Some notes on Parhae

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SOME NOTES ON PARHAE (Chinese: P’OHAI 渤海)

These few notes are offered in the hope of raising a forgotten nation somewhat from its current status as a question-mark in western language works. Prior to plunging into the pace of events immediately concerned with Parhae, it would not, I believe, be amiss were we summarily to review a few preceding events.

The last half of the seventh century was a period of the shattering of kingdoms on the Korean peninsula and in eastern Manchuria and the subsequent reconsolidation of the pieces into a unified Silla and the new nation of Parhae. On the peninsula the joint forces of T’ang China and Silla successfully overcame the Paekche- Japanese alliance in the wars of 660-662. Some five years later in 668, Silla-T’ang forccs took the last stronghold of Koguryŏ at P’yŏngyang, During the next few years the successful advance of Silla northward and defeats at the hands of the Ch’itan forces in Manchuria forced T’ang China to relinquish her attempts to reinstitute Chinese power on the peninsula. In 676 T’ang moved her frontier garrison from P’yŏngyang back into Liaotung and Silla set her north-eastern frontier along the P’ae River (浿江 See map). Thus, the northern portion of the peninsula and adjacent eastern Manchuria reverted to the various tribal peoples, while north of the Yalu eleven walled cities (城) of the former Koguryŏ never capitulated to the Silla-T’ang forces. This was the general situation in 696 when a series of events began in the city of Ying-chou, which were to lead to the founding of the nation of Parhae in eastern Manchuria.

1. The Founding of Parhae1)

In the 5th moon of 696, a revolt broke out in Ying-

1) For a fuller discussion of the information contained in this section as well as source citations, Chinese characters, etc., see Appendix 1.

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chou led by the descendant of a Ch’itan chieftain, Li Chin-ch’ung, and the Malgal chieftain Wanjung. They killed the Governor of Ying-chou, Chao Hui, and used the city as the base of their revolt. Then Li Chin-ch’ung died, probably in the fighting which ensued with the T’ang forces raised against them, sometime before the 10th moon. Following Li’s death, Wan-jung led the rebels to capture Chi-chou where they killed the Prefect of that city. In the 6th moon of the following year (697), Wan- jung died, probably bringing the rebellion to an end in that area.

Tse-t’ien, or, as she is more commonly called, the Empress Wu, who then held the throne of T’ang China, ordered the rebellion crushed and also issued an edict changing the names of the two rebel leaders. Chin-ch’ung which means ‘absolute loyalty’ was changed to Chin-mieh (盡滅) which means ‘utter destruction’, while Wan-jung suffered the indignity of seeing his name, wnich means ‘ten thousand honours’, changed to Wan-chan (萬斬) which means ‘ten thousand cuts’.

Seizing the opportunity presented by the rebellion, Kolsa Piu and one other person whose identity is contested and whom I shall call the ‘other leader’, fled from Ying-chou with their people. Going eastward they led their people across the Liao River. As the rebellion within T’ang had probably been crushed at this time, and possibly with the same motivation that impelled T’ang to appoint the former king of Koguryo as Prince of the Principality of Chosŏn in Liaotung-chou in 677, T’ang invested Kolsa Piu as Duke of Hoguk and the ‘other leader’ as Duke of Chin’guk, probably in 698.

However, angered at the Duke of Hoguk’s refusal to follow the orders of T’ang, the Empress Wu ordered General Li K’ai-ku to subjugate them. It is quite possible that they were identified as being elements of Li Chin- ch’ung’s rebels since they left Ying-chou at the time of the rebellion and since Kolsa Piu’s action seemed to be a



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continuance of the revolution. General Li K’ai-ku defeated and killed Kolsa Piu and then, following this battle, he crossed the T’ien-men-ling in pursuit of Choyŏng, who we find had become the leader of the peoples of Kŏlsa Piu, and the ‘other leader’. Choyŏng, uniting the Malgal and Koguryŏ peoples, defeated General Li K’ai-ku and then, using Turkish, Ch’itan, and Hsi forces, completely blocked a return by General Li. Having effected a strong alliance between his own force of Koguryŏ and Malgal people with the Ch’itan, Hsi and Turkish tribes, Choyŏng led his own force deeper into north-eastern Manchuria where he erected a walled city near Mt. Tung-mou, and proclaimed himself the King of Chin’guk.

