

A Study on Lo-lang and Tai-fang, Ancient Chinese prefectures in Korean Peninsula.

By

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The outlying dominion the Middle Kingdom boasted in Manchuria and the Korean peninsula varied in extent from period to period. During the four centuries from the reign of the Former Han emperor Wu-ti (140-74 B. C.) to the end of the Three Kingdom age (A. D. 265), at any rate, it may be generally stated that the greater and seaward portion of South Manchuria and the northern half of the peninsula were subject to Chinese government and occupied by a population in which the Chinese race predominated. Roughly describing the outlines of this area, it was, in Manchuria, bounded on the north by the countries of various Manchurian tribes, who were, naming them from west to east, the Fu-yü 扶餘 with their main home near the present A-lê-ch'u-ko 阿勒楚喀; the I-lou 挹婁 whose tribal centre was in the modern district of Ninguta; and the Kao-chü-li 高句麗 who had their capital in the Yalu basin and whose sphere of influence often conflicted in considerable measure with that of China. In the peninsula, the Chinese colonies were neighbored on the south by various indigenous tribes whose generic name was Han 韓, on the east by another wild race by the name of Wei 濊, and on the northeast by still another called Wu-chü 沃沮. All its series of outlying territories the Middle Kingdom governed by the administrative system of Chün and Hsien 郡縣, *e. i.*, prefectures and localities as their subordinate units, on a similar line to that of China proper. This state of things dated from 108 B. C., when Wu-ti conquered over from the House of Wei 衛, of earlier Chinese origin, their inherited monarchy Chao-hsien 朝鮮, which extended southeast from the eastern frontier of Liao-tung Prefecture, as was called the Chinese estate

already existing in the southwestern corner of Manchuria, far into the limits of the peninsula; and to establish Chinese rule over this new acquisition, inaugurated the four prefectures—Chên-fan 眞番, Lo-lang 樂浪, Lin-tun 臨屯, and Hsüan-t'u 玄菟. The first was in Manchuria just beyond the jurisdiction of Liao-tung; and the second embraced the Korean country from the Ya-lu to the Kan Ko 漢江, towards the Yellow Sea. while to the third and fourth were assigned respectively the regions lying southeast and northeast of Lo-lang, both bordering on the Japan Sea. This scheme saw a change, however, in the time of Wu-ti's successor Chao-ti 昭帝 (86-74 B. C.), when the three peninsular prefectures were unified into a greater Lo-lang; while the name Hsüan-t'u formerly proper to one of them was reassigned to a section of Liao-tung Prefecture which was now marked off to form a new prefecture bearing that name, the former Manchurian prefecture Chên-fan being abolished at the same time, which no doubt meant its total abandonment to the Kao-chü-li rule rising in that area. This administrative reorganization forms by itself a subject of historical study, and I hope to publish at a later opportunity the results of my own endeavours in that respect, but the object of the present essay is to deal with a subsequent development in the rule of Korean peninsula, namely, the creation of Tai-fang 帶方 Prefecture toward the close of the Later Han dynasty, and to take a glance at the same time at one aspect of the pair of peninsular prefectures thus brought about, Lo-lang and Tai-fang, as they were in the days of the Three Kingdoms.

I

The Establishment of Tai-fang Prefecture by the Kung-sun House

During the epoch of general disruption and struggle which heralded the fall of the Han dynasty, the district of Liao-tung was appropriated by Kung-sun Tu 公孫度, formerly governor thereof appointed by the Han court, but now virtually absolute master of the territory. On his death

in A. D. 204 (the 9th year of *Chien-an* 建安 of Hsien-ti 獻帝 of the Later Han dynasty), this family domain of Liao-tung passed to his son K'ang 康, who more than maintained his legacy. He waged war against the Kao-chü-li, the formidable neighbours on his east, from whom his country had suffered many a raid; burned their capital then situated in the basin of the Fu-liu-shui Stream 沸流水 (*i. e.*, the modern Tung-chia-chiang 佟佳江); and aggravating the domestic strife in which these people were involved by aiding in opposition to their king I-i-mu 伊夷模 his elder brother and rival claimant to the throne, Pa-ch'i 拔奇, at last compelled the king to remove his capital southward to Wan-tu 丸都 (*i. e.*, the present T'ung-kou 通溝) on the Yalu River.¹⁾ K'ang having thus succeeded in dealing a heavy blow to his powerful foes and crushing their national ambitions, proceeded to use his force farther east in Korea, conquering and annexing the Chinese Lo-lang prefecture, then fallen into miserable dilapidation. This last-mentioned feat of his is not explicitly shown in any chronicles, but nevertheless is unmistakably implied by the following passage of the account of the Korean Hans, given in the Wei dynastic history, *Wei-chih* 魏志:

