



Goguryeo's Orientation Toward the Material Culture of the Han Period (漢代): A Preliminary Discussion

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Abstract

Goguryeo's orientation toward the Han period appears in its material culture during its Gungnae capital period, when the royal palace was located in the center of the royal fortress and a tomb-garden system was maintained. In addition, during the Han period the Goguryeo state's foundation myth was formulated using Confucian thinking and given expression in a gui-shaped stone monument. Such trends continued even after the fall of the Han dynasty. This was because the Han dynasty had prospered as a unified empire, a sharp contrast to the conflict and chaos that characterized subsequent Chinese dynasties. However, such an orientation toward the Han weakened from the end of the Gungnae capital period to the Pyeongyang capital period. The domestic situation in Goguryeo made it increasingly difficult to maintain this orientation. Therefore, the central authority of Goguryeo prepared a new model following Goguryeo's traditional foundation and the trends of China of the time. No special fortresses were placed on the outskirts of the royal palace, the tomb gardens weakened, while pillar-shaped stone monuments now recorded the state's foundation myth based only on the traditional notion of the god of Heaven.

Keywords: orientation toward the Han period, Gungnae capital period, Pyeongyang capital period, royal fortresses, tomb gardens, *gui*-shaped stone monument, pillar-shaped stone monument, state foundation myth

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Traces of Chinese Cultural Influence beyond Goguryeo's Ruling System

Goguryeo maintained a close relationship with China from the 4th century because of the two states' geographical proximity. Chinese culture was transmitted to Goguryeo through this close relationship, and as a result, Chinese culture had both a direct and indirect influence on the development of Goguryeo. Representative examples can be found in the areas of education, law, religion, and culture in the late 4th century. These include Goguryeo's establishment of the Grand Academy (Taehak 太學) in 372, the promulgation of statute law (*yullyeong* 律令) in 373, the official recognition of Buddhism in 375 under King Sosurim, the reform of royal ancestral shrines, and the establishment of a shrine for the god of land and grain (Guksa 國社) in 391 under King Gogugyang.

But China's influence was not limited to such aforementioned formal institutions; it also encompassed the material culture of Goguryeo. Nevertheless, though there have been a few studies related to the influence of Chinese material culture on Goguryeo, the subject has not been sufficiently studied to date. Scholars have researched the landscape of the capital city (*doseong* 都城), including the royal fortress (*wangseong* 王城),¹ the royal tombs and nearby facilities, the tomb gardens (*neungwon* 陵園), and the stone monuments. However, there are also limitations to these prior studies. Research on the topic has not been conducted from a holistic point of view, but only on specific cases. These studies have also ignored the flow of time, making it difficult to discern long-term trends.

This study is designed to overcome the limitations of prior research by examining the characteristics of the capital city's landscape, royal tombs, and stone monuments of Goguryeo's Gungnae capital period, that is, when the Goguryeo capital was located in the Ji'an area of what is today Jilin Province, China. Additionally, we explore here how such characteristics changed over time. Finally, this study discusses how we can best understand Goguryeo's acceptance of foreign cultures. To date, there has been little research on this

1. The royal fortress comprises a full-fledged fortress surrounding major state facilities, including the royal palace (Ki 2017b, 174).

topic, so the facts that can be ascertained are limited. Therefore, this article was written as a preliminary inquiry. But I hope this inquiry opens new ground for scholarly examination.

The Han Period's Cultural Influence Reflected in Goguryeo's Material Culture

The Han Period's Influence on Goguryeo's Capital Layout, Tomb Gardens, and Stone Monuments

The influence of China's material culture on Goguryeo during the Gungnae capital period is evidenced in the landscape of Gungnae, including its royal fortress, tomb gardens, and stone monuments.

First, the royal fortress is a noticeable part of the capital city's landscape. The royal fortresses of the Gungnae capital period are Gungnae Fortress (Gungnaeseong 國內城) and Hwando Mountain Fortress (Hwando sanseong 丸都山城). According to the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms), Hwando Mountain Fortress functioned as a royal fortress for 38 years, from 209 (13th year of King Sansang) to 247 (21st year of King Dongcheon), and was built by traditional methods in a mountainous area with valleys by traditional methods. However, Goguryeo kings stayed in this place for only limited times, and since it was a mountain fortress, its functions as a royal fortress were also restricted. Gungnae fortress, built on level ground, is a more prominent example of Han cultural influence than Hwando Mountain Fortress. This is first because it functioned as a royal fortress for a long time, and second because we are able to discern in it the influence of foreign cultures.

Gungnae Fortress does not predate the foundation of Goguryeo (S. Yang 2013, 59). According to historical records, Gungnae Fortress was built in 342 (12th year of King Gogugwon). While some scholars assert the accuracy of this record (S. Park 2012, 57), it has also been argued that the cloud-design roof-end tiles excavated at Gungnae Fortress were popular from the beginning of the 4th century; so Gungnae Fortress could date to



Figure 1. The spatial division of Gungnae Fortress

Source: Yeo (2012, 48).

before 342 (Yeo 2014, 42–43).