General Li returned to T’ang and in the 6th moon of 700, Empress Wu specially bestowed the surname of Wu, ‘martial’, on him for subjugating the Ch’itan elements and for taking captives. Although General Li suffered a defeat at T’ien-men-ling, nevertheless, the rebellion in the Ying-chou area had been crushed, he had killed Kŏlsa Piu who had refused T’ang suzerainty, and the result of the battle of T’ien-men-ling was that Choyŏng went deeper into eastern Manchuria. The captives mentioned could have come from the battle with Kolsa Piu, from elements in the Ying-chou area, or from unfortunates rounded up as ‘captives’ to present a picture of victory, for which examples are not lacking in the T’ang period.

In the 2nd moon of the 2nd year of the reign of T’ang Hsuan-tsung(玄宗 reigned 712-756), T’ang invested Choyŏng, who had taken Tae (大) as a surname, with the title of ‘Prince of the Principality of Parhae’ (傲海君王)2). The king of Parhae, Tae Choyŏng, died in the 7th year of K’ai-yuan (開元), 719, and was given the posthumous title of Ko Wa’ng (高王). (See Appendix 2). The nation was called Chin’guk during the period 699 to 713, and from 713 to 926 it was called Parhae. Choyong is generally regarded as the founder of the nation and

2) Cf. *T’se-fu-yüan-kuei* chüan 96, cited Ikeuchi, p. 37. (See bibliography for full information on all works cited).

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it appears that he was a Malgal who had formerly been under the Koguryŏ. For a further discussion of various aspects of the founding of Parhae see Appendix 1.

**2. The Reign of Mu Wang and the Raid on Teng-chou**

Tae Muye, or Mu Wang as he was canonized, ascended the throne in 719 following the death of his father. The remnants of the Koguryŏ peoples not only provided a cultural foundation for the alliance welded together by his father, but also furnished a strong stabilizing factor to the centrifugal tendencies of the non-sedentary tribal peoples in the alliance. At an early date Parhae’s territory extended south to the borders of Silla on the Ni River (泥河), east to the Sea of Japan, west to the lands of the Ch’itan and northeast into the lands of the Black water Malgal (黑水靺鞨)3). Their households are said to have numbered in excess of 100,000 (i.e., a population of over 500,000 if we convert at the usual rate of 5 to 1), and their troops at 10,000 men; and they were reported to have the same customs as the Koguryŏ and Ch’itan; they possessed letters and wrote records.4)

In the 10th year of Mu Wang they described themselves in a ‘state letter, (國書) they sent to Japan as having recovered the former lands of Koguryŏ and as possessing the surviving customs of the Puyŏ (夫餘).5) Tributary relations were established with T’ang China and with Japan; only with Silla do no relations appear to have been established. Silla, possibly alarmed by the rapid expansion of Parhae and her advance into the peninsula, built the Changsŏng (長城) on the P’ae River in 721, and it is recorded that it was some 300 *li* (里) in length and that a corvee of 10,000 men was levied for its construction.6)

3) Cf. *Chiu-t’ang shu*, chuan 199 P’o-hai-Moyeh-ch’uan; also cf. *Hsin-t’ang- shu*, chuan 219, P’o-hai-ch’uan.

4) Cf. *Ts’e fu yüan kuei* chüan 96, cited Ikeuchi, p. 36

5 ) Cf. *Shoku Nihongi* (續日本紀) chüan 10 cited *Hanguk-sa* (韓國史)

6) Cf. *Chosen-shi* (朝鮮吏), Vol. 2, p. 258

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In 722, during the 4th year of the reign of Mu Wang, the Blackwater Malgal chieftain Yesok Igye (倪屬利稽) arrived at the T’ang court to present tribute and Hsuan-tsung bestowed upon him the position of Prefect (剌史) of Po-li-chou (勃利州). And in 725, Hsueh T’ai(薛泰), the Andong-dowi (安東都護), invited them to attach themselves to T’ang and established a Black-water Army (黑水軍) and a Blackwater Command Headquarters (黑水府); a Prefectural Official (長史) was appointed by T’ang to act as ‘Inspector’(監領) of the area. In the following year (726), the Blackwater Malgal dispatched their own tributary mission to T’ang. Two years later, in 728, the Blackwater Malgal chieftain was bestowed the name of Li Hsien-ch’eng (李獻誠) and made Governor of Yu-chou (幽州).7)

In leaving the alliance, the Blackwater Malgal created a problem for Mu Wang, Not only was this an open declaration of the severance of the alliance which might encourage the breaking away of other tribes, especially other Malgal tribes, but also the Blackwater Malgal now effectively blocked Parhae’s south-eastern flank — an effective buffer between T’ang and Parhae.