“Toward the close of the Huan [-ti]-Ling [-ti] period, the Han 韓 and Wei 濊 tribes became so strong and dominant that, the *chün* and *hsien* being unable to restrain them, the people flowed numerously into the country of the Hans. During the era of *Chien-an*, Kung-sun K'ang detached the wasted area south of T'un-yu 屯有 District so as to form by itself Tai-fang Prefecture, while he sent to the scene Kung-sun Mu 公孫模, Chang Ch'ang 張敞, etc., to gather the remnant people and raise an army to beat the Han and Wei; whereupon the former inhabitants made their appearance by degrees. After this, the Wo 倭 [the Japanese] and Han became finally subject to Tai-fang.” 桓, 靈之末, 韓, 濊彊盛, 郡縣不能制, 民多流入韓國。建安中, 公孫康分屯有縣以南荒地, 爲帶方郡。遣公孫模, 張敞等, 收集遺民, 興兵伐韓, 濊, 舊民稍出。是後, 倭, 韓遂屬帶方。²⁾

The date opening the passage referred to the last years of the reign

1) *Wei-chih*, ch. 30, *Kao-chü-li-chuan*.

2) *Ibid.*, ch. 30, *Han-chuan*.

of Ling-ti 靈帝 (till the 6th year of *Chung-p'ing* 中平, or A. D. 189), corresponding to the time that Kung-sun Tū was beginning his dominating career in Liao-tung. The contemporaneous prevalence of the Han and Wei on the southern and southeastern borders of Lo-lang Prefecture was of course owing to the fact that the central power of China was too much weakened by warlike disputes at home to make itself felt in the peninsula; the *chün* and *hsien* which proved incompetent to control the situation being none other than Lo-lang and its local administrations. This Lo-lang had been the sole Chinese prefecture in the peninsula since the annexation thereto of Lin-t'un and Hsüan-t'u Prefectures in the time of Chao-ti of the Former Han (the 6th year of *Yüan-fêng* 元鳳, *e. i.*, 75 B. C.) Its jurisdiction covered at first as many as 25 districts, but in the Later Han period, 18 of them, which were: Chao-hsien 朝鮮, Tan-han 謁邯, Mai-shui 淇水, Han-tzū 含資, Nien-ch'an 占蟬 (黏蟬), Sui-ch'êng 遂城 (遂成), Tsêng-ti 增地, Tai-fang 帶方, Ssü-wang 駟望, Hai-ming 海冥, Lieh-k'ou 列口, Chang-tsên 長岑, T'un-yu 屯有, Chao-ming 昭明, Lou-fang 饒方, T'i-hsi 提爰, Hun-mi 渾彌, and Lo-tu 樂都. This reduction in number was due to the abandoning by Kuan-wu-ti at the beginning of the Later Han regime of the seven districts, Wu-chü etc., in the eastern quarter of Lo-lang,—a group known in history as "the seven districts of the East of the Mountains" 領東七縣, whose area included part of the habitation of the Wei and Wu-chü.¹⁾ Towards the end of the dynastic period, however, as the prefecture fell into the hands of Kung-sun K'ang, it received another contraction; for he segregated that portion thereof lying south of T'un-yu district so that it might constitute by itself a new prefecture under the name of Tai-fang. This measure, together with his military subjugation of the Han and Wei neighbours, went to secure solidity and efficiency for the *chün* and *hsien* administration in the peninsula. And the alleged region south of T'un-yu which thus passed from the jurisdiction of Lo-lang to that of Tai-fang Prefecture comprised six out of the above-named eighteen districts of Lo-lang, namely: Han-tzū, Tai-fang, Hai-ming,

1) The history of Lo-lang Prefecture deserves a fuller account, which I intend to present at another opportunity.

Lieh-k'ou, Chang-tsên, and T'i-hsi; and another named Nan-hsin 南新, of which there is no knowing whether it was one newly established or previously existing but renamed on that occasion. The seat of the new prefectural government was, of course, in Tai-fang District (near the modern Seoul), which gave its own name to the prefecture.¹⁾ Geographically, the prefecture was separated on the north from Lo-lang Prefecture in all probability by the chain of the Ji-hi-rei 慈悲嶺 Mountains, which marks the southern limit of the Dai-do-ko 大同江 basin; and in consequence we may broadly assume that the T'un-yu district, which ought to have lain southernmost in the Lo-lang Prefecture so narrowed, was somewhere about the present Ko-shu 黃州 in Ko-kai Do 黃海道.

