

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

THE RELATEDNESS BETWEEN THE ORIGIN OF JAPANESE AND  
KOREAN ETHNICITY

By

JAEHOON LEE

A Thesis submitted to the  
Department of Anthropology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Science

Degree Awarded:  
Fall Semester, 2004

Copyright © 2004  
Jaehoon Lee  
All Rights Reserved

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of Jaehoon Lee defended on July 21, 2004

---

Glen H. Doran  
Professor Directing Thesis

---

Bruce T. Grindal  
Committee Member

---

John T. J. Ho  
Committee Member

Approved:

---

Dean Falk, Chair, Department of Anthropology

The Office of Graduate Studies has verified and approved the above named committee members.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures -----	viii
Abstract -----	ix

## <Part One>

1. INTRODUCTION -----	1
Overview of the Background -----	3
Methodology of the Study -----	5
2. BACKGROUND -----	7
Introduction -----	7
Environmental Situation -----	9
Paleoenvironment	
Japan	
Korea	
Prehistoric Chronology of Japan and Korea -----	14
Korea	
Japan	
East Asia and Peoples -----	16
Human Evolution in East Asia	
East Asian Cluster	
Prehistoric Populations in East Asia	
Mongoloid	
Siberian	
Tungus	
Paleo-Asiatics	
From the Records -----	22
Major Historical Materials from China, Japan and Korea	
Proto Korean and Japanese from the Chinese records	
Dongi	
Proto Japanese	

Geographical Location	
Environment and people	
Political situations in the communities and their relationship with neighbors	
Proto Korean	
A. Choson	
B. Puyo	
C. Koguryo	
D. Ockjo	
E. Ye	
F. Hans	
G. Packjae	
H. Silla	
Conclusion -----	39
3. LINGUISTIC SIMILARITY -----	42
Introduction -----	42
Writing Systems for Japanese and Korean -----	43
Modern Dialect Zones in Japan and Korea -----	45
Origin of Both Languages and Ancient Language variations -----	49
Japanese	
Korean	
Languages in ancient countries from the Chinese record -----	51
Japanese and Korean relationship -----	52
Connection between Proto Japanese and Three Kingdoms' languages -----	54
Conclusion -----	58
4. HISTORICAL APPROACHES ON ANCIENT JAPANESE AND KOREAN ----	60
Proto Koreans from the History -----	60
Choson	
Puyo, YeMaek and Ye	
Chinese Connection	
Japanese related Issues -----	66
Origin of Japanese and Wa	
Wa peoples or Wa people?	
Identity of the Wa	
Wa people and Yamatai	
Queens' country	
Location of the Yamatai, a Queens' country	
Conclusion -----	82
5. ANCIENT CONNECTION BETWEEN TWO SIDES -----	83
Introduction -----	83

Growing Power of Yamato -----	85
Nihongi stories -----	86
Five Kings, Seven Branches sword, and Kwanggaeto stele -----	92
Seven-Brached Sword	
Kwanggaeto Stele	
Southern Kingdoms on the Peninsula and the Wa on the archipelago -----	100
Conclusion -----	103
6. KOREAN MIGRANTS TO JAPAN – THE HISTORIC RECORD -----	105
Introduction -----	105
Korean migrants mentioned in the Nihongi -----	105
Korean migrants in the ancient Japanese society -----	108
Korean migrants and Yamato regime -----	111
The Horseriders -----	114
Puyo or Packjae? -----	116
Packjae migrants and Yamato -----	117
Nihongi and the history of Packjae (Lost history of Packjae?) -----	120
Conclusion -----	124
<Part Two>	
7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND BIOANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE -----	126
Introduction -----	126
Archaeology in Japan	
Archaeological and Physical anthropological studies	
Studies about the Origin of Japanese -----	130
Oldest bone in Japan	
Pre and pro historic peoples in Japan -----	132
Jomon Period (??10000 B.C. – 300 B.C.)	
Jomon and variation	
Yayoi People (B.C. 300 – A.D. 300)	
Yayoi regional variation	
Kofun Period (A.D. 300 – A.D. 710) and Japanese	
Ainu and Ryukyuan	
Discussion -----	139
Morphological Cluster of the Japanese in Asia	
Adaptation or Replacement?	
Could all the differences be due to subsistence and adaptation?	
Conclusion -----	145
8. BIOANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS IN KOREA -----	147
Introduction -----	147

Bioanthropological approach on Korean ethnicity -----	147
Korean skeletal material	
Anthropological Studies in Korea	
The Neolithic Period and Beginning of Pottery culture -----	151
Pottery Traditions in Korea	
Chulmuntogi	
Regional variations for Chulmuntogi	
Mumuntogi	
Chulmun and Mumun potteries	
Bronze and Iron Periods in Korea -----	156
Korean Bronze Daggers	
Bronze Period Burial styles	
Iron Period (Three Kingdoms Period) -----	160
Pottery styles of The Three Kingdoms	
Burial styles	
An Overview on Issues and Interpretations of the Origin of Korean -----	164
Early population movements in East Asia and Korean	
Bronze to Iron Periods	
Two different peoples?	
Northern Peoples and Southerward process	
Location of Puyo and Paekjae	
Conclusion -----	176
9. ETHNIC CONNECTIONS BETWEEN JAPANESE AND KOREAN -----	178
Introduction -----	178
Ancient Contacts between Two Regions -----	179
Prehistoric Period	
The Yayoi period (The Bronze and early Iron Periods)	
Historical Period	
Trade and Military Power	
Ethnic intermix or diffusion from physical anthropological perspective -----	185
East Asian Cluster	
Scales of Korean emigrants into Japan throughout ancient periods	
Conclusion -----	189
10. CONCLUSION -----	191
Introduction -----	191
Formation of Korean identity and its connections with Japanese -----	192
Increased ethnic connections between Two peoples -----	193
BIBLIOGRAPHY -----	200
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH -----	232

## LIST OF FIGURES

1. East Asia -----	8
2. The Pleistocene shoreline -----	9
3. Japanese Archipelagoes -----	11
4. The traditional Korean Provinces -----	13
5. The Donggi zone -----	26
6. Estimated locations of some historical peoples appeared in the Chinese Records --	28
7. Estimated locations of Ancient Korean countries -----	32
8. Seven Dialectal Zones of Korean -----	46
9. Geographic divisions of Japanese dialects -----	48
10. Formation Process of modern Japanese -----	198

## ABSTRACT

Although there is an extensive literature discussing the origins of the Japanese we still lack strong hypotheses or theories which are widely agreed upon. While many argue that most of cultural elements in ancient Japan were influenced by Chinese culture, in this paper the cultural history of Korea is seen as pivotal in the development of Japanese traditions. Major sources for these inferences include linguistic, historical, archaeological and bioanthropological studies. This strategy attempts to interweave large-scale phenomenon and small-scale events from the Korean peninsula, based on historic and archaeological investigations of Korean, and how these features influenced the people of the Japanese archipelago. While there are still unanswered questions it seems clear from this overview that there were extensive and intensive contacts between Japan and Korea and these relations must be taken into consideration when looking at the development of the Japanese peoples. It is likely that these connections extend into the pre- and proto-historic periods. It also seems likely that there were large and small migrations from Korea to Japan even into the end of Kofun period (A.D. 7th). This thesis argues that the origins of both Japanese and Korean are very closely linked and deserves a more objective interpretive effort than has been previously formulated.



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Historically, linguistically, archaeologically and biologically, one of the most disputed issues of anthropology in Asia is related to the formation of Japanese ethnicity. Although there is a great deal of literature discussing the origin of the Japanese utilizing a variety of approaches from different fields, such as history, linguistics, archaeology and physical anthropology, we still lack strong hypotheses or theories, which are widely accepted by those examining the question.

Most current work takes an archaeological and biological approach because of the limitations of existing historical resources. Scholars often find the written record does not extend deep enough into the chronological record to provide details of significance. Additionally, many of the historic documents used to assess the question of the development of Japanese ethnicity are frequently either questionable in accuracy and literarily validity. Because of these factors much of the recent research has focused on using skeletal materials to address this issue. Some of this work has focused on prehistoric material and some has focused on biological features of the modern Japanese. The cutting edge genetic strategies are also being applied to this question. Some of this work provides very valuable insights to the classification of a wide variety of Asian populations. These approaches are beginning to allow a more detailed and scientifically valid account of the origins of the Japanese. While these new approaches have been productive there are still issues which remain to be addressed. Many of these approaches are utilizing what might be described as a multidisciplinary approach using data from a variety of fields. While these trends are encouraging, the ‘final’ answer on Japanese origins is still unresolved. One promising approach is to step back and take a broader

view of general population movements and events in the larger region of East Asia rather than focusing only on the narrow spectrum of the Japanese archipelago.

This thesis is just such an attempt to take a broader regional and clearly multidisciplinary approach to this question. This strategy will attempt to interweave large-scale phenomenon and small-scale events from the Korean peninsula, will be based on historic and archaeological investigations of Korean, and will be viewed in light on events in the Japanese archipelago. By looking at both regions hopefully a clearer picture will emerge. A significant byproduct of this approach is to provide western scholars with more information on the largely untranslated Korean literature on this topic. This research will be useful and it will be a good opportunity to highlight how Korean scholars view the relationship between two peoples in ancient time. The thesis title that will be explored therefore is '*The relatedness between the origin of Japanese and Korean ethnicity*' with focusing on the period from 300 B.C. to AD 700 because all agree it is the key period to understanding the origins of the modern Japanese and Korean peoples. It will also be necessary to provide substantial backgrounds on the prehistoric material cultures of both regions to show the chronological, cultural and geographic evolution of the areas.

This thesis is organized into two parts. Part one is arranged into six chapters and provides an overview of the existing historic literature and linguistic studies. Part two contains four chapters, which summarize the issue from the perspective of archaeology and physical anthropology. The goal is to identify general trends and principles and to review controversies about the origin of the Japanese and Korean peoples. This is, in a sense, a kind of meta-analysis, combining information from across a wide variety of disciplines into, what is hopefully, a more unified and productive effort at addressing this topic. Hopefully, this study will provide both meaningful literature reviews of untranslated Korean literature and can generate testable hypotheses that will provide the foundation for future researchers.

## Overview of the Background

The Japanese have a long history of interest in their own national origins and have been the focus of a great deal of both popular and academic discussion since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, one of Japan's closest neighbors, Korea, has an equally rich archaeological and literature tradition which has not specifically examined Japanese historic origins, but which clearly, has profound implications for such a study. It is to some extent, a matter of simply asking the right questions and appreciating what the implications of some of these studies are in a broader arena.

To understand Japanese identity it is also necessary to consider the Korean identity from a biological and skeletal standpoint, even if it is somewhat limited. Soils in the Korean Peninsula are very acidic and skeletal preservation can be problematic. However, there is a great deal of information which can be gleaned from other fields such as history, linguistics, and archaeology to address this issue in a more scientific manner than has traditionally been done. Most of the biological information has come from studies of Japanese populations by Japanese researchers who have enthusiastically examined both prehistoric and historic/modern samples in the last 40 years. By contrast, there are few Korean studies addressing this issue and thus is a somewhat 'one sided', perhaps even biased, perspective on this topic.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945), Japanese scholars actually excavated a great many Korean archaeological sites. Therefore, the basic foundation of Korean archaeology can be directly related to the work of these early Japanese scholars. In fact, most of the Korean archaeology professors who began work shortly after the Korean Liberation were trained in Japanese universities and, no doubt, clearly possessed a Japanese perspective. In the last decades, there has been a concerted effort for Korean archaeology and Korean archaeologists to move away from this Japanese viewpoint and develop a more independent Korean perspective on developments within Korea. As a consequence of this, perhaps too self-conscious nationalistic effort on some interpretations seem overly radical as a consequence of Korean scholars to find their own way and independence.

Before the end of WW II, it could be argued Japanese scholars were often imbued with a political agenda. They had focused on finding archaeological evidence of NASUNILCHE idea or concept (Nissen dosoron in Japanese). This proposition essentially argues that Korea and Japan were homologous sister countries and thus the Japanese annexation of Korea has legitimized by this close affiliation. Ironically, some of the archaeological investigations focusing on these issues seemingly proposed that Korea essentially owed its origins to the influence of the Japanese. Increasingly, in modern times this clearly nationalistically driven interpretation is being called into question and at the heart of the issue is that it may be more likely Japan owes its origins largely to the influence of the peoples of the Korean peninsula. This fundamentally reverses the direction of influence and is a dramatic change from the earlier nationalistic traditions of Japanese scholarship. In fact, historians and archaeologists from Korea are now challenging most of the old ideas on the ancient relations between two sides.

One example of this startling change can be illustrated by considering the connection between Packjae (one of the first states in the Korean peninsula, which was ultimately destroyed by another state, Silla, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century) and Yamato (which is believed to be the first and earliest state in the Japanese archipelago). Some Korean scholars insist that Korean immigrants who fled the Korean peninsula with the fall of Packjae genealogically influenced the Yamato political entity. Many of these contrasting conclusions for the ancient relations between two sides are based on radically different interpretations of a very small number of early Chinese, Japanese and Korean documents. Hopefully, this thesis, using a more multidisciplinary research strategy, will avoid some of the pitfalls of relying too heavily on single interpretations of a narrow range of data and more objective and less biased interpretation of the topic will be the result. Clearly, the origins of both Japan and Korea are very closely linked and deserve a more objective interpretive effort than has been previously formulated.

To address the main question for the origin of Japanese, this thesis will break the topic into two questions. What is the relationship between the Japanese and Korean people? Secondly, What was the broader cultural setting in East Asia from 300 B.C. to A.D. 700? Within these topics there are ten additional concerns. Each will be considered from the perspectives of Japanese, Korean, and western scholars and differences in

opinion and fact will be addressed as broadly as possible. Hopefully, this strategy will bring into clearer focus the origin of Japanese, or at least, what the central issues are. The ten research questions all show substantial differences between Japanese and Korean scholars and include the following:

- (1) Differences in the Japanese and Korean languages
- (2) What was the relationship between the Jomon and Yayoi traditions?
- (3) Are the modern Japanese descendants of horse-riding Asian nomads who passed through Korea to conquer Japan?
- (4) If these horse-riding Asian nomads existed, who were they?
- (5) Who is Wa?
- (6) What was the political relationship between Japan and Korea during A.D. 2-7<sup>th</sup> century?
- (7) How and where did the Yamato government evolve?
- (8) What was the relationship between the Yamato government and the Paekjae?
- (9) Did the Mimana (Imna) exist?
- (10) What do we know about the origins of Korea?

All these questions are interrelated and findings, implications and conclusions on one topic will, no doubt, have bearing on the others.

### Methodology of the study

To address these issues, the English literature will be reviewed and supplemented with a review of the Korean literature. This constitutes a multidisciplinary synthesis of historical, archaeological and physical anthropology information which, optimally, will identify answers supported by multiple evidentiary sources taking into account the different viewpoints.

We are definitely able to enrich our understanding of this difficult problem by bringing in as many relevant disciplines as possible, from historical materials to archaeology, cultural evidence and linguistics, and together with bone metrics and molecular genetics. It is clear that the use of all available evidence from various fields is the best way to increase the validity of the conclusions and issues. An important element of this process is to include the work of Korean scholars, to this date, largely either ignored or unavailable to the general reader.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND

#### Introduction

People generally agree that Korea and Japan are geographically included in the term, 'East Asia' and has been a concept in use since the 1920s. Two other phrases 'the Far East' and 'Eastern Asia' also includes Japan and Korea. The first term, the Far East, has been in use mainly by European scholars since the seventeenth century as the major imperial powers extended their reach into Asia. The other term, Eastern Asia that includes both East and Southeast Asia, is a largely political idea using nation-states as its basic components (Mackerras 1995:8-10). Due to the cultural and political sensitivities and confusion in Asia, 'East Asia' in the thesis implies only modern China, Korea, and Japan (see figure 1).

To understand Ancient Korea and Japan, ancient East Asia cannot be apart since it includes striking relationships in artifact styles and patterns among prehistoric Korea, Japan, China, Manchuria and Siberia regions. In the Paleolithic period such differences are of little use given the chronological gap and spans of time involved. In this part, brief reviews for the history of main populations in East Asia will be introduced to achieve some basic knowledge of ancient peoples in the region before we discuss the origin of ancient Korean and Japanese.



Figure 1. East Asia (modified from Totman 2000:xxiv)



## Environmental Situation

### **Paleoenvironment**

The modern Korean peninsula and the Japan archipelagoes were connected to the Asian Continental mass prior to the last glacial maximum around 18000 BP (figure 2).

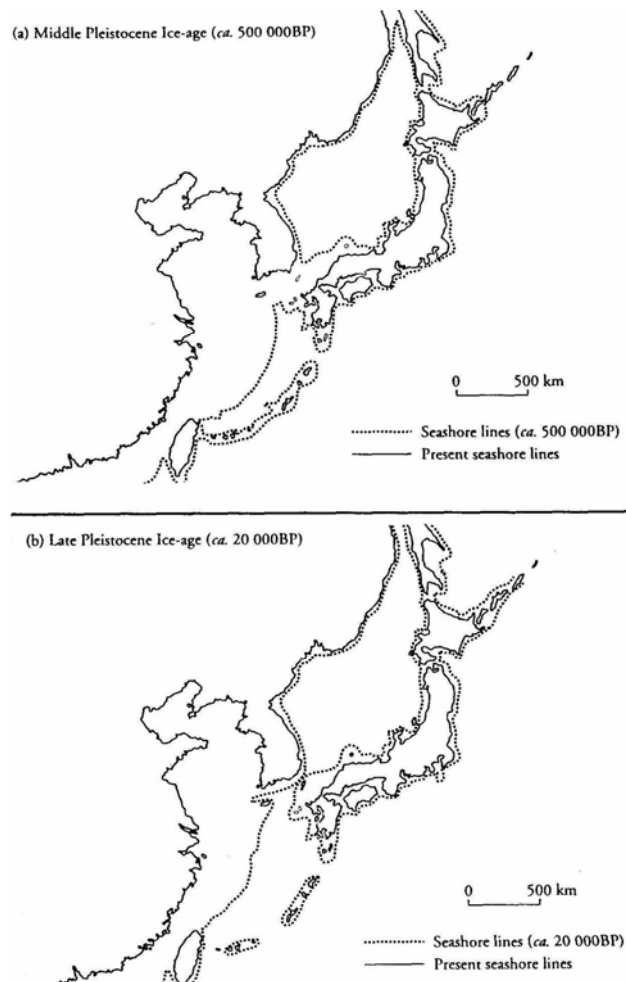


Figure 2. The Pleistocene shoreline (from Katayama 1994:20)

At this time ancient sea levels were around 100m lower than today (Chang 1997:316). Periodically land bridges made Kyushu and Sakhalin connected them to the Asian continental. At about 12000 BP, there was a period of rapid climate change which lasted for little over two thousand years and was marked by a sea level rise which makes only 40m below its present stand in the Bering Strait (Aigner 1972:53). The Paleolithic climate was generally cooler and comparatively dry in the East Asian area. Randomly fluctuating temperatures forced continental animals to migrate to the east, seeking more suitable habitats. They possibly crossed the Korean and Sakhalin bridges periodically connecting Kyushu and Sakhalin to the Asian land mass. Numerous bones and teeth recovered from scattered sites through modern Japan indicate that mammoth, ancient horse, and bison were mingled with bears, wolves, monkeys, and Japanese deer in Japanese fauna. The vegetation is generally thought to have been a mixture of grassland and sparse woods. Even though there were several major sea level changes even after 12000 BP, there was no serious environmental change until the present (Imamura 1996:29; Nelson 1993:23; Totman 2000:12).

## **Japan**

The modern Japanese Islands constitute part of the long chain of islands which fringes the northwestern margin of the Pacific Ocean, extending from the Aleutians through Japan to the Philippines (see figure 3). They are geographically divided into Northeast Japan and Southwest Japan and consist of the rugged upper part of a great mountain range that rises from the floor of the North Pacific Ocean. Thus, most of Japan, about 75 percent of the country, is covered by mountains and hills. Lowlands constitutes only about 16 percent of the archipelagos and are generally small, discontinuous, and found mostly in coastal areas. Japan's four main islands, which together constitute 98 percent of the total area of the country, are, in order of size, are Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku. Climates in Japan vary dramatically from island to island. Honshu, which is Japan's largest island and about 80 percent of the modern Japanese people live, has warm, humid summers. Although the growing season at low altitudes is long enough to allow more than one field crop per year in north central Honshu and southwards, the only place for double cropping of rice itself is possible in southernmost Kyushu, which

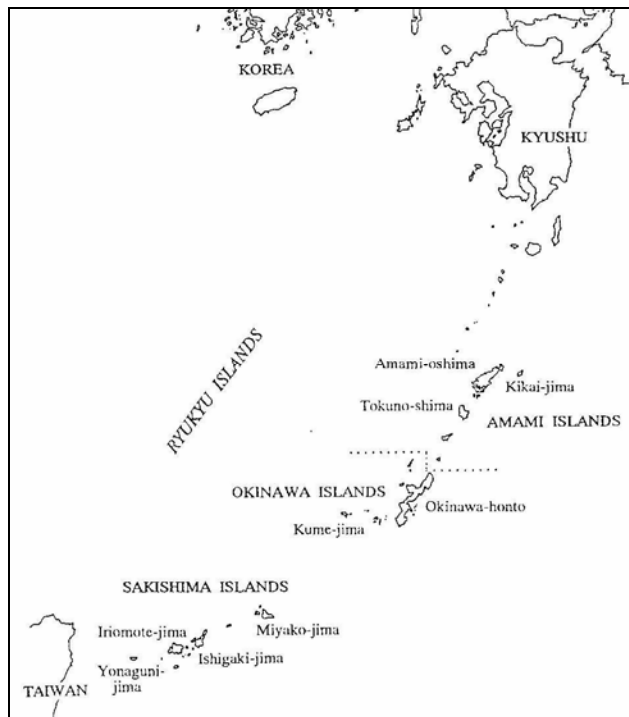


Figure 3. Japanese Archipelagoes: Traditionally divided into eight major regions (above) and Ryukyu Islands (below, from Dodo et al. 2000:185, originally from Hanihara T. 1991)

has an almost subtropical climate because of maritime influences. These basic facts about the Japanese islands have remained unchanged throughout Japanese archipelagoes from Yayoi to historical period. Two-thirds of the total land surface of Japan is covered with bush, consisting of some remaining natural forests (particularly in Hokkaido and Northern Honshu), planted stands of pines and Japanese cypress, coppice stands of small bread-leaved trees, or once-logged brush lands.

## **Korea**

The geographical location of the Korean peninsula has led to its being a cultural and political bridge between China and Japan particularly in the modern period. Mountains cover most of the Korean peninsula and only about 20 percent of the Korean peninsula contains lowlands suitable for settlement and cultivation. The mountains drop steeply along the east coast, forming a narrow plain, and in the west, the gentler terrain forms the largest and richest agricultural region of the Korean peninsula (see figure 4). Geologically, the Korea Peninsula is divided into three belts on the basis of pre-late Triassic geology. This results in a great deal of environmental diversity given the altitudinal differences even within a small geographic area. Because of its location, the climate of the Korean peninsula is influenced by both continental and monsoonal factors. The northern part has long, cold, and snowy winters compared with the southern part. Even though the growing season of the northern peninsula is too short to allow double cropping, in the south, a second winter crop can be obtained on the dry fields and drained paddies (Mackerras 1995). Five main natural vegetations are maple, basswood, and birch in the north, deciduous oak in the center, and mixed mesophytic forest in the south. Traditional Korean domesticated animals are dog, pig, horse and ox (Nelson 1993:20).

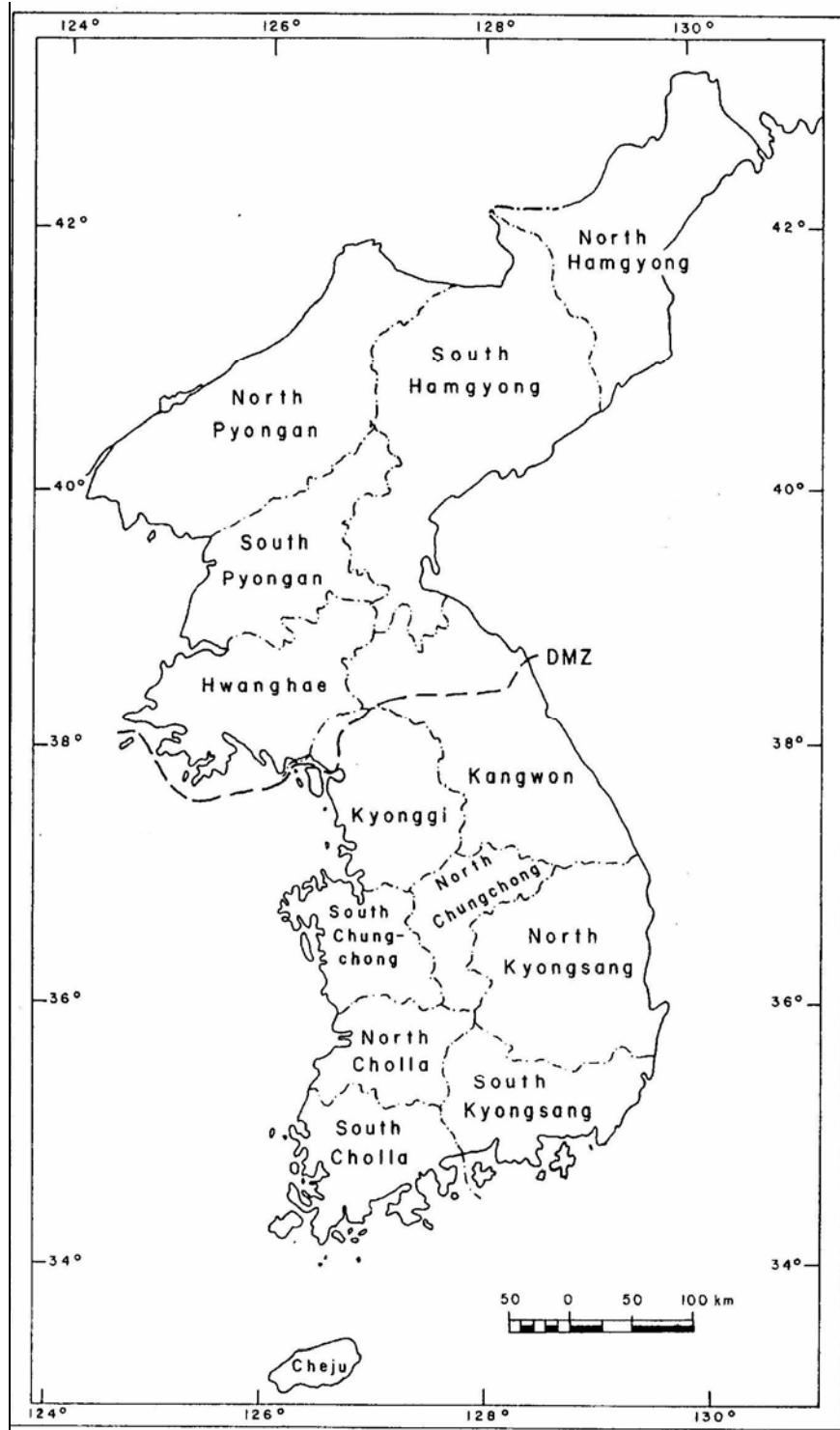


Figure 4. The traditional Korean Provinces (modified from Nelson 1993:18)

## Prehistoric Chronology of Japan and Korea

### **Korea**

The standard prehistoric chronology for Korea is based on the Tomsen's Three Ages classifications; stone, bronze, and iron, although it is losing favor among modern Korean archaeologists (Choi, S. R. 1998:223). Many ideas have been debated among scholars and no single idea for new framework has replaced the earlier divisions yet. Some scholars (see Choi, S. R. 1998; Ro, H. J. 1997) believe that they are inappropriate for Korea because "the congruence of specific pottery styles with various technological stages is inexact and disputed" (Nelson 1992:431). The most common chronological division of Korean prehistory is the Paleolithic, Neolithic (B.C. 8000 – B.C. 700), Bronze (B.C. 700 – B.C. 400), Iron (B.C. 400 – A.D. 0), Proto-Three Kingdoms (or Late Iron)(A.D. 0 – A.D. 300) and Three Kingdom Periods (A.D. 300 – A.D. 668) (from Barnes 1993).

A Japanese scholar initially reported the presence of a Paleolithic assemblage in the 1930s (Bae 1997:14). But it was not been unequivocally accepted until the 1960s when several Paleolithic sites were discovered by Korean scholars (Kim, W. Y. 1983b:5-6). The Korean Neolithic Period is often called the Chulmun Period when the pottery and villages first appeared. The chulmuntogi (=combware) is the name of an incised pottery style that is decorated on the exterior with geometric patterns (Nelson 1993:58). The Bronze Period begins with a change in settlement pattern and marks the emergence of mumun (undecorated) pottery and an influx of bronze weapons (Barnes 1993). However, some scholars propose an earlier time line (around B.C.1000~2000) for the emergence of the Bronze period in Korea (Choi, S. R. 1998:228-229). The Iron Period is marked by the appearance of "Iron technology, advanced ceramic technology, and an above-ground house style" (Nelson 1993:164). The next division of the Korean Chronology is the Proto-Three Kingdoms (Late Iron or Wonsamguk). This period often contains the Three Kingdom Period, which is marked by mounded tomb burials, by some scholars (see Barnes 1993).

The Korean chronology depends heavily on typological distinctions which are continuously debated by Korean scholars (Choi, S. R. 1998), especially for the Bronze period. In South Korean, there is an increasing reliance on absolute dating method but no such shift seems to be taking place in North Korean, which still relies more heavily on typology and stratigraphy (Im 1999:261).

## **Japan**

Unlike the Korean and European traditions, Japanese prehistory and proto-history have traditionally been divided into four periods, although there is substantial disagreement on both period nomenclature and precise chronological divisions. The most generally accepted divisions are: the Pre-ceramic (some people prefer to call, 'Iwajuku Period'), Jomon (10000 B.C. – B.C. 300), Yayoi (B.C. 300 – A.D. 300), Kofun periods (A.D. 300 – A.D. 710) (from Barnes 1993).

The Pre-ceramic period encompasses all the time periods prior to the advent of pottery. The other name, Iwajuku period, had been also used because Iwajuku is the name of the place where the first Paleolithic or Pre-ceramic material was discovered (see Tsuboi 1987:2). The following Jomon period is marked by the emergence of pottery. The term Jomon means Cord-mark and is an impressed pattern formed by rolling a cord on the fresh leather-hard ceramic surface prior to firing. This Jomon ceramic tradition declines and ends with the emergence of full-scale agriculture which rapidly spreads through the Japanese archipelago. The next division is the Yayoi period. The name Yayoi comes from the location of a northern section of the University of Tokyo in Tokyo where a new type of pottery was first identified. The last prehistoric time period is the Kofun period. The word, Kofun, notes a type of grave in the Japanese language. This Kofun period is distinguished by a change from funkyubo mounded burials in the Yayoi period to the kofun or mounded tombs burials (Imamura 1996:9-15).

In Japan, "pottery chronology is one of the fundamental features of Japanese archaeology" (Imamura 1996:17). Most Japanese archaeologists think there are more errors in radiocarbon dating than in pottery chronology and thus place greater faith and dependence upon the detailed relative chronology of pottery sequences than on the

absolute chronology (Imamura 1996:17). Overall, for the chronological comparisons for Japan and Korea with using archaeological methods, the results for the same period or item by scholars from Korea and Japan suggest different time lines (Choi, S. R. 1998:134). Chronological timelines for archaeological materials in Korea and Japan depend highly upon cross-cultural dating along with using Chinese artifacts, such as Coins and Han dynasty mirrors which usually show the ancient calendar years for the ancient periods of both regions.

## East Asia and Peoples

### **Human Evolution in East Asia**

Two main theories are related with the origin of modern man (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) in East Asia. The first is the classic ‘Out of Africa’ theory (see Stringer 1990; Stringer and Andrews 1988) and second one is ‘Multi-regional Evolution’ theory (see Wolpoff 1992; Wolpoff et al. 1984; Xinzhi 1997). The former holds that the first modern humans in East Asia were modern humans who has previously evolved in Africa and then spread throughout the world. In a sense, it explains that after the modern humans evolved only in Africa, they spread all over the world and replaced all regional archaic humans in the world. Scholars who support this theory believe that the oldest *Homo erectus* fossil in East Asia represented a specialized dead-end species (Stringer and Andrews 1988). On the other hand, the latter explains that the first modern humans evolved in various parts of the Old World from regional archaic ancestors including regional lineages on the *Homo erectus*. These East Asian forms continue to appear in contemporaneous contexts with clearly modern variants (Wolpoff 1984).

Regardless of whether first modern human evolved in East Asia or moved from Africa to Asia, first human occupation in East Asia is known from the Zhoukoudian site, near modern China’s capital, Beijing (Aikens and Rhee 1992:3). Some of those earliest forms are believed to be closely related to the Paleolithic forms and traditions spread



across Korea, Japan, and Siberia. In some areas lithic remains are all that have been found and are not always associated with skeletal remains. However, it is assumed that when the lowered sea level made access to the Korean peninsula and Japanese archipelago, some of these earliest forms moved into and occupied these regions. Some crudely flaked lithic specimens from the regions have been regarded as the contemporary to those from Zhoukoudian. Some, however, argue these specimens may have been produced by natural geological forces rather than human activities (Larichev et al. 1990; Yi and Clark 1983). Nevertheless, many physical anthropologists believe that modern humans from Zhoukoudian site are likely candidates of the ancestral line leading to the classic Mongoloids of Asia (Howells 1993). From an archaeological perspective, it has been argued that by the end of the Paleolithic period stone traditions are relatively uniform and one popular stone pattern was appeared and spread out to various regions in East Asia along with probably increasing human occupation of a wide region of East Asia (Lee, B. Kenneth 1997:68).

### **East Asian Cluster**

The biological features of East Asian *Homo sapiens* (northeast Asia as well) are distinct from other geographical populations (Hanihara, T. 2000:126). One of most noticeable features with other contemporaneous groups is the flatness of the face (Coon 1962). This has been characterizes as “midfaces with more interiorly situated frontal processes of zygomatic bones and more or less flat nasal bones” (Hanihara, T. 2000:105). This feature contrasts with other contemporary European, New World and African populations (Hanihara, T. 2000:127). Some scholars consider this facial flatness as the result of an adaptation to cold exposure and/or high chewing stress (Coon et al. 1950; Hylander 1977). In brief, the modern East Asians have relatively large inner space and their face is horizontally and vertically flat (Baba et al. 1998). This flatness is also observed in earlier Asian fossil hominids of the erectus grade (Hanihara, T. 2000:127).

According to one physical anthropological study that used 24 craniofacial dimensions from each of the major geographic provinces of the world, all human populations could be classified into the eight clusters (opinions on the classification of

human populations vary by different scholars); Africa, Amerind, Asia-Mainland, Australo-Melanesia, Eskimo-Siberia, Europe, India, and Jomon-Pacific (Yongyi et al. 1991). This study also shows that the Asia-Mainland cluster is quite distinct from the other seven geographic clusters. While all Asian samples share close affinities, the Asia-Mainland is divided into northern and southern components that are consistent with the modern geographical grouping of Asian populations. The scholars of this study suppose, “the northern and southern components of the Asian-Mainland cluster have diverged within the last 7,000 years” (Yongyi et al. 1991:277).

### **Prehistoric Populations in East Asia**

Before we go further to discuss the origin of Japanese and Korean, it is necessary to review briefly some major terms, such as Siberian, Paleo-Asiatics, Tungus, and Mongoloid, that are known as racial or ethnic groups of populations in East Asia. Many of terms were first used by Russian scholars during the 17-19<sup>th</sup> centuries who were the first to begin ‘scientific’ studies of population groups in Siberia, China, and Korea (Pai 2000). Therefore many studies regarding the origin of Japanese and Korean have focused on relations between Siberia and Korea and Japan. Although problems of such racial studies have been debated widely, it would be helpful to review some of the purported differences between major populations as they related to possibly origins of both and Korean and Japanese peoples and traditions.

#### **1. Mongoloid**

The variants of Mongoloid occupy a wide range of the earth’s geography. The term, Mongoloid, is generally applied all peoples living in Asia, including modern Mongolia, Siberia, South and North East Asia (Brues 1990). According to some divisions, it is classified into a Northern group (the Northern Chinese and the Tibetans) and a Southeast Asian group. Furthermore, the Northern is further subdivided into the Turks, the Mongols, Tungus and Manchus across Manchuria and Siberia, the Koreans and the Japanese (Kim, W. Y. 1986:3).

Some classic Mongoloid features include the traditionally flat face, short height, broad chest, short and stocky limbs in comparison to the trunk, small feet and hands, low-lying nose, and shoveled incisors (Brues 1990:253-258; Fairbank 1991:100; Kim, W. Y. 1986; Mote 1998; and Yongi et al. 1991). However, since some populations in Asia show very conspicuously different outer appearances and genetic features (including skeletal features), compared with other typical Mongoloid populations in Asia, some scholars accentuate inappropriate on general categorization of Mongoloid (Brues 1990:258; Yongi et al. 1991). Brues suggests, “Caucasoid strains may have infiltrated East Asia during the last few millennia” (1990:258). He also suggests that the Hiung-Nu occupying the northern and northwestern fringes of China for the ancient time played the part of racially transitional group. The Hiung-Nu were also similar to the Turks who live in the borderline between Europe and Asia and they “could have carried Caucasoid genes to the Far East” (Brues 1990:258). According to the research comparing craniometric data of a wide variety of world populations, Buriats, which were thought to be a ‘typical Mongoloid population’ living in the northern border of modern China, do not in fact cluster with other Asian groups but seem more similar to groups in Oceania and the western hemisphere (Yongi et al. 1991).

According to Mote, who thinks that the physical types of the Mongoloid might have arisen in eastern and central Asia as early as 21,000 B.P, the typical features of the Mongoloid traits might have been “identified with the Altaic cultural-linguistic group stretched from the Middle Yenisey River to Lake Baykal, inclusive of Mongolia” (Mote 1998:33). However, since the so-called Mongoloid racial type shows some features that was made up of very mixed strains, in some case, specific groups show a great deal of divergence from the classic forms.

## 2. Siberian

Although some evidence for early human settlements in Siberia have been found, most of the human evidence has again been dated to about 20,000 B.P. (Mote 1998:32). Scholars believe that the opening period of the Agricultural Revolution and the domestications for plants and animals in Greater Siberia was not earlier than 3000 B.C. (Mote 1998:33). Its immense landmass reaches from “the Ural mountains of the west to

the Pacific coast of the east” (Crawford et al. 1997:177). Therefore, there are many different groups who speak different languages in Siberia. Major languages spoken by peoples in the region are classified into three major linguistic groups: Altaic, Uralic, and Paleo-Asiatic (Ruhlen 1976, cited in Crawford et al. 1997:177). Many scholars indicate the close linguistic relations of between both Korean and Japanese and Altaic (Polivanov 1927; Poppe 1960, 1962, 1965; Shiratori 1914). According to Shirokogoroff (1966a), the Altaic language includes three branches; Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungus-Manchu. Among people using those languages, Mongoloid (speaking Mongolic language) and Tungus (speaking Tungus-Manchu) and some populations who use Paleo-Asiatic language in Siberia are most popular candidates for the ancestral populations of the Korean and Japanese peoples.

### 3. Tungus

The word, Tungus, is also very broad and ambiguous term being used in academic world. Although some written records by Russians, who started to research populations in Siberia and coined the Tungus concept after the 17<sup>th</sup> century, are existed, no written record predating 17<sup>th</sup> century Russian records includes any name for people or groups that could be identified as Tungus (Pai 2000:45). From the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Russian ethnographers adopted the word, Tungus, to classify primitive peoples in the Far East as a distinct race (Pai 2000:45). Based on the geographical distribution, the Tungus were classified broadly into two groups: Northern and Southern. According to Shirokogoroff (1966a) who emphasizes the general distinctions of peoples from the two regions, the northern Tungus form the main part of the Tungus while some southern Tungus, for instance, the Manchus, are distinct from the northern Tungus. In general, he accepted the possibility of the same origin for the Northern and the Southern Tungus, although he emphasizes some facts that anthropological components between two groups are distinct and the cultural features of the southern group are much more complex than the northern group. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Tungus were generally regarded as one of Mongol subraces, northern Mongol (including the Buryats, Kalmuks, etc.), while the other subrace, southern Mongol (including Manchurian, Korea, and Northern Chinese),

was regarded as Paleo-Asiatics. These two subraces of Mongol might have dominated most of Asia (Deniker 1915:373-79, 386-87, cited in Pai 2000:46).

#### 4. Paleo-Asiatics

The term, Paleo-Asiatics, was also initially coined by Russian researchers framing them as hunter-gathers and herders in Siberia (for instance, Buriyat, Chukchis, Gilyaks, Kamchadals, and Koryaks, etc.) and placing them together based largely on linguistic similarities (Choe 1991:22). While two prehistoric populations, Paleo-asiatics and Tungus, were included within the Mongol subraces in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, some linguistic data suggests Paleo-Asiatics predated the Tungus (Pai 2000:46). One theory for the history of the Paleo-Asiatics suggests that after their spread into Siberia during the Neolithic period, they were forced into the more remote northern regions of Northeast Asia and the coastal regions because of repeated attacks and conflicts with the Mongols and Tungus (Deniker 1915:367-73, cited in Pai 2000:45-46). Torii proposed that some of hunting and fishing populations, such as the Koryaks, Gilyaks, Chukchee, and the Ainu, who now inhabit the modern Russian coastal maritime provinces and the northern Japanese islands, are likely descendents of the Paleo-Asiatics (1925:154-165, cited in Pai 2000:46). Montandon, who replaced the term, Paleo-Asian, with Paleo-Siberian, to classify one of races in the world, believes that the Paleo-Asiatic groups are a hybrid between the Mongolian and the people who came from Europe to Siberia in the late Paleolithic period (Choe 1991:24-25).

According to some ideas about the ancient relations between the Paleo-asiatics and Tungus, two possible places for the origin of the Tungus now living in Siberia have been proposed: (1) Manchuria. (2) the Yellow River valley and the Yangzi area in China as well as northern China and Korea. The first idea is mainly derived from the fact of the similar sound between ‘Tung-hu (Donghu)’ that was derived from ancient Chinese records describing populations living in Manchuria and ‘Tungus’ (Pai 2000:47). The second idea for a broader southern origin was proposed by Shirokogoroff, who in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century divides the Tungus into two different groups, northern and southern. He proposes the Mongolian plateau, the Amur River, and western China were occupied by the Turko-Mongols, the Paleo-Asiatic tribes, the Chinese (Shirokogoroff 1966a, see

also 1966b). He further hypothesizes that because of migration of the Chinese from the southern China to the Proto-Tungus territory around the third millennium B.C., the Tungus had to move to northward and eastward into the Manchuria, and Siberia and there they encountered Neolithic Paleo-Asiatics. The Tungus could not expel this intruding group and shifted their occupation to Siberia. Using this model most of the Paleo-Asiatics in East Asia before the Tungus people's northward movement either disappeared or assimilated into Tungus by the first century A.D. He however proposes there are Paleo-Asiatics in the northern China, Korea and Amur region during the prehistoric period (Shirokogoroff 1966a:95-109). His ideas in general are not well supported by archaeological evidence and there is little evidence indicating ancient population movement from south to north in ancient China. Furthermore, linguistic evidence is not able to prove any close linguistic connections between Chinese and Tungus (Choe 1991:27-28).

