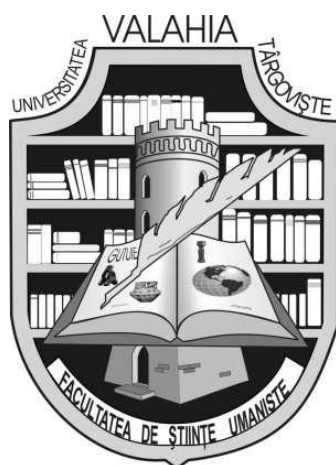


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L'Université Valahia Târgoviște
Faculté de Sciences Humaines**

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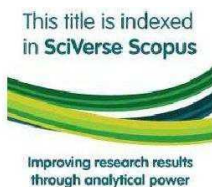
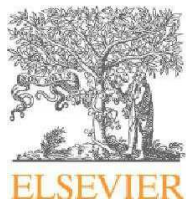
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Relations between the Bohai people and the Koryŏ kingdom

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Abstract. The issue of relations between the Bohai people after the destruction of their state in AD 926 and the southern neighboring state, Koryŏ, is a very complicated and important one for understanding the fate of ethnic groups in East Asia. As is known, after 926 many Bohai people immigrated to Koryŏ, because they considered this state a comfortable place to live. However, after a century the situation changed and the Bohai people preferred to live in other regions. This article considers the reasons for the movement of the population from the former Bohai state and analyzes the specifics of the relations between the Bohai population and the Koryŏ kingdom.

Keywords: Bohai, Koryŏ, East Asia, suryong, history, Korea.

As is known, in the seventh and ninth centuries AD, the Korean Peninsula was divided into two states. In the southern part of the peninsula the medieval Korean state, Silla, was located, while the northern areas formed part of the territory of another state – Bohai.

From the late seventh to the early tenth centuries AD, the Bohai¹ (in Russian: Бохай, in Korean: Parhae 발해, in Chinese: Bohai 渤海) existed in what is now the Russian Maritime Region (Primorskij kraj/ Приморский край), North Korea and Northeastern China (*Istoriia stran zarubezhnoj Azii v srednie veka*, 1970). According to the Japanese annals “Ruiju-kokushi” (類聚国史), the Bohai state was founded in AD 698. A number of events had led to the formation of this state. In the process of Bohai’s build-up in power, the Korean kingdom Koguryŏ had been destroyed in 668 by the Tang Empire and Silla, and parts of the Mohe tribes, who were vassals of Koguryŏ, changed their loyalty to the Tang Empire or immigrated to other districts.

Bohai and Silla had mutually hostile relations over a long period. Sometimes both states attacked each other with another third country or planned to do so (A. Kim,

2011). For example, Silla helped China wage war against Bohai in the war of 732-735, albeit unsuccessfully, and Bohai had plans for a joint attack with Japan against Silla (A. Kim, 2009).

Clearly, Bohai and Silla exploited every possibility to fight against each other. But in the tenth century, both states had problems: internal problems in the case of Silla, and external problems in the case of Bohai

Silla unsuccessfully fought against internal separatist tendencies from the end of the ninth century. Several new states had been established in the areas in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula (Ki-ho Song 1995, p. 72), which had hostile relations with each other. Finally, one state, Koryŏ, which had been officially established in 918, emerged the winner in this fight. However, this new state was not able to unify all districts of the southern and central parts of the Korean Peninsula until the 930s.

Bohai had another problem – the nomadic tribes of Khitans, which were undertaking foreign expansion at this time. The Khitans wanted to invade China (in this period several powers existed in the territory of the Tang Empire, where fighting for control of all the provinces of the former Tang Empire, and the Khitans

considered the time right for a successful attack), but for this they needed a safe rear. Bohai located in an easterly direction from the Khitans, was a formal vassal of China

Therefore, the Khitans at first attacked Bohai. For over 20 years, both sides fought against each other. Finally, the Khitans destroyed Bohai in 926.

However, the Khitans could not govern the vast areas of the former Bohai state. Moreover, they wanted to concentrate military power against China – this war was more profitable, than fighting against remaining Bohai districts. Consequently, the Khitans established a puppet state – Dongdan (in Chinese – 東丹, in Korean – 동단) in the western part of the Bohai state. The first ruler of this state was a son of the Khitan chief Abaoji. Dongdan provided an opportunity for a civil war between Bohai people, because some Bohai official and nobilities served in this state. Certainly, parts of the Bohai population did not like this situation and immigrated to other regions.

