

# THE EASTERN END OF THE GREAT WALL AND THE LOCATION OF LELANG COMMANDERY

Lee, Dukil 이 덕 일

Soonchunhyang University

*Translated by Hyojoung Kim*

*Since the Warring States Period (403–221 BCE), various Chinese dynasties built great walls to mark their territories and defend against northern equestrian tribes. Notably, the Yan and Qin Great Walls were constructed to prevent these tribes from advancing southward, a purpose that continued with the Han Great Wall. Historically, the easternmost point of the Great Wall was Shanhai Pass, constructed during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). However, a revisionist narrative, first introduced by Japanese colonial historian Inaba Iwakichi in 1910, falsely claimed that the Qin Great Wall extended into the Korean Peninsula near Pyeongyang. This theory, later adopted by Chinese historian Wang Guo Liang in 1931, has been widely propagated, even influencing South Korean historians like Lee Byung-do, who supported this imperialist interpretation. The author carefully examines various historical sources from both China and Korea and reveals the historical falsehood of these revisionist claims. It is concluded that contrary to these revisionist claims, the eastern terminus of the Qin and Han Great Walls never extended beyond Mount Jieshi in Hebei Province, which marked the border with ancient Korea.*

## I. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Since the Warring States period (403–221 BCE), successive dynasties of China in the Central Plains have constructed the Great

Wall for various purposes. Among them, the Yan [燕 연] and Qin [秦 진] Great Walls were built primarily to block the southward advance of northern horse-riding nomadic tribes, and this purpose was carried forward with the Han Great Wall. After

---

<sup>1</sup> Original Paper: © 2024, *The Journal of Korean History & Convergence* [역사와 융합]. Originally published in the *Journal of Korean History & Convergence*, No. 19 (2024), 145–190. Translation:

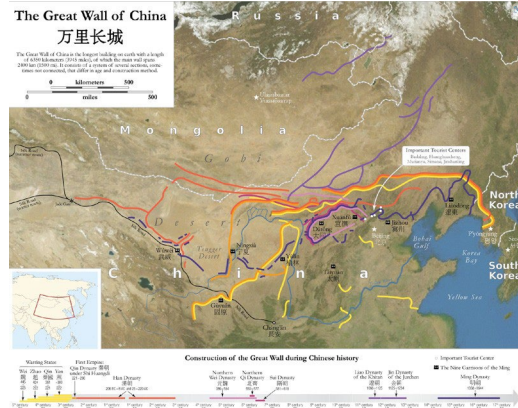
© 2024, Center for Korean American and Korean Studies, California State University, Los Angeles. Translated and reprinted with permission from *The Journal of Korean History & Convergence*.

# THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

**Figure 1.** The Qin Dynasty Map Displayed at the Chinese National Museum Shows the Great Wall Extending to Pyeongyang



**Figure 2.** Wikipedia Map of The Great Wall



Emperor Qin Shi Huang of Qin connected the walls of various dynasties, it became known as the Great Wall. It served as a structure that marked the territorial boundaries of Chinese dynasties and signified that the area inside belonged to the Chinese dynasties in the Central Plains, while the area outside to the northern nomadic tribes.

The question of where the eastern end of the Great Wall lies is closely linked to the issue of determining the border between the unified dynasties of Qin and Han in China and Gojoseon (also known as Old Joseon). Historically, the easternmost point of the Great Wall was the Shanhai Pass (or Sanhaigwan in Korean, 山海關 山海關) <sup>2</sup>, built during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The Qing dynasty (1636–1912), which replaced the Ming and was established by the Manchus (or Jurchens),

did not continue building the Wall. It was common knowledge that the Shanhai Pass section of the Ming Great Wall marked the easternmost end of the Great Wall.

However, the Chinese National Museum in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, currently depicts the eastern end of the Great Wall extending to Pyeongyang in North Korea during the Qin and Han periods (Figure 1). This depiction is mirrored in official maps, such as *The Historical Atlas of China* (Tan, 1982). It is also reflected in the current map of the Great Wall in the *Wikipedia Encyclopedia* (Figure 2). These sources imply that the Great Wall extended well into North Korea during the Qin dynasty, over 1,500 years before the Ming era. Some maps even portray that the Great Wall of Yan, one of the weakest states during the Warring States period, extended into North Korea.

<sup>2</sup> [Translator's Note] The Shanhai Pass was a walled border gate castle used to control the movements of people and goods in and out. See an

image of Shanhai Pass next. It has been noted as "The First Gate of Heaven."

All of these are mere historical interpretations created by later generations.

The argument that the Great Wall extended into North Korea was not originally invented by the Chinese but by Japanese imperialist historians. While the Chinese Communist Party defines the Sino-Japanese War (1931–1945) as the War of Resistance Against Japanese Imperialism and uses it as one of the most important rationales for its legitimacy, they paradoxically follow this particular Japanese imperialist historiography and claim that the eastern end of the Great Wall reached North Korea. In a similar vein, the mainstream historians of South Korea in control of the discipline of history, as often criticized, adhere to Japanese imperialist historical views even after its liberation from Japanese occupation.<sup>3</sup> It is well evidenced by the fact that the article “A Study of Lelang Commandery 「낙랑군고樂浪郡考」” by Yi Byungdo (1985), who is often regarded as the ‘founding father’ (?) of Korean historiography, was merely a plagiarism of Inaba Iwakichi (1910)’s

work which linked the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall into the northern Korea.

According to *Taikang Dilizhi, Taikang Geography*,<sup>4</sup> compiled during the Western Jin dynasty, the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall was located in Suicheng County [수성현 遂城縣], Lelang Commandery [Nangnang-gun in Korean, 낙랑군 樂浪郡], thus tying the Great Wall’s eastern terminus to the Lelang Commandery of Han Dynasty’s Four Commanderies.

However, the *Northeast Asia History Atlas* [동북아역사지도]—created by about 80 South Korean historians from 2008 to 2015 with the governmental funding support of 4.7 billion Korean won—locates all of the Han Commanderies in northern Korea. It also identifies Suicheng County, Lelang Commandery—the eastern end of the Great Wall—as Suan [수안 遂安] in Hwanghae Province [황해도 黃海道] using Yi Byungdo (1985)’s “A Study of Lelang Commandery.”<sup>5</sup> The *Atlas* aligns with the Japanese imperialist historiography, which claims that the Great Wall extended into

<sup>3</sup> For more information on how Korean academia has followed Japanese colonialist perspectives even after liberation, refer to Kim Myungok, et. al. (2017) and Lee Dukil (2015). These works criticize how Korean academic institutions of history, dominated by colonialist views, continued to uphold Japanese imperialist perspectives even after Japan’s defeat on August 15, 1945, while suppressing alternative viewpoints.

<sup>4</sup> “The *Taikang Dilizhi, Taikang Geography* states: ‘At the Suicheng county of Lelang Commandery, there is Mt. Jieshi where the Great Wall begins.’ [太康地理志云, “樂浪遂城縣有碣石山, 長城所起”] (From *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian*, Annals of the Xia Dynasty, annotation 「史記」 「夏本紀」 註釋).

<sup>5</sup> The Northeast Asian History Foundation’s map team submitted to the Republic of Korea’s National

Assembly Special Committee on the Distortion of Northeast Asian History the following source information regarding the Suseong-hyun [Suicheng County in Chinese], Nangnang-gun [Lelang Commandery in Korean] section:

Subject	Nangnang-gun, Suseong-hyeon
Country	Han Dynasty
Period	B.C. 108 – 313 AD
Location	Suan-gun, Hwanghae Province
Scholar	Lee Byung-do
Reference	1976, <i>Research on Ancient Korean History</i> , Pakyoung-sa, p.148
Source	

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

Suan and is nearly identical to the claims of China's Northeast Project.

Both Chinese and South Korean academic circles currently follow Japanese imperialist historiography, claiming that the eastern end of the Great Wall lies in the northwest region of the Korean peninsula.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, North Korean scholar Ri Jirin's *Research on Gojoseon*, originally published in 1962, identifies the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall at Mount Jieshi [Galseok in Korean, 갈석산 碣石山] in Hebei Province [하북성 河北省] (Lee Dukil 2018a: 164–166), a view that has been widely accepted among North Korean scholars ever since. Ri initially made this argument in his 1961 doctoral dissertation at Peking University under the guidance of Gu Jiegang [고힐강 顧詒剛]. However, the very existence of his work has been completely ignored not only in Chinese and Japanese academia but also in South Korea.

This article examines ancient Chinese primary sources to investigate the true loci of the eastern end of the Great Wall and Lelang Commandery. In the paper, I critically evaluate how closely the above-mentioned three prevailing views align with those ancient Chinese records and challenge the historical validity of the still-prevalent “Great Wall at Northern Korea” argument, which was crafted by Japanese imperialism to justify its occupation of Korea. In the process, I hope to re-establish the fundamental essence of studying

history that goes beyond political agendas.

## II. THREE THEORIES ON THE EASTERN END OF THE GREAT WALL

Currently, there are three main theories regarding the eastern end of the Qin and Han Great Wall. The first is the “Northern Korean Peninsula Theory” [한반도북부설 韓半島北部說], which claims that the Qin and Han Great Wall extended to Pyeongyang in present-day North Korea or Suan, in Hwanghae Province, just south of it. This theory was first proposed by Japanese imperialist historian Inaba Iwakichi in 1910 as part of an imperialist invasion theory, and it claimed that the Qin Great Wall reached Suan in present-day North Korea (Inaba 1910).<sup>7</sup>

In 1931, Chinese historian Wang Guoliang [왕국량 王國良] adopted the “Northern Korean Peninsula Theory” and further extended the location from Suan in Hwanghae Province to Pyeongyang, the current capital of North Korea (Wang 1931; Wang and Shou 1982). This theory became the official stance of the People's Republic of China, and the same view is reflected in the maps displayed at the National Museum in Beijing, and other museums

---

<sup>6</sup> They differ only in that Chinese scholars locate the easternmost point of the Great Wall at Pyeongyang, whereas Japanese and Korean scholars at Suan, Hwanghae-do Province.

<sup>7</sup> I have translated the whole paper in Korean with critiques. See Lee Dukil (2018b).



**Figure 3.** Great Wall Museum at Jiayuguan [가곡관 嘉峪關], Gansu Province [감숙성 甘肅省]



**Figure 4.** *Britannica*, The Great Wall



and Great Wall museums across various provinces (Figure 3).

The second theory presents that the eastern end of the Great Wall extended to the Yalu River [Amnok in Korean, 압록강 鴨綠江], the current border river between China and North Korea. Since this view places the eastern end of the Great Wall in what is now Liaodong [Yodong in Korean, 遼東 요동], we can call it the “Current Liaodong Theory” [현재요동설 現在遼東說]. This theory resulted from overlooking the fact that the location of Liaodong has shifted throughout history. British historian Julia Lovell also supports this theory by presenting a map that shows the Qin Great Wall extending to the Yalu River, the northern boundary of present-day North Korea in her book *The Great Wall: China Against the World* (Kim Byunghwa 2007, 70).<sup>8</sup> According to *Britannica Encyclopedia*, “[t]raditionally, the eastern terminus of the Wall was

considered to be the Shanhai Pass (Shanhaiguan) ... However, government-sponsored investigations in the 1990s revealed sections of the wall in Liaoning, and aerial and satellite surveillance eventually proved that this wall stretched continuously through much of the province” (see Figure 4 also). Incredibly, the basis for extending the eastern end of the Great Wall from Shanhai Pass to the Yalu River is “government-sponsored investigations” by the Chinese government.

The third theory views the eastern end of the Qin-Han Great Wall as being extended to the northern slopes of Mount Jieshi in the Yan Mountain range in contemporary Hebei Province. This view is supported by some South Korean historians and North Korean scholars; it is often referred to as the “Mount Jieshi Theory” [갈석산설 碣石山說] or the “Ancient Liaodong Theory” [고대요동설 古代遼東說].

<sup>8</sup> The original title of this book is *The Great Wall: China Against the World, BCE 1000–AD 2000* (New York: Grove Press, 2006); but it was

translated and published in Korean under the title *The Great Wall: Telling China's History* [장성, 중국사를 말하다] (Kim Byunghwa 2007.)

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

Which of these three theories best reflects the actual historical realities depends on the validity of the primary sources and their interpretations each theory provides.

### III. THE EASTERNMOST END OF THE GREAT WALL IN HISTORY: SHANHAI PASS, HEBEI PROVINCE

Before the Japanese occupation of Korea, the easternmost gate of the Great Wall being Shanhai Pass in Qinhuangdao, Hebei Province was not challenged by scholars. The extension of the Great Wall to Shanhai Pass was initiated by General Xu Da during the 14th year of the Hongwu [홍무 洪武] reign (1381) of the Ming dynasty when he rebuilt the Wall and established a gate fortress there. Located between the Yanshan [Yeonsan in Korean, 연산 燕山] Mountains and the Bohai Sea [Balhae in Korean, 발해 渤海], the fortress took its name from the “Shan” [산 山] of the Yanshan Mountains and the “Hai” [해 海] of the Bohai Sea, becoming known as Shanhai Pass [산해관 山海關]. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, Shanhai Pass was under the jurisdiction of Yongping Prefecture, which is in present-day Lulong County [노룡현 盧龍縣], Hebei Province. Lulong County is located at the place of ancient Xiangping County [양평현 襄平縣], which

governed the Liaodong Commandery [요동군 遼東郡].

