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Chapter 46 of the *Samguk sagi*:  
An Annotated Translation of Biographies  
of Gangsu and Others\*

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## A Note on the Translation

Our translation of Chapters 44 and 45 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 AKS (2017) as well as the translation uploaded to the website of the National Institute of Korean History.<sup>1</sup>

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* (2017), and Ki-baik Lee, *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 pleonasms as Hwangnyong-sa Monastery. On the other hand, some pleonasms 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.

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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.

## Introduction<sup>2</sup>

Chapter 46 of *SS* is equivalent to the Chinese “Biographies of the Literary Arena” 文苑傳, which gives accounts of scholars, writers, civil-officials, and other literary figures. It includes the biographies of three people—Gangsu (d. ca. 692), Choe Chiwon (b. 857), and Seol Chong (b. 655), and some notes on other minor figures. Although they share the same background of being Confucian officials in Silla society, they were situated in different times and circumstances, and therefore, their lives were different from one another.

Gangsu was named on account of his protruding head. The literal meaning of his name, “strong head,” is interpreted as referring either to having a strong character or intelligence. Indeed, both interpretations of his name were apt. He was a Confucian scholar who was not bound by conventional

2. This English translation is the third product of an on-going project to translate and annotate the entire biographical section of the *SS*. 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 this journal (Na, You, and Shin 2018). In the spring semester of 2018, *SS* 44 and 45 were translated and published, also in this 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, 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.

morality. Having to choose between love and filial piety, he took a firm stance and married the lowly woman he loved despite his parents' wish that he married a decent woman in town matching for his literary reputation. As a member of the court, he was charged with reading and writing diplomatic correspondence with neighboring countries. When the unification wars of the Three Kingdoms were imminent, he was instrumental in cementing political alliances with Tang China.<sup>3</sup>

Choe Chiwon was undoubtedly the greatest writer in the dynasty.<sup>4</sup> He lived in the ninth century, when Silla was in decline. This made it difficult for him to realize his aspirations in his own country, so he decided to leave for China. He passed the civil service examination for foreigners in 874, and built his career and acquired literary fame. However, his status as a foreigner proved to be a fundamental social barrier. His poetry conveys a sense of loss, solitude, and alienation. Even after returning to his homeland in 884, these feelings were not alleviated because the central aristocracy refused to fully accept him as one of their own. After his reform proposal failed to be adopted in 894, he spent the remainder of his life wandering through the country. Overall, his religious devotion and eremitism were caused by the two barriers he had encountered: foreigner in China and marginal man at home. In 1022, during the Goryeo period, he was acknowledged and enshrined at the Confucian Memorial Hall.<sup>5</sup>

Seol Chong lived about two hundred years earlier than Choe, but his biography is placed after Choe's. It is speculated that this is because historical sources were too scanty to be considered a standard biography.<sup>6</sup> An allegorical tale, later named "Admonition for King Peony," comprises a major portion of the biography. Although Seol Chong was the son of the famous monk Wonhyo (617-686), he was involved in Confucian statecraft, which was particularly needed in the period after the peninsula was unified in 676. The lives of the three scholars are summarized in the following table.

**Table 1.** List of Biographies in SS 46

No.	Figure	Region	Significant Information	References in the Annals
1	Gangsu (d. ca. 692)	Saryang district in Jungwon Capital	· <i>sachan</i> (Rank 8) · He explicated and drafted diplomatic correspondence with Tang China.	SS 7, King Munmu, Year 11
2	Choe Chiwon (b. 857)	Saryang district in Capital Gyeongju	· He studied and served as an officer in Tang China. · He gained literary fame in Tang and Silla. · His frustration with Silla politics led him to live in seclusion. · In 1022, the posthumous title Marquis of Bright Culture was granted to him.	SS 11, King Gyeongmun, Year 14; SS 11, King Heongang, Year 11; SS 11, Queen Jinseong, Year 8
3	Seol Chong (b. 655)	Capital Gyeongju	· He was born the son of Wonhyo and Princess Yoseok (fl. 650s). · He read the Nine Classics in the vernacular. · He wrote "Admonition for the King of Flowers." · In 1021, the posthumous title Marquis of Broad Learning was granted to him.	N/A
4	Minor Figures: Choe Seungu (ca. 890s), Choe Eonwi (868-944), Kim Daemun (ca. 704), Bak Inbeom (fl. 900s), Wongeol (n.d.), Geoin (fl. 880s), Kim Ungyeong (fl. 820s), and Kim Suhun (n.d.)			

The three men each made significant contributions to either the domestic or international issues facing their dynasty, but they could not advance to high position, because of their rank in Silla's hereditary status system. In the bone-rank system, they belonged to head-rank six (*achan*).<sup>7</sup> As illustrated in tables 2 and 3, Silla was a more rigid and stratified society than either Baekje or Goguryeo, and thus persons holding head-rank six were unable to move further up from *achan* (Rank 6). Faced with such a stringent hierarchic barrier, the head-rank six pursued literary and scholarly endeavors outside of the court. Frustrated by such inequity, some left for China, believing that

3. There have been two studies written in Korean that focus on Gangsu's life and thought. See Lee 1986, 210-21; Kim 2006, 35-50.

4. For a monograph on Choe Chiwon in English, see Mason 2016.

5. See *Goryeosa* 5, King Hyeonjong, Year 14, Month 2; *Goryeosa* 62, "Munseonwang myo" 文宣王墓.

6. For a brief sketch of Seol Chong's life in English and the significance of his didactic story, see Shin 2012, 126-27.

7. The bone-rank system (*golpum* 骨品) and its social implications are an important research topic in Korean history. See Yi 2017, 88. In SS, the term bone-rank is found only once in the biography of Seol Gyedu.

they might have more opportunities in a foreign land. Such situations are well observed in the three biographies of this chapter.

Table 2. Relationship of Bone-Rank Gradations in Silla to Official Rank and Post

Rank	The 17 Official Ranks	Bone-rank Grades			
1	<i>Ibeolchan</i> 伊伐渰				
2	<i>Ichan</i> 伊渰				
3	<i>Japchan</i> 迺渰				
4	<i>Pajinchan</i> 波珍渰				
5	<i>Dae-achan</i> 大阿渰				
6	<i>Achan</i> 阿渰				
7	<i>Ilgilchan</i> 一吉渰				
8	<i>Sachan</i> 沙渰				
9	<i>Geupbeolchan</i> 級伐渰				
10	<i>Daenama</i> 大奈麻				
11	<i>Nama</i> 奈麻				
12	<i>Daesa(ji)</i> 大舍(知)				
13	<i>Saji</i> 舍知				
14	<i>Gilsa</i> 吉士				
15	<i>Dae-o(ji)</i> 大烏(知)				
16	<i>So-o(ji)</i> 小烏(知)				
17	<i>Jowi</i> 造位				
		True Bone	Head Rank6	Head Rank5	Head Rank4

Table 3. Bureaucratic Rank Systems of the Three Kingdoms<sup>8</sup>

Rank	The 12 Ranks of Goguryeo	The 16 Ranks of Baekje	The 17 Ranks of Silla
1	<i>Daedaero</i> 大對盧	<i>Jwapyeong</i> 佐平	<i>Ibeolchan</i> 伊伐渰
2	<i>Taadaehyeong</i> 太大兄	<i>Dalsol</i> 達率	<i>Icheokchan</i> 伊渰
3	<i>Uljeol</i> 鬱折	<i>Eunsol</i> 恩率	<i>Japchan</i> 迺渰
4	<i>Taadaesaja</i> 太大使者	<i>Deoksol</i> 德率	<i>Pajinchan</i> 波珍渰
5	<i>Joeuidudaehyeong</i> 阜衣頭大兄	<i>Hansol</i> 扞率	<i>Dae-achan</i> 大阿渰

8. Table 3 is prepared for readers to help them understand the degrees of each rank frequently appearing in the biographies. Tables 3 and 4 are based (with modifications) on the tables in Lee (1984, 51-52).

6	<i>Daesaja</i> 大使者	<i>Nasol</i> 奈率	<i>Achan</i> 阿渰
7	<i>Daehyeong</i> 大兄	<i>Jangdeok</i> 將德	<i>Ilgilchan</i> 一吉渰
8	<i>Suwisaja</i> 收位使者	<i>Sideok</i> 施德	<i>Sachan</i> 沙渰
9	<i>Sosaja</i> 小使者	<i>Godeok</i> 固德	<i>Geupbeolchan</i> 級伐渰
10	<i>Sohyeong</i> 小兄	<i>Gyedeok</i> 季德	<i>Daenama</i> 大奈麻
11	<i>Jehyeong</i> 諸兄	<i>Daedeok</i> 對德	<i>Nama</i> 奈麻
12	<i>Seonin</i> 仙人	<i>Mundok</i> 文督	<i>Daesa(ji)</i> 大舍(知)
13		<i>Mudok</i> 武督	<i>Saji</i> 舍知
14		<i>Jwagun</i> 佐軍	<i>Gilsa</i> 吉士
15		<i>Jinmu</i> 振武	<i>Dae-o(ji)</i> 大烏(知)
16		<i>Geugu</i> 克虞	<i>So-o(ji)</i> 小烏
17			<i>Jowi</i> 造位

In East Asia, history was compiled to serve as a mirror for rulers, subjects, and for posterity.<sup>9</sup> It would seem that this chapter was compiled to establish role models for literary men. They expected that Goryeo scholars would emulate these eminent writers who had fully exerted their knowledge and writing skills for the betterment of their country. Moreover, they wished for their kings to become sage-rulers, as seen in the biography of Seol Chong. On the other hand, it is also possible that they intended to criticize the rigid bone-rank system of Silla. Goryeo was also an aristocratic society, but their recruitment to official positions was to some extent based on personal merit through the state examination; this made the social structure more flexible and amenable to social mobility.<sup>10</sup>

9. In his memorial to the throne, written upon the completion of the *Samguk sagi* in 1145, Kim Busik states the motives and purpose of the compilation: “To inform his contemporaries and following generations of their past and heritage and to admonish them by exposing the whole picture of the rulers’ immorality, the subjects’ disloyalty, the country’s instability, and the people’s disobedience.”  
10. King Gwangjong (r. 949-975) of Goryeo established the state examination in 958 to create a new bureaucratic structure that would serve to strengthen royal authority (Lee 1984, 105).

## Translation

### 三國史記 卷 第四十六 *Samguk sagi*, Chapter 46

列傳 第六

Biographies 6

#### Part 1. The Biography of Gangsu

强首，中原京沙梁人也。父昔諦奈麻。其母夢見人有角而妊身，及生頭後有高骨。昔諦以兒就當時所謂賢者問曰，“此兒頭骨如此，何也。”答曰，“吾聞之，伏羲虎形，女媧蛇身，神農牛頭，皐陶馬口。則聖賢同類，而其相亦有不凡者。又觀兒首有鬚子。於相法，面鬚無好，頭鬚無惡，則此必奇物乎。”父還謂其妻曰，“爾子非常兒也，好養育之，當作將來之國士也。”

Gangsu<sup>11</sup> [d. 692] was from the Saryang district<sup>12</sup> in Jungwon Capital [modern Chungju, North Chungcheong].<sup>13</sup> His father was Nama Seokche.<sup>14</sup> After his mother dreamed of a horned man, she became pregnant and gave birth to Gangsu who had a piece of bone protruding from the rear of his skull. Seokche took the boy to a person known as a wise man at that time and asked, “Why

is this boy's skull shaped like this?” He replied, “I have heard that Fuxi<sup>15</sup> had the appearance of a tiger, Nüwa<sup>16</sup> the body of a snake, Shennong<sup>17</sup> the head of an ox, and Gao Yao<sup>18</sup> the mouth of a horse. Sages and worthies are of the same kind, and their physiognomy also differs from that of the ordinary. Your son also has a black mole on his head. According to the art of physiognomy, a black mole on the face is not good, but one on the head is not bad. This must be a marvelous thing.” The father returned home and told his wife, “This son is not an ordinary child. Rear him well, and one day he will become a prominent scholar in the country.”

