

Territorial Diplomacy: Seo Hui's Compromise and Demands for the Goryeo Dynasty

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The brilliant diplomacy demonstrated by Seo Hui, a civil servant during the Goryeo dynasty, when dealing with the Khitans in 993 C.E. is literally a textbook case of “conflict and compromise”—many Korean history textbooks include the famous story of how Seo Hui averted war with the Khitans and expanded his country’s territory with only his wits. The compromise he engineered in the face of serious conflict is still praised as a solution that effectively solved the problem at hand by accurately assessing the geopolitical situation of that time.

Although we knew Seo Hui’s territorial diplomacy would be a good topic for this year’s National History Day, we had significant difficulty finding primary sources to corroborate our performance. We were puzzled at the dearth of original documents dating back to the Goryeo dynasty, as most of us had expected detailed records like *The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, which were written during the dynasty which succeeded Goryeo. Through research, we learned that the lack of primary documents from the Goryeo era could be attributed to the Japanese Invasions of Korea(1592-1598) during which Goryeo documents were destroyed. However, we were luckily able to gain access to online versions of *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosajeolgyo*, historical records of Goryeo written during the Joseon dynasty. Although these are secondary sources, they were written before Goryeo records were lost, thus ensuring their accuracy. They aided us greatly in piecing together the narrative of Seo Hui’s compromise. After much scouring, we also accessed the *Goryeodokyeong*, a valuable primary source written by Seokeung, who was an ambassador to Goryeo from China. We consulted more contemporary secondary sources for analysis of the motives and consequences of Seo Hui’s actions, such as news articles and interviews with museum officials.

We thought the performance category would be best to convey this historical narrative to an audience that may be unfamiliar with it, for we could draw upon the power of storytelling. Looking back on our experiences performing together as part of the school drama club, we concluded the performance approach would be most appropriate to portray this event in its entirety with precision and humor.

Despite our hardships, we were able to reaffirm that our project was relevant to the theme on many levels. Goryeo faced a conflict complexly layered with military and diplomatic issues, and the actions of a few choice individuals, most notably Seo Hui, were able to craft a pragmatic compromise that averted the crisis. Although the Khitans continued to clash with Goryeo in the centuries that came afterwards, Seo Hui's legacy lives on as valuable historical proof of regional relations at the time as well as of the fact that Goryeo was recognized as Goguryeo's rightful successor and legitimate ruler of the Korean peninsula, providing a historical bedrock from which to assert its continuous historical and national identity back then and now.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Source

Buyeo National Museum. "Dish ." Jangsu-Ro, Hwayang-Myeon, Yeosu-Si, Jeollanam-Do, Republic of Korea, GorJurchens.

This exhibit from the "Goryeo" section of the Buyeo National Museum is a dish, utilized by the people of Goryeo, excavated from the Hwayang-Myeon. Observing this exhibit helped us in setting up the scene materials to be as historically relevant as possible.

Choi, Seung Roh. "28 Articles of the Current Affairs (시무 28조, 時務二十八條)." 982AD.

This is a document written by Choi Seong Roh in the first year of King Seongjong's reign about the work that lay ahead for the King. Of the original 28 articles, 22 remain. Among the remaining 22, not one but two articles were devoted to foreign relations with Song China, showing that diplomacy with Goryeo's neighbors was of highest concern at the time: the fifth and eleventh articles. The fifth article explained the need to restrict interactions with Song China. Choi explains that the founder of Goryeo, King Taejo, did respect Song China, but only made occasional tributes to it by sending few ambassadors. Emphasizing this point, the fifth article detailed the need to move away from the excessively subservient attitude toward Song China shown during King Gwangjong's

reign, and to foster a pride and identity unique to Goryeo. This article left a room for King Seongjong to sanction Seohui's negotiation with Xiao Sunning (the Khitan representative) regardless of the Khitans' hostile relationship with Song China.

The eleventh article recommended that while Goryeo would continue to accept Chinese culture and institutions, it would not do so blindly, but take Goryeo's circumstances into account while doing so. It emphasized the need of embracing crucial Confucian ideas, such as the hierarchy of the ruler and the ruled and the respect paid among father and son, which helped erect the aristocratic social structure of Goryeo. This helped our team to get a sense of the context behind Seo Hui's diplomacy with the dynasties with China, and gain a deeper understanding of his strong-willed decisions when it came to dealing with the Khitans and Song dynasty.

“Goryeo Dokyoung .” *Goryeo Dokyoung* , 1123. *National Institute of Korean History* ,
db.history.go.kr/introduction/intro_cnkd.html.

Goryeo Dokyoung is a report constructed by Seokeung, a minister from the Song Dynasty. Seokeung visited Goryeo in the year 1123 under the order of Huijong (king of the Song Dynasty). The report consists of forty books, each of focuses on a specific aspect of the Goryeo Dynasty. The first book provides a thorough explanation of Goryeo's founding process. The second book explains the lineage of the Goryeo king. Out of the 40 different books, we mainly focused on deriving information from book twenty two - which allowed us to understand the customs among the royal subjects, as

well as among the commons. We tried to incorporate what we've learned into scene one in which the two ministers - part of two different ideologies - interact with the king in a conversation about the Khitan invasion.

