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Ancient Korea-Japan Relations: Paekche and the Origin of the Yamato Dynasty

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### *Chapter Three*

## Model Building for the Origin of the Yamato Dynasty:

Evolution of the Egami-Ledyard-Hong Models



Late 4th to early 5th century (Han-seong Paekche period)  
 Yong-won-ri site, Cheon-an 天安 龍院里 百濟遺跡

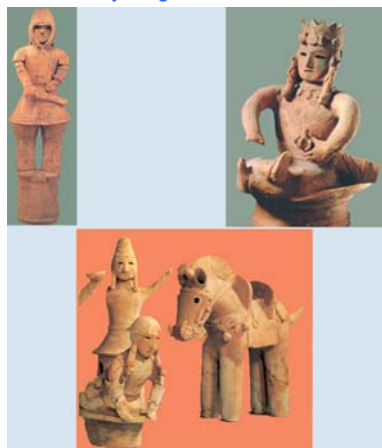




3.1. The “Yayoi Wave” of Yemaek Tungus circa 300 BCE: Joining the Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian Aborigine



3.2. Koguryeo Clay Horses  
Cheol-ryeong, Korean Peninsula



3.3. Late Tomb Period Haniwa

CHAPTER THREE  
MODEL BUILDING FOR THE ORIGIN OF  
THE YAMATO DYNASTY  
EVOLUTION OF THE EGAMI-LEDYARD-HONG MODELS

1. Building a Model for the Origin of the Yamato Dynasty

The northern Mongoloid populations, who had first settled around the Baikal Lake across the Great Altai, seem to have dispersed further into the Sakhalin-Hokkai islands to become Ainu on the Japanese archipelago; moved across the Greater Xing’an Range to become the proto-Xianbei-Tungus in Manchuria; and tracked a warmer and moister climate down through the Korean Peninsula to become rice-cultivating farmers. The Paleolithic Ainu in the Japanese archipelago were bound to encounter the Malayo-Polynesian people arriving through the sea route of Philippines-Taiwan-Ryukyu islands, together giving rise to the Neolithic Jōmon culture of hunting-fishing-gathering (c.10,000-300 BCE). They were eventually joined by the people coming from the Korean Peninsula, all of them together commencing the Bronze-Iron Yayoi era of rice cultivation (c.300 BCE-300 CE). The Yayoi period was followed by the Tomb period. The usual periodization for the Tomb Period is the Early (300s), the Middle (400s), and the Late (500-700).

According to the *Dongyi-zhuan* (of *Weishu*), there were at least thirty town-states in the Japanese Islands as of the mid-third century, but then the Chinese chronicles of the Southern Dynasties (317-589) record one unified Yamato state by the early fifth century. The Japanese Islands were never mentioned in the Chinese dynastic chronicles during the period from 266 to 413.

Hence Brown (1993: 108) notes that “Until the close of World War II, Japanese historians tended to think of this period as a time when the ‘unbroken’ imperial line was mysteriously and wondrously formed. But postwar scholars have discovered new written evidence, seen historical significance in massive archeological finds, and viewed the whole ancient Japanese life from different angles. Egami Namio, for example, used Korean sources and the findings of archeologists to develop the thesis that in this period Japan came to be ruled by horse-riding warriors who had invaded the islands from north Asia.” Neither in Korea nor in Japan, however, is there any record of the Japanese Islands having been invaded in this ancient period. Nevertheless, Ledyard (1975) maintains:

“This loss of memory about such a cataclysmic event is not so unusual as it might appear. The case of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of England in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries suggests an interesting parallel: their legends and traditions contain nothing about their trip across the sea to conquer Roman Britain, and not more than a few words have survived from the partly literate Celtic scribes who were either massacred, sold into slavery or forced to flee. Yet we all know that Britain was invaded by Anglo-Saxons from the mainland side of the North Sea.”<sup>1</sup>

There are, in fact, enough suggestive records in the accounts of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* to deduce the origin of the Yamato dynasty and the roots of the Japanese imperial family. These records may even enable us to reconstruct (as in Chapter 6) the “true” life story of the conqueror, telling when and how he and his followers crossed the sea, where they landed, and in what manner they fought and wrought. Although there may be distortions in these accounts, the distortions can be identified and corrected because they are often very systematic. The suggestive traces dug up from numerous tombs in the Japanese Islands also serve to correct the record. The main objective of my study is to build a plausible model for the origin of the Yamato Kingdom by an intensive investigation of the available documentary evidence.

Modern historians build models on the basis of the known traces of occurrences (i.e., historical facts) in order to make scientific guesses about “actual occurrences” which are beyond the experience of the historians themselves. Their

<sup>1</sup> Joe Cheavens has written me suggesting that the Ledyard’s assertion that there is no memory of the Anglo-Saxon invasion/conquest is very mistaken. He has emphasized the fact that there are a few extant sources written by Romano-Celts at the time of this invasion and the British reaction to it (e.g., Gildas, *On the Ruin of Britain*, died in 570 CE), as well as histories written shortly thereafter (e.g., *Annelles Cambria*, c.970; Nennius, *Historia Bretonum*, 809; and Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, 731). He has reminded me of the fact that the tales of King Arthur were the folk lore tradition based on the Celtic resistance to the Anglo-Saxon invasion.

