

Ssangsǒng Ch'onggwanbu as the Border between Koryŏ and Yuan Dynasty

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Foreword

Ssangsǒng Ch'onggwanbu (Ssangseong Chonggwanbu; 雙城總管府; Yuan Commandery Headquarters at Ssangsǒng),¹ which existed in the northeastern part of Koryŏ (Goryeo) for about 100 years between 1258 and 1356, was a governing body set up by Yuan Dynasty² in the domain of Koryŏ. It was similar, in this respect, to Tongnyǒngbu (Dongnyeongbu) in the northwestern part of Koryŏ and T'amnaguk Ch'ot'osa (Tamnaguk Chotosa) on Cheju (Jeju) Island. Tongnyǒngbu and Cheju Island were returned to Koryŏ about twenty years later, but Ssangsǒng Ch'onggwanbu existed for an extended period of time and became the power basis of the family of Yi Sǒnggye (Yi Seonggye, later King T'aejo, the founder of the Chosŏn (Joseon) Dynasty) toward the end of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

Many researchers have paid attention to Ssangsǒng Ch'onggwanbu due to its special characteristics, including its connection with Yi Sǒnggye's family. Japanese scholar Tsuda Sōkichi (津田左右吉) was the first person to undertake research on Ssangsǒng Ch'onggwanbu during Japan's colonial rule of Korea.³ Following Korea's liberation from colonial rule, Korean scholars started to carry out research, particularly in the 1980s.

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They included Pang Tongin, Ch'oe Chaejin, Kim Kujin, Yi Chŏngshin, and Kim Sunja.⁴ Recently, Chinese scholars have jumped on the research bandwagon concerning Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu⁵.

Existing studies about Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu can be divided into two categories: one focusing on the relationship between Koryŏ and Yuan and the other focusing on that between Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu and Koryŏ. The former leave much to be desired, as they deal with Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu only partially. The latter mostly view Ssangšong only as something that belonged to a pro-Yuan faction or was part of Yuan instead of shedding sufficient light on the nature of Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu as an independent body. In fact, Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu frequently took steps independently of Yuan. Hence there is a need to shed light on the relationship between Yuan and Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu.

Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu was located on the border between Koryŏ and Yuan. It was an "ethnic border area" in that residents there consist of Koryŏ and Jurchen people..⁶ It was a border area that had such a dual aspect.⁷ Thus, we can expect to grasp the nature of Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu to a certain extent by focusing on such characteristics.

This paper intends to pay attention to Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu as a border between Koryŏ and Yuan and then to its relationship with Koryŏ and Yuan as an entity that continued to exist for a century between the two countries.

Relationship between Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu and Yuan

Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu was also called Ssangšong Tŭngch'ŏ Kunmin Ch'onggwanbu (Ssangseong Deungcheo Gunmin Chonggwanbu; General Superintendent's Office Controlling both Military and Civilian Affairs at Ssangšong).⁸ Ch'onggwanbu (General Superintendent's Office) was an administrative office established in each *lu*, an administrative unit during the Song and Jin Dynasties. Most of Ch'onggwanbu were

established in Lu during the Yuan period. Kunmin Ch'onggwanbu, controlling both military and civilian affairs, were mostly established in border areas in connection with the need to maintain friendly relationships with different ethnic groups.⁹ It is presumed that Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu was one of such administrative units established by Yuan as part of its policy designed to dominate different ethnic groups.

There were four general superintendent's offices established by Yuan in the domain of Koryō: 1) Anmu Koryō Kunmin Ch'onggwanbu (Anmu Goryeo Gunmin Chonggwanbu) in Shenyang, Liaodong; 2) Tongnyōngno Ch'onggwanbu (Dongnyeongno Chonggwanbu) in the northwestern area; 3) T'amna Kunmin Ch'onggwanbu (Tamna Gunmin Chonggwanbu) in Cheju Island; and 4) Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu in the northeastern area. The three in Shenyang, Tongnyōngno, and T'amna are mentioned in the "Geography Section" from *Yuanshi* (History of Yuan), but Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu is not. Ssangsong belonged to Yuan for longer than Tongnyōngbu or T'amna, but Yuan left fewer records relating to it than to the other two, perhaps in proportion to the importance attached to them.

Given the unavailability of sufficient materials, it is hard to see what position Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu assumed during Yuan's control over it. Now, let us examine how Yuan ruled and controlled it.

According to earlier studies,¹⁰ Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu belonged to Kaiyuan-lu, Liaoyang Province.¹¹ It corresponds with the statement made by Ming that the north area of Chollyong belonged to Kaiyuan-lu during Yuan period,¹² or with articles saying that matters concerning inheritance from Yi Chun (Yi Sōnggye's grandfather) were handled in Kaiyuan-lu.¹³

It is presumed that Kaiyuan-lu had no *zhou* (州) or *xian* (縣) under its control, although it extended over a very large area.¹⁴ The following article tells us that the local government exerted loose control over far-away areas, such as Helan-fu (合蘭府)¹⁵ or Shuidada-lu (水達達路),¹⁶ and allowed locals to follow their own customs.

<A> "Shuidada-lu, Helan-fu was a large expanse of land and people lived there, scattered here and there. ... They were all Shuidada and

Jurchen people. They moved from one place to another where they could find water and grass without building a town or fortress, as was their long-kept custom. They hunted animals to live. [The local governments] ruled them, with such a custom taken into account.”¹⁷

If Yuan exerted a loose rule over Helan-fu, it can also be presumed that it adopted a more indirect method in ruling Ssangšöng Ch'onggwambu, which was close to Helan-fu but farther away than Helan-fu from the central government.

One notable thing is the way Yuan responded to military activities carried out by Koryö in 1356 under the reign of King Kongmin (Gongmin). Concerning King Kongmin's attack on Poshafu,¹⁸ Yuan protested threateningly.¹⁹ However, as for Koryö's attack on Ssangšöng, Yuan behaved as if nothing had happened. In response to Yuan's protest, King Kongmin executed the officer who commanded the attack on Poshafu and stopped military actions against it.²⁰ In contrast, Koryö continued its military actions in the direction of Ssangšöng Ch'onggwambu beyond the Ip'allyöng (Ipallyeong), also known as Mach'ölyöng (Macheollyeong), Pass.²¹ Yuan made no protest. This tells us that Yuan did not attach as much importance to Ssangšöng Ch'onggwambu and its vicinity as to Poshafu.

There are records about Yuan viewing Ssangšöng Ch'onggwambu as part of Koryö. *Xijinshi* (析津志),²² quoted in *Yongle dadian* (Yongle Encyclopedia) states the names of *jamchi* installed in the territory of Yuan. It refers to Helan-fu *jamchi* as “Koryö's rear entrance.”²³

If Helan-fu was Koryö's rear entrance, Ssangšöng Ch'onggwambu, which was closer to the central government of Koryö, can be interpreted as a part of Koryö. It may not be appropriate to try to understand the way Yuan viewed Ssangšöng Ch'onggwambu just based on the “Koryö's rear entrance” statement, as it is possible that *Xijinshi* might have been written after Koryö's recovery of Ssangšöng. However, we can get a glimpse of the way Yuan viewed Tongnyöngbu as its territory from *Xijinshi*, which states even the names of *jamchi* in Tongnyöngbu, which was returned to

Koryō in 1290. *Xijinzhi* may as well be interpreted as reflecting the way Yuan viewed its territories as of then (the late 14th century) as well as in the earlier past. Judging from this, we can see that Yuan viewed the Ssangsong area as part of Koryō, although the area was not under the control of Koryō.