In any case, Gungnae Fortress was built during the Wei-Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms periods of China (220–439 CE). Its interior is divided into twelve sections by roads. A large building site and various relics have been found in sections 6 and 7 located in the fortress' central area (Fig. 1). Thus, it is believed that these sections were the site of a royal palace (S. Park 2012, 61; Yeo 2012, 71–72).

However, in China of this period, the royal palace was typically situated in the northern part of the fortress. An example of this is Yebei Fortress (Yebeicheng 鄴北城), the capital of the Wei, Later Zhao, and Former Yan dynasties. Here the royal palace was located in the northern area of the fortress (Fig. 2) (Luo 2001, 11–16). Likewise, Chinese emperors resided in northern part of Luoyang Fortress (Luoyangcheng 洛陽城) during the Wei and Western Jin periods.

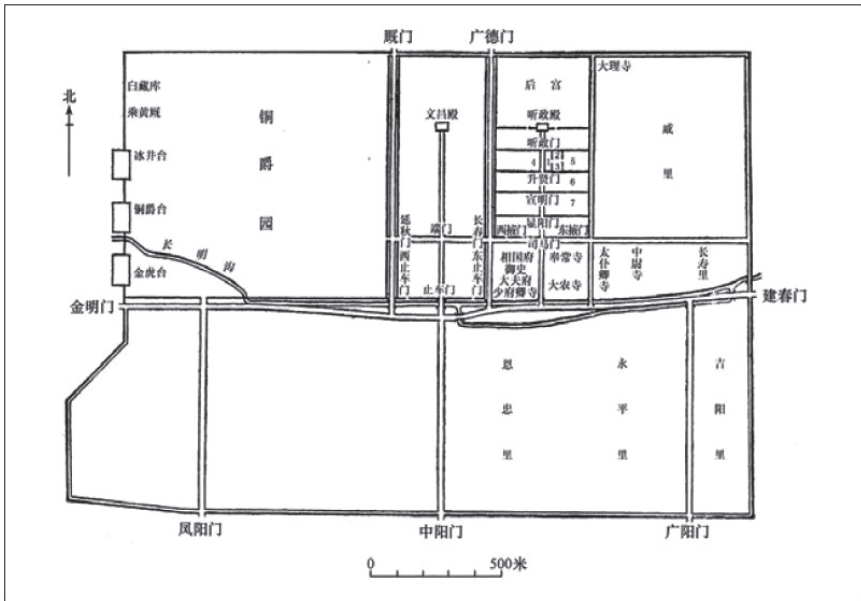


Figure 2. The layout of Yabei Fortress during the Wei dynasty

Source: S. Park (2010, 211).

Therefore, the Goguryeo royal palace's placement within Gungnae Fortress differed from the Chinese custom from the 3rd century onwards. The layout of Gungnae Fortress resembled the layout of Han-period capitals in that the royal palace was not located in the northern part of the royal fortress (Yeo 2012, 72). For example, Changle Palace (Zhanglegong 長樂宮) and Weiyang Palace (Weiyangong 未央宮) were not situated in the northern part of Changan Fortress (Changancheng 長安城). Likewise, both the Southern Palace (Nangong 南宮) and Northern Palace (Beigong 北宮) were positioned a certain distance from the four walls of Luoyang Fortress (Zhao and Gao 2017, 41–50, 57–62).

Further, one should not overlook the chapter “Kaogongji” 考工記 (Records on the Examination of Craftsmanship), which was appended to the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou) during the Han period. It states that the royal palace should not be situated in the northern part of the royal fortress

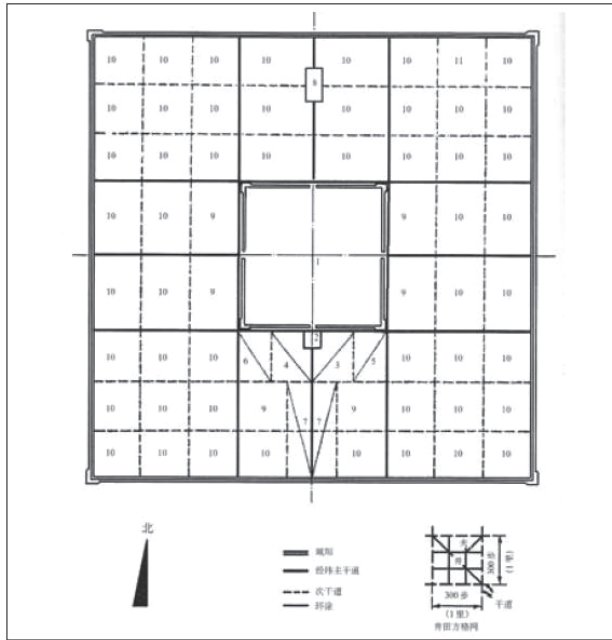


Figure 3. Palace location as depicted in the “Kaogongji” of the *Zhouli*

Source: S. Park (2010, 208).

(Fig. 3). Thus, the palace’s location at the center of the capital reflects the trend in royal fortresses of the Han period.

As seen in the above cases, the royal palace was not located in the northern part of the royal fortress during the Han period, unlike in royal fortresses after the Wei dynasty. Therefore, the structure of Gungnae Fortress is more similar to the capital-city system of the Han period than to that of the Wei-Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms periods.

