

Materials on Korean Studies

Volume 23 Number 1

June 2020

www.kci.go.kr The Review of Korean Studies

Materials on Korean Studies

Chapter 47
of the *Samguk sagi*:
An Annotated Translation of
Biographies of Haeron and Others

KWON Jee-eun & SHIN Jeongsoo



The Review of Korean Studies Volume 23 Number 1 (June 2020): 337-376

doi: 10.25024/review.2020.23.1.337

©2020 by the Academy of Korean Studies. All rights reserved.

www.kci.go.kr

A Note on the Translation

Our translation of Chapter 47 of the *Samguk sagi* is based on the Jeongdeok edition (1512). For the collation of the original text and for footnotes, we have relied on the Korean translation of the *Samguk sagi* published by the AKS (2012) as well as the translation uploaded to the website of the National Institute of Korean History.¹

The Romanization of Korean terms follows the Revised Romanization of Korean promulgated by the South Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism. Exceptions have been made for the names of people and places that already have a widely accepted spelling in English-speaking countries. Chinese terms have been Romanized in pinyin and Japanese in Hepburn.

The translation of Korean institutional titles, together with Korean terms of distance, area, and linear measure, generally follows Edward J. Shultz, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi* and Ki-baik Lee (2017), *A New History of Korea* (1984) translated by Edward W. Wagner. In translating passages from the Chinese Classics, we have mostly relied on the translations rendered by James Legge. When other translations are used, they are referenced in the footnotes. The translation of Chinese institutional titles follows Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (1985).

Names of places or suffixes (mountains, rivers, monasteries, etc.) are translated whenever possible. We have attempted to avoid such pleonasm as Hwangnyong-sa Monastery. On the other hand, some pleonasm have been retained. For example, some mountains identified by a single character, such as Jungnyeong, have been rendered in the form “Jungnyeong Pass.”

All dates are rendered according to the lunar calendar. This is approximate, as the lunar and solar calendars do not exactly coincide.

Brackets are used when English has been added by the translators for clarification and when dates have been rendered into their Western equivalents in the main text.

* This work was supported by the Academy of Korean Studies Grant (AKSR2018-RE07).

1. See National Institute of Korean History, *Samguk sagi* (available at <http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?itemId=sg>).

Braces are used to indicate notes added by the original compilers of the *Samguk sagi*.

Works frequently cited in the notes have been abbreviated as follows: *SS* for *Samguk sagi*; *SY* for *Samguk yusa*.

Regarding the expression of age, we have applied the traditional means of counting age (*se* 歲). A person is one *se* at birth and becomes two *se* on New Year's Day. Therefore, an approximation of a person's age according to modern custom can be derived by subtracting a year; however, this is not foolproof.

We used courtesy name for *ja* 字 and style name for *ho* 號.

The footnotes are consecutive throughout the Note on Translation, Introduction, and Translation.

Introduction²

SS 47 portrays thirteen military figures who sacrificed their lives—and often families as well—for the sake of their countries. We already read about many heroic warriors in previous chapters, and thus one may wonder if there is a certain reason that arranges the thirteen figures in this chapter. This would not be a definite answer but they had at least one matter in common; they were all active in the last stage of the unification wars that underwent throughout the seventh century.³ In this sense, *SS* 47 is to be regarded as the last chapter devoted to loyal warriors, who are excluded in previous chapters. Though famous warriors appear again towards the end of the dynasty, when civil war happened, they were far from allegiant; they were no more than ambitious maverick

2. This English translation is the fourth product of an on-going project that aims to translate and annotate the entire biographical section of the *Samguk sagi*. It began in the second semester of 2017 with the support of the research-education program at the Academy of Korean Studies where we translated the biography of Kim Yusin (*SS* 41, 42, and 43); the resulting work was published in vol. 21 no. 1 of this journal (Na et al. 2018). In the spring semester of 2018 *SS* 44 and 45 were translated and published in vol. 21 no. 2 of the same journal (Lee and Shin 2018). In the fall semester of 2018 *SS* 46 and 47 were undertaken. Professor Shin Jeongsoo headed the project, and participating students were Kwon Jee-eun, Na Sanghoon, Lee Soyun, Kim Hee-sung, Sul Myeonghee, Lim Yunjeong, You Jinsook, and Lee Ja-kyung. We wish to thank Charles D. Randles Jr. for editing our translations, and Dr. Ko Chanmi for advising us on style issues.

3. Guisan (d. 602) in *SS* 45 might fall into this group. He met a glorious death on the battlefield while rescuing his father Mueun and others from Baekje's ambush.

warlords.

This chapter contains a largest number of biographies in *SS* and consequently, they are overall short in terms of length. They are even similarly structured one another: war, adverse circumstances, self-sacrifice, and grief for death. This literary weakness happened probably because of insufficient historical sources at the time of the compilation of *SS*. Any of those figures was not mentioned in Chinese records,⁴ and historians relied on oral transmission or local sources, which would have not remained only a little. Each biography is summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1. List of Biographies in *SS* 47

No.	Figure	Country	Significant Information	References in the Annals
1	Haeron (d. 618)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military officer, native of Moryang, <i>daenama</i> (Rank 10). · His father Chandeok died in the battle at Gajam Fortress fighting Baekje in 612. Later he also died at the same fortress. 	<i>SS</i> 4, King Jingpyeong, Year 40; <i>SS</i> 27, King Mu, Year 19
2	Sona (d. 675)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military officer, native of Baeksan, son of Simna. · Died in battle at Adal Fortress fighting the Malgal. · Posthumously elevated to <i>japchan</i> (Rank 3). 	<i>SS</i> 7, King Munmu, Year 15
3	Chwido (fl. 650s)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Buddhist monk, native of Saryang. · Died in battle at Jocheon Fortress fighting Baekje. · Later his brothers Bugwa and Pipsil died in other battles in 671 and in 684, respectively. · Posthumously elevated to <i>sachan</i> (Rank 8). 	N/A
4	Nulchoe (d. 624)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military officer, native of Saryang. · Died in defense of the three fortresses fighting Baekje. His old servant died together. · Posthumously elevated to <i>geupchan</i> (Rank 9). 	<i>SS</i> 4, King Jingpyeong, Year 46
5	Seol Gyedu (d. 645)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Descendant of an unspecified official. · Went to Tang in 621. · Became a military officer of Emperor Taizong and died in battle at Mount Jupil fighting Goguryeo. 	N/A

4. For example, the biographies of Eulji Mundeok, Heukchi Sangji, Jang Bogo, and Choe Chiwon depend on Chinese sources, such as *Suishu* 隋書, *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, and *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書.

6	Kim Yeongyun (d. 684)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military officer, native of Saryang. · His grandfather Heumchun encouraged his father Bangul to die in battle against General Gyebaek in 660. · Died in battle fighting at Bodeok at the time of King Sinmun. · Posthumous elevation was conferred generously. 	N/A
7	Gwanchang (645-660)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Junior military officer, son of General Pumil. · Died in battle at Hwangsan Plain fighting Baekje. · Posthumously elevated to <i>geupchan</i> (Rank 9). 	SS 5, King Taejong Muyeol, Year 7
8	Kim Heumun (d. 655)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · The 8th descendant of King Namil, son of Dalbok. · Died in battle at Jocheon Fortress fighting Baekje. Yepa, Jeokdeuk, and Boyongna died in the same battle as well · Posthumously elevated to <i>ilchan</i> (Rank 8). · Historian's comment (<i>saron</i> 史論). 	SS 8, King Sinmun, Year 3
9	Yeolgi (fl. 660s)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military messenger, background unknown. · Delivered Kim Yusin's message to Su Dingfang at Pyeongyang. · Elevated first to <i>geupchan</i>, and later to <i>sachan</i>. 	SS 6, King Munmu, Year 2; SS 42, Kim Yusin
10	Biryeongja (d. 647)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military officer, background unknown. · Died in battle fighting Baekje. · His son Geojin and his servant Hapjeol died in the same battle. · Posthumous elevation was conferred generously. 	SS 11, Queen Jindeok, Year 1
11	Jukjuk (d. 642)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military officer, native of Daeyaju. · He and Yongseok died in battle at Daeya Fortress fighting Baekje. · Posthumously elevated to <i>geupchan</i> (Rank 9). 	SS 21, King Bojang, Year 1; SS 28, King Uija, Year 2; SS 5, Queen Seondeok, Year 11; SS 41, Kim Yusin
12	Pilbu (d. 660)	Silla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Magistrate as military officer, native of Saryang. · Died in battle at Chiljung Fortress fighting Goguryeo. · Posthumously elevated to <i>geupchan</i> (Rank 9). 	SS 5, King Taejong, Year 7
13	Gyebaek (d. 660)	Baekje	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Military general, <i>dalsol</i> (Rank 2). · Died in battle at Hwangsan Plain fighting Silla. 	SS 5, King Taejong Muyeol, Year 7; SS 28, King Uija, Year 20

This chapter includes Silla figures only with one exception of Gyebaek. Even in his case, it does not give a full account of his life. He should have received more attention, considering his general status and significance in the decisive moment of the unification wars. This tendency clearly confirms the Silla-centered historical view of Kim Busik and other SS compilers.

Silla has been considered to achieve unification in the peninsula thanks to strategic alliance with Tang China. It might be a major factor but this

chapter also shows how they exerted every effort on their own to accomplish the goal. They compensated loyal warriors with many ways. Their ranks were elevated in accordance with self-sacrificial loyalty given the emergent situations. For example, Jukjuk and his colleague Yongseok were *saji* (Rank 13) and posthumously awarded *geupchan* (Rank 9) and *daenama* (Rank 10), respectively. These two cases cannot be generalized—other biographies record their posthumous ranks only, but at least we can assume that promotional degree was considerable for the war death. In addition, the royal house conferred material rewards on their surviving families. Sometimes, a dirge was made in celebration of warriors, for example, Haeron and Kim Heumun. Such a nationwide encouragement of suicidal attacks is a controversial issue from modern ethical perspectives but it cannot be denied that such an extreme attitude would have formulated a firm sense of unity among people, which obviously help overcome the other two countries in the peninsular.

Translation

三國史記 卷 第四十七 *Samguk sagi*, Chapter 47

列傳 第七

Biographies 7

Part 1. The Biography of Haeron

奚論，牟梁人也。其父讚德，有勇志英節，名高一時。建福二十七年庚午，眞平大王選爲椴岑城縣令。明年辛未冬十月，百濟大發兵，來攻椴岑城一百餘日。眞平王命將，以上州·下州·新州之兵救之。遂往與百濟人戰，不克引還。讚德憤恨之，謂士卒曰，“三州軍帥，見敵強不進，城危不救，是無義也。與其無義而生，不若有義而死。”乃激昂奮勵，且戰且守，以至糧盡水竭，而猶食屍飲尿，力戰不怠。至春正月，人旣疲，城將破，勢不可復完，乃仰天大呼曰，“吾王委我以一城，而不能全，爲敵所敗，願死爲大厲，喫盡百濟人，以復此城。”遂攘臂瞋目，走觸槐樹而死。於是，城陷軍士皆降。

Haeron [d. 618]⁵ was from Moryang.⁶ His father Chandeok [d. 612]⁷ was brave, resolute, and honest, so he won great renown at that time. In the twenty-seventh year of the Geonbok era,⁸ gyeonggo [610], the Great King Jinpyeong [r. 579-632] selected Chandeok as the prefecture magistrate⁹ of Gajam Fortress [unknown].¹⁰ In the winter of the tenth month of the following year, sinmi [611], Baekje raised a large army and laid siege to Gajam Fortress for more than a hundred days. King Jinpyeong commanded generals to lead the soldiers of Sang-ju, Ha-ju, and Sin-ju¹¹ to save it. Thereupon, they went out to fight

-
5. Haeron was a Silla general during King Jinpyeong's reign. He died in battle in 618 while retaking Gajam Fortress, which his father Chandeok (d. 612) had died defending against Baekje. A brief account of Haeron is also found in the "Silla Annals" and the "Baekje Annals." See *SS* 4, King Jingpyeong, Year 40; *SS* 27, King Mu, Year 19.
 6. Moryang was one of the six districts in the Silla capital. According to the account of the ninth year of King Yuri's reign, Moryang was an alternative name for Jeomnyang district 漸梁部, which had formerly been called Daesu district 大樹部; the people in the village were given the surname Son 孫 (*SS* 1, *Isageum* Yuri, Year 9). This place was recorded as Jamtak district 岑啄部 on the Silla stele in Bongpyeong, Uljin, North Gyeongsang province, which was erected in the eleventh year of King Beopheung (r. 514-540). Moryang is presumed to be near modern Mount Seohyeong, north of Moryang Stream, a tributary of the Seocheon Stream in Gyeongju.
 7. Chandeok was the governor of Gajam Fortress. In 612, he died fighting during the incessant attacks by Baekje. Both the "Silla Annals" and the "Baekje Annals" present short accounts of this battle. See *SS* 4, King Jingpyeong, Year 33; *SS* 27, King Mu, Year 12.
 8. Geonbok was the era name used by the Silla court from 584 to 633. Archeological relics, such as steles and Buddhist sculptures, as well as historical documents prove that several rulers in the Korean peninsula have chosen the era names of their own since the Three Kingdoms period. For example, the Stele of King Gwanggaeto attests to the usage of the era name Yeongnak 永樂 by King Gwanggaeto (r. 391-412) of Goguryeo, which was the first known era name used in Korean history. *SS* shows Silla introduced an era name of its own, Geonwon 建元 in 536 during the reign of King Beopheung and afterwards continued to create era names until Queen Jindeok (r. 647-654) who started to use the era names of Tang in her fourth reign year (650). As naming of an era was regarded as the matter that could be decided only by the emperors of China, the adoption of different era names from Chinese courts indicate that these monarchs in Korea intended to claim the legitimacy and sovereignty of their rule over territory (M. Yi 2017, 15-24).
 9. In the "Baekje Annals," Chandeok was the fortress commander (*seongju* 城主) of Gajam Fortress. See *SS* 27, King Mu, Year 12.
 10. Gajam Fortress is included in the list of unknown places in *SS* 37. It appears to be a strategic point for Baekje and Silla around the early seventh century. Scholars present different locations: Juksan-myeon, Anseong, Gyeonggi province, Goesan in North Chungcheong province, and Geochang-gun in South Gyeongsang province. See Jeong et. al. 2012, 4:799n5.
 11. Sang-ju was based in modern Seonsan, North Gyeongsang province, and Ha-ju in Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang province. Sin-ju is presumed to be modern Gwangju and Hanam in Gyeonggi province. Ju (1998, 104-10) notes that *ju* 州 was established for military inspection at the height of territorial expansion in the mid-sixth century. Later these areas became the seats of local administrative offices overseen by military governors sent by the royal court.