In 726, Mu Wang ordered his younger brother Munye (門藝) to attack the Blackwater Malgal, but Munye refused. Angered, Mu Wang instructed his cousin Tae Irha (大壹夏) to kill Munye and lead the troops. Munye however, escaped and fled to T’ang. Mu Wang then requested T’ang Hsuan-tsung to kill Munye, but Hsüan-tsung refused and offered protection to Munye.8)

In the fall, in the 9th moon of 732, Mu Wang, angered at T’ang and probably encouraged by the wane of T’ang power attested by numerous defeats during the past decade, dispatched a naval force under General Chang Munhyu (張文休) to raid Teng-chou, a prominent

7) Cf. *Chiu-t’ang shu*, Mo-yeh-ch’uan.

8) Cf. *T’ang-hui-yao*, chüan 96, cited Ikeuchi, pp 59-61; also cf. *Chiu-fang shu*, chüan 199, P’o-hai-ch’uan, and *Tongsa Kangmok*, p. 440.

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point of entry for the tributary missions from both Parhae and Silla, which was located on the northern Shantung coast. In the raid, the Prefect of Tengchou was killed.9) T’ang Hsuan-tsung dispatched Kim Saran (金思蘭) an Auxiliary Secretary of the Bureau of Sacrifices (員外卿) and a member of the Silla royal family, back to Silla with orders to raise a punitive force.10) A force of troops was quickly raised in Silla. General Kim Yunjung (金允仲) was bestowed the ‘golden cloth11) and he and three other generals were ordered to lead the troops, meet the T’ang forces and subjugate Parhae. The army, however, encountered deep snow drifts and the mountain roads were impassable. More than half of the men died and they returned without a victory. At that time, the T’ang Emperor dispatched Tae Munye to raise troops in Yu-chou to subjugate Mu Wang and an ‘official’(刺客) was secretly dispatched to kill Mu Wang, but without results.12)

T’ang, possibly because of trouble with the Tibetan and Turkish tribes at this time, evidently gave the matter up, for no more is heard of it, but Silla’s participation brought her formal recognition of the territory she held south of the P’ae River13) which she had seized after expelling the T’ang army at the time of the unification of the peninsula.

**3. Culture, Trade, and Government**

Following the Teng-chou incident, Parhae re-established relations with T’ang and also carried on frequent

9) Cf. *Samguk Sagi*, Vol. 2, p. 232; *Tongsa Kangmok*, p. 441; *Tang shu Pei-ti-ch’uan; Chiu-t’ang-shu*, chüan 199, P’o-hai ch’uan.

10) Cf. *Samguk Sagi* Vol. 11. p. 232; *Tongsa Kangmok*, p. 441

11) General Kim Yunjung was evidently bestowed ‘the golden cloth’ by the Silla king upon the suggestion of the T’ang emperor due to his relationship to the famous Silla General Kim Yusin (金庚信) (he was his grandson). Cf. *Tongsa Kangmok* p. 441. The bestowal of the ‘golden cloth’ was probably similar to T’ang’s ‘bestowal of the purple.’ and indicated a high honorary court rank.

12) Cf. *Samguk Sagi* and *Tongsa Kangmok*, op. cit.

13) Cf. *Samguk Sagi*, Silla Pon’gi Sŏngdŏk Wang 34th yr., 2nd moon.

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tributary trade with Japan; relations with Silla were apparently never begun. T’ang built a Parhae Inn in Teng-chou to house the Parhae tribute missions who often passed through there on their way to the T’ang capital, Ch’ang-an. The Japanese monk Ennin, in his records of his travels in 9th century T’ang, mentions seeing the Parhae and Silla Inns which were “east of the south street of the city.” Also recorded by Ennin was an inscription in a monastery written by the Parhae monk Chongso (Chen-su 貞素), which narrates how he met the Japanese monk Reisen in a monastery near Mt. Wu T’ai in the fall of 813, and tells of Reisen’s death; a poem was included in the inscription.14)

The frequent tributary mission to T’ang took products such as hides, furs, horses, pigs, iron, and ginseng while bringing back various textiles, grains, and books. The trade with Japan followed a similar pattern. Buddhism, nurtured by repeated contacts with T’ang, flourished, and Parhae monks went to T’ang to study. Parhae also sent many students to T’ang to study and many of these subsequently passed the higher civil examinations.