However, Bohai people began to immigrate before the date of the destruction of their state (from 925 – to Koryŏ, in 920 - to Japan). We can consider it as evidence that during the last ten years of existence, the Bohai state unsuccessfully fought against the Khitans and inhabitants of this state searched a safe place for immigration. However, in our opinion, it was possible that Bohai people could have immigrated to areas of Korean Peninsula before the 920s. During this period, several powers fought in Silla and in this situation, Korean historians who wrote the official annals did not pay attention to Bohai groups.

Initially rulers of Koryŏ protected the movement by Bohai people into the Korean Peninsula.

South Korean scholars believe that the basis of this protection was a fact that Koryŏ people considered Bohai and Koryŏ as related countries through marriages made between rulers of the Bohai and Koryŏ dynasties. The first Koryŏ ruler, Wang Gon, referred to this relationship in 942 (He Hyŏng Lee, 1999, p. 143-144).

Nevertheless, we believe that this protection by the Koryŏ king also had a practical basis. Koryŏ had spent considerable resources, material and human for support state system, fighting with other powers in Korean Peninsula. After victory in civil war and acquisition of new territories, Koryŏ needed immigrants, who could live in these areas, who lacked close relations with domestic population, maintained loyalty to Koryŏ and could form the basis for Koryŏ power in different provinces.

Certainly, some local groups in new areas did not consider accept the suzerainty of Koryŏ. This article argues that Wang Gon needed support from Bohai immigrants, who could help him in the establishment of Koryŏ power in conquered provinces. Moreover, after a long civil war Koryŏ king did not like starting a war inside of his country with opposition.

In addition, the first ruler of new the Korean state must have realized that so fast an expansion by the Khitans in the east could cause a problem for Koryŏ. Koryŏ rulers can understand that the Khitan were very successfully fighting against Chinese states and would attack the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, Wang Gon could have considered Bohai immigrants as an important support for the military and human potential of his kingdom.

Moreover, tribes from the east and central parts of modern Russian Far East began to arrive in the areas of the former Bohai state. These groups wanted to expand into new areas and Wang Gon noted this factor.

Therefore, Koryŏ officials constantly supported lines of defense in the northern border of the country. The importance of this activity was confirmed later when Khitan attacked Koryŏ three times (993, 1010-1011 and 1017-1020) (K. A. Wittfogel, F. Chia-cheng, 1949). However, according to South Korean historians, six wars took place between Koryŏ and the Liao Empire during this period (Ju-Seop An, 2003). It is clear that the material and human capability of the Khitans was great, therefore Koryŏ received vassal status under the Liao Empire.

But before this agreement, Koryŏ in many cases had hostile relations with the Liao Empire. In 942 Khitan ambassadors arrived in Koryŏ, but Wang Gon sent them away, on the grounds that Khitan had reneged on a previous agreement with the Bohai state and destroyed him whom Koryŏ was related to through marriage (Sang-sŏn Lim, 1990). However, there is no information about marriages between Bohai and Koryŏ ruler houses in the official chronicle “Koryŏ sa”. The North Korean scholar Park Si Hyong (2000) considered this episode and noted that “marriage” and “relative” is written in the same Chinese characters, so, he guessed in this situation that modern scholars, who studied these relations, at first can misunderstood the character for relations between Bohai and Koryŏ and what Wang Gon meant in this episode.

Many historians from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula support his opinion and believe that Koryŏ protected Bohai migrants because Bohai and

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Koryŏ had friendly relations (Eun-guk Kim, 1999, p. 126-128).

For understanding this position by the first ruler of Koryŏ, we must consider political aspects of this period. As noted above, the Khitans had destroyed Bohai and successfully fought against Chinese Empires and demonstrating the great military power of the Liao Empire in this period. Certainly, Koryŏ did not have the same military capability. Therefore, we must consider a reason for the activity by Wang Gon. The first Koryŏ ruler understood that Liao potential was great - Chinese states could not help Koryŏ in the case of Khitan attack. But activity by Wang Gon had demonstrative characteristics for some people. Accordingly we can conclude that it was for the Bohai people who lived in Koryŏ or moving from Liao to Korean peninsula. Wang Gon gave understanding that he would like to support Bohai immigrants, who wanted to immigrate into Koryŏ areas, because he considered them as people from related state. Wang Gon had important reasons for this. The power of the Koryŏ king was not stably, therefore he considered Bohai migrants as a support for his power base against local separatists and aristocratic clans.