the Baekje force but failed; they retreated and returned to their encampment. Enraged, Chandeok said to the soldiers, “Seeing the mighty enemy, the generals and soldiers of three *ju* did not advance. With the fortress in danger, they did not fight for it; this is dishonorable. I would rather die with honor than live with disgrace.” Thereupon, they were roused to fight and defend the fortress. When they ran out of food and the water was depleted, they even ate the corpses and drank urine so as to fight relentlessly with all their might. When spring arrived in the first month of the following year, the men were exhausted and the fortress was about to fall. The situation was unsalvageable. Chandeok raised his head to the sky and cried out, “His majesty entrusted a single fortress to me, but I could not protect it. I have been defeated by the enemy. I wish that I would die and become a huge demon that would devour the Baekje people and regain this fortress.” Afterwards, Chandeok bared his arms and with fury in his eyes, ran into a locust tree;¹² he died, and the fortress fell.¹³ All the troops surrendered.

奚論年二十餘歲，以父功爲大奈麻。至建福三十五年戊寅，王命奚論爲金山幢主，與漢山州都督邊品，興師襲楸岑城，取之。百濟聞之，舉兵來。奚論等逆之，兵既相交。奚論謂諸將曰，“昔吾父殞身於此。我今亦與百濟人戰於此，是我死日也。”遂以短兵赴敵，殺數人而死。王聞之，爲流涕，贈卹其家甚厚。時人無不哀悼，爲作長歌弔之。

When he reached twenty years of age or more, Haeron became *daenama* [Rank 10]¹⁴ due to his father's merit. In the thirty-fifth year of the Geonbok era, *muin* [618], the king made Haeron the military chief¹⁵ of Geumsan [modern

12. A locust tree (*boesu* 槐樹) is a deciduous tree native to China and Korea. Its scientific name is *Sophora japonica*, and this tree was locally called *huaishu* in Chinese and *boehwa namu* in Korean. The flower and fruit have traditionally been used as medicine, as described in *Gugeup ganibang eonhae* (*Simplified Guide of Medical Treatment with Vernacular Explanations* 救急簡易方諺解) which was published in 1489 by the order of King Seongjong (Yun 1982, 66; 337). This tree has been commonly known as scholar tree in China and Korea due to the popular belief that a family that planted this tree in their house would produce a great scholar or eminent personage. Highly appreciated and deified, it was planted in the houses of esteemed families, temples, and royal court yards. The king would bestow this tree on meritorious subjects as a reward.

13. The “Baekje Annals” presents a different account of Chandeok's death. According to the record of the twelfth year of King Mu's reign, the Baekje troops killed Chandeok after they laid siege to Gajam Fortress.

14. *Daenama* is the tenth-bureaucratic rank of Silla. It is also called *daenamal* 大奈末 or *hannama* 韓奈麻. This is the highest rank that people from head-rank five (*odupum* 五頭品) could be promoted to.

15. The title of military chief (*dangu* 幢主) first appeared in the inscription of a Silla stele in Jeokseong, Danyang, which was erected in the mid-sixth century. The person in this office oversaw the military affairs of a local district.

Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang] and ordered him to launch a surprise attack against Gajam Fortress with Byeonpum [n.d.], commander-in-chief of Hansanju.¹⁶ They took the fortress. Hearing of this, Baekje raised an army and came to the fortress. Haeron and the others resisted and the soldiers engaged in battle. Haeron told the generals, “Earlier, my father died here. Now I, too, fight Baekje here. Today will be my last day.” Then, with his sword, he ran toward the enemy killing several men and died. When the king heard of this, he shed tears and bestowed generous condolence gifts on the bereaved family. At that time, all the people were saddened. A dirge¹⁷ was composed to mourn him.

Part 2. The Biography of Sona¹⁸

素那或云金川，白城郡蛇山人也。其父沈那 或云煌川，旅力過人，身輕且捷。蛇山境與百濟相錯，故互相寇擊無虛月。沈那每出戰，所向無堅陣。仁平中，白城郡出兵，往抄百濟邊邑，百濟出精兵，急擊之，我士卒亂退。沈那獨立拔劍，怒目大叱，斬殺數十餘人。賊懼不敢當，遂引兵而走。百濟人指沈那曰，“新羅飛將。”因相謂曰，“沈那尚生，莫近白城。”

Sona [d. 675] {some say Geumcheon}¹⁹ was from Sasan in Baekseong-gun.²⁰ His father, Simna [n.d.] {some say Hwangcheon}²¹ surpassed all others in physical strength and was light and agile. As Sasan [of Silla] lay along a jagged border with Baekje, they invaded and attacked one another almost every month. Whenever Simna went out for battle, there was no enemy camp that could

16. Hansan-ju is presumably Bukhansan-ju 北漢山州 as written in the account of the fortieth year (618) of King Jinpyeong's reign in SS 4.

17. Literally, *jangga* 長歌 means a long song. This is the first mention of a dirge in the historical records of Korea.

18. A brief account of Sona is also found in the record of the fifteenth year (675) of King Munmu's reign in SS 7. The present translation has benefited from the work of John Jamieson (1969, 187-89).

19. Geumcheon 金川 is the Sino-Korean word for the name Sona. The character *geum* 金 represents the native word *soe* meaning iron and the character *cheon* 川 refers to the native word *nae* meaning stream (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:800n13).

20. Under Goguryeo's rule, Baekseong-gun was called Nahyehol 奈兮忽, and was in what is now modern Anseong, Gyeonggi province. According to SS 35, this administrative unit had two *hyeons*, one of which was Sasan, modern Jiksan in Cheonan, South Chungcheong province (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:800n14). It was a key area over which Baekje and Silla vied for control. The remnants of Sasan Fortress in Jiksan are designated Monument No.104 of South Chungcheong province.

21. In the Jeongdeok edition, the first character in the compiler's in-text note is *hwang* (thriving 煌). But Jeong et al. (2012, 4:801n16) read it as *sik* (extinguishing 熄) based on the Seongam edition.

withstand him. During the Inpyeong era [634-647], troops were sent out from Baekseong-gun to raid a village along the Baekje border. In response, Baekje sent elite troops and swiftly attacked. Our Silla soldiers were thrown into chaos and retreated. Only Simna drew his sword, and with eyes ablaze with fury and a roar from his throat, he beheaded decades of men. The enemy was frightened and could not withstand him. Finally, the troops were called back and dispersed. Since then, the people of Baekje have called Simna the “Flying General of Silla.” They said to one another “Do not go near Baekseong as long as Simna is alive.”

素那雄豪，有父風。百濟滅後，漢州都督都儒公請大王，遷素那於阿達城，俾禦北鄙。上元二年乙亥春，阿達城大守級滄漢宣教民，以某日，齊出種麻，不得違令。

Sona, brave and heroic, had his father's spirit. After the collapse of Baekje [660], Lord Doyu [d. 668], governor of Han-ju,²² asked King Munmu to transfer Sona to Adal Fortress [modern Icheon, Gangwon]²³ to defend the villages in the northern region.²⁴ In the spring of the second year of the Shangyuan era, *eulhae* [675], the chief magistrate of Adal Fortress,²⁵ *Geupchan* Hanseon, commanded everyone to leave the fortress and plant hemp on a certain date. They could not disobey the order.²⁶

22. Bak Doyu was an aristocrat of the true bone status. According to the record of the eighth year (668) of King Munmu's reign in *SS* 6, he was appointed commander-in-chief of Hanseong-ju to lead the expedition to Goguryeo. Based on a letter from King Munmu to the Tang general Xue Li 薛禮 (614-683), known as Xue Rengui 薛仁貴, he was decapitated because he had been given a Baekje woman in marriage and had participated alongside Baekje refugees in a plot to steal weapons from the Silla military. For a detailed account, see *SS* 7, King Munmu, Year 11.

23. Adal Fortress is presumed to be the same place as Ajinham Fortress 阿珍含城 mentioned in the account of the seventh year of King Munmu's reign in *SS* 6. Tang General Li Ji (d. 669), Duke of Ying, dispatched the head of a local village and a Khitan cavalry of eighty men to transmit an imperial letter to King Munmu in 667. They passed Ajinham Fortress to reach Hanseong 漢城.

24. The northern portion of Silla's territory adjoined the settlements of the Malgal (Mohe 靺鞨 in Chinese). In 658, King Taejong Muyeol elevated the status of Haseulla (modern Gangneung, Gangwon province) to *ju* 州 in order to protect the people (*SS* 5, King Taejong Muyeol, Year 5). The Malgal invasion of the northern areas of Silla increased noticeably after the fall of Goguryeo. After the subjugation of Goguryeo, the Tang dynasty orchestrated many attacks to purge the Silla force from the former Goguryeo areas by using the Khitan and Mohe peoples. For more details, see *SS* 7, King Munmu, Years 11 and 13. See also Noh 2010, 228-31.

25. The official title, chief magistrate (*taesu* 太守), and the fortress are not compatible in the local government system of Silla. There is no other reference with which to confirm Hanseon's position because this is the only occurrence of him in *SS*. If he had been the chief magistrate, he must have been the chief magistrate of Tosan-gun 兔山郡 or the magistrate of Anhyeop-hyeon 安峽縣 who governed the Adal Fortress area (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:802n22).

26. With the centralized monarchial system in Silla, the entire land was, in principle, owned by the king

靺鞨謀者認之，歸告某酋長。至其日，百姓皆出城在田。靺鞨潛師，猝入城，剽掠一城，老幼狼狽，不知所爲。素那奮刃向賊，大呼曰，“爾等知新羅有沈那之子素那乎。固不畏死以圖生，欲鬪者曷不來耶。”遂憤怒突賊，賊不敢迫，但向射之。素那亦射，飛矢如蜂，自辰至酉，素那身矢如猬。遂倒而死。

A Malgal²⁷ spy learned of this and returned to tell the tribal chief. When the day came, all the people of the village left the fortress and were in the field. The stealthily moving Malgal soldiers quickly entered the fortress, plundering all of it. The old and young, panicked, not knowing what to do. Then, Sona arrived brandishing his sword and shouted to the enemy “You, there! Did you know that Silla has Sona, the son of Simna? I do not fear death or seek life. Why don't you come and fight me?” Then, he furiously charged the enemy. The bandits did not dare advance, but fired arrows at him instead. Sona shot at them too, and from dawn to dusk the arrows flew like a swarm of bees.²⁸ With arrows lodged in his entire body, Sona looked like a hedgehog. Eventually, he collapsed and died.

素那妻加林郡良家女子。初素那以阿達城鄰敵國，獨行留其妻而在家。郡人聞素那死，弔之，其妻哭而對曰，“吾夫常曰，‘丈夫固當兵死，豈可臥牀席，死家人之手乎？’其平昔之言如此，今死如其志也。”大王聞之，涕泣沾襟曰，“父子勇於國校事，可謂世濟忠義矣。”贈官迎滄。

Sona's wife was the daughter of a respectable family in Garim-gun. Early on, due to Adal Fortress's proximity to enemy territory, Sona had moved there

during the Three Kingdoms period. Private ownership of land still existed in practice, however. While independent peasants whose status was that of freemen cultivated their own parcels of land, peasants in the villages labored in farms on a cooperative basis. This episode is an example of the earlier communal labor. For more information, see Lee 1984, 55-56; Ju 1978, 13-16.

27. The Malgal generally refers to a Tungusic people who lived in modern northeast Asia. The first occurrence of the people in Chinese history occurs in the account of the second year (563) of Emperor Wucheng's reign in the *Bei Qi shu* (*History of the Northern Qi* 北齊書). It is notable, however, in the annals of SS, forty-three out of a total of seventy-seven occurrences of the Malgal predate the year 563. This raised questions over the validity of the term in SS. Jeong Yakyong (1762-1836) claimed that the Malgal in the accounts of SS that were dated before the Chinese records were quasi-Malgal 僞靺鞨 who should be identified as a native tribe, the Ye 濊 in South Hamgyeong province. Jeong went on and claimed that the Malgal in the accounts after 563 were the actual Malgal. While his theory has influenced many historians, others have suggested the existence of an unidentified native tribe recorded as the Malgal in SS. For a summary of the controversy, see Kim 2009, 12-17.

