

7.

KOREA DURING THE AGE OF THE YAMATO IMPERIAL CLAN

By the fourth century, Koguryeo had taken over the Le-lang commandery and spread over into the northern part of the Korean peninsula and at the same time had expanded deep into Manchuria, absorbing the remnants of the other Puyeo tribes. In the meantime, Paekche came to occupy the entire old Mahan area and the area of Tai-fang Commandery. Koguryeo's expansion to the south and Paekche's expansion north, however, were bound to generate conflicts between these two burgeoning forces. According to Samguk-sagi, the Crown Prince of King Keun Ch'ogo of Paekche 近肖古王 (A.D. 346-375) invaded Koguryeo and captured five thousand Koguryeo soldiers in A.D. 369; in A.D. 371, King Keun Ch'ogo, together with the Crown Prince, led an invasion of Koguryeo, and King Kogukweon 故國原王 (A.D. 331-371) of Koguryeo was killed by an arrow in the ensuing battle at Pyeongyang. In A.D. 377, King Keun Kusu (A.D. 375-384) led thirty thousand soldiers and attacked Pyeongyang.^{<1>}

According to Liang-shu, "Paekche, just like Koguryeo, had originally been located in the east of Liao-dong; during the time of the Jin Dynasty (Western Jin, A.D. 265-316; Eastern Jin, A.D. 317-420), as Koguryeo conquered Liao-dong, Paekche also occupied Liao-hsi and Jin-ping and established the Paekche provinces [colonies] 自置百濟郡."^{<2>} According to Song-shu, "Paekche, together with Koguryeo, had been located at about one thousand 'li' east of Liao-dong; Koguryeo later came to conquer and occupy Liao-dong and Paekche came to occupy Liao-hsi [West of Liao] 略有遼西; the place that came to be governed by Paekche was called Jin-ping province 百濟所治 謂之晉平郡晉平縣."^{<3>} Qi-ji 齊紀 (2), the Shi-zu 世祖 section of Zi-zhi Tong-jian 資治通鑑 (Book 136), compiled by Si-ma Guang 司馬光, states that in the sixth year of Yong-ming 永明 (A.D. 488) Wei 北魏 sent an army to attack Paekche and

was defeated 魏遣兵擊百濟爲百濟所敗; it then adds a footnote saying that during the era of the Jin Dynasty, Paekche had occupied Liao-hsi and Jin-ping 晉世百濟亦據有遼西晉平二郡也 (quoted in Moon 1988: 45). These statements imply the advance of Paekche into the area west of Liao River sometime in the fourth century. Indeed, Jin-ji 晉紀, the Xiao-zong 孝宗 section of Zi-zhi Tong-jian (Book 97), states that in the second year of Yong-he 永和 (A.D. 346) Paekche invaded Puyeo 扶餘 that was located at Lu-shan 鹿山, and as a result Puyeo had to move west close to Yan 孝宗永和二年正月初扶餘居于鹿山爲百濟所侵部落衰散西徙近燕, but then the Xian-bei King of Yan dispatched his crown prince with three generals of Mu-rong name and 17,000 cavalymen to destroy the defenseless Puyeo 而不設備 燕王遣世子儁帥慕容軍·慕容恪·慕容根三將軍·萬七千騎襲扶餘 (CCI: 326).

These records are consistent with those of Samguk-sagi (Lee edition II: 359) which state that Koguryeo and Paekche, at their peaks, maintained armed forces amounting to one million soldiers and invaded various parts of China 南侵吳越 北虜幽燕齊魯. These records can also be interpreted as indications that Paekche maintained continual holdings in the area west of the Liao River throughout the 5th century. According to [Old] Tang-shu, “the boundaries of Paekche reached, in the west, to Yue-zhou 西渡海至越州 crossing the sea; in the south, they reached Wa crossing the sea 南度海至倭國.”⁴⁵ Shin Chai-ho (1931; 1983: 571) interpreted the last sentence to imply the subjugation of Japan by Paekche.