及壯，自知讀書，通曉義理，父欲觀其志問曰，“爾學佛乎，學儒乎。”對曰，“愚聞之，佛世外教也，愚人間人，安用學佛爲。願學儒者之道。”父曰，“從爾所好。”遂就師讀孝經·曲禮·爾雅·文選。所聞雖淺近，而所得愈高遠。魁然爲一時之傑。遂入仕歷官，爲時間人。

As he grew up,<sup>19</sup> Gangsu taught himself to read and fully understood the meaning and principles of what he had read. Wishing to see his intentions, his father asked, “Are you going to study Buddhist or Confucian teachings?” He replied, “I have heard that Buddhism is a teaching of the other world. Since I am a man of this world, what use would it be for me to study Buddha's path? I wish to study the way of Confucius.” “Do as you wish,” his father said. Thereupon, Gangsu went to a teacher and studied the *Xiaojing* [Classic

11. Gangsu 强首 was a noted Confucian scholar-official of Silla known for his service explicating and drafting diplomatic correspondence with Tang China during the reigns of King Muyeol (r. 654-661), King Munmu (r. 661-681), and King Sinmun (r. 681-692). It is recorded that his writing was so poignant that Emperor Gaozong shed tears. See “King Munho, Beopmin” in *SY* 2. It is assumed that he wrote the reply to Xue Rengui. See *SS* 7, King Munmu, Year 11, Month 7. The present translation has benefited from the work of John Jamieson (1969, 183-86) and from that of Peter Lee (1993, 120-22).

12. Before the Goryeo period, the Saryang district (*bu* 部) was known as Sahwe-*bu* 沙喙部 (Jeon 2013, 51). It was one of the six administrative divisions in the secondary capital, Jungwon. The secondary capitals shared the same administrative system as the capital of Silla, Gyeongju, which also had six *bu* (districts): Hwe-*bu* 喙部, Sahwe-*bu* 沙喙部, Jamhwe-*bu* 岑喙部, Bonpi-*bu* 本彼部, Hangi-*bu* 韓岐部, Sapi-*bu* 斯彼部. For more information about the six districts, see Jeon 2013, 49-95.

13. This was originally Gugwon Fortress in Goguryeo. This region was occupied by Silla in the twelfth year (551) of King Jinheung's reign and became a secondary capital in the eighteenth year (557) of his reign. In the sixteenth year (757) of King Gyeongdeok's reign, the name was changed to Jungwon Secondary Capital. Therefore, the official name of the place in Gangsu's time was Gugwon Secondary Capital. See *SS* 35.

14. The official rank of his father was *nama* (Rank 11) and the rank that Gangsu held in his later years was *sachan* (Rank 8). His status must have been *yukdupum* (head-rank six 六頭品) because only those of this status could hold ranks from 17 to 6 other than the royal family of true bone status.

15. Fuxi 伏羲, formally Taihao 太昊, was a mythical emperor of China. There have been found no Chinese records that describe him as having the face or appearance of a tiger. According to Bai (2001, 259), “he could also have had a tiger's body, a logical alternative for those ethnic groups of the ancient Qiang 羌 who revered the tiger as ancestor, god, and totem.” See Bai 2001, 258-59.

16. Nüwa 女媧 is known as being both the sister and the wife of Fuxi. Nüwa and Fuxi are widely pictured as having intertwined serpentine bodies.

17. Shennong (Divine Husbandman 神農), a mythical emperor, was said to have been born with the head of a bull and the body of a man.

18. Gao Yao 皐陶 served as litigator (*shi* 士) under Emperor Shun 舜 and was in charge of the five penalties according to Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145-86 BCE). However, there are no descriptions of his mouth looking like that of a horse. See *Shiji*, “Wudi benji” 五帝本紀; Nienhauser et al. 1994, 14.

19. The character translated as “grew up” is *jang* 壯; it connotes an age older than *jeong* 丁 (age 15). This implies that he started pursuing his studies relatively late (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:773n9). Regarding the age of *jeong* and *jang*, see *SS* 49, “Changjori”; *SS* 50, “Gungye.”

of Filial Piety],<sup>20</sup> the “Quli” [Specific Rites of Propriety],<sup>21</sup> the *Erya* [Correct Meanings of Terms],<sup>22</sup> and the *Wenxuan* [Selections of Refined Literature].<sup>23</sup> Though what he heard was superficial and common, what he attained was lofty and extraordinary. He stood out as an eminent man of the day. He proceeded to enter officialdom, served in various posts, and was well-known among his contemporaries.

强首嘗與釜谷治家之女野合，情好頗篤。及年二十歲，父母媒邑中之女有容行者，將妻之。强首辭不可以再娶。父怒曰，“爾有時名，國人無不知。而以微者爲偶，不亦可恥乎。”强首再拜曰，“貧且賤，非所羞也。學道而不行之，誠所羞也。嘗聞古人之言曰，‘糟糠之妻，不下堂，貧賤之交，不可忘。’則賤妾所不忍棄者也。”

Prior to this time, Gangsu had had an intimate relationship with the daughter of a blacksmith in Bugok<sup>24</sup> and they formed a solid bond. When he reached the age of twenty,<sup>25</sup> his parents wished to arrange a marriage with a woman of good

appearance and conduct in their town. Gangsu declined on the grounds that he could not take another woman as his wife. His father replied angrily, “You are so famous that everyone in the country knows your name now. Would it not be disgraceful to wed a woman of lowly status?” Gangsu bowed twice and replied, “To be poor and humble is not a thing to be ashamed of, but learning the way and not implementing it is truly shameful. I have heard that a man of ancient times said, ‘The wife who has shared one’s lees and husks must not be cast out from the hall [in times of prosperity], and a friendship formed when one is poor and humble should not be forgotten later.’<sup>26</sup> I could not bear to abandon my wife just because of her lowly status.”

及太宗大王即位，唐使者至，傳詔書。其中有難讀處，王召問之。在王前，一見說釋，無疑滯。王驚喜，恨相見之晚。問其姓名，對曰，“臣本任那加良人，名字頭。”王曰，“見卿頭骨，可稱强首先生。”使製迴謝唐皇帝詔書表，文工而意盡。王益奇之，不稱名，言任生而已。强首未嘗謀生，家貧怡如也。王命有司，歲賜新城租一百石。When King Taejong [r. 654-661] ascended the throne, the Tang envoy came and delivered an imperial decree that contained passages difficult to understand. The king summoned Gangsu and asked him their meaning. After a single reading in front of the king, he explained them without hesitating or stumbling. Amazed and delighted, the king regretted having met him so late and asked his name. Gangsu replied, “Your subject is originally from Imna Garyang,<sup>27</sup> and my name is Udu.”<sup>28</sup> The king said, “Judging from your skull bone, you

20. The *Xiaojing* 孝經 takes the form of a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Zeng Shen 曾參 (505-436 BCE). The main premise of the work is that filial piety, the reverence for parents, is the source of all virtue, and serves as the basis of public morality. It maintains that there is a spiritual continuity between the living and the dead, and links the creative powers of Heaven, Earth, and the Human together. It emerged as a text in the Han period and was recognized as one of the “Thirteen Classics” by the Tang emperor Xuanzong. See de Bary et al. 1999, 325.

21. The “Quli” 曲禮 is the first chapter of the *Liji* (*Classic of Rites* 禮記). It is about sacrifices proper to auspicious ceremonies; the rites of mourning and the loss or abandonment of one’s state; the payment of tribute and appearances at the royal court; weapons, chariots, and banners; as well as serving elders, reverencing the aged, giving offerings or presents, and the marriage of daughters. See Legge 1885, 15-16.

22. The *Erya* 爾雅 is known as the earliest Chinese dictionary, but in fact it is closer to a thesaurus or a compendium of what are often cryptic glosses on early texts. The received version is composed of nineteen sections, and the first one is divided into two parts in most editions (Loewe 1993, 94).

23. The *Wenxuan* 文選 is the oldest surviving collection of Chinese literature arranged by genre. The compiler, Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), included masterpieces of early Chinese literature from thirty-seven different genres. It contains 761 pieces of rhymed prose *fu*, verse, and prose by 130 writers, who lived from the late Zhou to the Liang dynasty (Knechtges 1982, 1).

24. Several places were called Bugok at that time. Considering its proximity with Chungju, Gangsu’s hometown, Bugok in question is speculated to have been located at the foot of Mount Bugok 釜谷山 in Jecheon. “Jecheon-hyeon” 堤川縣 occurs in chapter 14 of the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (*Newly Augmented Geographical Survey of the Territory of the Eastern Kingdom* 新增東國輿地勝覽).

25. At the age of twenty he was already famous among the people of the country. He would probably have gained renown after reading the imperial decree for King Muyeol. The story about a Tang envoy who is thought to have brought the decree is found in the first year of King Muyeol’s reign: “The Tang court sent a diplomatic envoy on a courtesy visit and invested the king as Commander Unequalled in Honor, King of Silla” 唐遣使持節備禮册命爲開府儀同三司新羅王 (SS 5; Shultz and Kang 2017, 167). King Muyeol received the decree in the first year (654) of his reign, and based on this, Gangsu’s birth

year is estimated to be around the third or fourth year of Queen Seondeok’s reign (634-635).

26. Cf. *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 26, “Biography of Song Hong” 宋弘: “Do not forget the friends you made when you were poor and humble. Do not cast aside the wife from the house with whom you have shared your lees and husks” 貧賤之知不可忘 糟糠之妻不下堂. “Lees and husks” 糟糠 are the dregs and chaff left over from the production of alcohol, and thus refers to foodstuffs for the poor or frugal meals. They later became a metonym for a faithful wife.

27. The place name Imna 任那 appears not a few times in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, but in Korea it is only found in two stele inscriptions: the stele of King Gwanggaeto and the stele of Master Jingyeong at the Bongnim Monastery 鳳林寺眞鏡大師碑. Im (1967, 85) argues that Imna is another name of Dae Gaya 大加耶 because the aristocrats of Dae Gaya were relocated to Gugwon (Jungwon) with Ureuk the musician in 551. See SS 4, King Jinheung, Year 12. See also Jamieson 1969, 302n264. On the other hand, Jeong et al. (2012, 4:775n22) suggest that Imna refers to Geumgwan Gaya 金官伽倻 on the basis of the inscription of Master Jingyeong: “His surname was New Kim and his ancestors were the royal family of Imna” 俗姓新金氏 其先任那王族. The master was also a descendant of Kim Yusin, who was a member of the royal family of Geumgwan Gaya. According to the inscription, it seems reasonable to conclude that Imna is Geumgwan Gaya.