Mount Jieshi, at the south of the Yanshan Mountains and the Luan River [Nanha in Korean, 난하 灤河], which was historically Liaoshui [Yosu in Korean, 요수 遼水] River, served as natural boundaries between the Central Plains agricultural dynasties and the northern nomadic tribes. The *Huainanzi*, *The Masters of Huainan*, states “Passing from the Jieshi Mount to Joseon, it is the land of great people.”<sup>9</sup> This record documents that beyond the Jieshi Mount, it was the territory of Joseon.

Shanhai Pass, constructed by Xu Da, was later further fortified during the Jiajing era (1522–1566) of the Ming dynasty by Ji Town Commander Qi Jiguang, who added Beiyicheng (“Northern Wing Fortress” [북익성 北翼城]) to the north and Wei Yuan Fortress [위원성 威遠城] to the east at Huanyiling to guard against the rising Manchus. Later, during the reign of Chongzhen (1628–1644), Minister of War Sun Chengzong reinforced the Southern Wing Fortress [남익성 南翼城] and the Ninghai Fortress [영해성 寧海城] on the southern coast of Shanhai Pass. This Ninghai Fortress was connected to the sea and known as Laolongtou [노룡두 老龍頭].

The strategic importance of the Shanhai Pass is described by the Ming dynasty as “the critical location most appropriate for safeguarding the capital from within and defending against foreign

<sup>9</sup> *Huainanzi* 『淮南子 회남자』, Time and Seasons 「時則訓 시즉훈」 section, “五位：東方之極，自碣石山

過朝鮮，貫大人之國”

invasions from without.”<sup>10</sup> Likewise, Sun Chengzong noted, “The safety of the entire world hangs on Shanhai Pass.”<sup>11</sup> Initially, Shanhai Pass was built to defend against the Yuan [원 元] and Goryeo [고려 高麗] during the early Ming dynasty, and later, against the Manchus. According to *Ming Shilu*, during the reign of Emperor Xianzong, there were 9.21 million households, and the population was 71.85 million.<sup>12</sup> Some sources suggest that the population had already exceeded 100 million and reached nearly 200 million by the end of the Ming dynasty (Ge 1991: 241-250; Cao 2000).

The *Historical Atlas of China* portrays the Yan Great Wall extending south to the Cheongcheon River [청천강 淸川江] in North Korea.<sup>13</sup> According to *Baidu Baike*, however, Yan’s population is estimated to be only around 1 million (). It is inconceivable that Yan, with only this population size, could have competed with Zhao [조 趙] and Qi [제 齊] in the south, and Qin [진 秦] in the southwest while simultaneously building and maintaining a Great Wall stretching from north of Beijing to the Cheongcheon River, a distance of over 1,000 kilometers. The Armistice Line between South and North Korea is approximately 240 kilometers long, from the Imjin River [임진강] to the East Sea. The combined military forces of South and

North Korea are estimated at 1.925 million (625,000 of South Korea and 1,300,000 of North Korea)<sup>14</sup>, of which approximately 1.5 million soldiers were estimated to be stationed along the Armistice Line. It is just a matter of common sense, not just historical understanding, that neither Yan nor Qin and Han dynasties could have built and defended a wall four times the length of the above-mentioned Armistice Line. The persistent circulation of such a view is only because the Japanese imperialist historiography continues to heavily influence East Asian historical academia, even to this day.

#### IV. ANCIENT CHINESE RECORDS ON THE EASTERN END OF THE GREAT WALL

##### THE YAN GREAT WALL IN *SHIJI* AND *SANGUO ZHI*

While the Great Wall is often attributed to the First Emperor of Qin (Qin Shi Huang), it was not initially built by the Qin dynasty. The Qin Great Wall was constructed by linking the walls built by the states of Qin, Yan, and Qi during the Warring States period to prevent the southern advance of northern nomadic tribes. Even during the

<sup>10</sup> *Ming Xizong Shilu, The Veritable Records of Emperor Xizong of the Ming* [明熹宗實錄 明熹宗實錄], Vol. 31, “內拱神京, 外捍夷虜, 最契緊處”

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 28. “關門系天下安危”

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 198. “是歲天下戶 九百二十一萬六千九百九十戶, 口七千一百八十五萬一千三百二十二口。”

<sup>13</sup> Tan (1982). See Volume 1 (Prehistoric, Xia, Shang, Western Zhou, Spring and Autumn, Warring States), pages 41–42.

<sup>14</sup> Republic of Korea Ministry of National Defense (2017).

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

Warring States period, the state of Qin had already constructed a wall. According to *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian*,<sup>15</sup> “[t]he state of Qin occupied Longxi, Beidi, and Shangjun, and built a wall to block the Hu [호 胡] people”<sup>16</sup>, during the reign of King Zhaoxiang of Qin (r. 306–251 BCE).<sup>17</sup> The state of Yan also built a wall, as noted both in the “Records of the Xiongnu section of *Shiji* and the *Wei Lue* [위략 魏略] cited in *Sanguo Zhi, Records of the Three Kingdoms* [삼국지 三國志]. *Shiji* states:

Later, Yan had an excellent general named Qin Kai [진개 秦開]. He had been a hostage of the Donghu (Eastern Hu) people [동호 東胡]. The Donghu trusted him greatly. When he returned to Yan, he attacked the Donghu, causing them to retreat more than a thousand *li* [translator’s note: 415 km]. Qin Wuyang, who attempted to assassinate the King of Qin together with Jing Ke, was Qin Kai’s grandson. Yan also built a wall,

stretching from Zhaoyang [조양 造陽] to Xiangping [양평 襄平].<sup>18</sup> Yan established the commanderies of Shanggu, Yuyang, Youbeiping, Liaoxi, and Liaodong to block the Donghu people.<sup>19</sup>

This passage likely refers to the period when Yan was relatively powerful, during the reign of King Zhaowang (r. 311–279 BCE). However, Wang Guoliang (1931; Wang and Shou 1982) claims it was built toward the end of King Xiaowang’s reign (r. 257–255 BCE). The exact date of the wall’s construction remains undetermined. The text describes how General Qin Kai, upon returning to Yan, attacked the Donghu and seized a thousand *li* of territory. Yan then built the Great Wall along the seized territory, stretching from Zhaoyang to Xiangping, and established five commanderies to block the Donghu (Figure 5).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> [Translator’s Note] ①Sima Qian’s [사마천 司馬遷] *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* 『사기 史記』 was annotated by numerous scholar historians as footages to the original texts. They correct errors and add clarifications and missing information in the original texts. The most authoritative of these are so-called Commentaries by the Three Scholars [삼가주석 三家註釋]: ② *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* 『(사기)집해 (史記)集解』 by Pei Yin [배인 裴駟] of the Song dynasty; ③ *Shiji Suoyin, Search for Hidden Meanings of Shiji* 『(사기)색은 (史記)索隱』 by Sima Zhen [사마정 司馬貞] of the Tang Dynasty; and ④ *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『(사기)정의 (史記)正義』 by Zhang Shoujie [장수절 張守節], also of the Tang Dynasty. While the author of this paper used a version of the *Shiji* that combines all four sources above in a single publication, each is referenced separately here to clarify the individual sources.

<sup>16</sup> *Shiji* 『사기 史記』, Chronicles of the Xiongnu section 「흉노열전 匈奴列傳」: “於是秦有隴西、北地、

上郡，築長城以拒胡。”

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Chronological Table of the Six Kingdoms 「육국연표 六國年表」 and House of Yan section 「연세가 燕世家」: King Zhaoxiang of Qin [진소왕 秦昭王], also known as King Zhao [소양왕 昭襄王], was the son of King Huiwenwang [혜문왕 惠文王] and younger brother of King Daowuwang [도무왕 悼武王] of Qin.

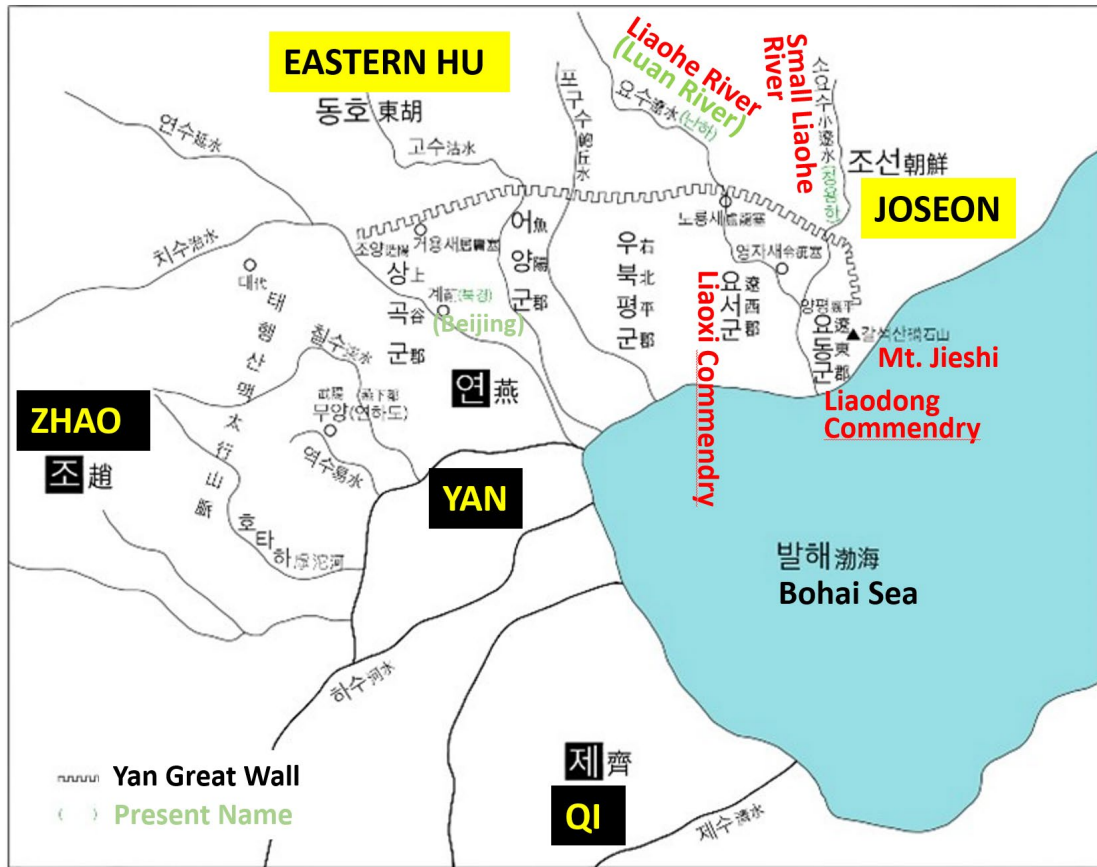
<sup>18</sup> About Xiangping, according to *Shiji Seyin, Search for Hidden Meanings of Shiji* 『사기색은 史記索隱』, Wei Zhao said, “It is a place governed by present-day Liaodong.”

<sup>19</sup> *Shiji* 『사기 史記』, Chronicles of the Xiongnu section 「흉노열전 匈奴列傳」: “其後燕有賢將秦開，爲質於胡，胡甚信之。歸而襲破走東胡，東胡卻千餘里。與荊軻刺秦王秦舞陽者，開之孫也。燕亦築長城，自造陽至襄平置上谷、漁陽、右北平、遼西、遼東郡以拒胡。”

<sup>20</sup> For more detailed discussion of the location of Liaodong after Qin Cai’s invasion, see Choi and Jeong (2023).



Figure 5. The Yan Great Wall and Liaodong Commandery after Qin Kai's Invasion



Regarding Zhaoyang, Pei Yin states in his *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* that “according to Weizhao, [it is] a place located in Shanggu [상곡 上谷].” Zhang Shoujie of the Tang dynasty adds in *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji*, “upon investigation, the Shanggu Commandery is in present-day Guizhou [규주 媯州].”<sup>21</sup>

Shanggu is generally considered to have been established in the 29th year of King Zhaowang of Yan (283 BCE) as

described by Weizhao (위소 韋昭: 201–273), a historian of the state of Wu [오 吳] during the Three Kingdoms period. In Chinese academic circles, Shanggu is thought to be near present-day Huailai County [회래현 懷來縣] in Hebei Province, with its command center at Zheyang County. Shanggu dissolved during the reign of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty, it was incorporated into Yizhou, which is south of present-day Zhangjiakou [장가구 張家口] city, northwest of Beijing. Baodaizhen, [보대진

<sup>21</sup> *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* 『사기집해 史記集解』: 韋昭曰: 地名, 在上谷.