28. Based on a sexagenary system of hours, *jin* 辰 is the time from seven to nine in the morning; *yu* 酉 is the time from five to seven in the afternoon.

alone, leaving his wife at home. When the neighbors heard about Sona's death, they mourned him. His wife wailed and said "My husband always told me 'A man of honor should die on a battlefield. How could I die in my bedroom under my family's care?' He would always say this. Now he has honored his words by his death." Hearing this, the king wept, wetting his lapel. He said, "Both father and son were courageous on the country's behalf. The loyalty and honor of generations are worth recognizing." They were posthumously elevated to *japchan* [Rank 3].²⁹

Part 3. The Biography of Chwido³⁰

驟徒，沙梁人，奈麻聚福之子。史失其姓。兄弟三人，長夫果，仲驟徒，季逼實。驟徒嘗出家，名道玉，居實際寺。

Chwido [n.d.] was from Saryang [in modern Gyeongju] and the son of *Nama* Chwibok [n.d.]. His family name is not recorded. There were three brothers in the family. The eldest was called Bugwa [d. 671], the middle was Chwido, and the youngest was Pipsil [d. 684].³¹ Early on, Chwido left home to join a Buddhist monastic order. Given the dharma name Do-ok, he resided at Silje Monastery.³²

大校宗大王時，百濟來伐助川城，大王興師出戰，未決。於是，道玉語其徒曰，“吾聞爲僧者，‘上則精術業，以復性，次則起道用，以益他。’我形似桑門而已，無一善可取。

29. This rank was only conferred on people of the true bone status. It was unusual that a man from a province was posthumously promoted to the rank of *japchan*. Generally, *geupchan* (Rank 9) or *sachan* (Rank 8) was given to a warrior to honor his valiant death.

30. Chwido was the first Buddhist monk in Korean history to join the army to defend one's homeland. Upon Baekje's attack on Jocheon Fortress, he formed a death band and advanced deep into the enemy camp to launch a surprise attack. Silla won the battle thanks to Chwido's sacrifice (Yoon 1979, 98-99). The present translation has benefited from John Jamieson (1969, 190-91).

31. Both Bugwa 夫果 and Pipsil 逼實 served as military officers based in Gyeongju, the former during the time of King Munmu (r. 661-681) and the latter during that of King Sinmun (r. 681-692).

32. Silje Monastery 實際寺 whose exact location is not confirmed but presumed to be within Gyeongju, was built in the twenty-sixth year (566) of King Jinheung's reign. According to the episode of Monk Yeongyeo 迎如師 (n.d.) in "Hermits' Lives" (Pieun 避隱) of SY5, during the reign of King Gyeongdeok (r. 742-765) he stayed at this monastery. The title national preceptor (*guksa* 國師) was posthumously conferred on him. The place also came to be called the national preceptor's hermitage (*guksa bang* 國師房) and continued to be referred to by that title down to the thirteenth century, during the lifetime of the Buddhist monk Iryeon 一然 (1206-1289).

不如從軍，殺身以報國。”

During the reign of King Taejong [r. 654-661], Baekje launched an attack on Jocheon Fortress [in modern Yeongdong, South Chungcheong].³³ Although the king raised an army to counter them, he had yet to score a decisive victory.³⁴ Do-ok said to his fellow monks, “From what I have learned, a monk’s prime pursuit is to devote himself to the way [of Buddha] for the purpose of restoring one’s nature while the next best task is to practice that knowledge to benefit others. I may look like a monk on the surface, but I haven’t set a single desirable example for others to follow. I would rather place myself at the service of my country in order to repay my debt of gratitude.”

脫法衣，著戎服，改名曰驟徒。意謂馳驟而爲徒也。乃詣兵部，請屬三千幢，遂隨軍赴敵場。及旗鼓相當，持槍劍，突陣力鬪，殺賊數人而死。

Shedding his monk’s habit, he put on a military uniform. He then changed his name to Chwido meaning “to hurriedly join the infantry.” Afterwards, he went to the military office and asked to be assigned to the Three Thousand Banner Army.³⁵ Eventually, he left with the troops and arrived at the front line. The two

33. Jocheon Fortress 助川城 was a strategic point on the route to Buyeo as it provided a path that went directly across Chupung Pass 秋風嶺 in the Sobaek Mountains, located upstream of the Geum River. While some consider Bibong Mountain Fortress 飛鳳山城 in North Chungcheong province to be the modern day location, others identify it with Daeyang Mountain Fortress 大陽山城 on Mount Daewang 大王山 also located in the same province.

34. Baekje’s attack on Jocheon Fortress refers to a war that broke out in the second year (655) of King Muyeol’s reign, when the allied forces of Baekje and Goguryeo captured thirty-three fortresses in the northwestern region of Silla (SS 5, King Taejong Muyeol, Year 2, Month 1; SS 22, King Bojang, Year 14, Month 1; SS 28, King Uija, Year 15, Month 8). This war proved to be the biggest crisis ever faced by Silla and subsequently led King Muyeol to actively seek the aid of Tang China.

35. There is no direct mention of the Three Thousand Banner Army (*samcheondang* 三千幢) among the twenty-three battalions listed in the monograph on administration (*jikgwan* 職官) in SS 40. What the record shows instead, is the existence of other battalions with similar names, such as the Four Thousand Banner Army 四千幢 and New Three Thousand Banner Army 新三千幢. The Four Thousand Banner Army was established in the thirteenth year (591) of King Jinpyeong’s reign (579-632) while the New Three Thousand Banner Army was set up in the twelfth year (672) of King Munmu’s reign (661-681). Since the New Three Thousand Banner was also referred to as Outer-Three Thousand Banner 外三千幢, it is likely that this is the battalion which was based outside the capital area. It is also likely that the original Three Thousand Banner Army came before the formation of the Outer-Three Thousand Banner Army, presumably around the second year of King Muyeol’s reign (654-661) and was formed by recruiting volunteers when Silla was on the brink of losing its thirty-three fortresses in the north due to a combined attack by the Goguryeo-Baekje alliance in 655. The Three Thousand Banner Army is also considered different from Three Thousand Soldiers 三千卒 made up of a total of 150 men according to SS 40.

sides faced off, evenly matching with banners and drums. [Then, on the order to advance] Chwido grasped his spear and sword, charged forth and fought with all his might. He killed several before he died.

後咸亨二年辛未，文武大王發兵，使踐百濟邊地之禾。遂與百濟人戰於熊津之南。時夫果以幢主戰死，論功第一。

Later, in the second year of the Xianheng era, *sinmi* [671], King Munmu [r. 661-681] dispatched his army to trample the rice fields at the border of Baekje. Eventually, his army clashed with the people of Baekje³⁶ residing south of Ungjin [modern Gongju, South Chungcheong].³⁷ Bugwa, who was the military chief³⁸ at the time, died in this battle. In terms of merit, he was ranked the highest.

文明元年甲申，高句麗殘賊，據報德城而叛。神文大王命將討之，以逼實爲貴幢弟監。臨行謂其婦曰，“吾二兄既死於王事，名垂不朽。吾雖不肖，何得畏死而苟存乎。今日與爾生離，終是死別也。好住無傷。”及對陣，獨出奮擊，斬殺數十人而死。

In the first year of the Wenming era,³⁹ *gapsin* [684], when the remaining Goguryeo bandits occupying Bodeok Fortress [modern Iksan, North Jeolla] rose in revolt,⁴⁰ King Sinmun [r. 681-692] ordered his general to suppress

36. The fact that Silla army clashed with Baekje is proof that despite the defeat of Baekje in the seventh month of 660, Silla had not yet pacified the numerous local powers scattered throughout the former Baekje territory.

37. Ungjin 熊津, also referred to as Gomnaru, Gomanaru, or Gomanari, once served as a capital city of Baekje from 475 to 538. After the fall of Baekje, Tang installed a commandery in Ungjin to contain the rebel forces of Baekje and to exploit it as an outpost for further territorial expansion in the Korean peninsula. Having installed old Baekje leaders to rule the region, including the captive Baekje prince Buyeo Yung 扶餘隆 (615-682), Ungjin became a Tang-controlled autonomous district for Baekje migrants. The commandery was abolished in 677, a year after Silla emerged victorious in the seven-year war with Tang and forced its counterpart to withdraw its forces from the region.

38. Bugwa's military title was *dangju* 幢主 in Sino-Korean.

39. Wenming was the first reign title of Emperor Ruizong of Tang 睿宗 (r. 684-690; r. 710-712), which lasted less than a year, from the second month to the tenth in 684.

40. According to the record of the fourth year (684) of King Sinmun's reign in *SS* 8, the revolt was set off when General Daemun 大文 (d. 684), also called Silbok 悉伏, was caught plotting treason and was promptly executed. Daemun's remaining forces, upon seeing the death of their leader, came together to fight the Silla authority on their own, resulting in a fierce clash between the Bodeok people and Silla troops. See *SS* 8, King Sinmun, Year 4, Month 11.

them. He also made Pipsil the deputy director⁴¹ of Gwidang.⁴² As Pipsil was about to leave, he said to his wife, “My two elder brothers have already died fulfilling their duties to the king and left their names to live on for all eternity. Unworthy as I am [in comparison] how could I fear death and lead a life of disgrace instead? Today I part with you alive but eventually this shall be our final goodbye. Take care and do not grieve.” Upon confronting the enemy, he rushed out on his own, gathered his strength and attacked, beheading dozens until he, too, went down.

大王聞之，流涕嘆曰，“驟徒知死所，而激昆弟之心。夫果·逼實亦能勇於義，不顧其身，不其壯歟。”皆追贈官沙漚。

When the king heard this, he exclaimed, with tears flowing, “Chwido knew where to die and inspired his brothers to rise up. Bugwa and Pipsil were equally courageous in choosing the righteous path, showing no regard for their own lives. How magnificent they are!” The rank of *sachan* [Rank 8] was conferred on both of them posthumously.

Part 4. The Biography of Nulchoe

訥催，沙梁人，大奈麻都非之子也。眞平王建福四十一年甲申冬十月，百濟大舉來侵，分兵圍攻速含·櫻岑·岐岑·烽岑·旗懸·冗柵等六城。王命上州·下州·貴幢·法幢·誓幢五軍，往救之。既到見百濟兵陣堂堂，鋒不可當，盤桓不進。

Nulchoe [d. 624] was from Saryang district [in Gyeongju] and was a son of *Daenama* Dobi [n.d.]. During the winter, in the tenth month of the forty-first year of the Geonbok era,⁴³ *gapsin* [624], during the reign of King Jinpyeong [r.

41. Deputy director (*jegam* 弟監) is a Silla military title that was established in the twenty-third year (562) of King Jinheung's reign. In each *gwidang* garrison there were five *jegam* officials. Meanwhile, the record of the fourth year of King Sinmun's reign (681-691) in *SS* 8 states that Pipsil's military rank was *dangju* 幢主 just like his brother Bugwa.

42. Gwidang 貴幢, which literally means “Noble Banner Army,” was a local garrison and one of the six major military units in Silla. It was formerly known as Sangju-jeong 上州停 which was founded in the thirteenth year (552) of King Jinheung's reign (540-576). The garrison was given its present name in the thirteenth year (673) of King Munmu's reign. On the other hand, it is also presumed that the name Gwidang may have already belonged to another battalion long before the time of King Munmu since the name also appears in other records of *SS*. See *SS* 6, King Munmu, Year 1, Month 7; *SS* 47, the Biography of Nulchoe.

43. For the Geonbok era, see footnote 8.

579-632], Baekje launched a massive attack on Silla,⁴⁴ splitting up its armies and laying siege to the six fortresses of Sokham [Hamyang, South Gyeongsang], Aengjam [presumably in Hamyang], Gijam⁴⁵ [Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang], Bongjam [unknown], Gihyeon [presumably in Namwon, North Jeolla] and Hyeolchaek [unknown]. The king ordered the five armies of Sangju,⁴⁶ Haju,⁴⁷ Gwidang,⁴⁸ Beopdang,⁴⁹ and Seodang⁵⁰ to go to the rescue. Having arrived, Silla troops took in the magnificent features of the Baekje military formation, and decided they stood no chance against their swords. They hesitated, unable to advance any further.

或立議曰，“大王以五軍，委之諸將，國之存亡，在此一役。兵家之言曰，‘見可而進，知難而退。’今強敵在前，不以好謀而直進，萬一有不如意，則悔不可追。”將佐皆以爲然，而業已受命出師，不得徒還。先是，國家欲築奴珍等六城，而未遑，遂於其地，築畢而歸。於是，百濟侵攻愈急，速含·歧岑·冗柵三城，或滅或降。

Someone pointed out, “Since the king has put our generals in charge of the five armies, the fate of our country hinges on this single battle. The School of Military teaches, ‘Advance, if you see an opportunity; retreat, if you see none.’⁵¹ Right now, we have a formidable opponent in front of us. If we march against them without a good plan and things do not turn out as we hope, it will be too late for regrets.” All the generals and aides agreed. However, having already acted upon the royal order, they dared not just walk away. Prior to this incident, Silla had sought to build six fortresses, including Nojin [unknown], but did not have enough time to finish the task. Thereupon, the troops devoted themselves to

44. Baekje's attack on six Silla fortresses in 624 was headed by King Mu 武王 (r. 600-642), the thirtieth king of Baekje, whose army clashed with Silla more than a dozen times during his reign. See SS 27, King Mu, Year 25. Month 10.

