1.

THE SUDDEN MASSIVE INFLUX OF CONTINENTAL CULTURE IN THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY:

Egami's Theory of the Horseriders' Invasion—
The Archeological Approach

A. The Break in the Tomb Period

According to Mizuno (1969): "It would appear that Japan originally took shape as a nation at some time between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. Although it still remains unclear who played the the leading role in this process, many huge old burial mounds in the Kinai 幾內 district (extending from the southern edge of Kyōto City to the middle of Nara Prefecture and to the east of Ōsaka City) indicate without a doubt that the unification was accomplished in this period." Mizuno (1969) further notes that "the emergence of this type of huge mound indicates the unification of the various communities then in existence under the influence of a powerful ruler, whose supremacy was extraordinary compared with the milder authority of the priest-like rulers of Yayoi Period communities . . . . [T]he ruling class itself may have designed the burial mounds in such a way as to compel the people's veneration for the powerful rulers of an infant nation." Inoue (1968: 5) states that "in the preceding Yayoi Period the rulers and the ruled were buried together in a common burial-ground [indicating the absence of clear social stratification], whereas in the Kofun Period the ruling class had begun to build large-scale tombs for themselves."

At the "Symposium on the Origins of the Japanese People and Culture and the Formation of the Japanese State" that was organized in 1948 by a cultural anthropologist, Ishida Eiichirō 石田英一郎, new approaches to the problem of Japan's origin were presented by an ethnologist, Oka Masao 岡正雄, and by Egami Namio 江上波夫 who was a specialist in Asian history and the great nomadic confederacies. Oka presented the idea of the "imperial race," originating in eastern Manchuria as a mixed herding and farming people, moving through the Korean peninsula into Japan around the second or third century A.D. Oka suggested that this race was closely related, culturally and ethnically, with the Puyeo and Koguryeo people (see KEJ: 3. 299).

The theory proposed by Egami at this symposium, published the following year under the title "The Japanese People – the Origin of its Culture and the Foundation of the Japanese State," has been widely disseminated as the "horseriding-race" theory. Egami (1964) himself, however, views his theory as "a modern edition of Kida Sadakichi's 喜田貞吉 theory," which appeared during the Taishō 大正 (1912-25) period as "The Theory of the Common Origin of the Japanese and Korean Peoples 日鮮民族同源論."

The tomb-mounds period of Japan has traditionally been divided into three sub-periods: the early, the middle, and the late. The early tomb period extends from sometime around A.D. 300 to about A.D. 375, the middle period extends to around A.D. 475, and the late tomb period lasts to about A.D. 650 or A.D. 700.[1] After careful studies of the shape of the tomb-mounds and the objects found in them, however, Egami (1964) contends that, while the cultures of the middle and late tomb periods are essentially similar, the culture of the early period differs markedly from the others. Although Egami does not go as far as Umehara Sueji 梅原末治 and Barodeff — who regard the early tomb culture as the late Yayoi culture and prefer to include this early tomb period in the Yayoi period — he emphasizes the close link between the Yayoi culture and the early tomb culture. According to Egami, the only substantial division in the material of the tomb period occurs at the end of the early tomb period; this change, he argues, resulted from a sudden influx of foreign culture.

The relatively small early period tombs were usually located on hilltops or along ridges, so that an imposing tomb (of round or keyhole shape) could be constructed with a minimum amount of labor. According to Barnes (1988: 5), the burial facilities of the early tombs consisted of a simple wooden coffin set in a pit grave dug into the top of the mound, which sometimes was lined with stone slab walls and sealed with ceiling rocks. The large middle period tombs, including Ojin-ryō, Nintoku-ryō and Richū-ryō, are always found on or near the level coastal plains or valley floors, where they had to be built by piling up an enormous amount of earth to form the mound. They are characteristically surrounded by a moat and an earth embankment, which undoubtedly required the control of large amounts of manpower and which thus suggests the existence of a strong unified political organization. The stone sarcophagi appear for the first time in this middle tomb period.

According to Kidder (1985), "One of two ways was used to better safeguard the remains of the deceased (by the turn of the 5th century): stones

[1]Tomb construction was banned for common people in A.D. 646 due to Buddhist influence (see KEJ: 3.162).