Best (1982) notes that: “The eleventh-century Zi-zhi-Tong-jian 資治通鑑 contains the startling assertion, duly repeated in the Samguk sagi, that in 488 a Northern Wei 北魏 army attacked Paekche and was defeated . . . [T]his account would be suspect were it not substantially corroborated by the nearly contemporary record of the Nan Qi shu. According to the Nan Qi shu’s account, the encounter with the Northern Wei occurred in 490 rather than in 488, and the invading force was comprised of 100,000 cavalry which were met and defeated by a Paekche army led by four named generals. In addition, the Nan Qi shu records that in 495, Tongseong sent an embassy headed by Mo Yu 慕遺, Wang Mu 王茂, Chang Saek 張塞, and Chin Myeong 陳明 that successfully sought honorary titles for the heroic generals who had repulsed

⁴⁵According to Nan Qi shu, it was during the reign of King Tong-seong [A. D. 490] that several hundred thousand Northern Wei [拓跋]北魏 cavalry again invaded the Paekche Province [in Liao-hsi], and that King Tong-seong let four generals [including general Mong-na 木于那] and their armies destroy them (see CCI: 417 & 437). Samguk-sagi also records the Wei invasion in A. D. 488.⁴⁶

the attack.”¹ In fact, Nan Qi shu 南齊書 records that King Tong-seong 東城王 of Paekche sought the title of “governor” for each of six generals in A. D. 490 and A. D. 495, and the request was granted by the Southern Qi Court. The titles conferred on these six Paekche generals, however, carry the place names (supposedly indicating their titular domains) which sound conspicuously like the present-day northern Chinese territories, that is: Governor of Tai-fang 帶方太守 for Go Dal 高達 (who had been the Governor of Guang-yang 廣陽太守), Governor of Guang-ling 廣陵太守 for Yang Mu 楊茂, Governor of Qing-he 清河太守 for Hwi Mae 會邁, Governor of Le-lang 樂浪太守 for Mo Yu, Governor of Cheng-yang 城陽太守 for Wang Mu, and Governor of Choseon 朝鮮太守 for Chang Saek. Since Best does not take into account the Paekche province of Liao-hsi and Jin-ping, he continues: “It is incredible that a mounted force of the magnitude reported could have made its way from northern China to find defeat in Paekche [in the southwestern part of the Korean peninsula] without [having passed through Koguryeo and hence] being afforded some notice in Wei shu. However, certain factors, most importantly the inclusion of specific names and the contemporaneity of the Nan Qi shu, favor the possibility that Paekche successfully engaged some group of Northern Wei soldiers in a skirmish at this time.” Best (1982) also adds that “there is also a confusing, and presumably confused, entry in Tong-dian 通典 to the effect that during the reign of Emperor Xiao-wen 孝文帝 (拓跋宏 471-500) a Northern Wei army attacked and defeated Paekche.” If one adheres to the Japanese or Chinese viewpoints, all these facts become troubling puzzles. See also Shin (1992: 214-224).

According to Jin-shu, King Keun Ch’ogo of Paekche 餘句 received the title of “Zhen-dong jiang-jun, Governor of Le-lang 鎮東將軍領樂浪太守” in A.D. 372 from the Court of Eastern Jin in south China.^{2-6>} Records of Paekche sending emissaries to Eastern Jin also appear for the years A.D. 373, A.D. 379, A.D. 406 and A.D. 416 (see CCI: 455).

According to Liang-shu, tributes, or prisoners captured in battles, were sent to the Court of Eastern Jin by the King of Paekche Su (representing King Keun Kusu) during A.D.375-384; by King Yeo-Yeong 餘映 [King Cheonji, A.D. 405-420] during A.D.405-418; and to the Court of Song (A.D. 420-479) by King Yeo-Bi 餘毗 [King Piyu, A.D. 427-455] during A.D. 424-453.^{7>} According to Song-shu, the King of Paekche, Cheonji received the title of

¹Hirano (1977) also notes that “Paekche’s first appearance in the Chinese histories was in 372 when King ‘Yu Kou’ (Keun Ch’ogo) dispatched an envoy to Eastern Jin and received a court title.”