What calls for attention now is the statement as to the situation in the quarter concerned just before the establishment of Tai-fang Prefecture. "The wasted area" must refer to the aspect of the country lying in devastation from the predatory raids of the Han and Wei neighbours. Does this phrase mean that the land had become simply desolate, deserted by the Chinese population, and not settled in by the barbaric invaders? We seem to have an affirmative answer to this in that previous passage saying: "The people *flowed* numerously *into* the country of the Hans." This sentence, taken together with its context and viewed literally, will give the impression that the increasing power and prosperity of the Han and Wei neighbours on one hand and the incompetence and unreliability of the Lo-lang government on the other caused the Chinese inhabitants of that particular area to drift into the Han regions, thus leaving their homeland to decay and ruin. But there is a different view to be taken of the question. Since the wild neighbours grew dominant and the prefectural authority was unequal to restrain them, it is more natural to infer that the forayers did not only occasionally come and ravage the country, but also positively occupied it to some extent, than to imagine that their rising influence drew the Chinese population into their own land. I should think the phrase "flowed into etc," was an unhappy expression in this case, and that the real intention was to convey an idea of how the region was

1) *Chin-shu*, ch. 14, Ti-li-chih.

abandoned to the unrestrained raids and settlements by the wild tribes, until the Chinese population was absorbed or lost sight of in that extension of the barbaric world. And such must have been more decidedly the case in the southern half of Lo-lang, which was at closer quarters with the tribal abodes. So we may be satisfied that "the wasted area south of T'un-yu district" did not necessarily imply depopulation, but merely signified the wretched, anarchic condition into which the country was thrown by the barbaric invasion. And this consideration will make it easy to account for the passage that follows. Concurrently with the creation of the new prefecture of Tai-fang, several generals despatched from Liao-tung came to the spot. "They gathered the remnant people, and raised an army to beat the Han and Wei;" and as a result "the former inhabitants made gradual appearance." The invaders were driven back to their own homes, and the former Chinese population restored, perhaps some being belivered from captivity, and so on,—in short, general rehabilitation of the country which had been lost for a while.

These observations enable us to form a clear idea of the circumstances in which the establishment of Tai-fang Prefecture took place. Kung-sun K'ang, eager to clinch his peninsular possessions, found it necessary to safeguard the southern half of Lo-lang from the invasion of the Han and Wei, and yet, in order to hold them effectively in restraint, the seat of the prefectural government (being at the modern Hei-jo) lay at an inconvenient distance, or too far away northward, from the border area in question; and apart from that, it was evident that the present control by a single prefecture was, at any rate, inadequate. Hence the organization of another prefecture by raising Tai-fang district to that status and subordinating to its jurisdiction some half dozen districts detached from that of Lo-lang, this all out of the necessity of supplying the former deficiency in the political and strategic scheme.

There remains to be explained that closing part of the quotation from the *Han-chuan* which alludes to the subjection to Tai-fang of the Wo and Han tribes; but we shall at once proceed to the next section of our study, where a better opportunity will be taken to deal with that question.

II

Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures in the Three Kingdom Age

Kung-sun K'ang, who established Tai-fang Prefecture, had died by A. D. 222, and been succeeded by his younger brother Kung 恭, who was elected ruler of Liao-tung by the people. This succession was promoted by the circumstance of the youth of the predecessor's own sons, but Kung himself was a weakly person, and proving unequal to the task of government, was finally obliged to retire in favour of his nephew Yüan 淵 in 228 (2nd year of *Tai-ho* 太和 of Ming-ti 明帝 of the Wei dynasty).¹⁾ By that time the Middle Kingdom had passed out of the throes of disruption into the world of the Three Rival Kingdoms, Wei, Wu, and Shu, each jealously aspiring to imperial supremacy. The king of Wu, Sun Ch'üan 孫權, sought to make friends with the Kung-sun House with an eye to its aid from the outside; and therefore, on his own proclamation as Emperor in 229 (1st year of *Huang-ch'ü* 黃初 of his own dynasty, or 3rd year of *T'ai-ho* of the Wei), he sent to Liao-tung an embassy, which reached there by sea; and again another in 232 (1st year of *Chia-ho* 嘉禾 of the Wu, or the 6th year of *T'ai-ho* of the Wei). Kung-sun Yüan returned the second compliment by despatching his own envoys. Encouraged by this, the Wu king sent another mission to Liao-tung, carrying even richer gifts than ever. The party, headed by Chang Mi 張彌 and Hsü Yen 許晏, arrived at the capital of Liao-tung, Siang-p'ing 襄平 (i. e. the modern Liao-yang), when Yüan seized them all, about 400 persons, and took them into custody in several districts within Liao-tung Prefecture and also in Hsüan-t'ü Prefecture (whose seat of government was near the modern Mukden); and what was worse, he cut off the heads of the most prominent members of the embassy, Chang, Hsü, etc., and made a present of them to the Wei court.²⁾ So completely did he defeat Sun Ch'üan's purpose, which was to make him oppose the Wei dynasty

1) *Wei-chih*, ch. 8, Biography of Kung-sun Tu.