The previous discussion provides some information about the groups of populations that might have been related to the origin of Japanese and Korean peoples. It could be argued that the histories for many populations (including ancient populations) such as, Mongol, Manchu, Tungus, Siberian, and Paleo-Asiatics might be all connected to the prehistoric ethnic history of Korean and Japanese due to their general geographic proximity. Further consideration of these connections will, in later chapters, examine these connections from the perspectives of archaeological and biological data.

### From the Records

A wide variety of ancient documents provide some information on the origins of Korean and Japanese identity. However, some problems have been pointed out by many scholars. Nelson, for example, says that documentary sources, regarding the pre and proto history of East Asia, "cannot be accepted uncritically, but neither can they be entirely discounted" (1993:9) because "errors may have crept in as a result of miscopying, editing or deliberate distortion" (1993:9). Nevertheless, documents reflect the spirit of the time

and the life-style of the people of our past times. At present, most of the historical interpretations concerning ancient societies in Japan and Korea are grounded and depend heavily on Chinese historical works. It should be noted however that most of the native scholars from Japan and Korea, who attempt to put more value on the descriptions from their own historical records, may face the reality that some stories on their historic documents are originally based on descriptions from the Chinese records.

Many descriptions about ancient Japanese and Korean people from major historic documents are quite controversial within the historic community and it would be impossible to survey all of these works in detail. Alternatively, in the following chapters, it will be attempted to identify and review major points and evaluate them in concert with existing archaeological and biological data. In order to provide a basic understanding of the background, historical materials and their descriptions about ancient groups of people related to the first formation processes of Japanese and Korean are introduced in this chapter.

### **Major Historical Materials from China, Japan and Korea**

China has the longest and most voluminous record of its past and frequently includes information on its neighbors. Accordingly, the first written documentation of people living in the Japanese archipelago and northeastern side of modern China is first described by Chinese historians. While most of Chinese records include some stories of its neighbors, several earlier documents are mainly being used for research purpose of ancient relations between Japanese and Korean. The first comprehensive and official Chinese history book is *Shihchi* (*Shiji* = Records of the Grand Historian), which is a compilation of previous histories and chronicles many of which no longer exist but are known only from references in this monumental work. It was written at the beginning of the first century B.C. Other earlier Chinese records are *Houhanshu* (History of the Later Han: A.D. 25-220) and the *Weichih* (*Weizhi* = The Record of Wei), which is part of the *Chronicle*, the *Sankuoshih* (*The Sankuochih* = The History of the Three Kingdoms: A.D. 221-265). The *Weichih* has the best explanation about a contemporary account of its neighbors and includes information on people, their history, geography and customs (see

Goodrich 1951). The *Sungshu* (History of The <Liu> Sung Dynasty: A.D. 420-479), and The *Suishu* (History of The Sui Dynasty: A.D. 581-618) are also significant records, which describe brief political situations in ancient East Asia.

The first book mentioned as a history book in Japan is *Kiujiki* (*Kujiki*=Chronicle of old matters of former ages), which is compiled in A.D. 620 and destroyed in around 645 (Aston 1956:X). The two earliest Japanese history records, still existed, are *Kojiki* (The Record of Ancient Things) and *Nihongi* (The Chronicles of Japan). *Kojiki* consists of three parts; the creation myth, the emperor's expedition from Kyushu to Yamato (modern Nara area), and the history and legends of the period around A.D. 5-6. *Kojiki* was completed in A.D. 712 (see Chamberlain 1973). *Nihongi* (The Chronicles of Japan) was compiled eight years after *Kojiki* was completed. It also includes legendary and mythical parts for justifying the Imperial family lines but is more focused on the historical viewpoint of Japan from its dawn to A.D. 697 (Borton 1938, Aston 1956). Because these two records also describe traits of alien people living in various provinces, especially those from the Korean peninsula during the Three Kingdoms Periods in Korea, many scholars use the stories in *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* to study the relationship between the Japanese archipelago and the Korean peninsula.

The survived documents of ancient history in Korea are more recent than those from China and Japan. *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), written in 12<sup>th</sup> century, and *Samgukyusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), written in late 13<sup>th</sup> century, are the earliest surviving Korean historical materials. It should be noted, however, they are in fact based on even earlier Korean documents, *Sinjip* (New Edition), *Kuksa* (A National History), and *Kogi* (Ancient History). All of which appear to have been written sometime between B.C. 37 and A.D. 545, though these items no longer exist except as references in later documents (Chong 1986:115). These two records include many mythical and historical stories referring to founding legends and detailed historical events, which are useful for tracing the early history of Korean and Japanese. Some English versions of these ancient Chinese, Japanese, and Korean historical records are *Shiji* by Waton (1993), *Kogiki* by Chamberlain (1973), *Nihongi* by Aston (1956), *Samgukyusa* by Ha and Grafton (1972). Those four records from China, Japan and Korea



mostly described the legends of their founders and political relationships with their neighbor countries without providing detailed depictions of their neighbor people.

### **Proto Korean and Japanese from the Chinese records**

#### **1. Dongi (Dongyi, Tongi)**

Most our basic knowledge of ancient Korean and Japanese peoples comes from the descriptions in the chapter, in the Dongi section of the Chinese records. The word, Dongi, includes the very broad geographical areas encompassing all peoples living in eastern areas. It is clearly presented from the ancient Chinese perspective, and in fact can be directly translated as ‘barbarian peoples who live in East’ (i.e. Eastern Barbarians). It includes names of small ancient countries that were located in the area of the northeast side region of modern China, including the Shandong peninsula, the Lioing, the Liodong, Manchuria, as well as peoples of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago (see figure 5).

Regardless of its important position in framing questions about ancient peoples and their movements in the East Asian sphere, “archeological and historical studies have not yet been fruitful enough to provide light on the migration routes and the cultural development of the Dongi tribes recorded in Chinese literary sources” (Kim, C. J. 1986:41). Before the Han dynasty (B.C. 206 – A.D. 220), united all Mainland China and absorbed many neighboring countries within its power structure, or cultural shade, the areas of Dongi as used in the Chinese records have broader geographical distributions. However, modern studies for the Dongi is typically meant to encompass the territory within the northern boundary of the Great Wall while neglecting “the natives inhabiting coastal areas of the Yellow Sea, especially, Hobei and Honan, and the Shandong Peninsula” (Kim, C. J. 1986:42).

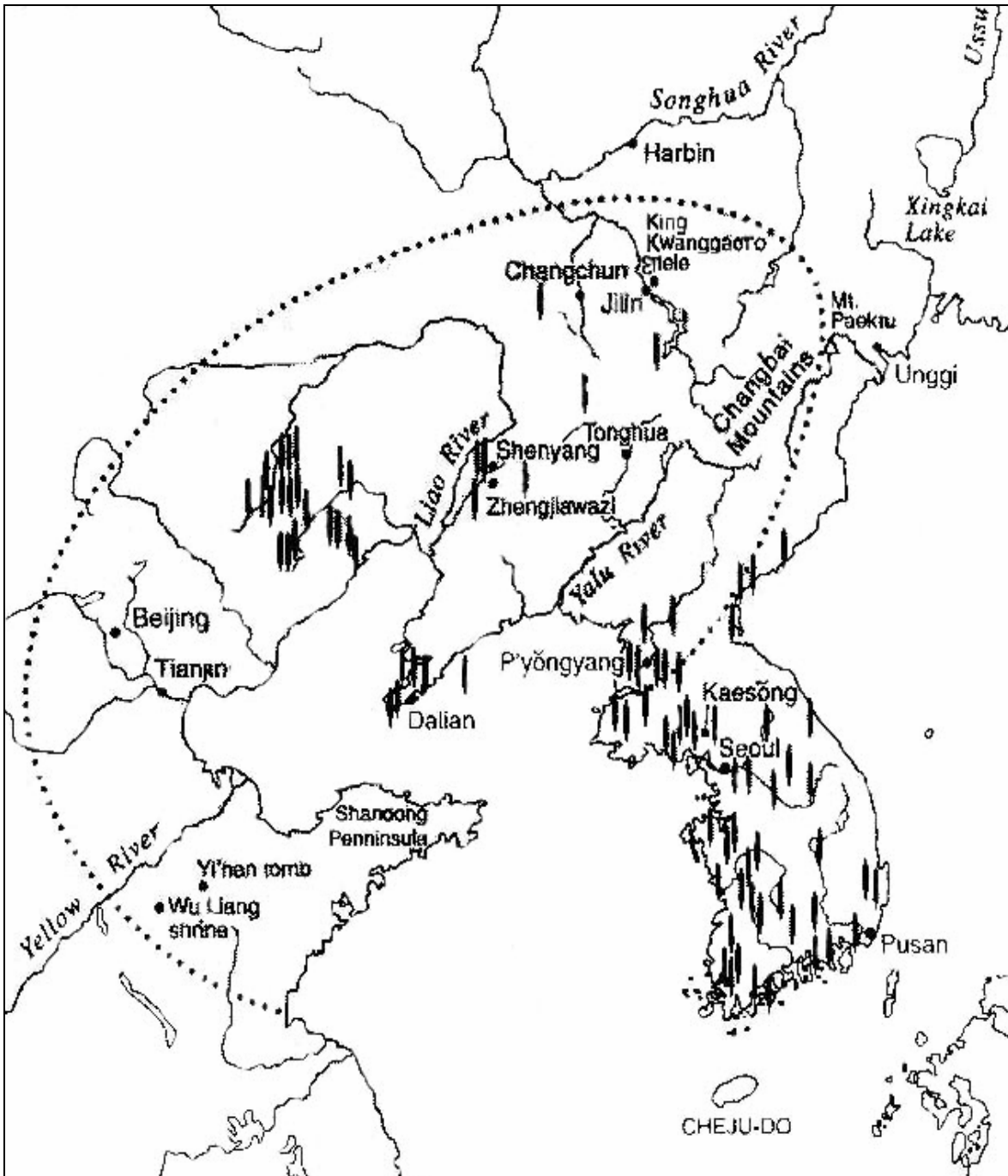


Figure 5. The Donggi zone: Estimated area of the Donggi (inside a cycle), including the southern Korean peninsula and the western side of the Japanese archipelago, and daggers indicating a cluster of dagger finds (modified from Pai 2000:Map 1, originally adapted and based on Lee, Ki-Baek & Lee, Ki-Dong 1983 and Society for Korea Archaeological Studies 1984:22)

## 2. Proto Japanese

According to two major Chinese records; Houhanshu and Weichih, the name, Wa, had been used to call people dwelling on the mountainous islands, which might indicate mostly the modern Japanese archipelago (Goodrich 1951:4, Hudson 1989:51). The following descriptions of the Wa people are extracted from Goodrich's book, 'Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories (1951).' Descriptions come primarily from the Houhanshu and Weichih chapters with additional descriptions from the Sungshu and Suishu chapters.

### A. Geographical Location (see figure 6)

According to descriptions from Houhanshu,

“The commandery of Lo-Lang is twelve thousand li from that country. The country of Chu-ya-han on the northwest boundary is over seven thousand li distant....Leaving the queen's land and crossing the sea to the east, after a voyage of one thousand li, the country of Kuna is reached, the people of which are of the same race as that of the Wa....Four thousand li away to the south of the queen's land, the dwarfs' country is reached; its inhabitants are three to four feet in height” (Goodrich 1951:1-3) (a li was about one-sixth of a mile, Kidder 1993:98).

In the Weichih, more detailed descriptions of the geological names and distances for the Wa are recorded. But due to the vagueness of descriptions for the names of places and distances, the exact location of each island or country in the Japanese archipelagoes is a matter of scholarly debate. Some of important depictions from the Weichih are,

“The people of Wa dwell in the middle of the ocean on the mountainous islands southeast of [the prefecture of] Tai-fang....To reach Wa from the prefecture, one sails along the coast, passing the land of Han....To the south, also, there is the island of the dwarfs, where the people are three or four feet tall. This is over four thousand li distant from the Queen's land. Then there is the land of naked men, as well as that of the black-teethed people. [These places] can be reached by boat if one travels southeast for a year” (Goodrich 1951: 8-13).

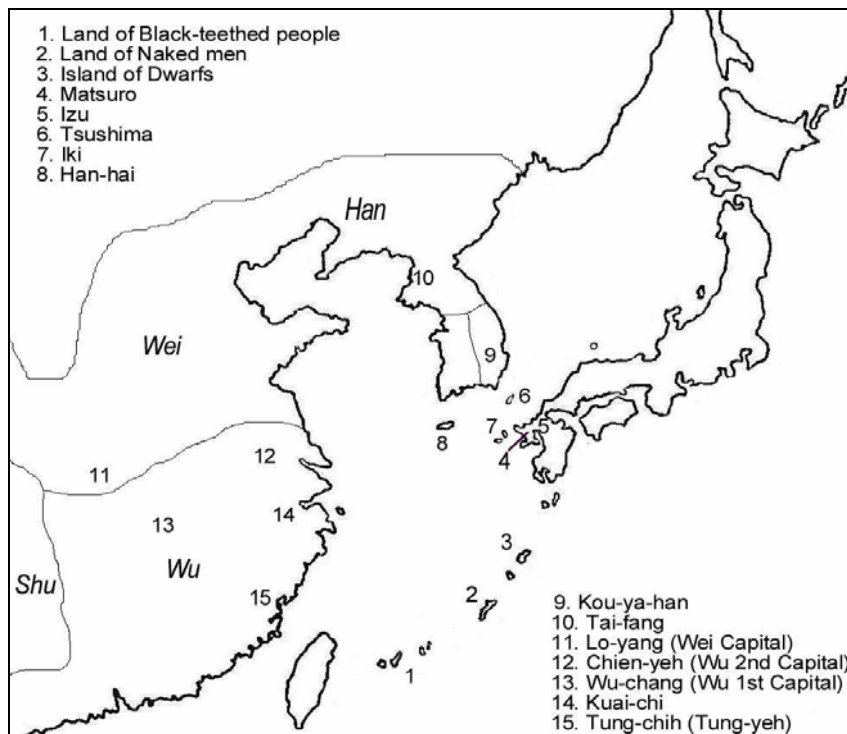


Figure 6. Estimated locations of some historical peoples appeared in the Chinese Records. Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220) (above) and Three Kingdoms in China (Wei A.D. 221-263, Shu Han A.D. 220-265, and Wu A.D. 222-280) (modified from Goodrich 1951:7, 21)

## B. Environment and people

Houhanshu and Weichih say that the soil of the Wa is good for grains, hemp, and silk mulberry and describe the land as warm and mild. Thus, the people could plant vegetables during the winter. They knew how to weave and make rough cloth. In their land, there were no horses, tigers, sheep, cows and leopards. Spears, shields, swords, and wooden bows were used as weapons. They practiced tattooing of their faces and their bodies. Men allowed their hair to cover both ears and wore head-bands and wore loin cloths. They used bamboo and wooden trays and used their hands to eat their food. They are described as going barefoot and squatting was the customary manner of sitting. They were long lived and it is noted a few people lived to over a hundred years. The women outnumbered the men and they practiced a system of polygamy. Women were chaste and were not supposed to be jealous. People living on the Tsushima Island located between the Japanese archipelago and the Korean peninsula, had no good rice fields but had abundant marine products. It is mentioned that the people of Wa people loved to dive into the water and that class distinctions existed and there was a system of taxation.

People, living further away from the main Japanese islands, were described as named dwarves with blackened teeth. According to the descriptions in the Suishu, which is the history book of the Sui Dynasty (A.D. 581-618), the Wa were initially called 'Wakuo' and their capital was referred to as 'Yamatai'. The book says that the people did not know how to measure distance by li and their estimate of time was by days. They also wore sandals as foot-gear which were tied with strings. Most common people usually went barefoot. Ordinary dress for them was a wide piece of cloth tied on with no sewn borders or parts. The people were described as gentle, peaceful, and honest. There was not much theft and even less litigation. People enjoyed archery tournaments, playing games, and drinking liquor. They had no dishes or plates and they ate food with their hands. For the funeral services, they used a coffin and family members wore white for mourning. Part of the funeral ceremony included dancing and singing by relatives in the vicinity of the corpse. Writing was unknown though some communication system was based on notched sticks and knotted ropes. They worshiped Buddha and had Buddhist scriptures from Paekjae. The written Buddhist scriptures constituted their earliest exposure to written characters (Goodrich 1951; Lu 1974).

### C. Political situations in the communities and their relationship with neighbors

Houhanshu and Weichih record that there were more than one hundred communities and that nearly thirty of these communities had political relationships with the Han Chinese dynasty. Each community had a hereditary King. Yamadai was the place of the Great Wa. One of Wa countries, Nu was presented a seal from Han dynasty. The Wa became involved in a great war and conflict during A.D. 147-189 and for a period of time they were without a central ruler. A figure named Pimiko was adept in the ways of magic and sorcery, and functioned as a king and resided in a palace surrounded by towers and a stockade. She enforced very strong laws and customs. When Pimiko passed away, a great mound, which was more than a hundred paces in diameter, was built in her honor. There were several countries that were not under Pimiko's control though many countries were under her power. Some countries had very similar customs as Pimiko's country. The Emperor of Wei bestowed some silk, gold, two swords, one hundred bronze mirrors, some jades and beads on Pimiko. According to the Sungshu and the Suishu, the King of Wa was titled as a King in A.D. 425 by the contemporary Chinese dynasty. He was described as a piece-keeper in the Six Countries of Wa, Packjae, Silla, Imna, Jinhan, and Mahan. Silla and Packjae considered the Wa as a great country, which was replete with precious things. They paid homage to the Wa and there were frequently envoys traveling between the regions (Goodrich 1951; Lu 1974).

### 3. Proto Korean

Defining ancient Korean people from Chinese records is not an easy task because there are no clear descriptions of geographical boundaries and there may have been many population movements in ancient times. Thus, unlike the stories of the ancient Japanese peoples that were ascribed a name, the Wa, there are variety of names for ancient countries possibly representing Korean ethnic groups. They were all described differently depending on geographic locations and time periods in the Chinese records. As a result, the names and locations of ancient Korean countries that are assumed to be the direct ancestors of modern Korean, and their relations to each other are still a matter of considerable debate among Korean scholars (Pai 2000:98). For that reason, the

description of each country in the Chinese records will be introduced separately along with more detailed stories in order to have better understanding the problem (see figure 7). This constitutes a valuable effort and represents the first English summary of the ancient Korean descriptions found in the Chinese documents though they have been used by numerous Chinese and Japanese scholars.

The selected names of ancient Korean countries in the Chinese records are mainly from the book 'Hangul Dong-I-Chun (Korean translation of Don-I Story)' by Jae-Sun Kim (1999). Kim (1999) notes that some different Chinese characters used to identify the same country were synthesized into one name based on his reading of the documents. Most of the stories about each country have been based on one or two the Chinese records. However, some other names of Chinese records are added with parenthesis, in case that they include some new and different stories about ancient Korean countries, which might have been occurred by chronological ambiguity.

#### A. Choson

The term, 'Choson' first appears sporadically in the oldest Chinese record, Shichi (see Watson's English translation book (1993) for the Shichi). The Choson people lived in the northeastern side of ancient China and is regarded as first direct Korean ancestral line appeared on the written document. The section for the Choson people appears again in the Hanshu, but does not receive further description though it is continually used as a reference point in Chinese discussions of other later counties to indicate their genealogical connections with Choson.

In Shichi, there is the story of a descendant of the Shang dynasty, Chitzu (Kija in Korean), who escaped to Choson at the time of the Chou conquest in 1122 B.C. (Gardiner 1969: 3). However, there is no additional information on the geographic location and cultural traditions of the Choson people except in the case of Weiman (Wiman in Korean) which relates a story about a man also fleeing to the Choson territory from Yen, located at the western edge of Choson. He is described as having fled with thousands of his

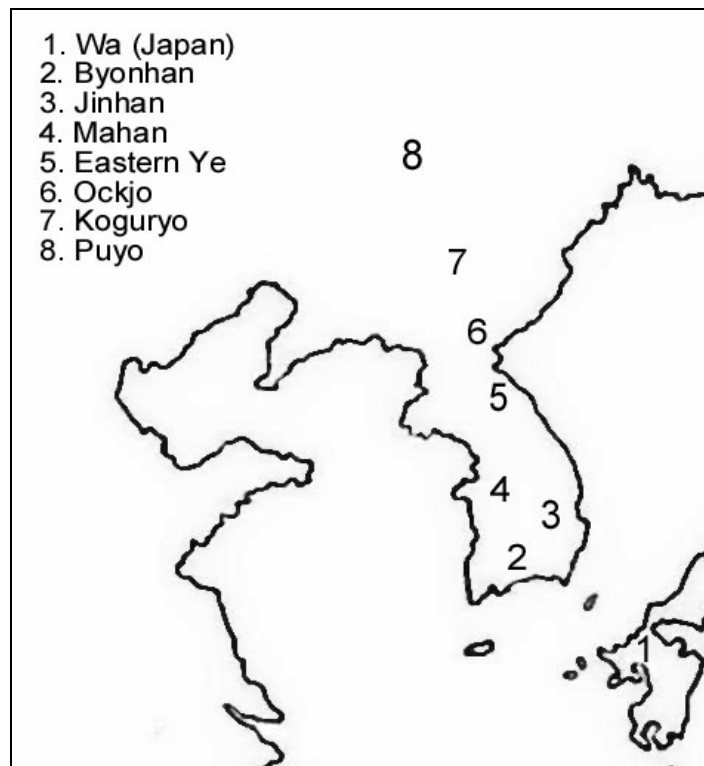
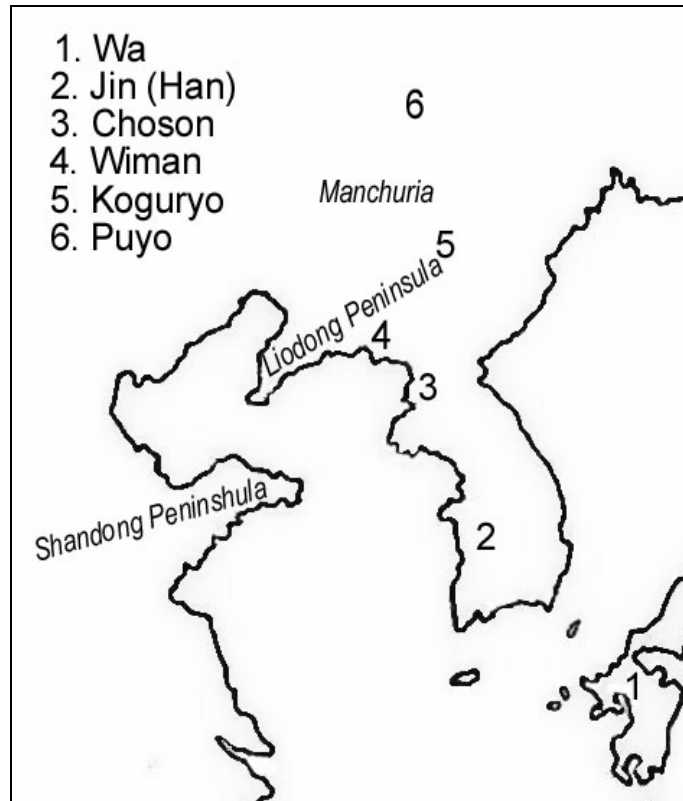


Figure 7. Estimated locations of Ancient Korean countries: 2<sup>nd</sup> Century B.C. (above), A.D., 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries (below). Adapted from Lee, K. B. (1984:18, 25)



followers on the Shichi. According to the Shichi (also Hanshu), Weiman adopted the lifestyle of native people and later established his own country in what is most likely the region of modern Pyongyang (195-188 B.C.). Shichi also described the warfare between Choson and Han dynasty. In the fall of 109 B.C., the Han army attacks to Choson. After several fails of the attacks, the king of Choson was assassinated and Choson was surrendered to the Han army in the summer of 108 B.C. The territory was divided into four provinces (Watson 1993:225-230; Kim, J. S. 1999:14-19).

### B. Puyo

The story section of Puyo on the Chinese records are appeared in the three different books; Huhanshu, Weishu in Samgukji, and Jinshu. They describe that Koguryo as being to the south and Puyo was bordered on the east by Unpnu (Yojin) and by Sunby to the west. Its territory was about two thousand li and included eighty thousand households. The land was suitable for growing five different types of grains. Documents of the note make note of the abundant good horses and beads in the country. Originally the region had been part of the Ye territory (on the Weishu, the name Ye is written down with YeMaek). Puyo had castles and fortresses as well as a palace and a prison. People were described as large, strong, brave and diligent. Their primary weapons were the bow, sword, and spear, and each household had its own armor and arms. They possessed an official ranking system. It is also mentioned very harsh punishment upon the penalty, especially for a woman who exhibited jealousy. People are described as favoring white clothes with wide sleeves and pants and had leather shoes. It is described that during A.D. 49 – A.D.174, there were several tributes from Puyo and the Han court returned a good courtesy. Puyo is reported to have attacked the Langlang (Lolang) and Hyundo, which were part of Choson and were divided by the Han court. Further strife is recorded and in A.D. 285, Puyo was attacked by Moyonwei. The Puyo king committed suicide and his sons fled to Ockjo (Kim, J. S. 1999).

### C. Koguryo

Koguryo first appears in the Chinese records of the Huhanshu. Since then, most of the later Chinese records included Koguryo in their discussion of the Dongi. All major stories of the Koguryo reports outlined here are from Weishu in Samgukji. Koguryo was

bordered by Choson and YeMaek in the south, Ockjo in the east, and Puyo in the north. These countries were later belonged to Koguryo. The Koguryo territory is described as having many mountains and valleys interspersed with open fields and occasional ponds. According to the old story, Koguryo was originally from Puyo and was also referred to in the literature as 'Mac'. The founder of Koguryo was DongMyong (Yangshu: History of Yang), who is regarded the founder of Puyo also. The people of Kofuryo shared the same language and culture with Puyo but there are reportedly some differences with respect to clothing and people's attitudes. Koguryo reportedly lacked a prison though there are descriptions of a king and a variety of official ranks. People were very described as strong, hot tempered, trained in war and were willing to engage in battle and pillage. They are also described as being fond of song and dance. Grooms were required to pay dowries of money and silk. Later documents indicate a change in customs and dowries were in pigs and alcohol. In these later accounts a family acceptance of property as part of a dowry was regarded as shameful and was equated with the selling of the bride. Literary is reported to have been widespread regardless of social status (Gudangshu: Old History of Dang A.D. 618-907). Ockjo, Eastern Ye and SosuMac were under the command of Koguryo. During A.D. 49 – 167, Koguryo are reported to have made numerous attacks on the Liodong and Langlang. It is also reported that Koguryo absorbed Puyo (Weishu A.D. 386-550). Koguryo's continued expansion would later encompass five hundred of the powerful clans in the Manchu area and ultimately absorbed the Liodong (Songshu A.D. 405-479). All other descriptions of Koguryo after the 4<sup>th</sup> century mainly chronicle its conflicts with the various Chinese dynasties.

#### D. Ockjo

Ockjo (eastern and northern Ockjo) is only described in the Huhanshu and Weishu (in Samgukji). The bulk of the following descriptions are largely from the Huhanshu. According to these accounts, Ockjo was on the eastern side of Koguryo mountain, Kema. It was bound on the east by the sea and bordered Puyo to the north and bordered YeMaek in the south. The land was fertile for dry-field farming and is said to have contained fewer cows and horses. The people are described as brave, strong and warlike. Each village had a chief and their language, food, settlement pattern and clothes

were similar to those of Koguryo. According to a brief mention of funeral rites, the deceased were first buried temporary to be skeletonized and the collected bones were later placed in the wooden burial case which contains the bones of other family members. Therefore, all bones of each family whose images were painted on the case are buried altogether ultimately. After the Han collapsed Choson (according to the Weishu, Ockjo was part of Choson), the Han court called the territory of Ockjo as the HyoundoGun (Hyoundo commandery). As Maek (YeMaek on the Weishu) attacked Ockjo, its political center was moved to the northwestern side of Koguryo. It is described that although the king of Han, KwangMuJa (A.D. 25-56), handed over the commandship of Ockjo to the native King, the Ockjo territory was under the command of Koguryo ultimately. According to the accounts from the Chinese records, Northern Ockjo was called ChiGuroo and was located eight hundred li from the southern Ockjo. However, their cultural characteristics are obviously different compared with those from eastern Ockjo, Koguryo, Puyo, and Ye.

#### E. Ye

The descriptions of Ye are from on the Huhanshu and Weishu (in Samgukji) and most of the accounts mentioned here are from Huhanshu. Ye bordered Koguryo and Ockjo in the north, and Jinhan in the south. The sea was to the east and Langlang (Lolang in English) was west of Ye. Ye, Ockjo and Koguryo territories were all part of older Choson region. According to reports, theft was uncommon and the women were virtuous. Older informants are reported to have said their blood was the same as the Koguryo. Their language and culture were similar to Koguryo's. The people were reportedly naive and less greedy. Therefore there is no theft. Each administrative unit had a border generally defined by a mountain or river and people were not apt to meddle in each other's affairs. Marriages between people of the same last name was forbidden. After becoming under the control of the Han court as one of commanderies, social manners were getting worse and in response to this, there was reportedly an increase in legal codes dramatically. Since, the possible genealogical connections between Choson and Ye (all eastern side of previous Choson is occupied by Ye), the records include some stories of Wiman and Kija from Choson. In earlier time the king of the Ju appointed Kija for <the

king> of Choson. Kija taught the people of Choson how to do farming and sericulture (the Shichi mentions that Kija was an uncle of the last Shang king. He escaped to Choson at the time of the Chou conquest (Gardiner 1969:9)). He also invented the Eight Lessons and taught them to the Choson people. After forty generations of Choson, during the Jun (the King of Choson) period, a King was designated. During the early Han, there was a serious revolt and several ten thousand households from Yen, Je, and Chou fled to Ye. During the revolt, Weiman from Yen is reported to have destroyed the Jun government in Choson and he named himself the King of Choson (see Choson part). In B.C. 128, the Ye generals turned against Ugeu King, who was a grandson of Weiman, and moved to the Liodong with twenty eight thousand households. In B.C. 108, the Han Chinese destroyed Choson and set up four Administrations. After that, the powerful Manchu clan and Han (China) races are classified (Weishu). Later on, Ye and Ockjo were allied with or a part of Langlang. In A.D. 30, eastern area was given up and a new head was selected in. At the end of the Han period in China, Ye is regarded as belonging to Koguryo (Weishu).

#### F. Hans (it consists of Mahan, Jinhan, and Byonjin = Byonhan = Pyonhan)

Three accounts of the Han stories appear in the Huhanshu, Weishu (in Samgukji), and Chinshu. Wae (Japan?) is also reported to be south of Hans and YeMaek was north of Hans. Huhanshu describes that Mahan consisted of small fifty-four 'countries' (chiefdoms?) and were south of Langlang. The people are reported brave and valiant and they are to be familiar with the manufacture of silk and also made cotton cloth. Villages contained rooms made of earth and were shaped like a tomb. There are no castles reported in the Han region and little attention was given to gold and jewelry but beads were highly desirable items. They reportedly wore a topknot, wore hemp clothes, and straw sandals (this style continues into the modern period). There were some individuals who were tattooed.

Jinhan was the eastern part of Mahan. It consisted of twelve countries. Some elderly people reported that they were originally from Chin in China. It is also mentioned that one of Han kings allowed them to live eastern part of their territory. They possessed a fortress and a house. The land was fertile and people knew how to manufacture silk, hemp, and iron. They used both the cow and horse for transportation. Ye, Wae, and

Mahan were major trade partners and they used iron for money as an exchange medium. After birth there was a tradition to press a stone on the head of the growing child in an effort to make the skull flat (intentional cranial deformation). A king of Jinhan was always from a person from Mahan. This restriction was apparently instituted to make it clear that Jinhan people came from another area.

Byonjin was located in the south of Jinhan. There were seventy-eight countries in Byonjin and Packjae was one of them. The biggest country had ten thousand households and the smaller one had several thousand households. Byonjin and Jinhan people lived together and they shared the same style of fortress and clothes. The people were sturdy and clean. They had strong laws. The arms were similar to those of Mahan and some people had tattoos like the Wae. After the king, Jun (see Ye), was defeated by Weiman, they attacked Mahan across the sea and became the king of Hans. When the Jun Kingdom collapsed the Mahan people elected a new king. Records report that in A.D. 44, the Han people came to Langlang for tribute. At the end of the Han dynasty, the Korean Hans and Ye were too strong to be controlled by the Chinese leadership.

#### G. Packjae

The Packjae section first appears in the Chinese records in the Songshu (Sungshu). Since then, its name was appeared on all major Chinese records until its political regime was collapsed by Shila. While Songshu includes only information on Packjae's political relationship with China, most of the accounts on Packjae introduced here are from various records, such as Namshu: History of the Southern Dynasties (A.D. 420-589), Namcheshu: History of the Southern Ch'i (A.D. 479-502), Wishu: History of the Northern Wei (A.D. 386-550), and Yangshu (Liangshu): History of the Liang Dynasties (A.D. 502-557). When Packjae is first mentioned, it is only one of 50 small countries identified in the southern Korean peninsula. The ancestors of Packjae were, according to the accounts in the Weishu, from Puyo. The Packjae people (or political regime only) were originally located a thousand li away from the Liotung (Liodong) and were quite near Koguryo (Songshu). When Packjae's border was attacked by several hundred thousands cavalry from the Chinese Wei dynasty, four general from Packjae defeated them badly (Namcheshu). Packjae was originally included in the Three Hans and later

would absorb many small political regimes, according to Yangshu. Later, Koguryo attacked the Liodong and Packjae took possession of the Lioing (Yoshu in Korean). Because of the many wars with Koguryo, Packjae pulled its territory over south into the Korean peninsula. The political boundaries of Packjae were the west with the Wuelzu (in China) crossing the Yellow Sea. They shared a northern border with the Koguryo and were bounded on the south by the ocean and ultimately the Wa (Japanese) across the sea. The Silla formed the northeast border (Old Tangshu). The Packjae people were tall and wore clean clothes. They liked to practice archery on horseback and were literate. Presumably because of their proximity to the Wa, some people in Packjae had tattoos. Their language and costumes were almost the same as those of Koguryo. Some Chinese, Chin (in China), and Han (in Korea) language remnants could be identified in their language (Yangshu). In A.D. 424 a Packjae envoy came to the Chinese court and the next year the Chinese emperor corresponded with the Packjae king. After these overtures, the Packjae envoy paid tribute in the Chinese court (Songshu). The rest of the accounts primarily chronicle political relationships among the Koguryo, Silla, and Packjae based on letters between representatives of the Tang and Su dynasties in China and the Packjae.

#### H. Silla

The name, Silla, first appears in the Yangshu. All major accounts presented here are drawn from the Yangshu and Puksa (History of the Northern Dynasty: A.D. 626-649). According to the account of the Yangshu, the ancestors of Silla were originally from Jinhan. the Kudangshu, Old history of the Tang (A.D. 618-907), however reports Byunhan as the ancestral line of Silla. The Yangshu also include the ancient lore of the people, who fled to the Mahan area to avoid heavy duty in Chin and allowed to stay in the eastern side of Mahan by the king of Mahan, in the section of the Silla. There is one account that the Silla were also established by Koguryo people who fled to Ockjo to get avoid an attack by forces of the Chinese Wei (Wi) dynasty (Puksa) and settled down in Silla. Furthermore, the close genealogical connection of the ruler class between Silla and Packjae is also accounted on the Puksa. It reports that the king of Silla was originally from Packjae. He arrived in Silla by a sea route and ultimately assumed control of the country and became its king. As the Packjae attacked on the Koguryo, he came to the

Silla to avoid the heavy requirements for military duty and became naturalized as Silla's people. Ultimately as Silla's power increased, he attacked Paekjae and acquired Kaya. Apparently quite a few people were moving out of China, Koguryo, Ockjo, Ye and Paekjae as the political turmoil was plagued throughout ancient China and Korea. In fact, the Puksa also reports that peoples from China, Koguryo, and Paekjae also lived in the Silla territory which embraced those of Ockjo, Bulnae, Han, and Ye. According to Chinese records, in the early days, there were six countries and later on, a total of twelve countries were in existence. Silla was one of them. Silla was located five thousand li away from the southeastern side of Paekjae. Due to its weak political power, it was not able to maintain its political relationship with China. However, in A.D. 521, it paid tribute to China for the first time in company with Paekjae. The land was suitable for various grains and people made silk and hemp cloth. They were familiar with animal husbandry and had cattle and had horses for riding. Military arms were similar to those of the Koguryo and shared many other features, such as culture, costumes, law and politics, with the Koguryo and the Paekjae (Puksa). Puksa also accounts that the people liked to wear clothes with white colors. The language and words for some goods were similar to those of the Chinese and the kinds of the grains, fruits, and animals were also similar.

## Conclusion

Most of studies regarding the ancient ethnic histories and relations for Korean and Japanese are largely depended on the historical interpretations. It is for that reason that we first review historiographies describing ancient peoples who lived in modern geographic regions such as the Japanese archipelago, the Korean peninsula, Manchuria, and the Liaodong areas.

Limited historical resources, historical accuracy of all ancient records, and various ways of interpretation on the same historical event or description by different scholars are the three main established factors producing most of academic arguments in East Asian history. While many extant documents are only fragments of the original writings, many

quoted or cited stories appeared on the early documents are from the resources that are not extant in the present day. In fact, most ancient Chinese, Japanese, and Korean records include old stories that were not contemporary events as the records were published and some earlier descriptions related to the ancient Korea and Japan on the Chinese records have been repeatedly reproduced from time to time on the later records. Therefore, some historians, concerning the historical accuracy of all ancient history books, naturally try not to give credit to some stories which were quoted from the records already extinct. Furthermore, historians also concern the fact that since, sometimes, each Chinese character has implied different meanings throughout different time periods, some mistakes that may have been appeared on the quoted or recopied old stories; for instance, the ancient Chinese measurement li had been changed for the different length unit since the Tang dynasty and names of rivers, mountains, and places on the ancient records had also been used to indicate the different locations in different time periods.

Another difficulty for the historical approaches is possible existence of distortion of the descriptions on the records because of the lack of knowledge or some biased standpoints by authors. Historians who have questioned some historical accounts in the ancient Chinese records argue that there must have been some Chinese centered point of view as they wrote about the ancient affairs of their neighbor peoples. In addition, some scholars have also indicated some mistakenly described names of countries as the result that they had not had enough knowledge on the object peoples and countries for their historical accounts: This could be one of the possible explanations for the reason of the vague Wa identity on the Chinese records. As for the case of the Japanese records including some arguable accounts in their records, many problematic facts will be discussed in the Chapter six. In addition, like any other ancient history books, Korean records include accounts viewing its history through its own distorting lens. Some scholars think that even though Samguksagi is written by an official of the government, Samgukyusa includes more valuable historical source because of the fact that Samguksagi is believed to have omitted some historical matters and it is biased. They argue that since the author of the Samguksagi was a Confucianist, he described the history of the Three Kingdoms under the Chinese centered standpoints. It is the reason that the author, a descendant of Silla, described Silla as the earliest state level kingdom



among the major three ancient political regimes in Korea, although most of modern Korean historians are in agreement the Koguryo was the first strongest state Kingdom in Korea (Kim, T. S. 1994:75).

Although many problematic issues from historical approaches are existed, we are still able to find some valuable information from them. At the same time, even though some ethnogenealogical accounts on some countries and kingdoms are reported on the Chinese records, it is a still very difficult task to chase the ethnic history of the formation processes for ancient Korean and Japanese. However, according to accounts from those limited and fragmented sources, one thing is clearly notified; throughout the period of establishing state level societies in Japan and Korea, there were a great numbers of population movements in East Asia. Further discussions on the relations among those peoples will be introducing throughout the chapters.

## CHAPTER 3

### LINGUISTIC SIMILARITY

#### Introduction

One of the classic taxonomic strategies is to use language as a categorization tool. It has long been noted that there are many problems, “involved in the determination of the relations of the various races” (Boas 1911:10), and language studies have often supplemented and enhanced efforts at identifying population groups. The most common strategy for linguistic classification is the identification of language families which have descended from a common ancestral tongue (Salzmann 1998:158). Neither the Japanese nor Korean is certain of the origins of their respective languages. In part, this was a reflection of the relatively small number of native linguists in both countries and western scholars were willing to simply lump them together but realized they were closely related and appeared to be related to Altaic (Salzmann 1998:160). There is also a very limited amount of historic data further confounding the study of origins and evolution of these two languages. Regardless of these issues, after the introduction of the comparative method which “involves the establishment of phonological correspondences between two or more languages and leads to the hypothetical reconstruction of lexical items in the common ancestral language” (Chew 1976:190), there are some possible insights to their origin and evolution. Archaeological and ethnological work is also being used to bolster some of these interpretations (Sohn 1999).

Many linguists have noted the phonological, morphological, and semantic features that tie Japanese and Korean to Uralic and Altaic (Chew 1978; Miller 1967, 1974,

1971, 1980; Ohno 1970). After initial work by Aston (1879) over 100 years ago and Ramstedt (1924, 1928), there was a tendency for Japanese scholars to argue that Old Korean and Japanese were related and thus the two countries could logically be united. This proposition clearly served political purposes and, in a sense, supported the Japanese occupation of Korea (Lee K. M. 1979:9). Generally, most modern linguists (Aston 1879; Hudson 1999; Martin 1966; Miller 1971; Poppe 1962; Street 1973) place both Japanese and Korean in the Altaic family which is thought to have originated from northern or north-central Eurasia during the Neolithic period (Miller 1976:341). Altaic includes Mongolian, Turkish, and Manchu-Tungusic (Kim, I. D. 1974:31). While a minority opinion however suggests Altaic is not in fact the mother tongue, Volvin proposes that both two Korean and Japanese should not be viewed as isolated languages in East Asia but that both should be considered “linked to a larger linguistic stock, Altaic” (1993:349). Further study will presumably help sort out these taxonomic issues.

### Writing Systems for Japanese and Korean

The oldest writing systems of Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, and the Indus River valley are essentially pictographic but they are quickly incorporated ideographic signs. Chinese characters are clearly derived from earlier pictographic and ideographic systems. Both Korean and Japanese were strictly spoken languages before the introduction of Chinese writing characters around two thousand years ago and all major Japanese and Korean early historical documents were written down by the Chinese characters until their own alphabets are invented. Since then, the spoken pronunciations among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, have diverged dramatically and over time the writing systems have diverged so greatly that Japanese and Korean ideographic systems are now almost totally different and show few similarities (Sohn 1999:12).