45. Gijam 歧岑 is also presumed to be in Gangyang-gun of Gangju during the Silla period.

46. Sangju 上州 was a local garrison located in Seonsan 善山, North Gyeongsang province. It was originally located in modern Sangju until it moved during the thirty-sixth year (614) of King Jinpyeong's reign.

47. Haju 下州 was a local garrison founded at Changnyeong, South Gyeongsang province in the sixteenth year (555) of King Jinheung's reign. It moved its administrative seat to Hapcheon of the same province in the twenty-sixth year (565) of King Jinheung's reign (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:805n42).

48. For Gwidang 貴幢, see footnote 42.

49. Beopdang 法幢 was a local garrison of Silla. For its commander (*beopdangju* 法幢主) and organization such as Beopdang-gam 法幢監, see SS 40.

50. Seodang 誓幢 was a local garrison also known as “Oath Banner,” founded in the fifth year (583) of King Jinpyeong's reign. Its name changed from Seodang to Nokgeum Seodang 緣衿誓幢 in the thirty-fifth year (613) of King Jinpyeong's reign.

51. This is a quotation from “Evaluating the Enemy” (Liaodi 料敵) of *Wuzi* 吳子.

completing the construction in that area instead and afterwards returned home. Seizing that moment, Baekje accelerated their attacks, and consequently the three fortresses of Sokham, Gijam, and Hyeolchaek either fell or surrendered.

訥催以三城固守，及聞五軍不救而還，慷慨流涕，謂士卒曰，“陽春和氣，草木皆華，至於歲寒，獨松柏後彫。今孤城無援，日益阽危。此誠志士義夫，盡節揚名之秋。汝等將若之何。”士卒揮淚曰，“不敢惜死，唯命是從。”及城將隕，軍士死亡無幾。人皆殊死戰，無苟免之心。

Nulchoe was defending the remaining three fortresses⁵² when he heard that the five armies, instead of coming to help, had left. Fervently, with tears running down his face, he addressed his troops. “In the gentle breezes of spring, every plant and tree blooms, but when the weather turns cold, the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves.⁵³ Now, this isolated fortress is cut off from all support, and the situation grows more perilous by the day. Indeed, now is the time for loyal soldiers and honorable men to give their all to uphold integrity and make their names known throughout the country. Warriors, what will your choice be?” The soldiers, also with tears streaming down their cheeks, replied, “We dare not fear for our lives, but will follow your command unto death.” By this time the fortress had nearly fallen, countless number of soldiers lay dead. Yet everyone was determined to fight till the end, not wishing to lead a life of disgrace.

訥催有一奴，強力善射。或嘗語曰，“小人而有異才，鮮不爲害，此奴宜遠之。”訥催不聽。至是，城陷賊入，奴張弓挾矢，在訥催前，射不虛發。賊懼不能前，有一賊出後，以斧擊訥催，乃仆。奴反與鬪俱死。王聞之，悲慟，追贈訥催職級。後。

Meanwhile Nulchoe had a slave who was a strong and skilled archer. Earlier, someone advised Nulchoe, “A man is almost always harmed when he is served by a lowly man endowed with an exceptional talent; you had better keep him at a distance!” Nulchoe refused to listen. When the fortress fell and the enemy forces broke in, the [aforementioned] slave drew a bow, nocked an arrow, and began shooting at the intruders. Standing tall in front of Nulchoe, he did not

52. The record of King Jinpyeong's forty-sixth year (624) in *SS* 4 also states that the three remaining fortresses at that point were Bongjam 烽岑, Aengjam 櫻岑, and Giheon 旗懸 (Yi 1996, 446n5).

53. This is a modified quotation from *Lunyu* 9.28: “The Master said, ‘When the year becomes cold, then we know how the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves’” 子曰 歲寒 然後知松柏之後彫也。

once miss his target. The enemy, gripped with fear, was unable to come any closer. One of them managed to approach from behind and struck Nulchoe with an axe. As Nulchoe collapsed, the slave turned around and fought until he too died with his master. The king grieved upon hearing the news and posthumously conferred the title of *geupchan* [Rank 9] on Nulchoe.

Part 5. The Biography of Seol Gyedu⁵⁴

薛一本作薛闕頭，亦新羅衣冠子孫也。嘗與親友四人，同會燕飲，各言其志。闕頭曰，“新羅用人，論骨品。苟非其族，雖有鴻才傑功，不能踰越。我願西遊中華國，奮不世之略，立非常之功，自致榮路，備簪紳劔佩，出入天子之側，足矣。”

Seol {another source writes “Sal” for “Seol”} Gyedu [d. 645] was a descendant of a Silla official.⁵⁵ Once, Gyedu and four friends talked about their ambitions while drinking. He said, “Silla employs people based on their bone-rank.⁵⁶ So, if you are not from the nobility, no matter how great your talents and merits are, you cannot go beyond your rank. I want to go west to China, to show my unmatched resourcefulness and skill so that I will have an extraordinary career. I want to be fully dressed with hairpins, a wide waist band, a sword, and ornaments,⁵⁷ and then, to serve at the side of the Son of Heaven. That would be enough for me.”

武德四年辛巳，潛隨海舶入唐。會太宗文皇帝親征高句麗，自薦爲左武衛果毅。至遼東，與麗人戰駐蹕山下，深入疾鬪而死，功一等。皇帝問，“是何許人。”左右奏，“新羅人薛闕頭也。”皇帝泫然曰，“吾人尙畏死，願望不前，而外國人爲吾死事，何以報其功乎。”問從者，聞其平生之願，脫御衣覆之，授職爲大將軍，以禮葬之。

In the fourth year of the Wude era, *sinsa* [621], Gyedu secretly boarded a ship and entered Tang. At that time Emperor Taizong, the Cultured August,

54. The present translation has benefited from that of Peter Lee (1993, 49).

55. Considering his complaint about the bone-rank system, he is presumed to have been below the status of head-rank six.

56. The bone-rank (*golpum* 骨品) indicates a degree of lineage during the Silla period. According to their bone-rank, people were restricted as to what they could do and it affected everything, including entering officialdom, marriage, clothing, housing, etc. The bone-rank system is one of the most popular research topics in Korean history because of its social implications. In *SS*, the term bone-rank is found only in this biography. See J. Yi 2017, 88.

57. A sword and ornaments (*geompa* 劔佩) are translated as “wear a sword” by Jeong et al. (2012, 2:795).

personally attempted to subjugate Goguryeo. Gyedu recommended himself and became a vice commandant of the Left Militant Guard. Arriving at Liaodong [southeast of modern Liaoning], the emperor and his troops fought against Goguryeo at the foot of Mount Jupil.⁵⁸ Gyedu plunged into the thick of battle and died. His merit was foremost. The emperor asked, “Who is this person?” The subjects by his side replied, “He is Seol Gyedu from Silla.” The emperor wept and said, “Even people of our country fear death, and seeing the situation, they were unable to advance. This foreigner gave his life for us; how should we reward his dedication?” The emperor asked his servant about Gyedu’s lifetime desire. Upon hearing it, he took off his own robe and covered Gyedu’s body. The emperor granted him the title of general-in-chief, and with great pomp held his funeral.

Part 6. The Biography of Kim Yeongyun⁵⁹

金令胤，沙梁人，級浪盤屈之子。相欽春 或云欽純角干，眞平王時爲花郎。仁深信厚，能得衆心。及壯，文武大王陟爲冢宰。事上以忠，臨民以恕。國人翕然稱爲賢相。 Kim Yeongyun [d. 684] was from Saryang [in modern Gyeongju] and a son of *Geupchan* Bangul [d. 660]. His grandfather, *Gakgan* Heumchun [n.d.], {some say Heumsun} became a *hwarang* during King Jinpyeong’s reign [579-632]. He was deeply benevolent and trustworthy, and gained people’s hearts. When he grew up, King Munmu [r. 661-681] promoted him to the position of minister. Heumchun served his seniors loyally and treated the people generously. All across the country, people hailed him as a worthy minister.

太宗大王七年庚申，唐高宗命大將軍蘇定方，伐百濟。欽春受王命，與將軍庾信等，率精兵五萬以應之。秋七月，至黃山之原，值百濟將軍階伯，戰不利。欽春召子盤屈曰，“爲臣莫若忠，爲子莫若孝。見危致命，忠孝兩全。”盤屈曰，“唯。”乃入賊陣，力戰死。 In the seventh year of King Taejong’s reign, *gyeongsin* [660], Emperor Gaozong of Tang ordered Grand General Su Dingfang to attack Baekje. Kim Heumchun received the king’s order and, with Yusin and others, led fifty thousand elite

58. Mount Jupil 駐蹕山 is modern Shoushan 首山 located in the south of Liaoyang 遼陽 in Liaoning Sheng 遼寧省 in China. The original name of Mount Jupil was Mount Masu 馬首山, but it was changed to Mount Jupil after Emperor Taizong stopped there during his expedition against Goguryeo.

59. The present translation has benefited from that of John Jamieson (1969, 192-94).

troops to respond to the Tang's forces. In the seventh month, in autumn, when they reached Hwangsan Plain, Heumchun's troops faced those of General Gyeback of Baekje. The battle went against [Heumchun's troops]. Heumchun summoned his son Bangul and said, "For a subject, loyalty precedes anything; for a son, filial piety. If you see danger and sacrifice your life [for your country], you will fulfill both virtues." Bangul said, "Yes." Then, he went amongst the enemy troops, fought with all his might, and died.

令胤生長世家,以名節自許.神文大王時,高句麗殘賊悉伏,以報德城叛.王命討之.以令胤爲黃衿誓幢步騎監.將行,謂人曰,“吾此行也,不使宗族朋友,聞其惡聲.” Yeongyun was born and raised in a distinguished family, and took pride in its reputation and integrity. During King Sinmun's reign [681-692], Goguryeo's remaining bandit, Silbok [n.d.] raised a revolt at Bodeok Fortress [modern Iksan, North Jeolla]. The king ordered it put down. Yeongyun was granted the title of infantry and cavalry overseer in the Yellow Collar Sworn Banner. Setting off, he said to the others, “My conduct will not cause my clansmen and friends to hear anything bad about me.”

及見悉伏出椴峯城南七里,結陳以待之,或告曰,“今此凶黨,譬如鷺巢幕上,魚戲鼎中,出萬死以爭一日之命耳.語曰,‘窮寇勿迫.’宜左次以待疲極而擊之,可不血刃而擒也.”

Seeing Silbok, who had set up a camp seven *li* to the south of Gajam Fortress [unknown] and waited for Yeongyun, someone said, “This heinous group is like swallows nesting on a tent⁶⁰ or fish playing in a cauldron. Even if we are ready to fight and die ten thousand times, we only have a day to live. There is a saying ‘Do not press a desperate foe too hard.’⁶¹ So we should retreat⁶² and wait until they get tired, and then defeat them. It is possible to capture robbers and yet have no blood on the blade.”

諸將然其言,暫退.獨令胤不肯之而欲戰,從者告曰,“今諸將豈盡偷生之人,惜死

60. Cf. *Zuozhuan*, “Xiaogong” 襄公, Year 29: “This fine man here is like a swallow that has built its nest atop a tent” 夫子之在此也,猶燕之巢於幕上. English translation taken from Durrant et al. 2016, 2:1249.

61. This is a quotation from *Sunzi*, “Maneuvering” 軍爭.

62. This expression is also found in “Shi” 師 of *Yijing*: “Six in the fourth place means: The army retreats. No blame” 六四: 師左次, 无咎. Translation taken from Wilhelm 1967, 34.

之輩哉。而以向者之言爲然者，將俟其隙，而得其便者也。而子獨直前，其不可乎。”

All the generals gave their assent, so they stepped back for a moment. Only Yeongyun did not agree; he wanted to fight. His followers said, “How can it be that all the generals desire to live and evade death? What we intended before was to look for the right moment and thereby gain a better chance. But you alone advanced forward and that is not right.”

令胤曰，“臨陣無勇，禮經之所識，有進無退，士卒之常分也。”丈夫臨事自決，何必從衆。“遂赴敵陣，格鬪而死。王聞之，悽慟流涕曰，“無是父，無是子。其義烈可嘉者也。”追贈爵賞尤厚。

Yeongyun replied “the *Classic of Rites* warned of losing courage on the battlefield.⁶³ Advancement but no withdrawal is the enduring duty of soldiers. Facing the task, a great man decides on his own. Why should we follow others?” Finally, he ran to the enemy, fought fiercely, and died. Hearing this, the king wept in sorrow and said, “Without such a father, there would not have been such a son.⁶⁴ His honor and prowess is commendable.” Yeongyun was granted a posthumous title and generous awards.