28. Udu 牛頭 (literally, cow’s head) was the original name of Gangsu 强首. Both Udu and Gangsu might

are worthy to be called Master Gangsu.”<sup>29</sup> The king asked him to compose a letter of gratitude in return for the emperor’s decree. The letter was well crafted and set forth the king’s meaning entirely. Marveling even more, the king no longer called him by his name, but only by Sir Im.<sup>30</sup> Unconcerned about his livelihood, Gangsu was poor yet happy. The king ordered an official to grant him a hundred *seok* of unhusked rice<sup>31</sup> annually from Sinseong Fortress.<sup>32</sup>

文武王曰, “強首文章自任, 能以書翰, 致意於中國及麗·濟二邦, 故能結好成功。我先王請兵於唐, 以平麗·濟者, 雖曰武功, 亦由文章之助焉。則強首之功, 豈可忽也。”授位沙浪, 增俸歲租二百石。

King Munmu [r. 661-681] said, “Gangsu with his excellent writing skills was able to convey our wishes in letters to the Central Kingdom, Goguryeo, and Baekje, thereby establishing friendly relations. With military aid from Tang, our former king pacified Goguryeo and Baekje. Although this can be said to be the military’s accomplishment, it also came about with the help of men of letters. [If this is so,] then how could Gangsu’s merit be neglected?” The king conferred on Gangsu the title of *sachan* [Rank 8] and increased his annual stipend to two hundred *seok* of unhusked rice.

至神文大王時卒。葬事官供其賻。贈衣物匹段尤多, 家人無所私, 皆歸之佛事。其妻之於食, 欲還鄉里。大臣聞之, 請王賜租百石, 妻辭曰, “妾賤者也。衣食從夫, 受國恩多矣。今既獨矣, 豈敢再辱厚賜乎。”遂不受而歸。

During the reign of King Sinmun [r. 681-692],<sup>33</sup> Gangsu died. The government provided funeral expenses and furnished an abundance of cloth. His family did not take these for themselves but offered them to a Buddhist temple. A minister heard that his wife, on account of a food shortage, was about to return to her hometown.

be “*soe-meori*” in vernacular Korean.

29. The king appears to have replaced the name Udu with a synonymous yet more positive word. Literally, Gangsu means “a strong head” and figuratively refers to “an intelligent mind.”

30. This appears to be a telescoped form of Imna *seonsaeng* (pundit of Imna 任那先生). See Jamieson 1969, 302n266. He was granted the surname Im 任 by the king. The full name Im Gangsu 任強首 is found in the section for personages 人物 in “Chungjumok” 忠州牧 of the *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungnam* 14.

31. Unhusked rice (*jo* 租) was collected as a tax from the local people. *Seok* is read *seom* in vernacular Korean and is approximately sixty-one liters. See Shultz and Kang 2017, 418.

32. This fortress was built on Mount Namsan in Gyeongju in the 13<sup>th</sup> year (591) of King Jinpyeong’s reign. It seems that there had been a granary in the fortress. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:776n26.

33. Gangsu’s death is recorded in the 12<sup>th</sup> year (692) of King Sinmun’s reign in the *Samguksa jeoryo* (*Essentials from the Histories of the Three Kingdoms* 三國史節要) (available at <http://www.koreaa2z.com/viewer.php?seq=35#649>).

He petitioned the king to grant her a hundred *seok* of unhusked rice. She declined and said, “I am a humble person and used to depend on my late husband for food and clothing, which were numerous favors received from the state. Now that I am alone, how could I dare to shame myself further by accepting this generous gift?” Accordingly, she did not accept it and returned to her home village.

新羅古記曰, “文章則強首·帝文·守眞·良圖·風訓·骨脊。”帝文已下, 事逸不得立傳。

The *Old Record of Silla* states, “As for literary compositions, Gangsu, Jemun [n.d.], Sujin [n.d.],<sup>34</sup> Yangdo [d. 670],<sup>35</sup> Punghun [fl. 670s],<sup>36</sup> and Goldap [n.d.]<sup>37</sup> are notable.” However, since the deeds of Jemun and the others were not passed down, their biographies could not be drafted.

## Part 2. The Biography of Choe Chiwon<sup>38</sup>

崔致遠, 字孤雲 或云海雲, 王京沙梁部人也。史傳泯滅, 不知其世系。致遠少精敏好學, 至年十二, 將隨海舶入唐求學。其父謂曰, “十年不第, 即非吾子也。行矣勉之。”致遠至唐, 追師學問, 無怠。

34. Sujin 守眞 could refer to either Seol Sujin 薛秀眞 (fl. 670s), who presented the Six Battle Formations 六陣兵法 in front of King Munmu in 674 (See also SS 7, King Munmu, Year 14), or Sal Sujin 薩守眞, the author of *Cheonji seosangji* (*Treatise on the Auspicious Signs of Heaven and Earth* 天地瑞祥志). See Gwon 1999, 393.

35. For information on Kim Yangdo 金良圖, See SS 5, King Muyeol, Year 8; SS 6, King Munmu, Year 10; SS 42, “Biography of Kim Yusin”; SY 4, “Uisang’s Transmission of the Buddhist Teachings” 義湘傳教. Other biographical information is found in SY 5, “Milbon Exorcized Evil Spirits” 密本摧邪. See Lee and Jeong 2018, 191n99.

36. Kim Punghun 金風訓 was a general and scholar of true bone status. His father Kim Jinju 金眞珠 was a commander executed in 662 for negligence of duty. Bearing a grudge against the Silla court, Kim Punghun became a local guide for the Tang general Xue Rengui 薛仁貴 (613-683), who invaded Silla in the 15<sup>th</sup> year (675) of King Munmu’s reign.

37. Goldap 骨脊 is not mentioned in any other records.

38. Choe Chiwon 崔致遠 was a prominent scholar-official of Silla. In addition to his literary works listed in *Xin Tangshu* 60 and included in *Senzai kaku* (*A Thousand Years of Fine Verse* 千載佳句), he is well-known for his official career in Tang during the Huang Chao rebellion (874-884), his frustration in Silla, and his later life spent in seclusion. His success in the Tang state examinations is recorded in the account of King Gyeongmun’s 14<sup>th</sup> year (874) in SS 11, his return to Silla in that of King Heongang’s 11<sup>th</sup> year (885) in SS 11, and his ten urgent points of reform in that of Queen Jinseong’s 8<sup>th</sup> year (894) in SS 11. Five poems of his are included in the section on Silla music in SS 32. His remark on the territories of the Three Hans is recorded in the geographical section for Silla in SS 34. In “Gyeon Hwon of Later Baekje” in SY 2, it is said that he composed a letter to Gyeon Hwon (867-936) for Wang Geon (877-943). The present translation has benefited from Peter Lee’s partial rendition (1993, 126-27).

Choe Chiwon [b. 857], courtesy name Goun {Some say Haeun}, was from the Saryang district of the capital [in modern Gyeongju].<sup>39</sup> Since the historical records have been destroyed, we do not know his lineage. From his childhood, he was refined, astute, and eager to learn. At the age of twelve, when he was about to board a ship<sup>40</sup> to study in Tang, his father<sup>41</sup> said to him, “If you cannot pass the state examination within ten years, you will not be worthy of being my son. Go and apply yourself!” Arriving in Tang, Chiwon sought a teacher and studied without idleness.

乾符元年甲午, 禮部侍郎裴瓚下, 一舉及第. 調授宣州溧水縣尉, 考績爲承務郎·侍御史內供奉, 賜紫金魚袋. 時黃巢叛, 高駢爲諸道行營兵馬都統以討之, 辟致遠爲從事, 以姿書記之任. 其表·狀·書·啓, 傳之至今.

In the first year of the Qianfu era,<sup>42</sup> *gabo* [874], when Vice Minister of Rites Pei Zan [n.d.] was the examiner, Chiwon passed the examination on his first attempt. He was appointed the district defender<sup>43</sup> of Lishui prefecture in Xuanzhou [in modern Jiangsu]. Following an evaluation of his work, he was made gentleman for rendering service,<sup>44</sup> auxiliary attendant censor,<sup>45</sup> and granted a purple pouch with a golden fish tally.<sup>46</sup> At that time when Huang

Chao [d. 884]<sup>47</sup> instigated a rebellion, Gao Pian [d. 887]<sup>48</sup> was appointed military director-in-chief of mobile encampments for all circuits in order to suppress it. He called on Chiwon to be his assistant in charge of the scribal office.<sup>49</sup> His memorials, missives, letters, and notes<sup>50</sup> have been passed down to this day.

及年二十八歲, 有歸寧之志. 僖宗知之, 光啓元年, 使將詔書來聘. 留爲侍讀兼翰林學士·守兵部侍郎·知瑞書監事. 致遠自以西學多所得, 及來將行已志, 而衰季多疑忌, 不能容, 出爲大山郡太守.

When he was twenty-eight years old, he made up his mind to return home. Emperor Xizong [r. 873-888] knew this and in the first year [885] of the Guangqi era<sup>51</sup> sent him to Silla as an envoy<sup>52</sup> to deliver his edict. He stayed

47. Cf. *Xin Tangshu* 225c, “Huang Chao.” Huang Chao 黃巢 raised a great revolt that severely weakened the Tang dynasty. He was from Yuanju 冤句 (modern Mudan district of Heze 荷澤, Shandong). His family had been salt privateers for generations, and had become wealthy from smuggling. It is said that Huang was a capable equestrian, archer, and swordsman; he was also an educated and persuasive speaker. In 875, he led several thousand bandits and succeeded in capturing a number of prefectures. In 878, he was defeated by the campaign armies sent by Gao Pian, but in 880 he overcame Gao’s armies and moved into the Tang palace and declared himself the emperor of Great Qi 大齊. In 884, however, he was killed by his nephew and thus the rebellion ended. For more information, see Twitchett. 1979, 723-62.

48. Cf. *Jiu Tangshu* 182, “Gao Pian.” Gao Pian 高駢 (ca. 821-887), courtesy name Qianli 千里, formally Prince of Bohai 渤海王, was a scholar and general of the Tang dynasty. He was a native of Youzhou 幽州 (modern Shanxi, Hebei, Liaoning areas) and distinguished himself by his exploits in suppressing a serious rebellion in Annan 安南 (modern Guangdong, Guangxi, and northern Vietnam areas) in 864. He was sent to take the field against Huang Chao but failed to repel the rebel army. In 880 he withdrew from the command and devoted himself to spiritual studies, leaving complete power in the hands of the military governor Lu Yongzhi 呂用之. He was eventually murdered by Bi Shiduo 畢師鐸 (d. 888).

49. While Choe was Gao Pian’s aide in 881, he wrote a letter, known as “Gyeong Huang Chao seo” (A Proclamation to Huang Chao 檄黃巢書), rebuking and appeasing Huang Chao. The contents of his letter were written in parallel-style (*pianliwen* 駢儷文, see footnote 101) and were later recorded in the *Samguksa jeoryo* (*Historical Essentials of the Three Kingdoms* 三國史節要) in 1476. It is stated that Huang Chao fell off his chair when he read in the letter: “Not only do all the people in the world think of slaying you, but the spirits in the underworld have also discussed eliminating you” 不唯天下之人 皆思顯戮 抑亦地中之鬼 已議陰誅. See *Samguksa jeoryo* 13, King Heongang, Year 11, *eulsa* (885).

50. *Biao* (memorials 表) were presented by officials to the emperor. *Zhuang* (missives 狀) were given to the emperor and high-ranking officials. *Shu* (letters 書) were addressed to equals in a non-administrative context. *Qi* (notes 啓) were addressed to the crown prince and senior officials. See Yang 2000, 136. See also Blitstein 2015, 338.

51. Guangqi 光啓 was the fourth reign title (885-888) of Emperor Xizong of the Tang dynasty.

52. Choe’s return to Silla is recorded in the account of the 11<sup>th</sup> year of King Heongang’s reign in SS 11. It is also inscribed on Master Nanghye’s memorial stele at Seongju Monastery, where it says that he

39. According to the account of Bak Hyeokgeose, founder of Silla, in “Wonders I” of SY 1, Choe Chiwon was from the Bonpi district, one of the six districts of the Silla capital (see footnote 18). In other sources, however, he is believed to have been from Okgu in North Jeolla province. See Kim 2015, 56-68.

