

## 5.

## PAEKCHE CULTURE IN ASUKA JAPAN:

*The Most Visible and Dominating Influence*

## A. Asuka 飛鳥 Culture

The present-day village of Asuka 明日香 in Nara 奈良 Prefecture was the political and cultural center of Japan during the fifth and seventh centuries before the establishment of the capital at Heijōkyō 平城京 (Nara) in A.D. 710, which was located about 25 kilometers north of Asuka.<sup>1</sup> The period starting from the mid-6th century and ending in A.D. 645 is called the “Asuka Period” and is most commonly taken as Japan’s historical beginning point.

Japanese scholars admit that Asuka culture was characterized by the adoption of continental art forms and technology transmitted from Paekche, but they tend to let Asuka culture correspond to the so-called “Asuka Period” only, covering the years from the introduction of Buddhism (A.D. 538 or 552) or the years from Suiko’s accession (A.D. 593) to the Taika Reform (A.D. 645). Furthermore, they designate the period after the Taika Reform until the establishment of the capital at Heijōkyō in A.D. 710 as the period of Hakuho 白鳳 culture. Japanese scholars contend that the so-called Hakuho-culture (for the period A.D. 645-710) was characterized by “direct” cultural and technological influences from Tang, although there were no Japanese envoys sent to China during A.D. 669-701 (cf. KEJ: 1. 107). We, however, would emphasize the facts that the entire Asuka area of southern Yamato was the

<sup>1</sup>According to Inoue (1968: 19), the Yamato court changed its location within the Asuka area each time a new king came to the throne, “presumably because of the belief that death was defiling.” Inoue continues: “With the Taika Reform there arose the desire for a permanent capital such as had been seen in China [Inoue could have referred to Korea] . . . The Empress Jitō, consort and successor of the Emperor Temmu . . . built a capital – Fujiwara-kyō 藤原京 – north of Asuka [located in what is now the city of Kashihara, Nara Prefecture] and moved the government there in 694.”

political and cultural center of Japan throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, and that the Hakuho-period can not claim any extraordinarily “direct” Chinese influence. We therefore prefer to think that the Asuka period corresponds to the entire era beginning with the enthronement of Homudawake in A.D. 390 and ending with the establishment of the capital at Heijōkyō in A.D. 710.<sup>2</sup>

William R. Carter (KEJ: 1. 105) states that: “From about A.D. 400 the Asuka region was settled largely by branches of the AYA 漢 FAMILY, immigrants from Korea [Paekche]. The residences of most Japanese sovereigns before the 8th century -- including Emperor Jimmu’s legendary Kashihara Palace, the palace of Asuka Kiyomihara no Miya, and the capital Fujiwarakyō -- are recorded as having been either in Asuka or close by, and many of the events described in the chronicle Nihon Shoki (720) took place in the area.” Until Jitō (A.D. 686-697) established the capital city Fujiwarakyō in A.D. 694, the palace site was relocated elsewhere in the Asuka region with the change of each sovereign. That is, unlike the case in Korea, Japan did not have any permanent capital city. When a king died, his successor transferred the palace site to a new place in the Asuka 飛鳥 region. The palaces in those days were, like the Shinto shrines, simple structures and were easily built with a limited amount of effort.

The influence of Paekche dominates the architecture and art of the temple Hōryūji (Ikarugadera 斑鳩寺), which was originally built in A.D. 601-607 by the order of Prince Shōtoku 聖德 and is regarded as representative of Asuka Buddhist culture, though located some distance north of Asuka.<sup>3</sup> Lucie R. Weinstein (KEJ: 3. 232) states that: “Excavations in 1939, . . . disclosed the main buildings of the original Hōryūji 法隆寺. The foundations of a pagoda

<sup>2</sup>The Hakuho period was named after the unofficial reign name associated with Temmu (A.D. 672-686). KEJ (3.88) notes that: “artistically, it was a continuation of the Asuka culture, though with stronger Tang dynasty Chinese influences . . . . Hakuho culture was succeeded by Tenpyō 天平 culture, in which Buddhist art under continental influence reached its peak.” The Nara Period covers A.D. 710-794 and the Heian 平安 Period covers A.D. 794-1185. Borgen (1982), however, acknowledges the fact that “Kentōshi 遣唐使 are usually associated with the Nara period, although the final two missions were dispatched in the early decades of the Heian . . . [after these, the] regular diplomatic contact between China and Japan virtually ceased for over five centuries until it was resumed by the Ashikaga shogunate.”