2) *Wu-chih*, ch. 2, Biography of Sun Ch'üan; *ibid.*, *Wu-shu* 吳書 text quoted in the account under the 2nd year of *Chia-ho*.

in his own favour. Rather than ally with the distant Wu monarch, he would shake hands with the nearer and more ascendant Wei neighbour, and in return for this advance of his, he obtained from the latter court an appointment and title of Duke of Lo-lang 樂浪公. But the Wei did not long acquiesce in letting live an independent power in Liao-tung, lying right in the way of their eastward expansion. In 237 (1st year of *Ching-ch'ü* 景初), the Wei court ordered the Magistrate of Yu-chou Province 幽州刺史, Kuan-chiu Chien 毋丘儉, etc. to lead and post a large army at the southern frontier of Liao-tung, requesting the surrender of Kung-sun Yüan by the Imperial writ of Ming-ti. Instead of humiliating himself, Yüan gave battle to the Wei legion at Liao-sui 遼隧 district near the estuary of the T'ai-tzü-ho River 太子河, and having succeeded in defeating and compelling the enemy to retreat, he proclaimed himself king, assuming the title Yen-wang 燕王. This led to the despatch of a punitive expedition by the Wei dynasty in the next year, (2nd year of *Ching-ch'ü* 238 A.D.). A colossal army commanded by the grand marshal Ssü-ma I 司馬懿 himself besieged Yüan at Siang p'ing, smashed his force, and at once put the Kung-sun House out of existence.¹⁾

With this military success, the Wei came into possession of both Liao-tung and the former Kung-sun territories in the Korean peninsula. So, we read in the Annals of Ming-ti in the *Wei-chih*, under the 8th month of that year, "The prefectures to the east of the sea became subject to the rule;" 海東諸郡平;²⁾ and also in the Biography of Kung-sun Tu in the same history, "Liao-tung, Tai-fang, Lo-lang, and Hsüan-t'u all came under the rule." 遼東, 帶方, 樂浪, 玄菟悉平.³⁾ The last-named chapter of the *Wei-chih* stresses the activities of the dynastic expedition in Liao-tung, without mentioning any operation as having been taken toward Lo-lang and Tai-fang. But it is the *Tung-i-chuan* 東夷傳, or the account of the eastern barbarians, in the chronicles that shows this in its foreword: "During *Ching-ch'ü*, a great expeditionary force was

1) *Wei-chih*, ch. 3, Annals of Ming-ti; *ibid.*, ch. 8, Biography of Kung-sun Tu.

2) *Wei-chih*, ch. 3.

3) *Wei-chih*, ch. 8.

despatched to crush and execute Yüan; while another army was secretly sent out by sea in order to win Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures.” 景初中，大興師旅，誅淵。又潛軍浮海，收樂浪，帶方之郡。¹⁾ From this it is clear that the Korean possessions were taken over by means of a separate expedition, which reached the field, entirely by the sea route.

Accordingly, we find that in the account of Korean affairs in the *Han-chuan*, the formerly quoted passage relating to the establishment of Tai-fang is continued as follows:

“During *Ching-ch'u*, Ming-ti, despatched in secrecy the Governor of Tai-fang, Liu Chi 劉昕 and the Governor of Lo-lang, Hsien-yü Ssü 鮮于嗣, to cross the sea and set up rule over the two prefectures. The Chên-chih 臣智 [chiefs]²⁾ of the several Han tribes were invested with the title and seal of *I-chün* 邑君 [Community Lord]³⁾, or that of *I-chang* 邑長 [Community Head] for the next grade. The people liked to wear *tsé* 幘 [caps];⁴⁾ and when the lower classes came to the prefecture for official audience, they were provided with *tsé*, which they put on themselves. Thus there were above one thousand persons who were granted those honourable distinctions and *tsé* caps. Now, Secretary to the provincial governor, Wu Lin 吳林, in consideration of the fact that Lo-lang had formerly governed the Han tribes, detached eight communities of the Ch'ên-han tribe to be ceded to Lo-lang. There were, however, many discrepancies between the officials and the interpreters, and consequently the Chên-chih stirred up the Hans into anger, until they made an attack on ch'i-li Ying 崎離營 in Tai-fang Prefecture. Thereupon, the Governor [of Tai-fang] Kung Tsun 弓遵 and the Governor of Lo-lang, Liu Mao 劉茂, raised and led an army to beat them. Tsun

1) Ch. 30, *Tung-i-chuan*.

2) The *Han-chuan*, in the article on the Ma-han 馬韓 tribe, says; “There is to each (community) a chief, the most important of such calling themselves Chên-chih 臣智, and those next below *I-chieh* 邑借.