“Zhen-dong jiang-jun” in A.D. 416 from the Court of Eastern Jin and was promoted to “Zhen-dong da-jiang-jun” in A.D. 420 when Gao-zu of Liu-Song ascended the throne. In A.D. 430, the Court of Song let the king of Paekche, Yeo-Bi, inherit the title “Zhen-dong da-jiang-jun” given to King Cheonji. In A.D. 450, Yeo-Bi requested the Court of Song to ratify the appointment of Tai-shi Feng Ye-Fu 臺使馮野夫 as the Governor of Xi-he 西河太守, and asked for some books written during the Han dynasty (Yi-lin 易林), for instruction on the art of divination 式占, and for waist-carrying bows. These requests were all granted. Song-shu further records that in A.D. 457 the King of Paekche Kyeong 慶 [representing King Kaero, A.D. 455-475] sent an envoy requesting formal titles for eleven persons and the Court of Song granted various titles to them in A.D. 458 as requested: “Guan-jun jiang-jun” to Xing-guan-jun jiang-jun, You-xian Wang 右賢王, Yeo-Ki, “Zheng-lu jiang jun” to Xing-zheng-lu jiang-jun, Zuo-xian Wang 左賢王, Yeo-Kon, and Xiang-zheng-lu jiang-jun, Yeo-Hui, Fu-guo jiang-jun to Xing-fu-guo jiang-jun Yeo-Do, and so on.^{3<8>}

Liang-shu states that the Court of Southern Qi (A.D. 479-502) gave the title of “Zhen-dong da-jiang-jun, Commanding All Military Affairs in Paekche, King of Paekche” to “Tai” 太, a King of Paekche, during A.D. 483-493; he was promoted to Zheng-dong jiang-jun 征東將軍 in A.D. 502 by the Court of Liang (A.D. 502-557). It further states that Paekche, having been attacked by Koguryeo and weakened, moved its capital to a southern region. These records seem, however, somewhat anachronistic. It was during the reign of King Munju that Paekche moved its capital to Kong-ju. The period A.D. 479-501 was the reign of King Tong-seong and the period A.D. 501-523 was the reign of King Munyeong. Liang-shu further records that, in A.D. 521, the King of Paekche sent an envoy stating that “it had fought against Koguryeo many times but then established a friendly relationship with her” which was interpreted as “Paekche again was becoming a strong state.” The

³According to Song-shu, King Changsu 高璉 (A.D. 413-491) of Koguryeo received the title of “Zheng-dong jiang-jun, Commanding All Military Affairs in Ying-zhou 營州, Governor of Le-lang, King of Koguryeo” from Emperor A’n-di of Eastern Jin in A.D. 413. Song-shu records that King Changsu of Koguryeo was also promoted to “da-jiang-jun” in A.D. 420, and two years later, Emperor Wu-di added the title “Commanding All Military Affairs in Ping-zhou” 平州 to King Changsu.^{9>} According to Wong (1980), Ying-zhou in the early 570s was under the governorship of Gao 高 [Ko] Baoning, who seems to have been related to the royal family of Northern Qi, which in turn might have had a close ethnic bond with the royal family of Koguryeo because both bore the same surname Gao [Ko].

Court of Liang thereby gave the title of “Ning-dong da-jiang-jun” to the Paekche King “Yeo-Yung” 餘隆 [representing King Munyeong, A.D. 501-523]. When King Munyeong died, it gave the title of “Sui-dong jiang-jun” to his son Myeong [Seong-Myeong, A.D. 523-554].^{<10>}

The slate inscription discovered at the Tomb of King Munyeong carries the expression used only for the death of an emperor in China (i.e., 崩). Hence the bestowal of titles on Paekche kings seems to have been more of a symbolic act than the one involving any binding restraints (see Kim Jeong-Hak 金廷鶴 1981: 293). It is rather Kim Bu-sik’s Samguk-sagi, written in the 12th century, that uses the expression for the death of a nobleman on this occasion (i.e., 薨).