According to *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』: “按: 上谷郡今媯州.”

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

保岱鎮] was an area of Guizhou of the Tang dynasty (now Zhuolu County in Hebei Province), which was governed by Huailai County as well. The western end of the Yan Great Wall is believed to be at Dushikouzhen [독석구진 獨石口鎮] in Chicheng County, Hebei Province, or further south, at Baodaizhen—present-day Huailai County’s Guanting Reservoir area—between Beijing and Zhangjiakou, near present (Choi 2018: 104-105).

Xiangping is described “according to Weizhao, ‘[it is] now the seat of the Liaodong Commandery’” by Sima Zhen of the Tang dynasty’s annotation in *Shiji Suoyin, Search for Hidden Meanings of Shiji*<sup>22</sup>. It means that the eastern end of the Yan Great Wall was Xiangping, which governed the Liaodong Commandery. At that time, Liaodong referred to a different region than it is today. After the Tang dynasty destroyed Goguryeo, they vaguely incorporated its territories under the name Liaodong without establishing new administrative regions. The “incorporation” happened because the Tang dynasty may have been able to destroy Goguryeo but never controlled its former territories. Today, contemporary Chinese scholars view the location of Xiangping to be the Laucheng [노성 老城, meaning “Old Fortress”] in Liaoyang City, Liaoning Province (Tan 1988: 8). This, however, reflects only the present-day interpretation of Liaodong as east of the present-day Liaohe River [遼河

요하]. As Professor Yun Nae-hyeon has already clarified, ancient Liaodong of ancient times is different from present-day Liaodong (Yun 2015: 234-244). Xiangping, the eastern end of the Yan Great Wall, and Liaodong, the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall, are two different expressions for the same area. Yun further asserts that the ancient Liaodong was in the Mount Jieshi area. In other words, the area east of Mount Jieshi was the territory of Gojoseon, while the lower reaches of the Luan River [漯河南하], west of the Mount Jieshi, belonged to the Qin and Western Han Empires.

The location of Xiangping is described as “Xiangping is a county under Liaodong Commandery. Laucheng of Xiangping is southwest of [then] present-day Lulong County, Pingzhou Province.” in a commentary by Gongsun Kang, Governor of Liaodong in *Hou Han Shu, The Book of Later Han*.<sup>23</sup> Lulong County—now in Hebei Province—is located north of Mount Jieshi, which once marked the border between Qin-Han China and Gojoseon. The Yan Great Wall stretched from present-day Zhangjiakou’s Huailai County to Lulong County in Hebei Province.

The information regarding General Qin Kai of Yan is also found in the “Wuhuan Xianbei Dongyi Chronicles” section of the *Sanguo Zhi, Records of the Three Kingdoms*, which cites from the Brief History of Wei section of the same book. However, a few differences exist from the

<sup>22</sup> *Shiji Suoyin, Search for Hidden Meanings of Shiji* 『사기색은 史記索隱』: 韋昭云: “今遼東所理也”.

<sup>23</sup> *Hou Han Shu, The Book of Later Han* 『후한서 後漢書』, Biographies of Yuan Shao and Liu Biao

『원소유표열전 袁紹劉表列傳』, Annotation. “襄平，縣，屬遼東郡，故城在今平州盧龍縣西南。” It was annotated by Crown Prince Zhang Hui, son of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty.

Records of the Xiongnu section of *Shiji*. While *Shiji* states that Qin Kai attacked the Donghu people, *Sanguo Zhi* notes that he attacked the Marquis of Joseon, a descendant of Gija Joseon. *Shiji* records that Qin Kai seized a thousand *li* of the Donghu territory, while the *Sanguo Zhi* claims he seized two thousand *li* of Joseon territory.

The *Shiji* mentions Liaodong Commandery as the last of five commanderies built by Yan in the territory seized from Donghu,<sup>24</sup> whereas *Sanguo Zhi, Records of the Three Kingdoms* describes the border region established after seizing Gija Joseon's territory as Manbanhan [만번한 滿番汗].<sup>25</sup> In comparison, the Geography section of *The Book of Han* states, "Banhan County [번한 番汗] is in the Liaodong Commandery"<sup>26</sup> and Xu Guang says, "There is a Banhan County in Liaodong."<sup>27</sup> *Shiji* mentions that the last of Yan's five commanderies was Liaodong and *Sanguo Zhi* mentions the Banhan County that Yan established as a border after defeating Joseon, belonged to the Liaodong Commandery, both were describing the same event only differently. Shin Chae-ho divided Joseon into three stages: Buljoseon [불조선], Sinjoseon [신조선], and Maljoseon [말조선]. He

commented, "*Shiji* referred only to the Buljoseon of Wiman as Joseon, while calling Sinjoseon as Donghu and including it in the *Xiongnu Chronicles* section" (Shin 2007: 647). It means that Donghu was Sinjoseon. In Chinese historical records, the measurement descriptions of distances in the unit of thousand *li* (such as one thousand *li* or two thousand *li*) should be understood as a more symbolic rather than exact measure.

## THE EASTERN END OF THE QIN GREAT WALL

The Qin Great Wall was an expansion and further fortification of the walls built by the states of Yan, Qi, and other Warring States. The Biography of Chen She section of *Shiji* records, "[Emperor Qin Shihuang] ordered Meng Tian to build a great wall in the north as a defense line."<sup>28</sup> The purpose of fortifying the Qin Great Wall was to protect the northern borders of the Qin territory. The *Biography of Meng Tian* section of the same book provides a more detailed explanation:

After unifying the world, Qin sent Meng Tian with 300,000 soldiers to drive the northern Rong-Di away and reclaim

<sup>24</sup> *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* 『사기 史記』, Chronicles of the Xiongnu 「흉노열전 匈奴列傳」.

<sup>25</sup> *Sanguo Zhi, Records of the Three Kingdoms* 『삼국지 三國志』, Wuhuan Xianbei Dongyi Chronicles section 「오환선비동이전 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳」, Brief History of Wei 「魏略」: "燕乃遣將秦開攻其西方, 取地二千餘里, 至滿番汗爲界."

<sup>26</sup> *The Book of Han* 『한서 漢書』, Geography section on Liaodong Commandery 「지리지 요동군 地理志 遼東郡」.

<sup>27</sup> *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* 『사기집해 史記集解』, Chronicles of Joseon 「조선열전 朝鮮列傳」: "徐廣曰: 遼東有番汗縣"

<sup>28</sup> *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* 『사기 史記』, House of Chen She 「진섭세가진섭세가 陳涉世家」: "乃使蒙恬北築長城而守藩籬"

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

Henan.<sup>29</sup> As a result, a wall was built with rugged fortresses along the terrain. It stretched from Linqiu<sup>30</sup> to Liaodong<sup>31</sup>, covering over 10,000 li.<sup>32</sup>

This is where the description “ten thousand *li* long” for the Qin Great Wall originates. It mentions three place names: Henan, Linqiu, and Liaodong. According to Xu Guang’s commentary in *Zhengyi*, Linqiu “belongs to Longxi [농서 隴西],”<sup>33</sup> which is now identified as present-day Lintao County, subordinate to Dingxi City in Gansu Province. It used to be called Didao [적도 狄道] where the Rong-Di people resided. This is the western end of the Qin Great Wall.

Henan, according to *Shiji Zhengyi* includes regions such as Lingzhou and Shengzhou.<sup>34</sup> Today, these areas are often identified as those regions including Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region or Inner Mongolia. However, this interpretation expanded the extent of these regions by later generations. Henan [하남 河南], literally meaning “south of the Yellow River,” could not cover such areas as Ningxia or

Inner Mongolia.

Liaodong is mentioned in *Shiji Zhengyi*, “Liaodong Commandery lies east of the Liaohe River. Emperor Shihuang of Qin built a great wall, which reached east to the Liaohe River and southwest to the sea.”<sup>35</sup> The Liaohe River described here does not refer to the modern Liaohe River in the Liaoning Province but the Luan River in Hebei Province. Even if the current location of Liaoning Province’s Liaohe River is considered, the Qin Great Wall could not have extended into the northern Korean Peninsula. Therefore, the argument that the ancient Liaodong refers to areas in the Korean Peninsula is incorrect.

Then, where was ancient Liaodong? *Shui Jing Zhu, Commentary on the Waterways Classic*, written by Li Daoyuan of the Jin dynasty, states in the section on the Yellow River that “Emperor Qin Shihuang ordered Crown Prince Fusu and Meng Tian to build the Great Wall, beginning from Linqiu and reaching Jieshi.”<sup>36</sup> In this context, the Liaodong of *Shiji*, Biography of Meng Tian section is

<sup>29</sup> About Henan [하남 河南]: According to *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』, it was the lands of Lingzhou [영주 靈州], Shengzhou [승주 勝州], etc.

<sup>30</sup> About Linqiu [임조 臨洮]: “*Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* 『사기집해 史記集解』 records that “Xu Guang said ‘it belongs to Longxi [농서 隴西].”

<sup>31</sup> About Liaodong [요동 遼東]: *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』 says “Liaodong Commandery is east of the Liaohe River. The First Emperor of Qin built the Great Wall, extending east to the Liaohe River and southwest to the sea.”

<sup>32</sup> *Shiji* 『사기 史記』, Biography of Meng Tian 「몽염열전 蒙恬列傳」: “秦已并天下, 乃使蒙恬將三十萬衆北逐戎狄, 收河南. 築長城, 因地形, 用制險塞, 起臨洮, 至遼東, 延袤萬餘里”

<sup>33</sup> *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』: “徐廣曰: 屬隴西”

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*: “謂靈、勝等州.”

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*: “遼東郡在遼水東, 始皇築長城東至遼水, 西南至海(之上).”

<sup>36</sup> *Shui Jing Zhu, Commentary on the Waterways Classic* 『수경주 水經注』, Yellow River 「하수 河水」: “始皇令太子扶蘇與蒙恬築長城, 起自臨洮, 至于碣石”



described as Jieshi here, indicating that the ancient Liaodong was in the Mount Jieshi region. While the location of Liaodong shifted over time, Mount Jieshi has remained in the same place, located north of Changli [창리 昌黎] and south of Lulong [노룡 盧龍] in present-day Hebei Province. *Records of the Grand Historian's Liaodong* and *Commentary on the Waterways Classic's* Jieshi refer to this area.

Among the *Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times* [고금도서집성 古今圖書集成] compiled during the reign of Emperor Kangxi [강희제 康熙帝] in the Qing dynasty, the Combined Gazetteers of Prefectures and Counties section of a book, *A Study of the Ancient Sites of Yongping Prefecture* records as follows:

“The *Tongdian* [두씨통전 杜氏通典] states that “Mount Jieshi is located in Lulong County, where the Great Wall built by Qin begins. It was once considered where the boundary of Goryeo was, but this is not the case. Various interpretations exist, each differing from the other.”<sup>37</sup>

This entry shows that Mount Jieshi in Lulong County was regarded as the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall in the past. It also indicates that the territory of Goguryeo reached up to Mount Jieshi,

although the statement “this is not the case” suggests that this perception changed later.

The *Essentials of Historical Geography*, edited by Gu Zuyu during the Qing dynasty, the section *Guzhu City of Yongping Prefecture* records that “the Great Wall is 70 *li* north of Yongping Prefecture.”<sup>38</sup> This location in the Ming and Qing dynasties corresponds to present-day Lulong County. It indicates that the relics of the Great Wall existed north of Lulong County. And it served as the border between Gojoseon and Qin-Han China, as well as between Goguryeo and the Sui-Tang dynasties. Thus, the *New Book of Tang*, in its section on Pingzhou, says that in this area “is Linyu Pass [임유관 臨渝關] and Mount Jieshi.”<sup>39</sup> The Linyu Pass was the frontier where early battles between the Sui-Tang and Goguryeo occurred.

## V. THE NORTHERN KOREAN PENINSULA THEORY OF THE JAPANESE IMPERIALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

### CREATION AND PROPAGATION BY JAPANESE IMPERIALISTS

<sup>37</sup> *A Study of the Ancient Sites of Yongping Prefecture* 『영평부적고 永平府古蹟考』, “Combined Gazetteers of Prefectures and Counties” 「府縣志合」: “永平府古蹟考『杜氏通典』云, 盧龍縣有碣石山, 秦築長城所起之。碣石在高麗界, 非此也。凡此諸說, 人各不同。”

<sup>38</sup> *Essentials of Historical Geography* 『독사방여기요 讀史方輿紀要』, *Guzhu City of Yongping Prefecture* 「영평부 고죽성 永平府 孤竹城」: “長城, 在府北七十里”

<sup>39</sup> *New Book of Han* 『신당서 新唐書』, Pingzhou section 「平州 石城下」: “云, 有臨渝關, 有碣石山.”