According to the *Samguk sagi*, when Goguryeo’s King Sansang was enthroned (197 CE), there was a royal palace in the Gungnae area, and it is thought that it existed near the Gungnae Fortress. Therefore, when Gungnae Fortress was built, it is possible that the surrounding area and suburbs were renovated to form a royal palace, rather than constructing an entirely new fortress. However, even such being the case, if the idea that the royal palace

must be situated in the center of the royal fortress were not a firmly set one, it would not have been as shown in Figure 1. Although topographical factors can be taken into consideration as a decisive factor in the royal palace's location, the entire area of Gungnae Fortress is flat, not just the central part, so it is unlikely that physical topography played a role. All this to demonstrate that the royal palace of Gungnae Fortress was intentionally placed at the center of the fortress.

Next we turn to the royal tomb gardens of Gungnae Fortress. In Goguryeo, from the 3rd century onwards, the royal tombs begin to clearly differentiate themselves from the tombs of other ruling elite. Not only were the royal tombs massive, they also included auxiliary tombs (陪塚), additional embankments (陪臺),² and guard structures. A structure atop the tomb (墓上建築) to serve as the soul's living space (陵寢) and a grave wall (陵牆) separating the interior and exterior of the grave area, began to be constructed in Goguryeo after the 4th century. The tomb area was expanded, and paving stones were placed along all parts of the boundaries of the grave to create an attractive tomb garden (Kang 2013a, 26–27). A good example is the Taewang Tomb (Taewangneung 太王陵) (Fig. 4). Thus, the tomb-garden system was developed during the Gungnae capital period.

By this time, however, the royal tomb-garden system was not well developed in China, unlike in Goguryeo. In 218, Cao Cao 曹操, Emperor Wu 武帝 of the Wei dynasty, ordered that burial mounds not be made and trees not be planted in the royal tomb area. In effect, Cao Cao ordered a light funeral (薄葬). Further, in 222, Emperor Wen 文帝 of Wei demolished the soul's living space on his father Cao Cao's tomb and prohibited vehicles and clothing from being placed near the tomb. Emperor Wu had also ordered that auxiliary structures not be prepared near his tombs. As a result, the tomb-garden system in China was weakened. Such a trend continued in the Western Jin dynasty, and most kings during the Sixteen Kingdoms period did not have burial mounds for their graves. The Eastern Jin dynasty as well did not create burial mounds for its imperial tombs, but dug a road into the middle of a mountain to conceal the burial chamber (Luo 2001, 78; K. Yang

2. Stones were prepared near the royal tomb to create auxiliary tombs (Kang 2013a, 17–19).

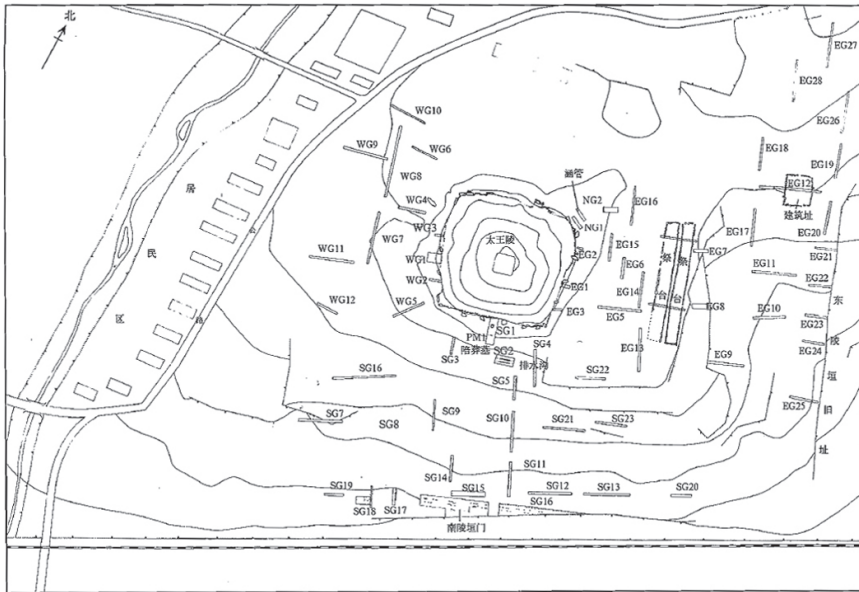


Figure 4. The tomb garden of the Taewang Tomb

Source: Jilinsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Ji'anishi bowuguan (2004b, 255).

2005, 86–90; H. Park 2008, 43–47, 50–52; Cho 2011, 242). As such, when the tomb gardens were being organized in Goguryeo in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the opposite trend was appearing in China.

Chinese tomb gardens prior to the Wei-Jin periods resemble Goguryeo's tomb gardens of the 3rd and 4th centuries. From the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (770–221 BCE) of Chinese history, the boundaries of graves became clear, and the structure atop the tomb that served as the soul's living space appeared. Additional tombs were built at the tomb of the Qin dynasty's emperor Shi Huang (r. 247–210 BCE), along with a double grave wall and a large living palace for the soul.