Part 7. The Biography of Gwanchang⁶⁵

官昌一云官狀，新羅將軍品日之子。儀表都雅，少而爲花郎，善與人交。年十六，能騎馬彎弓。大監某薦之太宗大王。至唐顯慶五年庚申，王出師，與唐將軍侵百濟，以官昌爲副將。至黃山之野，兩兵相對。父品日謂曰，“爾雖幼年，有志氣，今日是立功名，取富貴之時。其可無勇乎。”官昌曰，“唯。”卽上馬橫槍，直擣敵陣，馳殺數人，而彼衆我寡，爲賊所虜。生致百濟元帥階伯前。階伯俾脫胄，愛其少且勇，不忍加害。乃嘆曰，“新羅多奇士，少年尙如此，況壯士乎。”乃許生還。

Gwanchang [645-660]⁶⁶ {some say Gwanjang} was the son of Pumil [n.d.], a

63. Cf. *Liji*, “Summary of the Rules of Propriety 1” 曲禮上: “When you find wealth within your reach, do not try to get it by improper means; when you meet with calamity, do not try to escape from it by improper means” 臨財毋苟得，臨難毋苟免。

64. This expression is also found in “The Priority of Filial Devotion” 孝至 of *Yangzi Fayan* 揚子法言 13.

65. The present translation has benefited from those of John Jamieson (1969, 195-96) and Peter Lee (1993, 104-05).

66. Gwanchang 官昌 was of true bone status. After Bangul 盤屈 (d. 660), the son of General Kim Heumsun (n.d.), had devoted his life to boosting the morale of the troops as they fought against Baekje, Gwanchang also sacrificed his life.

Silla general.⁶⁷ His behavior and appearance emanated elegance. When he was young, he became a *hwarang*⁶⁸ and got along easily with people. At sixteen, he was a good horseman and archer. A certain director recommended him to King Taejong [r. 654-661]. In the fifth year of the Xianqing era of Tang, *gyeongsin* [660], the king, in cooperation with Tang generals, sent forces against Baekje, and appointed Gwanchang vice general. The two opposing armies faced each other on the plain of Hwangsan [in modern Nonsan, South Chungcheong]. Pumil said, “Although you are young, a determined mind and spirit exist inside of you. This is the day that you can perform a glorious deed and gain wealth and honor. Show courage!” Gwanchang replied, “I will.” He mounted a horse, levelled his spear, and immediately charged the enemy. Galloping on horseback, Gwanchang rushed to kill enemy soldiers but, as we [the Silla troops] were outnumbered, he was captured. Alive, he was dragged to camp and placed in front of Gyebaek [d. 660],⁶⁹ marshal of Baekje. When Gwanchang was stripped of his helmet, Gyebaek was impressed by his youth and courage. He could not bear to kill Gwanchang and sighed, “Silla has many outstanding soldiers. If even a boy is like this, how much more would adult warriors be?” Gyebaek allowed him to return alive.

官昌曰，“向吾入賊中，不能斬將奪旗，深所恨也。再入，必能成功。”以手掬井水，飲訖，再突賊陣，疾鬪。階伯擒斬首，繫馬鞍送之。品日執其首，袖拭血曰，“吾兒面目如生。能死於王事，無所悔矣。”三軍見之，慷慨有立志。鼓噪進擊，百濟大敗。大王贈位級，以禮葬之，賻其家唐絹三十匹·二十升布三十匹·穀一百石。

[Returning,] Gwanchang said, “When I entered the heart of the enemy camp,

67. Pumil 品日 was a Silla general of true bone status. In 660, he took part in the battle of Hwangsan Plain with Kim Yusin (595-673), Kim Heumsun, and fifty thousand other soldiers. Since they were defeated by Gyebaek's forces four times, he suggested that Gwanchang fight to the death in order to stir up the morale of the Silla troops.

68. *Hwarang* 花郎 refers both to the leader of the Silla youth group and the group itself. This group was composed of one leader of true bone status and about a thousand followers. One of the followers was a monk who was supposed to advise the leader. Their ages were between fifteen and eighteen. They were trained for around three years and formed a close bond with one another. They swore to die together and their relationship continued for a lifetime. See Yi 1979, 8-24.

69. Gyebaek 階伯 is also written as Gyebaek 培伯 in the account of the seventh year (660) of King Taejong's reign in *SS* 5 and in that of the twentieth year of King Uija's reign (641-660) in *SS* 28. He took five thousand soldiers who were ready to die and pitted them against Kim Yusin's fifty thousand troops at Hwangsan Plain in 660. He met his death during this battle. For more information, see the biography of Gyebaek in *SS* 47. For an English translation, see part 13 of this translation.

I was unable to decapitate the general and seize the standard; this is my deepest regret. Next time, I am determined to succeed.” Scooping up well water with his hand, he drank. He then dashed into the foe’s line and fought nimbly. Gyebaek captured and beheaded him; his head, tied to a saddle, was sent back. Holding the head and using his sleeve to wipe away the blood, Pumil said, “My son’s face and eyes are as if he were alive. He died for the king’s cause, there shall be no regrets.” All the soldiers of the Three Armies were indignant when they saw this and stiffened their determination. With drums beating, they charged and attacked the enemy. Baekje was soundly defeated. The king bestowed *geupchan* [Rank 9]⁷⁰ on Gwanchang and held the funeral with full honors, giving his family thirty bolts of Tang silk, thirty bolts of twenty-seung linen cloth,⁷¹ and one hundred *seok* of grain.

Part 8. The Biography of Kim Heumun⁷²

金歆運，奈密王八世孫也。父達福迺漚。歆運少遊花郎文努之門。時徒衆言及某戰死，留名至今。歆運慨然流涕，有激勵思齊之貌。同門僧轉密曰，“此人若赴敵，必不還也。”

Kim Heumun⁷³ [d. 655] was the eighth-generation descendant of King Namil [r. 356-402].⁷⁴ His father Dalbok [n.d.] was *japchan* [Rank 3].⁷⁵ When Heumun was young, he associated with others under the leadership of Hwarang Munno [n.d.]. Once, his peers talked about someone who had died honorably on the battlefield and left his name to posterity. Heumun cried with grief and exhorted himself to emulate him. One of his peers, Monk Jeonmil [n.d.], said, “If this man goes out against the enemy, he will never come back.”

70. *Geupchan* 級漚 was also called *geobeolganji* 居伐干支, *geupbeolchan* 級伐漚, *geupbeolgan* 級伐干, or *geupgan* 級干.

71. *Seung* 升 indicates the fabric density and one *seung* equals eighty warp threads. The more *seung* a fabric has, the finer it is.

72. The present translation has benefited from those of Peter Lee (1993, 105-06) and Shultz and Kang (2012, 130-31).

73. Heumun’s daughter was Queen Sinmok 神穆王后 (d. 700) who married King Sinmun (r. 681-692) in 683. She gave birth to a son who later became King Hyoso (r. 692-702). See Shultz and Kang 2012, 253-54.

74. Namil 奈密 is also recorded as Namil 那密.

75. *Japchan* 迺漚 is also written as *jappan* 迺判 or *sopan* 蘇判.

永徽六年，太宗大王憤百濟與高句麗梗邊，謀伐之。及出師，以歆運爲郎幢大監。於是，不宿於家，風梳雨沐，與士卒同甘苦。抵百濟之地，營陽山下，欲進攻助川城。百濟人乘夜疾驅，黎明緣壘而入，我軍驚駭顛沛，不能定。賊因亂急擊，飛矢雨集。歆運橫馬握槊待敵，大舍詮知說曰，“今賊起暗中，咫尺不相辨，公雖死人，無識者。況公新羅之貴骨，大王之半子。若死賊人手，則百濟所誇詆，而吾人之所深羞者矣。” In the sixth year [655] of the Yonghui era, King Taejong was frustrated by Baekje and Goguryeo encroaching on the border area and planned to attack them. Troops were called out, and Heumun was appointed commander of Nangdang.⁷⁶ Thus, he did not sleep in his house but shared the pleasures and pains of his soldiers, braving the wind and rain.⁷⁷ When they reached the Baekje territory, they set up camp below Yangsan [in modern Yeongdong, North Chungcheong], with the intention of attacking Jocheon Fortress.⁷⁸ Taking advantage of the darkness of night, the Baekje forces came rapidly. As they began to climb over the ramparts at daybreak, our soldiers were terrified and stumbled. In the confusion, the enemy attacked amidst a shower of arrows. Riding his horse and holding a lance, Heumun waited for the foe. *Daesa Jeonji* [n.d.] said to him, “Right now, the enemy is attacking us in the dark. We cannot distinguish what is right in front of our noses. People will not even know if you die. Furthermore, you are a Silla noble and the king’s son-in-law. If you are killed by the enemy’s hands, it will not only be to their prestige but also to our great disgrace.”

歆運曰，“大丈夫既以身許國，人知之與不知一也。豈敢求名乎。”強立不動，從者握轡勸還，歆運拔劍揮之，與賊鬪殺數人而死。於是，大監穢破·少監狄得，相與戰死。步騎幢主寶用那，聞歆運死曰，“彼骨貴而勢榮，人所愛惜，而猶守節以死。況寶用那生而無益，死而無損乎。”遂赴敵，殺三數人而死。大王聞之傷慟，贈歆運·穢破位一吉浪，寶用那·狄得位大奈麻。時人聞之，作陽山歌以傷之。

Heumun replied, “If a man pledged to sacrifice himself for his country, then

76. Nangdang 郎幢 was the name of a Silla military unit, whose date of establishment is hard to ascertain. There is a record that states that Uigwang 義光 (n.d.) was appointed adjutant grand commander of Nangdang during the first year of King Munmu’s reign (r. 661-681) in SS 6.

77. A similar expression is found in the “Tian Xia” 天下 section of *Zhuangzi* 莊子: “There was no down left on his calves, no hair on his shins; the drenching rains washed his locks, the sharp winds combed them, while he worked to establish the ten thousand states” 腓無胫，脛無毛，沐甚雨，櫛疾風，置萬國。 English translation taken from Watson 1968, 366.

78. Jocheon Fortress is recorded as Dobicheon Fortress in the biography of Kim Yusin in SS 42. For an English translation, see Na 2018, 226.

it does not matter whether people know this or not. How could I dare seek fame?” He held his ground and did not budge. A retinue pleaded with him to return, pulling his horse by the reins. Yet Heumun wielded his sword and fought against the Baekje army. After killing several of the enemy, he fell in battle. Director Yepa and Junior Director Jeokdeuk were also killed in the battle. Chief of Infantry and Cavalry Boyongna heard the news of Heumun’s death and said, “He was a man of high birth and glorious career who was held in esteem by the people. Nevertheless, to keep his integrity, he chose death. What about Boyongna, who is lesser than he? My life does not help anyone, and my death will not harm anyone.” Thereupon, Boyongna charged toward the enemy and killed several before meeting his own death. Hearing the news, the king felt deeply grieved and conferred *ilgilchan* [Rank 7]⁷⁹ on Heumun and Yepa, and *daenama* [Rank 10]⁸⁰ on Boyongna and Jeokdeuk. “Song of Yangsan”⁸¹ was composed to mourn their deaths.

論曰。羅人患無以知人，欲使類聚羣遊，以觀其行義，然後舉用之。遂取美貌男子，粧飾之，名花郎，以奉之，徒衆雲集。或相磨以道義，或相悅以歌樂，遊娛山水，無遠不至。因此知其邪正，擇而薦之於朝。故大問曰，“賢佐忠臣從此而秀，良將勇卒由是而生者。”此也，三代花郎，無慮二百餘人，而芳名美事，具如傳記。若歆運者，亦郎徒也，能致命於王事，可謂不辱其名者也。

Commentary:⁸² The people of Silla worried only that they would not recognize talented men. They allowed young men to associate with one another and observed their behavior and intentions. Then they were assigned tasks, and eventually the good-looking men were chosen. They were adorned, their faces powdered. And they were called *hwarang*. People looked up to them and flocked to them like clouds. Sometimes they cultivated moral principles amongst themselves; other times they delighted in song and music. They went everywhere, traveling across mountains and rivers. Because of this, the people knew who was proper, and would make recommendations to the royal court.

79. *Ilgilchan* 一吉浪 was equivalent to *eulgilgan* 乙吉干 or *ilgilgan* 一吉干.

80. *Daenama* 大奈麻 was also recorded as *daenamal* 大奈末 and *hamnamal* 韓奈麻.

81. This lamentation later became a motif for music bureau songs (*akbuche si* 樂府體詩) composed by Joseon literati.

82. This commentary is almost the same as the passage about *hwarang* in the account of the thirty-seventh year (576) of King Jinheung’s reign in *SS* 4. See Shultz and Kang 2012, 130-31.

This is the reason Kim Daemun⁸³ remarked: “Wise aides and loyalists came from this, and outstanding generals and brave soldiers stemmed from this.” As many as two hundred *hwarangs* existed during the three periods of Silla.⁸⁴ Their brilliant names and achievements were recorded in biographies.⁸⁵ Kim Heumun was a member of the *hwarang* and gave his life for his country. It can be said that he did not bring disgrace upon their name.