The first time that Chinese written characters were introduced into Japan was probably around the fifth century A.D. by way of Packjae (Takashi 1993:311) and by the tenth century A.D. their own alphabets for writing was invented along with adapting

some Chinese characters into the system (Meyer 1993:61-62). The Japanese writing system consists of combining Chinese characters with an auxiliary syllabary (a type of alphabet in which each separate syllable is represented by a single syllable) with over seventy graphemes that come in two forms, katakana and hiragana (Salzmann 1998:247, 250). It should also be pointed out that Chinese and Japanese have completely different sound structure and syntax system. These two types of syllabaries, katakana and hiragana, however, contain the same set of sounds. But unlike a Chinese character, each syllabary represents not a meaning but a sound. Additionally, there are differences in the number of vowels in different Japanese dialects. There is a three-vowel system in the Yonaguni dialect of Okinawa, an eight vowel-vowel system in the Nagoya dialect, and a five vowel-system in the Tokyo dialect. Generally, however, the most common number of vowel sounds in the major dialects is five (Shibatani 1990:160).

Ancient Korean may have been introduced to Chinese writing system substantially earlier than the Japanese. Sohn (1999:122) believes that it was in the second century B.C. as Wiman founded a primitive Korean state in northwestern part of the Korean peninsula. This writing system was used in Korea for more than a thousand year until its own written system, Hangul, was invented in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The alphabetic symbols in Hangul are ingenious. Each symbol in the Korean alphabet corresponds to a phoneme, which is a basic sound unit that represents a vowel or consonant unlike a Chinese character that corresponds to a word or a morpheme, which is the smallest unit that has a meaning (Salzmann 1998:90). In Hangul, letters are compacted into blocks forming syllables by appearing left-to-right and top-to-bottom order. This contrasts with Japanese where each character corresponds to a syllable. There are nineteen consonants, ten vowels, and two semivowel phonemes in modern Korean (Sohn 1999).

Before modern writing styles were invented, there were older writing formats in both Japan and Korea and these too, were based on Chinese characters. Ancient Korean employed three different systems; Idu, Kugyol, Hyangchal (Kim, I. D. 1974; Lee, K. M. 1979; Miller 1967). These three forms were invented for the pronunciation and transcription of Korean affixes, words, and sentences. They were used not only to record personal names, place names, vernacular songs and poems, but also to clarify government documents and other Chinese books during all periods of the so-called Three kingdoms

period were in use until the early Chosen dynasty. Unlike, Idu and Hyangchal, Kugyol was often used in simplified forms (Sohn 1999:124-128). Before the development of syllabary modern writings (the Kana system) ancient Japanese used a system referred to as Manyoogana, which was also based on Chinese characters and “was practiced in China in rendering foreign names, place names, official titles, and especially in transliterating Sanskrit Buddhist terms” (Shibatani 1990:126). This form first makes its appearance in the Kojiki (A.D. 712).

### Modern Dialect Zones in Japan and Korea

On the modern Korean peninsula there are seven geographically distinct dialects including a standard South Korean Seoul and a standard Pyonyan dialect in North Korea. These geographical and political dialectal differences are insignificant enough that they do not make the dialects unintelligible to each other (Sohn 1999:12). Somehow, even though it has been already over 1300 years ago that Silla kingdom united the peninsula and there has been a great deal of political power shifting and population movement within the peninsula, the modern dialect differences mirror boundaries of the political power of the three major kingdoms in Korea before the unification by the Silla regime in A.D. 668 (see figure 8).

In Japan, even though there are many dialects, the largest groupings consist of what might be called standard Japanese, a southern dialect Ryukyuan, and a now more northerly dialect Ainu (Hudson 1994:242). Ryukyuan is named after the independent kingdom south of the Japanese archipelago which was absorbed into the Japanese kingdom in 1609. The region is included one of the prefectures of Japan and is more widely known as ‘Okinawa’ (Shibatani 1990:191). Currently, Ryukyuan is the language spoken within what we might refer to as the southern Okinawan island chain. Because

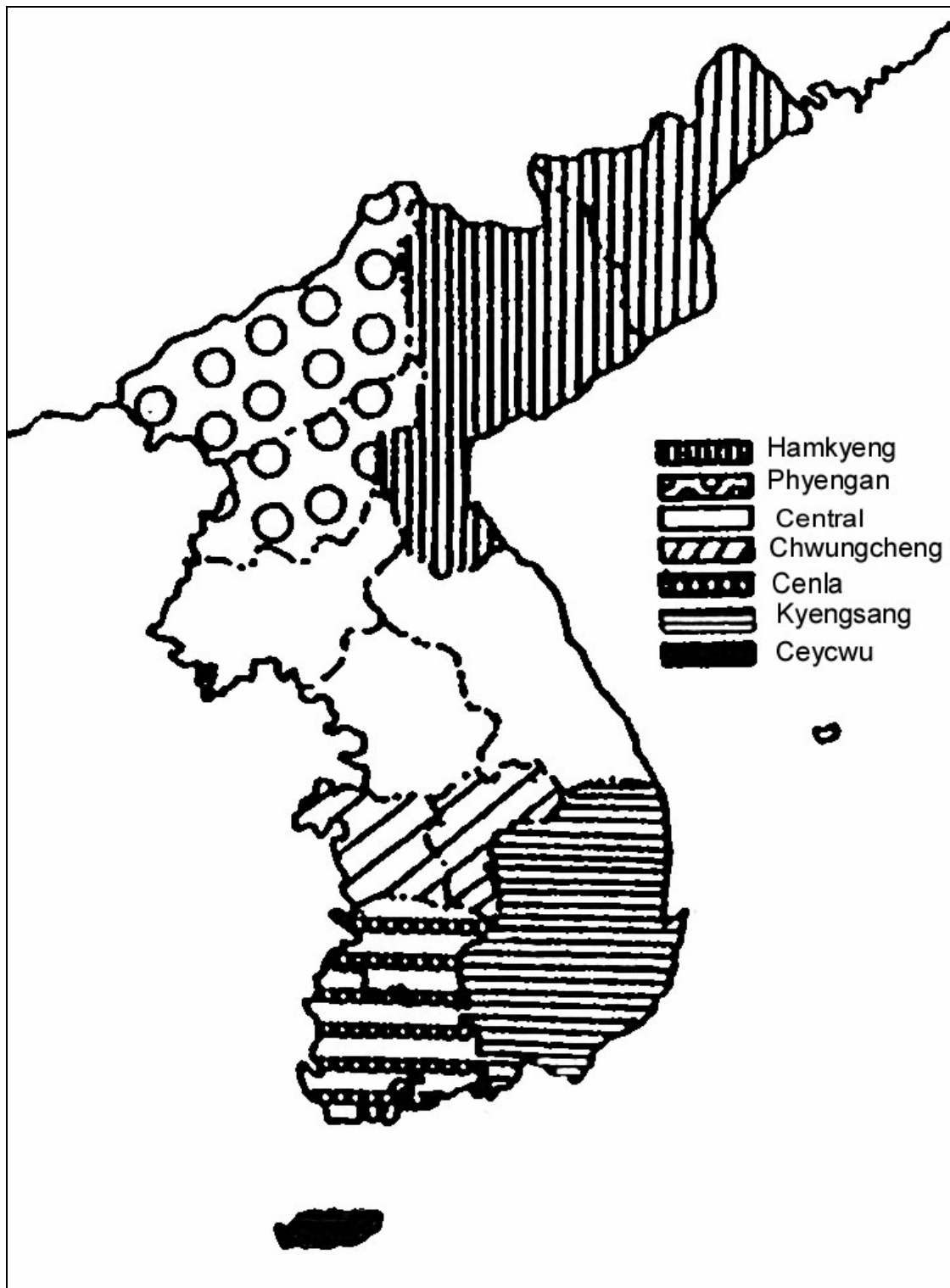


Figure 8. Seven Dialectal Zones of Korean (from Sohn 1999:58)

some physical anthropologists argue for the presence of Austronesian traits in Japan, Ryukyuan has been considered a 'sister language' due to its position within southern Asia (Miller 1971). This is something of a minority position and most Japanese linguists regard it merely as Japanese dialect and not a separate language group (Hudson 1994:244). Hudson, however notes, that "Ryukyuan and Japanese are thought to have split from a common ancestor probably as recently as the early centuries A.D." (Hudson 1994:244).

At the other end of the Japanese archipelago are the Ainu who are concentrated in modern Hokkaido. Due to the existence of many Ainu place names in the northern part of Honshu, it was once probably part of the original, Ainu territory. The total number of Ainu people is estimated to be around 16000 though because of intermarriage between Ainu and Japanese, less than 1 per cent of those identified as Ainu could be considered 'pure Ainu' (Shibatani 1990:3). Modern Japan really did not have a significant presence in Hokkaido till the 19<sup>th</sup> century when more modern agricultural techniques are brought to the island (Hudson 1994:242) and the rich fisheries attracted the attention of Japanese firms. According to the interpretation of both oldest historic records and modern analysis, the Ainu language is totally different and unrelated to Japanese (Hudson 1994:242). Chamberlain as early as 1887, argued that Ainu was related to neither Japanese nor any other Altaic language. Clearly structural forms of two languages are very different. However, the basic word order, SOV (Subject + Object + Verb), is common to all three language groups - Altaic, Korean and Japanese (Shibatani 1990). Other methods of dividing Japanese dialects have been suggested. Shibatani supports the identification of a Ryukyuan dialect, then a cluster of what he calls Mainland dialect which can be subdivided into an eastern and western cluster and represent relatively geographically distinct units (see figure 9).

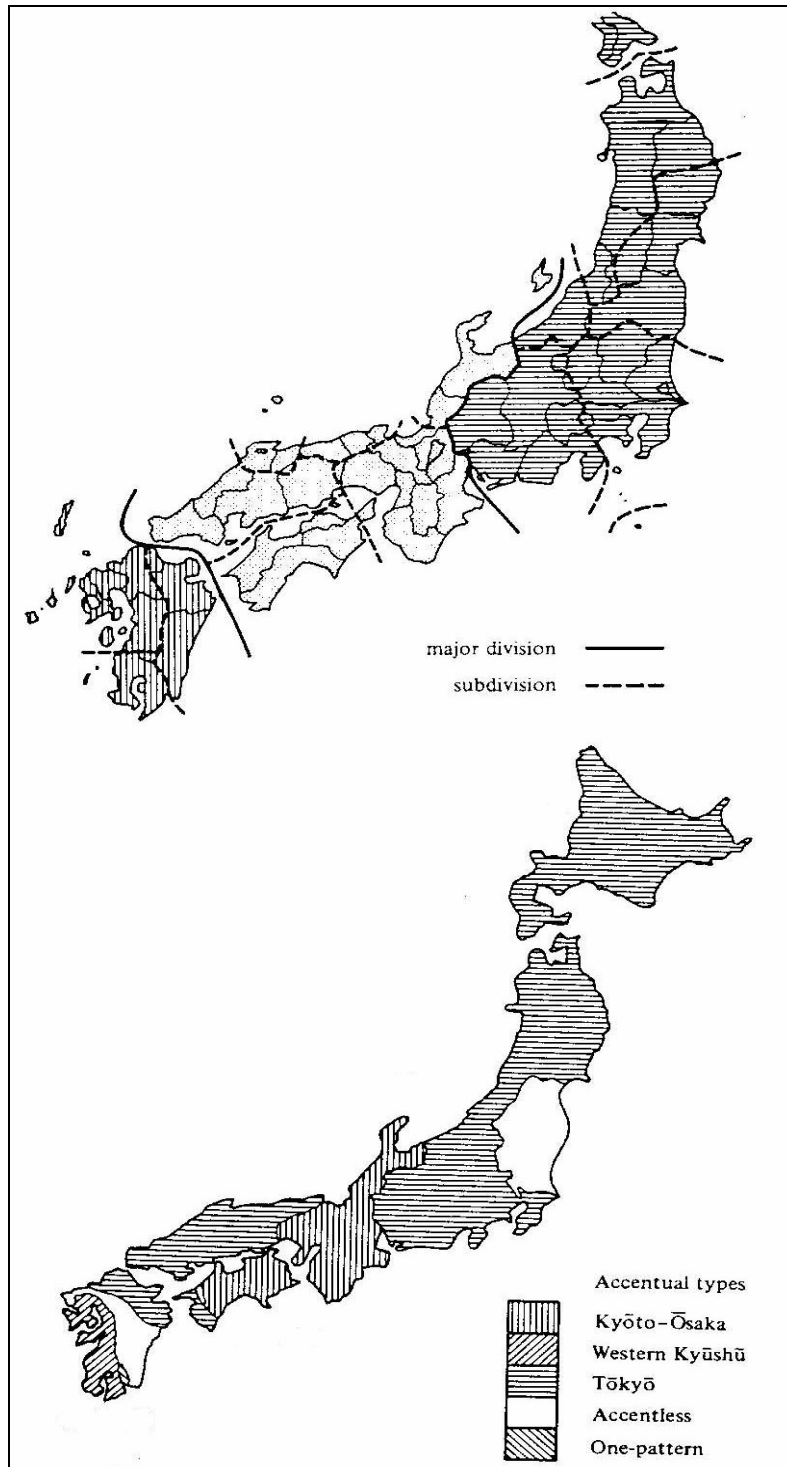


Figure 9. Geographic divisions of Japanese dialects (above) and accent in the Japanese dialects (below) (from Shibatani 1990:189, 211, the figure above is originally from Tojo 1954).



## Origin of Both Languages and Ancient Language variations

With respect to the question of language origins there is little written documentation from any time period that provides much information to help us unravel this puzzle. Only some words for old Korean (Three Kingdoms Period) and old Japanese (Kofun Period) have been found and used for internal reconstruction or comparative work by linguists. Nonetheless, the inference and models which have evolved are presented in the following section.

### **Japanese**

Some broad geographical categorizations hinting at the origin of Japanese include a truly wide range of choices including, possibly relations to (1) Languages in North Asia, (2) Languages in South Asia, (3) Indo-European languages, (4) Greek, Basque, Sumerian, and India language groups. The connections to Indo-European, Greek, Basque, Sumerian and Indian groups have largely been dropped from serious consideration. The North Asia language zone could be divided into three groups; (1) Japanese with Altaic or Ural-Altaic languages, (2) Japanese with Korean, (3) Japanese with the Ryukyuan. The South Asian language zones could be divided into Malayo-Polynesian (Austro-Asiatic) and Tibeto-Burmese (Shibatani 1990:94-95). At the present the three most popular hypothesis are (1) A genetic link with the Altaic family, (2) A genetic link with South/Southeast Asian or Pacific language, and (3) Hybrid language mainly Austronesian-Altaic (Hudson 1994:232-233).

The most popular theory assigns Japanese to the Altaic group. Miller (1971), using a significant body of comparative data, proposes that both Japanese and Korean belong within the Altaic group. Miller subsequently suggests (1980:54) that the original Altaic speakers migrated into the Asian continent and eventually arrived in the Japanese archipelago. However, there are problems with this interpretation which fail to address Japanese and Altaic phonological differences and a substantially vowel system (Unger 1990). According to one hypothesis, pre-Old Japanese had a four or five vowel system which evolved to Old Japanese which used eight vowels. It was subsequently changed to

the modern five-vowel system (Shibatani 1990:101). Hudson states that the traditional Altaic classification, positioning Japanese and Korean into the Altaic family, has a problem with “the validity of a genetic relationship among these three groups” (1999:83). In the mean time, Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) theory emphasizing genetic relationship between Japanese and Austronesian, has been supported by not only many Japanese scholars but also some western scholars, Whyment (1926) and Benedict (1990), who propose that Japanese and Austonesian share a common ancestor. The Primary support for this proposition is the similarity in Austronesian and Japanese lexical stock, specifically for those elements referred to body parts (Chew 1976:200).

A third possibility, dubbed the Hybrid Language theory, also has a significant following (Polivanov 1924). They suggest that Japanese is remotely related to Altaic and its simple phonology is a result of very early mixing with the people of the South Pacific. In other words, Japanese is an amalgam of southern, Austronesian elements and western continental elements, which are common to Korean and Altaic languages (Polivanov 1924). Ohno, Susumu also finds favor with this proposition and even proposed a model providing some sense of the timing of these events (1957, cited in Shibatani 1990:105-106). He proposed a two-stage model of an original Austronesian language (pre-300 B.C.) followed by a much later mixing with Altaic elements in the Yayoi period (post-300 B.C.) (Ohno 1957, cited in Shibatani 1990:105-106). This model seems to have attracted the greatest following in the Japanese linguistic community.

## **Korean**

In the late nineteenth century, Western scholars made the first efforts at identifying the genetic relationship of Korean with other languages and they concluded that the Korean language could be traced back to the so-called Ural-Altaic family though the supporting evidence was limited and of questionably value (Lee, K. M. 1979:9). After Korean scholars in the 1970s took up this problem, they concluded that the Ural-Altaic connection was indeed questionable and many linguists are now willing to discount this connection. However, many are willing to accept a hypothetical connection to Altaic (Sohn 1999).

Several major researches assigning Korean into the Altaic family are based on Shiratori's efforts at vocabulary comparisons (1914), Polivanov's work examining vowel harmony (1927) and Ramstedt's comparative work on Korean and Altaic words (1928, 1949), and more recently Poppe's efforts at word reconstruction (1960). According to these synthetic hypotheses, Altaic peoples speaking a variant of Manchu-Tungusic migrated to Korea. Some of the strongest linguistic similarities between Korean and Altaic, including Japanese are: (1) Syntactic structure (SOV=Subject + Object + Verb), (2) Morphological structure, (3) Vowel harmony, (4) Lack of liquid sounds (r and l) in the initial position. At the same time, there are also differences across the Korean, Japanese and Altaic units which still remain to be fully explained (Sohn 1999:18-25).

Within Korea there are also differences of a historic nature. Old Korean is usually classified into two groups. First, there is a Northern group, including Puyo, Koguryo, Ye, etc., found in Manchuria and the northern Korean peninsula and usually referred to as Puyo group (Lee, K. M. 1976). There is a Southern Han group which included three Han countries. During the Proto Three Kingdoms Period, while Koguryo absorbed all other small political regimes in the northern areas, the three Han countries in the southern region were in the process of amalgamating into the two Kingdoms; Paekjae and Silla. Although the evidence is limited, especially for the language of Paekjae, there is some evidence suggesting that the languages of Silla and Paekjae were much more similar to each other than either was the Koguryo language. However, the Koguryo language shows a greater similarity to Tungus languages, Japanese, and the Silla language (Sohn 1999:37-42).

### Languages in ancient countries from the Chinese record

The lack of written records for the early formation of the Japanese and Korean populations is difficult not only for linguists but also for physical anthropologists. Although the early Yayoi through later Kofun Period in Japan, and the Iron through Three Kingdoms Periods in Korea are the critical periods in which national identity were

forged, an understanding of these events is still problematic. While there are no descriptions of language variations across the Japanese archipelago during these early periods (Miller 1967), Chinese records include a few brief and scattered remarks of language differences of peoples who are regarded as the direct ancestral line of modern Korean and occupied in Manchuria and the Korean peninsula. The following descriptions are from a Korean translation of the original Chinese records describing the Dongi people, a group possibly ancestral to the Koreans and is from the work by Kim, J. S. (1999). Some of interesting accounts on the language relations among ancient Korean countries from the translations are: (1) Koguryo and Puyo have very similar languages (from the Huhanshu, Kim, J. S. 1999:37); (2) Packjae and Koguryo languages were almost identical (from the Yanshu: History of The Yan A.D. 1206-1368, Kim, J. S. 1999:117); (3) Some Jinhan people say that they fled to the Han territory from the country of Chin, one of Countries of ancient China (from Huhanshu, Kim, J. S. 1999:51); (4) According to some people in Jinhan, the reason for the Jinhan appellation is that their language was so similar to the Chin dialect in China (from Samgukji: History of Three Kingdoms, Kim, J. S. 1999:89); (5) Many words in Silla, which is originally from Jinhan, are similar to Chinese, while peoples from China, Koguryo, and Packjae are living in there together (Peishu: History of Northern Dynasties, Kim, J. S. 1999:185-186); (6) Communication with Silla people can be possible only through the Packjae interpreter (Namshu: History of the Liang Dynasty, Kim, J. S. 1999:159). Therefore, it might be safe to hypothesis that some language variations among ancient Korean countries might have been existed, although the level of the resemblance or distinctness among the languages of each country would not be confirmed.

### Japanese and Korean relationship

Following the most widely accepted linguistic interpretation of a Japanese and Korean linguistic connection to a common Altaic source, there is some speculation of the timing of these events. Some scholars, Lee and Miller for example (Lee, K. M. 1976;

Miller 1980) propose that Korean and Japanese groups lost their connection with Altaic some time between 3000 and 4000 B.C. They further argue that around 300 B.C. a different Altaic speaking group, invaded the western side of the Korean peninsula, Kyushu, and western Honshu, and precipitated the language and cultural changes associated with the Yayoi period. This flow of people from Korea into the Japanese archipelago continued until the end of the Kofun period (A.D. 300 – A.D. 710).

Chew (1976:198) states that Altaic speaking group interacted with the native population and produced a pidgin, which is not the native language of any speaker but a spoken language with reduced grammatical forms and limited words that is used by speakers to communicate with each other (Salzmann 1998:173-174). Gradually this pidgin spread to other groups and the process of creolization began and resulted in a much larger standardized language community (Salzmann 1998:175). This process took place in both Korea and Japan but followed different ‘paths’ and resulted into two very different languages. A slightly different model is presented by Ohno, Susumu (1957, 1980, cited in Shibatani 1990:105-107). He suggests that a variation of Austronesian was spoken through the Japanese archipelago from the Jomon to the Yayoi period. The Yayoi people, using an Altaic grammatical structure and vowel harmony, spread out from western Japan but the original older lexical items in Japanese were not eradicated because of the small scale of immigration and only the grammatical structure of native language was modified. Ohno later (1980) elaborates that these Yayoi peoples were a Koguryo-type Altaic language-speaking group with a continental origin (Shibatani 1990:106). This amalgam was used until the eighth century and died out around the ninth century because the number of populations for the proto-people, who emigrated from southern India to the Japanese archipelago earlier than the Koguryo-type Altaic speakers, was far more numerous than the new migrants during the Yayoi period (Shibatani 1990:106). This Tamil (the part of Dravidian language family) theory has, however, no supported ground from cultural, archaeological and physical evidence and is not highly favored (Husdon 1992). Although Ohno emphasized on Tamil influence in the formation of the Japanese language, there are several points that scholars agreed on. All these hypotheses or models clearly argue for an external influx of continental people into Japan and this influx is critical to the formation of the modern language. The unanswered question is ‘Where did

these immigrants come from?’ Consideration of this question will be the focus of the next section of this thesis.

While there are still significant questions about the origins of both Japanese and Korea languages, many similarities between two languages have been identified. Since Samuel E. Martin’s pioneering comparative study (1966) indicating both Korean and Japanese are genetically and typologically related, they are no more similar than English and French (Sohn 1999:11, Volvin 1993:347). According to Starostin’s (1991) glottochronological calculations, “Japanese and Korean are more closely related to each other than to any other Altaic languages” (cited in Vovin 1993:347). Martin (1975, 1990) states that Korean and Japanese have very similar accent systems which are not present in other Altaic languages. Whitman (1985) also shows 352 lexical correspondence sets from Middle Korean and Old Japanese. Similarly, while verbal morphologies are very different, the syntax and semantics of Japanese and Korean are in fact similar (Chew 1976:191). Miller also notes, “Korean and Japanese have many features in common, in both over-all phonological structure and gross syntactic patterning” (1967:62). In general, Korean resembles Japanese in the basic grammatical constructions; syntax, the complication of verb suffixes, the function of postpositional particles, various speech levels, and lastly, both contain many borrowed Chinese words. However, Shibatani (1990) notes that while most agree that Japanese and Korea are related and both are related to the Altaic languages, there are still many issues left to resolve. Most scholars however do agree the two languages are closer to each other than they are to any other languages in the world (Aston 1879; Kim, B. H. 1981, 1983; Miller 1971; and Ramstedt 1949).

### Connection between Proto Japanese and Three Kingdoms’ languages

It seems reasonable that the ancient Koguryo language could have strong genealogical connections with Tungusic, and may be connected to the northern languages from Puyo, Ockjo, and YeMaek. Also, according to the evidence from the records, it is argued that the Puyo and Koguryo languages were minimally very similar to each other.

At the same time, it has been argued the Paekjae's dominant class was derived from Puyo speakers immigrating to the Mahan area (for more discussion about this see Chapter six) and they shared the same language with the Koguryo. Sohn assumes the northern languages are considerably different from the Three Han's. He proposes that the languages in the three Han countries are dialects and the language of the dominant class was different from the average Mahan citizen (1999:39-41). We could argue further that if the Mahan people in general adopted the language of their ruling class, the product would be very similar to the Koguryo speakers tongue. However, the language situation for people living in Silla which is founded on the previous territories of Jinhan and Byonhan is even more complicated. Since the Chinese records describe that peoples from various ancient countries, such as Chin in China, Paekjae, Ye and Koguryo live altogether in Silla, we could only guess that there were more language variations in that region. According to a study emphasizing place names from the Samguksaki (Lee, K. S. 1981), the language used by Koguryo people was the same as that of three Hans' and, since three Han countries were followed by Paekjae and Silla, the Koguryo language was very similar to that of three Han (see Jeong 2000). Even so, these statements provide us little information on language variation in the Three Kingdoms period. The main outcome is that the cultures are very similar and could have been derived from the same cultural and linguistic roots. Obviously, such an interpretation is based on a synthesis of the Chinese descriptions.

Of the three ancient Korean languages Paekjae and Koguryo are believed to be more similar to proto-Japanese than the Silla variant. Miller (1980:148) further specifically proposes that Paekjae had an influential role in the early development of Japanese. He suggests this is supported by the strong historical connection as well as similarities in phonological form. In reality, the linguistic evidence supporting the relationship between Proto-Japanese and Paekjae is very limited because there are only ten reconstructed ancient Paekjae words (Miller 1980:151). According to Choi, J. S. (1998:14-18) insisting a strong connection between the Yamato government and Paekjae immigrants, the strong parallels between many place names, which include names of the Korean kingdoms and locations of old temples, which also have some historical contexts

to ancient Korean kingdoms, and the location of major kofuns (tombs) for the Yamato period in Japan are indicated.

As for the relationship between Japanese and Koguryo languages, Unger states, “The few morphemes we can deduce from the scanty evidence we have of the languages of Koguryo and Paekche appear to match Japanese well, often better than morphemes of similar meaning in later Korean” (1990:552). Koguryo words are much more similar to the corresponding Old Japanese words than they are to the corresponding modern Korean words (Diamond 1998). Lewin (1976) also proposes that Japanese is closely related to the Koguryo language because of its close connection to the Puyo language. Lee, K. M., who compared eighty Koguryo words from the Samkuksagi document with Old Japanese (34 words), Middle Korean (31 words), Tungus (17 words), and Mongol and Turkish (13 words), concludes that Old Japanese is closely related to the Koguryo language and also argues that the predecessor of the proto-Japanese and the Koguryo was from Puyo (1976).

On the other hand, Hudson (1999:97) points out two problems with the Koguryo theory for the origin of the proto Japanese; (1) the obvious differences between modern Japanese and Korean languages; and (2) geographical inversion (northern location of Koguryo regime) because the Yayoi Japan had close link with the southern Korean peninsula. There is no resolution of Hudson’s questions and further research may clarify these issues. However, if we modify his points slightly, additional insights may be possible. His first question can be addressed by evaluating the relationship between Packjae + Koguryo and the Silla languages. If the Silla language does not show a relationship to either Packjae and Koguryo’s, it seems reasonable to assume Japanese and Korean must have experienced different evolutionary trends since Silla’s language and culture must have been dominating over the Packjae and Koguryo’s after its political unification. Hyong-Kyu Kim (1972:21-22) proposes that some fragmentary Silla words still appear in modern Korean words (see also Diamond 1998). He also states that many Koguryo place names are closer to the Manchu language than they are to modern Korean. According to this perspective, the language of Silla evolved into modern Korean after it unified the peninsula. However, this does not provide insights into how similar Silla and Packjae and Koguryo may have been related. Although it does not mean that there was no communication difficulty among peoples from three different kingdoms, there is no



evidence of communication difficulties throughout the peninsula after the unification from any historical records of Korea.

According to the Chinese statement, the Chinese needed to have a Paekjae interpreter as they communicate with the Silla people (from Namshu in Kim 1999). Although we would simply guess from the description that there were some language differences between Paekjae and Silla, it could also be possible to think that the Paekjae interpreter, who can communicate with the Silla people and can also speak in Chinese, might have been helping the communication between the Chinese and the Silla people, who does not have much contact with the Chinese dynasty in its early history. At the same time, it is not reasonable to believe that the spoken language of Paekjae (including Koguryo and Puyo) was closer to the Chinese than that of Silla. In fact, despite many appearances of Chinese loan words in modern Korean and Japanese, Chinese is in completely different language group belonging to the Sino-Tibetan family that shows different sound pattern and morphological, syntactic, and semantic structure (Sohn 1999). Therefore, while it is safer that Silla language shares some similar forms with other Koguryo and Paekjae, the only possibility for the explanation about the language variations appearing on modern Japanese and Korean is that the Japanese, which might have had strong linguistic influence from the Paekjae or Koguryo languages, developed in very separated ways throughout the historical times while the Silla language developed into modern Korean form.

For Hudson's second issue we need to answer this question first; if it is true that the Yayoi cultural stimulus is derived from a southern Korean source, was there no more incursion from Korea to Japan? Many Korean scholars argue there must have been continued contact between Korea and Japan during the formation of the proto-Japanese language and culture. Egami's horse-rider theory will be a good example of this process (Egami 1964). It is also not entirely clear that the cultural influence was only from the southern part of the Korean peninsula. It is possible that before the Japanese Kofun period the political situation in Korea may not have been stable and may have resulted in a continuous process of immigration from Korea to Japan. This process could have a continuing influence both on cultural and linguistic features from people across a wide Korean territory. It is also possible that during and after the process of the Silla

unification of Paekjae and Koguryo, there might have a very large movement of people from Korea to Japan. Thus, his question of geographical inversion for the cultural contact between Koguryo and Japan could have been triggered by the political situation in ancient Korea. This would lead to more extensive and continuous cultural contacts between Korea and Japan during and after the Yayoi period. These scenarios are essentially speculative and need to be individually examined in the light of historical, archaeological, or bioanthropological studies which will be the focus of the following chapters. In fact, some Korean scholars (Choi, J. S. 1998; Hong, W. T. 1988, 1994; Hong, Y. G.2000), propose the main political operatives uniting Japan were in fact from Paekjae and this influence led to cultural and linguistic changes over the substrata of the older native Japanese traditions. This rather extreme position positing a Korea origin for much of what we think of as 'Japanese' is probably a one-sided interpretation and does not take into account the full range of archaeological, cultural and bioanthropological facts. At the same time, there are many Korean scholars who find this proposition attractive. Clearly, interpretation of this process, timing and intensity of the connections is largely in its infancy and much is still left to learn. In the next chapters we will attempt to pull together some of this information to help elucidate these problems.

## Conclusion

Most linguistic interpretations, as noted earlier, are based on very limited historical sources and a great deal of speculation derived from isolated and often inferential statements. Nevertheless, linguists have reconstructed some old words that would give us some ideas on the linguistic relationship between Korean and Japanese. However, some problems generated from the process of reconstructing ancient words have been indicated. For instance, Lewin (1973:23) points out that many reconstructed Koguryo words are hypothetical and the reconstructions given by Korean and Japanese scholars differ from their sound figure. Yi (1986) also indicates that many western scholars may have fallen into the trap of confusing Sino-Korean words (lexical items of

Chinese origin), which were not supposed to be used for comparison with other languages.

What does come from these efforts however is the rather simple and obvious proposition that there is a historical connection, both cultural and linguistic, between Korea and Japan. As our study on proto-writing systems expands and includes things like Idu in Korean and Mahagana in Japanese, as well as more detailed considerations of linguistic elements of the Three Kingdoms and Proto Yamato periods, our interpretations and conclusions should be increasingly precise and valid. Assessing the relationship between Korea and Japan only from the standpoint of language features is one strategy and clearly multiple interpretive issues remain unresolved and in need of clarification. To provide the most inclusive interpretation of this process additional information from archaeological and bioanthropological sources needs to be included.

## CHAPTER 4

### HISTORICAL APPROACHES ON ANCIENT JAPANESE AND KOREAN

#### Proto Koreans from the History

##### **Choson**

Korean historians usually begin in the discussion of the origins of the Korean ethnic group with the Tangun Choson (or Kochoson=Old Choson), which appears on the Samgukyusa (Ha 1972). However, some scholars regard the Tangun Choson as more myth than reality. In fact, even though the author of the Samgukyusa quotes the story of Tangun (Ha 1972:32-33) from the Chinese record, Weishu, and includes some historical explanations with mythical stories, the extant fragments of the Weishu do not include the account of Tangun Choson. The other difficulty with firmly placing Tangun Choson in the realm of reality rather than myth is the huge time gap from 2333 B.C. (the year supposedly founded the nation) to 1122 B.C. (the year Kija came to Choson). There is also a second 1000-year gap from 1122 B.C. to 195 B.C. when Weiman is supposed to have come to Choson. The earliest Chinese records fail to have a full account on Choson and they include only a brief mention of the Choson. In the earliest records, the Shichi and Hanshu, only mention their wars against the Han dynasty but provide no detailed information about the Choson people. All other mentions of Choson in the later Chinese accounts are fragmentally appeared on the accounts of other ancient Korean countries: for instance, on the account of Ye, Houhanshu notes that Ye, Ockjo, and Koguryo were part

of Choson and king of one of the ancient Chinese kingdoms invested Kija as ‘the King’ of Choson (Kim, J. S. 1999:45).

While there is discussion of the true identities of Weiman and Kija, Korean historians nevertheless divide the Choson period into a Tangun Choson (2333 B.C.) – Kija Chosun (1122 B.C.) – Weiman Choson (195 B.C.) and continue to use it as the beginning of the Korean chronology (Lee, K. B. 1984). Of the many things still being debated there is historical ambiguity about the ethnic identity of Kija, who is recorded as being a nephew of the last king of the Sang dynasty (Nelson 1993:156), and Weiman, who supposedly fled the Yen region with several thousand followers (see previous pages 33-34). Many Korean historians (e.g., Chon, K. U. 1983; Lee, K. B. 1984) consider Kija as a part of the Korean blood-lineage because he also appears in the Donggi genealogy. Weiman is also considered as one of ancient Choson kings, who found a confederated kingdom of a coalition of Choson rulers and Chinese immigrants, because, “ethnically Weiman is likely to have been not a man of Yen but Old Choson, an assertion based on the fact that he is said to have worn his hair in a different kind of topknot and to have been dressed in Choson style” (Lee, K. B. 1984:16-17).

The issue of the origins of the Old Choson and its relations with ancient China will be examined from the standpoint of archaeological evidence in chapter 8 even though this information set is rather limited. However, even though we can not be fully confident that Old Choson is Korea’s first complex society or that it maintained complete political identity and unity for 2000 years until Weiman Choson was deposed by the Han dynasty in 109 B.C., it seems safe to assume there was a political and cultural entity called Choson (Chaoxian) which was on the eastern Chinese border and was south of the Mongolian nomad’s territory. It also seems likely that there was a later power shift and the Choson polity shifts from the Liodong region to Pyongyang around the time of Weiman Choson’s ascendancy. These propositions are based on descriptions from both Shichi and Samgukyusa.

## **Puyo, YeMaek and Ye**

Several other tribal entities, which are regarded as early proto-Korean groups also appear in the oldest extant Chinese record (Shichi). These include the Huimo (YeMaek in Korea), Zhenpan (Chinboyn in Korean) and Fuyo (Puyo in Korean). However, the descriptions are essentially only statements of location and this is especially true for the reference to Zhenpan (see Watson's English translation book (1993) for the Shichi, page 136, 156, 225, 226, 443). Egami (1964:67) proposes in his 'Horseriding Theory' that the major race ruling over the southern Korean peninsula was a foreign race. This is derived from his position that the Puyo peoples are not of either northern or southern Korean origins and represent a new group making inroads into the territory. Alternatively, an interpretation that most Korean scholars favor is that the Puyo were in fact one of the 'native' and ancestral Korean lineage. Many scholars interested in the formation of early Korean also consider the name YeMaek (Huimo) as the first and earliest identifiable Korean group (Kim, Jeong-Hak 1964:417; Macdonald 1996:27).

In Chinese records, Ye, Maek, and YeMaek appellations appear in different ways. Some sporadic references are as follows: in the Shichi (Watson 1993:225) the YeMaek are described as neighbors of the Choson and Zhenpan. Houhanshu indicates that an alternative name for the Koguryo, is Maek, and Koguryo is also neighboring Choson, YeMaek, Ockjo, and Puyo. It also describes that Koguryo attacks on Hyundo (Chinese Commandery) with YeMaek (Kim, J. S. 1999:37, 39, 40). Puyo is reported to occupy part of the old Ye territory (Kim, J. S. 1999:31). All the territory belonging to the Ye, Ockjo, and Koguryo were originally identified as part of the region of old Choson's domain (Kim, J. S. 1999:45). The Sankuoshih also contains references to YeMaek, and Ye. It is stated the Puyo occupies YeMaek territory (Kim, J. S. 1999:60) and that Ye possesses all lands on the eastern side of Choson (Kim, J. S. 1999:73).

These irregular and short notes provide little firm information beyond general area descriptions as well as hints on possible relations among groups and often lead to speculation rather than firm conclusions. Pulleybank (1983:442-443), for example, proposes that the Maek existed as early as Zhou times (Maek's forces are reported to have helped the founder of the Han dynasty in 203 B.C. see Gardiner 1969:29). Shiratori

hypothesizes that the Maek were originally of Tungus origins and speculates that as the Maek moved to east into the Korean peninsula due to pressure from the Chinese and Western Mongols during the Han Dynasty times, the name is modified to 'Ye' (1913, cited in Pai 2000:105). Shiratory therefore supposes that Ye and YeMaek represent related populations (1913, cited in Pai 2000:105). Interestingly, though Maek and YeMaek are interchangeably used in the Koguryo sections within the Chinese records, Ye is the sole group mentioned in the Houhanshu and Samgukji accounts. Thus, there is some ambiguity with respect to the identifies and commonalities of the Ye, Maek, and YeMaek. Is each group a distinct entity, or simply slightly different names for one people? It may be that Chinese authors simply omitted or confused one of the Characters of the name on purpose or by accident for Maek and YeMaek. This is not an impossible possibility. For example, in the Huhanshu, to show their displeasure with the Koguryo they are referred to as the Haguryo. The other interesting fact is that, in the Huhanshu, two different names Koguryo and Guryo are appeared in one section (Kim, Jae-Sun's translation book (1999) of Chinese records combine these two names with Koguryo). Koguryo was also identified with the name 'Koryo' in the Namjeshu and Tangshu. Despite these inconsistencies and discrepancies for the identities of Maek, YeMaek, and Koryo with Koguryo, it does in fact seem clear from such documents that the Ye were a group with a strong political power base somewhere in the northern Korean peninsula.

Meanwhile, Pai states that since there is no adequate interpretation for "Yemaek's relationship to the Ye or the Maek (Mo) mentioned in earlier Chinese documents" (2000:105), "the Ye or the Maek could not have represented a homogenous tribal group or an early Korean racial unity or a unified stage organization" (2000:109). His point might be produced by ambiguousness of Dongi because of the broad categorization of it. Although historical documents would not present clear and direct information for the evolution process of some Dongi people into the ancient Korean lineage in ancient times, there is crisp source from the Chinese records to keep historians speculating on the formation of Korean ethnicity. In fact, despite the vagueness of historical allusions from the Chinese records for Choson, Ye, Maek, YeMaek and all other names of ancient countries occupied in Manchuria and the northern Korean peninsula, it is not hard to realize that all of them were continually linked to the procession for the state formations

in Korean history and involved in Korean ethnicity. For instance, there is no doubt that Koguryo shares similar cultural features to Ye, Ockjo, and Packjae and appears to be more closely related to Puyo than to the other groups. However, it is not easy to associate the Three Hans people with others who lived in the northern area. According to some clues from descriptions in the Chinese records (Chinshu, Yangshu, Weishu, Choushu), we might presume that the Three Hans people also shared many features with the people of the northern areas.

The Packjae people, who originate from Puyo (note, however that to the founding myth in the Samguksagi, the founders of Packjae were two sons of the Koguryo founder) apparently had similar language and dress customs to the Koguryo, and were supposed to have fled to the Mahan to avoid militant action by Koguryo. Yangshu (Kim, J. S. 1999:116) also describes that Chinese, Chin, Han (Three Hans) languages are mixed in the Packjae language. It seems likely due to the reason that the northern countries must have been had direct cultural influences from the Chinese people. According to one of Chinese records, the Packjae occupies the Lioing area, which is close to China, before its political base moves to the Three Han area. Another clue based on descriptions pointing to a northern influence on the Three Hans in Houhanshu (Kim, J. S. 1999:52) is that One of Choson Kings, Jun, moves to the Mahan area and refers to himself as the king of Han. Despite these hints, it is difficult to ort out the real situation of the Three Hans in the early times. Statements in the Houhanshu also suggest that Byunhan and Jinhan people, though distinct, lived together. Their fortress and costumes appear similar though there are suggestions that there were slight linguistic and cultural differences (Kim, J. S. 1999:52). This is supported in the Sankuoshih which also notes the Jinhan and Mahan exhibit linguistic differences (Kim, J. S. 1999:80).

### **Chinese Connection**

Due to continuous political turmoil during the formative period of the Chinese 'nation' it seems likely some immigrated to Korea to escape the violence and instability. Chinese records include several cases of such immigrations (Kim, J. S. 1999). Most of those immigrants were obviously seeking political exile. However, defining Kija's and



Weiman's identities appear to be one of the most important issues in any attempt to clarify the formation of Korean identity. In the Chinese records they are the first to flee China seeking refuge from the turmoil. If one accepts them as ethnic Chinese, a typical interpretation in the Japanese consideration of this problem (see Hatada 1969), one would presume that Choson derived largely from Chinese peoples. This to some extent begs the question of whether Old Choson existed, and whether or not it was the first politically unified entity in ancient Korea. This point is obviously very important to modern Korean historians, especially northern Korean scholars (see Choe 1997; SahweGhaHagWon KoGoHagYonGuSo 1977), who argue that the Korean identity was already formulated from the Old Choson period and are being evolved into the separate way from its neighbor, Chinese people. It is actually well supported by the written accounts in all Chinese records. Based on the Chinese records, it can be noted that; (1) Ye, Ockjo, and Koguryo originated from Choson and most entities in these areas during the historic periods share similar cultures and languages (Houhanshu and Samgukji); (2) Koguryo originated from Puyo, and both shared cultural and linguistic features (Houhanshu and Samgukji); and (3) the Koguryo people worshipped the spirit of Kija (Sindangshu), it seems safe to propose even without knowing the ethnicity of Kija and Weiman, that proto polities linked to Korean identity were clearly being formed in the northern Korean peninsula and in the Manchurian area in the Choson period at about the same time there was a consolidation of a distinct cultural boundary with the Chinese people.

In addition, it seems reasonable to assume that during the period of Han commanderies; Lo-lang, Chen-fan, Hsuan-tu, and Lin-tun, established after Choson was subjugated by Han China, there could have been similar population movements. Three of these commanderies were abandoned twenty-six years after their establishment due to rebellions by various Korean tribes. However, Lolang and Tai-fang, which were separated from Lolang at the beginning of the third century, survived until Koguryo annexed them early in the fourth century (Hatada 1969:5). Reischauer (1967:15) considers these Chinese commanderies as evidence of Chinese migrations. However, based on written accounts, there is nothing which suggests Chinese migrants moved through the Han commandery into Korea. Besides, "although Lelang was ostensibly established as a military commandery, its function was more economic in nature" (Lee, J.

