Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu as the Border between Koryŏ and Yuan Dynasty

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Foreword

Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu (Ssangseong Chonggwanbu; 雙城總管府; Yuan Commandery Headquarters at Ssangsŏng),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 Tongnyŏngbu (Dongnyeongbu) in the northwestern part of Koryŏ and T’amnaguk Ch’ot’osa (Tamnaguk Chotosa) on Cheju (Jeju) Island. Tongnyŏngbu and Cheju Island were returned to Koryŏ about twenty years later, but Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu existed for an extended period of time and became the power basis of the family of Yi Sŏnggye (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 Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu due to its special characteristics, including its connection with Yi Sŏnggye’s family. Japanese scholar Tsuda Sōkichi (津田左右吉) was the first person to undertake research on Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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. Recently, Chinese scholars have jumped on the research bandwagon concerning Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu.

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

Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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. It was a border area that had such a dual aspect. Thus, we can expect to grasp the nature of Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu to a certain extent by focusing on such characteristics.

This paper intends to pay attention to Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu and Yuan**

Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu was also called Ssangsŏng Tūngch’ŏ Kunmin Ch’ŏnggwanbu (Ssangseong Deungcheo Gunmin Chonggwanbu; General Superintendent’s Office Controlling both Military and Civilian Affairs at Ssangsŏng). Ch’ŏnggwanbu (General Superintendent’s Office) was an administrative office established in each lu, an administrative unit during the Song and Jin Dynasties. Most of Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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. It is presumed that Ssangsŏng 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 Koryŏ: 1) Anmu Koryŏ Kunmin Ch’onggwanbu (Anmu Goryeo Gunmin Chonggwanbu) in Shenyang, Liaodong; 2) Tongnyŏngno Ch’onggwanbu (Dongnyeongno Chonggwanbu) in the northwestern area; 3) T’amna Kunmin Ch’onggwanbu (Tamna Gunmin Chonggwanbu) in Cheju Island; and 4) Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu in the northeastern area. The three in Shenyang, Tongnyŏngno, and T’amna are mentioned in the “Geography Section” from Yuanshi (History of Yuan), but Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu is not. Ssangsŏng belonged to Yuan for longer than Tongnyŏngbu 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu assumed during Yuan’s control over it. Now, let us examine how Yuan ruled and controlled it.

According to earlier studies, Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu belonged to Kaiyuan-lu, Liaoyang Province. It corresponds with the statement made by Ming that the north area of Chollyong belonged to Kaiyuan-lu during Yuan period, or with articles saying that matters concerning inheritance from Yi Chun (Yi Sŏnggye’s grandfather) were handled in Kaiyuan-lu. It is presumed that Kaiyuan-lu had no zhou (州) or xian (縣) under its control, although it extended over a very large area. The following article tells us that the local government exerted loose control over far-away areas, such as Helan-fu (合蘭府) or Shuidada-lu (水達達路), and allowed locals to follow their own customs.

<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 Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu, 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 Koryŏ in 1356 under the reign of King Kongmin (Gongmin). Concerning King Kongmin's attack on Posha-fu,\(^{18}\) Yuan protested threateningly.\(^{19}\) However, as for Koryŏ's attack on Ssangsŏng, Yuan behaved as if nothing had happened. In response to Yuan's protest, King Kongmin executed the officer who commanded the attack on Posha-fu and stopped military actions against it.\(^{20}\) In contrast, Koryŏ continued its military actions in the direction of Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu beyond the Ip’allyŏng (Ipallyeong), also known as Mach’ŏllyŏng (Macheollyeong), Pass.\(^{21}\) Yuan made no protest. This tells us that Yuan did not attach as much importance to Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu and its vicinity as to Posha-fu.

There are records about Yuan viewing Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu as part of Koryŏ. Xijinzi (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 “Koryŏ’s rear entrance.”\(^{23}\)

If Helan-fu was Koryŏ’s rear entrance, Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu, which was closer to the central government of Koryŏ, can be interpreted as a part of Koryŏ. It may not be appropriate to try to understand the way Yuan viewed Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu just based on the “Koryŏ’s rear entrance” statement, as it is possible that Xijinzi might have been written after Koryŏ’s recovery of Ssangsŏng. However, we can get a glimpse of the way Yuan viewed Tongnyŏngbu as its territory from Xijinzi, which states even the names of jamchi in Tongnyŏngbu, which was returned to
Koryŏ 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 Ssangsŏng area as part of Koryŏ, although the area was not under the control of Koryŏ.

There are other materials, as follows, that state more straightforwardly that Ssangsŏng was part of Koryŏ.

