wu-kuan-yen* 五官掾 Wang Hsü 王盱, a provincial official of Lo-lang. Three lacquer wares bore dates of the Latter Han and showed a certain difference from those found in 1916 and 1924, offering a good clue for determining the date of other tombs and burial objects.<sup>21)</sup>

About the time of this excavation, the Lo-lang tombs which had not been under legal protection fell a prey to criminal disentombers, who were so rampant that almost one thousand tombs were devastated. The Government-General dispatched policemen to the region of Lo-lang ruins to protect the tombs and prevent further illegal excavations. The cut in personnel of administration made also about this time caused a discontinuation of investigation activities for some time.

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20) No formal report of this excavation has been published so far. The present author has been preparing since 1960 a report compiled from materials recorded at the time of excavation, and, by courtesy of Toyo Bunko, it will be published very soon.

21) HARADA and TAZAWA, *Lo-lang, a Report on the Excavation of Wang Hsu's Tomb in the "Lo-lang" Province, an Ancient Chinese Colony in Korea*, 1930.

## 3. Investigations between 1926 and 1945

In November and December of 1930, three tombs were accidentally unearthed during a foundation work. Again in July of 1931, another tomb was found in the same area. Two of them were robbed about this time. In this area, the mounds of those tombs had been leveled to the ground and could not be used as marks indicating the location of the pit. Most of them had wooden chambers. One tomb had three separate chambers in a single pit, each accommodating a coffin. At the head end of the coffins, there was a space where burial objects were placed, though little in quantity. Another tomb which had been robbed contained four coffins interred together, and was in a splendid state of preservation except for the ceiling timbers and the lids of coffins. The wooden chamber was constructed on a one-layer floor, and around it bricks were placed, with a double ceiling on top of it. Inside the chamber was an outer case for three coffins, and an additional coffin was interred outside the case. This outer case, of which another example had already been known in 1925, was originally intended for accommodating three coffins and was painted on with black lacquer. The burial objects seemed to have been disturbed partly due to the robbery, but mainly because of the addition of the last coffin, under which some of them were found. What deserves our attention about this wooden-chambered tomb is that it clearly demonstrated the structure of a typical Lo-lang tomb as well as that of wooden coffins, that the coffin of the occupant was so luxuriously decorated that its outer surface had four-leaved gilded copper ornaments with images of four kinds of mythical animals engraved on in sharp lines and also gilded copper ornaments in the shape of insects, and that it was the first time wooden burial objects in the shape of horse and man were found, showing the Han sculptural art on wood and confirming the existence of burial objects made of wood.

The third tomb with wooden chamber had been robbed, but yielded a lacquer ware bearing the inscription with a date of Latter Han. The last wooden-chambered tomb, also robbed, was determined to belong to the Early Lo-lang Period, from its burial objects including mirrors from the Battling States period of Chinese history, as one of them was collected on the spot, and some other were recovered by policemen<sup>22)</sup>.

As the budget of the Government-General was curtailed and the Project of Investigation of Historic Remains came to an limit of its effectiveness about

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22) NOMORI, KAYAMOTO and KANDA, *Heian Nandō Daidōgun Daidōkōmen Goyari Kofun Chōsa Hōkoku* 平安南道大同郡大同江面梧野里古墳調査報告, Shōwa 5-nendo Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku, 昭和5年度古蹟調査報告, Vol. I, 1935.

this time, a Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai 朝鮮古蹟研究會 (Society of the Study of Korean Antiquities) was newly founded in 1931 as an affiliated organization of the Government-General. The Society started a specialized investigation project of its own by setting up research institutes with researchers at Kyōngju, the capital of Silla, at Puyō, the capital of Paekche, and at P'yōngyang where most Lo-lang tombs were. The first undertaking by the Society was the excavation of three Lo-lang tombs in the autumn of 1931. All three had wooden chambers. One of them had the chambers of such a large scale as encountered never before. As for its structure, the entrance opened in the wall of the chamber, as was the case with brick-chambered tombs. The walls were constructed by piling timbers alternately exposing sides and butts. Both the main chamber and the ante-chamber had entrances each with a double door. The main chamber had an outer case accommodating three coffins all different in size. Burial objects were mainly in the ante-chamber. Also on one of the walls of the ante-chamber was a wall painting depicting a scene of procession of men riding horse and on foot in vermillion, yellow and white paints and black ink. Although the painting was not preserved save only a part due to the peeling off, this was the first time such picture was ever found. Noteworthy among the burial objects was a lacquered bamboo basket which was covered with colorful pictures illustrating the stories of the four old sages of Nan-shan 南山, the lives of filial sons, etc. There were also stationeries such as a lacquered scroll holder and a lacquered inkstone case, and burial miniatures such as wooden horse, dolls, chariots, etc. All these were the first to be found of such kinds, and showed examples of Han illustration of stories, wood sculpture and stationeries. Especially, in this tomb wooden burial miniatures existed side by side with those of baked clay, suggesting the tomb's connection to brick tombs. It is interesting that a wooden tablet found in the ante-chamber of the tomb had an inscription in black ink saying that T'ien Kung 田肱, Assistant of Ch'ao-hsien County who was a former subordinate of the dead, sent an underling to sacrifice with three rolls of silk cloth and to make obeisance twice; for the inscription suggests that the occupant of this tomb was a superior of T'ien Kung, perhaps a Chief or Prefect of Ch'ao-hsien County, or a high official of Lo-lang Province.