T’ang influence is seen in the governmental structure (See Appendix 3), and the capital city of Sanggyŏng (上京) was modelled after the T’ang capital. The Parhae capital, originally near Mt. Tung-mou, was moved to Sanggyŏng, Yongsŏnbu (龍泉府), in 756 during the reign of Mun Wang (文王) the 3rd monarch, then moved to Tonggyŏng, Yongwŏnbu (東京龍原府), in 786, and then again transferred back to Sanggyŏng, Yongsŏnbu, where it remained until the capitulation to the Ch’itan some two centuries later.

In order to govern her vast territonties, Parhae set up a system of five capitals (京), 15 *pu* (府), and then instituted a system of five to (道) which radiated outward

14) Cfr. Edwin Reischauer (translator), *Ennin’s Diary*, pp. 177, l41, 193, 197, 215, and 261-3 for some very interesting passages dealing with Parhae.

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from the capital.

The fusing of feldspathic materials into the body of stoneware to make true porcelain15) had been known for some time, and these techniques were brought back to Parhae where artisans soon produced a purple porcelaneous ware which became famous in T’ang, while the examples of Parhae stone carving and decorative tiles which have been unearthed all attest to the high degree of skill of the Parhae artisans.

**4. The Fall of Parhae**

The fall of T’ang in 906 had been preceded by some thirty years of internal rebellions while minor states arose on the periphery of the Middle Kingdom. T’ang was followed by the period generally known at the Five Dynasties, a period in which five minor states arose in rapid succession from the pieces of the shattered T’ang Empire.

On the peninsula, Silla was battling a small rebel kingdom in the southwest and stronger forces in the north; the latter gaining strength and uniting the peninsula under the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392).

To the north of China the situation was no better. For five generations Parhae had gradually lost control as the peripheral tribes drew away and as internal rebellions became frequent. In the reign of Parhae’s Ae Wang (哀王) there arose the powerful Ch’itan chief tain Yeh-lu A-pao-chi (耶律阿保機)16) who united the tribes to the north and west, and, in 916, proclaimed himself emperor at his capital of Lin-han (臨漢) on the upper reaches of the Liao River.17)

15) Cf. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol I, p. 129. Needham says that by 400 AD a bluish-green porcelaneous ware was produced at Wenchow in Chekiang.

16) Yeh-lu A-pao-chi was born in 872, ascended the throne on 27 February 907, died on 6 September 926, and was canonized T’ai Tsu (太祖) (of the Liao Dynasty) cf. Moule, p. 94.

17) Cf. *Hanguk-sa*. pp. 726-728

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Ch’itan raiding had evidently been going on for some time and probably began again late in 925, for in the 9th moon of that year, the Parhae General Sin Tok (申德) with 500 men sought refuge in Koryŏ; and in the 12th moon of that year, 1,000 households (ie. some 5,000 people) fled to Koryŏ. On the 29th day of the intercalary 12th moon of that year, Yeh-lu A-pao-chi launched his attack on Puyŏ. On the 3rd day of the 1st moon of 926 (the following year) Puyŏ fell and the Ch’itan army advanced south, laying seige to Horhansŏng (忽汗城 the king’s fortress at Sang-gyŏng, the capital), and on the 9th day of the 1st moon the Parhae troops meeting him were defeated. That night Horhansŏng was surrounded. On the 12th day, requesting the Parhae king to capitulate, Yeh-lu moved the army in to camp south of Horhansŏng. On the 14th day of the 1st moon of 926, Parhae’s Ae Wang the fourteenth and final monarch, capitulated.18)

And, on the 9th day of the 2nd moon of 926, the Ch’itan named their new nation Tongdan’guk (東丹國) (Nation of the Eastern Ch’itan). Then, moving southward again, the Ch’itan army took Changyŏngbu (長嶺府) on the 5th day of the 8th moon of 926.19)

Although the capital had fallen and the king had capitulated, resistance continued, probably centred around the Parhae crown prince, Tae Kwanghyon (大光顯), and Parhae tributary missions continued to appear at the court of the Later T’aner (後唐) until 935.