Part 9. The Biography of Yeolgi⁸⁶

裂起，史失族姓。文武王元年，唐皇帝遣蘇定方，討高句麗，圍平壤城。含資道摠管劉德敏，傳宣國王，送軍資平壤。王命大角干金庾信，輸米四千石·租二萬二千二百五十石。到獐塞，風雪沍寒，人馬多凍死。

The family name of Yeolgi [fl. 660s] is missing from the historical records. In the first year [661] of King Munmu's reign, the Tang emperor dispatched Su Dingfang [592-667] to subjugate Goguryeo. When Pyeongyang Fortress was under siege, the adjutant grand commander of Hanzi Route,⁸⁷ Liu Demin [b. 620], delivered to the Silla king the imperial order to send military provisions to Pyeongyang.⁸⁸ The king ordered *Daegakgan* Kim Yusin to deliver four thousand *seok* of rice and 22,250 *seok* of unhusked rice. When Yusin reached Jangsae

83. Kim Daemun was a Silla historian and the governor of Hansan in 704. See his biography in *SS* 46.

84. *SS* and *SY* are in disagreement about the three periods. According to *SS*, the early period lasted until the end of Queen Jindeok's reign (647-654), the middle period was from King Muyeol (r. 654-661) to King Hyeogong (r. 765-780), and the late period started with King Seondeok (r. 780-785). On the other hand, according to *SY*, the early period ended with King Jijeung's reign (500-514), the middle period lasted from King Beopheung (r. 514-540) to Queen Jindeok, and the late period started from King Muyeol.

85. Jeong et al. (2012, 4:810n76) state that the biographies refer to the *Hwarang segi* of Kim Daemun, but according to Yi (1998, 2:847n5), they refer to the biographies of *SS*.

86. Yeolgi was a general under the reign of King Munmu (r. 661-681) and among one of Kim Yusin's Disciples of the Dragon Flower. Sources related to the biography of Yeolgi are as follows: the record of King Munmu's second year in *SS* 11 and Kim Yusin's biography in *SS* 42. The present translation has benefited from the work of John Jamieson (1969, 197-99).

87. Hanzi Route 含資道 refers to the road leading to Hanzi, a prefecture of Lelang commandery, one of four commanderies established by Han China (cf. *Hanshu* 28).

88. The imperial edict to supply provisions to the forces at Pyeongyang is also recorded in the account of the first year of King Munmu's reign in *SS* 6. However, there is a discrepancy with the timing of Yusin's departure. While Kim Yusin's biography in *SS* 42 says that he set forth on the tenth day of the twelfth month in 661, *SS* 6 indicates that King Munmu's command to deliver supplies to Pyeongyang was given in the first month of the king's second year in 662.

[modern Suan, Hwanghae], he found that a snowstorm and freezing cold had killed many people and horses.

麗人知兵疲，欲要擊之。距唐營三萬餘步，而不能前，欲移書而難其人。時裂起，以步騎監輔行，進而言曰，“某雖駑蹇，願備行人之數。”遂與軍師仇近等十五人，持弓劍走馬。麗人望之，不能遮闕。凡兩日致命於蘇將軍，唐人聞之，喜慰。廻書，裂起又兩日廻。庾信嘉其勇，與級浪位。

Noticing the Silla soldiers' weariness, the Goguryeo forces intended to ambush them. At a distance of about thirty-thousand *bo* from the Tang camp,⁸⁹ Yusin was unable to proceed. He wanted to send a message to them but had difficulty finding the right man. At that time Yeolgi was an assistant supervisor of the infantry and cavalry. He came forward and said, “Old, crippled horse that I am, I would like to join the contingent.”⁹⁰ Thereupon, Yeolgi, with Army Commander Gugeun [fl. 660s] and others, totaling fifteen, went on horseback armed with bows and swords. Although they were spotted, the Goguryeo forces were unable to stop them. After about two days of travel, Yeolgi brought the message to General Su Dingfang. Relieved and pleased to hear the news, the Tang man [Su Dingfang] wrote a reply. It took Yeolgi another two days to deliver the message. Pleased by his bravery, Yusin awarded him *geupchan* [Rank 9].⁹¹

及軍還，庾信告王曰，“裂起·仇近，天下之勇士也。臣以便宜，許位級浪，而未副功勞。願加位沙浪。”王曰，“沙浪之秩，不亦過乎。”庾信再拜曰，“爵祿公器，所以酬功，何謂過乎。”王允之。

When the troops returned, Yusin reported to the king, “Yeolgi and Gugeun are among the bravest soldiers in the world. Your subject, as a quick reward, gave them *geupchan*, which does not fully equal their merit. I implore Your Majesty to promote them to *sachan* [Rank 8].” The king responded, “Isn't the rank of *sachan* too much?” Bowing twice, Yusin answered, “Rank and emolument are

89. The distance to Pyeongyang is recorded as 36,000 *bo* in the account of the second year of King Munmu's reign in SS 6. *Bo* is a measurement of distance approximately equivalent to 1.32 meters. Therefore 30,000 *bo* and 36,000 *bo* are about 37 and 47.5 kilometers, respectively.

90. Here Yeolgi volunteered to deliver the message. The biography of Kim Yusin in SS 42, however, says that Yusin suggested that he do the job.

91. When Kim Yusin was about to leave the capital, the king told him that rewards and punishments would be at Yusin's disposal after crossing the border. That was why Yusin could elevate the ranks of his men. See SS 42. For the English translation, see Na et al. 2012, 236.

official instruments used to acknowledge one's merit. How can it be called 'too much?'" Thereupon, the king consented to it.

後庾信之子三光執政，裂起就求郡守，不許。裂起與祇園寺僧順憬曰，“我之功大，請郡不得。三光殆以父死而忘我乎。”順憬說三光，三光授以三年山郡大守。

Later, when Samgwang [fl. 668], the eldest son of Yusin, was in political power,⁹² Yeolgi sought to be appointed a governor but the request was turned down. Then Yeolgi said to Sungyeong [n.d.],⁹³ a monk at Giwon Monastery,⁹⁴ “My achievement was great. So, I asked to be made governor, but I did not receive the position. Samgwang has probably forgotten me since his father died.” Sungyeong persuaded Samgwang to appoint him the governor of Samnyeonsan-gun [modern Boeun, North Chungcheong].

仇近從元貞公，築西原述城。元貞公聞人言，謂怠於事，杖之。仇近日，“僕嘗與裂起，入不測之地，不辱大角干之命。大角干不以僕爲無能，待以國士。今以浮言罪之，平生之辱，無大此焉。”元貞聞之，終身羞悔。

Gugeun assisted Lord Wonjeong [fl. 661]⁹⁵ in erecting Sulseong Fortress at Seowon [modern Cheongju, North Chungcheong]. Hearing rumors that Gugeun was lazy in his work, Wonjeong flogged him with a stick. Gugeun said, “When Yeolgi and I entered a land with unpredictable [dangers], I never dishonored the command of *Daegakgan* [Kim Yusin]. He did not consider me incapable but, rather, counted me among the warriors of the state. Now, based on a rumor, Wonjeong is punishing me. I have never been more ashamed in my entire life.” Hearing this, Wonjeong felt lifelong shame and regret.

92. Samgwang 三光 reached *pajinchan* (Rank 4) in the third year (683) of King Sinmun's reign, and eventually rose to the highest rank, *ichan*. His term in office is unknown.

93. Sungyeong 順憬 seems to be the same person who appears in the “Biography of Shunjing from Silla” 唐新羅國順憬傳 of the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. As a disciple of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664), an eminent Buddhist monk of Tang, Sungyeong participated in translating the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Returning to Silla, he introduced the Yogacara school (Consciousness-Only School 唯識學派) of Buddhism to his fellow countrymen. He accompanied Samgwang on his journey to Tang. It was probably thanks to the friendship developed during the trip that he could persuade Samgwang to place Yeolgi in the role of governor.

94. Giwon 祇園 originated from Jetavana, a park which is said to have been obtained from Prince Jeta. This park was also Sakyamuni's favorite resort (See Soothill and Hodous 2010, “祇園馨那”). Sungyeong resided in the monastery after returning from Tang. See Shultz and Kang 2012, 128n74.

95. Wonjeong was the third son of Kim Yusin. As *pajinchan* (Rank 4), he oversaw the building of Sulseong Fortress in Seowon, a secondary capital.

Part 10. The Biography of Biryongja⁹⁶

丕寧子，不知鄉邑族姓。眞德王元年丁未，百濟以大兵，來攻茂山·甘勿·桐岑等城。庾信率步騎一萬，拒之。百濟兵甚銳，苦戰不能克，士氣索而力憊。

The hometown and surname of Biryongja [d. 647] are all unknown. During the first year of Queen Jindeok's reign, *jeongmi* [647], a great army from Baekje⁹⁷ came to attack Silla fortresses including Musan [in modern Muju, North Jeolla], Gammul [modern Gimcheon, North Gyeongsang] and Dongjam [modern Gumi, North Gyeongbuk]. Kim Yusin led ten thousand infantry and cavalry to stop them. Due to the overwhelming power of the Baekje soldiers, Silla went through a bitter struggle and could not win the battle. The soldiers were demoralized and exhausted.

庾信知丕寧子有力戰深入之志，召謂曰，“歲寒然後，知松栢之後彫，今日之事急矣。非子誰能奮勵出奇，以激衆心乎。”因與之飲酒，以示殷勤。丕寧子再拜云，“今於稠人廣衆之中，獨以事屬我，可謂知己矣。固當以死報之。”出謂奴合節曰，“吾今日，上爲國家，下爲知己，死之。吾子舉眞，雖幼年有壯志，必欲與之俱死。若父子併命，則家人其將疇依。汝其與舉眞，好收吾骸骨，歸以慰母心。”言畢，卽鞭馬橫槊，突賊陣，格殺數人而死。

Having noticed that Biryongja was determined to fight with all his strength and make his way deep into the enemy's camp, Yusin summoned him and said, “Only in the cold can we know that pine and cypress trees are the last to wither. Today's situation is urgent. If it were not for you, who else could show remarkable bravery and boost the morale of our soldiers?” Over wine, Yusin revealed his intentions to Biryongja. Bowing twice, Biryongja said, “Among the multitude of people, you have singled me out for this task. You have indeed recognized me! Thus, with my death, I will repay your favor.” Going to the front, Biryongja said to his slave Hapjeol [d. 647], “Today, first for the country and second for those who would know me, I go to my death.”⁹⁸ Although

96. Sources related to the biography of Biryongja are as follows: the record of the first year of Queen Jindeok's reign in *SS* 11 and Kim Yusin's biography in *SS* 41.

97. It was General Ujijik of Baekje who made this attack. Having been defeated, only he and his horse returned alive to Baekje. See the account of the seventh year (647) of King Uija's reign in *SS* 28.

98. This remark resonates with a saying of Yu Rang 豫讓 (n.d.), an assassin in the early days of the Warring States period: “A soldier dies for one who knows him well, and a woman adorns herself for one who pleases her” 士爲知己者死，女爲說己者容. See *Shiji* 86, “Yu Rang” 豫讓.

young, my son Geojin holds great aspirations and will surely desire to die with me. But if both father and son die at once, on whom would my wife depend? You, together with Geojin, should carefully collect my bones and return home to console his mother.” Having finished speaking, he whipped his horse, levelled his spear, and rushed into the enemy camp. He killed several people and died.

舉眞望之，欲去。合節請曰，“大人有言，令合節與阿郎還家，安慰夫人。今子負父命，棄母慈，可謂孝乎？”執馬轡不放。舉眞曰，“見父死而苟存，豈所謂孝子乎。”即以劍擊折合節臂，奔入敵中，戰死。合節曰，“私天崩矣，不死何爲。”亦交鋒而死。軍士見三人之死，感激爭進。所向挫鋒陷陣，大敗賊兵，斬首三千餘級。庾信收三屍，脫衣覆之，哭甚哀。大王聞之涕淚，以禮合葬於反知山。恩賞妻子九族尤渥。

Beholding this, Geojin [d. 647] desired to advance. Hapjeol beseeched him, “Your father has told me I should return home together with you, my master, and console your mother. If you do not obey your father’s command, and forsake your benevolent mother, would it be called filial piety?” Grasping the reins of the horse, Geojin refused to let him go. He said, “Having watched my father’s death but seeking an ignoble existence, how could I still be called a filial son?” Then he cut off Hapjeol’s arm with his sword. Galloping into the enemy’s ranks, he fought to his death.⁹⁹ Hapjeol said, “My sky has fallen! What else can I do except die?” He also engaged himself in the fight until he died. Witnessing the three men’s deaths, the warriors were deeply moved and advanced into battle. Wherever they went, they wrecked the opponents’ weapons and broke through enemy lines. They defeated the enemy, decapitating more than three thousand. Yusin collected the bodies of the three men. He took off his own robe and covered them and wept bitterly. Upon hearing this, Queen Jindeok shed a flood of tears. She buried them together on Mount Banji with decorum and generously rewarded their wives, children, and entire families.¹⁰⁰

99. Biryongja appears in “Loyal Subjects” in the *Illustrated Conduct of the Three Bonds* (*Samgang haengsildo* 三綱行實圖), published in the sixteenth year (1434) of King Sejong’s reign to enlighten the common people with Confucian teachings. There he is said to have hit Hapjeol’s arm rather than cut it off, as described in his biography. Moreover, in the accompanying illustration to “Biryongja Dashing to the Camp” 丕寧突陳, he is shown simply holding his sword. For the original text and picture, see Jangseogak Archives Wiki (available at [http://dh.aks.ac.kr/jsg/index.php/\(Translation\)_%E4%B8%95%E5%AF%A7%E7%AA%81%E9%99%B3](http://dh.aks.ac.kr/jsg/index.php/(Translation)_%E4%B8%95%E5%AF%A7%E7%AA%81%E9%99%B3)).