[were] piled up to form a simple room, covered with long stone slabs or logs, with or without a stone sarcophagus; or a stone sarcophagus [was] deposited in a trench . . . [T]he dead were still lowered from above [into the so-called vertical-pit-style stone room or tateana sekishitsu, 竪穴石室] . . . A stone passage-and-chamber type of tomb (yokoana sekishitsu, 横穴石室), transmitted from Korea, was constructed from the latter half of 5th century." Kidder (1985) notes that, in constructing the mound, the north Korean unit of measurement, the komajaku (35-36 cm or 1'2"), was employed, and he also notes that "so far no horse bones have been discovered in any Early tombs." Kidder (1985) introduces the fact that "among the 235 tombs of identical shape containing horse-trappings, the . . . early vertical burials constitute 26.4%, and the late horizontal burials 73.6%. Those among the former containing Sue pottery constitute 27.4% and among the latter, 74.6%."

According to Egami (1962), the tomb artifacts in the early period include precious, symbolic or shamanistic ritual objects, with high esteem shown for ritual (sheathed) knives, bronze mirrors, bronze arrowpoints, other bronze cylindrical objects, jasper bracelets, carved stones, cylindrical beads, comma-shaped beads known as magatama, and some iron tools. The tomb artifacts of the middle and late periods, by contrast, include: many iron weapons, such as swords with pommels in dragon or phoenix designs and whistling arrows (arrowheads); horse accoutrements, such as horse-trapping (bridle-bits), horse masks and decorated saddles; the stone model objects (made in the forms of a variety of objects used in daily life); crowns; eating vessels (Sue pottery); decorative articles of apparel, such as pendants with floral or animal designs; iron agricultural tools; and clay models (haniwa) representing male and female figures, saddled horses, warriors, birds, beasts, houses, weapons, garments, and ships.[2] The ritualistic items such as bracelets and bronze mirrors were mostly replaced by utilitarian tools and weapons. That is, the culture of the early period had a simple, ceremonially religious, magical, peaceful, Southeast Asian character that had persisted from the Yayoi period, while the culture of the middle and late periods had a practical, military, aggressive, aristocratic, North Asian character that suggests a worldly orientation among the warlike ruling class. According to Egami (1967), most

[2]According to Munro (1911: 412-413), "The ring pommel was common in ancient China . . . . In the Manyōshū, the expression Koma-tsurugi (Korean sword) is always followed by Wa, meaning a ring, so there is a presumption that this form of sword came immediately from Korea. The discshaped type is apparently descended from the ring form. The design is perforated and usually represents two dragons holding a ball . . . . Other motifs, which are rare, are a single dragon, bird, and human head."

of the weapons, horse trappings, and ornaments buried in the later tumuli are very similar to those of the representative monarchical and aristocratic nomadic peoples who were active in the arid regions of inner Eurasia. That is, the culture of the ruling class, while only weakly linked with the culture of the earlier period, is intimately related with that of the continent. From these relationships, Egami infers that such a sharp break in archeological data must have resulted from an invasion of Japan by a north Asian people adept in the arts of horseriding and war.

Egami has reduced the traditional three-part division of the tomb period into a two-part division by combining the middle phase with the late. According to Egami, the greater part of the weapons, horse accoutrements, and decorative articles found in the middle and late period tombs are precisely the same kind as those used by the horseriding races of Northeast Asia, especially the "Hu barbarians 胡族" that were active in Manchuria, Mongolia, and North China during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. Egami argues that the culture of these Hu barbarians might well be described as the culture of "the sinified horseriders," which was flourishing in north China among the Xian-bei 鮮卑 and Xiong-nu 匈奴, who had migrated into China from the north. The Northeast Asian culture was also transmitted to Korea by such peoples as the Puyeo and Koguryeo.

Egami (1964) further contends that the Japanese culture of the late tomb period corresponds in all aspects with that of the continent and the Korean peninsula, and that the North Asian horseriders' cultural complex was brought into Japan in its entirety, without undergoing any change. He thus concludes that "the horseriding people of North Asia . . . invaded Japan via the Korean peninsula, landing in north Kyu¯ shu¯ or western Honshu¯ 本州, and at the end of the fourth century advanced into the Kinki 近畿 region to establish the powerful Yamato court."[3] Kidder (1985) states that horse bells became common in Korea and were passed on to Japan. He also asserts that "the horse eventually bred by the Japanese was the kind brought over from Korea . . . and was not a local horse."