One of the other two tombs had only the floor timbers left, but an outer case in the wooden chamber contained three coffins. The burial objects included lacquer wares with dates of Former Han and Wang Mang. This presented a new clue for determining the chronology of the interment using coffin cases. Thus the excavation of 1931 gave rise to new questions, not only by the discovery of painted baskets, but also by bringing to light the existence of the wooden

chambers with entrance in the wall, similar to brick-chambered tombs.<sup>23)</sup>

In 1932 a new policy was adopted, and a group of Dr. Sueji UMEHARA and Messrs. Kyōsuke YAJIMA and SAWA was assigned to the investigation of brick-chambered tombs, and another group of Mr. OBA and the present author, to the investigation of wooden-chambered ones. Of the tombs studied in this year, two brick-chambered tombs had each a single chamber. One had three coffins placed on two platforms. As it had been robbed, only half-tael coins and five-*chu* 銖 coins were found, beside fragments of potteries and lacquer wares. The other tomb, also robbed, yielded fragments of a double-fish-patterned, green-glazed plate, proving that green-glazed pottery could be used as a burial object in brick-chambered tomb. Also this tomb showed the existence of a tunnel connecting the sepulchral chamber and outside. Although a similar tunnel had been known in the case of the aforementioned Painted Basket Tomb, it was one of the fruits of this excavation.

One of the two wooden-chambered tombs was not completely excavated, while in the other two wooden seals were found in the coffin of the occupant, and one of the seal clearly said "Seal of Wang Kuang 王光; *yen* 掾 of the Governor of Lo-lang"; this proved the tomb to be the one for Wang Kuang and his wife. What made this tomb different from those previously excavated was that its chamber had four walls double and the ceiling protected by double layers of bricks on top, with a tunnel opening from the chamber to the outside; this was the first wooden-chambered tomb that had a tunnel. Coffins of the couple were placed in the chamber with their heads pointing north, the wife on the eastern side and the husband on the west, in a coffin case. The space on the north and west of the coffins accommodated burial objects; especially on the north, more than ten ceramic pots, seven lacquered tables and over sixty lacquered plates, lacquered cups, etc., showing the manner how fishes, clams and fruits were offered to the dead. Apart from hat, ring and buckle found in the husband's coffin, there were also a sword and two seals on the left of the dead and a knife on the right, showing that he had been buried in his ritual regalia. Beside the vessels mentioned above, there were abundant weapons, horse and chariot equipment and furnitures placed in the chamber. Thus the excavation of this tomb revealed not only the structure of mound and sepulchral chamber but also the use of vessels buried with the dead, through their location at the head of the dead suggesting an offering of food, and gave a good guidance to further researches<sup>24)</sup>.

23) KOIZUMI and Shun'ichi SAWA, *The Tomb of Painted Basket of Lo-lang*, Detailed Report of Archaeological Research, Vol. 1, 1934.

24) OBA and KAYAMOTO, *The Tomb of Wang Kuang of Lo-lang*, Detailed Report of Archaeological Research, Vol. II, 1935.



In 1933, a Hōmotsu Koseki Meishō Tennen-kinenbutsu Hozon Iinkai Sei 寶物古蹟名勝天然記念物保存委員會制 (Committee for Conservation of Treasures, Historic Remains, Scenic Beauties and Natural Monuments Act) was newly promulgated in accordance with an imperial edict, but even small budget of the Committee was spent only on designation and conservation of remains and hardly profited their researches. Moreover, the Sino-Japanese War then in progress affected so-called nonurgent projects, so that the archeological activities had solely to depend on the Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai. In this year, three groups of scholars excavated eight tombs, three with brick chambers and five with wooden chambers. The brick-chambered ones were worked on by Dr. UMEHARA and Mr. SAWA, while those with wooden chambers were divided between two groups, Messrs. OBA and YAJIMA working on two of them, and the present author and Mr. Shingo TAKUBO on three.