3) *Ibid.* “The titular designations conferred on them are 魏率善邑君, 歸義侯, 中郎將, 都尉, and 伯長.

4) *Tsé* was a headgear worn by low-grade officials; the later Han author 'Ts'aii 蔡邕, in his *Tu-tuan* 獨斷, saying: *Tsé* is what was worn of old by officials in humble positions not entitled to wear crowns.” 幘者, 古之卑賤執事不冠者之所服也.

fell in battle, but, in fine, the two prefectures extinguished the Hans.”景初中，明帝密遣帶方太守劉昕，樂浪太守鮮于嗣，越海定二郡。諸韓國臣智，加賜邑君印綬，其次與邑長。其俗好衣幘；下戶詣郡朝謁，皆假衣幘。自服印綬衣幘千有餘人。部從事吳林，以樂浪本統韓國，分割辰韓八國，以與樂浪。吏譯轉有異同，臣智激韓忿，攻帶方郡崎離營。時[帶方]太守弓邈，樂浪太守劉茂，興兵伐之。邈戰死，二郡遂滅韓。

Very evidently, the opening sentence refers to the same fact of the Korean conquest found mentioned in the foreword to the *Tung-i chuan*. The two Governors of Prefectures, whose personal names occur in this case, must have been men appointed as such and at the same instant placed in command of the overseas expedition, not that they had previously been governors of these prefectures, as it might seem at first sight of the text. At any rate, in their names are represented at once those generals who conquered the peninsular territories for the dynasty.

Before going any further in our comment on the quotation under review, it will be well to turn our eyes to the sentence which directly precedes it in the *Han-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, to wit, what was left unexplained in the previous chapter: “The Wo and Han finally became subject to Tai-fang.” Plainly enough, this statement was given in antithesis to a preceding passage in the same *Han-chuan*, saying, “In the times of the Han dynasty, they [the Hans] were subject to Lo-lang, coming to pay court from season to season.” [韓]漢時，屬樂浪郡，四時朝謁。In connection with the former Han period, we may read in the *Ti-li-chih* of the *Han-shu*, in the article on Yen 燕: “In the seas of Lo-lang there are the Wo-jên 倭人 [Japanese], who are divided into over a hundred communities. It is said they come to pay courts and offer presents at seasonal periods.”樂浪海中有倭人，分爲百餘國，以歲時來獻見云。¹⁾ It is an admitted probability that the ancient inhabitants of the Kyushu district of Japan had frequent access to the Middle Kingdom as early as the former Han times. They are located in the above statement “in the seas of Lo-lang,” and this may be taken as the intimation that their intercourse with China was carried out in the jurisdic-

1) *Han-shu*, ch. 28, b.

tion, or through the medium, of that prefecture. In all probability, Lo-lang functioned as an intermediary to control the matters of formal obeisance of the Japanese to the Han court. I think this analogy applies to the case of the Korean Hans, and to the later Han period as well; and we have even positive evidence of that in the *Han-chuan* of the *Hou-han-shu*, in this passage relating to the 20th year of *Chien-wu* 建武 (A. D. 44): "The Han men, that is, men of Lien-ssü 廉斯, Su-ma-shih 蘇馬謚 etc., came to Lo-lang to offer presents. Kuang-wu-ti granted Su-ma-shih the title of Community Lord of Lien-ssü, of the Han [dynasty], making those people adhere to Lo-lang Prefecture. They came for official audience every season." 建武二十年, 韓人廉斯人蘇馬謚等, 詣樂浪貢獻. 光武封蘇馬謚, 爲漢廉斯邑君, 使屬樂浪郡, 四時朝謁.¹⁾ Lien ssü was the name of a community belonging to the Ch'en-han 辰韓 tribe, as shown by the *Wei-liao* 魏略 text quoted in the notes to the *Han-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*. On the other hand, there is this natural inference that the Korean Hans must have paid obeisance even more frequently than the Wo people; and all these considerations sufficiently account for that *Wei-chih* statement, "In the times of the Han dynasty, the Hans were subject to Lo-lang, coming and paying court from season to season." Analogy of another prefecture as against another tribe will help us form an idea of what Lo-lang Prefecture had to do with the Korean Hans in the Han period. The account of the Kao-chü-li in the *Wei-chih* has: "In the Han times, the court bestowed on them [the Kao-chü-li, or rather their king an entertainment by] a musical band and athletics performances.²⁾ The custom was that they regularly received ceremonial costumes and *tsê* caps from Hsüan-t'u Prefecture,³⁾ the Kao-chü-li king himself being placed in

1) *Hou-han-shu*, ch. 8.