<sup>2</sup> Mathematical truths (theorems) established by logical reasoning on the basis of the pre-established validity of other mathematical assertions or axioms (whose validity is taken as self-evident) exist only in the idealized Platonic world of mathematical forms, distinct from the actual world. The Platonic mathematical world is a fiction produced by human minds. The so-called self-evident axioms are not actually true. A scientific model with strict internal consistency has to be a mathematical model. Scientists work by modeling that lacks the mathematical rigor, but what they can understand is generally much greater than what can be mathematically proved. There is often a long period between the first insight of a new theory (in the form of a model) and the final mathematical form.

Theorizing has the reward of clear causality, but often puts one in the straitjacket of mathematics that one can command, severely restricting the room for the creative imagination. Modeling allows more room for the intuitive power to perceive the core relationship, but logical inconsistency can easily creep in. A powerful model or theory does not only possess predictive and explanatory power for the existing source materials, but also aids the search and discovery of further relevant traces, revealing equally predictive and explanatory powers for the newly discovered data that played no part in its own prior formulation.

<sup>3</sup> In May 1948, Ishida Eiichirō (1903-68), a cultural anthropologist, organized a symposium on the subject of "the Japanese People - the Origin of its Culture and the Formation of the Japanese State" with Egami Namio, Oka Masao, and Yawata Ichirō participating. The discussions presented at the Symposium were published in the *Ethnology Study (Minzokugaku Kenkyū, Vol. 13, No. 3)* in February 1949. The primary result of the symposium was the dissemination of Egami's theory. Egami himself regards his theory as a modern version of the theory of Kida Sadakichi (1871-1939) that was published with the title of "The Theory of the Common Origin of the Japanese and Korean Peoples" in *Race and History (Minzoku to Rekishi, Vol. 6, No. 1)* during the Taisho period (1912-15). See Egami (1964).

objective is to give plausible explanations for human activities and to obtain a more profound understanding of phenomena that otherwise would remain anomalous and unexplained. With a realistic model, the hitherto seemingly meaningless historical facts or irrelevant archeological traces become meaningful and relevant.

One cannot, however, always draw a clear line of demarcation between a model founded on "traces" (designed to mirror the essential characteristics of the particular phenomenon under study) and a logical truth called theory (i.e., scientific guesses founded on "established general ideas"). In many cases, the so-called theories, including the Egami's "Theory" of Horseriding People, may better be considered as models.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Evolution of the Egami-Ledyard-Hong Models

### ROOTS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY: THE MANCHURIAN CONNECTION

Egami (1962, 1964) traces the roots of the Japanese imperial family to the horseriding nomads from the continent. On the basis of the sudden appearance of horse bones and various artifacts related to horses in the late fourth century, Egami Namio has contended that the horseriders crossed the sea from the southern peninsula and occupied Kyūshū in the early fourth century, and their descendant Homuda (Ōjin) carried the conquest eastward to the Kinki region at the end of the fourth century, establishing the Yamato Kingdom, the first unified state on the Japanese Islands.<sup>3</sup>

Egami (1964: 52) has contended that the transition from the culture of the Early Tomb Period to that of the Middle and Late Tomb Periods was abrupt and sudden. The most crucial evidence for his theory is the sudden appearance of continental grave-goods such as horse trappings, *sue* stoneware, and iron weapons and instruments dated to the period after "the middle of the latter half of the fourth century [c.375]." According to Egami, the change was too sudden and too unnatural to have been an indigenous development of a rice-cultivating society. There could have been no reason for the Yayoi society to have deliberately "imported" an alien culture on such a scale as to fundamentally transform the basic character of its own traditional culture. The transformation must reflect the subjugation of the Japanese

Islands by the people from the continent.

According to Mizuno (1969: 71-7), the appearance of gigantic [Middle Period] tombs implies the unification of numerous traditional communities under one mighty ruler, and suggests that the new ruling group constructed such spectacular tombs in order to inspire awe in the people, winning thereby their obedience to the absolute ruler of the new nation.<sup>4</sup>

According to Egami (1964: 48), there is chronological continuity between the Late Yayoi culture (c.100-300) and the Early Tomb culture (c.300-375), and the change which took place can be understood as a result of increasing social stratification. The character of the Middle and Late Tomb periods, on the other hand, is essentially identical and hence may be combined into one single Late Period (c.375-675).

Egami believes that the imperial ancestors came from a horseriding race of Northeast Asian provenance, possibly from among the Puyeo of central Manchuria, and that immediately prior to their invasion of the Japanese Islands, they were based in the southern peninsula. Egami has attempted to ground his thesis on historical sources by identifying a *Nibongi* figure called Mima-ki (Emperor Sujin), who presumably came to the Japanese Islands from a southeastern corner of the Korean Peninsula called Mima-na, as the leader of the horseriding invasion force.