<sup>3</sup>The original temple has vanished but the finest collections of Buddhist art dating from the time of its construction have survived. Outstanding is the Kudara [Paekche] Kannon 觀音. The buildings extant were erected in the late 7th century and 8th century.

and a *kondō* 金堂 were . . . in a traditional arrangement known as the Shitennoji style, which had been transmitted from Korea [Paekche].” The Asuka Daibutsu, a bronze image of the Buddha cast in A.D. 606, is located on the site of the ancient temple Asukadera 飛鳥寺 (Hōkōji 法興寺 or Gangōji 元興寺). John M. Rosenfield (KEJ: 1. 106) notes that: “The temple was erected [by Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子] soon after a gift of Buddhist relics 佛舍利 arrived from Paekche in 588. Accompanying the relics were Korean monks, temple carpenters 寺工, a metal founder for the casting of pagoda spires, expert tile workers 瓦博士, and a painter 畫工. . . . [I]n 596 the pagoda was complete . . . [and] the temple began its role as a center of Buddhist learning when the first two monks took up residence. One of them was Eji (Kor: Hyecha 慧慈) from Koguryeo. . . the other was Eso (Kor: Hyechong 慧聰) from Paekche. . . . Excavations conducted in 1956-57 disclosed that . . . its pagoda was surrounded by three *kondō* halls . . . Archaeologists think . . . that this type of building was also employed in Paekche. . . . Elsewhere in the Asukadera, strong Korean [Paekche] influence can be seen in the use of the stone double platform in the east and west *kondō*, in designs of the roof tiles 屋瓦, and in other details of construction.”<sup>4</sup>

Wagatsuma Hiroshi (KEJ: 3. 88) notes that “the term *hakurai* 舶來 and *hakuraihin* (imported goods) were used from the Nara period (710-794) to refer to imported goods from China and Korea. . . The word *hakurai* and the phrase *jōtō hakurai* (*first class imported from abroad*) were synonymous with *good or of the highest quality*.” These terms together with such expressions as *Kudara-nai* 下らない (*not a Paekche product* — referring to inferior local products), however, seem to have been used in Japan beginning in the Asuka period and referred to goods imported primarily from Paekche.

After the fall of Paekche in A.D. 663, the Yamato Court had to depend almost entirely on embassies dispatched to Tang China in order to obtain advanced knowledge of Chinese culture. Since it was Japan’s ancient enemy Silla that unified Korea, the Japanese envoys were, after a brief period of reconciliation with Silla, forced to take a more southerly route (far away from the unified Silla coastline) directly across the East China Sea to Tang, and

<sup>4</sup>Kim Suk-hyung 金錫亨 (1969: 460-462) notes that the type of temple building that has a pagoda surrounded by three *kondō* halls was discovered at a ruined Koguryeo temple in Cheong-am-ri 淸岩里廢寺 near Pyeong-yang. Kim Jeong-hak 金廷鶴 (1981: 307), on the other hand, notes that this type of temple building can be found at a ruined Paekche temple in Kun-su-ri 郡守里廢寺 and at the remains of Jeong-rim-sa 定林寺 in Puyo.

hence had to encounter extreme difficulties in crossing the sea and obtaining the benefits of advanced continental culture.

#### B. The Paintings of the Takamatsuzuka Tomb 高松塚

Many Chinese chronicles record simply that the costumes of Paekche people were very similar to those of Koguryeo people. Some chronicles are more specific, however. According to *Bei-shi*, *Zhou-shu*, and *Sui-shu*, the attire of Paekche men was very similar to that of Koguryeo men -- e.g., both wore caps with feathers on both sides -- while Paekche ladies wore jackets with ample sleeves over the skirts. *Zhou-shu* records that unmarried Paekche women wore their hair in plaits gathered at the back 編髮盤於首 but left a tress of hair hanging as a decoration 後垂一道為飾, while the married women formed two plaited tresses of hair which were turned up. *Bei-shi* echoes that unmarried Paekche women twisted their hair into a chignon and let it hang at the back but the married ones twisted their hair upward 盤於頭上 in two parts. *Sui-shu* similarly records that unmarried Paekche women twisted their hair into a chignon and let it hang at the back while the married ones separated their hair into two parts and twisted them into a chignon from above. Neither *Bei-shi* nor *Sui-shu* mentions a chignon for Koguryeo women. The description of “hanging at the back” 變髮垂後 in *Bei-shih* is specifically used for Paekche women.<sup><1></sup>