Two of the three brick-chambered tombs had two chambers each, while the other had three chambers, of which the smallest one was preserved complete even with the ceiling and had drain trenches. The three, all robbed, had tunnels leading to the chambers without exception; in one case a dead was found buried in a set of two urns put together and placed in the west wall of the tunnel. Not every tomb had in its chamber a platform to receive the coffins. As for the coffins, in one tomb they were so disturbed that exact number could not be determined, but the other two had two coffins each. Judging from remainder of robbery, burial objects seemed to have included potteries and also earthenwares as burial miniatures, only thing which deserved some attention being an iron candelabrum found in one of the tombs. It is to be pointed out, however, the picture of four mythical animals drawn on the whitewashed interior wall of the sepulchral chamber of one tomb was the very first of its kind to be found in a Lo-lang brick-chambered tomb.

Of six wooden-chambered tombs, one which had been robbed had its chamber covered with pebbles on outer surface; a flight of steps led through a tunnel down to the chamber which was divided by a partition in the middle into two parts northern and southern, each accommodating a coffin. This interment system differed from the usual one containing two or three coffins in one case. Although similar cases of partitioned tomb had previously known, this new example added to our knowledge with two lacquered cups with the date of 43 B.C. Other wooden-chambered tombs did not present any new variation and confirmed the picture of the commonest type of Lo-lang tombs, though a coffin found in one of them had been made by hollowing out a single log, a new type of coffin<sup>9)</sup>.

25) Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai, *Koseki Chōsa Gaihō* 古蹟調査概報, Shōwa 8-nendo Rakurō Kofun 昭和8年度樂浪古墳, 1934.

In 1934, a brick tomb and three wooden tombs were excavated. Those who were engaged in this undertaking included Messrs. OBA, KOIZUMI, SAWA, TAKUBO and Isamu TAKAHASHI and worked in three separate groups. The brick tomb had three chambers, of which the smallest chamber was complete. A tunnel leading to the chamber was found as was in previous excavations. The coffin and burial objects had been greatly disturbed due to a robbery. There were many fragments of horse and chariot equipments adorned with gilded copper and lacquer wares. Existence of lead suggested some wooden or clay horses interred with the dead, about which a discussion will be made later.

Two of the three tombs with wooden chambers accommodated two and three coffins respectively, with their heads pointing north. The other had two coffins both heading east; the southern one, of the wife, was decorated by attaching four-leaved gilded copper ornaments outside and in the inside contained a pair of shoes as well as accessories. Although the burial objects had been greatly disturbed by grave robbers, still left there were two lacquered tables, twelve lacquered plates and twenty-three lacquered cups, showing how abundantly foods were offered to the dead. In this tomb, clay potteries were buried as burial miniatures, and, as was the case also with the other wooden-chambered tomb, only earthenwares and lacquer wares were found, lacking horse equipments, chariot equipments or weapons.

The last of the wooden-chambered tombs added to our knowledge as to the erection of mound after interment. Its sepulchral chamber accommodated two coffins encased in one coffin case, and burial objects were placed around the head of the dead, on the northern and western sides of the coffins. What was novel about this tomb was the costume of the dead and the manner of sacrifice. The husband occupied the western coffin, of which only the bottom board was left. He wore a silk gauze hat adorned with jade beads, a wide silk sash over his dress, two rings on fingers of each hand, and around his waist a buckle, a copper seal with tortoise-shaped knob, and a wooden seal with nasal knob, and a knife was laid at his right side, though a sword was missing at his left side. As for his wife, her coffin was adorned with four-leaved gilded copper ornaments on the outer surface. In the coffin, she had her chignon decorated with threaded jade beads, perhaps a hairnet originally, pendant earrings on her ears, a broad sash over her dress, jade bracelets on her arms and silver rings on her fingers. In short, the couple were dressed up in their ritual regalia after death. As for the sacrificial objects at their heads, two lines of ceramic pots over twenty were arranged from east to west, with one lacquered table, eight lacquered plates and eight lacquered cups in between; making a right angle with them on the western side were six more ceramic pots and two bronze vessels, with weapons, horse and chariot equipments and furnitures in the main in the neigh-

borhood. As was the case with the tomb of Wang Kuang, this might be a typical example of sacrificial offerings and everyday necessities buried with the dead<sup>26)</sup>.

