

## FOREWORD

On a clear day, one can see the Tsushima 對馬 islands with the naked eye from the Pusan 釜山 area, a southeastern corner of the Korean peninsula. From the southern part of Tsushima, one can in turn clearly see Iki 壹岐 island that is a short distance from Kyūshū.

From the eighth century until the early nineteenth century, Japan was very much left to itself. This long isolation allowed the Japanese people to believe in the uniqueness of their culture and the purity of their race. Particularly since the Meiji Restoration, studies about what makes the Japanese people special as a race and the Japanese culture unique as a social system have become a national pastime intensely enjoyed by the Japanese public.

Encouraged by the political leaders of the first half of this century, Japanese historians enthusiastically distorted their history, especially the history of the relationship between Korea and Japan before the eighth century. The general public was encouraged to nurture a deep racial contempt for Korean people. Pre-War Japanese historians and political leaders encouraged the Japanese public to believe that the southern part of Korea had been a colony of Japan during the fourth and fifth centuries (perhaps even the third), and that the northern part of Korea had been occupied by Chinese empires from time immemorial.

According to Nihongi, the Lord of Yutsuki (Kung-weol 弓月), the ancestor of the Hata 秦 clan, came from Paekche 百濟 with one hundred and twenty districts of people in the 16th year of 應神 [A.D. 405]. Nihongi further records that in the 20th year of 應神, Achi no Omi 阿知使主, the ancestor of the Yamato Aya 倭漢 clan 氏族, came to Japan bringing with him a company of people from seventeen districts 縣. These Yamato Aya and Hata clans were entrusted with various technical matters such as book-keeping and tax collecting in the Yamato Court 倭朝廷 — emulating the *Be* 部 system of Paekche — and hence enabled the Yamato imperial clan to function as a state. In the sixth year of Yū ryaku 雄略 [A.D. 463], there again came painters, brocade-weavers, tailors, saddlers and interpreters from Paekche. In order to distinguish these newly arrived people from the skilled artisans who had arrived earlier during the reign of 應神, this group was called Imaki (newcomer) Aya 今來漢 (新漢). Ishida Eiichirō 石田英一郎, an anthropologist, contends that if one wishes to believe that the Yamato court was established without any connection to Korea, then there is no way to explain such a

massive movement of Korean people to Japan during the reign of 高麗.

Moreover, when one reads Nihongi, one can not help noticing a strong feeling of close kinship between the Paekche royal family and the Yamato 大和(倭) imperial clan 皇族.<sup>1</sup> For instance, it is evident that there were almost always some members of Paekche royal family at the Yamato Court. The Heir Apparent 太子 to Paekche's King Asin 阿莘王 (A.D. 392-405) stayed in Wa with 高麗 since A.D. 397 until he returned to Paekche in A.D. 405 at his father's death to ascend the throne and become King Cheonji (A.D. 405-420). In the 39th year of 高麗, the King of Paekche sent his younger sister to 高麗 together with seven women to wait upon her. During the reign of Nintoku 仁德, Lord Chu 酒君, the grandson of the King of Paekche, came to Wa, tamed a falcon, and went hunting with Nintoku. King Kaero 蓋鹵王 (A.D. 455-475) of Paekche sent his younger brother Lord Kun 軍君 [Kon-chi 昆支] to Wa to wait upon Yūryaku. When King Sam-keun 三斤王 (A.D. 477-479) of Paekche died in A.D. 479, the second son of Kon-chi returned to Paekche to become King Tongseong 東城王 (A.D. 479-501). In describing the departure scene, Nihongi records that Yūryaku himself stroked the face and head of Kon-chi's son.

The New Compilation of the Register of Families 新撰姓氏錄, that was finished in A.D. 815 under the auspices of Saga 嵯峨 (A.D. 809-823) presents a list of the 1,182 ruling families of Yamato Wa. The preface of the Register states that since mahito 真人 is the sovereign one among the imperial clan names 皇別之上氏, those mahito clans in capital areas are presented at the beginning of the imperial group 皇別首 in Book One. For instance, Temmu 天武 (A.D. 672-686) was called "Ama no Nunahara oki 天渟中原瀛 no MAHITO no Sumera Mikoto." According to the Register, however, all the mahito clans can be regarded as the offspring of "the King of Paekche 百濟(親)王之後."

After the fall of the capital city of Paekche to the Silla-Tang allied forces in A.D. 660, Prince Yeō Phung-chang 餘豐璋, who returned from Wa, together with Pok-sin 福信 gathered a force and kept fighting against the Silla-Tang forces at Chu-yu 州柔(周留城). Yamato Wa dispatched a troop of ten thousand soldiers to help them, but this Wa army was annihilated at the battle of Paekch'on River 白村江, and the city of Chu-yu also surrendered to the Tang

<sup>1</sup>Old Yamato implies the Nara 奈良 basin that housed a succession of palaces and capitals from the late fourth through eighth centuries. Nara is located at the center of Kinai 畿内, a district under direct control of the imperial family which included the five kuni 國 of Yamato 大和, Yamashiro 山城, Kawachi 河内, Izumi 和泉, and Settsu 攝津. Until Kōtoku (A.D. 645-654), Yamato 大和 was written as Wa 倭 and read as Yamato.