The *Dongyi-zhuan* records that there were kings of Chin in southern Korea who ruled in the state of Yue-shi in Ma-han and brought under sway twelve out of a total of twenty-four Pyun-han and Chin-han states.<sup>5</sup> Egami believes that the leaders of the horseriders became the kings of Chin in southern Korea up to the late third century, and that the early fourth century Mima-ki, one of the descendants of the third century Chin kings, left Mima-na to conquer the Japanese Islands.<sup>6</sup>

A flaw in Egami's argument is his contention that Mima-ki belonged to the horseriding conquerors, while archeologically it appears that only Homuda could have belonged to them. Since Egami places Mima-ki in the early fourth century, he has to backdate the invasion to around that time, at least half a century or more before the advent of archeological discontinuity. If Egami's hypothesis is correct, we should be able to observe an introduction of Middle and Late Tomb materials in the early fourth century, at least in Kyūshū where Egami contends the

<sup>4</sup> Barnes (1988: 16) has stated that:

"The replacement of ritualistic items, such as bracelets and bronze mirrors, by more utilitarian tools and weapons reflects a basic shift in the source of status and power for the fifth-century elite." Barnes, however, further states that "Mizuno's characterization of the Ōjin Dynasty as a conquest regime and his identification of Puyeo elements in the ruling circle have misled others to conclude that fifth-century Yamato was ruled by continental horseriders – an interpretation that Mizuno himself vigorously rejects (ibid: 21)."

<sup>5</sup> Egami (1964: 66)

三國志 魏書 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 第三十 東夷傳 . . . 辰王治月支國 . . . 弁辰韓合二十四國 . . . 其十二國屬辰王 辰王常用馬韓人作之 後漢書 東夷列傳 第七十五 . . . 韓馬最大 共立其種為辰王 都目支國

<sup>6</sup> Egami (1962: 16)

垂仁 二年 御間城天皇之世 . . . 意富加羅國王之子 . . . 是時遇天皇崩 便留之 仕活目天皇逮于三年 天皇問 . . . 欲歸汝國耶 . . . 改汝本國名 追負御間城天皇御名 便為汝國名 . . . 返于本土 故號其國謂彌摩那國 (NI: 257-259)

<sup>7</sup> Egami (1964:53) himself raises the

question "whether there is any archeological evidence from the early [fourth century] tomb-mounds period which reflects an invasion of the Japanese archipelago by the horseriders," and then says that "no evidence has yet been discovered."

<sup>8</sup> Egami (1064: 69) contends that there was an "invasion of Tsukushi by the kings of Mimana . . . from the operational base of Kara . . . with the cooperation of the people of Wo living in that area," and there followed "the establishment of a confederated Japanese-Korean state comprising Mimana and Tsukushi." Egami further contends that "the kings of this confederated state, the kings of Wo, had their capital . . . in Tsukushi . . . [and] from the end of the fourth century . . . in the time of Emperor Ōjin . . . the armies of Wo penetrated deeply into the interior of the Korean peninsula [and] while these continental campaigns were being carried on there occurred the conquest of the Kinki region . . . and the establishment of the Yamato court." Egami contends that the "Emperors of Japan were kings of Wo ruling a Japanese-Korean confederation . . . [It was] from the time of the Emperor Tenji . . . [that] the Emperor of Japan finally became sovereign over the islands of Japan alone." This argument sounds like the sugarcoating of the bitter pill of alien conquest. Egami (1964: 65-66) also argues that "the kings of Wo still retained a historical basis for ruling, or a latent right to rule, the whole of south Korea . . . Paekche, like all the other states of south Korea, should be considered a dependency of the state of Wo." Egami seems to have coated his theory of horseriding people with enough sugar to win the Cultural Medal from the Emperor in 1991.

invasion began. According to Egami, such evidence constitutes a missing link which, he believes, will certainly be found in the future.<sup>7</sup>

Egami's story about the identity of horseriding conquerors is highly riddled with wild and distracting speculations. He attempted, consciously or unconsciously, to minimize for the Japanese general public the shock his theory might generate by making the identity of horseriding conquerors both as ambiguous and as mysterious as possible. He has, perhaps quite unconsciously, tried to minimize the possible hostility of the general public to his theory by eliminating the specificity of the horseriders' identity.<sup>8</sup> A conquest by "a horseriding prince" and his followers from some unknown country (who simply "passed through" the Korean Peninsula) serves to enhance the feeling of romance and mystery. To the general public who are familiar with the *Kojiki-Nihongi* story of the "imperial clan descending from heaven," Egami's theory merely represents a simple addition of the adjective "horseriding."

#### LEDYARD: PUYEO PEOPLE FOUNDING THE YAMATO KINGDOM

Ledyard (1975) has attempted to reformulate Egami's theory in order to make it more consistent with the appearance of the archeological break. Ledyard contends that the Paekche Kingdom in the southwestern part of the Korean Peninsula was founded by the Puyeo refugees from Manchuria sometime in the twenty-year period between 352 and 372, and immediately thereafter, the Puyeo warriors reached the sea, boarded boats and founded the Yamato Kingdom in the Japanese Islands.<sup>9</sup> The core evidence for Ledyard's thesis is twofold: the historical fact that Puyeo was attacked by the Murong-Xianbei in 346, and the chaotic stories of the period between 350 and 380 recorded in the *Nihongi*.