40. This appears to have been a merchant vessel. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:779n37.

41. His father was recorded as Gyeonil 肩逸 in the stele inscription at Sungbok Monastery 崇福寺碑銘.

42. Qianfu 乾符 was the first reign title of Emperor Xizong of Tang, lasting from 874 to 879.

43. District defender (*xianwei* 縣尉) was a position comparable to vice magistrate (*cheng* 丞). The role had special responsibility for police activities in the district. From the Tang period on, duties became more varied. See Hucker 1985, 243n2549.

44. Gentleman for rendering service (*chengwulang* 承務郎) was a prestige title (*sanguan* 散官) for officials of rank 8b2 從八品下 until the year of 1080. See Hucker 1985, 129n516.

45. Auxiliary attendant censors (*shiyushineigongfeng* 侍御史內供奉) were nine officials who held the rank 7b2 從七品下. They exercised broad surveillance powers over the conduct of officials in court audiences and over the management of imperial finances in the imperial granaries (*taicang* 太倉) and the left vault (*zuozang* 左藏). See *Xin Tangshu* 48, “Yushi tai” (Censorate 御史臺), *dianzhong shiyushi* (palace censors 殿中侍御史). See also Hucker 1985, 502n6562.

46. Cf. *Jiu Tangshu* 45, “Yufu” (Carts and Clothing 輿服). The purple pouch contained a fish-shaped tally, called *yufu* 魚符, symbolizing authority. It was worn around the waist of high officials, and especially in the late Tang period, it was bestowed as a royal gift.

in Silla and was appointed reader-in-waiting<sup>53</sup> while concurrently holding the offices of Hallim academician,<sup>54</sup> acting<sup>55</sup> vice minister of military affairs, and royal archivist.<sup>56</sup> Chiwon thought that he had learned much from his study in the West [Tang]<sup>57</sup> and wished to put his ideas<sup>58</sup> into practice after returning home. However, because of the suspicion and envy prevalent in the last decadent days of Silla, his ideas did not find support. He was then sent out [from the capital] to be the magistrate of Taesan-gun [modern Jeongeup in North Jeolla].<sup>59</sup>

唐昭宗景福二年，納旌節使兵部侍郎金處誨，沒於海，即差楸城郡大守金峻，爲告奏使。時致遠爲富城郡大守，祇召爲賀正使。以比歲饑荒，因之盜賊交午，道梗不果行。其後致遠亦嘗奉使如唐，但不知其歲月耳。

In the second year [893] of the Jingfu era<sup>60</sup> in the reign of Emperor Zhaozong [888-904] of Tang, Kim Cheohoe, vice-minister of military affairs, was dispatched as an envoy to return the imperial banners and verges,<sup>61</sup> but drowned

came to Silla as an envoy.

53. The reader-in-waiting (*sidok* 侍讀) was in charge of the royal lectures.

54. The Hallim academician (Hanlim-*haksa* 翰林學士) was a secretary responsible for drafting royal edicts.

55. The term “acting” (*su* 守) was prefixed to a title when the appointee’s rank was lower than what was appropriate for the post, or when there was already a nominal appointee to the post (Hucker 1984, 431n5355).

56. The royal archivist (*seoseogam* 瑞書監) is presumed to have been in charge of the palace library, but the position does not appear in the monographs on officials of SS 38-40 (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:782n49).

57. Since Tang China was located to the west of Silla, studying abroad in China was called Western learning (*seohak* 西學). See Gwon 2005, 162.

58. Jeong et al. (2012, 4:782n51) assume that this refers to his “Ten Urgent Points of Reform” 時務十餘條 presented to Queen Jinseong in the eighth year (894) of her reign. See SS 11, Queen Jinseong, Year 8.

59. Choe Chiwon is enshrined at the Museong Confucian Academy 武城書院 in Jeongeup in North Jeolla province.

60. Jingfu 景福 is a reign title (892-893) of Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗 of the Tang dynasty.

61. During the Tang period, military governors (*jiedushi* 節度使) were given a pair of verges or caducei (*jie* 節) and a pair of banners (*jing* 旌) upon their commission. The *jing* banners were often ornamented with tassels made of feathers or oxtails (Nienhauser 2010, 90n66). In this context, the banners and verges were used as emblems indicating the imperial approval of Silla kings. Thus, when a king passed away, an envoy was sent to the emperor to return the old emblem and receive a new one for the new ruler (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:782n54). Kim Cheohoe was dispatched in 893 because King Jeonggang (r. 886-887) had died and Queen Jinseong (r. 887-897) was reigning, although it is unclear why the return had been delayed (Yi 2011, 14). For the letter explaining the reason for returning banners and verges, see SS 11, Queen Jinseong, Year 1.

while crossing the sea. Soon after, Kim Jun [fl. 890s],<sup>62</sup> magistrate of Chuseong-gun<sup>63</sup> [presumably Dangjin in South Chungcheong], was selected as the envoy charged with reporting the matter. At that time, Chiwon was magistrate of Buseong-gun [modern Seosan in South Chungcheong]; he was summoned to be the envoy for the New Year’s felicitations. However, he could not go because the road was blocked by bandits on account of years of famine. After that incident, Chiwon did go to Tang as an envoy, but the year and month in which he went are unknown.

故其文集有上大師·侍中狀云，“伏聞東海之外有三國，其名馬韓·卞韓·辰韓。馬韓則高麗，卞韓則百濟，辰韓則新羅也。高麗·百濟全盛之時，強兵百萬。南侵吳·越，北撓幽·燕·齊·魯，爲中國巨蠹。隋皇失馭，由於征遼。

In his collected works there is a missive to the grand preceptor,<sup>64</sup> director of the chancellery, that reads as follows: “Humbly and respectfully I have heard of three countries beyond the eastern sea [of China], whose names were Mahan, Byeonhan, and Jinhan. Mahan became Goryeo,<sup>65</sup> Byeonhan Baekje, and Jinhan Silla.<sup>66</sup> At the height of their strength Goryeo and Baekje maintained

62. According to Choe Chiwon’s heptasyllabic quatrain “Leaving Kim Jun, Governor of Western Capital” 留別西京金少尹峻 in the *Dongmunseon* 19, Kim Jun 金峻 was an official in Seowon Secondary Capital 西原京 (modern Cheongju in North Chungcheong province).

63. The character *chu* 楸 in Chuseong-gun 楸城郡 is a rarely-used Sino-Korean character. According to the *Dictionary of Sino-Korean Characters* 韓國漢字語辭典, it is pronounced *chu* (bush clover). Yi (1996, 431) suggests that Chuseong-gun is the modern Boryeong in South Chungcheong province. However, since Chuseong-gun is not recorded in the “Monograph on Geography” of SS (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:782n55), it is assumed that it might refer to Hyeseong-gun 淸城郡 in SS 36 which is graphically similar to Chuseong-gun 楸城郡. If so, Hyeseong-gun is the present-day Myeoncheon-myeon in Dangjin in South Chungcheong province.

64. This was one of the eminent central government dignitaries known as *san gong* (the Three Dukes 三公): *taishi* (grand preceptor 太師), *taifu* (grand mentor 太傅), and *taibao* (grand guardian 太保) (Hucker 1985, 401n4904).

65. Goryeo was another name for Goguryeo. It seems to have been used since the tenth year of King Jangsū’s reign (r. 413-491) over Goguryeo. The name Goryeo is used five times while Goguryeo twice in this biography.

66. This is the earliest mention of the relationship between the Three Hans and the Three Kingdoms in Korea. Unlike the statement of the SS historian, Gwon Geun 權近 (1352-1409) argued that Mahan was Baekje, Byeonhan was Goguryeo, and Jinhan was Silla. On the other hand, Han Baekgyeom 韓百謙 (1552-1615) proposed that Byeonhan was Gaya, while Mahan was Baekje and Jinhan was Silla. Since then, his view has been widely accepted. Yi Byeongdo 李丙燾 (1896-1989) assumed that Mahan was located in the region of modern Chungcheong and Jeolla provinces, Byeonhan was in Gyeongsang province, and Jinhan was in Gyeonggi and Gangwon provinces. Yi’s assumption was adopted by the state-authored history textbook in 1970s. However, Cheon Gwanu 千寬宇 (1925-

strong armies numbering one million soldiers. They invaded the Wu-Yue area in the south and disturbed the areas of Yan-You.<sup>67</sup> Qi and Lu in the north [of mainland China] were grave nuisances to the Central Kingdom. The emperor of Sui lost control of his country because of his expedition to Liaodong.<sup>68</sup>

貞觀中，我唐太宗皇帝，親統六軍，渡海恭行天罰。高麗畏威請和，文皇受降迴蹕。此際我武列大王，請以犬馬之誠，助定一方之難，入唐朝謁，自此而始。後以高麗·百濟踵前造惡，武烈七朝，請為鄉導。

During the Zhenguan era,<sup>69</sup> our emperor, Taizong of Tang, personally led six armies<sup>70</sup> and crossed the sea to reverently execute the punishment appointed by Heaven.<sup>71</sup> The people of Goryeo feared his majesty and sued for peace. The Cultured August [Taizong]<sup>72</sup> accepted the surrender and returned to his country.<sup>73</sup> At this time, our great king Muyeol made an earnest request for

1991) and Seo Uisik 徐毅植 (b. 1956) have argued that it is unreasonable to fix a tribal state in a certain area because people moved one place to another and they lived together without a clear distinction between them. See Cheon 1975, 57-59; Seo 2015, 216.

67. Yi (1996, 431) assumes You 幽 was a state. However, there has been no such a state in Chinese history. According to Jeong et al. (2012, 4:784n63), You refers to Youzhou 幽州 (modern Shanxi, Hebei, Liaoning areas).

68. Liaodong was a part of the Goguryeo territory at that time. This event specifically refers to the failure of Emperor Yang's expedition to Goguryeo in 612. Even after the defeat, he continued to send his armies against Goguryeo but without success; before long, his war-weakened empire crumbled (Lee 1984, 47).

69. Zhenguan 貞觀 is a reign title (627-649) of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty.

70. Emperor Taizong mobilized 100,000 soldiers and left on the Goguryeo expedition in the eighteenth year (644) of the Zhenguan era: “發天下甲士 召募十萬 並趣平壤 以伐高麗” (*Jiu Tangshu* 3, Taizong, Year 18, Month 11).

71. The expression “reverently execute the punishment appointed by Heaven” 恭行天罰 is found in the *Shujing*, “Speech at Gan: On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment (to Hu); and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven” 甘誓: 天用剿絕其命 今予惟恭行天之罰.

72. The Cultured August (Wenhuang 文皇) was expanded to “Wenwu Sheng Huangdi” (The Cultured Military Sagacious August Emperor 文武聖皇帝) in 674 and was later changed again to “Wenwu Dasheng Daguangxiao Huangdi” (The Cultured Military Sagacious Grand Extensive Filial August Emperor 文武大聖大廣孝皇帝) in 754 (*Jiu Tangshu* 3, Taizong, Year 13, Month 8; Nienhauser 2010, 90n66).

73. This event occurred in the fourth year of King Bojang (r. 642-668) of Goguryeo. However, Choe's statement is contrary to the account given in the “Annals of Goguryeo.” According to the annals, Emperor Taizong led a large army to Goguryeo but was halted before Ansi Fortress, southwest of Liaoyang. After two months of futile attempts to take the city, the emperor ordered a withdrawal; moreover, the whole expedition ended in disaster because of a terrible blizzard (SS 9, King Bojang, Year 4; Twitchett 1979, 234).

help to settle the problems of his region. It was from this moment that the Silla people began to pay their respects to the emperor. Later when Goryeo and Baekje committed evil deeds, as they had before, King Muyeol had an audience at the imperial court and asked to serve as a local guide [for their expedition].