On the other hand, it should be noted that few Bohai people arriving in Koryŏ as results of pressure or repression from the Khitans. It can be argued that the process of migration of the Bohai population played a major role and was an important factor - in the internal problems in the territory of the former Bohai kingdom.

As mentioned above, in the western areas of the former Bohai state, the Khitans had established the puppet state - Dongdan, but the eastern part remained independent. In these territories, Bohai powers (military troops, aristocratic clans and other) fought against each other. Moreover, Mohe and other tribes arrived in these regions after 926. Before the destruction of Bohai state, these tribes stayed under Bohai administration or were their vassals, but after 926 they received independence and began to expand in new territories. Later these tribes received one united name - Jurchen.

The above summation is based on the information below.

The South Korean scholar Han Gju-cheol believes that after 926 some leaders from ruler dynasty Da in the central parts of Bohai fought against each other for control of the region.

The son of the last Bohai king (Da Injuan, in Chinese - 大諲譔, in Korean - 대인선) Da Guansian (in Chinese - 大光顯, in Korean 대광현), took part in this

struggle, but could not win and immigrated to Koryŏ (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 77).

However, information exists about him as “seja” (세자, crown prince) in medieval Korean annals “Koryŏ sa”, but not as “bohαιwang” (발해왕, Bohai king). Therefore, we must conclude that an individual existed in the independent part of Bohai state, who could be regarded as Bohai ruler. However, this person was not Da Guansian. Of course, it is possible that the Koryŏ people might have recognized the ruler of Dongdan as a Bohai king, while confirming Da Guansian only as crown prince.

There is another important record to consider. Da Guansian arrived with many Bohai people in Koryŏ in 934, after eight years of destruction of the Bohai state. This gives rise to the question – why did Da Guansian arrive in Koryŏ in 934, but not in 926, immediately after the destruction of the Bohai state?

It is reasonable to conclude that Da Guansian stayed in areas of the former Bohai state because he was able to fight for the re-establishment of Bohai. As this struggle took place between Bohai aristocratic clans, we can guess that there had been fighting between Bohai people for power for a long time in the territory of Bohai state.

Koryŏ accepted the Bohai crown prince and his supporters very hospitably. He received property and a high-level rank (fifth rank “Wonbo”); his soldiers received houses and lands (Tyk-kong Yu, 2000, p. 98).

Some Korean scholars believe that after his arrival in Koryŏ, Da Guansian established a new Korean family name in the Korean Peninsula - Thae (태) (Ki-ho Song, 1999, p. 61).

This position was a basis for the views held by South Korean scholars about relations between Bohai and Koryŏ people. Many specialists from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula are thinking that Koryŏ considered Bohai people as related nation (Ki-ho Song, 1995, p. 202-203, 212).

Some Korean scholars note that many leaders from Bohai aristocracy immigrated in Koryŏ. But sometimes the Bohai nobility, who lived in Liao, fled to Koryŏ. For example, in 979 the Bohai suryong Dae Nan Ha (in Chinese 大鸞河, in Korean 대난하) immigrated to Koryŏ from Liao with 300 people. In the spring of 984, the Koryŏ king invited him for an audience. Dae Nan Ha very successfully fought against “barbarian” tribes (probably, Mohe groups, who had arrived to areas of the

former Bohai state) so after this victory he received an invitation for go to hunting with the king who also gave him alcohol and a substantial amount of money (100 thousands)². However, the most famous Bohai immigrant was Gao Mo Han.

The Bohai general Gao³ Mou Han (in Chinese - 高模翰, in Korean Go Mo Han (고모한), in sources there is another interpretation of his name, such as Gao Sung) served in Dongdan after the destruction of Bohai. He held a high-level position in the administration of the Khitan puppet state, but suddenly fled to Koryŏ.