In searching for the principal figures in the formation of the Yamato Kingdom and in deducing a plausible relationship between Korea and Japan, Egami resorts almost exclusively to the *Dongyi-zhuan* (in the *Weishu* of *Sanguozhi*) and relies very little on the records of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, particularly those of the post-Homuda (Ōjin) period. Had Egami allotted appropriate weight to the post-Ōjin records of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, he could have specified Paekche people as the principal figures rather than, quite

anachronistically, the kings of Chin and their descendant Mima-ki. Unfortunately, Ledyard (1975) also fails to allot appropriate weight to the post-Ōjin records of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. Instead, he resorts almost exclusively to the Jingu's section of *Nihongi*. Perhaps simply to maintain the equestrian flavor of Egami, the story of horseriding people migrating from Puyeo à la *Völkerwanderung* (a wondering of peoples) is invented (apparently inspired by the so-called Era of Five Barbarians and Sixteen States in northern China, 304-439), and the actual course of events in the Korean Peninsula is almost completely ignored. Ledyard seems to have been wedded to Egami's notion of mystic "horseriders" invading the Japanese Islands "through" the Korean Peninsula, embracing Egami's design to conceal any direct role of the Korean people in the formation of the Yamato dynasty.

By completely ignoring the Korean chronicles, Ledyard imagines that the Puyeo, a north Asian horseriding people, had first created the state of Paekche by conquering the indigenous population of the southwestern peninsula sometime shortly after the middle of the fourth century. Korean chronicles establish that the rulers of Paekche were indeed of Puyeo origin but that they reached the Paekche region in 18 BCE. Paekche was, to be sure, a historically well-known identity.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, so little is known about Puyeo by the general public that "coming down from Puyeo" sounds almost like "coming down from heaven."

Ledyard has at least mentioned Paekche, which does have much more concrete historical substance than Puyeo. To be sure, Paekche once (in 538) called itself Southern Puyeo, and its official founder Onjo came down (in 18 BCE) to the Han River basin from the Yalu River area called Chol-bon Puyeo that had been renamed Koguryeo in 38 BCE by Chu-mong, who had come down from the Northern (or Eastern) Puyeo.<sup>11</sup> Onjo was Chumong's third son. "Puyeo" was indeed used as the Paekche royal surname, which was often abbreviated to Yeo. And yet, saying that "Puyeo founded Paekche in the fourth century," or calling the Paekche king of the fourth century "a Puyeo warrior," is historically as anachronistic as Egami's thesis.

Both Egami and Ledyard contend that it was some Northeast Asian people that conquered the Korean Peninsula first and then, shortly afterward, conquered the Japanese Islands. In

In a sense, Egami has carried on the spirit of the traditional nationalistic Japanese historians as vigorously as one possibly can.

<sup>9</sup> Ledyard (1975: 228-229)

<sup>10</sup> 三國志 卷三十 魏書 三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 三十 韓傳 韓在帶方之南...有三種 一曰馬韓 二曰辰韓 三曰弁韓...馬韓在西...有...伯濟國...凡五十餘國

後漢書 卷八十五 東夷列傳 第七十五 韓...韓有三種...馬韓在西 有五十四國 其北與樂浪 南與倭接...凡七十八國 伯濟是其一國焉  
扶餘隆墓誌銘 公諱隆...百濟辰朝人也 元[ ][ ]孫啓祚...割據一方 [ ][ ][ ]載...氣蓋三韓 名馳兩貊...海隅開族 河孫效祥...代業逾昌...威稜帶方...桂婁初擾 遼川不寧...寔賴威靈...

<sup>11</sup> 梁書 列傳 諸夷 百濟者 其先東夷有三韓國...弁韓辰韓各十二國 馬韓有五十四國...百濟即其一也 後漸強大 兼諸小國

三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 百濟始祖溫祚王 其父鄒牟 或云朱蒙 自北扶餘逃難 至卒本扶餘...未幾扶餘王薨 朱蒙嗣位 生二子 長曰沸流 次曰溫祚 及朱蒙在北扶餘所生子來為太子...沸流溫祚...南行...溫祚都河南慰禮城...是前漢成帝鴻嘉三年也...其世系與高句麗同出扶餘 故以扶餘為氏 (S2: 15)

三國史記 百濟本紀 第二十六 聖王十六年 [538] 春 移都於泗泚 國號南夫餘 (S2: 62)

*Nihongi* (N2: 18) also calls Paekche "Puyeo" in 529.



<sup>12</sup> See Ledyard (1975: 234, 246).  
 Egami (1964: 52) has already suggested that there were instances of “horselriding peoples seeking to satisfy their desire for conquest not only by undertaking subjugatory activities on the continent, but also by sending expeditions overseas . . . and consequently if and when the subjugatory activities of the horselriders had extended as far as south Korea it would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that they should also invade Japan.” In Japanese historiography, the acceptable expression for the “arrival of Koreans” is the “immigrants from northeast Asia,” while that for the “Korean Influence” is the “continental cultural influence introduced through (the sinified kingdoms of) Korea.”  
 See Brown (1993: 108-12).