There are other materials, as follows, that state more straightforwardly that Ssangsong was part of Koryō.

 “Ji Seng, a son of Lai Abachi became a *darugachi* (an official in charge of taxes and administration) in the General Superintendent's Office in Shuidada. He fought in Ssangsong of Koryō against rebels led by Nayan.²⁴

<C> “Zhang Cheng followed his superior Yue Gong to serve under Commander Abachi. He was assigned the duty of protecting military colonies in Shuidada. ... When Nayan staged a rebellion in May 1287, [Zhang Cheng] followed his superior Yue Gong to engage in battles against the rebels in a southern province. On July 2, his troops reached Guzhou. ... Four months later, he reached Ssangsong of Koryō and then returned to Liaoyang in October.”²⁵

The foregoing materials and <C> contain a record about Ji Seng and Zhang Cheng, who were assigned the duty of protecting military rice paddies in Shuidada, and moved elsewhere to fight rebels led by Nayan and stayed in Ssangsong of Koryō.²⁶ The expression “Ssangsong of Koryō” shows that Yuan recognized it as being associated with Koryō.²⁷

The following materials tell us that Yuan viewed Ssangsong as the boundary between Koryō and the Jurchen.

<D> “Ssangsong, which was the boundary between Koryō and the Jurchen, reported a failure of crops. [Emperor Shizu] gave an imperial edict to the king of Koryō to share some cereals transported through the sea with the needy.”²⁸

The foregoing material <D> is a record about Yuan's order given to Koryŏ to save the starving people in Ssangšong in 1292 in the aftermath of hardships caused by the rebellions led by Nayan and Qada'an. The phrase "the boundary between Kŏryo and the Jurchen(高麗·女直界首)" shows that Yuan viewed Ssangšong as the border between Koryŏ and the Jurchen²⁹.

We have checked how Yuan viewed Ssangšong Ch'onggwambu. In sum, it is hard to say that Yuan had much interest in its rule over Ssangšong, judging from the following factors: Few materials relating to it were left by Yuan; Yuan made no protest whatsoever about Koryŏ's recovery of Ssangšong, and appeared to have viewed it as part of Koryŏ or as the boundary between Koryŏ and the Jurchen.³⁰

Now, let us check to see how valuable Ssangšong Ch'onggwambu was to Yuan. Ssangšong Ch'onggwambu was established in 1258, when the war was still going on between Koryŏ and Yuan. Thus, Yuan established it in the northeastern section of the Korean Peninsula with a view to use people of Koryŏ there in its bid to conquer Koryŏ.³¹

However, with a rapprochement reached between Koryŏ and Yuan, Yuan found Ssangšong Ch'onggwambu much less useful than before. Emperor Shizu (or Qubilai Qa'an) even ordered those in Ssangšong not to continue their attack jointly with the Jurchen on Koryŏ.³²

However, Yuan did not care to interfere with Koryŏ people voluntarily crossing the border to Ssangšong. When in 1271, Ch'ŏn Sŏ (Cheon Seo), a local resident in Yangju, led a group of people and crossed to Ssangšong, Koryŏ asked Emperor Shizu to take action against them, but Emperor Shizu did not comply with the request, regarding it as autonomous action on the part of locals.³³

In economic terms, Ssangšong was valuable as a site for gold production as shown by the following materials.

<E> "It was during the reign of Emperor Shizu that tax started to be imposed in earnest on gold production ... In Liaoyang, Li Deren obtained a permit for collection of gold in Hubiyu, Longshan-xian

in 1273 (Zhiyuan 10) in return for submittal of 3 Liang of pure gold in tax each year. In 1276 (Zhiyuan 13) gold was also produced in Ssangšǒng and in Hwaju in Liaodong.”³⁴

<F> “On 18th day, Sixty troops under the control of Yesuder were made to collect gold in Ssangšǒng.”³⁵

<G> “Todang submitted a document to the following effect to Chǒngdonghaengšǒng (Jeongdonghaengseong): “As we found as a result of our investigation, Ssangšǒng and Samsal were our inherent territory. The country set the Ip’allyǒng Pass as the northern border. As we lost control of border regions, the Jurchen people attacked and killed local officials. They also installed the Gold Collection Household once they got the land and people. They changed the place name Hwaju to Ssangšǒng and established the general superintendent’s office. ... Ssangšǒng has paid gold and other goods as tax each year as promised. From now on, we will take care to have a right-minded and capable official submit tax properly. Perhaps, Cho Sosaeng and T’ak Togyǒng visit the Liaoyang Provincial Office and tell lies on the excuse of collecting gold. We are afraid that once a dispute is started there, the matter may become a serious problem involving complicated interests. It is recommended that the Chǒngdonghaengšǒng Office send a letter to the Liaoyang Provincial Office and investigate the issue first before carrying out the matter.”³⁶

The foregoing materials <E> and <F> contain records about collection of gold in Ssangšǒng. The fact that Ssangšǒng was a site of gold production is confirmed by *Sejong sillok chiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong). It says that gold was produced in Yǒnghǔng (Hwaju, Ssangšǒng, and Hwanyǒng during the Koryǒ Period) and Anbyǒn (Tǔngju during the Koryǒ Period)³⁷.

According to the foregoing material <G>, with the establishment of

Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu, the Gold Collection Household was installed and then gold producers submitted gold as tax every year. Even after the recovery of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu, Koryŏ promised that it would submit the gold tax to Yuan and expressed the fear that the general superintendent Cho Sosaeng and others might try to handle the situation in a way advantageous to them on the excuse of collecting gold by paying a visit to the Liaoyang Provincial Office.

Accordingly, we can see that Yuan's recognition of the right of local influential people for the control of Ssangsong area depended on whether they were ready to submit a given portion of the collected gold. With the end of the war waged to conquer Koryŏ, the political value of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu dropped considerably in the eyes of Yuan. It appears that it continued to let the general superintendent, Cho, exercise his right to the control of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu in return for his continued submittal of a given portion of the collected gold. It is presumed that the Koryŏ government promised to submit gold to Yuan in order to have Yuan recognize its control over the area, as it knew the existing relationship between the two. At that time, Yuan was harassed by Red Turban Bandits (紅巾賊), or rebels led by Zhang Shicheng, and it seems that it could not afford to interfere in the return to Koryŏ of the Ssangsong area, which was not very important to it. It is presumed that under such circumstances, Yuan preferred to have Koryŏ submit gold in return for its acquiescence to Koryŏ's control of Ssangsong.

Relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu

As stated in the foregoing, many researchers have carried out studies of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu, with a focus on the relationship between it and Koryŏ.³⁸ The history of the relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsong disclosed by foregoing studies is as follows.