In 1935, three brick-chambered tombs and two wooden-chambered tombs were excavated; also made in the same year was the first regular excavation of the ruined city of Lo-lang provincial capital. OBA, UMEHARA, SAWA, TAKUBO and the present author worked on the tombs, while the Lo-lang ruins were excavated by HARADA, Kazuchika KOMAI, Ryōichi TAKI and NOMORI. The tombs will be described first, and the Lo-lang ruins will be discussed in the next chapter.

The three brick tombs had one, two and three chambers respectively, with no fundamental difference from previously excavated tombs in their structure. Also in common among them was the fact that their sepulchral chambers had been disturbed through robbery, the original distribution of coffins and burial objects being obscured. However, judging from the data obtained through previous experiences, the three brick tombs apparently contained, apart from weapons, horse and chariot equipments and furnitures, mainly sacrificial ceramics, lacquer wares and bronzes, of which kinds and combination were almost identical with those of wooden-chambered tombs, though materials and designs of these objects showed considerable varieties, indicating perhaps their chronological discrepancy.

One of the brick tombs studied at that time yielded many painted lacquered ceramics. Although plain lacquered ceramics had been found from the tomb of Wang Kuang, painted ones were first to be unearthed of the kind. From another brick-chambered tomb, fragments of a clay horse with lead and copper bridle on, a miniature catapult, etc., as well as the lacquered ceramics adding new kinds to burial miniatures. Also a coffin in this tomb was found to have iron nails, providing the very first example of their usage. The burial objects included a dragon-shaped bronze water-holder and a lacquered inkstone case, suggesting a possible connection with the Tomb of Painted Basket and at the same time supplying with a new material to the study of the Han stationeries and the fashion of burying them in a tomb.

One of the two wooden-chambered tombs had its chamber divided into two, the eastern and western parts, by a partition in the middle, each section accommodating a coffin. The other did not show too clearly whether or not there had been any coffin case, though location of two coffins at the south-eastern corner was just like in other examples with such a case. In the former, along

26) NOMORI and KAYAMOTO, *Eiwa 9-nen Zaimi Sen Shutsudo Kofun Chōsa Hōkoku* 永和9年在銘埧出土古墳調査報告, Shōwa 7-nendo Koscki Chōsa Hōkoku 昭和7年度古蹟調査報告, Vol I, 1933.

the northern wall were various sacrificial objects, and between the two coffins were weapons, horse and chariot equipments and furnitures. Ceramic pots placed along the eastern coffin appeared to have been added when this coffin was interred later.

The latter tomb had burial objects at the northern and western sides of the coffins, near the head of the dead, but there were only several pieces of sacrificial ceramics and lacquer wares, scarce weapons and furnitures, and lacked horse or chariot equipments<sup>27)</sup>.

Excavations of Lo-lang tombs were brought to an end in this year, and investigation of Kao-chü-li tombs was newly taken up in the following 1936. Accidental findings and emergency investigation occurred from time to time after that year too, and some objects unearthed by accident were of considerable importance, but most of them were handled by professional brokers and went to private collectors, only two or three coming to be known publicly. Investigation of Lo-lang tombs was resumed in 1940 and was continued until 1944, but only photographs, ordnance maps and records were kept without being published as formal reports, until the end of the Pacific War in 1945 after which the Japanese scholars left those materials behind in Korea to return to Japan. Those materials now being unaccessible to us, a description of those later excavations would have to depend heavily on memories of those who were engaged in them. Yet many of those scholars have passed away one after another since 1945, leaving the results of those excavations unknown to the public, except a minor portion. But a full account should be compiled about those excavations from every available source, and the present author fully intends to do so. Here, however, only the investigations up to 1935 have been described; those after that year will be discussed some other time. Listed below are Lo-lang tombs excavated from 1936 and afterwards:

1936	3 brick tombs
1938-1940	1 brick tomb; 2 wooden-chambered tombs
1940	1 brick tomb; 1 wooden-chambered tomb
1941	2 wooden-chambered tombs
1942	2 wooden-chambered tombs
1943	2 brick tombs; 1 wooden-chambered tomb
1944	2 brick tombs; Lo-lang Ruins, twice, in spring and autumn.