In Koryŏ Go Mou Han was married with Koryŏ woman (according to the writings of Yu Tyk-kong, his wife was a relative of Koryŏ king). He was described as well built, a good horse-rider and archer. Moreover, he had a good understanding of military strategy and capability. But he liked to drink alcohol and when he had drunk too much, Go Mou Han lacked self-control. On one occasion, he drank too much and committed a criminal act. As a result, the Koryŏ king arrested him and sent him to prison. However, later Wang Gon released Gao Mou Han, because, in the opinion of the South Korean scholar So Pyong Guk, the Koryŏ king needed the strategic abilities of his prisoner. As a result, Gao Mou Han fled to Liao. This Bohai general became a famous commander in the Khitan state, the Liao Emperor trusted him, and he had many victories in battles against Chinese armies. The Liao ruler regarded his activity very positively and often praised him (So 1990: 195-196).

The Bohai people who lived in territories of the Liao Empire, actively participated in the wars between the Khitan and Koryŏ. In 1018 Liao military troops attacked Koryŏ; the leader of one these troops was a Bohai general Go Yong Myong (고영명). But in one battle Khitan army was defeated and this Bohai general has been killed by Koryŏ soldiers. The Liao Emperor received information about this battle and announced that the family of Go Yong Myong would stay under his protection and care (So 1990: 199).

Bohai people were members of many Khitan ambassadorial missions, and they could be Bohai officials, who worked in Liao Empire, as heads of diplomatic groups in Koryŏ. For example, according medieval Korean annals “Koryŏ sa”, five Bohai people from Liao arrived in Koryŏ as heads of Khitan ambassadorial missions.

In 1039, an official from the Eastern capital of Liao, Dae Gyong Jae, arrived as head of mission in Koryŏ, in 1073- the governor of Injou, Dae Thack, in

1093 – an official from Injou, Dae Kwi In, in 1109 - Dae Young Sin and in 1111 - Dae Jung Song arrived (So 1990: 206).

From the date of the establishment of Koryŏ kingdom (918) until the destruction of this state (1392) the names of only six high-level ranked Bohai officials in the Koryŏ government system, who received high-level ranks appeared in official Koryŏ annals. However, according to official Koryŏ statistical information, more than 100.000 Bohai people immigrated from the Bohai kingdom and Liao Empire to Koryŏ at different dates, and among them large number of military commanders and aristocrats are mentioned (So 1990: 208-209; Giuchŏl Han, 1994).

This number appears large given the Liao army had deported 94.000 local families (near 470.000 inhabitants) from former Bohai areas (A. L. Ivliev, 1988) and the number of Bohai people who remained could not have been as great, as the number of Bohai immigrants who fled to Koryŏ.

However the part of the Bohai population, who had received high-level ranks in Koryŏ, was killed or immigrated to Liao Empire. For example, during the reign of the Koryŏ king Mokjong [목종/穆宗, 997-1009 (1010)] two Bohai people, Yu Chung Jong (유충정) and Yu Haeng Gan (유행간), received high-level ranks in official system.

However, in 1010 the Koryŏ king Mokjong was killed by conspirators as result of revolution. Yu Chung Jong immigrated to Liao Empire, but Yu Haeng Gan was killed by conspirators too (So 1990: 208-209).

During the reign of the next Koryŏ king, Hyeonjong (현종/顯宗, 1010-1031/1032), only one Bohai official was able to receive a high-level rank - general Dae Do Soo (대도수, 大道秀), who was a descendent of Da Guansian, the last crown prince of Bohai.

Thus, Koryŏ annals contained the names of only six Bohai officials – Da Guansian, Gao Mou Han (immigrated to Liao), Dae Nan Ha (immigrated from Liao), Yu Chung Jong (immigrated to Liao), Yu Haeng Gan (was killed in Koryŏ) and Dae Do Soo. Nevertheless, in Liao many Bohai people took part in administration of the Liao Empire and received high-level ranks.

Therefore, in spite of many Bohai aristocrats and military commanders having fled to Koryŏ, almost all from them and their descendants could not receive good positions in their new motherland.