According to Liang-shu, the capital city of Paekche was called “Koma” 固麻 and towns were called “Tam-ro 擔魯,” which corresponds to provinces in China. There were 22 Tam-ro which were enfeoffed to princes [wake 別] and other members of the royal families. Since the country was very intimate with Wa, there were many people with tatoos in Paekche, and their language and dress were similar to those of Koguryeo people.^{<10>} Liang-shu also records that the Paekche king [Seong-Myeong] sent tributes to the court of Liang in A.D. 534 and also in A.D. 541, and requested explanatory commentary on Nirvana Sutra, an expert scholar on Chinese Classics, Mao-shi bo-shi 毛詩博士, craftsmen, and painters. The Court of Liang provided all those requested items to Paekche.^{<10>}

Song-shu records that in A.D. 458 [during the reign of King Kaero] the Emperor of Liu-Song gave the titles of “king” and “jiang-jun” to the eleven members of the Paekche royal family suggesting that the King of Paekche had the status of “Great King” who was served by numerous princes [wake] with the title of “king”.^{<11>} Nan-Qi-shu records that in A.D. 490 the King of Paekche (Tong-seong, A.D. 479-501) submitted a list of five “kings,” three “vassals” 候 and six “governors” to be formally confirmed by the Qi Court.^{<12>} Apparently the King of Paekche had the status of an “overlord.”

In 1918, a gilt-bronze crown 金銅冠, together with a sword 環頭大刀, a spear 三枝槍, a bow, and arrows, were unearthed by a Japanese archeologist (谷井) from a pyramid-shaped tomb six meters in height and 33 meters in circumference in modern Naju 羅州(潘南面) in southern Cheolla 全羅 province. These were dated as fifth-century burials. For unknown reasons, however, the Japanese colonial authorities prevented the publication of any detailed reports on these findings. In February 1986, a fifth-century Paekche tomb was excavated in the modern Iksan 益山(熊捕面) area of northern Cheolla province which again produced a gilt-bronze crown as well as a pair of gilt-bronze

shoes and horse accoutrements.⁴ These must have belonged to the kings of those days, but Iksan (like Naju) had never been the capital city of Paekche. Nevertheless, if we take account of the records in Chinese chronicles, which state that Paekche maintained a feudal system and distributed provinces to royal families [wake 別] with the title of king or governor, these archeological findings fit neatly into the recorded histories.

Zhou-shu notes that Paekche people admired archery on horseback 騎射 and were fond of reading classics and chronicles. Outstanding persons could write tolerable compositions. The Paekche understood the Yin-Yang and Five Elements; adopted the calendar of Song; understood medicine, fortune-telling and divination; were fond of the game of go and chess; and had plenty of Buddhist monks, nuns, temples and pagodas, but no Taoist.^{<13>} Sui-shu adds that they were good in government service and had various musical instruments.^{<13>}

According to Song-shu, King San 讚 of Wa was granted unidentified rank and title by the Emperor Wu-di of Liu-Song in A.D. 421. In the reign of Emperor Wen-di 文帝 (A.D. 424-453), King Chên 珍 of Wa sent an envoy to the Liu-Song Court signing himself 自稱 as “An-dong da-jiang-jun, Commanding All Military Affairs in the six Countries 使持節都督六國諸軍事 of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chin-han 秦韓 and Mok-han 慕韓, King of Wa,” and he requested that these self-claimed titles be formally confirmed.⁵ According to Song-shu, the Emperor Wen-di awarded the simpler title of “An-dong jiang-jun, King of Wa 安東將軍 倭國王.”^{<14>}

The kings of Wa seem to have repeatedly requested the Liu-Song Court to confirm formally the title of “Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six Countries” and at last in A.D. 447 Emperor Wen-di formally granted King Sai 濟 of Wa the self-claimed title, but did replace “Paekche” with “Kara” 加羅 in the list of “six” countries. Later King Bu 武 of Wa claimed the title of “An-dong da-jiang-jun commanding all military affairs in the seven countries including Paekche and Kara.”

