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## THE MASSIVE INFLOW OF PAEKCHE PEOPLE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY:

If Yamato Wa Was Established without Any Relation to Paekche,

Then There is No Way to Explain such a Massive Movement

-A Cultural Anthropological Approach

Beardsley (1955), an anthropologist, states that: "Some five centuries after Yayoi culture began . . . Japan was the target of fresh cultural influence which added earth-mounded tombs, varied uses of iron, eventually the plow, and Japan's second domestic animal, the horse, as significant elements of Japanese culture. Migration for conquest by small, united bands of people must be taken into account as a feature of this period just before the dawn of history . . . for small groups of pastoral nomad or steppe origin may have been prominent among the intruders into Japan. Others, perhaps, were Chinese or Korean adventurers."

Reischauer and Fairbank (1958: 464) note that "[t]he Song-shu (Song History), the official account of the Liu Song dynasty (420-479) of south China, compiled shortly after its fall, describes several embassies that came to the Song court from what was obviously the emerging Yamato state centered in the Kinki Region." Reischauer and Fairbank (1958: 468) further suggest that "[p]ossibly the people of Kaya 伽耶 were culturally close to the ruling groups in Japan, who may themselves have migrated to Japan from Korea not long before." However, the unfolding intimate relationships between the rulers of Yamato Wa 大和倭 and those of Paekche 百濟, as narrated in Nihongi over the period A.D. 397-663, strongly point to Paekche rather than Kaya as the origin of the Yamato imperial clan.

According to Tsuda (1963), "the civilization of China which was brought in by way of the Korean peninsula was primarily absorbed by the Court and those influential classes that surrounded it," and this culture was completely accepted by the Imperial Family. Tsuda believes that "the Imperial Family constituted itself the leader of the new civilization" and, as a consequence, many new families of Tomonomiyatsuko that made their living and maintained their position by taking charge of some aspect of the new civilization for the benefit of the Imperial Family sprang up at the Court.

This tendency "encouraged the people to stay as close as possible to the Imperial Family in hopes of being benefited by the blessings of civilization."

Nihongi offers an abundance of records of the intimate relationships that were maintained between the rulers of Paekche and those of Yamato Wa after Jim's founding of the imperial clan until the fall of Paekche. Kojiki also offers some accounts. This section presents the records from Kojiki and Nihongi which portray these intimate relationships.

Nihongi (NI: 257) describes the construction of a reservoir by Korean people in A.D. 398: "Men of Koguryeo, men of Paekche, men of Imna 任那人, and men of Silla all together attended the Court . . . . [T]hese various men of Han . . . [were made to] dig a pond. Therefore the pond . . . was called the pond of the men of Han [Korea] 韓人池." Kojiki (KP: 284) records that "there came immigrants 渡來 from Siragi [Silla]" who made a pond under the command of Takesi-Uti-no-Sukune. Then Kojiki records that the pond was called "Kudara-no-Ike 百濟也"; Kudara represents Paekche.

Nihongi (NI: 261-263) notes: that "[in A.D. 403] the King of Paekche sent ... a seamstress named Maketsu [Chin-mo-chin]. She was the first ancestress of the present seamstresses of Kume 今來目衣縫之始祖. . . The King of Paekche sent A-chik-ki 阿直岐 with two quiet horses [in A.D. 404] . . . . A-chik-ki was able to read classics, and so the Heir Apparent . . . made him his teacher. Hereupon the Emperor inquired of A-chik-ki, saying: 'Are there other learned men superior to thee?' He answered and said: 'There is Wang-in 王仁 [Wani], who is superior.' Then Areda wake, ancestor of the Kimi of Kodzuke, and Kamu nagi wake were sent to Paekche to summon Wang-in. This A-chik-ki was the first ancestor of the A-chik-ki (or Atogi) no Fumi-bito 史 (Scribes). Wang-in arrived, and straightway the Heir Apparent . . . took him as teacher and learnt various books from him. There was none which he did not thoroughly understand. Therefore the man called Wang-in was the first ancestor of the Fumi no Obito 書首 (chiefs of writing)." Nihongi records the arrival of Wang-in in the 16th year of  $\overline{\mathcal{Q}}_{100}$ . Aston (NI: xi) notes that the year corresponds to A.D. 405.1