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

As examined above, the eastern end of the Great Wall historically lies in the present-day Lulong County, Hebei Province, in the area of ancient Xiangping and the region of Mount Jieshi. The notion that the Qin Great Wall extended into the northern part of the Korean Peninsula did not exist until the early 20th century. After Japan's occupation of Korea, however, Japan established the “Joseon Peninsula History Compilation Committee” [조선반도사편찬위원회 朝鮮半島史編纂委員會] under the advisory body to the Governor-General of Korea, the Central Council. The chairman of the Central Council was the Chief Civil Administrator, the second highest-ranking officer in the Japanese Governor-General's Office of Korea. The term “Joseon Peninsula History” unambiguously indicates its aim to confine Korean history within the peninsula, originating from the “Peninsula History Perspective” [반도사관 半島史觀]. According to this view, the north of the peninsula was the colony of Chinese Han, with the Four Commanderies of Han as ruling entities; the south was the colony of the ancient Yamato Japan, with the Japanese Government of Imna [임나일본부 任那日本府]<sup>40</sup> therein.

The very first person to claim that the Qin Great Wall extended into the Korean Peninsula was Inaba Iwakichi (稻葉岩吉, 1876–1940). After studying under Naito Konan [内藤湖南] at Kyoto University, Inaba went to study in Beijing in 1900. From

1908, he participated in the compilation of the *Historical Geography of Manchuria and Korea* as part of the South Manchuria Railway Company's research department, collaborating with Tsuda Sokichi [津田左右吉] and others. The South Manchuria Railway Company, along with the Japanese Governor-General's Office of Korea, led the distortion of Korean history.

In 1910, Inaba published a paper titled “A Study on the Eastern End of the Qin Great Wall and Wangheomseong”<sup>41</sup> in Japan's *Historical Journal* (Vol. 21, No. 2). In this paper, he argued that the Qin Great Wall extended to Suan in Hwanghae Province, Korea (Inaba 1910; see also Lee, Dukil 2018b). In 1925, Inaba became an investigator at the Korean History Compilation Committee, which was directly under the supervision of the Japanese Governor-General's Office of Korea. Since then, he played a critical role—along with Suematsu Yasukazu [末松保和], author of *The Rise and Fall of Imna* (1949) in which he claimed the Japanese Government of Imna occupied not only Gyeongsang Province [경상도] but also the Provinces of Chungcheong [충청도] and Jeolla [전라도]—by compiling and editing a total of 35 volumes of *The History of Joseon* [조선사 朝鮮史] published by the Japanese Governor-General's Office of Korea.

<sup>40</sup> [Translator's Note] 任那 임나 is romanized as “Mimana” in Japanese, but as “Imna” in Korean. We translate it according to Korean pronunciation.

<sup>41</sup> [Translator's Note] The term “seong” [성 城] in Wangheomseong, Wanggeomseong, and

Pyeongyangseong literally means a fortified walled fortress or castle. It is equivalent to a modern city or town. Rather than translating it, we treat it as a proper noun and Romanize it based on Korean pronunciation.

Especially noteworthy is that Inaba also became one of the teachers who trained a Korean co-worker, Yi Byungdo, later a grand master (?) in the field of Korean history in South Korea. Inaba's paper (1910) laid the foundation for Yi Byungdo and other Korean colonial historians to claim that the Han Commanderies, particularly Lelang Commandery, were located within the Korean Peninsula. Yi Byungdo (1985)'s "A Study on Lelang Commandery" heavily plagiarized Inaba's work.

Inaba's argument begins with a quote from the *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* (the Records of the Xiongnu section): "Yan also built a wall, stretching from Zhaoyang [조양 造陽] to Xiangping [양평 襄平]." As examined above, Zhaoyang in this phrase was in the west, near present-day Beijing. As to Xiangping, Sima Zhen of the Tang dynasty added that "according to Weizhao, '[it is] now the seat of the Liaodong Commandery.'"<sup>42</sup> Inaba begins by rejecting this annotation of Xiangping being Liaodong, as it contradicted his theory that the Yan Great Wall extended into Korea.

Inaba then quotes a passage from *Shiji* (the "Chronicles of Joseon" section) that "Wiman was originally a person from the

state of Yan... After the Han Dynasty rose, because the area was far away and difficult to defend, they restored the old fortress of Liaodong, made the area reaching the Peishui River [Paesu in Korean, 패수 溟水] the boundary, and assigned it to Yan."<sup>43</sup> He then argues that the Peishui River mentioned in *Shiji* refers to the present-day Daedong River [대동강 大同江]" (Lee 2018b: 14–16). Inaba also cited Chen Feng (진풍 陳澧, 1810–1882) from the Qing dynasty, who said, "that river flows southwest and enters the sea, so it can be identified as the Peishui River." He praised it by stating, "Chen Feng's explanation aligns with our understanding."

Out of the 25 Histories of China [중국 25 사 中國二十五史]<sup>44</sup>, however, the term "Daedong River" first appears in the *History of Ming* [명사 明史] under the headings of "Chronicles of Joseon" and in the biographies of Li Chengliang [이성량 李成梁] and his son Li Rusong [이여송 李如松] when the Imjin War (임진왜란 壬辰倭亂, 1592–1597) was described (Lee Dukil 2018b). Furthermore, *Shuowen Jiezi, Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters*, an ancient Chinese dictionary, records that "it [the Peishui River] is the name of a river, which originates in Lufang County [누방현 鏤方縣] of Lelang

<sup>42</sup> *Shiji Suoyin, Search for Hidden Meanings of Shiji* 『사기색은 史記索隱』. Chronicles of the Xiongnu 『흉노열전 匈奴列傳』. Annotation on Xiangping [양평 襄平]: "韋昭云：今遼東所理也。"

<sup>43</sup> *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* 『사기 史記』, Chronicles of Joseon [조선열전 朝鮮列傳]: "朝鮮王滿者，故燕人也。自始全燕時嘗略屬真番、朝鮮，為置吏，築鄣塞。秦滅燕，屬遼東外徼。漢興，為其遠難守，復修遼東故塞，至溟水為界，屬燕。"

<sup>44</sup> [Translator's Note]: The Twenty-Five Histories of China, first canonized during the Qing Dynasty, is a collection of 25 official Chinese historical texts written by court historians or scholars that serve as the cornerstone of China's historiographical tradition. These works chronicle over 4,000 years of Chinese history, from the earliest times to the fall of the Ming Dynasty.

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

Commandery and flows east into the sea. The radical is ‘water’ (Shui 水=氵), and the phonetic is ‘Bei’ (貝). Some have said that it comes from Peishui County, and the pronunciation is ‘Bei’ [pronounced with the sound 普拜切<sup>45</sup>].<sup>46</sup> According to *Shui Jing, The Waterways Classic*, the oldest dictionary on the rivers in China, “The Peishui originates from Lufang County of Lelang, flows southeast past Linpei County [임패현 臨湏縣], and then flows east into the sea.”<sup>47</sup> Since both *Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters* and *The Waterways Classic* agree that Peishui flows eastward into the sea, it cannot be any of the rivers in the northern Korean Peninsula, all of which flow westward into the sea.

*Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* also states that “in *Dilizhi, Geography Record*, it [the Peishui River] is said that the Peishui originates outside the fortress in Liaodong and flows southwest, entering the sea west of Lelang County.”<sup>48</sup> This account says that the Peishui River flows southwest from outside Liaodong and reaches Lelang County, therefore, that a river flowing outside Liaodong can be the Daedong River is not possible.

This information notwithstanding, Inaba Iwakichi has set the premise that the Peishui River is the Daedong River and artificially stitched together various historical sources to fit this assumption. While admitting that the Qin Great Wall arises from the south of the Peisui River, he continues to assert that “I view its starting point to be Suan, Hwanghae Province” (Lee 2018b: 19).

The main bases for Inaba’s claim are that he identifies Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery, that the Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery mentioned in *Taikang Geography* and the Geographical Records section of the *Book of Jin* is interpreted as Suan in Hwanghae-do, and that Wiman Joseon’s capital, Wanggheomseong [왕험성 王險城]<sup>49</sup>, was “located in the area south of the Daedong River” (ibid.: 28). However, all of these are merely unilateral assertions based on his personal interpretations. Inaba claimed that “the Geographical Records section of *Book of Han* corrected that the present-day Daedong River was the Peishui River”; however, the Daedong River is not even mentioned once in the Geographical

<sup>45</sup> [Translator’s Note] This is a fanqie spelling used in ancient Chinese to indicate pronunciation. Fanqie is a system where two characters are used to represent the initial and final sounds of a third character. In fanqie, 普拜切 indicates that the pronunciation of 貝 combines the initial sound from 普 (pǔ) and the final sound from 拜 (bài), leading to the sound bèi.

<sup>46</sup> *Shuowen Jiezi, Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters* 『說文解字』: “湏水。出樂浪鏤方，東入海。从水貝聲。一曰出湏水縣。普拜切”

<sup>47</sup> *Shui Jing, The Waterways Classic* 『水經』: “湏水 出樂浪鏤方縣，東南過臨湏縣，東入于海。”

<sup>48</sup> *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』 *Chronicles of Joseon* 『조선열전 朝鮮列傳』 Annotation on Peishui: “地理志云 湏水出遼東塞外，西南至樂浪縣西入海。”

<sup>49</sup> [Translator’s Note] The capital of Gojoseon is referred to as Wanggheomseong [왕험성 王險城] in Chinese historical records, while in Korean records it is called Wanggeomseong [왕검성 王儉城]. Both names refer to the same capital of Gojoseon.



Records of the *Book of Han*.

Inaba's remaining basis for his claim is then that Jabiryong [자비령 慈悲嶺], located southwest of Suan in Hwanghae-do, is a steep pass (ibid.: 24). However, he does not provide any explanation of how the fact that Jabiryong is a "steep pass" could provide evidence for connecting Suan in Hwanghae-do to Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery.

In sum, there isn't any historical evidence, yet his conclusion cannot be more definitive:

It is beyond doubt, based on the *Geographical Records of the Book of Han*, that the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall begins in the present-day territory of Suan, Hwanghae-do, Joseon, extends to the upper reaches of the Daedong River, crosses the Cheongcheon River, runs northwest, circles around the upper reaches of the Amnok River and the Donggagang [동가강 佟家江], and emerges in the northeastern region of Gaewon. (Ibid.: 25).

Whenever Japanese colonial historians, as well as their Korean followers, use such definitive expressions as "there is no doubt" or "there is no need for further discussion," it is almost 100% correct to interpret it as indicating "there is no historical evidence." The Geographical Records section of the *Book of Han* does not mention "Suan in Hwanghae-do," nor does it mention the "Daedong River," "Cheongcheon River," or "Amnok River

[Yalu River in Chinese, 압록강 鴨綠江]."

Inaba's final remaining basis for identifying Suicheng County [수성현 遂城縣] of Lelang Commandery as Suan [수안 遂安] in Hwanghae-do is the fact that both place names share the same character 'Su' [수 遂]. However, the place name Suan started to be used only in the early Goryeo period. According to the Geographical Records section of the *History of Goryeo* under the 'Seohae-do, Gokju, Suan County' heading, however, "Suan County was originally Jangsae County [장새현 獐塞縣] (also called Goso-eo [고소어 古所於]) of Goguryeo. During the Silla dynasty, it was part of Seoam County [서암군 栖巖郡]. In the early Goryeo period, it was renamed to its current name (i.e., Suan)." <sup>50</sup> Inaba Iwakichi's claim that the Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery is Suan in Hwanghae-do, and that this location marks the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall, does not have a single piece of historical evidence; it is nothing more than political propaganda fabricated from the "Korean Peninsula History Perspective" of Japanese imperialism.

## THE NORTHERN KOREAN PENINSULA THEORY IN CHINA

China's official historical atlas is the *Historical Atlas of China* [중국역사지도집 中国历史地图集], and the written explanation

<sup>50</sup> *Goryeo-sa, History of Goryeo* 『고려사 高麗史』, *Geographical Records* 「지리지(地理志) 서해도(西海道) 곡주(谷州) 수안현」, 遂安縣本高句麗

獐塞縣【一云古所於】，新羅時，爲栖巖郡領縣。高麗初，改今名

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

for this atlas can be found in *The Collected Explanations of the Texts* [석문회편 釋文匯編]. The volume covering the regions of present-day Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning Provinces is titled *The Northeast Volume*. This was edited by Tan Qixiang [담기양 潭其驥], a prominent figure in Chinese historical geography, along with Zhang Xitong [장석동 張錫彤], Wang Zhonghan [왕중한 王鍾翰], Jia Jingyan [가경안 賈敬顏], Guo Yisheng [곽의생 郭毅生], and Chen Liankai [진연개 陳連開].

*The Collected Explanations* pinpoints the location of the Lelang Commandery's Suicheng County during the Two Han dynasties (Western and Eastern Han) to the Western Jin period as "from present-day Kangseo [강서 江西] in the southwestern part of Pyeongyang, North Korea to Hamjong-ri [함종리 咸從里] in the west" (Tan 1988: 38). This, of course, is pure conjecture without any solid evidence.