After the establishment of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu, in 1258, the general superintendents took a hostile attitude toward Koryŏ. However, in

the wake of the rebellion led by Nayan and Qada'an, Koryŏ came to exert more influence on Ssangsong by and by, and recovered part of its past territory, including Tŭngju (Deungju). Seeing the weakening influence of Yuan in the area, King Kongmin recovered the Ssangsong area in 1356.

I have no clear objection to such an explanation made by previous studies. One thing that I would like to state is that I came to know two facts relating to the relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsong hardly covered by earlier studies. The first is the plan set up by King Ch'ungnyŏl (Chungnyeol) of Koryŏ for the recovery of Ssangsong. The other one is the third General Superintendent Cho (Jo) Rim's entering into Koryŏ's government service.³⁹ These two facts are important ones that cannot be overlooked in the relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsong. Here, I intend to check Koryŏ's commitment to the recovery of its lost territory and the strategy adopted by Ssangsong for survival by looking into the two facts.

A group of people led by Cho Hwi staged a rebellion in Chukto (Jukdo), killing Koryŏ's local officials. They defected to Yuan and needed to do something to win its trust to survive. Thus, they fought positively on the side of Yuan in a campaign carried out to conquer Koryŏ. When the war between Koryŏ and Yuan was over, many Koryŏ people fled to Ssangsong. The Koryŏ government tried to have them come back home. However, the leadership of Ssangsong did everything they could to thwart the Koryŏ government's efforts, as the people provided a useful labor force.⁴⁰

In this way, the leadership of Ssangsong took a hostile attitude against Koryŏ under the protection of Yuan. However, following the rebellion led by Nayan and Qada'an, the relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsong went through a drastic change.⁴¹

The rebellion led by Nayan and Qada'an occurred in the northeastern provinces of Yuan between 1287 and 1292. Chinggis Qan allocated land in the eastern part of Mongolia to three brothers of his. The descendants of the three brothers exerted great influence in Yuan, calling themselves the Three Royal Families in the East. Nayan, the central figure of the

Three Royal Families, staged a rebellion in April 1287 in protest against Emperor Shizu's centralized policy⁴².

<H> “On 12th day, at the news that Nayan had staged a rebellion in Yuan, the king sent General Yu Bi there to offer the dispatch of troops to help put down the rebellion. At that time, Nayan had sent Yu Ch'o, a Koryŏ rebel, to Koryŏ to check soldiers leaving without permission. Having heard the news about his master's rebellion, Yu Ch'o ran away to Kŭmgyo (Geumgyo), but the king sent an agent and had him killed.”⁴³

The foregoing material <H> is a record about King Ch'ungnyŏl of Koryŏ making a request to Yuan to let him dispatch troops to help put down rebels led by Nayan in May 1287. King Ch'ungnyŏl's voluntary offer of military aid to Yuan is viewed as an effort to win favor with Emperor Shizu⁴⁴.

As it happened, Nayan was defeated and killed in June the same year. When King Ch'ungnyŏl left for Yuan to celebrate the victory, Tongnyŏngbu caught spies sent by Ssangšong.

<I> “On 22th day, Ku Ch'ŏnsu (Gu Cheonsu), an interpreter officer of Tongnyŏngbu brought spies from Ssangšong named Qudugdai and Deshan.”⁴⁵

<J> On 27th day, Koryŏ sent a military officer Chŏng Chiyŏn to Yuan to report that it had arrested spies from Ssangšong.⁴⁶

There is no way we can see for what purpose Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu sent the spies mentioned in the foregoing material <I>. They must have been the ones sent by Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu without Tongnyŏngbu, Koryŏ, or Yuan being informed, judging from the fact that Tongnyŏngbu arrested them and reported it to Koryŏ (the material <I>) and Koryŏ reported it to Yuan (the material <J>). At that time, Nayan lost his life,

but Qada'an had not given up. Under these circumstances, Ssangšöng Ch'onggwambu's dispatch of spies was an act that made others suspect it of collusion with the rebels.⁴⁷

Upon returning home from Yuan, King Ch'ungnyöl tried to avail himself of the opportunity to recover Ssangšöng. Let us check the following materials related to it.

<K> "On 6th day, King dispatched General O Inyöng. Koryö was supposed to come to Yuan's aid in its fight against rebels. The king decided to dispatch O Inyöng first and had him speak to Emperor Shizu as follows: The situation here is unstable. Please allow us to take troops to Ssangšöng to help overcome the rebels."⁴⁸

<L> "On 16th day, Yuan official Tachu (塔出) sent a person to Koryö asking for the dispatch of 5,000 troops, along with rations to Jianzhou (建州). The king had already asked Emperor Shizu to allow him to move his troops to Ssangšöng to protect the area and Emperor Shizu accepted it. After receiving the order from Emperor Shizu, Zhongshusheng told Tachu to "handle matters needed to settle the situation there in consultation with the king of Koryö."⁴⁹

<M> "On 13th day, Pak Chiryang (Bak Jiryang) and Kim Tökchi were designated as commanders in charge of Tongbungmyön."⁵⁰

The foregoing material <K> tells us that in February 1288, King Ch'ungnyöl asked Emperor Shizu to allow him to take troops himself to Ssangšöng to protect the area instead of taking direct action to join in the campaign against the rebels led by Qada'an, saying that the situation in the area was still unstable. The material <K> makes it difficult to see who would move to Ssangšöng, King Ch'ungnyöl or Emperor Shizu. However, materials <L> and <M> tell us that it was King Ch'ungnyöl who would move there.

The following statement in the foregoing material <L>, "The king had

already asked Emperor Shizu to allow him to move his troops to Ssangšong to protect the area,” is interpreted as the same thing as King Ch'ungnyŏl's request stated in the material <K>. Emperor Shizu accepted King Ch'ungnyŏl's request. The material <M> tells us that upon Emperor Shizu's acceptance, King Ch'ungnyŏl designated military commanders in charge of Tongbungmyŏn(The northeastern Province of Koryŏ) in April 1288. The military commander in charge of Tongbungmyŏn came to be not appointed with the establishment of Ssangšong Ch'onggwambu.⁵¹ Re-designation of the military commanders in charge of Tongbungmyŏn, where the post remained vacant, by this time is thought to have indicated the Koryŏ government's commitment to recover the Ssangšong area and reestablish the Tongbungmyŏn Office. Thus, we can see in the material <K> that it was King Ch'ungnyŏl who would take troops and move to Ssangšong. It is thought that King Ch'ungnyŏl planned to go to recover the lost Ssangšong himself.

However, King Ch'ungnyŏl's plan did not succeed. In response to his request, Yuan only allowed him to have his troops stay in Ch'ŏllyŏng but did not allow him to move his troops to Ssangšong.