One can find similar records in Kojiki (KP: 284-285): "... the King of the land of Kudara [Paekche], King Seuko [Keun Ch'ogo: A.D. 349-375], presented one stallion and one mare, which he sent accompanied by Ati-Kisi 阿知吉師. This Ati-Kisi was the ancestor of the Pumi-Bito of Atiki 阿直史. Also he presented a sword and a large mirror .... [H]e [the king of Paekche] presented a man named Wani-Kisi 和邇吉師 (Wang-in). The Confucian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Aston (NI: xii) adds that Wang-in had also been employed to keep the accounts of the Treasury.

Analects 論語, ten volumes, and the Thousand-Character Classic 千字文, one volume, altogether eleven volumes, he presented along with this man. This Wani-Kisi is the ancestor of the Obito of Pumi 文首. Again he [the King of Paekche] presented two artisans: a smith of Kara named Takuso, and Saiso, a weaver of Kure. Again there immigrated [a more accurate translation would be *came across the sea* 渡來] the ancestor of the Miyatuko of the Pata [Hada] 秦造之祖, the ancestor of the Atape [Atahe] of the Aya 漢直之祖, and a man who knew how to brew wine, whose name was Nipo 仁香; he was also named Susukori. This Susukori brewed the great wine and presented it to this Emperor [기m], who greatly rejoiced in the great wine . . . ."2<sup>-4-></sup>

Following Homuda's creation of the Yamato state, there seem to have been large influxes of Paekche people into Japan. Samguk-sagi (Lee edition, II: 46) records Paekche's loss of a large number of households in A.D. 399 and Nihongi (NI: 261) records the arrival of Kung-weol 弓月 from Paekche in A.D. 403.3 Nihongi (NI: 261) records that "... the Lord of Yutsuki [Kungweol; 弓月王 or 融通王 according to Shinsen Shōjiroku] came from Paekche and offered his allegiance . . . . saying, 'Thy servant was coming to offer allegiance with one hundred and twenty districts of the people of his own land, when the men of Silla prevented them, and they were all forced to remain in the land of Kara 加羅.' Hereupon Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko 葛城襲津彦 was sent [in A.D. 403] to bring the men of Kung-weol from Kara [Kaya]. Now three years passed, and Sotsuhiko did not come." Nihongi (NI: 263-264) continues: "Kidzu no Sukune of Neguri and Tada no Sukune of Ikuba were sent to Kara. Choice troops were granted them, and the Emperor commanded them, saying, 'The long delay in Sotsuhiko's return must be owing to his being detained by the opposition of the men of Silla. Do you go speedily, assail Silla, and open a way for him.' Hereupon Kidzu no Sukune and his colleague moved forward their choice troops and arrived at the Silla frontier . . . . So they brought away with them [in A.D. 405] the people of Kung-weol and Sotsuhiko." Nihongi (NI: 264-265) further records that in A.D. 409, "Achi no Omi 阿知使主 [King Achi 阿知王, according to Shinsen Shōji-roku ancestor of the Atahe of the Aya of Yamato 倭漢直祀, and his son

<sup>2</sup>Kojiki (KP: 302) records that "the Pata People . . . [built] the Mamuta embankment and the Miyake of Mamuta [during the reign of Nintoku]."

<sup>3</sup>Samguk-sagi (Lee edition, II: 46) records that in the 8th year of King Asin 阿華 [Ahwa 阿華], A. D. 399, "the King conscripted a large number of horses and soldiers in order to attack Koguryo, and hence a large number of Paekche people escaped to Silla in order to avoid military obligation, consequently debilitating the nation's households."

Tsuga no Omi 都加使主 immigrated to Japan, bringing with them a company of their people of seventeen districts." Hirano (1977) states that "these instances are in line with the general trend in the Nihon shoki and Shoku Nihongi to ascribe the origin of Japan's relations with Korea to Jun's reign."