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There are several reasons, why Bohai people did not have an opportunity for positions in the court of the Koryŏ king. First, after the peace agreement between Koryŏ and the Khitans the Korean state did not need support from Bohai immigrants as a part of Koryŏ army. In this situation changes in policy by Koryŏ rulers played a big role. Second, in the court of the Koryŏ king the Korean aristocrat clans and alliances had leading positions. They received support from high-level nobles and provincial powers. Bohai migrants did not have a similar base and could not compete with them. Certainly, Koryŏ aristocrat clans did not provide opportunities for Bohai leaders. It was no coincidence that two famous Bohai leaders (Gao Mou Han and Yu Chung Jong) immigrated to Liao and one (Yu Haeng Gan) was killed. Therefore, Bohai people could not rise to high-level positions and could not compete with local alliances.

In this situation, persons of Yu Chung Jong and Yu Haeng Gan deserved our attention. These Bohai people had the same family names and received high-level ranks during the reign of the one Koryŏ king - Mokjong. Their activity can be viewed as unique attempt of Bohai people for establishment Bohai association in the court of the Koryŏ king. However, Koryŏ aristocrat clans very quickly liquidated this attempt. Yu Haeng Gan became a sole Bohai person, who was killed in the court of the Koryŏ king. Clearly, if his relative, Yu Chung Jong, not fled to Koryŏ, he can be murdered too. After this incident, Bohai people did not try to establish clan or alliance in Koryŏ. Probably, they participated in some activities of Koryŏ aristocrat clans, like Dae Do Soo, but few of them could receive high-level positions.

Third, Koryŏ pursued a semi-isolationist foreign policy. The reason for this was the internal problems of Koryŏ. From a long-term perspective, their social system could not accept a large number of immigrants, in spite of the state needed in them. Clearly, this policy had a large influence on the position of the Bohai people in Koryŏ.

We don't have exact details on discrimination against the Bohai people in Koryŏ. But, as highlighted above, the Bohai population did not have opportunity for political development in Koryŏ. Thus, it is likely that Koryŏ officials limited the activity of the remaining Bohai population.

However, the opposite situation was evident for the Bohai population in Liao. The Bohai people in this Khitan state occupied important positions in government and the number of Bohai high-level officials was great. Certainly, the Bohai population in

Liao and Koryŏ had contacts with each other. Therefore, Bohai people, who lived in the Khitan state, did not immigrate to Koryŏ in large numbers after the peace agreement between these two states. Of course, Bohai officials, who lived in Liao, understood that life in this empire and service in Khitan administration could give them many benefits, more than in the court of the Koryŏ king. The number of Bohai refugees from Liao to Koryŏ from 940 s. was very small. Consequently, we believe that the Bohai people in Liao considered immigration to Koryŏ as a last resort.

Thus, it can be concluded that few Bohai people in the Khitan state considered Koryŏ as a related state. However, this does not mean that the position of the Bohai people in the Liao Empire was comfortable for every Bohai person during the existence of the Khitan state.

As is known, sometimes the Bohai population in Liao rebelled against the Khitans and tried to re-establish their state, and not long after destruction of the Bohai state, this population rebelled in the third and seventh month of 926. In the first case, three administrative centers rebelled, in the second – one (K. A. Wittfogel, Chia – cheng Feng, 1949, p. 404, 406). The Khitan army destroyed both rebellions and executed two Bohai leaders (Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 96). Probably, after these rebellions the Bohai people, who fought against Khitan army, fled to Koryŏ.

The Khitan administration provided measures for control of the Bohai population, including raising taxes and deporting many suspicious Bohai people to the inner areas of the Liao Empire (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 40). In these conditions, Bohai people rebelled in some occasions. The biggest rebellion by the Bohai population was in the period 1029-1030, when the Liao government tried to raise taxes for the Bohai people. During this period, the Khitans were experiencing a severe drought (A. L. Ivliev, 1988), and as a consequence Liao officials established taxes for salt and alcohol in areas, where Bohai people lived. Before this, act taxes for salt and alcohol existed only for Chinese, so the Bohai population considered these taxes very negatively. Moreover, Khitan officials increased trade duties (Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 65-66).

The Bohai rebellion started in the Eastern Capital of the Liao Empire. This city was the capital of the Khitan puppet state Dongdan and controlled 9 regions and 87 districts. The leader of the rebellion was the Liao general Da Yanglin (in Chinese - 大延琳, in Korean - 대연림), who exploited the discontent of the Bohai

population in the city (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 89; Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 67; K. A. Wittfogel, Chia – cheng Feng, 1949, p. 449). He was from seventh generation of descendants from Da Zuorong, founder and first ruler of Bohai state.