<N> “On 28th day, O Inyŏng returned home from Yuan and deliver the following order of Emperor Shizu: You are relieved of the burden of supplying military rations to Jianzhou. Send your troops to Ch'ŏllyŏng to protect the area from the rebels. The king should stay within the country and build defense.”⁵²

This order thwarted King Ch'ungnyŏl's plan to recover Ssangšong. Those designated as the military commanders in charge of Tongbungmyŏn were not dispatched to their new post. It was in 1356, when King Kongmin recovered Ssangšong, that the post was re-filled.⁵³

Despite the failure to recover Ssangšong, Koryŏ came to exert a greater influence in the area in the wake of the rebellion led by Qada'an. In March 1290, Tongnyŏngbu was returned to Koryŏ.⁵⁴ In February 1290, Koryŏ troops came to stay in Ssangšong, albeit in small numbers, to

protect the area from attack by the rebels led by Qada'an⁵⁵.

After the rebellion led by Qada'an was suppressed, Yuan ordered Koryŏ to bear the financial burden of recovering the damages of Ssangsong.⁵⁶ Koryŏ bore the financial burden of establishing *jamchi* between Ssangsong and Sŏgyŏng (Seogyong, currently P'yŏngyang) in November 1290.⁵⁷ The foregoing material <D> tells us that Yuan ordered Koryŏ to save those starving in Ssangsong during the great famine. In the process of this, Koryŏ gradually regained influence on Ssangsong.

Koryŏ came to recover part of its lost territory in Ssangsong, including Tŭngju.⁵⁸ Thus, Ssangsong came to rely on Koryŏ more and more and could not take a hostile attitude toward Koryŏ any longer. This is confirmed by the following material.

<O> “Cho Rim followed the preceding king and lived in the Great Capital for five years. He continued to go up the bureaucratic ladder in recognition of the feats he achieved. Now, he inherited the family enterprise and became Ssangsong Tŭngch'ŏ Kunmin Ch'onggwan (General Superintendent of controlling both military and civilian affairs at Ssangsong).”⁵⁹

<P> “Cho Ton is a grandson of Cho Hwi, the General Superintendent of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu. His family has lived in Yongjin for generations. He started serving King Ch'ungsuk before he was 20. ... Upon the king's death, he returned home to Yongjin. ... Cho Sosaeng, the General Superintendent of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu, is his nephew. At the news about the attack from Koryŏ troops, [Cho Sosaeng], along with an officer T'ak Togyŏng, called for Cho Ton. Cho Sosaeng set up a plan to fend off Koryŏ's attack, including mobilization of troops. [Cho Sosaeng] told Cho Ton as follows in a threatening manner. “This is an urgent situation. My dear uncle, you served as a Koryŏ official and were treated dearly by the kings. If you now defect to Koryŏ, who among the twelve castles here will follow me?”⁶⁰

The foregoing material <O> is an article entitled “Ch’angch’i kŭmgang Tosansagi” (On Tosan Temple Newly Founded in Kŭmgang Mountain) contained in *Kajŏngjip*, a collection of Yi Kok’s writings. This is perhaps the only material left concerning Cho Rim, the 3rd General Superintendent of Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu, and it has not been reviewed by previous studies about Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu. It is not clear when the material was drawn up, but its mention about the event in 1339 makes us guess that it was written after that time. One notable fact stated in the material is that Cho Rim served as a Koryŏ official before assuming the post as the General Superintendent of Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu.⁶¹ This tells us about the situation of that time in which Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu came to rely on Koryŏ politically. It seems that Yuan turned a blind eye to the fact that the heir apparent to the General Superintendent of Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu had served as a Koryŏ official because Yuan viewed Ssangšong as part of Koryŏ.

Cho Ton, mentioned in the material <P>, was a younger brother of Cho Rim and an uncle of Cho Sosaeng (a son of Cho Rim), the 4th General Superintendent of Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu. Cho Ton was born in 1308, started serving King Ch’ungsuk before the age of 20, and lived in Koryŏ for more than ten years. Following the death of King Ch’ungsuk in 1339, he returned home to Yongjin.

The foregoing tells us that Cho Rim and Cho Ton, who were grandsons of Cho Hwi, both served as Koryŏ officials. The statement made by Cho Sosaeng, “If you now defect to Koryŏ, who among the twelve castles here will follow me?” in the material <P>, implies that many people in Ssangšong tried to defect to Koryŏ.⁶² It is presumed that people in Ssangšong felt that they had better rely on Koryŏ than Yuan after undergoing the rebellion led by Qada’an. This may explain why King Kongmin did not face stiff resistance when he attacked Ssangšong in 1356.

Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu started to gain independence from Koryŏ with the help of Yuan, but then changed attitude and started to rely on Koryŏ. In this way, Ssangšong Ch’onggwanbu lasted independently for

about 100 years. This re-approach to Koryŏ was partly due to the weakening in its power. Perhaps, it should be interpreted as part of the strategy for survival of someone positioned between two stronger powers. Koryŏ had remained firmly committed to recovering the area, as we see in King Ch'ungnyŏl's plan described above.⁶³ All in all, Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu was destined to return to Koryŏ sooner or later.

Conclusion

This study has shed light on the relationship between Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu and Yuan and Koryŏ, while paying attention to the nature of Ssangsong as a border area.

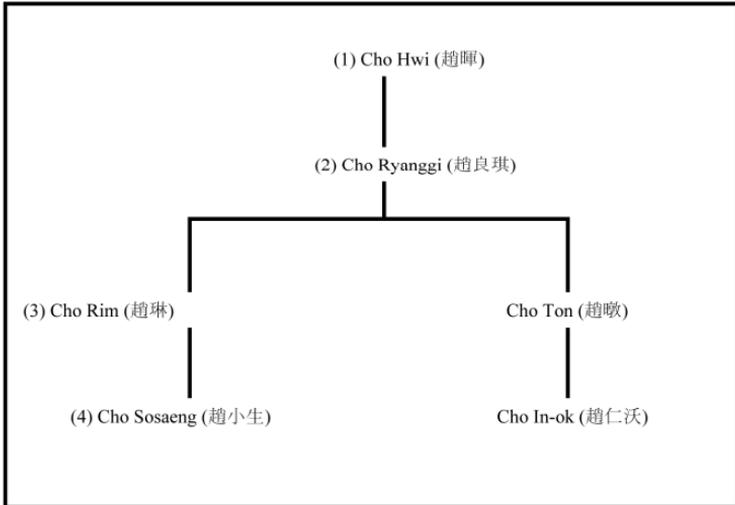
It is presumed that Yuan did not attach great importance to Ssangsong, viewing it as a part of Koryŏ or as the border between Koryŏ and the Jurchen. Yuan used Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu to its advantage in connection with its bid to conquer Koryŏ, but Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu lost its value with the end of the war between Koryŏ and Yuan. The Ssangsong area was a site for gold production. Yuan allowed general superintendents to exert their right of control over the area in return for their submittal of part of their gold production as tax. However, when Koryŏ recovered Ssangsong and promised to continue to submit part of gold production to Yuan, Yuan made no protest.