The ancient royal tomb-garden system saw completion in the Former Han period. A good example is Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 Du Tomb (*Duling* 杜陵) (Fig. 5). The importance of the royal tomb gardens had now increased, and the status of the tomb gardens was maintained in the Later Han period

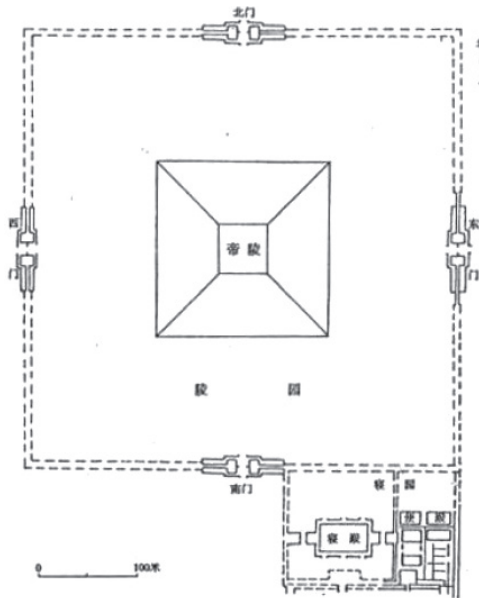


Figure 5. The tomb garden of the Du Tomb

Source: Shin (2008, 26).

(Liu and Li 1991, 256–261, 269, 274–282, 287–292, 299–300; Kitamura 2001, 440–441; K. Yang 2005, 33–43, 51–57, 71–73; Huang 2006, 405–413; Shin 2008, 5–8, 12–13, Zhao and Gao 2017, 21–22, 25–29, 35–36, 67–72). This trend was widespread in Chinese society, whereby the ruling class built walls and shrines around their graves (Liu and Li 1991, 308–311; Huang 2006, 413–416; Zhao and Gao 2017, 71, 93–95). The tomb garden was established institutionally in the Han period and was deeply rooted in social norms.

Therefore, in terms of the tombs of its rulers, Goguryeo can be considered consistent with the trend of the Han period before the Wei-Jin dynasties, because the inner and outer areas of its tombs were divided by grave walls, and in Goguryeo shrines were constructed near the tombs (Kang 2021b, 199–200). Of course, even at this time, the traditional method of constructing a tomb with stone and placing the body on the ground were maintained, so this can be regarded as an adoption of foreign elements.



Figure 6. Ji'an Goguryeo Monument

Source: Ji'an shi bowuguan (2013, 188).

For stone monuments, foreign elements can be found in the shape and inscription of the Ji'an Goguryeo Monument (Kang 2016, 211), which was erected during King Gwanggaeto's reign (391–412).

This stone monument is a *gui* shape (圭形) with triangular top (Fig. 6). However, stone monuments were rarely erected in both the Eastern and Western Jin dynasties, since Cao Cao issued an order prohibiting the erection of stone monuments in 205. Even the barbarian dynasties during the Sixteen Kingdoms periods did not make many stone monuments. In particular, few stone monuments were built in the Eastern Huabei area near Goguryeo (Zhao 1997, 91–96; H. Park 2008, 54–56, 60–62; 2014, 17, 37–40; L. Yang 2011, 33, 75, 93, 96, 103, 177; Ni 2013, 75; Hong 2014, 33–34). Therefore, it is unlikely that Chinese culture played an influential role in the

creation of Ji'an Goguryeo Monument.

It is noteworthy that the *gui*-shaped stone monument was popular during the Han dynasty, especially during the Later Han period (25–220 CE) (Luo 2001, 108; L. Yang 2011, 82–83). It is presumed that this style was introduced into Goguryeo at the beginning of the Wei-Jin periods at the latest. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Guanqiu Jian Monument (桓丘儉紀功碑), built in the area of Gungnae when the army of Wei invaded Goguryeo in the middle of the 3rd century, has the same *gui*-shape as the Ji'an Goguryeo Monument. During the Wei-Jin periods, stone monuments with square or round tops were also made in addition to the *gui*-shaped variety, although in small numbers. Therefore, it is not a foregone conclusion that Goguryeo would make its stone monument *gui*-shaped.

However, the Ji'an Goguryeo Monument was made in a *gui* shape. This is partly because the Goguryeo people were accustomed to *gui*-shaped stone monuments due to the influence of the Guanqiu Jian Monument, but also because this type was the representative form of the Han period. That the monument form was not changed even though it could have been implies that Goguryeo regal power attached importance to the trend of the Han period (Kang 2017a, 202–209).

For inscriptions on stone monuments, one should pay attention to the foundation myth of the Goguryeo state, which relates how the state progenitor, King Chumo (Jumong), received the way of Heaven (*cheondo* 天道), succeeded the Supreme King (Wonwang 元王), and established Goguryeo (必授天道 自承元王 始祖鄒牟王之創基也). King Chumo used the Confucianism of the Han dynasty to create the state's foundation myth, as seen in such expressions as the "Supreme King" or the "way of Heaven," which derive from the teachings of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE), a representative Confucian scholar of the Former Han (Yeo 2013, 88). This form of the foundation myth appeared in the second half of the 4th century (Kang 2017b, 57–62). The foundation myth of the state helped buttress royal authority, therefore, Goguryeo's ruling elite actively used Han-period Confucianism.