As some more tombs were excavated in Hwanghaedo and not included in this list, the number of tombs may be a little more. The present article does not go beyond the investigations of Lo-lang tombs opposite to P'yöngyang across

27) *Koseki Chōsa Gaihō*, Shōwa 10-nendo Rakurō Kofun 昭和10年度樂浪古墳, 1936.

the Taedonggang, with little reference to the tombs of Tai-fang province. This will be amended in a future article.

### III. Date of the Lo-lang Provincial Capital and Chronology of Tombs

The ruins of Lo-lang capital measure about 700 meters from east to west and about 600 meters from north to south, covering an area of about 420,000 square meters. Foot of the mud walls is partly preserved. That once the capital of Lo-lang Province resided at this now-ruined city is confirmed by discovery of tiles bearing the inscriptions “樂浪禮官” and “樂浪富貴”. However, there have been people who doubted whether the capital had always been located here since its establishment. Their suspicion was directed also toward the newly-found sealing clays. Some of them argued that, since there were found clods of clay bearing inprints of the seals of Lo-lang and other provincial officials, the ruins could not be the site of the provincial capital, but must have been a county seat where the letters from the province were received. Others tried to interpret this fact with a theory that those sealing clays were remnants of letters sent to the county office of Ch'ao-hsien which was situated within the same walls. These doubts were cleared at the excavation of this site made twice in 1935, first in April and second in September and October, when eleven sealing clays were collected at several spots, from a layer undisturbed by later robbery or cultivation. At the same time this finding ascertained the existence of the provincial capital at those ruins ever since the Former Han times up until the dissolution of the province. This excavation also revealed several building sites with corner stones, stone or brick gutters and drains, brick-paved lanes, etc. A hill in the middle of the ruins was found to be the site of an office building which had had its roof covered with tiles bearing the inscription “樂浪禮官”. Beside tiles and bricks, also discovered were such Han remains as bronze or ceramic kettles, bronze or iron arrow-heads, earthenwares, etc. This ruined mud-walled city contained also prehistoric remains, and farmers had often unearthed stone implements or potteries by accident. Those prehistoric remains are completely different from those of Han times, and, as it is impossible that they were in use at the capital city of Lo-lang Province, they should be regarded as used by inhabitants much previous to the construction of mud walls. Even before this regular excavation, the ruins had produced a large number of tiles and bricks, as well as many sorts of Han objects, including the sealing clays, coins and their molds and tiles with inscriptions which are known since considerably early times. Among the coins, there are five-*chu* coins 五銖錢 which were in

circulation both in the Former and Latter Han times, *ta-ch'üan-wu-shih* 大泉五十, *huo-ch'üan* 貨泉, *hsiao-ch'üan-chih-i* 小泉直一 of Wang Mang, and half-tael coins 半兩 and their molds. As the half-taels were in use in Lo-lang Province, they cannot be those issued under the reign of Shih-huang-ti of Ch'in, but must be those minted in 136 B.C. at the time of Wu-ti of Han. As for the molds, it is extremely interesting that they existed in this province despite the fact that minting by provinces and kingdoms was forbidden by the Han court in 115 B.C. Needless to say, this ban antedated the establishment of Lo-lang Province by seven years. The date of those half-taels may be ascribed to the time previous to five-*chu*'s coming into circulation in the Former Han times.

There are tiles also bearing inscriptions of "大晉元康". As Ta-chin 大晉 is the Chin Dynasty founded by Ssü-ma Yen 司馬炎, of which Yüan-k'ang 元康 is an era that lasted from 291 to 299 A.D., existence of this kind of tiles confirms continuation of the provincial capital here, those tiles being a part of a building erected during that era. This era is just before the fall of the province in 313, antedating the latter only by fifteen years. The afore-mentioned sealing clays unearthed at the excavation were: 不而左尉, 提溪長印, 樂浪大尹章, 王口私印, 宰印, 謂邯左尉, 莫口, 前莫丞印, 東曠丞印, 遂成左尉, and 昭明丞印. Ryōsaku FUJITA examined 188 sealing clays by the May of 1936, and arrived at the conclusion that all of them were from the Lo-lang Ruins.<sup>28)</sup> Adding those found after his study, by now almost 200 sealing clays must have been known.