Only a relatively few persons are recorded as having fled during the years 926, 927, 928. However, the arrival of Hong Kyŏn (洪見) in Koryo with 20 ships of men in the 6th moon of 929, marked the beginning of a steady stream of refugees to Koryŏ. While there is a record of one group of some 94 men going to Japan in the 12th

18) According to the *Liao shih* (遼史) c2, 3a, Parhae capitulated on 6 March 926. Cited Moule, p. 94.

19) Cf. Ikeuchi, pp. 86-88.

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moon of 929, and of a group of 30 men going over to the Later Chou (後周), the vast majority sought refuge in Koryŏ. In 934, the crown prince of Parhae sought refuge in Koryŏ leading several tens of thousands of people. Following his submission to Koryŏ, the crown prince was bestowed the name of Wang Kye (王繼), given a court rank and enfeoffed with fields and houses by Koryŏ’s monarch. The name Wang Kye has the literal meaning of ‘the king continues’ while the surname Wang was the surname of the King of Koryŏ, Wang Kŏn (王建), and its bestowal on the Prince of Parhae implied that he was being given the protection of the Koryo reigning house.

In 938, Pak Sung(朴昇),who is described merely as a Parhae man, sought refuse in Koryŏ with more than 3,000 households, i.e., over 15,000 people, and in 981 we see tens of thousands of Parhae refuerees had crossed the borders of Koryŏ. Refugees from the Manchurian cauldron continued to flee into Koryŏ for the next decade.20)

In fleeing to Koryŏ, the refugees could not have made a better choice, for excluding the islands of Japan, Koryŏ was the only kingdom in north Asia which remained stable during this period.

From the beginning, the inception of the nation of Parhae had depended upon the ability of its leaders to consolidate and maintain tribal alliances; when they were no longer able to do so the nation began to disintegrate until a push from the Ch’itan forces toppled them. The effect of the thousands of Parhae refugees upon Koryŏ is not known, but it must have been extensive, especially when we consider that this was the period of the consonaation of Koryŏ’s newly won territorities in the south of the peninsula.

20) For records of refugees arriving in Koryo, cf *Koryosa*, Taejo Sega (高麗史太祖世家) for these years.

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In addition to the above cited works, a great deal of material exists in original source materials on Parhae, some of which I have cited from secondary sources, since the originals were not available to me. Regrettably unavailable was Dr. Toriyama Kurakuchi’s (鳥山喜ᅳ) *Bokkai Shiko* (渤海史考 ‘References to the History to Parhae’).

**Appendix 1**

**On the Founding of Parhae**

Some points in the origins of Parhae are obscured in that the texts differ, contradict each other and themselves. The following is presented in an attempt to point out some of these differences. In the following account read [page76] *Koguryŏ* for *Koryŏ.*

In the *Chiu-t’ang-shu*, chüan 199, P’o-hai-ch’uan, we have what is considered the most reliable of all accounts of the founding of Parhae:

“The Parhae Malgal Tae Choyŏng was originally a special type of the Koryŏ. Koryŏ had already fallen (when) Choyŏng led the families subordinate to him and they followed him to live in Ying-chou. In the year Man-sui T’ung-t’ien (萬歲通天) [696] the Ch’itan Li Chin-ch’ung (李盡忠) revolted. Choyŏng together with the Malgal Kŏlsa Piu (乞四比羽) each fled the jurisdiction (of T’ang) and moving to the east, defended (themselves) with tenacity. Chin-ch’ung had already died (when) Tse-t’ien (則天) ordered the Yu-yu-ling-wei (右玉 鈴衛) General Li K’ai-ku (李楷固) to lead troops and subjugate his [the rebel Li’s] various elements. First he destroyed and killed Kŏlsa Piu, and then crossed the T’ien-men-ling (天門嶺) in order to pursue Choyŏng. uniting the multitudes of Koryŏ and Malgal, and used this (combined force) to check K’ai-ku. The Imperial Commander (王師) suffering a great defeat, escaped. Returning (he found) the Ch’itan as well as the Hsi (奚) had all submitted to the Tŏlgwŏl [Tarks] and blocked the road completely, ana Tse-t’ien was unable to subjugate (them), and Choyŏng went leading his multitudes to the east to the former lands of the Kuei-lou (桂婁). They based themselves at Mt. Tung-mou (東牟山) and erected a walled city in order to remain there.”