In the southeast corner of an Asuka village 明日香村 in Nara prefecture there are four mausolea: the large tumulus traditionally identified as that of Temmu [A.D. 673-686] and his wife; the tomb for Mommu [A.D. 679-707]; the Nakaoyama Tomb; and the Takamatsuzuka Tomb, a small tomb mound with plastered and painted walls, which was excavated on March 21, 1972 by the Nara Kashihara Archeology Institute. The Takamatsuzuka tomb was believed to be that of Mommu until the 1960s, and archeological excavation was prevented until 1972. The most important feature of the Takamatsuzuka tomb is the art work found on the chamber walls. Kidder (1972) notes that paintings in “[t]he fifth-century Koguryeo tomb of Tong-gou 通溝 along the Yalu River in Manchuria at first look as though they may be the prototypes for these paintings [of the Takamatsuzuka Tomb], but the Takamatsuzuka paintings are obviously composite, borrowed from more than one source . . .<sup>5</sup> The face of one of the men in the Takamatsuzuka Tomb bears some resemblance to that of Prince Shōtoku [who died in A.D. 622] in the well-known

<sup>5</sup>Kidder (1972) notes that when there appear rows of human figures in the paintings of the fifth century Koguryeo tombs of Tong-gou, “they are stiffly painted and have none of the grace that characterizes the figures in the Takamatsuzuka Tomb.”

painting of the prince and two of his sons, supposedly painted after 685 . . . . The Azure Dragon and White Tiger of the Great Tomb near Pyeong-yang 平壤, Korea, bear obvious similarities to the Takamatsuzuka animals, and are the most similar examples in Korea . . . . It would probably have been the tomb of a Korean [a male of about fifty years of age] associated with the court of Empress Jitō [A.D. 686-697] . . .” Kidder (KEJ: 7. 315) also notes that “[s]ome scholars consider it to be the tomb of Prince Takechi (654-696), a son of . . . Temmu.” In some Edo Period books, the tomb is still described as that of Mommu 文武 (see Smith, 1976).

Kidder notes that in the paintings in the Takamatsuzuka tomb, “the men wear long coats over trousers . . . some green and brown of their clothes can still be seen. The women wear long, lined jackets, painted in red, green, yellow or brown. The lining appears as a fringe below the jacket and in the turned-back cuffs. The pleated skirts hang to the ground, rarely even revealing a shoe toe under the white ruffled edge. The women appear to be bareheaded; the men may be wearing snug-fitting black caps . . . .”<sup>6</sup> Up to this point, the costumes of the men and women in the Takamatsuzuka paintings match those of the Koguryeo Tombs closely. Nevertheless, if we examine the hair-styles of the ladies, which so far have escaped observers’ notice, it is clear that they are the Paekche ladies described in Sui-shu and Zhou-shu. Their hair-styles are very different from those of the ladies-in-waiting appearing in the fifth-century Koguryeo Tombs.

The early tomb paintings of Koguryeo were inspired by those of Han China which portray a dead couple with strict frontality. The theme of tomb paintings then evolved into Koguryeo’s own unique style, and the dead couple became engaged in some activities like receiving guests or hunting outdoors. The delicate wiry outlines were replaced by bold animated lines of forceful brush strokes, which are quite distinct from the contemporary Chinese styles. Kim (1986: 395-396) notes that the figures of the Takamat-suzuka Tomb paintings, by contrast, “are overlapped displaying the sense of spatial depth unlike Koguryeo mural paintings in which subject matters are simply juxtaposed without overlapping. The facial type is also the plump Tang-Chinese type. The lines and colours are most delicate becoming almost miniature painting.”

Kim (1986: 397-398) further notes that: “Outside the territory of Koguryeo, Paekche has two painted tombs, one in Kongju and the other in Puyeo. Both are painted with the Four Deities 四神.”<sup>7</sup> There has been no

<sup>6</sup>According to Smith (1976), the striped, pleated skirts had flourished in Korea in the early seventh century.

Paekche tomb discovered that has mural paintings comparable with those of Koguryeo, however, and hence there is no way to examine the differences between the styles of Koguryeo and Paekche tomb paintings of human figures. Nevertheless, we can at least compare the styles of Buddhist sculptures of these two countries. The images of Koguryeo Buddha with their archaic religious smiles usually reveal the stylized linear tradition of Northern Wei (A.D. 386-534), while those of Paekche Buddha are more naturalistic with more expressive, friendly, and rounder faces wearing the quiet peaceful "Paekche smile," which was apparently influenced by the softly modelled sculpture of southern China (see Kim, 1986: 267). The paintings of the Takamatsuzuka Tomb seem as different from those of Koguryeo tombs as the Paekche tradition is from the Koguryeo tradition.<sup>8</sup>