W. 1982, cited in Barnes 1990:124). Though arguably of an economic nature, it seems likely that there was a Chinese military presence in the fortresses. Additionally, since native peoples resisted the Chinese commandery policy, it seems likely that this resistance supports an ethnic difference between the Han Chinese and ancient Korean people. The Sankuoshih indicates that from the beginning of the commaderies there was a clear distinction between the Han Chinese people and the powerful Manchu clans (Kim, J. S. 1999:73).

It could thus be argued the Lioining and Liodong areas, all occupied by the Dongi, functioned as a cultural boundary zone. It is within these two areas that the two earliest political entities, the Yen and Choson, developed. The Yen region was subsequently and permanently absorbed into the Chinese realm by the expansion of the Han dynasty. In case of Choson, which may well be the oldest Korean ancient Kingdom, even though initially under the sphere of the Chinese Han commandery, vigorous Korean tribal groups maintained a clear identity distinct from the Chinese and would ultimately form the core of the Korean peoples. However, to further refine this position future study should focus on the several issues including (1) the relationship of the Dongi peoples living in China, Manchuria and the Korean peninsula, and, (2) the relationship of the southern and northern Chinese people, and (3) the relationship of Yen and Choson. These research issues need clarification to fully understand the formation of the Korean peoples.

## Japanese related Issues

### **Origin of Japanese and Wa**

Based on the story from Nihongi (The Chronicles of Japan), Japanese history is said to have begun in 660 B.C. when Jimmu, the great great grandson of the Sun Goddess, settled in the Yamato area (the Kansai Plain) after his six years journey from southeast Kyushu along the Inland Sea to the eastern shore (see the chapter 'Jimmu Tenno' in Nihongi translated by Aston 1956:109-137). However, because the Nihongi, the oldest

historical annals in Japan, are often inaccurate and contradictory, most historians question the Nihongi creation myths (see Ash 1971, Aston 1956, Chamberlain 1973, Hong 1988, Meyer 1993, Reischauer 1967, Tottman 2000). In fact, “the story of Jimmu Tenno’s conquest eastward follows the archaeological record, but the actual parallel historic migration was probably a thousand years later than that recorded in legend” (Meyer 1993:23). No Chinese records make note of the foundation of Japan. The earliest mention of an even proto-Japanese country is from Houhanshu. This mention notes that in A. D. 57, “The Wa country Nu sent an envoy with tribute who called himself ta-fu. This country is located in the southern extremity of the Wa country” (Goodrich 1951:2). There is no further mention of the Nu. One of the common difficulties in the use of the Chinese records is the frequent brevity and ambiguity of many statements. In this case ‘Wa’ is not clarified or elaborated on and stands, in a sense, in isolation. However, useful information should exist in these records. In general, some of the specifics from the Dongi portion of the Chinese records provide greater details and consequently confidence, with respect to the genealogical accounts of ancient Korean countries.

Overall, all descriptions, especially on the Houhanshu and Weishu, for the great Wa and other countries; Nu, Kunu, and Matsuro, etc., are too brief to provide much information with respect to the Japanese identity. Even worse, it is very uncertain, if the general stories for the Wa imply only a specific country; for example, the great Wa (maybe Queen’s country), or imply all small countries. Meanwhile, nobody doubts that after the A. D. 7<sup>th</sup> century, the word, Japan was used to identify the entire country and people in the main Japanese archipelago. The historic records also make it clear that there is no significant outside force influencing the development of the unique Japanese society and culture. Thus, it is essentially necessary to scrutinize some issues associated with the Wa and the first identified unified kingdom, specifically the Yamato.

### **Wa peoples or Wa people?**

‘Wa’ first appears in the Hanshu Chinese record (Goodrich 1951:4, note number 2) and remains in used until the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The Chinese used the term somewhat contemptuously and indicated all the people of the archipelago and is most

directly translated as ‘dwarf.’ Ultimately the term is replaced with Nippon (Japan) for the first time in the Hsintangshu (New History of the Tang: 618-907). The book describes this process as having been formulated by

“The Japanese who had studied Chinese came to dislike the name Wa and changed it to Nippon. According to the words of the <Japanese> envoy himself, that name was chosen because the country was so close to where the sun rises. Some say, <on the other hand>, that Japan was a small country which had been subjugated by the Wa, and that the latter took over its name” (Goodrich 1951:40).

While some of the nuances in this phrase may be difficult to convey in such a translation it does imply that the Wa and the Nippon were possibly regarded as historically different entities. A second curious remark is from the Chinese record, Chih-kung t’u (Painted Scrolls of Portraits of Envoys from ‘Barbarian Countries’) (Sasaki 1991:24). It consists of a fragment from the Sung period (A.D. 420-479) and includes a description of the Wa envoy. These depictions are very similar to those recorded in the 2-3<sup>rd</sup> century in the Houhanshu and Weishih (Sasaki 1991:24-25), although it had been taken almost one and a half century after the first reappearance of the Wa on the Chinese records.

It seems apparent that there is sufficient evidence to think that there was at least partial Japanese unification with the myth of heavenly lineal descent by the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Gradually this political entity increased in power to a strong political entity, the Yamato regime early in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. However, the description of the Wa envoy, who was barefoot with humble attire, is in striking contrast to the contemporary Paekjae envoy, who was also depicted on the same book as wearing shoes and full clothed in elaborate ceremonial dress (Sasaki 1991:24). How could the Wa envoy be the representative of a Kingdom regarded as an East Asia peacekeeper appear so humble to the Chinese when it was able to display its political power to the Korean kingdoms in the same time interval? These contradictions are indeed puzzling. If the initially mentioned Wa in the Houhanshu and Weishih evolved into the later Wa (perhaps the Yamato) in the Chih-kung t’u, was this second iteration, the Yamato, strong enough to control all the small countries of the archipelago? Although it is difficult to presume the political situation in the archipelago

only from the description of the Wa envoy on the Chinese record, some of this confusion may reflect the ambiguity of the evolution of potentially different entities referred to as Wa. Was there any possibility that another strong political entity evolved perhaps in Honshu, developed its power separately from the entity of the initially mentioned Wa, absorbed the Wa regime under its power, and later changed the broadly used name of Japan by the Chinese people from Wa to Nippon? Furthermore, did the Chinese dynasty maintain relations only with the early friendly Wa which gradually lost power to the more rapidly expanding political power of the later group? Alternatively, did the Chinese dynasty simply take a somewhat perverse pleasure in referring to the people of the archipelago as dwarves and largely disregard the details of the political entities on their far southeastern side? Unfortunately, although these issues will be difficult to resolve without additional descriptions, no Chinese records include any account of the Wa people or peoples for the interval between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The simplest interpretation is there may have been two or more groups simply described as Wa by both the Chinese and Korean records, and that each played some role in the development of the Japanese entity. Then, was there any possibility that any of these groups, who may have overthrown the others leading to a direct link to the Japanese political entity, would have a distinct genealogical background? Neither of these scenarios necessarily was promoted by historical scholars in the pre-WWII period most of whom relied on the Nihongi which proposes the Japanese Imperial family had existed without interruption since 660 B.C. According to this model the Japanese archipelago was unified by one of the Wa countries, Yamatai, around the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and since then, Japan has been a racially, linguistically and culturally homogeneous people (Fawcett and Habu 1990).

### **Identity of the Wa**

Prior to the Second World War there was no serious academic debate on the questions of the identity of the 'Wa' and the simple model was that the Wa were a single people who evolved from the Jomon peoples and lead directly to the modern Japanese (Hudson 1989:52). In other words, traditionally most Japanese historians simplified the Wa as the Yamato state without alternative considerations (Hatada 1979:16, Hudson

1989:51). After 1945, Japanese scholars "...were able to throw off pre-war taboos and bring publicity to their findings" (Nish 1968:19) and some of them began to reconsider this long held interpretation.

Egami Namio, famous for his Horserider Theory (1964), created a sensation with his astounding interpretation of the origin of the Japanese state and people not only in academic circles but also in the Japanese public. Simply stated he proposes early ruling classes in Japan were established by invaders. His idea was originally based on the Teikichi Kida's theory of the common origin of the Japanese and Korean people (Egami 1964:47). Arguing largely from archaeological evidence, Egami proposes the Wa were an agricultural people living in the southern Korea and Japanese archipelago who were conquered by people from the Koguryo or Puyo lineage near the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Many scholars dispute this proposition while some scholars, mainly from Korea, accept some points in his proposition. Since originally presented, others have expanded on this idea, and some, for example, Ishida, emphasizes the diversity of locations of the Wa people (Kirkland 1981:115). Some scholars (Kirkland 1981:124,125; Ledyard 1975:226), who have examined Egami's idea, question about the identity of the Wa, although no one has been really focusing only about it. Clearly, since the identity of the Wa, is tightly linked to the questions of the Yayoi tradition (archaeologically beginning around 300 BC) as well as the origin of the Yamato regime, scholars ultimately must concern the identity of Wa. However, historical evidence tracking the Wa is both unreliable and very limited and provides little solution to this problem. Some important questions regarding the identity of the Wa are that Yayoi and the Wa are synonymous entities, or there are various groups that have historically been referred to as Wa and if so, all of them were indigenous people?

According to the late Han Chinese records, there were more than one hundred Japanese communities though it is not clear if they were simply referring to those on Kyushu alone or to all the islands of Japan. However, they make it clear that there were thirty which maintained intercourse with China (Houhanshu and Weichih, Goodrich 1951). From such statements it seems clear that there was no central unified Japanese entity controlling all these disparate groups. Although there is no genealogical information about any countries or communities in the Chinese records, the simple

presumption is that there would be some cultural variation among the different groups since some geographic isolation for some people could have been occurred throughout the Japanese archipelago. In fact, some communities are distinctively described as ‘the country of black-teethed people, the dwarfs’ country, and the land of naked men. Scholars, especially in the past, who usually believe the unilineal formation of Japanese ethnicity, accept the proposition that the Wa are the original indigenous peoples of Japan and simply accept this proposition with no further questioning (Husdon 1989:52).

However, scholars, basing their position on the Chinese records, feel that there must have been multiple entities identified as Wa. This position seems supported by the uniformity of archaeological traditions across the broad area (Egami 1964) and is also bolstered by the absence of a clearly identified political entity in these early time intervals. In other words, the lack of the political and geographical explanation from the ancient records makes scholars reluctant to believe the unilineal entity for the Wa and Nippon and the direct political evolution from the Wa to Yamato regime without any interruption by other entities (Hatada 1979:16-17; Yi, C. H. 1977). Totman (2000:43), for example, simply accepts the Chinese descriptions of Wa as a variety of groups easily lumped together because of their similarity and were the original occupants of the Japanese realm with the most likely original source being Korea or China. Some proposes that there was even a large influx of people from northern China into Japan in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Cohen (2000:53) comments, for example, “When Koguryo wiped out the Chinese commanderies in northwest Korea early in the century, many of the Chinese who lived there eventually made their way to Japan, adding to the existing ethnic mix and bringing their skills and elements of their culture”. Brown (1993b:111) previously proposed the same idea; “...the destruction of Chinese colonies in Korea at the beginning of the fourth century was clearly followed by an exodus of Chinese to the islands of Japan”. However, it should be noted that there are no direct remarks on such an exodus in the Chinese records. Pursuing this proposition further would also require that there was a large number of Chinese in the commanderies. In reality, there is a good bit of discussion about the location and even existence of such commanderies (see Pearson 1979; Yoon, N. H. 1987).

Accepting these ambiguities as part of the puzzle, but pursuing some of the logical expectations of such a scenario, leads one to suggest the most likely point of

departure of such peoples would be the southern Korean peninsula. Hong, Y.G. (2000:120-123), based on his study of ancient rituals described in the Chinese documents, he argues for a similar initial origin of the Wa and the three Hans. Komei Sasaki (1991), who argues for multiple Wa entities within Japan and in southern Korea, proposes two immigration stages. The first, and earliest, is a swidden-farming culture from Southeast Asia and Yangtze River initially penetrating Japan in the Jomon period. He proposes a second, and later, influx from the coast of the East China Sea bringing in the new rice paddy tradition. Initially this tradition sweeps into the Korean Peninsula and then moves across the waterway to western Kyushu. According to him, the intervening cultural evolution of the north and south was different. In southern Kyushu the population was more influenced from traditions from the south, specifically Taiwan and Okinawa. Those in northern Kyushu were more heavily influenced by paddy-rice traditions and were more than likely those of the Wa mentioned in the Chinese records. This connection was largely because the paddy-rice growing and fishing pattern was “widely distributed along the coasts of the East China Sea and that culturally they were closely related to similar people living on the Chinese mainland and along the southern coast of the Korean Peninsula. When defined in the narrow sense of the term, ‘Wa people’ refers to these padi-rice growing and fishing people inhabiting western Japan and the southern part of the Korean Peninsula (including Cheju Island)” (Sasaki 1991:41). Sasaki bases this proposition on the observation that the peoples of Kyushu were divided into two groups, the mountain dwellers and those involved in paddy-rice production who were initially distinct but would gradually merge with the mountain dwellers. Supporting this scenario is the discovery of unhulled rice in the Final Jomon and Early Yayoi periods in Japan which had been identified as japonica which was also the rice of Korea (Nelson 1982a, 1982b). Secondly, some Yayoi period tools are virtually identical to those of contemporaneous southern Korean traditions (Imamura 1996). Additionally there are some suggestions that the Chinese documents support such a broad geographic unity (cultural more than political) when nothing that both some people living in the Three Hans and Wa are described as both practicing tattooing and fishing.

Even though many archaeologists accept the proposition of the Yayoi tradition coming from southern Korea there is little historic support for this unity. In other words,



historical evidence is not shown much description to apparently prove that the Wa and people in the southern Korean peninsula would be the same stock. Some of the Chinese records note clearly that the Wa loved to dive, tattoo and fish and none of the records indicated the Hans shared similar activities and only note that the Hans were near the Wa and only mention the common practice of tattooing in both groups (see Kim, J. S. 1999:52,82).

Sasaki's suggestion implies that the Kyushu immigrants in the later Jomon traditions were from southern Korea but still requires confirmation and does not address the question of whether or not there is a difference between northern and southern Korean groups. Unfortunately, there is little scholarly consideration, one way or the other, whether there is a difference between the peoples of northern and southern Korea. Even lacking support for such a difference, there do appear to be some differences between north and south. While it seems clear that the first state level society of Korea was being processed in the northern region earlier than in the southern region and some cultural differences between two regions could have been noticed more clearly since that process was finished, the early cultural amalgamation between two regions could have been occurred in much early periods. For instance, the Chinese records note that a king of Choson, Kichun, went to the southern region of Korea and established his own kingdom in the 198 B.C. (Houhanshu and Weishuh, see Kim, 1999:52, 77). Clearly it might produce lots of changes in cultural aspects of the southern region. More detailed discussions related to this issue will be introduced in the chapter eight. Sasaki's idea however leaves us with two major questions, if the Wa were related to the people of the southern Korea, what was the relationship of the resident Wa and the immigrant Wa, and was the Yamato (Yamatai) which is clearly the earliest political entity in Japan more related to immigrant Wa or resident Wa?

Ideas paralleling Sasaki's are widespread among Korean scholars especially after the publication of Egami's Horserider Invasion theory. However, they usually focus more on identifying the Wa ethnicity appearing from A.D. 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century and with its connection to the Korean peninsula. Yi, Chong-Hang (1977), for example, tried to determine the ethnic origin of the Wa by reviewing Wa names in the Korean history record, Samguksagi, and concluded that the Wae (Wa), appearing in Samguksagi prior to

the unified Silla (AD 668 - 936), is identifiable to the Korean ethnic Wae. His idea is summarized in the following paragraph as.

Yi, Chong-Hang proposes that the Wa was a strong independent country and Samguksagi passages describe the Wa as having continuously harassed the Silla kingdom and ultimately penetrated the territory as far as Kyongju (1977:52). However, he regards the ethnic Wa as Korean because he thinks that they occupied the southern seaboard of Silla or Kaya based in Kimhae and absorbed into Silla later, and controlled the northern part of Kyushu. He supports this proposition (Wa in the southern Korean peninsular) by several observations. First, the Samguksagi mentions that in June, there were over one thousand famished Wa people who came over to beg. He doubts the famished peoples could have come to Korea on ships since ships were restricted to noble personages. The other supporting proposition for the Wa presence in southern Korea is that “the presence of the Wae in the southern section of the Korea peninsula was clearly mentioned earlier in Weichih’s section on Han. It records that the three Han countries lay to the north of the adjoining Wae. The section on Wae also states that Kaya lay to the north of Wae” (Yi, C. H. 1977:55). This seems to argue that the frequent attacks on the Silla could only be explained by their occupation of the southern peninsula of Korea. He also argues that the Wa people, who are not ethnically different from Silla or Kaya peoples, moved to their living base to Japan as Silla and Paekjae expanded their political power. He finally insists that all these ‘facts’ indicate that the Wa were Korean and was different from the Japanese Yamato regime. He notes, “This is the Wae mentioned in the history of Wae in Weichih. Queen Himiko and his<her> eldest daughter Ichiyo also ruled the suzerain state of the Korean Wae. The five kings of Wae who paid tribute to the Southern dynasty were also rulers of the Korea Wae. They had no relations with the Yamadai (Yamato) government” (Yi, C. H. 1977:57). He also proposes that the Wae people mostly settling in Kyushu came under the Yamato regime around the 6<sup>th</sup>~7<sup>th</sup> century. This relationship between the Wa and Yamato could be supported by the observation that the Wa are not mentioned from 165 years between the time they appear in the Samguksagai in AD 500 and then again in A.D. 665 but are given a new name, Japan (Nippon).

Chon, Kwan-U (1974) also makes the similar proposal. According to Chon, the Wa was just the regional government entity in northern Kyushu, who was originally from

Packjae or Kaya, and there was no relationship between the Wa and Yamato (1974:16). Hatada (1979) also alludes that the Wa of the historic documents was not connected to the Yamato but, at the same time, fails to assess the Wa-Korea relationship. In general, while Japanese historians do not commonly accept the common origins of the Wa and the southern Korean people, this connection is quite widespread in the Korean scholarly community. Needless to say, there are still many unexplained issues left to resolve. For instance, it is unclear why the Wa descriptions in the Chinese records do not provide enough details to confirm that Korea and Japan showed similar cultural traditions or were of the same ethnic stock. Totman (2000) simply argue such omissions reflect the laziness of ancient Chinese historians. He feels that some of these ambiguities may reflect that the accounts may have been based on stories brought to China by various traders and based on limited geographic locations in Japan. Therefore, it may have become increasingly vague and ambiguous after having copied and passed through different time periods. In other words, recitation and repeated copying do nothing to increase the geographical precision and clarity. Regardless, it is to say the least, unclear whether the immigrations took place and if they did take place, what the scale of such suggested immigrations would have been. If Sasaki's scenario is accurate, it seems reasonable to further presume that there would be almost continuous contacts between southern Korean and the immigrants to Japan during the Yayoi period. It is also possible that there was a subsequent immigration during the Kofun period but firm support for these events based solely on historical records is problematic to say the least.

Most Japanese and western scholars, however, adhere to the position that the Wa are the indigenous Japanese and have no connection to any groups outside the archipelago. For instance, like Edward (1983) who points out the problem of the Egami's interpretation for aristocratic and foreign aspects, and suggests a domestic process of unification in the 4th century by indigenous elite, many traditional scholars believe that the Japanese Wa were directly descended from the earlier Jomon and it was the Wa responsible for the first unification of larger population groups. Others however do accept the possibility of some immigration and cultural influence during the Yayoi period (Kidder 1977:32), though they typically do not try to identify the origins of the Wa, and make no effort to look to China or Korea as the ultimate source of such peoples.

## **Wa people and Yamatai**

The continuing debate on the identity of the Wa is partially due to the controversial nature of these interpretations and the origin of the Japanese peoples. This hinges on the connection between the Jomon and Yayoi traditions, as well as the connection of the Wa in the Yayoi period as well as the origin of the Wa. The historic documentation is essentially silent on these issues and only provides information specifically for the transition from the Yayoi to the Kofun tradition. Given these problems the archaeological record as well as biological interpretations will be discussed in the chapter seven. However, in the following section we will attempt to look at the historic evidence for small political units within the Japanese archipelago. This background will ultimately be useful in setting the stage for the ultimate Japanese political unification though it comes much later.

### **1. Queens' country**

As mentioned previously, Chinese records propose there were at least 100 Japanese countries and 30 had formal relations with China. Among this group, there is a story of a queen, Himiko (Pimiko), central to some of the Wa stories. In some cases, these other countries are referenced with respect to their location to Himiko's country. Since the Houhanshu notes the King of Great Wa resides in the country of Yamadai and Weishuh notes the queen's court is in Yamadai (see Goodrich 1951:1,9), all agree that she is a pivotal figure in Japanese history. Other historic accounts note other countries were subject to her control and her influence is reflected in the size of her burial mound. It should also be noted that Yamatai is a modern Japanese pronunciation of a term written in Chinese characters, and is believed it is to have been pronounced by the Chinese people as 'Yamato' in ancient times. Japanese scholars intentionally use the term Yamatai described in the Weichih to distinguish it as the Yamato kingship that existed in the Nara region much later period (Imamura 1996:186). "Yamato is best known as the province in the Kinai where the imperial dynasty built its palaces in the seventh and eighth centuries, but it is a commonplace-name found also in Kyushu" (Farris 1998:12). Regardless of the specifics of location, the queens' country (Yamatai) may have been the strongest political entity among countries appeared on the section of the Wa in the

Chinese records. However, it is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that other groups within the archipelago may have been of equal political power, but if so, they would have been coming to power without connections to either China or Korea.

## 2. Location of the Yamatai, a Queens' country

The location of the Yamatai and its role in the unification process is both one of the most controversial and central issues in the Japanese academic world. As noted earlier, prior to WW II, there was little discussion of this topic and all accepted the proposition that the Yamatai was in the Kinai area and was essentially, thus, the ancestral and ancient home of the imperial family (Farris 1998:12). Even in the face of such a clear scholar tradition, several issues associated with the Wa, were not as clear in the Japanese circles, though clearly they are related to the location of the Yamatai. Here, the two main theories of discussion will be the association of the Yamatai with the Kyushu region, and the association of the Yamatai with the Kinai region, and how either of theories might be related to the concept of Wa.

Part of the location controversy stems directly from the ambiguity of the description in the Weishuh. The itinerary route for Chinese scholars (or merchandiser?) described in the Chinese chronicles stretches from the Taifang area in Korea to Yamatai but is geographically vague. Neither distances nor directions are clear (Barnes and Hudson 1991:233, see also Farris 1998:9-54; Imamura 1996:188-189; Young 1958). Some scholars, who are suspicious of the distances but emphasizing the direction reported in the Chinese records, argue that the Yamatai is in the northern part of Kyushu (Kyushu theory). Others, using the same vague accounts and emphasizing the distance, argue just as strongly for the Kinai theory and stress the implications are that the distances were greater and thus support the Kinai theory (Imamura 1996:188). For instance, scholars, discounting the Kinai theory, stress the Weichih description which notes, "Over one thousand li to the east of the Queen's land, there are more countries of the same race as the people of Wa" (Goodrich 1951:13). This, they argue, is the only hint that the Yamatai should in fact be considered 'insular,' ie, not in the more coastal northern Kyushu region (Goodrich 1951:19, note 29). Furthermore, they also believe that the more sophisticated and advanced region was in the Kyushu region because of its

proximity to China (Maher 1996:41). Conversely, One of advocates for the Kinai theory, Kidder (1993:98) claims that the description of the long journey would clearly place the Yamatai well to the east of Kyushu, and would logically be in the Kinai region.

This issue for the ‘true’ 3<sup>rd</sup> century location of the Yamatai is directly connected to another controversial topic, ‘the first political unification of ancient Japan (see Farris 1998:12-13).’ If Yamatai were in the Kinai area, it is more likely that the political power of the Yamatai regime reached various regions throughout Japanese archipelago, possibly including the Kyushu Island, in A.D. 250, based on the descriptions in the Chinese records for Yamatai and a queen, Himiko. In other words, it implies that the first unification of Japan might have been accomplished by one political power from somewhere in the Nara area (the Yamato area in Kinai) by the third century. Furthermore, it is also likely the entire archipelago’s inhabitants were subsumed under the Wa label and the Japanese identity was beginning to be established across a wide group of people all subsumed under the Kinai dominion by the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Alternatively, if Yamatai were in Kyushu, there would be more than two political powers “emulating and competing with the other, one based in northern Kyushu and another based in Kinai” (Imamura 1996:188). In other words, it is possible that the Wa were “a specific ethnic group limited to that island” (Hudson 1989:59).

It is therefore difficult to know whether the contemporary descriptions of the Wa in the Chinese records referred to the population living in Kyushu only or the entire population through the archipelago, while it is not still clear whether the Wa in the Chinese records indicates the indigenous population only or indicates also all various ethnic groups such as the Chinese and the Korean migrants, including people living in southern Korea as well. Therefore, if the Queens’ country were in Kyushu, it is likely that the political unification of Japan was possibly accomplished much later period.

The Kyushu theory might be more attractive because, as previously mentioned, until the name, Nippon, appears in the Chinese histories, various groups were referred to as Wa. Regardless of whether there were few or many ‘Wa’ groups they were ill defined until lumped under the new term of Nippon. What is also interesting from the Kyushu theory is the relationship of all Wa identities among the Wa on the Houhanshu and Weizhi, the Wa on the Sungshu and Suishu, and the Nippon on the HsinTangshu. While

the Wa was referred to as both countries and people, did all Chinese sources throughout different time periods continually indicate the Wa from only one identity? As already noted, changing the name from the Wa to Nippon in the 7<sup>th</sup> century must have been for significant internal and external reasons. As Totman comments, “Kinai leaders simply were unable to change continental historiographical custom to reflect a new reality. Or they may have found it useful to retain the established diplomatic persona of ‘Wa’” (2000:52).

However, it is still not clear if the change took place suddenly in the 7<sup>th</sup> century or begun much earlier as a response to political turmoil with other countries or was triggered by internal problems within the Japanese archipelago. How does this scenario fit with the Wa appearing in the Chinese and Korean records of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and then later in the 5~6<sup>th</sup> centuries? Chinese records report severe civil wars in the third century among many groups in Kyushu. If accurate, could it be that one of the groups shifts territory to the Kinai and establishes a Yamato kingdom there in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century as indicated in the story of Jimmu in the Nihongi? Then, is Jimmu a successor of the Queens’ country? Most traditional Japanese scholars usually do not question these theories and accept the proposition (without question) that Jimmu is the successor of Himiko. In other words, some of them believe that the Yamatai in Kyushu moved to the Kinai area and established the powerful Yamato regime sometime during the 4-5<sup>th</sup> century.

Most scholars also simply accept the proposition that the Wa during the 4-6<sup>th</sup> century was synonymous with the Yamato regime (see Brown 1993a,b; Kidder 1977:52-53; Reischauer 1967). If these accepted propositions are accurate then why did the Kyushu leadership move the seat of government? Totman (2000:49) proposes the shift may have been a result of the higher agricultural potentials of the Yamato Basin in Kinai. He suggests that the move therefore may have resulted in greater tribute payments which would allow maintenance of larger armies (Totman 2000:49). Meyer (1993:27) had previously mentioned that, “Its location on the Yamato plain was propitious for economic and security reasons. The region, though small in area, was agriculturally productive, with easy access to the Inland Sea”. However, the other interesting problem with this scenario is if the move took place, was there a residual political power left in the Kyushu region in addition to the newly established entity in the Kinai on Honshu Island? It seems

reasonable that if the move took place there would have been some effort to maintain connections with the Chinese dynasty though it may have been less complex and politically sophisticated than that which was growing in the Kinai area. In fact, the historical accounts indicate that Yamato authority did in fact have a difficult time absorbing the political entity in the Kyushu region. Clearly, such problems were nearly continuous in the history of Japan and political revolts were common over many centuries (Aston 1956; Totman 2000; Tsude 1992, 1999).

Thus, it is possible to conclude that there was a continual power, which might be described as Wa in the Chinese and Korean records, in the Kyushu area until the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, the appearance of the attribution Wa did not disappear even after the term Nippon appears in Chinese records. For example, Japanese pirates, raiding the Chinese coast, are specifically identified as Wa in the Chinese record, the Mingshuh (A History of the Ming: AD 1369-1644; Goodrich 1951), which includes numerous references to the Wa who might be referring to peoples located in Kyushu or Tsushima. Equally of interest, though clearly confusing, is the appearance of two clear Japanese imperial courts between A.D. 1336-1392. Oddly, the Chinese record, Mingshuh, makes no distinction between the two courts and descriptions make it clear they maintained diplomatic connections with both. The documentation in the Mingshuh clearly shows that the Chinese were unaware (or unconcerned) with the political duality/confusion within Japan even at this relatively late date (14<sup>th</sup> century – see Goodrich 1951:144).

Is it possible then that the Wa political entity was in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century essentially a Kyushu Island phenomenon? Many stories about the Wa people in both early and later history before the 8<sup>th</sup> century are almost identical and none of the Chinese or Korean works even hint that the Japanese seat of government moved. In the contemporary Chinese record, Suishu, there is a comment that “The capital is Yamato, known in the Wei history as Yamadai. The old records say that it is altogether twelve thousand li distant from the borders of Lo-lang and Tai-fang prefectures” (Goodrich 1951:29). This description is identical to those appeared in the much earlier records indicating the distance to go Yamato only without even implying any event for the government shift of Yamato. Meanwhile, in the HsinTangshu (History of Tang: 618-907), which was edited in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the new palace of Yamato is clearly described as



being shifted eastward and “there were altogether thirty-two generations of rulers.... residing in the palace of Tsukushi. Upon the enthronement of Jimmu, son of hikonagi, the title was changed to tenno and the palace was moved to the province of Yamato” (Goodrich 1951:38). However, since the fact that the HsinTangshu includes very detailed information about the genealogical story of the ruling class in Japan which are appeared on the two earliest Japanese records published several centuries earlier than the HsinTangshu, it is possible that the editor of the HsinTangshu must have cited the story of the Japanese records.

As outlined previously, it is hard to find supporting evidence to link the Wa mentioned in the early historical documents pertains only the Kyushu region. At the same time, it is also very difficult to support the early existence of the Wa continuously in the Kinai region, nor can the Yamatai be firmly shown to have been moved from Kyushu to the Kinai area, except descriptions on the Japanese and Chinese records published later periods. Both the factors in this geographic drama, as well as the locations, remain both confusing and perhaps even impossible to straighten out on historical documentation alone. However, there are three reasons making us doubt that the Yamato regime in Kinai could be a kingdom uniting all of Japan as well as being the historically identified Wa prior to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. First, in the accounts in the HsinTangshu (Goodrich 1951:40) it is clearly suggested that there were at least two or more powerful countries coexisted together for a long time until one of them, which preferred to be called Nippon, overcame or defeated the other country or countries. Secondly, the mythic story of Jimmu’s eastward movement in the Nihongi indicates that there was a country making even the Jimmu’s heavenly army take a roundabout way because the army was not able to defeat the country (Nihongi, see Aston 1956:113). Third, the figure of the Wa envoy described pictorially on the Chinese record (see Sasaki 1991:24) of the 6<sup>th</sup> century is so humble that he does not look like a representative of the powerful Yamato regime which had unified the bulk of the Japanese islands as most believe. Conversely, if the Wa envoy was from the Kyushu Island or somewhere else, it implies that if the Yamato regime was existed in the Kinai area during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, either did not care to, or was not sophisticated enough yet, to establish political ties with either China or Korea.

It might be more possible that the Wa mentioned in the Chinese and the Korean records prior to the 7<sup>th</sup> century is most consistently placed only on the Kyushu Island. In other words, regardless of whether the Queens' Yamatai and any other small countries in Kyushu, or some other ethnicity group possibly from the continent as Egami's theory proposes, settled down on the east area and the Japanese political contacts with the Chinese dynasty were most possibly maintained only by the Kyushu Island region until the newer more powerful regime that the gradually developed in the Kinai area was able to centrally control the entire Japanese archipelago.

## Conclusion

Unfortunately, it is apparent that researches using literary evidence and etymological research alone have not offered us conclusive identity of the Wa (Hudson 1989:58). In case of ancient Korea, while written materials could not give us a clear idea of the identity of ancient peoples, such as Ye, Maek, YeMaek, Choson, and Dongi, which were directly or indirectly related to the ethnic identity of Korean, most scholars have come to realize that the best way to deepen our understanding is to expand the question into other fields which might help illuminate these often confusing contradictions and ambiguities.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANCIENT CONNECTION BETWEEN TWO SIDES

#### Introduction

The remarkable increase of the contact between ancient Japan and Korea must have been initiated when the new form of agricultural culture was introduced into the Kyushu Island almost certainly from Korea (Totman 2000). Most scholars agree that from this time on the close geographic proximity led to almost continuous contact between the two areas and was quite profound until the 7<sup>th</sup> century when the two regions began to develop clearer independent and distinct cultural and political identities. This is supported by historic documentation and archaeological evidence and the indications are that the dominant flow of people and ideas was from the mainland (Korea) to the Japanese archipelago (Abe 1998; Covell 1981,1984; Farris 1996, 1998; Hong 1988; Totman 2000). However, the reasons for this contact, and the very nature of the contact is seen very differently, in fact in almost opposite lights by Korean and Japanese scholars.

First of all, most traditional Japanese scholars, who interpret their ancient history based on the Nihongi, believe that the early Yamato regime conquered the southern Korean peninsula in the AD 3<sup>rd</sup> century and controlled it from the AD 4<sup>th</sup> century to AD 7<sup>th</sup> until the Yamato political domain in Korea was terminated when Paekjae was destroyed by the allied armies of Silla and Tang in AD 663. They simply regard the contacts during this period as those which maintained the Japanese domination of ancient Korea. Japanese scholars rarely question this proposition either in detail or in complexity. However, when Tsuda's query on the reality of the Nihongi story was publicly prohibited by the Imperial Law, more scholars, who accepted Tsuda's notion of the ancient history

of Japan, appeared and developed his idea. For instance, Egami (1964), who follows a similar track of Tshuda's idea, regards the Yamato regime simply as foreign government which had invaded the Japanese archipelago, while Tsuda has no doubts that the Yamato regime had dominion over Korea. He believes this invading foreign entity provides the root of the modern Japanese empire. Even though there are certainly some scholars in Japan and the west who discount this proposition (see Edward 1983; Kidder 1993), there are some scholars who accepted this model and made slight revisions of this 'invader' theory (see Ledyard 1975).

Meanwhile, the historical range questions and the nature of relations between Japan and Korea while influenced by Egami's proposition has rapidly evolved. During the 70ths through 80ths, the main focus was on the nature of the political hegemony between the ancient Japan and Korea and emphasizes the identity of the Wa and the Yamato (see Abe 1998; Ash 1971; Chon, K. U. 1974; Grayson 1977; Hatada 1979; Yi, C. H. 1977). More recently, particularly in the 1990s more extreme interpretations have been proposed most emphatically by Korean scholars. For example, they strongly stress the political and genealogical domination of Packjae or Kaya on the Yamato regime and its imperial line (Choi, J. S. 1998; Hong Y. G. 2000; Hong W. T. 1988; Miller 1994). Put simply, the main opinion is that upto the 7<sup>th</sup> century Korean people immigrated to the Japanese archipelago and were crucial in the formation of the Japanese ethnic identity.

As would be expected this view is very controversial in both the academic setting as well as in the modern political arena. However, these and other proposition must be viewed critically to fully understand the Wa and the Yamato regimes and to ultimately reach the purpose of this thesis, regardless of how sensitive they may be and will be assessed by considering the historical documentation for this possibility.

## Growing Power of Yamato

Traditional Japanese historians had preferred to rely on surviving historic documents such as the Nihongi and Kogiki. Other modern scholars, however, question these documents and their inferences, and emphasize that they are very circumstantial at best and all interpretations on this issue should be reexamined in a broader more careful context.

Even though the identity of Himiko (Pumiko) in the Chinese records has not been clearly identified in the list of imperial names in both the Nihongi and Kogiki, some scholars have claimed Himiko is equivalent to the Empress Jingo who reigned for the A.D. 201-269. Others have argued Himiko (Pimiko) is actually Yamato-hime-no-Mikoto, a daughter of Suinin Tenno, who reigned for the A.D. 29-70 (see Goodrich 1951:5, note number 15). Regardless of which is correct, the traditional Japanese interpretation is that she is the first person to unify the main Japanese islands, although other ‘facts’, such as, the location of her country and eastward process of it are still in debate. Historians also believe that the story of the eastward shift by Jimmu mentioned in the Nihongi took place early in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and his descendants ruled over all major region through the Japanese archipelago and the southern Korean peninsula for the next 200 hundreds (Meyer 1993:24). According to Reischauer (1967:16), who does not emphasize the eastward shift proposed in the Nihongi, argues that both states in Kyushu and Honshu (Kinai) had some power over southern Korea during the early centuries of the Christian era and eventually the Kyushu polity was subsumed or conquered by the group in Honshu.

As mentioned previously, many scholars, who accept the Kinai theory for the Yamatai, usually believe in an early unification of the Japanese archipelago in the second or third centuries (e.g. Brown 1993a, b). Imamura, who feels this way and accepts the hypothesis of the early establishment of the Yamatai power in Kinai (for some Kinai proponents Yamatai and Yamato are equivalent terms), argues that the Yamatai were powerful enough to have established political ties with one of the ancient Chinese Kingdoms, specially the Wei, which was in competition with other Chinese kingdoms at the time (1996:187). The opposing side more readily accepts the Kyushu theory and fell

the final unification and state formation in early Japan was completed between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, Suzuki, who attempts to overlay an anthropological model of the state system on Japanese history, argues that unification in Japan came later in the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Kito 1995:2). Ishimoda, also who regards the 4~5<sup>th</sup> centuries of Japan as 'heroic age,' agrees with Suzuki's proposition (Kito 1995:4). Barnes, on the other hand, regards the fifth century of Japan,

“As the period of state formation in which the administrative aspects of state control were developed. These advances included the extension of centralized direction of craft production and goods procurement through the be system, the establishment of a productive agricultural base through the miyake system, the development of bureaucratic rank systems, and the incorporation of territories outside the Kinai into the Yamato hierarchy under kuni- no-miyatsuko governors” (1988:24).

The overall consensus, if there is one, and the one dominating in historic circles, argue for the earlier state formation rather than the later which seems more common in anthropological and archaeological circles.

### Nihongi stories

Regardless of specifics, virtually all accounts in the Nihongi clearly argue for the political hegemony of the early Yamato regime. From the great numbers of accounts related to Korean kingdoms throughout the Nihongi, the reader would easily presume close historical connections between Korean kingdoms and the Yamato regime. Some important descriptions, during the major controversial period (Ojin Tenno), concerned Korean kingdoms from Nihongi follow are outlined in the following section. These excerpts are intended to provide the reader with a sense of the documents implication. In other words, from these accounts, ignoring other alternative sources, it is easy to understand why Japanese historians conclude the Yamato dominion over ancient Korean kingdoms.

Nihongi (Book IX, Jingu Kogu)

“The great fishes of the ocean, every one, came to the surface and encompassed the ships. Presently a great wind blew from a favourable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labour of the oar or helm, they arrived at Silla. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country. Hereupon the King of Silla feared and trembled, and knew not what do to.... he said:- “I have heard that in the East there is a divine country named Nippon, and also that there is a wise sovereign called the Tenno...” So he took a white flag....”(Aston 1956:230).

Nihongi (Book X, Ojin Tenno AD 272 <AD 390>: Scholars usually add 120 years for the real chronology because of the chronological mistake on the Nihongi)

“This year King Sinsa of Pekche was disrespectful to the Celestial Court. Therefore Ki no Tsuno no Sukune,... were sent to call him to an account for his rudeness. Hereupon the people of Pekche slew Sinsa by way of apology” (Aston 1956:256).

Nihongi (Book X, Ojin Tenno AD 283 <AD 403 >

“The King of Pekche send as tribute a seamstress named Maketsu. She was the first ancestress of the present seamstresses of Kume. This year the Lord of Yutsuki came from Pekche and offered his allegiance. Accordingly he addressed the Emperor, 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.” Hereupon Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko was sent to bring the men of Yutsuki from Kara. Now three years passed, and Sotsuhiko did not come” (Aston 1956:261).

Nihongi (Book X Ojin Tenno AD 284 <AD 404>

“The King of Pekche sent A-chik-ki with two quiet horses as tribute.... Moreover, A-chik-ki was able to read the classics, and so the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, 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, who is superior.” Then Areda wake, ancestor of the Kimi of Kodzuke, and Kamu nagi wake were sent to Pekche to summon Wang-in” (Aston 1956:261-262).

Nihongi (Book X Ojin Tenno AD 285 <AD 405>

“Wang-in arrived, and straightway the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, took him as teacher, and learnt various books from him.... In this year King-Ahwa of Pekche died. The Emperor then sent for Prince Tyon-chi, and addressed him, saying:- “Do thou return to thy country and succeed to the (royal) Dignity.” Accordingly he further granted to him the territory of Eastern Han, and so dismissed him.... Kidzu no Sukune of Heguri 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 do 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. The king of Silla was afraid, and confessed his guilt, so they brought away with them the people of Kungwo and Sotsuhiko” (Aston 1956:262-263).

Nihongi (Book X Ojin Tenno AD 294 <AD 414>

“King Tyon-chi of Pekche died. Accordingly his son Ku-ni-sin became King. The King was a child. Therefore Mong-man-chi of Yamato took the administration of the State” (Aston 1956:267).

Nihongi (Book X Ojin Tenno AD 297 <AD 417>

“The King of Koryo sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. He presented an address, in which it was said:-“The King of Koryo instructs the Land of Nippon.” Now the Heir Apparent, Uji no Waka-iratsuko, read this address and was enraged. He reproached the Koryo envoy with the rudeness of the address and tore it up” (Aston 1956:268).

These, and other, lines, generally imply or suggest the Korean kingdoms were under Yamato rule. In Japanese interpretations, this implied relationship has been used to



argue for an early Yamato unification and state development. Similar accounts are also found in the Mimana story (Imna=Kaya?). Although the Nihongi also includes numerous other accounts implying the subject status of the Korean kingdoms, it does not make direct descriptions as to their polities under Japanese sovereignty. However, there is an account in the Nihongi which notes that Imna (a name indicating region or kingdom in the southern Korean peninsula) was the location of the Japanese governor (Nihon-fu in Japanese).