First, as to the origins of Choyŏng, we find in the *Hsin-t’ang-shu*, chüan 219, P’o-hai-ch’uan that “the founder of Parhae was originally a Songmal Malgal (粟未靺鞨) attached to Koryŏ whose surname was Tae (大)”. The Tongsa Kangmok, Vol. I, p. 333, reads: “This year the T’ang forces subdued the Ch’itan elements. The Malgal Tae Choyŏng escaped.” He is later mentioned in the same work as “...the Malgal chieftain Choyŏng.” Here there is little disagreement, and Choyŏng appears to have [page77] been a Songmal Malgal whose people were formerly under the suzerainty of Koguryŏ.

Next, the origins of Li Chin-ch’ung. That he was a Ch’itan is corroborated by the *Chiu-t’ang-shu*, chüan 119, Ch’itan-ch’uan which says that he was the descendant of a Ch’itan chieftain.

The beginnings of the revolt are elaborated a bit more in the *Hsin-t’ang-shu*, chüan 219, P’o-hai-ch’uan, which says that: “During the Wan-sui T’ung-t’ien year, the Ch’itan Chin-chung killed Chao Hui(趙翻), the Governor (都督) of Ying-chou and revolted.” The story is continued in the *Chiu-t’ang-shu*, chüan 119, Ch’itan-ch’uan, which says that Li Chin-ch’ung together with the Ch’itan Wan-jung (萬榮) revolted in 696. After Li’s death, Wan-jung led the rebels to capture Chi-chou where he killed the Prefect (刺史) of that city.

With regard to the death of Li Chin-ch’ung, we find that both the *Hsin-t’ang-shu* and the *Chiu-t’ang-shu* place the fall of Chi-chou in the 10th moon of 696, while the fall of Ying-chou is placed in the 5th moon of 696 by both texts. Thus, since Li Chin-ch’ung had already died prior to the seizure of Chi-chou, his death falls in the period between the 5th and 10th moons of 696, a point already made by Dr. Ikeuchi.

In the *Chiu-t’ang-shu*, Ch’itan-ch’uan, we read of Wan- jung’s death in the 6th moon of the following year. This would remove both Wan-jung and Chin-chung from the picture.

Next, we see that Choyŏng and Kŏlsa Piu fled during the rebellion. In the *Hsin-t’ang-shu*, chüan 219, P’o-hai-ch’uan, however, the story is given a bit differently, and we read “… seizing this advantage, [the rebellion] Kŏlgŏl Chungsang (乞乞仲象) together with the Malgal chieftain Kŏlsa Piu as well as various Koryo (people) [page78] went east…..” Here a new figure appears on the stage: Kŏlgŏl Chungsang, who was not mentioned in the previous account. We find further that the new account does not mention Choyŏng. However, at this point we also find that the older account in the *Chiu-t’ang-shu* appears to have a lacuna which is carried in the *Hsin-t’ang-shu*, chüan 219, P’o-hai-ch’uan, and which I have summarized freely as follows: Kŏlgŏl Chungsang, Kŏlsa Piu, and various Koryŏ peoples fled east, crossing the Liao River, established themselves to the north-east of Mt. T’aebaek (太伯山), stopping at the O-lou River (奧婁江). Then Empress Wu invested Kŏlsa Piu as the Duke of Hoguk (許國公) and Kŏlgŏl Chungsang as the Duke of Chin’guk (震國公). When Kŏlsa Piu did not follow orders, Empress Wu dispatched General Li K’ai-ku who attacked and killed him. At this time Chungsang died and his son Choyŏng was selected to lead the people. Later following his defeat of General Li, Choyŏng established a nation and proclaimed himself the King of Chin’guk.

Here we have several differences. First, in the original account given we see mention of ‘the former lands of the Keui-lou (桂婁),’ and now we see the entry of the O-lou River (奧婁江). The first account appears to be a minor gloss for I-lou (挹婁), the name of the general area concerned around the Amur River, and the name by which this area and its peoples were known at the time of the Han colonies in Korea (108 BC-313AD). The rendering of it as the O-lou River appears to be a copy error on the part of the compilers of the *Hsin-t’ang-shu*.

A more important difference is seen in that here again Kŏlgŏl Chungsang is mentioned and he is given as Choyŏng’s father, while the *Chiu-t’ang-shu* not only does not mention such a relationship, it further gives Choyŏng as the one who fled with Kŏlsa Piu and does not mention Kŏlgŏl Chungsang.