King Taejo. "Hunyo: 10 Articles (훈요 10조)." Apr. 943AD.

These are the ten articles King Taejo wrote as teachings to be passed on to his descendants. King Seongjong, who appears in our performance, is King Taejo's grandson and one of the kings that came after him. An article refers to the Khitans as "savages" and advises future kings to reject their traditions, which accounts for King Seongjong's condemnation of them during the performance. As mentioned in other sources (namely *Goryeosa* and *Goryeosajeolyo* which we cited as secondary sources), it is evident that Goryeo saw Khitans and Jurchens as savage compared to the Song dynasty, and, in the case of the Khitans, even more so for their destruction of Balhae, which Goryeo had regarded as a brother country.

National Museum of Korea. "Belt Ornament ." GorJurchens , GorJurchens .

This is an exhibit of belt ornaments utilized in the GorJurchens provided by the National Museum of Korea. By closely observing such exhibit, we were able to incorporate historically-relevant actor props into our performance.

National Museum of Korea. “Chopsticks .” GorJurchens , GorJurchens .

This is an exhibit of chopsticks utilized in the GorJurchens, provided by the National Museum of Korea.

National Museum of Korea. “Ear Picks .” Wondang-Ro 33beon-Gil, Deogyang-Gu, Goyang-Si, Gyeonggi-Do, Republic of Korea, Goyang .

This exhibit of Goryeo ear picks made of wood was excavated from the city of Goyang. Based on historically substantiated exhibits, we were able to understand a culturally interesting fact that laypeople, as well as royal scholars, in the GorJurchens utilized ear picks.

National Museum of Korea. “Spoons with Rings .” Sicheong-Ro, Paju-Si, Gyeonggi-Do, Republic of Korea, Paju .

This is an exhibit of spoons used by the people of Goryeo. It was excavated from Gyeonggi-Do and is provided by the National Museum of Korea. This exhibit allowed us to understand that people of Goryeo used crooked spoons, further allowing us to enrich the stage settings of our performance based on historically-accurate exhibits.

National Research Institute of Maritime Cultural Heritage. “Bamboo Tray .” Taeon Mado ,

Taeon Mado , 2009.

This is an exhibit of bamboo trays used in the Goryeo period, preserved by the National Research Institute of Maritime Cultural Heritage. Such exhibits allowed our team to understand that the people of Goryeo utilized trays made of bamboos, further allowing us to enrich the stage settings of our performance based on historically-accurate exhibits.

Secondary Source

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "A Goryeo Troop Has Been Sent To Fight Back Against the Khitan Invasion" *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

This recording indicates King Sunjong's decision to send a Goryeo troop under the lead of General Yoon Seo-an to fight back against Khitan's first invasion. This led us to being curious about Goryeo's traditional army and war methods, especially in the context of fighting against the Khitans. We found several secondary sources explaining prominent war tactics for Goryeo, as well as the reasoning behind King Sunjong's radical turn to "Haljiron" after the "Bongsan" battle.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Changes In Era Name for Goryeo"

Goryeosa, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

The above series of *Goryeosa* text captures Goryeo's changing reference of its era name throughout the 10th and 11th century. We were able to make informed inferences about the perplexing diplomatic relationship between Goryeo, Song, and Khitan based on the time period to which these changes in Goryeo's choice of era name occurred. The first text indicates that the official cooperating relationship between Goryeo and Song started in the year 963, leading to Khitan's apprehension about its standing in the Eastern Asian political sphere. Then, the second text allowed us to infer the outcome of the confrontation between Seohui and Xiao Sunning. The text indicates that Goryeo - Khitan relationship was initiated in the year 994 - the same year to which the territorial diplomacy of Seohui occurred. We inferred Goryeo's switch from its cooperation with Song to Khitan was one of the outcome of the confrontation. Then, the third text suggests to us that the convoluted relationship between Goryeo, Song, and Khitan continued even after the peace settlement of Seohui, as Goryeo once again decided to use Song's era name.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Gift From The Khitans." *Goryeosa*,

Dong-A

University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

The above historical annal informs us that the Khitans sent camels and bundle of wool, around 70 years prior to the invasion. This led to our curiosity about the political and diplomatic motives behind such a decision, and thus we found numerous secondary sources. We were able to incorporate this factual occurrence in the historical context of the rising conflict between Goryeo and Khitan. Khitan's gifts, along with King Taejo's outright denial turned out to be crucial in setting the political context of our performance.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Goryeo's King Has Officially Requested the Song Dynasty to Help Fight Back Against the Khitans" *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