The mention of Imna first appears in the Nihongi chapter on Sujin Tenno around the date of 33 B.C. (the year for a mythical period of this Sujin Tenno is adjusted by scholars as A.D. 249), when it is noted, “The land of Imna sent Sonaka-cheulchi and offered tribute. Imna is more than 2000 ri (li) to the north of Tsukushi, from which it is separated by the sea. It lies to the south-west of Ke-rin” (Nihongi, Aston 1956:164). After this date, it appears frequently in the Nihongi accounts particularly with reference to tributary payments. After A.D. 463, it is mentioned that the Japanese ruler appoints the Imna governor (Aston 1956:348). Until A.D. 562, Imna is described as a kingdom totally under the control of Japanese rule at which point it is noted that Silla destroys the Miyake of Imna (Nihongi, Aston 1956:80<part two>). The term, miyake, is translated as a territory or area governed or taxed directly by the Wai (Wa) king (Chon K. U. 1974:32). Given these accounts in the Nihongi most western and Japanese scholars (see Gardiner 1969; Hatada 1969; Kidder 1959; Meyer 1993; Nish 1968; Reischauer 1967; Sansom 1958) have accepted the colonial status of the Imna as being a real entity. On the other hands, no Korean or Chinese records make any mention of a ‘miyake of Imna’ nor do they even mention any Japanese polity, regardless of name (Wa, Yamatai, Yamato, etc.) having control of any Korean kingdom. Others, taking a substantially less dramatic interpretation have argued that Mimana (Imna) was “a small Japanese military outpost of a trading post” (Ash 1971:46), and further note “the local aristocracy of the Wa peoples, who are said in Chinese documents to have inhabited both sides of the Korea Straits” (Inoue 1973, cited in Barnes 1990:140). Clearly, these are conflicting views on the Japanese presence or influence in Korea and much is left to learn on this issue.

Regardless of different opinions concerning the initial formation of the Yamato entity, some Japanese and western scholars assume that the Yamato (or other group in the

Kinai area) could increase its power through agricultural expansion. Furthermore, such a group would feel it appropriate, and perhaps even necessary, to extend its power into the Korean peninsula for the 'economic, cultural, military reason and for the iron products from Mimana' (Kidder 1977:53; Meyer 1993:24; Reischauer 1967:18; Szczesniak 1946:54). Therefore, if we accept all stories in the Nihongi and ideas from scholars above, it would not be difficult to suppose again that around the 2-3<sup>rd</sup> century or, a little bit later, ancient Japan was politically unified and their ethnic identity could be dated from this point. However, many of the details of this process remain controversial largely because of the continuing reliance on the stories in the Nihongi.

Among historians familiar with Japanese history, few would disagree with Szczesniak, when he notes, "The Nihonshoki<Nihongi> itself, however, is confused and beyond understanding" (1952:9). Some statements which have generally been regarded as spurious or impossible to accept include: (1) Impossibly long average of lifespan for the early rulers (many earlier rulers by the A.D. 2nd century lived more than 100 years. The longest longevity was 143 years old). (2) The calendar for Jimmu's eastward year started at the year Kinoye Tora (51<sup>st</sup>) of the Great Year (=667 B.C.). However, "this <ancient calendar year> was not in use to record years before the Christian ear even in China, and could hardly have been known in Japan before the introduction of writing in the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D." (Aston 1956:111, note number 4). (3) Jimmu's migration direction was chosen by the flight of a crow. This kind of guidance of conquerors or colonists to their destination by a supernatural bird or beast is a familiar feature of both Old and New world mythologies (Aston 1956:116). (4) This mythical nature of accounts in the Nihongi is even appeared on the stories for later events. Reportedly, Jingo attacks Silla after having crossed the sea on the back of fishes. (5) Many of the locations and palaces mentioned in the Nihongi have no support from archaeology and no palace can be archaeologically documented until the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, one of Chinese records, HsinTangshu, account that there were no castles and stockades (see Nihongi from Aston 1956:112; HsinTangshu from Goodrich 1951:38) (6) Aston also indicates, the two names, Koryo and Nippon, which are shown above the summary of some stories for the Jingu in the Nihongi, came first time into official use in A.D. 918 for Koryo, and A.D. 670 for Nippon (1956:268, note number 2).

Details of issues like these and many others make some historians accept the record perhaps “as far back as the fifth century” (Kiley 1973:26) or from a period of Ojin Tenno in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (Szczesniak 1952:4). Others simply question its ‘authenticity’ in its entirety. Cranston comments,

“The Nihonshoki <Nihongi> is by no means to be accepted uncritically as a historical source, even in its nonmythological sections. The parts dealing with relations between Japan and Korea in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries are a good case in point. Especially in the earlier ranges of this period, the account is almost impossible to follow, much less to credit, in its description of Japanese campaigns on the peninsula and the relations among Yamato, Paekche, and Silla” (1993:469).

Many scholars, who agree with Cranston’s comment, usually question the purpose of the Nihongi, which was published in the early eighth century. They believe that the primary task of the Nihongi compilers was to spread the worth of the imperial and sublime nature of the Japanese Sovereigns and to legitimize and justify the rule of imperial clan (Covell 1984:111). In other words, it could be viewed as an early state run media campaign that was quite successful. Thus, “for this reason descriptions are sometimes distorted and one-sided political stories <were> included; anything unfavorable to the imperial household or the central government was omitted” (Seicho 1983, cited in Hong W. T. 1988:12). Hong, Wontack states, “the Yamato Court created an official mythology, collating separate accounts and traditions and weaving the protagonists of local mythologies into a common framework” (1988:11). Tikhonov also says, “Nihongi Shoki materials are sometimes distorted and embellished to a point that makes rational research almost impossible, although many of them are based on reliable Paekche<Paekjae> sources” (1998:77). Therefore, historians, who relied heavily on the Nihongi for an interpretation of ancient Japan often felt the need to turn elsewhere to support the Yamato regime’s authority.

## Five Kings, Seven Branches sword, and Kwanggaeto stele

Some other popular ‘proof’ for the early political and ethnic unification of Japan comes from the historic descriptions found in the Chinese records dealing with the five Wa kings. Additionally, there are a number of phrases which appear on ancient swords and stone stele which pertain to this topic. In the five Kings’ stories (from the Sungshu), the five kings reportedly paid tribute to the Chinese court thirteen times. These accounts are often used to argue both for the historic accuracy of the accounts in the Nihongi but also are used to support the proposition that the Wa were dominant over the Korean kingdoms. However, the identities of the five kings and their political powers over the Korean kingdoms have not been clarified yet because no Chinese documents include any stories of the Wa from around A.D. 247 to 420. This makes it nearly impossible to establish a link between Himiko Yamatai before A.D. 247 and the Wa kings (T’san, Chen, Sai, Ko and Bu, see Goodrich 1951:22-23) when they rather suddenly appear in the Sung Shu. Thus, even though many historians regard them as kings, who were descendants of Himiko and controlled the Yamato regime in Kinai, there is no direct historical proof to hold it as that of Himiko’s identity on the Nihongi and the location of her country. Furuta, however, suppose that all five kings were from the Wa in Kyushu. He emphasizes “the fact that when they compare the names recorded in Nihon Shoki <Nihongi> and Koji Ki, which is a record history from the Yamato perspective, the names don’t match up” (Abe 1998:47). Besides, Yi, C. H. (1977:56), who regards the Wa identity as the Korean stock, insists that those five kings are not from the Yamato regime but from the Wae (Wa) country located in Kyushu. Even though some scholars disagree with these accounts, many Japanese historians regard the five Kings on the Chinese records as being equivalent to the five rulers mentioned in the Nihongi; “Ojin (or Nintoku), Nintoku (or Richu or Hanzei), Ingyo, Anko and Yuryaku” (Abe 1998:47).

Many Japanese historians believe that since one of five kings of Wa, T’san, who was first received diplomatic recognition from the newly established Liu Sung dynasty around A.D. 420-479 in China, all five kings of Wa had power to control the southern Korean peninsula. They underline the descriptions in the Sungshu; “Signing himself as King of Wa and Generalissimo who maintains peace in the east commanding with battle-

ax all military affairs in the six countries of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chin-han, and Mok-Han” (Goodrich 1951:22). This rank and title was bestowed to four Kings consecutively except T’san. However, some, such as Chon, K. U. (1974) refutes this interpretation. He first, notes that the Chinese kings bestowed the ranking as recipients (the Wa kings) requested. Most agree that two of the countries, Mahan and Jinhan, mentioned by the Wa king (in this account), had already vanished more than a 100 years prior to the accounts of the Wa kings appeared in the Chinese records. These accounts yet continue to be mentioned as viable entities until one of last five Wa kings, Bu, was bestowed. Secondly, he classifies the ranking of titles for the kings of Koguryo, Packjae, and Wa that were authorized by Chinese regimes and appeared in the Chinese records. He concludes that the Chinese King’s bestowed title of King of Koguryo was superior to the title he bestowed on the King of Packjae and the Packjae King’s title was superior to that of the contemporary Wa king (1974:22). Thirdly, he also mentions one of the descriptions commented by the Wa kings as they requested their authorized titles in the Chinese court.

According to one description appeared in the Sungshu; “From time of old our forebears have clad themselves in armor and helmet and gone across the hills and waters, sparing no time for rest. In the east, they conquered fifth-five countries of hairy men; and in the west, they brought to their knees sixty-six countries of various barbarians. Crossing the sea to the north, they subjugated ninety-five countries” (Goodrich 1951:23). Chon, K.U. explains that the story was exaggerated for the military operations, which might be indicating the events appeared on the King Kwanggaeto stele, and the 95 countries correspond to a small part of the southern Korea peninsula (More discussions related to theses military events will be introduced in the following section, Kwanggaeto stele). He therefore concludes that the accounts for the five Wa kings in the Chinese documents would not be interpreted by the way of traditional Japanese scholars (1974).

### **Seven-Branched Sword**

Two additional items frequently used to support the discussion of hegemonic relations between Japan and Korea include the Seven–Branched sword and the King

Kwanggaeto's stele. The sword is preserved in the Shinto temple of Isikami in the town of Tenri in Nara Prefecture (previously referred to as the Kinai area). It looks like a spear with three prongs on each side, is 75cm long, and includes sixty-one inscribed Chinese characters on both sides and is regarded as an important element in understanding the relations between Korea and Japan in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century. Similar swords are reported in Korea but not in China yet (Hong, Y. G. 2000:221). The inscription shows the year in which each was made, "the sixteenth day of the <fourth> month in the fourth year of Taiho (=A.D. 369)" (Hirano 1977:68).

There are several legends related to the origin of this sword but many believe that it was the sword described in the Jingo chapter of the Nihongi (Covell 1988:22). Nihongi shows, "Kutyo and the others came along with Chikuma Nagahiko and presented a seven-branched sword and a seven-little-one mirror, with various other objects of great value" (Aston 1956:251). Some major contents of the sword include; "...this seven-branched sword was manufactured with hundred-times-wrought iron. As this sword has a magical power to rout the enemy, it is presented to the king. Made by □□□□ (four erased characters). Never has there been such a sword. Thinking of longevity, the King of Packjae (or the Crown Prince of Packjae who owes his life to august King) had this sword made for the king of Wa with the hope that it be transmitted to posterity" (revised from Hong W. T. 1988:227-228 and Hirano 1977:68).

Even though scholars agree that it was forged at the Packjae in 369 and sent to the Wa, there are two alternative interpretations for whether it was presented to the interior leader or the leader in a superior power position. Japanese scholars, "Fukuyama Toshio, Kayamoto Morito, Nishida Nagao, and Mishina Shoei hold that the sword was 'offered up' to the Yamato ruler by Paekche" (Hirano 1977:69). It is a natural outcome for them since the Nihongi clearly describes the sword was one of items for the tributes from Packjae. Additionally, in the same Chapter of the Nihongi is noted that king Jingo defeated Silla. Thus, they think that since Packjae was probably a vassal state of the Yamato regime, the sword was an item respectfully presented to the Yamato ruler. On the contrary, according to the other side, "Kim Sokhyong, Toma Seita, Sakamoto Yoshitane, and Ueda Masaaki maintain that it was 'bestowed' by Paekche" (Hirano 1977:69). Ueda, who emphasizes the meaning of the Chinese character on the inscription, indicates that

the receiver might be in the vassalage situation to the donor because the nuance on the inscription is “commanding tone of a superior addressing an inferior” (Hong 1988:228). Chon, K. U., who believes that the donor was the prince of Paekjae, insists that certain Chinese characters on the sword would not have been interpreted as dedicating a sword to the Wai king but as sending a sword to the king of a vassal state (1974:19). However, Saeki (1977) and Hirano (1977) take the middle road and think that the presentation of the sword should be regarded as a representation of friendly relationships between the two ancient countries. Hirano proposes that it was a necessary diplomatic step for Paekjae to solidify the rear of the country in the face of Koguryo’s threatening southward expansion (1977:70).

### **Kwanggaeto Stele**

This stele has had immeasurable significance for the study of ancient relationships between Korea and Japan. The stele provides the oldest written documentation hypothetically illuminating the hegemonic environment between Korea and Japan and includes the time interval for which there are no Chinese records mentioning Japan. The stele was erected for the King Kwanggaeto, one of Koguryo kings during A.D. 391-412. Kwanggaeto had extended his territory in all directions and established a larger Koguryo kingdom. The stele for him is located in modern China and was discovered in 1876. The monument is an irregular rectangular column made of natural stone, 6.2 meters high and all four sides are bear roughly 1800 Chinese characters. Each character is deeply engraved and measures 10 centimeter in height and 9 centimeter in width. However, of these, about 260 characters are illegible due to damage to the surface of the stele. Several ideographs are also defaced. There are many characters which cannot be translated accurately and have divergent interpretations depending on the translator. The content of the stele is usually divided into two sections. The first section provides the foundation myth of the Koguryo, Ch’umo (Chumong). The second section lists in chronological order of Kwanggaeto’s military achievement in seven wars (Szczesniak 1946, 1951, 1952; Hatada 1979; Takeda 1989, see for the detailed English translation for the characters, Szczesniak 1951).

The second section mentions the name Wa several times in conjunction with King Kwanggaeto's exploits. Again, two opposing interpretations exist (see Chon, K. U. 1974:20-21; Hong, W. T. 1988:231-236; Yi, C. H. 1977:56) which is compounded since "the surface of the stone has undergone the depredations caused <by> the elements of nature, <and> several characters are illegible. And the passages concerning relations between Koguryo and the Wai land themselves to ambiguity. In deciphering these passages there are, therefore, several possible interpretations" (Chon, K. U. 1974:20). All Wa activities on the stele were shown on the periods during the A. D. 391-404 centuries, with the end that Koguryo armies defeated them. There is little question about the historical accuracy of the stele, since the monument was erected just two years later on the King's demise. However, as to the events on the King's exploits, some exaggeration might exist (Hatada 1979:10). In fact, some scholars (see Hirano 1977:72) do not believe the stories that Packjae had been totally subjected by Koguryo, because some Chinese records and the Korean history book, Samguksagi, provide accounts that during the history of Packjae, it had maintained powerful enough to maintain its integrity from Koguryo, Silla and Chinese attacks.

The first controversial issue concerning the King's stele is whether or not the Wa defeated the Packjae and Silla (or Imna). Among several comments on the Wa on the stele, the most controversial one refers to an event in A.D. 391. All other references to the Wa pertain to Koguryo's attack on the Wa to help Silla. According to the translation of the controversial line by Szczesniak (1951:261), "Kudara <Packjae> and Shiragi <Silla> were our <Koguryo> subject people before and they have paid tribute to our court. And in the year of Junior-Metal-Hare <A.D. 391>, the Wai came across the sea and defeated Kudara □□ and Shiragi and made them their subjects." This interpretation has been widely accepted by Japanese traditional scholars. It also confirms what they believe the Japanese domination over the southern Korean peninsula while the only evidence that has been found to support this traditional notion was only account from the Nihongi. Thus it is not surprising that the stele inscriptions have been used to support early development of the Yamato regime.

On the other hand, some scholars, mainly from Korea, have alternative interpretations. Chong In-Bo interprets the same line (as above) as, "The Wa invaded in



391. <In response to the Wa invasion> Koguryo crossed the sea and defeated the Wa <In the war between Koguryo and Japan> Paekche conspired with Japan and <verb> Silla” (Hatada 1979:9). However, Hatada provides yet an alternative interpretation of Chong’s idea, “the subjects and objects of verbs shift too much. In classical Chinese one may omit subjects and objects, but this reading is extreme in this respect with the result that it is unnatural as classical Chinese” (1979:9). Meanwhile, Szczesniak (1951:250) comments on the writing style on the stele, “The syntax and grammar of the inscription is not entirely coherent. It seems that the text was composed by a Korean who affected Chinese writing”. An additional interpretation is provided by Kim, Sok-Hyong, “In 391 the Wa came and attacked. <In response to the Wa attack> Koguryo crossed the sea, defeated Paekche, <verb> Silla, and made them subject peoples” (Hatada 1979:10). Kim also thinks the reason that the Koguryo’s response to the Wa’s raid generated an attack on Paekjae was because the Wa and Paekjae were the same people and theorizes that the Wa was a Paekjae’s colony (Hatada 1979:10). In any event, since the stele was to celebrate King Kwanggaeto’s exploits and conquests, it might not have made sense to describe the Wa’s military achievement on the Korean peninsula on the stele as the traditional Japanese scholars have interpreted.

There is yet an additional theory that the stele is a conspiracy. Yi, Chin-Hui who “examined the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the stele.... studied the numerous tracings, rubbings, and photographs of the Kwanggaet’o inscription, arranged them in chronological order of production, and then studied evidence of changes in the characters themselves over the years” (Hatada 1979:7). According to his theory, because a Japanese intelligence agent made the first copy of it and the first research report on the stele was prepared by the Japanese army, it is argued that some words must have been revised in order to prove all the traditional interpretations on the hegemonic power on the peninsula and to justify their war doctrine that Korea had originally been Japanese territory. However, this theory is not widely accepted in Japan but has many supporters in Korea. Hudson comments, “it seems likely that the army would have made the inscription more clearly favourable to Japan if they had changed anything” (Hudson 1989:55). Hatada also indicates that such as errors may have resulted when the stele was copied (Hatada 1979:7, note 7).

Scholars have yet to find more direct written sources for these controversial periods. However, some scholars (Szczesniak 1946, 1951, 1952) try to make a connection between stories on the Nihongi and Wa events on the stele, although the Nihongi does not include any direct mention about all the Wa activities on the stele. In fact, the subject countries and the reasons for military actions over Korean peninsula on the Nihongi differ from those on the stele. Furthermore, the years for military actions from these sources show a gap of 120 years (Szczesniak 1946:59). However, regardless of the realities for all the competing theories on these issues, it is clear that the Wa were directly involved in the affairs on the Korean peninsula from the fourth century until all political hegemonic games among the three kingdoms are brought to a close with Silla's unification in the seventh century.

These, specifics, and many of the other discussion in the previous sections make it quite obvious that there is no resolution of these arguments and interpretations if all we depend on are the historic records, and inscriptions on swords and stele. The interpretations are all based on, at best, very vague and ambiguous interpretations of a very small set of vague and ambiguous texts or text fragments. It seems highly unlikely that these sources will ever shed more light on these issues and at best the next generation of researchers will simply 'rehash' that which has already been said by earlier translators.

One of the main reasons that most Korean scholars do not accept the traditional viewpoints of Japanese scholars on the ancient relations between Japan and Korea is that the contemporary Wa people or the Yamato regime could not have had enough political, cultural and military power over any of three kingdoms in Korea. While Samguksagi describes the first foundation of the Three Kingdom system during 57- 18 B.C., different arguments regarding the formation procedure of the first Korean state societies are still in debate (see Barnes 1990). Most scholars usually agree that it was around early fourth century that all Three Kingdoms ultimately came to reach the state level societies (Barnes 2001; Pai 2000). Meanwhile, some other scholars, who rely on the historic sources and insist on an earlier formation process argue that the extensive internal and external conflicts among these groups in Korea may have promoted group cohesion and social changes which ultimately led to a state level society even earlier than the normally accepted rise or appearance of the Three Kingdom entity (Choe, M. L. 1984; Portal 2000;

Sohn et al. 1970). Regardless of either of situations for the reality, Korean scholars strongly argue that neither the Wa nor the Yamato entities would have been able to overpower any kingdoms of the Korean peninsula.

As a matter of fact, due to the geographical closeness between China and Korea, the ancient Korean kingdoms would logically been able to obtain more advanced military items and would have been exposed to warfare techniques of the time through regular trade and military events along the northern border with China. One simple example is the presence of cavalry. A horse mounted cavalryman was the single most important military component of ancient times. None of the Chinese records even hint that the Wa had horses. In fact, Houhanshu and Weichih clearly describe that there is no horse for the Wa, although “bones and teeth of horses have been unearthed in widely scattered Neolithic sites in Japan” (Goodrich 1951:5, note number 9). The first time mention of horses in the Nihongi (see the quoted stories from Nihongi above) was when two horses are sent to Japan from Packjae in A.D. 404. It was not until the seventh century that the first cavalry engagement is mentioned in the Nihongi (Hong, W. T. 1994:46). On the other hands, the Koguryo King’s stele inscription includes the following comment: “In the seventeenth year of Junior-Fire-Sheep <A.D. 407>, fifty thousand foot and horse were dispatched and ordered....” (Szczesniak 1951:263). Some Chinese records even indicate the earlier existence of cavalryman in Korea. The Hanshu (History of the Former Han Dynasty: 206 B.C. – A.D. 25) accounts that the Choson king, Ugeu, sent five thousand horses to China for tribute. The Houhanshu also describes that people in Jinhan ride a cow and horse (Kim, J. S. 1999:51).

Other accounts indicating military struggles between China and Korea would seem to suggest that Korean kingdoms must surely have placed them in a superior position in comparison to the more isolated and less militarily advanced Japanese political entity of the time. According to a Chinese account in the Namcheshu (see Kim, J. S. 1999:114), as Packjae also occupied the Lioshu (northeastern side of modern China) before it moved down its political base to the southern Korean peninsula due to military struggles with Koguryo (some historians believe that it might be Puyo, not Packjae. In other words, the Chinese writer for the record could have been confused two different kingdoms of the same entity, see Barnes 1990:135-138; Lee, D. H. 1991, more detailed

discussions on this will be introduced in the chapter six), the Chinese Wei dynasty crossed the Packjae border with a force of several hundred thousand. But Packjae defeated the Wei army badly. Interestingly, the Namcheshu also includes very arguable accounts for historians. According to the stories on the record, Packjae's political power reaches not only a Lioshu area but also a Shandong area in China).

Another good historical evidences indicating possible existence of strong military power of Korean kingdoms are from Koguryo's warfare with two Chinese dynasties, Sui and Tang, which are two first political regimes unifying all political powers in China. Just before Sui dynasty was taken over by the Tang dynasty, Sui invaded Koguryo several times but in each case was severely defeated by the Koguryo army. These "costly and abortive expeditions against Koguryo produced widespread disorders, which destroyed Sui power" (Twitchett 1979:7). The following dynasty, Tang, also launched several full-scale attacks on Koguryo but was also unsuccessful in their conquest effort. Ultimately, the Tang in concert with Silla finally conquered Koguryo in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. All these events are documented on the Samguksagi, which also recounts numerous internal military events among three kingdoms in Korea for more than several hundreds years. According to these stories appeared in both the Chinese records and in the Samguksagi, it is not logically reasonable to suppose that political and military power of any kingdoms in Korea could be as weak as is reported in the Nihongi. Thus, the Korean scholars are of uniform mind that all fates of three kingdoms do not match that reported in the Nihongi.

### Southern Kingdoms on the Peninsula and the Wa on the archipelago

As, has been suggested most, if not all, traditional interpretations of the relations between ancient Korea and Japan are now being challenged. It is quite difficult to accept the traditional idea that the Wa (or Yamato) was a truly powerful political regime. This traditional interpretation may have gained credence in part because it was "widely integrated into the English literature" (Grayson 1977, cited in Hudson 1989:56). Yu, Hak-ku explains this phenomenon and notes many western scholars may have applied

“the perspective of a modern state to the history of ancient times” (1990:47). At any rate, as seen on the Kirkland’s comment, “there is little cause to give any credence to the Japanese assertions that they had a base in Korea” (1981:25), and such a position is clearly less popular now than it once was. Hatada comments, “most Japanese scholars thought of Wa as the Japanese state.... But whether we really can regard the Wa as the Yamato state demands serious scrutiny” (1979:16). Hatada, however, does not really assess the relation of the Yamato with the three kingdoms in Korea. In general, many (e.g., Chon K. U. 1974; Hatada 1979; Lee, K. B. 1984; Yi, C. H. 1977) are trying to reconsider the entire situation with respect to identity and relations of these entities. More often than not, there is a consistency in the proposition that the Wa of the historical sources are of Korean stock who are probably from the Silla or Kaya areas, although there must have had more effort first to clarify the identities and relations between the Yamato and the Wa (see Chon, K. U. 1974; Yi, C. H. 1977). Nevertheless, since the 1990s, Korean scholars are calling for a reconsideration of the relations between Paekjae and the Yamato (e.g., Choi, J. S. 1998; Hong, W. T. 1988, 1994; Hong Y. G. 2000). Most propose the logical outcome of these renewed studies is that Korean immigrants, especially from Paekjae, must have played a significant role in the political and cultural affairs in ancient Japan.

There is no direct historical evidence to outline the relations between Korea and Japan before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. There are only a few scattered descriptions in Chinese records after the 5<sup>th</sup> century. As a consequence, many scholars usually fall back on the accounts in the Nihongi and the Samguksagi for the A.D. 3-7<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to the stories of the Nihongi, all three Korean kingdoms were in a subservient status to the imperial Japanese kingdom. However, the number of accounts related to the Korean kingdoms are relatively numerous in the Nihongi. The numbers of appearances of stories for Paekjae and Imna are little bit less than those of Koguryo and Silla in the Nihongi. Throughout the 4-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, Imna (Kaya?) is regarded as a part of the Wa empire while the Nihongi implies the Paekjae was more or less constantly allied with the Wa against two other Kingdoms, Koguryo and Silla. The Nihongi also includes many stories indicating Koguryo and Silla were more or less hostile to the Wa – these propositions match the accounts on the Kwanggaeto stele. The Samguksagi and Samgukyusa accounts

are also very similar to those in the Nihongi. Both Korean records indicate that in some cases, Paekjae, Imna and Wa had joined forces against either the Silla and Koguryo armies or against the combined armies of these kingdoms (Totman 2000:49). However, the Samguksagi also describes that Paekjae, Silla and Kaya also formed military alliances against Koguryo in A.D. 433 which lasted for 150 years (Chon, K. U. 1974:35, 42).

The number of descriptions for the Wa (including Nippon) in the three Kingdom sections of the Samguksagi is high and they are mentioned 70 times in the Silla Pon'gi, and 16 times in the Paekjae Pon'gi, but do not appear at all in the Koguryo Pon'gi (Yi, C. H. 1977:52). Could this be interpreted to indicate the Silla and Paekjae maintained more direct contacts with the Wa? "Paekche recorded Wae as friendly ally with which prisoners and tribute were exchanged. In Paekche Pon'gi are to be found 13 references to Wae in 16 characters, but none of them was suggestive of any hostile relations with Wae.... On the contrary, Silla Pon'gi depicts Silla-Wae relations as hostile from the beginning" (Yi, C. H. 1977:53). In fact, it appears that 36 occasions of the 70 times the Wa are mentioned in the Silla Pon'gi is about the Wa raids on the Silla coast (Hatada 1979:16). Hatada, who emphasizes these that most of assaults took place in the summer along the coast and were all immediately repelled. He notes the Wa did not occupy any area for very long and all could be regarded as minor actions by Wa pirates from the Kyushu Island (Hatada 1979:17).

Therefore it appears that Silla and the Wa would not have amicable relations. Nevertheless, Kim, H. K. (1989) proposes that the Silla people would have migrated to the Izumo area in Japan because of their close geographical location and emphasizes the continuous relationship between Silla and Japan for the ancient time. He also believes that this relationship was continued even after the Silla's unification of the Korean Peninsula. He supports his theory with the evidence from the ruined Japanese temple sites which contain Silla arabesque decorated stonework patterns (Kim, H. K. 1989:18). Therefore, according to him, it might be possible to suppose that the amicable relations between Silla and Wa were required because of the potential military threat from the Chinese Tang dynasty (Tang tried to administer the old Paekjae and Koguryo territories and its army was repulsed from the peninsula by Silla in A.D. 676). Thus, it would imply that since many Silla's cultural patterns and government systems were adapted in Japan,

migrants from Silla may have both lived in Japan and participated in the formation of what is thought of as Japanese culture during these early intervals.

As for the omission of accounts of the Wa in the Koguryo pon'gi in the Samguksagi, Hatada (1979:15) simply suggests that this reflects merely a flawed record. However, one possible proposition from this fact is that the Wa was not a politically important partner or enemy for Koguryo during the ancient time. According to the logic by Kim, Sok-hyong (see Hatada 1979), the Wa on the Kwanggaeto's stele might have been regarded as Packjae's military vassal country from Koguryo's angle. Otherwise, the Wa would have appeared at least several times on the section of Koguryo in the Samguksagi. If not so, there is no reason that the author of the Samguksagi, who already mentioned the Wa on the Packjae and Silla sections of his history book many times, did not include any account of the Wa on the Koguryo section.

As noted earlier many Korean scholars clearly favor the Packjae domination of the Yamato regime and have focused their attention on this aspect of the historical record. Many Korean scholars view the political affairs between the Wa and Packjae as a situation of vassalage. Regardless of whether the Wa was annexed to Packjae or the Wa annexed Packjae, it seems clear that the relations between these two regions were both intense and continuous. While Korean scholars have raised many new theories related to the ancient relations between Japan and Packjae, it is necessary to take closer look for the relationship of both regions. In the following chapter, more detailed discussions will be introduced.

## Conclusion

It seems that some scholars support the proposition that the Wa territory possibly included both parts of the Japanese archipelago and the southern Korean peninsula. Some further propose the Wa of the southern Korean peninsula took a leading role in the formation of Japanese culture. Korean scholars in particular see southern Korean as an ancient cultural bridge between China and Japan and did in fact enter into the

development of Japanese ethnicity. The nature of the power relations between these areas however is undergoing dramatic revisions and reconsiderations though the historic records can be interpreted in quite different manners depending on details of interpretation and nationalistic perspectives.



## CHAPTER 6

### KOREAN MIGRANTS TO JAPAN – THE HISTORIC RECORD

#### Introduction

Although there is no direct historical evidence showing ethnic connections between peoples living in ancient Korea and Japan during the Yayoi period (300 B.C. – A.D. 300), it must be remembered that the country terminology indicating ‘Japan’ or ‘Korea’ did not come into use until later times. In addition, even though there is no direct description of any consequence in any Chinese, Korean or Japanese documents indicating migration of people from the Korean peninsula to Japan from the Yayoi period to the Nara period (A.D. 710 – 794) in Japan, the Nihongi clearly indicates Korean peoples presence and involvement in affairs of the Japanese from the Kofun period (A.D. 300 – A.D. 710) to the end of the Nara Period.

#### Korean migrants mentioned in the Nihongi

There are many accounts in the Nihongi of various sized groups of people from numerous villages in Paekjae, Koguryo, Silla and Kaya (Imna) moving to Japan by the end of the Yayoi period. Many of the descriptions of a small or large-scale migration may be reporting refugees fleeing wars among the various kingdoms as well as with China. The Nihongi also includes many reports of specific Koreans who brought innovations and cultural traditions to Japan as in the following account –

“The King of the Land of Pekche presented to the Emperor...a number of volumes of religious books, with an ascetic, a meditative monk, a nun, a reciter of mantras, a maker of Buddhist images, and a temple architect, six persons in all” (Nihongi, Aston 1956:96).

“The King of Pekche sent as tribute a seamstress named Maketsu. She was the first ancestress of the present seamstresses of Kume” (Aston 1956:261).

“Pekche sent... to bring as tribute a scholar of the five classics named Tang Yang-ni” (Nihongi – part two, Aston 1956:9).

“A priest of Koryo, named Hye-cha, emigrated to Japan, and was taken as teacher by the Prince Imperial. In the same year a Pekche priest, named Hye-chhong, arrived. These two priests preached the Buddhist religion widely, and were together the mainstay of the Three Precious Things” (Nihongi – part two, Aston 1956:123).

“A Pekche priest named Kwal-leuk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of Calendarmaking, of Astronomy, and of Geography, and also books of the art of invisibility and of magic. At this time three or four pupils were selected, and made to study under Kwal-leuk” (Nihongi – part two, Aston 1956:126).

“... There were sent to the Land of Thang <Su> the students Fukuin, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, Emyo, Nara no Wosa, Kuromaro, Takamuku no Ayabito, and Ohokuni, Imaki no Ayabito...” (Nihongi – part two, Aston 1956:139). <Some scholars believe that a half of them were Korean descendants (see Ash 1971:40) or all of them were descended from Korea (see Hong, W. T. 1994:165)>

“Another man of Pekche named Mimachi emigrated to Japan. He said that he had learned from Wu their style of music and dancing. He was accordingly

lodged at Sakurawi, and young people collected who were made to learn from him these arts” (Nihongi, Aston 1956, part two:144).

All agree there is abundant evidence for extensive Korean involvement in Japanese society. Although some regard these relations as having a profound influence on Japanese society, others regard their influence as being relatively insignificant. Many earlier, and current, Japanese and western scholars, regard the possible Korean genetic contribution as being relatively limited and restricted to a few Korean laborers. For instance, Reischauer describes Korean migrants as political refugees, who

“Were happy to find new homes in Japan where they would be safe from their Silla enemies, while the Japanese government was eager to employ educated Korean officials in various petty government positions, to find places for Korean priest in the new Buddhist temples being built all over Japan, to make use of the services of Korean farmer and give him land as a colonist on the eastern frontier bordering the Ezo territory” (1967:51-52).

Similarly, another western scholar, Kiley, in discussing the social status of Korean immigrants, notes that

“During the seventh and early eighth centuries, the Japanese imperial court employed numerous officials of Korean origin, usually technical experts whose skills were rare or non-existent among native Japanese. Such specialties often continued for generations in the same lineage of immigrants and included such areas as engineering, architecture, astrology, and even professional scholarship. However indispensable these services may have been, non Japanese officials very rarely attained high court rank. The highest ranks were generally reserved for native aristocrats who exercised generalized civil and military authority” (1969:177).

Here again there is an alternative interpretation, and many feel that the range of influence of Koreans in Japan was far wider than these accounts indicate and may have held important positions in Japanese society (see Ash 1971; Choi, J. S. 1998; Hong, W. T. 1988; Kim, T. S. 1994). In other words, scholars emphasize the fact that Korean migrants influenced many if not most of the major cultural and technical aspects of ancient

Japanese society from metal processing to saddle making, cloth weaving, dress making, irrigation, calendar making, Chinese scripture, Buddhism, temple architecture, tile making, and so on (Kim, H. K. 1989:18). Therefore, since these areas were fundamental to the development of complex societies, the Korean contribution was of central importance in this process (Kim, D. S. 1987). It would also follow that these individuals would enjoy high social positions and were not viewed simply as immigrant laborers or manual laborers who had been taken in border skirmishes as was common in these time period.

### Korean migrants in the ancient Japanese society

While there is no way of quantifying how many Korean immigrants came to Japan, or the details of their social status, some accounts from the 9<sup>th</sup> century provide some insight. According to the book, *Shinsen shoji roku* compiled in A.D. 815, a total 237 out of 1182 noble families in the Kinai area on Honshu Island were regarded as people with Korean genealogy. The book specifically mentions 120 such families from Paekjae, 88 from Koguryo, 18 from Silla, and 11 from Imna (Reischauer 1967:19). They might be families that moved to Japan between the years A.D. 356-645 (Reischauer 1967:19) and may have chosen to move to Japan because of ongoing conflicts in Korea.

It is also possible that these specifically mentioned families might have been distinguished from the local Japanese families in contrast to Chinese and other Korean families who had arrived in the area centuries before and had been more thoroughly assimilated into Japanese society. It may well be that these specifically identified families represent the newest groups of immigrants that were quite visible in the few centuries before these passages were written. Nevertheless, we would be able to suppose that, if there had been continuous migration from Korea to Japan since the Yayoi periods (300 B.C.) until the 7<sup>th</sup> century Silla unification, it is possible some of the earlier immigrants such as those during the Three Hans Period and the early intervals of the Three Kingdoms Period may have been completely assimilated into Japanese society and no

longer regarded as immigrants. In other words, it is like a case that even though there were some ancient Koreans who were clearly classified as foreign blood on the Nihongi, others may have been totally assimilated into Japanese society. In contrast with this, Koreans brought to Japan during World War II for compulsory labor, little more than 50 years ago, are still clearly classified as the largest minority group in Japan. It seems likely that ethnic distinctions may have been less important in the past than they have been in more recent time periods. If the flow of people in the past was more consistent and less of a forced nature the naturalization process may have been more rapid and complete than in modern times. Thus, it is possible that larger numbers of the native noble families could be in fact descendants of early Korean immigrants. In other words, lots of native noble families who were regarded as the native Japanese groups and obtained vested rights already, could have wanted to be distinguished with later migrants from Paekjae, Silla, Koguryo and Imna. Ash, remarking two major purges occurred between 799 and 809 in Japan to confiscate and burn immigrant registers for the purpose of erasing Korean noble families' domination, argues that much higher rate of the Korean noble families among the whole ratio for the noble families in Japan must have been existed before Shinsen shoji roku was published in 815 (Ash 1971:44-45).

Descriptions of the clan system, while difficult to understand in some respects (discussion in the Shinsen shoji roku) does mention at the time of writing (AD 9<sup>th</sup> century), "the characters for the older surnames and the newer surnames became like one another; whether a family was immigrant or Japanese became doubtful...and foreign residents from Korea claimed descent from the gods of Japan" (Kiley 1969:181). Such remarks clearly show that the distinction between resident Japanese and immigrant Korean groups was blurring and essentially disappearing. Clearly this places Korean immigrants into the ruling families lineages and emphasizes the importance they played in the higher echelons of society and presumably in the formation of Japan as a distinct entity. This is quite the contrast from modern scholars who often regard all ancient migrants from Korea to Japan as toraijin (immigrants), which implies "political refugees and protected immigrants with specific skills" (Abe 1998:48). Clearly the earlier accounts written at the time of these events exhibit a different attitude with a more all encompassing inclusive perspective rather than a clear differentiation of peoples from

Korea. There is no evidence that before the end of the Nara period that there was any effort to either persistently identify or provide clear social regulation for any groups regarded as immigrant in nature. It is only after this interval that such distinctions seem to take on greater importance.

Clearly today, there is a difference of opinion in Korean and Japanese scholarly circles about the influence of earlier Korean immigrants. Many modern Korean scholars feel these early immigrants were not just ‘boat people’ as Japanese scholars have implied but ‘colonists’ continuously streaming into Japanese island from the Yayoi period (300 B.C. – A.D.300) to the Nara period (A.D. 710 – 794). As a result, they believe that the impact of Koreans on ancient Japan was considerable and contributions and involvement in Japanese society were impressive. In addition to this new standpoint, scholars are apt to emphasize more direct Korean cultural impacts than Chinese contributions. For example, “This was a twelve-rank system that has been widely misinterpreted as a direct borrowing of the Chinese system. However, Koguryo had a twelve-rank system but China did not and it was a twelve rank system that the Japanese first adopted” (Kamstra 1967:389, cited in Ash 1971:41). Although it is true that aspects of ancient Korea were influences by Chinese traditions, in Korea the Chinese patterns were transformed into truly unique Korean elements, were then transferred to Japan and were far more similar to the Korean than the original Chinese traditions. For these reasons, it has been noted that “the early formation of the Japanese state came in connection with a relatively direct contact with Korean culture and Koreans, and was only influenced indirectly by Chinese civilization” (Ash 1971:42). As a matter of fact, most well-known ancient Japanese architectural features and ancient works of art were built or designed by Korean migrants or their descendants and is documented clearly in the *Nihongi* (Covell 1984).

At the same time, Reischauer notes the great influx of migrants from Korea and China had a profound impact and “the old society and government based on the clan (*uji*) system” (1967:19) fall into disorder. The *uji* system is thought to be the basic kinship structure which worked well in small tribal communities but was transformed as the Yamato evolved (Kiley 1973:27). Interestingly, most scholars note that the *uji* system was quite clearly Korean origin and many of the terms show a direct Korean etymology with respect to nomenclature and title references (Abe 1998:49; Kiley 1973:29). It has

been also noted that titles of social status in the Yamato regime, specifically, “kabane titles, which accrued to uji on a hereditary basis” (Batten 1986:201), originated in the Korean bone rank system (Kiley 1973:34). Neither the two Uji or Be status/title systems originated in Japanese society but appear to have originated around the 5<sup>th</sup> century and are noted in the late seventh century written documentation (Kiley 1973:28).

The apparent ease with which the Korean immigrants were assimilated into the Japanese system prior to the Nara period may also reflect the absence of a strong ‘native’ Japanese kinship/hierarchy system prior to the Yamato regime and influences from Korea which helped too solidify and formalize kinship and status organizations along Korean rather than the looser nascent Japanese system. This is not apparent to say there may have been some competition for rights and privileges with native-born Japanese. But clearly they appear to have been readily accommodated and helped transformed Japanese society on many levels. There ultimately may also have been increased competition between the older more established immigrant groups and those that came later throughout the end of the Yamato and the Nara periods. At about this time this increased competition and concern with position and rights may have stimulated a solidification of positions as newer immigrants essentially of the same bloodlines began jockeying for the same rights and privileges as their earlier more established brethren.

### Korean migrants and Yamato regime

Most Japanese scholars identify the formation of the Yamato state as a result of internal Japanese social evolution. However, there are clearly elements indicating Korean influence on a general nature as well as direct Korean immigrant participation in the process. As noted in earlier chapters, many names, with Packjae, Silla, Kaya, and Koguryo origins are found throughout the main islands of Japan. As also noted earlier many of the ancient political centers, tombs, and worship temples can be correlated to Korean place names. In the Yamato area, many names of temples and palaces can be correlated with the name, Packjae (Choi, J. S. 1998:15-17).

One of the most famous ancient sites, Asuka (Nara Prefecture), often regarded as a cradle of Japanese culture and the cultural base for the Yamato regime during the 6 – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries until the first permanent capital was established at Heijikyo, 16 miles from Asuka (A.D. 710 – Hong 1994:207). Asuka’s physiographic features are regarded as being very similar to those of the Puyo region, one of ancient capitals of Packjae (Lee, D. H. 1997:409). According to Kim, T. S. who emphasizes many Packjae derived names in Nara, including Asuka, many major areas in the Nara basin were colonized by Packjae immigrants before the foundation of the Yamato (1994:154). Kim proposes the Packjae immigrants were principals in establishing the Asuka culture (1994:150). It has also been more recently suggested that Silla immigrants had occupied the region 100 years prior to the Packjae’s intrusion into the area (Hong, Y. G. 2000:101-102). The variety of immigrant groups sweeping into the area, bringing new traditions and fomenting new expectations may also help explain the numerous (more than 12) changes of courts between A.D. 593 and 710 (See Kidder 1959:60) before the first permanent capital location was selected. Within the Japanese interpretive framework these frequent moves are attributed to “conflicts within the Yamato royal group, among the various royal lineages, and within the nobility who were their allies” (Toby 1985:337). Kim, T. S. (1994), alternatively, regards the Asuka culture as a blending of Japanese traits and Packjae features resulting in a unique blend distinct from either. Kim emphasizes the Korean element in this transformation and discounts the influence of Chinese culture on this process even mediated through the lens of Korean culture (1994:68-169). Kim proposes that the Packjae groups were dominant within the immigrant groups though there were representatives of the Silla and Koguryo in the Japanese archipelago. Kim therefore suggests the Silla’s influence was limited to the Izumo area alone and many immigrants from the regions of Silla and Koguryo were politically relegated to the more backward regions of Japan (1994:155). According to Yi, C. H., the new dominant Packjae contingent is felt to have been largely responsible for the name change for the Japanese islands from Wa to Nippon (1977:57). Yi also proposes this change took place between A.D. 500 and 665 (some 25 years before the name Nippon replaces Wa around A.D. 670. after Wa disappeared from the written record around A.D. 500).