Da Yanglin arrested many Khitan high-level officials and members of the Liao's Imperial clan, killed some Liao leaders. After this, he took control of the Eastern capital and neighboring areas and announced the establishment of a new empire – Sin Liao (in Chinese - 興遼國, in Korean – 흥료국) (Giu-chöl Han, 1994, p. 260-261; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 89; Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 67).

It is clear that Da Yanglin understood the weaknesses in the position of the new state and looked for support from other states. Therefore, he sent ambassador Go Gil Dok (in Chinese - 高吉德, in Korean - 고길덕) in Koryŏ with a request for military support (*Parhaesa*, 1996). Bohai people hoped that Koryŏ could help them, because after the rebellion this kingdom did not support diplomatic relation with the Liao Empire (Dyuk-gong Yu, 2000, p. 66).

Sin Liao needed military support from Koryŏ and during diplomatic talks Da Yanglin suggested Koryŏ occupy Liao lands on the river of Yalu (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 90). Koryŏ officers sent some military troops in the territories of the Liao Empire, but Khitan groups successfully fought against them and expelled the Koryŏ army from Liao districts. The Korean scholars are considering this as an attempt by the Koryŏ army to help for Sin Liao state (*Parhaesa*, 1996). However, the Soviet and Russian historians believe that this activity was an attempt by Koryŏ officials to occupy Liao territory (A. P. Okladnikov, 1959; A. P. Okladnikov, A. P. Derevianko, 1973).

Resistance by Khitan military troops against the Koryŏ army gave Koryŏ diplomats considerable influence in negotiations. Therefore, the Koryŏ king had discussions with high-level nobles about war against Liao. Certainly, many Koryŏ officers appreciated the military, economic and human resources of the Khitan state. In spite of the fact that some of the Koryŏ generals wanted to occupy lands near the Yalu river, many Koryŏ nobles headed by the famous Korean writer Che Sa Hwi (in Chinese - 崔士威, in Korean – 최사위) asked the king do not to start a war against Khitans. They recommended to king to take care noting that this activity could be dangerous for state. Thus, the king had

to exercise caution and he was forced to assess the benefits of waging war (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 90-91).

As result of this discussion, the Koryŏ government realized that it could not successful fight against the Liao Empire and decided do not take part in the war between the Bohai people and the Khitan state.

According opinions of Korean scholars, in spite of this decision, the Bohai people sent an ambassadorial missions to Koryŏ four times asking for military support.

As mentioned above, Go Gil Dok was head of the first mission from Sin Liao to Koryŏ, but he was also head of the third mission. The second mission arrived in Koryŏ under Dae Yon Jong (in Chinese - 大延定, in Korean - 대연정), who was related to the ruler of Sin Liao. The head of the fourth diplomatic group was Dae Gyong Han (in Chinese - 大慶翰, in Korean – 대경한), governor of Injou city. The last mission by Lee Kwang Rok (in Chinese - 李匡祿, in Korean - 이광륙) from Sin Liao arrived after the destruction of the state of Da Yanglin (Giu-chöl Han, 1994, p. 264; *Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91). Lee Kwang Rok informed Koryŏ government about the destruction of Sin Liao by the Khitan army. Thereby we can consider the group led by Lee Kwang Rok as refugees, not as members of an ambassadorial mission. In Koryŏ annals, he remained as governor of Injou city. Moreover, Lee Kwang Rok did not come back from Koryŏ (Seun-phil Che, 1989, p. 143).

In the history of contacts between the Bohai population and Koryŏ (see Appendix 1) it is evident that some Bohai people fled to Koryŏ before the destruction of Sin Liao. Probably, many participants of the Bohai rebellion understood the weakness of Sin Liao and immigrated to Koryŏ before the collapse of the last remnants of the Bohai state.

Many Korean scholars believe that the Bohai people fled to Koryŏ because Da Yanglin sent an ambassadorial mission to this kingdom at the fall of Sin Liao and they hoped to gain support from Koryŏ (*Parhaesa*, 1996, p. 91-92). Nevertheless, theory lacks one important piece of evidence: Koryŏ did not give any real support to Da Yanglin. The some Korean scholars consider the activity undertaken by the population of Sin Liao towards Koryŏ (for example, ambassadorial missions, the flight of the people after destruction of their state) as a result of residual understanding between Southern and Northern states⁴. However, other historians from the Korean Peninsula write about

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problems in the argumentation of this theory and considered geographical factors in the immigration of the Bohai people (Parhaesa, 1996, p. 93). Certainly, Koryŏ was closer than China for Bohai people.