<B> “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 Ssangsŏng of Koryŏ against rebels led by Nayan.”

<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 Ssangsŏng of Koryŏ and then returned to Liaoyang in October.”

The foregoing materials <B> 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 Ssangsŏng of Koryŏ. The expression “Ssangsŏng of Koryŏ” shows that Yuan recognized it as being associated with Koryŏ.

The following materials tell us that Yuan viewed Ssangsŏng as the boundary between Koryŏ and the Jurchen.

<D> “Ssangsŏng, which was the boundary between Koryŏ and the Jurchen, reported a failure of crops. [Emperor Shizu] gave an imperial edict to the king of Koryŏ to share some cereals transported through the sea with the needy.”
The foregoing material <D> is a record about Yuan's order given to Koryŏ to save the starving people in Ssangsŏng in 1292 in the aftermath of hardships caused by the rebellions led by Nayan and Qada’an. The phrase “the boundary between Kōryo and the Jurchen(高麗·女直界首)” shows that Yuan viewed Ssangsŏng as the border between Koryŏ and the Jurchen²⁹.

We have checked how Yuan viewed Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu. In sum, it is hard to say that Yuan had much interest in its rule over Ssangsŏng, judging from the following factors: Few materials relating to it were left by Yuan; Yuan made no protest whatsoever about Koryŏ’s recovery of Ssangsŏng, 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu was to Yuan. Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu much less useful than before. Emperor Shizu (or Qubilai Qa’an) even ordered those in Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng. When in 1271, Ch’ŏn Sŏ (Cheon Seo), a local resident in Yangju, led a group of people and crossed to Ssangsŏng, 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, Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng and in Hwaju in Liaodong.”34

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

<G> “Todang submitted a document to the following effect to Chŏngdonghaengsŏng (Jeongdonghaengseong): “As we found as a result of our investigation, Ssangsŏng and Samsal were our inherent territory. The country set the Ip’allyŏng 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 Ssangsŏng and established the general superintendent’s office. … Ssangsŏng 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 Togyŏng 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 Chŏngdonghaengsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng. The fact that Ssangsŏng 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 Yŏnghŭng (Hwaju, Ssangsŏng, and Hwanyŏng during the Koryŏ Period) and Anbyŏn (Tūngju during the Koryŏ Period)37.

According to the foregoing material <G>, with the establishment of
Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu, the Gold Collection Household was installed and then gold producers submitted gold as tax every year. Even after the recovery of Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu, 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng.

**Relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu**

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

After the establishment of Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu, in 1258, the general superintendents took a hostile attitude toward Koryŏ. However, in
In the wake of the rebellion led by Nayan and Qada’an, Koryŏ came to exert more influence on Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng hardly covered by earlier studies. The first is the plan set up by King Ch’ungnyŏl (Chungnyeol) of Koryŏ for the recovery of Ssangsŏng. The other one is the third General Superintendent Cho (Jo) Rim’s entering into Koryŏ’s government service. These two facts are important ones that cannot be overlooked in the relationship between Koryŏ and Ssangsŏng. Here, I intend to check Koryŏ’s commitment to the recovery of its lost territory and the strategy adopted by Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng. The Koryŏ government tried to have them come back home. However, the leadership of Ssangsŏng did everything they could to thwart the Koryŏ government’s efforts, as the people provided a useful labor force.

In this way, the leadership of Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng went through a drastic change.

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 policy.

<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.”

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 Shizu.

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 Ssangsŏng.

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

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

There is no way we can see for what purpose Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu sent the spies mentioned in the foregoing material <I>. They must have been the ones sent by Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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, Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu’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’ungnyŏl tried to avail himself of the opportunity to recover Ssangsŏng. Let us check the following materials related to it.

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

<L> “On 16th day, Yuan official Tachu (塔出) sent a person to Koryŏ 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Koryŏ.”49

<M> “On 13th day, Pak Chiryang (Bak Jiryang) and Kim Tŏkchi were designated as commanders in charge of Tongbungsmyŏn.”50

The foregoing material <K> tells us that in February 1288, King Ch’ungnyŏl asked Emperor Shizu to allow him to take troops himself to Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng, King Ch’ungnyŏl or Emperor Shizu. However, materials <L> and <M> tell us that it was King Ch’ungnyŏl 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Tongbunmyŏn (The northeastern Province of Koryŏ) in April 1288. The military commander in charge of Tongbunmyŏn came to be not appointed with the establishment of Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu. Re-designation of the military commanders in charge of Tongbunmyŏn, where the post remained vacant, by this time is thought to have indicated the Koryŏ government’s commitment to recover the Ssangsŏng area and reestablish the Tongbunmyŏn Office. Thus, we can see in the material <K> that it was King Ch’ungnyŏl who would take troops and move to Ssangsŏng. It is thought that King Ch’ungnyŏl planned to go to recover the lost Ssangsŏng 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’ŏlyŏng but did not allow him to move his troops to Ssangsŏng.