The leadership of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu took a hostile attitude toward Koryŏ. In 1287, when Nayan and Qada'an staged a rebellion against Emperor Shizu in Yuan, Koryŏ tried to take advantage of the situation in conjunction with its bid to recover Ssangsong, but in vain, because Koryŏ couldn't get Emperor Shizu's permission. However, the rebellion provided Koryŏ with an opportunity to exert stronger influence in the area and those in Ssangsong started attaching more importance to the relationship with Koryŏ. As a result, Ssangsong came to rely on Koryŏ, as shown by Cho Rim and his brother serving in the Koryŏ officialdom.

Ssangŏng Ch'onggwanbu was established by people in north of Tongbungmyŏn, which was territory of Koryŏ, who had defected to Yuan. It seems that Ssangŏng was under the direct control of neither Koryŏ nor Yuan and thus had the basis to grow as an independent entity. Yi Sŏnggye grew up in Ssangŏng and could build a faction relatively independent of the Koryŏ Dynasty supposedly because Ssangŏng Ch'onggwanbu maintained self-reliance between its two stronger neighbors for about 100 years.

Both Ssangŏng Ch'onggwanbu and Tongnyŏngbu were established by rebels. However, unlike the latter, the former were influenced greatly by the Jurchen. This paper did not elaborate on the mix between Koryŏ people and the Jurchen in Ssangŏng Ch'onggwanbu. This and the growth of the Yi Sŏnggye family remain my areas of interest.

Family Tree of the Cho Family, Who Served as the General Superintendents of Ssangŏng Ch'onggwanbu



Notes :

- 1 Local residents who moved to Chukto (Jukdo) to avoid Yuan's attack in December 1258 killed the provincial governor dispatched by Koryō and surrendered to Yuan. Thereupon, Yuan established Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu there and designated Cho Hwi, the rebel leader, as General Superintendent. Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu maintained its control in that part of the region for about 100 years until attacked by troops sent by King Kongmin of Koryō in 1356.
- 2 Yuan was called "yeke mongol ulus" (the Great Mongol Empire) before 1271. In this paper, both will be named Yuan.
- 3 Tsuda attempted to shed light on the relationship between Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu and the rulers of Koryō and on the legend about Yi Sōnggye's family. An inheritor of Tsuda's research, Ikeuchi Hiroshi (池内宏) made an intensive review of the legend about Yi Sōnggye's family and concluded that most of the legend about Yi Sōnggye's ancestors was groundless. Research carried out by Japanese scholars, including Tsuda and Ikeuchi, during Japanese rule of Korea should be praised as the first academic attempt on the said subject, but the assertion that the legend about Yi Sōnggye's family is "groundless" leaves doubt. I think that the research carried out by Tsuda and Ikeuchi needs to be reviewed thoroughly to understand the process of the growth of Yi Sōnggye's family. For such a review, it will be meaningful first of all for this study to shed light on Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu, where Yi Sōnggye's family originated. Tsuda Sōkichi, "Gendai ni okeru Kōrai no tōhokukyō" [The Northeastern Border of Koryō during Yuan period], *Chōsen rekishi chiri*, 2 (1913). Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Richō no yonso no densetsu to sono kōsei" [The Legend about the Ancestors of the Chosōn Dynasty Founder and Its Contents], *Tōyō Gakuhō*, 5, no. 2-3 (1915).
- 4 Pang Tongin. "Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu ko (sang)" [A Study of Ssangsong Ch'onggwanbu, 1], *Kwandong sahak* (1982); Ch'oe Chaejin. "Koryō mal Tongbungmyōn hoebok e kwanhan sogo" [A Study of the Country's Recovery of Northeastern Part Toward the End of Koryō]. *Tan'guk Taehakkyo haksul nonch'ong* 12 (1988); Kim Kujin, "Yō Wōn ūi yōngt'o punjaeng kwa kū

- kwisok munje – wŏndae e issösŏ Koryŏ pont'o wa Tongnyŏngbu, Ssangsong Ch'onggwambu, T'amna Ch'onggwambu ūi pulli chŏngch'aek ūl chungshim ūro" [Territorial Dispute between Koryŏ and Yuan – With a Focus on Yuan's Policy on Separation of Tongnyŏngbu, Ssangsong Ch'onggwambu, and T'amna Ch'onggwambu from Koryŏ], *Kuksagwan nonch'ong* 7 (1989); Yi Chŏngsin, "Ssangsong Ch'onggwambu ūi söllip kwa kŭ sönggyŏk" [Establishment of Ssangsong Ch'onggwambu and Its Nature], *Han'guk sahakbo* 18 (2004); Kim Sunja, "Koryŏ, Wŏn ūi yŏngt'o chŏngch'aek in'gu chŏngch'aek yŏn'gu" [A Study of Territorial and Population Policies of Koryŏ and Yuan], *Yŏksa wa hyŏnshil* 60 (2006).
- 5 Xue Lei, "Yandai Shuangcheng Zongguanfu chuyi" [Discussions on Ssangsong Ch'onggwambu in the Yuan Dynasty], *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 22:3 (2007); Piao Yanhua, "Guanyu Shuangcheng Zongguanfu de shezhi yu shoufu" [A Study about Installation and Restoration of Ssangsong Ch'onggwambu], *Chaoxian Hanguo lishi yanjiu* 12 (2012).
 - 6 Takagi Satoshi (高木理) called the northeastern part of the Korean Peninsula, where Yi Sŏnggye grew up, an "ethnic border area" as people of Koryŏ and Jurchen mixed there. Takagi Satoshi, "Chŏsen Taiso Ri Seikei no seiryoku kiban toshite no tōhoku kyōkai chiiki" [The Northeastern Part of the Korean Peninsula as the Power Basis of Yi Sŏnggye, the Founder of the Chosŏn Dynasty], *Shiteki* 33 (2011), 78.
 - 7 In this paper, the term "border" refers to both of the following: the border between Koryŏ and Yuan, and a place where people of Koryŏ and Jurchen mixed, as the area has the dual characteristics, it was distinguished from Tongnyŏngbu or T'amna.
 - 8 According to the following <O>, the third superintendent's official title reads "Ssangsong Tŭngch'ŏ Kunmin Ch'onggwan (雙城等處軍民總管)."
 - 9 *Yuanshi* (History of Yuan) shows many cases in which such superintendent's offices were established to maintain friendly relationship with foreigners in Yunnan, with the leader of the people appointed as the general superintendent. Such offices were also established in Huguang, or Sichuan.
 - 10 Yanai Watari, "Manshū ni okeru gen no kyōiki" [Yuan's Frontiers in Manchuria], *Manshū rekishi chiri*, [History and Geography of Manchuria] 2 (1913), 394; Yi Chŏngsin, 88.
 - 11 Kaiyuan-lu used to extend to Jilin Province, Heilongjiang Province, China (Heilongjiang); Hamgyŏng Province, Korea, and the Maritime Province of

Siberia. Kaiyuan, the seat of the local government of Kaiyuan-lu was relocated to Xianping (present-day Kaiyuan, Liaoyang Province). It is not clear where it was exactly located.