至高宗皇帝顯慶五年，勅蘇定方，統十道強兵·樓舡萬隻，大破百濟。乃於其地，置扶餘都督府，招緝遺氓，蒞以漢官。以臭味不同，屢聞離叛，遂徙其人於河南。

In the fifth year [660] of the Xianqing era,<sup>74</sup> Emperor Gaozong [r. 649-683] commanded Su Dingfang to lead formidable troops from ten provinces along with numerous multi-storied ships to destroy Baekje completely. He then established the Buyeo Area Command<sup>75</sup> and gathered the remnant subjects, over whom a Chinese officer was put in charge. The emperor heard that there was frequent discord because their customs were not the same; consequently the people were transported to Henan [modern Luoyang].<sup>76</sup>

摠章元年，命英公徐校勣，破高句麗，置安東都督府。至儀鳳三年，徙其人於河南·隴右。高句麗殘孽類聚，北依大白山下，國號為渤海。

In the first year [668] of the Zongzhang era,<sup>77</sup> the emperor commanded the Duke of Ying, Xu Ji,<sup>78</sup> to destroy Goguryeo and establish the Andong Area

74. Xianqing 顯慶 is the first reign title (656-661) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty.

75. This should have been written as Ungjin Area Command 熊津都督府 according to SS 36, which reads: “Emperor Gaozong of Tang dispatched Su Dingfang to pacify it and establish the Ungjin Area Command” 唐高宗遣蘇定方平之 置熊津都督府. Jeong et al. (2012, 4:784n67) states that this error was made by Choe Chiwon who had incorrectly recalled it. Furthermore, there was no Buyeo Area Command among the five area commands: Ungjin 熊津, Mahan 馬韓, Dongmyeong 東明, Geumnyeon 金湓, and Deogan 德安. See SS 28, King Uija, Year 20, Month 5.

76. In the account of the twentieth year of King Uija's reign in SS 28, it is recorded that Su Dingfang sent 12,807 of the Baekje people as captives to Chang'an. However, Jeong et al. (2012, 4:784n68) assert that it is more probable for the Baekje remnant subjects to have been transported to Henan instead of Chang'an as the Goguryeo captives were in 678. See the account of the “Gaoli” 高麗 in *Xin Tangshu* 220.

77. Zongzhang 摠章 is the sixth reign title (668-669) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty. The character 摠 is a variation of 總, so it is recorded as 總章 in *Jiu Tangshu*, *Xin Tangshu*, and *Zizhi tongjian*. However, 摠 is used only in SS.

78. Xu Ji 徐勣 refers to Li Ji 李勣 (d. 669), a Tang general. Originally called Xu Shiji 徐世勣, he was later given the royal surname Li 李 and was thus called Li Shiji 李世勣. In order to avoid the taboo character *shi* 世 in Emperor Taizong's name Li Shimin 李世民, his name was changed to Li ji 李勣. Li held several military posts and was made the Duke of the Ying State (Yingguo-gong 英國公) for his achievements.

Command.<sup>79</sup> In the third year [678] of the Yifeng era,<sup>80</sup> he transported the people of Goguryeo to Henan and Longyou [west of modern Gansu]. The remaining people of Goguryeo gathered at the foot of Mount Taebaek<sup>81</sup> and established a country named Balhae.

開元二十年，怨恨天朝，將兵掩襲登州，殺刺史韋俊。於是，明皇帝大怒，命內史高品·何行成·大僕卿金思蘭，發兵過海攻討。仍就加我王金某，爲正大尉·持節·充寧海軍事·雞林州大都督。以冬深雪厚，蕃·漢苦寒，勅命廻軍。

In the twentieth year [732] of the Kaiyuan era,<sup>82</sup> because of a grievance against the imperial court, the Balhae generals and soldiers made a sudden attack on Dengzhou [modern Penglai in Shandong] and killed Prefect Wei Jun [n.d.]. Thereupon the Illustrious August Emperor [Xuanzong]<sup>83</sup> was enraged and commanded Secretariats Gao Pin [n.d.] and He Xingcheng [n.d.],<sup>84</sup> as well as Kim Saran [n.d.]<sup>85</sup> who was chamberlain of the imperial stud, to mobilize troops and cross the sea to attack Balhae. Then the emperor appointed our Silla king, whose surname was Kim,<sup>86</sup> defender-in-chief bearing special authority, administrator of Chongning Sea, and area commander-in-chief of Gyerim-ju. However, since the troops of the vassal state and China suffered from the biting

cold and the heavy snow in the middle of winter, the emperor ordered the withdrawal of the troops.

至今三百餘年，一方無事，滄海晏然，此乃我武烈大王之功也。今某儒門未學，海外凡村，謬奉表章，來朝樂土。凡有誠懇，禮合披陳。

For over three hundred years, until now, this peripheral land has been without trouble and the entire sea around us has been peaceful. This is the achievement of our great king Muyeol. Now, although an insignificant Confucian and a mediocre foreigner, I have presumptuously brought a memorial to the imperial court of the blissful land [Tang]. I have tried to express my feelings with the utmost sincerity in the proper manner.

伏見，元和十二年，本國王子金張廉，風飄至明州下岸，浙東某官發送入京。中和二年，入朝使金直諒，爲叛臣作亂，道路不通，遂於楚州下岸，邈迤至楊州，得知聖駕幸蜀，高大尉差都頭張儉，監押送至西川，已前事例分明。

According to my humble knowledge, Kim Jangryeom,<sup>87</sup> prince of Silla, in the twelfth year [817] of the Yuanhe era,<sup>88</sup> was driven by fierce gusts to the coast of Mingzhou [modern Ningbo in Zhejiang]. Then an official of Zhedong [Eastern Zhejiang] sent him to the imperial capital. In the second year [882] of the Zhonghe era,<sup>89</sup> tribute envoy Kim Jikryang [n.d.] landed on the coast of Chuzhou [in modern Huai'an, Jiangsu]<sup>90</sup> and made a detour to Yangzhou [in Jiangsu] because the road was blocked by the rebellion of Huang Chao.<sup>91</sup> Afterwards, he learned that the emperor had left for Shu [modern Sichuan] by carriage. Grand Guardian Gao<sup>92</sup> sent Area Commander Zhang Jian [n.d.] to lead him in a convoy to Xichuan [west of modern Sichuan]. These previous examples are quite evident.

79. This is a scribal error for Andong Protectorate (Andong-*duhufu* 安東都護府).

80. Yifeng 儀鳳 is a reign title (676-679) of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty.

81. Mount Taebaek is another name for Mount Baekdu. However, according to the *Jiu Tangshu*, Balhae was founded at Mount Dongmo (near modern Dunhua 敦化, Jilin). (*Jiu Tangshu* 199b, "Bohai Mohe" 渤海靺鞨).

82. Kaiyuan 開元 is a reign title (713-741) of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756) of the Tang dynasty.

83. The Illustrious August Emperor (Ming Huangdi 明皇帝) refers to Xuanzong; his posthumous name was the Ultimate Way Great Sage Grand Illustrious Filial August Emperor (Zhida Dao Dasheng Daming Xiao Huangdi 至道大聖大明孝皇帝).

84. He Xingcheng 何行成 served at the office of eunuch attendants after returning from Silla as envoy. Thanks to his merit, the posthumous title Bohai Commandery Lord 渤海郡君 was conferred on his mother (Jeong et al. 2012, 4:785n75). However, since Jeong et al. (2012) do not provide any evidence, this information needs to be verified.

85. Kim Saran 金思蘭, a member of the royal house, went to the Tang court and was retained as a palace guard. He returned to Silla as an assistant to He Xingcheng during his attack on the southern Balhae. See SS 8, King Seongdeok, Year 32, Month 7. He is also found in the biography of Wu Chengci 烏承玘 in *Xin Tangshu* 136, and *Zizhi tongjian* 213, Kaiyuan, Year 21.

86. This refers to King Seongdeok (r. 702-737) whose name was Yunggi (Longji in Chinese 隆基). In the Chinese text, the character *mo* 某 (so-and-so) was inserted in the place of his name by the compilers in order to observe a taboo regarding Emperor Xuanzong's name, Li Longji 李隆基. Because of the taboo, King Seongdeok's name was changed to Heunggwang 興光 during the Xiantian era (712-713). See SS 8, King Seongdeok, Year 1.

87. Kim Jangryeom 金張廉 (fl. 810s) was sent to Tang to present tribute in 817. See SS 10, King Heondeok, Year 9; *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 42.

88. Yuanhe 元和 is the reign title (806-820) of Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805-820) of the Tang dynasty.

89. Zhonghe 中和 is a reign title (881-884) of Emperor Xizong 僖宗 of the Tang dynasty.

90. Communities of the Silla people, called Silla-*bang* 新羅坊, were known to be in this area. See the *Nitto kyūho junreigyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 4, Dazhong, Year 1, Month 6, Day 18 (available at [http://db.history.go.kr/item/compareViewer.do?levelId=ds\\_004\\_0050\\_0060\\_0050](http://db.history.go.kr/item/compareViewer.do?levelId=ds_004_0050_0060_0050)). See also Reischaue 1955, 103.

91. For more information about the rebellion, see footnote 48.

92. This is Gao Pian. For more information about him, see footnote 49.

伏乞，大師·侍中，俯降台恩，特賜水陸券牒。令所在供給舟舡·熟食及長行驢馬·草料，并差軍將，監送至駕前。”此所謂大師·侍中，姓名亦不可知也。

Now I humbly beg you, grand preceptor and director of the chancellery, to grant me, by your grace, pass to the maritime regions and inland and to command provincial governors to provide me with ships, meals, donkeys, and fodder for a long trip. Furthermore, dispatch an officer to lead me in a convoy to wherever the imperial carriage is.” The name of the grand preceptor and director of the chancellery mentioned here is not known.

致遠自西事大唐，東歸故國，皆遭亂世，屯遭蹇連，動輒得咎，自傷不偶，無復仕進意。逍遙自放，山林之下·江海之濱。營臺榭植松竹，枕藉書史，嘯詠風月。若慶州南山·剛州永山·陝州清涼寺·智異山雙溪寺·合浦縣別墅，此皆遊焉之所。最後帶家隱伽耶山海印寺，與母兄浮圖賢俊及定玄師，結爲道友。棲遲偃仰，以終老焉。 Starting from the time he served the Great Tang court in the west to the time he returned to his homeland in the east, Chiwon had faltered continuously. Living in turbulent times, his career was hindered and regardless of what he did, he was criticized. He lamented being born out of his time, and never again sought a post. He wandered freely. Along the river and ocean shores and at the foot of wooded mountains, he built terraces and pavilions and planted pines and bamboo. Resting his head on a stack of Classics and histories, he recited odes to nature. The places he visited included Mount Namsan in Gyeongju, Mount Bingsan [in modern Uiseong] in Gangju [modern Yeongju in North Gyeongsang], Cheongnyang Monastery in Hapju [modern Hapcheon, South Gyeongsang], Ssanggye Monastery on Mount Jiri, and a cottage in Happon-hyeon [modern Masan in South Gyeongsang]. Eventually he retired with his family to Haein Monastery where he formed a *dharma* friendship<sup>93</sup> with his elder brother Monk Hyeonjun [fl. 890s] and Master Jeonghyeon [fl. 890s]. He remained solitary and carefree,<sup>94</sup> and finished his allotted life.