<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’ŏlyŏng to protect the area from the rebels. The king should stay within the country and build defense.”

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

Despite the failure to recover Ssangsŏng, 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. In February 1290, Koryŏ troops came to stay in Ssangsŏng, albeit in small numbers, to
protect the area from attack by the rebels led by Qada’an. After the rebellion led by Qada’an was suppressed, Yuan ordered Koryŏ to bear the financial burden of recovering the damages of Ssangsŏng. Koryŏ bore the financial burden of establishing *jamchi* between Ssangsŏng and Sŏgyŏng (Seogyeong, currently P’yŏngyang) in November 1290. The foregoing material tells us that Yuan ordered Koryŏ to save those starving in Ssangsŏng during the great famine. In the process of this, Koryŏ gradually regained influence on Ssangsŏng. Koryŏ came to recover part of its lost territory in Ssangsŏng, including Tŭngju. Thus, Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng Tŭngch’ŏ Kunmin Ch’onggwan (General Superintendent of controlling both military and civilian affairs at Ssangsŏng).”

<P> “Cho Ton is a grandson of Cho Hwi, the General Superintendent of Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng 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?”
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 Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu, and it has not been reviewed by previous studies about Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu.\(^{61}\) This tells us about the situation of that time in which Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu had served as a Koryŏ official because Yuan viewed Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng tried to defect to Koryŏ.\(^{62}\) It is presumed that people in Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng in 1356.

Ssangsŏng 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, Ssansŏng 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, Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu was destined to return to Koryŏ sooner or later.

**Conclusion**

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

It is presumed that Yuan did not attach great importance to Ssangsŏng, viewing it as a part of Koryŏ or as the border between Koryŏ and the Jurchen. Yuan used Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu to its advantage in connection with its bid to conquer Koryŏ, but Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu lost its value with the end of the war between Koryŏ and Yuan. The Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng and promised to continue to submit part of gold production to Yuan, Yuan made no protest.

The leadership of Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng, 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 Ssangsŏng started attaching more importance to the relationship with Koryŏ. As a result, Ssangsŏng came to rely on Koryŏ, as shown by Cho Rim and his brother serving in the Koryŏ officialdom.
Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu was established by people in north of Tongbungmyŏn, which was territory of Koryŏ, who had defected to Yuan. It seems that Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng and could build a faction relatively independent of the Koryŏ Dynasty supposedly because Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu maintained self-reliance between its two stronger neighbors for about 100 years.

Both Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu. 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu
Local residents who moved to Chukto (Jukdo) to avoid Yuan’s attack in December 1258 killed the provincial governor dispatched by Koryô and surrendered to Yuan. Thereupon, Yuan established Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu there and designated Cho Hwi, the rebel leader, as General Superintendent. Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu maintained its control in that part of the region for about 100 years until attacked by troops sent by King Kongmin of Koryô in 1356.

Yuan was called “yeke mongol ulus” (the Great Mongol Empire) before 1271. In this paper, both will be named Yuan.

Tsuda attempted to shed light on the relationship between Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu and the rulers of Koryô and on the legend about Yi Sŏnggye’s family. An inheritor of Tsuda’s research, Ikeuchi Hiroshi (池内宏) made an intensive review of the legend about Yi Sŏnggye’s family and concluded that most of the legend about Yi Sŏnggye’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 Sŏnggye’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 Sŏnggye’s family. For such a review, it will be meaningful first of all for this study to shed light on Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu, where Yi Sŏnggye’s family originated. Tsuda Sŏkichi, “Gendai ni okeru Kôrai no tōhokukyô” [The Northeastern Border of Koryô during Yuan period], Chôsen rekishi chiri, 2 (1913). Ikeuchi Hiroshi, “Richô no yonso no densetsu to sono kôsei” [The Legend about the Ancestors of the Chosôn Dynasty Founder and Its Contents], Tôyô Gakuhô, 5, no. 2-3 (1915).