2) From the original wording it might seem as if the emperor designed to send such performers of entertainment to the court of the king, but this literal interpretation will be properly adjusted by analogy of what is said in the same history about the king of the Fu-yü, neighbours of the Kao-chü-li: "In the 1st year of *Yung-ho* of Shun-ti (136), their king came to the metropolis to make obeisance, when the Emperor caused the Board of Court Affairs 黃門 to give musical and wrestling performances (in his honour), and then send him off." (*Hou-han-shu*, ch. 115, Fu-yü-chuan)

3) The seat of government of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture was then situated near the later

charge of the list of the recipients. Later on, they became less obedient and more proud, and would no longer present themselves to the prefecture.¹⁾ So the authority built a small fort [or repository] on the eastern frontier [of the prefectural area], and deposited therein the customary dresses and *tsé* caps, so that the Kao chü-li might seasonally come and take them away. Nowadays the Hu 胡 [i. e. Kao-chü-li] call the fort Tsê-kou-lu 幘溝瀆, and 'kou-lu' is a Kao-chü-li word denoting a fort." 漢時, 賜鼓吹技人. 常從玄菟郡, 受朝服衣幘, 高句麗令主其名籍. 後稍驕恣, 不復詣郡. 於東界築小城, 置朝服衣幘其中; 歲時來取之. 今胡, 猶名此城爲幘溝瀆, 溝瀆者, 句麗名城也.²⁾ It is beyond doubt that in the Han period, just as Hsüan-t'u Prefecture in Liao-tung made it its business to look after the formalities of submission being performed by the Kao-chü-li tribe, so did Lo-lang play a similar rôle towards the Hans of Korea.]

But now the history goes on to say, "The Wo and Han finally became subject to Tai-fang," a consequence of the establishment of Tai-fang Prefecture, and this must imply that the old function of Lo-lang of maintaining those tribes in regular observance of obeisance was transferred to the new prefecture; and this, of course, for geographical reason.

After these observations, let us resume the *Han-chuan* text at the point where we left it, and see in the next passage beginning with "Chên-chih of the several Han tribes were invested etc.," what was done with the native tribes after the two prefectures fell under the Wei dominion. It is obvious that the Hans were, now as before, attached to the jurisdiction of Tai-fang, and so the alleged conferring of titles

Hsing-ching 興京 on the upper stream of the Hun-ho 渾河 River, such being the case from the time of the first shift of jurisdiction of the prefecture in the former Han to the middle of the later Han period, when it was removed to the vicinity of the modern Mukden on account of the increasing influence of the Kao-chü-li king, Kung 宮.

1) No doubt this referred to the period after the withdrawal of the prefectural centre to the neighbourhood of the modern Mukden.

2) "Such and Such *Khor* 忽" are placenames often met in the history of the Kao-chü-li. *Khor* meant castle or fort, and thus was the original term for the transcription *Kou-lu*.

honor and office on the chiefs and the granting of *tsé* caps to the common people may be well ascribed to that particular prefecture, while "the prefecture" to which "the lower classes came for official audience" must have been that of Tai-fang too. In a word, in the beginning of the Wei rule in Korea, the transaction of administrative or diplomatic business with the Han was monopolized by Tai-fang, no less than it had been in the Kung-sun days. But now we notice a change on record. It appears that the Han subjects, hitherto all in the charge of Tai-fang, were divided into two sections, and one was reassigned to the Lo-lang authority. The Provincial secretary named Wu-lin is shown as having been responsible for the measure, and the fact was that eight communities of the Ch'ên-han tribe were set apart to belong to Lo-lang, in deference to the old Han system under which Lo-lang had been the sole agent in dealing with the Hans. It may be noted the Ch'ên-han was one of the three broad sections of the Han race, containing within itself 12 communities at that time, and the counting off of eight of them for Lo-lang must have left four in the hands of Tai-fang. The other sections of the race were Ma-han 馬韓 and Pien-han 弁韓, which contained 54 and 12 communities respectively. Seeing that those communities are specifically named in the Wei chronicles, as well as those of the Ch'ên-han, we may easily suppose that their chiefs were accustomed to pay court to Tai-fang, like the Ch'ên-han representatives.¹⁾ Only, we have no data available for judging to

1) The *Han-chuan*, in the closing part of the article on the Ch'ên-han, says: "At first there were 6 communities, which gradually branched out into 12 communities," 始有六國, 稍分為十二國 and then the article on the Pien-ch'ên (*i. e.*, Pien-han), "The Pien-ch'ên also has 12 communities," 弁辰亦十二國; while later in the same account are individually specified the names of "24 communities, of both the Ch'ên-han and Pien-han together;" (but actually 25 names are given, even eliminating the duplications contained). In this list of community names, however, there is no grouping by the Ch'ên-han and Pien-han tribes, those labeled with one tribe name being entirely mixed up with those of the other. Perhaps there happened to be some official register in which those communities as observers of formal obeisance were recorded in such order, and the chronicler simply followed it. Again, the history, towards the end of the said article on the Pien-ch'ên, says, "The Pien-ch'ên live intermixedly with the Ch'ên-han," and we may well suspect that this was an arbitrary assumption on the part of the author, (YÜ HUAN 魚豢 as the editor of the *Wei-liu*, or CH'ÊN SHOU 陳壽 as that of the *Wei-chih*), under the impression that the order in which those community names were enlisted represented the actual distribution of the communities.

what extent, if at all, they were involved in the administrative change in question.