According to Sansom (1963: 38), the newly established Yamato "Imperial House . . . created new corporations of highly skilled workers or specialists . . . [S]uch persons could be recruited only from the refugees who began to cross over from Korea about A.D. 400 . . . . Among them were men of good birth with their families, former officials, scholars, and artists, who were made welcome at Court . . . . Equally useful were craftsmen of various kinds, masters of processes with which Japanese workmen were not yet familiar."

In the reign of Yūryaku [A.D. 463], Nihongi (NI: 349-351) records that "a skilled artisan of Western Aya 西漢 [Aya of Kawachi] named Kwan-in Chiri, who was near the Emperor, came forward and represented him, saying:-'There are in the Land of Han 韓國 [Paekche] many who are more skillful than thy slave. Let them be sent for and made to serve thee.' The Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying: -'Then let Kwan-in Chiri be joined to Otokimi and the others, and let him get instructions from Paekche; at the same time let an Imperial rescript be delivered directing Paekche to offer skilled men.' Hereupon Otokimi, in execution of these commands, took with him a body of men and proceeded as far as Paekche . . . . He got together the Imaki 今來 [Newcomers, the term applied to distinguish them from previous immigrants] skilled artisans . . . presented by Paekche . . . . They were accordingly ultimately settled in the village of Hirokitsu in Ato in the province of Yamato 倭國, where many of them died of disease. In consequence of this the Emperor commanded Muruya, Ohotomo no Ohomuraji, to instruct Tsukami, Yamato no Aya no Atahe 東漢直 to remove Ko-kwi, of the Potters' Be, Kyon-kwi, of the Saddlers' Be, In-sa-ra-ka, of the Painters' Be, Chong-an-na, of the Brocade-weavers' Be, Myo-an-na, and the Interpreter, all belonging to the New [Imaki] Aya 新漢, to other residences at the following three places, the Upper Momohara, Lower Momohara, and Magami no Hara 真神原 [大和國 高市郡]. A certain book says: 'Otokimi, Kibi no Omi, returned from Paekche, and presented a Be of Aya workmen 漢手人部, a Be of tailors, and a Be of fleshers.' "4<7>

<sup>4</sup>Douglas (1978) notes that "[a] dramatic change is seen in pottery, during the early fifth century which changes from soft, homemade, low-fired pots to a hard stoneware, known as Sue pottery – fired at temperatures of more than 1,000°C and turned out on wheels by professional craftsmen."

Aston (NI: 350n) notes that "[t]he Aya or Han would now appear to have three branches - the Eastern or Yamato Aya 東漢, the Western or Kawachi Aya, and the New [Imaki] 新 or Imaki 今來 Aya 漢, whose introduction is here related. They all consisted of skilled men from Corea [Paekche]."

Of course, Nihongi is not completely devoid of records of exchanges with Silla and Koguryeo. For instance, it records that Koguryeo and Silla sent some presents to Nintoku (NI: 282) and also that in A.D. 493, "Hitaka no Kishi returned from Koguryeo, and delivered to the Emperor [Ninken] the artizans Sunyuki and Nonyuki. They were the ancestors of the Koguryeo tanners . . . in the province of Yamato 倭國 (NI: 397)." When the exchanges are with either Silla or Koguryeo, however, it is extremely difficult to get any feeling of intimate emotional involvement.<sup>5</sup>