As discussed above, during the Gungnae capital period, the material culture of Goguryeo, such as the layout of its capital city, its tomb gardens,

and its stone monuments, was similar to that of the Han period. This phenomenon can be viewed as a natural result of Goguryeo's acceptance of Chinese culture. However, since Goguryeo interacted with China from the time of its founding, and all the examples examined thus far are related to regal power, it can be seen that the culture of the Han dynasty was preferred at the state level. This can be posited as Goguryeo's orientation toward the culture of the Han period.³ This orientation is apparent even after the collapse of the Han dynasty. In other words, cultural elements of the Han period found reception in Goguryeo even during the Wei-Jin dynasties. The reasons for this are explained in the following section.

Goguryeo's Attraction to the Culture of the Han Period

The Han dynasty's material culture constituted a foreign influence on Goguryeo. Therefore, one can assert that the influx of Chinese migrants into Goguryeo was one cause of this trend in the material culture of Goguryeo. According to the *Samguk sagi*, there was a mass migration of Chinese in 197 and the people of Pingzhou 平州 were settled at Goguryeo's Chaek Fortress (Chaekseong 柵城) in 217. Many Chinese fled to Goguryeo due to the social upheaval in China at that time. This trend continued into the 4th and 5th centuries; representative ethnic Chinese migrants being Dong Shou 冬壽, buried in Anak tomb 3 (安岳3號墳), constructed in 357, and a certain Zhen 鎮, buried in the mural tomb at Deokheung-ri 德興里, which dates to 408. Such Chinese migrants likely helped spread various cultural aspects of China in Goguryeo as many of them served as bureaucrats in China (Kong 2003, 133,142).

3. Since this adoption of Han material culture appears primarily in the Goguryeo capital area at this time, it might be questioned whether this was in fact a trend throughout Goguryeo. However, as the center of the state, the capital is where the intentions and tastes of the powerful ruling elite are best reflected. Moreover, since it is a characteristic of material culture that it is related to royal authority, one can assume there was a certain degree of orientation toward the Han, though it is difficult to say that Goguryeo fully accepted the culture of the Han period. To examine the areas outside the capital, we must await further excavations and studies.

These Chinese migrants on the Korean Peninsula longed for a time when China was stable and unified. For example, tomb number 3319 at Yushanxia 禹山下 in the Ji'an area in present-day Jilin province, had a brick room structure that was popular in the Han period, and it contained many Chinese items. In Dong Shou's tomb, the name of his hometown is recorded by the name it had when the Chinese dynasties were orderly and at peace. On the other hand, Zhen not only claimed to have been a provincial governor of Youzhou 幽州 in China, but had also been actively involved in government affairs of the Former Qin 前秦, which tried to mimic the political system of the Han dynasty (Yeo 2009, 176–177, 187–188, 191). Dong Shou and Zhen perceived the Han dynasty as an ideal model, because the order of that dynasty had been firmly maintained.

The Han dynasty ruled China for over 400 years and exerted a powerful influence on the surrounding states. Therefore, the orientation of Goguryeo's material culture seen in the layout of its capital city, its tomb gardens, and stone monuments may derive from a longing for the Han dynasty. However, in Goguryeo tombs, in addition to Han-period elements, cultural characteristics native to Goguryeo appear as well. Therefore, the influence of Chinese migrants to Goguryeo alone cannot explain the cause of that state's adoption of Han material culture.

The key point is that the Chinese migrants in Goguryeo maintained a close relationship with the central authority of that state. It was the royal authority of Goguryeo that adopted and applied Han-period attributes in the state's material culture. The importance of the royal authority in Goguryeo is evident in the Han influences found in the royal fortress landscape, the tomb gardens, and the Ji'an Goguryeo Monument. In short, the primary reason for the cultural influence of the Han in Goguryeo was the patronage of Goguryeo royal authority.

According to the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (History of the Three Kingdoms), in its early years Goguryeo received musical instruments, musicians, court attire, and other clothing from the Han dynasty. Therefore, one sees that there was no objection on the part of Goguryeo to receiving cultural influences from the Han. However, even after the fall of the Han in the early 3rd century, Goguryeo material culture continued to reflect an orientation

toward the Han for other reasons.

Finding a model country following the fall of the Han was difficult for Goguryeo. In the wake of the Han's fall, conflict and chaos were continuous in China and few states were stable. Therefore, it was difficult for these states to create, let alone pass on, their cultures. It was up to Goguryeo to decide whether or not to accept such cultures, such as they were. It was likely difficult for Goguryeo to consider these new cultures superior to the former ones because of the chaos that characterized post-Han China.

In short, China was chaotic following the fall of the Han dynasty in the early 3rd century. Goguryeo's central authority preferred the culture of the Han, which prospered as a unified empire when Goguryeo first embraced its culture. Another factor in Goguryeo's preference for the Han-period culture is that after the Han collapsed, Goguryeo could feel safe accepting its cultural influence as that dynasty no longer posed a direct threat to it.