[3]Befu (1971: 23) notes that "an interesting sidelight on Egami's theory is Hattori's lexicostatistical data which places the split between the Japanese language (using the Kyo¯to dialect for this purpose) and the Ryu¯kyu¯ an language (Shuri 首里 dialect) at about A.D. 500. It is plausible to imagine that some of the inhabitants of Kyu¯shu¯ fled to the Ryu¯kyu¯ islands to the south to escape the domination of the new military power from the continent, and that the speech of these refugees became the Ryu¯kyu¯ an language, while the speech of the remaining people later became present-day Japanese." According to Egami, the Korean-type physique is very prominent among the Japanese of the Inland Sea coast of Honshu¯ and the Kinki region.

According to Wei-zhi 魏志, there were no horses in Japan as late as the third century A.D. On the other hand, King Kwanggaet'o's stele 廣開土王碑 records that this king of Koguryeo had dispatched as many as 50 thousand infantry and cavalry soldiers in A.D. 400 in order to rescue Silla from the marauding Wa army, and in A.D. 407 had sent another 50 thousand infantry and cavalry soldiers to attack Paekche (see Wang, 1985: 307-311). As Kidder (1985) states, however, "mounted warriors with trained fighting techniques are not remotely implied in the local Japanese records." It is only by the 7th century that the Nihongi does begin to refer to cavalry warfare (in reference to the Jinshin disturbance).

According to Munro (1911: 388), the sepulchres of the Yamato, from the greatest to the least, always contain swords, usually hold arrow-heads, and sometimes contain spearheads: "Even the smaller caves and cists . . . show indubitably that their occupants, if they had not lived by the sword, were addicted to warlike pursuit . . . [W]e are led to suppose that previous to and during the earlier centuries of the present [Yamato] era, the country was in a state of perpetual unrest. When the warrior departed from his life his weapons and armour were clearly necessary to a state which presumably resembled that which had preceded it, while the stirrups, bits and trappings of his horse, his personal ornaments and articles of daily use were bestowed [in] keeping with his station." Munro (1911: 388) concludes that "[W]e can scarcely assume that this perpetual readiness for the fray was entirely owing to opposition on the part of the primitive inhabitants." Peter Bleed (KEJ: 3. 161) also notes that "weapons found in tombs of the 5th and 6th centuries as well as the military stance of many of the haniwa figures leave no question about the militaristic tone of [the] Kofun period's society at that time."[4]

Beardsley (1955) states that: "a number of items of the Tomb culture might be construed as having arrived through . . . an actual invasion of people from the grasslands of Manchuria or the more distant steppes of Central Asia. Examples are: swords with ring-pommels and with opposed animal figures cast in pierced work as pommels; recurved bows; slat armor; full horseriding equipage; tailored clothing; falconry; abundant jewelry; and burial, sometimes with a favorite steed or spouse(?), in a domicile-like megalithic chamber covered by a mound . . . . Egami Namio, a Japanese specialist on

[4]Bleed continues: "toward the end of the 5th century, weapons and military accoutrements are most often found in smaller or attendent mounds rather than in the huge burials of the most important individuals. Presumably, this indicates that military activities were no longer in the sphere of the leaders but delegated to a special group."

Inner Asia, has utilized these points to support the view that pastoral warriors bound on conquest for tribute entered Japan through Kyūshū, set themselves up as a thin layer of overlords above the rice-growing Yayoi peasants, and thus initiated the period of Tombs in Japan."

B. Event vs. Process

In the following sections, we will show that Egami's argument represents yet another effort to conceal direct Korean influences by referring to a mythical North Asian horseriding people and alluding to the traits of the Arabs, the Normans, and the Mongols. And yet, even as it stands, Egami's theory shocked most Japanese historians and pro-Japanese Western scholars. There have been numerous efforts to refute Egami's theory; the study of Edwards (1983) represents one of those efforts.

