



A Man of Vision Who Paved the Way to the Prince

Chang Po-go, the Maritime Prince

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Chang Po-go, the Maritime Prince

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Publisher's Remarks

The key words that define our age today are globalization and informatization. Our age is also called the era of the sea, or the Pacific Age, and the importance of Northeast Asia as the global economic and cultural centers is continuing to increase.

Few people in our history can provide us with the guidance for successfully meeting the challenges of globalization facing us and prepare for the age of the sea and of Northeast Asia than Chang Po-go, and his accomplishments are being re-examined in a new light today.

Chang Po-go eradicated marauding pirates from the seas of East Asia 1,200 years ago, restoring order to the seas and taking control of the seas in the region. He led the trade between Silla (Korea), China and Japan, and sent his merchant vessels as far west as Persia. He was Korea's first global leader, transcending national boundaries to link Korea, Japan and China in a single economic sphere. He was a pioneer who realized the importance of the seas, and became a "Maritime Prince" who expanded into the world through the seas and made them the foundations of his power.

Although Korea relied on a mainly agrarian economy during the

Silla period, Chang Po-go used the seas to create a trading nation, transcending the limitations of his time to become one of the few maritime pioneers of the East. Chang Po-go created a network of Silla communities in China and Japan to create private trade that provided an alternative to the Sinocentric tribute-based trade of that era. Not only did he develop a system of commerce utilizing credit transactions and other advanced economic tools, Chang Po-go's Chunghaejin was an early form of the conglomerate model of business that led Korea and Japan out of the poverty of war and into remarkable economic development.

Chang Po-go's accomplishments can be found in the historical records of Korea, China and Japan, and the late Professor Edwin Reischauer referred to Chang Po-go as the trade prince of the maritime commercial empire in his "Ennin's Travels in Tang China".

It is no coincidence that Korea has become one of the world's top shipbuilding nations and operates the 8th largest merchant marine fleet in only a few decades of economic development. The spirit of Chang Po-go still lives on in the maritime traditions of Korea.

I would like to thank Professor Choi Gwang-sik of Korea University who wrote the original Korean volume, and Professor Thomas F. Jernstad of Soongsil University who translated this English version, for their contributions to the publication of this volume, and hope that this book will enable people in Korea and around the world to better understand the accomplishments of Chang Po-go and the value of maritime management.

December, 2007

Jae Cheol Kim

President of Changpogo Memorial Foundation



Preface

Surrounded on three sides by the sea, Korea has a long history of maritime culture. Unfortunately, as Confucian and farming cultures became prevalent after the Choson period and Western influences began to make their impact on Korea, the importance of the seas began to fade. As coastal and provincial regions began to develop as part of a nationwide drive for industrialization, unique maritime cultures and practices are quickly disappearing today. However, a recent rise in the awareness of the seas has catalyzed a movement for a creative reevaluation of maritime cultures. As Korea tries to develop as a hub in the new Pacific Era, research of Chang Po-go and his accomplishments is an important process that may offer the proper direction for continuing Korea's maritime traditions and foreign expansion.

The 'maritime prince' Chang Po-go was the first individual in Korean history to attempt an expansion into the oceans. Recent research

has resulted in a re-evaluation of the man as well as new evidence of the true nature and scale of his base of operations, Chunghaejin.

Until today, research on Chang Po-go has mainly utilized only domestic literature, including the *Samguk-Sagi* and the *Samguk-Yusa*, but scholarly effort is being made to include material from around the world as well, including the *Funchuan's anthology*, the *Xintang-Shu*, the *Shoku Nihon Gi*, and *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*. These recent efforts have resulted in several new volumes, including Ennin's *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*. However, despite these great leaps in research, there has been little increase in the popular awareness of Chang Po-go.

This book aims to inform the results of recent research to the public in a more systematic and easy to understand method. First, *Who Is Chang Po-go?* outlines Chang Po-go's family origin and life, his historical evaluation and his works, and the modern significance of his

achievements.

Setting the Stage for Chang Po-go's Entrance explains the overall East Asian situation in the 8th and 9th centuries, including Tang's economic system and the tribute trade, the establishment and management of official trading regimes, and the eventual downfall of the official trade and the rise of private trade.

The Formulation of the Maritime Kingdom deals with the background and process of Chunghaejin's foundation as well as the relationship between the Silla government and Chang Po-go.

Prosperity of the Maritime Empire explains in detail trading ships and routes, the maritime religions prevalent during Chang Po-go's time and the varied activities of his fleet, with detailed descriptions of the Silla expatriate community in Tang that provided Chang Po-go with the backing he needed. Further information about the era is offered through an examination of the process of the creation of these Silla communities as well as various exported goods and items of the day. Trading routes are reconstructed using archaeological evidence. The section on maritime religions explains the reason why Chang Po-go established Chi-shan Buphwawon, and uses material on Japanese worship to Silla's gods to

approach Chang Po-go's activities from an ideological point of view.

Fall of the Maritime Empire deals with the conflict between Chang Po-go and the Silla government that eventually brought down his maritime empire, and the transformation of trading power after the abolishment of Chunghaejin

It is our hope that this book will help enhance popular awareness of our maritime culture as well as contribute to our nation's efforts in developing into a hub nation in the Pacific Era. Finally, we would like to thank the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation and the dedicated staff at Chung-a Publishing.

September 5th, 2003

Representing the authors,

Choi Gwang-sik



Contents

Preface 6

01 Who Is Chang Po-go? 13

The Life and Genealogy of Chang Po-go 15

The Modern Significance of Chang Po-go 34

02 Setting the Stage for Chang Po-go's Entrance 41

Northeast Asian World in the 8th-9th Century 43

Tang's Economic System and the Tribute Trade 47

Trade between Silla and Japan 51

The Decline of Official Trade in the 9th Century and the Rise of Private Trade 56

Chaos in the Silla Government and the Proliferation of Silla Refugees 60

03 The Formulation of the Maritime Empire 63

Chunghaejin and the Maritime 65

The Foundations of Chunghaejin 65

Establishment of Chunghaejin 74

Chunghaejin's Military Management 80

Creation of a Maritime Kingdom 83

Chunghaejin and the Silla Government 93

Establishment of Military Outposts and Chunghaejin 93

Importance of Chunghaejin 102

Relationship between Chunghaejin and the Silla Government 112

04 Prosperity of the Maritime Empire 127

- Silla Society and Trade in the Shandong peninsula 129
 - Formation of the Silla Society in China 129
 - Silla Residents and Trade in China 141
 - Goods Traded by Chang Po-go's Trading Fleet 149
- Trading Ships and Sea Routes of Chang Po-go's Fleet 158
 - Economic Rationale of the Shortest Sea Routes 158
 - Reexamination of Navigation Route to Silla in the Daoli-zi 160
 - Unrealistic Navigation Routes to Silla 163
 - Conversion from Coastal to Direct Routes 165
 - Sea Routes for Baekje and Gaya 167
 - Sea Routes for Silla 168
 - Sea Routes of Japan 170
 - Fast Voyages by Silla's Trading Ships 170
 - Automatic Route to Silla 173
- Chang Po-go's Trading Fleet and Maritime Religions of the Sea 175
 - Maritime Religions in Ancient Korea 175
 - Chi Shan Buphwawon and the Marine Religion 181
 - Silla Residents in Japan and Silla's Gods 191

05 *Fall of the Maritime Empire* 203

Chaos in Silla's Central Government 205

The Political Limitations of Chunghaejin 217

The Abolishment of Chunghaejin and the Fall of the Maritime Empire 225

Rise of Minor Marine Powers 232

06 *Dreaming of a New Chang Po-go's Era* 239

Dreaming of a New Chang Po-go's Era 241

Research and Academia 245

Culture and Public Awareness 248

Education 252

Index 254

01

Who Is Chang Po-go?

The Life and Genealogy of Chang Po-go

The Meaning of the Name, Chang Po-go

Chang Po-go developed the seas of China, Korea and Japan into a workplace for the people of Silla, and turned the Shandong peninsula region and the south of Korea into a sphere of power that became akin to his personal fiefdom. Chang Po-go's naval exploits predated that of Admiral Lee Sun-shin by 700 years. From today's perspective, Chang Po-go was the pioneer of Korea's dynamic maritime industry and international trade, through his dominance of Asia's sea power and his formidable display of naval strength.

Since Chang Po-go was active in all three East Asian nations, the records of his exploits can be found in the histories of China and Japan as well as Korea. Chinese records include *Xintang-Shu*, volume 220, the Dong

Yi-Chuan. This work is a direct reference to *Funchuana's anthology*, volume 6, “Chang Po-go, Chong Yon” section, written by the Tang poet Du Mu. Large parts of Korea’s *Samguk-Sagi* and *Samguk-Yusa* reproduce these sections of Chinese records.

Japanese records are contained in the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*, a travelogue by the Japanese monk Ennin who studied Buddhism with the help of Chang Po-go and the people of Silla in China for nine and half years and returned to Japan. Additional records can be found in the *Nihon Koki*, *ShoKu Nihon gi*, and the *ShoKu Nihon Koki*.

There are four names by which Chang Po-go is called. Korean records show the name Hwalbo, and Gung Bok or Gung Pa, and Chang Po-go. Chinese records use the name Chang Po-go, and Japanese records also use Chang Po-go with different characters.

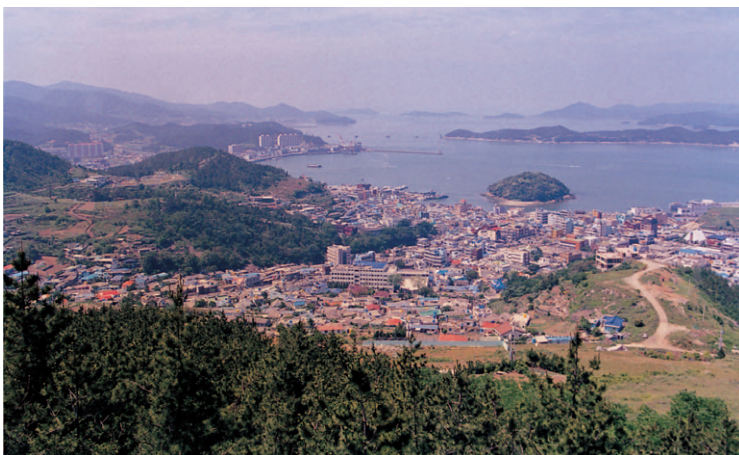
What are the meanings of his names? Silla customs at the time prohibited commoners from having family names. Chang Po-go, whose given name was Gung Bok, seems to have adopted the family name Chang due to its similarity to the character ‘Gung’(bow), and his name Po-go from the sound of the character ‘Bok’(blessing). The characters used for the name Chang Po-go in Japanese records signify that he had made great profits from trade, corresponding in part to the present-day term for “corporate leader”.

Birthplace of Chang Po-go

Chang Po-go is an especially noteworthy individual in Korean history, but the records of his life are sparse, and what little that does exist is not very clear.

There is no dispute that he was born on an island or in a coastal village. The *Samguk-Sagi*, Volume 11, King Mun-seong 7(845) states that court officials argued against King Mun-seong taking Chang Po-go's daughter as a second wife because of her father's origin of birth.

It appears that Chang Po-go's hometown was today's Wando, where Chunghaejin was later established. Chang Po-go probably set up his main base of trade operation at Chunghaejin because he had either been born there or otherwise called the region of Wando his home. Records also show that Jung Yon, who hailed from Chang Po-go's hometown, returned to Chunghaejin from Sizhou in Tang because of hunger and the cold, stating that "It is better to die fighting than die of deprivation, yet I die in my homeland thus have no more want", which clearly indicates that Chang Po-go regarded Chunghaejin, Wando, as his home.



View of Wando from a distance. Cheolla-namdo Wando-gun is composed of 203 islands. Among these, Wando is the county seat of Wando-gun, Wando-eup. Major cultural artifacts include the Jangdo Chunghaejin site (historic remains 308), the Wando Hyanggyo (cultural property 108), the Wando historical inn (cultural property 109), and the Wando Beophwasa site (provincial memorial 131). (Photograph courtesy of Wando-gun Office)

There are no records of Chang Po-go's youth. It is speculated that he was born in the late 8th century in or near Wando, and spent his early years there.

Life in Tang

After reaching adulthood, Chang Po-go went to Tang, China with his hometown friend Chong Yon, who was 10 years younger. There are many theories that explain their move to Tang, but the two young men probably went to Tang filled with ambition and the desire to find success. It was said that no one in Silla could defeat Chang Po-go in marital arts, and he would have been able to enter any military organization and thrive in Tang. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that Chang Po-go went to China not because he was starving at home, but because he wanted to fulfill his ambition.

China had a long history of "Qin Using Cho's Talent"(using the talents and abilities of outsiders), and no other country in the world was more open to foreigners. Tang's mercenary policies and recruitment practices are well known today. There were many foreigners in high posts, and nearly half of military men were "barbarians". In contrast, Silla maintained a strict "Golpum" hierarchy until the day of the kingdom's demise, and thus even an exceptional person could not enter into public office unless he was from the noble "Jingol" class.

In Tang, Chang Po-go was appointed as a military officer of Wu Ning Jun, Xu Zhou at the age of 30. The army unit of Wu Ning Jun was first created in 805. This year is an important reference point in Chang Po-go's

life in Tang. The date of his appointment to the position of officer could not have been earlier than 805, and thus he would have entered Tang around this time. He returned to Silla in 828, making his sojourn in Tang approximately 20 years during the early part of the 9th century.

Wu Ning Army's main tasks at that time was to destroy the rebellious Ping Lu army led by the Regional Commander Lee Shi-dao, whose army was completely wiped out in 819. As part of the Wu Ning army, Chang Po-go distinguished himself in operations against the Ping Lu army, and his achievements would have propelled him to the rank of officer.

The rebellious forces led by the Regional Commander of the Ping Lu Ziqing surfaced after Lee Jeong-gi, who was from the wandering Goguryeo people, grabbed the position of the Regional Commander in 765, displacing Hou XiYi, the governor of Ping Lu Ziqing appointed by Tang.

Since then, until its demise in 819, the clan of Lee Jeong-gi spanning three generations of Lee Jeong-gi, Lee Nab, Lee Sah-go, and Lee Shi-dao maintained power for 55 years, and created a small empire with the Shandong peninsula as its center. Lee Jeong-gi's Regional Army forces even threatened the Tang dynasty at one point by controlling 15 provinces around the Shandong peninsula with a military force of 100,000 men.

Lee Jeong-gi's clan was able to develop into such a powerful force threatening the central government because they were able to accumulate staggering riches due to their appointment by the Tang government as the Regional Commander of the ocean transportation of both Silla and Balhae, controlling the maritime trade with Balhae and Silla. In addition, the clan's power was further augmented by the active support of Silla residents in Tang, who were clustered in naval trade regions around the Shandong peninsula.

The seemingly invincible Ping Lu army of Lee Shi-dao eventually fell to



Official memorial portrait of Chang Po-go, designated as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism official portrait No. 21 in 1979. (By Lee Jong-sang, National Museum of Contemporary Art)

the relentless attacks of the Tang dynasty. Chang Po-go probably left the army following the Wu Ning army's disarmament in 821, two years after the conclusion of the campaign against the Ping Lu army. He immediately plunged himself into maritime trade. The following passage can be found in the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*.

Lee Sin-hye, a laicized monk from Silla, arrived at Dazaifu of Japan in the year of Gonin 6 (815), and resided there for eight years. Soo Jung-goong, the governor of Chi Ku Zen, pitied these people and fed them. The Daesa Chang arrived in Japan in first year of Dencho(824) and took him back to Tang on his ship. He

can be seen living in a farming hut on temple grounds, and his knowledge of Japanese enabled him to become a translator.

Here, 'Daesa Chang' refers to Chang Po-go. This passage states that Chang Po-go arrived in Japan in 824 and took Lee Sin-hye to be his translator. Thus it can be surmised that even in Tang Chang Po-go was already in contact with the Hakada region, and was conducting trade.

At this point in time, Chang Po-go would have established outposts in the Shandong peninsula, Hakada in Japan, and Chunghaejin. When Chang Po-go persuaded King Heung-deok in 828 to authorize the construction of a camp, he referred to "when he travelled in China", meaning that he had already inspected various parts of China's coastal regions after being discharged from military service. It seems more natural that he travelled not as a soldier but as a merchant. As a soldier, he would have concentrated on engaging and destroying the enemy, not surveying the countryside.

Chang Po-go was able to engage in maritime trade based in Shandong peninsula because he had been able to secure the financial backing of Silla expatriates in Tang during his campaigns against the forces of Lee Shi-dao, as the magistrate of Wu Ning army.

In addition, the clan of Lee Jeong-gi had been searching for a way to maximize its economic advantage rather than use its influences for political purposes.

Chang Po-go was able to utilize the experience he gained from his service as the magistrate of Wu Ning county to combat the pirates that threatened maritime trade. In addition, as Tu Fu praised, Chang Po-go had both goodness of heart and insightfulness. Chang Po-go established a strong leadership by winning both the popular support and trust of the Silla

community in Tang, upon which he was later able to build his position as the greatest maritime trader in Tang.

Return and the Establishment of Chunghaejin

While working as a maritime trader in the Shandong peninsula, Chang Po-go returned sometime before 828 from Tang. The reason behind his return was the slave trade. At that time, the slave trade thrived despite sanctions against it by the Tang government. The so-called “Silla slaves” were being traded all over the coast of China. Silla saw this as a serious problem and requests that Tang crack down on this trade. The Tang government prohibited the trading of Silla people as slaves in 816, but the slave trade persisted.

Chang Po-go witnessed first-hand the forced slavery of his countrymen by pirates during his service in the Wu Ning army. Thus he aimed to create Chunghaejin to destroy slave traders who were plying the seas around Silla and selling its people into slavery.

Another reason for Chang Po-go’s return was the proliferation of pirates. The Chinese made up most of the pirates in the region, but there were pirates whose base of operations was in the southwestern coast of the Korean peninsula as well as its other remote regions. Chronic droughts in 9th century Korea made many people want to move to China to escape the hard times. Several small private fleets who offered to transport these immigrants to China sold them instead as slaves. In addition, many people sold their children during the drought of the spring of 821, and slave brokers bought these children and sold them to China. Chang Po-go returned to Korea with

the grand hope of controlling these small maritime forces as well as creating a partnership with the Silla community in Tang to dominate the trade among Silla, Tang and Japan.

The circumstances surrounding regional powers also would have influenced Chang Po-go's decision to return. After the Tang government had eradicated regional warlords rebelling against the central government such as Lee Shi-dao, military cutbacks of regional armies were taking place from 821. The most severe cuts were being made in the region of Jiang Huai, which was suffering from dire financial troubles. These reduction policies affected Wu Ning army, of which Chang Po-go was a part of, as it had affected other regional forces of Jiang Huai. These policies would also have contributed to Chang Po-go's decision to leave Tang and return to his homeland.

According to *Samguk-Sagi*, Chang Po-go returned from China in April of 828 (King Heung-deok 3), and following an audience with the king established an outpost in Wando with ten thousand soldiers. A question arises at this point as to how Chang Po-go was able to receive permission to set up Chunghaejin with ten thousand men, which was not a small force. There is some evidence that provides an answer to this question.

Amidst a fierce struggle surrounding the throne, the attendance minister of the king, Kim Wu-jing, fled to Chunghaejin in May of 837 in fear of his and his family's safety. This does not seem to be a coincidence. It was during Kim Wu-jing's tenure as prime minister that Chang Po-go received his official permission from King Heung-deok to establish the Chunghaejin. Kim Yang, one of Kim Wu-jing's close confidants, also served as the governor of Muju (Kwang-Ju, Jeolla province) after leaving his position as the magistrate of Gosung county in the third year of King Heung-deok.

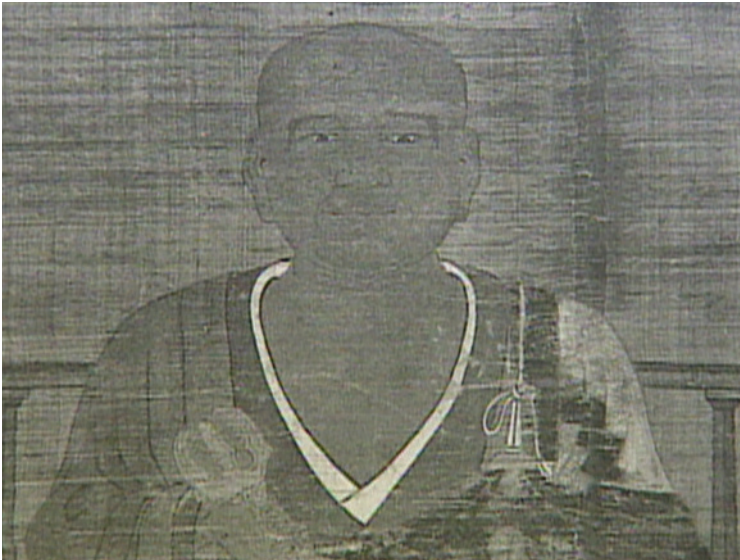
Thus, it can be surmised that during the rein of King Heung-deok, there was some behind-the-scene maneuvering between Kim Wu-jing, Kim Yang and Chang Po-go before and following the construction of the Chunghaejin.

The nature of Chang Po-go's ten thousand soldiers raises another question in the establishment process of the Chunghaejin. With the Kim Heon-chang Crisis having ended only a few years before, the Silla government would not have provided such a large contingent for establishing an outpost in a remote coastal region. Chang Po-go probably received permission to organize ten thousand locals from Wando to form a sort of a quasi-official military organization to establish Chunghaejin. Another theory states that Chang Po-go had already established himself in Wando before April 828, and then received an official recognition of his position during his audience with the king. Through these circumstance Chunghaejin took on the form of Chang Po-go's private army rather than an official agency of the government.

Chang Po-go's official position was the commissioner of Chunghaejin. However, this was not an official title in Silla. Chang Po-go's title was an exception that did not fit the 'Golpum' or 'Kwandeung' system. This unofficial title of Chunghaejin commissioner that lay outside of the central government's control was probably used by Chang Po-go himself under the tacit consent of the government. The title of Daesa was sometimes used in China at that time to indicate the position of Chieh Tu Shih, and Chang Po-go seems to have adopted this title for himself.

Dominance of Northeast Asian Seas

The power behind Chang Po-go's trading fleet was based on three distinct groups. The first was made up of the refugee of Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla who settled earlier in the Shandong peninsula of China and the Kyunghang Great Canal region. The second were local residents in the Southwestern region of the Korean peninsula around the Wando inland. The third was the Silla residents community in Japan made up of immigrants from Baekje, Goguryeo and Silla who had fled from natural



Portrait of Ennin, the Japanese priest who lived during the Heian Period in Japan. Dispatched to Tang to receive the sutras, Ennin arrived in Yangju in 838 and received the Geumgang-Daegyebop from Jeona in Gaewonsa, received the Gwang Ji Uigwe from Yangwon in Yongheungsa, and resided in China for the next ten years. When Tang's Mujong banned the Buddhist ceremonies on Mt. Cheontae and drove out the monks, Ennin left China in 846 with the help of Chang Po-go. After returning to Japan, he services as the Tianta Jwaju for ten years from 854, and passed away in 864. He received the title of Jagak Daesa, the first priest in the history of Japan to receive the title of Daesa. He authored the "A Buddhist Pilgrimage to Tang", an invaluable account of Chang Po-go and the lives of the Silla expatriates living in the Shangdong peninsula at the time.

disasters.

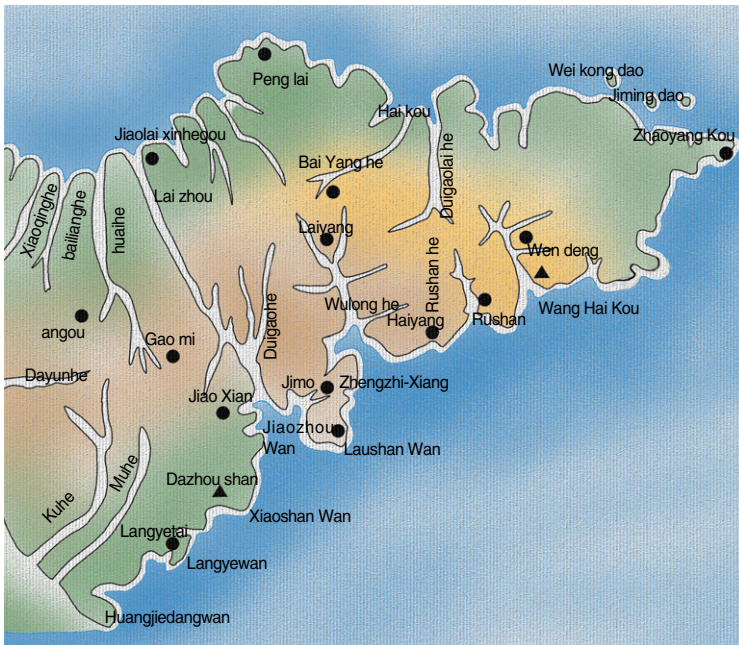
Chang Po-go established a trade network linking the Silla society with Chunghaejin and the expatriate community. He created a base of operations in Wando, the center of maritime transportation at the time, and controlled the sea lanes to amass great wealth through intermediary trading, forming a seagoing empire that controlled the entire maritime region of Northeast Asia.

Silla settlements were concentrated in the southern parts of Shandong peninsula as far as Hai Zhou and along the Great Canal. Connecting the settlements that lay along this coastal line created a natural sea lane that linked the center of Silla and Tang with Chuzhou at its heart.

Lien Shuih Sien county, located in the north coast in the downstream region of ancient Xiu Cheng 35 kilometers from Chuzhou was the center of inland water transportation. Here also was a community of Silla people, the Silla-bang. The presence of a general and management official here, as recorded by Ennin, seems to indicate that this Silla-bang was similar in size to that of Chuzhou. Like other Silla expatriates who lived in the canal region, the residents of this community also engaged in transportation, trade, shipbuilding and commerce.

Silla communities had also formed along the coast of Shandong. Ennin's party debarked on the coast of Xiu Cheng village, Donghai county, Hai Zhou. From here, Ennin met friendly Silla merchants who were transporting charcoal to Chuzhou, and were taken to the nearby Silla village of Xiu Cheng. Most of the residents of this coastal town were engaged in salt production. Ennin recorded that there were salt flats surrounding the town. Some residents were charcoal producers, as the town was in a forest region and many of the residents were closely connected to the charcoal industry.

Silla communities were especially prominent in the southern coastal



Depiction of Shandong peninsula in the 9th century, where Sillabang and Sillachon were concentrated. The names for describing Silla communities differ on whether they were situated in an urban area, or in a farming or fishing village. Thus Sillabang denotes an urban center with a high Silla population, and Sillachon a rural community.

regions of the Shandong peninsula. Major communities included Shao Cum Pu and Tao Cum in Mou Ping county and Rushan-Pu county. Rushan-Pu was surrounded by wide plains, and the residents of this community were most likely involved in farming rather than maritime trade or commerce.

Chishan village, Qing Ning Xiang, Wen Teng Hsien county was not only the major Silla center of the Shandong peninsula region but the center of Tang's inland and coastal transportation and a trade hub that linked Silla, Tang and Japan as well. Chishan Buphwawon established by Chang Po-go was also located here, and represented a home away from home for the people of Silla. Under the ownership of Buphwawon were rice fields that

produced 500 'suk' (sacks) of corn. Buphwawon was managed by three administrators including Jang Yung, who was an official under Chang Po-go. A Buddhist lecture that began on November 16th, 839 and ended January 15th of the next year was attended by around 40 people every day. These sessions were extremely popular with 250 and 200 people attending the last two days, respectively. In addition, the Buphwawon provided lodging for travellers from home as well as for traders.

Diplomatic relations were effectively severed between Silla and Japan around the 8th century. With the official trade routes blocked, a great demand for private trade emerged between the two nations. There was a strong demand for Chinese goods in Japan at the time, which was met by Silla's intermediary traders. Silla's geographic location allowed for its advantage in the Silla-Tang-Japan trade, and Silla possessed superior shipbuilding technology and navigation techniques.

Silla communities existed in Japan, as they did in Tang at the time. Silla people had already formed large settlements in Japan in the 7th century. There was a continuous stream of Silla immigrants to Japan according to Japanese records. These people settled in the provinces of Shimoya, Musasi, Mino, Oumi, and Suruga, and formed Silla communities. These Silla communities were called Silla counties or 'Doten' counties. Silla monks and officials formed the core of the Silla communities in Japan.

There was close communication and contact between the Silla communities in Japan and their home country. An illustration of this fact can be found in the case of successful trade negotiations that resulted from the close cooperation of Silla translators accompanying the trading ship of Japanese delegates to Tang and Silla residents in Tang. Another case records that a Japanese delegation procured nine ships and 60 sailors at Chuzhou in

order to return to Japan.

Silla people in Japan largely engaged in trade, similar to their Tang counterparts. The Silla community in Japan provided high quality human resources to the Japanese government which demanded them. Every translator, sailor, monk and even oarsmen that are found in Ennin's records were Silla people. In addition, Silla expatriates provided valuable technical consultation for the preparation of tribute ships as well as for navigation and relations with the Japanese residents of regions surrounding Silla settlements.

Chang Po-go's Japanese trade picked up its pace after the establishment of Chunghaejin. His trade Daesa to Japan were called 'Heoyuksa', and their trade was carried out under the tacit consent of the Dazaifu and even the Japanese government. The conflict that arose after Chang Po-go's death was a testament to the stability provided by the Korea-Japanese trade that flourished under him.

Chang Po-go's Assassination and the Disintegration of the Maritime Empire

The main cause of the downfall of Chang Po-go was his ambition of entering central politics, and specifically the conflict that surrounded the marriage of his daughter to the king. Another factor was the resistance of minor maritime powers in the Southwestern coastal region towards Chang Po-go. These local groups were forced to relinquish much of their power when they were placed under Chang Po-go's control following the establishment of Chunghaejin. The slave traders were especially hard hit. They inevitably would have demanded that the Silla government authorize

the slave trade as well as break Chunghaejin's dominance of maritime trade.

There is a slight discrepancy between Korean and Japanese records regarding the exact year of Chang Po-go's death. *Samguk-Sagi* states that Chang Po-go died in the spring of 846. Japanese records, however, place the date of his death in mid-November of 841. Ennin's memoirs record that Chunghaejin military officers, Choi Hun and the twelve officers who had carried out the China trade as Chang Po-go's trade delegates to Tang, had fled the country in 845 following a 'national crisis' and was living in exile in July 845 in the Silla-bang of Lien Shui, China. This crisis refers to the assassination of Chang Po-go. Thus, Japanese records indicate that the assassination took place in November of 841.

After Chang Po-go's assassination in 841 by Yum Jang, Lee Chang-jin, one of Chang Po-go's lieutenants, tried to incite a revolt but was subdued by Yum Jang. Following this unsuccessful coup, Chunghaejin was placed under Yum Jang's control and Chang Po-go's former followers left for China or Japan. The residents of Wando who had followed Chang Po-go continued to resist Yum Jang's dictatorial rule, but were ruthlessly suppressed. Finally, Chunghaejin was destroyed in 851 (King Mun-seong 13) by the Silla



View from Dangsung in Gyeonggi-do Hwaseong towards Jebudo. Danseong is a mountain fortress located in Gyeonggi-do Hwaseong Seosinmyeon Sangan-ri. The foundations of the east, south and north gates as well as the remains of a well and building foundations can be seen here today. The old Namyang was called Danseong-gun during the Goguryeo era. When Silla took control of the region, Danghang fortress was erected and served as a key entry and exit point for trade via the Yellow Sea with China.

government, its residents forcibly transported to Byukgol, Kimje, in Jeollabuk-do province. Chunghaejin thus seized to function as an international trade center.

Following the closure of Chunghaejin, minor marine powers conducted independent Chinese trade. These included Wang Bongkyu in Kangju(Jinju), Lee Un-mo in Keumju(Kimhae), the Wang Guns in Gaeseong(N.Korea), the Ohs in Naju, Park Yun-wung in Ulsan, and many others. These trading houses continued to operate during the Later Three Kingdoms period and culminated in the Byuknando movement of Goryeo.

After establishing outposts in the Paekang region, Silla continued to set up strong points along the coast. These included Chunghaejin, Dangsungjin(King Heung-deok 4, 829), Hyulgujin(King Mun-seong 6, 844), and Jangujin. Dangsungjin was located in Gyeonggi Province(Namyang-myeon, Hwasung-gun), Hyulgujin in Ganghwa island, and Jangujin near Jangsan Point(Hwanghae province). Silla manned these outposts with large garrisons of soldiers and placed them on key points along the marine trade route primarily in order to secure the sea lanes. In addition, the success of Chunghaejin impressed a Silla government that wanted to directly reap the profits of trade.

Historical Evaluation of Chang Po-go

The first evaluation of Chang Po-go was conducted by Du Mu, the Chinese author of the *Funchuana's anthology*. Du Mu was a contemporary of Chang Po-go, and thus his records are regarded as closest to historical truth. Du Mu compared Chang Po-go to Guo Fen yang, who had been



Funchuan's anthology

active during the war of An Lu shan. He evaluated Chang Po-go as a person with a brilliance of mind who was one of the most successful people from an Oriental nation, which reveals that Chang Po-go was respected throughout China.

Kim Bu-sik, the Goryeo author of *Samguk-Sagi*, wrote a biography of Chang Po-go and compared him with Jin's QiXi and Tang's Guo Fen yang. Chang Po-go was also mentioned in the biography of Kim Yu-sin, stating that "The strategic brilliance of Eulji Munduck and the principles and courage of Chang Po-go would have been lost to the world if it weren't for the historical records of China." Chang Po-go was branded a traitor and killed in Silla, but an objective evaluation of his accomplishments emerged later during the Goryeo period. However, a reasonable evaluation of Chang Po-go became difficult during the Choson era with the entrenchment of central power and the emphasis on loyalty to the throne.

With the beginning of the modern period and the encroachment of Western powers into the Orient, the main actors of the world stage were the maritime powers who could control the seven seas. The presence of Chang Po-go loomed largely in the minds of Koreans experiencing a turbulent period of opening its doors to the rest of the world and the Japanese occupation in the early 20th century. Chang Po-go showed the path which Korea had to follow. Choi Nam-sun stated in his *The Marine History of Korea* that Korea will be able to become a major international presence only if it reacquired its forgotten maritime prowess.

Professor Kim Sang-gi, who wrote the first research dissertation on Chang Po-go, evaluated him literally as the “creator of the maritime empire” who personified the tenet that ‘those who control the seas control the world’.

Former American ambassador to Japan Professor Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard University evaluated Chang Po-go as ‘the trade prince of the maritime commercial empire’. Since then, there has been a continuing effort in Korea to shine a new light on the accomplishments of Chang Po-go.

The Modern Significance of Chang Po-go

Model of the 21st Century Maritime Management

History from time immemorial shows us that those who control the seas control the world. The 21st century of oceanic management has brought Chang Po-go's 9th century exploits into new light. The Korean peninsula is wedged in between the eastern coast of China and the Japanese archipelago. Chang Po-go's maritime power that developed as a result of this geographical characteristic offers a model for modern oceanic management.

Korea is a gift of nature surrounded by the sea. For the people of the southwestern coastal archipelago region, the ocean is a livelihood, a means of survival, and a frontier for colonization and development. However, since the days of Chang Po-go, we have forgotten our advances into the seas, and lost much of our national strength.

The ocean comprises 71% of the earth's surface, and is without a doubt the resource of the future and a venue for cultural exchange, the source of life, and the alternative that will enable us to overcome the ecological crisis that the 20th century has created. It is obvious that we need to avoid a mechanical and dichotomous perception of the seas, that we are overcoming the earth's problems in the sea. A holoscopic perception that combines both land and the seas is required.

In short, the sea is not the end of land but the beginning, and is a place where land, sky and humankind coexist. The 21st century has heralded in an age of maritime exploration, and a management strategy is needed that gives us hope, challenge and endless possibilities.

The Korean peninsula is located in the transportation, geographic and economic center of Northeast Asia, and is the gateway that connects the



Since 1996, the Chang Po-go Festival is held each year in Jeollanam-do Wando-gun. This maritime cultural festival reexamines the historical significance of Chang Po-go and recreate the former glory of Chunghaejin, in order to re-establish Korea's dynamic maritime history and enhance Wando's prestige. Events such as the retracing of Chang Po-go's trading routes, academic seminars and various ceremonies offer a unique glimpse into Wando's geographical and historical characteristics. (Photograph courtesy of Wando-gun Office)

continent to the oceans. The southwestern coast is placed in the center of the Yellow Sea region, and is expected to become a vital part of the formulation and continued development of the Northeast Asian economic region. Chang Po-go's fearless ambition, pioneering spirit, and open-minded maritime management, the true value of which were proven in this region, should be a lesson for the reorganization and re-creation of a 21st century maritime management model.

The main characteristic of Chang Po-go's maritime management model is the superiority of a privately-led management system. In the Northeast Asian region where political ideologies and economic systems clash, the most efficient management model should be able to pursue economic benefits while softening political and military tensions.

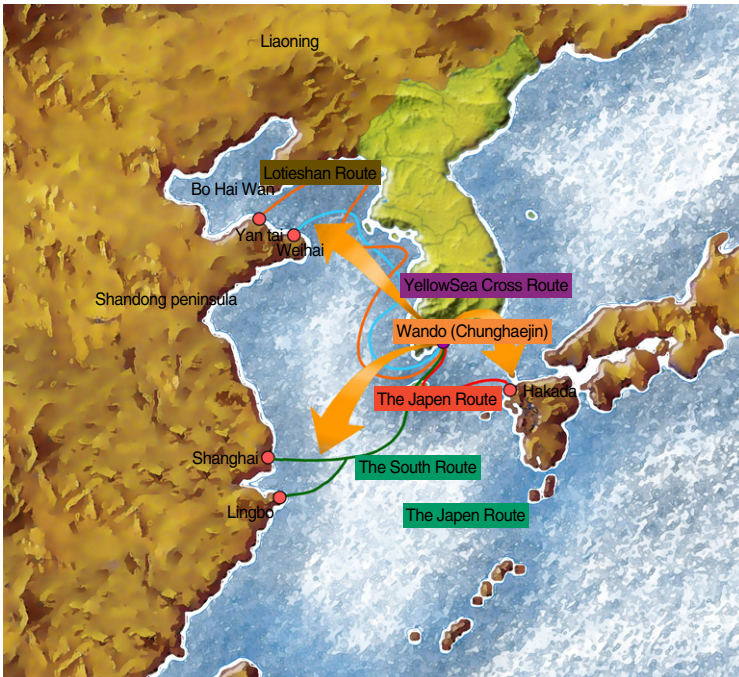
Chang Po-go did not merely stop at linking Korea, China, and Japan in a trade triangle but took charge of internal trade in the South of China, as well as expanding to lead trade with Persian, Arabian, and Southeast Asian merchants who had advanced into Zhejiangsheng, Fujiansheng, and the Yangtze River region.

Chang Po-go's maritime trade system was founded upon modern economic theory. He formed a total system by not only engaging in simple trade but in a wide variety of services and cultural initiatives, including representing government trade interests, guiding official delegations from the three nations of Northeast Asia, passenger transportation, shipbuilding and repair, providing translators and sailors for Korea, China and Japan, and providing support for religious and cultural projects. Thus Chang Po-go's maritime management provides a significant base of reference for maritime management in today's 21st century era of globalization.