Background to the Weakening of Goguryeo's Orientation toward the Han Period and the Establishment of a New Trend

Dissolution of Han Period Traces and Establishment of New Trends

Changes in Goguryeo's material culture appeared between the end of the Gungnae capital period to the Pyeongyang capital period (427–668 CE). The first change was in the layout of its capital. The royal palace was expanded in 406 (16th year of King Gwanggaeto), the ruins of which have been identified as the Lishuyuanzinan 梨樹園子南, located in the northern part of Gungnae Fortress (Fig. 7). Various roofing tiles were excavated at this site (Kang 2018, 222–223). However, there was no fortress among these ruins. Therefore, it is likely no royal fortress was erected in the newly built royal palace at the end of the Gungnae capital period.

This trend continued for a long time, even after the relocation of the capital to Pyeongyang in 427, because Goguryeo did not build defensive structures such as fortresses around the royal palace (Kang 2021a, 202–207). According to inscriptions on the wall bricks of Pyeongyang Fortress (平壤城



Figure 7. Ruins in vicinity of Gungnae Fortress

Source: Yeo (2012, 48).

刻字城石), the inner fortress or wall (內城) of Goguryeo's Jangan Fortress 長安城 was built in 566 (Fig. 8). It was the first royal fortress of the Pyeongyang capital period. There were no royal fortresses beyond this for a long time during the Pyeongyang capital period.

The location of the royal palace changed during the Pyeongyang capital period. The ruins of Lishuyuanzinan are located in what was then the northern part of the Gungnae capital. It is believed that the royal palace was situated north of the capital area following the relocation of the capital to Pyeongyang (Kang 2021a, 210). The Castle Inner was located in the northern part of Jangan Fortress, which was built at the end of the 6th century (Fig. 8).

The structure of Jangan Fortress differed from that of Gungnae Fortress, where the royal palace was located at the center of the fortress compound. In China following the Han, the royal palace was typically built in the northern

made the capital, there was no royal fortress. In addition, the outer walls were not square as in the typical Chinese capital because they were made to fit the natural topography. After the late Gungnae capital period, the layout of Goguryeo's capital differed from its previous appearance, when it had resembled Han-period royal fortresses.

The royal tomb gardens were generally smaller during the Pyeongyang capital period than during earlier periods, and there were hardly any additional facilities to be called tomb gardens. Thus, the tomb-garden system, maintained during the Gungnae capital period, declined during the Pyeongyang capital period (Kang 2013b, 197–199). That decline began at the end of the Gungnae capital period. The Jiangjun Tomb (Jiangjunling 將軍塚, or Tomb of the General) is one example. The structures formerly atop the tomb were built inside the Jiangjun Tomb, while the tradition of paving stones on all sides continued. However, the Jiangjun Tomb was small among the royal tombs of the Gungnae capital period, and no grave wall was constructed. Thus, the Jiangjun Tomb's appearance differs from tombs of the earlier period (Fig. 9). This pattern is also seen in the royal tombs in the Pyeongyang capital period, during which the tomb-garden system was significantly weakened. However, the weakening of the tomb-garden system in Goguryeo appeared at the beginning of the 5th century, when the Jiangjun Tomb was built (Kang 2021b, 239–241).

The tomb gardens of the Pyeongyang capital period differ from those based on the tomb-garden system of the Han dynasty. The tomb-garden system weakened in the Wei-Jin periods, as well as in the Northern and Southern dynasties periods. Burial mounds were not made, and there were few additional facilities around the tomb in the Northern dynasties.⁴ Royal tombs of the Southern dynasties were built at the foot of hills or mountains or dug into them, and burial mounds were small if they were made at all (Z. Luo 2001, 80–90, 98–99; K. Yang 2005, 85–96; H. Park 2008, 43–44, 49–52, 55–56; Cho 2011, 246–252).

4. The Yonggu Tomb (*Yongguling* 永固陵) and Zhang Tomb (*Zhangling* 張陵), built during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (r. 471–499) of the Northern Wei, were well-maintained. However, these are exceptional cases (H. Park 2008, 43–44, 56).



Figure 9. The tomb garden of the Jiangjun Tomb

Source: Jilinsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo and Ji'anshi bowuguan (2004b, 326).

The tombs in Goguryeo after the 5th century looked much like the tombs of the Northern and Southern dynasties of China. Therefore, the tomb-garden system in Goguryeo may have been influenced by trends in China. However, there may be other factors in the decline of the tomb-garden system in Goguryeo because the memorial service before the grave (墓祭) is also related to the tomb-garden system. After the 3rd century, the memorial service before the grave began to decline in China (Kitamura 2001, 182,

440–441, 445–462; K. Yang 2005, 71–73). After the late 4th century, the memorial service before the grave in Goguryeo also weakened, though it did not disappear altogether (Kang 2021b, 273). In addition, the tomb-garden system in China declined after the 3rd century, but the tomb-garden system in Goguryeo weakened only after the 5th century, an enormous time gap.