In the Takamatsuzuka tomb, archeologists found a sixteen-pointed, open-work floral ornament, a bronze mirror of the late seventh-century style, and lacquered cloth [which wrapped the coffin] typical of the Asuka-Hakuhō period [revealed by the number of threads per square centimeter]. These indicate a possible late seventh-century or an early eighth-century date for the tomb. This implies that, as many as three hundred years after 西曆, the nobility in Japan still followed the Paekche-Koguryeo fashions in apparel, hair-styles, and decorations. Jiu Tang-shu 舊唐書 states that the costumes of

<sup>7</sup>According to Kim (1986: 394), "the four Deities appear in Koguryeo wall paintings from the beginning to the last days of the dynasty . . ."

<sup>8</sup>In a Silla tomb, a box-shaped wooden chamber with rich funerary goods is put into an earth pit. It is covered with a mound of boulders, and then with a huge earth mound whose height reaches more than 20 meters at times. The wooden chamber eventually collapses through decay and the space is filled with the fallen boulders. Hence Silla tombs are almost impossible to excavate clandestinely and, as a result, many of them survived human destruction. Koguryeo tombs are either stepped-pyramidal square tombs built with stone (like that of King Kwanggaet'o 廣開土王) or tombs with stone-built chambers under an earth mound. All these tombs have long been robbed of their contents due to the easy accessibility of the burial chamber. Paekche tombs are also mounded chamber tombs, and their situation is even worse than that of Koguryeo tombs. The tomb of King Munyeong 武寧王 [A.D. 501-523] discovered in 1971 in Kongju is the only tomb of a Paekche King whose occupant could be positively identified and dated. King Munyeong established a close relationship with the southern Liang dynasty [A.D. 502-557], and even adopted a Chinese-style brick tomb for himself. The Paekche culture bloomed with the influence of the refined culture of southern China. Paekche-moulded bricks have been admired for their delicacy and design. The northern Chinese culture was transmitted by land through Koguryeo, while the southern Chinese influences came across the Yellow Sea. See Kim (1986: 175 & 194).

Wa people [i.e., the pre-670 A.D. Japanese people] were similar to those of “Silla” people (JCC: 142). This *Old History of Tang* seems to have said “Silla” instead of “Paekche” because it was compiled during A.D. 940-945, long after the unification of the Korean peninsula by Silla. After all, most Chinese chroniclers emphasize the similarity in clothing (as well as in language, foods, customs and penal administration) among the Three Kingdoms, and hence could have felt that “Paekche” and “Silla” were interchangeable.

According to Wei-zhi (Tsunoda & Carrington 1951: 10), the clothing of Wa people was described as follows: “Their clothing is fastened around the body with little sewing 其衣橫幅. 但結束相連. 略無縫 . . . Their clothing is like an unlined coverlet and is worn by slipping the head through an opening in the center (Kantōi) 作衣如單被. 穿其中央. 貫頭衣之 . . . They spin and weave and produce fine linen 細紵 and silk fabrics.” Ishiyama Akira (KEJ: 1.329) notes that: “Engravings of human figures appearing [to be of the] Yayoi period [on] Dōtaku 銅鐸 (bronze bell-shaped ritual objects), excavated in what is now the Kagawa Prefecture, depict men wearing a sort of poncho.”

While the human figures on Yayoi period Dōtaku confirm the description of Wa clothing in Wei-zhi, the Haniwa clay figurines show a drastic change in Wa clothing by the middle Kofun period. Ishiyama Akira (KEJ: 1. 329) states that: “Objects unearthed from the tombs of the 4th and 5th centuries include many Haniwa clay figurines, which supply important clues to the clothing of the time. Men wore . . . a long [upper] garment with straight sleeves tied with cords at the wrists and elbows and secured at the waist with a broad belt. As a lower garment the men wore . . . loose trousers, which tied just below the knees. Women wore a combination of *kinu*, similar to the men’s shirts, and . . . a pleated wrap-skirt . . . . Similar clothing appears on figures in wall paintings in Korean tombs of the Koguryeo dynasty . . .”

Lee (1991: 741) observes that the Chinese chronicles record differences between the clothing of Korea and that of Japan for the early period [Yayoi period], but record similarity between them for the later period [Tomb period]. For instance, Bei-shi records that men and women wore skirts and shirts; the sleeves for men’s shirts were short 其袖微小 and the calf of the leg was tied with black cloth; women’s skirts were pleated. Bei-shi, however, specifically mentions that *in older days* men wore a wide cloth on the body without any sewing 古時衣橫幅. 結束相連而無縫 and never wore caps 頭亦無冠, but simply hung hair over both ears.