Milestone of the 21st Century Northeast Asian Economy

Chang Po-go was able to become the 9th century trading king of the three East Asian nations due in large part to the presence and influence of Silla residents in Tang and Japan who had already expanded into and established themselves in the key trading areas of China and Japan, with Chunghaejin as the center. This indicates that behind Chang Po-go's success was the mobilization of Korea's national capabilities.

Currently there are 2 million Koreans living in China, 500,000 in Yan



The trading routes developed by Chang Po-go, whose fleet mainly utilizes the Trans-Yellow Sea Route.

Hai Zhou and surrounding areas, and 67 million on the Korean peninsula in both North and South Korea, for a total of approximately 70 million Koreans concentrated in the Northeast Asian region. This is little different from the distribution of Goguryeo and Baekje expatriates and Silla residents in China and Japan in the 9th century. Thus, the major question today is how to integrate this diverse range of human resources. The answer can be found through Chang Po-go

Chang Po-go and his establishment of a Northeast Asian economic sphere in the 9th century through his maritime empire is significant today, as the creation of a 21st century Northeast Asian economic sphere has become one of the Korean government's major political targets. Our surrounding environment is changing rapidly in today's era of the 21st century globalization. In the pursuit of cosmopolitanism and regionalism, an increasing number of experts are suggesting the creation of a Northeast Asian economic sphere, including the pan-Yellow Sea Economic Sphere. We are also becoming increasingly aware of global economic and cultural exchange.

The geopolitical advantage of the Korean peninsula is its central location in the pan-Yellow Sea region and the pan-East Sea region as the core of Northeast Asian transportation, geographical and economical sphere connecting the continent to the ocean. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the ability to utilize this advantage to create a Northeast Asian economic sphere with Korea in the center will be determined by the capacity to take full advantage of this position. Chang Po-go, who had accomplished this very feat in long ago in Korea's history offers the index for the formulation of today's main issue --the creation of a 21st century Northeast Asian economic block.

Industrialization and Globalization of Maritime Resources

The southwestern coast has received low priority in the past 40 years of rapid economic development and has remained a low-development and low-income region. The creation of the WTO and the lifting of import restrictions for maritime products dealt a heavy blow to the economies of fishing regions. However, the unpolluted areas of the southwestern coast has managed to retain its pristine seas and marine tourist resources, and represents a priceless national resource. Preserved thanks in part to underdevelopment, the southwestern coastal region will be able to become the model of success for environmentally-friendly regional development only if these natural, historical and cultural resources of this region can be developed as tourist assets to support one of 21st century's strategic projects, the tourism industry.

For example, the southern coast's archipelago region stretching from Mokpo to Jindo, Wando, Namhaedo, Guhjedo, and Busan possesses the qualities required for development into a world-class maritime resort. This region also has the potential to be developed as a gigantic international maritime tourism belt linking the cities on the southern coast with Jeju, Japan and China. The development of a Northeast Asian cruise industry will further solidify this region's position as an international maritime tourist destination.

In the case of Wando, the restoration project of Chunghaejin can produce a significant cultural tourism resource for Korea. The history and culture of the restored Chunghaejin and Wando will be able to complement the elegant art of the southern islands and the pristine maritime tourism resources of this region, creating a significant economic effect.

02

**Setting the Stage for
Chang Po-go's Entrance**

Northeast Asian World in the 8th~9th Century

Tang's Regional Decentralization

The 8th to 9th centuries were interesting and notable times not only in the history of East Asia but for the world as a whole. During this period, the centralized government structures of East Asian nations began to crumble, and wealthy local land owners began to create their own power spheres producing a decentralized system of government.

The Tang Dynasty unified the Chinese continent in the early 7th century, reformed its laws and established a centralized system of control. The newly refurbished government enabled Tang to suppress neighboring nations, creating and leading a new East Asian world. However, flaws in the centralized system began to become apparent in the 9th century, exploding in the mid-8th century in the Rebellion of An Shi(755-763). This crisis dealt

a crippling blow to Tang's rule of law, creating the system of Regional Commanders with local governors taking control of their regions.

These Regional Commander forces expanded their powers and dictated Tang policy during the 8th and 9th centuries, and eventually took up opposition to the central government. As a result, peasants were burdened with double taxation from the central government and the local Regional Commanders, the harsh conditions of which culminated in the 9th century Rebellion of Huang(875-884). As a result, the Tang, which had ruled over the East Asian world, collapsed in 907.

Silla's Regional Decentralization

Silla was the last among the three nations in the Korean peninsula to establish a centralized state system. Silla unified the peninsula in the mid-7th century, adopting Tang's system of rule by law to create a powerful central government. For the next 100 years Silla made great leaps in all aspects of society, accepting and assimilating advanced systems, literature and the arts through active contact with the outside world.

In the final years of the 8th century, however, Silla's central government

Rebellion of An Shi

Revolt by An Lushan and Shi Siming during the mid-Tang period (755-763). Luoyang and Changan were effectively destroyed by the rebels and their Uyghur allies. Armies dispatched to the provinces to suppress the rebellion eventually seized power in the region, resulting in a further collapse of central government control and strengthening regional autonomy. In addition, oppressive tax burdens to secure funds for the conflict further strained the peasants, and the new "Liang" system of taxation was initiated.

was weakened by the Jingol nobility, who banded together to take control. Strife within these noble classes for the throne enveloped the central government in great chaos. With confusion in the center, regional land owners and clan leaders steadily increased their power. The 9th century saw a severely decentralized Silla, which eventually led to nation-wide peasant rebellions in 889 (Queen Jin-sung 3), and revolts by the regional clans leaders.

Japan's Regional Decentralization

Japan followed a similar pattern. Japan was the slowest in the East Asian world in creating the foundations of a nation-state, developing in the late 7th century from a clan-based nation into a centralized state led by the Yamato administration. In this process, Japan adopted Tang's rule of law and Silla's systems to create the foundations of a state.

However, contradictions inherent in the rule of statute law also revealed themselves after the 8th century in Japan, and a breakup in the government

Byunjin

System of regional governors that existed during the Tang, Five Kingdoms Period, and early Song. The Haseo Beonjin was created in 710, and ten others were established in the regional provinces before the outbreak of An Shi's rebellion. After the revolt was put down, additional Beonjin were established in the internal regions as well, eventually numbering 45, and continued to increase after the Tang period. In the 9th century, Hyoenjong of Tang succeed in dispatching governors to the provinces who were loyal to the central government, and separated the military from regional governments, thus brining stability to the nation. However, the Rebellion of Huang enabled the Beonjin to break free from central government control, and the Tang Dynasty collapsed.

became evident. The authority of the emperor, the symbol of national power, began to fall, and in his stead a regency of the noble clan of Fujiwara took power.

The dominance of the nobility in the central government led to revolts in the provinces by land owning clan leaders, culminating finally in the Shohei and Denkyo rebellions in the early 10th century. These changes greatly influenced the course of Japanese history. Through these revolts, the regional clan leaders developed into the samurai class, later leading the feudal system of government.

Tang's Economic System and the Tribute Trade

Rise in Agricultural Productivity and the Development of Commerce

Always the major artery of East-West trade since the dawn of history, the Silk Road was at its peak during the years of the Tang dynasty. This was largely the result of economic prosperity.

First, in the traditional industry of agriculture, productivity increased dramatically through the expansion of arable land, construction of irrigation systems, and the adoption of new plant species for diversification of production. The boom in agriculture led to the rise in the commerce of specialty and surplus goods.

The development of commerce brought about several economic changes, including the development of cities. These changes revealed the

limitations of a supply-based economy dependant on Western goods coming through the Silk Road. In order to overcome this problem, a revolutionary change took place that emphasized the supply of goods through a maritime 'Silk Road'.

The catalyst for increased agricultural productivity can first be found in the development of farming tools. Oxen and man-pulled tools and smaller devices made deep plowing possible, and the concurrent development of irrigation tools resulted in a stunning productivity increase. Crop rotation methods were greatly enhanced making three yields in two years and two-crop farming possible, supported by improved fertilization and seeding techniques. The diversity of crops and the appearance of new plant species resulted in the expansion of grain production.

These developments in agricultural productivity inevitably resulted in social changes. Most notable among these changes was the sale of surplus crops and the introduction of cash crops. Other profit-yielding activities breathed new life into agriculture economies, resulting in the development of commerce.

In addition, there were infrastructure investments of social overhead capital for economic revitalization. A system of travel stations was reorganized and enhanced, and canals were repaired and restored. Currency was standardized, along with units of measurement and other standards. A system of taxation on land, labor and local products brought peasants into the distribution economy. Furthermore, a middle class of professional merchants arose in the new society. The inclusion of the moneyed class into government positions was one of the greatest social changes during this time.

Commercial development naturally resulted in urbanization. Ancient cities had formerly provided a place of residence for officials, the wealthy, and

the land owning class and functioned as administrative and political centers, but were transformed into cities imbued with economic functions based on commerce and manufacturing. Commercial distribution organizations were created around major cities in the provinces following the expansion of a commercial economy, facilitating the collection and the distribution of goods as well as trade in goods from faraway provinces.

Tribute Trade

International trade during the Tang period mainly consisted of the tribute trade. Tributes were a type of official trade involving imports and exports controlled and managed by the government. During the early years of Tang, tributes were a major part of trade. There were two reasons for Tang's engagement in tribute trade. The first was Sino-centricism, and the second was national security.

China controlled a powerful and vast area, but always had to be mindful of relations with the numerous nomadic groups that surrounded it. It was to China's advantage to prevent these groups from engaging in hostilities by establishing contact through tributes. China's tribute trade was based on Sino-centricism, but also was a diplomatic tool to maintain peace with neighboring nations and tribes.

Political and economic benefits gained by tributary nations enticed nations surrounding China to try to send as many tribute emissaries as possible. Early tribute trade was limited to states bordering China, but as the word of possible profits through this trade spread, additional tributary states became involved. During the middle period of the dynasty, countries as far as

India and western nations of the Middle East were involved in tribute trade with China.

Official trade between the Korean peninsula and China began when Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla sent emissaries to Tang. China only acknowledged a tributary trade relationship with surrounding nations, and strictly forbade private trade. Surrounding nations could gain advanced Chinese systems and institutions through tributes, as well as secure political positions for the royal and noble families. They were able to monopolize economic rights, as well as fulfill economic needs through bilateral exchange of materials, making the expansion of tribute trade inevitable.

However, the rise of commerce following the development of the agriculture industry began to change the nature of the tribute trade. During the middle and late periods of the Tang dynasty, the development of commerce enhanced the economic capabilities of agricultural regions, and economic enhancement increased the need for consumption goods. The rise of Regional Commander forces and the decay of central political power resulted in the collapse of the tribute trade that had propped up the Tang government, and private trade began to flourish.

Trade between Silla and Japan

The tension that arose among Tang, Silla and Japan during the war for the unification of the Korean peninsula in the 7th century was alleviated in the 8th century following the creation of a new international environment. The establishment of Balhae in 698 was the impetus for this new international order. The creation of Balhae led Tang and Silla to strengthen their tributary ties in order to check the powers of the new state, and restored full diplomatic relations in 730. To overcome this alliance and prevent isolation, Balhae created a strong friendship with Japan. A clear division arose between Tang-Silla and Balhae-Japan.

In this international climate, the relationship between Silla and Japan developed into a curious model. The two nations could not completely alleviate the political and military tensions between them, but had to rely on each other in economic terms.

The political and military conflict and strife between Silla and Japan continued after the reign of king Mun-mu. Silla kings following King Mun-mu focused on creating an awareness of the need for coastal defenses and a defense system.

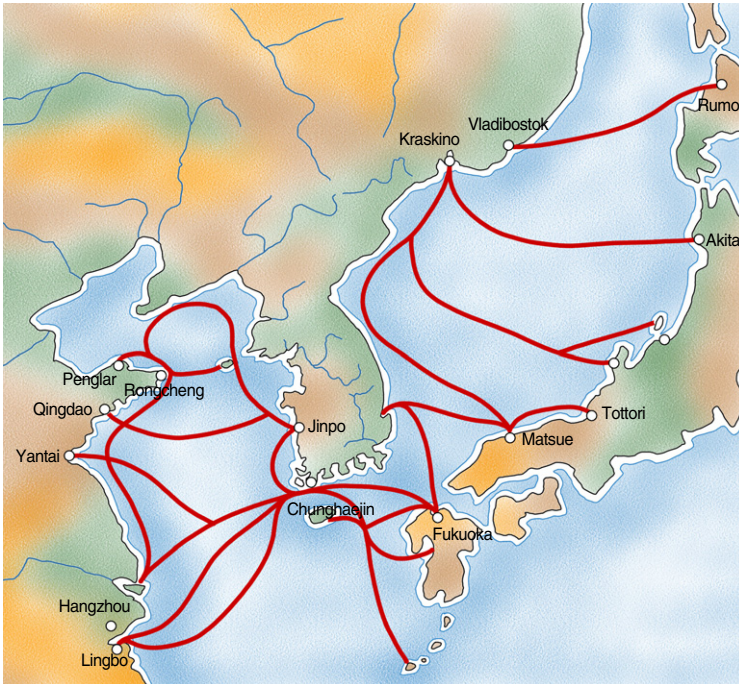
However, in economic terms, the two nations were mutually dependant on each other. Japan, whose relationship with China was frosty, needed Silla as a conduit for Chinese goods. Silla wanted to utilize Japan as a market for Chinese products as well as its own.

As long as the two nations could not meet these mutual economic needs, the political and military barrier between the two nations in their roles of invader and defender could not be alleviated. However, as the two nations expanded their understanding based on economic needs, political solutions and compromise led to an expansion of economic exchange.

Trade between Silla and Japan can be seen through *Maesilla mulhae*. *Maesilla mulhae* in Japanese is called 'Baishiraki motsuke'. This was a report filed in 752 to the Japanese government by nobles prior to purchasing items that they had received from Silla emissaries, listed by item name, amount and total cost, as a sort of 'request for the purchase of Silla products'.

A part of this 'Baishiraki motsuke' was used as the backing for the 'Torigeritsujo Byobu' wall screen, now housed in the Shosoin, and thus was made available for scrutiny by today's scholars. Some were already known, having fallen off the screens, and some were found recently following a close examination of these folding screens. Around thirty of these specimens have been discovered to date.

Why did Silla dispatch a large mission to Japan in 752? In order to answer this question, one must note that Silla had continuously tried to send



Coastal network of 8th-10th century East Asia. Chang Po-go and the people of Silla formed a network extending from the Shandong peninsula to the southwestern coast of the Korean peninsula and the western coast of Japan. The people of Balhae created a network extended from Maritime territory to the northeastern regions of Japan, indicating that ethnic Koreans controlled the East Asian maritime network at the time.

missions to Japan. Although they were not received, Silla had sent five missions to Japan prior to 752, in 732, 734, 738, 742, and 743. These missions were much larger than any previous groups, and continued to increase in size. The mission to Japan in 752 involved seven hundred people, part of the trend of sending increasingly larger missions to Japan.

Silla missions, dispatched to Japan before 733, carried separate items in addition to the official tributes sent by the Silla King to the king of Japan. These items, clearly defined as separate from the official tribute, were sent in the name of the Silla emissaries. These items varied widely in their nature



The former location of Dazaifu, the agency that was located in present day Fukuoka and oversaw diplomatic and commercial activities. From the mid-9th century to the mid-11th century, trade and diplomacy in Japan took place entirely in the Heungryeogwan office located in the Dazaifu.

and number. Similarly, the large amounts of cotton given in return to Silla emissaries by the Japanese king were not personal gifts but items given in reciprocation to this trade.

This trade was not the sole domain of the royalty. Jingol nobles also participated in the Japan trade. Groups such as Sangshin and Sangjae, who dominated politics during this time, were active proponents and backers of trade with Japan. However, as relations between Silla and Tang improved at the cost of its relations with Japan in 733, the active trade between Silla and Japan came to a halt. This suspension in trade took a heavy commercial toll on the ruling classes of Silla.

While this struggle was taking place, Japan attempted to create new avenues for importing foreign goods through KenToSi or BotKaiSi, but these attempts were unsuccessful. Eventually, Japan gave up official exchange of

emissaries with Silla, and instead began to accept Silla goods through Dazaifu, which acted as the sole port and window to the outside world.

Trade between Tang and Silla

These trends in official trade of the 8th century can also be found between Tang and Silla. Official trade of that time took place via an official embassy called the Kyundang-sa (literally, ‘emissaries for the viewing of Tang’). The emissaries of the Kyundang-sa had four primary roles in the official trade:

- ① Inspect the tributary goods at the border born by KenToSi, carefully record the type and amount of the items and report them to Honglusi, then determine the value of these items and prepare reciprocating goods in return, which would be given to the mission before it departed for home.
- ② The use of an official store created for the convenience of the mission members in the lodging provided to them.
- ③ The use of traders who could purchase in bulk the items brought to Silla by Tang emissaries at a high price.
- ④ The unofficial purchase of Tang goods or items offered by Arabian and Persian merchants in China.

Foreign goods imported by the Kyundang-sa were extremely popular with Silla nobles, and some of these were re-exported to Japan through official trade routes.

The Decline of Official Trade in the 9th Century and the Rise of Private Trade

Weakening of the Yulryung System

The official trade system that flourished during the 8th century among Tang, Silla and Japan was a part of each state's monopoly over trade. This monopoly was made possible through the rule of the Yulryung system which was formed around the central rule of the emperor or king. During the 8th century, when the Yulryung system was in place supported by strong centralized rule, private trade between the nations were prohibited, and only the official tributary led and controlled by the state was allowed.

These controls forbidding private trade indicate at least the presence of individuals who engaged in private trade, avoiding the eye of the state. However, as long as the Yulryung system was in place centered around the strong centralized rule of a powerful emperor, private trade could only be

unofficial and remain the exception rather than the rule in the larger scheme of trade.

If the Yulryung system were to weaken, private trade carried out by individuals would become even more active. This situation began to take shape in the three Northeast Asian nations from the late-8th century. It was at this time that the Yulryung system began to collapse in all three countries, leading to the decline of official trade and an expansion of private trade.

Goguryeo Refugees Lee Jong-gi's Dominance of the Maritime Zone

After the mid-8th century in China, there was an explosive growth of private trade. The Tang administration could no longer effectively control this trade, and resorted to assigning this task to the Chieh Tu Shih. A prime example of this was the appointment of Lee Jeong-gi, who had requested the assignment of Bunsu of Ping Lu Chichung, to the position of Ping Lu Chichung Chieh Tu Shih and minister of maritime trade control.

Lee Jeong-gi

Dates of birth and death unknown. As a soldier and administrator of Tang of Goguryeo heritage, Lee Jeong-gi was born Hoeok in Pyeongro. With other soldiers, he was involved in the elevation of Huheel to the position of chief advisor in 758, who was a cousin of Lee. Lee Jeong-gi and Huheel drifted apart later, but Lee was highly regarded by his fellow soldiers for his composure and bravery. When Heeil fled, Lee was elevated to the position of chief advisor, and received the name "Jeong-gi" from the government. Until his death from jaundice at the age of 49, he rules over his own small empire in the Shandong peninsula region.

Lee Jeong-gi was a Goguryeo exile who drove away the Ping Lu Chichung Chieh Tu Shih Hou Xi-Yi, a relative of Lee who had seized the position for himself. Lee Jeong-gi requested and received an official recognition of his position from the Tang government. He was placed in charge of managing maritime transportation as well as diplomacy with Silla and Balhae.

He soon revealed his anti-Tang stance, and grew into a powerful warlord by taking control of key maritime trade positions around the Shandong peninsula. Lee Jeong-gi's powerful control of this region enabled three generations of his family to rule a private kingdom in the Shandong peninsula for 55 years until 819. This would only have been possible with the backing of private traders in the region who had grown rich thanks to the maritime trade on the peninsula.

With the blocking of the Silk Road, East-West trade flourished via the "Southern Sea" routes, and international oceanic trade by merchants expanded rapidly. Arabian, Persian and Indian merchants also made active use of these sea trade routes, and Silla expatriates in Tang supported an axis of this trade by tapping into these trading lanes to link Tang, Silla and Japan.

Role of Silla Merchants

With the collapse of the tribute trade system in Northeast Asia in the 9th century, private trade by Silla merchants among the three nations flourished. To the Japanese, whose hunger for imports had previously been unsatiated due to the restrictions placed on private trade, Silla merchants bearing ships full of wondrous goods were a blessing. The Daijokan, the

supreme administrative organ of the government, dispatched officials to the port of Kyushu to analyze the situation and develop countermeasures.

The rise in private trade also spawned various social ills. A decree issued in 834 by King Hung-deok illustrates this well.

There is a high and low for people, and social positions have their own place with different purposes and methods, and different clothing. However, practices are becoming harsher and the people espouse luxuries and riches, respecting only the rarity of foreign objects and despising the coarseness of domestic goods, with social graces fallen into disfavor and customs destroyed. Thereby a proclamation is issued according to the ancient laws, and anyone who knowingly disobeys will be punished according to law.

The fact that a flood of imported luxury goods threatened to strain social boundaries established by law indicates the extent of the proliferation of private trade.

It must be noted that the main impetus behind these radical social changes was the private trade carried out by Silla merchants based in Tang, Silla and Japan. Chang Po-go organized and managed these merchants, and was able to maximize their abilities.

Chaos in the Silla Government and the Proliferation of Silla Refugees

Chaos in the Central Government and the Waning of Regional Control

In the late 8th century, the challenge to authority from the Jingol nobles resulted in a severely weakened royalty, and sectional strife became rampant in the capital city. The catalyst for the power struggle was the attempt by the king to establish the “five worship system”.

The struggle for the throne increasingly became linked with the provinces, as groups that lost the fight moved to the distant provinces to create a new power base, resulting the decentralization of power. In the early days, this struggle was initiated by the nobles in the capital city, but following the ‘Crisis of Kim Heonchang’, disturbances increasingly found their origins in the Jingol nobles in the provinces. During the final days of this period the

struggle intensified, developing into uprisings by groups that were not directly linked to the royal lineage. Chang Po-go's opposition started this movement, followed by the revolts of Gungyeh and Kyeon Hwon and other forces based in the provinces.

Eventually, internal struggle among the royal families following the changes in the royal lineage created chaos in all levels of society. Division and conflict in the center led to the loosening of regional control, enabling local forces such as that of Chang Po-go to emerge and flourish, as well as giving hope to the lower classes and causing strife among the people.

Silla Refugees Sold Into Slavery

Drafted labor and tax burdens increased sharply for the masses despite the weakening of central control during the reign of King Hung-deok

Rebellion of Kim Heon-chang

Begun by the regional governor of Ungcheongju (present-day Chungcheongnam-do Gongju) Kim Heon-chang in 822 (King Heon-deok 14). The rebel forces took control of large portions of Chungcheong, Jeolla and Gyeongsang-do, the important rebel stronghold of Ungjin Fortress was taken by central government forces and Kim Heon-chang committed suicide, ending the rebellion less than a month after it began. This revolt was the second struggle for power between the families of King Wonseong and King Mu-yeol, and part of the larger struggle over the throne during the late Silla period. Following this revolt, the nobles of King Mu-yeol's clan began to be pushed out of the central government, relegated to becoming a part of regional forces led by the clan of King Wonseong. Kim Heon-chang's son Beom-mun fled at this time, and began another revolt three years later with the bandit Su Sin of Mt. Godal, but was quickly suppressed and the clan of King Mu-yeol was completely pushed out of the contest for the crown.

immediately before Chang Po-go established Chunghaejin in 828. This resulted in greater friction between the government and the people, and a great drought during this period seriously strained regional societies.

Large numbers of refugees and exiles from Silla materialized during this time, caused by natural disasters and the ensuing droughts and food shortages. Continuous political chaos and rising tax burdens on the people, and the resistance to such oppression, became another impetus for the increasing numbers of Silla refugees.

These refugees moved to various regions. They created serious problems which affected the entire community in which they found themselves. Some of them moved overseas and became citizens of other states. However, most refugees were beggars or bandits. Some of them banded together and armed themselves, and engaged in piracy and looting.

Trade in Silla slaves was active in Tang during this time. Pirates often kidnapped Silla peasants and sold them into slavery. Chang Po-go attempted to stop this trade in Silla slaves, and returned from Tang to establish Chunghaejin, which eventually led to the creation of his maritime kingdom.

03

**The Formulation of the
Maritime Empire**

Chunghaejin and the Maritime

The Foundations of Chunghaejin

The Reason Chang Po-go Went to Tang

During the last days of Silla, many intellectuals received their schooling in Tang. This was partly due to their individual needs for acquiring new knowledge and boosting their careers, but was also due to the central government's attempt to exclude from the government anyone lower than 6th Dupum, who often failed to secure an official position in the strict Golpum system of that time. The struggle surrounding the royal succession, breakdown in the economy and other political and social upheaval also drove many intellectuals to study abroad.

It was in this climate that Chang Po-go went to China in his late 20's. He attained the position of Jun Zhong Xiao jiang (officer) in Xu Zhou

around the age of 30. Chang Po-go, who is known to have hailed from Haedo, did not belong to a particularly high social class in the Silla society. However, the fact that he was able to succeed so quickly after moving to Tang indicates that he was from a family of at least some social prestige and power back in his homeland.

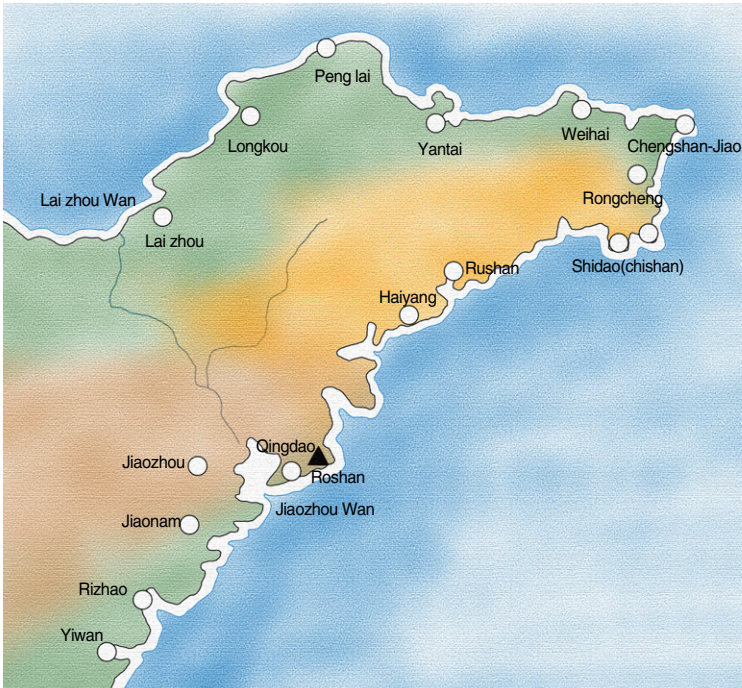
In the history of Korea, the term Hojok, or clans, was used to designate people who wielded power in certain areas. These clans were prevalent in the late periods of Silla and the early years of Goryeo. Chang Po-go, born in what is today Wando in Jeollanam-do, was proficient in the arts of war and most likely went to Tang for experience and success in a larger world.

Tang was a stratified society as well, but there was little discrimination among the ruling classes, unlike Silla. In addition, it was possible to achieve political success through one's abilities by taking the national examination, and thus Tang's society was more open than Silla's. This caused many Silla people to emigrate to Tang. Chang Po-go also went to Tang, and was able to make a name for himself at the young age of 30.

Shandong Peninsula, the Center of Maritime Activities

Chang Po-go was not satisfied with his success as a Tang military officer. In the early 820's, Chang Po-go established himself in Tang and dominated the maritime trade in the East Asian region and between Silla and Japan. According to the *Buddhist Pilgrimage to Tang* written by the Japanese monk Ennin, Chang Po-go visited Japan in 824 (King Hyun-deok 16) with the title of Dae Sa.

Chang Po-go's main theater of operation was centered in today's Shandong peninsula, where the Chishan Buphwawon was located. Buphwawon was a temple set up earlier by Chang Po-go, and it was here



Port cities that served as centers of Silla activity in Tang during the time of Chang Po-go in the 9th century.

that Chang Po-go established his base of operations after he left the army and began his maritime trading activities.

Before Chang Po-go appeared on the scene, the Shandong peninsula was the domain of the Goguryeo refugee Lee Jeong-gi's clan. Lee Jeong-gi had controlled the Silla-Balhae trade in this region for three generations, with emphasis on the Balhae trade by importing military horses, a vital strategic asset.

At that time, Silla contact with Tang through the Shandong peninsula was minimal. This was more the result of Silla's close relationship with Balhae rather than due to Lee Jeong-gi's influence, who hailed from

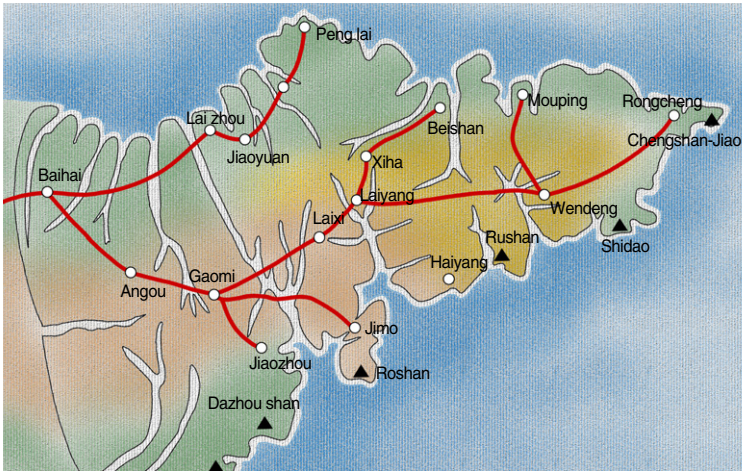
Goguryeo. However, Lee Shi-dao's forces were suppressed by the Tang central government in 819, leading to the destruction of Lee Jeong-gi's family in the Shandong peninsula. This created an opportunity for Chang Po-go.

At this time, the Shandong peninsula was located in an important transportation route connecting the Chinese continent with the Korean peninsula and Japan. There had been active contact between these three nations through official emissaries as well as private individuals. Silla expatriates had even established a community in the Shandong peninsula called the Silla-bang. This community had been created by the Silla people who had emigrated to China and began to expand through maritime trade. The Silla-bang in the Shandong area was concentrated around the Goudang Xinluoso located in Wen Teng Hsien. The geographic location of this region as well as experience and tradition led Chang Po-go to choose this area as his base of operations.

Appearance of Pirates

Around the time of Lee Jeong-gi's collapse, the Yellow Sea trading routes surrounding the Shandong peninsula were infested with pirates from the eastern coast of China and the southern coastal regions of Korea. Taking advantage of a power vacuum in this area, various pirate groups appeared. These pirate ships did not stop at merely robbing merchant vessels, but engaged in the slave trade as well.

Silla was most effected by these pirate groups. Through superior shipbuilding and navigation skills, Silla had taken a central role in the Yellow Sea trade. Even Japanese emissaries and priests had to rely on Silla in order to travel to China. Thus, pirate activity in this region adversely effected Silla



Transportation routes in 9th century Shandong peninsula. Silla expatriates living in the Shandong peninsula appear to have utilized these routes to carry out commercial activities in Tang.

more than any other state.

Chang Po-go was born in Wando, and became familiar with the sea from an early age. He succeeded as a soldier in Tang thanks to his abilities and efforts, and became naturally interested in the maritime activities around the Shandong peninsula. He would have also felt the need to deal with the rampant looting and piracy that plagued this region.

However, the appearance of pirates does not fully explain why Chang Po-go returned to his homeland and set up Chunghaejin. It would have been possible for Chang Po-go to remain in the Shandong peninsula and still secure safe sailing and trading lanes. Why did Chang Po-go leave his affairs in Tang behind and establish Chunghaejin in Wando?

According to the *Samguk-Sagi*, Chang Po-go returned to Silla in 828(King Heung-deok 3) and requested permission from the king to create Chunghaejin in order to stop the slave trade by pirates. King Heung-deok

granted Chang Po-go's request, and bestowed on him the title of commissioner and provided 10,000 soldiers to garrison Chunghaejin. Through these brief records, we can deduce the background behind the creation of Chunghaejin.

Power of the Silla Community in Shandong Peninsula

The first basis for the creation of Chunghaejin was the political energy of the Silla community in Silla-bang and Silla-so and Chang Po-go's experience that drew upon this power. People of Silla had, from early times, continuously expanded overseas for trade with China. Tang, a world empire at the time, was the source of advanced culture as well as the window to the Western world. These aspects of Tang made the people of Silla enthusiastic about carrying out trade with Tang or expanding into the Chinese continent.

Chang Po-go's decision to go to China can also be considered an extension of the drive of the people of Silla and their refusal to be satisfied with the status quo. Chang Po-go himself went to Tang to succeed for himself, and made a name as a soldier thanks to his martial abilities. However, Chang Po-go was unsatisfied with personal achievement, and he opened his eyes to maritime trade in Northeast Asia, which was quickly becoming the main trend in the region, and immersed himself into maritime trade supported by the infrastructure and foundations that the people of Silla had established in the Shandong peninsula.

The establishment of Chunghaejin, which dominated maritime trade in Northeast Asia, was made possible through the combination of active overseas expansion of Silla people, Chang Po-go's awareness of the historical importance of international relations and maritime trade, his personal abilities, and the strength of the Silla community in the Shandong peninsula

region that enabled the combination and synergy of all of these circumstances and advantages.

The Need of Silla Government

The second basis for the creation of Chunghaejin was the Silla society and central government. After the reign of King Hye-gong, struggle for the throne among the nobles intensified. The kingship had lost much of its prestige and power. King Hyun-deok, in fact, had killed his own cousin, King Ae-jang, to become a king. In the increasingly fierce struggle around the throne, the only task the central government and the king could manage was to hang on to power, with policies and governing for the benefit of the people being neglected.

In addition, Silla underwent several natural disasters during the reign of King Hyun-deok. Droughts, floods, and even astrological abnormalities, widely considered in the ancient world as omens from the gods, occurred constantly. Droughts and poor harvests year after year forced many of the people to die of hunger or even sell their own children for food. In 815(King Hyun-deok 7) hungry bands of peasants began raiding food supplies, and in 816(King Hyun-deok 8) 170-80 people of Silla trekked to the present-day region of Zhejiang-sheng to try to find some food.

It is noteworthy that these people travelled to Zhejiang-sheng to find food. This indicates that there was plenty of maritime traffic in the Yellow Sea between China and Korea at this time, which would have ferried these people across the sea. The natural disasters that threatened the lives of the people of Silla persisted into the reign of King Heung-deok, when Chang Po-go appeared on the scene.

Silla's central government was preoccupied with power struggles and



Coreana bottom celadon excavated from the Yue zhou Yao kiln in Jeolgangseong. Chang Po-go took Silla craftsmen to Yue zhou Yao to learn pottery techniques, then established celadon pottery production centers in what is today's Haenam and Gangjin. Celadon pottery quickly grew to become one of Silla's major export products.

could not look after the welfare of the people suffering in the face of several natural disasters. Thus, the government could not take lightly Chang Po-go's request for the creation of Chunghaejin. The Silla government would surely have been aware of Chang Po-go's accomplishments in China. The government would have seen the advantage of allowing Chang Po-go to establish Chunghaejin, and dominate the sea lanes while eradicating marauding pirates. Chunghaejin would have produced both economic benefits as well as social stability. This was the reason behind King Heungdeok's decision to supply Chang Po-go with 10,000 soldiers for the creation of Chunghaejin.

Chang Po-go's Patriotism

The third basis for the creation of Chunghaejin was Chang Po-go's

individual will and patriotism. Born in Wando, Chang Po-go was familiar with the seas, but also became proficient in horsemanship and in the spear, and no one could defeat him in battle. With his martial prowess Chang Po-go was able to become a successful officer, and after leaving the army was able to create a formidable power base centered around the Shandong peninsula. Chang Po-go was already a successful man in Tang with both prestige as well as financial success.

Chang Po-go could have easily lived in luxury and comfort in Tang, without having to return to his homeland that was immersed in chaos and infighting. Despite this, Chang Po-go chose to leave Tang and return to Silla, and requested permission from the king to establish Chunghaejin

When Chang Po-go suggested the creation of Chunghaejin to King Heung-deok, he stated that there were numerous Silla slaves in Tang, and that the pirates kidnapping and selling the people of Silla had to be stopped. This indicates that Chang Po-go had seen firsthand the misery of Silla compatriots sold into slavery to Tang, and felt that this practice had to be stopped.

Chang Po-go, having established his reputation as a soldier in Tang and having gained experience in the seas surrounding the Shandong peninsula, could not overlook the plight of his people. Chang Po-go could have easily stopped the activities of the pirates under the right circumstances. However, in Tang, Chang Po-go was only a merchant in the position to carry out maritime trade, and did not hold a position that would have enabled to solve this problem from a political and military position.

Chang Po-go felt the need for Silla to respond to the looting and kidnapping by pirates as a state, and thus returned to his homeland to propose the establishment of Chunghaejin. He did not use his abilities for his

own happiness and success, but tried to save his people who were suffering from dire hardships, as well as bring economic success to his country. His solution was to create a military fortress under his command, approved and backed by the state, that would ensure secure maritime trading activities while at the same time suppressing piracy against the people and property of Silla.

Establishment of Chunghaejin

Power Base of Chunghaejin

The establishment of Chunghaejin resulted from Chang Po-go's proposal to the king in 828(King Heung-deok 3). King Heung-deok accepted Chang Po-go's proposal, and gave him the title of commissioner and authorized him to construct Chunghaejin at a strategic location on the southwestern coast. First were the 10,000 soldiers that had been assigned to him by the state. It is not known where these soldiers came from, but although they may have been from the region surrounding Wando, they were still officially-acknowledged soldiers. Silla had a standing army composed of professional soldiers as well as male conscripts between the ages of 15 and 60 who served for three years. These conscripts were from the capital city as well as from every province and district in the nation. Current research seems to indicate that this force included soldiers from the capital city as well as from the provinces.

The 10,000 soldiers given to Chang Po-go were well-trained government soldiers. In addition, considering that these troops were given to him directly by the king, these soldiers were certainly better trained and

familiar with military operations than other ordinary soldiers. Since he was able to utilize this army, Chang Po-go was able to initiate his maritime activities without any additional delay or preparation. Chunghaejin had been constructed under the auspices of the king, and had the authority of an official government institution.

Second were the Silla residents in the Shandong peninsula region as well as in Wen Teng Hsien, Chishanpu, which had been Chang Po-go's main power base during his soldier in Tang. Some of these people would have returned with Chang Po-go to Silla, but many remained in the Shandong peninsula area. These Silla residents, under the authority of Goudang Xinluoso, were under Chang Po-go's influence since his time in Tang. The fact that the Yaya in Xinluoso, Changyong, was an official of Bubhwawon indicates that Xinluoso itself was influenced by Chang Po-go to a degree. Therefore, the Silla residents in the Shandong peninsula region acted as forward outposts for Chang Po-go, enabling him to carry out his activities in the Chinese continent and the Yellow Sea area.

Third were the provincial inhabitants in Wando and around Chunghaejin. Chang Po-go was originally from this region, and was familiar with the surrounding southwestern coastal region. In addition, the local inhabitants were knowledgeable about the region's geography and navigation, and would have been a great aid to Chang Po-go. In the era of the Second Three Kingdoms Period, after Chang Po-go's period, these same

Yaya

An office of the Xinluoso established by Silla in the Shandong Province. Originally an official position of Tang, the Yaya was a military official in charge of unit banners, assigned not only to regional governors but to outposts as well. This designation soon became an administrative position in regional provincial and district offices.



Chishanpu. This is the present-day Jeoksanchon, where the largest Silla community in the Shandong peninsula region is thought to have existed.

people created a separate power by themselves aided by the numerous islands in the region.