forces. Then Nihongi records the reaction of the Yamato people: “Then the people of the country said to one another, Chu-yu has fallen; there is nothing more to be done; this day the name of Paekche has become extinct; shall we ever visit again the place where the tombs of our ancestors are 丘墓之所豈能復往?”<sup>2</sup>

In 1948, after carefully examining the architectural features of tombs and the contents of burial places, Egami Namio 江上波夫 proposed the horserider theory which postulates that the formation of the Yamato Wa 大和倭 at the end of the fourth century resulted from an invasion and conquest of the native people by a horseriding people from the continent. According to Egami, the horseriding conquerors were North Asian nomads who more recently had inhabited the south Korean area and would have launched their invasion from there. In his public dissemination of this theory, he obscures the picture by giving long accounts of the historic nomadic confederations in central Asia -- namely, the Scythians, the Xiong-nu 匈奴, the Turks 突厥, the Xian-bei 鮮卑, the Wu-huan 烏桓 Mongols and the To-ba Wei 拓跋 北魏, — although at the end he settles on the idea that the horseriding invaders were predominantly agricultural and secondarily a nomadic people, such as the Puyeo and Koguryeo. In presenting his ideas, Egami has simply followed the tradition of Japanese historians by using expressions like “continental” or “Chinese” in place of “Korean.” Recently, however, Gari Ledyard of Columbia University has advanced a modified version of the horserider theory on the basis of historical materials of fourth-century Korea and Japan which could eliminate many of the (archeologically) anachronistic elements of Egami’s theory. He proposes that one need not be vague about just where the horseriders came

<sup>2</sup>The inscription upon the bronze mirror with human figures 人物畫像鏡 that is preserved at the Suda Hachiman Shrine 隅田八幡神社 may be read: “in the year of the sheep (A.D. 503), period of great king 大王年, to younger brother king 男弟王: when he was staying at Ishisaga Palace, Sama 斯麻, thinking of longevity 念長壽, ordered two men to make this mirror, taking 200 cho of white nickel bronze 取白上同二百皐作此鏡.” According to the funerary inscription, the name of Paekche’s King Munyeong 武寧王 (A.D. 501-523) was Sama 斯麻. The expression “younger brother 男弟” can also be found in the Wajin-den 倭人傳 of Wei-zhi 魏志: “Himiko 卑彌呼 had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country 有男弟佐治國.” Nihongi quotes the Paekche Shinsen 百濟新撰 which states that Paekche King Kaero 蓋鹵王 (A.D. 455-475) sent Lord Konchi 昆支君 in A.D. 461 to Yuryaku 雄略 in order to confirm the friendship of *big brother King* 以脩兄王之好.” King Munyeong was the son of King Kaero. The younger brother king seems to indicate either Keitai 繼體 (A.D. 450-531?) or, more likely, Buretsu 武烈 (A.D. 489-506?).

from. According to Ledyard, they were the Puyeo people.

Egami's Horserider Theory 騎馬民族説 is the most explicitly formulated model of the origin of Yamato Wa in protohistoric Japan, although it has received little support from other Japanese archeologists and historians. The Wajin-den 倭人傳 section of Wei-zhi 魏志 was written between A.D. 280 and 297 on the basis of reports made by the Chinese envoys to Kyūshū during A.D. 239-248. Wei-zhi describes a fragmented political structure in Japan of more than a hundred town states in the Kyūshū area. Furthermore, according to Wei-zhi, there were no horses in Japan at this time. Egami's model was inspired by the sudden appearance of horserider accoutrements in Japanese tombs that are dated after about A.D. 375 and coincide with the emerging nation-state in the Yamato plain. Egami contends that mounted people from the southern Korean peninsula, Mimana 任那 (Kaya 伽耶), led by a Chin (Chen) King 辰王, Mimaki-iri-biko 御間城八彦 (Sujin 崇神), crossed over the sea and conquered Kyūshū at the turn of the fourth century and then, after a lapse of perhaps a generation or two, they advanced to the Kinai 畿内 region led by Jimmu to create Yamato Wa.

Ledyard accepts Egami's basic framework, but replaces the people from Kaya with Puyeo 夫餘 warriors. Ledyard contends that the remnants of the Puyeo people migrated around A.D. 369 from their Manchurian home base (that was lost to Xian-bei in A.D. 346) all the way down to the Han River 漢江 Basin, Mimana, Kyūshū, and ultimately to the Yamato area. Ledyard could eliminate the seriously anachronistic archeological elements in Egami's model by shifting the arrival of horseriders from the turn of the fourth century to the late fourth century. By choosing the Puyeo people as the principal actors, however, Ledyard has almost completely ignored contemporary Korean history and the vast amount of information on the relationship between Paekche and Yamato Wa that is recorded in Kojiki 古事記 and Nihongi 日本書紀.

This book now attempts to advance a more coherent model by taking thoroughly into account the materials recorded in Kojiki and Nihongi and focusing squarely on the relationship between Paekche and Yamato Wa. In my model, Egami's horseriders and Ledyard's Puyeo warriors are replaced by the Paekche people. This is the revised and enlarged version of my previous book *The Relationship between Korea and Japan in the Early Period: Paekche and Yamato Wa* (1988). I presented a draft in progress at the *First Seoul University-Tokyo University Symposium* on "Interchange and Comparison between Korea and Japan: History and Present," held at Sanjo Conference Hall, Tokyo University on December 19-20, 1991. I appreciate

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