I will discuss stone monuments by categorizing them in terms of shape and inscriptions. The King Gwanggaeto Stele, erected in 414 (2nd year of King Jangsu), and the Chungju Monument, erected in the second half of the 5th century, are both in the style of pillars (Fig. 10). Therefore, the basic style of Goguryeo's stone monuments changed from a *gui* shape, like the Ji'an Goguryeo Monument, to a pillar shape (石柱形).

Many *gui*-shaped stone monuments were made during the Han dynasty. This new trend revealed a change in Goguryeo's Han-period orientation. Not many *gui*-shaped stone monuments were erected in the



Figure 10. King Gwanggaeto Stele

Source: Chosen sotokufu (1915, 91).

subsequent Northern and Southern dynasties. A similar trend is seen with Goguryeo. However, popular stone monuments in China had rounded tops that included a carving of a dragon or a half-dragon and half-snake creature (*chi* 螭) (Luo 2001, 108; L. Yang 2011, 54, 75, 89, 99), and were not pillar-shaped, a trend Goguryeo would have been aware of. Nevertheless, there must be some reason for Goguryeo opting for a shape that differed from the trend in China. In any case, Goguryeo's deviation from the Han period's stone monument style is worthy of note.

The Confucianism of the Han period was reflected in Goguryeo's foundation myth on the Ji'an Goguryeo Monument. However, there are no such indications of this in the inscription on the King Gwanggaeto Stele. The King Gwanggaeto Stele emphasizes the conventional notion that the parents of the first king of Goguryeo were the god of Heaven and the goddess of the Earth. Such a phenomenon is also seen in the Moduru Memorial Monument, erected during the reign of King Jangsu (attrib. 413–491 CE). Accordingly, the portion of the myth deriving from Han period ideology was excluded from the official foundation myth of the Goguryeo dynasty as detailed on the King Gwanggaeto Stele (Kang 2017b, 64).

As described earlier, the orientation toward the Han period weakened from the end of the Gungnae capital period to the Pyeongyang capital period, and a new trend emerged. The reasons for such a change are discussed in the following section.

A New Trend Created by Internal Causes

Goguryeo material culture, such as the layout of its capital, its tomb gardens, and its stone monuments, began to depart from the Han period cultural norms from the end of the Gungnae capital period. In addition, signs referring to post-Han trends appeared. However, Goguryeo's cultural orientation toward the Han only began weakening long after the emergence of new cultural trends in post-Han China. Further, Goguryeo's new cultural trends, once they did emerge, did not wholly conform with those of China, but constituted entirely different trends. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that the changes in Goguryeo material culture were merely the result of the

influx and acceptance of Chinese culture. One needs to broaden the perspective. The formation of new cultural trends in Goguryeo, distinct from both those of the Han period and post-Han China, and the weakening of Goguryeo's orientation toward the Han, are two sides of the same coin. If so, these new trends may have emerged because they better served the new needs of Goguryeo. Specific examples are as follows.

It is noticeable that a royal fortress was not built. It is necessary to pay attention to the historical experience from earlier periods. No royal fortress was built beyond the royal palace during the Jolbon and Gungnae capital periods. Onyeo Mountain Fortress (Onyeo sanseong 五女山城) in the Jolbon area, and Hwando Mountain Fortress and Gungnae Fortress in the Gungnae area, were built when tensions between Goguryeo and China were high (Kang 2018, 196–201; 2020, 7–17; 2021a, 207–209). That is, a royal fortress was not constructed unless an external threat was present, which explains why the royal fortress was not built when the palace was expanded at the end of the Gungnae capital period and when it was moved to Pyeongyang. At that time, Goguryeo did not need a royal fortress because it had a military advantage over neighboring states.

In other words, that no royal fortress appeared from the end of the Gungnae capital period reveals Goguryeo's relationship with surrounding states. At this time, the royal palace of Goguryeo was constructed in the northern part of the capital, based on the trend of the Chinese capital system since the Wei-Jin periods. Thus, a new landscape of capital cities distinct from that of the previous period appeared in Goguryeo.

For the tomb gardens, it is noteworthy that tomb gardens also weakened when the perception of tombs changed. The perception of the tomb as the residence of the dead was strong at the beginning of Goguryeo, given the belief that the material life of the present world continues even after death. As a result, the tomb-garden system was developed during the Gungnae capital period. The tomb gardens had great significance because of the culture of tomb worship (Kang 2021b, 224–230).

However, such a faith was shaken from the second half of the 4th century. The spread of the Buddhist ideology of rebirth (轉生思想), in which one's current life determines one's next life, weakened the relationship

between the soul and body. On the other hand, the understanding of Confucian culture increased, problems in the management of royal tombs developed, and the institute of the royal ancestral shrine emerged. As a result, the emphasis on the tomb gardens weakened, and the tomb gardens lost their previous appearance (Kang 2021b, 245–254).

If so, the change in the tomb-garden system originated within Goguryeo. Tomb gardens had been maintained in Goguryeo even after the tomb-garden system in China began to decline from the Wei-Jin periods. In Goguryeo, the tomb-garden system began to change only at the end of the Gungnae capital period due to the aforementioned domestic factors. Though Goguryeo no doubt noticed the trend in China regarding tomb gardens (Kang 2013b, 206), this was not the main factor for the change in Goguryeo when it came.