The fact that all of these were possible indicates that many of the islands in this area could easily escape the control of the central government. In addition, this region had, before Chang Po-go's time, carried out its own policies and agendas free from government control. When Chang Po-go received official authority from the government and began his activities from Chunghaejin, the inhabitants of this region were immediately placed under Chang Po-go's authority, resulting in a concentration of their military, navigational, and trading capabilities.

Progressiveness of Chunghaejin

Among the foundations of power for Chang Po-go's Chunghaejin, the

Silla refugees of the Shandong peninsula region and the provincial residents had much in common. The people of Silla in the Shandong peninsula were based in Silla-bang, as can be seen in the case of Chong Yon, a friend of Chang Po-go. Many of these expatriates were from the provinces of the southern and western coastal region, with the exception of those who were members of the 6th Dupum class. These were forward-looking pioneers who had left their homeland in search of better lives for themselves. Although their lives were centered around Silla-bang, they were able to escape direct control by the Silla government.

In addition, the provincial communities surrounding Chunghaejin were outcasts from the Golpum system of Silla as well. These regions were also far from the capital city and thus relatively free from government control. Thus, they were hardy and ambitious individuals whose lives were closely tied to the sea. However, they had not organized themselves prior to Chang Po-go's arrival. In this aspect, they had much in common with the Silla residents community in the Shandong peninsula region.

It was upon this foundation that Chang Po-go's Chunghaejin was built. Chang Po-go united a diverse group of people who were individualistic and progressive yet did not have any experience in an organized setting. To wit, he was able to organize groups that had already shown their ability to utilize their survival skills in the Shandong peninsula and the provincial regions in the southwestern coast around the officially-acknowledged organization of Chunghaejin, to produce a synergistic effect of these diverse groups of people.

In China Chang Po-go secured a foundation in the Shandong peninsula for his maritime operations in the Northeast Asian region, and in Silla he took control of the Wando area, the key stronghold in the



The Maritime Prince Chang Po-go Procession. This is a procession that passes through Wando during its annual Chang Po-go festival.

southwestern coastal region. He was then able to utilize not only the assets provided to him by the government but also the human and material resources of these regions, which prepared the conditions for his meteoric growth.

Chunghaejin and the Shandong peninsula were important places for the maritime transportation and trade in Northeast Asia, linking the Korean peninsula, China and Japan. Thus the creation of Chunghaejin enabled Chang Po-go to secure a strategic point for the Chinese continent as well as the southwestern coastal region of Korea, bringing together central government support as well as local human and material resources to create the basis for his dominance of maritime trade in Northeast Asia.

The Uniqueness of Chunghaejin

Another noteworthy aspect of the construction of Chunghaejin is the title of commissioner bestowed upon Chang Po-go, and that the stronghold he created was called a 'Jin' (military camp). The title of Dae Sa is not an official title of Silla. Although not everything is known about Silla government positions today, the governing section of the *Samguk-Sagi* contains records of Silla government offices and officials. The title of Dae Sa can not be found either in these records or other documents about Korean history that survive to this day. The term 'Jin' was used to describe a military strongpoint in strategic areas in the frontier regions. Thus Jin was a military garrison as well as a unit of administrative district.

Silla's ruling class had their own hierarchical system with clearly fixed positions, and a member of a certain class could only attain the official positions appropriate for his level. However, there is no record of such a position or office being granted to Chang Po-go. He was merely given the title of Dae Sa of Chunghaejin.

This title was an honorific term, used to address Tang's Chieh Tu Shih. The position of Chieh Tu Shih was charged with governing important regions in the provinces. The Chieh Tu Shih was assigned to his position by the government and was posted to various regions, but during the waning years of the Tang dynasty many Chieh Tu Shih managed to gather a great deal of power for themselves in the wake of weakening central government power. The Regional Commanders were not the exclusive domain of the Chieh Tu Shih, but in the late Tang period the Chieh Tu Shih was able to form a dominant political presence in his region based on military power.

In the Silla system of government, officials in charge of a province were called Dodok, those in charge of a county were called Taesu, and the title of

Hyeonryung was given to those posted to a ‘Hyeon’, the smallest administrative unit.

The fact that the title of Dae Sawas used for Chang Po-go instead of one of these official titles seems to indicate that Silla had given Chang Po-go a role similar to that which he held as a Chieh Tu Shih in China. It also appears that the central government may have been hesitant to grant an official title to Chang Po-go since he was not from a family that belonged to the noble Golpum classes.

The name ‘Jin’ given to Chunghaejin indicates that it was based on a military system of organization. However, the title of Dae Sa given to Chang Po-go, which corresponds with the title of Chieh Tu Shih for Tang, instead of a normal Silla title such as Dusangdaegam given to those in charge of a military outpost, indicates that the government acknowledged the independent nature of Chang Po-go and Chunghaejin. At the same time, this title that transcended the ordinary boundaries of the strict Golpum class system reflected the Silla government’s acknowledgement of Chang Po-go’s abilities and influence.

Chunghaejin’s Military Management

Chang Po-go had under him Byungmasah and Bujang who were in charge of military work. The Byungmasah was in charge of the Kyogwansun, Chang Po-go’s trading ship. From this example, it can be seen that Chang Po-go’s fleet was formed as a military organization.

The 10,000 soldiers provided by the King would have made up the backbone of this military organization, but residents of nearby villages were

conscripted to augment this force. Records show that Chang Po-go's was granted a 'Sikup' with the title of 'Gameugunsa Shiksilbong of two thousand houses', from which he was able to draw his conscripts.

The Sikup (literally, 'food-village') was an area given to a person who had performed a meritorious service for the country. When bestowing a property to an individual, the area of his origin was usually given. A person granted a Sikup property could not only receive economic profit from the area, but had the right to mobilize labor and other services from the population of the property. Although this occurred two years before Chang Po-go's death, it is likely that the area granted to him was the Wando area. Since Chang Po-go already had control over this area, it seems likely that its residents were mobilized for the garrison of Chunghaejin even before the surrounding region was officially granted to Chang Po-go.

The name Chunghae can be defined as "the blue seas", but also may mean "a cleansing of the seas". According to the *Samguk-Sagi*, Wando's original name was Chunghae, and Chang Po-go requested the establishment of an outpost at Chunghae. Therefore, when Chang Po-go first made his request for the establishment of this outpost, the name Chunghae was closely related to Chang Po-go's desire to stop the practice of kidnapping and selling local Silla residents to Tang that plagued this region. The name that Chang Po-go gave to this outpost reflected his will to dominate the seas of Korea, China and Japan through military power as well as oversea transportation and trade in the area.

Chunghaejin was thus created with 10,000 soldiers provided by the government, motivated and independent Silla expatriates of the Shandong peninsula, and the provincial residents of the Korean peninsula's southwestern coastal region. It was created as a military outpost, but as the



Punggeojae. This ceremony, which recreates the traditional ceremony for ensuring a bountiful fish harvest, is one of the main events of the Chang Po-go festival.

central government lacked any control over the sea lanes, a special title of Dae Sa was bestowed upon Chang Po-go which allowed him independent control.

With plenty of overseas experience, Chang Po-go was able to utilize these human resources as well as government support to dominate trading in the Northeast Asian region through military force. Having begun as an attempt to protect his fellow countrymen from marauding pirates, Chang Po-go was able to maximize the resources at his disposal and take advantage of existing circumstances to guide his country through a time of prosperity. Chang Po-go's achievement offers a model of national development through utilization of resources as well as drive and initiative.

Creation of a Maritime Kingdom

Stabilization of Northeast Asian Seas

After the establishment of Chunghaejin in 828, the pirates that had plagued the southwestern coast of Korea were immediately destroyed. Xinluo-Zhuan, a chapter in the book of the *Xintang-Shu*, Tang's records of Silla, states that during the Yamato years of King Wen-zong(827-835), which corresponds almost exactly with King Heung-deok's reign in Silla, the practice of kidnapping Silla residents on the seas was eradicated. Chang Po-go had succeeded in controlling and suppressing various groups based on the eastern coast of China and the southwestern coast of Korea that engaged in trading or pirating activities.

In addition, there are almost no recorded cases of Silla residents being shipwrecked and drifting to China or Japan. Prior to the establishment of Chunghaejin in early 9th century, there had always been people from Silla drifting to the shores of the Japanese Islands. After the establishment of Chunghaejin, these cases can not be found in the records. This proves that the creation of Chunghaejin not only protected the residents of the region from pirate activities but also ensured that fishing and shipping lanes were safe and protected. Silla's establishment of Chunghaejin brought stability to the seas of Northeast Asia.

However, Chang Po-go was not satisfied with these achievements that fulfilled the initial reason for Chunghaejin's creation. In fact, Chang Po-go's intentions went well beyond creating safer seas. After stabilizing the seas of Northeast Asia through military power, Chang Po-go desired to dominate the maritime trade linking Silla, Tang and Japan to become the true sovereign of Northeast Asian trade.

Silla's Tribute Trade with Tang

The Middle Period (654-780) after the unification of the peninsula was Silla's heyday. The collapse of Goguryeo and Baekje removed external threats, enabling the unified state to focus national resources on internal growth, and the newly expanded country and population provided vast resources and a high-quality labor force. Silla's industry and commerce rapidly developed upon this foundation. Relations with Tang become closer, leading to active trade with China and the inflow of advanced systems and goods and economic profit through exports.

With swift progress in shipbuilding and navigation techniques, trade with Tang became more active during the 8th and 9th centuries. The frequent exchange of tributary missions indicates the level of trade between Silla and Tang. The origins of the tribute trade can be found in the Zhou period in Chinese history. The emperor of Zhou who had united the continent gave regional lords the authority to wield independent power in their fiefs. This was called a system of Chaekbong, where the emperor appointed regional governors.

The feudal lord reported regularly or irregularly to the emperor and described the tasks that he had carried out. This was called Suljik. In return, the emperor would periodically tour the provinces to ensure that his appointed governors were doing their jobs properly. This practice was called Sunsu.

When the regional lords paid their respects to the emperor in the capital city, they would bring with them specialty goods from their regions. The emperor would bestow a large number of gifts to his governors in return. Thus a system of installation and tribute existed between the emperor and the lords. This system not only reflected the hierarchy of political power

but was an official venue for the trading of large amounts of goods.

Chinese records indicate that every emissary sent by Silla to Tang were tributary missions. The same can be said for Korean emissaries to China during the Three Kingdoms period to various Chinese dynasties as well as trade between the Korean states before unification. After unification, a new Korean king was officially given a title by the Chinese government as a regional lord.

However, these were merely Chinese Sinocentric expressions, and the emperor-lord relationship was not indicative of the true political hierarchy between the two nations. Each of the separate Korean countries during the Three Kingdoms period had individual diplomatic relationships with China. These diplomatic activities were merely labeled as tributes in China. The ‘installation’ of Korean kings granted by China also had no practical meaning. Korean kings never had paid Suljik visits to China, nor did the Chinese emperor visit Korea for a Sunsu inspection.

Frequent tribute missions during the late years of Silla resulted from Silla’s desire to carry out trade through the exchange of diplomatic



Model of the trading ship to Tang, displayed in the Fukuoka Municipal Museum. The exact shape of the trading vessels of Chang Po-go's era is unknown. Since Japan learned shipbuilding skills from Silla in the 9th century, the shape and form of Chang Po-go's ships can only be guessed at by examining contemporary Japanese vessels.

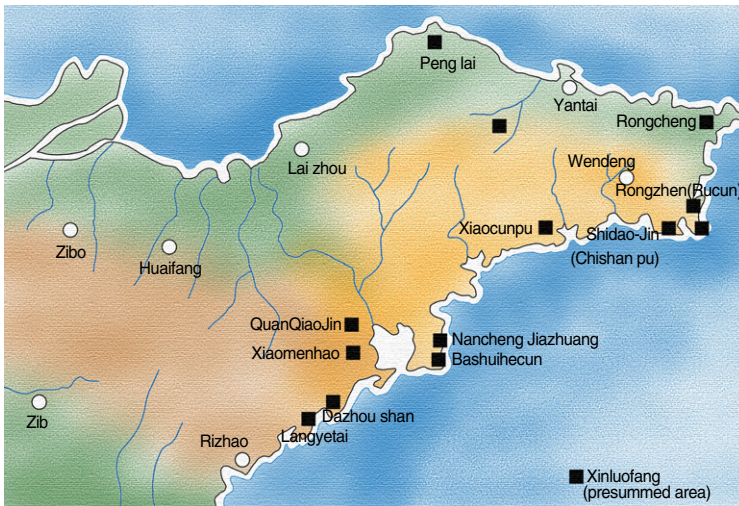
emissaries. The ships involved in the dispatch of emissaries, trade and other commerce were called Kyuntangsun. Frequent tribute missions to Tang and their interaction using the Kyuntangsun occurred in large part thanks to Chang Po-go's efforts.

Chang Po-go restored stability to the region by removing pirates from the seas of Northeast Asia, and improved safety for long-distance voyages through advanced shipbuilding and navigation techniques, which enabled frequent exchange between the nations. These frequent contacts promoted not only official tribute trade but private enterprises carried out by merchants with a strong desire for overseas trade, ultimately breathing life into the triangular trade among Korea, China and Japan.

Chang Po-go's Trade with Tang

Silla expatriates in the Shandong peninsula region provided the foundation for Chang Po-go's active trade with Tang. It is not known for certain when these Silla residents settled in the Shandong peninsula region, nor how they formed a unified community and engaged in foreign trade. However, as mentioned earlier, these peoples of Silla created a Silla-bang centered around Xinluoso and settled the area around the period Lee Jeong-gi's clan began to dominate trade with PoHai and other nations from its base in the Shandong peninsula. These were independent and ambitious people looking for a new frontier, and had been enjoying their extraterritorial rights.

Eventually, however, Lee Shidao was suppressed by Tang government forces and the power that Lee Jeong-gi's family had wielded in the Shandong peninsula came to an end. Chang Po-go was able to dominate overseas trading rights by filling this vacuum. Even before Chang Po-go became active



Locations where Silla communities have been confirmed or estimated to have existed in the 9th century.

in the region, Silla residents had settled in parts of the Chinese interior as well as the southwestern coastal regions of the Shandong peninsula, and had been granted a semi-autonomous status by the Tang government.

Silla communities were located in today's Jiangsu-sheng, Huainan-shien, the Silla-bang in Huainan as well as Chishancun, QingNingshien, Wen Teng Hsien, in Deungzhou, and Ru shan-pu and Shaocun in MouPing-hyeon. It is presumed that other communities existed, but historical records only indicate these locations.

These communities maintained close relationships with each other with the Xinluoso at the center. Chang Po-go took advantage of this foundation during his stay in the Shandong peninsula as well as after the establishment of Chunghaejin. He was able to realize his ambition of taking control of maritime trade by closely linking these Silla communities. Since Chunghaejin had been created under the official auspices of the Silla

government, these Silla expatriates naturally gravitated toward's authority. The *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki* records that Silla traders and merchants who were widely distributed in Chuzhou, Lien shui and Yang zhou made frequent contact with Chang Po-go's outpost in Chi shan pu.

Chi shan pu is located in the most prominent protrusion of the Shandong peninsula. Not only is this location a major point in the Chinese littoral lanes but also acted as an important strategic location linking the Chinese continent with Korea's southwestern coast. Even before Chang Po-go returned to Korea, he established a base of operations there, including the creation of Buphwawon. Chang Po-go's early control of this important location indicates that a favorable foundation had been prepared for Chang Po-go's maritime kingdom.

Diverse Activities of the Chang Po-go Kyogwansun

After the creation of Chunghaejin, Chang Po-go dispatched the Byungmasah under his command to Tang as a tribute emissary under the title of Daetangmaemulsa. The vessel used by the Daetangmaemulsa was called the Kyogwansun. Sailing from Chunghaejin, this ship carried out trade not only in Chishanpu and Ru shan-pu but as far as the Yang zhou region.

Yang zhou was the domain of a Silla merchant named Wang chung, who had gathered an enormous amount of wealth through trade with Japan. Yang zhou was an international trading city with traders from Southeast Asia and even the Middle East. The fact that Chang Po-go's activities extended to Yang zhou indicates that Chunghaejin acted as the intermediary for trade with Southeast Asian and Persian merchants.

There were large numbers of foreign goods being imported and used in



View of Beophwawon, established by Chang Po-go. The temple was closed down in October of 844 by order of Mujong of Tang, who issued a law banning Buddhist temples. The current Beophwawon was reconstructed by the Japanese in the late 1980's.

Silla at this time. In 834(King Heung-deok 9) when Chunghaejin was in its heyday, Silla proclaimed a legislation restricting the use of luxury goods by the noble classes. At that time in Silla, the upper classes were awash in emeralds from Tashkent, fabrics from Persia, and fine wood from Java and Sumatra. These goods would have been imported through the Daetangmaemulsa.

No specific record of the items imported and exported by Chunghaejin survive today. However, the *Xintang-Shu* records that Silla exported metalwork, gold, silver, bronze, fabrics, medicinal herbs, perfume, horses, and animal skins, and imported various crafted goods such as porcelain, fabrics, tea, books, and artwork. The majorities of these items were cultural or luxury goods. It seems likely that Chang Po-go's Daetangmaemulsa traded in similar items as well.

Daetangmaemulsa also established contract with Tang high officials via

Buphwawon in Chishan, and transported emissaries from Tang to Silla. Chang Po-go wielded considerable influence in politics and diplomacy as well as trade, as illustrated clearly in the Japanese monk Ennin's *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*.

Chang Po-go's Trade with Japan

Silla's trade with Japan was relatively meager compared to the trade with Tang. There was almost no contact between the two nations after the middle of the 8th century. The suspension of official diplomatic exchange between the two nations led to a stoppage in official trade as well.

The decline of official trade gave rise to increased private trade. Due to the continuing need for Chinese goods in Japan, Silla merchants took charge of intermediary trade between Tang and Japan. Japanese navigation or shipbuilding techniques lagged behind those of Silla, rendering direct trade with Tang difficult. As a result, Silla, strategically positioned between Tang and Japan, was able to take on the role of an intermediary trade outpost.

Trade between Silla and Japan became increasingly active in the 9th century. The frequent drifting of shipwrecked Silla merchants onto Kyushu's coasts in the early 9th century, the mistaking of 20 Silla ships that appeared near Tsushima as pirates, and the Japanese government's dispatching of a Silla language translator to Tsushima, all provide convincing evidence.

Silla mainlanders were not the only people involved in the Japanese trade. Silla merchants in Tang also actively engaged in this venture. According to the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*, records state that the Silla merchant Wang Chung, who had amassed a fortune through trading with Japan from his base in Yangzhou, found himself adrift for three months in 819 while on a voyage to Japan. Chang Po-go himself met with provincial



Museum recreation of the Korokan(鴻廬館) in Dazaifu. The Korokan was an agency created to receive foreign merchants or emissaries. A number of artifacts from various foreign nations, including Silla, were excavated here.

administrators from Hakata, Kyushu, while residing in Tang. These facts indicate that the trading influence of Silla merchants in Tang extended to the Japanese islands.

Chang Po-go became interested in trade with Japan after the establishment of Chunghaejin. This included not only trade between Silla and Japan but the entire maritime trade in Northeast Asia, including China. Chang Po-go had paid an earlier visit to Japan in 824. Through this experience, Chang Po-go realized from early on the importance of trade with Japan. Revitalizing trade with Japan was merely the natural next step in Chang Po-go's process of creating a maritime trading kingdom following the establishment of Chunghaejin.

Chang Po-go's trade mission to Japan was called the Hoeyuksa. Japan



Ink sticks from Unified Silla, held in Japan's Shosoin, with the "Silla Yang-family ink" on the left and the "Silla Mu-family ink" on the right. These indicate how far advanced the Silla ink industry was, with official production groups, such as the Yang and Mu groups that manufactured these items, producing large quantities of ink sticks to meet the apparently high demand. The large number of Silla artifacts in the Shosoin appear to have been exported to Japan by Silla merchants, including Chang Po-go.

had been carrying out overseas trade through the Dazaifu in Hakata, northern Kyushu. Chang Po-go established a trading post in Hakata and traded directly with Japanese officials. The cargo brought to Japan by the Hoeyuksa was called the "Tang cargo". These imported goods were highly popular in Japan and commanded high prices. Some Japanese would even pay in advance for these products.

In 840, Chang Po-go's Hoeyuksa tried to establish direct trading relations with Dazaifu. Although Chunghaejin eventually did not succeed in creating an official trading relationship with Dazaifu, it received permission to carry out free trade of goods. This was made possible due to the foundations and contacts needed for trade that Chang Po-go had already made in Japan. Although it is not known precisely what items Chang Po-go traded, records from the period hint that large amounts of expensive and valuable goods were traded.

Chunghaejin and the Silla Government

Establishment of Military Outposts and Chunghaejin

Completion of Silla's Military Defense System

After the unification of the peninsula, Silla reorganized its provincial system in order to more effectively control the newly enlarged state as well as its population. King Sin-mun(681-692) divided the country into nine provinces, which were further subdivided into county and hyeon. These nine provinces were created with three provinces each for the former territories of Silla, Goguryeo and Baekjae. This reorganization of fundamental administrative units was carried out concurrently with the establishment of Sokyung in central locations in each province.

A reorganization of the military system was carried out in the late 7th century in Silla, separately from the administrative reorganization. This

newly revamped military system created the Shiwibu, the royal guard, as well as the main army including nine Suhdang, three Mudang, and provincial armies including ten Jung, five Jusuh, Manbodang, and Samblienshuidang.

These administrative and military organizations were reorganized in the middle of the 8th century under King Kyung-deok. King Kyung-deok adopted names in Chinese characters for each administrative unit, and reorganized the military in order to respond to Silla's deteriorating relationship with Po Hai and Japan which began during the reign of King Seong-deok. King Kyung-deok reconfirmed a "pro-Tang" policy and refused to accept emissaries from Japan, taking an uncompromising stance towards relations with Japan. The *Shoku Nihon Gi* states that Japan and Balhae had even tried to create plans for the invasion of Silla, unrealistic as it would have been.

Silla augmented its defense systems around the capital city through the creation of the six 'Kijung' and carried out reforms to its neglected provincial military organization to enable more effective and uniform central control. Special military units called 'Gunjin' were created in the provinces to carry out more effective military roles and duties. Jin had been created along with fortress since the early days of Silla, but this system was discontinued when administrative systems were reorganized into a provincial army system in the 6th century. The jin reappeared in 658(King Mu-yeol 5), but ranked lower in military importance compared to the main centers in the provinces. With King Kyung-deok's military reforms, however, the role of the jin was enhanced with additional duties and functions bestowed upon it.

In order to prepare for the deterioration of relationships with Balhae and Silla, King Kyung-deok constructed walls across borders and major strategic points, and created military outposts in frontier regions for stronger

control. In addition, the king made efforts to foster a social atmosphere that would be more acceptable to periods of military activities. It can be said that Silla completed a comprehensive reorganization of internal as well as coastal defensive systems by the year 764 (King Kyung-deok 23).

Establishment of Paegangjin

Silla reinforced its military preparations in the northwestern and northeastern regions and strengthened its administrative control, a prime example of which was the creation of Paegangjin in the Yesung River region. The exact location of this outpost is not known, but is presumed to have been centered around in Bongsan, Hwanghae-do.

Paegangjin was created by the reorganization and expansion of Daegokjin, which had been established for an accurate assesment of the inhabitants of the northwestern frontier region as well as to ensure prompt military mobilization of the population. On the eastern coast, Bukjin(created in 658, King Mu-yeol 5) at Siljik (current Samchuk) moved to Chungjungun(current Deokwon) during the reign of King Kyung-deok to act as the first line of defense for the northeastern frontier region.

Silla had initially placed Daegokjin and Bukjin in the northwestern and northeastern regions, respectively, in order to strengthen its defenses against Balhae, but with the expansion and reorganization of Daegokjin into Paegangjin, Silla reformed its military defense system against Balhae with Paegangjin and Bukjin at its core. Following this change, military outposts continued to be created at strategic points, playing major roles in Silla's frontier defense system.

Silla succeed in uniting the peninsula, but most of Goguryeo's former territory lay outside its direct control. In the areas that Silla did exert control

over, the provinces of Hanju, Sakju and Myungju were created. The geographic range of these states lies south of the line linking Pyeongyang to Wonsan gulf. A secret pact of Silla that was signed between Tai Zung of Tang and Kim Chun-chu during Tang and Silla's alliance against Goguryeo, which stated that Silla was to take charge of only the area below Pyeongyang, prevented Silla from exerting control over Goguryeo's entire territory. The region from the south of Pyongyang to the Yesung River was commonly called the Paegang region.

There were Silla garrisons in the Paekang region to the north of Hanju even in the early 8th century, but settlement of the region began in earnest after mid-8th century when Tang acknowledged Silla's control over the region south of Paegang. There are two significances to the establishment of Paegangjin. First, Paegangjin had an administrative significance, indicating Silla's reorganization and expansion of its provincial administrative system to control Goguryeo's former territory.

While Paegangjin may have been created for these purposes, there is another reason why it needs to be studied in relation with the establishment of Chunghaejin. Paegangjin, which lay on the Yesung River, was the area in which the forefathers of Wang Gun, the founder of Goryeo, originated from. Although the exact year is difficult to determine, the records in Goryeo Sa state that Jakjegun, one of Wang Gun's ancestors, carried out trade with the Chinese continent in the late 8th to early 9th century in this region. The Yesung River area was already at this time an important part of maritime trade, drawing upon the plentiful production capacities of nearby Gaeseong and northern Gyeonggi area and the southern parts of Hwanghae province.

Thus, the creation of Paegangjin reflects the desire to strengthen Silla's control over this region and exert influence over this major maritime trading

outpost. In addition, the fact that the Paegangjin region could have become a center of trade indicates the economic strength of this area. Strong administrative and military control over Paegangjin naturally would have provided a considerable addition to the national tax coffers.

Control over the region would also have ensured that the roads and sea lanes stayed open and safe in order to transport these tax revenues to the central government. The creation of Paegangjin accomplished not only administrative and military goals but helped strengthen national finances through maritime trade and tax collection as well as contribute to the maintenance of important transportation routes.

Jurisdiction of the Gunjin

In addition to Chunghaejin, Dangsungjin was created in 829 (King Heung-deok 4) in Tangeun-gun(current Namyang, Kyunggi-do). Hyeolgujin was established in 844 (King Mun-seong 6) in today's Ganghwa island region. The *Daoli-zi* written by Gatam and cited in the New Chronicles of Tang refers to Jangjujin, a key point in the transportation routes from Dengzhou, China to Silla located 280km from Kyungju.

Bukjin on the eastern coast, as mentioned earlier, was another important point in Silla's trade with Balhae. Therefore, it can be observed that the gunjin of the late Silla period were military outposts as well as important strongpoint for maritime trade.

However, it is not fully known how these outposts were organized or what foundations and extent of jurisdiction they had. Dangsungjin, for example, had been created by the reorganization of Tangeun-gun. According to the Jili-ji(geography) found in the *Samguk-Sagi*, which tells us about place names and administrative units during the Three States period, there were



View of Dangseong.

two hyeons, Chaseong-hyeon and Jinwi-hyeon under Tangeun-gun. Suseong-gun had earlier been incorporated into Tangeun-gun. Therefore, Tangeun-gun was an administrative unit with a district center as well as two hyeons and the old Susung-gun region.

After Tangeun-gun had been reorganized into Chaseong-hyeon and Jinwi-hyeon, in Dangseong-gun, Chaseong-hyeon and Jiwi-hyeon were not moved to another administrative district. Therefore, Dangseongjin probably controlled the entire region including Tangeun-gun as well as its subsidiary administrative units. The center of Dangseongjin was Tangeun-gun, but its jurisdiction encompassed all of Tangeun-gun as well as the hyeon beneath it.

Hyeolgujin was created through the reorganization of Haegu-gun. Haegu-gun held jurisdiction over the three hyeons of Kangeum-hyeon, Kyodong-hyeon, and Sujin-hyeon. It is assumed that Hyeolgujin also

encompassed four districts including the center of Haegu-gun as well as its three hyeons. Similarly, Bukjin also contained the center of Qing zhou-gun as well as Sansan-hyeon, Songsan-hyeon and Yugeo-hyeon within it. However, when Paegangjin was created during the reign of King Seondeok, it included 10 guns and hyeons, which increased to 14 by the time of King Hyun-deok. Although these were all labeled as jin, there were differences in the size and range of their individual jurisdiction. It is presumed that the ordinary size of these jins were roughly equivalent to today's county, but there were several, including Paegangjin, whose sizes was determined by the purpose of the outpost.

Thus gunjins were created to include several of the surrounding administrative districts. With the exception of Paegangjin, they would have been roughly equivalent in size to today's county. However, unlike ordinary administrative districts, gunjins were special administrative units established in strategic transportation or military points.

Jurisdiction of Chunghaejin

The main purpose behind the construction of the gunjin was to exert control over its surrounding territory as well as strengthen frontier defenses, along with ensuring continued economic development by maintaining maritime trade lanes and collecting taxes. These outposts would also have helped maintain transportation routes. The garrisons of these outposts would have relied not only on indigenous conscripts but soldiers drafted into the army by the state.

Therefore, comparisons can be made between these gunjins and Chunghaejin. Paegangjin was created to strengthen government control in the Yesung River region as well as maintain the military relationship with



View of Jangdo, located in Jeolla-namdo Wando-gun Wando-eup Jangjiwa-ri, the former location of Chunghaejin's headquarters. Artifacts excavated from this site include earthenware and celadon pottery. Traces of structures, wells, wooden-post walls and pier facilities were discovered as well.

Balhae for the restoration of the territory north of the Pyongyang region. Compared to Paegangjin, Chunghaejin was less exposed to outside military force. Therefore, the main purpose behind the establishment of Chunghaejin, as Chang Po-go himself stated, was for the prevention of the looting of Silla residents by pirates as well as to secure national economic development through the utilization of Chang Po-go's experience and power base.

Compared to other Jins that followed its creation, Chunghaejin would have been the approximate size of a present-day county district. However, due to the unique provincial and coastal location, Chunghaejin could have held jurisdiction over a wider area, as was the case with Paegangjin.

Present-day Wando was a part of Baekje during the Three Kingdoms period, but unlike other gunjin, an exact verification of its location is difficult due to the distribution of the islands that currently compose Wando in the

adjoining Gangjin-gun, Haenam-gun, and Jangheung-gun during the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods. Regarding Wando's old name, the Jili-ji of the *Samguk-Sagi* states that Unified Silla's Yangmu-gun was located in present-day Gangjin and Haenam areas. Yangmu-gun was Baekje's Domu-gun.

There were four hyeon under Yangmu-gun. Among them, Tamjin-hyeon was today's Gangjin-eup, and Chimmyung-hyeon corresponds to today's Haenam-eup. These districts were called Donggeum-hyeon and Saegeum-hyeon, respectively, during the Baekje period. However, in the Jili-ji of the *Koryeo Sa*, Wando is included in Jangheung-bu's Tamjin-hyeon. In the *Sin Donggukyeojiseungnam* which contains records of the Choson period, the southwestern part of Wando, where Chunghaejin was located, was a part of Haenam, with the northeastern part included in Gangjin. Kim Jung-ho's *Daedongyeojido*, written in the late Choson period, mentions Chunghaejin in relation to Gangjin.

The islands forming Wando were geographically, historically and administratively closely related to Gangjin, Haenam, and Jangheung. This is indicated by the fact that Wando-gun was created in 1896 by combining islands that had been parts of Youngam, Gangjin, and Jangheung. There, when Chunghaejin was created, its headquarters were located in the Jangdo area of today's Wando-gun Wando-eup Jangjwa-ri, but its jurisdiction appears to have included the entirety of today's Wando-gun as well as Gangjin, Haenam, and Jangheung, and the surrounding areas on the southwestern coast.

Although the commanding officer of Paegangjin was a military officer called the Dusangdaegam, the title of Dae Sa was given to Chang Po-go, Chunghaejin's commander. As stated earlier, this title was granted by taking

into account Chunghaejin's function as well as Chang Po-go's origin and his activities in Tang. The fact that a military title was not used indicates that Chunghaejin was created to suppress the pirating marauders of the southwestern coastal region through certain military force as well as control trading lanes, rather than for the defense of a specific frontier region.

Importance of Chunghaejin

Excavation and Study of Jangdo

Chunghaejin's headquarters were located in today's Wando-gun, Wando-eup Jukcheong-ri and Jangjwa-ri area, with its center in the Chunghaejin ruins in Jangdo, designated in 1984 as a nationally-designated historic site No. 308. Jangdo is a small island with an area of about 30,000 pyung(unit of area), about 30 meters above sea level and only 170 meters away from Wando at its closest point, making it possible to walk to either island during low tide. The depth of the water at this point is only 2 meters even in high tide. Continuous investigation by the National Institute of Korean History and the National Record Institute of Cultural Heritage verified in the 1980's that this was the historic site of Chunghaejin.

The National Institute of Korean History conducted an investigation into the area following a request by Wando-gun to inspect the Jangdo surface area. Archeological excavation followed shortly, conducted by the National Record Institute of Cultural Heritage with planning by the Cultural Properties Office (then the Cultural Heritage Administration) and Wando-gun. The National Cultural Properties Research Institute conducted an initial inspection of the site on June 11th, 1989, and formulated specific



Jangdo excavation site (left) and roof tile fragments discovered in Jukcheong-ri (right).

plans for excavation, beginning with Wando's Bubhwasu site from 1989 to 1990. Excavation began in the Jangdo Chunghaejin ruins in 1991, and digging continued to 1998.

Excavations revealed the remains of a fortress wall in Jangdo, with traces of an inner and outer wall. The inner wall was constructed with stone blocks using the contour of the land, while the outer wall was composed of an aggregate of mud and gravel. This type of wall construction found in the outer walls of Jangdo is called Panchukbup (method of compressed construction), widely used since the Three Kingdom period. Numerous roof tile, pot and porcelain fragments were found within the fortress, indicating that this facility was heavily used from the Three Kingdoms period to as late as the Choson period.

However, the most significant find regarding Chunghaejin is the discovery of wooden posts 20 to 30 centimeters in diameter arranged in a circle about 10 meters away from the southwestern coast of Jangdo. These posts are called a Mokchaek (wooden fence). This structure has been found in Jilim on the site of Jilim-sheng, China, which was the early capital of Buyeo, and were constructed in various locations during the Three Kingdom period. The wooden barricades of Jangdo indicate the presence of a defensive



Nearly 1,000 oak posts, 10 centimeters in diameter and 20 to 30 centimeters apart, were discovered in a 100-pyung area 1 to 2 meters underground near the entrance of Jangdo island (southwest shore) by the National Cultural Properties Research Institute. These remains were the first of their kind to be discovered, and are presumed to have formed an entranceway to Chunghaejin or docking and defensive facilities.

structure to guard the coast. The top sections of these posts have been lost during the passage of time.

Radioactive carbon dating of this site produced a date of around 840. In addition, there are remains of a temple named Buphwasa on the southern face of Mt. Sangwang, in Wando city. This temple shared the same name with the temple Chang Po-go had established in the Shandong peninsula during his stay in Tang. Although historical records show that Chunghaejin was located in Wando, no other remains of military installations were found in the Wando area with the exception of Jangdo that may hint at the existence of Chunghaejin. Therefore, taking into account both old records as well as new information that archaeology has revealed, Jangdo appears to have been the headquarters.

Geographical Importance of Chunghaejin

Geographically, Wando-gun is bordered by Goheung-gun in the east, Jindo-gun in the west, Haenam-gun, Gangjin-gun and Jangheung-gun in the north, with the ocean to the south. As an island region, Wando is the westernmost island in the southern coast's archipelago region. If Jindo is the link between the west sea and the South Sea, Wando is positioned along the line extending from the West Sea to the archipelago, and back to the West Sea.

Wando-gun is composed of 201 islands, of which 54 are inhabited, with a population of 67,000 (in 2000). Various cultural sites and ruins in the Wando region, including the Neolithic Age shell mound in Gogeumdo, reveal traces of human inhabitation and cultural activities dating from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. Two major sea lanes, the North China route and the South China route, linked the Korean peninsula to the Chinese continent in ancient times. The North China route was further divided in the Liaodong coastal route and the trans-Yellow Sea route, with the South China Route divided into the via northern area route and the East China sea route.

The Liaodong coastal route follows the coasts of the Korean peninsula and the Liaodong peninsula linking Korea with China's northern region. The trans-Yellow Sea route shares the coast route in Korea, but leads directly to the Shandong peninsula from points that protrude into the sea, such as the Taean peninsula or Jangsan Point in Hwanghae-do. The northern area route uses part of the North China Route, but follows the southern and northern coast of China. Navigating the East China sea route required the highest level of sailing and shipbuilding skills, linking the southwestern part of Korea directly with the Chinese continent.



View of Jangdo from Myodo, and island located on the Liaodong coastal waterway that extends from the south of the Liaodong peninsula to Dengzhou

Chunghaejin is located on a major lane of communication connecting the western and southern coasts of the Korean peninsula, on the main littoral sea route. Any route linking Kyungju, the capital of Unified Silla, to the southern and western coasts of Korea as well as any point on the Chinese continent had to pass through Chunghaejin. This geographic condition of Chunghaejin provided the foundation for linking Korea with the Chinese continent as well as dominating the Northeast Asian seas.

In addition, Japan at this time lacked the navigation ability to sail directly across the Yellow Sea to the Chinese continent, due to a deficiency in both navigation skills as well as the ability to build ships that could withstand the long voyage. Even if Japanese ships sailed along littoral routes, they had to pass through the eastern and western coasts of Silla.

The sea lanes at this time linking the Korean peninsula with the

Japanese islands connected the southern coast of Korea with Hakada in northern Kyushu via Tsushima and Ikishima. This fact explains why the Japanese monk Ennin, who had been studying The Law of Buddhism in Tang since 840, had to ask Chang Po-go for a ship and the permission of passage through Chunghaejin

Chunghaejin was located in the most strategic point connecting the Korean peninsula to not only the Chinese continent but also the transportation routes linking China with Japan, as evidenced by the *Chang Po-go Yeoljeon* in the *Samguk-Sagi*, which labeled Chunghaejin as a vital location in Silla's sea routes. Chang Po-go was able to utilize this geographical advantage to dominate maritime trade in the Northeast Asian region.

Of course, a list of major maritime transportation points connecting Silla and Tang during Chang Po-go's day would be incomplete without including the various outposts mentioned earlier as well as other ports and inlets. Major landing points, including the Yalu River estuary, the Daedong River estuary, the Yesung River estuary, the Paekang estuary, the Taeahn peninsula and Jangsan Point, as well as military outposts of Hyulgujin, Tangsungjin and Paegangjin all served vital roles in trade and exchange with Tang.

However, these ports and outposts were far away from Kyungju. Chunghaejin was the only outpost that was close to Kyungju, while at the same time able to control the sea lanes linking the Korean peninsula and China with the capital city in the center as well as allow for expansion into the western and southern seas. This fact was Chunghaejin's unique and most important geographical advantage.

Military Importance of Chunghaejin

Chunghaejin's geographic importance is directly related to its military strategic importance. The tide around Wando exhibits patterns that are quite different from the surrounding area. Wando port itself has topographical features that are not immediately observable from the outside. Jangdo, located 13 km north of Wando port, has a waterway to Gangjin bay in the north and the sea off Goheung to the east via north of Shinjido and Joyakdo. This current pattern is opposite those of surrounding regions.