始西遊時，與江東詩人羅隱相知。隱負才自高，不輕許可人，示致遠所製歌詩五軸。又與同年顧雲友善。將歸，顧雲以詩送別，略曰，“我聞海上三金龜，金龜頭戴山高高。山之上兮，珠宮貝闕黃金殿，山之下兮，千里萬里之洪濤。傍邊一點雞林碧，

龜山孕秀生奇特。十二乘船渡海來，文章感動中華國。十八橫行戰詞苑，一箭射破金門策。”

Earlier, when he studied abroad in the West [China], he made friends with Luo Yin [833-909],<sup>95</sup> a poet from Jiangdong. Yin was so confident in his talent and proud of himself that he did not easily approve of others, but he showed Chiwon five scrolls of his poems. In addition, Chiwon maintained a good friendship with Gu Yun [d. 894] who passed the state examination with him in the same year. When Chiwon was about to return home, Gu Yun bade him farewell with a poem, which is summarized as follows:

I have heard of three golden turtles<sup>96</sup> on the sea;  
On their heads,  
The golden terrapins hold up high and lofty mountains.  
On the mountains  
Sit a palace of pearls, a gate of shells, and a golden hall.  
Below the mountains,  
Spreads the vast ocean for countless leagues.  
In a corner of the sea there is a jasper dot, called Jilin,<sup>97</sup>  
The turtle mountains conceived an excellence and gave birth to a marvelous man.  
Aged twelve, he boarded a ship to cross the sea.  
His writing shook the Central and Resplendent Kingdom.  
Aged eighteen, he prevailed on the literary battle field,<sup>98</sup>  
He shattered the mark of the Golden Gate<sup>99</sup> with his first arrow.

95. Luo Yin 羅隱, courtesy name Zhaojian 昭諫, was a poet of the late Tang dynasty. He came from Yuhang 餘杭 (north of modern Hangzhou). As a Tang literary figure, he was known for his acerbic style (Xiong 2017, 345). He is the author of the *Chanshu* (Defamatory Writings 讒書) and the collection *Luo Zhaojian ji* (Collected Works of Luo Zhaojian 羅昭諫集).

96. In Chinese mythology the golden turtles supported on their backs the Three Divine Mountains 三神山: Mount Penglai 蓬萊山, Mount Fangzhang 方丈山, and Mount Yingzhou 瀛洲山. The names of these sacred mountains were introduced into Korea. Thus, Mount Geumgang was called Mount Penglai; Mount Jiri, Mount Fangzhang; and Mount Halla, Mount Yingzhou. For more information, see Shin 2011, 1-33.

97. According to SS 1, *Isageum* Talhae, Year 9, King Talhae heard at night the sound of a rooster crowing in the forest, called Sirim, west of the capital where the child Kim Alji 金閼智 (b. 65) was discovered, who later became the founder of the Gyeongju Kim clan. Afterwards, the name Sirim was changed to Gyerim (Jilin in Chinese), which then became the name of the country. See also SS 34.

98. This refers to the site for the state examination.

99. The Golden Gate (*jinmen* in Chinese 金門) refers to the palace gate, which in this case is the place for taking the examination, and so the mark of the Golden Gate is the policy essay question (*cewen*

93. The term “*dharma* friendship” (*daoyou* 道友) refers to friends cultivating *dharma* or *dao* together.

94. Cf. *Shijing*, “Bei Shan” 北山: “Some lazily roost, on their backs looking up, / And some are all-bustled in the service of the king” 或棲遲偃仰 或不已于行。

新唐書藝文志云,“崔致遠四六集一卷,桂苑筆耕二十卷。”注云,“崔致遠高麗人,賓貢及第,爲高駢從事。”其名聞上國如此,又有文集三十卷,行於世。

The “Monograph on Literature” in the *Xin Tangshu* states: “Choe Chiwon’s *Siliu ji* [Collected Works of Four-Six Prose]<sup>100</sup> is in one *gwon*<sup>101</sup> and his *Gyewon pilgyeong* [Plowing a Cassia Grove with a Writing Brush] is in twenty *gwon*.”<sup>102</sup> A note reads: “Choe Chiwon is a man of Gaoli.<sup>103</sup> He passed the state examination for foreigners and became Gao Pian’s assistant.” Thus, his name was known in the superior country [China]. Thirty *gwon* of his literary works are extant in the present day.

初我太祖作興,致遠知非常人,必受命開國,因致書問,有“雞林黃葉,鵲嶺青松”之句。

Earlier, when King Taejo [r. 918-943] of our Goryeo dynasty, began to rise in renown, Chiwon recognized him as an extraordinary man who must have received the heavenly mandate to establish a new kingdom. Accordingly, he paid his respect by submitting a letter that included the passage: “Leaves wither yellow in Gyerim; Pines grow verdant in Gongnyeong.”<sup>104</sup>

in Chinese 策問) of the state examination. This type of examination included comments on political matters and interpretations of passages from the Confucian Classics.

100. The *Siliu ji* 四六集 was a collection of Choe’s *pianwen* prose; it is no longer extant. *Pianwen* 駢文 (*byeonmun* in Korean) or *pianliwen* 駢儷文 (*byeonnyeomun* in Korean) is literally “parallel writing” and is a highly stylized type of prose that originated in the Han dynasty. It was popular in the Six Dynasties and early Tang periods. A *pianwen* piece is comprised of a series of paired lines that are rhymed and have an identical syntactical structure (Xiong 2017, 392). These lines were mostly of either four or six characters, and so *pianwen* is also known as Four-Six Prose 四六文. See footnote 50.

101. *Gwon* (juan in Chinese 卷) originally meant “scroll” or “fascicle,” which is a measure unit used for traditional Chinese books. It is often analogous to a chapter but may also contain several chapters.

102. In his preface to the extant *Gyewon pilgyeong* 桂苑筆耕, dated 886, presented to King Jeonggang (r. 886-887), Choe states that “the work consists of twenty *gwon*.” Many of them are memorials and missives that he wrote for Gao Pian as his secretary (Lee 2003, 96). While a small number of these manuscripts and printed editions were passed down to Goryeo and Joseon, by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century only a few incomplete versions remained because of the Japanese invasions (1592-1598). Therefore, intellectuals from this period knew only the title of the work and a few pieces from its contents (Cho 2015, 39).

103. This could be the area of the Gaoli (Goryeo in Korean 高麗) dynasty because the *Xin Tangshu* was completed in 1060 when Goryeo had already taken the place of Silla. However, Gaoli is used to refer to Goguryeo 高句麗 throughout the *Xin Tangshu*. Therefore, this appears to be a scribal error and should have been written as Xinlao 新羅 (Silla in Korean). See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:788n95.

104. About Gyerim, see footnote 103. Yellow leaves, which invoke late autumn, are a metaphor for the decline of Silla. Gongnyeong 鵲嶺 is Mount Songak in modern Gaeseong which was the ancestral

其門人等,至國初來朝,仕至達官者非一。顯宗在位,爲致遠密贊祖業,功不可忘,下教贈內史令。至十四歲,大平二年壬戌五月,贈諡文昌候。

His followers had an audience with the king at the beginning of the dynasty and subsequently, many of them reached high positions in the government. When King Hyeonjong [r. 1009-1031] was on the throne, he issued a writ conferring the title of secretariat director<sup>105</sup> on Chiwon, saying that he could not forget his meritorious service in the secret support of the founder’s enterprise. In the fifth month of *imsul* [1022],<sup>106</sup> the fourteenth year [1023] of King Hyeonjong’s reign, which was the second year [1022] of the Taiping era,<sup>107</sup> he was given the posthumous title of Munchang-hu [Marquis of Bright Culture].

### Part 3. The Biography of Seol Chong<sup>108</sup>

薛聰,字聰智。祖談捺奈麻。父元曉,初爲桑門,掩該佛書,既而返本,自號小性居士。The courtesy name of Seol Chong [b. 655] was Chongji. His grandfather was Damnal, who held the rank of *nama* [Rank 11]. His father was Wonhyo [617-686],<sup>109</sup> who had been a monk steeped in Buddhist books, but later returned to

home of Wang Geon. “Green” is a sign of seasonal emergence and the freshness of renewed being. Those who supported the young Goryeo dynasty might have attributed this passage to Choe Chiwon in order to claim its legitimacy and gain support from Silla aristocrats. See Mason 2016, Chapter VII.

105. The posthumous title was conferred on him in the eighth month of the eleventh year (1020) of King Hyeonjong’s reign and he was enshrined in the state shrine. See *Goryeosa* 4, King Hyeonjong, Year 11, Month 8.

106. This is different from the account given in *Goryeosa* where the event was recorded in the fourteenth year (1023) of King Hyeonjong’s reign, *gyehae* 癸亥, one year after *imsul* 壬戌 (1022). According to Jeong et al. (2012, 4: 788n97), this discrepancy of one year is attributed to the use of two different calendrical systems: “the postdating system (accession year calculation), which counted the period from the accession of the new king until the New Year as year 0 (zero) of his reign, so that year 1 began at the New Year; the antedating system, which counted the period from the accession of the new king until the New Year as year 1 of his reign and the period after the first New Year as year 2” (Boda 2016, 64). The antedating system was used by the compilers of SS, while the postdating system was used by those of the *Goryeosa*.

107. Taiping 太平 is a reign title (1021-1030) of Emperor Shengzong 聖宗 of Liao.

108. Seol Chong 薛聰 was a leading scholar-official and one of the ten sages of Silla. He was born the son of the leading Buddhist figure Wonhyo and the widowed princess Yoseok (fl. 650s). A brief introduction of his life is found in “Wonhyo the Unbridled” 元曉不羈 in SY 4. The present translation has benefited from those of Lee 1993, 122-24 and Shin 2012, 143-44.

109. Wonhyo 元曉 (Break of dawn) was a renowned Buddhist monk of Silla. He was born in Amnyang-gun 押梁郡 (modern Gyeongsan, North Gyeongsang province) in 617, and his secular surname was

the laity and styled himself Soseong-*geosa* [Layman of Minor Lineage].<sup>110</sup>

聰性明銳，生知道待。以方言讀九經，訓導後生，至今學者宗之。又能屬文，而世無傳者。但今南地或有聰所製碑銘，文字缺落，不可讀，竟不知其何如也。神文大王以仲夏之月，處高明之室，顧謂聰曰，

Chong was brilliant and sharp by nature and understood the art of the Way<sup>111</sup> from birth. He read the Nine Classics<sup>112</sup> in the vernacular,<sup>113</sup> and guided young students [in their learning]. Even until now scholars have greatly respected him. Moreover, he could write well, but none of his works have come down to us. In the present, however, some of his inscriptions<sup>114</sup> survive in the southern region.

Seol 薛 and his first name Seodang 誓幢. According to hagiographical accounts, Wonhyo and Uisang made up their minds to go study in Tang China. Due to a heavy rainstorm, their ship's departure was delayed and so they took shelter in a shrine where they found water in gourds. The next morning, they discovered that the shrine was actually a tomb and the gourds were human skulls. When they had to spend another night in the same place, again because of the inclement weather, they suddenly began to see ghosts. Wonhyo realized that his perception of the world was based on the condition of his own mind and decided that there was no need to go to China in search of the *dharmā*. He returned home and went out among the common people and subsequently devoted his life to popularizing Buddhism. Desiring a sage-son, he had an affair with Princess Yoseok 瑤石公主, who gave birth to Seol Chong. Wonhyo's works influenced Chinese and Japanese Buddhists, as well as Korean Buddhists. Famous among his writings are *Geumgang sammae gyeong non* (*Exposition of the Sūtra on the Adamantine Absorption* 金剛三昧經論) and *Beophwa jongyo* (*Doctrinal Essentials of the Lotus Sūtra* 法華宗要). See "Wonhyo the Unbridled" in SY 4; the "Biography of Uisang from Silla" 唐新羅國義湘傳 in *Song gaoseng zhuan* (*Lives of Eminent Monks Compiled during the Song Dynasty* 宋高僧傳); and the "Biography of State Preceptor Wonhyo" 元曉國師傳 in *Dongsa yeoljeon* (*Biographies of Eastern Masters* 東師列傳). For modern scholarship, see Vermeersch 2012, 7-9; 285-308.