It appears that Tan Qixiang, with other Chinese historical geographers, might have felt uncomfortable fully endorsing the arbitrary claims of Japanese colonial historian Inaba Iwakichi, even though they followed much of his logic. Thus, he included the following comment in his edited book:

In one passage of *A Study on the Eastern End of the Qin Great Wall and Wangheomseong*, by Japanese Inaba Iwakichi, it is written, "the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall starts in Suan, southeast of present-day Pyeongyang." Upon examination, however, it becomes

clear that present-day Pyeongyang during the Qin dynasty was the political center of Gija Joseon, so it was impossible for the Great Wall to have been extended or fortified southeast of present-day Pyeongyang. Therefore, Inaba's theory cannot be followed. (Ibid.: 38).

It means that while these Chinese scholars accepted Inaba Iwakichi's claim, on the one hand, that the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall was in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula, these Chinese scholars disagreed with his placement of the location in Suan, southeast of Pyeongyang on the other hand. Their reasoning was that Pyeongyang was the political center of Gija Joseon [기자조선 箕子朝鮮] at that time, making it impossible for Suan to be Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery. However, the claim that Gija Joseon was centered in present-day Pyeongyang during the Qin dynasty only shows a lack of understanding of primary historical sources. Gija never came to Pyeongyang. The idea that Gija of the 12th century BCE came to Pyeongyang is a relic of 12th-century Confucian scholars of Goryeo who cherished a Sino-centric worldview.

According to the Rites section of *The History of Goryeo*,<sup>51</sup> "In October, the 7th year of King Sukjong (숙종 肅宗, i.e., 1102 CE), the Ministry of Rites petitioned that 'although our nation has been enlightened and civilized thanks to Gija, his shrine has not been properly established. We request that we find the tomb, build a

<sup>51</sup> *Goryeo-sa, The History of Goryeo* 『고려사 高麗史』 Rites section 「예지 禮志」 숙종 7년 肅宗 十月壬子朔:

“禮部奏, '我國教化禮義, 自箕子始, 而不載祀典. 乞求其墳塋, 立祠以祭.' 從之”

shrine, and perform ancestral rites.’ It was followed.” This statement indicates that, up until 1102 CE, Gija’s grave had not been found in Korea. Though they petitioned King Sukjong to build a shrine for Gija, they were unable to locate his grave, which was not there. Nevertheless, the proposal to build a shrine for Gija gained traction as Sino-centric Confucian scholars wielded greater influence. In the Biography of Jeong Mun section of *The History of Goryeo*, it is recorded that Jeong Mun, who was appointed Minister of Justice in 1105, “requested King Sukjong to build a shrine for Gija during his royal visit to Seogyeong [서경 西京 Western Capital]. However, trying to build a shrine at the grave of Gija, who hadn’t even come, was not going to go smoothly. Only more than 220 years later, a shrine for Gija was finally built in Pyeongyang in October 1325 CE, the 12<sup>th</sup> year of King Chung Suk’s reign [충숙왕 忠肅王].<sup>52</sup>

*Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* records, “Du Yu [두예 杜預] stated that ‘the tomb of Gija is in Meng County [몽현 蒙縣], Liang State [양국 梁國].’”<sup>53</sup> According to *The Book of Jin*, Du Yu, a scholar and politician of the Western Jin Dynasty, passed away in 285 CE.<sup>54</sup> The Meng County refers to the Meng-Yi [몽읍 蒙邑] area of the Song State, which Weizi, a descendant of the Shang royal family alongside Gija, received as an enfeoffment

from the Zhou dynasty. It is now the site of the ancient city of Meng County in Liangyuan District, Shangqiu City, Henan Province [하남성 河南省]. In the 3rd century, intellectual Du Yu said that Gija’s tomb was in present-day Henan. This notwithstanding, the Confucian scholars of Korea’s Sinocentric tradition, 2,500 years after Gija’s death, built a tomb and shrine for him in Pyeongyang and insisted that Gija had come to Pyeongyang. It is unclear whether Tan Qixiang and other Chinese historical geographers were unaware of these historical sources about Gija or chose to ignore them; but either way, their stance lacks academic integrity.

The “Northern Korean Peninsula Theory” of the eastern end of the Great Wall, originally invented by Inaba Iwakichi in 1910, was introduced to Chinese academia by Wang Guoliang in 1931 through his work *Research on the Evolution of the Great Wall of China* [중국장성연혁고 中國長城沿革攷]. Wang Guoliang also referenced such texts as *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* (Records of the Xiongnu and Biography of Meng Tian sections), its annotations such as *Zhengyi, Correct Meanings*, and *Heshuizhu, Annotations on the Rivers on the Waterways Classic*. He then summarized that there were two theories on the eastern terminus of the Qin Great Wall—either Liaodong or Jieshi (Wang

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., The Biography of Jeong Mun 「정문열전 鄭文列傳」: “嘗扈駕西京, 請立箕子祠”

<sup>53</sup> *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* 「사기 史記」. House of Song Weizi 「송미자세가 宋微子世家」: “杜預云「梁國蒙縣有箕子冢」。”

<sup>54</sup> *Jin Shu, The Book of Jin* 「진서 晉書」 The Annals of Emperor Wu 「무제본기 武帝本紀」 5<sup>th</sup> year of Taikang 太康 5년(285): “閏月, 鎮南大將軍、當陽侯杜預卒。”

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

1931, Wang and Shou 1982). As for Jieshi's location, he presented three theories: The first places it at Mount Jieshi, located north of present-day Changli County, Hebei Province. The second locates it in southern Liaoning Province (Wang and Shou 1982: 30). This second theory was presented as follows:

2. It is in the southern part of present-day Liaoning Province. (The *Classic of Mountains and Seas* [산해경 山海經] says that "Mount Jieshi originates from Shengshui [승수 繩水]," and *Shui Jing Zhu, Commentary on the Waterways Classic* [수경주 水經注] states, 'it lies at the south sea of present-day Linyu County [임유현 臨渝縣] in Liaoxi. Qin Shihuang carved the phrase "Gate of Jieshi [갈석문 碣石門]" and ascended to observe the vast sea.'" Upon investigation, Linyu County is to the west of Liaoyang [요양 遼陽] County, and Emperor Wu of Han mentioned "traveled eastward and ascended Jieshi from the sea," which refers to this area.) (Ibid.: 31).

The fact that Wang Guoliang identified Linyu County as being in Liaoyang, Liaoning Province, only demonstrates a lack of basic historical geography knowledge. There is a consensus among current Chinese scholars that the gate of the Great Wall at the east of Funing [무녕 撫寧] County, Hebei Province is the Linyuquan [임유관 臨渝關], or Yuguan [유관 渝關]. It means that the Linyu County cannot be considered part of present-day Liaodong. Moreover, even Chinese scholars now agree that the Mount Jieshi ascended by Emperor Wu of Han is the one in Hebei Province that Wang mentioned as the first theory.

The third theory identifies that Jieshi is located south of Pyeongyang:

3. It is located south of present-day Pyeongyang, Korea. (*Tongdian, Comprehensive Statutes* [통전 通典] states, "Mount Jieshi is located in Suicheng County, Lelang Commandery, where the Great Wall begins. The Great Wall crosses the Liaohe River in the east, and the ruins are in Goguryeo." Furthermore, the annotations on Suicheng County, Lelang Commandery in the Geographical Records section of the *Book of Jin* explains that it "was where the Great Wall began." The *Modern Interpretation of the Rhyme Compilation of Historical Geography* says, "Suicheng County is now located south of Pyeongyang, Joseon." *Tongjian Dili Jinshi, Modern Interpretations of the Comprehensive Reference on Geography* [통감지리지금석 通鑑地理今釋] notes that "Mount Jieshi, where the Great Wall of Qin started, is now near Goguryeo's border.") (Ibid.: 31)

After citing all these sources, Wang Guoliang concluded, "Based on the above, the true terminus of the Qin Great Wall is at present-day Mount Jieshi of Pyeongyang, Korea" (Ibid.: 31). The conclusion is quite nonsensical. Among the sources he cites, the *Tongdian, Comprehensive Statutes*, and the *Book of Jin* have nothing to do with Pyeongyang in any context. Du You [두우 杜佑] of the Tang Dynasty did not state in *Tongdian, Comprehensive Statutes* that the remains of the Great Wall were located in Pyeongyang. The Geographical Records section of the *Book of Jin* refers to the Lelang Commandery in Hebei Province, as explained above.



The *Modern Interpretation of the Rhyme Compilation of Historical Geography* [역대지리지운편금석 歷代地理志韻編今釋] was compiled by Li Zhaoluo (이조락 李兆洛, 1769–1841) during the Qing Dynasty, and the *Modern Interpretations of the Comprehensive Reference on Geography* was compiled by Wu Xizai (오희재 吳熙載, 1799–1870), also during the Qing. As mentioned earlier, after the mid-Goryeo period, Korean Confucian scholars misinterpreted that Gija had come to Pyeongyang, and later Joseon Confucian scholars reinforced this misunderstanding, creating the equation “Capital of Gija Joseon = Capital of Wiman Joseon = Lelang Commandery’s Joseon County.” They also promoted this misconception to Ming and Qing envoys, which led to scholars like Li Zhaoluo and Wu Xizai holding these incorrect views.

On June 28, 1963, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai met with a delegation from the Academy of Sciences of North Korea and criticized the chauvinistic Chinese historians for “fabricating the claim that the Korean people are descendants of Gija and attempting to find evidence for this by unearthing artifacts in Pyeongyang” (Foreign Affairs Work Bulletin 1963). When North Korea excavated Gija’s supposed tomb in Pyeongyang, no artifacts related to Gija were found. The Chinese government’s recent policy to promote the factually unfounded theory of Pyeongyang as the eastern terminus of the Qin and Han Great Walls, based on the claims of Japanese colonial historian Inaba Iwakichi, defies the very legitimacy of the Chinese

Communist Party, which was established from its anti-Japanese war stance.

## THE NORTHERN KOREAN PENINSULA THEORY IN KOREA

At least, probably out of national pride, Chinese historians did not entirely follow Inaba Iwakichi’s theory of “Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery = Suan County in Hwanghae-do”; instead, they modified it slightly, claiming it was in Pyeongyang. However, Korean historians lack even this level of pride. The grand master (?) of South Korea’s mainstream academic historiography, Yi Byungdo [이병도], fully embraced Inaba Iwakichi’s theory. His reasoning is as follows:

Suicheng County (of the Lelang Commandery) ... though not quite precise, I would like to identify it as present-day Suan, located at the northern tip of Hwanghae-do. In Suan, there is a mountain named “Liaodong Mountain” in the Mountains and Rivers [산천조 山川條] section of *Seungnam* [승남 勝覽], and the *Gwanbangjo* [관방조 關防條] says that though constructed later, there are traces of a stone wall stretching from east to west at Bangwonjin [방원진 防垣鎭]. (The *Daedong Jiji*, *The Great Eastern Geographical Records* [대동지지 大東地志] by Gosanja Kim Jeong-ho [김정호] refers to it as the site of Paegang Great Wall [패강장성 沛江長城]). There is also a note in the Suicheng County section of *Jinshi*, *The Geographical Records of Jin* [진지 晉志] saying, albeit a nonsense, “This is where the Qin Great Wall begins (秦代長城之所起).” Though this statement

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

about the Qin Great Wall is absurd, it is possible that, at that time, the existence of some name of Liaodong Mountain and some wall remnants led to such conclusion. Even incorrect records often have some basis. (Lee Byungdo. 1985: 148).<sup>55</sup>

In my book, *Korean History: The Truth They Hid* (Lee Dukil 2009), I have critiqued Yi Byungdo's reasoning in detail. Yi Byungdo plagiarized Inaba Iwakichi's logic without mentioning even his name. Lee suggested that the Liaodong Mountain in Suan was Mount Jieshi and that the "Bangwonjin's stone wall" was the Qin Great Wall. Lee also referenced Gosanja Kim Jeong-ho's *Daedong Jiji, The Great Eastern Geographical Records* concerning Bangwonjin's stone wall, noting that it was called the "site of Paegang Great Wall." But, this description by Kim Jeong-ho was not about Bangwonjin's stone wall but about Seonghyeon Fortress [성현행성 城峴行城].

According to *Encyclopedia of North Korean Geography and Culture* (Institute of Peace Affairs 2008), originally compiled in North Korea, Seonghyeon Fortress is "a hill located on the border with Deokhyeon Laborer District, southwest of Samhari, Uiju County, Pyeonganbuk-do," where there remains part of a wall built during the Goryeo era.

<sup>55</sup> For a more detailed critiques of his theory by the author, see Lee Dukil (2009: 80–97).