Nihongi (NII: 121-122) records that on the 15th day of the 1st month, in the 1st year of Suiko (A.D. 593), “relics of Buddha 佛舍利 were deposited in

the foundation-stone of the pillar 柱礎中 of the pagoda of the Temple of Hōkōi 法興寺.” The Suiko section 推古天皇 (推古元年正月) of Fusō-ryakuki 扶桑略記 (a historical work of the monk Kōen 皇圓 of the Hiei-zan 比叡山) records that about a hundred people including Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子大臣 appeared [on that occasion] wearing Paekche clothes 皆着百濟服 and the spectators were very much delighted. See also Kim Suk-hyung 金錫亨 (1969: 461). Lee (1991: 742-745) notes that the chief of the Research Division of Shōsō-in 正倉院, Sekine Sinryū 關根眞隆 examined 60 pieces of clothing in the early 1970s and concluded that the ancient clothing of Korea and that of Japan were in perfect harmony 渾然一體狀態. These observations imply that the clothing of Yayoi Wa people completely gave way to Paekche clothing after the early Kofun period, i.e., after the establishment of Yamato Wa by the Paekche people.

### C. Japanese Language: the Altaic Branch with a Malayo-Polynesian Influence

As Miller (1980) points out, one gets the impression that most Japanese linguists are fond of making suggestions as follows: that there is no consensus [teisetsu 定説] about the origin 起源 of the Japanese language is something to be proud of; Japanese must be a very unique language, possibly with its own mysterious soul and spirit 言靈 (kotodama); there are very few similarities between Korean and Japanese which deserve concerted investigation; and if there exists any language that can possibly show a genetic relationship 系統 [親近關係] with Japanese, it might be a language that can be found in places that are geographically very remotely located from Japan which might have been brought to Japan sometime in prehistory by some mysterious agents like horseriding noble folks (cf. Murayama's chapter in Egami 江上, 1989: 85-115 and Tsuda 津田, 1966: 174).<sup><10></sup>

It is therefore interesting to observe an emerging enthusiasm for the comparison of Japanese and Korean languages that resulted from the opening of the Takamatsuzuka tomb. According to Lewin (1976), modern Korean derives directly from Middle Korean, which was essentially the language of Silla. Lewin contends that the language of Koguryeo stands opposite to that of Silla, although both go back to an early branch of proto-Altaic, i.e., proto-Puyeo. He contends that “the language of the upper classes of the old Paekche kingdom” was also the language of Koguryeo, “since the royal house and the aristocracy originated in the north.” Levin also contends that “Japanese was closely related to the Koguryeo language and that in its core it belonged to the Puyeo group 系統 [which consists of the Koguryeo, Paekche,

Ye, Maek, and Okcho languages].” There seems, however, to have been only dialectical differences between the Proto-(Three)-Han-Silla language and the Proto-Puyeo-Koguryeo-Paekche language. The fact that modern Korean and Japanese, though revealing substantial lexical differences, share an identical grammar implies that there could have been absolutely no grammatical differences between the Proto-(Three)-Han-Silla language and the Proto-Puyeo-Koguryeo-Paekche language.

大野晋 (1960) contends that Korean and Japanese share only about two hundred vocabulary cognates. Miller (1980) as well as Lee (1985), however, suggest that Korean and Japanese share a much larger number of vocabulary cognates than 大野晋 contends. Miller (1979) has examined ten odd Old Paekche fragments and finds clear-cut Altaic etymological 語源上 affinities (Turkic affinities, in particular). He recovers not only lexical evidence relating Old Paekche to other Altaic languages, but also evidence including phonology 音韻 (pronunciation of the language) and morphology 形態 (the forms of words). Miller also explores the possibility of establishing an Old Paekche reflex for an Old Japanese morphological operation. Miller (1979: 6-7) states that: “If there is anything surprising about the survival of Old Paekche linguistic evidence in Japanese sources, it is to be found in their relative rarity; that so few fragments, relatively speaking, have been identified in Old Japanese documentary sources to date is surely more of a reflection upon the lack of diligence with which these sources have been studied up until the present time, rather than any measure of their true potential.”<sup>9</sup>