3.4. The “Kofun Wave” circa 370-410

their arguments, Koreans play no essential role. They are rendered invisible. The mysterious “continental” people simply “traversed” the Korean Peninsula on their way to conquer the Japanese Islands. Ledyard adds spice to the pot: “prisoners, captives dragged behind Puyeo horses from conquests in Manchuria and Korea across the sea to do the work of the new state.” Indeed, both Egami and Ledyard have done their best to conceal the direct role of the Korean people in the formation of the Yamato Kingdom.<sup>12</sup> They are, as Diamond (1998) says, emphatically assuring the Japanese public: “not Koreans, under no circumstances!”

Kirkland (1981: 118-9) notes the protective shield provided by Koguryeo which, directly in the path of any invaders, must have blocked off any significant Manchurian influx during the fourth century. The fourth century was indeed the Era of the Five Barbarians and Sixteen States in northern China, but it is unlikely that such unrest could have extended to the Korean Peninsula in the form of *Völkervanderung*. Kirkland explains: “Koguryeo, the earliest of the Three Kingdoms, grew from its base on the Yalu as the Han dynasty weakened. . . . Throughout the third and fourth centuries, Koguryeo absorbed the brunt of constant Chinese and Xianbei attacks.”

#### HONG: PAEKCHE PEOPLE FOUNDING THE YAMATO KINGDOM

The model-building for the origin of the Yamato dynasty, however, cannot be based so preponderantly, if not exclusively, on archeological evidence. There are enough suggestive records in the accounts of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* to deduce the origin of the Yamato dynasty and the roots of the Japanese imperial family. There are, furthermore, various additional supplementary documents such as the *Harima Fudoki*, *Shinsen Shōjiroku*, and *Shoku Nihongi* to be considered. Only when accompanied by an intensive investigation of the documentary evidence, may one be able to build a plausible model for the origin of the Yamato dynasty in the Japanese Islands. For my model-building, I have been relying on the known documentary sources, without unearthing entirely new documents. With a shift in paradigm, however, the same set of documentary data seems to tell a very different story that may be closer to the reality.

The essence of my proposition is that a member of the

Paekche royal family represented by Homuda (Ōjin) and his followers, with the blessing of King Keun Chogo (r.346-75) of Paekche, carried out the conquest of the Yamato region via Kyūshū in the late fourth century. Keun Chogo and his son, Keun Kusu (r.375-84), were the most remarkable warrior kings of Paekche, able to secure the largest territory for their kingdom. I focus squarely on Paekche. I do not invoke some unknown North Asian nomad or Puyeo as a *deus ex machina*. Only by tracing the roots of the Paekche ruling clans, therefore, can one possibly claim the Manchurian (i.e., Puyeo) connection for the origin of the Yamato dynasty and the roots of the imperial family. The historical facts presented in the following chapters are intended to convince the readers of the plausibility of my model.

I contend that not only the entire Ma-han area, but also the Japanese Islands, were conquered by the Paekche people during the latter half of the fourth century when the Paekche's military might reached its peak. By correcting the *Nihongi*-dating with the *Samguk-sagi* records (in Chapters 4 and 6), I further postulate that the Paekche people conquered the Japanese Islands sometime between 370-90, that Ōjin (Homuda) acceded to the throne as the founder of the Yamato Kingdom in 390, and that there were some time lags between the commencement of conquest and the burial of conquerors in gigantic tombs with horse trappings.

The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* write Paekche using two Chinese characters (百濟) and read them “Kudara,” and also write Wa with a Chinese character (倭) and read it “Yamato.”<sup>13</sup> My model may therefore be called the “Kudara Yamato Model.” The crucial evidence supporting my model consists of all the stories contained in, among others, the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The object of chapters 4 to 7 is to present the essence of those stories, thereby enabling readers to grasp the most plausible picture of the origin of the Yamato dynasty in the Japanese Islands.

### 3. Event or Process: The Evolutionary Thesis

In her review of my limited preview edition (Hong, 2006), Barnes (2007b: 80) asserts that “this adherence to the Horserider Theory of Japanese state formation, promulgated by



3.5. Kudara at the Baikal Lake

<sup>13</sup> Kudara (百濟) seems to be a Buriat dialect word, and happens to be the name of a present-day small town in the delta area at the mouth of Selenge River flowing into Lake Baikal (52° 14' 00.80"N 106°39'38.73"E). Puyeo (夫餘) sounds similar to Buir, male otter, in the Buriat dialect. Kori (高離), from where (according to the *Wei Lue* 魏略 quoted by the *Dongyi-zhuan*) the founders of Puyeo came, sounds similar to the Buriat word for reindeer (caribou) and also to the name of a place between the lakes of Baikal, Hulun, and Buir. “Yamato” is written in Chinese 倭, 夜麻登 or 耶麻騰. Formerly the name of the Yamato province was written 大倭 (read Great Yamato) but in 737 the

characters were changed to 大和 (also read Great Yamato).