Until the beginning of the eighth century, Japan does not seem to have produced any significant amount of copper or gold by itself, and even the domestic supply of iron seems to have been very limited. Production of copper ore is mentioned for the first time in Shoku Nihongi 續日本記 (Snellen edition: 173) in the year A.D. 697. The first year of Wado 和銅元年 which commemorates the discovery of naturally produced soft copper (nikiakagane) in the Chichibu-district of Musashi, however, is recorded (ibid.: 215) as A.D. 707. There was an Imperial Edict (ibid.: 217): "... this must be a treasure bestowed as a sign that the deities of Heaven and Earth have accepted (the sincerity of Our worship) and want to make Us happy . . . . [T]his treasure has been manifested as a precious sign of the deities . . . "6 The refining of gold ore is mentioned in Shoku Nihongi (Snellen edition: 117) in the year of A.D. 698. The Taihō-gwannen 大寶 which commemorates the discovery of gold, however, is A.D. 701, the year Shoku Nihongi (ibid.: 190)records that "[t]he island of Tsushima presented gold." Therefore the discovery of gold or copper artifacts and numerous iron objects in tomb

<sup>5</sup>A typical record (NI: 284) associated with Silla is as follow; "Toda no Sukune . . . were sent to inquire the reason for the failure to send tribute. Hereupon the Silla people were afraid, and presented 1,460 pieces for tribute . . . ." \*\*>

<sup>6</sup>It is further recorded that (ibid: 218) "[f]or the first time the office of encouraging the manufacture of coins was created," and that (ibid: 226) "[c]opper coins were used for the first time" in A.D. 708.

<sup>7</sup>Shoku Nihongi (ibid: 196) notes that in A.D. 701 "[t]he governor of Tsushima, the heads of district, the clerks and upward were raised one step in rank, the head of the district where the gold came from, two steps. The man who found gold, Yakabe no Miyaji, was granted Sho-hachi-i-jo, further coarse silk, floss silk, cloth and hoes. His family was granted exemption from taxes for the remainder of his life, the other families for three years."

mounds suggest the active transfer of material, technology, and culture from Paekche to Yamato Wa during the tomb period.

Aoki (1974: 13) states that: "Hemp was introduced to the [Japanese] island to dress the Japanese deities [in the Yayoi period]. For the silk garment, the Japanese pantheon had to wait until the new intrusion of continental cultures in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D." Aoki (1974: 15) further states that in Yayoi period "raw materials for iron and bronze had to be imported from overseas and were extremely expensive and precious . . . . Sharper and more durable weapons brought by the continental peoples played an important role in achieving easy victory over those who could not afford them."

Yoon (1990: 22-23) analyzed the chemical composition of an iron axe and three arrowheads that were excavated in the Old Paekche area, i.e., in Kuyidong near the Han river. He found that the axe originated from sponge iron and, judging from its carbon content, belonged to the hypereutectoid steel family. The axe seems to have been manufactured by the folding forging process. It was repeatedly forged at a high temperature and then air-cooled. The iron arrowheads were manufactured by repeated forgings at elevated temperatures and air-cooling afterwards. They also originated from sponge iron, and belonged to a higher carbon steel type. Due to the rich contents of MgO in non-metallic inclusion, the parching steelmaking process is expected to produce this kind of ironware artifact. Yoon (1990: 20), therefore, concludes that metal and industrial arts progressed impressively in Paekche between the 5th and the 6th centuries on the basis of technological developments made before this period.

Until the fifth century, there was no direct sea communication between Japan and China. Even in later times, either because of the presence of hostile Koguryeo or Silla or because of the treacherous South China Sea, it was not an easy task for the Japanese to reach China. Paekche was thus the natural intermediary through which China became known to Japan. The Chinese art of writing was introduced to Japan in A.D. 405, for which Japan is indebted to the Yamato imperial clan, who were able to invite Wangin [Wani] and a whole succession of teachers from Paekche. The Yamato imperial clan, by attracting a continuous flow of Paekche immigrants, served as an instrument to revolutionize the manners, institutions, production technologies, and entire civilization of Japan. As Ishida (1974: 85) says, if Yamato Wa was established without any relation to Paekche, there is no way to explain such a massive movement from Paekche to Wa. Archeologically speaking, it was Jim's line of the imperial clan that ushered Yayoi Japan into the Tomb period. Aoki (1974: 19) also states that "it is most likely that the heroes in the Japanese islands were from peripheral regions of Chinese civilization where agricultural economy was prevalent but sinicization did not take so firm a grip  $\ldots$  "