For stone monuments, we should note the shape of the King Gwanggaeto Stele. It is the earliest pillar-shaped stone monument built by a Goguryeo king. The King Gwanggaeto Stele reached a height of 6.4 meters. However, stone monuments in the Later Han and Wei-Jin periods, including the Ji'an Goguryeo Monument, had a height-to-thickness ratio of more than 10:1. Had the King Gwanggaeto Stele been produced with such ratios, it would have been a thin slab, which would have raised concerns about its stability. Thus, the need for a new style of monument emerged. However, China's stone-monument culture was in decline by this time. Accordingly, a new style of stone monument was developed modeled after such stone pillars as the menhir (Kang 2017a, 212–218). This trend continued after the Gwanggaeto Stele, as seen in Goguryeo's Chungju Monument.⁵

Finally, for the inscriptions on the stone monuments, it is noteworthy that the ideology of Han-period Confucianism was fundamentally different

5. More stone monuments were erected during the Northern and Southern dynasties periods in China than in the period prior. However, these were still fewer than in the Han period, and the distribution range was limited to the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River and the Jiankang area. Few stone monuments were made in the Northern dynasties, and no stone monuments were allowed in the Southern dynasties (Luo 2001, 104–105; H. Park 2008, 55–56; 2014, 17, 28, 39–40; Cho 2011, 273; L. Yang 2011, 98–99, 103, 112). Therefore, it is unlikely that Goguryeo was influenced by China in this regard.

from the traditional thought of Goguryeo, which maintained that Goguryeo's king had a direct blood relationship with the god of Heaven. However, in China from the Western Zhou, emperors had been regarded as representatives of Heaven, not direct descendants from Heaven. The Confucianism of the Han period could be used to buttress royal power, but it was not easy for Goguryeo to internalize it. Goguryeo's people were not ignorant of Chinese ideological trends, nor did they neglect the Confucian aspect in the inscription. Nevertheless, the royal family's ancestors are mentioned in the state's foundation myth on the Gwanggaeto Stele based on the traditional notion of the god of Heaven because it was difficult for Goguryeo to internalize Han Confucianism.

In short, the weakening of Goguryeo's orientation toward the Han in terms of its material culture, such as the layout of its capital and its tomb gardens and stone monuments, stemmed from circumstances internal to Goguryeo. It became impossible to maintain the old trend, and so a new trend appeared. At times, Chinese trends were accepted to some degree. However, following Chinese culture was not the main factor. Instead, the trend change occurred due to the domestic situation in Goguryeo.

Conclusion: Questioning the Independence and Identity of Goguryeo

The above discussion can be summarized as follows. Goguryeo's orientation toward the Han period is apparent in its material culture during the Gungnae capital period. For example, its royal palace was located in the center of the royal fortress, and the tomb-garden system was developed. In addition, the state's birth myth was formulated by incorporating Han Confucianism and on a *gui*-shaped stone monument. Such a trend continued even after the fall of the Han dynasty, because the central power in Goguryeo was friendlier to the material culture of the Han period, that is, a bygone and prosperous rather than a contemporaneous and chaotic China.

However, such a trend weakened from the end of the Gungnae capital period to the Pyeongyang capital period. Goguryeo began to face challenges maintaining its orientation toward the Han period. Therefore, the central

authority in Goguryeo prepared a new model that incorporated both Goguryeo's traditional culture and the cultural trends of China at the time. For example, no special fortresses were erected beyond the royal palace, tomb gardens weakened, and pillar-shaped stone monuments appeared recording the state's foundation myth based solely on the traditional notion of the god of Heaven.

In this regard, the domestic situation was key in the development of Goguryeo's material culture. The orientation toward the Han period was maintained even after the fall of that dynasty in China. However, such an orientation was weakened, and a new foundation was established, resulting from Goguryeo's own preferences and needs. Therefore, continued orientation toward the Han period even after that dynasty's collapse and the emergence of new cultural trends had something in common; they are independent decisions based on Goguryeo's preference and needs. Thus, the weakening of Goguryeo's cultural orientation toward the Han was not a post-Chinese or anti-Chinese phenomenon, but was in fact related to the fact that the existing trends were no longer a fit for Goguryeo's current direction. This is even clearer when one considers that Goguryeo, at that time, tried to reorganize its administrative system by accepting facets of Chinese culture and administration,

One tends to interpret those aspects of Korean culture that differ from Chinese culture as signs of Korea's independency and subjectivity. However, one might equally interpret Korea's voluntary acceptance of various aspects of foreign culture as a sign of its independence and subjectivity. In addition, Korean cultural differentiation from surrounding countries resulted from the confluence of various conditions. Korea may not have intended to strike an independent path from the beginning. This was confirmed in this study through a review of Goguryeo's material culture. However, since this study constitutes only a preliminary inquiry, it is still difficult to draw firm conclusions. In order to strengthen the argument, it will be necessary to look at a wider range of Goguryeo's material culture besides the cases discussed above. In addition, the cultural influence of nomadic communities such as Xianbei must also be considered. I hope to pursue these other questions in subsequent studies.

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