The Japanese people in the Jōmon and Yayoi period could have spoken either a language of Malayo-Polynesian origin with significant Altaic influence coming from Korean peninsula, or a language of the Altaic family with significant Malayo-Polynesian influence. Indeed, the similarities in vocabulary between Japanese and Malayo-Polynesian languages are widely acknowledged. In any case, with the beginning of the Tomb period of Yamato Wa, the Korean grammatical system and vowel harmony 母音調和 were introduced to Japan *en masse* unlike the piecemeal inflows of the Jōmon and Yayoi periods. That is, the aboriginal language gave way to the

<sup>9</sup>Miller (1979) further states that: “Japanese scholarship . . . after decades of hesitation and unwillingness to face the evidence that the sources preserve important contributions by Koreans [Paekche people] in all facets of cultural activities in early Japan . . . is only now beginning to study this problem in a free and open fashion.” Perhaps. But neither the majority of Japanese scholars nor Miller himself yet seems to be able to take advantage of the benefit of “objective” historical perspectives.

conquerors' speech. The language of the Yamato ruling class was what Lewin (1976) calls "the language of the upper classes of the old Paekche kingdom." The vocabulary of the aboriginal language was greatly enriched by new borrowings 借用 from the Paekche people. Furthermore, Korean and Japanese came to share *exactly* identical grammar and sentence structures from the Tomb period onward. Indeed, as far as Koreans (or the Japanese, for that matter) are concerned, one does not have to be a linguist with thorough knowledge of comparative grammar 比較文法 in order to discern that Korean and Japanese have identical grammar. Any contemporary Korean learning Japanese, or Japanese learning Korean, can immediately see it.

William A. Grootaer (KEJ: 4.23) states that: "There seems to be a growing consensus among Japanese scholars that syntactically Japanese shows an Altaic affinity, but that at some time in its prehistory it received an influence in vocabulary and morphology from the Malayo-Polynesian languages to the south." Japanese could have been a language of southern origin with a phonological structure like that of Malayo-Polynesian, though of course it must then have been influenced by the Altaic language brought from the continent over an extended period of time in prehistory. As Miller (1980) contends, however, it might be more reasonable to assume an Altaic origin for the Japanese language. Following Miller, we further contend that it was with the beginning of Yamato Wa that Japanese received a dominating influence in syntax and grammar (i.e., the orders in which the words appear in phrases, clauses and sentences, and their meanings) from Korean, and at the same time was very much enriched by new vocabularies. That is, the historical connections between Korean and Japanese were very much strengthened during the Yamato Wa period. The long, cumulative linguistic impact from the Altaic-speaking Korean people before the establishment of Yamato Wa must have been rather trivial compared with the massive borrowings that resulted from the intense linguistic contacts of the Kofun period.

Korean and Japanese apparently came to share enough vocabulary in the Tomb period to enable men from Paekche or Silla to communicate with the people of Yamato Wa without any interpreters. Nihongi never records the presence of an interpreter when the ruling class of Yamato Wa encountered the people from Paekche or even from Silla. According to Nihongi (NI: 325-326), the King of Silla sent messengers of condolence when Ingyō died (in A.D. 453 ?): "Now the men of Silla had always loved Mount Miminashi and Mount Unebi, which are hard by the capital city. Accordingly, when they arrived at the Kotobiki Hill, they looked back, and said: 'Uneme haya! Mimi

haya!’ *This was simply because they were unpracticed 是未習 in the common speech, and therefore corrupted Mount Unebi, calling it Uneme, and corrupted Mount Miminashi, calling it Mimi.*” This statement of Nihongi implies that the only thing needed for Koreans and Japanese to communicate comfortably with each other in those days was “*to be practiced in the common speech 風俗之言語.*”<sup>10</sup>

Lee (1985: 72) notes that “as language evolves, the change in grammatical structure implies that a new language came to rule the language of an aboriginal mass, taking the leadership.” Lee (1985: 73) deduces that “if the grammatical structure of the Japanese language is one of Altaic origin, then this implies that, even if there had been a language of a certain aboriginal race before the arrival of Altaic languages from the continent, it was conquered by the Altaic languages and, even if there remained a few aboriginal vocabularies, this implies that the conqueror language simply borrowed those few vocabularies.”<sup>11</sup> The aboriginal language could have been either Altaic or Malayo-Polynesian. We simply contend that it was with the beginning of Yamato Wa that the aboriginal language completely gave way to the grammatical structure of the Paekche language of Altaic origin that was brought from Korea *en masse*.