MathMoto Seicho, whose ideas parallel those of Kim, T. S., says that before the imperial family, the direct descendants of the deity, came to the Kinai area, there was probably a continuous flow of Korean immigrants of various sizes to many areas of Japan (Kim, T. S. 1994:193). According to Kim, T. S., the cultural similarities of these earlier migrant groups were being unified under the Izumo pattern before the new comers (mainly from the Packjae area) dominated the Yamato basin before spreading outside of the Yamato area. It could be argued the Korean settlers separated into two sides – the northern region and the southern region (Kim, T. S. 1994:193, see also Kim, H. K. 1989:18). T. S. Kim also proposes at least some of the Japanese civil wars during this period were related to conflict within the Korean family groups as they jockeyed for political power within Japan. Kim also noted that some famous Japanese shoguns often put their progenitor's family name, Silla, ahead of their own names in writing scripts – those following these patterns includes Minamoto, who opened the Kamakura era (the Feudal Period of Japan) and Tokugawa Ieyas who was an heir to Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1994:205-206, 345).

As noted earlier many Japanese place names have Korean correlates reflecting possible Korean connections and origins. Emperor Bidatsu settled in Kudara on Oi, where it was a district called Kudara (the Japanese rendering of Packjae) and emperor Yomei set his political center at “Kudara no Miya on the Kudara River near the Kudara Temple” (Ash 1971:43). It is clear to make reference to the Korean nomenclature of the area. In fact the first permanent Japanese capital, Nara, is means ‘country’ in Korea. Kiley comments, “It must be assumed that the Japanese aristocracy of this time were virtually illiterate and that they were therefore heavily dependent on the immigrants for all technical services. It is also clear that this area had a heavy Korean population” (1969:189 on the note number 18). It is therefore possible to suppose that these place name parallels reflect either the Korean specialists influence as well as the possible Korean derivation of the Japanese ruling elite.

## The Horseriders

It is also necessary to examine Egami's proposed theory on the 'horserider conquest on Yamato regime'. Regardless of the veracity of the proposition it has generated a great deal of discussion about the identity for the Paekjae and Yamato regimes connections. Egami's theory has had little support in the Japanese community but is widely popular in the Korean context. There are however a variety of things which seem to support the possibility of the horse rider theory (Egami 1964).

1. The early tomb-mounds and the late tomb-mounds culture in Japan are basically different in nature.
2. The change between early and late tomb-mound cultures was fairly sudden and there was no sign of a natural transition.
3. General agriculturalists would not have had an intention of causing a change of their own traditional characters.
4. Late tomb-mounds period corresponds in all respects with that of the continent and the Korean peninsula.
5. Few horses by the early tomb-mounds culture but large numbers of them in the late tomb-mound period.
6. Similar mythological stories for the founders between Japan and Korea.
7. Stories on the records are none other than the story of the founding of the Japanese state by the alien race.
8. Words which are difficult to understand as Japanese are readily and rationally understandable as Korean.

After a number of scholars from various fields, such as archaeology, linguistics and history, made re-examination of the theory and indicated "chronological inconsistencies or questionable handling of textual materials" (Edwards 1983:265), his theory has not been discussed much among scholars at present (see Miller 1986). Nevertheless, most critics of his ideas show agree that there is no doubt about a possible connection between ancient Korean groups or kingdoms and the Yamato regime,

although Egami seems not to treat the horserider as Korean ethnic people. In other words, Egami, himself, does not put forth much effort to make a clear identification of the horserider, who, he believes, conquered first the southern Korean peninsula by the third century and later on moved to the Japanese islands to rule the islands. He instead uses a very long roundabout way to imply it.

Gari Ledyard points that Egami's theory does not clearly investigate the ancient connection between the ancient Japan and Korea (1975:225). He also criticizes that the nomad people, whom Egami enumerated on his theory, would be "rather a 'predominantly agricultural and secondarily nomadic' people" (Ledyard 1975:224). Therefore, he proposes that the vague identification of the nomadic horserider in Egami's theory would be Puyo people, who were described on the Chinese records as the land was proper for five grains and there were many good horses and beads (see Puyo story by Kim, J. S. 1999).

Kidder, who also rejects Egami's idea, says that Egami's archaeological evidence of horserider people appeared after the fifth century, not forth century (Douglas 1978:365). He also indicates that the horse trappings from archaeological findings and the social structure on the ancient records of the late fifth and early sixth centuries in Japan are more similar to those in Silla (Douglas 1978:365). According to Kirkland (1981, see also 1997), who places more emphasis on the Kaya and Wa connection, Egami's idea for the identity of the horserider as Manchurian is implausible since there is no historical evidence showing any intrusion into Korea by any northern nomadic people. In addition, he thinks that since historical evidence shows that the strong Koguryo kingdom existed in the northern area, it might be impossible that any group of people could have passed through the territory of the strong kingdom. He therefore concludes that "the people who crossed to the islands from Korea would not have been horseriders from Manchuria, but natives of southernmost Korea who possessed the same Yayoi culture that was current in Japan" (Kirkland 1981:125).

Walter Edwards (1983) also disputes Egami's idea mainly by analyzing archaeological evidences. While he thinks that there was a continual flow of migrants from ancient Korea and their cultural impacts on ancient Japan since the Yayoi period were profound, he believes that there was no evidence to prove the sudden change in

cultural tradition of ancient Japanese. Consequently, he concludes that Japan's political and cultural development was completed due to not sudden cultural impacts by invaders but a long-term process of influence by the indigenous population of Japan. This gradual process has had more acceptance in Japanese scholar circles than the sudden horse rider theory proposed by Egami.

As seen above for Egami's theory and some critics on it, we are able to suppose that ancient Korean migrants might have been integrated into the formation process of the Japanese ethnicity, although there are some different ideas on the identity of the people identified with the horserider theory as well as its reality. These are continuously open for debate and may never satisfy all the scholars and critics.

### Puyo or Packjae?

Two main matters stemming from Egami's ideas include; (1) if there were horserider people coming down to the southern Korean peninsula who moved to Japan later, what is their identity? (2) if there is no evidence for attacks or intrusions by nomadic horseriding people in southern Korea and Japan, who were the people making such an impact on Japan? Could it have been the Packjae?

Ledyard (1975) regards the Puyo as not only as an ancestral Korean groups but also regards as the horseriders who took over the Mahan territory in Korea between A.D. 352-372. They Puyo quickly conquered Wa who he argues lived along the southern Korean coast and coastal Kyushu as well as eastward into the Kinai region. He further proposes the Yamato regime was in fact established by the people after they took over Kyushu Island and continued their eastward expansion. Therefore, he also thinks the early stories in the Nihongi as accounts which combined events but were based on the Packjae's conquest of Mahan and then Puyo's overpowering of the Packjae and Silla groups and their ultimate expansion into the Kinai region. He believes that the Puyo power in Kinai was later replaced by the native Wa people by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Eventually Ledyard accepts Egami's southward expansion of the horseriders though he

proposes a different group ethnic identification. He proposes the Chinese records support the existence of the Puyo located in the northeastern China and that Packjae were originally from Puyo and simply ignores the chronological ascription of the foundation of the Packjae kingdom at 18 B.C. (Samguksagi record) and notes the several hundred year gap in the Samguksagi accounts of the Packjae regime formation and the Puyo southern expansion which ultimately includes the Three Hans areas. He feels these chronological ambiguities should just be ignored and discounts such details in the Samguksagi accounts as unreliable in many details (Ledyard 1975:234). While both Puyo and Packjae have been regarded as the direct genealogical lines of modern Korean in present Korean academia, some more discussions concerning the relations between two ancient identities will be introduced in the chapter eight.

Contemplating Ledyard's ideas, regardless of whether there were actually horserider's attacks on the southern Korean peninsula and Japan or not, the most plausible candidate for the Egami horseriders are the Puyo/Packjae. This seems supported by some of the archaeological reconstructions and materials in the areas supporting a connection between Puyo, Packjae and Japan. A number of scholars interested in ancient relations between Japan and Korea accept this position and considered Puyo/Packjae as the most plausible group constituting the largest immigrant groups into Japan at this time period. These propositions are, as noted earlier, supported by some of the Chinese records as well as correlated in place names in the Packjae and Japanese temples, palaces, and shrines and even in the translations of the various kinds names. What is missing is the clear evidence of the southward expansion of these groups and then of the marine crossing to Japan (Ledyard 1975:243).

### Packjae migrants and Yamato

As introduced in previous parts, there are significant descriptions in the Nihongi providing insights to Packjae immigration during the Yamato interval. Silla and Koguryo formally seem less involved and the real questions revolve more centrally around the

Packjae connection with the Yamato regime. Some Korean scholars see the decline of the Korean Packjae power base as a direct consequence of the rise in prosperity and power of the Yamato regime between the 4<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. They insist that the first appearance of the state level regime in Japan was directly attributed to Packjae political refugees/immigrants setting in the Nara area. Many of them also believe that before this interval and afterward smaller political entities evolving across Japan could also be related to Korean immigrant groups in the Kyushu and Honshu Island regions. These smaller entities were ultimately welded together under Packjae control and led directly to the formation of the Yamato regime as known in Japanese documents. Kim, T. S. supports this proposition by arguing that the Chinese records clearly emphasize the widespread of the Packjae ‘empire’ (see the Chapter eight, Puyo and Packjae identities for more) and feels it was more culturally and politically sophisticated than either the Koguryo or Silla kingdoms (1994:36). Choi, J. S. (1998) also thinks Packjae had a more direct connection with Yamato than any other of the kingdoms in Korea. Some major facts he indicates from the descriptions in the Nihongi follow (some of which were mentioned in the previous sections)

1. Korean place names with Packjae, Silla or Kaya or Koguryo roots are scattered across Japan. But most concentrated in the Nara basin seem to have clearer Packjae derivation.
2. Packjae’s official rank system was used in Japan.
3. Most of the celebrations were controlled by a prince of Packjae and most summit members for them were also from Packjae. Packjae also supplied the Yamato regime with prisoners of war acquitted during conflicts with the Tang dynasty.
4. The generals directing the construction of walled defenses in Japan (against the Silla and Tang incursions) were largely drawn from Packjae.
5. Packjae ruler groups kept their social status even when they moved to Japan and entered society at its highest social level.
6. More than half the nobles from Korea on the Shinsen shoji roku were from Packjae.

Therefore he insists that the first strong political and ancient aristocratic power base in Japan was derived from Korean immigrants. There is another notable description implying the direct involvement of Paekjae people in the ethnic formation of Japanese in ancient Japan. Nihongi describes, “Not until now did the Paekche city of Chyu-yu surrender to Thang. Then the people of that country said to one another:-“Chyu-yu had fallen; there is nothing more to be done; this day the name of Paekche has become extinct. Shall we ever visit again the place where the tombs (of our ancestors) are?...” (Nihongi, Aston 1956:280). This clearly implies that the Japanese writers and aristocracy both were aware of the power struggles in Korea and readily recognized their Korean roots. Moreover, Hong proposes that the people in the preceding description, translated by Aston (1956) was specifically referring to people from the Nara region and Aston’s translation should not have inserted ‘that’ in place of the ‘the people of that country’. It makes the sentence read; ‘Then the people of that country said...’ He instead insists that Aston should have put ‘the’ in order to make the sentence read, “Then the people of the country said to one another...” (Hong 1988:125, note number 11). In other words, instead of regarding the identity of ‘the people’ as limited to some people from Paekjae in Nara, he insists that the expression means all the people in Nara.

It is also worth noting that in the Nihongi it is mentioned the first dressmaker (tailor) was from Paekjae and that Paekjae clothing styles had a tremendous influence on Japanese attire. One of the ancient Japanese history books, BuSangRyakGi, describes, “The first Year of Suiko, the Temple of Hokoji was erected at Ausuka where a minister, Soga no Mumako, gained a victory as he wished. When the foundation-stone of the pillar of the pagoda in the temple was erected, all one hundred attendants, including a minister, Soga no Mumako, wore Paekjae costume” (Hong, Y. G. 2000:82). It is not specifically noted why they were attired in Paekjae styles but it seems likely they were either of Paekjae descent or the style was the norm for people in the sixth century Japanese heartland. Regardless of ‘why’ the Korean influence seems clear. From an anthropological and historical perspective people of a subject country typically adopt the dress of the dominant group and this observation suggests the direction of the power relations. Not too long later, at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, one Yamato ruler, Tenmu, passed an edict prohibiting the wearing of either Paekjae or Japanese clothing and forced

the adoption of the Silla clothing style, again, suggesting, shifts in power but still intimating as a strong Korean connection though the faction may have changed (Choi, J. S. 1998:126-127).

### Nihongi and the history of Packjae (Lost history of Packjae?)

As discussed in the previous parts, the historical meaning of the Nihongi story has been challenged by many scholars; for instance, Oblas says, “The Nihon Shoki was not intended as an historical treatise in the modern sense, but was to serve as an instrument of political propaganda designed to glorify and legitimize the rule of the hegemonic Yamato clan chieftain who was the direct descendant of the supreme deity, the Sun Goddess” (1995:13). Therefore, some modern Korean scholars (Choi, J. S. 1998; Chon, K. U. 1974; Hong, W. T. 1988, 1994; Hong, Y. G. 2000), who lay stress on the evidence approving the direct involvements of Korean ethnic groups in the formation process of the ancient society in Japan, propose a very radical idea on the identity of the Nihongi. They believe that Packjae migrants revised the origin of the main Nihongi stories regarding ancient affairs in Korea from Packjae history books after they moved and erected a new kingdom in Japan. This extreme standpoint on the Nihongi has been motivated by several facts introduced already; 1. Mythical similarities regarding the stories of the founders between Japan and Korea. 2. Genealogical evidence to prove Korean migrants’ participations in the high classes of the Japanese society. 3. Linguistic evidence showing Korean origin names of places in Japan. 4. Evidence showing ancient Japan’s adoption of Korean culture and social systems, 5. Enough evidence to support the Packjae’s direct influence on the ancient society and on the first political regime in Japan.

On the other hand, the Nihongi includes a variety of unusual stories relating to Korean affairs, especially with Packjae. For instance, scholars often question one Nihongi story discussing a military campaign by the Wa king in some areas of south Korean peninsula. According to these accounts, the Wa army subdued some areas and after their victories strangely they granted the territory to the Packjae king (see Nihongi, Aston



1956:249). Chon notes this seems unusual and is not noted in any other historic accounts of the time. He proposes, as one explanation, that the military campaign in the Kaya area was in fact undertaken by the Packjae entity and not the Wa since it is also noted that the general in charge of this activity was “one of the eight great family names of Packjae” (Chon, K. U. 1974:39).

Hong, W. T. (1994:114-121) also raises a question concerning the same event notes some scholars use this to argue that some southern parts of the peninsula were part of the Japanese kingdom. However, his position is diametrically opposed to this interpretation and is critical of two elements in the story. He thinks the actual location may have been in a northern inland area of Korea and not in the south. Furthermore, he argues, as others, that the four generals mentioned in the event were all of Packjae descent. He also suggests the main instigator of the event was Homuda, one of the Packjae noblemen, and assisted in the subjugation of Mahan along with four other Packjae generals who left Korea to conquer Japan around A.D. 369. According to him, Ojin who was regarded as one of the greatest Japanese leaders in history and was described in the Nihongi as “...the gods had bestowed the land of southern Korea on the emperor from the time when he was in the womb” (Uemura 1977:79). He believes that that this emperor was directly related to Homuda. In addition he proposes that the authors of the Nihongi created the Jimmu story from the Homuda’s activities in Japan (Hong 1994:122). Kim, Song-Ho (1982) suggests the Jimmu and the Ojin stories were actually derived from the account of Homuda’s expedition and that Nihongi writers essentially created these two different accounts (Hong 1994:121). Thus, he argues that around the time of the Ojin King’s reign, the Wa would have been a vassal state of Packjae (Hong, W. T. 1988:91-107). A number of Korean scholars support this view (Choi, J. S. 1998; Hong, Y. G. 2000).

The Nihongi also includes many cited stories from Packjae historical documents, some of which related to Wa activities in Korea. In the Nihongi Jingo chapter in A.D. 262 <AD 382>(see Aston 1956:252) describes a Wa attack on Kara which is also mentioned in Packjae Samguksagi. This similarity is arguable because “the compilers of Nihon Shoki <Nihongi> relied heavily on these books” (Sakamoto 1991:49). Some also argue that a number of named Packjae documents (Packjaegi, Packjae Sinchan, and

Packjae Pongi) have yet to be discovered in Korea and may be ‘missing’ because they were in fact taken to Japan as their authors and holders left Korea and went to Japan, thus further influencing Japanese copyist who incorporated selected elements into the Nihongi (Chon, K. U. 1974:18). Abe goes even further and comments, “To justify its falsified history the government burned ancient Korea books and destroyed old records that did not agree with its “imperialistic historical view” (1998:xiv).

As mentioned already, Nihongi strangely includes a surprising number of stories regarding affairs that were related to all three major Korean kingdoms. If this was about the formation of the Japanese state why was so much attention given to the three Korean kingdoms, could it imply that in the earliest days a clear division between ‘Korean’ and ‘Japanese’ political entities were not as distinct then as they are envisioned to be today and the modified Japanese historic documents? Is there in fact real support for Wa’s domination of Korea, or are the entities blurred? As noted in the previous chapter, in the Koguryo history, Samguksagi there is no mention of Wa. This omission seems to support the absence of a clear distinction between these entities at least in some time intervals. Mention of Wa is limited almost entirely to brief stories on the Kwanggaeto stele and there are only a few stories in the Nihongi which actually talk about the early Japanese unification process. Therefore, this invisibility of the Yamato regime in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century accounts in the Nihongi, including other records from China and Korea, seem strangely absent and may reflect the Packjae presence and control through this period. If at these early times Japan was the dominant power it seems there would have been more Japanese (Wa) stories and fewer Korean entries in this document.

It also seems odd that during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries when Packjae power was at its peak and confronting the Koguryo threat the Japanese documents imply Japanese power in Korea was also at its peak (Chon, K. U. 1974:32, see also Lee, K. B. 1984; Sohn et al. 1970). Maybe this is an example of later historians conveniently separating out the elements of a story to fit their own agenda and creating a sense of false division when there was in fact little distinct within the geographic area. In fact, according to the logic by Chong, In-Bo, who first time criticized traditional Japanese reading on the ancient relations between Packjae and Wa from the Kwanggaeto stele (see chapter five), it is not logical that Koguryo King, Kwanggaeto, punished only Packjae as both Silla and

Packjae contracted rebellious treaties with the Wa against his kingdom. He further proposes that if the Packjae were defeated by the Wa and became a vassal country of the Wa, Koguryo should have attacked against the Wa, not Packjae. In this case, according to his logic, since Packjae was the victim of aggression by the Wa, trying to take possession of Koguryo's vassal country, the attacker, the Wa, should have been the one punished by Koguryo instead of Packjae (Hatada 1979:9, note 22). According to another logic from Kim, S. H., who goes further, the reason for the Koguryo's response to the Wa's attack generating to attack Packjae instead of the Wa was that the Wa people were the descendants of Packjae in Kyushu (Hatada 1979:10). Therefore, Lee, K. B. (1984:46) summarizes the ancient political circumstances between Packjae and Japan as, "Packjae also called on forces from the petty states of Wa in Kyushu, Japan, founded by a people who had migrated from the Packjae area, to mount attacks against Silla. This caused Silla to turn to Koguryo for support, with the result that a Koguryo army sent by King Kwanggaet'o drove the Wa back beyond Silla's borders".

According to the descriptions in the Samguksagi, most of the records concerning Packjae relations with Wa are concentrated in the period between A.D. 397 to 428. In this interval relations were cordial and the countries exchanged ambassadors and gifts. In 397, Packjae's King Asin sent the crown prince, Chonji, to Wa as a hostage. Chonji remained in Wa until 405 when he heard news of his father's death and returned home to assume the throne. Nihongi and Samguksagi both report such royal exchanges. Thus, some have argued this interval of peace and accord may have been attributed to the possibility that the kings in this period were related by blood (Hong, Y. G. 2000).

It has also been pointed out that the oldest two Japanese history books were completed almost simultaneously under official sponsorship immediately after Packjae lost its power base in the Korean peninsula. Hong (1988, 1994) tries to explain this situation with the connection of the contemporary political situation in Korea. He hypothesizes that Packjae ruling classes moved to its base and reorganized the regime in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century after its conflict with Silla dramatically diminished its power. As a result of this geographic shift, the new history book, Kojiki and Nihongi were written by Packjae historians and included revisions of their old histories with a clear goal of remolding and justifying Packjae's control of the Japanese archipelago. Thus, the

Nihongi's ascription of secondary status to Korea may reflect Packjae descendants rewriting of history to position themselves in Japan as 'traditional' elites and not interlopers. Covell supports this position when he notes that "Silla had been the refugees' historic enemy. Scholars from Packjae, because their classical Chinese was superior, helped to collate the two historical works, particularly the Nihongi. They had opportunities to cast a bad light upon Silla. This included claiming that Silla had been under the control of Japan for more than a century. The text was slanted accordingly" (1984:111). It could be argued that the writers of the Nihongi based the book on Packjae histories but tailored it to the audience in the Japanese islands. It still seems odd they included so many Packjae stories though it may be simply explained by the absence of a literate Japanese population which was capable of such writing tasks. It may be impossible to actually sort out the stories, their differences, and ever come up with an integrated coherent model of 'original documentation' versus some transcriptions with substantial editing (both inclusion and exclusion) to legitimize the new authority of the Packjae immigrants in a new country devoid of an organized elite or central government. This is quite contradictory to the normal interpretation of the Nihongi.

## Conclusion

Some arguments concerning possible direct ethnic connections, based on written documents, between ancient Japan and Korea are discussed in this chapter. According to several radical ideas mainly proposed by Korean scholars, many ancient Koreans may have been appeared in various regions of Japan and interconnected with the indigenous Japanese. One of ancient kingdoms of Korea, Packjae, is regarded as the strongest candidate playing important role in this process. However, to provide more credit for that idea, there is an essential prerequisite. In a word, although there are some historical elements leading us to suppose Packjae's close cultural connection, we need to certainly prove two major premises: the ancient Wa in Japan could have been under Packjae's

political influence until the Paekjae kingdom was ousted from the peninsula by Silla. It was Paekjae migrants who moved and played important role to set up the new strong Kingdom, Yamato, in Japan. In this way, it would be explainable that the Nihongi was created by Paekjae people in justification of their new political regime in Japan. In other words, in that case we also would be able to suppose that the story in the Nihongi was totally adapted from the history of Paekjae for the purpose of creating the new history of Paekjae in the Japanese islands which is an accepted theory by some modern Korean scholars. In sum, this tangled web of historic fact and fabrication connecting Japan and Korea over time and space may never be sorted out if only the historic documents are considered. To really provide new insights to these processes other evidence must be considered. New insights, may well come from archaeology and bioarchaeology or bioanthropology which will be addressed in the next chapters.

## CHAPTER 7

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND BIOANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE

### Introduction

As noted earlier, identifying who the Wa were is critical to many of these discussions. It is apparent that researches mainly depending literary evidences have not offered us clear identity of the Wa (Hudson 1989:58). Therefore, archaeological and bioanthropological works regarding our major concern will be introduced in this chapter. The Jomon peoples, preceding the Yayoi people and phase are thought to be the original native inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago and is the name given to a major widespread Japanese archaeological tradition well known for its impressive ceramic tradition which is one of the earliest in the world (Imamura 1996).

### **Archaeology in Japan**

Since the American biologist E. S. Morse brought archaeology to Japan in 1877 when he conducted the first excavations which could be termed 'scientific', much of Japanese archaeology has focused specifically on the origins of the Japanese people and cultural traditions. As such, it has been seen as some as clearly very nationalistic. In 1884, Japan's first anthropological association was founded and since then, archaeology and ethnology had been focused upon the recovery of physical and cultural traces that would shed light on the origins of the Japanese and its culture (Pai 1999:354). Since the Meiji Restoration (1868), historians focused on written documents and archaeologists focused

on the things in the ground and often the two camps were moving in concert on the same themes. Archaeology, in particular, tended to focus much of its work on the large temple mounds and often stressed the ‘glorious history’ of Japan – emphasizing both the empire’s longevity, continuity and superior cultural traditions (Egami 1964:46).

The real beginnings of Japanese anthropological archaeology were initiated with the “empire building activities in the later 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries” (Pai 1999:354) and the magnificent archaeological fieldwork in East Asia became possible because of Japan’s military expansion in this region until her defeat in 1945. After the World War II, Japanese scholars and people have more freedom to think about their ancient history and ethnic roots while the number of sites and artifacts excavated have been continued to increase. Because the Japanese general public’s interest in archaeology is very profound, there are thousands of excavations and efforts to save important archaeological sites and is never far from public consciousness. This ‘archaeology boom’ dramatically increased in the 1960s and continues to today (Farris 1998:2).

“Today Japan has an active archaeological community with more than four thousand members, about twenty times as many as in Great Britain, for example. In 1983 these scholars published over 1600 site reports and received permits to dig at an estimated 14,500 excavations, seven times as many as in 1973. In 1991, permits numbered a staggering 26,140, while expenditures amounted to 83.8 billion yen, almost \$600 million” (Kiyotari 1992:3-5, cited in Farris 1998:3).

The newly discovered archaeological materials have made scholars produce more various interpretations in their ancient history and ethnic roots (Farris 1998:1).

### **Archaeological and Physical anthropological studies**

Archaeologists who study the change in prehistory “have employed a variety of theoretical models in order to try and explain important changes in the archaeological record in aspects such as subsistence strategy, material culture or burial practices” (Mays 1998:86). Although we are able to assume the cultural connections among ancient peoples with archaeological evidence, it would not always mean that sharing the same or similar material cultures between groups or societies indicate the ethnic sameness (Boas

1911; Cohen 1978; Eriksen 1991; Sharp and McAllister 1993). In fact, there has not been a critical interplay between archaeology and historic inquiries, especially for the issue regarding ancient ethnic connection between the Japanese and Korean. Archaeological study based on typology however does have its limitations and the typological approach is central to the Japanese archaeological framework. Therefore, since archaeology is not only about material cultures but also people in prehistory “the study of the physical remains of those people should therefore be a central component of archaeological enquiry” (Mays 1998, Preface).

Physical anthropology derives from an anthropological perspective which is often positioned different from traditional Japanese archaeological studies. There is, in fact, a large body of physical anthropological data, metric and nonmetric, that has been generated over years of archaeological investigations. Such studies, including more recent efforts at genetic extractions from skeletal material, have not been as popular in Korea as they have been in Japan. Japanese scholars rapidly applied many of these new analytical strategies and has a longer deeper tradition of physical anthropology. “The Japanese government has conducted anthropometric surveys since the 1890s and the statistical results have been published” (Kouchi 2000:339). In Korea, on the other hand, biometric studies are much more limited and have largely been undertaken within the medical community. Though soil and preservations are similar in Korea and Japan there is a clear and dramatic difference in the levels of biological analysis in the two areas. The greatly expanded archaeological activity in Japan has, at one level, produced a vastly larger skeletal inventory to work with.

While modern Populations can be classified by nationalities, geographical origin and location, languages, etc., physical anthropology has focused more on morphological features of the body (Brues 1990 and many others). Modern bioanthropological studies have identified numerous features which are useful in characterizing different populations. For instance, Hanihara, compared frontal and facial features of 112 modern and prehistoric groups, notes that while Australian/Melanesian groups show marked prognathism, both the Australian/Melanesian groups and the East Asian groups share a upper facial flatness (Hanihara, T. 2000).



Comparisons of prehistoric groups focus on population differences are useful “for investigating relationships between populations and for discerning evidence for migrations of peoples in the past” (Mays 1998:74). With increased sample sizes from archaeological excavations such studies become increasingly informative about geographic and chronological differences. Most researchers note that although skeletal morphology is influenced by environment, culture, and nutrition, much of skeletal morphology is heavily controlled by genetics (Dodo et al. 1992; Yongyi et al. 1991). Some groups, in contrast to others, show remarkable homogeneity in metric and nonmetric features (Dodo et al. 1992). Many argue that the crania, of all the skeletal units, may have the highest degree of genetic control and thus crania have been central in comparison between past and present human populations. China, due to its size and possible position with respect to human colonization process, has a larger inventory of Late Pleistocene finds than either Japan or Korea, and Japan has a larger inventory of Holocene skeletal material than Korea. Cranial studies have largely been divided into metric and nonmetric approaches. Nonmetric comparisons focus largely on morphological features, the presence or absence of anatomical differences and the degrees of expression of traits (Kozintsev 1990). The metric approach concentrates, as would be expected, on a wide array of measures of the crania having to do with size and shape.

Dental material has also attracted a great deal of research effort and provides information on age at death, diet and stress, as well as metric dimensions (Rightmire 1999:1). Dental features generally are thought to be less influenced by environmental differences and more closely controlled by genes (Suzuki, N. 1993:419; Turner 1989). According to Rightmire, “Different groups can be characterized on the basis of their dental morphology, and trait frequencies can be used to compute distances of each of these groups in relation to others. The biological distances then provide a basis for reconstructing the history of populations spanning the last few thousands of years” (1991:1).

Rapid progress of analytical techniques of molecular genetics from the 1970s has also provided an additional tool for such studies movements of populations in prehistoric times (Shinoda and Kanai 1999:129-130). Such studies are also coupled with DNA

studies of modern peoples particularly when considering prehistoric population movements. Some scholars employing these techniques argue "...questions on the origins of human populations are better addressed by genetic approaches than by other approaches, be they morphological or, definitely, cultural (e.g., archaeological and linguistic) ones" (Omoto and Saitou 1997:438).

Rather than exclude any avenue of investigation, it seems more appropriate to include each strategy and take advantage of the strengths of each approach. Choe (1991:16) suggests that the cranial morphology of modern Korean babies has been influenced by parental preference for their infants to sleep either on they side or stomach. This, he argues, shows the influence of cultural practices and the environment on cranial morphology. Shared features may reflect similar environmental or cultural practices and traditions or may reflect common origins and it is part of the challenge of analysis to identify the most likely causal factors.

### Studies about the Origin of Japanese

Examination of the continuity of Pleistocene species across China, Korea and Japan clearly indicate the presence of a land connection at various times in the Pleistocene (Hall 1970:14). So far, the Japanese record indicates that the earliest groups in Japan are modern *Homo sapiens sapiens* and are generally attributed to the Jomon cultural tradition and population. However, since 1889 as the small shell mound was first time excavated in western Japan and proven that materials from the site were not similar with those of the Jomon, the long run academic controversial in Japan about who was the real original ancestor of the modern Japanese has been argued among scholars not only from Japan but also from all around world. Since then, the chronology of prehistoric Japan has been divided into two different periods: Jomon (??10000 B.C. – B.C. 300) and Yayoi (B.C. 300 – A.D. 300).

Four conflicting theories for this controversy are generally under debate in anthropology (Diamond 1998). Four possible scenarios have been presented for the

development of the modern Japanese: (1) gradual evolution from ancient Ice Age people arriving long before 20,000 B.C, (2) origination from Asian nomadic horse-riding people who passed through Korea to conquer ancient Japan in the fourth century, (3) descent from a wave of immigrants from the continent who brought rice-paddy agriculture around 400 B.C. (4) origination from some combination of all these population entities. These four theories could be summarized into two overarching hypotheses; the transformation theory and the immigrant theory. The first asserts the earliest native Japanese, the Jomon, evolve directly into the Yayoi, Kofun period and into the modern Japanese populations (Suzuki, H. 1956, 1969, 1981). The second umbrella hypothesis envisions significant numbers of immigrants from the Asian continent coming Japan around 300 – 400 B.C. This provides a new genetic input into the formation of the modern Japanese population. Therefore, the main point among researchers for these two ancestral lines of the modern Japanese is whether there were huge gene flows into Japan from the continental populations or was only a natural consequence of cultural development by diffusion without huge gene flows throughout the prehistoric period of Japan. In other words, the main issue among scholars is how much the late comers into the Japanese archipelago had been involved into the ethnic formation of the modern Japanese.

### **Oldest bone in Japan**

Except in a relatively small number of places, specifically limestone fissures and caves, Japan has little human or faunal bone from the Paleolithic period (pre-10000 B.C.) due largely to the high soil acidity. The best-documented Pleistocene hominid fossils in Japan come from the Minatogawa limestone fissure in Okinawa. The skeletal material represents three females and a male, all adult. The Minatogawa specimens date to between 16000 and 14000 B.C. From a morphological standpoint they appear to be similar to the Liujiang material found in southern China in 1958. These materials represent one of the earliest crania of modern *Homo sapiens* and date to roughly ca. 30000-40000 B.C. The Minatogawa people are generally classified simply as archaic Mongoloids. The Minatogawa man is quite small (less than 155 cm tall) and has limb proportions relatively similar to many modern hunter-gather people with relatively

slender upper elements with somewhat more robust lower limb elements (Katayama 1996:19-21; Pearson 1992a:46).

The Minatogawa male also shows morphological similarities to another early specimen, the Wadjak, found in Southeast Asia and believed dating to the Late Pleistocene or Early Holocene (see Storm and Nelson 1992). These specimens are not dissimilar to Jomon materials particularly from northern Honshu island and do not exhibit direct similarities to modern Japanese people (see Baba et al. 1998). Judging from the vault shape, Minatogawa, Wadjak, and Jomon skulls are very similar (Baba et al. 1998:32). Other materials from China dating to roughly 10000 B.C. show differences particularly in vault shape to these materials. This leads many to support a closer affinity of Jomon specimens with southern Asian groups rather than people from North Asia. Without carry these tentative suggestions to far others note “there is no clear evidence to conclude that any large human groups had migrated from one region to another within East and Southeast Asia during the late Pleistocene. The differences found might indicate individual as well as geographical variation with people living in Asia during this age” (Baba et al. 1998:41).

### Pre and pro historic peoples in Japan

The primary problem then is to explain the change in biological features including material cultures from the Jomon to the Yayoi people. Where these differences due to different root stocks from the mainland? Are the changes the results of internal evolutionary processes (selection and adaptation)? Were the changes due largely to the introduction of new morphological types from the mainland which then leads to admixture and subsequent evolutionary shifts in identifiable morphological features. To address these issues a more in-depth assessment of the archaeological and biological record is required. In this section, regional and chronological variations through the Japanese archipelago appeared in archaeological and bioanthropological perspective will be introduced.

## **Jomon Period (??10000 B.C. – 300 B.C.)**

In contrast to many other early prehistoric groups, the Jomon used caves as temporary shelters rather than as permanent occupation (Henshall 1999:4). Their dwelling patterns could be classified into two basic types: elevated floor dwellings and surface dwellings (Imamura 1996). However, their cultural level through the Neolithic period had not kept step with “those of the Neolithic period in culture centers of the world except that they had pottery-making and the art of shaping stone tools by grinding and polishing instead of merely by chipping” (Beardsley 1955:322). Although there is increasing evidence that later Jomon populations may have practiced a form of slash-and-burn agriculture with some minor crop cultivation, there is no evidence of rice cultivation until the Later Jomon period. Farris argues the relatively late adoption of rice cultivation largely reflects there was no push toward agriculture because of the rich and productive lifestyle was supported by hunting, gathering and fishing. Secondly, many of the soils immediately adjacent to Jomon settlements were relatively nutrient poor and would have been of limited agricultural potential (Farris 1998) (see more about prehistoric agriculture in Japan, Crawford 1992; Sato 1999). Many details are yet to be discerned but basic outlines of Jomon lifestyle are known from the often extensive excavation (Aikens and Akazawa 1992; Akazawa 1999; Habu and Fawcett 1999; Habu and Hall 1999; Kobayashi 1992; Koike 1992; Koyama 1978; Takahashi et al. 1998). Over time Jomon site size, and presumably population size, increased substantially into what are thought to have been substantial tribal communities.

### **Jomon and variation**

Although the Jomon period represents some 10,000 years of continuity, there is clear regional and chronological variation of Japan with monolithic entity (Henshall 1999:6, see also, Kaifu 1995a, b, 1997, and 1999; Matsumura 1989, 1998; Matsumura et al. 1996). However, according to Suzuki’s model, all Jomon skeletal remains should be “classified under the single category” (1969:292). He further argues that regional and temporal variation is less notable than the continuity and similarity.

Archaeologically the Middle Jomon period showing the highest population and site density in central Japan (central Honshu). Northern Japan (eastern Honshu and the Hokkaido region) shows a somewhat lower density and western Japan shows the lowest density of sites (Imamura 1996; Monks 1984:20-21). These differences probably reflect the movement of Jomon populations from the Kanto plain region (essentially the Jomon heartland) to the mountains bordering Western and Eastern Japan. Various explanations for this shift have been suggested with Kidder (1977) proposing that the continued warming trend allowed Jomon expansion into higher elevations (Rouse 1986:89). Pearson proposes that the apparent shift may reflect differences in excavation intensity and that the bulk of the excavations have taken place in the Northeastern region (modern capital, Tokyo is located) and that more careful considerations of site density by area and excavation intensity need to be taken into account (1992a). It has also been suggested the lower apparent site density in western Japan may be real and reflect higher volcanic soil inputs in the region which “would have caused a low biomass, and consequently the human population would have decreased noticeably after the ash fell” (Koike 1992:54). Koike however assumes that prior to the volcanic activity, which might be occurred around 4500 B.C., the western region might have in fact had a higher population density than any other region in Japan since some archaeological evidence from this region shows highly developed settlement patterns and technologies, compared with those from central and northeastern Japan. However, through most of the Late and Final Jomon period (1500-300 B.C.), the northeastern part of the Japanese archipelago was continually flourished, while some Jomon culture was revitalized in the western part of the islands (Monks 1984).

Population site densities do appear higher in northern region than in western Japan. These differences however still attract a lot of attention and are still considered one of the main research interests in Jomon archaeology (Akazawa 1999). There are also suggestions that there may be differences in skeletal morphology between the two regions though across time there seems to be an increase in stature, in increase in skeletal robusticity and a reduction in dental wear (Katayama 1996:22). Some have argued the Jomon of the western regions share more physical similarities with mainland (Korea and those of the eastern region (Kozintsev 1990:265). Matsumura, looking at adult dental

metrics from five Middle to Latest Jomon population samples, says, “the Hokkaido Jomon was isolated from the Jomon in Honshu, the main island of Japan...The principal factor analysis revealed that the overall dental proportion of the Hokkaido Jomon carried the smallest overall tooth size among the five Jomon population samples compared” (1989:493).

### **Yayoi People (300 B.C. – A.D. 300)**

The most exciting feature of the Yayoi period (300 B.C. – A.D. 300) is the first appearance of full-scale agriculture focused on wet rice (paddy-field) technology. This highly developed form of agriculture arrived in Japan along with metal tools and led to rapid social changes leading to state formation spurred by the dramatic increase in agricultural production (Imamura 1996:13 and many others). Some other dramatic differences distinguishing the Yayoi from the preceding Jomon period include substantial change in ceramic styles, stone tool morphology and significant shifts in skeletal features. These changes are all regarded as having been brought about possibly by an influx of Korean immigrant populations who physically bring a new skeletal morphology and technological tradition to the Japanese archipelago (Pearson 1992b and many others).

Yayoi culture never was as widespread across the archipelago as the Jomon tradition and consequently shows less regional variability than the preceding Jomon traditions which cover much longer chronological period. Kaner divides the Yayoi tradition into two regions; “pioneer Yayoi in Kyushu and western Honshu, Jomon-influenced Yayoi in most of eastern Honshu, and Epi-Jomon in the northernmost tip of Honshu and in Hokkaido” (1996:54). There are fewer Yayoi sites than there are Jomon sites, and fewer sites and a shorter chronology result in dramatic differences in the quantity of skeletal material for analysis. However, there are substantial numbers of jar or urn burials in southwest Japan (Kidder 1993:101). Compared to the typical Jomon type the Yayoi have been characterized as having greater stature, more narrow and longer faces with flattened orbital and nasal regions (Katayama 1996:23).

### **Yayoi regional variation**

Yayoi skeletal material from the Hokkaido and Okinawa regions do not show these shifts and appear essentially unchanged from the earlier Jomon stock (Katayama 1996). Clearly the vast majority of Yayoi skeletal material comes from the southwestern Honshu and the Kyushu region which physically close to the Korean peninsula (approximately 250 km=155miles away between Kyushu and Korea). Dodo et al. (1992:489) feels that the Yayoi material from this region shows the greatest morphological shift or differences while the Yayoi material from northwestern Kyushu and southern Kyushu share greater physical similarities with the earlier Jomon types.

According to studies by Saiki et al. (2000) that focused on Yayoi cranial nonmetric traits from populations in the northwestern Kyushu versus those in the northern Kyushu area, northwestern Yayoi people in the Kyushu Island succeeded the biological traits of Jomon and differed from northern Yayoi people showing continental characteristics. Saiki and others therefore conclude that there were two different lineages, which did not share similar morphological features to each other, in the Kyushu Island during the Yayoi period. Oyamada who analyzed dental crown size and proportion for the teeth from the same sites concludes similar result as Saiki and others do (Saiki et al. 2000:35). These kinds of results suggest that in some areas the influx of people was more dramatic and had skeletal consequences while in other regions the cultural technology, subsistence, etc. may have changed but there was greater biological continuity from earlier groups. The morphology of the Yayoi, non Jomon type, indicates more strongly resemblance to the continental type, especially Korean skeletal samples (Dodo and Ishida 1990).

### **Kofun Period (A.D. 300 – A.D. 710) and Japanese**

Following the Yayoi period, the Kofun Period is another interval in which there seems to be a possible large influx of people due to the political turmoil that is widespread in East Asia during this interval. During this period, the modern ethnic differentiation between ‘the Honshu Japanese’ and ‘the Ainu and the Okinawan (=Ryukyuan) seems to have been finalized as state level society spreads across the



Japanese archipelago. The Ainu and the Ryukyuan represent two ethnic groups at the far northern and southern extremes of the archipelago. Unfortunately, because human skeletal remains from the Kofun period in Japan are rarely excavated, it is difficult to trace the degree and process of morphological variability and diversity in this time period (Saiki et al. 2000:38).

However, according to studies from Nagai Masafumi and Terakado Yunitaka, it is argued that while some of the more Jomon like groups in the Yayoi interval maintained their Jomon appearance in the Kofun period, the people who showed the morphological features of divergent Yayoi groups (taller stature, high faces, etc) appeared in eastern Honshu/Kanto area where they became the dominant physical type later (Katayama 1996:23). The overall impression is the newer Yayoi type becomes the group that largely characterizes the Kofun tradition which dominates most of the main Japanese archipelago, except the Ryukyuan Island and Hokkaido, where the Ryukyuan and Ainu lived (Hanihara, K. 1987:400; Hudson 1999:66). According to the study for the rate of the population who do not maintain morphological features of Jomon people during the Kofun Period in West Japan based on paleodemographic studies, the numbers of them were reached 80-90 percent (Hanihara K. 1987). However, according to Kozintsev's study (1990) using nonmetric data (MJI=Mongolian Jomon Index), the estimates show a bit lower percentage, 68-81%.