"Yamato" is one of five provinces of Kinai, comprising ten districts, which form the "Nara Prefecture." The Yamato Plain is about 30 km from north to south and 15 km from east to west. It is surrounded by the mountains of Tamba and Hira in the north, by Kasagi in the east, by Kongō, Katsuragi and Ikoma in the west, and by the hills of Takami and Yoshino in the south. Each new king transferred the capital, generally within the Yamato Plain, presumably in order to be enthroned in an unpolluted, ritually clean environment. Like the Shintō shrines of those days, the palaces were simple structures.

<sup>14</sup> Walter Edwards was born in 1949, and received his BA degree in anthropology and archeology at Cornell University in 1971. He obtained some additional education on the graduate field of anthropology at CUNY during the 1972-3 academic year, and then took the intensive course in Japanese at the University of Hawaii till the end of 1973. He served as instructor of English at the Nomad Language Academy in Shizuoka, Japan, during 1974-9. He entered the graduate school of Cornell University in the 1980-1 academic year, and obtained his MA degree in anthropology in 1982. His major area was the nature of Japanese Wedding ritual, and wrote an article, "Something Borrowed: Wedding Cake as Symbols in Modern Japan," in the *American Ethnologist* in 1982.

Egami Namio in 1948 and enhanced by Gari Ledyard in 1975, is simply flogging a dead horse," though my thesis has evolved into a model at a considerable distance from those of Egami and Ledyard.

For those scholars who hate the Theory of Horseriding People, an article in 1983 by a then Cornell University graduate student, Walter Edwards, seems to constitute sufficient evidence to discredit a lifetime of studies of Egami Namio.<sup>14</sup> Edwards (1983) has contended that the archeological evidence for horse trappings actually occurs in the "late fifth" century rather than the "late fourth or early fifth." He has posited that the changes were all gradual, and never abrupt, accusing Egami of having created a false sense of discontinuity between Early and Middle Tomb materials. He has further insisted that the classic early 5th century Middle period tombs of Ōjin (Homuda) and Nintoku precede the presence of "horserider materials" because their influx into the Japanese Islands occurred "no earlier than the middle of the fifth century," and therefore "the political power they [middle Period tombs] represent cannot be seen as deriving from it." His argument has been all too uncritically seized and enthusiastically echoed ever since, witness for example the work of Brown (1993: 109), who states that the "weaknesses of the Egami thesis were revealed in Walter Edwards..." and also the work of Farris (1998: 78-9), who reiterates Edwards' claims: "[the horse] trappings appeared too late to have been associated with an invasion in the mid- or late fourth century; moreover, their spread across Japan was too gradual." Unger (2001: 84-85) states: "I began to change my mind...a few years ago because of criticisms of the so-called horserider theory by Walter Edwards and Gina Barnes." Unger (2009: xii) further states that: "when tumulus (Kofun) culture, with clear peninsular antecedents, began to emerge in Japan ... this development was gradual, not abrupt, and it did not involve a massive migration from the peninsula."

Barnes (2007a) seems to summarize as follows the claustrophobic narrowness of the Japanese academic tradition which has often been blindly endorsed by the modern Western exegesis.

"Egami's Horserider Theory has promoted one particular cause of state formation in Japan: by horserider conquest at the turn of

the 5th century. **Edwards' rejection** of the theory **on technical grounds** invalidates the **timing** (ibid: 18).” “One of the more **infamous** examples of **manipulating** the periodization scheme is **Egami Namio's conflation** of the Middle and Late periods into one single Late period in order to associate -- in his Horserider Theory -- horse-riding equipment and the very large early 5th-century keyhole tombs built on the Osaka Plains (Egami 1948, 1964). This sleight of hand has **never** been **accepted** by the **Japanese archeological community**, and Edwards (1983) carefully analysed the appearance of horse-riding equipment in Yamato tombs to **reject** this **fanciful theory once and for all in English** (ibid: 9).”

In Chapter 9, I present a variety of evidence to show why the “evolutionary” thesis of Edwards is inadequate.

Barnes (1988: 279-80) herself has evaluated the Nara Basin settlement data and reiterated that “the remains of the Early Kofun period [300-400] can be characterized mainly in terms of social differentiation,” while “the Middle Kofun period [400-500] settlement record documents major economic changes.” Barnes says, further, that “a major shift in political focus from the southeastern basin to the Osaka Plain in the early fifth century” (i.e., the replacement of the southeastern cluster by a southwestern cluster of large keyhole tombs in the fifth century) “was probably related to the **sudden** focus westward on continental culture and increasing interaction with the Korean peninsula.” Barnes (ibid: 281) concludes: “the fifth century thus can be viewed as the time of **radical** economic reorganization and differential development of settlement that accompanies state formation...producing a stable and coherent state by the early sixth century.”<sup>15</sup>