Edwards (1983) admits that Egami was absolutely correct in pointing to the foreign and aristocratic nature of the horserider materials, but he does not believe it necessary to invoke an invasion to explain the presence of these aristocratic tastes in Japan. Instead, he suggests that there may have been a domestic process of unification in the fourth century concomitant with the emergence of an indigenous elite eager to acquire both the means and the symbols of power through international trade. Although Beardsley (1955) simply states that "in this matter a hypothesis of indigenous development is almost as tenable as a hypothesis of external importation," Edwards tries to refute Egami by insisting that the middle-period tombs have to be analyzed in combination with the early tombs, and that the strong political power the huge middle-period tombs represent cannot be seen as deriving from the event of a conquest by horseriders.[5] According to Edwards (1983), "the early tombs constructed prior to the mid-fifth century" contain middle-phase-style keyhole shapes, composite coffins, Yayoi-period weapons and armor, steatite

[5]Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig (1973: 327-328) write that: "Many features associated with the tomb culture show strong new influences brought over from Korea either by new waves of invaders or through trade or military contacts. The tomb culture was obviously aristocratic, and its leaders were mounted warriors who carried long straight iron swords and wore helmets, padded garments, and armor made of iron slats, all of which had close parallels in contemporary Korea and Manchuria." And yet they somehow manage to conclude that "[t]he tomb culture . . . was a clear outgrowth of the Yayoi culture [in the Kinki area]." They further say that the curved jewels (magatama) found in these tombs are identical to those on the golden crowns of Silla. Apparently they are not aware of the curved jewels found in the tomb of King Munyeong 武寧王 of Paekche.

objects and haniwa of bird, house, and weapon figures, while the *late* tombs contain horizontal chambers, murals, equestrian paraphernalia, continental swords and armor, haniwa of men and horse figures, and gold jewelry.[6] Although the archeological data prepared by Edwards himself record the appearance of a few tombs that contain continental materials at around the beginning of the fifth century, he insists that the content of burials became distinctly continental only after "the middle decades of the fifth century" and that therefore the tombs of Ōjin, Nintoku, Richū, etc. cannot be classified as those of the horseriders.[7] Edwards (1983) admits the possibility that the continental influx he places in the mid-fifth century may actually belong to the fourth, which would relate it to historical contexts of the fourth century. But he insists that the traditional middle-period tombs, of which Ōjin-ryō is a representative example, still precede the continental influx. That is, although the external shape of the tombs began to change sharply after the early phase, Edwards believes that the middle tombs, including Ōjin-ryō, Nintoku-ryō and Richū-ryō (which were categorized as late tombs by Egami), should not contain any equestrian paraphernalia or anything conspicuously *continental*.[8]

[6]Almost all archelogists agree that horizontal chambers and representational tomb murals diffused into Japan from Korea. Swords with ring-shaped pommels decorated with gryphon or bird heads in open work carving, as well as swords with round or angular hilt caps, have Korean prototypes. Since Japanese sources of gold were not discovered until the eighth century, the use of gold itself is seen as a link to Korea. The technique of riveting was unknown in Japan, and hence the riveted products are considered to have come from Korea. Lamellar armor, made by sewing together a large number of small metal plates, is well adapted to equestrian activity due to its great flexibility and is also believed to have come from Korea.

[7]Aikens and Higuchi (1982: 287) also argue that it is "about the middle of the fifth century" that "there began to appear large, sculptured stone figures of men and horses associated with the tumuli, incised and painted decoration on the inside walls of the burial chambers, new kinds of ornamental artifacts, and a new type of dark, wheel-made, high fired pottery known as Sue ware. These elements were all new to Japan, and all clearly had Korean antecedents."

[8]Edwards (1983) himself quotes Kobayashi Yukio 小林行雄, who has argued that the huge middle tombs could not have been built without the advanced methods of surveying and construction learned from the continent, and also quotes Koichi Mori, who has pointed out the dramactically increased number of iron objects in the middle-period tombs. Surprisingly, however, Edwards ends up quoting Inoue Mitsusada 井上光貞 and implying that the emerging indigenous force in the Kinai region first invaded southern Korea, acquired iron there, and then, using the weapons and armor made from the iron, unified Japan. As a result, he argues, they built the huge tombs that

Gina Lee Barnes (KEJ: 6. 8) notes that: "An early-5th-century mounded tomb located on a high riverine terrace in the city of Sakai, Ōsaka Prefecture [was identified] by a document in the 10th-century Engi Shiki 延喜式 as the grave of Emperor Nintoku (first half of the 5th century). . . In 1872 . . . part of the front mound collapsed in a small landslide, and a pit-style 竪穴式 stone burial chamber was exposed. Some iron armor and weapons, [and] gilt-bronze ornaments. . . . were recovered . . . A mirror 獸帶鏡, a ring-pommeled sword 環頭太刀, and a horse bell 馬鐸, recorded as having been recovered from the Nintoku Masoleum, are preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts." It seem that Edwards was not aware of this fact when he made his statement that the middle tombs, including Nintoku-ryō, should not contain any equestrian paraphernalia or anything conspicuously continental.