<sup>56</sup> *The Book of Jin* 『진서 晉書』, *Geographical Records* 地理志 4. Lelang Commandery, Pingzhou 平州 樂浪郡: "樂浪郡;漢置. 統縣六, 戶三千七百. 朝鮮; 周封箕子地. 屯有. 渾彌. 遼城;秦築長城之所起. 鏤方. 驕望"

It is said that Seonghyeon is also referred to as "Seong Hill," but this pertains to Seonghyeon Fortress in Uiju, Pyeonganbuk-do, not Bangwonjin's stone wall in Suan, Hwanghae-do. Although the word "Lelang" was never mentioned in the Suan, Hwanghae-do section of the *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam, Geographical Encyclopedia of the Joseon Dynasty* [동국여지승람 東國輿地勝覽], Yi Byungdo intentionally cited the name as if it had been mentioned. While admitting "nonsense" and "absurdity", Yi Byungdo went ahead to cite the entry from the Geographical Records section of the *Book of Jin* that "this is where the Qin Great Wall begins." However, *The Book of Jin*'s reference pertains to Suicheng County, Lelang Commandery, not Suan in Hwanghae-do. According to the Geographical Records section of the *Book of Jin*, the statement under the Suicheng County, Lelang Commandery heading goes as follows:<sup>56</sup>

Lelang Commandery, Pingzhou [平州 평주]: Established by the Han Dynasty. It governed six counties. There were 3,700 households. Joseon County: The region where Gija was enfeoffed by the Zhou Dynasty. Tunyou County, Hunmi County, Suicheng County (: where the Qin Great Wall begins: 秦築長城之所起). Lufang County, Simang County (*Book of Jin*).

*The Book of Jin* 『진서 晉書』 Vol. 14. 卷一十四 志第四, Geographical Records 地理志 上: "朝鮮周封箕子地. 屯有 渾彌 遼城秦築 長城之所起. 鏤方 驕望"

During the Jin dynasty, the Lelang Commandery governed the following 6 counties: Tunyou [屯有 屯유], Hunmi [渾彌 혼미], Suicheng [遼城 수성] (: 秦築長城之所起), Lufang [鏤方 누방], Simang [驕望 사망]

Geographical Records section. 4. Lelang Commandery, Pingzhou.)

This is the explanation of the Lelang Commandery under the jurisdiction of Pingzhou of the Jin Dynasty. During the Jin Dynasty, the Lelang Commandery of Pingzhou had six counties, one of which was Suicheng County. The Qin Great Wall is said to have ended in Suicheng County. In other words, the Geographical Records section of the *Book of Jin* references Suicheng County in Lelang Commandery under the jurisdiction of Pingzhou, not Suan in Hwanghae-do. This notwithstanding, Yi Byungdo confusingly cited this completely irrelevant text in his work as if it supported his argument that Suicheng County was in Suan, Hwanghae-do, the main theme of his article. This isn't historical scholarship; it is historical forgery.

Suan-gun in Hwanghae-do, is described in the Geographical Records section of *Goryeosa, The History of Goryeo* as follows:

Suan-hyeon [현 縣] was originally Goguryeo's Jangsae-hyeon (in some accounts, it is called Goso-eo). During the Silla dynasty, it was a Yeong-hyeon under the jurisdiction of Seoam-gun, but in the early Goryeo period, it was renamed Suan (遂安) and placed under the jurisdiction of Gok-ju [곡주 谷州]. Later, it was granted a

magistrate. In the 2nd year of King Chunseon, at the request of the eunuch Lee Daesoon whom the Yuan Dynasty favored, it was promoted to Suju [수주 遂州] (Another account says it was elevated to a *gun* [군 郡] due to the contributions of Lee Yeonsong from this region]. (*Goryeosa*, Volume 58, *Geographical Records* 3, Seohaedo)<sup>57</sup>

The only basis left for Inaba Iwakichi and Yi Byungdo equating Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery with Suan in Hwanghaedo is the shared character “수 遂”. As mentioned earlier, *Goryeosa* clearly states that the name Suan was adopted only after the early Goryeo period. This means that the character “수 遂” of Suan did not appear until more than a thousand years after Lelang Commandery was established. It leaves no historical basis for identifying the Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery as Suan-gun in Hwanghaedo. Nevertheless, Yi Byungdo's claim has come to be widely accepted in the field of Korean history within Korean academia.<sup>58</sup>

Inaba viewed the Peishui River as the Daedong River, while Yi Byungdo saw it as the Cheongcheon River. Although their views on Peishui differ, their conclusions align. This has caused confusion in Korean academia, leading to divergent views about Peishui's location,

<sup>57</sup> *The History of Goryeo* 『高麗史』 Vol. 58. 卷五十八, Geographical Records 『地理志』 3. West Sea-do 三, 西海道: “本高句麗獐塞縣(一云古所於), 新羅時, 爲栖巖郡領縣. 高麗初, 改今名, 屬谷州任內, 後置縣令. 忠宣王二年, 以元嬖宦李大順之請, 陞爲遂州(一云, 以郡人李連松, 有勞於國, 陞爲郡).”

<sup>58</sup> This is evident in the fact that the *Northeast Asia Historical Atlas*, produced by 80 South Korean historians under the Northeast Asia History Foundation, identified the Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery as Suan in Hwanghaedo. They presented Lee Byung-do's article as the only source. See footnote 4.

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

including the idea that it may be the Amnok River. As Yi Byungdo's influence wanes after his death, more scholars have aligned with Noh Taedon, who advocates for the Amnok River theory.

Noh Taedon, in his paper “A Study on the Changing Centers of Gojoseon,” argues that “as seen in the war between Gojoseon and Han in 108 B.C., Peishui was a major defense line for Gojoseon... thus, it is logical to see Peishui as the Amnok River” (Noh 1990: 29). When discussing Peishui mentioned in Li Daoyuan’s *Shui Jing Zhu, Commentary on the Waterways Classic*, on the other hand, he also argues, “There is no disagreement that Peishui at this time refers to the Daedong River” (Noh 1990: 6).<sup>59</sup> Apparently, he was making two contradictory arguments in the same paper. Furthermore, Li Daoyuan never connected Peisui to the Daedong River in relation to the location of the Lelang Commandery. This notwithstanding, Noh falsely claimed that “it could be easily conjectured that Li Daoyuan, the author of *Shui Jing Zhu*, examined the question of Peishui in relation to the location of Joseon County in Lelang Commandery” (Noh 1990: 7).

Recently, some scholars have interpreted the statement from *Huainanzi, The Master of Huainan* —“The Qin Great Wall extends north to the Liaoshui River [요수 遼水] and touches Joseon in the east”<sup>60</sup>—to argue that “the Great Wall

reached the present-day Western Liaohe River [서요하 西遼河], a tributary to the north of the Liaohe River [요하 遼河]” (Yun 2022: 276).

In this context, the following passage by Hong Seunghyun [홍승현] provides insight into this academic confusion:

Where exactly is Peishui? Geographically, the place where it can be located is the region east of the Tianshan Mountains [천산산맥 天山山脈] and north of the Daedong River. Setting the boundary north of the Daedong River is reasonable because Gojoseon’s central region at the time was in the Daedong River basin. If Peishui were identified as the Daedong River, it would mean that the Qin’s outer defenses would have reached up to the center of Gojoseon. Therefore, it's logical to identify the easternmost limit (of the Qin’s outer defenses) as north of the Daedong River. The natural barriers that can be used in between are the Amnok or Cheongcheon Rivers. Since this has already been extensively discussed, there is no need to go into it in detail again here.... The Cheongcheon River represents the furthest extent of Chinese forces; it cannot serve as a Maginot line of retreat. Hence, I believe the Peishui, which the Han dynasty could have used as the border with Gojoseon, is likely the Amnok River. If so, it is a logical conclusion that the Qin Great Wall would have extended beyond the Amnok River into the Korean Peninsula (Hong 2018: 25–26).

<sup>59</sup> For more detailed discussions of the problems in Noh Taedon’s interpretations of Peishui based on Li Daoyuan’s [酈道元 酈道元] *Shui Jing Zhu* 『水經注』, see Moon (2018: 65–77).

<sup>60</sup> *Huainanzi, The Master of Huainan* 『淮南子 淮南子』 卷18 「人間訓」: “將築脩城西屬流沙 北擊遼水東結朝鮮”

Hong Seunghyun's argument is no different from those of Inaba Iwakichi and Yi Byungdo, as it is also based on the unhistorical assumption that the center of Gojoseon (that is, Wiman Joseon) was in the Daedong River basin, a logic that traces back to Japanese imperialist scholars. As explained earlier, the Peishui River cannot be a river in the northwest region of the Korean Peninsula, nor can Lelang Commandery be located in the Pyeongyang area. Nevertheless, Korean historians in academic institutions continue to adhere to the arguments made by Inaba Iwakichi, only with slight adjustments made to the location of Peishui.

## VI. THE EASTERNMOST END OF QIN'S UNIFIED TERRITORY

The easternmost end of Qin's Great Wall is likely closely connected to the easternmost boundary of Qin's unified territory. So, where was the northeastern boundary of Qin? In the 25th year of his reign (222 BCE), King Zheng of Qin (later Qin Shi Huang) raised a large army and sent General Wang Ben to attack Liaodong, capturing King Xi of Yan.<sup>61</sup> The Crown Prince of Yan, Dan, had previously sent the assassin Jing Ke to kill King Zheng, but the

attempt failed. King Xi of Yan then beheaded Crown Prince Dan, presented his head to King Zheng, and delayed Qin's attack, but only temporarily. When Qin launched its attack, King Xi fled as far as ancient Liaodong, but he was eventually captured by Wang Ben here. The Qin army did not advance further to the east, making Liaodong of Yan the northeastern boundary of Qin's unified territory.

*Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian*, explains the unified territory of Qin as follows:

Its territory extends east to the sea and Joseon, west to Lintao and Qiangzhong, south to the Beixianghu region, and north to the Yellow River as a defensive stronghold, running parallel to the Yin Mountains and reaching as far as Liaodong.<sup>62</sup>

Regarding Joseon in this passage, the *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji*, comments: "The northeast is the country of Joseon. In *Guadizhi, Comprehensive Geographical Records*, 'Goryeo (高驪, referring to Goguryeo) was ruled from Pyeongyangseong [平壤城 평양성], which was originally Wangheomseong [王險城 왕험성] of Lelang Commandery of the Han dynasty, and that is the old Joseon.'" <sup>63</sup> The term 'Pyeongyang' here is not a proper noun referring to the present-day Pyeongyang region of North Korea, but rather a common noun meaning the

<sup>61</sup> *Shiji* 『史記』Annals of Qin Shi Huang 「始皇本紀」二十五年，大興兵，使王賁將，攻燕遼東，得燕王喜。

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Annals of Qin Shi Huang 「始皇本紀」二十六年，地東至海暨朝鮮，西至臨洮、羌中，南至北嚮戶，北據河為塞，並陰山至遼東。

<sup>63</sup> *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』: 東北 朝鮮國。括地志云：“高驪治平壤城，本漢樂浪郡王險城，即古 朝鮮也。”



## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

capital of Goguryeo. This Pyeongyangseong is not the one to which the capital was moved in the 15th year of Goguryeo King Jangsu (427 CE), but rather the Pyeongyangseong in Manchuria, where the capital was relocated in the 21st year of King Dongcheon (247 CE). *Samguk Sagi, The History of Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, in the Annals of Goguryeo section, records: “In the second month of spring, King Dongcheon, having suffered from warfare in Hwando Fortress, said it was no longer possible to use it as the capital, so he built Pyeongyangseong and moved the people, the royal ancestral shrines, and altars of state to the new location. Pyeongyangseong was originally the land of the immortal Wanggeom [王儉 왕검]. Some said, ‘The king settled in Wanggeomseong.’”<sup>64</sup> The ‘land of the immortal Wanggeom’ here refers to the land of Dangun Wanggeom. Chinese historical sources call this Wanggeomseong [王儉城 왕검성] by the name Wangheomseong [王險城 왕험성], and various Chinese historical texts provide explanations about it.<sup>65</sup>

*Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji*, comments: “The Pyeongyangseong of Goguryeo was originally Wangheomseong of Lelang Commandery of Han, which was originally Gojoseon. At that time, King Wiman of Joseon resided there.”<sup>66</sup> The Chronicles of Joseon section quotes the *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji*, adding: “Xu Guang stated that ‘there is a Heomdok [험독 險瀆] County in Changryeo.’”<sup>67</sup> *Shiji Suoyin, Search for Hidden Meanings of Shiji* further adds, “Ying Shao said, ‘Heomdok [험독 險瀆 Xiandu in Chinese] County of Liaodong Commandery mentioned in *Dilizhi, Geographical Records* is the capital of King Wiman of Joseon,’ and Shin Chan stated, ‘Wangheom [왕검 王險] is located east of Peishui in Lelang Commandery.’”<sup>68</sup>

What these historical sources reveal is that the Pyeongyangseong mentioned here does not refer to the present-day Pyeongyang in North Korea. The Pyeongyangseong of Goguryeo was situated at the location of Wangheomseong, the capital of Wiman Joseon. After the Han dynasty destroyed Wiman Joseon, they

<sup>64</sup> *Samguk Sagi, The History of Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*- 『삼국사기 三國史記』 21st year of King Dongcheon of Goguryeo (247) 「東川王 本紀」, 二十一年, 春二月: “王以丸都城經亂, 不可復都, 築平壤城, 移民及廟社. 平壤者, 本仙人王儉之宅也. 或云, 王之都王險.”