There are several possibilities, (a) Since the compilers [page79] of the *Hsin-t’ang-shu* were working with materials unavailable to the compilers of the *Chiu-t’ang-shu*, they may have filled in several lacunae and the *Hsin-t’ang-shu* account may be correct in saying that Chung-sang was Choyŏng’s father. Yet, (b) the *Chiu-t’ang-shu* version is generally preferred since it is the original account, i.e., it was compiled earlier and it would seem that such an important item would not be left out; while it is also possible that (c) both accounts are correct, and we are dealing with the same man, that is, Kŏlgŏl Chungsang is a tribal name, and he changed it to Choyŏng, and later took the surname Tae—although in the latter case, the surname Tae appears to have been a sinicized version of “khan” or “chieftain.”

Various scholars may be found to favour any of these possibilities; I do not know which is correct.

**Appendix 2**

**Rulers of Parhae**

The surname in each case is Tae (大). The nation was known as Chin’guk from 699 to 713，when the designation was changed to Parhae. The source for this information was the Haedong Yoksa, kwon 11.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Name** |  | **Canonized** | **Relation­ship** | **Year Title** | **Remarks** |
| 1. Choyong |  | Ko Wang |  |  |
| 祥榮 | 高王 |
| *2.* Muye |  | Mu Wang | son of 1 | Inan |  |
| 武藝 | 武王 | 仁安 |
| 3. Hummu |  | Mun Wang | son of 2 | Taehung | • |
| 欽茂 | 文王 | 大興 |
| 4. Wonui |  | P’ye Wang 廢王 | grandson of brother of 1 | reigned 1 year&was killed |
| 元義 |
| 5. Hwayo 華與 |  | Song Wang | son of 5a | Chunghung 中興 |  |
| 成王 |
| 5a. Imgoeng did notreign |  | father of 5 brother of 6 son of 3 |  |
|  臨宏[page80] |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 6. Sungnin | 　 | Kang Wang | ；son of 3 father of 7,8, and 9 | Chongyok 正歴 |
|  崇壤 | 康王 | • |
| 7. Wonyu | 　 | Chong Wang |  son of 6 | Yongdok |
|  元豫 | 定王 | 永德 |
| 8. On-ui | 　 | Hui Wang | son of 6 | Chujak | 　 |
|  言義 | 僖王 | 朱雀 |
|  9. Myong | Kan Wang | son of 6 | T’aesi | reigned I year & died |
| ch’ung 明忠 | 簡王 | 太始 |
|  10. Insu | 　 | Son Wang | 4th lineal grandson of 11 | Konhung 建興 | 　 |
|  仁秀 | 宣王 |
| 10a. Sindokdid not reign | 　 | son of 10 father of 11 | 　 |
|  新德 |
| 11. Ijin | 　 | Wang | son of 10a | Hamhwa | 　 |
|  释震 | 王 | 咸和 |
| **12.** Konhwang 虔晃 | 　 | Wang | brother of 11 | 　 | 　 |
| 王 |
| 13. Hyonsok | 　 | Kyong Wang | son of 12 | 　 | 　 |
|  玄錫 | 景王 |
| 14. Inson | 　 | Ae Wang | son of 13 | 　 | 　 |
|  諲讓 | 哀王 |
| 14a. Kwanghyon  | Crown Prince. ***Did not reign.*** Adopted into Koryo Dynasty ruling family as Wang Kye 王繼. |
|  光顯[page81] |

**Appendix 3**

**Parhae’s Governmental Structure**

The following is after Yi Pyŏngdo’s chart in *Hanguk-sa*, p. 658，to which I have appended tentative English titles. T’ang China’s counterparts are in parentheses.

**I . Dept of State**



Each Bureau contained the following official posts : Secretary 卿; Senior Secretary 郞中; and Auxiliary Secretary 員外

\*A lower rank than the Grand Overseer

**II. The Chancellery**

 宣詔省(門下省).

 Grand Minister of the Left

左相 (侍中) Grand Overseer of the Left

左平章事 Councillor of the Chancellery

侍 中

 [?]

左 常 侍

 [?]

諫 議

III. The Secretariat

中臺省

Grand Minister of the Right

右相(令) Grand Overseer of the Right

右平章事 Palace Secretary

 內 史

Secretary of Edicts

 詔 誥