### **Ainu and Ryukyuan**

The Ainu and the Ryukyuan groups represent an interesting story within the Japanese framework and stand out from the rest of the Japanese population. There are also American scholars who look to them to help illuminate the colonization of the New World. Some studies have indicated a possible biological connection in the earliest New World groups and the Ainu (Brace and Nagai 1982; Brace et al. 1989). The biological positions of these groups is still under consideration but many regard the Ainu as the 'aboriginal' inhabitants of Hokkaido and the Ryukyuan are often regarded as the likely 'aboriginal' stock scattered thorough the smaller southern Japanese islands. According to many, the Ainu are generally considered to be the most likely descendents of the Jomon.

This conclusion, based on both metric and non-metric analyses (Cranio-metrical studies from Howells 1966; Hanihara, K. 1985; Yamaguchi 1967, 1982, Cranial nonmetric studies from Dodo 1986, 1987; Dodo and Ishida 1990; Kozintsev 1990; Mouri 1976, 1988; Ossenberg 1986, Dental morphology from Brace and Nagai 1982; Turner 1976, 1987, 1989), has repeatedly indicated that the Ainu are morphologically far more similar to the prehistoric Jomon than they are to either the modern Japanese or the prehistoric Yayoi, or to other groups in East Asia. Their relation to others outside of Japan is becoming of more interest to a wider group of researchers particularly with respect to the colonization of the New World.

The general sense is “the Hokkaido Ainu and the Jomon people are considerably less Mongoloid (about the same as the Japanese, Chinese, and Indonesians)” (Kozintsev 1990:250). The Ainu inhabit now in both Hokkaido and Sakhalin (see figure 1). While the Sakhalin Ainu show more similar morphological features to those from the northern Mongoloid (Siberian), Smolyak indicated that this could be caused that Sakhalin Ainu had shared cultural exchange and intermarriage with some Siberian peoples (Kozintsev 1990:262). Hanihara, T. (1990) also suspects some gene mixture between southern and northern in the Sakhalin Island because the dental remains in Sakhalin shows some southern Mongoloid components. However, some studies on the Sakhalin Ainu, particularly from a non-metric cranial standpoint, do not show a strong Siberian Mongoloid affinity. In the mean times, Hanihara, K. (1998), who used the cranial data, argues that the Sakhalin and Hokkaido Ainu are very similar to each other but differ substantially from Northeast Asia populations including Asian Eskimo groups. Overall, the Jomon-Ainu similarity is well documented by many researchers using different analytical methods and skeletal samples.

Similar kinds of studies come to the conclusion that the Ryukyuan are more similar to the modern Japanese than they are to the Ainu. Hudson notes the Ryukyuan languages are also closer to the dialect of mainland Japan than they are to the dialect of the Ainu (Hudson 1994). Dodo and others propose that the Ryukyuan, not connected with Ainu, in terms of cranial morphological features, became more or less affected by the north Asian phenotype by at least the tenth century (Dodo et al. 1998). Many modern scholars have therefore demonstrated “no connection between the Ainu and Ryukyuan

nor one between Ryukyuan and Jomon skeletal assemblages” (Pietrusewsky 1999:256). Pietrusewsky, based on multivariate craniometric analyses notes, “The early inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands have been greatly influenced by later immigrants (presumably entering from the north), beginning with the Yayoi Period” (Pietrusewsky 1999:275). The Ryukyuan and Ainu also show some divergence in terms of genetic sequences (see Dodo et al. 1998:111). Research by Horai et al. (1996) in studying mtDNA sequence variation for five East Asian populations; Ryukyuan, Ainu, the mainland Japanese, Korean, and Chinese also indicates that Ryukyuan, mainland Japanese, and Korean show similar sequence types. Another study based on HLA genes and haplotypes from blood work indicate the Ryukyuan and Ainu are quite different genetically (Hatta et al. 1999:354). Hatta proposes that this separation suggests the Ryukyuan and Ainu had different ancestral lines from the Jomon period. Other studies also indicate problems with the older, traditional interpretation that both the Ryukyuan and Ainu are both direct descendants of the Jomon peoples. It has been proposed either different ancestry or different genetic inputs explain these differences. Pietrusewsky (1999) proposed that the Ryukyuan were clustered together with the post-Jomon mainland Japanese while distinct from the Jomon and Ainu.

Nevertheless, some possible affinity between the Ryukyuan and Ainu has still been observed in studies. Some Ryukyuan craniometric features are similar to the southern Mongoloids, which by this definition includes the Jomon and the Ainu, although the affinity between the Ryukyuan and the Jomon is stronger than is the Ryukyuan and Ainu connection (Kozintsev 1990:261). However, even though the Ryukyuan share some similarities to the Ainu cranometrically, they are closer to the modern Japanese (Dodo et al. 1998:110).

## Discussion

Many biological studies show that from the Kofun period, morphological features of the Japanese have been essentially stable (Dodo 1987; Dodo and Ishida 1990, 1992;

Dodo et al. 1992). As a consequence much more attention is being focused on what happens in the Jomon and Yayoi period. As, noted earlier, there are substantial cultural and subsistence changes in the shift from Jomon to Yayoi and there are substantial skeletal changes which are particularly open to a variety of interpretations though these changes appear to have taken place very rapidly.

When rice agriculture appears in Japan it is already a fully developed subsistence strategy. At the same time moment iron technology also appears. This rapidity of these changes may be caused by a late, but rapid diffusion both of ideas and people, or by an invasion of large numbers of people bringing with them dramatic changes felt across a wider array of cultural parameters. These ideas may in fact be one in the same and invasion is a type of dramatic and rapid cultural diffusion. The invasion theory, as noted earlier, was proposed by Egami and had a horserider group leaving the continent and arriving in Japan in a very short period of time. He also makes it clear these peoples no doubt brought with a wide array of cultural changes including the advanced rice agriculture. The main problems with this interpretation are the inability to accurately identify who these horseriders were and problems with the timing of events. While some elements are clearly problematic many scholars have utilized some element of this 'immigrant theory' in the cultural (and biological) evolution of the modern Japanese. Most Japanese scholars seem to be more favorably disposed towards the model of two possible distinct migration periods, one in the Yayoi interval and a second in the Kofun period. Korean and western scholars tend to feel the process was more continuous from the Yayoi through the Kofun periods with no dramatic curtailment of such contact. However, to some supporting cultural diffusion rather than huge gene flow from the continent to the archipelago for this change, it indicates some cultural continuity between the Jomon and Yayoi people and "The early Yayoi material cultures such as pottery, implements and other features are not easily distinguishable from the Jomon culture" (Kidder 1959:91). Some hybridization in stone tool morphology between continental forms and Japanese forms may also have taken place. The stone tool technology essentially disappears on the mainland (China and Korea) though continues into the early Yayoi traditions of Japan (Imamura 1996:149). Other archaeological features arguing for a strong cultural continuant include the stability of settlement patterns and the absence of

introduced domestic animals. Imamura says, “Although several Korean style pit-dwelling houses (round type) were excavated, many initial Yayoi settlement sites show square houses which was the traditional style of a Jomon pit-dwelling style house. These two types were co-existed at the very beginning of the Yayoi period within a comparatively small central part of northern Kyushu” (Imamura 1996:150). This traditional square type of pit-dwelling might be continually used in Kanto region (central Japan) (Imamura 1996:150). This kind of regional variation of material culture and structural features is correspondence with the research results from bioanthropological results discussed in the previous part. The distinctness of the Japanese tradition is also mirrored in the absence of domestic animals which, in the continental context, are relatively common but no appearance in Japan in the Yayoi period.

Although some Jomon elements continue in the Yayoi tradition, the more dominant impression is of wholesale change in many aspects of the tradition. One trait showing an interesting continuity initially observed in the Jomon tradition which almost immediately disappears in the Yayoi tradition is the practice of dental ablation. In the Jomon tradition most females, once they reach mid-teens, and presumably as a part of a rite of passage, have differencing patterns of the anterior dentition (incisors and canine in particularly) intentionally removed (Imamura 1996:125). In some areas there is a dramatic increase in site density in a relatively short time frame. Kidder reports,

“The Latest Jomon sites in the Tsukushi area of Kyushu total only 106 (Nagasaki: 40, Saga: 16, Fukuoka: 50), but the number of Yayoi sites (within only five hundred years) rose sharply to 681 (252, 172, and 257, respectively). Eventually more Yayoi sites were found farther south (Kumamoto:472, Kagoshima: 588, Miyazaki: 94) where rice did well under warmer conditions but where metal was virtually nonexistent” (Kidder 1993:81).

Scholars, noticing this kind of dramatic increase in site density from Jomon to Yayoi times, try to make estimates of increases in population across these time intervals. Hanihara, K. (1987) notes there is a 70 fold increase in the number of populations from the end of Jomon to the Kofun period. He suggests also such dramatic increases could be due either to a very rapid natural increase in population size or due to a dramatic increase

in immigration. There is still discussion of which explanation seems the best but everyone regards the change as both dramatic and profound.

The other example for a dramatic difference between the Jomon and Yayoi period is notified by sudden increment of stature. Estimates of stature are relatively simple to make and are based largely on regression analysis of long bone dimensions, particularly the elements of the lower body (femur and tibia). Chronological and geographic differences on a small and large scale can be very useful in understanding the history of past population (Wada and Motomura 2000:148). In general, there is an increase of between three and four centimeters moving from the Jomon to the Yayoi traditions. Stature remains relatively stable from the Yayoi time period to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when there is a second increase in stature. Two divergent interpretations of this also exist. Some, particularly in Japan, and those who favor a more ‘internal evolution’ argue this is simply a reflection of selection and adaptation. Some argue the advantages of paddy field rice agriculture expanding which begins in the Yayoi period also provides a dramatic improvement in diet and is seen in the stature increase. Others, alternatively, suggest the increase can be explained by the immigration of taller populations.

### **Morphological Cluster of the Japanese in Asia**

There is no doubt that morphological differences between Jomon and modern Japanese are existed. Many studies (mostly from craniometric) show that the Jomon had longer and wider heads, and lower and wider faces, and relatively long forearms and lower legs with more well-developed muscle attachments of the limb bones (see Brace et al. 1989; Katayama 1996). The majority of metric and nonmetric studies indicate greater similarities between Jomon groups and groups from southern Asia while the Yayoi more closely resemble modern Japanese in these features (Dodo 1987; Dodo and Ishida 1990, 1992; Kozintsev 1990).

Turner (1987), who studied dental variation, divided the Pacific Basin populations into two clusters; Sinodont (northeast Asian including Native American) and Sundadont (southeast Asians, Polynesians and Micronesians). According to him, the modern Japanese seems to have traits of each of these broad divisions). The Jomon are classified

Sudadont (southern Asian origin), while the modern Japanese are classified as Sinodont (northeast Asian origin). Turner also suggested that Jomon and Yayoi would be culturally and racially different from each other (1989). Brace et al. (1989), who conducted 18 measurements of the face and skull vault on skulls from different populations in East Asia and the Pacific, grouped the Yayoi with modern Japanese, Chinese, and Korean. They grouped the other Japanese groups, the Jomon and the Ainu, with the different cluster. Brace and Nagai (1982) also conducted dental metric studies for East Asian populations. They measured teeth from the Yayoi, the Jomon, modern Japanese, and some Asian populations. They concluded that the Yayoi and the modern Japanese are not descended from the Jomon, while the Yayoi teeth were similar to those from the Chinese Neolithic. Both studies support that the Yayoi might be immigrants from the Asian continent.

### **Adaptation or Replacement?**

Some still argue about the mechanisms of transformation – either evolution or immigration and a wide variety of data has been brought to bear on this issue with each position having its adherents. Some, such as Suzuki's (1969) argument of continuity in cranial features from Jomon through modern times is no longer accepted. He used some cranial features from the Kanto district and insisted that the Jomon people transformed into the Kofun people, even though he admitted some dissimilarities between two peoples (1969). Although his study proved that some Yayoi people in Kanto kept some features from the Jomon, his overall argument of continuity has been rejected though there are regional differences in Yayoi cranial features. While both theories usually accept the concept of gene flow from the Asian continent, especially from Korea, a main issue rests with the amount of admixture between the native Japanese groups and the immigrants. Imamura (1996), who emphasizes cultural and environmental factors in the shift in biological features from Jomon to modern Japanese, believe the primary explanation is adaptation not gene flow.

### **Could all the differences be due to subsistence and adaptation?**

Many anthropological studies propose that human growth is dependant on many environmental factors, such as nutrition, altitude, climate, migration, socioeconomic status, etc. (Bogin 1988). Most argue nutrition is the single most significant issue with respect to stature increases. Modern research clearly shows that with the change in dietary patterns in Japan after the WWII, there has been a 7cm increase of average height in this relatively short, 40 year time interval (Katayama 1996:24). Such a rapid increase in stature could be used to argue against the prehistoric stature increase being related to gene flow. As seen previously, some scholars argue that the sudden increase in stature of the Yayoi people observed seems more likely to be reflection of the shift in subsistence towards rice agriculture. Ironically the increase of stature in modern times seems attributed to a decrease of rice consumption while increasing the meat consumption. While no detailed studies comparing rice-fish consumption and rice-cattle/port consumption have been performed in the case of Japan there are studies which indicate populations in Central Asia and East Africa who rely heavily on milk and milk products are taller than groups relying more heavily on rice and grain consumption in the same area (Bogin 1988:133). Other studies also identify a link between ‘malnutrition and statures’ and ‘social relations and statures’ (Bailey et al. 1984).

Studying the possible role of nutrition in population-level adaptations is very difficult since “the evidence for population-level adaptations is not well documented in the literature” (Hass and Pelletier 1989:158). However, this can be approached from an archaeological perspective by isotopic analysis of prehistoric skeletal material (see for example, Minagawa and Akazawa 1992 and many others). These studies provide some information on the relative importance of plant and animal consumption for the Jomon population. In the case of Hokkaido Jomon samples (dating to between 6000-2000 years B.P.) and the modern Ainu of the same area there isotopic signatures indicate a heavy dependence on marine resources. At the same time the Jomon in central Honshu 400 and 3000 B.P. show less reliance on marine resources and greater diversity in subsistence intake (Minagawa and Akazawa 1992). Other studies indicate a wide diversity of dietary patterns in Jomon groups depending on the geographic location of the population (Aikens and Rhee 1992). Other studies also indicate the isotopic ratios in Yayoi samples and more



recent historic groups are very similar to that observed in central Honshu (inland basically) Jomon groups (Chisholm and Koike 1999). While it seems clear that there are differences in Jomon nutritional patterns, cranial morphological characteristics seem much more consistent and don't show any clear relation to any of the dietary differences reported. The conclusion seems to be the shift toward heavy rice production and consumption. However, it is not entirely clear the stature increase along with remarkable increment of population numbers in the Yayoi period is related to increased rice production and consumption between the Jomon and Yayoi groups. Inoue and others (1998:77) also notes there is significant difference in caries rates in Yayoi versus Jomon groups but this has no bearing on whether the Jomon adopted rice growing which led to an increase in caries, or whether the immigrants already relying on rice consumption, had higher caries rates than the resident nonrice producing Jomon people.

### Conclusion

Because ethnic and racial features have been developed and affected by various elements, such as not only living conditions and environmental facts, but also cultural aspects, the tracing process of the origin of each people and ancestry is very difficult (Kim, W. Y. 1986:4). According to Ian Hodder, stressing that not all classes of material culture are used in the same way, "Whether a particular artefact type does or does not express the boundary of an ethnic group depends on the ideas people in that society have about different artifacts and what is an appropriate artefact for ethnic group marking" (1986:3).

Therefore, since finding similar material cultures in different areas are not necessarily approved that two areas are originated from the same people and defining the ethnicity or race in modern world would not be an easy task among scholars, theoretical arguments regarding those topics are still going on (see Gordon 1993; Hutchinson and Smith 1994; Jones 1994, 1997; Wolf 1994). Hudson meanwhile says, "Within recent Western archaeology there has been considerable discussion of how material culture

reflects ethnicity, but in Japan there has been little attempt to define the ethnic and social contexts of continental traits that were brought into the archipelago in the Yayoi and Kofun periods” (1989:60). Therefore, he points out, “...the lack of real debate in both Japan and Korea about the relationship between material culture and ethnic identity” (1989:59).

According to various studies discussed in this chapter, they strongly support the diversity of human populations within the study area – southern island Ryukyu groups, Northern Asiatic, Korean and Jomon/Japanese groups. Most agree that the modern Ainu and Ryukyuan possibly do not share the same origins as the modern Japanese on the major islands. Numerous studies point to the differences between the resident/native Jomon populations as distinct from their subsequent, Yayoi and modern Japanese. Many studies strongly suggest a southern Asian origin for the Jomon, while modern Japanese (excluding Ryukyuan and Ainu groups) show a stronger similarity to the prehistoric Yayoi.

These differences are also supported by cultural/archaeological differences with substantial time depth. The major unresolved question is the degree of gene flow or migration from Korean which shifts population parameters away from the ‘native’ Jomon morphology. Is there a substantial or trivial amount of gene flow or is the shift best explained more effectively by population replacement? It seems clear, regardless of which side of the hypothesis you favor that there was a large immigrant population into Japan at, or about the time of the introduction of rice agriculture and the most likely origin for these immigrants is possibly Korea. The shifts include craniometric changes, increases in stature and a dramatic apparent and increase in population size as reflected in the number of archaeological sites. Some have argued for a slow gradual transformation through adaptation but the rapidity of these changes is difficult to reconcile with the relatively slow pace of adaptive change. Although such changes cannot be ruled out, here once, again, there is a call for additional more detailed studies focused on resolving these different interpretive possibilities. Careful sample selection, ideally supplemented with both recently excavated samples and more detailed analysis coupled with studies of ancient and expanded modern DNA analysis should help in resolving these intriguing questions.

## CHAPTER 8

# BIOANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS IN KOREA

### Introduction

The beginning of modern archaeology, both North and South Korea, began with the Japanese annexation of Choson (the name of Korea before 1910). In the occupation period until 1945, the major events of Korean prehistory were outlined (Kim, W. Y. 1983b:3). However, the development of a more sophisticated, indigenous perspective on Korean prehistory really began after the end of Japanese occupation at the end of World War II. Following the end of the Korean War, prehistoric archaeology has expanded dramatically. As happened in Japan, the growing industrial development of Korea has led to an expansion of knowledge on Korean prehistory and has quite dramatically discarded many of the earlier heavily influenced Japanese interpretations which often had clear political overtones to support the occupation period.

### Bioanthropological approach on Korean ethnicity

Due in part to the scarcity of skeletal material, bioanthropological studies have had relatively little impact on the field and much greater emphasis has been placed on more abundant material culture remains and an effort to reanalyze the written documentation. Overall, some argue “the data concerning the physical features of ancient

Koreans is too fragmentary to be useful in determining their racial characteristics” (Kim, W. Y. 1986:4). The following section will try to provide an overview of what is known from the limited studies.

### **Korean skeletal material**

There are not many archaeological sites reported in Korea for the earlier hunting and gathering populations up to the Mesolithic which contain information on human skeletal materials (Byun 1995; Im 1999:87; Nelson 1993; Yi, S. B. 1992:23-24). This reflects both the limited quantity of preserved material and a limited population of bioarchaeologists interested in this approach to the prehistoric data. At the same time, because of field biases with respect to recovery, remains sometimes were actually reburied without analysis due to a traditional cultural taboo of handling skeletal material in the past (Hanrimghahagwonchongseo 1997:253). Even with these limitations, Yongkock Man (500,000-400,000 B.P. from thermo-luminescence dating – Archaic Homo sapiens? Chon et al. 1986), Mandalli Man (Middle or Late Paleolithic Period – Archaic Homo sapiens or Homo sapiens sapiens? see Kim, K. K. 1981; Bae 1992:42) and some other skeletal remains appear to date to the Paleolithic period (see Bae 1992; Kwon 1997; Lee 1997). Based on skeletal features the individuals show similarities to the Seungnisan Man (Middle or Late Pleistocene?) which most regard as an early form of Homo sapiens sapiens (Bae 1992:29; Park, S. J. 1990, 1997). Therefore, since some features from those earliest bone materials and some other later ones are appeared on those modern Korean man, it is often believed that modern Korean can be traced back to the evolved forms of Homo sapiens found in Korea. However, while many oldest human skeletal materials of Korea have been discovered in North Korea (see Pack and Jang 1973), exacting dates and distinctive features for the specimens from North Korea are still in debate (Bae 1992:51; Kwon 1997; Park, S. J. 1999:561). According to some modern studies, Koreans have an often egg-shaped, flat and square face and males tend to be somewhat taller than the world average (Kim, I. D. 1974:19-20). Modern Korean shows also some unique cranial features; for instance, the short length and greater height of their skulls (higher than the Mongolians, the Chinese, and the Japanese) (Kim, W. Y.

1986:6). Other studies clearly show Koreans are connected with their geographic neighbors but it is also noted that there are several distinct gene frequency patterns characterizing modern Koreans (Nelson 1993:6).

### **Anthropological Studies in Korea**

Recent studies discussing overall general bioanthropological approaches on Korean populations are reviewed by Sohn, P. K. (1989), providing a general metric, nonmetric and genetic summary, reviews basic biological information on modern Korean populations. Byun (1995) summarizes human skeletal materials excavated in Korea and Choe, C. P. (1991) also provides an overview of biological and archaeological studies for the origin of the Korean peoples. Some physical anthropological reports regarding some skeletal features of Korean people are also followed by Kim, C. Y. (1976); Kim, H. J. (1997, 1996 et al., 1998 et al.), Kim, J. J. (1981 et al.), Kim, K. T. (1960, 1961), Kim, M. E. (1997), Ko, M. Y. (1995 et al.), Kwag, S. H. (1992 et al.), Pack, G. S. and Kim, M. G. (1989), and Park, S. J. (1996 et al.). However, most of these studies are little more than inventories of Korean skeletal material with little effort to examine them with respect to other population. Only a few authors emphasize chronological change in their studies.

According to study by Park, S. J. (1977) who examined a single individual from the southern tip of Korean and concluded that the individual, dating to roughly 2000 years B.P. was metrically similar to modern Koreans. Park (1997) also reviews all human bones in Korea and compares them with each other chronologically but admits to limited sample sizes. According to this study, Korean crania show change from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic but are stable from the Neolithic to the Bronze periods and with little change from the Bronze through the Iron period and into the modern interval. Based on these studies, he concludes that the starting point of unique biological features of Korean people had been started since the Neolithic period and was completed in Bronze period.

According to another study by Park (Park, S. J. et al. 1999), which examines cranial flatness through time within Korea with comparisons to other populations, Park and others conclude that the indices for facial flatness of Korea & Choson Dynasty (10<sup>th</sup> –20<sup>th</sup> centuries) were similar to modern Korean (Park, S. J. et al. 1999:153). While these indices show a close similarity to groups from northern China and modern Japanese they

are somewhat different from indices for prehistoric Korean samples, Mongol and Siberian material (Park, S. J. et al. 1999:153). Additionally they indicate that Iron period Korean samples show similarity to the Ainu, modern Japanese, as well as to the prehistoric Jomon. The simotic index shows that modern Korean and Koryo and Choson period Korean are also very similar. However, ancient Korean shows some differences indicating that simotic indices and zygomaxillary indices for modern Korean including the Chosun period are higher than those of the Iron and Bronze periods. However, the frontal indices from modern Korean, Choson period, and Iron period are similar to each other though the Bronze period samples show lower frontal index (Park, S. J. et al. 1999:142).

Similar research results are reported by Koh et al. (1997), who used 181 Korean adult crania from the several medical schools in Korea. Koh and others conclude that “The frontal index of the Korean is relatively low and simotic index is relatively high among neighboring Asian races. The zygomaxillary index is intermediate. The clustering analysis represents that the flatness of the Korean crania is closely related to those of the northern Chinese, modern Japanese, however, somewhat different from that of Mongol, Siberian, Eskimo, etc.” (Koh et al. 1997:11).

Pack, Doo-Jin et al. (1999) compares modern and prehistoric Korean dental metrics and nonmetrics and includes five variables on each tooth and 9 nonmetric characteristics of 1085 teeth from Kaya, Koryo, and Choson people and similar data on 1397 teeth from modern Korean populations. One of the few consistent traits within these samples is the persistent high incidence of incisor shoveling. In the Kaya, Koryo, and Choson people shoveling average 96.4% and is 94.2% in modern Koreans. However, double-shoveling is rare in prehistoric samples (3.8%) but rises to 31.2% in modern samples. Pack and others also note that both prehistoric and modern Korean groups show similar occlusal groove patterns in the maxillary first molar (more than 94% of both groups appears the ‘4’ pattern indicating a shape and a number of cusps present). However, in the maxillary second molar, only 40.5 percent past Korean show the ‘4’ pattern while 76.5 percent modern Korean show the ‘4’ pattern. In the mandible, the ‘Y5’ (in the mandibular first molar) and the ‘+4’ (in the mandibular second molar) patterns

(also, a shape and a number of cusps present on the occlusal groove) of occlusal groove patterns are most commonly appeared for both the past and present Koreans.

Choi, B. Y. and Han, S. H. (1999) examined thirty-nine nonmetric cranial traits in Korean crania from several medical schools (most between 20 and 60 years of age). They compared the Korean data with other 18 neighboring groups of people. Although as the authors mention, more samples and more detailed classifications by chronological orders and historical events for each regional sample group would have needed for this research, some interesting observation were made. While all Asian groups show close affinity with each other, among these groups the Korean sample was more similar to comparative samples from Kazach, Mongol, and Buryat groups than samples from China or Japan.

Overall, the limited Korean skeletal analysis does not show dramatic regional variability providing clear support for specific large scale population movements. This ambiguity may reflect long-term consistent gene flow inside Korean groups. Although the skeletal sample and the analytical efforts to look at prehistoric patterns are relatively limited, the research results often do address patterns observed in archaeological interpretations of material culture and historic accounts. Clearly larger samples (should have included bone data from North Korea) and samples more carefully controlled for chronological context are needed to address such questions.

### The Neolithic Period and Beginning of Pottery culture

Many Korean Neolithic traditions show a concentration of sites in river and coastal areas where resources were plentiful. Within these traditions there is clearly geographic variation (Kim, J. B. 1987:34). This diversity is illustrated by Neolithic tools found in Korea (Henthorn 1971:7). Scholars agree that it had been resulted with both cultural diffusions and localizations. Some of the tool types, such as the crescent-shaped biface, often referred to as a woman's knife is very widespread and can be found all the way from north China, through Mongolia, Japan, and the Soviet maritime provinces, and also has similar forms in the Eskimos, and North American Indians (Henthorn 1971:13).

However, archaeological remains for the Korean megalithic period, beginning 2000 B.C. show a high degree of uniformity throughout the Korean peninsula (Nelson 1993:111).

### **Pottery Traditions in Korea**

The first appearance of pottery, regarded by many as one of the “most informative kinds of material culture” (Deetz 1996:68), appears in what is categorized as the Neolithic Period (beginning about 6000 B.C., however, pottery, discovered in the Cheju island located in the southwest sea of Korea, and adorned with raised lines (Yungkimun in Korean), indicates early chronological dates, see Lee, C. K. 1989). This material has a comb-patterned pottery decoration (geometric pottery in English, chulmuntogi = pissal munitogi in Korean), which was ‘combed’ by a toothed implement, probably of bone, wood, or nail, while the surface of the vessel was in the leather-hard state before it had completely hardened. This type of decoration shows a wide distribution from the Volga River (eastern Europe) to Lake Baikal (southeastern Siberia) (Kim, W. Y. 1983a,b). It is felt this style of ceramic diffused from the northern regions into the Korean peninsula as the Neolithic period began and is a reflection of population movements within this broad area (Kim, W. Y. 1983a,b). While existing dates (about 10000 B.C.) indicate the Jomon ceramics are some of the earliest in the world and clearly predate those of Korea and the rest of Asia (Ikawa-Smith 1980; Imamura 1996), initial studies by Japanese scholars suggested ceramic technology expanded from Japan to Korea. However, modern archaeologists in Korea argue the comb-patterned culture influenced one of stages of Japanese/Jomon ceramic styles (Im, 1995, 1996, 1999; Kim, W. Y.1983a,b).

While many tie the appearance of this comb style pottery to the ethnic identity of the Korean people, what have developed for the arguments on the relations between two different pottery traditions, comb-patterned and plain potteries, appeared in Korea throughout the Neolithic and Bronze periods are essentially two different interpretations of the Korean ceramic traditions – one positing an essentially indigenous origin and development and the second arguing for an extraterritorial ‘foreign’ influence. Information bearing on these interpretations is presented in the following section.



## **Chulmuntogi**

The comb-patterned design is one of typical styles for the Chulmuntogi and covered either the entire external surface of the vessel or could be restricted to a border around the mouth of the vessel. This style is incredibly widely distributed (appeared in the Kyushu Island in Japan through Korea into southern Manchuria, Siberia and even into Northern Scandinavia). While some stylistic differences between modern Liaoning, Liodong, and Manchuria in China and the Korean peninsula do exist from the comb-patterned potteries, there are many similarities in decorative techniques and designs, type of temper, and vessel shape (particularly the flat bottom of the vessels) from two regions (Kim, W. Y. 1986). The Korean variant usually exhibits parallel incised lines, although other “techniques of marking the unfired clay are also used” (Nelson 1975:17). The pottery has been excavated with stone arrowheads, bone, horn, and agricultural tools, etc. (Henthorn 1971:8). The ceramic bowls typically have either flat or round bottoms and vary from 10 to 70 cm in diameter. This chulmun pottery flourished in Korea between 6000 and 2000 B.C., but not all ceramics showed this comb-like surface decoration. Other design patterns included repetitive elements apparently applied with fingernails, bones, and sticks. Some ceramic are also “adorned with raised lines (Yungkimun) rather than incising” (Nelson 1993:59) and are especially common on the eastern and southern Korean coasts. Nelson also argues, “The designation ‘Chulmun’, as frequently used, should be understood not merely as description of a decorative technique used on pottery, but as a general term covering the first 4,000 years or so of settled villages in Korea, analogous to the use of the term ‘Jomon’ in Japan” (Nelson 1993:59). While no one questions the wide distribution of chulmun pottery from ancient Korea, through Siberia, and the eastern Baltic region of Europe, some argue the earliest evidence of this kind of decoration appear first in Siberia and then, somewhat later, spread southward into Korea. Nelson (1975), alternatively, proposes that the Korean chulmun ceramics are in fact distinct from the Kammkeramik of the Baltic area. She states that comb pattern on the Chulmun pottery consists of short incised lines, while Kammkeramik pottery have the marks that are “made by impressions of the end of multiple-toothed implement” (1975:32). She also indicates,

“The pit markings are also essentially different; in the Baltic pottery there are deeply indented pits but Chulmun contains shallowly impressed punctuates. Arrangement of design elements also differs; rows of punctuates may occur on Chulmun pottery between the band design and the body design or they form the band design itself, but on Kammkeramik pits usually alternate with other designs or form part of a more complex design” (Gimbutas 1956:205, cited in Nelson 1975:32).

She concludes that these such differences in detail argues for independent invention (similar styles can also be seen in North American Woodland ceramics) rather than diffusion from a central location (Nelson 1975:32).

### **Regional variations for Chulmuntogi**

Within Korean there are analytical studies that divide Chulmun ceramics into several types. Kim, W. Y. divides Chulmun pottery into four groups: The west coast group with typical incised decoration and conical bases. The southeast coast group with rows of raised and embossed lines while some pots have flat bottoms. The northeast group which has, most of cases, flat bases along with semi-circular rows of punctuates. The northwest group with herringbone patterns, rows of dots and short slanting lines and pointed or rounded bases, while some flat bases appeared as well (Kim, W. Y. 1967:101). Im, H. J. (1996:6-7) combines Kim’s (1967) west and northwest areas into one unit (the western group) containing conical and flat bottom vessels which are tempered with mica, steatite, or asbestos. He believes that this western group is clearly different from a northeastern unit which is characterized by a flat bottom and thin wall. The style shows mostly sand and occasionally ground shell temper with decoration generally restricted to above the midline of the vessel. It should also be mentioned that these styles are also found scattered in the northwest Korea as well, though they are never very common there. Nelson (1993:61-62) argues that regional groupings of chulmun pottery cultures in Korea are still arbitrary and need more detailed analysis (see also Im 1983).

## **Mumuntogi**

In the Late Neolithic period, a new style of pottery appears. This type is generally undecorated, or if decorated, the decoration is minimal and is restricted to either incising or painting on the rim, neck, or around the base. This style of pottery is called mumuntogi (=plain pottery, plain coarse ware or undecorated pottery in English) and was produced between the middle of the second millennium B.C. and the Bronze period in Korea. Mumun wares typically show either flat or conical bottoms. Mumun pottery is usually heavy and thick-walled style and is more frequently found in sites containing agricultural tools. Here again, many argue this style of ceramic is very similar to wares in North China, Mongolia, and Manchuria (Nelson 1993:116-137; Henthorn 1971:9). Mumun pottery also shows some regional variations by the different shape and treatment on the rim. Nelson (1993:116-137) identifies some typical types of mumun ceramics as following: (1) Karak style: “a wide-mouthed, flower-pot shape and a globular jar with a short constricted neck” (Nelson 1993:118). The bases are flat and small but do sit upright on their bases. “Rims are often collared and incised at the lower edge of the doubled rim” (Nelson 1993:118). It is found mostly in the Han River basin, but can be found on the southeastern Korean shore. (2) Gongyul style: a variant of the Karak style, but with “a row of punctuates just under the rim, accompanied by a scalloped lip” (Nelson 1993:118). (3) Paengi (top-shaped) style: This group shows “wide-mouthed pot or necked jar... The narrow flat base was created by attaching a small clay disk to the round bottom of the vessel” (Nelson 1993:118-119). The typical pot has a collar around the neck. These are related to the Karak vessels. They range from about 16 to 25 cm in height. “The Jar form, with a constricted neck and everted rim, is usually entirely undecorated” (Nelson 1993:119-120). (4) Jungdo style: This style is appeared in the North Han River in central Korea and in Cholla Nam Do (southwestern Korea). This style features “a row of impressed ovals or circles above the base” (Nelson 1993:123), and it typically is associated with iron tools.

## **Chulmun and Mumun potteries**

The chronological dates for each pottery culture are approximately 6000-1500 B.C. for Chulmun culture and around 1500 B.C. for Mumun culture. While the Chulmun ceramics appear more sophisticated in some decorative designs they are clearly older both in terms of dates and in terms of stratigraphic position of the pottery itself. The two easily notable differences are the lack of decoration and thicker walls on Mumun pottery, while it was made-up by more various shapes for functional purposes than those for Chulmun pottery. Most of cases, unlikely Chulmun people living in seashore and riverside (including inland areas) mostly, Mumun people lived in more inner areas, such as plain, low hillside and riverside areas along with using more sophisticated stone artifacts for agricultural life (Choe, C. P. 1986; Nelson 1975; 24, 1993:116-137; Ro, H. J. 1997:135-136). Regional variations in Chulmun and Mumun forms exist and there is still a great deal of discussion and research focused on how these forms are related to regions outside of Korea and what is happening with respect to diffusion or independent development.

## Bronze and Iron Periods in Korea

The Korean Bronze Age starts between the thirteenth and tenth century B.C. (Im 1992; Kim, J. B. 1975, 1980; Kim, J. H. 1978). Scholars from North Korea however think that the earliest Bronze materials begin around B.C. 2000, “although so far the evidence is thin” (Nelson 1993:116). When iron appears in the last few centuries B.C., bronze continues to be used along with iron into the Three Kingdoms period, but was primarily as sword blades and tools (Nelson 1993:133). The common cultural materials still include stone swords, stone murals, dolmens, and more agricultural production. During the Bronze period, in fact, the majority of agricultural tools were made of stone while bronze items were mainly used for weapons and status symbols. Although many Yayoi sites in Japan have been discovered with wooden tools for rice cultivation, Korean wooden tools during Bronze Age have not been reported yet. The acidic Korean soils which provide

poor preservation condition for wooden items (Im 1992:158). Im also supposes that since many bronze artifacts for possible cultivation-tools are dated before the B.C. 3 century, “wooden tools were already being replaced by metal tools in Korea by 300 B.C.” (1992:158).

Just as the Neolithic period is usually defined by chulmun pottery, mumun style pottery characterizes the Korean bronze period (Kim, J. B. 1987:35). This pottery and associated farming implements are common throughout Korea. Some pottery styles such as burnished red ceramics are largely restricted to burials and are believed to be status marker (Nelson 1993:123). Because of the distribution of various ceramic styles and other cultural items and their diversity, some scholars assume that several independent groups of people may have occupied the area (Ro, H. J. 1997:126; Lee, C. K. 1996:20; Yoon, M. B. 1975). This is, as noted earlier, the time interval in which ancient Chinese historians begin to describe different Korean groups that may ultimately evolve into the modern Korean people. The records clearly note a great deal of contact between the ancient Chinese and Korean groups. However, mumun pottery styles discovered in Korea indicate that they do not share similarities with wares from central China (Kim, J. B. 1987:35; Pearson 1979:80).

Stone artifacts in this period were continually produced for various purposes; knife, point, arrowhead, dagger etc. Some stone beads may also be indicators of status positions. The semi-lunar knife which is thought to be used for the intensive agricultural activities are common in Korean mumun sites. The semi-lunar knife is similar to items found in Longshan and Longshanoid regions of China but are very different from the Chinese Yangshao rectangular knives common in Chinese sites (Nelson 1993:123-132).

### **Korean Bronze Daggers**

Many Korean archaeologists track changes in bronze daggers associated with mumun ceramics and have been organized into several chronological divisions. The types of Korean bronze daggers could be sorted into two groups by their blade shape: the liaoning dagger and the slender dagger. The liaoning dagger, which has wider bracket-shaped projections on its sides (=mandolin-shaped dagger), is earlier than the slender

type, which has progressively attenuated shape of projection styles. Yoon, M. B. (1987) believes that the liaoning style gradually evolved into the slender type. According to Lee, C. K. (1996), who divides Korean Bronze periods into 10 stages and four different periods, argues in the second period (400-300 B.C.), is marked by the first appearance of the slender type and proposes the center of bronze cultures moved from the Liaoning and Liodong regions to the Korean peninsula during its transition to the slender style. He says that in the third period (300 B.C. – A.D. 50), the Korean bronze culture reached Japan where the slender style first appears slightly after 200 B.C. in the Kyushu Island.

The liaoning dagger is widely distributed and is found in the Liaodong peninsula, Bohai bay, and Korea (see figure 5) and is not found in the southern regions of China, south of the Great Wall. From the third century B.C., a slender style dagger, referred to as the Korean slim dagger (Sehyong tonggom in Korean), proliferated in southwest Korea. Scholars in Korea have regarded the appearance of this dagger style as a symbol of the emergence of the earliest ‘unified’ Korean people because it is so widely spread across Korea and also appears outside the peninsular in the Donggi and the Kochoson regions. Some other artifacts, such as taller spearheads and narrower-blade style of halberds are different from the Chinese styles and also are markers of a distinct Korean tradition (Portal 2000:35). Korean scholars therefore have associated these slender dagger traditions with some of the earliest Korean groups appearing in the Chinese records of the earliest histories.

### **Bronze Period Burial styles**

During the earlier Neolithic, there is no common shared burial pattern in Korea (Nelson 1993:92). Through the Bronze and Iron Ages in Korea, a tomb style with “rectangular pit burials surrounded and covered by slabs of stone” (Ro, H. J. 1992:212) becomes the most common burial style. These burial styles, just as with dagger forms, are widely distributed in Korea. These are referred to as dolmen tombs, or Goindol or Chisokmyo in Korean. This dolmen style burial with stone cists has been regarded as one of the most significant Korean cultural markers but are found throughout Korea as well as in modern northeastern China and extend into Kyushu Island in Japan (tremendous

numbers around 100,000 have been found in Korea, Nelson 1993: 150, see more about dolmen, Kim, B. M. 1982; Whang 1982). Although many scholars agree that they were used mainly for burial purposes, the purpose of those megalithic monuments has been debated and many do not appear to contain human remains (Nelson 1993:150). Typical artifacts in the dolmens include mumuntogi, bronze weapons, and polished stone (Nelson 1975:25). Scholars usually agree that dolmen culture represents the emergence of a social organization with a hierarchical system since some artifacts are indicative of a ruling class (Choe M. L. 1984:72; Kim, W. Y. 1986; Ro, H. J. 1992:212).

While dolmen could be simply classified into two construction styles and underground burial patterns, they are usually divided into three types; the northern or table type, the southern type with one large flat boulder covering a pile of stones and the capstone type which has a large stone lying flat on the ground on top of a cist burial. Even though the distribution of these types reflects geographical differences, southern and northern types are overlapped in their distribution (Nelson 1993:147-150). As for the origin of the dolmen style, some regions such as, Siberia and Malaysia and Indonesia have been suggested because of their similar appearance (Kim, B. M. 1981, 1982; Kim, W. Y. 1983a,b). No direct connection with those regions has however been suggested and most argue they reflect simply a common theme on burial strategies (Nelson 1993:147). Meanwhile, many scholars especially from North Korea and some from South Korea believe that these styles may in fact have spread from the ancient Kocchoson area (Kwon, T. W. 2000:138). However, according to Kim, J. B. (1980), who insists the Siberia root for the Korean Bronze and Iron culture, the Korean Sukkwanmyo (stone cist) style is directly connected to the Karasuk culture (1300-800 B.C.), which is one of four stages in the Siberian Bronze culture traditions (Afanasiovo, Andronovo, Karasuk and Tagar). He proposes that the following Tagar tradition, also known as Scythian culture, was continuously influencing cultural patterns in the Korean peninsula. According to Kim, W. Y. who shares similar idea as Kim, J. B.'s,

“Coffin-shaped stone cists were the wide-spread form of burial chamber for Bronze age people in the upper reaches of the Yenisei River in Siberia during the Karasuk (1200-700 B.C.) and the Tagar (700-200 B.C.) periods. Originally, a cist was constructed of stone

blocks also came to be used, and it was this stone-block type that became the dominant burial-chamber type in Korea from the Bronze age to the historical era” (Kim, W. Y. 1986:31).

One thing clear is that the material culture of the Korean bronze period is very different from the bronze periods of China, the Xia and the Shang dynasties, which were formed in the central plain of northern China (Chang 1986). Nevertheless, the bronze culture in Liaoning, which was also important center of the bronze period in East Asia, and the Korean peninsula were directly connected (Kim, J. H. 1978:158). As mentioned already, the Liaoning dagger, called a mandolin dagger (pip’ahyong tonggom in Korean) also appeared in the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, while a stone cist was popular in Liaoning and the peninsula, a ceramic piece mould style (tokwangmyo) for the burial was the mainstream in the Chinese bronze tradition (Portal 2000:34).