In the event of an outside attack, invaders would hold a disadvantage due to their unfamiliarity with the current patterns. These currents and tides would have made any attack on Chunghaejin difficult to carry out. Chunghaejin's garrison, however, would be quite familiar with these current patterns, and would have been able to carry out surprise attacks on the unsuspecting enemy's rear.

Although there were no wars against Tang or Japan when Chunghaejin was established, these tactical advantages would have aided Chang Po-go in his campaigns against pirates in the western and southern coasts. The geopolitical conditions around Jangdo would have given Chunghaejin a distinct edge in any sea battles that may have taken place in the region.

A good example of this can be found in the *Xintang-Shu*. According to this document, Japan was forced to send their tribute emissaries to Tang via Ming zhou and Yue zhou when Silla's King Mun-mu closed the coastal lanes from 674 to 675. Although a journey through this route presented extreme hazards for the Japanese, they were not able to use the coastal lanes of Silla. The military importance of the southwestern coastal region prevented the Japanese from passing through this area without a permit from Silla. Therefore, the creation of Chunghaejin, which was able to control the entire



View from Jangdo.

southwestern coastal region, represents an enhancement of Silla's military power in the region as well.

Although much later, the Choson government created naval posts(Sugun Manho) at Wando port in 1512 (King Jung-jong 16). Afterwards, Wando controlled five other jin, or naval bases, in the surrounding region, including Geumgapjin in Jindo, Dalyangjin and Eoranjin in Haenam, Madojin in Gangjin, and Shinjjjin in Wando. The construction of a considerable number of naval installations around Chunghaejin indicates the strategic importance of this location. In addition, the more than 200 islands in the Wando region would have presented numerous reefs and other navigation hazards to invading forces.

The Economic Importance of Chunghaejin

It is almost unnecessary to site again the economic importance of Chunghaejin in the region's maritime trade. In the ancient world, a geographically important location possessed both strategic as well as economic importance.

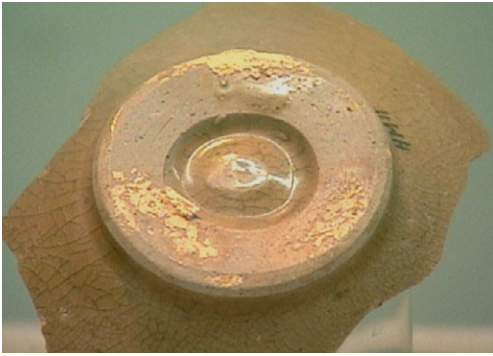
Chunghaejin, as mentioned several times above, was established by Chang Po-go who was well experienced in maritime trade ever since his days in Tang. He would have created a base of operations that would have provided positive benefits for trade with Tang and Japan. For these reasons, Chang Po-go chose Wando, his hometown and a geographical and military strongpoint. Chunghaejin's location enabled it to control international trade between the three Northeast Asian nations, from which basis Chang Po-go was able to engage in active international maritime commerce.

Wando, where Chunghaejin was located, is the sixth largest island in Korea. However, Jangdo, which held Chunghaejin's headquarters, was not large enough to accommodate 10,000 soldiers comfortably. Chunghaejin's garrison was probably distributed on several other islands in Wando-gun with Jangdo as the center.

For an island, Wando has a large flat area with plenty of water. This would have enabled the production of enough food to support a sizeable

Rias Coast:

Formed when land level sinks or sea levels rise, submerging the surface under water. Rias coasts have deep bays and calm waters that are ideal for ships seeking shelter, but the lack of hinterland prevents the development of harbors. However, these areas are favorable for fish farming. The Korean archipelago sea and the western coast are examples of this type of coastal formation.



Fragment of Corona bottom celadon from Gangjin Daegu-myun (top) and kiln site (below).



population. The Wando region is also characterized by a rias coast and numerous islands with rich marine products. Salt, an important resource in the ancient world, was also easily available. Therefore, Chunghaejin would have possessed the necessary economic capacity through its geographical location that enabled it to function as a support base.

With Chunghaejin's jurisdiction extending as far as today's Gangjin, Haenam, and Jangheung, the economic importance of Chunghaejin becomes even more apparent when taking into account the production capacity of these regions. Even today, these areas contribute a large percentage to Jeollanam-do's agricultural production. If the nearby porcelain

production facilities in Gangjin-gun, Daegu-myeon and Chillyang-myeon are included, the economic importance of Chunghaejin becomes even greater. Even today, over half of celadon porcelain kilns are concentrated in the Gangjin-gun area.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the exact date of origin and development process of celadon pottery. However, it is clear that Chinese celadon porcelain technology became known to Silla during the process of Chang Po-go's trading activities. The date for the appearance of modern celadon porcelain is placed around the late 9th century. This corresponds to the date of Chunghaejin's closure. It appears that porcelain was imported through Chunghaejin and distributed among the upper classes, but the closing of Chunghaejin led to attempts for domestic production. Chunghaejin's importance is thus further emphasized further by the examination of its role in the trade and production of celadon porcelain.

Relationship between Chunghaejin and the Silla Government

King Heung-deok's Audience with Chang Po-go

Chunghaejin was established following Chang Po-go's request to King Heung-deok in 828 upon Chang Po-go's return to Korea after having witnessed the rampant kidnapping and slave-trading of the people of Silla. However, no records remain regarding the details of Chang Po-go's return or his request to the king or central government. It is also impossible to learn from historical records how Chang Po-go managed to secure an audience

with the king. Moreover, it is not known whether Chunghaejin was indeed established to eradicate pirates. These things can only be deduced by analyzing the situation that existed at that time.

In the *Chang Po-go Yeoljeon* of the *Samguk-Sagi*, Kim Bu-sik wrote that Chang Po-go's family origins were unknown. Chang Po-go did not hail from an influential Silla family. He was not a member of a high-ranking Golpum class, but was born into a seafaring family in Wando. Chang Po-go was able to propose the construction of Chunghaejin to King Heung-deok because his activities in Tang had given him a measure of prestige and reputation. Chang Po-go's martial abilities had been proven in Tang when he rose to the rank of general in the Wu Ning army. After his retirement, he had carried out active commerce and trade in the Shandong peninsula region.

Although Chang Po-go had undoubtedly intended to meet King Heung-deok, the Silla government's own series of decisions would have had the most influence on the course of these events. In the midst of rampaging pirate attacks on the southwestern coasts that threatened shipping lanes and the local population's livelihoods, Silla's government would have realized the need for someone with a proven military and seafaring record. If the government could not handle these problems, then someone who could have been found.

For Chang Po-go, he would have wanted to relieve his countrymen of the hardships of being constant prey for pirates. In addition, he would have hoped to realize his dreams of dominating maritime trade and achieving personal success by utilizing government support as well as his experiences. It was difficult for an individual to secure government backing for merely economic undertakings. Citing the need to destroy pirates and restore order

to the southwestern coastal regions would have provided the justification for the utilization of government resources in the creation of Chunghaejin.

Thus, Chunghaejin was made possible when Chang Po-go's ambition and personal goals based on his extensive experience fulfilled the Silla government's need for providing protection to its people as well as establishing strong coastal defenses.

During the process of Chunghaejin's establishment, Chang Po-go was given a unique title of Dae Sa, rather than a more traditional and official central government position. This fact hints at Chang Po-go's family origin—it was difficult for him to receive an official title and take part in the strict hierarchy system of Silla. Even though Chang Po-go's services were indispensable, the appointment of Chang Po-go to a central government position would have been met with a storm of criticism by members of the court and nobility. Chang Po-go himself would have realized the advantage of securing an independent status upon his family's own base of influence in the provinces rather than be mired in a meaningless government position that would cause resentment anyway.

The creation of Chunghaejin was thus the synergistic product of the positions of Chang Po-go and the Silla government that combined with the needs of that particular period in Korean history. Having received the title of Dae Sa from the government, Chang Po-go constructed Chunghaejin and entered into a certain relationship with the Silla government while bringing the Wando region under his personal control. However, Chang Po-go was not from the capital city, nor was he a member of an upper class clan in the Golpum system. He created Chunghaejin with 10,000 soldiers provided to him by the government, but there would have been few backers of Chang Po-go in the central government.

Chang Po-go's only option was to utilize his personal abilities to expand Chunghaejin's influence, secure economic benefits, and based on these achievements increase his own political influence in the government. Chang Po-go would also have had to cement his relationship with the king, as he did not have many other supporters in the government. For King Heung-deok, it would have been advantageous to place Chang Po-go, who did not have any ties with the nobles, in a position of influence in order to strengthen his support base in the midst of fierce struggle among the noble classes surrounding the throne in the late Silla period.

Chang Po-go's Role in the Accession of King Sin-mu

Chang Po-go became directly involved in the central government political scene though the incident surrounding King Sin-mu's accession to the throne. The title of King, such as King Sin-mu, is a posthumous epithet for the king, only given to him after his death. However, these names are used to refer to kings still on the throne for convenience's sake. In order to fully understand Chang Po-go's significant role in the accession of King Sin-mu, it is necessary to examine the conflict between the nobles and the royalty surrounding the crown from the reign of King Heung-deok to King Sin-mu.

King Heung-deok rose to the throne as the younger brother of the former king Hunduck, Kim Uhn-seung. Another important member of the central government during the reign of King Heung-deok was Kim Wu-jing. Kim Wu-jing was King Heung-deok's nephew, appointed to the position of Prime Minister in 828(King Heung-deok 3) and again in 834(King Heung-deok 9). A Prime Minister was a close confidant of the king, one of the highest positions in the government next to the position of Sangdaedeung. Kim Wu-jing resigned while only into his first year of his second

appointment to the position when Kim Gyun-jeong, King Heung-deok's nephew and Kim Wu-jing's father, was appointed to become the Sangdaedeung in 835(King Heung-deok 10).

King Heung-deok had two nephews, Kim Gyun-jeong and Kim Heon-jeong. When King Heung-deok passed away, a struggle for the throne arose between Kim Hun-jung's son Kim Je-ryung and Kim Gyun-jeong, between uncle and nephew. King Heung-deok had died without choosing an heir, which meant that according to Silla's traditional custom Kim Gyun-jeong, the Sangdaedeung, was next in line for the throne. However, in the ensuing power struggle, Kim Je-ryung killed Kim Gyun-jeong and took the crown, becoming King Hui-gang.

Kim Wu-jing and Kim Yang lost their bid for power and fled. A few



Scene from the musical "Maritime Prince Chang Po-go", as King Heung-deok grants Chang Po-go the authority to construct Chunghaejin. (Photograph courtesy of Geukdan Hyundai Theater)

months later, Kim Wu-jing sought protection under Chang Po-go in Chunghaejin, and the remaining supporters of Kim Gyun-jeong soon joined him. Kim Wu-jing and Chang Po-go's relationship seems to have begun when Kim Wu-jing was in the position of Prime Minister at the time of Chang Po-go's proposal to King Heung-deok regarding the construction of Chunghaejin. Perhaps Kim Wu-jing had played a role in granting Chang Po-go an audience with the king.

However, King Hui-gang committed suicide after only three years on the throne when his former supporter Kim Myeong and his followers rebelled against the crown. After forcing King Hui-gang into suicide, Kim Yung took the throne for himself and became King Min-ae. Kim Yang gathered his troops and went to Chunghaejin to report to Kim Wu-jing the accession of King Min-ae. Kim Yang had come to Chunghaejin because Kim Wu-jing was there, but Kim Yang himself had been the dodok in charge of Muju (present Gwangju) at the time of the creation of Chunghaejin by Chang Po-go. Silla's provincial administrative structure would have placed the Chunghaejin under the jurisdiction of the Muju Dodok (government general). Like Kim Wu-jing, Kim Yang would have had made a prior acquaintance with Chang Po-go.

When it became known to Chang Po-go that Kim Myeong had usurped the throne, Kim Wu-jing asked for Chang Po-go's aid and Chunghaejin's soldiers in attacking King Min-ae. Chang Po-go declared that since King Min-ae's actions were unjust, it would be improper and unbecoming of a man of bravery to ignore such conduct. Chang Po-go assigned 5,000 soldiers to Chong Yon to aid Kim Wu-jing. As already stated, Chong Yon was Chang Po-go's friend and protegee who had gone to Tang with Chang Po-go to achieve success as a soldier.



Scene from the musical "Maritime Prince Chang Po-go", depicting the crowning of Kim Wu-jing as King Sin-mu with the aid of Chang Po-go. (Photograph courtesy of Geukdan Hyundai Theater)

Kim Yang took command with six other generals including Chong Yon and Yum Jang and attacked King Min-ae. King Min-ae responded with his own forces but was defeated in battle after battle. Eventually, Chunghaejin's soldiers attacked the capital city of Kyungju and killed King Min-ae, and Kim Wu-jing came to the throne as King Sin-mu. Had Kim Gyun-jeong taken the throne after King Heung-deok's death, his son Kim Wu-jing would have been in line to receive the crown. However, Kim Yoon-jung had been defeated by King Hui-gang in the power struggle, forcing Kim Wu-jing to flee to Chunghaejin and eventually win the throne with the help of Chang Po-go's Chunghaejin army.

King Sin-mu granted a feudal estate of 2,000 households and the title of Gamegunsah to Chang Po-go, who had played the most vital part in King Sin-mu's successful accession to the throne. The feudal estate was an area granted to a high-ranking official or a person who had provided a meritorious service to the country, allowing that individual to gain economic profit from the area as well as draft labor from the population. According to the Yeoljun of Chang Po-go in the *Samguk-Sagi*, King Sin-mu appointed Chang Po-go as the prime minister and placed Chong Yon in charge of

Chunghaejin. However, although the honorable title of Gameugunsah was bestowed upon Chang Po-go, it does not appear to have been an official appointment to the central government. Similarly, Chang Po-go's appointment as prime minister would have been an honorary title, as Chang Po-go's social class and family origin would have prevented him from taking the position officially.

Nevertheless, it is clear that King Sin-mu gave Chang Po-go the highest level of honor and reward possible to him. Eleven years after the establishment of Chunghaejin, Chang Po-go made a glorious entrance onto the political stage by greatly influencing King Sin-mu's successful accession to the throne. However, King Sin-mu himself fell ill after only six months on the throne and died.

Removal of Chang Po-go by King Mun-seong

After King Sin-mu's illness and death, his son Kim gyeong-Eung became the king as King Mun-seong. King Mun-seong also highly evaluated Chang Po-go's service and bestowed onto him the title of 'Ggeneral of Jinhae'. The title of general was only given to a member of the Jingol nobility. Therefore King Mun-seong accorded Chang Po-go a level of respect equivalent to that given to a Jingol noble. From this period to Chang Po-go's murder in 841, he wielded his greatest influence in Silla's central political scene.

The direct reason for Chang Po-go's murder was his attempt to wed his daughter to King Mun-seong as his second wife and the resistance of the nobles that followed. Chang Po-go seems to have tried to compensate for the lack of an official appointment to a high government office, despite his contribution to King Sin-mu's successful bid for the throne, by making his

daughter the royal concubine. King Mun-seong himself acknowledged Chang Po-go's service and tried to wed his daughter, but was foiled by the storm of protest that arose.

Changing Relationship between Chang Po-go and the Silla Government

The relationship between Chunghaejin and the Silla government as characterized by Chang Po-go displays a distinct shift over the passage of time. Although the exact situations and details can not be known for certain, several assumptions can be made about the reasons and overall trend of these changes.

The first stage of this process lasted from the time of Chang Po-go's activities in maritime trade in the Shandong peninsula to the proposal and construction of Chunghaejin and his appointment as Chunghaejin's Dae Sa(commissioner). Chang Po-go had formed a close relationship with Silla-bang and Silla-so during his sojourn at Tang. His reputation had soared as a former soldier and a powerful trading merchant, and the Silla government would have naturally shown an interest in Chang Po-go. Chang Po-go himself would have felt the need to secure a trading outpost in Silla as well as in the Shandong peninsula for smoother and more efficient trading operations. In the ancient world where all aspects of life were controlled by the government, he would have felt that an official permission and support from the government would enable him to expand his sphere of influence and scale of activities. Chang Po-go returned to Silla and proposed the establishment of Chunghaejin for these reasons.

The second phase lasted from Chang Po-go's appointment as Chunghaejin's Dae Sa(commissioner) to Kim Wu-jing's defeat in the royal

power struggle and subsequent flight to Chunghaejin. Chang Po-go received permission from the king to create Chunghaejin in order to protect the people from pirates and stimulate maritime trade. Following the establishment of Chunghaejin, Chang Po-go utilized the powerful military force at his disposal to eliminate pirates groups plaguing the southwestern coasts and dominated maritime trade in Northeast Asia through superior shipbuilding and navigating skills. Chang Po-go would have remained distant from the central political scene until Kim Wu-jing fled to Chunghaejin. Rather than becoming embroiled in an unclear political reality, Chang Po-go would have concentrated his energies on creating a large military force in the Wando region under the official auspices of the government. However, Chang Po-go and Chunghaejin faced a major change with the arrival of Kim Wu-jing.

The third phase lasted from Kim Wu-jing's accession to the throne as King Sin-mu through the help of Chang Po-go to the early years of King Mun-seong's reign. Although Chang Po-go had managed to avoid involvement in the central government's power struggle and maintain his status as an independent military force, Kim Wu-jing's flight to Chunghaejin would have branded Chang Po-go as a rebel supporter of anti-government forces. It is not clear why Chang Po-go did not stand on the side of King Hui-gang and instead chose to defend Kim Wu-jing. Although it would have been more practical to support the newly crowned King Hui-gang, Chang Po-go seems to have allied with the rebellious Kim Wu-jing due to his personal friendship with the man. In addition, as recorded in the Life of Chang Po-go of the *Samguk-Sagi*, Chang Po-go may have felt that King Hui-gang's rise to the throne was unjust, or he may have seized the opportunity to augment his political weakness and achieve class ascendance

and political success in the midst of the rapidly-changing political environment.

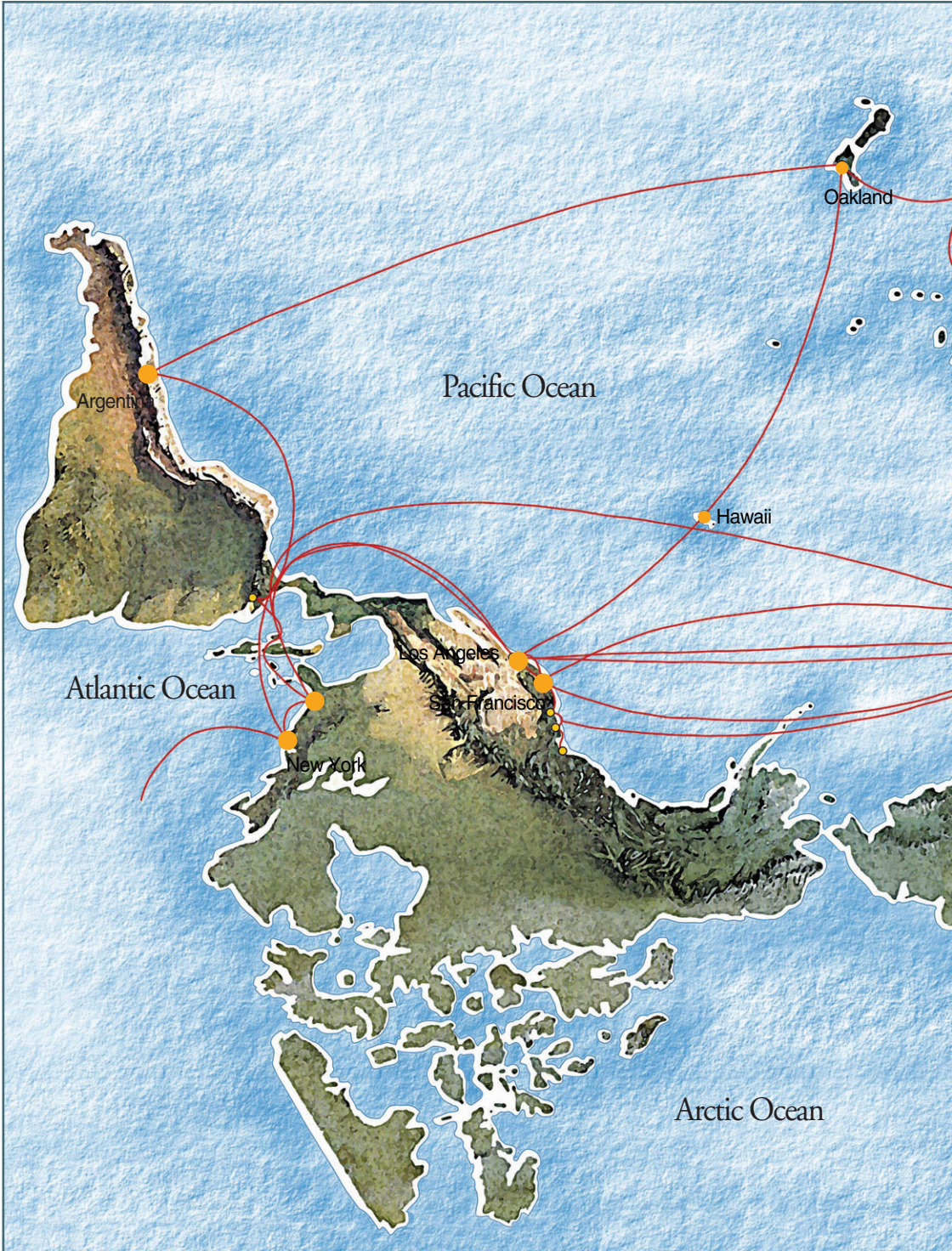
Chang Po-go's personal reputation and political influence was at their highest during this period thanks to his close relationship with the central government. This continued following King Sin-mu's death after only six months on the throne to the accession of the new king, King Mun-seong. By the time of King Sin-mu's coronation, Chang Po-go had already become too deeply involved in central government politics to go back to his old self, which sowed the seeds for the eventual demise of Chang Po-go's maritime kingdom.

The fourth phase began with Chang Po-go's attempt to make his daughter King Mun-seong's queen and ended with his murder by Yum Jang. King Sin-mu treated Chang Po-go with the highest respect for his contribution to King Sin-mu's successful accession to the throne. However, the *Samguk-Yusa* states that during King Sin-mu's stay in Chunghaejin under Chang Po-go's protection, the future king had promised to take Chang Po-go's daughter as his queen if he succeeded in taking the throne. The *Samguk-Yusa* further reveals that when King Sin-mu did become king and tried to marry Chang Po-go's daughter, numerous nobles opposed this marriage by citing Chang Po-go's humble origin. Thus King Sin-mu could not fulfill his promise, and an angry Chang Po-go tried to instigate a rebellion and was killed by Yum Jang. In this point, the *Samguk-Yusa's* records differ from the *Samguk-Sagi's* accounts, which state that King Mun-seong had tried to marry Chang Po-go's daughter and it was during his reign that Chang Po-go was murdered by Yum Jang. However, both accounts agree that Chang Po-go was assassinated by Yum Jang when he tried to marry his daughter to the king.

Chang Po-go became responsible at this time for creating a large disturbance in the Silla government regarding the queen. No one disputed the fact that Chang Po-go played a vital role in the successful accession of the new king. However, it was unacceptable to the nobles that Chang Po-go would try to use his new prestige to try to defy the Golpum class system and marry into the royal family. It also seems clear that there were those in the government who protested Chang Po-go's meteoric rise to prominence in the central government. Thus Chang Po-go was removed by King Mun-seong, and his dreams were left unfulfilled.

Had Chang Po-go devoted himself only to maritime trade supported by his military power base, his Chunghaejin would have remained in existence for many more years. However, Chang Po-go involved himself too deeply in politics, and tried to escape the bounds of his common birth and enter the upper classes, for which he was tragically murdered.

Paradigm Shift, from Land to the Seas



A New Image of Korea Heading Towards the Seas



04

**Prosperity of the
Maritime Empire**

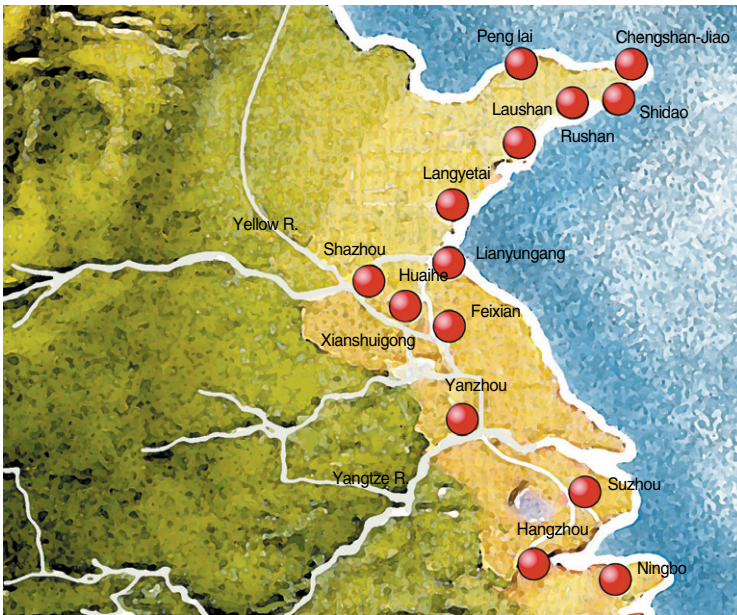
Silla Society and Trade in the Shandong peninsula

Formation of the Silla Society in China

Distribution of Silla-bang and Silla-chon

In 9th century China, Silla communities called Silla-bang and Silla-chon were widely distributed in the Shandong peninsula as well as the Yangtze River regions of Chuzhou, Lienshui, Yangdo and the area around Great canal. According to the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki* written by the Japanese monk Ennin during his travels in Tang from 838 to 847, he described in detail the Silla society that he witnessed. The Silla society had expanded as far as Zhejiang-sheng. The *Samguk-Sagi* records that 170 people from Silla traveled to Zhejiang-sheng in 816 to find some food, indicating that a Silla community had existed here.

Tang's openness and international character was unprecedented



Tang trading centers in the 9th century

among the dynasties of China. Tang established laws and codes to provide preferential social and economic positions to foreigners living in Tang, and hosted emissaries and students from surrounding countries. This open policy led to the creation of fan-fang (residential zones for foreigners) all over China. Silla communities, commonly referred to as Silla-bang or Silla-chon, were among these zones.

The Goudang Xinluoso was established to take care of administrative tasks for these communities, with Silla people appointed to manage these offices with the titles of Zhong-guan (General manager) or Yaya. These communities were granted autonomy within certain limits. There were Silla communities all along the coast from Yangzhou to Dengzhou, with thousands of Silla people engaged in various occupations.

In the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*, several Silla people appear along Ennin's journey. Silla communities were concentrated along the shores of the Great Canal, with high concentrations in Chuzhou and Lienshui. In 839, the Japanese delegation hired nine Silla ships and 60 experienced sailors at Chuzhou. This indicates that there were numerous Silla shipbuilders, traders, and sailors living in this area.

A series of *Buphwakyung* sermons were offered at the temple of Buphwawon established by Chang Po-go, located in Chishan-cun, from November 16th, 839 to January 15th of the next year with 40 participants each day. Every monk, lay person, old and young, rich and poor who attended these sermons were of Silla origin. The sermons as well as confessions to Buddha and prayers all took place according to Silla customs. With the exception of two worship and repentance sessions, the lecturing, worshipping and repentances were all conducted in accordance to the customs of Korea. The worship and repentance at dark before dawn are were held in the Tang(Chinese) manner but all the rest were in the Korean language.

During the last several days of this sermon, 250 people attended on one day, and 200 Silla people devotees attended another. All of them were people of Silla. The fact that Buddhist precepts had been given at this meeting shows that these 250 and 200 attendees were two different groups. Twenty-seven monks residence at the Buphwawon were also all Korean. The fact that such large groups came together indicates the size of the Silla community that must have existed in Chishan-cun.

The heaviest Silla concentrations were in the southern coastal regions of the Shandong peninsula. Major towns included Sochon-po and Do-chon in Mouping-hyeon, and Ru shan-pu northeast of Haeyang-hyeon. On April 26th, 839, Ennin and his party went on board one of the nine returning

ships on the delegation fleet, and docked in Shi-po in Rushan to acquire food and supplies. It is recorded that 30 Silla people came to them on horses and donkeys, and several Silla maidens could also be seen on the hills near the shore. It appears that this port was heavily populated by Silla residents.

Some Japanese scholars interpret these “maidens” as prostitutes, but this is erroneous. The term used to describe these women, “Niang Zi”, was used to address one’s wife but was often used as an honorary term as well. The same title was used to refer to the Tang emperor’s favorite consort Yang Guifei, for example. It seems clear that numerous Silla people were engaged in agriculture as well as commerce and maritime trading activities in the vast plains surrounding Ru shan-pu. The fact that these people rode horses and donkeys, and that the Japanese delegates to Tang were able to purchase supplies from nearby villages, provides evidence that supports this theory.

There were Silla settlements in other areas as well. Ennin had left his ship along with his entourage with the intention of staying illegally in Tang



Silla Zen shrine

and hid in a valley, and was discovered by ten charcoal ship sailors from Silla. These sailors aided Ennin in looking for a village, and arrived in Suksungchon, where he found more Silla residents. Xiucheng-cuon is located in Donghai-hsien, which is a part of Hai Zhou.

There were Silla communities in Dazhu-shan, Chiaomo-Po, located in Mi Zhou Zhucheng-hsien, which engaged in charcoal shipping, shipbuilding and ship repair. Ennin's party arrived in Daejusan, Chiao Mo-Po on their way from Chishan-cun to Myungju, and rode the Silla merchant Jin Chung's charcoal ship to Chuzhou. When the delegation was discussing ways to cross the West Sea on their nine Gento-Si ships, a Silla sailor suggested that the party "go to Mizhou, Dazhu-shan for repairs and cross the sea from there," indicating that there were people from Silla engaged in various occupations in numerous different locations.

According to *Jiading Chichang-Zhi*, a Silla-bang existed about one li (a unit of distance, 15 miles) east of Hwang yan-hsien. Thirty miles to the west



Grinding stone and mortar at the Beophwawon



Docks at Ru shan Harbor.



View of the ship repair yard on the coast near Mt. Dai zhou

was Mt. Silla and 60 li to the east-north was Silla-Yu inlet with a small island called Sillasuh 60 li to the east. Hwangyan-hsien was located a little south of Mingzhou on the seashore east of Zhejiang-sheng. There was a temple called Wu gong-yuan, which is presumed to have been the temple of Silla-won established by the Silla monk Wu Gong. There would have been a Silla-bang community here, and the Silla-won would have served various functions for this community by providing a place of spiritual comfort as well as lodging for guests.

Silla People Who Went to China

Accounts of Silla travellers to China can be seen early in historical records. First, there were numerous monks who went to China. There were at least 140 monks whose names are known, including Gakdeok(549), Wonkwang(589), Woncheuk(627), Jajang(638), Hyetong(665), Eusang(670), Hyecho(723), Moosang(728), Jijang(740), Hyeso(786), and Hyechul(814).

After Buddhism became the de facto state religion of Silla, many buddhist monks went to Tang to study, and some stayed behind. Thousands of monks are estimated to have gone to Sui and Tang to study Buddhism. The 27 Silla monks who resided in Chishan Buphwawon would have been among these.

There were students who went abroad to study in Tang. At the time of Tang Taizong, students in Jangan from Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, Gaochang and Tufan numbered 8,000. Although the relative national weakness of Silla compared to Goguryeo and Baekje in 639 would have meant that fewer students were from Silla than the other two Korean kingdoms, it can be estimated that at least 1,000 of them would have come from Silla. Most of



Main hall of Chishan Beophwawon

these students returned to their home countries, but many would have stayed behind. In April 840, a request was made for the return of 105 Silla students to participate in the Silla King's funeral at Heungryu temple, indicating that even 200 years later there was a considerable presence of Silla students in China.

There were those who crossed over to Tang in search of food. During a drought in 816, 170 people from Silla went as far as Zhejiang in Jiang Nan to find food. Burdened by forced labor, taxes and food shortages, many Silla subjects went overseas to find a way to support themselves. These hungry expatriates would have made up the majority of the Silla population in China.

There were Silla commoners who had been sold into slavery by pirates. According to the Chinese *Tang hui-yao*, large numbers of Silla people were kidnapped and traded as slaves. The Chinese government outlawed the

buying of Silla people as slaves in 823 (Jang Qing 3), and ordered the immediate release of any Silla slaves in China. Many people gained freedom through this law, but many of the weak and old had nowhere to go, and were left homeless on the shores. A Silla emissary named Kim Ju-pil made an appeal to the king to allow these former slaves to return home whenever there were ships bound for Silla, and asked the king to permit anyone who was shipwrecked and forced to drifted ashore to return home and not be sold into slavery again.



Wonhyo Daesa, who went to Tang to continue his Buddhist studies but experienced enlightenment during his journey and returned home to spread Buddhism to the masses.

Some of these former slaves would have made themselves a home in Tang as well. Many had no place to return to, and had come to China initially in search of food and had been sold into slavery. After gaining freedom, they would have tried to find a way to live in Tang rather than return home. In addition, there were large numbers of commoners in Silla who wanted to go to China to escape the chronic droughts and food shortages that plagued Silla in the early 9th century.

As seen above, the Silla community in Tang was mostly made up of

those who had failed financially and fled their homes. Some went to Tang to gain social advancement and achieve fame, while others were former slaves who had been kidnapped and now found themselves free. In addition, there were monks and students who chose to stay in China. Thus formed, the Silla society in China played an important part in 9th century trade in China's eastern sea. These Silla communities shared many similarities with Donhuang's Sogd communities that performed important roles in China's internal inland trade.

Forced Emigration of Goguryeo and Baekje Refugees

After Goguryeo and Baekje were defeated by China, many refugees from these two states were bought to China as prisoners of war.

After Goguryeo lost the Liaodong-sheng battle in 645(King Bo-jang 4), 14,000 people became slaves and were assembled in Yuzhou to be distributed to the generals and soldiers as war booty. However, Tang Taizong took pity on them and allowed them to ransom themselves with cotton cloth and silk and become commoners. Other policies to allow war prisoners to live in internal regions followed, and it appears that they were allowed to live in

Sogd

People who populated Sogdiana, on the shores of the Zeravshan River in Samarkand of Central Asia. They were known for their commercial attributes, and took part in the East-West trade. A noted characteristic of Sogd traders in their trade with the East is the establishment of settlements from Central Asia to inner China for use in trade. These active commercial activities enabled Sogdiana to become the "most beautiful place in the Creator's world", according to the Arab geographer Mukhadash. The Sogd language, a mere dialect of the larger Persian language family, was popular enough to be used as the lingua franca of the business world in Central Asia at the time.

various parts of China.

Ten thousand prisoners from the Gaemoseong battle, 8,000 men and women captured after the fall of Bisahseong, 10,000 prisoners from the battle of Backamseong, 3,500 among the 36,800 who had surrendered with the Goguryeo general Ko Yeon-su, and 70,000 prisoners from the three provinces of Liaozhou, Gaeju and Uhmju were taken to Tang. After the fall of Goguryeo, 28,200 families were settled in the empty lands west of the Yangtze River and Huaisi as well as several provinces west of Shannam, Bingzhou and Yangzhou in May of 669. These forced emigrations were carried out to suppress the resistance of Goguryeo refugees and any attempts to restore their former state.

Approximately 100 years later, large numbers of Goguryeo refugees seemed to have gathered under the rule of the Goguryeo exile Lee Jeong-gi, whose clan ruled over the Shandong peninsula region for 55 years from 765 to 819. Lee Jeong-gi, whose birth name was Lee Hoe-ok, was granted the title of Pinlu ziqing chichtushis with the support of his followers at the age of 33, and received the name Lee Jeong-gi.

An interesting anecdote is found in the Lee Jeong-gi Lie Dien of the *Zhiotang-shu*. Lee Jeong-gi was the greatest warrior in Tang. He once engaged in single combat with a mighty Uighur commander. Most of the soldiers who watched the duel predicted Lee Jeong-gi's defeat. Once the fight began, however, their expectations were shattered as Lee Jeong-gi grabbed onto the collar of the Uighur commander and struck his back, who urinated and even defecated in shock. The soldiers witnessing the battle roared in laughter, and the Uighur commander fled in embarrassment. The Uighur commander had been a mighty warrior who had terrorized all of China. Lee Jeong-gi's martial prowess need not be illustrated further. This

tale is reminiscent of Chungaesomun (Youn Gaesomun)'s grandson Chunhunsung, who boasted the greatest archery skills in all of Tang during the reign of Wu hou.

According to the Zhi Kwan Zhi of the *Zhiotang-shu*, Kuan Nei district had its own Tuan Jie (garrison of trained military). The districts of Qinzhou, Chengzhou, Minzhou, Weizhou, Hezhou, and Lanzhou had Goguryeo and barbarian soldiers, with provincial militia in the five districts of Lizhou, Yazhou, Qiongzhou, Yizhou and Maozhou. It appears that large numbers of soldiers with Goguryeo origins were found in district armies who were probably descendents of Goguryeo immigrants. Lee Jeong-gi's clan would have hired larger contingents of Goguryeo soldiers in order to solidify its military power. These Goguryeo refugees and soldiers would have remained in the Shandong peninsula even after the fall of Lee Jeong-gi.

When Baekje collapsed in 660 (King Eui-ja 2), 88 nobles including the king, the crown prince and various nobles and members of the court as well as 12,807 commoners were taken to the capital. As was the case with Goguryeo exiles, these Baekje captives later spread to and settled in various regions of the continent.

Goguryeo and Baekje Refugees and the Silla Expatriate Community

What sort of relationship would the Silla community have maintained with the hundreds of thousands of Goguryeo and Baekje refugees? During the North-south Period of Korea when Silla and Balhae remained in conflict on the Korean peninsula, it is questionable whether this large group of Goguryeo and Baekje exiles would have been easily assimilated into the Silla communities in Tang.

Balhae was in its heyday in the 9th century. It seems unlikely that Goguryeo exiles would have been absorbed into the Silla society. As Baekje had also been destroyed by Silla, Baekje exiles would have felt greater affinity to the Goguryeo (Balhae) society than that of Silla.

There was a Balhae Kwan in the Shandong peninsula with an embassy from Balhae, priests and trading ships. And, considering that there was a three-day festival on the 15th of August at Chishan Buphwawon commemorating Silla's victory over Balhae, it seems unlikely that Goguryeo and Baekje exiles would have considered themselves to be part of the Silla society and the same nation.

Silla Residents and Trade in China

Silla Merchant Who Held Up One Corner of the Trading World

Silla's maritime trade became increasingly active towards the latter periods of the dynasty. The unification of the three nations led to an active trade in goods from all parts of the peninsula, which in turn led to accelerated industrial development. The southern and northern markets of Kyungju, the capital city of Silla, were created in 695 which further promoted commerce. Maritime trade with China brought in advanced Chinese culture to Silla and the concurrent economic effect. Changing cultural climates and lifestyles created a great demand for various types of traded goods. Private trade began to pick up as the official tribute trade became insufficient to meet the burgeoning demand for imported goods.

Private trade was mainly carried out by merchants with bases along the

coasts. By the later years of Silla, when central government control weakened considerably, this type of maritime trade reached unprecedented levels. The majority of maritime trade in Silla at the time occurred with Tang and Japan.

Much of the trade in eastern China, Silla and Japan was conducted by merchants with Silla origins. Silla merchants, operating on the relatively treacherous seaways of the eastern edge of the world, fulfilled the peripheral functions that their counterparts in the west performed on the calm Mediterranean coasts. Silla merchants, represented by the forces of Chang Po-go, took control of seaborne trade in East Asia.