⁴According to Kim (1986: 352), the type of gilt bronze crown found in a jar-coffin in Naju was worn by a warrior depicted in a Koguryeo tomb painting near Pyeongyang. The type of diadem with tree-shaped uprights was used by the Koguryeo and Paekche, but in Silla it was transformed into the highly conventionalized shape we see in the Silla gold crowns. The contents of the Funayama Tomb 船山古墳 in northern Kyū 九州 (熊本縣) are very similar to those found in the Naju and Iksan tombs.

⁵Egami (1962) notes that “most scholars have dismissed this as mere boasting of a wide domain by adding safely obsolete names” [such as Chin-han and Ma-han].

Song-shu records a lengthy and yet very interesting memorial sent by the King of Wa to the Liu Song Court during the reign of Shun-di 順帝 (A.D. 478) which gives a rare first-hand glimpse of the contemporary state of affairs in this early period (Tsunoda & Goodrich: 23-24): “Our land [Wa] is remote and distant; its domains lie far out in the ocean. From time of old, *our forebears* [the literal translation may read: *our grandfathers*, i.e., Jimmu-*Ōjin*] have clad themselves in armor and helmets and gone across the hills and waters, sparing no time for rest. In the east, they conquered fifty-five countries of hairy [Ainu] men; in the west, they brought to their knees sixty-six countries of various barbarians [in Kyūshū, likely including the Kuna people of southern Kyūshū]. Crossing the sea to the north, they [Jimmu-*Ōjin*] subjugated ninety-five countries [in the old Ma-han area where they assisted King Keun Ch’ogo of Paekche, and in the Kaya area which they passed through on their way to Japan] [T]hus order is established in the land. Generation after generation, without fail, our forebears have paid homage to the [Chinese Imperial] Court (In order to go) by way of Paekche, far distant though it is, we prepared ships and boats. Koguryeo, however, in defiance of the law, schemed to capture them. Borders were raided, and murder was committed repeatedly. [Therefore] we were delayed every time and missed favorable winds My deceased father became indignant at the marauding foe who closed our way to the Sovereign Court. Urged on by a sense of justice, he gathered together a million archers and was about to launch a great campaign. [But] because of the death of my father and brother, the plan that had been nurtured could not be carried out at the last moment Now, however, we again set our armor in array and carry out the desire of our elders [i.e., to revenge the misery suffered by the Paekche from the persistent invasions by Koguryeo] I therefore beg you to appoint me supreme commander of the campaign, with the status of minister, and to grant to others (among my followers) ranks and titles, so that loyalty may be encouraged.” With this appeal, King Bu got the title of “An-dong da-jiang-jun, Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Silla, Imna 任郡, Kara 加羅, Chin-han and Ma-han 慕韓, King of Wa” in A.D. 478.”^{<15>}

An interesting aspect of these records is the lingering echoes of bygone states such as Ma-han, Chin-han and Pyeon-han in the mind of Yamato Wa rulers. By the fifth century, these Three Han states were no longer recorded in the Chronicles of Chinese Dynasties as independent political entities. Most of the Ma-han and Chin-han member states were absorbed by Paekche and Silla by the late fourth century. Only Pyeon-han managed to form a loose federation of town-states with a new name “Kaya” 伽耶. Nevertheless, in the minds of the Yamato Wa rulers who left the Korean peninsula in the late

fourth century, these *Old Three Han states still existed*. It is very likely because a few remnants of *Old Ma-han and Old Chin-han* member states had joined the Kaya Federation. Apparently the Chinese did not care, but made sure that the name Paekche was deleted from the list of six or seven countries the Wa rulers presented. After all, Silla did not establish its formal diplomatic relationship with Chinese dynasties until A.D. 565 and hence was still an alien entity to the Liu-Song rulers.