The next textual point to attract our attention is the mention of the revolt. "There were many discrepancies between the officials and the interpreters, and consequently the chiefs stirred up the Hans into anger," says the passage. This will mean that the authorities attempted to make the people understand the meaning of the change through interpreters, but failed on account of unsatisfactory interpretation, thus ending in fermenting the multitudes. How the news of the reform was taken into the vernacular mind, or what particular misunderstanding caused the trouble is of course beyond conjecture; but at any rate, popular feeling against some supposed wrong must have prevailed. The scene of assault, named Ch'i-li-Ying, is not to be identified, but it is nevertheless evident that the rising was of considerable dimensions, seeing that it called for the governors of both prefectures to lead their armies to fight, even costing one of them his own life. This account is concluded as, "The two prefectures finally extinguished the Hans." So the prefectural force eventually succeeded in putting down the rebels, and yet the extinguishing of them, as declared, is too sweeping a statement to be accepted literally. There is another source, however, from which we can obtain clearer light on this point.

In the first place, we may seek to fix the date of the event, which is not mentioned in the *Han-chuan* itself. As the late Dr. NAKA pointed out, it is assignable to the 7th to the 8th year of *Chêng-shih* 正始 (246-247), on the strength of certain recorded data pertaining to Governor Kung Tsun 弓遵, who fought and died on the occasion.¹⁾ "In the 6th year of *Chêng-shih*," says the *Wei-chuan* of the *Wei-chih*, "the Governor of Lo-lang Liu Mao 劉茂, and the Governor of Tai-fang, Kung Tsun, raised an army to beat the Wei tribes of the Ling-tung district,"²⁾

1) The *Naka-Michiyo-I-sho, Gaiko Ekishi*, ch. 2, p. 81.

2) 嶺東 *i. e.*, 嶺東 (Ling-tung) was the general name applied to the narrow strip of coast country lying on the east side of the chain of mountains which forms the backbone of Kogen Do.

because they were subject to the Kao-chü-li. The Lord of Pu-nai 不耐¹⁾ etc. surrendered with their whole communities.²⁾ 正始六年, 樂浪太守劉茂, 帶方太守弓遵, 以領東濊屬句麗, 興師伐之. 不耐侯等舉邑降. This shows Kung Tsun living and in activity in the 6th year. On the other hand, the *Wo-jên-chuan* of the same history has: "In the 1st year of *Chêng-shih* the Governor of Tai-fang, Kung Tsun . . . , In the 8th year, Governor Wang Chi 王頎 arrived at his post." 正始元年, [帶方] 太守弓遵. . . . 其八年, 太守王頎到官.³⁾ The later part must have reference to the appointment of Wang Chi as successor to the deceased Kung Tsun. According to the Biography of Kuan-chiu Chien in the *Wei-chih*,⁴⁾ this Wang Chi was Governor of Hsüan-t'u Prefecture at the 6th year of the era, and busily engaged as such in the second campaign against the Kao-chü-li, and this detail is in favour of the above inference. As a matter of course, the date of the death of Governor Kung Tsun must fall somewhere between his going to fight with the Wei tribes in the 6th year; and the arrival of Wang Chi as his successor in the 8th year; and this in turn determines the date of the Han revolt, approximately at the 7th to 8th year of *Chêng-shih* (246-247).

Now, relating to the 7th year in question, the Annals of Chi-wang Fang 齊王芳 in the *Wei-chih* show this passage: "In the 7th year of *Chêng-shih*, in the 2nd month in spring, the Magistrate of Yu-chou Province, Kuan-chiu Chien, beat the Kao-chü-li, and in the 5th month in summer, the Wei-mo tribes; both times defeating the enemy. Han-na-hsi 韓那奚 etc., several tens of *kuo* [communities], surrendered, each following the lead of its chief." 正始七年春二月, 幽州刺史毋丘儉討高句麗. 夏五月, 討濊貊, 皆破之. 韓那奚等數十國, 各率種落降.⁵⁾ This is a motley account which needs analysis. The said attack upon the Kao-chü-li by Kuan-chiu Chien is a prominent historical fact, and as I have

1) It is to be noticed that during the Later Han period, the chiefs of the Pu-nai 不耐, Hua-li 華麗, Wu-chü 沃沮, and other tribes were appointed "Lords of Such and Such Districts," according to the specific names of the seven Ling-tung districts as under the Former Han regime.