- 12 Chosŏn from “Liezhuan” of *Mingshi* [History of the Ming Dynasty] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1958) 320: 4b ; February 1388, “Yŏlchŏn” (The Series of Biography). *Koryŏsa* [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty] (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1972) 137: 6a.
- 13 *T’aejo sillok* [The Annals of King T’aejo] (Seoul: Kuksa p’yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1973), 1:4a.
- 14 Yanai Watari, 374.
- 15 Helan-fu refers to present-day Hamhŭng, Hamgyŏngnam Province, North Korea. According to *Sinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* [Revised and Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea], Hamhŭng was called Halan-fu (哈蘭府) during the Yuan period and there used to be the site of the seat of the local government about 2 km south of Hamhŭng. Different characters, such as 合蘭, 哈蘭, 合懶, and 合刺, contained in different materials, are pronounced similarly to each other and are presumed to refer to the same. *Sinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1994), 48:4a, 14b..
- 16 It is presumed that Shuidada-lu originally belonged to Kaiyuan-lu and then became a 'lu' directly controlled by Liaoyang Province between 1284 and 1330. Yanai Watari. 404.
- 17 “合蘭府·水達達等路，土地曠闊，人民散居，… 其居民皆水達達·女直之人，各仍舊俗，無市井城郭，逐水草爲居，以射獵爲業，故設官牧民，隨俗而治” Shuidada-lu, Helan-fu, Liaoyang Province from “Geography Section” of *Yuanshi* [History of Yuan] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1958), 59:6a..
- 18 Posha-fu was a Chinese territory on the west bank of the Amnok (Yalu). It belonged to Liaoyang-lu, Liaoyang Province during the Yuan Period, i.e. present-day Jiuliancheng, Dandong, Liaoning Province.
- 19 Yuan put Koryŏ’s envoy into jail in Liaoyang Province and threatened to attack Koryŏ with 800,000 troops. [June 1356 (the 5th year of King Kongmin’s reign), “Sega”. *Koryŏsa* [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty] 39:6b.
- 20 July 1356 (the 5th year of King Kongmin’s reign), “Sega”. *Koryŏsa* [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty] 39: 8b-10a.
- 21 See the entry for September 1356 (the 5th year of King Kongmin’s reign) in *Koryŏsa chŏryo* [Essentials of Koryŏ History] (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1991), 26:35b.

- 22 *Xijinzhì* (析津志) is a book of a local history of Beijing written by Xiong Mengxiang (熊夢祥) toward the end of the Yuan period. It is not known precisely when it was written. The original text has disappeared and its contents are quoted in other materials, such as *Yongle dadian* (The Yongle Encyclopedia).
- 23 *Yongle dadian* [The Yongle Encyclopedia] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 19426:3a.
- 24 “子寄僧爲水達達屯田總管府達魯花赤，乃顏叛，戰于高麗雙城。” Lai Abachi from “Series of Biographies” of *Yuanshi* (History of Yuan) 129:3b..
- 25 “隨千戶岳公，隸宣慰使都元帥阿八赤，往水達達地面屯田鎮守...二十三年五月諸王乃顏叛，從千戶岳公，領軍屬以南，且戰且行，七月二日至古州，...踰四月至高麗雙城，十月回至遼陽”
Tombstone of Zhang Cheng from *Manshū Kinsekishikō* (Dalien: Minami manshū tetsudō kabushiki kaisha, 1936), 204.
The original text says May 1286 (Zhiyuan 23). It should read “May 1287” in consideration of the context and periodic background.
- 26 It is possible that the phrase “高麗雙城” in the original text may be interpreted as “Koryŏ and Ssangšong” rather than “Ssangšong of Koryŏ.” However, as for “戰于高麗雙城” in the foregoing material , it is not natural to put two geographical names like “高麗雙城” behind “戰于.” If the writer had meant “Koryŏ and Ssangšong,” he would have chosen to write “戰于高麗及雙城.” In addition, if the phrase “至高麗雙城” in the foregoing material <C> refers to “Koryŏ and Ssangšong,” it means that “he reached Koryŏ and then Ssangšong,” which does not make sense. It is more proper to understand that he reached Ssangšong of Koryŏ.
- 27 Xue Lei attributed the expression “Ssangšong of Koryŏ” to the fact that many Koryŏ people lived there. It is not certain whether this explanation is correct, but it is certain that Yuan viewed Ssangšong in association with Koryŏ. Xue Lei, 88-89.
- 28 “高麗·女直界首雙城告饑，勅高麗王於海運內以粟賑之。” *Yuanshi* [History of Yuan] 17:11b. This entry is from August 1292.
- 29 Some researchers may say that the contents of *Yuanshi* (History of Yuan), which was compiled during the Ming China period, reflect the way Ming viewed its territory. However, *Yuanshi* was written in 1370, only three years after the foundation of Ming. It is difficult to accept that people of Ming, a newly founded dynasty, had an independent sense of territory about Liaodong

far away from the country's capital. It is very likely that the phrase “高麗·女直界首” quoted material written during the Yuan period rather than reflecting the way Ming viewed its territory.

- 30 With regard to what made Yuan not return Ssangšong to Koryŏ until 1356 despite its little interest in its rule over it, Kim Sunja gave an explanation, noting when it was incorporated into Yuan. According to her, Koryŏ and Yuan reached rapprochement in 1259 and Emperor Shizu of Yuan promised that he would allow Koryŏ to recover its past territories in the following year. Ssangšong Ch'onggwambu was excluded in the list of the territories to be returned to Koryŏ, as it was incorporated into Yuan prior to it. Kim Sunja, 250-253.
- 31 There are many records, including the following, about rebels in Tongbungmyŏn Province joining forces with Yuan in its attacks on Koryŏ.
“丙戌，忠清道按察使報，東界叛民引蒙兵入寇。” “Sega,” *Koryŏsa* [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty], 25:3a. This selection is from August 1259 (the 46th year of King Kojong's reign).
- 32 “禁登州·和州等處并女直人入高麗界剽掠。” *Yuanshi* [History of Yuan] 5:23a. This selection is from November 1264 (Zhiyuan 1).
- 33 Cho Hwi, “Yŏlchŏn,” *Koryŏsa* [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty], 130:11b-12a.
- 34 “zhi” (志), “shihuo” (食貨), “suike” (歲課), of *Yuanshi* [History of Yuan], 94: 2b.
“初金課之興，自世祖始...在遼陽者，至元十年，聽李德仁於龍山縣胡碧峪淘採，每歲納課金三兩，十三年，又於遼東雙城及和州等處採焉”
- 35 “甲子，命也速帶兒所部軍六十人淘金雙城。” *Yuanshi* (History of Yuan), 13:6a. This selection is from June 1284.
- 36 “都堂呈行省書曰，照得，雙城·三撒等處元是本國地面，北至伊板爲界，在先因失關防，致被女真人衆盡殺州縣官吏，就得地土人民，擅自稱爲採金戶計，及將和州更名雙城，設置總管府·千戶所，...雙城等處，年例辦納金子等物，本國自委廉幹人員，臨督採納，恐趙小生·卓都卿指以採金爲由，妄捏虛事，赴告遼陽行省，茲起訟端，深繫利害，宜從省府轉咨遼陽行省，照詳施行。” “Sega” *Koryŏsa* (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty) 39:17b-18b. This selection is from August 1357 (the 6th year of King Kongmin's reign).
- 37 The Military Governor's Offices in Yŏnghŭng and Anbyŏn, Hamgil-to, “Chiriji,” *Sejong sillok* [Annals of King Sejong] (Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1973), 155:5b, 8b.
- 38 Tsuda Sŏkichi; Pang Tongin; Ch'oe Chaejin; and Yi Chŏngsin.
- 39 Earlier studies have pointed out that Koryŏ was consistently committed to the

recovery of its control over Ssangsong even during the period of Yuan's interference in Koryŏ's internal affairs. However, hardly any study has shed light on King Ch'ungnyŏl's plan for the recovery of Ssangsong or on Third General Superintendent Cho Rim's serving Koryŏ's government as an officer, although many previous studies have referred to Cho Ton's entering into Koryŏ's government service.