Koguryeo moved its capital from Kugnae-seong 國內城 near the Yalu river to Pyeongyang in A.D. 427. By this time, Paekche indeed had to seek alliances either with Silla or with Yamato Wa in order to cope with the ever-advancing Koguryeo forces. Paekche was eventually forced to move its capital southward from Hanseong 漢城 (the modern Seoul area) in the Han river basin to modern Kongju (in Ch'ungcheong province) in A.D. 475, and was forced to move its capital still farther south to Puyo (Sabi) in A.D. 538.

The first capital city of Paekche, located along the Han River, was destroyed by the army of Koguryeo in A.D. 475. Kim (1986: 223) notes that "King Kaero of Paekche (A.D. 455-475) died in the battle and members of the royal family including the fourteen-year-old Prince Sima, who later became King Munyeong (A.D. 501-523), fled to Kongju which became the second capital city from A.D. 475 to 538."⁶ The tomb of King Munyeong was discovered in 1971. It is the first tomb that carried a record of its contents and of the date of its construction, leading Kim (1986: 226) to conclude that "the relics from the royal tomb provide solid clues for chronological seriation of archaeological and art historical materials from the Three Kingdoms Period as well as the contemporary Kofun Period of Japan."⁷

According to Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig (1973:284), "Silla, centered on its capital near modern Kyeongju in the extreme southeastern corner of the peninsula, was at first a relatively backward region, much less influenced by

⁶Nihongi (NI: 367) quotes the Paekche Record: "King Kaero (A.D. 455-475), year Kinoto U (475), Winter. A large army from Koguryeo came and besieged the great castle for seven days and seven nights. The Royal castle 王城 surrendered, and at length they destroyed Wi-rye 尉禮. The King, Queen, and Princes all fell into the hands of the enemy."¹⁶ Nihongi notes that Yuryaku uryaku hearing that Paekche had been destroyed by Koguryeo, gave Kongju (Kuma-nari 久麻那利) to King Munju (A.D. 475-477), and so lent aid to Paekche.¹⁷

⁷Samguk-sagi records that King Koi performed his sovereign duty wearing a silk crown with gold floral ornaments 金花飾烏羅冠 in A.D. 261.¹⁸ Kim (1986: 199) notes that silk hats in Paekche were recorded in contemporary Chinese documents, and the use of gold floral ornaments was only for the kings. Indeed, a pair of gold floral ornaments for a long-decayed silk crown was discovered in the tomb of King Munyeong.

Chinese culture. In the early years it was hard pressed to maintain itself against Paekche and Japanese marauders In the long run, however, its tribal and aristocratic social structure, which was less eroded than that of the more Sinicized states of Koguryeo and Paekche, seem to have given it greater cohesiveness and lasting power.”⁸

According to Old Tang-shu, the Tang emperor Gao-zu 高祖 (A.D. 618-626) gave King Yeongnyu of Koguryeo (A.D. 618-642) the title of “King of Liaodong, King of Koryeo 遼東郡王 高麗王,” King Mu of Paekche (A.D. 600-641) the title of “King of Tai-fang, King of Paekche 帶方郡王百濟王,” and King Chinp’yeong of Silla (A.D. 579-632) the title of “King of Le-lang, King of Silla 樂浪郡王 新羅王” in A.D. 624.^{9<19>}

After the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-617), China entered upon the brilliant and prosperous era of the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-906), returning to the great days of Han 漢 China. Sansom (1931: 84-85) notes: “Politically China was at