110. This style name means "layman of minor lineage" or "layman with the small surname" and refers to someone of low social status, but in this context, it could mean "secular surname" in contrast to the Buddha's surname (*seok* 釋) that monks took on ordination (ibid. 291n27).
111. The "art of the Way" 道術 (*daoshu* in Chinese) is the ancient Chinese term which probably corresponds to the Western understanding of "philosophy" (Garfield and Edelglass 2011, 10).
112. The Nine Classics 九經 (*jiuqing* in Chinese) include *Yijing* (*Book of Changes* 易經), *Shujing* (*Book of Documents* 書經), *Shijing* (*Book of Poetry* 詩經), *Liji* (*Book of Rites* 禮記), *Xiaojing* (*Book of Filial Piety* 孝經), *Chunqiu* (*Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋), *Lunyu* (*Analects of Confucius* 論語), *Mengzi* (*Works of Mencius* 孟子), and *Erya* (*Approach to Refinement* 爾雅).
113. According to "Wonhyo the Unbridled" in SY 4, "by means of the vernacular, Seol Chong fully comprehended Chinese and foreign customs and names, and glossed the Six Classics and literary works" 以方言通會華夷方俗物名訓解六經文學. The vernacular probably refers to *idu* (clerical readings 吏讀) or *gugyeol* (vocal particles 口訣). For information on *idu* and *gugyeol*, see Chung 2010, 40-65.
114. In the record of the construction of the Amitābha Buddha statue at Gamsan Monastery 甘山寺阿彌陀如來造像記, it states that "on the fifteenth day of the second month in the seventh year, *gimi* [719], of the Kaiyuan era [713-741], *Nama* Chong composed the epitaph on the king's orders" 開元七年歲在己未二月十五日，奈麻聰撰奉教. In 1916, the statue was moved to the National Museum of Korea in Seoul. See Finch 2012, 423-30.

Since the graphs on the surface flaked away, no one can know what his writings were like. In the month of midsummer,<sup>115</sup> in a lofty and bright hall, King Sinmun turned to Chong and said:

“今日宿雨初歇，薰風微涼。雖有珍饈·哀音，不如高談·善謔，以舒伊鬱。吾子必有異聞，盍爲我陳之。”聰曰，“唯。臣聞，

“Today is the first fine day after a long rain and the balmy winds have turned slightly cool. Although I have delicacies to eat and plaintive music, they cannot relieve my melancholy as well as an elegant discourse seasoned with humor. Sir, you must have heard of a wondrous tale. Why don't you tell me?” Chong replied, “Yes, Your Majesty. Your subject has heard the following.”

昔花王之始來也，植之以香園，護之以翠幕。當三春而發艷，凌百花而獨出。於是，自邇及遐，艷艷之靈，夭夭之英，無不奔走上謁，唯恐不及。

Once upon a time when the king of flowers<sup>116</sup> first came here, he was planted in a fragrant garden and protected with an emerald screen.<sup>117</sup> In the springtime,<sup>118</sup> he bloomed, and glowing with beauty surpassed all the other flowers; in this way he distinguished himself. Thereupon, from near and far, the fairest and the loveliest of all were busy running to have an audience with the king. They feared only that they would not get there in time.

忽有一佳人，朱顏玉齒，鮮粧靚服，伶俚而來，綽約而前曰，‘妾履雪白之沙汀，對鏡清之海而，沐春雨以去垢，快清風而自適，其名曰薔薇。聞王之令德，期薦枕於香帷，王其容我乎。’

There suddenly appeared a gorgeous woman with a rosy complexion and jade-like teeth, freshly made-up and wearing a fancy dress. Alone,<sup>119</sup> she came

115. Summer includes the fourth, fifth, and sixth months of the lunar calendar, and therefore “the month of midsummer” 仲夏之月 is the fifth month.

116. According to Ouyang Xiu's “Luoyang mudan ji” (Treatise on Peonies 洛陽牡丹記), this refers to *mudan* 牡丹 which is peony: “People called *mudan* the king of flowers” 人謂牡丹花王. For a comprehensive discussion on the peony, see Shin 2011, 15-20.

117. Peonies had been protected with screens since the Tang period. See Shin 2012, 147n37.

118. The springtime (literally, three spring divisions 三春) consists of early spring (*maengchun* 孟春), mid-spring (*jungchun* 仲春) and late spring (*gyechun* 季春), which are the first, second, and third months of the lunar calendar. In this context, it seems to refer specifically to late spring when peonies are in full bloom.

119. The binome “alone” 伶俚 (*lingping* in Chinese) is found in the narrative poem “Southeast Fly the

gracefully<sup>120</sup> to the king and said, “Your servant has walked on snow-white sands facing a crystal-clear sea. I cleanse myself of dirt by bathing in spring rain and enjoy cool breezes and a carefree life. My name is Jangmi [Wild Rose].<sup>121</sup> Having heard of Your Majesty’s exceeding virtue, I look forward to sharing my pillow with you inside your scented curtains. Would my lord, the king, grace me with your acceptance?”

又有一丈夫，布衣韋帶，戴白持杖，龍鍾而步，偃僂而來曰，‘僕在京城之外，居大道之旁，下臨蒼茫之野景，上倚嵯峨之山色，其名曰白頭翁。竊謂左右供給雖足，膏粱以充腸，茶酒以清神，巾衍儲藏，須有良藥以補氣，惡石以蠲毒。故曰雖有絲麻，無棄菅蒯，凡百君子，無不代匱，不識王亦有意乎。’

Next, there was a grey-haired<sup>122</sup> man wearing sackcloth and a leather belt,<sup>123</sup> leaning on a cane. Walking feebly<sup>124</sup> and hunched over, he approached the king and said, “Your servant lives along the main road outside the capital; it commands a view of the wide-open fields down below, and up above it is surrounded by soaring mountain peaks. My name is Baekdu-*ong* [Hoary Head].<sup>125</sup> In my humble opinion, though your aides offer you [good things]

Peacocks” 孔雀東南飛: “Day and night working hard,/ Myself alone, entangled in hardships” 晝夜勤作息 伶俜縈苦辛. See Shin 2012, 148n52.

120. The binome “gracefully” 綽約 (*chuoyue* in Chinese) is translated as “soft” in Chen Guying’s *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今注今譯 1.21: “[The Divine Man’s] skin is white, like frozen snow, and soft, like a virgin’s” 肌膚若冰雪綽約若處子.

121. According to *Bencao gangmu* 18, “this creeping plant is flexible and droopy, depending and living on walls. That is why it is called wall rose. Its stems have a number of thorns that could prick people” 此草蔓柔靡 依牆援而生 故名牆薔 其莖多棘刺刺人. Needham and Wang (1986, 427) explains that “the classical *yegiangwei* 野薔薇 (with its varieties such as *huaqiangwei* 華薔薇 and *shizimei* 十姊妹)...gave rise to all the ramblers and climbing types, some of which are intensely fragrant.”

122. The expression “grey-haired” 戴白 (*daibai* in Chinese) describes an old man in *Hanshu* 漢書 64a: “Grey-haired men do not see weapons” 戴白之老不見兵革. However, Jeong et al. (2012, 2:786) translated *daibai* 戴白 as “wearing a white hat,” which seems erroneous.

123. The expression “a sackcloth and a leather belt” (*buyi weidai* 布衣韋帶) is used to describe a poverty-stricken man of low status but of integrity, and it is found in *Hanshu* 51: “A gentleman wearing hemp clothes and a leather belt cultivates himself at home and achieves his fame outside” 夫布衣韋帶之士 修身於內 成名於外 (Shin 2012, 148n54).

124. The binome “feebly” 龍鍾 (*longzhong* in Chinese) is found in “Xi Liang wen” (War Proclamation against Liang 檄梁文) by Du Bi 杜弼 (491-559): “Feeble and uncomfortable children suffered from disease and were lined up” 龍鍾稚子 痛苦成行 (Shin 2012, 148n55).

125. It appears as *Baitou-weng* 白頭翁 (Baekdu-*ong* in Korean) in “Herbs: Inferior Class” 草下品 in the *Shennong bencaojing* (*Divine Farmer’s Classic of Materia Medica* 神農本草經): “Baitou-weng (Radix Pulsatillae Chinensis) is bitter and warm” 白頭翁 味苦溫 (Yang 1998, 79). Pasque flower is a common English name of Baitou-weng (Needham and Wang 1986, 151, Table 9).

in abundance, filling your stomach with sumptuous meals and comforting your spirit with tea and wine, you must also have in your storage box good medicine to supplement your energy and medicinal stones<sup>126</sup> to remove poisons. Therefore, it is said: “Though you have silk and hemp, do not abandon straw and rushes. Superior men never fail to prepare for a time of need.”<sup>127</sup> I do not know if Your Majesty too keeps this in mind.”

或曰，‘二者之來，何取何捨。’花王曰，‘丈夫之言，亦有道理，而佳人難得，將如之何。’ Someone asked the king, “Two people came here. Which one will you take, and which one will you send away?” The flower king replied, “What the old man said, of course, is right and reasonable, but such a pretty woman is hard to get. What shall I do?”

丈夫進而言曰，‘吾謂王聰明識理義，故來焉耳，今則非也。凡爲君者，鮮不親近邪佞，疎遠正直。是以孟軻不遇以終身，馮唐郎潛而皓首。自古如此，吾其奈何。’花王曰，‘吾過矣，吾過矣。’

The old man stepped forward and said, “Since I thought Your Majesty was wise and knew what is right, I came. But now I see it is not so true. Overall few rulers avoid flatterers and associate themselves with righteous men. This is why Meng Ke [ca. 372–289 BCE]<sup>128</sup> rarely had a chance during his life, and Feng Tang [fl. 179-141 BCE]<sup>129</sup> remained merely a court attendant until he was old. Since it

126. The term “medicinal stone” 惡石 (*eshi* in Chinese) is found in *Zuozhuan*, “Lord Xiang” 襄公, Year 23: “A benign sickness is worse than the pain from the medicinal stone” 美疾不如惡石. English translation taken from Durrant et al. 2016, 2:1117. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (1990, 3:1081) notes: “medicinal stones were used as acupuncture needles, which were always painful” 惡石 以石為鍼 刺之常苦痛 (cf. Durrant et al. 2016, 2:1116n696).

127. This is a quotation from the *Zuozhuan*, “Lord Cheng” 成公, Year 10: “Even if you have silk and hemp,/ Do not abandon the grasses with coarse fibers. Even if you have the ladies of Ji and Jiang,/ Do not abandon the homely and weathered ones. All types of noble men/ Without exception suffer want of this or that” 雖有絲麻 無棄菅蒯 雖有姬姜 無棄蕉萃 凡百君子 莫不代匱 (cf. Durrant et al. 2016, 1:783).

128. Known as Mencius or Mengzi 孟子, Meng Ke 孟軻 is considered a great Confucian thinker. He was born in the state of Zou 鄒 (in modern Shandong) during the Warring States (475–221 BCE) period. Under such conditions, his admonitions to the princes regarding virtuous conduct and benevolent government were not welcomed.

129. Feng Tang 馮唐 was renowned for his filial devotion to his parents and on account of this he was appointed the chief of the bureau of palace attendants (*zhonglang shuzhang* 中郎署長). In *Shiji* 102, “Feng Tang,” it is stated that “when Emperor Wu was enthroned and searched for worthy and capable men, he raised Feng Tang. Feng Tang, however, was at that time already over ninety years

has been like this from olden times, what can I do?” “I was wrong,” the flower king said, “Indeed I was wrong.”