2) *Wei-chih*, ch. 30, *Wei-chuan*.

3) *Ibid.*, ch. 30, *Wo-chuan*.

4) *Ibid.*, ch. 18.

5) *Ibid.*, ch. 4.

explained in a detailed study of it included in my former treatise, “*The Chinese Expeditions to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty*,”¹⁾ that war-like enterprise against the Kao-chü-li was executed in a series of two campaigns,* one in the 5th year and the other in the 6th of the era, and this proves the Annals’ date to be erroneous. We may notice that the 6th year of *Chêng-shih* was the same year in which the two Governors of Lo-lang and Tai-fang went to beat the Wei-mo tribes of the Ling-tung district, as already observed. This was indeed a side-show to the famous expedition against the Kao-chü-li. Or, to be more circumstantial, while Wang Chi as Governor of Hsüan-t’u, and subject to the command of Kuan-chiu Chien, was pursuing the Kao-chü-li king Wei Kung 位宮 in his flight northward to the land of his allies, Wu-chü, those Lo-lang and Tai-fang Governors were working in co-operation with him, accomplishing the subjugation of the Wei-mo, who were adherent to the Kao-chü-li king. And no doubt the defeat of the Wei-mo attributed to Kuan-chiu Chien by the Annals, was identical with this event. To come to the section of the passage under review, it would seem as if the upshot of this chastisement of the Wei-mo was the surrender of those scores of tribal communities, Han-na-hsi, etc. But this is at variance with what the *Wei-chuan* gives as the conclusion of the Wei-mo war, which is, as already seen, “The Lord of *Pu-nai* surrendered etc.” Since *Pu-nai* is a name identifiable in connection with the Wei-mo’s tribal habitation, we may prefer the *Wei-chuan* statement as more acceptable; and then, the Annals must seem guilty of irrelevance. And if the surrender of Han-na-hsi etc. was another matter, disconnected with the main subject of the account, then with what known event does it associate itself? Hitherto ‘Han-na-hsi’ has been accepted as a single proper name, but in my opinion, it should be read ‘Han Na-hsi’, or to paraphrase it, the expression will be ‘Na-hsi Community in the Han tribe.’ As will be later seen, there is ample reason to assume the identity of this name with a tribal name recorded as belonging to the Han race. Now connect the statement itself with the 7th year of *Chêng-shih*, that date covering the whole account, and we

1) See *Mem. Tôyô Bunko*, No. 4.

shall see what it really means. It can not but point to the final issue of that Han revolt, although the main part of the emergency is lost sight of in the historiographer's patchwork, which the whole account is. And this leads us to infer that the Han rebellion took place in the 7th year of *Chêng-shih* (246), the year next after the beating of the Wei tribes, and eight years after the Wei dynasty's acquisition of Lo-lang and Tai-fang Prefectures in 238 (the 2nd year of *Ching-ch'u*); while the true fact behind the alleged extinguishing of the Hans was nothing but a wholesale surrender of various Han tribes, Na-hsi and others.

Among the specific names the *Han-chuan* mentions as of the 12 *kuo*, or tribal communities, of the Ch'ên-han stock, what appears the most comparable with Na-hsi 那奚 is Jan-hsi 冉奚. The second characters are identical, and the first character of either is more liable than otherwise to be mistaken for the other; and the chances are that either was an erratum for the other, thus pointing to the identity of the two names. Finally, we may review the extent of the revolt in the light of the Annals statement as in the corrected reading. "Several Han *kuo* [tribal communities] surrendered, Na-hsi and so forth," and this seems to conflict with the fact that the Ch'ên-han tribe, accredited with the rising, contained only twelve *kuo*. We must not, however, hasten to the assumption that Han tribes other than the Ch'ên-han were also participating, inasmuch as the cause of trouble was a partial transfer of that particular tribe to the administration of Lo-lang. We may rather seek the explanation in the use of the term '*kuo*.' Usually, it has been applied only to a comparatively large community, but in this particular instance of Na-hsi etc., it may have been loosely employed for lesser communities as well, thus increasing the count of units. As for the existence of such minor groups of inhabitants within the tribe, we may consult this passage of the *Han-chuan*, which precedes a promiscuous list of community names belonging to the Pien-ch'ên 弁辰 (*i. e.*, Pien-han) and Ch'ên-han tribes: "Pien-ch'ên also has twelve *kuo* [tribe communities], and besides, various smaller extra *i* 邑 [village communities]" 弁辰亦十二國, 又有諸小別邑; and take it for granted that such was also the case with the Ch'ên-han tribe.