As already mentioned, Lo-lang Province had 25 counties during the Former Han and 18 counties during the Latter Han; under the Chin Dynasty, the province, together with Tai-fang, had 13 counties. Of those counties, only sealing clays of the three counties T'un-lieh 吞列, which was called Lo-tu 樂都 under the Latter Han Dynasty, Lieh-k'ou 列口, and Hua-li 華麗 have not been found. What deserves our attention is that, except Hua-li, all the seven counties abandoned by the Latter Han court find their names in those sealing clays; they are: Tung-i 東曠, Pu-nai 不而, Ts'an-t'ai 蠶台, Yeh-t'ou-mei 邪頭昧, Ch'ien-mo 前莫 and Fu-tsu 夫租. Some of them might belong to the time of Wang Mang, not to the Former Han times, as it is sure that those counties continued through the reign of Wang Mang. According to *Han-shu*, Wang chuan, II., in 9 A.D. Wang Mang changed titles of officials, *t'ai-shou* 太守 (governor) of province to *ta-yin* 大尹, *tu-wei* 都尉 (grand commandant) to *t'ai-wei* 太尉, and *ling* 令 (prefect) or *chang* 長 (chief) of county to *tsai* 宰. *Han-shu*, Pai-kuan Kung-ch'ing piao 百官公卿表, I., defines a *ling* as that of a county of more than ten thousand houses, and a *chang* as that of a county of less houses. *Hsü-han-*

28) Ryōsaku FUJITA, Rakurō Fūdei Kō 樂浪封泥攷, and Rakurō Fūdei Zokkō 樂浪封泥續攷, *Chōsen Kōkōgaku Kenkyū*.

*shu* 續漢書, Pai-kuan-chih 百官志, says that a *ling* was installed in a big county, while a small county had only a *chang*. Judging from inprints on the sealing clays, three counties Ch'ao-hsien, Tai-fang and T'un-you were larger counties that had *ling*, and other were lesser counties with *chang*. Some examples of *tsai*, a new appellation given by Wang Mang to these *ling* and *chang*, are found on the sealing clays, including an inprint of the seal of *tsai* of Yeh-t'ou-mei. Seal of *t'ai-shou* of Lo-lang cannot definitely be said to belong to the Former Han times, because the title *ta-yin* under Wang Mang's reign was changed back to *t'ai-shou* in the Latter Han period. As for the seal of *tsai* of Yeh-t'ou-mei, the county did not exist in the Latter Han period, and the title was re-named by Wang Mang. Hence its chronological distance from a seal of *chang* of Yeh-t'ou-mei, the latter unmistakably belonging to the Former Han period. Discovery of such seal of *chang* of Yeh-t'ou-mei demonstrated leaving no room for doubt that the capital of Lo-lang Province existed at this ruined city already under the Former Han Dynasty. Although there might be some people who doubt whether this was the very first location of the provincial capital at the creation of Lo-lang Province in 108 B.C., even they will admit that the capital was here for 420 years up until the fall of the province.

On this premise, we can safely conclude that the Lo-lang tombs centering around this Lo-lang Site also were built first under the Former Han Dynasty. However, although there are several cases in which the tomb can be determined to date back not later than the time of Wang Mang by means of the aforementioned dated lacquer wares, there is only one example of a wooden-chambered tomb which seems to indicate its earliest possible date in the Former Han by producing a lacquered cup with an inscription dated at 43 B.C. As this wooden chambered tomb has a partition in the middle, a structure common among other wooden-chambered tombs dated at the time of Wang Mang as the earliest possible chronological limit, this kind of construction must have been in fashion from the Former Han to Wang Mang's time. Apart from this group of tombs, there are tombs which have coffin case in the sepulchral chamber and also dated at the time of Wang Mang as the earliest possible date. This may mean that, at least from the Former Han to the time of Wang Mang, or in a part of the period, those two kinds of sepulchral chambers were built contemporaneously. On the other hand, those tombs which contain lacquer wares with Latter Han dates are almost without exception built with the outer case for coffins, none having a partition. Perhaps such sepulchral chamber with partition ceased to be built in the Latter Han period. This point should be left for more study in the future.

What serves best in pinpointing the construction date of a tomb is dated bricks. Those found in the general area of Tai-fang Province mostly belong