⁸Fairbank Reischauer and Craig (1973: 286-287) continue: “As a result of the reunification of China by the Sui dynasty in 589, Chinese military power once more began to penetrate into the peninsula. But now China faced Korean kingdoms that were far stronger than the state of Choseon had been when Wu-di of the Han had overrun it in 108 B.C. In 589 Koguryeo repulsed a large-scale attack by the Sui, and three great Sui expeditions in 612-614 ended so disastrously that they contributed to the collapse of the dynasty. The Tang dynasty, which succeeded the Sui in 618, was no more successful in a series of big expeditions between 644 and 659, but in 660 it changed its strategy, dispatching a large sea-borne force against Paekche. With the aid of Silla, the Chinese managed to destroy Paekche and . . . turned on Koguryeo, and in 668 they [Tang and Silla] brought an end to this kingdom Tang had expected to incorporate its Korean conquest into its empire, as the Han [China] had done, but Silla, now aided by the conquered peoples of Koguryeo and Paekche, managed within a decade to force the Chinese to withdraw from all of the peninsula Silla emerged as a unified state occupying the greater part of what today constitutes Korea.”

⁹According to Sui-shu, Sui emperor Wen-di (A.D. 581-604) gave identical titles to King Yeongyang of Koguryeo (A.D. 590-618), King Widok of Paekche (A.D. 554-598) and King Chinp’yeong of Silla (in A.D. 594), respectively.^{20>} Best (1982) notes that: “Titles sanctioned by the Son of Heaven possessed a unique aura of legitimacy, and for this reason were earnestly sought by the rulers of many Asian states. . . . Within China, the spectacle of envoys from distant lands . . . enhanced the prestige. . . . Imperial powers of investiture were particularly important during the Six Dynasties period. . . . Rarely were the emperors of this age in a position to compel the submission of foreign kings, so titles were used as an inducement to attract their tributary allegiance.” Best (1982) adds that “during the Six Dynasties period the granting of these titles was essentially a symbolic act that imposed few obligations on either party.”

this moment perhaps the most powerful, the most advanced, and the best administered country in the world . . . with a great regular army, victorious against all its enemies except the Koreans, who more than once repulsed Chinese invasions on a grand scale, notably in 646.” Eventually, however, first Paekche and then Koguryeo were conquered by the Tang armies which had allied with the Silla forces.

Tang-shu records that, in A.D. 660, Su Ding-fang 蘇定方 of Tang destroyed Paekche and captured the King, the Crown Prince, the “Small King” Hyo 小王 孝 and “Small King” Yeon 演, and 58 chieftains. At that time Paekche had five districts (pu), 37 provinces, 200 castles and 760,000 households.^{10<21>} In A.D. 668, Koguryeo was also conquered by the Silla-Tang allied forces, and then Tang attempted to occupy Paekche and Koguryeo with the Chinese army and to administer these areas through government-generals. The imperialistic intention of Tang caused frictions with Silla. Supported by the restoration forces in Paekche and Koguryeo, Silla was able to expel the Tang troops by A.D. 676 and completely unify the Korean peninsula.¹¹

¹⁰Nihongi (NII: 267) quotes a certain record: “On the day of the 7th month of the present year [A.D. 660], Su Ding-fang, of Great Thang, drew up the fleet under his command in the harbour of Micha 尾資 while Chun-chu-chi 春秋智, King of Silla, with his horse and foot occupied Mount No-syu-ri 怒受利山, and so they attacked Paekche from both sides. The fighting went on for three days. Our Royal city was taken. On the 13th day of the same month, they began to demolish the Royal city 始破王城.”^{22>}

¹¹At this time Silla and Yamato Wa both had reason to fear the expansionist policies of Tang China (A.D. 618-907). Hazard (KEJ: 4.277) notes that “[o]ut of mutual self-interest, in 676 Emperor Temmu sent a mission to Silla, and Silla sent envoys with tribute and held political discussions. Relations [between Silla and Yamato Wa] were amicable until the 730s, when Bohai 渤海 (Po-hai), a state in Manchuria formed of remnants of Koguryeo and other tribal peoples, threatened China from the northeast. China responded in 735 by again allying itself with Silla and recognizing Silla’s border. Thus Silla no longer felt threatened by China and considered it unnecessary to conciliate to Japan.”