kwisok munje – wŏndae e issŏsŏ Koryŏ pont’o wa Tongnyŏngbu, Ssangsŏng Ch’önggwanbu, T’amma Ch’önggwanbu ŭi pulli chŏngch’aek ŭŏl chungshim ŭoro” [Territorial Dispute between Koryŏ and Yuan – With a Focus on Yuan’s Policy on Separation of Tongnyŏngbu, Ssangsŏng Ch’önggwanbu, and T’amma Ch’önggwanbu from Koryŏ], Kuksagwan nonch’ong 7 (1989); Yi Chŏngsin, “Ssangsŏng Ch’önggwanbu ŭi sŏllip kwa kū sŏnggyŏk” [Establishment of Ssangsŏng Ch’önggwanbu and Its Nature], Han’guk sahakbo 18 (2004); Kim Sunja, “Koryŏ, Wŏn ŭi 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, “Yuandai Shuangcheng Zongguanfu chuyi” [Discussions on Ssangsŏng Ch’önggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng Ch’önggwanbu], 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’amma.

8 According to the following <O>, the third superintendent’s official title reads “Ssangsŏng Tŭngch’ŏ Kunmin Ch’önggwan (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 kyōikki” [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.


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合剌, 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，遂水草為居，以射獵為業，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.


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 *Xijinzhi* (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 “子寄僧為水達達屯田總管府達魯花赤，乃顔叛，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顔叛，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 (Zhiyu an 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 Ssangsŏng” rather than “Ssangsŏng of Koryŏ.” However, as for “戦于高麗雙城” in the foregoing material <B>, it is not natural to put two geographical names like “高麗雙城” behind “戦于.” If the writer had meant “Koryŏ and Ssangsŏng,” he would have chosen to write “戦于高麗及雙城.” In addition, if the phrase “至高麗雙城” in the foregoing material <C> refers to “Koryŏ and Ssangsŏng,” it means that “he reached Koryŏ and then Ssangsŏng,” which does not make sense. It is more proper to understand that he reached Ssangsŏng of Koryŏ.

27 Xue Lei attributed the expression “Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng 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. Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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·和州等處幷女直人入高麗界剽掠。” Yuanshi [History of Yuan] 5:23a. This selection is from November 1264 (Zhiyuan 1).


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，先因失關防，致被女眞人衆盡殺州縣官吏，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，恐起訟端，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).


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 Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng in 1271, Koryŏ asked Emperor Shizu to pressure the leadership of Ssangsŏng to return them home. However, Cho Hwi obtained permission from Emperor Shizu for the said people’s relocation in Ssangsŏng. According to some records, the leadership of Ssangsŏng bribed officials dispatched by the Koryŏ government in 1285 to look into the status of Koryŏ people relocated in Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng. Ssangsŏng 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, “Genchŏ 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 taeŭng” [Koryŏ’s Coping with Invasion of Qada’an Troops toward the End of the 13th Century], *Kunsa* 77 (2010).

43 “壬寅，王聞乃顔大王叛，遣將軍柳庇如元，請擧兵助討，時乃顔使本國叛人分超來推勘逃軍，超聞乃顔叛，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讞人忽都歹·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，告捕雙城諜人。” “Sega,” Koryŏsa 30:10b. This selection is from August 1287 (the 13th year of King Ch’ungnyŏl’s reign).

47 It is not clear what kind of situation Ssangsŏng 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 Ssangsŏng to join in the fight against the rebels led by Nayan (the materials <B> and <C>). It is presumed that the rebels attacked Ssangsŏng or that some factions inside Ssangsŏng colluded with the rebels. Then, it is highly likely that the spies from Ssangsŏng 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，移鎭雙城。” “Sega,” Koryŏsa 30:12b. This selection is from February 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyŏl’s reign).

49 “庚午，元右丞塔出遣人請發兵五千及軍粮，赴建州，先是王請以征北兵移鎭雙城，帝已許之，中書省奉帝旨諭塔出云，鎭東藩事，當與高麗王共議。” “Sega,” Koryŏsa 30:13b. This selection is from April 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyŏl’s reign).

50 “丁卯，以判三司事朴之亮為東北面兵馬使，大將軍金德之知兵馬事。” “Sega,” Koryŏsa 30:13b. This selection is from April 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyŏl’s reign).

51 After Sin Chipp’yŏng, the military commander in charge of P’yŏngan and Tongbongmyŏn 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 Tongbongmyŏn was occupied by Yuan. Thus, the post remained vacant until April 1288. See “Sega,” Koryŏsa 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，除建州運粮，以助征兵移戍鐵嶺，國王宜留鎭本國。” “Sega,” Koryŏsa 30:14b. This selection is from May 1288 (the 14th year of King Ch’ungnyŏl’s reign).