to the Wei or Chin Dynasties, and only two bear inscriptions dated at 195 and 182 respectively, both falling in the Latter Han period.<sup>29)</sup> They show that brick tombs were built throughout the Latter Han times, but it is still not clear when the first brick tombs were built. Most possibly they do not date so far back as the Former Han period. As mentioned before, tombs with coffin cases often have bricks around their wooden chambers for protection; but wooden-chambered tombs with partition have instead pebbles or slabs, indicating a kind of parallel between chronological order of these two different structures and usage of stones or bricks. Stone-chambered tombs also are to be considered as built during the Latter Han times, because one of those found in the vicinity of the Lo-lang Site had a brick-paved floor in its sepulchral chamber; and in another, coins *five-chu* and *ta-ch'üan-wu-shih* and such vessels as lacquered cups and earthen pots were found, and those vessels, when compared to usual burial objects in a brick tomb, should be regarded to date no later than the Latter Han period.<sup>30)</sup> Needless to say, stone-chambered tombs appeared definitely after brick-tombs did, since the former is modeled after the latter, by opening an entrance in the side wall and by building the walls with bonded hewn stones. Though a more detailed chronology is to be completed by future investigations and researches, it is already clear that the wooden-chambered tombs and brick tombs were being built side by side during the Latter Han period, as, for example, the Tomb of Painted Basket is a wooden chambered tomb with a side entrance. Since the last part of the Latter Han to the Wei Dynasty period, the wooden-chambered tombs were gradually replaced by brick or stone-chambered tombs, judging from a marked increase in number of dated bricks and brick tombs. The reason for this transition was perhaps bricks were more easily obtained locally than timbers, for one. Also use of bricks undoubtedly facilitated construction of side entrance to the chamber. What helped local supply of bricks may have been the tremendous cost of transporting timbers from China; also connected with this was the vanishing custom of luxuriously providing for the dead, spurred by turbulent political situation toward the end of Latter Han period.

There is another type of tombs different from those discussed above. It is designed for one person as a rule. A pit of corresponding size is dug up, and a coffin is placed in it, perhaps directly or, if not, in a simple chamber made of timbers or on a wooden board at the bottom of the pit; sometimes a simple chamber is built with stones in the pit. In the pit, burial objects are placed at the head of the dead, and include bronze halberd, sword, dagger-ax, sometimes

29) NOMORI and KAYAMOTO, *Eiwa 9-nen Zaimai Sen Shutsudo Kofun Chōsa Hōkoku*, Shōwa 7-nendo Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku, Vol. I., 1933.

30) OBA and KAYAMOTO, *The Tomb of Wang Kuang of Lo-lang*.



of iron, bronze horse and chariot equipments with iron bit, small earthen pot and urn as a set; two-knobbed mirror with patterns in sharp lines is seldom included. Some scholars ascribe their date to the Wei Dynasty period of Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom, on basis of existence of those bronze weapons, some of which show a style previous to the Ch'in and Han Empires, for example the dagger-ax. Their argument has no solid foundation. There has been a case in which even a five-*chu* coin showing a horizontal line in relief above the square perforation in its center was found together with those bronze weapons. As such coin was minted allegedly during the era of Shên-chüeh 神爵 which lasted from 61 to 58 B.C., this kind of tombs should not be placed before this period, and consequently they must have been built after the establishment of Lo-lang Province. This leads to a conclusion that bronze weapons, accompanied by bronze horse and chariot equipments, existed as late as in the first century B.C. If one is to suppose that those bronzes were in use in the time of Wei Dynasty Ch'ao-hsien and continued even after the establishment of the province, he should prove somehow not only their existence in the Ch'ao-hsien period but also their continuation under the Han rule. This will make an interesting problem to be solved in the future.

There are, however, examples of bronze weapons buried in a wooden-chambered tomb with partition; moreover, iron weapons, e. g. long swords, halberds, spears, axes, etc., found in such a wooden-chambered tomb often accompany bronze weapons associated with horse and chariot equipments, indicating contemporary and sequential existence of the two kinds of wooden-chambered tombs. Yet there has never been a case in which bronze equipments for horse and chariot, usually accompanied by bronze weapons, alone were found in a tomb having wooden chamber with partition. Some common features may be pointed out between the two groups of bronze horse and chariot equipments from the two types of tombs, particularly in the shaft, ribs and metal ornaments at the tips of ribs of a parasol, existence of nave caps and bits is also in common among the two kinds, though they are different in style. Metal ornaments for chariot yoke and small bronze bells, often found in a wooden-chambered tomb, have never been collected from those with partition. This difference in burial objects, as well as that of types or structures of the sepulchral chamber, must mean a chronological difference between the two groups of tombs.