- 40 After a thousand local people in Yangju decided to resettle in Ssangsong in 1271, Koryŏ asked Emperor Shizu to pressure the leadership of Ssangsong to return them home. However, Cho Hwi obtained permission from Emperor Shizu for the said people's relocation in Ssangsong. According to some records, the leadership of Ssangsong bribed officials dispatched by the Koryŏ government in 1285 to look into the status of Koryŏ people relocated in Ssangsong perhaps in an attempt to disturb the investigation. See Cho Hwi, "Yŏlchŏn," *Koryŏsa* [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty], 130: 11b-12a. See also, "Sega". *Koryŏsa* [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty] 29: 46a-b.
- 41 King Ch'ungnyŏl of Koryŏ married a daughter of Emperor Shizu of Yuan in 1274. This fact may have served as a factor to cause a change in the relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsong. Ssangsong leadership stopped taking a hostile attitude against Koryŏ.
- 42 The following are existing studies concerning the rebellion led by Nayan and Qada'an. Cong Peiyuan, "Yuan chu Naiyan Hadan zhi luan" [Rebellion Led by Nayan and Qada'an in the Early Yuan Dynasty], *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 3 (1993); Yoshino Masafumi, "Genchō ni totte no nayan kadān no ran" [Rebellion Led by Nayan and Qada'an against the Yuan Dynasty], *Shikan* 161 (2009); Kim Chinsu, "13-segi mal Haptan kun ūi ch'imgong e taehan Koryŏ ūi taeūng" [Koryŏ's Coping with Invasion of Qada'an Troops toward the End of the 13th Century], *Kunsa* 77 (2010).
- 43 "壬寅, 王聞乃顏大王叛, 遣將軍柳庇如元, 請舉兵助討, 時乃顏使本國叛人分超來推勒逃軍, 超聞乃顏叛, 逃至金郊, 遣人捕斬之." "Sega". *Koryŏsa* (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty) 30: 8b. This selection is from May 1287 (the 13th year of King Ch'ungnyŏl's reign).
- 44 According to *Yuanshi* (History of Yuan), Koryŏ dispatched 500 troops per its offer. See "Shizu", *Yuanshi* [History of Yuan] 14: 16b. .
- 45 "庚辰, 東寧府譯語中郎將丘千壽捕雙城謀人忽都歹·德山等來." "Sega," *Koryŏsa* (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty) 30: 10b. This selection is from August 1287 (the 13th year of King Ch'ungnyŏl's reign).

- 46 “乙酉，遣郎將鄭之衍如元，告捕雙城謀人。” “Sega,” *Koryōsa* 30:10b. This selection is from August 1287 (the 13th year of King Ch’ungnyōl’s reign).
- 47 It is not clear what kind of situation Ssangsong was in at that time. However, it is said that around that time Ji Seng and Zhang Cheng, assigned the duty of protecting military colonies paddies in Shuidada, went to Ssangsong to join in the fight against the rebels led by Nayan (the materials and <C>). It is presumed that the rebels attacked Ssangsong or that some factions inside Ssangsong colluded with the rebels. Then, it is highly likely that the spies from Ssangsong were those sent by factions that colluded with the rebels.
- 48 “辛酉，遣將軍吳仁永如元，時北賊叛亂，我國宜起兵助戰，而王難之，遣仁永入奏曰，今東鄙未寧，請親率征北兵，移鎮雙城。” “Sega,” *Koryōsa* 30:12b. This selection is from February 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyōl’s reign).
- 49 “庚午，元右丞塔出遣人請發兵五千及軍糧，赴建州，先是王請以征北兵移鎮雙城，帝已許之，中書省奉帝旨諭塔出云，鎮東藩事，當與高麗王共議。” “Sega,” *Koryōsa* 30:13b. This selection is from April 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyōl’s reign).
- 50 “丁卯，以判三司事朴之亮爲東北面兵馬使，大將軍金德之知兵馬事。” “Sega,” *Koryōsa* 30:13b. This selection is from April 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyōl’s reign).
- 51 After Sin Chipp’yōng, the military commander in charge of P’yōngan and Tongbungmyōn was killed in Chukto, Kim Yunhu was designated to the post in January 1259. However, Kim Yunhu could not go there to start his tour of duty, as the northern section of Tongbungmyōn was occupied by Yuan. Thus, the post remained vacant until April 1288. See “Sega,” *Koryōsa* 24:40a. This selection is from January 1259 (the 46th year of King Kojong’s reign).
- 52 “壬子，吳仁永還自元，帝命，除建州運糧，以助征兵移戍鐵嶺，國王宜留鎮本國。” “Sega,” *Koryōsa* 30:14b. This selection is from May 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyōl’s reign).
- 53 In May 1356, King Kongmin designated Yu Inu as the military commander in charge of Tongbungmyōn and ordered him to recover Ssangsong. *Koryōsa chōryo* 26:30a. This selection is from May 1356 (the 5th year of King Kongmin’s reign).
- 54 “Shizu,” *Yuanshi* 16:1b-2a. This selection is from January 1290 (Zhiyuan 27). See also “Sega,” *Koryōsa* 30: 21a-b. This selection is from March 1290 (the 16th year of King Ch’ungnyōl’s reign).
- 55 “二月乙亥，遣中軍萬戶鄭守琪屯禁忌山洞，左軍萬戶朴之亮屯伊川，韓希愈屯雙城，