Nihongi (NI: 261) presents the formal arrival of horses from Paekche in the fifteenth year of Ōjin (A.D. 404): "The King of Paekche sent A-chik-ki with two quiet horses as tribute. So they were fed in stables on the acclivity of Karu. Accordingly A-chik-ki was appointed to have charge of their foddering. Therefore the place where the horses were kept was named Mumaya-saka (Stable-hill)." Kojiki (KC: 95) specifies that the two horses consisted of a stallion and a mare.

Nihongi (NI: 357-358) on Yūryaku records a remarkable story about the association of horses with Ōjin: "The daughter of a man of the district of Asukabe 飛鳥戸郡人 (in Kahachi 河內國) named Hiakuson, Tanabe no Fubito 書首, was wife to a man named Kariu. . . . Hiakuson, hearing that his daughter had given birth to a child, paid a visit of congratulations to his son-in-law's house. He came home by moonlight, and was passing at the foot of the Homuda misasagi 譽田陵 at Ichihiko hill, when he fell in with a horseman mounted on a red courser. . . . In his heart he wished to possess him. . . . [T]he rider of the courser, knowing Hiakuson's wish, stopped and exchanged horses with him. . . . Hiakuson. . . hastened home and placed him in the stable. . . . The next morning the red courser had become changed into a horse of clay 土馬. Hiakuson. . . went back, and, making search at the Homuda misasagi, found the piebald horse standing among clay horses. So he took it, and left in its stead the clay horse which he had received in exchange."

Kidder (1985) lists the archeological evidence for equestrianism from tombs believed to be connected with the early fifth century Ōjin-Nintoku-Richū stage of the Naniwa dynasty in the Ōsaka area as follows: a gold

contain many iron objects. [Edwards himself notes that "Japan appears to have depended on Korea as a source of raw iron at least until late Kofun times."]

saddle bow from the Maruyama tomb (in Habikino city) that is likely to have been a tomb for a retainer or an imperial relative to Ōjin, a small bronze horse bell and haniwa head of horse that are said to have come from the tomb of Nintoku in Sakai city; two wooden front and back saddle bows from the Ryōnan site, Sakai city; a haniwa horse from the Ryōnan Akayama tomb in Sakai city; and the remains of a saddle, bit, stirrups and bronze ring from the Shichikan tomb which is a satellite tomb of Richū.

According to Kidder (1985), among the list of 235 tombs yielding horse-trappings which was compiled by Itō Yutaka in 1979, 62 reflect earlier pit-style burials and 173 are later passageway-chamber-style burials. According to Kidder, the horse-trappings were going into tombs before Sue was being made. Kidder (1985) also states that: "The first evidence of saddles are superb examples of gilt bronze bows of the kind that fitted over and decorated as a wooden frame. These are similar to Korean products and came from the same workshops. The oldest was found in the Maruyama tomb, a suspected satellite tomb to the huge mound of Emperor Ōjin which, if true, dates it before the middle of the 5th century." Kidder (1985) notes that "Sue was a foreign product initially and coincided in Japan with the appearance of horse-trappings in the tombs . . . the oldest Sue appearing in two clusters of tombs in Amagi city, Fukuoka prefecture" date to the late 4th or early 5th century. Kidder further states that "from all indications, all trappings prior to the middle of the 5th century were foreign-made." According to Gina Lee Barnes (KEJ: 7.256), Sue ware 須恵器 was called Korean pottery [Chosen doki] until the 1950s, when the Japanese began to use the word Sue to refer to the vessels in Man'yōshū 万葉集.