According to Miller (1980: 134 & 139): “Wave after wave of intruders from the continent [Korea] must be reckoned with any comprehensive account of Japanese origins. It is particularly [true] in the language . . . [T]he Japanese language has inherited two or more different . . . kinds of historical developments from a single linguistic feature . . . in original Altaic . . . . [E]ach of these . . . entered the Japanese language, as the result of different waves of Altaic speakers entering upon the Japanese linguistic scene at

<sup>10</sup>Nihongi (NII: 349) records the arrival of three persons from Silla to *practice* the Japanese language 習言者三人 in the ninth year of Temmu [A.D. 680]. We can see that Nihongi does not use the term *interpreter* 譯語 in this case. See, however, the Nihongi record (NI: 350) on the arrival of an interpreter from Paekche in the seventh year of Yūryaku [A.D. 463?].

<sup>11</sup>Lee himself however more than contends that, since he finds that Korean and Japanese share a much larger number of vocabulary cognates than suggested by Japanese scholars, Korean and Japanese should be regarded as derivative of an identical Altaic language. He also argues that one can deny the existence of a substratum language of southern origin. Even when Polynesian and Japanese indeed shared a large number of words, we have to consider the possible Altaic origin of Malayo-Polynesian language itself rather than hypothesize about the (non-Altaic) Polynesian substratum in the (Altaic) Japanese language. See Lee (1985: 75-76).

various times.” Miller (1980: 141-149) notes that: “History is full of well-documented examples of the imposition of an invader’s language on an indigenous population . . . In this way, the Latin language of the Roman soldiers and colonists replaced the original Gaulish language. . . . English . . . is a Germanic language, of the Indo-European family . . . [T]he Latin language was carried to all parts of Western Europe . . . by Roman military forces and colonists, including those who reached England.” Miller (1980: 149-150) further contends that: “We have every reason to suppose that the Old Korean languages, particularly the Old Paekche language, played much the same role in the development of early forms of Japanese that Latin did in the development 成立 of English . . . Old Paekche, like the other Old Korean language, was itself an Altaic language and, as such, genetically related to Old Japanese. But at the same time, it seems certain that owing to the intimate nature of the cultural and particularly the religious associations between these two early states, Japan [Yamato Wa] and the Paekche kingdom of Korea, the Old Paekche language was also the source of a great number of borrowings, or linguistic imitations, by means of which Paekche words entered the vocabulary of Japanese in the course of cultural contacts between the two countries. Since the two languages were genetically related 同一系統, the Paekche words that were, by this process, borrowed into Old Japanese would sometimes be cognate with already existing Old Japanese words; but at the same time, these new words would also be different, probably different in both their forms and their meanings. In this way, early linguistic contacts between Japanese and Korean appear to have led to many different levels of borrowings 借用 [due to the piling up of one successive historic layer of Altaic migration into the islands upon another]. Until most recent times, these were always borrowings from Korean into Japanese.”<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Miller (1980: 151) notes that, as a result, “it is often extremely difficult to distinguish between an early borrowing from Korean [Paekche] into [Yamato] Japanese and a word that is the same or much the same in form and meaning in both languages because it is a word that was genetically inherited by both of them separately, and goes back to the common original language 祖語 to which both Korean and Japanese are in turn related . . . the borrowings in question belong to many different historical levels . . . it is sometimes almost as difficult to distinguish . . . between these different historical layers in the old Korean loan words in Japanese as it is to distinguish between loans and genetically related [etymologically identical] forms.”

#### D. Ento-Haniwa and the Cylindrical Pottery Stand Found in Seoul [Mongch'on T'oseong]

Kim (1986: 231-237) writes about the cylindrical stand of soft-baked grey earthenware that he discovered in 1984 at the site of a fortified settlement of the early Hanseong Paekche period which was located on the southern bank of the Han river, called Mongch'on T'oseong 夢村土城. The main body of the pottery is divided into four horizontal sections by three equi-distanced brims. The upper end just below the mouth is slightly bulged. The lower end of the cylindrical body is also bulged and ornamented with four raised lines, but the part below it is broken and lost. Fragments of similar Paekche pottery stands had also been discovered by Kazuo Fujisawa in the vicinity of Mongch'on T'oseong before 1945. Some of the Paekche pottery stands discovered by Fujisawa have a slightly flared lower part.<sup>13</sup> According to Kim, the fourth century Kaya pottery stands have basically a similar shape consisting of a short, flaring mouth, a cylindrical stem and a short bulging base. But those found in the Seoul area are different from those found in the Kaya area in that they have the prominent projecting brims and cylindrical silhouettes. The tall pedestals, or stands with apertures, were vessel types unique to the Three Kingdoms period of Korea; among these stands, those with the projecting brims were the invention of Paekche potters of the Seoul area.