- 右軍萬戶金忻屯拳豸，羅裕屯通川，以備丹賊。” “Sega”. *Koryŏsa* 30: 21a. This selection is from March 1290 (the 16th year of King Ch'ungnyŏl's reign).
- 56 Qada'an-led rebels invaded Ssangšong, Hwaju, and Tŭngju, killing many people, in November 1290. In the following year, the rebels invaded Koryŏ beyond Ch'öllyŏng, but were weakened gradually, following a great defeat in Yŏn'gi in May 1291. For information on the 1290 invasion, see “Sega,” *Koryŏsa* 30:23a-24a. This selection is from November/December 1290 (the 16th year of King Ch'ungnyŏl's reign).
- 57 “Shuangcheng dengchu lizhan,” *Yongle dadian*, 19423:14b-15a. The supply line along Kaiyuan-lu was destroyed due to the rebellion and Yuan set up a plan to build a new supply line linking Ssangšong with Sŏgyŏng. Morihira Masahiko, “Kōrai ni okeru gen no jamchi - rŭto no hitei wo chūshin ni -” [Yuan's Supply Line Extending to Koryŏ – With a Focus on the Route] *Shien* 141 (2004), 98-101.
- 58 It is presumed that Koryŏ recovered Tŭngju in or about 1298. In 1314, Koryŏ relocated Kangnŭng-do Governor's Office from Myŏngju (present-day Kangnŭng) to Tŭngju (present-day Anbyŏn). See *Koryŏsa* 58:17a. This selection is from January 1314 (the 1st year of King Ch'ungsuk's reign). See also “Sega,” *Koryŏsa* 34: 18a.
- 59 “侯名琳，嘗入仕本國，從先王在都下五年，三轉大護軍，陞檢校僉議評理，今承家業，爲雙城等處軍民總管。” “Kajŏngjip,” in *Koryŏ myŏngghyŏnjip*, vol. 3 (Seoul: Kyŏngin munhwasa, 1973), 3: 3b-4a.
- 60 “趙噉初名祐，雙城總管暉之孫也，世居龍津，未弱冠事忠肅王，…王薨，噉還龍津，…雙城總管趙小生噉從子也，聞變，與千戶卓都卿召噉，噉至，小生舉兵爲拒守計，劫噉曰，今事急矣，叔父仕高麗，爲累朝所寵待，今日叔父南向高麗，則雙城之地十二城，誰肯從我。”
Cho Ton, “Yŏlchŏn,” *Koryŏsa* 111:30a-31a.
- 61 It is not clear who “the preceding king” was whom Cho Rim followed, but it is presumed that it referred to King Ch'ungsŏn, based on the statement about the stay in the Great Capital for five years. King Ch'ungsŏn stayed mostly in the Great Capital between his re-accession to the throne in 1308 and his return home to Koryŏ in 1313. It is presumed that Cho Rim became an official of Koryŏ, followed King Ch'ungsŏn during his five-year stay in the Great Capital, and returned to Ssangšong after King Ch'ungsŏn's abdication.
- 62 It seems that Yi Chach'un, Yi Sŏnggye's father, was one of those.
- 63 An Ch'uk, who was inaugurated as the new military governor in Kangnŭng-do

in 1330, expressed his commitment to recover Hwaju (Ssangsǒng) in the reciting of a poem. It is thought that Koryŏ's recovery of the Ssangsǒng area in 1356 was a result of the country's consistent commitment. "Kŭnjaejip," in *Koryŏ myŏnghyŏnjip* vol. 2 (Seoul: Kyŏngin munhwasa, 1973), 1: 10a.

〈Abstract〉

Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu as the Border between Koryŏ and Yuan

Nakano Kota

Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu, which existed for about 100 years between 1258 and 1356, was a governing body established by Yuan in the northeastern part of Koryŏ. It has drawn the attention of researchers owing to its survival for a century and the political importance as the power base of Yi Šonggye's family.

Most of the previous studies about Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu have focused on the relationship between it and Koryŏ. This paper sheds light on the relationship between it and Yuan and Koryŏ in an attempt to see how it continued to exist between those two stronger powers.

It appears that Yuan did not attach great importance to Ssangšong, viewing it as a part of Koryŏ or the border between Koryŏ and the Jurchen. Yuan allowed general superintendents to exert their right of control over the Ssangšong area in return for their submittal of part of their gold production to Yuan as tax, but when Koryŏ recovered Ssangšong and promised to continue to submit part of gold production to Yuan, Yuan made no protest.

The leadership of Ssangšong Ch'onggwanbu took a hostile attitude toward Koryŏ. In 1287, when Nayan and Qada'an staged a rebellion against Emperor Shizu in Yuan, Koryŏ tried to take advantage of the situation as an opportunity to recover Ssangšong, but in vain. However, Koryŏ came to exert stronger influence on the area following the rebellion and the people in Ssangšong started to attach more importance to the relationship with Koryŏ. As a result, Ssangšong came to rely on Koryŏ, as shown by Cho Rim and his brother serving in the Koryŏ

officialdom.

Ssangsöng Ch'onggwanbu was able to survive for a century by taking a balanced position toward Koryŏ and Yuan. Yi Sönggye could build his power there as a faction relatively independent of the Koryŏ Dynasty apparently thanks to the unique status that Ssangsöng Ch'onggwanbu maintained.

Keywords : Ssangsöng Ch'onggwanbu, Tongnyöngbu, Yuan, the Jurchen, the border area, King Ch'ungnyŏl, Yuan Emperor Shizu (Qubilai Qa'an), Tongbungmyŏn, Yi Sönggye, the rebellion led by Nayan and Qada'an

〈국문초록〉

경계로서의 雙城總管府 - 元과 高麗사이에서

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1258년부터 1356년까지의 약100년간 존재한 쌍성총관부(雙城總管府)는 元이 고려 동북부에 세운 지배기구이다. 쌍성총관부는 100년 동안 유지되었다는 특수성과 이성계 가문의 세력기반이라는 정치적 중요성 때문에 연구자들의 주목을 끌고 있다.

쌍성총관부에 관한 기존연구는 고려와 쌍성의 관계를 검토한 것이 대부분이고 元과의 관계를 충분히 검토하지 않았다. 본고는 쌍성과 元, 그리고 고려와의 관계를 검토함으로써 쌍성총관부가 元과 고려 사이에서 어떻게 존속했는가를 밝히려고 했다. 그 검토를 통해 아래와 같은 결과를 얻었다.

元은 쌍성을 고려의 일부분 아니면 고려와 女眞의 경계지역 정도로 인식하고 자기의 영토로서 그리 중시하지 않았던 것 같다. 元은 금의 공납을 받는 대신 쌍성총관의 지배권을 인정했으나 고려가 금의 공납을 약속하자 元은 고려의 쌍성수복을 묵인했다.

쌍성총관부와 고려의 관계는 원래 적대적이었다. 1287년에 元에서 乃顔·슴丹의 난이 일어나자 고려는 그 기회를 이용해 쌍성수복을 시도했으나 성공하지 못했다. 그러나 이 난을 계기로 고려의 영향력이 커지고 쌍성 내부 세력들도 고려와의 관계를 중시하기 시작했다. 그 결과 쌍성은 조립 형제의 출사로 볼 수 있듯이 고려에 대해 의존하게 되었다.

쌍성총관부는 元과 고려라는 자기보다 큰 두개 세력을 균형있게 이용함으로써 100년 가까이 살아남을 수 있었다. 쌍성에서 고려왕에 대해 비교적 자립적인 이성계 세력이 성장할 수 있던 이유도 쌍성총관부의 이런 성격으로 이해할 수 있지 않을까 한다.

주제어: 쌍성총관부, 동녕부, 元(Yuan), 女眞(Jurchen), 경계지역, 충렬왕, 元 世祖 쿠빌라이, 동북면, 이성계, 乃顔(Nayan)·함단(Qada'an)의 난