Peter Bleed (KEJ: 3. 161) notes that "the objects deposited as grave treasures in Middle Kofun burials, such as iron weapons, jewelry, armor and horse-trappings and Sue Ware, were derived from the Korean peninsula; many were imports or made of imported raw materials." According to Aoki (1974: 39-40): "The decisive factor that made the new colonist superior to the earlier residents of Yamato was their knowledge of metal alloy. Metallurgy was undergoing a great improvement in China while northern China was in turmoil around A.D. 300 to 450. This was largely an achievement of Taoist 道教 hermits who sought to obtain an elixir of immortality. They discovered many valuable herbs and experimented with inorganic substances such as sulphur, arsenic, mercury, zinc, lead, copper, and iron. The advanced study of alchemy made metal products relatively inexpensive. In the late fourth and early fifth centuries metal implements were no longer expensive to the continental peoples . . . the colonists in the Yodo-Yamato valley were well armed with sharp iron weapons. For tillage of the growing delta, they used

plows with sharp blades . . .” It was in fact during the period between 300 B.C. and 100 B.C. that iron instruments were extensively used in Liao-dong as well as in northern Korean areas. Therefore Aoki seems to focus on the further improvement in the quality of metal products during the period between A.D. 300 and 450 and the transfer of those improved products to Japan in the late fourth and fifth centuries. Beardsley (1955) states that “empirical fact does support the interpretation that a relatively limited elite, possessed of superior armament and military organization, exerted its power to exploit for its members’ own special benefit the increasingly large harvests gathered by the peasant majority.”

Owing to Egami's tireless efforts, most Japanese historians have come to admit at least that the tomb mounds and burial objects changed considerably in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, and also that the nature of the rulers buried in these tombs changed from chief priests to military leaders. Some scholars are willing to go further toward embracing Egami’s theory.[9] For instance, Saeki (1977) states that the change did not take place gradually over time but rather “a new type of ruler, military in character, entered the region of Yamato.” Sasayama Haruo (KEJ: 2. 106) states that “[a]lthough his [Egami’s] horserider theory has not gained universal acceptance, it is quite persuasive when one considers the many common elements in the customs, language, and mythology of ancient Japan and Northeast Asia.” Barnes (1988: 20) also states that: “in general it may be said that most historians . . . accept the horserider theory in one way or another. This includes Mizuno Yu 水野祐, who labeled the Jin Dynasty *a conquest regime*.”[10] Egami Namio, at the age of 84 and professor emeritus of Tokyo University, was conferred an Order of Cultural Merits 文化勲章 directly by AKIHITO 明仁 himself on

[9]Aoki (1974: 21) states: “Today it is generally held among Japanese historians that the man called Prince Mima was the first possible ruler of the regional confederacy called the Yamato, in a tiny basin made by the Yamato river. The view is largely accepted because the time coincides with the beginning tide of the construction of large burial mounds in this region. Megalithic tombs indicate that the power of the buried in them was stronger than that of those buried in clay jars in the third and second centuries B.C.” Aoki (1974: 31) continues: “reclamation of . . . the Yodo-Yamato delta was largely accomplished by the late fourth and early fifth centuries.”

[10]Barnes (1988: 21) states that: “since research into almost every aspect of fifth and sixth-century Yamato society necessitates reference to the peninsula . . . it is not surprising that the majority of Japanese historians, if not archaeologists, are persuaded by the sweeping hypothesis of mounted invaders. It is obvious, therefore, that the horserider theory must be given serious attention.” Barnes herself, however, accepts the proposition of Edwards and rejects Egami’s horserider theory.

November 2, 1991. Most Japanese scholars, however, still hold a position similar to that of Edwards (1983), that is, they believe in the smooth and continual development of Japan.

A typical way to handle the horserider theory in Japan is exemplified by Inoue (1968). Inoue (1968: 7-9) states that: "[t]he building of *kofun* was begun around the beginning of the fourth century, but striking changes in their character took place at about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. The most remarkable change was in the articles placed in the coffins. In *kofun* of the earlier period we find mostly treasures of the Yayoi Period, such as mirrors and swords, or religious relics, whereas in those built after the end of the fourth century crowns and shoes made of gold or silver, similar to those commonly used by noblemen in China or Korea at that time, saddles, stirrups, and armour suited for cavalry have been excavated . . . . These changes are so striking that some scholars claim that there might have been a change in the ruling class. At the beginning of the fourth century a great change took place in East Asia. The Huns and the Tibetans invaded China . . . while in Korea, Koguryeo of the tungusic tribe conquered the country almost up to the center of the peninsula. Pressed thus from the north, the Koreans in the south formed themselves into tribal unions for the sake of defense and created two kingdoms, Paekche and Silla. There is some evidence which suggests that the kings of Paekche were not of Korean origin, but belonged to a tribe called Fuyu or Puyeo which had tungusic blood. Since the horse-riding people of the north, such as the Huns and the Tunguses, invaded China and Korea early in the fourth century, scholars have suggested the possibility that the Tungus who invaded Korea might also have crossed to Japan and conquered it. Considering the sudden change in the contents of the kofun which now came to bear a strong resemblance to the equestrian civilization of the continent, this theory seems reasonable. Yet although this is a very interesting theory, many scholars take a critical view of it both because there is no documentary material to substantiate it and because the changes in the contents of *kofun* are not considered to be so radical as to assume a change within the ruling class. Nevertheless, it is a fact that there was a change in continental culture from around the end of the fourth century. This fact still needs further explanation."