Chang Po-go created Chunghaejin under the aforementioned external as well as domestic circumstances, first suppressing the region's pirates and then stimulating international trade between Silla, Tang and Japan. Chunghaejin developed as a political force independent from central government control. Chunghaejin provided protection to such individuals as King Kim Wu-jing and Kim Yang, dispatched its own Daetangmaemulsa (buyer of Tang merchandise) and Hoeyuksa to China and Japan to conduct trading, and even tried to establish its own diplomatic relations with Japan.

Chunghaejin Soldiers as Trading Agents

Chunghaejin was established in Wando because the region was the transportation hub of the three East Asian nations as well as Chang Po-go's own hometown. The 10,000 soldiers under Chang Po-go's command would have served as both a military garrison as well as agents for trade.

According to *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*, an individual named Byungmasah Choi was placed in charge of Daetangmaemulsa. A man in a military position also managed trade affairs. The title of Byungmasah that was given to this individual seems to indicate that it was a military rank

within Chunghaejin. Byungmasah Choi was also called Choi Hun, the 12th Rang. Records show that he fled to China following the death of Chang Po-go.

On June 27, 839, two of Chang Po-go's trading ship docked at Chishan-pu). Choi paid a visit to the Byungmasah of Qingzhou and a 30-person delegation commemorating the accession of King Sin-mu who had been visiting Chishan Buphwawon. It appears that Byungmasah Choi had been in command of the two trading ship and had been acting as his official emissary.

The fact that two ships were being operated jointly indicates that their cargo were considerable. Although these two ships' cargo, passengers, and their point of origin and destination are not known, it appears likely that these ships plied the waters between the major ports of Silla, Tang and Japan. A ship commanded by Choi Yaya(Byungmasah Choi) left Yangzhou in 840 and docked in Rushan-Pu, which indicates that Chang Po-go's trading ships called on several ports in China. This ship would have departed from a port in Japan or Silla, docked at Yangzhou and sailed on to Rushan-Pu.

Ulsan Harbor, the Greatest Silla Port

Chang Po-go's trading ships would have made frequent calls to Ulsan Harbor as well as to Wando. Ulsan was the outer harbor of Kyungju, the capital city of Silla, and the greatest port of the time. The population of Kyungju in the late 9th century was 170,000 households, including 35 Geumibraek(estates of the wealthy) and the majority of Silla's ruling class who were the main consumers of imported and luxury goods. The vast majority of imports were consumed in Kyeongju, which would have made Ulsan the obvious point of entry for large numbers of imported goods.

The early developed of the Dalchun mines in the Samhan period as well as a natural harbor enabled Ulsan to become not only the heart of Silla's industry but a major international port. In close proximity to the capital city, Ulsan harbor would have been the largest port in Silla with the greatest quantity of goods transported.

Chang Po-go's Trade with Japan

The creation of such agencies as Daetangmaemulsah and Hoeyuksa under Chang Po-go's authority seems to indicate that Chang Po-go operated an autonomous commercial organization which carried out a considerable volume of trade. The following records indicate the scale of trade that took place in Chang Po-go's trade with Japan.

Daijogang ordered and spoke to Dazaifu. "The Silla Chang Po-go presented saddles and other tributes last December. However, as Chang Po-go is a subject of another Silla state, these tributes are improper in light of ancient codes. They should be refused with courtesy and returned as soon as possible. The tributes they have brought should be entrusted to private merchants to be traded. However, take care to ensure that the people do not endanger their livelihoods by disregarding official prices." (*Shoku Nihon Koki*, vol. 10, February 27th, 841)

Chang Po-go had the ability to establish diplomatic relations with a nation on his own. These saddles that Chang Po-go offered would not have been few in quantity, since they were being presented as a state-level tribute. The Japanese government's decree to the people to "not endanger their

livelihoods” indicates that a shipment from Chang Po-go was large enough to make a significant impact on the Japanese economy. Chang Po-go’s maritime economic power had indeed ushered in a new epoch in our nation’s history.

In 842, a former lieutenant of Chang Po-go named Lee So-jeong became the follower of Yum Jang, and came to Tsukuzen claiming that Chang Po-go was dead, and requested the transfer of the goods that his Hoeyuksa Lee Chung had brought. The former minister of the nation of Tsukuzen confiscated the cargo and stated that “when Chang Po-go was alive, it was possible to acquire goods from Tang in exchange for silk, and the amount of such goods was considerable.”

This means that Chang Po-go controlled a sizeable portion of the Japan trade. His trading ships actively engaged in intermediary trade, bringing large quantities of cargo from Tang to Japan, and carrying Japanese silk to other countries.

The trade between Silla and Japan began to flourish much earlier. In 768, the Japanese government furnished cotton to each official in the Dazaifu with which to purchase Silla goods. Silla’s products were exported to Japan, and Japanese cotton was imported by Silla. Around 75,000 don (approximately 15 tons) of cotton were distributed at one time for the purchase of Silla goods, indicating that the volume of trade between the two nations was considerable.

Chang Po-go’s trading fleet enlarged the scale of these trading activities, carrying out not only simple trade between Silla and Japan but expanding to the intermediary trade among Silla, Tang and Japan, creating a private-trade triangle.

Silla Merchants Linking Tang and Japan

Many Silla people plied the waters of the East China Sea and the West Sea, carrying out international commercial trade. On May 11th, 847, Kim Jin, Kim Ja-baek and Heum Yang-hui boarded a Silla ship and debarked from Songjiang harbor in Sozhou, arrived in Japan to offload passengers and cargo, and returned to Laushan in the Shandong peninsula. On July 20th, Kim Jin's fleet took the pilgrimage party of Ennin and cargo from Ru shan, Changhuai-Pu on board, and set sail for Japan. The schedule for this ship resembles that of a fully-engaged merchant vessel of today.

There was a trader named Lee In-deok Sarang, a Silla living in Tang. In 842, he carried the Japanese monk Egku from Mt. Tientai and brought him home via Miungzhou. On his return voyage to Tang, he transported Ennin's disciple Shoukai on his way to see his master. He also paid a visit in 846 to Chuzhou. Lee Indeok's ships frequently travelled all around the East China Sea.

There was a Silla shipping merchant named Dosipyirang, who was also called Do Jung. He carried 24 soryang of placer gold on his way to Tang, Ennin's personal expenses from the Japanese government, as well as letters, serving as both a trader as well as postal and communication agent.

While Ennin was awaiting the Tang emperor's permit of passage at Yangzhou Kaiyuansi in 839, Wang Chung paid him a visit. An international trader from Silla, he was crossing the sea in 819 with a Tang merchant named Changjueji when he met a storm. After drifting for three months, he arrived in Daewano-gumi. He fled from there with Changjueji and his brother, and after sailing for 15 days arrived in Nagatono-gumi. The fact that Wang Chung understood the Japanese language indicates that he had lived there for quite some time.

In December of 843, Jang Gong-jung and 26 others from Silla went to Tang and brought the Tientaizung monk Enjai's disciples Ninko and Sunshio to Nagoto. This ship could also be called a Silla's trading vessel. As can be seen from these examples, numerous Silla trading ships transported goods and people between Tang and Japan. These ships would inevitably have made stops in Silla's Chunghaejin, Ulsan and other harbors.

Coastal Trade of Silla Residents in Tang

Let us examine the coastal trade that Silla people in Tang were engaged in. There are records about Silla coastal trading ships that Ennin met during his travels on the coasts of Yangzhou, Chuzhou and the Shandong peninsula in the *Nitto Gubo Junrei gyoki*.

On April 5th, 839, Ennin and his disciples Isho and Igyo, and the sailor Tei Yuman debarked from a ship carrying them home and hid on the coast. When the Tang emperor did not grant Ennin the permission to tour the Buddhist holy sites in China, he resorted to staying in the country illegally. With permission from the Ambassador to Tang, he docked his ship on the eastern slope of Donghai-shan in Donghai-hsien, in the province of Hai Zhou.

While Ennin's party was hiding, ten Silla people carrying charcoal from Mizhou to Chuzhou on their ship dropped anchor nearby and approached them. The Silla people introduced themselves and asked Ennin several questions. The Silla people gave Ennin directions, and one of them guided the Japanese party to the next village of Xiucheng-cun. While a crew of only ten would not have operated a large ship, it seems clear that Silla people were actively engaged in coastal trade.

On April 20th, with Ennin's ship moored off the village of Shaocunpu,



Grinding stone that remains in the former Silla community of Xiu cheng-cun, almost identical to the grinding stone excavated from Jangdo, where Chunghaejin's headquarters were located.

a Silla person approached the ship and informed him that Chang Po-go won the battle for control of the crown and that King Sin-mu had ascended to the throne. On May 25th, while waiting for favorable winds in the eastern landing of Wang Haicun, Ennin saw a Silla ship with a white sail cruising towards Rushanpak. This ship would also have been a coastal trader or an international trading vessel.

There was a continuous flow of ships running between Chuzhou and Chishan Buphwawon while Ennin stayed there before his return in 845. On September 22nd, 845, the Yaya Jangyung's servant Gosan went by ship to Chuzhou to retrieve the Buddhist sutra and clothing that he had entrusted to the zhong guan(manager) Suljun and Ennin's interpreter Yu Shin-un.

However, strict inspections prevented him from bringing back the goods, and Gosan returned on the 9th of the first month of the next year with only news. Ennin's servant Tei yuman was dispatched again to Chuzhou on March 13th, but it was not until the 29th of June that he was able to return with the remaining documents and items.

On April 27th, Wang Jong of Silla carried letters from the Japanese monk Shou Kai in Yang zhou to Chishan, and returned. On October 2nd Shou Kai arrived in Yang zhou, bearing official papers from the Japanese Daijogang and Enryaku-ji temple, other correspondence, and gold given by the Japanese King.

On March 17th of the lunar calendar, Ennin arrived in Daejusan Bakmapo in Mil zhou's Jesunghyeong and met the Silla people Jin Chung's ship. The ship was carrying charcoal to Chuzhou, and Ennin paid a transit fee of five rolls of silk to board the ship. On June 18th, Ennin rode the ship of Wang Ga Chang from Chuzhou Silla-bang, and sailed in search of Kim Jin's ship to Rushan, Changhuai-Pu via Chiehjia Juang, south of Laushan, and Dienheng island. As illustrated by this record of Ennin's travels, coastal merchant vessels operated by Silla residents in Tang transported passengers and cargo throughout the region.

Goods Traded by Chang Po-go's Trading Fleet

Shipping Rosters

There are only a few records remaining that enable us to know what sort of cargo Chang Po-go's ships carried. A limited glimpse is possible by examining the items on the shipping rosters as well as the goods that were



Gilt bronze scissors(Gyeongju National Museum) excavated from Anapji in Gyeongju, the ancient capital of Silla is shown on the left, with the gilt bronze scissors in Japan's Shosoin shown on the right. The identical design indicates that this gilt bronze scissors was exported to Japan from Silla.

used in Silla, Tang and Japan as well as traded and offered as tributes and reciprocating gifts. These goods would naturally have been transported by ship, and it would not be inaccurate to say that Chang Po-go's trading fleet would have carried the same kinds of goods.

In December of 840, Chang Po-go himself transported and offered as tribute to the Japanese government a shipment of horse saddles. These saddles in this instance were part of an official tribute offered in order to formally open diplomatic relations, but these items would have been traded normally as well. Since horses were in use by all the military, government officials and civilians, there would have been wide demand for them.

Silk was Japan's major export. As stated earlier, a high official from Tsukuzen had paid silk as advance payment for imported goods while Chang Po-go was trading in Japan. There was also "poor quality silk", which is presumed to be the raw material for silk. In 768, the Japanese government issued 75,000 don of the poor quality silk to its officials for the purchase of Silla goods. Silk was traded in the late 9th century, but could still be found in transactions that took place in early 9th century as well. A high official of the Japanese Gento-Si in 838 carried poor quality silk. Nagamine Nosukune, before entering the city of Changan entrusted 10 don of the silk to Ennin who had stayed behind in Yangzhou. This silk would have been used to barter for other goods.

Exports from Silla to China included Silla knives. When Ennin left Chuzhou in 845 bound for Dengzhou, the translator Yu Shin-eon gave him ten Silla knives and five pairs of socks. These small knives were produced exclusively in Silla and were actively exported. They seemed to have been used for a variety of purposes, since ten of them were given as one gift.

In 839, a Japanese Gento-si returning to their home country performed rites praying for a safe return. During the ceremony, a barber's knife was offered to the main God of the ship. It appears that Silla knives were used for such purposes. If these knives had been used regularly in shipboard rituals, there would have been a large demand for them for use in ceremonies to ensure a safe voyage.

Such items of everyday use would have been exported in large quantities. A set of Silla knives were sent to the Japanese royal family in 680. While the official tribute had consisted of around ten items including gold, silver, iron, three-legged pots, silk, hemp cloth, leather, horses, dogs, donkeys and camels, separate gifts of gold, silver, knives and banners were presented to

the king, queen and prince.

Considering the long history of Silla's iron industry and the fact that these were given as gifts to the most distinguished dignitaries, these knives would have been of the highest quality. They would have been quite large, considering that the Seven-pronged knife presented by Baekje to the Japanese King measured 74.9 centimeters. On the other hand, the Silla knives mentioned above, when considering the literal meaning of the name "Silladoja", would have been smaller knives of similar shape.

Tang imports to Japan included spice and medicine. There was an incident in February of 839 when four members of Gento-Si went to Yangzhou market to purchase herbs and medicine, but had to leave their money and flee when confronted with a persistent official. While medicines were not banned for purchase, these shoppers seem to have been after other prohibited goods. In addition, there were several incidents when other members of the delegation attempted to purchase proscribed goods and were summoned to court and even arrested.

The next record to be examined is the Baisillagi Butsuge, a list submitted to the Japanese government by nobles in 752 who wished to purchase Silla goods. The list included such items as perfume and other spices, medicines such as musk and ginseng, pigments, metals such as gold and iron nails, items for daily use such as mirrors, incense pots, tables, and chopsticks, as well as miscellaneous items such as honey and pine nuts.

The Baisillagi Butsuge draws our attention in particular because it was submitted when the prince of Silla, Kim Tae-ryeom came with 700 delegates and performed the trading business in Htizogyo from June. Among the Silla goods were some items labeled with Nenbutsu (items people had in mind), which shows that the Japanese nobles had some items in mind to purchase

without fail. The price of these items were expensive. A mirror or a small amount of perfume could cost as much as 200 don of the poor quality silk. These items seemed to have been traded in 9th century as well.

Imported Goods

The *Samguk-Sagi* records the following list of imported goods that were presumably transported by ship. The following order was given in Silla in 834 (King Heung-deok 9).

Practices are becoming harsher and the people espouse luxuries and riches, respecting only the rarity of foreign objects and despising the coarseness of domestic goods, with social graces fallen into disfavor and customs destroyed. Thereby a proclamation is issued according to the ancient laws, and anyone who knowingly disobeys will be punished according to law.

A flood of imports and their widespread use in all levels of society led to a law banning the use of imported goods, but the problem became more severe necessitating the more specific prohibition above in 834. The continued application of the prohibition indicates the seriousness of the problem, which also illustrates the wide and general use of imported goods at that time. It appears that large amounts of imports would have been brought by trading ships.

These foreign goods may have been brought by Muslim merchants, but they were more likely brought by Silla merchants on trading vessels, represented by Chang Po-go and his fleet. Chang Po-go's trading ships would have expanded beyond Yang zhou to as far as Quanzhou and

Gwangzhou. Since other ships easily made the voyage to Gwangzhou, Silla merchant ships would not have easily given up the huge profit to be made through maritime trade.

The *Samguk-Sagi* lists several banned goods as well as other products used in daily life, and they seem to include such imported items as peacock tail feathers, kingfisher's feathers, blue emeralds, turtle shells, water buffalo horns, and other such exotic items.

A Hol was carried by officials above the rank of "Geupchan". Ivory was produced by several southeastern countries as well as in Zhenla(Cambodia) and Zhancheng(Vietnam). Arabian ivory was of the highest quality, with Zhenla and Zhancheng producing inferior ivory. Large ivory tusks weighed from 50 to 100 geun (approximately 30 to 60 kilograms)

Peacock tail feathers were an expensive import from India, southern China and Southeast Asia. Kingfisher's feathers were produced mainly in Cambodia, and these birds were notoriously difficult to catch, leading to their high price and status as an ultimate luxury good. Even Jingol nobles were prohibited from embroidering these feathers onto women's cravats. Even later during the Song dynasty, a tax levied on silk embroidered with these feathers shows that they were still considered a luxury.

The gems described on these rosters as "Sese(blue emeralds)" were described in the *Zizhi Tongjian* as a type of blue gem, but the exact nature of this gem was unknown until B. Lopper (*Sino-Iranica*) estimated these to

Geupchan

Official position of Silla, ranked ninth among the 17 Gyeongwi ranks. Also called Geupbeolchan or Geupbeolgan. Other than members of the jingol class, only those of the six dupum class could hold this office, which was considerably different from the position of Daenama, ranked immediately below Geupchan.

be emeralds. The people of China were obsessed with these gems, which some say provided the reason for a huge battle fought at Talas by Kao Xian Zhi (Tang, General, Gogureyo refugee). Similar tastes were naturally found in Silla. A prohibition indicates that these gems had been worn not only by Jingol women but were found on combs belonging to women from the 6th Dupum class.

Turtle shells were the shells of turtles caught in Borneo, the Philippines, and Java. They were used for a variety of purpose including material for combs and wagons as well as decorations for tables.

Water buffalo horns were used for belts for the 6th Dupum class. The water buffalo resembled the traditional yellow Korean ox, but had a black hide with little hair and only one or two horn on its head. The pattern on the horn resembled bubbles, and whiter horns commanded a higher price on the market. These horns seem to have been used to make belts. The water buffalo was found in tropical locations including Southeast Asia, India and Africa.

Quiyu and Tadeng were both Persian textiles with patterns, with the term “tap” representing the fabric cover of a long chair. Since anyone below the 6th Dupum class was prohibited from using these, these Persian rugs and fabrics seem to have been heavily used in all parts of Silla society, from monks in temples to nobles as well as commoners braving the prohibition.

Zitan is also called Zhanitan in Buddhist scriptures, and was a fragrant wood produced in Java and the northwest of Sumatra. Chenxiang(alloes wood) was another type of fragrant wood found in Cambodia and Sumatra. Even Jingol nobles were prohibited from using these materials for wagons, nor could anyone, from noble down to the lowest common men and women, use these for saddles. Silla people below the Jingol class were also

prohibited from using these woods to decorate tables.

Datangtan is presumed to have been a carpet made in Tang, and were prohibited for use by anyone below the rank of 4th Dupum. Since those of the 6th and 5th ranks were prevented from using Quiyu and Tadeng but not Datangtan, these probably were more common than the above two types of wood. Since even commoners were being discouraged from using these, Datangtan would have been imported and sold in large quantities.

Tributes and Reciprocating gifts

Let us examine the tributes sent to Tang by Silla in the 8th and 9th centuries. In 723(King Seong-deok 22), Silla dispatched an embassy to Tang bearing such valuables as ponies, ox bezoar, ginseng, Johaju, Uhaju, Rueungryeong, sea lion skins, gold and silver. In 730(King Seong-deok 29), Jiman, a member of the royal family, was sent to Tang to offer small horses, dogs, gold, hair, and sea lion skins, ox bezoar, gold and silver were offered as tributes in 731 A mission bearing horses, dogs, gold, silver, hemp fabrics, ox bezoar, ginseng, hair and sea lion skins was dispatched in 734. In 773(King Hye-gong 9), an emissary was sent to Tang to celebrate the new year, and presented a tribute of gold, silver, ox bezoar, Johaju, Uhaju.

These tributes included duck hawks as well. The evidence for this is revealed from records that indicate the removal of these birds from tributes in 779, indicating that they had been a part of regular tributes before then.

In 869, Silla dispatched a mission in appreciation of an earlier visit by Tang condolence emissaries for the death of King Hyunahn. This mission offered many kinds of tributes.

Raw materials made up the bulk of the trade with China during the Three Kingdom Period, but the rapid development of Silla's industry

following unification added to the trade high quality textiles such as Daehwauhageum, Sohwaehageum, Johageum, Johaju, Uhaju, Rueungryeong as well as gold and silver products. Geum was silk of the highest quality. In the *Sukmyung* vol. 4, Sukchaeakje 14, it states that “Geum” is gold that requires much effort to produce, and its value is that of pure gold. Therefore, the characters for silk robe and gold were combined to name this special fabric. A noticeable change in the quality of traded goods can be seen between the Three Kingdom Period and the Unified Silla Period.

In return for these tributes, Tang sent to Silla the following gifts during the 8th and 9th centuries.

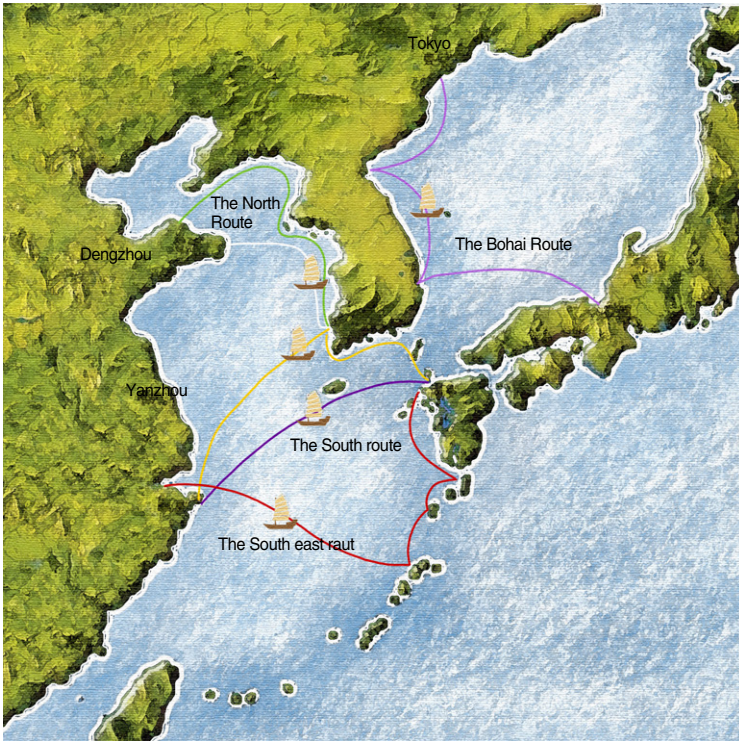
In 724 (King Seong-deok 23), Silla received as reciprocating gifts silk overcoats, gold belts, dyed and white silk. Silk without patterns as well as dyed silk were received in 731(King Seong-deok 30). In 733(King Seong-deok 32), Tang send white parrots, overcoats made of thin embroidered purple silk, gold and silver dishes, silk with auspicious patterns and symbols, and thin silk dyed with five different colors. In 734(King Seong-deok 33), Silla revived celadon-green nanpo, pyungman silver belt, and silk. In 786(King Won-sung 2), Tang sent Rageum, Reungchae, clothes, silver bowls, Reungra, silk skirts embroidered with gold thread, and silver platters. In 865, a thousand rolls of silk as well as dyed silk, clothes, and gold and silver vessels were send to offer condolences for the death of King Hun-ahn.

Trading Ships and Sea Routes of Chang Po-go's Fleet

Economic Rationale of the Shortest Sea Routes

The reputation of Silla's maritime forces resounded around the seas of Northeast Asia in the 8th and 9th centuries. International trading activities led by Chang Po-go occupies a highly visible place in the Northeast Asian as well as world maritime history, and it has been shown that Korea's unique Silla ships sailed upon the high seas all over the world.

However, the exact sailing routes that Chang Po-go's trading ships took and his ports of call are not definitely known. Some studies show that he took the direct or oblique routes across the west sea. However, many scholars still believe that Chang Po-go would have stayed close to shorelines for most of his voyages. These scholars state that Chang Po-go's ships would have chosen the littoral circuitous routes as written in the *Daoli-zi*, based on



Trade route of Ancient Northeast Asia

the presumption that the shipbuilding and navigation skills of the times would have made sailing in open waters more difficult, the *Daoli-zi* refers to the *Huanghuasida-zi* written by the court official Gudan during the years of Zhenyuan(785-805)

Maritime trade obviously can not take place without the other various aspects of maritime activity. These two economic actions are inseparable. Therefore one can not help question how the trade could have flourished at unprecedented levels while sailing and navigation techniques still remained as they were hundreds of years ago. It goes without saying that trade even in

premodern times would have followed the principles of maximizing profit while minimizing cost, which would have required the selection of the shortest routes which could be travelled in the least amount of time as possible. This is second in importance only to the primary benefit of seaborne transportation, which is the ability to transport large amounts of cargo. If ships with sufficient seaworthiness could be constructed without difficulty, and if navigation skills were advanced enough, there would have been little reason why circuitous and time-consuming routes would be utilized.

Reexamination of Navigation Route to Silla in the *Daoli-zi*

This section will examine anew the East Asian navigation routes of Chang Po-go's trading ships in the 9th century. The following evidence will dispute the assumption that a lack of shipbuilding and navigation skills during Chang Po-go's era only enabled travel along the coast, and instead will show that Chang Po-go's ships utilized direct routes to destination ports.

In order to examine the routes taken by Chang Po-go's trading ship in the 9th century, the first piece of literature to consult is the *Daoli-zi*'s Navigation Route to Silla. This document states that Chang Po-go's ships crossed the sea from Dengzhou and sailed along coasts of the Liaodong peninsula and the west sea. However, maritime transportation conditions in East Asia at this time would have made circuitous coastal routes between China and Silla not only uneconomical and irrational but unrealistic as well.



View of Dengzhou in Shandong Province

It is not clear why the *Daoli-zi* would not have mentioned sea routes that various ships and merchant vessels had been using for centuries. Geographical line-of-sight measurements show that ships need only to sail for a short time out of sight of land when crossing the west sea by the direct or oblique routes. It seems curious why ships would have chosen not to use this direct route.

In 512, Silla was able to send a boat from kangreung to Ulleungdo and colonize the island, 163 kilometers away from the mainland in a straight line. This fact reveals that ships were able to sail using astronomical navigation techniques and without sight of land as early as the first decades of the 6th century. It is not possible to sail in the open seas without the knowledge of direction. The shortest route crossing the Yellow Sea, from Baengnyeongdo to Chengshan-Jiao in Shandong peninsula is only 180 kilometers. There

would have been no reason why a trip across such distances would not have been possible in light of the above evidence.

The discrepancy in the records of these two different periods was pointed out early on in the debate surrounding this era. Some researchers questioned why the circuitous and irrational sea routes that were used during the days of primitive sailing skills would continue to be used later at the time. Some scholars even speculated that these routes might have been inspection routes for government officials.

There has been little historiographic criticism of the *Daoli-zi*. Gudan, the author, was regarded as the foremost geographer of the time as well as a high-ranking government minister, and other records regarding Dooli-zi are detailed and widely accepted, making the document difficult to dispute.

It should be pointed out here that an analysis of Silla Navigation Route shows that its descriptions do not apply to ships that travelled between Silla and Tang under normal conditions. The literature about the Si Yi Zhi Lu in the *Xintang-Shu* clearly indicates that the seven ‘most vital’ routes to the four regions surrounding China included Goguryeo and Balhae but not a route to Silla. A separate road to Silla is not indicated, but instead found in an addendum to routes to Goguryeo and Balhae from Deng zhou. In other words, the descriptions found in these records indicate only the sea route from Goguryeo and Balhae to Silla, rather than a sea lane from China to Silla.

Zimi-zhou (羈靡州)

Literally “horse bridle” and “ox reins”, representing restriction and control. This system of provincial administration appointed local tribal leaders as governors and district leaders, along with other officials dispatched from the central government in supporting positions. In its heyday, there were 856 such districts.

Gudan only described outlying regions in close proximity to China. Silla was considered by him to be on the same level as Goguryeo or of slightly less importance. The first route to Goguryeo and Balhae is described as the land route from the map of Ying Zhou Ru Andang-dao, and the second as the sea route described in the map of Dengzhou Haixing Goryo Pohai-dao to Goguryeo and Balhae.

In contrast, a route to Silla from the crossroads of the entrance of the Yalu River to Tangeunpo is recorded, and other parts of the description are muddled and difficult to accept as an accurate description of a direct route from China to Silla. The fact that any mention of transportation routes to Japan is not to be found shows that the entire region of Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla and Japan found in the Dong Yi section of the *Xintang-Shu* is regarded as a single region. Thus, specific descriptions of transportation routes to Silla would have been omitted, in whose place was left only a brief description of the entire region.

Unrealistic Navigation Routes to Silla

The “Navigation Route to Silla” is clearly an unrealistic route in light of the political mechanics that existed between the countries along this route. Goguryeo maintained a powerful presence in the north during the Three Kingdoms Period, with Balhae occupying the area during the Korean North and South Kingdoms Period. A conflict between the north and south existed on the Korean peninsula for approximately 60 years from 713 to 783, and again between 818 to 905. The different nations on the peninsula would have been merely vassal states in China’s eyes, and an effort to distinguish

them would not have been made. However, the countries on the peninsula themselves were locked in a struggle for survival.

Goguryeo seized control of Baekje's Kwanmisung in 392, which placed control of the seas surrounding Gyeonggi bay in Goguryeo's hands. The nearby west sea coastal region would have been designated by Goguryeo as an operational and defense area. It seems unlikely that diplomatic and commercial vessels from enemy states would have been allowed to pass through the sovereign waters of another state. Goguryeo even refused to grant passage to emissaries from the Chinese Wei Dynasty. Thus, any non-Goguryeo ships would have had to select a route crossing the Yellow Sea.

Several documents indicate that Goguryeo blocked the diplomatic travelling routes of Baekje and Silla. Baekje complained in 472 and 476 that sending diplomatic missions to China was becoming impossible due to Goguryeo's closure of transportation routes. In the winter of 648 (Queen Jin-deok 2), Kim Chun-chu and his son were almost killed by Goguryeo sentries while returning from Tang to request military aid. Silla and Baekje would have had no choice but to develop their own sea routes to the continent.

These facts illustrate that the *Daoli-zi* did not take into account the hostile conditions and political conflict that existed between the northern and southern nations in Korea. Historical records of frequent voyages crossing the west sea and the oblique route during the 8th and 9th centuries show that the sea routes outlined in the *Daoli-zi* are unrealistic. The

Chaek Bong Sah (冊封使)

Diplomatic delegation or the leader of such a delegation dispatched from China to bestow official recognition of sovereignty.

Navigation Route to Silla in the *Daoli-zi* were unilateral records from China's point of view that failed to consider the political and economic situation of the time, and unrealistic from a Silla's perspective. These coastal routes would have been used exclusively by Chinese officials or merchants.

While travelling in the Korean peninsula and into the continent presented little problem during times of peace, any conflict in the region rendered travelling on both land and sea very difficult. Travelling through the territory of a hostile nation would have caused a military conflict, as it would today. Therefore, an understanding of the maritime routes between Silla and China before the 9th century should not rely solely on the records found in the *Daoli-zi*.

Conversion from Coastal to Direct Routes

The use of the circuitous coastal route between Korea and China can be traced back from the 21st to 16th century BC. These coastal routes representing the most basic level of navigation were used as late as the early 6th century A.D. However, direct and oblique sea routes crossing the west sea began to be utilized following the development of shipbuilding and navigation techniques and changes in the political environment of the region.

Records of sea routes traversing the Yellow Sea can be found as early as the 3rd century A.D. In the *Weishu*, Dong Yi-zhuan, of the *Sanguo-zhi*, it is written that during Jingchu(237-249), emperor Mingdi of Wei secretly dispatched the Tai sho of Daifang, Lui Xin and the Taisho of Lelang, Xianyusi across the sea to subdue two provinces. This 'secret dispatch' was necessary since the seas surround the Liaodong region at the time were

controlled by the hostile Gongsun family, which forced Wei to send ships from the Shandong peninsula directly across the West Sea. The forces of the Gongsun family would not have allowed enemy ships to travel across its territory. The loss of the Liaodong region would have effectively closed down any land routes connecting the main continent to the Korean peninsula, which would also render maritime travel along the coast impossible.

Yejiŋo of the Jeunbomoonhunbigŋo states that “There were Goguryeo and Balhae during the Silla and Baekje period … and all transportation took place along sea routes”, providing evidence for the use of maritime routes. These sea routes do not merely indicate coastal routes. Assuming that coastal routes would have remained open while land routes were closed indicates an unawareness of the concepts of territorial sovereignty and control for both land and sea.

Numerous historical documents indicate that Goguryeo closed the routes used by diplomatic embassies from Baekje and Silla. Baekje sent an emissary to Wei in the 18th year of King Gae-ro’s reign to protest Goguryeo’s interference of land travel. *Baiji-zhuan of the Wei Shu* records that Goguryeo not only prohibited emissaries from Baekje from reaching Wei but refused to grant passage to envoys from Wei as well. These diplomatic parties would have had no choice but to utilize sea routes that crossed the Yellow Sea.

The Dong Yi Kao Li-zhuan of the *Zhitang-shu* records that Silla and Baekje sent emissaries in 626 to issue complaints about King Yung-reu, charging him of blocking the passage of tribute missions. Therefore these parties had to utilize isolated sea lanes that were free from Goguryeo’s military influence. The political situation in there region as defined by Goguryeo forced Silla and Baekje to use direct sea routes.

Sea Routes for Baekje and Gaya

Archaeological evidence has proven that Baekje maintained close contact with China's Nanzhao via the West Sea from early days. Chinese pottery, porcelain, Xijin mirrors and other items from the 3rd to 6th centuries have been discovered exclusively in the region of Baekje.

There is also plenty of evidence found in the literature regarding Baekje's contact with China. Tribute missions were dispatched to Dongjin in 372 (King Geunchogo 27), in 379 (King Geungusu 5), in 384 (King Chimryu 1), and again in 406 (King Jeon-ji 2). A Chaekmyungsah was sent from Dongjin in 416, and a mission was dispatched to Song in 424. Annual Kyunsahbongpyo were made to Song after 425 (King Gueesin 6) along with tributary gifts.

Hostile relations with not only Goguryeo but between Silla and Balhae would have made maritime travel along the coastline impossible, and the oblique sea route of the West Sea would have been established out of necessity. In the Liangzhigong-tu the frequent contact with the Nanzhao of China is written in the section of Baekje and the destruction by the attack of Goguryeo.

In the 5th century, Gaya had maintained diplomatic relations with Nan ji even before creating similar relationships with Goguryeo and Baekje. The king of Geumgwangaya, Gyeomji, paid a tributary visit offering gifts, and in return received the title of King Bonkuk, and General Bokuk. This mission would probably have taken a direct route across the West Sea instead of a littoral route due to Namji's conflict with Wei to the north.

Sea Routes for Silla

After the late 6th century, the political situation regarding Goguryeo left Silla no choice but to choose the direct sea route through the West Sea in order to reach Tang. Relations between Silla and Goguryeo deteriorated even further following Silla's successful campaign against in 551 (King Jin-heung 12), in which Silla took control of ten Goguryeo provinces along the Han river. In 553, Silla attacked and took Baekje's Danghangsung and created a new province, with Dangeunpo established as a strongpoint for maritime transportation to Tang. However, Goguryeo's naval forces would have made the coastal voyages described in the *Daoli-zi* difficult.

There was sufficient technology available for direct navigation to China. Several warships had made journeys to Ulleungdo as early as 512, and tributes were dispatched annually from the island. The long line of Silla ships to China in the 7th century would have followed a direct sea route across the Yellow Sea.

The trans-Yellow Sea route would be in even heavier use by the 8th century, with occasional use of the oblique sea route of the east China. Balhae's powerful navy would have made travel along the Suhan bay or Liaodong coastal routes difficult during the North and South Period.

In September of 732 (King Mu 14), Balhae sent Jang Mun-hyu by sea to attack Dengzhou in Shandong peninsula. Jang Mun-hyu's forces killed Dengzhou Jasah Wijun and destroyed the Tang garrison stationed there. In 733, Jang Mun-hyu attacked Me Du-shan in Liaosi. Sea routes were used in both campaigns, and powerful naval forces would have been employed. While these naval forces would have been based in the Yalu River, it would have been impossible to approach coastal waters through the entrance of the



View of Danghang-sung, which served as an importance point of entry and exit for trade and contact with China via the Yellow Sea.

Yalu River. Stung by Balhae's repeated attacks, Tang dispatched Kim Sa-ran, from the Silla, back to his home country to request a Silla attack on Balhae's south. Relations between Silla and Balhae worsened after this incident. In this hostile environment, the two nations would not have allowed ships, and especially ships bearing diplomatic missions, free access through their sovereign waters. Emissaries from each nation would have thus been forced to choose the sea route of crossing the Yellow Sea.

A Silla person named Jangchun encountered a cyclone while travelling on a merchant ship and was shipwrecked onto the shores of Wu, and after a long period of absence finally returned to his homeland in 745 (King Kyung-deok 4). This incident provides evidence for the existence of maritime trade between Silla and Wu in southern China, and the oblique sea route of the west sea would have been the route used by these traders. Since it would not have been possible for Jangchun to drift very far clinging to flotsam, he would have been shipwrecked somewhere close to this sea route.

Sea Routes of Japan

Japanese ships of the delegates to Sui and Tang primarily utilized three sea routes from the 600's. The Northern Route called the Silla Route also followed the sea route crossing the west sea instead of Gudan's coastal route. Japanese ships attempted a journey along the southern route of the oblique sea route of the east China, and used this direct route again in the early 8th century.

The more definitive evidence for the use of the oblique sea route can be found in Ennin's accounts of his sea route to Tang and of his return voyage written at about the same time as the *Daoli-zi*. Little in the world of sailing would have changed during the 40 years that separate the writing of the *Daoli-zi* and Ennin's accounts. The company of Ennin took the oblique route of the east China and cross the west sea. While Japanese navigations skill were inferior to those of Silla, Japanese ships were nevertheless able to utilize direct sea routes.

Fast Voyages by Silla's Trading Ships

In order to stimulate international trade among Silla, Tang and Japan in the 9th century, total travel times had to be reduced. Unlike passenger cruise ships, merchant vessels could expect maximum profit only by taking the direct route to destination ports and reducing sailing and loading and unloading times.

The swiftness of Silla trading ships can be observed through the following illustration. In April 20th, 839, the news of King Sin-mu's

accession reached Ennin's party that had docked at Shaocun near Dengzhou MouPing-hyeon Tao-cun. Ennin had been informed earlier on April 2nd only that "Chang Po-go had begun a rebellion and heavy fighting was taking place." It did not take long for the latest news to reach Ennin. The reasonability for spreading such news would have belonged to Chang Po-go's trading ships or other Silla trading ships.

The fact that Chang Po-go's trading ships took the shortest direct routes on their voyages is further illustrated through an examination of Japanese and Chinese sea routes and navigation techniques as appear in other literature of that time. Even though Japanese shipbuilding and navigation techniques lagged far behind those of Silla, Japanese ships began to use the direct Ming Zhou sea route after 777 when dispatching trading ships to China.

Ennin's *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki* is the most extensive and detailed literature regarding Silla maritime activities in the 9th century, and has made much of our present reconstruction of Chang Po-go's history possible. Sea routes of Silla trading ships are recorded in the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki*, including the south route and the oblique sea route which appear to be less restrictive routes.

An entry for June 9th, 847, offers a detailed description of shipping schedules. Silla trading ships carrying Kim Jin and his party left Song Jiang-kao of Suzhou on May 11th bound for Japan, and arrived 21 days later at Laushan in Lai zhou. This fleet must have sailed straight to Japan, unloaded its cargo, and sailed directly back to China's Shandong peninsula. This entire process took 21 days.