The above recording states that Goryeo asked the Song Dynasty for reinforcement after the confrontation between Seohui and Xiao Sunning. This led to our curiosity on King Seongjong's motive behind such eccentric order and we found several secondary sources analyzing such decision. Even after the agreement with Khitan, Goryeo wanted to leave room for favorable relationship with the Song Dynasty, which eventually led to the complication of the relationship between Goryeo, Song, and Khitan.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Goryeo Sent Military Officers To Each Province To Repel the Khitan Invasion" *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

This chapter proves that Goryeo, having received the report about the Khitan military from some Jurchens, initially tried to repel the Khitans by sending their military troops as soon as in August, 993, to each province as well. This command from Seongjong and Goryeo's Royal Court depicts the very initial response of Goryeo to the Khitan invasion prior to Seohui's conference with General Xiao.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Goryeo Severed The Relationship With The Khitans." *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

This Chapter specifically tells us how long-lasting Goryeo's hostility toward Goryeo has been. With Taejo Wang Geon's command in October of 942 C.E., Goryeo eventually decided to discontinue their relationship between the Khitans. This portion of *Goryeosa* portrays the anecdote of Taejo and the Khitan camels that were sent as a gift.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Khitan Emperor's Request To Goryeo After Xiao Sunning's Confrontation with Seohui" *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

The above recording offers a detailed request for Goryeo after consulting Xiao Sunning's consultation with the Khitan emperor about the agreements reached from the confrontation between Seohui and Xiao Sunning himself. The emperor of Khitan was

worried that the cooperating relationship between Khitan and Goryeo won't be able to last a long time if the passage between the two is blocked by another dynasty. Thus, the emperor authorized King Seongjong to drive out the Jurchens and requested that Goryeo build a castle of their own, honoring the relationship.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Khitan General, Xiao Sunning Approaches Gaeseong (Capital of Goryeo) With His Army" *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

This recording informs us that the Khitan General So-Seon-Nyeong has once again invaded Goryeo about 30 years after his territorial compromise with Seohee. Based on this statement and other secondary sources, we were able to make an informed inference that the conflict between Goryeo and Khitan continued after Seohee's territorial diplomacy.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Khitans' Initial Invasion." *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

The above recording states that Abogi, a prominent Khitan general, has invaded Goryeo's vital ally -Balhae, exacerbating the relationship between Khitan and Goryeo.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "King Seongjong Has Sent Seohui to Confront Xiao Sunning of Khitans." *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

The above recording asserts that after several defeats by the Goryeo army, King Seongjong has sent Seohee to negotiate for a peaceful settlement with the Khitans. This statement got us wondering about whether there were conflicting opinions regarding King Seongjong's decision. We found several sources indicating that King Seongjong's highly esteemed cabinet members were mainly divided into three factions: "Tuhangron" (argument for surrendering to the Khitans to prevent the further military losses), "Haljiron" (argument for giving the Khitans the land north to Seokyeong as a tribute in return of their retreat), and "Hwachinron" (argument for negotiating with the Khitans and building diplomatic relations with them).

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "The Jurchens Reported Goryeo About the Khitan Military Movement." *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

This chapter once again suggests that this Goryeo-Khitan conflict was a complicated political matter for various nations, including the Jurchens. Report about the Khitan military movement from some Jurchens in August of 993 allowed us to infer that some Jurchens also attempted to preserve their own habitat near Yalu River (for Khitans

invaded their territory as well) by making this contribution to Goryeo's defense against Khitans.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Seohui Secured Six Cities of Kang Dong From A Peace Treaty with General Xiao Sunning of Khitan." *Goryeosa*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

This chapter's name is "Seohui Secured Six Cities of Gangdong From a Peace Treaty with General Xiao Sunning." From the very first military invasion of Khitans to scenes of Seohui's territorial diplomacy, this chapter of *Goryeosa* offers a detailed outline of Goryeo's history from 993 to 994 - a crucial time period. While there are specific names for the nobles who voiced a peace treaty with the Khitans are recorded in this chapter, there are none for the other arguments, which once again confirms the dominance of Seohui's argument in Goryeo's royal court. Also, specifically outlining the dialogue between Seohui and Xiao Sunning, this chapter provides us with the insight to understand the process of the peace treaty in detail.

Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, translator. "Seohui's Life" *Goryeosajeolyo*, Dong-A University Seokdang Academy, 2012. Korean History Database, db.history.go.kr/.

The above chapter, named 'Seohui's life', includes a variety of facts about Seohui's background. It also provides some of Seohui's most famous quotes in his confrontation

with the Khitan warrior, Xiao Sunning. Xiao Sunning has requested Seohui to make a gesture of bowing, as servant would do for a king. In his denial, Seohui stated, “Bowling is a gesture of respect and loyalty for servants to a king. You and I are diplomats from different countries. How can I possibly bow to you.” However, Xiao Sunning didn’t back down on his request, leading Seohui to stubbornly lie on a bed for a long time.