<sup>65</sup> For more details on Lelang Commandery’s Chosun County and Wangheomseong, see Lee D. (2017).

<sup>66</sup> *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』. Book of Laws 「律書」. Commentary on Joseon: “高驪平壤城本漢樂浪郡王險城, 即古朝鮮地, 時朝鮮王滿據之也。”

<sup>67</sup> *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* 『사기집해 史記集解』. Chronicles of Joseon 「조선열전 朝鮮列傳」. commentary on Capital Wangheom [都王險]: “徐廣曰: 「昌黎有險瀆縣也。」”

<sup>68</sup> *Shiji Suoyin, Search for Hidden Meanings of Shiji* 『사기색은 史記索隱』. Chronicles of Joseon 「조선열전 朝鮮列傳」. commentary on Capital Wangheom [도왕검 都王險]: “韋昭云 「古邑名」。徐廣曰 「昌黎有險瀆縣」。應劭注 「地理志遼東險瀆縣, 朝鮮王舊都」。臣瓚云 「王險城在樂浪郡溟水之東」也。”

established Heomdok County in Liaodong Commandery at that location. The fact that it belonged to Liaodong Commandery itself indicates that it is not the present-day Pyeongyang in North Korea. Additionally, Xu Guang mentioned that Heomdok County was located in Changryeo (창려 昌黎 Changli in Chinese) Commandery, which is in Hebei Province. The statement that Heomdok County, established at the site of Wanggeomseong, was located east of Peishui in Lelang Commandery means that Liaodong Commandery, where Heomdok County was located, was situated to the east of Lelang Commandery. This suggests that Liaodong Commandery and Lelang Commandery were not aligned in a straight line.

The *Book of Han* provides the following Commentary on Liaodong Commandery, Heomdok mentioned in *Dilizhi* commentary:

Ying Shao stated, “It was the capital of King Wiman of Joseon. Since the river was rough, it was called Heomdok.” Chen Zan commented, “Wanggeomseong is located east of Peishui in Lelang Commandery, and from this, Heomdok County originated.” Yan Shigu agreed, saying, “Chen Zan’s interpretation is correct.”<sup>69</sup>

Han established Heomdok County of

Liaodong Commandery at Wanggeomseong, which had been the capital of King Wiman of Joseon. Heomdok County of Liaodong Commandery was located east of the Peishui River in Lelang Commandery. Whether it was a part of Liaodong Commandery or represented the entirety of it is unclear. What is clear is that Heomdok County was located to the east of the Lelang Commandery. This means that viewing Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery as being in Suan, Hwanghae-do, has no basis whatsoever.

As mentioned earlier, *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian* (Annals of Qin Shi Huang section) describes Qin’s unified territory as follows: “(Qin’s territory extends) ... north to the Yellow River as a defensive stronghold, running parallel to the Yin Mountains [음산 陰山] and reaching as far as Liaodong.” Regarding this passage, *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* comments that “according to *Dilizhi, Geographical Records*, ‘there is Yinshan [음산 陰山] County in Xihe [서하 西河 = west of the Yellow River].’”<sup>70</sup> *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* further explains<sup>71</sup>, “The Yellow River marks the northern borders of Lingzhou, Xiazhou, and Shengzhou. Yinshan is located outside the fortifications north of Suzhou [삭주 朔州]. The Great Wall

<sup>69</sup> *Book of Han* 『한서 漢書』. Commentary on Liaodong Commandery, Heomdok in *Dilizhi* 『지리지 요동군 險瀆』에 대한 주석: “應劭曰: 「朝鮮王滿都也。依水險, 故曰險瀆。」臣瓚曰: 「王險城在樂浪郡浪水之東, 此自是險瀆也。」師古曰: 「瓚說是也。浪音普大反。」”

<sup>70</sup> *Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of Shiji* 『사기집해 史記集解』. Annals of Qin Shi Huang 『시황본기 始皇本紀』. 26<sup>th</sup> year 二十六年.

Commentary on Yin Mountains [음산 陰山]: “地理志西河有陰山縣。”

<sup>71</sup> *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』. Annals of Qin Shi Huang 『시황본기 始皇本紀』, 26<sup>th</sup> year 二十六年, Commentary on Liaodong [요동 遼東]: “謂靈、夏、勝等州之北黃河。陰山在朔州北塞外。從河傍陰山, 東至遼東, 築長城為北界。”

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

was built along the Yin Mountains by the Yellow River and extended eastward to Liaodong, forming the northern boundary.” This means that the Qin Great Wall was constructed along the Yin Mountains near the Yellow River and extended to Liaodong, establishing the northern frontier. More detailed information about this section of the Great Wall can be found in the description of the Great Wall in Yongping Prefecture (now Luolong County in present-day Hebei Province) in the *Dushi Fangyu Jiyao, Essentials of Historical Geography*, which was briefly referenced earlier:

The Great Wall is located 70 *li* north of Yongping Prefecture. Liu Zhao stated that there is a Great Wall in Biyeo County, and some say that this wall built by the Yan and Qin dynasties, is in this very area. Guo Zaoqing mentioned that the old Great Wall is located outside the frontier passes in Wuyou, Liaoxi, and Liaodong. If this does not correspond to the nearby region, then this Great Wall is similar to the old sites from the early days of the country, which the *Yitongzhi, Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Unified Empire* [일통지 一統誌] mistakenly identified as the Qin Great Wall.<sup>72</sup>

It presents two theories about the Great Wall located 70 *li* north of Yongping Prefecture. One theory is from Liu Zhao, the author of the “Geographical Records” section of the *Book of the Later Han*. According to him, this is the Yan-Qin Great Wall. The other theory comes from

Guo Zaoqing, who argues that it was mistakenly identified as the Yan-Qin Great Wall but is the old site of a Ming dynasty fortification. Liu Zhao, who annotated the *Book of the Later Han*, was a scholar from the Liangn [양 梁] dynasty (502–557) of the Southern Dynasties, making him a figure of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Guo Zaoqing, on the other hand, was the son of Guo Wancheng, who passed the imperial examination in the 14th year of Jiajing (1535) during the Ming dynasty and served as a Director in the Ministry of Justice, making him a figure from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Naturally, the claim of Liu Zhao, a scholar from over a thousand years before Guo Zaoqing, holds more credibility. The remnants of the Great Wall north of present-day Luolong County in Hebei Province should indeed be considered traces of the Qin-Han Great Wall, as suggested by Liu Zhao. South of Luolong County lies Mount Jieshi, which, according to the Yellow River section of *Shui Jing, The Waterways Classic* marks the eastern end of the Qin Great Wall. Thus, the area around Luolong County corresponds to ancient Liaodong.

Regarding Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery, the *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* cites the *Taikang Geography* as follows.

*Taikang Geography* states, "In Suicheng County of Lelang Commandery, there is Mount Jieshi, which is the starting point

<sup>72</sup> *Dushi Fangyu Jiyao, "Essentials of Historical Geography* 『독사방여기요 讀史方輿紀要』, Vol. 17 卷17, 北直八, Yongping Prefecture 永平府: “長城, 在府北七十裏。劉昭曰: 肥如縣有長城。或以為燕、秦所

築之長城, 即此地也。郭造卿曰: 古長城在右北平、遼西、遼東諸塞外, 不應若此之近。此長城似國初故址, 《一統誌》誤以為秦長城也”

of the (Great) Wall.<sup>73</sup>

“Taikang” is the era name that Emperor Wu of the Western Jin Dynasty adopted in celebration of unifying China after conquering the Wu [오 吳] state in the south in 280 CE. It was used until 289 CE. The period of division among the Three Kingdoms of Wei [위 魏], Shu [촉 蜀], and Wu ended with the unification of the Central Plains by the Jin [진 晉] dynasty, which emerged from the state of Wei. This unified Jin compiled the *Taikang Dilizhi, Taikang Geography* in celebration of unification that encompasses the entire territory of unified China. In this text, we find the statement that “① in Lelang Commandery’s Suicheng County ② there is Jieshi Mountain, and ③ it is the starting point of the Great Wall.” This straightforward record withstanding, later people re-located geographical markers, even a ‘mountain’, to manipulate a grand historiographical forgery.

There is abundant evidence in ancient Chinese records that Lelang Commandery was located in *Liaodong*. For instance, *The Book of Later Han* records under the Emperor Guangwu, 6th year of Jianwu (30 CE) heading: “At first, Wang Dia of Lelang, fortified by the stronghold of Lelang Commandery, refused to submit.”<sup>74</sup> An annotation to this passage further

clarifies that “the Lelang Commandery is old Joseon. It is in Liaodong.”<sup>75</sup> This unequivocally places Lelang Commandery in Liaodong.

A similar statement is found in the Biography of Cui Yin (?–92) section of the *Book of the Later Han*. Cui Yin was appointed magistrate of Zhangzham County of the Lelang Commandery by the General of the Cavalry, Dou Xian (?–92).<sup>76</sup> The commentary adds: “Zhangzham County belongs to Lelang Commandery, and that land is in Liaodong.”<sup>77</sup> The “Liaodong” here refers to the ancient Liaodong, present-day Hebei. Since Lelang Commandery was in ancient Liaodong, it is absolutely impossible that the Suicheng County under its jurisdiction could be located in either Hwanghae-do or Pyeongyang. As for the Suicheng County appearing in *Taikang Geography* and the *Book of Jin* (Geographical Records), Inaba Iwakichi asserted that “Suicheng is today’s Suan in Hwanghae Province ... as *The History of Goryeo (Geographical Records)* shows” (Lee D. 2018). As explained earlier, however, the name “Suan” only appeared in early Goryeo, rendering this claim baseless.

Mount Jieshi mentioned in the *Taikang Geography* is in modern-day Changli City

<sup>73</sup> *Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji* 『사기정의 史記正義』. Annals of the Xia Dynasty 『하본기 夏本紀』. Annotation 註釋: “太康地理志云, “樂浪遼城縣有碣石山, 長城所起”.

<sup>74</sup> *Hou Han Shu, The Book of Later Han* 『후한서 後漢書』 Annals of Emperor Guangwu 6<sup>th</sup> Year 『光武帝本紀 建武 6년 조』: “初, 樂浪人王調據郡不服”.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Annals of Emperor Guangwu 6<sup>th</sup> Year 『광무제본기 光武帝本紀 建武 6년 조』 Annotation: “樂浪郡, 故朝鮮國也. 在遼東”.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, Biography of Cui Yin 『최인열전 崔駟 列傳』: “憲擅權驕恣, 駟數諫之...因察駟高第, 出為長岑長”.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Biography of Cui Yin 『최인열전 崔駟 列傳』, Annotation: “長岑縣, 屬樂浪郡, 其地在遼東”.

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

**Figure 6.** The Territory of Qin and the Qin Great Wall According to Historical Sources (Hangaram Institute for History & Culture 2020, 89)



in Hebei Province. Moreover, historical records such as *The Book of Sui* reveal that Changli County was once Suicheng County in the past.<sup>78</sup> Mount Jieshi lies in northern Changli County,<sup>79</sup> with Lelang Commandery's capital, Joseon County, to its north, in present-day *Nolong County*. North of *Nolong* lie the remnants of the Qin-Han Great Wall. Thus, this area marks the eastern terminus of the Qin-Han Great Wall.

<sup>78</sup> For more detailed discussion on the Suicheng County, Mout Jieshi, and the eastern end of the Great Wall, see Lee Dukil (2009: 85–97).

<sup>79</sup> Mount Jieshi is located north of Changli in Hebei Province; there also is in Jieshi Mountain Fortress

## VII. CONCLUSION

Throughout history, the easternmost point of the Great Wall was the Shanhai Pass during the Ming Dynasty. However, the Chinese National Museum currently depicts the Qin and Han Great Wall extending as far as Pyeongyang, a claim originally made in 1910 by Japanese colonial historian Inaba Iwakichi, promoting imperialist historiography. This

[碣石山鎮 갈석산진] of Wudi [無棣 무체] County, Binzhou [濱州 빈주], Shandong Province. There used to be some view of Shandong's Jieshi Mountain as the border between Han China and Gojoseon.



notion, embraced by both Chinese and South Korean academic circles, erroneously suggests that the Great Wall reached northern Korea.

The truth is that the Great Wall never extended past Shanhai Pass. As shown in Figure 6, the eastern terminus of the Qin Great Wall was near present-day Nolong County, Hebei Province, which was part of ancient Liaodong. Mount Jieshi, located below Nolong County, marks the eastern limit of the Qin-Han Great Wall. The Qin and Han Great Walls never extended past Mount Jieshi.