It is interesting to observe Inoue regarding the people of Puyeo and Koguryeo as well as the kings of Paekche as *non-Koreans* but as Tibetans or Tunguses. That is, according to the horseriders' theory, Japan could have been conquered by Tibetans, Tunguses, the Puyeo tribe, the Koguryeo tribe, or the kings of Paekche. Inoue himself sticks to pre-War Japanese traditions (see Chapter 1, Section 2) and does not accept the horseriders' theory, but he

wants to make sure that the conquerors were not *Koreans*, in case he might some day have to accept the theory. Inoue further regards Paekche and Silla as tribal unions created at the beginning of the fourth century, ignoring all documentary materials available from Korea.

C. The Fujinoki 藤木 Tomb and Sushun 崇峻

The Fujinoki tomb of Ikaruga 斑鳩 in Nara prefecture, which had been (prior to Meiji times) listed as the burial place of Sushun [A.D. 587-592], was opened by the Kashihara Institute of Archeology in 1985, though the stone sarcophagus itself was not opened until late 1988. It has yielded a staggering quantity of grave goods, especially a spectacular array of horsetrappings in spite of the fact that most of the tombs with long stone passageways were stripped of their contents. The tomb has also yielded about one thousand slats of iron armor, iron arrows and arrowheads, several gilt bronze ornamental pieces, and Sue and haji pottery. The tomb seems to have been built in the latter half of the sixth century. Kidder (1987) introduces the view also advanced by Machida Akira, that "the Fujinoki objects are most similar to southern Chinese and Paekche material, specifically grave-goods from the tomb of [the Paekche] King Munyeong 武寧王; they are not like those of north China, Koguryeo, or Silla." Kidder (1987) states that "[h]istorically, Fujinoki was . . . long identified with Sushun . . . . The man buried in the Fujinoki tomb must have been a shrewd politician in foreign affairs, playing both sides of the street. The gravegoods are an interesting mix, although such blends are not uncommon in Japan. Most of the objects came from Paekche . . ." One may compare the grave goods from the Fujinoki Tomb also with those from the fourth century Paekche tombs found at Sinbong-dong, Cheong-ju 淸州 新鳳洞 in 1982 that include a large quantity of horsetrappings, stirrups, iron swords, iron arrowheads, etc. (see Cha, 1990).

Among the grave-goods contained in the Fujinoki sarcophagus is the mirror with three characters 宣子孫 (yi zi sun) meaning "may the owner have an abundance of descendants." Kidder (1989) notes that a mirror from the Paekche tomb of King Munyeong 武寧王 also bears the identical inscription. There was also a bronze dagger-sword with a handle and, according to Kidder (1989), "it seems to be possible to trace this kind of handle to earlier Korean examples displaying general similarities." A gilt-bronze crown with conventionalized depictions of trees was discovered and Kidder (1985) notes that "it must be assumed that most, if not all, gilt-bronze crowns found in Japan were made in Korea."