The last official activity of the Bohai population was the establishment of their state within the Liao Empire seen in the 1116 rebellion by Gao Yunchan against the Liao Empire (Si-hyŏng Park, 1995; Giu-chŏl Han, 1994), who proclaimed the empire- Great Bohai state.

The Jurchen army destroyed this state. After the destruction of the Great Bohai state small groups of Bohai people, who had taken in the rebellion, fled to Koryŏ from Liao areas at different times.

Despite this, it is still possible to compare the number of Bohai migrants in Koryŏ in the 920s and 930s, after the rebellion by Da Yanglin and after the rebellion by Gao Yunchan and conclude that in comparison with previous migrations of Bohai people a very small number of Bohai people fled to Koryŏ after

the destruction of the Great Bohai state (Appendix 1).

In the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries, nearly 30.000 Bohai families, (more than 100.000 people) immigrated to Koryŏ areas (A. L. Ivliev, 1988). After deportation by the Khitan army, large number of Bohai people, nearly 20.000 Bohai families from areas of the former Bohai state lived in Liao (Gju-cheol Han, 2001, p. 67).

This article has shown how relations between the Bohai people and Koryŏ changed after 926. At first, contacts between them were friendly, but over a long time relations changed for the worse, under the influence of political and economic factors and specific of political developments in the Koryŏ kingdom.

In the tenth century, the Bohai people considered Koryŏ a safe place for immigration, but in the eleventh century the situation changed and the Bohai population viewed the Korean kingdom very differently – no longer as a place for immigration but a hostile state, in which Bohai people lacked support.

Appendix 1

History of contacts between Bohai remained population and Koryŏ.

Data		Events
6 day 9th month 8 year of Thaejo.	925	Bohai general Sin Dok with 500 people fled in Koryŏ.
16 day 9th month 8 year of Thaejo.	925	Bohai officials Dae Hwa Gyun, Dae Gyun Go, Dae Wong Gyun, Dae Bok Mo, Dae Sim Lee with 100 households immigrated to Koryŏ.
29 day 12th month 8 year of Thaejo.	925	Bohai officials Mo Doo Gan and Park O with 1000 households immigrated to Koryŏ.
3 day 3th month 10 years of Thaejo.	927	The head of Department of Social Work O Hying with 50 Bohai people (according other records – 5000 people) fled to Koryŏ.
3th month 10 year Thaejo.	927	After O Hying Bohai monk Chae Un (Dae Ying) with 60 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
10 year of Thaejo.	927	Bohai official Gong Boo Gyong immigrated to Koryŏ.
2 day 3th month 11 year of Thaejo.	928	Bohai official Kim Sin with 60 Bohai family (according other records- 60 people) fled to Koryŏ (according another information – in Silla).
8 day 7th month 11 year of Thaejo.	928	Bohai official Dae Yu Bom with «people» (exact number unknown) immigrated to Koryŏ.
25 day 9th month 11 year of Thaejo.	928	Bohai official Yin Gie Jon and «other» arrived from Bohai areas to Koryŏ.
24 day 6th month 12 year of Thaejo.	929	Bohai official Hong Gyong and «other» in 20 ships with people and property fled to Koryŏ.
10 day 9th month of 12 year Thaejo.	929	Bohai official Jong Gyin with more than 300 people arrived by land in Koryŏ.
	The second	Bohai general Gao Mou Han fled from Dongdan to Koryŏ.