Bronze weapons such as halberds, swords and dagger-axes, and small bronze bells and two-knobbed mirrors with patterns in sharp lines have been found also in southern part of Korea and northern part of Kyushu, forming a zone of distribution connecting West Korea, South Korea and Northern Kyushu. This zone may imply a past relation among the three regions. When looking back at the history of Lo-lang Province as discussed in the first chapter of this

article, one finds two instances that might explain this zone; one is the provinces Chên-fan and Lin-t'un abolished in 5 A. D. and their intercourse with these regions; another is the embassy from the king of Nu 奴 Kingdom of Wo (Japan) which reached the Han court by way of Lo-lang and paid tribute to the Chinese emperor in 57, and the Japanese intercourse with Lo-lang as symbolized in the famous golden seal with the inscription of “漢委奴國王”, found in Northern Kyushu and identified as the very seal given to the Japanese embassy upon that incident. If the bronze weapons and tombs containing them are to be assigned to the time of Wei Dynasty Ch'ao-hsien, the conclusion will be either that there was intercourse among the three regions as early as at the beginning of the second century B. C., or that an exodus of refugees occurred upon the fall of the Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom. Concerning this problem, an interesting material is presented by the objects found in urn-coffins from Mikumo and Suku, both in Fukuoka Prefecture of Northern Kyushu.

They include, beside bronze weapons of the same kind as described above, more than thirty mirrors of the Battling States and Former Han periods and a *pi* jade, together with comma-shaped and pipe-shaped beads to show the local color. It deserves our attention that most of the mirrors belong to the Former Han period, as well as the existence of the jade ring. Only two or three mirrors of the Battling States period have been found from the Lo-lang tombs so far, one of them being accompanied by horse and chariot equipments associated with bronze weapons. In view of the fact that the commonest kinds among the mirrors found from the Lo-lang tombs are the one with introverted flower patterns and the one with T-L-V patterns in sharp lines and images of the four mythical animals, the latter being ascribed to the time of Wang Mang, the mirrors of Mikumo and Suku appear to belong to an age earlier than that of the Lo-lang tombs. As for the *pi* jade there have been only two examples so far found from the Lo-lang tombs, one of which had a partition in its wooden chamber where lacquer wares with Wang Mang's reign title were collected, and is interpreted as to be the tomb of a provincial governor class person. *Pi* jades of Mikumo and Suku also could be gifts to the dead suited to their status in lifetime. Above all, nobleness of their status is manifestly demonstrated by the over thirty mirrors in their possession. It is rather impossible to identify these mirrors or the *pi* jade to be gifts from the king of Wei Dynasty Ch'ao-hsien, because the Kingdom was overthrown at a considerably early date; but they seem to antedate the mirrors of Wang Mang period found in the Lo-lang district. Considering these points, one may assume that the tombs of Mikumo and Suku were built sometime during a period between the establishment of Lo-lang Province in the last part of the second century B. C. and the reign of Wang Mang in the first part of the first century A. D. As Northern Kyushu

is remote from China, there might be some time lag.

Coming up to this point, our attention is drawn to the fact that Suku is in the general area of Na-no-agata in Japanese classics corresponding to the Nu Kingdom described in Wo-jên chuan of *San-kuo-chih* and *Hou-han-shu*, and Mikumo is the classical Ito-no-agata corresponding to I-tu 伊都 Kingdom of Wo-jên chuan. And the above-mentioned abundant burial objects of Suku and Mikumo must be showing at least the existence, around the first century B.C. just before their date, of powerful persons who enjoyed such a high status as to receive those *pi* jades and mirrors as gifts from the Han emperor through the hands of Lo-lang officials and retain them. Therefore the 57 embassy was by no means the first time when such intercourse between the Han court and Japanese natives took place, and the existence of the golden seal of the King of Nu was not by a sheer accident. Among the bronze weapons discovered in Northern Kyushu, the dagger-axes lack the upright part for hafting, a feature of the kind of the Ch'in and Han times, and are to be considered to belong to an earlier period. The bronze swords and halberds associated with them seldom have their counterparts in China; but the bronze swords found in Battling-State tombs in North China<sup>31)</sup> belong to the same group with the bronze weapons from Northern Kyushu. From this reason, those weapons may be ascribed to a date as early as the Wei Dynasty period of the Ch'ao-hsien Kingdom. Leaving this possibility as a problem for the future researches, here the remains are identified as to be of the Early Lo-lang Period.

History and results of the investigations and researches on Lo-lang tombs made by Japanese scholars have been described in this article, with occasional comments on some problematic points. However, here stated is by no means the whole picture of the high level of the Japanese scholarship. On the Lo-lang Province itself, or on its influence upon neighboring natives, more and deeper researches are still necessary, as obvious to the readers. Let us say, the most important merit of the studies of Lo-lang tombs by the Japanese scholars was that they laid a cornerstone for further researches by providing those materials.

March 8, 1962

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31) Although the general style is a little different, the hilt is formed in a similar style. They are the so-called Manchurian style bronze swords.