Incidentally, *the daily checklist of ships* comings and goings found in the document of *Nisshi Kotsu-shi* records the number of travel days as 6, 3, 6, 11,

4, 3, 13 and so on. It would not be very meaningful to take an average of these numbers, since travel times can vary greatly depending on sea conditions, sailing circumstances and so forth. However, if the average length of a trip is estimated to be 6 to 7 days, a trip as described above, when taking into account the overlay in Japan and the trip to Shandong peninsula, would indeed last about 21 days.

Silla and Chinese trading vessels in the 9th century thus took the shortest routes rather than circuitous West Sea or East China Sea lanes. The ships belonging to Zhang Zhixin in Ming zhou, who is presumed to have operated a dedicated maritime transportation enterprise, easily plied the waters between South China and Japan taking on passengers and cargo for advance payments. Nothing in the known literature hints that these direct voyages were perilous and that littoral routes were preferred. The fact that voyages took three to four days to cross the East China Sea indicates that directional and positional navigation were already well advanced, and ships no longer depended on “dead reckoning” or “help from the gods” to reach their destinations.

Numerous other entries in such documents show that trading ships from various nations took direct sea routes between Ming zhou and Japan in the early 9th century. For example, Egaku-washo, who had been staying in Tien Tai Shan, attempted to return to Japan via Ming zhou by taking Lee In-deok sahrang's ship. Twenty-four ryang of placer gold was sent to Ennin from Japan through the Silla merchant Dosipyirang, and upon hearing news that Mi Wa No Mii was departing from Ming zhou destined for Japan, Ennin hired wagons with 17 rolls of hemp cloth to secure passage for his party.

Automatic Route to Silla

At some point in time, Silla delegates to Tang began to frequent the regions of Great canal, Changjiang and downstream of Zhejiang. Chuzhou, like Dengzhou in the Shandong peninsula, was the first destination of Silla delegates to Tang crossing the West Sea. Yangzhou was a major point of entry for Silla delegates to Tang as well. It seems self-evident that in these cases diplomatic missions used the direct sea route of the oblique sea route of the West Sea. In addition, a large percentage of merchants carrying tributary and reciprocity goods passed through the southwestern seas of the Korean peninsula, using the direct southwestern route from Heuksando to the entrance of the Yangtze River for easier and faster transport.

An entry for April 2nd, 839, in the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki* illustrates how simple a voyage along the oblique sea route of the West Sea truly was. Nagamine Nosukune, the captain of the second ship, wrote that “recalling previous journeys, ships departing from Mingzhou were pushed by winds and arrived on the borders of Silla, and ships departing from the Yangtze River also arrived in Silla.”

These records show that ships leaving Mingzhou or the mouth of the Yangtze River were able to reach Silla almost automatically without even choosing a definite destination. The oblique sea route could be used without much navigation skill at all. Ships sailing to Japan along the oblique sea route of the West Sea would reach Silla instead. This route thus could even be called “the automatic sea route”.

Lee Jung-hwan's *Taekriji* also reveals that the oblique sea route of the West Sea was widely used, stating that Muju Heojin was used the most frequently for travel between Silla and Tang, which would have taken ships

through the oblique sea direct route of the West Sea. In September 12th, 837, Hyemoksan Hwasang Hyunwuk accompanied the Silla prince Kim Ui-jong bearing official correspondence to return to Heojin. In 847, a party of 37 including Jang Jishin and Won Jung departed Ming zhou Wang Hai-zhen and reached Chigado, Naryupo in Japan's Hizengoku after only three days of sailing.

In 862, Jang Jishin, Kim Mun-seub and Ren Zhong Ruan departed from Chigado in Hizengoku and reached Ming zhou, Shi Danao four days later. In June of 865, Jongye boarded Lee Yunho's ship and arrived five days later at Chigado after departing from Fuzhou in China, which is approximately 1.5 times farther away from Chigado than Ming zhou. In June of 865, Li yan xiao and a party of 63 people departed Ming zhou, Wang hai-zhen bound for Hizengoku, Chigado, and arrive three days later. These voyages across the East China Sea only took three to four days.

These records and evidence clearly show that Chang Po-go's trading fleet and other ships undertaking international voyages took the shortest direct route to reach points in East Asia quickly and efficiently, rather than the longer and circuitous coastal routes recorded by Gudan. In addition, the extensive use of these direct routes by Chang Po-go's fleet would have promoted their use by others even more.

Seaborne trade with China continued to flourish during the Second Three Kingdoms Period after Chang Po-go's death, and active trading took place between merchants in southern China and Goguryeo traders during the early Goguryeo period. The Ryeo-song trade should thus be understood as an extension of the Silla-Tang trade.

Chang Po-go's Trading Fleet and Maritime Religions of the Sea

Maritime Religions in Ancient Korea

Common Beliefs for East Asian Nations

Many people in ancient times held beliefs about nature that were passed down from prehistoric times. Belief in god formed the central natural religion in ancient Korea, with beliefs in sun and mountain gods prevalent as well. While sun and mountain worship were primarily conducted by those engaged in agriculture, fisherman and others drawing their livelihoods from the sea revered the ocean as a deity.

To fisherman, the winds and the waves were directly linked to their survival, and gave offerings to the sea gods to escape deadly winds and waves. While these rituals to appease the sea were sometimes held individually, they were more often conducted at the community or national level.

During the reign of the King, his youngest son Ahchan Yang Pae travelled to Tang as an emissary. Hearing that Baekje pirates were blocking his passage, he took 50 archers with him. When his ship reached Gokto, a severe storm forced him to dock there for ten days. Yang Pae became concerned and requested a divination, which told him that “there is a ghostly pond on this island, and offerings must be made there.” Thus offerings were given by the pond, and the water in the pond rose high.

(Samguk-Yusa vol. 2, Queen Jin-sung, Gutaji)

To the people of the ancient world that worshiped the spirits of nature, disasters at sea were interpreted as the anger of the Gods. Fear of the sea developed into the deification of the sea, wind, lightning and other phenomena.

The passage above illustrates that sailors and maritime travelers from all three East Asian nations--China, Korea and Japan--made offerings to common deities in order to escape the perils of the sea. These sailors did not hesitate to adopt the religious beliefs of their counterparts in other countries, and thus religious beliefs of the seas spread far and wide. One such belief was the cult of the Sea Dragon King, which later shifted to the worship of the Buddha and Bodhisattva after the introduction of Buddhism.

Traces of Sacrificial Rites in Jukmakdong, Buan, Jeonbuk

Archaeological evidence of marine religious rituals were discovered recently in Jukmakdong, Buan, Jeonbuk. The Jukmakdong ruins were found on the western cliffs of the Byunsan peninsula. Pottery from the Three Kingdoms Period as well as stone counterfeits were found in a bamboo grove



View of the Yellow Sea from the remains of the ritual site at Juk Mak-Dong.

behind a shrine called Suseongdang overlooking Wido. Additional pieces of earthen-ware from the Three Kingdoms Period and roof tile fragments from the later periods were found in the surrounding farmland. These artifacts indicate that this location was the site of religious rituals related to the sea.

This site appears to have held considerable political and military influence on the surrounding region as early as the Three Kingdoms Period. The area would have provided numerous mountains and islands for use as navigational markers during that time. With sea lanes crossing through this region heavy marine traffic from all three Kingdoms would have passed through this site.

This site is different from others due to the lack of traces of structural foundations, a wide distribution of artifacts and the discovery of items that appear to have been used in a religious ritual. It appears that these artifacts

were left behind after a ceremony had taken place, and this site could be classified as a site used for sacrificial rites related to marine activities during the Three Kingdoms Period.

A flat area measuring 20 meters by 15 meters seems to have been the site where these rituals took place during the Three Kingdom Period, when these types of rites were commonly held. Sacrifices were made to the maritime Ocean God, who also looked over sailors. These rituals would have been made on the open ground with earthenware pots containing sacrificial food, or just by arranging the ritual wares on the ground in the proper fashion.

Stone vessels were used for these rites in the early part of the 5th century. From the middle of the 5th century to the end of the century and even to the first few years of the 6th century, earthenware with relics vessels began to be used. New types of ritual ware were added after the 6th century, including deep bowls, open bowls, and gourd bottles. It appears that mainly locals were involved in these rituals, as these types of containers were widely used in the region, Jeonnam. However, it should be noted that these rituals were still official nation-wide rituals.

Excavations revealed artifacts from the 4th century as well as the 7th century along with these ritual vessels. This shows that the site was actively used from the time of King Geunchogo of Baekje. The additional discovery of metallic weapons and riding gear seems to indicate that these rituals had a military purpose as well. No ritual artifacts dating from the period after the Unification War have been found to date, which indicates that Silla stopped performing these rituals after the destruction of Baekje.

Details regarding these rituals after unification period are difficult to find, primarily because only small amounts of earthenwares, roof tiles, and



Dangjae, a ritual for the god of the village. Designated as an Intangible Cultural Asset on December 26th, 1995, the ceremony is held at Jangjwa-ri in Wando. Each year, every member of the village gather at the Songdae-Jangun Dang shrine on the 15th of January on the lunar calendar.

porcelain were discovered in no particular order of production or use. The evidence only indicates that rituals were carried out using earthenware vessels.

Artifacts from the Unified Silla period appear to have been made during the 8th to 9th centuries, judging by their appearance and patterns. Only a small number of these items were found, however, which seems to indicate that some type of change had taken place regarding these rituals. Whereas these rituals were performed on the state level during the Baekje period, they ceased altogether after unification. When central government control began to weaken, mainly local residents restored these rituals and they became important again for the local population.

Artifacts discovered in the area indicate that these locals were those who had influential political and economic positions, or were engaged in maritime trade. They restored these rituals which had been stopped by Silla, in order to ideologically unite the local population and solidify their power.

Religious rites during the Goguryeo period, on the other hand, were mainly hosted by the upper class members of the local population. Celadon pottery composed the bulk of excavated artifacts. While these were of lower

quality, commoners during the time used earthenware or bronze vessels. The celadon pottery seems to date from the mid-12th century to the end of the 14th century. Roof tiles are more difficult to date, but they seemed to have been used during the unified Silla period and through the Goryeo period.

Small amount of pieces of white porcelains and roof tiles of Choson dynasty were discovered at the same sites where the roof tiles of the unified Silla were excavated. The religious rituals of Choson seem to be almost the same as those of Goryeo except for the artifacts they used. As this kind of ritual continues up to today as Soosungdangje, their rites seem to have been held for safe sea travel, a large catch for fishermen and the welfare of the village. Prayers for the Suseongdang ritual hint at the presence of a shrine that these rites were carried out in the ancient times.

Religious Rites of Silla and Chunghaejin

Silla's mountain and river rituals take three forms: large, medium, and small. Large rituals refer to the three mountains: Mt. Myunghwal in Kyungju, Mt. Golhwa in Yungchun, Mt. Hyulye in Ahngang. They all surround Kyungju and protect the region. In the section of Kim Yu-shin of *Samguk-Yusa* vol. 41, *Yeoljeon*, there is an expression, "Three gods that protect the Kingdom." "The Three Gods" do not represent mere symbols but actual fortresses built on these mountains. Those three mountains were the places of strategic importance. Therefore the three mountains had not only religious significance but strategic significance as well.

The medium rites refer to the six sacrificial sites including Oak, Sajin, Sahae, Sadok, and Chunghaejin. The position that Oak can be divided into two phases, before and after the unification. Before unification Oak was a place of strategic importance, but after the unification, it seemed to have only

symbolical significance.

Sajin was placed on the border and had strategic importance. Onmalgeun in the east was located in Ulsan, and Haechiyari in the south in Milyang, both charged with the task of defending against an invasion from Japan. Gayagapak was located on the west coast and guarded against Tang. Woongjinark in the north was in Anbyeon around the borderline of Balhae. Oak and Sajin were placed in every state in Tang. In Silla, however, most provinces only had one, with many provinces having none at all.

Sahae were placed around the border line to defend the region from enemy attack. Sadok were also points of strategic importance. The other six ritual sites were placed on strategic places. Last on the list is Chunghaejin, also a military strongpoint. These ritual sites were placed all along the border of the Kingdom.

Chi Shan Buphwawon and the Marine Religion

Purpose of the Foundation of Chi Shan Buphwawon

Since the Shandong peninsula is located geographically close to the Korean peninsula and the transportation between these two areas were well developed, large numbers of Korean immigrants have crossed over to the Shandong peninsula from ancient times. Tang's open door policy to people from other nations and its close relationship with Silla led to the creation of large Silla settlements after the 8th century in the Shandong peninsula as well as the coastal region of Jiang Huai.

The villages of the people of Silla in the Shandong peninsula were located on the Mizhou coast, Chia Mapo on the foothills of Mt. Daeju,



Entrance to the Chishan Beophwawon

Rushan-pu and Socun in Deng zhou, Chishan-cun, Yuchon, Jinjangchon, around Yeosan, and Lau Shan of Jimo-hyeon in Lai zhou. Unlike the Silla people in Jiang Huai, those in the Shandong peninsula settled in the country side near the ports and mostly engaged in fishing and other maritime activities, due to their close proximity to the Yellow Sea.

At the eastern tip of the Shandong peninsula, on Mt. Chishan in today's Rongcheng city, Shandongsheng, stands Buphwawon, founded by Chang Po-go. Chang Po-go opened the Buphwawon while engaged in maritime trade, in Shandong, in the Chishancun, Wen Teng Hsien, Deng zhou. Chang Po-go founded Buphwawon in Chishan-cun where many Silla people lived, dedicating the temple to ensure safe navigation that could decide the success or failure of trading on the high seas. Chishan-cun was an important point on the Yellow Sea travelling lanes.

Chang Po-go founded the temple in order to reinvest the wealth. At that time people needed official certificate issued by the authority of Tang to work on trading business. Tang carried out this policy to earn public finance. This policy imposed heavy tax on the traders, which meant the traders had less chances to accumulate wealth. Recognizing this, Chang Po-go established tax-exempt temples. Chang Po-go appointed civilians such as Jang Young, Lim Dae Sa and Wang Hun instead of monks to do operate the temple, which indicates the true purpose behind the establishment of the Buphwawon temple.

It was necessary for Chang Po-go to have connections with existing traders in order to start the maritime trading business. He had to find a way to share something in common with them. By founding a temple, he could attract other traders to religion that they could share in common and link with each other. Chang Po-go thus tried to unite small merchants and traders. He also searched for a way to expand his operations into Silla in order to make greater profits, another reason for his decision to create Buphwawon staffed by Silla monks and serving Silla residents in the region.

The Establishment of Buphwawon

No records survive today that indicate the exact time of the foundation of the temple. The opinions regarding the time varies. The foundation of Buphwawon shows that Chang Po-go had enough wealth to build it. It does not seem that he founded the temple right after he retired from Wu Ning-Jun. He could not afford to do such work with the salary that he received from the Wu Ning-Jun. He retired from military service about 821, so the opinion that he founded around early 820 or around 821 is inappropriate.

Around the time Chang Po-go was leaving the Wu Ning-Jun, Tang's



View of the construction underway to expand Chishan Beophwawon

defense over the border was very weakened. As a result, traders were frequently attacked by the pirates and left vulnerable to the plunder of the Chiehdushi. The traders had no choice but to employ those who were skillful in martial arts to defend themselves and avoid this danger.

Judging from the situation of that time, Chang Po-go seemed to have been employed by a trader to fight against the pirates. His battle tactics stood out during his marine life. Through this work, he seemed to have some experiences on marine life and have seen how the trader earn the profits through trading.

After the retirement from the Wu Ning-Jun, Chang Po-go established economic and military power through marine business around 820. On the basis of this power he established Chunghaejin in 828. Buphwawon seems to have been founded during that period as well. In order to make sure that his voyages will be safe and protected from harm, Chang Po-go established Buphwawon at an enormous cost at Chishan-cun, which lay at the crossroads of Northeast Asian sea lanes as well as having a large Silla population, in order to utilize the region as his base of operations in China.

Scale of Chi-shan Buphwawon

The exact scale of the temple when it was built is not known, but it can be estimated by the record in the diary of Ennin who stayed there around 840. There was a main building of the temple. The hall that was lit on the night of December 29th, 839 to hold a memorial service and on November 9th in the same year and January 1st, 840 several monks gathered to offer a rite must have been the sanctum where the main image of Buddha was placed.

There was a large hall in the temple as well. Buphwawon offered scriptures every summer and winter, and Silla people living nearby came to the meeting. According to Ennin's record, at the end of the lecture meeting in January of 840, around 250 Silla people participated in the meeting. Presumably these worshippers gathered in the main hall, listened to the lectures and bowed in front of the images of Buddha, indicating that his central hall was at least large enough to hold 250 people at the same time.

Other buildings in the temple complex included monks, living quarters. It is recorded that 15 monks, 9 novices, 3 nuns, and two old women resided at the temple. They did not stay in the sanctum, nor in the main hall, but in the monks' quarters or nuns' quarters.

Buphwawon had Jangqinggak, a dining hall and a storehouse. It is recorded that on December 29th, 839, Kyungjang was lit at night when a mass was held there. Kyungjang seems to be another term for the Jangqinggak. Since there were at least 30 permanent residents at the temple, a separate dining hall would have been necessary. There is a record of Ennin and Gai Myo and his companions holding a rite in the dining hall on June 9, 839. It is also said the bell was rung at 8 o'clock in the morning during the lecture meeting to signal the start. This record indicates the presence of a bell

tower in the complex.

In sum, in the 840's when Ennin was staying at the temple, Buphwawon had a main building, a lecture hall to hold 250 people for the lecture meeting, monks, and nuns, quarters for 30 residents, Jangqinggak to keep the Buddhist Scriptures, a dining hall, a storehouse, and a bell tower. The expenses to run the temple was provided by the 500 sok of grains produced at the field belonging to the temple.

Closing and Rebuilding of Chi-shan Buphwawon

In February, 840 Ennin left Chi-shan Buphwawon to begin his pilgrimage to Mt. Ohdae and Chang An and came back to Deng zhou in August, 845. However, Chi-shan Buphwawon was destroyed and there was no place for him to stay. Buphwawon had been a bustling temple, with 30 monks and nuns and a stream of local Silla residents, Chang Po-go's fleet and officers and even Tang emissaries constantly passing in and out of the temple. However, in the short span of five years while Ennin travelled to Mt. Ohdae and Chang An, the once-proud temple had crumbled to ruins. Ennin wrote in his diary that local authorities had demolished the temple upon orders from the central government.

This order to Ennin referred to was the order issued by King Wu-zong of Tang for the closure of all temples in the land. This policy first began with the forcible defrocking of monks and ended with the destruction of Buddhist statues and icons, and finally the closure of all temples, which took place in four phases between July of 844 and the same month of 845, beginning with smaller temples and ending with the largest temples in the empire.

Although Buphwawon had been legally built, it was a relatively small temple, and thus was destroyed early on in the campaign during the second



Headquarters of the Hwa Eom-Jong Buddhist order in Nara, Japan

phase in October of 844. These harsh measures against Buddhism were lifted after the death of Wu zong, and monks and nuns began to return to their newly reconstructed temples. However, Buphwawon remained closed. Chang Po-go, the founder and sponsor of the temple, had been assassinated by being embroiled in the political chaos of his home country in the 841's, and the government had confiscated a large part of the temple's farmland.

Around the end of 1980's the Japanese traced Ennin's activities and to honor him they reconstructed Chishan Buphwawon at the foot of Chishan, Sukdojin, Rongcheng city, Shandong sheng, which was the presumed site of the former Buphwawon. The Japanese tried to reconstruct Buphwawon with donated funds, and eventually established a smaller-scale version of the temple of Todae-ji in Japan. In addition, the new temple's main building was placed in the wrong position. The largest discrepancy, however, was the erection of a monument in 1987 that claimed that Buphwawon was Ennin's temple in ancient times. To amend this error, the Chang Po-go's Maritime Administer Research Institute built a monument to Dae Sa Chang in 1990 and removed the 16 monuments that the



Main hall of Do Dai-ji

Japanese had erected on the temple grounds.

The main sanctuary of the temple was constructed on May 1st, 1990, followed by other buildings. At the entrance to the temple a stone temple gate was set up and the compound of the temple was neatly arranged. The main sanctuary was placed in the center, behind which is a Sanfubao-dian. On the left of the main building is the Guanyim-dien, and Dijang-dian was facing the Guanyim-dien. Other buildings were placed behind Guanyim-dien. In the yard of the main sanctuary stands two stone lamps facing each other, and a small brook flows across the yard. A arched stone bridge hangs over the brook.

Role of Chi-shan Buphwawon

Chi-shan Buphwawon's social role can be classified into three main purposes.

First, the temple was a edification place for the Silla people in Tang. Ennin recorded in his diary on January 15, 839, that there resided 11 Jiao Sect monks, 4 Zen Sect monks, 9 novice monks, and three nuns at the

temple. They seemed to be engaged in edification work of the area around Chishan-cun. They opened two-month-long Buddhist lecture meetings in summer and in winter with the two scripture scriptures, Keumkwangkyung and *Buphwakyung*.

During the scripture lecture meeting in Buphawon, men and women, monks and laymen all gathered at the temple and they listened to the lecture during the day, and participated in the mass and scripture recitation at night. The lecture began at eight o'clock in the morning. The lecturer gave lectures, the debater led the discussion through questions and answers, and finally the reviewer summed up the lectures and discussions so that the laymen participants could better understand the lecture.

All of the laymen participants were the Sillans in Tang. Forty monks and Buddhists took part in the winter lecture meeting in 839. All of the participants were Sillans except for four Japanese monks including Ennin. All of the participants were all from Silla including the 200 and 250 people of the last two days, which indicates that the services held at the temple were for the benefit of Silla expatriates rather than local Tang residents.

Second, Buphawon was a place to offer prayers for a safety voyage. The name "Buphawon" came from "*Buphwakyung*", a Buddhist scripture. *Buphwakyung* is one of the main Mahayana scriptures, which was formed in northwest India around the 1st century. *Buphwakyung* attracted interest from early times as a fundamental scripture of Mahayana. *Buphwakyung* beliefs are closely tied to sailing and the seas. Kwanseumbosal Bomunpum of Buphwakyung states that once a ship met a storm and the ship was on the verge of capsizing. If one of the people aboard told the others that if even one person aboard called the name of Bodhisattva, they would get out of the danger. It was probably for this reason that the sailors of East Asia

relied on Bodhisattva, whose work is to save the humankind from trials while showing great compassion and affection, for safe voyage and protection from disaster.

Belief in the Bodhisattva by sailors hoping for a safe voyage was closely related to the *Buphwakyung*. Chang Po-go obtained wealth and power through marine business. The essential factor of successful maritime business was safe voyages. No matter how great navigation and ship construction skills they had, and no matter how systematically the crew were organized, Chang Po-go's sailors became powerless before of the awesome might of nature. There is little doubt that Chang Po-go would have appealed to the Bodhisattva to overcome this problem, which would have turned him towards *Buphwakyung* as well. Thus he chose this as the name for the temple he built on the foothills of Chishan, a key point in coastal navigation to wish for the safety of his ships.

Third, Chi-shan Buphwawon played the role of a mediator to strengthen the unity of the Silla people in Tang. The Buddhist lecture meeting held in Chishan Buphwawon was same as those held back in Silla because the meeting was for the Silla people and was hosted by Silla monks using Silla language and ritual practices. The Silla people in Tang wanted to confirm their identity by participating in these lecture meeting. By confirming their identity, they became determined to keep their ties and maintain the link of brotherhood with each other.

In addition to the regular meetings held in summer and winter, there seemed to have been small and large scripture meetings at Buphwawon. At the meetings the Sillans in Tang tried to fortify their unity and exchanged information, soothing the nostalgia for their homeland. Buphwawon enabled the Silla people in Tang to correspond to each other quickly, take

care of each other, and maintain close relationship through the frequent meetings held at Buphwawon

Since Buphwawon had played a central role for Silla people in Tang by providing a place to meet each other and strengthen national ties as well as confirm their Silla identities. The destruction of the temple, therefore, would have accelerated the collapse of the Silla society in the Shandong region.

Silla Residents in Japan and Silla's Gods

Forming of the Silla Society in Japan

As Silla residents in Tang formed a society in the Shandong peninsula centered around Chishan Buphwawon, Silla people in Japan also formed their own society. There was a constant stream of Silla immigrants to Japan even before these communities had fully formed. Records give a glimpse of the process of forming the Silla society in Japan.

Fourteen Silla people moved to Japan in March in 687 and they were given some land for farming in Shino Isuke No-gumi. In April of the next year 22 Silla monks and civilians came to Japan, and they were given farmland for living. Japan sent the Silla people who came in April in 689 to Shino Isuke No-gumi. In February of 690, 50 Silla immigrated to Japan, including the Silla monk Jeon-gil and geupchan Buk Jo-jee. In the same month 12 Silla people moved to Musashino-gumi, including Hannamal Huh Man. In August some Sillans were sent to Shino Isuke No-gumi.

In July in 715, 74 Silla families were sent to Mino-gumi and they settled in Musirota-gun. In August in 758, 34 Silla monks, 19 men, and 21 women were sent to some vacant land of Musashino-gumi to form the firm

Silla-gun as part of Saitama-ken Iruma-gun, in Musashino-gumi. Ever increasing number of immigrants to Japan from the end of the 8th century to the early 9th century. the *Shoku Nihon Gi* offers an illustration of these immigrants in the follow passage.

These days Sillans keep coming to Japan by boat to be naturalized in Japan. They come here to avoid the hard work, leaving their ancestors' graves in their hometown. Who would not miss their hometown? Bring them and ask them twice or three times whether they want to go back home. If they do, give them food and let them go back home.

It records that the next year in 760, 131 naturalized Silla people were brought to Musashino-gumi. A record from 774 found in the Ruijyu Sandai-kyaku describes the general rule that was used in handling the Musashino-gumi who came to Japan to be naturalized as Japanese nationals.

Silla people come here occasionally to be naturalized or by chance they drift here. If people drift here, they don't mean to come intentionally, therefore send them back showing mercy. If their boats are damaged or there is no food left, repair the boats and provide them with food. If they want to be naturalized, treat them with appropriate manners. Hence, let this be the model of dealing with this issue.

There was a good reason why Silla people kept immigrating to Japan. In the early 9th century, famine struck Silla hard. In 815 (King Hun-deok 7)

a great famine struck Ju · Gun in the west, robberies increased, and the next year, in 816, when the famine deepened, 170 starving people went to Zhedong in China to find food. In some cases, they earned food by selling their children. Many of these starving Silla people were forced to move to China and Japan to survive.

In March of 813, 110 Silla people were naturalized as Japanese nationals. In August of 814, six Silla people were sent to Musashino-gumi, and 26 additional Silla people came in October. In October of 816, 180 Silla people including Chung Suk-jin brought themselves to Japan to be naturalized, along with 43 Silla people including Kim Chang-nam who were naturalized in February of 817. In April of the same year Won San-ji with 144 Silla people were naturalized in Japan.

In 819, up to 300 Silla people immigrated to Japan when the Chuzhouk rebellion swept over the entire nation. In July 822 (Konin, 13), it is recorded that 40 Silla people landed in Japan and that 826 Silla people in total landed in Japan from August 811 to May 824 in thirteen different groups.

Naturalized Silla people were sent to empty field collectively, and this led to the rebellion of the 700 Silla people in Dotoumi and Suruga in 820.

Chojeok Rebellions

Refers to peasants and refugees that organize into rebel forces. The activity of such groups were most evident during the late-Silla period to the Second Three Kingdoms period, and during the Musin reign period of Goryeo. As the central government of Silla began running low on funds in the late 9th century, it applied increasing pressure to the regional governors for taxes. Peasants had to bear the tax burden from the central government as well as the regional governors. Famines and epidemics pushes these peasants from mere refugees into active rebels fighting the government's exploitation.

They entered Izuno-gumi and robbed grain, which shows that they seemed to have been sent to barren lands where farming was almost impossible. At any rate, it is clear that immigration records indicate that a large number of Silla people moved to Japan. Alarmed at the increasing numbers of Silla people flowing into Japan, the Japanese government on August 20, 824 (Tenjyo 1), issued a law that stipulated the settling of anyone from Silla, naturalized or not, in the empty lands of Mutsuno-gumi.

The influx of Silla immigrants inevitably created anti-Silla sentiments in Japanese society. On the visitors list found in vol. 8 of the Heian-Ibun in the Seungsang Hyochung written in 839, the phrase “Silla enemies” can be seen. Vol. 1 of the *Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki* writes that the captain, Jangjamsuknye, of the second of the 9 ships in the fleet said during the voyage, “If we meet west wind, northern west, or southern west wind, we will surely reach the land of our enemy”, referring to Silla, showing that some Japanese considered Silla to be an enemy nation.

In 842 (Jowa 9) Fujiwatanomamoru, the Dazai-daini made four suggestions to the government, including the prohibition of Silla immigrants from entering Japan.

In his four suggestions, he wrote, ‘The first reason is thus. The Silla have sent tributes in the past, but from the great King Sho-mu up to now, out of the wickedness they have not dedicated anything, not even a blade of grass. They spy on the government’s affairs under the disguise of business. While our people are suffering from poverty and hunger, how could we face it, if something unexpected happens? Here I suggest that no Sillans be allowed to come into the palace. “Aside from grace and

mercy, the barbarians are thronging in from outside. Just stopping them from coming in the palace is not enough. Following the precedence, let them return to their country, giving them some food, if any boats drifted in. If commercial boats come ashore, let them unload the cargo and let the civilians buy the merchandise. Let them leave this country as soon as the selling is done.

Even though the Japanese themselves were burdened with food shortages, Sillans kept coming into Japan. Japanese officials began to realize that Silla was a significant presence, and that unchecked immigration might lead to chaos and disorder, which naturally resulted in a public opinion hostile to Silla.

Japan dispatched soldiers to Iki Island in 835 to deal with incoming Silla merchants.

The authority of Dazaifu said, “Iki Island is far off in the middle of the ocean. The island is mountainous and narrow, and there are only small number of residents, who are not capable of defending the island in an emergency. These days Silla merchants keep coming in to spy on the island. If we do not dispatch soldiers to defend the island, we won’t be able to do anything in emergency. Please deliver a command that the 330 workers in the island to be armed and be posted in the 14 key points on the coast to maintain the island’s defenses.” The government accepted the proposal.

In 838 a trainer was dispatched to Iki Island to teach the soldiers how to shoot catapults to keep a wary eye of the Silla merchants who frequently visited the island. Many Silla immigrants resided in Hakada which was the door of international business of Japan. Lee Shin-hye, a former monk of Chishan Buphwawon, was one of them. He went to Japan and stayed in Dazaifu for eight years. Shuseinomiya, the governor of Tsukusengoku, said that he took care of these pitiful “people.” By the word, “people”, it is assumed that there lived at least a group of Silla people in Tsukusengoku. They are assumed to have been engaged in the translation or trading business.

In the early 9th century, Wang Chung, a Silla’s international trading merchant drifted and stayed in Nagatono-gumi in Japan for a long time with the Chinese merchant Jang Gakje and his brother. It was probably the Silla community there that took them in and provided for them. He seemed to have stayed in Japan for an extended period of time, since he eventually managed to become quite proficient in the Japanese language. The government would not have had the will nor the facilities to support someone like Wang Chung for a long time. Nagatono-gumi was also a port as important as Hakada and many Silla people are presumed to have lived there.

In 869 the tribute of Bujean, silk and cocoon cotton was robbed by Silla’s pirates at the port of Hakada. Many of the Silla people in Hakada were suspected to have been confederated with the pirates and they were summoned to the capital. The government of Dazaifu delivered a commandment as follows.

Provide food and horses for Yunchung and Sungyun, and
30 other Silla people, and let them come to the capital taking two

separate routes, on land and water. Before this command was delivered, the Dazaifu government reported the incident of the robbery to the central government as follows. The company of Yunchung are suspected of the robbery of cocoon cotton at Dazaifu. We plea to kept them in detention. Yunchung and his companions have been engaged in trading business in this land for a long time.

It is recorded that Yunchung and the 30 Silla people lived there for a long time. It is estimated that the Silla residents in the area must have lived there much for longer, from as early as the 9th century. As the port, Hakada was a gateway of international trading frequented by Silla merchants. They seemed to have been sailors or engaged in trading business, translation, work related to marine business.

Lee Sinhye

Dates of birth and death unknown. A former Buddhist priest from Silla who lived in the 9th century, Lee Sinhye worked as a Japanese language translator and engaged in the trade business in Tang, at a time when numerous Silla expatriates were working as traders in Tang under the auspices of Chang Po-go's dominance over trade in East Asia.

Wangcheong

Dates of birth and death unknown. Silla merchant who was active in Tang, Wangcheong specialized in trade with Japan, working together with fellow countryman Wangjong to amass great wealth.

Bujean Koku

Geographical term used during the Heian period to describe what is today's eastern Fukuoka prefecture and northern Ooita prefecture.

They even worked as crews of Japanese trading ships to Tang. A regulation regarding the salary of the crew members of the ship was written in a Japanese ancient statute book, the Engi-Siki. A Silla translator received four pils(rolls) of silk, 20 dons of cocoon cotton and four dans (bundles) of hemp cloth, while a Silla crew received 4 dons of cocoon cotton and 2 dans of hemp cloth. The trading ships to Tang belonged to Silla, so skillful Silla crews seemed to have been employed. The Silla crews for these ships were not hired directly from Silla but from the Silla communities in Hakada and other areas in Japan. Sillans in Japan thus were engaged in a variety of occupations.

Japanese Belief in Silla Gods

The Silla community in Japan spread their religion to the Japanese. In the 9th century the Japanese dedicated a mass to a Silla's God before voyage. This shows that the power of the Silla merchants who monopolized Northeast Asian marine business and the power of the Silla community rooted in northern Kyushu were strong.

Gaisanjo Sai Cho of Japan's Dendai-sect provided offerings to Silla's Gods in Buzen-goku Usa and Kawara before embarking on his voyage to Tang, and upon his return created Jingu-shrine. Ennin's followers made offerings to the Silla's God of Chishan as per their teacher's instruction, and Wonjin made a dedication to Shiragi-Myosin at Onzhoji temple. Japanese belief in Silla gods will be examined using the following examples.

The Gaya God of Iron, Usahatsimansin

The Gosiluien describes the appearance of the Usahatsimansin as follows. This god was guided by the mysterious Danuchio who lived in



Onzhoji temple, a spiritual center of diplomatic exchange. Every building in the temple complex displays Silla architectural styles. The Silla Shrine still remains in Wonseongsa.

Okura-sanrogu to appear in March 571 at a young age. He then bestowed the “banner of the eight flows” onto Karagumi-zho, and claimed finally that he had become a god of Japan.

It is noteworthy that this god was guided by Danuchio and declared himself to have become a Japanese god at Karagumi-zho. The “Shin” (Kara in Japanese) undoubtedly was related to people who had immigrated from Korea. Karagumi-zho represents the home of the Karashima-family of Korea, which seems to indicate that this god was first acknowledged by the Karashima clan.

This god was guided by someone called “Danuchio”. It is unclear when metalworking skills began to develop in Japan. However, scholars claim that such technologies were passed on to Japan from Korea. The historical book *Samguo-zhi* states that large quantities of steel could be found in the downstream region of the Nakdong River.

This “Danuchio” seems to designate a group of iron-related craftsmen who had lived in Byunjin and had moved to Usa in Japan. Karashima family appears to be a clan in this group of artisans. Usahatsimansin would have

been a God of iron and steel that the Karashima clan from the Byunjin region brought with them. The god was enshrined in Japan, recorded in history books and would eventually have been linked to the nation's mainstream religious system.

Sai Cho would have visited Usa before his journey to Tang due to the relationship of the residents of this region to Silla, their wealth and knowledge about oceanic voyage. The Yamato government also held Usa in very high regard, not necessarily because the royal god of Ojindenno and Usa Hachiman were closely related but rather to collect information of Silla and deal with diplomatic issues between Silla and Japan.

Silla's God of the Sea

Records of a Silla's God of Kawaru can be found in Japan's *Buzengoku-Hudogi* written around 713. The book states, "According to tales, the Silla's god himself crossed here and sojourned in this Kahara, and a mountain lies behind, where copper can be found on its third peak."

About a hundred years after this book was written, however, the historical book *Shoku Nihon Goki* records Sai Cho's offerings to the Silla's God before he followed the delegates to Tang, China, and that in times of flood or drought the people would pray to this god who was given official status as a state god. Even the name of Shiragi-Myosin was changed to Kawara Sinsin.

As seen earlier in *Hudogi*, copper was mined from the third peak. According to Engi-Siki which dates from 913, this copper was used to make the copper mirrors for the traditional Buddhist ritual of 'freeing the fish', the most important rite performed for the god Usahachiman. This ceremony began at the Gogyo-Hachiman on the third peak.

Thus it can be seen that Kawara and Usa shared many similarities in worship practices. Scholars estimate that Sinshogu Karashima family of Usahachiman shared family ties with the high priest Choko and the bow maker Akasome of Kawaru-shrine.

In the Buzengoku Gosekicho-dankan of 702, currently preserved in Shosoin in Nara, Japan, several families from the Dorai origin with the surnames of Hata and Sukuri can be found. These clans had been living in this region since before 645.

The Silla people of Kawaru-gyo would also have migrated from the land of Byunjin on the Nakdong River over a long period of time. Their god was probably the god of immigrant people closely related to mining skills that had spread in the area between 540 and late 571. This immigrant god would have assimilated to local deities and enshrined in the traditional way. This god participated in the ritual of the dedication held at the Usa Hachimannogami, and seems to have been closely linked to immigrant populations spread over a wide area, from the northern parts of Buzengoku to its eastern regions. The discovery of Silla roof tiles in the region seems to support this theory.

This god was a god related to metal and metalworking at first, but by the time of Sai Cho the deity had become a powerful protector of oceanic travelling who prevented disasters and defended the state religion. The reason that Sai Cho paid his respects to the gods here before embarking on this voyage to Tang, however, was probably because this region had several powerful Silla merchants who managed to dominate the maritime trading of this region in Kara Hagu and the mouth of the river of the Onga-gawa.

Shiragi-Myosin, the Guardian of Buddhism

Enjin, the fifth chief lecturer of the Dendai-sect order, arrived in Tang on the Silla merchant Heum yang-hui's ship and returned in June of 858. According to the *Onzhoji-ryugae-engi*, an old man appeared on the ship while he was returning home, calling himself Shiragi-Myosin and offering to lecture Enjin on the teaching of Buddha. The mysterious old man appeared again later to select the site of Onzhoji temple.

Ootsu's Onzhoji temple was originally the clan temple of the family of Oodomo Nosuguri-ge, former Silla immigrants. The god of Shiragi-Myosin to whom the temple is dedicated was brought there by these immigrants. It is not clear exactly when this god settled in the Ootsu region. It seems that the ancient family name of suguri was related to the same name in Silla. The suguri clan were regional leaders in Silla who were placed in charge of taxation, and the organization of labor and military service, and it would seem that the suguri clan of Japan performed similar tasks for the Japanese state in what is today the region of Ootsu.

The dedication of a temple to Shiragi-Myosin by Enjin in 862, or the bestowing of an official title of Shoyong-ijio to a foreign god reflects the size and scale of the immigrant population during this time as well as their power. The fact that both the Sanmon sect and the Jimon sect proclaimed their belief of the Silla's God while they struggled against each other offers another view of the true nature and scale of the immigrant society there.

Japan became more xenophobic in the early 8th century, and became especially resistant to Silla. However, the Japanese had no choice but to rely on Silla for maritime trade or diplomatic exchange with Tang. The belief in the Silla's God of Shiragi-Myosin reflects this attitude towards Silla and Silla culture that was prevalent in Japan at the time.