Mongch'on T'oseong is a circular area of about 40 acres surrounded by low hills and man-made walls -- bulwarks of pounded earth mixed with clay -- and further protected by a wooden fence, as evidenced by a series of postholes beneath a thick layer of humus, and an outer moat. The Mongch'on T'oseong can be dated back to the fourth century, according to historical records, a dating which is also confirmed by the excavation of a sherd of brown-glazed stoneware of the Western Jin [A.D. 265-316] as well as by the Paekche potsherds discovered therein. The pottery stand discovered in Mongch'on T'oseong in 1984 displays similarities to the 円筒 (cylinder)-type Haniwa of Tomb-period Japan.

Haniwa 埴輪 [clay-ring] represents the unglazed salmon-orange earthenware cylinders [Entō-haniwa] and hollow sculptures [Keishō-haniwa] that were erected on the exterior surfaces of burial mounds during the Tomb Period in Japan. Entō-haniwa is tall and cylindrical (averaging 40-50 centimeters in diameter and 1 meter in height) and Keishō-haniwa 形象 埴輪

<sup>13</sup>The cylindrical pottery stands found in the Kongju and Puyeo areas [which were capitals of Paekche during A.D. 475-538 and 538-660, respectively] have tall, prominent bases with kidney shaped apertures and applique decorations.

is modelled after various objects such as houses, human figures, animals, and a multitude of military, ceremonial, and household objects. It has been demonstrated that the earliest haniwa were cylinders, that were later followed by Keishō-haniwa. Beardsley (1955) notes that Entō-haniwas were set up like sandbags around the slopes and edges of the mounds to prevent the soil from sloughing off, and then a row of Keishō haniwas were added. Entō-haniwas are divided into the true ento (cylinder) type and the Asagao (morning-glory) type. Both have apertures and horizontal raised lines around the body but do not have the bottom. According to Kim (1986: 236) “[t]he presence of equi-distanced raised-lines or projecting brims around the body, and that of a flaring mouth above a bulged part are features common to the Seoul-type stand and Entō-haniwas of the Asagao variety. The basic temporal sequence of apertures from an earlier group of triangles, squares and kidney shapes to circles of a later period is same in both Paekche and Japan. The basic character as a ceremonial vessel is also common to Korean and Japanese potteries. The coincidence may not be just an accident . . . It is very likely that the Seoul-type stand was the inspiration for the Asagao-type ento-haniwa.”<sup>14</sup>

Haji ware (hajiki 土師器), the plain, unglazed, reddish earthen ware, was manufactured in Japan from the 4th through the 10th centuries. According to Gina Lee Barnes (KEJ: 3.84), “during the late Kofun period, at least some haji ware is said to have been produced by BE for the exclusive use of the Yamato Court. Hajibe 土師部, as these groups were called, may also have been connected with the production of the Haniwa funerary sculptures . . .” She further notes that “in the early 5th century, Sue Ware 須惠器 -- a grey stoneware -- was introduced from the southern part of the Korean peninsula, and from then on haji and sue ware were used together for ceremonial and household purposes.” That is, many sue potteries also came to be “deposited in the mounded tombs of the protohistoric era (KEJ: 7.256).”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Some people argue that sculptural haniwa originated from the Chinese custom of lining up large stone statues around tombs. Gina Lee Barnes (KEJ: 3.98), however, states that “great differences between Chinese tomb figures and haniwa in materials, manufacturing techniques, placement on the tombs, and historical development of subject matter all argue against direct transmission of customs or skills from China to Japan.”

<sup>15</sup>Gina Lee Barnes (KEJ: 7.256) further notes that sue was “a ceramic tradition of the southern part of the Korean peninsula” which was transmitted to Japan by Korean craftsmen “during the 5th and 6th centuries” and that it was only by the early 7th century that sue began to be mass produced and used for utilitarian purposes in a larger sector of society.

The early light brownish Entō-haniwa found in and around the Kinai (Osaka - Kyoto - Nara) region were baked in open kilns. By the early fifth century, the chamber (tunnel) kiln was introduced from Korea and haniwa of the grey Sueki stoneware type began to be produced in Japan. Differing greatly from the native Haji ware, sue ware was fired stone-hard at temperatures exceeding 1,000°C. According to Gina Lee Barnes (KEJ: 7. 256), “early sue was produced for the political elite, most probably by the production corporations (BE) that supplied the Yamato Court with basic necessities” and this sue ware was known as “Chosen doki (Korean pottery) until the 1950s, when the word sue, derived from a reference to the vessels in the 8th-century anthology Man’yōshū 万葉集, was generally adopted.”