This chapter in the *Goeyeosageolyeo* helped us in two main ways. First, by providing detailed series of Seohui’s actions, as well as quotes, it helped us to better understand his character. Value of history requires that recordings mainly comprises of significant events. However, these specific quotes and actions of a historical figure recorded in the *Goryeosageolyo* are what played a crucial role in characterizing our team’s Seohui actor on stage. Second, we were able to enrich our script’s historical validity by incorporating Seohui’s quotes provided in the *Goryeosajeolyo*.

“Food Culture in the Goryeo Period .” *Seonhwa Bongsa Goryeo Dokyeong* , North Korean Human Geography , www.cybernk.net/infoText/InfoFolkDetail.aspx?mc=FF .

In the beginning of our performance, King Taejo is having a conversation with his royal servants, with his meal prepared in front of him. This historical document of *Seonhwa Bongsa Goryeo Dokyeong* - written by a traveller from the Song dynasty - allowed us to understand what kind of food, especially in the royal palace, was the most common. Also, based on the descriptions mentioned in the record and excavated artifacts in the National

Museum of Korea, we tried to mimic the culinary utensils utilized in the Goryeo period. The bent metal spoon is an ideal example.

“Goryeo Period Clothing Culture.” *Yeobokji Seosa* , Korea Creative Contents Agency ,

[http://www.culturecontent.com/content/contentView.do?search_div=CP_THE&search_div_id=CP_THE005&cp_code=cp0204&index_id=cp02040001&content_id=cp02040001001&search_left_menu=.](http://www.culturecontent.com/content/contentView.do?search_div=CP_THE&search_div_id=CP_THE005&cp_code=cp0204&index_id=cp02040001&content_id=cp02040001001&search_left_menu=)

Due to a limited number of remaining artifacts and recordings on the Goryeo period’s clothing culture, deciding on how to customize our stage costumes was a profound challenge. Fortunately, there was a chapter in the *Goryeosa - Yeoboki Seosa* - that allowed us to understand the changes in clothing requirements for all stages of the traditional hierarchy: from the royal family to the peasants. We were able to find out that the royal officials’ clothes in early Goryeo were initially influenced by the Silla dynasty (one of the dynasties that lasted in the Korean peninsula until Goryeo gained a complete control over the region) and Song dynasty of China until the reign of the fourth king, Gwangjong. Then from the period 961 CE to 1125 CE, in which our narrative takes place, Goryeo established its own dress code for the officials amidst various influences from North Song dynasty and Liao dynasty from China. For the purposes of our performance, we focused on the clothes of the king and his royal servants. Kings from the Goryeo period wore *Wangbok* - a red-colored dress with a traditional symbol of king in

the middle. The royal servants wore what is called *Gongbok*, which was not differentiated among hierarchies within the royal servants (first class to ninth class).

Kang , Chang Gu. “Establishment and Transformation of the Bureaucratic System in the Goryeo Period.” *Establishment and Transformation of the Bureaucratic System in the Goryeo Period*, 10 Oct. 2001. *Korean Studies Information System* ,
kiss.kstudy.com/thesis/thesis-view.asp?key=1833432.

This source allows us to understand the bureaucratic system in the Goryeo Period: how it changed throughout the different dynasties and how it influenced the bureaucrats. Two unnamed ministers and Minister Seohui appear in our performance, and through this thesis paper, we were able to understand the systematic relationships between the ministers and how their levels and spheres of influence impacted their way of communicating with the king. For instance, the bureaucratic system in the Goryeo period is divided into nine different levels, and their magnitude of influence is determined by how high up they are in the *9-ju*.

Kim, Chanho. “Interview with Ms. Lee Jung Hwa at the Seo Hui History Museum.” 20 Feb. 2018.

One of our team members visited the Seo Hui History Museum located in Icheon, where he conducted an interview with Ms. Lee Jung Hwa. We were able to incorporate many

aspects of her historical insight from her studies into our play. First, we were able to learn a little more about the historical context of the argumentation between those who argued for surrendering completely and those who supported giving land north of Seokyung. Ms. Lee told us that during the early Goryeo period, regional aristocrats had many powers and arranged themselves into regional-oriented groups. The dispute between the two sides was not only tactical but also political, since those who were supportive of giving land north of Seokyung were from the South-East near Gyeongju, whereas those who were for completely surrendering were from Seokyung group, so that they would not be the only ones suffering losses in the process.

Second, we were able to hear briefly about the latest scholarly discussions on the topic of Seo Hui. Scholars recently agreed that the previously identified place of Seo Hui's negotiations with Xiao Sunning, Anyungjin, was not in fact the actual location where the process took place. We learnt that Bongsan, the first battlefield was a far likelier candidate since Xiao Sunning would have had to withdraw after his defeat at Anyungjin. Because these discussions were not officially published yet, the interview was critical in setting the location of the negotiations. Moreover, though a minor fact, Ms. Lee pointed to us that the currently preferred term is not the more traditional "6 cities East of the River" but "8 castles East of the River," since 8 castles were built in the region.