Barnes nevertheless believes that the Egami-Ledyard-Hong models of Japanese state formation are all dead horses, and also declares that “there is no archeological evidence for conquest at any time in the Kofun period (2007a: 18),” while stating that the Middle Kofun period [400-75 CE] “coincides with the Ōjin (Homuda) line of kings in the *Nihon Shoki* (2007a: 10).” She writes, as well, that “it was the development of relations with Paekche that allowed a new faction, probably led by the Kazuraki clan, to take control and build a new polity, possibly integrating continental figures into their ruling structure (2007b: 81).” Barnes

He apparently wrote the famous article, “Events and Process in the Founding of Japan: The Horserider Theory in Archeological Perspective,” in 1982, published in the *Journal of Japanese Studies* in 1983. He received his Ph.D degree in anthropology from Cornell University in 1984. He wrote an article on the “commercialized wedding as ritual” in 1987, another article on “housing values” in 1988, and then a book titled *Modern Japan through its Weddings* in 1989. He has held the positions of Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan (1985-88), and Associate Professor of English, Matsumoto Dental College (1988-91). He began teaching at the Department of Asian Studies, Tenri University, in 1993 as Professor and Chair of the Japanese Studies Program.

<sup>15</sup> Barnes (2007a: 18) sees “the mounded tombs as evidence of social stratification, not state formation,” and regards “the advent of monumental mounded-tomb construction and development of the Mounded Tomb Culture, as the threshold for state formation, not its completion.” Barnes believes the Yamato state was formed in the late 5th century (ibid: 195).

<sup>16</sup> Surprisingly, Barnes (2007a: 103) contends that, “taking into consideration the current **documentary** evidence, however, there is a reasonable case for accepting as an **assumption** the equation of Yamatai with Yamato.”

<sup>17</sup> According to Unger (2009: xii), “The...recent research in a variety of disciplines...have shown that the range of settlement of the neolithic (Jōmon) inhabitants of Japan did not extend to the continent,” and the diffusion of the culture of the Korean Peninsula to the Japanese Islands “was greatly accelerated ca. 300 BCE by migrations from southeastern Korea.” Unger further notes that the “elements of Megalithic (Mumun) culture of the Korean Peninsula that superseded its neolithic (Chulmun) culture were introduced...in the 2nd millennium BCE.” Unger then somehow concludes that these “findings strongly support the hypothesis that the Japanese language was brought to Japan from southeastern Korea by migrants during the 1st millennium BCE,” i.e., from c.1000 BCE and not after 300 BCE.

<sup>18</sup> C.2000 BCE, wet-field rice may have been introduced to the southern peninsula by a group of seafaring rice farmers from South China, imparting non-trivial DNA and lexical influence to the southern peninsular inhabitants. What Unger (2009) has defined as the proto-Korean-Japanese in the Three Han region of the southern peninsula could already have revealed significant lexical, if not grammatical, differences from the Puyeo-Koguryeo language by the time it made the Yayoi migration to the Japanese Islands c.300 BCE. The Koguryeo-Paekche language landed on the Japanese Islands almost 700 years later (c.400 CE).

(2007a: 194) further states that, “from the late 4th century, the pendulum swung away...to a focus on the Korean Peninsula,” and that “the center of power shifted westwards towards Ōsaka Bay and links to the Korean Peninsula [and] resulted in a new era of peer relations between Paekche and the Kinai core.”

Barnes (2007a: 103) says, finally, that she has “always maintained that Himiko and Yamatai comprise a historical problem that cannot be solved by archeological means unless we suddenly obtain new inscriptional evidence. ... The archeological evidence is weakest of all...”<sup>16</sup> The hypothesis of “the conquest of Japanese Islands by the Paekche people” may also be a historical problem that cannot be solved by archeological means “unless we suddenly obtain new inscriptional evidence,” even though the currently existing archeological evidence looks fairly strong. Perhaps only by taking documentary evidence into consideration, can one establish a plausible case for accepting the Conquest Hypothesis. This is precisely what I have been doing.

#### 4. The Linguistic Aspect of My Model

I contend (in chapters 8 and 9) that the Jōmon culture (c.10,000–300 BCE) on the Japanese archipelago was the product of Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian people, while the Yayoi culture (c.300 BCE-300 CE) was the product of Kaya (Karak) people from the southern Korean Peninsula together with Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian aborigines. The proto-Japanese people, speaking a proto-Japanese language, were formed during the Yayoi period.<sup>17</sup> I contend that the Kaya dialect of the Korean language provided the basic structure of the proto-Japanese language although lexically (in loan words) and phonologically (in sound), the influence of Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian languages could have been substantial.<sup>18</sup> I also regard the Early Tomb culture (c.300-400) as an extension of the Yayoi culture.

The Late Tomb culture (c.400-700) was, however, brought about by the Yamato Kingdom, the first unified state on the Japanese Islands that was newly established at the end of the fourth century by the Paekche people from the Korean Peninsula. Syntactically (in patterns of word arrangement) and morphologically (in systems of word formation), the similarity

between the Korean and Japanese languages was very much strengthened.<sup>19</sup> The peninsular grammar that began to be transmitted to the Japanese Islands from c.300 BCE and in great strength after c.400 CE came to affect all subsequent dialects of the islands. However, the lexical and phonological influence of the Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian languages seems to have cast a long shadow on the subsequent evolution of the Japanese language.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, by the early ninth century at the latest, due to ever increasing lexical, semantic, and phonological differences, the people of the Korean Peninsula and the people of the Japanese Islands could no longer directly communicate with each other without interpreters.