53 In May 1356, King Kongmin designated Yu Inu as the military commander in charge of Tongbongmyŏn and ordered him to recover Ssangsŏng. Koryŏsa chŏryo 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,” Koryŏsa 30: 21a-b. This selection is from March 1290 (the 16th year of King Ch’ungnyŏl’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，
Right army万户金忻屯拳volución, 羅裕屯通川, 以備丹賊.” “Sega”. Koryôsa 30: 21a. This selection is from March 1290 (the 16th year of King Ch’ungnyol’s reign).

56 Qada’an-led rebels invaded Ssangsŏng, Hwaju, and Tŭngju, killing many people, in November 1290. In the following year, the rebels invaded Koryô beyond Ch’ôllyŏng, but were weakened gradually, following a great defeat in Yŏn’gi in May 1291. For information on the 1290 invasion, see “Sega,” Koryôsa 30:23a-24a. This selection is from November/December 1290 (the 16th year of King Ch’ungnyol’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 Ssangsŏng with Sŏgyŏng. Morihira Masahiko, “Kôrai ni okeru gen no jamchi - rûto no hitei wo chûshin ni -” [Yuan's Supply Line Extending to Koryô – With a Focus on the Route] Shien 141 (2004), 98-101.

58 It is presumed that Koryô recovered Tŭngju in or about 1298. In 1314, Koryô relocated Kangnûng-do Governor’s Office from Myŏngju (present-day Kangnûng) to Tŭngju (present-day Anbyŏn). See Koryôsa 58:17a. This selection is from January 1314 (the 1st year of King Ch'ungsuk's reign). See also “Sega,” Koryôsa 34: 18a.


60 “趙暾初名祐，雙城總管暉之孫也，世居龍津，未弱冠事忠肅王，…王薨，暾還龍津，…雙城總管趙小生暾從子也，聞變，與千戶卓都卿召暾，暾至，小生舉兵爲拒守計，劫暾曰，今事急矣，叔父仕高麗，為累朝所寵待，今日叔父南向高麗，則雙城之地十二城，誰肯從我.” Cho Ton, “Yŏlchŏn,” Koryôsa 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 Koryô in 1313. It is presumed that Cho Rim became an official of Koryô, followed King Ch’ungsŏn during his five-year stay in the Great Capital, and returned to Ssangsŏng 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 Kangnûng-do
in 1330, expressed his commitment to recover Hwaju (Sangsŏng) in the reciting of a poem. It is thought that Koryŏ’s recovery of the Ssangsŏng area in 1356 was a result of the country’s consistent commitment. “Kŭnjaejip,” in Koryŏ myŏnghyŏnjip vol. 2 (Seoul: Kyŏngin munhwasa, 1973), 1: 10a.
Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu, 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 Sŏnggye’s family.

Most of the previous studies about Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng, 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 Ssangsŏng area in return for their submittal of part of their gold production to Yuan as tax, but when Koryŏ recovered Ssangsŏng and promised to continue to submit part of gold production to Yuan, Yuan made no protest.

The leadership of Ssangsŏng Ch’ŏnggwanbu 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 Ssangsŏng, but in vain. However, Koryŏ came to exert stronger influence on the area following the rebellion and the people in Ssangsŏng started to attach more importance to the relationship with Koryŏ. As a result, Ssangsŏng came to rely on Koryŏ, as shown by Cho Rim and his brother serving in the Koryŏ
officialdom.

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

Keywords: Ssangsŏng Ch’onggwanbu, Tongnyŏngbu, Yuan, the Jurchen, the border area, King Ch’ungnyŏl, Yuan Emperor Shizu (Qubilai Qa’an), Tongbunmyŏn, Yi Sŏnggye, the rebellion led by Nayan and Qada’an
경계로서의 雙城總管府 – 元과 高麗사이에서

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1258년부터 1356년까지의 약 100년간 존재한 쌍성총관부 (雙城總管府)는 元이 고려 동북부에 세운 지배기구이다. 쌍성총관부는 100년 동안 유지되었다는 특수 성과 이성계 가문의 세력기반이라는 정치적 중요성 때문에 연구자들의 주목을 끌 어 왔다.

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 그를 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・合丹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 조립형제의 출사로 불 수 있었이 고려에 대해 의존하게 되었다.

쌍성총관부는 元과 고려라는 자기보다 큰 두개 세력을 균형있게 이용함으로써 100년 가까이나 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)・哈丹(Qada’an)의 난