100. Here, *gujok* (literally, nine families 九族), translations of which can vary, is rendered as “entire families.” It can refer to the current generation plus four generations before, and another four after, along the patrilineal line; or four relations on the paternal side, three on the mother’s and two on

Part 11. The Biography of Jukjuk¹⁰¹

竹竹，大耶州人也。父郝熱爲撰干。善德王時爲舍知，佐大耶城都督金品釋幢下。王十一年壬寅秋八月，百濟將軍允忠領兵，來攻其城。

Jukjuk [d. 642] came from Daeya-ju (modern Hapcheon in South Gyeongsang). His father Hakyool held *changan* [Rank 5].¹⁰² During the reign of Queen Seondeok, Jukjuk was given *saji* [Rank 13] and became an aide to Kim Pumseok, governor of Daeya Fortress. In the eleventh year of Queen Seondeok's reign, in the eighth month of *imin* [642], Baekje general Yun Chung led his soldiers¹⁰³ to attack the fortress.

先是，都督品釋見幕客舍知黔日之妻有色，奪之。黔日恨之。至是，爲內應，燒其倉庫。故城中兇懼，恐不能固守。

Previously, Governor Pumseok had been attracted to the wife of his secretary, *Saji* Geomil,¹⁰⁴ and taken her from him, causing Geomil to bear enmity toward Pumseok. At this time, Geomil secretly communicated with the enemy and set the fortress storehouse on fire. Fear and anxiety swept the fortress and the people inside were unable to vigorously defend it.

品釋之佐阿滄西川 一云沙滄祗多那，登城謂允忠曰，“若將軍不殺我，願以城降。”允忠曰，“若如是，所不與公同好者，有如白日。”西川勸品釋及諸將士欲出城。竹竹止之曰，“百濟反覆之國，不可信也。而允忠之言，甘必誘我也。若出城，必爲賊之

the wife's (Pang-White 2018, 82). Shultz and Kang (2012, 143) translate this as “nine generations of his relatives.” Here it is translated into “entire family” to refer to all surviving members of each bereaved family.

101. For sources related to the biography of Jukjuk, see SS 21, King Bojang, Year 1 (624); SS 28, King Uija, Year 2 (642); SS 5, Queen Seondeok, Year 11 (643); SS 41, the Biography of Kim Yusin.

102. *Changan* 撰干 refers to the fifth of the eleven ranks given to local officials in Silla. The dynasty ran a two-track bureaucratic rank system between the seventh year (520) of King Beopheung and the fourteenth year (674) of King Munmu. One was for officials in the capital with seventeen ranks and the other was for local officials with eleven levels. The first rank, given to local officials, is equal to the seventh rank of the central bureaucracy. Therefore, local officials were virtually excluded from key posts in the central bureaucracy. This suggests hierarchical discrimination between central and local officials of the Silla dynasty. For more information, consult the following website: http://contents.history.go.kr/front/tg/view.do?treeId=0100&levelId=tg_001_0780&ganada=&pageUnit=10.

103. The Baekje general Yun Chung led ten thousand soldiers in this attack. See SS 28, King Uija, Year 2.

104. In the seventh year (660) of King Muyeol's reign, Geomil was caught by Silla soldiers after the defeat of Baekje. He was executed by quartering and thrown into the river. See SS 5, King Taejong Muyeol, Year 7.

所虜。與其竄伏而求生，不若虎鬪而至死。”

Achan Seocheon {another source says *Sachan* Jisamna}, an aide to Pumseok, climbed onto the fortress walls and shouted to the Baekje general, “If you do not kill us, we will surrender the fortress.” The general replied, “If you do so, I will make cordial relations with you. By the bright sun I swear that I will.” As Seocheon was suggesting to Pumseok that he and the other generals should leave the fortress, Jukjuk stopped them and said, “Baekje has changed its mind repeatedly; we cannot trust them. His sweet talk is coaxing us out of the fortress. Once we go out, they will definitely capture us. I would rather die fighting like a tiger than be captured and live in exile.”

品釋不聽開門，士卒先出，百濟發伏兵，盡殺之。品釋將出，聞將士死，先殺妻子而自刎。竹竹收殘卒，閉城門自拒。舍知龍石謂竹竹曰，“今兵勢如此，必不得全。不若生降，以圖後效。”答曰，“君言當矣。而吾父名我以竹竹者，使我歲寒不凋，可折而不可屈。豈可畏死而生降乎。”遂力戰，至城陷，與龍石同死。王聞之哀傷。贈竹竹以級糒，龍石以大奈麻。賞其妻子，遷之王都。

Pumseok did not listen to his advice and opened the gate to allow his soldiers to exit first. Baekje had set an ambush and killed all of them. Pumseok was about to go out when he heard his generals and soldiers being killed. He then killed his wife¹⁰⁵ and children and slit his own throat.¹⁰⁶ To resist the enemy, Jukjuk gathered the remaining soldiers into the fortress and closed the gate. *Saji* Yongseok said to him, “Now our forces are in such a disarray, this will surely put our lives in danger. It’s better to seek life by surrendering and waiting for our chance in the future.” Jukjuk responded, “Your suggestion makes sense.

105. The wife of Pumseok was Gotaso 古陀炤, first daughter of Kim Chunchu (603-661), also known as King Taejong Muyeol, who led the unification of the Three Kingdoms. It is described in the account of *SS* 5, Queen Seondeok, Year 11 (642): “When the fortress was captured, Commander Kim Pumseok’s wife also died. Hearing of his daughter’s death, Kim stood leaning against a pillar with vacant eyes all day long and was unable to recognize any person or thing passing by him.” The battle of Daeya Fortress served as a starting point for Silla to actively pursue diplomatic ties with Goguryeo and Tang China in order to attack Baekje (Jin 2012, 275).

106. It is stated in the account of *SS* 28, King Uija, Year 2 (642): “When Pumseok came out of the fortress with his wife and children to surrender, the Baekje general Yun Chung killed all of them and sent their heads to the capital (modern Buyeo).” Meanwhile, the first part of Kim Yusin’s biography in *SS* describes it as follows: When Kim Yusin became the governor of Amnyang-ju, he defeated the Baekje forces and captured eight enemy generals alive. Then he exchanged them for the remains of Pumseok and his wife and brought them to Silla. This shows that Pumseok and his wife were killed by the enemy and their remains had been buried in Baekje (Yi 1996, 455n12).

But my father gave me the name Jukjuk in the hope that I would live life like the bamboo; not withering in cold winters, nor bending to others even if broken. So, how could I be so afraid of death that I surrender?” Thereafter, Jukjuk fought fiercely. As the fortress eventually fell to the enemy,¹⁰⁷ he and Yongseok died together. Having heard this, the Silla queen was grief-stricken and posthumously awarded *geupchan* [Rank 9] to Jukjuk and *daenama* [Rank 10] to Yongseok. The queen also rewarded their wives and children and moved them to the capital city.

Part 12. The Biography of Pilbu¹⁰⁸

匹夫，沙梁人也。父尊臺阿倉。太宗大王，以百濟·高句麗·靺鞨，轉相親比爲唇齒，同謀侵奪，求忠勇材，堪綏禦者，以匹夫爲七重城下縣令。其明年庚申秋七月，王與唐師滅百濟。於是，高句麗疾我，以冬十月發兵，來圍七重城。

Pilbu [d. 660] came from Saryang district and was the son of *Achan* Jondae [n.d.]. As Baekje, Goguryeo, and the Malgal became closer like “lips and teeth,” and plotted to invade Silla, King Taejong [r. 654-661] looked for loyal and brave talents who would be capable of defending against their attack and bringing peace to the country. Pilbu was appointed magistrate¹⁰⁹ of the area around Chiljung Fortress [in modern Paju, Gyeonggi]. In autumn, the seventh month of the following year, *gyeongsin* [660], the king, along with Tang forces defeated Baekje. Goguryeo, harboring a grudge for this, raised its forces in winter, the tenth month, and besieged Chiljung Fortress.¹¹⁰

107. A thousand captives were relocated to provinces and prefectures west of the country. See *SS* 28, King Uija, Year 2.

108. This translation has benefited from John Jamieson (1969, 200-01).

109. Pilbu was a military governor 軍主. See *SS* 5, King Taejong, Year 7: “The first day of the eleventh month [of 660], Goguryeo attacked Chiljung Fortress and Military Governor Pilbu died in the battle” 十一月一日，高句麗侵攻七重城，軍主匹夫死之。 Military governorship was permitted for officials between ranks 2 to 9, while the magistracy was given to those in ranks between 8 and 17. Given that Pilbu was posthumously granted rank 9, he must have been a magistrate rather than a military governor in that battle (Jang 2016, 7n8).

110. Chiljung Fortress was in the southern part of the Imjin River, which flows northeast to southwest, crossing the Demilitarized Zone and merging into the Han River, near the Yellow Sea. During the seventh century, Goguryeo and Silla confronted each other around this fortress, which was a strategic point for Goguryeo’s southward advancements (Pak 2010, 27). In 638 Goguryeo attacked the fortress but failed to take it (*SS* 5, Queen Seondeok, Year 7); however, in the 660 attack, it succeeded by taking advantage of a military vacuum created by Silla, which was then focused on

匹夫守且戰二十餘日，賊將見我士卒盡誠，鬪不內顧，謂不可猝拔，便欲引還。逆臣大奈麻比歛密遣人告賊，以城內食盡力窮，若攻之必降。賊遂復戰。匹夫知之，拔劍斬比歛首，投之城外。乃告軍士曰，“忠臣義士，死且不屈。勉哉努力。城之存亡，在此一戰。”

Pilbu defended the fortress, fighting for more than twenty days. The enemy generals, seeing our soldiers fighting with all their hearts and without self-regard, thought that the fortress would not fall anytime soon. They were about to withdraw when the traitorous retainer *Daenama* Bisap [n.d.] secretly sent a man to the enemy, who told them, “Within the fortress, food has run out and the soldiers are weakened. If you attack, they will surely surrender.” The enemy proceeded to attack again. Learning of what had happened, Pilbu drew his sword to behead Bisap and afterwards, flung his head from the fortress. He then spoke to his soldiers, “Loyal subjects and honorable soldiers would rather die than surrender. Fight with all your strength. The fate of the fortress depends on this battle.”

乃奮拳一呼，病者皆起，爭先登。而士氣疲乏，死傷過半。賊乘風縱火，攻城突入。匹夫與上干本宿·謀支·美齊等，向賊對射，飛矢如雨。支體穿破，血流至踵。乃仆而死。大王聞之，哭甚痛，追贈級滄。

Then, as he clenched his fist with a great shout, everyone, including the injured, rose up and rushed to the top of the fortress. But they were soon exhausted and over half of them were killed or injured. The enemy, taking advantage of the wind, set the fortress on fire, and then stormed it. Pilbu, along with Bonsuk [d. 660], Moji [d. 660], and Mije [d. 660], who all held *sanggan* [Rank 12], shot arrows at the enemy. However, a volley of arrows flew toward Pilbu like rain. His limbs and body were pierced and torn up; blood streamed down to his heels. Eventually, he fell to the ground dead. Hearing this, the king wailed in great pain, and posthumously granted him *geupchan* [Rank 9].

Part 13. The Biography of Gyebaek¹¹¹

階伯，百濟人。仕爲達率。唐顯慶五年庚申，高宗以蘇定方爲神丘道大摠管，

suppressing the restoration of the Baekje army in the old Baekje homelands. See SS 5, King Taejong, Year 7, Months 9-10; Jang 2016, 7-8.

111. This translation has benefited from the work of John Jamieson (1969, 202).

率師濟海，與新羅伐百濟。階百爲將軍，簡死士五千人拒之。曰，“以一國之人，當唐·羅之大兵，國之存亡，未可知也。恐吾妻孥，沒爲奴婢。與其生辱，不如死快。”遂盡殺之。

Gyebaek [d. 660] was from Baekje and rose to *dalsol* [Rank 2].¹¹² In the fifth year of the Xianqing era of Tang, *gyeongsin* [660], Emperor Gaozong [r. 649-683] appointed Su Dingfang [592-667]¹¹³ adjutant grand commandant of Shenqiu Circuit. He then led forces across the sea to join with Silla and attack Baekje.¹¹⁴ Gyebaek was appointed general and selected a five-thousand-member death band for defense and said to them, “We, as the people of a single country, must fight against the large allied forces of Silla and Tang. We cannot be certain of our country’s fate. I fear that my wife and children might be captured and made slaves. They would rather die quickly than live in such humiliation.” He proceeded to kill all his family members.

至黃山之野，設三營，遇新羅兵將戰，誓衆曰，“昔句踐以五千人，破吳七十萬衆。今之日，宜各奮勵決勝，以報國恩。”遂鏖戰，無不以一當千。羅兵乃却。如是進退，至四合，力屈以死。

After arriving at Hwangsan Plain [in modern Nonsan, South Chungcheong], he set up three camps.¹¹⁵ Faced with Silla forces in battle, he declared to his soldiers. “Long ago, Goujian [r. 496-465 BCE]¹¹⁶ defeated seven hundred

112. *Dalsol*, or *daesol* 大率, was the second of the sixteen bureaucratic ranks of Baekje, which was reserved for 30 officials. See SS 40.