Kidder (1989) introduces Takada Ryōshin 高田良信, the priest of Hōryūij and the only serious Japanese proponent of Sushun as the candidate for occupancy of the Fujinoki sarcophagus. Kidder (1989) notes that "the oldest document to call the Fujinoki Tomb '*misasagi*,' or imperial mausoleum, is dated Bun'ei 2 (1265). . . . In 1959, while going through an old sea chest in Sōgenji 宗源寺, a subtemple of Hōryūji, Takada found a document, dated Empō 7 (1699), which is the first record to refer to the mound specifically as the tomb of Emperor Sushun, or Sushun Tennō Gobyō Misasagi-yama 崇峻天皇御陵山. Sushun's name still appeared in this regard in documents until Meiji 5 (1872), while the term misasagi itself continued to be used into the early 1940s." Kidder (1989) states that: "The sheer quantity of the assembled grave goods gives the impressions of an almost hysterical packing of the sarcophagus, as if appeasing his soul and salving the national conscience were the most pressing concerns.[11]. . . Since it is inconceivable that a mere clan chieftain could command such a wealth of exotic goods . . . I believe that, through misidentification dating from the Tokugawa or Meiji periods, archaeologists have inadvertently exposed to public view the full secrets of an unpilfered imperial tomb dating to the late sixth century." Kidder (1989) has emphasized that "the detailed, daily reports on the operation [of opening the Fujinoki sarcophagus] should dispel some of the antiquated views that the foreign press seems obliged to reiterate concerning the alleged Japanese unwillingness to dig such tombs for fear of finding a Korean buried inside or evidence proving that the imperial line had Korean origins." As Kidder says, simple archeological evidence, such as the presence of grave-goods made in one of the Korean kingdoms, is not the sort that will conclusively resolve such issues. This is why we also need larger, theoretical investigations. We can only hope that the opening of the Fujinoki tomb and the ensuing academic discussions will help historians embrace a more broad-minded view of the origin of the Yamato imperial clan.

D. Later Tombs: Inspired by the Early Tombs and Expanded

As Gina Lee Barnes (KEJ: 4.245) states, "the contents of tombs attest to both the rulers' limitless access to the resources of society and to new contacts with the Korean peninsula at this time. One of the accessory tombs of the Ōjin Mausoleum, the Ariyama tomb, alone held over 3,000 iron swords and tools. Funerary goods of imported gold ear ornaments, Sue ware, and horse trappings from the continent gradually contributed to the replacement of fine jasper ornaments . . . . A new type of tomb chamber called yokoana sekishitsu 横穴石室 (literally, horizontal hole, stone chamber) was also

transmitted from the Korean peninsula in the 5th century."[12]

According to Kim (1986: 76, 82, 85, 88, 129), the hilltop location of tombs and their interior structures, including the vertical hole stone chambers 竪穴式石室 of Japan's early tomb period, correspond to those of Kaya 伽倻 during the third and fourth centuries, while the flat terrace location of tombs and their interior structures, including the horizontal hole stone chamber 横穴式石室 of Japan's late tomb period, correspond to those of Paekche. Furthermore, the ornaments 装身具 found in the early period tombs are similar to those of the Kaya area while the ornaments found in the late period tombs resemble those of Paekche (see Kim 1986: 106). According to Kim Won-Yong (1986: 120-121), iron stirrups (the horserider's foot-rest) are found in the Korean tombs of third and fourth centuries, while in Japan they are found in the tombs of the fifth and sixth centuries.

We understand the transition from early Kofun-Period tombs to middle and late Kofun-Period tombs in the following fashion. By the beginning of the fourth century, the aboriginal Japanese in the Kinai (Kyōto-Ōsaka-Nara) region started building the Kaya type tomb mounds on natural hilltops overlooking agricultural land. The conquerors from Paekche were duly impressed by these native burial practices and began constructing dramatically expanded tomb mounds on flat terrace surfaces, often together with wide moats and accessory mounds acting as depositories for funerary goods. Introduction of the advanced farming technology from Paekche such as the use of plows with sharp iron blades and the use of the irrigation system of man-made reservoirs could release sufficient numbers of Yayoi peasants from rice growing to be employed in the construction of gigantic tombs.

[11]Sushun was assassinated by Soga no Umako.

[12]Barnes (1988: 29), however, suggests "late" fifth century as the possible date of the introduction of the new type of stone chamber construction from Korea. The new chambers had corrider entrances much like European passage graves instead of stone-lined pits sealed by ceiling rocks. Barnes further states that: "From the late fifth century onward, large keyhole tombs disappeared in the central Kinai area, and small round mounds with corridor chambers increased in number . . . The labor for tomb construction . . . became more a family matter than an affair of state . . . The contents . . . [indicate] a concern for personal comfort in the afterlife instead of the overt political and sumptuary concerns of the earlier tombs." Barnes and Edwards contend that it is during this "late" fifth century period that the horserider materials began to appear in Japan.