### Appendix 3.1. Silence and Distortions in the Dynastic Chronicles

As in the case of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England, there is no clear historical account (extant in either Korean or Japanese chronicles) of the Paekche people founding the Yamato Kingdom. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon “conquest” of England, however, the absence of an authentic account of the Paekche people founding the Yamato Kingdom in both Korean and Japanese chronicles seems to have been intentional.

The chronicles of the Paekche Kingdom compiled by the Paekche people themselves (starting with the scholar Ko Heung in 375 and continued by his successors) such as the *Paekche Records* (百濟記), the *Paekche Annals* (百濟本記) and the *Paekche New Compilations* (百濟新撰), are all quoted in the *Nihongi*.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, all these chronicles from which the *Nihongi* takes its quotations have been lost. The handful of fragments that have survived in the form of quotations in the *Nihongi*, however, reveal that those records were highly detailed.

The only extant authentic Korean chronicle providing systematic accounts of this early period is the *Samguk-sagi* compiled in 1145 by Kim Pusik, descended from one of the ruling families of the Silla Kingdom that conquered Paekche in 663. The only extant authentic Japanese chronicles providing systematic records of this early period are the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* that, shortly after the fall of Paekche Kingdom, were compiled by the Yamato rulers with definite objectives in mind. Neither party,

<sup>19</sup> Unger (2009: xi-xiii) believes that the lexical material, “not to mention parallelisms in grammar not seen in nearby languages of similar type,” points toward “a genetic relationship between Japanese and Korean.”

<sup>20</sup> Unger (2009: 13-5) contends that, “there is no evidence, apart from some place-names that may have Ainu derivations, that proto-Japanese absorbed material from a substratum language. ... [The] Yayoi physical traits in the present-day population indicates a low rate of intermarriage of speakers of... Jōmon languages with speakers of Japanese, implying few opportunities for significant linguistic impact.”

<sup>21</sup> 近肖古王 三十年 [375 CE] 古記云 百濟開國已來 未有以文字記事 至是得博士高興 始有書記 (S2: 32)



3.6. Horse ornaments from (top left) Puyo, (bottom) Hae-nam, Korea, and (top right) Osaka, Japan

<sup>22</sup> 應神 八年…百濟記云 阿花王立  
…遣王子直支于天朝 以脩先王之  
好也 (NI: 367)

三國史記 百濟本紀 阿莘王 六年  
王與倭國結好 以太子腆支爲質 (S2:  
45)

<sup>23</sup> 亦新羅人參渡來 是以…命引率  
爲役之堤池而 作百濟池 (K: 248)

應神 七年 高麗人百濟人任那人新  
羅人 並來朝 時命…領諸韓人等作  
池 因以名池號韓人池 (NI: 367)



3.7. Three Kingdom Period, Korea

for apparently different reasons, wanted to have a true account of the Paekche people founding the Yamato Kingdom. The *Samguk-sagi* adopted the passive tactic of “silence” and the *Kojiki-Nihongi* adopted the active tactic of “distortion.” (See Section 4, Chapter 10.)

Considering the possible availability of several Paekche chronicles compiled by the Paekche people themselves, the “failure” of Kim Pusik to record the Paekche history in any detail may be attributed to his hatred for this archenemy of Silla rather than to the shortage of source material. A conspicuous example that reveals Kim Pusik’s hatred of Paekche is found in the record of Prince Cheon-ji of Paekche, where he selects the word “hostage” to describe the prince being taken to the Yamato court in 397, whereas the *Paekche Records* quoted by the *Nihongi* simply use the word “sent” to describe the incident of the prince going to the Yamato court in that year.<sup>22</sup>

Gardiner (1970: 16) contends that “Paekche was for a very long time the principal opponent of Silla. ... Thus...it would have been very natural for him to play down the importance of Paekche by giving it less space and a less sympathetic treatment and by setting the starting-point for its chronology well after that of Silla. The memory of the close alliance which existed for many centuries between Paekche and Yamato was also scarcely likely to encourage later Korean historians to attempt to correct Kim Pusik’s generally unfavorable picture of this kingdom.”

It is interesting to note the fact that, while those who had compiled the *Kojiki* at the order of Temmu some time before 686 had limited the application of disparaging words mostly to Silla, those who finished compiling the *Nihongi* in 720 apparently made a strategic decision to extend the slighting expression even to Paekche. For instance, the *Kojiki* records that the Silla people came over [in 396] and constructed a storage dam that was called “Paekche Reservoir,” while the *Nihongi* records that the people of Koguryeo, Paekche, Imna (Kaya), and Silla all came together in 396, and these Koreans were ordered to construct a reservoir that was then named “Korean Men Reservoir.”<sup>23</sup>





Chapter 4 begins at 85.