	part of 920 s.	
	The beginning 930 s.	Bohai general Gao Mou Han immigrated from Koryŏ to Liao.
17 year of Thaejo.	934	Bohai crown prince Da Guainsian immigrated with some thousands people (or households) fled to Koryŏ. Koryŏ king gave him family name Wang Ji and 4th rank Wonbo, registered his name in lists of king clan. He became the governor of Baijou (Paekju). His officials received ranks, Bohai soldiers received lands and houses.
12th month 17 year of Thaejo.	934	Bohai official and ambassador Jing Lim with 161 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
21 year of Thaejo.	938	Bohai official Park Sying with 3000 households arrived in Koryŏ.
4 year of Kyongjon.	979	Bohai surying Dae Nan Ha with 300 warriors fled to Koryŏ.
1year of Hyeonjong .	1010	Bohai official Yu Chung Jong, who had high rank in Koryŏ, fled to Liao.
8 year of Hyeonjong	1018	Khitan military troops attacked Koryŏ. The one from Khitan commanders was famous Bohai general Go Yong Myong. However, in one battle, Khitan army was defeated and this Bohai general has been killed by Koryŏ soldiers. The Liao Emperor received information about this battle and announced that family of Go Yong Myong will be stay under his protectorate and care
13 day 1 month 20 year of Hyeonjong.	1029	Ambassador Go Gil Dok from Sin Liao arrived in Koryŏ. During discussion, Da Yanglin suggested Koryŏ to occupied Liao lands in the river of Yalu.
20 year of Hyeonjong.	1029	Koryŏ officers sent some military troops with support by Bohai people to territories of Liao Empire, but Khitan groups successfully fought against them and expelled Koryŏ army from Liao districts. Koryŏ government understood that he cannot successfully fight against Liao Empire and made decision do not take part in war between Bohai people and Khitan state.
13 day 5th month 20 year of Hyeonjong.	1029	Ambassador Dae Yon Jong from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
1st month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Ambassador Go Gil Dok from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
14 day 7th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Ambassador Dae Gyong Han, governor of Injou, from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
6 day 9 month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Ambassador Lee Kwang Rok, governor of Injou, from Sin Liao arrived to Koryŏ.
13 day 5th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	6 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
10th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	500 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
3rd month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	40 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
22 day 7th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	14 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.

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24 day 7th month 21 year of Hyeonjong.	1030	Bohai people (exact number unknown) fled to Koryŏ.
26 day 1st month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	29 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
7 day 2nd month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	17 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
29 day 5th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	15 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
12 day 6th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	12 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
16 day 6th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	17 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
27 day 7th month 2 year of Tokjong.	1032	20 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
8 day 10th month 2 years of Tokjong.	1032	10 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
Beginning 4ur month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	18 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
23 day 4 month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	3 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
29 day 5th month 3year of Tokjong.	1033	19 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
8 day 6th month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	7 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ.
21day 12ve month 3 year of Tokjong.	1033	11 Bohai people fled to Koryŏ. They received land in south lands of Koryŏ.
6 year of Joenjong.	1039	Official from Eastern Capital of Liao, Bohai aristocrat Dae Gyong Je arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
28 year of Munjong.	1073	Governor of Injou, Bohai aristocrat Dae Thaek, arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
10 year of Seonjong.	1093	Liao official from Injou, Bohai men Dae Kwi In, arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
5 year of Sukjong.	1109	Bohai men Dae Yong Sin arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
5 year of Yejong.	1111	Bohai men Dae Jung Son arrived in Koryŏ as Liao ambassador.
10 year of Yejong.	1116	The ruler of Great Bohai state Gao Yunchan sent ambassador to Koryŏ. Koryŏ sent mision ot Great Bohai state. Koryŏ official Jong Ri-ang-chik has been arrested and sent to prison after arrival from Eastern Capital Liao (capital of Great Bohai state) in Koryŏ. He gave presents and false documents from Koryŏ to Gao Yunchan. According these documents, Koryŏ recognized Great Bohai state as suzerain. Gao Yunchan was glad and sent to Koryŏ rich gfits with mission by Jong Ri-ang-chik.
	1116	33 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	52 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	155 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	15 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.
	1116	44 Bohai people fled in Koryŏ.

Notes

¹In the Soviet Union, scholars used the Chinese style for identification of names in the Bohai (Parhae) state. Therefore, this article uses Chinese names for Bohai rulers. Russian specialists in Korean studies began to use the name “Parhae” only from the 2000s.

² I considered in detail situation with Bohai suryongs and Dae Nan Ha in article “The problem of Bohai suryongs”, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 69 (1), 2016. p. 27-35.

³ Gao an was aristocratic family in Bohai. It had second place in the state, after, of course, king dynasty Da.

⁴ The Korean historiography tends to present the period of Silla–Bohai coexistence in the Korean Peninsula as a “period of South and North States” in Korean history.

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