Finally, when asked about what implications Seo Hui's diplomacy could have in the modern day, Ms. Lee specifically pointed to the Northeast Asia Project of the Chinese Academy of Social Studies, where China has attempted to (and still is attempting to) incorporate Goguryeo's history into theirs, an issue that has sparked controversy. We

were inspired by her suggestion to add in the conclusion of the performance a remark about why Seo Hui still plays an important role now.

Kim, Seyeon, et al. "Eight Hundred Thousand Khitan Soldiers Invaded Goryeo ." *The Day, History Journal*, season 1, episode 125, KBS1, 29 Jan. 2017.

This episode of the TV show "The Day, History Journal," interpreted the part of the Goryeo history involving Seohui and the Khitans in the form that is easily digestible for the viewers. The Show hosts of this episode narrate the first Goryeo-Khitan War from Goryeo's defeat to the Khitans at the Battle of Bongsan County. Then, from their conversations, we can understand how Seohui served as a pioneer of pragmatic diplomacy during the conflict and thus, was revered as the hero for the Goryeo people. Moreover, taking a humorous approach toward this case, this episode presents many details of Seohui's diplomacy. For instance, we were able to understand that Seohui won at the battle of nerves with his gestures prior to the actual dialogue with General Xiao Sunning, which helped us portray Seohui in our play. Also, we learned that Seohui was able to not only secure the borders of Goryeo, but also earn the new six cities of Kang Dong from the Khitans because of his experience as an ambassador to Song China, which helped him have a grasp of the political sphere of Northeastern Asia. Further, the show hosts takes a further step in connecting this historical event to modern China's Northeast Asia Project, also known as Northeast Project of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. By suggesting Seohui's remark to General Xiao that maintains GorJurchens as

the direct descendant of Goguryeo and the corresponding acknowledgement of General Xiao and the yield of the territory of Kang Dong six cities in this historical event, the show hosts argued that Seohui's pragmatic diplomacy is indeed the definite proof against the distortion of Korean history of Goguryeo in China's Northeast Asia Project. In conclusion, this source not only presented this event in a humorous way, but also left an edge for the viewers to reflect upon the event by connecting it to current affairs.

Kim, Sun Ja. "Goryeo-Song-Khitan Territorial Order and Goryeo's International Politics."

Goryeo-Song-Khitan Territorial Order and Goryeo's International Politics, 13 June 2011, pp. 10–15. *Hanshin University*, doi:10.18411/a-2017-023.

Professor Kim from Hanshin University provides three main themes in her journal, "Goryeo-Song-Khitan Territorial Order and Goryeo's International Politics": Eastern Asian political atmosphere in the 10th century, relationship between Goryeo, Song, Khitan, and Goryeo's relationship with those in Chinese mainland after Khitan invasion. Our group was able to derive series of detailed descriptions from Professor Kim's journal, but its third part helped us out the most. When looking into a historical occasion, it's important to research about its impact and how it altered the succeeding events.

Professor Kim starts off the third chapter by explaining Goryeo's apparent vulnerability to a sudden invasion due to its relatively long history of peace. Before the Khitan invasion, Goryeo has not anticipated an invasion for more than 75 years. Thus, when the Khitan invasion occurred, Goryeo was not prepared to engage in war. This is the

reasoning Professor Kim provided for the rapid emergence of “Halgi” faction that advocated for immediate surrendering by renouncing a piece of Goryeo land to the Khitan. King Sunjong eventually allowed Seohui to engage in territorial negotiations with the Khitan general, Xiao Sunning. Then, Professor Kim clearly outlines the two agreement reached by Seohui and Xiao Sunning: 1) Goryeo must abolish its tribute relationship with the Song Dynasty and start one with Khitan 2) Goryeo is allowed to drive away the Jurchens using force and claim ownership of their area. Professor Kim explains that Goryeo-Khitan tribute relationship has lasted until the fall of Khitans in 1110, a clear indication that Seohui’s diplomacy strategy against Xiao Sunning has been largely successful and contributed in shaping the peaceful atmosphere for Goryeo throughout 10th century.

Professor Kim’s journal helped us to identify the lasting effects of Seohui’s confrontation with Xiao Sunning, as well as how it contributed in shaping the geopolitical atmosphere in 11th century Eastern Asia.

Kim, Woo Taek. “The Khitan Invasion of Goryeo.” *Korean History Contents*, National History Compilation Committee, contents.koreanhistory.or.kr/id/E0042.

The Korean History Contents’ article offers us a simple, but intense summary of the long enduring conflict between Khitan tribe and GorJurchens divided in three phases. In this article of Kim, we can understand the political circumstances involving Goryeo, Song dynasty, the Jurchens, and the Khitans not only in the late tenth century when the Khitans

physically conflicted with Goryeo, but also in the early tenth century when Goryeo was a newborn dynasty.