05

Fall of the Maritime Empire

Chaos in Silla's Central Government

Struggle for the Throne and the Beginning of the Decline

The struggle for the royal throne among the nobles intensified after the death of the political reformer King Kyung-deok and the accession of King Hye-gong, which signalled the end of the middle era. The late Silla period was marked by numerous natural disasters and peasant revolts, while the central government was embroiled in a fierce struggle for power.

King Hye-gong came to the throne as the oldest son of King Kyung-deok at the age of eight, which placed control of the government in the hands of his mother, Lady Manwol who ruled as regent. In the first month of 766, one year after King Hye-gong became king, the *Samguk-Sagi* records that two suns appeared in the sky. While today this sort of phenomenon

could be explained as an illusion created by the reflection of the sun, the ancient society of Silla would have offered a different explanation.

The sun represented the king in ancient societies. This occurrence would have been interpreted as an omen for a disaster that would strike the nation and the king. The fact that this incident was recorded in the history books during the reign of King Hye-gong seems to hint at the political struggle that would follow.

There were other strange signs throughout the land. A calf with five legs was born in 766, the land suddenly sank producing a pond overnight, and the beating of drums were heard in the sky. Earthquakes struck a year later, three stars fell on the palace, and rice plants suddenly turned into rice grains. Ancient Silla people would have accepted these signs as harbingers of terrible things that would strike the land or the king.

Finally, Il Gil-cha Dae-Gong and his brother Dae-Ryum rose in revolt in 767, and was put down after a month of fighting. The *Samguk-Yusa* offers a more detailed description of this incident, stating that Gakgan Dae-Gong began a revolt in which 96 Gakgan in the capital city as well as around the entire country rose against each other and fought fiercely. Of course, there could not have been 96 people in Silla holding the post of Gakgan, a high government office in Silla. Rather, a large number of nobles around the country seems to have fought against each other. It is said that countless people died during these battles.

The Chinese history book, the *Xintang-Shu* also contains records of this period in Silla's history. The *Xintang-Shu* states that numerous officials at the ministerial level fought each other for control of the government for three years, plunging the nation into turmoil. These records seem to refer to the numerous small and large revolts and battles that lasted until Kim Yung's

revolt and eventual execution in 770 (King Hye-gong 6). This period in Silla's history is referred to as the 'Revolt of the 96 Gakgan'. This marked the turning point from the relatively stable and prosperous middle period to the chaotic late period of Silla's history.

The struggle for power did not end with the suppression of the 96 Gakgan revolts. Kim Eun-gu instigated a revolt in June of 775(King Hye-gong1) and was executed, and in August of the same year Yum Sang conspired with Jung Mun but was captured and killed. King Hye-gong's reign was plagued with revolts due to his young age and weakness and the bounds placed upon him by the regent. However, King Hye-gong's age was not the only reason for the challenges to the throne. The fundamental degradation of central power and authority bred repeated assaults against the throne, as nobles and officials began to question the authority and the legitimacy of the king.

King Hye-gong himself did little to prevent these revolts, drowning himself in wine and women as he became older. Finally, after 16 years on the throne, King Hye-gong and his queen were killed by Kim Ji-jung who started a revolt in 780. The struggle around the throne had finally claimed

Revolt of the 96 Gakgan

A nation-wide rebellion that occurred in 768 (king Hye-gong 4). According to The Chronicles of the Three States, King Hye-gong was crowned king in 765 at the age of eight, and his mother, Lady Manwol became regent. She was a poor ruler, and a number of in auspicious natural signs are said to have occurred. This revolt was a war between two factions supporting the central government or the rebels, and become the first in a long series of battles over control of the throne. This revolt also reduced the power of the central government, resulting in the collapse of royal authority during the middle period of Silla.

the life of the king. Kim Ji-jung was in turn killed by the Sangdaedeung Kim Yang-sang and Yichan Kim Kyung-shin. Kim Yang-sang then took the throne as King Sun-deok, who appointed Kim Kyung-shin as Sangdaedeung for his role in the suppression of Kim Ji-jung's revolt. King Sun-deok himself, however, fell ill and died soon after in 785.

King Won-sung and the Doksuh Sampungwa

King Sun-deok did not have a son to whom he could pass on the crown. In Silla, sons did not always inherit the throne. Sons became king after their fathers in the vast majority of cases, but the King's uncles, brothers, sons, daughters, sons-in-law, and grandsons all had a right to receive the kingship. The king would select an heir among the eligible family members as the crown prince. However, as King Sun-deok died without choosing an heir, the selection became the responsibility of the court and government officials. Kim Ju-won, King Sun-deok's nephew and former prime minister under King Hye-gong, was selected to become the next king.

However, Kim Kyung-shin, who had been largely responsible for the accession of King Sun-deok, ignored this decision and declared himself king as King Won-sung. On the day that Kim Ju-won was to be crowned as the rightful King, heavy rains swelled the stream near his home and prevented him from reaching the coronation ceremony. Kim Kyung-shin declared that the rain was divine intervention indicating that Kim Ju-won should not become king, and managed to gain the crown himself. Kim Ju-won was forced to leave the capital city, and moved to Myung-ju where he eventually died.

Thus crowned, King Won-sung initiated the Doksuh Sampungua policy in 788 (King Won-sung 4). Doksuh Sampungua required candidates to master the *Zhou Yi*, the *Shi Jing*, the *Shu Jing*, *Li Ji*, the *Chun Qui*, *Lun Yu*, *Xiao Jing*, and Wen Xuan, after which they would take a national test that would place them in one of three classes. Prior to the establishment of this testing system, officials were trained and selected within the Hwarang system, or were recommended by government officials for their exceptional abilities. Doksuh Sampungua was a system that would ensure a fair selection process in order to place the best personnel in key government positions.

However, since the king had the final say in the selection of the successful candidate, anyone who gained an official position through the Doksuh Sampungua had a high probability of becoming a supporter of the throne. The true purpose of this system was for the king, who had won the throne through illegitimate means, to select his own cadre of supports. In a similar political move, emissaries were dispatched by King Won-sung to hostile Balhae as an attempt by the king to divert attention away from domestic politics.

The reign of King Won-sung was marked by endless natural disasters, as Silla continued to be plagued by swarms of locusts, drought, floods, earthquakes and diseases. Bands of thieves appears in all parts of the nation, and a rebellion in 791 (King Won-sung 7) by the Administrative official Je Gong only added further fuel to the fire of turmoil. Repeated natural disasters and revolts greatly undermined King Won-sung's attempts to strengthen the kingship and restore political order. Finally, King Won-sung died in December 798 after fourteen turbulent years on the throne.

King Hyun-deok and the Rebellion of Kim Heon-chang

Following the death of King Won-sung, Kim Jun-ong ascended the throne as King So-seong. King So-seong, who had lost his father when he was still young, was the grandson of King Won-sung. King So-sung died after only two years on the throne, and the kingship passed on to this thirteen year-old son King Ae-Jang. Due to the youth of the King, his uncle Kim Un-seung became the regent and ruled in the place of the King. With the official title of Ahchan, Kim Un-seung held the position of Byungbu-ryung, equivalent to today's minister of defense. King Ae-jang placed Kim Ju-won's son Kim Heon-chang in the position of Prime Minister in order to reconcile with Kim Ju-won's family, who had been deprived of its rightful place on the throne by King Ae-jang's grandfather King Won-sung. However, greed for power drove the regent and uncle of the king Kim Un-seung to murder King Ae-jang and take the crown for himself.

Kim Un-seung, younger brother of King Sosung and the uncle of King Ae-jang, took the throne as King Heon-deok. King Heon-deok appointed his cousin Kim Gyun-jeong as prime minister in 812 (King Heon-deok 4). In the following year, the king appointed Kim Heon-chang as the Dodok in charge of Mujinju(Kwangju). Kim Heon-chang returned to the central government a year later and became the prime minister, and in 816 was appointed as the dodok of Chungju. He held the position of dodok for more than five years, then became the dodok of Ungchunju in 821 (King Heon-deok 13). While dodok was a position of considerable power in charge of an entire province, such provincial posts were unbefitting of someone who had held the position of prime minister, a high central post. Kim Heon-chang's

repeated posting to the provinces indicates the extent of the central government's desire to keep his power in check.

A year after Kim Heon-chang was appointed as the dodok of Chungju, he rebelled against the state to protest his father's failure to receive the kingship. Kim Heon-chang's rebellion was a serious affair. He chose Jangan as the name of the country, and the name of the year as Kyungwun). He tried to threaten various local governors and officials into joining his rebellion, including the dodok of Moojinju, Wansanju, Chungju, and Sabulju as well as the mayors of several cities including Kuk Won Kyung, Suh Won Kyung and Geum Gwan Kyung. Among these regions, Kim Heon-chang had been the former dodok of Mujinju and Chungju. It appears that Kim Heon-chang had made preparations to add his former domains to his sphere of influence in his rebellion while he was still holding local positions.

However, the dodok of Chungju did not acquiesce to Kim Heon-chang's demands and fled to Chuhwa-gun. In Hansanju, Uduju, Sapryangju, and Paegangjin, Bukwonkyung, armies were organized to counter Kim Heon-chang's rebellion. Silla government 'forces met Kim Heon-chang's rebel army in several battle in Boeun, Sungju, and other regions, and won victory after victory. Finally, Kim Heon-chang was defeated in a battle at Kongju and committed suicide. Following Kim Heon-chang's death, 239 family members and accomplices were executed for taking part in his rebellion.

The shock of Kim Heon-chang's open challenge to the authority of the Silla king as well as the legitimacy of the state itself reverberated throughout the nation. Shortly after the suppression of Kim Heon-chang's rebellion, his son Kim Bum-mun united with the bandit Su Shin of Mt.

Godal in another revolt. Kim Bum-mun attacked Bukhan Sansung in order to create a capital city in Pyungyang, but was defeated and killed. Repeated revolts by Kim Ju-won's son, Kim Heon-chang and grandson Kim Bum-mun created a political atmosphere that laid Silla open to further rebellions and challenges to the central government's authority.

King Heung-deok and the Establishment of Chunghaejin and Dangsungjin

King Heondeok was followed by his younger brother King Heung-deok, under whose reign Chunghaejin and Dangsungjin were created. As previously mentioned, these military strongpoints were created for territorial expansion, strengthening of central authority upon provincial administrative units, and the defense of outlying regions.

The fact that two important Jins were created during the reign of King Heung-deok, however, indicates that the Silla court felt the need to strengthen its control over provincial regions following the revolts of Kim Heon-chang and Kim Bum-moon by placing military forces under its direct control in key locations. Nevertheless, as in the case of Chunghaejin, these regional strong points enjoyed considerable autonomy in their activities, and

Rebellion of Kim Myung

Sangdaedeung Kim Myeong revolted and forced King Hee-gang to commit suicide. Kim Myung had become the Sangdaedeung for his role in the crowning of King Hui-gang. However, Kim Myung desired to become king himself, and joined with Lee Hong to revolt in 838 (King Hee-gang 3) and killed the king's officials. The king hanged himself, and Kim Myung ascended to the throne and became King Min-ae.

the central government does not seem to have been able to exert the level of authority it had originally desired.

Natural disasters continued to torment Silla during King Heung-deok's reign. A severe drought in 832 (King Heung-deok 7) destroyed most of the plant life in the land, and the people suffered from ruined harvests and hunger. Bandits and diseases plunged the nation into chaos. The authority of the central government was severely shaken after a series of revolts, and the people continued to suffer from natural and man-made disasters, shaking the very foundation of the state. A solar eclipse, widely regarded in the ancient world as a sign for imminent trouble to the kingship, and even an appearance of a comet symbolizing military upheaval heralded King Heung-deok's death in 836.

King Sin-mu and Chang Po-go

King Heung-deok's death was followed by a struggle for the throne between the late king's brother Kim Gyun-jeong and his cousin Kim Je-ryung, who killed his uncle Kim Gyun-jeong and took the throne as King

Changes in Silla's Selection Methods for Officials

Officials in Silla, like Goguryeo, were selected through recommendation, which was intended to assuage the masses and strengthen order in the ruling classes. However, the Hwarang system, which organizes a group of young men and trained them, enabled the government to select capable and qualified candidates at any time. The Dokseosampungwa system of examinations was established in 788 (King Won-seong 4) as a fair method of recruiting officials. However, the rigid restrictions of the golpum class structure were inherent in all of these systems.

Hui-gang. Kim Gyun-jeong's son Kim Wu-jing fled to Chang Po-go. However, King Hui-gang himself was forced to commit suicide by Kim Myeong, who had helped the king gain the throne, and Kim Myeong himself became king as King Minae.

Upon hearing news of King Minae's accession, Kim Wu-jing asked for Chang Po-go's help in driving King Min-ae from the throne. Chang Po-go agreed, and aided Kim Wu-jing's successful bid for the throne. Kim Wu-jing crowned himself as King Sin-mu, but fell ill and died shortly after, and was succeeded by his son King Mun-seong. During this time, King Hui-gang was effectively on the throne for only two years. King Min-ae lasted a year, and King Sin-mu only six months. Thus five different kings sat on the throne during the four years between King Heung-deok's final years and the coronation of King Munseong.

Although Chang Po-go's Chunghaejin had occupied itself with its main tasks of protecting the people and promoting overseas trade, the turmoil in the central government following King Heung-deok's death prevented Chunghaejin from carrying out its main duties. The uncertainties surrounding the power struggle in the capital forced Chang Po-go to become actively involved in the affairs of the central government. Various factors no doubt contributed to Chang Po-go's eventual decision to enter central politics, including his personal friendship with Kim Wu-jing and the desire to fight injustice, but it was the chaos in the central government that eventually made Chang Po-go plunge his considerable influence and military power into central government politics.

Appearance of Gungyeh and Kyunhwon

The crown of Silla then passed on to members of King Hui-gang and King Sin-mu's families. As per King Mun-seong's will, his uncle (King Sin-mu's half brother) King Heon-an became king, who was then followed by his grandson King Kyung-mun who claimed the throne as the former king's son-in-law. King Kyung-mun's crown prince later became King Heon-kang, and King Kyung-mun's second son became King Jung-gang. King Jung-gang was followed by his younger sister Queen Jin-sung. All of these kings, with the exception of King Jung-gang, reigned for more than ten years

Rebellion of Won Jong and Ae No

Peasant's revolt led by Won Jong and Ae No in 889 (King Jin-seong 3) in Silla's Sabeolju. With the glories of the mid-Silla period on the wane, the nation was plagued by political and social strife in the late period of the dynasty. In 889, the national treasury ran dry as the provinces failed to pay taxes to the central government. Officials were dispatched around the country to cajole provincial governors into paying their taxes, who in turn began to increase the tax burden on commoners. The peasants revolted in resistance to the taxation, with the Won Jong and Ae No Rebellion being one of the larger ones.

This revolt was one of the first peasant movements resisting the central government and the power of regional clan rulers, and greatly affected the latter formation and growth of regional powers. In addition, the revolt acted as the catalyst to the eventual downfall of Silla.

Rebellion of Yang Gil

A number of bandit groups rebelled against the central government following the rebellion of Won Jong and Ae No in 889. Yang Gil was a leader of one of these groups. While the exact scale of his revolt based in Buk Won Kyung is unknown, the fact that Gung Yeh was one of his lieutenants offers an insight into the strength of Yang Gil's forces.

each, and Silla enjoyed relative peace under the rule of these kings. King Heon-an initiated measures to aid those suffering from drought and poverty, constructed reservoirs and other irrigation facilities, and encouraged agriculture. However, Silla's strength as a nation and the authority of its government had already been severely undermined.

Queen Jin-sung especially favored only a select few around her, and allowed them to take reckless control of national affairs. Bribery became rampant and the law lost its legitimacy, shaking the foundation of the state. The treasury was drained during Queen Jin-sung's reign as tax revenues faltered and bandits arose all over the nation. Revolts occurred in 889 (Queen Jin-sung 3) in Sabeolju by the forces of Wonjong and Aeno, followed by Yanggil's rebellion in 891 (Queen Jin-sung 5) that occurred in Bukwonkyung (Wonju). Yanggil managed to take control of Wonju, Kangleung, and Youngwol, aided by his lieutenant Gungye. A year after Yanggil's rebellion, Kyunhwon established the Second Baekje in Wansanju (Jeonju) and began his struggle against Silla.

Silla's downfall thus began in earnest, with local clans seceding from central government control to create their own semi-independent fiefdom. The latter period of Silla was marked by 150 years of internal struggle, and the dynasty finally ended its thousand-year history during the Second Three Kingdom period. It was during this time of turmoil that Chang Po-go's Chunghaejin was created, and it was Chang Po-go's involvement in the same turmoil that brought about his downfall and the dissolution of Chunghaejin.

The Political Limitations of Chunghaejin

Limitations as an Independent Political Body

Chang Po-go's family would have been engaged in maritime trade for some time in Wando, and would have exerted considerable influence in the area. However, according to the *Samguk-Sagi*, which primarily records political history, Chang Po-go did not have any significant influence or close relationship with the central government after the establishment of Chunghaejin, probably due to Chunghaejin's inherent political limitations.

The first political limitation that hindered Chunghaejin was the fact that it was not intended at its creation to carry out official and normal administrative or military function, albeit having been created through an understanding with the king. Although Chang Po-go's Chunghaejin was one of many Silla military strong points that were being strengthened at the

time, it was set apart from Silla's traditional ruling order. Chunghaejin was created from a position of military strength with 10,000 soldiers assigned to it by the king, but nevertheless acted as an independent political group on the fringes of central administration. Chang Po-go had been given a garrison because his goal of subduing pirate groups infesting the region and protecting the people corresponded to the central government's agenda.

Chunghaejin was created to suit the personal plans of Chang Po-go as well as for the benefit of the state, and thus took on the form of a military outpost without being placed under the control of the national military organization. This arrangement greatly added Chunghaejin's autonomy or the independence of its maritime activities, but acted as a drawback in Chunghaejin's ability to secure channels and methods to officially influence central government politics and administration. In other words, Chunghaejin was limited in its ability to wield political influence because it could not function as an official member of the larger national organization.

Limitations of Chang Po-go's Class and Background

It appears that Chang Po-go's class origin was related at least in part to the central government's decision not to place Chunghaejin under its direct authority. Thus, Chunghaejin's second limitation was Chang Po-go himself and his lack of class status.

A strict class system existed in Silla at the time of Chunghaejin's establishment. Although Chang Po-go had personal capabilities as well as a background in trade and maritime activities due to his place of origin and

family, class restrictions prevented him from becoming appointed to an official position or engaging in central government politics. For this reason, King Heung-deok did not give Chang Po-go an official title even while granting his request for the creation of Chunghaejin, and instead gave him the title of Commissioner of Maejin, roughly equivalent to the post of chieh tu shih in Tang. It seems clear that Chang Po-go already commanded considerable influence in the Wando region, since Chunghaejin was created at his request and he himself volunteered to be its head.

Tang's chieh tu shih at this time were creating their own spheres of influence by taking advantage of weakening central government control. The fact that the Silla government granted the title of Dae Sa shows its tacit acknowledgement of Chunghaejin's autonomous status. Since to grant Chang Po-go an official government title would have been impossible in Silla's class system, and since Chang Po-go enjoyed considerable influence in the Wando region anyway, the king and the government granted Chang Po-go the title of Dae Sa to acknowledge his status in the region as well as maintain a favorable relationship with him.

Although Chang Po-go in this way was able to exert real influence in the Wando region thanks to Chunghaejin and the king's support, his class origin would have made it difficult to establish a base of power in the central government. Nobles and officials in the central government would not have looked kindly upon Chang Po-go's lack of class status. They would also have been wary and jealous of Chang Po-go's close relationship with the king and his position of influence on maritime transportation and trade in the Wando area.

Resistance against Chang Po-go by Nobles and Officials

A third limitation of Chunghaejin stemming from Chang Po-go's lack of class standing was the resistance against him by the nobles and government officials in the capital. Historical records do not show any such resistance during King Heung-deok's reign.

However, many court officials protested King Mun-seong's attempt to wed Chang Po-go's daughter, citing his low class standing. King Mun-seong ascended the throne after his father King Sin-mu's short reign, and reorganized the government by appointing the Sangdaedeung, Prime Minister and other high officials. Following his reforms, King Mun-seong tried to make Chang Po-go's daughter his queen to reward Chang Po-go for his contribution to King Mun-seong's successful bid for the crown.

On the surface, King Mun-seong's attempt to marry Chang Po-go's daughter was a way to reward him for his service. However, Chang Po-go would also have tried to ascend the class ladder and expand his political influence by marrying into the royal family. King Mun-seong would have tried to stabilize his authority by marrying Chang Po-go's daughter and thereby placing Chang Po-go's considerable military influence on his side.

Unfortunately for these plans, court officials vehemently protested the King's plan to marry Chang Po-go's daughter, citing his base provincial origin. They claimed that a proper marriage was one of the greatest tenets of society's moral system, and cited numerous examples of Chinese emperors who squandered their empires away by marrying the wrong women. For the court officials and nobles, a queen from a family of low social class such as that of Chang Po-go and thus a breaching of the social code would

eventually cause the downfall of the state.

Those who protested this marriage seemed to have felt that Chang Po-go was too independent and free from government control to be granted such influence through a link with the royal family, and thus unchecked would not be a beneficial factor to the king or the country. Officials were extremely wary of placing Chang Po-go in a position of power in the central government.

While on the surface the nobles and officials used Chang Po-go's base origin as the main reason why this marriage could not take place, their real motive was to prevent Chang Po-go from expanding his political influence.

Lack of Competent Lieutenants

The fourth limitation was that other than Chang Po-go, Chunghaejin lacked men of ability who could support him. Little is known today about the type of people who were in Chunghaejin with Chang Po-go. We do know that the Daetangmaemulsa, who was in charge of trade with Tang, and Hoeyuksa, responsible for trade with Japan, were important people in Chunghaejin.

However, it is more difficult to identify anyone who was involved in Chunghaejin's affairs with the central government. One name that stands out is Chong Yon, who led Chunghaejin's forces in King Sin-mu's bid for the crown. Chong Yon was from the same hometown as Chang Po-go, and was a close friend as well as a protege. Although he was younger than Chang Po-go, his martial prowess was even greater. The two would often engage in friendly contests of physical strength and skill.

Both Chong Yon and Chang Po-go had gone to Tang together and achieved the rank of Wu Ning-jun Sojiang. Chong Yon continued to make a meager living in Tang after Chang Po-go returned home, and eventually joined Chang Po-go at Chunghaejin. Chang Po-go gave Chong Yon 5,000 soldiers to aid Kim Wu-jing against King Min-ae, saying that there was no one better suited to the task than his old friend. There were no doubt other commanders under Chang Po-go, but in times of crisis Chong Yon was the man who he could trust. If Chong Yon had not come to Chunghaejin, it can be surmised, there would have been no one under Chang Po-go who could be entrusted with such tasks.

More direct evidence can be found in the events that occurred after Chang Po-go's assassination by Yum Jang, who had falsely betrayed Silla and surrendered to Chunghaejin in order to kill Chang Po-go. Yum Jang would have come alone to Chunghaejin without any additional followers. However, when Yum Jang gathered Chang Po-go's followers and informed them that he had killed him and told them to submit to him, it is said that no one dared to challenge him. This shows that there were none under Chang Po-go who could revenge his death by killing Yum Jang and retaking control of Chunghaejin.

The Japanese book of history *Shoku Nihon Koki* does state that in 842 following Chang Po-go's death his lieutenant Lee Chang-jin gathered forces to remove Yum Jang. However, this was more than two months after Chang Po-go's death. The key point here is that there was no one in Chunghaejin who was able to resist Yum Jang when Chang Po-go was killed. Thus Chunghaejin depended solely on Chang Po-go's personal abilities and leadership rather than enjoy collective competence of several able men. The fact that there was no one who could remove Yum Jang immediately after

Chang Po-go's murder and lead Chunghaejin limited it from growing as a true political force.

Chang Po-go's Excessive Ambition

The last limitation that crippled Chunghaejin was Chang Po-go's overzealous and excessive ambition, who's primary duty was to devote himself to maritime trade and distance himself from messy politics. Chang Po-go concentrated on his main duties of controlling the seas and establishing overseas trade after receiving King Heung-deok's support in creating a stable power base in Chunghaejin. This reflected Chang Po-go's desire to keep a distance between himself and the chaos of central government politics, which was also his best course of action considering the limitations placed upon him due to his low class standing. However, Chang Po-go became embroiled in the struggle for the crown when Kim Wu-jing fled to Chunghaejin after his defeat by King Hui-gang. Kim Wu-jing would have gone to Chunghaejin due to his close friendship with Chang Po-go.

Kim Wu-jing cited the injustice done to his father Kim Gyun-jeong and arose in revolt after King Min-ae took the throne by driving King Hui-gang to commit suicide. Kim Wu-jing called on Chang Po-go for help. Chang Po-go provided aid to Kim Wu-jing, proclaiming that King Min-ae's accession to the throne was unjustified. Thus far Chang Po-go's reasons were pure, his intentions being the restoration of the king's authority by dealing with the struggle around the throne. King Sin-mu, who was able to become king through Chang Po-go's aid, and his son King Mun-seong repaid Chang Po-go by according him the respect and status due a Jingol

nobleman.

Chang Po-go had already entangled himself too deeply by responding with military force to the struggle around the throne, but he worsened his position by the way he handled the affairs after the struggle ended. Some scholars state that Chang Po-go's deep involvement in the politics of the central government was a ploy by Kim Yang and other opponents of Chang Po-go who wanted to remove him. However, even if King Sin-mu had promised to take his daughter as queen, Chang Po-go should have abandoned any remaining hope of this promise being kept when King Sin-mu died.

It was also foolhardy for Chang Po-go to start a rebellion when King Mun-seong decided not to wed his daughter due to protests from his officials. Chang Po-go tried to break the rigid social barriers during his time too quickly and rashly. It was Chang Po-go's greed for a rapid rise in the power structure by increasing his social status that spelled his doom.

Chang Po-go and his Chunghaejin should have concentrated on his original mission of eradicating pirates and promoting maritime trade. In his twilight years Chang Po-go failed to distance himself from the chaotic and deadly political struggle in the central government surrounding the kingship. Had Chang Po-go concentrated on maritime trade with continuing support from the central government and from his military force in Chunghaejin, he would have been able to dominate maritime trade in Northeast Asia for much longer and bring greater benefit to the country. Chang Po-go's limited ability to balance reality and ideals resulting in the downfall of Chunghaejin's maritime empire.

The Abolishment of Chunghaejin and the Fall of the Maritime Empire

Chang Po-go's Assassination by Yum Jang and the Control of Chunghaejin

The direct cause of the fall of Chang Po-go's marine empire was his military involvement in King Sin-mu's bid for the throne. This incident resulting in Chang Po-go's resentment for his unsuccessful attempt to marry his daughter to King Mun-seong as his second queen and Chang Po-go's eventual murder by Yum Jang. However, it appears that several high officials, worried about Chang Po-go's contribution to King Sin-mu's accession and his attempts to expand his political influence, took advantage of Chang Po-go's lack of experience in central government politics and conspired to remove him.

The *Samguk-Sagi* records that Chang Po-go was murdered in 846(King

Mun-seong 8). However, Silla section in the *Xintang-Shu* states that Chang Po-go's contact with Tang ended in 841, and the dates given in the *Shoku Nihon Koki* or *Nitto Gubo Junrei gyoki* seems to place 841 as the definite date of Chang Po-go's murder by Yum Jang. King Mun-seong had a queen with the family name of Pak. Chang Po-go tried to marry his daughter to King Mun-seong as his second queen, and was killed in the process, but in March 842 (King Mun-seong 4) Kim Yang, who also used the name of Wiheun, gave his daughter to the king as his second queen.

Friction seems to have developed during this process between Kim Yang and Chang Po-go. In other words, Chang Po-go, already enjoying the rights and privileges normally accorded to a Jingol noble by the King, tried to make his daughter the queen, making Kim Yang fearful of Chang Po-go's rapid rise in political influence in the central government. Kim Yang then may have used Yum Jang to remove Chang Po-go.

Another theory is that various smaller groups in the Southwestern coastal region, who had been deprived of marine trading rights after the creation of Chunghaejin, took advantage of the problem of King Mun-seong's marriage to unite with elements in the central government and remove Chang Po-go. This theory draws upon the fact that Yum Jang was from Muju which lay under Chunghaejin's authority, and that after the accession of King Sin-mu was promoted to the position of Jujo, the second

Jujo (州助)

One of the official positions of Silla. Also called "Jubo". After unification, Silla divided the country into nine provinces, with a governor for each province. Jujo was the position of the vice-governor. There was one Jujo for each province, with officials of the ranks of Nima up to Jung-Ahchan eligible for the post. It can thus be surmised that this was the highest position attainable by someone from the six dupum class.

highest position of authority in Muju. Thus Yum Jang could be seen as a person

Although Chunghaejin was briefly placed under Yum Jang's management, the military foundations and marine trade networks that Chang Po-go established were suddenly paralyzed. Managing Chunghaejin and the vast Northeast Asian trading zone was a task too great for someone of Yum Jang's caliber. Yum Jang seems to have been more interested in securing the southwestern coastal region around Chunghaejin as his own power base and profiting from it rather than maintaining a massive maritime empire that Chang Po-go had created. The Silla government would have viewed Yum Jang as another anti-government provincial power unrelated to the good of the nation as a whole.

Removal of Chunghaejin's Inhabitants to Byukgol-gun

The Silla central government completely disbanded Chunghaejin in February of 851(King Mun-seong 13), some nine years after Chang Po-go's murder at the hands of Yum Jang. The central government thus disbanded Chunghaejin and moved the entire population of the area to Byukgol-gun(Kimje). This removal of the population of a certain region is called Samin. The policy of Samin was carried out for a number of reasons in ancient societies.

First, the government would move residents from the capital city to a new outlying smaller city in order to spread advanced culture into the provinces. Second, the state may carry out Samin to populate newly acquired territory. Third, the government sometimes moved whole populations from

rebellious areas to deprive them of a power base and remove the threat of revolt. The Samin that was carried out for the residents of Chunghaejin to today's Jeollabuk-do, Kimje-gun was an example of the third type.

There is a debate over the exact reason the Silla central government removed the population of Chunghaejin and the local power base that it tried to suppress. Most scholars believe that the people of Chunghaejin was moved to Byukgol-gun in order to remove Chang Po-go's remaining influence from the region. However, this mass resettlement took place ten years after Chang Po-go's death. If the government had indeed wanted to displace any remaining local population loyal to Chang Po-go, the Samin would have taken place immediately after Chang Po-go's death.

However, Chunghaejin was dismantled and its population moved to distant provinces nine years after Chang Po-go's death. Chang Po-go's



Byeokgoljae is a reservoir located in Jeonbuk Gimjae Buryang-myeon Yongseong-ri. As Korea's highest and largest reservoir, the *The Chronicles of the Three States* records that construction took place in 330, with additional expansions made in 780.

followers, such as Lee Chang-jin, would already have been killed while trying to remove Yum Jang and resurrect the Chunghaejin's former glory as a marine empire, or would have fled to Tang or Japan. Any remaining population would not have been key members of Chunghaejin. The population of Chunghaejin was made up of those familiar with the sea and with long-distance travel, and unlike land-bound populations would have easily left by sea after Yum Jang's appearance.

Therefore it seems likely that the people moved to Byukgol-gun after the abolishment of Chunghaejin in 851 were followers of Yum Jang. Some of them would have been long-time residents of the area from the days of Chang Po-go's marine empire, but the main purpose behind the final abolishment of Chunghaejin and the removal of its remaining population was to remove the growing influence of Yum Jang. Having already



Byeokgoltap (Byeokgol Monument). The Gimjae Byeokgol artifacts are designated as Historical Landmark No. 111.



Airscape of Jangdo, the center of Chunghaejin. Remains of wells, entrances, and piers signify the existence of Chunghaejin.

experienced the power of Chang Po-go's marine empire, the government would have been wary of another autonomous power base forming in Chunghaejin independent from any other official military or administrative organization. Chunghaejin was demolished and the Samin to Byukgol-gun was carried out to prevent Yum Jang from strengthening his position and becoming another Chang Po-go.

Twenty-three years after its established through Chang Po-go's request in March of 828(King Heung-deok 3), Chunghaejin finally disappeared from the stage of history in February 851. From the day of its creation to December 838 (King Min-ae 1) when Chang Po-go rose against the king in Kim Wu-jing's aid, Chang Po-go controlled the seas of Northeast Asia and formed the backbone of the triangular trade between Tang, Silla and Japan for 11 years. This period was indeed the height of Chang Po-go's marine

empire through military power. King Sin-mu's accession to the throne in 839 and King Mun-seong's reign that followed marked the pinnacle of Chang Po-go's power and influence. However, it was during this time that the seeds of Chunghaejin's destruction were sown as well.

Chang Po-go was murdered by Yum Jang in November 841, 14 years after having created his marine trading empire. Chunghaejin remained under Yum Jang's control for nine more years, but it was merely a shadow of its former self that dominated the seas of Northeast Asia under Chang Po-go. A marine empire created with the support of the government had become involved too deeply in politics, and was destroyed as a result. A powerful marine empire faded like the disappearing foams of a giant wave, having paid the price for Chang Po-go's lack of political cunning, swept away by circumstances too great and chaotic for Chunghaejin to survive in.

Rise of Minor Marine Powers

The abolishment of Chunghaejin and the lifting of Chang Po-go's monopoly on trade provided an opportunity for smaller marine powers to develop. These minor forces originated from regional powers that rose from the political chaos of the late Silla period.

Unrest in the central government during the late Silla period led to the deterioration of central control over the provinces, which gave rise to regional powers. These provincial leaders began to call themselves lord and generals and created independent military forces with administrative and economic control over their spheres of influence. Chang Po-go was also one of these regional powers, which can be classified as follows.

First were those groups that united peasants struggling through chronic droughts, bandits and Jukgojuk. Kihwun, Yanggil and Gungyeh are examples of these forces. Second, there were those whose families had exerted

power over a provincial region for generations, or those rising against the government after being pushed out of central politics. These were Hong Sul, Gyun Geum, Seon Pil, Pak Su-kyung, and Soon Shik. Third, there were those who gained economic power through merchant trade, including Chang Po-go, Wang Bong-gyu, Wang Gun and Lee Un-mo. Fourth, there were local military leaders who had regional army units under their control, such as Kyunhwon.

Some of these local forces gathered power after the fall of Chunghaejin and carried out their own independent trade with China.

Wang Bong-gyu grew as an independent power in Kangju and sent emissaries to Hou Tang in 924(King Kyung-myung 8), claiming himself to be the chieh tu shih. His intention was to pursue western coastal trade that had been already taking place to acquire economic profit and expand his military strength. Wang Bong-gyu broadened his influence in Kangju but was caught between the struggle between Goryeo and the Second Baekje from April 927(King Kyung-ae 4) to 928, and collapsed as a result, with Kyunhwon eventually conquering Kangju.

Lee Un-mo, the military authority of Keumju, was the Sama as well as the Jihukwan of China's Deng zhou, taking charge of communication between Deng zhou, where Chang Po-go's former domain of Chishan-cun was located, and Keumju, overseeing Silla trade as well as diplomatic exchange in the region.

Lee Un-mo's trading activities were backed by the regional clan of So Yool-hee in Kimhae. So Yul-hee actively encouraged Zen Buddhism and established the Kimhae region as the birthplace and core of Zen Buddhism by the time of King Hyo-gong. Clan forces in Kimhae utilized the region's rich resources to amass great wealth through trade with China, and

strengthen their military power in order to create their own sphere of influence.

Commercial activities including international trade began to pick up again in the Gaeseong region around 700 after relations between Silla and Tang improved. Private traders engaged in the China trade free of interference from the central government and the nobility flourished from 800. A powerful regional force had developed in Gaeseong centered in Silla's northwestern area, with Wang Gun's family occupying the dominant position through their economic power. The Wang family had continued to maintain relationships with rich families in the region through marriage, uniting the various leaders in Gaeseong and strengthening the family's foundations. When Gungyeh appeared on the scene with his powerful military force, the commercial interests in this region were quick to pledge their allegiance to him in order to maintain their trading enterprises, which later developed into the Byukrando activities later during the Goryeo period.

Another political force based on marine trade developed in the Naju area. Local families such as that of Wang Gun's wife, the Naju Oh family, managed to gather great wealth through trade. This region later played an important part in the foundation of Goryeo when Wang Gun, as Gungyeh's general, was able to create a military strong point based on his powerful navy to the rear of the Second Baekje in Naju and isolate it.

Wang Gun's queen Shinhye was also from the maritime clan of Jungju Yu. This family had enough resources to feed Wang Gun's soldiers as well as repair large numbers of warships and provide lodging for his soldiers when Wang Gun established his base in Jungju for his campaign to take over the Naju region. The Jungju region was an important crossroads between routes on the Han, Imjin and Yesung River that flowed out to the West Sea.

The busy port city of Ulsan, which first began as an outlying harbor of the capital city Kyungju, also provided a foundation for a local maritime power. Park Yun-wung's clan appeared in the early 10th century and took control of the iron mines and artisan shops of Dalchun, creating a military and economic foundation to develop into a clan leader.

There were wealthy peasants who established maritime powers as well. Man kyung-hyeon section, vol. 34 of the *Shinjeung Dongguk Youjiseungram*, provides some evidence.

Gunsando is located in the sea west of Man Kyung-hyeon, 60 ri from end to end. Cliffs enable ships to hide, and those travelling on the currents can wait for favorable winds here. A large tomb like that of a king is found in the middle of the island. A magistrate from a nearby town once dug in the tomb and took a large amount of gold, but fled when local people reported him to the authorities.

A large tomb was in an island located on an important sea route, from which came a large quantity of gold, silver and treasures. This tomb would have belonged not to a provincial official but a local rich merchant, who would have been from a seafaring clan if he had gained his riches through marine trade.

A poor woman lived in Woogeumri who had a son named Jangchun. He left with a merchant of the sea and no news of him came for a long time. His mother prayed before the Kwanseum Bodhistvas in Minjansa for seven days, and her son suddenly

returned. When asked about what had happened to him, Jangchun answered, “A whirlwind struck our ship in the middle of the sea, wrecking the boat and killing everyone on board, but I drifted on a broken board and arrived on the shores of Oh. The people of Oh took me and put me to work on the farms. One day, a strange monk talked to me as if he was from my hometown and took me with him. A deep stream blocked our path, and the monk put me under his arms and jumped over the stream. I began to lose consciousness but came to when I heard the neighing of our horse and voices crying, and here I was.” He had left Oh in the evening, and arrived at Sulshi (p.m. 10) This occurred in Tien bao 4(745), April 8th.

(Samguk-Yusa vol. 3 Hungbup 3)

This tale tells of a man named Jangchun who left his mother Bogae in Wugeumriand went to China with a merchant. Commoners who worked on the seas were usually based in islands and other major locations on the coast. Many of them would have owned ships and wielded considerable power among other seafaring people. The profits they collected through trade were used for their own economic benefits or to cement ties with members of the ruling class, which would have enabled these seafaring merchants to expand their influence in these area.

These diverse minor marine forces were later reorganized during the Hu Samguk period, and were assimilated into each of the three nations. However, the Naju Oh family and the Youngam Choi-family continued to support Wang Gun in his campaign for Naju. These two families became noble families following Goryeo’s unification of the peninsula, and left their

seafaring roots behind, thus signalling the decline of the southwestern coastal region's trading activities.