於是，王愀然作色曰，“子之寓言，誠有深志，請書之，以謂王者之戒。”遂擢聰以高秩。Thereupon King Sinmun flushed with embarrassment and said, “Your parable truly has a profound meaning. Please write it down so that it may be an admonition for kings.” Subsequently, the king appointed Chong to a high position.

世傳，日本國真人，贈新羅使薛判官詩序云，“嘗覽元曉居士所著金剛三昧論，深恨不見其人，聞新羅國使薛即是居士之抱孫，雖不見其祖，而喜遇其孫，乃作詩贈之。”其詩至今存焉，但不知其子孫名字耳。

It has been said that a Japanese man, whose title was *mahito*,<sup>130</sup> gave his poems to Administrator Seol,<sup>131</sup> a Silla envoy. Written in the preface was: “Once, I read the layman Wonhyo’s *Commentary on the Adamantine Absorption Scripture* and deeply lamented that I could not meet him. But I have heard that Envoy Seol of Silla is his grandson. Even though I did not have chance to see Wonhyo, I am now happy to meet his grandson. Therefore, I am giving you a poem I have composed.” The poem is still extant today, but the grandson’s name is not known.

至我顯宗在位十三歲，天禧五年辛酉，追贈爲弘儒侯。或云薛聰嘗入唐學，未知然不。In the thirteenth year [1021] of our King Hyeonjong’s reign, the fifth year of the

old and was not able to become an official again” 武帝立 求賢良 學焉唐 唐時年九十餘 不能復爲官。English translation taken from Nienhauser 2008, 364.

130. The title *mahito* 真人 was the highest of the eight hereditary prestige titles (*yakasu no kabane* 八色の姓), according to *Nihon shoki* 29, “Tenmu” 天武, Year 13, Month 10. See also Richey 2015, 61-62. It became part of Tenmu’s own posthumous title 天淳中原瀛真人天皇. The poet called *mahito* in the text seems to be Ōmi no Mifune 淡海三船 (722–785), who was a prominent writer of classical Chinese during the Nara period (710-794). He was a man of imperial descent but was made a commoner and given the surname Ōmi 淡海 and the title *mahito* in 751. See Yi 1992, 311-15.
131. The envoy seems to be Seol Jungeop 薛仲業 as seen in *Shoku Nihongi* 36, “Emperor Kōnin” 光仁天皇, Year 11, Month 1: “[The emperor] conferred the senior fifth rank 1 on the Silla envoy *Sal[chan]* Kim Nan, the senior fifth rank 2 on the assistant envoy *Geup[chan]* Kim Am, and [the junior fifth rank 2] on the administrator *Hannama* Sal Jungeop” 授新羅使薩金蘭正五品上 副使級金嚴正五品下 大判官韓奈麻薩仲業. The character *sal* 薩 appears twice and both instances are likely to be scribal errors. The first one is to be corrected as *sa* 沙 and the second as *seol* 薛 (Yi 1996, 437n12). See also Yi 1992, 308.

Tianxi era,<sup>132</sup> *sinyu*,<sup>133</sup> Seol Chong was granted the posthumous title Hongyuhu (Marquis of broad learning). Some say that Seol Chong once went to Tang to study, but it is unclear whether that is so.

崔承祐，以唐昭宗龍紀二年入唐。至景福二年，侍郎楊涉下及第。有四六五卷，自序爲餽本集。後爲甄萱作檄書，移我太祖。

Choe Seungu [n.d.] went to Tang in the second year [890] of the Longji era<sup>134</sup> of Emperor Zhaozong of Tang. In the second year [893] of the Jingfu era,<sup>135</sup> he passed the state examination under the supervision of Vice Minister Yang She [n.d.]. He wrote five *gwon* of four-six prose which he himself named *Hobonjip*<sup>136</sup> in the preface. Later, he composed a proclamation for Gyeonhwon [867-936], and had it delivered to our [Goryeo] King Taejo [Wang Geon].

崔彥擣，年十八入唐遊學。禮部侍郎薛廷珪下及第。四十二還國，爲執事侍郎·瑞書院學士。及太祖開國，入朝仕至翰林院大學士·平章事。卒諡文英。

Choe Eonwi [868-944]<sup>137</sup> went to study in Tang at the age of eighteen. He passed the state examination under the supervision of Xue Tinggui [d. 925]. At the age of forty-two, he returned to Silla and became attendant gentleman of the chancellery office and academician of the royal library.<sup>138</sup> When King Taejo

132. Tianxi 天禧 is a reign title (1017-1021) of Emperor Zhenzong 眞宗 (r. 997-1022) of the Northern Song dynasty.

133. This is different from the account given in *Goryeosa* where the event was recorded in the thirteenth year (1022) of King Hyeonjong’s reign, which was *imsul* 壬戌, one year after *sinyu* 辛酉 (1021). See footnote 106.

134. Longji 龍紀 was a reign title (889) of Emperor Zhaozong of the Tang dynasty, which means that there was no second year of the Longji era. Therefore, this should have been written as the first year (890) of the Dashun era 大順 (890-891).

135. Jingfu 景福 was a reign title (892-893) of Emperor Zhaozong of the Tang dynasty.

136. The *Hobonjip* (*Hobon Collection* 餽本集) is not extant today. Instead, his ten heptasyllabic regulated verse 七言律詩, including “Mirror Lake” 鏡湖, are included in the *Dongmunseon* 12.

137. Choe Eonwi 崔彥擣 was from Gyeongju and his first given names were Inyeon 崔仁澆 and Sinji 慎之. As befitting Choe Chiwon’s cousin, he was gifted with literary ability and known for his generous character. After returning from Tang, he served in the Silla court. When King Gyeongsun surrendered to Wang Geon (877-943) in 935, he became the crown prince’s tutor for the Goryeo dynasty. All the prominent aristocratic families at that time respected him as their teacher. For more information, see his biography in *Goryeosa* 92.

138. The position “academician of the royal library” (*seoseowon haksa* 瑞書院學士) is not found in the monograph on government offices (*jikgwan* 職官) in *SS* 40, but a similar title *seoseorang* 瑞書郎 is mentioned under the section for “the offices which are unclear when they were made and to which rank they belonged” 未詳其設官之始及位之高下者.

established the dynasty, he attended the royal court and his position reached Hallim academician and manager of affairs.<sup>139</sup> The title Munyeong [Learned and Outstanding] was posthumously conferred on him.

金大問, 本新羅貴門子弟. 聖德王三年, 爲漢山州都督. 作傳記若干卷. 其高僧傳·花郎世記·樂本·漢山記猶存.

Kim Daemun [n.d.]<sup>140</sup> was born into an aristocratic family in Silla. In the third year [704] of King Seongdeok's reign, he was appointed governor of Hansan-ju. He wrote several *gwon* of biographies and records, among which the *Goseungjeon* [Biographies of Eminent Monks],<sup>141</sup> the *Hwarangsegi* [Chronicles of the *Hwarang*],<sup>142</sup> the *Akbon* [Book of Music],<sup>143</sup> and the *Hansangi* [Records of Hansan]<sup>144</sup> still survive [in the Goryeo period].

朴仁範·元傑·巨仁·金雲卿·金垂訓輩, 雖僅有文字傳者, 而史失行事, 不得立傳.

Although there are some writings from Bak Inbeom [fl. 900s],<sup>145</sup> Wongeol

[n.d.], Geoin [fl. 880s],<sup>146</sup> Kim Ungyeong [fl. 820s],<sup>147</sup> and Kim Suhun [n.d.], their biographies could not be drafted due to a lack of historical sources on their lives.

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139. Manager of affairs 平章事 (*pingzhangshi* in Chinese) was a general designation of central government dignitaries chosen to serve as grand councilors (*zaixiang* 宰相) from the mid-600s through Song China. See Hucker 1985, 386n4703. This indicates that Choe's position reached that of a high minister. His highest governmental position seems to have been *jocheongdaebu jeonsujipsarang sajageumeodae* 朝請大夫前守執事侍郎賜紫金魚, which is recorded in the stele inscription of the pagoda for grand master Jingyeong of Silla 新羅眞鏡大師塔碑銘.

140. Although the biography of Kim Daemun 金大問 is brief, his literary works cannot be overlooked in the compilation of SS. The quotations from his works are found four times in the annals: the first year of *Chachaung* Namhae's reign in SS 1, the first year of *Maripgan* Nulji's reign in SS 3, the fifteenth year of King Beopheung's reign in SS 4, and the ninth year of King Jinheung's reign in SS 4. Even so, Kim Busik did not make an independent biography for Kim Daemun. Lee (1978, 14n23) notes: "Kim Busik did not consider Kim Daemun as qualified a Confucian scholar as Gangsu, Choe Chiwon, or Seol Chong." On top of that, Jo (1998, 292) also remarks that Kim Daemun, as a Confucian scholar, was not equal to the status of Choe Chiwon and Seol Chong.

141. This work is no longer extant, but it may have been an influence on *Haedonggoseungjeon* 海東高僧傳 (*Lives of Eminent Korean Monks*) by Gak Hun (fl. ca. 1210s). See Lee 1978, 6-7.

142. For a discussion of this controversial text, see Na et al. 2018, 195n7; Shultz and Kang 2017, 130n81. A passage from the book is cited in the ninth year of King Jinheung's reign in SS 4.

143. This work is no longer extant, but the "Monograph of Music" in SS 32 appears to be based on it. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:795n122.

144. This work is no longer extant. It could be a gazetteer of the Hansan-ju (modern North Chungcheong, Gyeonggi, and Hwanghae provinces) based on Kim's observations and experience as the governor around 704. See Jeong et al. 2012, 4:796n123.

145. Bak Inbeom passed the state examination for foreigners in China, but returned to Silla and became a courtier. Later, he went to China as an investigatory envoy 探候使 (see Choe Chiwon's letter "To Bak Inbeom, Supernumerary Patrol Envoy of Silla" 新羅探候使朴仁範員外 in *Gyewon pilgyeong* 10). He held the office of academician of the royal library 瑞書學士 during King Hyogong's reign (897-

912) according to the preface to the stele inscription for the posthumously titled "State Preceptor Seongak at Ongnyong Monastery on Mount Baekgye" 白鷄山玉龍寺贈諡先覺國師碑銘並序. Ten heptasyllabic regulated verses are included in the *Dongmunseon* 12. In his *Baegun soseol* (*Tales of White Clouds* 白雲小說), Yi Gyubo 李奎報 (1168-1241) wrote that Bak Inbeom, Choe Chiwon, and Bak Inryang 朴寅亮 (d. 1096) achieved fame in China for their literary skills.

146. Geoin 巨仁 is known to have "criticized the politics of the age by writing on placards and putting them along the roads leading to the court" 欺謗時政 構辭榜於朝路 (see SS 11, Queen Jinseong, Year 2 [888]; Shultz and Kang 2017, 377). He also appears by the name of Wang Geoin 王居仁 in SY 2, "The Great Queen Jinseong and Geotaji."

147. Kim Ungyeong 金雲卿 was the first palace guard who passed the state examination for foreigners in 821 (*Dongsa gangmok* 5a). He was then appointed the administrator (*changshi* 長史) of Zizhou 淄州 (in central Shandong) by the emperor of Tang (*Jiu Tangshu* 199a, "Silla"; SS 11, King Munseong, Year 3.) As an imperial envoy, he was sent to invest King Munseong as king of Silla with a number of titles and Lady Bak as queen consort. See Sin 1969, 82-84.

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