This article exemplifies the beginning of the Goryeo-Khitans conflict by providing an anecdote of Taejo(Emperor) Wang Geon and the camels that the Khitan tribe sent as a gift seeking a friendly relationship. Back then, Taejo was embracing the Balhae refugees and harbored an extreme anti-Khitans mindset. Accordingly, Taejo, when encountering the Khitan ambassadors and the camels, banished them to an island and even let the camels die out of starvation. Adding onto his strong refusal of the gift, Taejo even specifically noted down that the diplomatic relationship between the Khitans to be severed in the Hunyosipjo, the ten advice that he expected his successors to observe.

Provided with a glimpse of the anti-Khitans atmosphere of early Goryeo, we were able to have a grasp of how severe the relationship between Goryeo and Khitans was then.

The first Goryeo-Khitans War indeed resulted from Goryeo's anti-Khitans policy.. The Northeastern Asian political context provided for us in this article is the following: In the late tenth century, the Song dynasty, as an overwhelming force over the Chinese territory, lost to the Khitans. The Khitans began to further expand their dominion by conquering the neighboring Jurchens of the Yalu River. Song, with their friendly relationship with the Jurchens, tried to pursue a containment policy against the Khitans by involving Goryeo, which was also endeavoring to take control over the regions near the Yalu River. These complicated political circumstances including the four nations specifically provide a substantial explanation for the Khitan invasion of Goryeo.

Korea Creative Content Agency. "Residency of Goryeo: Upper Class." *Residency of Goryeo*, Korea Creative Content Agency, www.culturecontent.com/content/contentView.do?content_id=cp080100080001&print=Y.

This source lets us have a grasp of how Goryeo's upper class organized their houses. According to this article, Goryeo's residential environment was formed based on the pervasive Buddhist conception. In Goryeo, women and men were not demanded to segregate their living areas within a house, and thus, both the sexes lived in the shared central area. Additionally, since there yet wasn't a developed insulation system, Goryeo upper people floored their house to avoid too much moisture. Then they laid out a mat weaved with grasses. In the royal court and highly esteemed aristocrat households, people also laid out a luxurious wool carpet named "mojeon" and used cushions called "podan." These details allowed us to incorporate more historically accurate details into our play while depicting the debate among the ministers in the royal court.

Lee, Kyung Ja. *Our Clothing's Traditions*. Ewha Womans University Publication.

In the book, "Our Clothing's Traditions," the author Lee provides a general outline, as well as detailed descriptions of how Korea's traditional clothing trends have changed over the years. We were able to gain insight on the traditional clothing of Goryeo's kings

and royal scholars. Based on what we've learned, we sought to find the most historically suitable costumes for our actors.

National Institute of Korean History . *Map of Goryeo's Trade Routes*. Goryeo , 12
May 2006.

This is a map created by the National Institute of Korean History, indicating Goryeo's outer trade routes. This photograph allowed us to better understand Goryeo's economic relations with the Song Dynasty and Khitan. Also, we were able to utilize this map in our performance to enhance the clarity of the territorial conflict between Goryeo and Khitan.

Park , Hannam. "Goryeo's Political Sphere: Seohui's Diplomatic Excellency." *Goryeo's Political Sphere: Seohui's Diplomatic Excellency*, 10 Mar. 2012, pp. 1–61. *National Institute for Korean History*, doi:10.18411/a-2017-023.

In his journal, "Goryeo's Political Sphere: Seohui's Diplomatic Excellency," Professor Park (researcher at the National Institute for Korean History) not only offers details on Seohui's intense confrontation with the Khitan general Xiao Sunning, but also provides a comprehensive, yet thorough overview and analysis of the political atmosphere in the Chinese mainland from the tenth to the fourteenth century and how Goryeo reacted to its Chinese counterparts. Also, the author delves into the significance of Seohui's territorial diplomacy and the impact that his confrontation had on the geopolitical atmosphere of

11th century Goryeo. Because of the clear analysis, we were able to contextualize our performance mainly based on the relationship between three prominent dynasties at the time: Goryeo, Song Dynasty, and Khitan.

Throughout the 10th century, Goryeo has been seeking to gain political stability by promoting royal cultural exchange with the Chinese Mainland, leading King Taejo to promote political, economic, and agricultural exchange with the Song Dynasty. To the west, to prevent itself from being politically isolated, Khitan sent royal servants to Goryeo, seeking to promote a favorable relationship. However, the relationship was crushed once the Khitans destroyed Balhae - Goryeo's close ally. Ever since, conflict between Khitan and Goryeo exacerbated and tension reached its pinnacle when King Taejo harshly treated the 50 camels sent by the Khitans as a gesture of peace.