With his marine background, Wang Gun who better than anyone else the gains that trade could produce. Nevertheless, he designated Byukrando as the center of trade after unification, taking a passive stance on international trade. At the same time, the Song dynasty, defending itself from repeated invasions by nomadic nations such as Liao, Jin, and Yuan, began to actively promote international trade in order to pay reparations to these invading armies. Song's active stance on trade and Goryeo's relatively passive response changed the trade balance in the region, ushering in an era of powerful Song merchants.

06

**Dreaming of a
New Chang Po-go's Era**

Dreaming of a New Chang Po-go's Era

The sea is a rich storehouse of food, minerals, energy and space, widely considered to be the only alternative that will allow for the continued development of human civilization. Countries around the world are intensifying their bid for increasing territorial rights, creating unending competition without borders. In the 21st “maritime century”, national development will be closely tied to the country's ability to create sea power.

Our country has almost unlimited potential as a maritime power, yet there is little acknowledgement of the importance of the seas. Leaders must be developed who can understand these marine philosophies and create a psychological basis for creating powerful national strength founded upon the seas. Chang Po-go's feat of dominating Northeast Asia's oceanic trading and his pioneering drive must be examined in new light, continued and further developed as a national goal. To lead the nation into the 21st century as a



Historical site related to Chang Po-go (Suseok Park). Located on the road to Wando-eup past Wando-eup Jangjwa-ri, Jang-do's Chunghaejin can be seen from the shore of the park.

marine superpower, the Chang po-go Memorial Foundation is carrying out various projects to reevaluate Chang Po-go. The following is a brief history of the Chang po-go Memorial Foundation's major projects.

In 1963, the chairman of Samsung Lee Byung-chul collected various materials and literature related to Chang Po-go, and suggested a reexamination and evaluation of Chang Po-go's accomplishment to the government. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism consulted professor Lee Jong-sang of Seoul National University to create an official portrait, designating as the official portrait No. 21 of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1979. The remains of Wando's Chunghaejin was designated as a historic site No. 308 in 1984. Excavations on the site commenced in 1989, with the ruined Buphwasan site being discovered between 1989 and 1990 and Jang-do from 1991 to 2000. The Research Institute of Chang Po-go



Musical "The Marine Prince, Chang Po-go" First performed in 1995, the musical has toured across 26 cities in 24 countries around the world. In October 2002, "The Marine Prince, Chang Po-go" became the first Korean musical to be formed in Paris, France. (Photograph courtesy of Guekdan Hyundai Theater)

Maritime Business was launched the following year.

A cultural musical performance called Chang Po-go, and the Opening Ocean was held on the same year sponsored by the Society for the Promotion of Stage Art for Juniors, performing to large audiences in a 26-city tour around the country. In 1993, the Chang Po-go Memorial was constructed in Shidao-jin, China, and in March Chang Po-go was selected as the Cultural Person of the Month in Korea. In 1995, the musical The Maritime Tycoon Chang Po-go was created by a theatrical company Hyundai and performed in Korea and abroad. A shipboard seminar and a tour of archaeological sites related to Chang Po-go took place as part of the first The Day of Ocean ceremony in 1996. The second international seminar was held in Wando by the Research Society of the Maritime Business History of Chang Po-go

The Chang Po-go Planning Corps of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs & Fisheries was launched on June 30th, 1999. The Maritime Tycoon Chang Po-go reexamination and evaluation project committee was organized, which reported plans for creating the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation to 101 dignitaries and scholars including Korea University's dean Kim Jung-bae. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs & Fisheries authorized the creation of the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation on November 9th, 1999, and the foundation opened its headquarters in room 1803, Trading Center, Samsung-dong, Kangnam-gu, Seoul on March 2nd, 2000.

The next section will offer a brief description of various reevaluation projects currently being pursued by the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation, to aid in enhancing public awareness of Chang Po-go as well as of the oceans and oceanic resources.

Research and Academia

Numerous projects and studies are currently underway to study and discover historical facts about the maritime prince, Chang Po-go to create the historical and academic foundation for the reevaluation and reexamination project.

First is the integration of various historical literature and material regarding Chang Po-go. A resource book was published to this end that organized Korean as well as overseas literature on maritime activities during the time of Chang Po-go, as well as a compilation of research documents. Over 1,300 scholarly papers and dissertations from Korea, China and Japan were collected, and 42 were elected, translated and edited in a collection. Furthermore, a book of annotations to aid easier translation of related materials as well as footnotes and commentaries will be published in 2003.

The second initiative involves support for scholarly research on

historical investigation and reevaluation and examination of Chang Po-go. Members of the Changpogo Research Institute as well as experts around the nation and abroad are participating in this project. Major accomplishments include the publishing of a book in 2000 called Chang Po-go's International Trading Business and Physical Distribution, and in 2001 fourteen topics including the Research on Chang Po-go was chosen and researched, and were published as independent volumes or as journals, or are awaiting to be published. In 2002, fifteen scholarly topics including "The Formation and Changes of Korean Maritime Power" was selected, with papers published or prepared for release.

The third set of projects involves the study of relics and ruins related to Chang Po-go in Korea as well as abroad. A study of archaeological remains in the Shandong peninsula region in China was carried out in 2001, and another field study took place in 2002 for the south of China's Shandong province along with investigations in relics and remains in Wando, Gangjin, Haenam, Youngam, Jindo, and other regions in Korea that were part of Chunghaejin's jurisdiction. In 2003, investigations of relics and ruins in Japan around the region of Kyoto and Nara are being carried out. The results of each project are provided through reports and on the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation web site.

The fourth is the restoration of a trading ship used in Chang Po-go's time. From 2001, collection of basic materials for the restoration, the research and construction of a model based on these materials, and the production of plans for a trading ship as well as scale models (1/10 and 1/20) will take place for three years. The models created through this project will be placed on display at a museum, and the results of the study posted on the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation home page (www.changpogo.or.kr)

The fifth is the hosting of an academic symposium. A seminar titled “Reexamination of Chang Po-go’s Spirit as an International Merchant” was held in 2000 in the main conference hall in COEX, jointly organized by the Changpogo Memorial Foundation and the Korea International Commercial Society. In 2001, a seminar titled ‘Chang Po-go and 21st Century Global Trade’ was held in COEX. A seminar was held in the Incheon Memorial Hall of Korea University in 2002, titled ‘Chang Po-go and East Asia’, and another seminar titled ‘Prominent People of the Oceans’ was held in October of 2003 at Korea University. These academic symposiums will provide a venue for a diverse exchange of ideas and opinions among scholars, as well as inform the public of the status of research related to Chang Po-go.

Culture and Public Awareness

Cultural and public awareness campaigns aim to perform research on historical facts regarding Chang Po-go, create an academic foundation, and ensure a favorable public view of Chang Po-go by providing opportunities for the public to become aware of Chang Po-go's accomplishments and philosophy.

The first initiative involves the creation of the maritime prince Chang Po-go character. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs & Fisheries has created a character named "Little Po-go Chang" and supporting characters of "Junghyeon" and "Budeuri," displaying them on the Ministry of Maritime Affairs & Fisheries, and the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation home page. This effort aims to provide a chance for young children and teens to easily meet and understand Chang Po-go.

Second, a monument to Chang Po-go was created by professor Jeon



Chang Po-go characters (From left, Jeong Hyun, Little Po-go Jjang, Beodeul)

Soo-chun of the Korean National University of Arts under the auspices of the Korean Association, and can be seen in the central plaza of ASEM 2000 convention center since May 31st, 2000. This sculpture is composed of a horizon, symbolizing the sea, a ship representing the activities of Chang Po-go, and various symbols to represent the flow of time from the Silla to the present day. The horizon (12m x 7m) and the boat (11m x 7m) are made of bronze, and the symbols for time were created with black-stone.

The third is a Chang Po-go song and Changmugeuk (traditional opera) performance, sponsored by the Chang Po-go Memorial Foundation, Jeollanam-do, and the Sejong Center and revealed to an enthusiastic public at the Soonchun Culture Center in Jeollanam-do and at the main auditorium of the Sejong Center. The performance illustrates the might of oceanic domination by Chang Po-go and the future vision of a maritime

culture.

The fourth is support for historical documentaries about Chang Po-go. The program, titled “A Venture of a Thousand Years Maritime Tycoon, Chang Po-go” was broadcast on January 27th, 2001, as the 100th episode special of the KBS “History Special.” The program cast new light upon Chang Po-go as an entrepreneur who allowed free trade to blossom 1,200 years ago, creating a trade network that extended across East Asia as well as Southeast Asia, Arabia and Persia.

The fifth is the writing and publishing of the historical novel “Haeshin”. Written by Choi In-ho, this novel was published in serial form in the Joong Ang Daily Newspaper as well as in book form, and was later made into a documentary special on KBS.

The Sixth is the publication of the “Chang Po-go N.E.W.S.” Ten thousand copies of a eight-page newsletter was created under the auspices of Changpogo Memorial Foundation and are being distributed to schools, oceanic organization, and the interested public. This newsletter contains columns by experts as well as news reports regarding the latest projects and activities regarding Chang Po-go. This newsletter can also be viewed on the Changpogo Memorial Foundation home page.

The seventh initiative is the production of an animated feature. Twenty-six episodes of “Chang Po-go, Legend of the Seas” were broadcasted on KBS 2TV, while another feature film titled “Chang Po-go the Adventurer” was created as an educational film for young children. “Chang Po-go, Legend of the Seas” was a science fiction action animation about oceanic activities targeting teens, while “Chang Po-go the Adventurer” was created as a comic historical education film about the life of Chang Po-go.

The eighth is a PC game, currently in development as a historical

strategic simulation game targeting teens.

The ninth project is the creation of a Chang Po-go home page by the Changpogo Memorial Foundation.

The tenth project is the establishment of a Chang Po-go memorial, which was erected in Enryaku-ji temple, Kyoto, in Japan on January 13th, 2001. The memorial is composed of a base, a turtle-back foundation, and yonggot. The base is made of yongchung ohsuk, with the rest of the monument of hangdeungsuk from Iksan.

The eleventh is the release of the millenium commemorative stamp and stamp book featuring Chang Po-go. The Ministry of Information and Communication published a series of “millenium stamps” to commemorate important people in the history of Korea. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs & Fisheries also released a stamp book introducing Chang Po-go’s accomplishments and his pioneering spirit.

Finally, a Chang Po-go memorial hall was created. Two sites were chosen for the memorial—the Chunghaejin Memorial in Jangjoari, Wando-eup, Wando-gun, Jeollanam-do, and the Chang Po-go Memorial Hall in Chishan Buphwawon located in Shidao-jin, Rongcheng, Shandong in China. These memorial halls will enable visitors to learn about Chang Po-go and reflect upon his philosophy.

Education

The first educational project is a tour of historical sites related to Chang Po-go. These tours are organized for students from elementary schools to universities, history teachers, university professors and journalists. Twenty-five students, novelists and religious leaders participated in this program in 2000, with 224 participants including 183 elementary, middle and high school teachers in 2001 and a total of 253 participants, including 214 teachers, in 2002. A tour of historical sites related to Chang Po-go in the Shandong peninsula area will allow participants to experience the locations where Chang Po-go achieved his greatest accomplishments, and aid them in continuing the legacy.

Second, a project to examine school textbook on Chang Po-go as well as introduction books on Korean history that dealt with Chang Po-go and his accomplishments was carried out to ensure that they accurately portrayed

historical facts. The results of this project were published in a book, and will be utilized in future textbooks and history books.

The third initiative is the development of Chang Po-go experts, aiming to produce professional researchers and young scholars needed for research studies on Chang Po-go and his work. Since 2001, five masters and Ph.D. students were selected to receive support for their academic endeavors.

Index

A

Aeno (哀奴) 216
Ahchan 176, 210
Ahngang (安康) 180
Akasome (赤染) 201
An Lu shan 32
Anbyeon (安邊) 181
Annual Kyunsahbongpyo (進
使奉表) 167

B

Baengnyeongdo (白翎島) 161
Baiji-zhuan of the Wei Shu
(魏書 百濟傳) 166
Balhae Kwan (渤海館) 141
Balhae (渤海) 19, 51, 140
bell tower (鐘樓) 186
Bingzhou (并州) 139
Bisahseong (卑沙城) 139
Boeun (報恩) 211
Bongsan (鳳山) 95
BotKaiSi (渤海使) 54
Buan (扶安) 176
Bujang (副將) 80
Bujeon (豐前) 196, 197
Buk Jo-jee (北助放) 191
Bukhan Sansung (北漢山城)
212
Bukjin (北鎭) 95, 99
Bukwonkyung (北原京, Wonju)
216
Buphwakyung (法華經) 131,
189, 190
Buphwasa (法華寺) 104, 242
Buphawon(法華院 Lotus
Cloister) 11, 27, 66, 90, 131,
181, 183, 251

Buzen-goku (豊前國) 198
Buzengoku Gosekichodan-
kan (豊前國戸籍長官館) 201
Buzengoku-Hudogi (豊前國風土
記: geographical Record in
Buzen province) 200
Byukgol-gun (擘骨郡) 227, 230
Byuknando (碧瀾渡) 31
Byungbu-ryung (兵部令) 210
Byungmasah (兵馬使) 80, 142
Byunjin (并辰, Byunhan: Gaya, 伽
倻) 45, 199, 200
Byunsan (邊山) peninsula 176

C

celadon-green nanpo 157
Chaekmyungsah (冊命使) 167
Chang Po-go (張保皋) 15, 29,
34, 65, 88, 92, 115, 149,
175, 213, 241
Changhuai-Pu (長淮浦) 146,
149
Changjiang (長江) 173
Changjueji (張覺濟) 146
Changyong 75
Chengshan-Jiao (成山關) 67,
69, 130, 161
Chengzhou (成州) 140
Chenxiang (沈香: alloe wood)
155
Chiaomo-Po 133
Chieh Tu Shih (節度使: mili-tary
governor of province) 24, 57,
79, 219
Chiehjia Juang (築家庄) 149
Chigado (植嘉島) 174
Chillyang-myeon (七良面) 112
Chimmyung-hyeon (浸冥縣)

101

Chishan (赤山) 27, 90, 135
Chishan-cun (赤山村) 131, 182,
233
Choi Hun (崔暉) 30, 143
Choko (長光) 201
Chong Yon (鄭年) 16, 77, 117,
221
Chuhwa-gun (推火郡, Milyang)
211
Chun Qui (春秋) 209
Chung Suk-jin (淸石珍) 193
Chunghaejin (淸海鎭) 22, 74,
102, 110, 180, 212, 227
Chungju (青州) 211
Chungjun-gun (泉井郡: current
Deokwon) 95
Chuzhou (楚州) 88, 129, 146
Chuzhouk (草駝) 193

D

Daedong River (大同江) 107
Daegokjin (大谷鎭) 95
Dae-Gong (大恭) 206
Daegu-myeon (大口面) 112
Daehwauhageum (大花魚牙鎭)
157
Dae-Ryum (大猷) 206
Daesa (大使: commissioner) 20,
25, 29, 137
Daetangmaemulsa (大唐賣物使)
88, 142
Daewano-gumi (出羽國) 146
Daifang (帶方) 165
Daijokan (大政官) 58
Dalchun (達川) 144, 235
Dalyangjin (達梁鎭) 109
Dangsungjin (唐城鎭) 31, 212

- Danuchio (鍛冶之翁) 198
 Daoli-zi (道里記) 97
 Datangtan 156
 Dazai-daini (大宰大貳) 194
 Dazaifu (大宰府) 20, 54, 92, 144, 195
 Dendai-sect (天台宗) 198, 201
 Dengzhou (登州) 97, 106, 159, 163, 161
 Dienheng island (田橫島) 149
 Dijiang-dian (地藏殿) 188
 Do Jung (陶中) 146
 Do-chon (陶村) 131
 Dodok (都督) 79, 117, 210
 Doksuh Sampungua (讀書三品科) 208
 don (屯) 145, 151, 153
 Dong Yi (東夷: eastern barbarians) 163, 166
 Dong Yi-Chuan (東夷傳: "Eastern Barbarians" section) 15
 Dongeum-hyeon (冬音縣) 101
 Donghai county, Hai Zhou 26
 Donghai-shan (東海山) 147
 Dongjin (東晉) 167
 Dorai (渡來) 201
 Dosipyirang (陶十二郎) 146, 172
 Dotoumi (透河) 193
 Du Mu (杜甫, Tu Fu) 16, 31
 Dupum (頭品) 65, 77, 155, 226
 Dusangdaegam (頭上大監) 80, 101
- E
 Egaku-washo 172
 Engi-Siki (延喜式) 198, 200
 Enjai (円載) 147
 Enjin (円珍) 201
 Enryaku-ji temple (延暦寺) 149, 251
 Eoranjin (於闐鎮, Haenam) 109
- F
 Fujiwatanomamoru (藤原衛) 194
- Funchuan's anthology (樊川文集) 16, 32
 Fuzhou (福州) 174
- G
 Gaeju (開州) 139
 Gaemoseong (蓋牟城) 139
 Gaeseong (開城) 96, 234
 Gaeseong (蓋海道, N.Korea) 31
 Gai Myo (戒明) 185
 Gaisanjo (開山祖) 198
 Gakgan (角干) 206, 207
 Gameugunsah (感義軍使) 118, 119
 Ganghwa (江華) island 31, 97
 Gangjin (康津) 101, 108, 101
 Gangjin-gun (康津郡) 101, 105, 112
 Gaochang (高昌) 135
 Gaya (伽倻) 167, 198
 Gayagapak (伽倻岬岳) 181
 Geum Gwan Kyung (金官京, Kimhae) 211
 Geumgapjin (金甲鎭, in Jindo) 109
 Geumgwangaya (金官伽倻) 169
 Geumibtaek (金入宅: estates of the wealthy) 143
 geupchan 154, 191
 Ggeneral of Jinhae (鎮海將軍) 119
 ginseng (人蔘) 152, 156
 Gogeumdo (古今島) 105
 Gogyo-Hachiman (古宮入幡) 200
 Gokto (鵠島) 176
 Golpum (骨品) 18, 24, 65, 77, 80, 113, 213
 Gongsun (公孫) 165
 Goryeo Sa (高麗史: the History of Goryeo) 96
 Gosan (高山) 148
 Goudang Xinluoso (句當嶺羅所) 68, 75, 130
 Guanyim-dien (觀音殿) 188
 Gudan (賈耽) 159, 162, 174
- Gungyeh (弓裔) 61, 215, 232, 234
 Gunjin (軍鎭) 97, 99, 100
 Gunsando (靉山島) 235
 Guo Fen yang 31, 32
 Gutaji (廓陀知) 176
 Gwangzhou 154
 Gyeomji (鉅昧) 167
 Gyeonggi (京畿) 31, 96, 164
 Gyun Geum (豎金) 233
- H
 Haechiyari (海恥也里) 181
 Haedo (海島) 66
 Haenam (海南) 72, 101
 Haenam-gun (海南郡) 101, 105
 Hakada (博多) 21, 37, 107, 196, 198
 Hanju (漢州) 96
 Hannamal (韓奈末) 191
 Hansanju (漢山州) 211
 Hata (秦) 201
 Heojin (會津) 173, 174
 Heoyuksa (廻易使) 29
 Heuksando (黑山島) 173
 Heum Yang-hui (欽良暉) 146, 202
 Hezhou (河州) 140
 Hizengoku (肥前國) 174
 Hong Sul (洪述) 233
 Honglusi 55
 Hou Tang (後唐) 233
 Hou Xi'yi 19
 Htizogyo (平城京) 152
 Huaisi (淮西) 139
 Huanghuasida-zi (皇華四達記) 159
 Hudogi (風土記) 200
 Huh Man (許滿) 191
 Hu SamGuk (後三國) 236
 Hwanghae (黃海) 96
 Hwarang (花郎) 209, 213
 Hwasang Hyunwuk (和尚 玄昱) 174
 Hyemoksan (慧目山) 174
 Hyeonryung (縣令) 80

Hylgujin (穴口鎮) 31, 107

I

Igyo (惟嶼) 147

Iki (壹岐) 195

Iksan (益山) 251

Il Gil-cha 206

Iruma-gun (入間郡) 191

Isho (惟正) 147

Izuno-gumi (伊豆國) 193

J

Jang Gong-jung (張公靖) 147

Jang Mun-hyu (張文休) 168

Jangan (長安) 135, 211

Jangchun (長春) 169, 235

Jangdo (將島) 17, 100, 102,

104, 106, 148, 230

Jangheung-gun (長興郡) 105

Jangjiwa-ri (長佐里, Wando-gun

Wando-eup) 100, 101, 179,

242

Jangqinggak (長慶閣, a building

to keep the Buddhist

Scriptures) 185, 186

Jangujin(長口鎮) 31

Jasah (刺史) 168

Je Gong (嵯恭) 209

Jeollanam-do (全南) 35, 68,

111, 249

Jeonbuk (全北) 176, 228

Jeon-gil 191

Jeunbomoonhunbigo (增補文獻

備考) 166

Jiading Chichang-Zhi (嘉定赤

山志) 133

Jiang Huai (江淮) 23, 181

Jiao Sect monks (教宗僧) 188

Jili-ji (地理志, geography) 97, 101

Jilim (吉林) 103

Jilim-sheng (吉林省- province)

103

Jimo-hyeon (即墨縣) 182

Jin (金) 79, 94

Jin Chung (陳忠) 132, 149

Jindo (珍島) 39, 109, 246

Jingol (眞骨) 18, 45, 54, 60,

119, 154, 223, 226

Jingu-shrine (神宮院) 198

Jinwi-hyeon (振威縣) 98

Johageum (朝陽館) 157

Johaju (朝陽館) 156, 157

Joyakdo (助藥島) 108

Jukgojuk (赤袴城= red pants

bandits) 232

Jukmakdong (竹幕洞) 176

Jung Mun (正門) 207

Jusuh (州誓, provincial armies)

94

K

Kahara (河原) 200

Kaiyuansi (開元寺, Yang zhou)

146

Kangeum-hyeon (江陰縣) 98

Kangju (康州, Jinju) 31, 233

Kangleung (江陵) 216

Kao Xian Zhi (高仙芝) 155

Kara Hagu (韓泊) 201

Karagumi-zho (辛酉城) 198

Kawara (香春) 198, 200

Kawara Sinsin (香春岑神) 200

Kawaru-gyo (香春嶺) 201

Kawaru-shrine (香春社) 201

KenToSi (健唐使) 54, 55

Keumju (金州, Kimhae) 31, 233

Keumkwangkyung (金光經)

189

Kihwun (箕萱) 232

Kijung (畿倬) 94

Kim Bum-mun (金梵文) 211

Kim Bu-sik (金富弼) 32, 113

Kim Chang-nam (金昌男) 193

Kim Eun-gu (金隱居) 207

Kim gyeong-Eung (金慶膺) 119

Kim Gyun-jeong (金均貞) 115,

210, 223

Kim Heon-chang (金憲昌) 24,

61, 210

Kim Ja-baek (金自白) 146

Kim Je-ryung (金悌隆) 116, 213

Kim Ji-jung (金志貞) 207

Kim Jin (金珍) 146, 171

Kim Jung-bae (金正培) 244

Kim Jun-ong (金俊邇) 210

Kim Ju-pil (金柱弼) 137

Kim Ju-won (金周元) 208

Kim Kyung-shin (金敬信) 208

Kim Mun-seub (金文習) 174

Kim Myeong (金明) 117, 214

Kim Sa-ran (金思孺) 169

Kim Tae-ryeom (金泰廉) 152

Kim Ui-jong (金義宗) 174

Kim Un-seung (金彦昇) 210

Kim Wu-jing (金祐徵) 23, 115,

142, 214

Kim Yang (金陽) 23, 116

Kim Yang-sang (金良相) 208

Kim Yung (金隆) 117

Kim Yu-shin (金庾信) 180

Kimje-gun (金堤郡) 228

King Ae-jang (哀莊王) 71, 210

King Chim-ryu (枕流王) 167

King Gae-ro (蓋鹵王) 166

King Geunchogo (近肖古王)

178

King Geungusu (近仇首王) 167

King Gueesin (久爾辛王) 167

King Hee-gang (僖康王) 212

King Heon-an (憲安王) 215

King Heon-kang (憲康王) 215

King Heung-deok (興德王) 21,

69, 112, 212

King Hui-gang (僖康王) 116,

121

King Hye-gong (惠恭王) 71,

205

King Hyo-gong (孝恭王) 233

King Jeon-ji 167

King Jung-gang (定康王) 215

King Kyung-ae (景哀王) 233

King Kyung-deok (景德王,

742-765) 94, 205

King Kyung-mun (景文王) 215

King Kyung-myung (景明王)

233

King Min-ae (閔哀王) 117, 214

King Mu (武王) 168

- King Mun-seong (文聖王) 17, 119
- King Mu-yeol (武烈王) 61, 94
- King Seong-deok (聖德王, 702-737) 94, 156
- King Sho-mu (聖武王) 194
- King Sin-mu (神武王) 115, 213
- King Sin-mun (神文王, 681-692) 93
- King So-seong (昭聖王) 210
- King Sun-deok (宣德王) 208
- King Wen-zong (文宗, 827-835) 83
- King Won-sung (元聖王) 208
- King Wu-zong (武宗) 186
- King Yung-reu (榮留王) 166
- Ko Yeon-su (高延壽) 139
- Kongju (公州) 211
- Kuan Nei (關內) 140
- Kuk Won Kyung (國原京, Jungwonkyung, today's Chungjŏ) 21
- Kwandeung 24
- Kwanseum Bodhistivas (觀世音菩薩) 235
- Kwanseumbosal Bomunpum (觀世音菩薩 普門品) 189
- Kyeon Hwon (甄萱) 61
- Kyodong-hyeon (喬桐驛) 98
- Kyogwansun (交關船) 80, 88
- Kyoto (京都) 246, 251
- Kyungjang (經藏, the Scripture building) 185
- Kyungju (慶州) 97, 106, 141
- Kyungwun (慶雲) 211
- Kyunhwon (甄萱) 215, 233
- Kyuntangsun (遣唐船) 86
- Kyushu (九州) 59, 91, 104
- L**
- Lady Manwol (滿月夫人) 205, 217
- Lai zhou (萊州) 27, 67, 69, 87, 171, 182
- Lanzhou (蘭州) 140
- large rituals (大祀, Silla's mountain and river rituals take three forms) 180
- Lau Shan 182
- Lee Chang-jin 30, 222, 229
- Lee Chung (李忠) 145
- Lee Hoe-ok (李懷玉) 139
- Lee In-deok (李隣德) 146, 172
- Lee Jeong-gi (李正己) 19, 57
- Lee Jong-sang (李鍾祥) 20, 242
- Lee Jung-hwan (李重煥) 173
- Lee Nab (李納) 19
- Lee Sah-go (李師古) 19
- Lee Shi-dao (李師道) 19, 68
- Lee Shin-hye (李信惠) 196
- Lee Sin-hye 20
- Lee So-jeong (李少貞) 145
- Lee Un-mo (李彦謨) 31, 233
- Lelang (樂浪) 165
- li (里: a unit of distance, 15 miles) 133, 135
- Li yan xiao (李延孝) 174
- Liangzhigong-tu (梁職貢圖) 167
- Liaodong (遼東) 105, 160
- Liaodong-sheng (遼東省) 138
- Liaosi (遼西) 168
- Liaozhou (遼州) 139
- Lien Shuih Sien 26
- Liji (禮記) 209
- Lizhou (黎州) 140
- Lui Xin (鑾斯) 165
- LunYu (論語) 209
- M**
- Madojin (馬島嶼, Gangjin) 109
- Maesilla mulhae (買樂羅物解) 52
- Man kyung-hyeon (蘭項驛) 235
- Manbodang (萬步幢, provincial armies) 94
- Maozhou (茂州) 140
- Me Du-shan (馬都山) 168
- medium rites (中祀) 180
- Mi Wa No Mii (神御井 or 神一郎) 172
- Mi Zhou (密州) 133
- Milyang (密陽) 181
- Ming Zhou (明州) 171
- Mingdi (明帝) 165
- Minjangsa (敏藏寺) 235
- Mino-gumi (美濃國) 191
- Minzhou (岷州) 140
- Miungzhou (明州) 146
- Mizhou (密州) 133, 147, 181
- Mokpo (木浦) 39
- monk Egku 146
- monk Shou Kai (性海) 149
- monks (比丘僧) 28, 131
- MouPing-hyeon (牟平驛) 87, 131
- Mt. Godal (高達山) 61, 211
- Mt. Golhwa (骨化山) 180
- Mt. Hyulye (穴禮) 180
- Mt. Myunghwal (明活山) 180
- Mt. Ohdae (五臺山) 186
- Mt. Sangwang (象王山) 104
- Mt. Tientai (天台山) 146
- Mudang (武幢, main army) 94
- Muju (武州, present Gwangju) 117
- Muju (Kwang-Ju, Jeolla province) 23
- Musashino-gumi (武藏國) 191
- Musirota-gun (席田郡) 191
- Mutsuno-gumi (陸奥國) 194
- Myungju (溟州) 96, 133
- Myungju (溟州, Kangleung) 216
- N**
- Nagamine Nosukune 151, 173
- Nagatono-gumi (長門國) 146, 196
- Naju (羅州) 31, 234
- Nakdong River (洛東江) 199
- Nan ji (南灣) 167
- Nanzhao (南朝) 167
- Nara (奈良) 187, 201, 246
- Naryupo (那留浦) 174
- Nenbutsu (念佛 items people had in mind) 152
- Niang Zi (娘子) 132
- Nihon Koki (日本後記: Second

Chronicles of Japan) 16
 Nisshi Kotsu-shi (日支交通使)
 171
 Nitto Guho Junrei gyoki (入唐
 求法巡禮行記: A Buddhist
 Pilgrimage to Tang) 7, 16
 novice monks (沙彌僧) 188
 novices (沙彌僧) 185
 nuns (比丘尼) 185, 188

O

Oak (五嶽) 104, 180
 Okura-sanrogu (小倉山鹿) 198
 Onga-gawa (遠賀川) 201
 Onmalgeun (溫末勳) 181
 Onzhoji temple (園城寺) 198,
 202
 Onzhoji-ryugae-engi (園城寺龍
 華會緣記) 202
 Oodomo Nosuguri-ge (大友村
 主家) 202
 Ootsu (大津) 202
 ox bezoar (中黃) 156

P

Paegangjin (滌江鎮) 95, 211
 Paekang (滌江, 大同江) 31, 96
 Pak Su-kyung (朴守卿) 233
 Park Yun-wung (朴允雄) 31,
 235
 Ping Lu chichung (平盧淄青)
 57
 Ping Lu Ziqing 19
 Pinlu ziqing chichtushis (平盧
 淄青節度使) 139
 PoHai (勃海) 86
 ponies (果下馬) 156
 pyung (坪: unit of area) 102,
 104
 pyungman silver belt (銀帶)
 157
 Pyungyang (平壤, near
 Namyangju) 212

Q

Qingzhou (青州) 143
 Qinzhou (秦州) 140
 Qiongzhou 140
 Quanzhou (泉州) 153
 Queen Jin-sung (眞聖女王) 45,
 176, 215
 Quiyu 155

R

Rageum (羅錦) 157
 Rebellion of An Shi(755-763)
 43, 44
 Rebellion of Huang(875-884)
 44
 Ren Zhong Ruan (任仲元) 174
 Reungchae (綾紗) 157
 Reungra (綾羅) 157
 Rongcheng (榮城) 53, 67, 87,
 182, 251
 royal god of Ojindenno (應神
 天皇) 200
 Ru shan (乳山) 134, 146
 Ru shan-pu (乳山浦) 87, 131
 Rueungryeong (鑊龍鈴) 156
 Ruiju Sandai-kyaku (類聚三代
 格) 192
 Rushanpak (乳山泊) 148
 ryang (兩) 172

S

Sabeolju (沙伐州, Sangju) 215
 Sadok (四瀆) 180
 Saegeum-hyeon (塞琴縣) 101
 Sahae (四海) 180
 Sai Cho (最澄) 198
 Saitama-ken (埼玉縣) 191
 Sajin (四鎮) 180
 Sakju (朔州) 96
 Samblienshuidang (三邊誓幢,
 provincial armies) 94
 Samguk-Sagi (三國史記:
 Chronicles of the Three
 Kingdoms) 7, 16, 32
 Samguk-Yusa (三國遺事:
 Heritage of the Three

Kingdoms) 7, 16, 122
 Samguo-zhi (三國志) 199
 Samhan (三韓) 144
 Samin (徒民) 227, 230
 Sanfubao-dian (三佛寶殿:
 three-buddha shrine) 188
 Sangdaedeung (上大等) 115,
 208
 Sangjae (上宰) 54
 Sangshin (上臣) 54
 Sansan-hyeon (蒜山縣) 99
 Sarang (四郎) 146
 Second Baekje (後百濟) 216,
 233
 Second Three Kingdoms
 Period (後三國) 75, 174
 Seon Pil (善弼) 233
 Seven-pronged knife (七支刀)
 152
 Shandongsheng (山東省) 182
 Shannam (山南) 139
 Shaocun (邵村) 87, 171
 Shi Danao (石門奧) 174
 Shi Jing (詩經) 209
 Shidao-jin (石島鎮) 87, 243,
 251
 Shinjeung Dongguk
 Youjiseungram (新增東國輿地
 勝覽: a revised map of Eastern
 countries) 235
 Shinjijin (新晉鎮) 109
 Shino Isuke No-gumi (下毛野
 國) 191
 Shiragi-Myosin (新羅明神) 198,
 201
 Shiwibu (侍衛府, royal guard) 94
 Shohei and Denkyo 46
 Shoku Nihon Gi (續日本記:
 Second Sequel to the
 Chronicles of Japan) 7, 16,
 94, 192
 Shoku Nihon Koki (續日本後記:
 Sequel to the Second
 Chronicles of Japan) 16, 222
 Shosoin (正倉院) 52, 92, 201
 Shoukai (性海) 146
 Shu Jing (書經) 209
 Shuseinomiya (須井宮) 196

- Si Yi Zhi Lu (四夷之路: the small routes to the four barbaric countries) 162
- Sikup (食邑) 81
- Sijjik (悉直: current Samchuk, 三陟) 95
- Silla-bang of Lien Shui 30
- Silladoja (新羅刀子: dagger) 152
- Silla-gun (新羅郡) 191
- Silla-Yu (新羅嶼) 135
- Sinshogu (神職) 200
- Sizhou 17
- So Yul-hee (蘇律熙) 233
- Sohwauhageum (小花魚牙鎧) 157
- sok (石) 186
- Sokyung (小京, minor capitals) 93
- Song Jiang-kao (松江口) 171
- Songjiang (松江) 146
- Songsan-hyeon (松山縣) 99
- Soon Shik (順式) 233
- soryang (少兩) 146
- Sozhou (蘇州) 146
- Su Shin (壽神) 211
- Sugun Manho (水軍萬戶) 109
- Suh Won Kyung (西原京, Chungju) 211
- Suhdang (誓幢, main army) 94
- Sui (隋) 135, 170
- Sujin-hyeon (守鎮縣) 98
- Sukmyung (釋名) 157
- Sukuri (勝) 201
- Suljik (述職) 84
- Suljun (蘇全) 148
- Sulshi (戌時, p.m. 10) 236
- Sungju (星州) 211
- Sungyun (宣雲) 196
- Sunsu (巡狩) 84
- Suruga (駿河) 28, 193
- Suseongdang (水城堂) 177
- Suseong-gun (水城郡) 98
- Suzhou (蘇州) 130, 171
- system of Chaekbong (冊封: installation of lords) 84
- T
- Tadeng 155
- Taeahn (泰安) 105
- Taekrji (擇里志) 173
- Tai Sho (太守) 165
- Tai Zung (太宗) 96
- Tamjin-hyeon (耽津縣) 101
- Tang hui-yao (唐會要) 136
- Tangeun-gun (唐恩郡: current Namyang, Kyunggi-do) 97
- Tao-cun (陶村) 171
- Tei Yuman (丁雄滿) 147
- temple of Todae-ji (東大寺) 187
- The Gosiluen (古事類苑) 198
- Tien Tai Shan (天台山) 172
- Tientaizung (天台宗) 147
- Torigeritsujo Byobu (鳥毛立女屏風) 52
- Tsukusengoku (筑前國) 196
- Tsushima (對馬島) 90, 107
- Tuan Jie (團結兵: garrison of trained military) 140
- U
- Uduju (牛頭州, Chunchun) 211
- Uhaju (魚牙袖) 156
- Ulleungdo (鬱陵島) 161, 168
- Ulsan (蔚山) 31, 143
- Ungchunju (熊州) 210
- Usa (宇佐) 198
- Usa Hachiman (宇佐八幡神) 200
- Usahatsimansin (宇佐八幡神) 198
- W
- Wando (莞島) 17, 25
- Wandoeub (莞島邑) 17
- Wando-gun (莞島郡) 35
- Wang Bong-gyu (王逢規) 233
- Wang Bongkyu 31
- Wang Ga Chang (王可昌) 149
- Wang Gun (王建) 96, 233
- Wang Guns 31
- Wang Haicun (望海村) 148
- Wang Hai-zhen (望海津) 174
- Wang Hun (王訓) 183
- Wang chung (王諱) 88, 146
- Weizhou (渭州) 140
- Wen Teng Hsien (文登縣) 27, 68
- Wen Xuan (文選) 209
- Wido (鎭島) 177
- Wiheun (魏訥) 226
- Won Jung (元淨) 174
- Won San-ji (遠山地) 193
- Won jong (元宗) 215
- Wonsan (元山) 96
- Woogeumri (馬金里) 235
- Wu (吳) 169
- Wu gong-yuan (悟空院) 135
- Wu hou (武后) 140
- Wu Ning Army's (武寧軍) 19, 113
- Wu Ning Jun 18
- X
- Xianyusi (鮮于嗣) 165
- Xiao Jing (孝經) 209
- Xijin (西晉) 167
- Xinluoso (新羅所) 68, 75
- Xintang-Shu (新唐書: New Chronicles of Tang) 7, 83, 108
- Xiu Cheng 26
- Xiucheng-cun (宿城村) 147
- Xu Zhou 18, 65
- Y
- Yalu River (鴨綠江) 107, 163
- Yamato (大和) 45, 83
- Yan Hai Zhou 37, 38
- Yang Guifei (楊貴妃) 132
- Yang Pae (良貝) 176
- Yang zhou (揚州) 88, 130
- Yanggil (梁吉) 216, 232
- Yangmu-gun (陽武郡) 101
- Yaya (押衙: military guard officer) 75, 130
- Yazhou (豫州) 140
- Yesung River (禮成江) 96, 234

Yichan 208
Ying Zhou Ru Andang-dao
(營州入安東道) 163
Yizhou (冀州) 140
Youngam (靈巖, 靈岩) 101, 236
Youngwol (寧越) 216
Yu Shin-un (劉慎言) 148
Yuan (元) 237
Yugeo-hyeon (幽居縣) 99
Yulryung (律令) 56
Yum Jang (閻長) 30, 118, 225
Yum Sang (廉相) 207
Yunchung (潞溝) 196
Yungchun (永川) 180
Yuzhou (幽州) 138

Z

Zen (禪) 188, 233
Zen Sect monks (禪宗僧) 188
Zhang Zhixin (張支信) 172
Zhanitan 155
Zhedong (浙東) 193
Zhejiang (浙江) 136, 173
Zhejiang-sheng (浙江省,
province) 71, 129
Zhenyuan (貞元, 785-805) 159
Zhi Kwan Zhi (職官志) 140
Zhiotang-shu (舊唐書) 139, 166
zhong guan (總管: manager)
148
Zhou Yi (周易) 209
Zhucheng-hsien (諸城縣) 133
Zitan (紫壇) 155
Zizhi Tongjiam (資治通鑑) 155