The view that the Qin Dynasty's Great Wall extended to the northern part of the Korean Peninsula first emerged when Japanese imperialism occupied Korea. Inaba Iwakichi, working for the South Manchuria Railway Company, claimed in his 1910 paper that the Great Wall reached as far as Suan in Hwanghae Province. It was later adopted by Wang Guoliang in China, who slightly modified it to claim that the Wall extended to Pyeongyang. In contrast, South Korean historian Yi Byungdo followed Inaba's original theory, thereby helping to spread Inaba's theory globally.

China is currently using this falsified history, initially concocted by Japanese imperialism, as part of its "Sinocentric hegemony" project, extending its historical claims to northern Korea. This is ironic, considering that China refers to its fight against Japanese imperialism during the Anti-Japanese War (1931–1945) as a key justification for its legitimacy. The persistence of the "Great Wall = Northern

Korea" theory, even 70 years after the end of Japanese imperialism, demands introspection and reflection from China which fought against Japanese imperialism. Moreover, South Korean academic circles, which have long supported this distorted narrative to maintain academic authority, should undertake a deep self-examination.

### Key Words

Great Wall, Imperialist Historiography, Lelang Commandery (Nangnanggun), Liaohe River, Liaodong, Mount Jieshi, Pyeongyang, Suan

### REFERENCES

#### *Korean Primary Sources:*

*Daedong Jiji, The Great Eastern Geographical Records* 『대동지지 대東地志』

*Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam, Geographical Encyclopedia of the Joseon Dynasty* 『동국여지승람 東國輿地勝覽』

*Goryeo-sa, The History of Goryeo* 『고려사 高麗史』

*Samguk Sagi, The History of Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea* 『삼국사기 三國史記』

#### *Chinese Primary Sources:*

*Dushi Fangyu Jiyao, Essentials of Historical Geography* 『독사방여기요 讀史方輿紀要』

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

*Han Feizi, The Works of Han Fei* 『한비자  
韓非子』

*Han Shu, The Book of Han* 『한서 漢書』

*Heshuizhu, Annotations on the Rivers*  
『하수주 河水注』

*Hou Han Shu, The Book of Later Han*  
『후한서 後漢書』

*Huainanzi, The Masters of Huainan*  
『회남자 淮南子』

*Jin Shu, The Book of Jin* 『진서 晉書』

*Jinzi, The Geographical Records of Jin*  
『진지 晉志』

*Ming Xianzong Shilu, The Veritable  
Records of Emperor Xianzong of the  
Ming* 『명헌종실록 明憲宗實錄』

*Ming Xizong Shilu, The Veritable Records  
of Emperor Xizong of the Ming*  
[明熹宗實錄 명희종실록]

*Sanguo Zhi, Records of the Three  
Kingdoms* 『삼국지 三國志』

*Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian*  
『사기 史記』

*Shiji Jijie, Collected Interpretations of  
Shiji* 『(사기)집해 (史記)集解』

*Shiji Suoyin, Search for Hidden Meanings  
of Shiji* 『(사기)색은 (史記)索隱』

*Shiji Zhengyi, Correct Meanings of Shiji*  
『(사기)정의 (史記)正義』

*Shui Jing, The Waterways Classic* 『수경  
水經』

*Shui Jing Zhu, Commentary on the  
Waterways Classic* 『수경주 水經注』

*Shuowen Jiezi, Explaining Graphs and  
Analyzing Characters* 『설문해자  
說文解字』

*Sui Shu, The Book of Sui* 『수서 隋書』

*Yongping-fu Gujigao, Study of the Ancient  
Sites of Yongping Prefecture*  
『영평부고적고 永平府古蹟考』

*Xin Tang Shu, The New Book of Tang*  
『신당서 新唐書』

### Books & Articles:

Bae, Jinyoung. 2005. "The Installation of the Five Counties of Yan and Its Significance in the Power Relations of Northeast Asia". *Chinese History Research* 36: 1–44. [배진영] 『燕國의 五郡 설치와 그 의미-戰國時代 東北아시아의 勢力關係-』 『중국사연구 中國史研究』

Cao, Shuju. 2000. *History of China's Population, Volume 4: The Ming Dynasty Period*. Shanghai: Fudan University Press. [조수기 曹樹基] 『중국인구사, 제 4 권-명시기 中國人口史, 第四卷-明時期』

Choi, Wontae. 2018. "The Border Between Gojoseon and the State of Yan During the Warring States Period". *The Journal of Korean History & Convergence* No. 3: 87–126. [최원태] 『고조선과 전국시대 연의 국경』 『역사와 융합』

———, and Jeong Am. 2023. "Ancient Liaodong as Seen in *Shiji, Records of the Grand Historian*". *The Journal of Korean History & Convergence* Vol. 7, No. 2: 80–85. [정암] 『『사기』로 본 고대요동』 『역사와 융합』

- Foreign Affairs Work Bulletin. 1963. Issue No. 10. “Premier Zhou Enlai Talks About Sino-North Korean Relations”. 『외사공작통보 外事工作通報』 「주은래총리담 중조관계 周恩來總理談中朝關係」
- Ge, Jianxiong. 1991. *History of China's Population Development*. Fuzhou: Fujian People's Publishing House. [갈검웅 葛劍雄] 『중국인구발전사 中國人口發展史』
- Hangaram Institute for History & Culture. Trans. and Annot. 2020. *Newly Annotated Shiji. Vol. 5. Chronicles of Qinsihuang*. Seoul: Hangaram Institute for History & Culture. [한가람역사문화연구소] 『신주 사마천 사기. 5. 진시황본기』
- Hong, Seunghyun. 2018. “The Western Boundary of Wiman Joseon as Seen Through the Construction of the Great Walls of Yan, Qin, and Han”. *Korean Historical Review* 70: 7–42. [홍승현] 「燕·秦·漢長城 수축을 통해 본 衛滿朝鮮의 西界」 『韓國史學報』
- . 2014. “China’s ‘Great Wall Protection Project’ and New Trends in Great Wall Studies”. *Northeast Asian History Journal* 45: 339–401. 「중국의 ‘장성보호공정(長城保護工程)’과 장성 연구의 새로운 경향」 『동북아역사논총』
- . 2012. “Research and Trends on the Great Walls of Yan, Qin, and Han in Chinese and Japanese Academia”. *Northeast Asian History Journal* 35: 327–379. 「중국과 일본 학계의 燕·秦·漢長城 연구와 추이」 『동북아역사논총』
- Inaba, Iwakichi. 1910. “Treatise on the Eastern End of the Qin Great Wall and the Wangheomseong of Gojoseon”. *Historical Journal* Vol. 2, No. 2: 1-20. [이나바 이와기치 稻葉岩吉] 「진장성동단급 왕험성고 秦長城東端及王險城 考」 『사학잡지 史學雜誌』
- Institute of Peace Affairs. ed. 2008. *Encyclopedia of North Korean Geography and Culture*. Seoul: Institute of Peace Affairs. [평화문제연구소] 『조선향토대백과』
- Kim, Byunghwa. Trans. 2007. *The Great Wall: Telling China’s History*. By Julia Lovell. Seoul: Woongjin Knowledge House. [김병화] 『장성, 중국사를 말한다』
- Kim, Myungok, Lee Juhan, Hong Sundae, and Hwang Soonjong. 2017. *Historians of Betrayal: Their Own World*. Seoul: Manguandang. [김명옥·이주한·홍순대·황순종] 『매국의 역사 학자, 그들만의 세상』
- Lee, Dukil, trans. and annot. 2018a. *Li Jilin’s Study on Gojoseon: Searching for Continental Gojoseon*. By Ri Jilin. Seoul: Mal Publishing. [이덕일] 『리지린의 고조선 연구-대륙고조선을 찾아서』
- , trans. and annot. 2018b. “Translation and Critique of Inaba Iwakichi’s Study on the Eastern End of the Qin Great Wall”. By Inaba Iwakichi. *The Journal of Korean History & Convergence* Vol. 2: 7–42. [이나바 이와기치 (稻葉岩吉)의 ‘진장성 동단 및 왕험성고’ 번역 및 비판] 『역사와 융합』
- . 2017. “The Location of Joseon County of Lelang Commandery: A Critique of the Pyeongyangseong and the Taedong River Theories”. *The Journal of Korean History & Convergence* Vol. 1: 45–81. 「낙랑군

## THE GREAT WALL & LELANG COMMANDERY

- 조선현의 위치-낙랑군 조선현의 평양성 및 대동강설 비판」『역사와 융합』
- . 2015. *The Betrayal History of the Discipline of History—How Far Has It Gone?* Seoul: Manguandang. 『매국의 역사학, 어디까지 왔나?』
- . 2009. *Korean History: The Truth They Hid*. Seoul: History's Morning. 『한국사, 그들이 숨긴 진실』
- Lee, Jongsu. 2012. “A Review of China's 'Great Wall Protection Project' and the Status and Countermeasures for Goguryeo and Balhae Great Walls”. *Goguryeo and Balhae Studies* 44: 199–221. [이종수] 『중국의 '장성보호공정'과 고구려·발해장성 현황 및 대응방안 검토』 『고구려 발해 연구』
- . 2011. “A Review of the Survey Status and Issues of the Great Wall of Yan, Jin, and Han in the Liaodong Region”. *The Journal of Korean History* 43: 247–276. 『요동지역 연진한 장성 조사현황 및 문제점 검토』 『한국사학보』
- Li, Zhaoluo. 1931. *Modern Interpretation of the Rhyme Compilation of Historical Geography*. Shanghai: Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan. [이조락 李兆洛] 『역대지리지운편 금석 歷代地理志韻編今釋』
- Moon, Seongjae. 2018. *Ancient Korean History and Historical Distortions by Korea, China, and Japan*. Seoul: Uri History Research Foundation. [문성재] 『한국고대사와 한중일의 역사왜곡』
- Noh, Taedon. 2000. *Dangun and the History of Gojoseon*. Seoul: Sagyejeol Publishing. [노태돈] 『단군과 고조선사』
- . 1990. “A Study on the Changing Centers of Gojoseon”. *Korean History Review* 23: 3–55. 『고조선 중심지의 변천에 대한 연구』 『한국사론』
- Republic of Korea Ministry of National Defense. 2017 *Defense White Paper*. December 2017. [대한민국 국방부] 『2017 국방백서』
- Shin, Chaeho. 2007. *The Ancient History of Joseon*. Seoul: Korean Independence Movement Research Institute. [신채호] 『조선상고사』
- Song, Jin. 2014. “The Existential Form and Characteristics of the Great Wall”. In *Studies on the Great Walls of China's Dynasties*, edited by Hong Seung-hyeon et al., 83–164. Northeast Asian History Foundation. [송진 宋眞] 『한 장성의 존재 형태와 그 특징』 『중국 역대 장성의 연구』
- . 2013. “The Liaodong Commandery and Its Borders During the Warring States, Qin, and Han Dynasties”. *Korean Ancient History Studies* 76: 55–94. 『戰國·秦·漢시기 遼東郡과 그 경계』 『한국고대사연구』
- Tan, Qixiang. ed. 1988. *Historical Atlas of China: Compilation of Text Explanations - Northeast Volume*. Shanghai: Map Publisher. [담기양 譚其驥] 『중국역사지도집—석문회편·동북권 中國歷史地圖集—釋文匯編·東北卷』
- . ed. 1982. *Historical Atlas of China*. 8 Vols. Beijing: China Cartographic Publishing House. Published under the auspices of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. 『중국역사지도집 中國歷史地圖集』

- Wang, Guoliang. 1931. *Study on the Evolution of the Great Wall of China*. Beijing: Commercial Press. [왕국량 王國良] 『중국장성연혁고 中國長城沿革攷』
- , and Shou Pengfei. eds. 1982. *Two Types of Great Wall Research Materials*. Taipei: Mingwen Books. [수봉비 壽鵬飛] 『장성연구자료양종 長城研究資料兩種』
- Xu, Weimin. 2012. “Review of Research on Qin Shi Huang’s Great Wall”. *Qin-Han Studies* Vol. 6: 313–342. [서위민 徐衛民] 『진시황장성연구중술 秦始皇長城研究綜述』 『진한연구 秦漢研究』
- Yi, Byungdo. 1985. *Korean Ancient History Studies*. Revised edition. Seoul: Pak Young Sa. Originally published 1976. [이병도] 『수정판 한국고대사연구 修訂版 韓國古代史研究』
- Yoon, Byeongmo. 2022. “The War Between Yan & Jin v. Gojoseon”. *Military History* 122: 249–285. [윤병모] 『연·진과 고조선의 전쟁』 『軍史』
- Yun, Naehyun. 2015. *Study on Gojoseon Vol 1*. Seoul: Manguandang. [윤내현] 『고조선연구(상)』

**Other Sources:**

- Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. “Great Wall of China,” <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Great-Wall-of-China/The-Ming-dynasty-to-the-present>
- Baidu Baike* [百度百科], s.v. “燕國,” <https://baike.baidu.com/item/燕國/32366>
- Wikipedia Encyclopedia*