Along with an analysis on the cross-cutting relationship between Goryeo, Song Dynasty and Khitan, Professor Park provides a detailed description of the dichotomy of the royal scholars' opinions: "Tuhang" and "Halji." "Tuhang" scholars advocated complete surrender to the 800,000-men army of Khitan, whereas "Halji" followers argued to give a portion of Goryeo's land to Khitan in exchange of their troops' withdrawal from the Korean peninsula. King Seongjong supported "Halji" scholars and ordered citizens living in the region that was to be tributed to the Khitans to throw away all the remaining crops to prevent them being used for the Khitan army. Against the public sentiment, Seohui insisted that "Halji" logic would only bring temporary peace, and lead to further invasions. What Seohui provided as an alternative solution was his diplomatic compromise with the Khitans.

Then, Professor Park delves into the details of the confrontation between Seohui and Xiao Sunning. Professor Park divides the confrontation into three main stages. First stage was the pre-confrontation matters. Xiao Sunning argued that Seohui must bow (bowing is a sign of respect and obedience) as Khitan is a massive country with overwhelming military power. Seohui refuted such demand by stating that the confrontation is between two equally standing sovereignties. Xiao Sunning didn't entertain Seohui argument, and Seohui stayed inside his palace for days and postponed the confrontation. Xiao Sunning eventually drew back his request, which is viewed as Seohui's first confrontational victory. The Second phase involved explaining the rationale behind the demands to one another. Xiao Sunning asserted that Khitan has arisen from the Silla Dynasty and Goguryeo (dynasties in the Korean Peninsula before Goryeo) and thus must gain control of Goryeo's land. Furthermore, the Khitans were outraged about Goryeo's favorable relationship with the Song Dynasty. In response to this, Seohui stated that Goryeo had been named Goryeo to encapture the sense of continuity from Goguryeo and thus have full control of the land of the Korean Peninsula. As with the relationship with the Song Dynasty, Seohui reasoned that the Jurchens remains a barrier when it comes to promoting a relationship with Khitans and thus had no choice but to build a strong relationship with the Song Dynasty. In the third phase, Seohui and Xiao Sunning reached an agreement of terms: Khitan and Goryeo initiated a cooperating relationship, Goryeo extended its land property to the Yalu River, Khitan officially recognized Goryeo as the successor state of Goguryeo, Goryeo received 10 camels, 10 horses, 1000 lambs and 500 bundles of wool

as a gift. Professor Park analyzes that such conclusions from the confrontation led to an increased political standing of Goryeo in the 11th century Eastern Asian region.

This understanding of the complex geopolitical relationship between Goryeo, Song Dynasty, and Khitan was crucial in comprehending the value of Seohui's successful territorial diplomacy and incorporating that in our performance. Furthermore, Professor Park's systematic analysis of the confrontation between Seohui and Xiao Sunning allowed to us to better understand the dialogue and tension that went between the two diplomats, as well as their line of argumentation behind their proposals.

Park, Hyun Mo. "How Could So Hui Bring the War with the Khitan to an End?:A Study of His Negotiation Leadership at the Anyungjin Talks in 993." *Insight.dbpia.co.kr*, Academy of Korean Studies, 30 Mar. 2009, insight.dbpia.co.kr/article/related.do?nodeId=NODE01221020.

Park, a researcher at the National History Compilation Committee, not only offers us a thorough, step-by-step analysis of the negotiation skills that Seohui applied in his Anyungjin (the name of the place where Seohui established the Goryeo-Khitan peace treaty) Talks between General Xiao Sunning. Because of clear depictions of the demeanors of Seohui for difference phases of his negotiation progress, we were able to characterize Seohui as a proficient negotiator while showing multiple facets of his personality behind his gestures and rhetorics. Along with his analysis, Park provides us with detailed reasonings and strategies behind major decisions that were made during the

first Goryeo-Khitan conflict. For instance, when Seongjong initially retreated from General Xiao's attacks, he made an extreme decision of abandoning a huge amount of rice grains to Taedong River. The misconception derived from this story is that Seongjong was an irresolute leader. However, the truth that Park uncovers is that Seongjong came to such conclusion due to the Khitan custom of local procurement of food supply. In other words, this paper tells us that Seongjong's decision may seem too radical, but actually was a fairly appropriate strategy to weaken the Khitan military force. Moreover, this paper provides us with the context of the Goryeo Royal Court that places emphasis of a high degree upon the custom of deriving a conclusion through intense rounds of debate among the lords. This helped us to create the scene of the debate between the lords and also to characterize the them based on this tradition.

“Seo Hui Historical Museum Video.” Seo Hui Historical Museum, Icheon.

This was a video that was played at the museum, filmed with permission of the museum director. The video explained in greater detail about how the Khitans and the Song Dynasty had already fought previously and how Goryeo had decided to purposefully refrain from taking a clear side. Moreover, we were able to add in small details such as gestures like bowing. We learnt that the video productions were done by experts who had incorporated as many details from the era so that we could make use of many elements in them

Shin, An Sik. “Yi Mongjeon(李蒙戡).” *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, The Academy of Korean Studies, 2012, encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/SearchNavi?keyword=%EC%9D%B4%EB%AA%BD%EC%A0%84&ridx=0&tot=1.