113. Widely known by his courtesy name, Dingfang 定方, Su Lie 蘇烈 (591-667) was born in Wuyi 武邑 (modern Hengshi, Hebei). In 657, he succeeded in destroying the Western Turkic Khaganate. His victory expanded the western borders of the Tang Empire to their farthest extent. Su Dingfang also contributed to the destruction of Baekje in 660.

114. In the seventh year (660) of King Taejong, the king, along with Crown Prince Beopmin, mobilized many troops and arrived at Namcheon, located in modern Incheon. At that time, Kim Inmum, the king’s second son, who had gone to Tang for military assistance, arrived with Su Dingfang and another Tang general Liu Boying, at the head of 130,000 troops in Deongmul Island (modern Deokjeok Island in Incheon). See SS 42, the Biography of Kim Yusin. For an English translation, see Na 2018, 228-29.

115. The garrison camps are presumed to have been Janggol Mountain Fortress, Gomch Mountain Fortress, and Hwangnyeong Mountain Fortress. See Hong 1976, 77-78.

116. Goujian 句踐 was the king of Yue 越 (modern Zhejiang) near the end of the Spring and Autumn period (771-476 BCE) in China. When King Helü 闔閭 of Wu 吳 (modern Jiangsu) died in battle fighting Yue, his son, Fuchai 夫差 avenged him and defeated the kingdom. Goujian fled with five thousand soldiers to Mount Kuaiji, located in the southeastern part of modern Shaoxing city, and begged for his life. Remembering his twenty years of servitude under Fuchai, Goujian implemented a series of self-mortifications so that he would never forget the humiliation. These included sleeping

thousand soldiers of Wu with only five thousand men. Now, each of us should summon our courage and fight fiercely to win. That is how we show gratitude for our country's favor." Thereupon, they fought an all-out war, each soldier fighting a thousand. This led to the withdrawal of Silla's soldiers. In this manner, Baekje troops advanced and retreated four times. Thereafter, Gyebaek lost his strength and died.

References

- Cheon, Gwanu. 1975. "Samhan ui seongnip gwajeong: Samhan go" [The Development of the Three Hans: Investigation of the Three Hans]. *Sabak yeongu* 26: 1-66.
- Cho, Sung-san. 2015. "The Yeonam Group's Anthologies of Korean Literature Written in Classical Chinese and Adherence to the Chinese Civilization in the Mid-18th and Early 19th Centuries." *Korea Journal* 55 (3): 30-55.
- Chung, Jaeyoung. 2010. "The Use of Chinese Characters in Ancient Korea: With a Focus on Texts Transcribed with Chinese-Borrowed Characters," *Korea Journal* 50 (2): 35-71.
- Cohen, Paul A. 2009. *Speaking to History: The Story of King Goujian in the Twentieth-century China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- de Bary, William, and Irene Bloom, eds. 1999. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Durrant, Stephen, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg. 2016. *Zuo Tradition/ Zuo Zhuan: Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*. 3 vols. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Finch, Michael, trans. 2012. "Mt. Namwol (also called Gamsan Monastery)" 南月山 (亦名甘山寺). In *Korean Buddhist Culture: Accounts of a Pilgrimage, Monuments, and Eminent Monks*, edited by Roderick Whitfield, 423-30. Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.
- Gang, Jonghun. 2004. "Chilsegi tongil jeonjaenggi ui sunguk inmul bunseok" [An Analysis on the Patriotic Martyrs during the Unification Wars in the

on a pile of brushwood and tasting gall which dripped from a gallbladder hung from the ceiling. The Chinese idiom *woxin changdan* ("sleeping on brushwood and tasting gall" 臥薪嘗膽) refers to Goujian's perseverance. For the development of modern adaptations, see Cohen 2009.

- 7th Century]. *Silla munhwajae haksul balpyohoe nonmunjip* 25: 129-59.
- Gang, Jongwon. 2017. "Baekje Muwang ui dae Silla ganggyeongchaek gwa geu baegyeong" [A Study of Baekje King Mu's Hard-line Policy towards Silla and Its Background]. *Baekje yeongu* 65: 157-83.
- Garfield, Jay L., and William Edelglass. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of World Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gwon, Deok-yeong. 1999. "Cheonji seosangji pyeonchanja e daehan saeroun sigak" [New Perspective on the Compiler of the Treatise on the Auspicious Signs of Heaven and Earth]. *Baeksan hakbo* 52: 381-402.
- _____. 2005. "Silla hadae seohak gwa geu yeoksajeok uimi" [Western Learning in the Late Silla Period and its Historical Significance]. *Silla munhwa* 26: 157-77.
- Hucker, Charles O. 1985. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Taipei: Southern Materials Center.
- Hung, Hin Cheong. 2011. *Ode to Flying Stars: An English Translation with Commentaries*. Kuala Lumpur: JY Books Sdn. Bhd.
- Im, Byeongjin, 1967. "Silla osogyeong go" [Examination on the Secondary Capitals of Silla]. *Yeoksa hakbo* 35/36: 82-109.
- Jamieson, John C. 1969. "The *Samguk sagi* and the Unification Wars." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Jang, Changeun. 2016. "660-662 nyeon Goguryeo wa Silla Dang ui jeonjaeng" [The War between Goguryeo, Silla, and Tang in 660-662]. *Silla sahakbo* 38: 65-113.
- Jeon, Deokjae. 2009. *Silla wanggyeong ui yeoksa* [The History of the Silla Capital]. Seoul: Saemunsa.
- Jeong, Gubok. 1992. "Goguryeo ui 'Goryeo' gukho e daehan ilgo" [An Examination of "Goryeo" as Another Name of Goguryeo]. *Yeoksa wa damnon* 19/20: 43-66.
- Jeong, Gubok, Jung-guk No, Dongha Sin, Taesik Kim, and Deogyong Gwon, trans. 2012. *Yeokju Samguk sagi* [Annotated Translation of the *Samguk sagi*]. 5 vols. Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies Press.
- Jin, Changyoung. 2012. "*Samguk sagi* yeoljeon Jukjuk seolhwa ui munhakseong" [A Study of the Literary Character of Jukjuk in the Biographies of the *Samguk sagi*]. *Gukje eoneo munhak* 26: 273-300
- Jo, Inseong. 1998. "Kim Daemun ui yeoksa seosul" [Kim Daemun's Historical Narrative]. *Hanguk godaesa yeongu* 13: 277-95.
- Ju, Bodon. 1998. *Silla jibang tongchi cheje ui jeongbi gwajeong gwa chollak* [The

- Establishment of Local Government System and Rural Communities of Silla]. Seoul: Sinseowon.
- Ju, Bonggyu. 1978. "Hanguk nongjeop gyeongjesa" [The History of Agricultural Economy of Korea]. *Minjok munhwa yeongu* 13: 1-61.
- Kim, Changgyeom. 2006. "Gangsu wa Silla sahoe" [Gangsu and Silla Society]. *Jindan hakbo* 101: 33-66.
- Kim, Duheon. 2015. "Cheo Chiwon ui chulsaengji mit seongjangjiseol geomto" [An Examination of Existing Studies on Choe Chiwon's Hometown]. *Gukhak yeongu* 26: 43-74.
- Kim, Jingwang. 2009. "Samguk sagi bongi e natanan Malgal ui seonggyeok" [Characteristics of the Malgal in the Annals of *Samguk sagi*]. *Goguryeo Balhae yeongu* 35: 9-42.
- Kim, Taesik. 1997. *Baekje ui jungang gwa jibang* [The Capital and Provinces of Baekje]. Daejeon: Paekche Research Institute.
- Knechtges, David R., trans. 1982. *Wen Xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*. Vol. 1 of *Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lee, Ki-baik. 1978. "Kim Daemun gwa geu ui sahak" [Kim Daemun and his Historiography]. *Yeoksa hakbo* 77: 1-16.
- _____. 1984. *A New History of Korea*. Translated by Edward W. Wagner. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- _____. 1986. *Silla sasangsa yeongu* [A Study of the Religious History of Silla]. Seoul: Iljogak Publishers.
- Lee, Peter H., ed. 1993. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- _____, ed. 2003. *A History of Korean Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Soyun, and Jeongsoo Shin, eds. 2018. "Chapters 44 and 45 of the *Samguk sagi*: An Annotated Translation of Biographies of Eulji Mundeok and Others." *The Review of Korean Studies* 21 (2): 165-245.
- Legge, James, trans. 1885. *The Li Ki*. Vol. 1 of *The Sacred Books of the East*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Na, Sanghoon, Jinsook Yoo, and Jeongsoo Shin, eds. 2018. "Chapter 41, 42, and 43 of the *Samguk sagi*: An Annotated Translation of Biography of Kim Yusin." *The Review of Korean Studies* 21 (1): 191-262
- Needham, Joseph, and Wang Ling, eds. 1986. *Biology and Biological Technology*.

- Vol. 1 of *Science and Civilization in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nienhauser, William H. Jr., ed. 1994. *The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*. Translated by Cheng Tsai-fa, Lu Zongli, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., and Robert Reynolds. Vol. 1 of *The Grand Scribe's Records*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Noh, Taedon. 2010. *Samguk tongil jeonjaengsa* [The History of the Unification Wars of the Three Kingdoms]. Seoul: Seoul National University Publishing Council.
- Pak, Jongseo. 2010. "Goguryeo Nangbiseong wichi e daehan geomto" [A Study of the Location of Goguryeo Nangbi Fortress]. *Gukhak yeongu* 17: 109-52.
- Pang-White, and Ann A., trans. 2018. *The Confucian Four Books for Women: A New Translation of the Nü Sishu and the Commentary of Wang Xiang*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Richey, Jeffrey L., ed. 2015. *Daoism in Japan: Chinese Traditions and Their Influence on Japanese*. New York: Routledge.
- Seo, Uisik. 2015. *Ppuri gipeun Hanguksa saemi gipeun mul* [Water with a Distant Fountainhead Drawn from A History with Deep Roots]. Vol. 1. Paju: Garam gihoek.
- Shultz, Edward J., and Hugh H. W. Kang, trans. 2017. *The Silla Annals of the Samguk sagi*. Seongnam: The Academy of Korean Studies Press.
- Sin, Hyeongsik. 1969. "Sugwi haksang go" [An Investigation into Palace Guards]. *Yeoksa gyoyuk* 11 (12): 71-96.
- Soothill, William E., and Lewis Hodous. 2010. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. Taipei: Dharma Drum Buddhist College.
- Twitchett, Denis, ed. 1979. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 3. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vermeersch, Sem, trans. 2012. "Wonhyo the Unbridled." In *Wonhyo: Selected Works*, edited by A. Charles Muller, 285-93. Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism.
- Watson, Burton, trans. 1968. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wilhelm, Richard. 1967. *I Ching: Or, Book of Changes*. Translated by Cary F. Baynes. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Xiong, Victor Cunrui, ed. 2017. *Historical Dictionary of Medieval China*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press.

- Yang, Bojun, ed. with annotations. 1990. *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*. Revised edition. 4 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua.
- Yang, Jidong. 2000. "Writing in the Tang: Literature and Society in 7-10th Century China." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Yang, Shou-zhong, trans. 1998. *The Divine Farmer's Materia Medica*. Boulder: Blue Poppy Press.
- Yi, Byeongdo, trans. 1996. *Samguk sagi*. Seoul: Eullyu munhwasa.
- Yi, Gangrae, trans. 1998. *Samguk sagi*. 3 vols. Seoul: Hangilsa.
- Yi, Gidong. 1979. "Silla hwarangdo ui sahoehakjeok gochal" [A Sociological Approach to the Hwarang groups in Silla]. *Yeoksa hakbo* 82: 1-38.
- _____. 1992. "Seol Jungeop gwa Damhae Samseon gwauui gyohwan" [Ōmi no Mifune's Joy on Meeting with Seol Jungeop]. *Yeoksa hakbo* 134/135: 305-17.
- Yi, Jaehwan. 2017. "Silla ui 'golpumje,' geugan ui nonui wa yaggan ui jeonmang" [Trends and Prospects of Studies on 'Bone-Rank System' of Silla]. *Hanguk godaesa yeongu* 87: 87-118.
- Yi, Minhong. 2017. "Yeangnon gwa Hanguk yeokdae wangjo ui yeonho, siho, myoho" [Discourse on Rites and Music and the Era Names, Posthumous Names, and Temple Names of Dynasties of Korea]. *Dongbang hanmunhak* 73: 7-34.
- Yoon, Seonhyo. 1979. *Yeokdae hoguk seungjang* [Chronicles of Patriotic Monk Generals]. Seoul: Hanjin Publishing.
- Yun, Ho, Wonjun Im, Jong Heo, et al. 1982. *Gugeup ganibang eonhae*. [Simplified Guide of Medical Treatment with Vernacular Explications]. Seoul: Dandaе chulpanbu.
- Yun, Naehyeon. 1995. "Yeolguk sidae ui Hanbando Malgal" [The Malgal in the Korean Peninsula during the Multi-State Period]. *Hanguk minjokhak yeongu* 3: 27-49.

KWON Jee-eun (kwonjeeeun@gmail.com)

SHIN Jeongsoo (text@aks.ac.kr)

The Academy of Korean Studies