Shin in this article provides us a brief biography of a noble named Yi Mongjeon during Seongjong’s reign. The information provided about Yi Mongjeon here in this article provides us with an opportunity to understand Goryeo’s first encounter of the Khitan warrior Xiao Sunning, because Yi Mongjeon was Goryeo’s first ambassador to General Xiao. More specifically, Yi Mongjeon conveyed General Xiao’s message of asking for the submission of Seongjong to the Goryeo Royal Court. After serving as one of the major ambassadors of Goryeo, Yi Mongjeon adhered to Seohui’s argument for entente cordiale against the other nobles’ arguments for mere surrender and for giving the Khitans a part of the Goryeo territory as a tribute. Such support for Seohui by a prestigious and powerful noble like Yi Mongjeon helps us recognize that Seohui’s argument was dominant in the Royal Court and provides the context that enabled the peace treaty to be completed.

Shin, Wansun. “About The Khitan Classics.” *The Korean History Times*, The Korean History Times, 22 Mar. 2016, www.koreahiti.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=274.

The Khitan Classics offers us an insight about the Khitans' history that we were not able to gain from reviewing the historical annals from Korea. The historical roots of the Khitans explained by the Khitan Classic provides us that Xiao Sunning's line of reasoning in the compromise with Seohui was indeed not wholly ungrounded. The plot of the Khitan fable for the birth of the Khitan leader Abaoji parallels with that of Goguryeo for its founder Jumong. The word "Khitan" is a combination of the word "契," which means big, and the other "丹," which means egg, which in this context symbolizes the sun. This compound word can be interpreted as "The Great Sun God (大光明)" in Chinese. Shin, based on the historical knowledge that Jumong's fable that narrates the birth of Jumong from an egg and legitimizes Jumong as the descendant of the sun, tells us that the Khitans also inherited the sun-reverring culture of Goguryeo along with Balhae, which was another country that represented itself as the rightful successor of Goguryeo along with Goryeo.

Another evidence from the Khitan Classics that proves that the Khitans' ethnic roots shares that of Goguryeo is its article 6:

“東大神族の傳統稱呼

因亦念之, 雖世降族斃, 瓜瓞猶可繹綿緒, 而格其原壤, 例如. 瑪玕 靺鞨 渤海 同聲相承, 珠申 肅慎 朱眞 同音相襲, 傳統自明也矣. 乃爰討探舊史, 作次第如左.”

This section of the Khitan Classics provides that the three tribes Magans (瑪玕), Mohe (靺鞨), and Balhae (渤海) that we considered to be disparate ethnicities are, in reality, of the one single ethnicity and that their names are made up of characters that are different in spelling, but same in the meaning. This contradicts the major argument that Goryeo

was the sole descendant of Goguryeo. This substantiates Xiao Sunning's argument that the Khitans can also be considered the successor of Goguryeo, and thus does have the right to claim the land in the Korean peninsula.

The overall purpose of the Khitan Classics is to provide us with the unbiased viewpoint about the Khitan Invasion of Goryeo. Indeed, we were able to understand that the Khitans also do share the historical and ethnic roots with Goryeo and Balhae, and thus, are legitimate to be included in the Korean history.

Yoon, Sung-woon. "History Politics of Yoo Sung-Woon: How Seo Hui Defeated the Khitan Army with His Rhetorics." *Korea JoongAng Daily*, JoongAng Ilbo, 1 Oct. 2017, news.joins.com/article/21988657.

Yoon, aside from the quotes of Seohui, Xiao Sunning, and modern scholars of Korean Studies, provides us with the insight to see the historical event from a different point of view. While presenting how pragmatic diplomacy of Goryeo protected the Korean peninsula from the threat of collapse from the Chinese powers, Yoon suggests how Goryeo maintained a balance of morals and benefits when they performed their strategies for diplomacy. More specifically, Yoon lets us be correctly informed about Goryeo's relationship between Later Balhae, also known as Jungan: We were able to understand the reason that Taejo Wang Geon of Goryeo addressed Later Balhae as a subordinate ally. One interesting fact presented in this article is that Goryeo was never a military ally of Later Balhae even when the Khitans conquered Balhae. In fact, both Later Balhae and

Goryeo claimed themselves as the direct descendants of Goguryeo. From this article, we were able to understand that Goryeo did not help Later Balhae, because without Balhae, Goryeo would be the sole descendant of Goguryeo, which meant establishing a stronger legitimacy for Goryeo's occupation of former Goguryeo lands. Another question that arises is then why Taejo was hostile to Khitans for destroying Later Balhae. This article provides an explanation for that as well. Because the Khitan tribe defeated the Jurchens around Yalu River, which was what Goryeo attempted to take control, Goryeo also decided to pursue anti-Khitan policy, leaving an edge to reclaim Yalu River territory later on.