### Iron Period (Three Kingdoms Period)

As seen earlier, before Chinese cultural styles were transmitted to ancient Korea in the Three Kingdom period, there had been many material culture similarities between the modern northeastern China (Liaoning, Liadong, and Manchuria) and Korea (Kwon, T. W.2000:10). During the Iron period, as written records show, the Liaoning and the Korean peninsula had close ties with China. The Chinese burial style, earthen tomb (togwangmyo), was also the popular burial mode of Korea. This burial form is commonly associated with a classic Chinese coin, called the crescent knife coin (mingdojeon in Korean), and dates to the Warring State period in China. It is however often associated with the Korean style of slim daggers (Sehyong tonggoms). Most Korean scholars suggest that since coins are largely restricted to the northern regions, it is likely the result of ancient trade rather than the direct inflow of Chinese culture. Regardless of their origin it is clear that the Iron period of Chinese culture had strong connections with Korea through both an inland route and a coastal route (Choi, S. R. 1996; Kim, J. B. 1987:38). According to archaeological evidence of discovered roof tiles from one of earliest Korean



kingdoms, Koguryo, which is quite close to the Chinese cultural zone, might practice the Chinese era names until it made its own era names around the early fifth century (Takashi 1993:299-300). For the southern Korean peninsula, Choi, S. R. (1996:37) believes that the first significant impact of the Chinese culture appears at about the first Wiman Choson's expansion southward which is documented in the written sources. However, since traditional cultures, such as stone-cist and jar-coffin burials, mumun pottery through the later bronze period and many iron artifacts, such arrowheads without tails, short trailed daggers and iron spears through the Three Kingdoms period were distinct, it appears that the southern Korean peninsula region may have maintained its distinct indigenous traditions regardless of huge cultural impacts from China. As a matter of fact, scholars usually think that the initial point for formulating the Korean ethnicity had been already began well before the Three Kingdom period.

### **Pottery styles of The Three Kingdoms**

During in Iron Period, the Korean peninsula again cannot be considered as a single culture in spite of increasing incorporation by the Chinese influences throughout the Iron period. For example, burial patterns were divided by the major Korean river, Han-gang, into a northern and southern sphere and may also reflect different political contexts in the two areas (Kim, J. B. 1987:38). In spite of the obvious Chinese influence during the Three Kingdom period in Korea, pottery for the early historical period in Korea maintains its distinctive nature. For instance, the gray stoneware of Silla in the southern Korea from around 200 to 600 A.D. exhibited a distinct unglazed texture. The only Chinese style pottery found among tens of thousands ceramics from Silla tombs was a brown glazed bottle through the fifth century. The popularity of Chinese style lead-glazed vessels in Korea began after the seventh century as the unified Tang dynasty was erected in China. While Packjae and Koguryo ceramics are more limited in number, the Koguryo ceramics show that a much lower firing temperature and also have a flat bottom form. It may be a reason that the simpler style of these vessels were more day-to-day utilitarian wares (Jeong 1997:2). The early Packjae ceramics may have shown some similarities with those of Koguryo, which shares genealogical identity with Packjae.

Later on, along with frequent contacts with Silla and Kaya, Paekjae ceramic styles evolve into both more practical wares and some which show elegant stylistic features (Jeong 1997:3). After the late fourth century, ceramics around the Nackdong River, Silla and Kaya begin to show some regional differences though they clearly share the same evolutionary roots (Jeong 1997:3).

### **Burial styles**

The burial styles of the Korean kingdoms before the A.D. 1-2 centuries were dominated by the dolmen tombs but gradually stone tumulus (piled-stone = Dolmudum in Korean) and earth mound construction (grave dirt = Bongtobun in Korean) begins to replace the dolmen style. The Koguryo area appears to show the earliest development of these tomb styles (Hatada 1969:9). The stone style (piled-stone) is similar to those from Lioing while the earth mound style containing stone-built chambers is similar to those in central China (Im 1999:194). The native style of Koguryo, cairns, might have been evolved into piled-stone pyramid-like structure (Bailey 1994:84). These tomb styles were popular for high status groups until the early 7<sup>th</sup> century (Bailey 1994:84). Styles including painted murals in the Koguryo tombs are also examples of Chinese influences (Kim, W. Y. 1977:12). Gradually these painted tombs evolve and become more clearly Korean in decoration and “The layout of Koguryo tomb construction later influenced chamber burials and tomb paintings of Paekche and Silla to the south” (Pai 2000:28).

Despite the fact that various styles, such as pit burials with wooden coffins, jar burials, and mound style with stone or tile chambers have been reported in the ancient area of Paekjae, the major tomb style of the Paekjae kingdom remains the stepped stone tomb or pyramid type (Bailey 1994:86). However, the non-pyramid style stone tombs, the pit mound tomb (Tokwangmyo in Korean) which are earlier are not found in the earliest periods along the Seoul and Han River where the Paekjae kingdom was opened its political regime around the later half of 4<sup>th</sup> century (Lee, D. H. 1991:191). Lee, D. H., who thinks that there was a population movement of Paekjae from the Manchuria to the southern peninsula, argues that since the non-pyramid type of a stone tomb is not found in the Seoul area, the first time appearance of stepped pyramid type, which was a popular

style in Manchuria where the Koguryo and Paekjae kingdoms were opened, indicates that the northern Paekjae moved down to the Southern Korean peninsular (more discussion about the southward Paekjae will be following in this chapter). According to some artifacts from one of very seldom Paekjae tombs that are not looted, King Muryong's tomb, indicates very close connections with China and Japan (Takashi 1993:306-6).

In Silla, the stone-surround wooden-chamber tombs (Jouksukmokkanbun in Korean) show little variation and apparently evolved from simple wooden-coffin pit burials. The tombs contain wooden coffins located at a shallow or deep pit and covered with many layers of stone. The stone are then covered by mounded earth but retain side openings. This style, which is very different from those from Koguryo and Paekjae, was popular until the 7<sup>th</sup> century and are frequently the best preserved because of their unique construction features (Bailey 1994:87; Okauchi 1986:136; Pai 2000:31). Based on the abundant artifacts inventories of gold including crowns, belt buckles, and ornaments with pendants, from Silla, these materials are very stylistically distinct in contrast to Chinese materials of the same time interval. However, the crown styles show similarity to similar finds from Kaya and Japan (Bailey 1994:89). These items also show similarities to some materials from the Scytho-Siberian tradition of southern Siberia (Bailey 1994:95-98).

Burial styles of Kaya were also thought to have evolved from wooden coffin pit burials similar to those from Silla. However, the side opening style common in Kaya appeared much later than Silla (note Kaya was absorbed into Silla around late 5<sup>th</sup> century). After this unification Kaya tombs and their artifact inventories become strongly influenced by the Silla styles. The wooden chamber typed tombs first appeared in the Kaya region in the second half of the second century and by the second half of the third century they completely disappear and were replaced by the stone chamber style tombs (Bailey 1994; Okauchi 1986). Even though the wooden chamber style of Kaya and the southern peninsula was derived from the chamber tombs of the northern area (Han commandery of Lelang area = Naknang in Korea), the majority of the artifacts in these tombs show a strong similarity to Northern Asian materials derived from nomadic steppe tribes. Some of these materials suggest class differences and argue strongly for long distance military conquest begging about this time (Shin 2000:113).

Overall, Korean bronze and iron cultures reflect both cultural diffusion and internal evolutionary changes. In the northern regions, because of geographical closeness, some Chinese cultures appear earlier than those in southern Korea. Overall, however, the influence of Chinese style appear to be somewhat less than what would be expected suggesting to some a strong native tradition that molded outside influences into a uniquely Korean style during the bronze period. Later, in the Iron period, archaeological evidence supports increased and more profound cultural connections between China and Korea and is supported by the existing ancient texts (Choi, S. R. 1996). Archaeologically there is also support for connections to northern nomadic people living throughout central Asia and southern Siberia. During the Iron period, it seems clear similarities across the Four kingdoms region existed though, “Each state had distinctive features of workmanship and design” (Pai 2000:123).

### An Overview on Issues and Interpretations of the Origin of Korean

The study focused on the racial origins of the Korean people has largely been undertaken by Japanese scholars prior to the 1950s. The primary emphasis was to show how Korea was largely dominated by either Chinese or Japanese cultural traditions. A few scholars, mainly from North Korea, argued for a more unique in-place evolution and parallels similar studies of artifacts emphasizing internal evolutionary processes. Due in part to the scarcity of skeletal material such studies have had relatively little impact on the field and much greater emphasis has been placed on the more abundant material culture remains and reanalysis efforts of the written documentation such as it is.

Many previous studies largely relying on written documentation and limited archaeological materials largely examined from a Japanese perspective usually concluded that there was a strong Japanese influence in Korea (Lee, S. J. 1992:94-95). Other works proposed a stronger Chinese influence. Imanishi, for example, summarizes one perspective when he notes, “The Korean race could not be considered an independent race because many centuries earlier the Han Chinese commandery system in the Korean

peninsula had exerted a profound influence on the many races of Northeast Asia” (Imanishi 1936:64,65, cited in Pai 2000:39). The Japanese proposition of three main waves of invasion critical to the formation of the Korean people (Pai 2000:55) begins initially from the north with the Northern Tungus/Dongi races (one of them might be the horse-riding nomads moving through Manchuria). This is followed by a second wave, the southern Han Chinese race, which brought sedentary Confucian government, refined arts and cultural tradition along with Buddhism. The third and last wave, being the Japanese Wa who brought Kofun culture and state organization to the Three Kingdoms period. Pai criticizes that those three ideas implying the continuous cultural and political impact of foreign nationalities were aiming, “The colonial-racial framework ultimately served the political ends of the colonial government by providing archaeological, physical-anthropological, and historical (that is, scientific) proof of Korea’s racial inferiority and cultural backwardness” (Pai 2000:55). Since the 1960s, as introduced in the previous chapters, more Korean scholars emphasize Korea’s uniqueness and new alternative hypotheses are being formulated with a more nationalistic perspective.

### **Early population movements in East Asia and Korean**

Currently there are two main ideas regarding the origin of Neolithic Korean people (Im 1999:87-89). As noted earlier, the diffusion theory proposed primarily by Japanese scholars explains that the comb cultural tradition, which was common across northern Europe (Finland, Sweden, northern German) and southeastern Russia, represents the rootstock of this tradition. According to this diffusion theory, one of groups of people, the Kammkeramik tradition, first spread eastward into Siberia and then later south into Korea. While popular prior to the 1960s, many now doubt if there is a true direct linkage across such large areas and many feel it represents a more widespread autogenous evolution.

According to one of the most influential studies on Korean racial origins (Kim, J. H. 1964, 1978), the development of the original Korean population was formed from two different groups – a northern strain (Pukpang-gye) and a southern strain (Nambang-gye): the northern line coming from an unspecified southern Siberian region during the

Neolithic and the southern line originating from somewhere in the South Seas. He hypothesized that modern Korean have been formed by the interaction between these two groups during the Bronze period (ca. 1000 B.C.). Such a proposition including a southern strain for the Korean genealogy is not widely emphasized and accepted and is dramatically different from most existing interpretations from current researchers who mainly discuss a northern strain.

Kim, W. Y. accepts the earliest Korean population as representing a Paleo-Siberian or Paleo-Asiatic race from southern Siberia (1983b:41), though he suggests an immigration route from Siberia via Osan-ni (southeast coast of Korea) down the southern Korean coast, and they fanning out through the Korean peninsula and gradually spreading into Japan (Kim, W. Y. 1989:29, see also Kim, W. Y. 1972). According to him, who does not emphasize two different strains for the earliest Korean racial groups from Kim, J. H., the newly migrated groups of people from southern Siberia had lived together with the other Paleo-Asiatic people, earlier comer to Korea, and completed cultural and racial intermix with them to produce the ancestral line of modern Korean (Kim, W. Y. 1983b).

However, the chronological timing of this gradual expansion proposition can be problematic. According to the recent radiocarbon dating for the pottery from the Osan-ni site, located at the southeastern coast of the Korean peninsula, they are clearly older than those of the Kammkeramik Siberian tradition. It suggests the influence may have been in the other direction (Im 1999). In fact, a more typical combed ceramic from the site is actually found on top of another pottery style, called Yungkimun (=Docmuni, see also Lee, C. K. 1989 for the Kosanli site), supporting more internal evolutionary developments than many of these earlier interpretations considered (Im 1999:87-89).

According to Kim, J. B. (1972, 1980, 1987), agreeing with the idea from Kim, J. H., and believing that those early Neolithic people living in northern regions of Korea were replaced by people with mumun pottery culture, hypothesizes that one of the Mongol people, who is neo-Siberian, came to the Korean peninsular later through Mongol and Western Manchuria with more advanced Bronze culture. He also suggests that they were the people who appeared on the written evidence on the ancient Chinese records with YeMaek (1972, 1980, 1987).

Due to differences between chulmun and mumun potteries, some scholars also argue there were two totally different ethnic entities in this early period. According to Fujita, the earliest Korean peoples were gradually replaced by the Han agriculturalists coming out of the Yellow River valley and by nomadic tribes from the steppe. He then proposes an additional wave of immigrants were represented by the mumun ceramic markers who settled on the “low terraces and on the slopes of mountains” and explains that the mumun people survived and formed the core of the Manchurian and Korean (Fujita 1952, cited in Pai 2000:107). Others, such as Ro, H. J. (1997:150-158), who emphasizes these differences in ceramic traditions, also proposes mumun people replaced the chulmun groups during the Neolithic. Some, however, in light of the absence of supporting archaeological data lean more to evolutionary continuity from chulmun to mumun with the changes largely resulting from trait diffusion not population replacement (Im 1999).

While many S. Korean scholars have been supporting the hybrid theory for the Korean origin, since the 1960s, N. Korean scholars have believed the independent evolution of the Korean peoples (Han 1997:85; Yi, S. B. 1992:23). They argue the Sungnisan remain (?4-30000 B.P.) from northern Korea already had cranial and mandibular features reminiscent of what would become modern Koreans. They also believe that the Sungnisan’s low jaw share many similar features with the modern Korean ones: size, width, and feature. They therefore conclude that the Sungnisan person is the antecedent for both the Korean peoples and those of northeastern China (Lioning, Younhaejoo, and Songwhariver areas) (Han 1997:86-87). As mentioned already, particularly South Korean scholars do not support this proposition. Many argue that the chronological underpinnings of the model are based on bone dates which may not be reliable (Bae 1992:51; Kwon 1997; Park, S. J. 1999:561).

Regardless of such interpretive problems, scholars generally accept the idea of cultural connections between Siberia and Korea during the Neolithic period (cf. Choe, C. P. 1991). It seems obvious the markers of the comb-patterned pottery were apparently one of the earliest Neolithic peoples of Korea. Another thing that is also clear with respect to the Neolithic people of Korea is that they are Mongoloid in nature and apparently occupied the peninsula and most of other regions of this area from a very early

period and that a variety of groups gradually evolved. The details of these evolutionary steps are still widely debated and have not been resolved (Nelson 1993:108-109). Nelson makes the point that during these early intervals modern national boundaries “were wholly irrelevant” (Nelson 1993:108). Clearly, much more detailed and broader work with larger samples are needed to resolve these hotly debated and heavily nationalistic schemes, rather than depending much on typological and chronological analysis of pottery.

### **Bronze to Iron Periods**

For population movements during the Bronze and Iron period, there are even more varied interpretations of possible population interactions. Most interpretations propose either diffusion of traditions, cultures and peoples or argue for internal autonomous evolution. Again, these hypotheses are difficult to assess based on the existing data sets. Many researchers are particularly interested in this interval because it is felt this is the interval in which the Korean ethnic identity becomes most distinctively unique in contrast to surrounding areas. One useful piece of information required for this step would be a clear definition of the ‘unified’ area showing these hypothetical distinct features. Essentially we are trying to identify prehistoric social units which, be even the most conservative interpretations, clearly had connections outside of any defined hypothetical core area. Modern sociopolitical units should be of little consideration in this area of research.

As briefly noted in the chapter two, written materials could not provide clear resolution on the identities of many peoples – Ye, Maek, YeMaek, and Choson, inhabiting the modern Manchuria and the Northern Korean peninsula. Since they are considered as direct ancestral peoples of modern Korean by many Korean scholars, some historians and archaeologists in Korea take a close look on possible cultural contacts between those peoples and the Hsiungnu which are frequently mentioned in contemporary Chinese records. According to accounts from the records, the Hsiungnu were nomadic people living in modern Mongolia and harassed the Chinese throughout the ancient times.



Because the sphere of their activities extended into the Manchuria, scholars generally agree that they had cultural influences on early Korean peoples (see Nelson 1995). From an archaeological point of view, another nomadic people, the Skitai (Scytho-Siberian), who may originally be derived from a nomadic Iranian people and have some connections with the Hsiungnu, are believed to have some cultural interaction with ancient Korean kingdoms, especially with Silla. In fact, some archaeological evidence discovered from ancient activity zones (Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, southern Russia and Mongol) of the Skitai are identical with those from Korean kingdoms (Bailey 1994:91-98; Im 1999:202-8; Kwon, T. W. 2000:109). While the identities of those ancient nomadic peoples are still ambiguous, many modern Korean scholars look to central Asia for cultural interaction zone of early Korean peoples. However, the supporting evidence is still slim and little real research to confirm this has been undertaken.

### **Two different peoples?**

As mentioned already, along with increased archaeological works, some bronze artifacts have been used frequently to define ancient geographical boundaries and to identify racial markers for Korean. For instance, Lee, K. B. and Lee, K. D., who emphasize that the geographical distributions of the Korean style slim dagger, tools, weapons, and burial patterns overlaps with the territorial range of the Dongi, propose that the formation of Korean race really began between 2-3 millennium B.C. (1982). Although no written documents describe that any certain people moved to modern Lioing region during ancient times historical documents indicate the region was occupied by people called Dongi who was clearly defined as different ethnic line with contemporary Chinese (Kim, J. H. 1978:163). Kim, W.Y. however, has a slightly different interpretation on the identity of the Dongi. Even though he also agrees that the Korean origin was from YeMaek, he believes that the Dongi was “not members of the Altaic groups or the Dongyi <Dongi> barbarians who both migrated eastward from the western region, but a Tungusic population that underwent cultural regionalization in southwestern Manchuria and became distinct enough to be called by an independent ethnic name” (1986:12). Although he thinks that the late Bronze period of Korea

including Kochoson people were all the same YeMaek people, he proposes the possibility for two different ethnicities of the YeMaek people: the southern YeMaek, who was called Han and farmed in the southern Korean peninsula, and the northern YeMaek, who might be nomadic people. However, according to many archaeological sites Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang in the modern Chinese provinces that the YeMaek people occupied in the northern region, settled farmers already existed at that time in those regions. (Nelson 1993:111)

According to another interpretation for the early period of the formation process of Korean by Fujita (1952, cited in Pai 2000:51), since the Han Chinese culture did not reach the southern Korean peninsula first, the indigenous Korean peoples, such as Ockjo and Three Hans, had kept its own racial and cultural characteristics until Chinese influences diffused to the region. He believes that modern Korean ethnicity was completed by the mixture of YeMaek, Han Chinese, and the indigenous Korean people living in the southern peninsula. His interpretation was based on two primary ideas: YeMaek and the people living in the southern Korean were racially different. There was genetic mixing with Han Chinese and Korean. While his interpretation limits the geographical boundary for the formation process of ancient Korean within the Korean peninsula and emphasizes more racial and cultural influences by northern nomadic Tungus (Scythian) than those by Chinese on the ancient Korean (Fujita 1952, cited in Pai 2000:50-51), none of the research from archaeology and bioanthropology indicates that ancient Korean people living in the northern region was racially and culturally mixed with the Han Chinese (Im 1996, see Chard 1974; Liu 1995; Nelson 1993; Xu 1995 for more detailed studies).

Another scholar, Kim, J. B. (1987), also emphasizing the overlap of archaeological findings from Liaoning, Manchuria, and the Korean peninsula over the cultural sphere of YeMaek, insists that the origin of the ethnic culture of Korean has to be sought in Kochoson which he thinks would be the first state level society of ancient Korea. He says,

“The formation of the Korean nation beginning with the rise of the Yemaek tribes may date from B.C. 13<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the opening stage of the Bronze Age, in its accommodating and assimilating of the

earlier settlers, maintaining the cultural and ethnic line as a nation. Cultural complexity and dual composition of inhabitants against such backgrounds must have provided the basic foundation of the Korean nation, adhering to the backbone of its ethnic culture through assimilation despite the influx of emigrants and culture from China from then on” (Kim, J. B. 1987:36).

Lee, C. K. (1996, 1997), also emphasizing cultural interactions between the eastern Liaoning region and the Korean peninsula, notes that a typical dagger style of the southern Korean peninsula, which has an earlier blade shape but with a notch in a part of the hilt, did not appear in the northern Korea and Liaoning region. His research indicates that the violin-shaped dagger culture first appeared in the eastern Liaoning area and spread out to the Korean peninsula. It also indicates while the slender dagger along with other bronze artifacts was popular in the southern Korean peninsula, the number of the slender dagger and bronze artifacts in eastern Liaoning was significantly lower. Therefore, his study suggests the possibility of two different regional traditions of bronze cultures of ancient Korea and the cultural flow from the northern to the southern area throughout the Bronze period in Korea. In fact, according to archaeological perspective, it is more or less apparent that two different cultural styles appeared and developed independently in northern and southern Korean regions (Pearson 1979:86).

Therefore due to some temporal and spatial overlapping with the first Korean state, Koguryo (Pai 1999:370) and the ambiguous identity of Dongi, some Korean scholars, as mentioned already, have tried to derive the earliest cultural roots of the Korean peoples from the Dongi people. They furthermore believe that since the YeMaek was part of the cultural zone of Dongi, it was connected to the first ancient Kingdom of Korea, Choson. While some archaeological and written evidence is supportive for this generalization, it's not an easy task to define ancient ethnic connections between Dongi and Korean ancestral peoples. Furthermore, the other issue directly related to this ambiguous identity of the Dongi is the possibility that there are two roots to the modern Korean genealogy.

## **Northern people and southward**

As noted, many scholars in Korea agree that YeMaek are the earliest clearly Korean ethnic group. Some of them also propose that they might have entered the peninsula to the north, although its chronological date is difficult to determine. While the genealogical connections between northern and southern Korea during the bronze period and some other issues, such as an exact location of Choson and identities of Kija and Weiman, are under debate, scholars generally accept the southward process of Kochoson's political bases which is mentioned in the Chinese documents. As noted in the chapter two, the Shichi describes that during the early Han period of China, the major occupation area for Choson (=Chaoxian = Kochoson =Old Choson) moves to Manchuria as the Xiongnu's attacks are frequent in the northeastern side of China (Watson 1993, Vol. II:145). Some other Chinese records also include accounts of one of Choson Kings, Jun, who moved to Three Han regions when he was defeated by Weiman (See Kim, J. S. 1999:14-19; Watson 1993:225-230). Although early arguments from Japanese scholars who had regarded those descriptions as evidence for the population movement or genetic mixing between ancient China and Korea, most Korean scholars generally interpret these historical events as internal interactions among ancient Korean peoples. One thing worth noting here is that while no one would argue about the ethnic identity on Koguryo as Korean, it is questionable whether the Yen people also worshipped Kija. Although Yen was regarded as a Chinese cultural zone according to ancient Chinese written books, historical descriptions and archaeological evidences do not show strong ethnic connections between the central China and Yen located at the northeastern edge of China. Therefore it might be possible to suppose that the Yen territory could have acted as the cultural mixing zone for ancient China and Korea until it was totally absorbed into the Chinese cultural scheme.

## **Location of Puyo and Paekjae**

Another important historical event mentioned in ancient documentations is the proposed northern shift of people to the south attributed and related to the Puyo peoples. This issue is directly connected to the ambiguous identity of the 'horserider' theory of

Egami. However, here again, since the accounts on the Chinese records are very vague, arguments related to the identities of Puyo and Packjae and their relations are some of most difficult puzzles in Korean academia.

Although some scholars argue against the concept of direct connections between Puyo and Packjae (see Lee, H. H. 1991), many modern Korean scholars accept the direct genealogical connections between two ancient kingdoms. Therefore, current Korean scholars have focused more on the cultural history of Packjae than that of Puyo to investigate a possible ethnic link between northern and southern areas of ancient Korea. One of main problems with this reconstruction is the Chinese records which indicate the continued existence of Packjae in Manchuria until the 4<sup>th</sup> century: Songshu describes that Packjae and Koguryo originally as having been situated 400km (249mile) east of Liodong. Packjae occupied Lioining after the Koguryo attack on Liodong (Songshu, see Kim, J. S. 1999:97). Yangshu includes the description that Packjae occupied Lioining and Jinpyong (in the Sangdong Peninsula) (Yangshu, Kim, J. S. 1999:116). Namsa also provides exactly the same description as Yangshu (Namsa, Kim, J. S. 1999:155). Additionally, Jachitonggam describes an event where Packjae ultimately destroyed Puyo in A.D. 346 (Lee, D. H. 1991:168).

According to those historical descriptions, Packjae was clearly distinct from Puyo and both would have been occupying areas to the north. Nevertheless, the first appearance of the name, Packjae, on the Chinese records is from the Sankuoshih that introduces Packjae as one of fifty small countries located in the southern Korean peninsula (Sankuoshih, see Kim, J. S. 1999:76). Because Sankuoshih deals with the historic events between A.D. 221-265, scholars think that the Packjae regime must have come into existence in the southern Korean peninsula earlier than the third century. Furthermore, while there is no Korean record of a Manchu Packjae entity, all major historical descriptions related to the Packjae's opening procedure on the Korean records, Samguksagi and Samgukyusa, are based on descriptions of Packjae's interactions with its neighbor countries in the southern Korean peninsula. None, however, includes any clear description indicating the existence of Packjae in the northern area. The only hint at such a phenomenon from the Korean report is that "the 1000 or more houses of Paekche<Packjae> came and submitted two years before Kokuryo's Army passing upper

reaches of Pyru-River and attacking Puyeo<Puyo>” (Samguksagi, cited in Lee, D. H. 1991:192).

Up to the present, because of the scarcity of historical evidence to prove the Packjae entity in the northern area, historians could not have attached great importance concerning the existence of Packjae in Manchuria. Meanwhile, some Korean historians use the appearance of Packjae’s activities in the northern areas as the grand power of Packjae in ancient time (see Lee, M. S. 1980). They typically propose that Packjae, whose founders were connected to Puyo, set up its first political entity in the southern Korean peninsula and had extended its power to the northern area along with annexing its small neighbor countries located in the southern Korean peninsula. As a result, they do not accept the possible existences of two different political entities of Packjae, one in the northern area and the other in the southern area. They thus explain that some sense of the conflict between Puyo and Packjae in the northern area during the fourth century reported in the Jachitonggam was in error and the authors mistakenly confused Packjae with Koguryo. Others argue that the Chinese historians also provide accounts supporting the separate identifies of two groups, one in the north and one in the south. They therefore argue that since there is not enough evidence to exclude the possibility of Packjae’s existence in the northern area, another Packjae entity may even have had a presence somewhere in Manchuria and Lioining (see Lee, D. H. 1991, 1992; Kim, T. S. 1994; Lee, M. S. 1980). Thus two main ambiguous issues need to be resolved. First, if we regard both Packjae identities, one in the southern area during around the 1-2 century and the other surviving in the northern regions until the end of the fourth century, as one kingdom, could Packjae have enough power to control even some areas located in a great distance from its base in the southern Korean peninsula? Second, alternatively, were there two different kingdoms with similar names but clearly different identities that have become confused over time? Historic documents will not help illuminate these issues and are still actively debated in Korea (see Barnes 1990, 2001). Interestingly, however, one theory may help illuminate both these issues.

According to Lee, D. H. (1991), who combines historical documentation and a consideration of tomb styles, argues that there were different Packjae countries: one in the southern area and the other in the northern area. Ultimately the northern Packjae

entity expands southward and absorbs the southern Packjae. Lee proposes that a branch of the Puyo entity in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries set up two separate regimes in the two different areas. Although the Chinese records describe that the power of Puyo had never been threatened by any country until the middle of the third century (Sankuoshih, see Kim, J. S. 1999), its power declined rapidly due to the continuing attacks from neighboring nomadic peoples and Puyo was ultimately absorbed into the Koguryo power around the end of fifth century. Lee further explains that while the power of one of Puyo's offshoot kingdoms, Packjae in the northern areas, was reaching its cultural peak around the middle of the fourth century, northern Packjae entity was confronted with the rapidly expanding power of the Koguryo and was not able to maintain its political regime in the northern area. Therefore, as it was being incorporated into the Koguryo realm, one of the northern Puyo clans in the Northern Packjae realm moved down to the southern Korean peninsula (the Southern Packjae area) where the other line of Puyo descendants occupied the land. Lee supposes that this event strengthens the southern Packjae and they are now able to withstand the incursions of both Koguryo and Silla kingdoms until it ultimately is subsumed by Silla in the A.D. 7<sup>th</sup> century. He therefore doubts that the southern Packjae was potent enough to extend its influence into the northernmost reaches of the empire such as Manchuria, Liaoning, and the Shandong peninsula and argues it was the northern Packjae entity which extended its influence into these areas. Therefore, he emphasizes the dual natures between Puyo and Packjae, and the northern and southern Packjae entities, although all three different identities shared the same genealogical background (Lee emphasizes that they all share similar tomb-styles).

In sum, the cultural identity of Packjae must be regarded as critical importance in understanding the prehistoric dynamics and evolution of the region. In other words, one of the main missing elements to clearly understanding the ancient relations between Japan and Korea lie in a better understanding of events in the southern Korean peninsula between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. This will help immensely in understanding the geographic diversity and spread of different traditions and influences across the area in general. Clearly the historic entities of Puyo and Packjae are central to understanding the dynamics within the peninsula and across into Japan. It might be possible that these entities, or some element of them, had tremendous influence in Japanese affairs in this

time period. Direct movement of people seems possible and only through archaeological investigations will these events be better understood. Unless new written documents are discovered, which seems unlikely, revising the interpretations of written ambiguous histories containing both mythological and politically influenced documents will not shed additional light on this interval.

Ultimately, it is still necessary to conduct more research on the situation of the southern Korean peninsula from A.D. 1-4 century to clarify not only the relations between the northern and southern peoples in Korea but also the relations between the southern Korea and ancient Japan. In other words, the political interactions among peoples in ancient Korea should have been clarified first in order to obtain more reliable explanations for the understanding of the cultural connections between Korea and Japan.

### Conclusion

While historical resources could not solve the problem that is, as Pai indicates, “An unexplained two thousand-year discrepancy between the presumed archaeological existence of the state of Ancient Choson (Kochoson) and the first recorded reference to that state during the first century B.C.” (2000:15), most scholars in Korea have been regarding Choson people as the direct ancestral line of modern Korean. It is because of mainly the fact that some records describe the ancient Korean states, Koguryo and Puyo’s close connection with Choson, Ye, and Maek peoples. However, although the name, YeMaek, was first appeared on the Shihchi and other Chinese records also described the genealogical connections with early Korean kingdoms, its relations with other names, Ye and Maek, has not been clearly defined by historians yet. Besides, material traditions reported in archaeological work of the last century for the early people who occupied the Southern Manchuria, Liodong and the Korean peninsula during the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods are not clearly explained for the relationships with those historical peoples.



Although it is difficult to conclusively establish the formation processes of the Korean people because of strong evidence for numerous groups and diverse traditions across the region, it is safe to conclude that many previous interpretations based on the cultural umbrella view emphasizing Chinese cultural influences on both the ethnogenesis of the Korean people but also much off East Asian history are no longer regarded as accurate and sufficient explanations. Although it is true that some advanced material cultures of ancient Korea were adopted from China during the Bronze period, it is unlikely that there was direct ethnic/genetic connection between ancient Chinese and Korean. It is however clear that ancient Lionic region played an important role to connect ancient China and Korea. Furthermore, while it is still arguable that all Donggi peoples of the Chinese records should be regarded as the earliest identifiable and direct ancestors of the modern Korean, the cultural distinctiveness of the Lionic, Manchuria and the Korean peninsula, based on some archaeological evidences, was noticeably different with the contemporary Chinese culture during the Neolithic and Bronze period. It was the period of Han China that first strong cultural influence of Chinese appeared in the Korean peninsular. It is therefore explainable for the reason why Chinese historical accounts describe the Donggi territory as a different cultural zone during the early ancient times.

One more fact realized by scholars on the formation process of Korean ethnicity is the contact between the northern and southern Korean peoples as evidenced by the similarity of both bronze artifacts and burial customs. Some ancient events by Northern YeMaek's migrations, and their descendants, such as Choson and Puyo (Packjae?) into the southern Korean peninsula might have produced significant cultural impacts on the southern regions through the Bronze and Iron periods. Therefore, these events must have been played significant catalytic process to produce the modern Korean identity. In sum, although some cultural and racial hybrid process of early Korean peoples with other ethnic groups of peoples in East Asia would have not been avoided, localized internal process of ethnic continuity in ancient Korea could have been started during the Bronze period.

## CHAPTER 9

### ETHNIC CONNECTION BETWEEN JAPANESE AND KOREAN

#### Introduction

During the Japanese occupation, the idea about a common racial ancestry for Korean and Japanese was commonly accepted by imperial scholars in Japan. They proposed strong cultural similarities as well as shared genealogical characteristics between two peoples. Therefore, the idea, ‘Nissen dosoron’ which means that Japanese and Korean have the common descent sharing blood, culture, and language since ancient times, was formulated and advocated from the early 1900s by imperial scholars in Japan (Pai 2000:39,41). They believed that the common racial origins for both peoples came from somewhere in prehistoric Manchuria and regarded “Archaeological remains from the Korean peninsula as potential sources for illuminating Japan’s imperial origins” (Pai 2000;28). However, after the postcolonial period, many studies about the racial history of Japanese had been begun with the statement ‘Koreans are not Japanese’. Because archaeological investigations in Korea since the 1960s fail to support the proposition that ancient Korea was a part of Japan, this earlier interpretation is beginning to fall out of favor. Hence, scholars have not discussed the Nissen dosoron idea as much as previous periods of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Since the 1980s, this issue has been an increasingly important topic in Korean scholarly circles. While the discourse on Korean racial origins has focused on delineating an ancient independent Korea with no cultural or physical ties to either a ‘Chinese’ or a ‘Japanese’ past, the old position has gradually been modified. As noted in the Chapter six,

the relationship between Japan and Korea is increasingly seen as implying a direct and very ancient genetic relation between the two entities. To understand the evolution of these two groups, this relation has to be better understood. Korean scholars now argue that throughout the Neolithic period, there were early and continuing contacts between the two regions particularly within the coastal zones and during the Bronze and Iron periods these contacts became increasingly frequent and important to both entities. Under the circumstances that, “Archaeologists have long agreed that there was some immigration into Japan during the Yayoi period (300 BC-300AD), but there has always been debate as to exactly how much” (Hudson 1989:60), some considerable evidences reflecting cultural similarities and the scale of migrations between two regions during the ancient times will be summarized in the following section.

### Ancient Contacts between Two Regions

#### **Prehistoric Period**

Previous scholars argued that the Jomon ceramics originate in southern Siberia, and that its tradition and style came through Korea and then into Japan. However, radiocarbon dates indicate that the earliest Korean pottery is not in fact older than the Jomon tradition (Nelson 1975:30, 116). Therefore, others argue that the ceramic influences flowed from Japan to Korea during the Jomon (Nelson 1993:106-107). Others however argue that one of the Jomom pottery styles, the chulmun pottery (sobata pottery in Japanese), of Kyushu (Japan) is a derivative form of Korean chulmun potteries (Im 1999). While scholars generally agree that some characteristics on chulmun pottery, polished black pottery, and mumun pottery indicate “genetic cultural connections between the Japanese islands and the Korean peninsula” (Pearson 1978:185), the mechanisms and even direction are still ambiguous. While no one disagrees that some cultural contacts especially between southern Korean peninsula and Kyushu Island in Japan were initiated in the Neolithic period, some argue that Neolithic people from Korea

continued to influence Japanese traditions through all Jomon periods (Takahashi et al. 1998:52, 70).

### **The Yayoi period (The Bronze and early Iron Periods)**

Although it is in these periods we have written documentation and optimally should provide greater clarity to understanding the connections between Korea and Japan, the historic documents are very muddled, contradictory and, from many perspectives, only confuse the issue. Archaeological evidence however clearly indicates a dramatic and extensive connection between the two regions and the historically identified peoples.

As discussed previously, the identity of Wa has been interpreted in many different ways by each generation of researchers, some argue, and this is perhaps the most convention idea, that the Jomon were direct ancestors of the Wa. Generally the ancient culture of the Liaoning may be included within the cultural sphere of Korea, the Yayoi are also seen as having had a strong connection to Korea and it has largely become an argument on how much migration was taking place between Korea and Japan.

Pearson, who regards the Wa as a group occupying the southern Korean peninsula and the Kyushu island, considers the ancient contacts between two regions as “economic interaction rather than through population input” (1978:185). He suggests Koreanized bronze materials such as mirrors, daggers, and halberds diffused to Japan during the Yayoi period by trade (Pearson 1978:185). Although many scholars including Egami (1964) and Pearson, emphasize more direct cultural influences from China to Japan than from Korea to Japan, many Chinese bronze and iron material cultures diffused into Japan through Korea had been revised by people in Korea before they were transferred into Japan. In fact, many items were ‘home grown’ and not derived directly from China. Furthermore, some Korean Bronze styles appeared in Japan much earlier than the first appearance of the Chinese style Bronze (Lee, C. K. 1997). For instance, the early Korean style mirror (Semunkyung) was already used in Kyushu around 200 – 100 B.C. before the former Han mirror appeared around the beginning of the Christian period (Lee, C. K. 1997:77). Furthermore, iron materials in Japan during the Yayoi period were not popular

yet except in northern Kyushu (Imamura 1996:168), but are quite commonly encountered in most Korean sites of the same period.

### **Historic Period**

Grayson (1977:66), who feels the Kofun period “represented a radical change in Japanese culture”, indicates that the grave patterns of kofun and the objects from the kofun graves in Japan are very similar to those found in Korea. He also says, “...painting at a tomb in Takamatsu in the early 1970’s would further attest to Korean influence on Japan during this early period....Japanese pottery of the Tumulus Period assumes forms almost indistinguishable from those associated with the ancient Korean states of Kaya and Silla” (Grayson 1977:67). Egami also agrees that some sueki vessels which were very popular in contemporary Japan are similar to some from the Silla ceramic traditions (1978:150). Farris more recently (1996, 1998) provides an excellent summary of the material culture similarities between Japan and Korea. According to him, by the A.D. 3<sup>rd</sup> century, iron farming tools and irrigation technique appear in Japan after having first been filtered through Koera from China in previous centuries. Farris also says, “Most iron hoes and spades have appeared in tombs in northern Kyushu, Okayama, and especially the Kinai and are nearly indistinguishable from southern Korean prototype” (1998:82).

For the new pottery making technique, Farris says, “Emigrants from the peninsula brought the tunnel kiln (anagama) and perhaps the potter’s wheel to Japan in the first half of the fifth century” (1996:10). Iron goods and Korean styles of stoneware potteries are abundant in Japan during this time interval. As for the pottery pattern, “Most archaeologists now believe that the first gray stoneware came from Kaya, although some see similarities with Paekche and even Silla ceramics” (Farris 1998:84). Many gold and silver adornments obtained by the elite groups of people in Japan were made by artisans in southern Korea as well (Farris 1996:13).

Farris furthermore indicates that all artifacts related to the warfare in Japan were strikingly similar to those found in Korea; for instance, “many swords discovered for the Kofun period are exact replicas of Silla or Kaya artifacts” (1998:74), while dragon or

phoenix patterns on the handles were copied from those in Packjae. Although some Japanese influences on the armament artifacts discovered in Kaya were suggested, modern Korean scholars have claimed that all kinds of technology appeared in Japan were directly imported from Korea (1996:7-8). Japanese armor, for example, is most readily derived from Korean forms because the cuirass design is simply not seen in any other region other than southern Korea (1998:74). While minor details of armor may be argued about but there is no question and all agree that “Equestrian gear and riding skill entered the archipelago from southern Korea” (Farris 1996:9). Another significant archaeological feature indicating close connections between Korea and Japan during the Kofun period is suggested in an examination of burial styles. Although one of the most popular Kofun patterns, the stone-corridor-and chamber tomb style, is originally from China, ancient Japan imported it from Korea, probably, from Packjae (Farris 1996:12). Furthermore, despite of the fact that many Japanese scholars are not entirely convinced of the proposition about the early existence of keyhole style tombs in southern Korea and have even argued their presence in Korea may be related to the Yamato’s military influence in southern Korea (Farris 1996:88), some scholars provide support for their earlier appearance especially in southern Korea (Kang, I. G. 2000:51-54). Furthermore, some grave goods found inside the keyhole style tombs in Japan are essentially identical with materials recovered from Korean tombs. For instance, at the Otani tomb in Japan, which dates to the middle of the fifth century, Korean Koguryo style of military equipment has been recovered (Takashi 1993:302). Similarly, one of the most famous Japanese wall paintings, the Takamatsuzuka tomb dating as 7-8<sup>th</sup> century in Asuka is argued to be so similar to Korean styles. It has been suggested that despite existence of strong influences from Tang and Indian paintings through 6-7<sup>th</sup> century on the painting, the painter who depicted the groups of court ladies on the mural painting was actually Korean (Koguryo) or at least a Koguryo descendant (Kim, W. Y. 1977). According to Kim, W. Y. (1977), the identity of ladies on the paintings indicates strong similarity with that of Koguryo.

As noted earlier, the archaeological evidence is further bolstered by the existence of Japanese place names, which clearly show a Korean/Silla/Koguryo/Kaya/Packjae origin, up to the present. When combined these and other features clearly support strong

cultural ties either indicating essentially a continuous uniform culture over the region or minimally being evidence of a large number of immigrants from Korea which had a huge impact on Japanese traditions and, as noted earlier, may have been directly responsible for the formation of the Japanese Yamato regime (Hong, W. T. 1988). While Egami (1964) implies a Korean identity of Emperor Sujin and suggests that Kaya for the original motherland of early imperial families in Japan, Lee Hong-Jik also states,

“...Izumo region, a powerful region in the earliest period of Japanese history, was a colony of Korea from the Jin Han Kingdom.....The fact of colonization of Japan by Korean emigrants, where they became the ruling classes, is also expressed in the legend of ‘Yen-O-rang’ and ‘Se-O-Nyeo’ in the Chronicle of Three Kingdoms of Korea. According to this legend, this young couple went over to Japan from the area of present Yeong-il Bay on the east coast of Korea and became king and queen” (1963:144-145).

According to Ikawa-Smith (Monks 1984:41), “The Korean did have strong ties with the Imperial household in early times. There were very powerful lineages of Korean origin that provided consorts for the ruling family, so the ruling family could indeed have had a very strong component of Korean genes after several generations”. However she also suggests, “nevertheless, I do not think that there is material evidence for invasion of Japan by a group headed by the Imperial household” (Monks 1984:41). Barnes, whose research has focused primarily on the Nara region from archaeological and historical standpoints, suggests, “the completing Yamato regime was not produced by a sudden event but established by a process that had continued from the Yayoi period” (1988:276). While she does not directly address the issue of ethnic connection between Japanese and Korean, her interpretation clearly supports the possibility that there were continuous contacts between Japan and Korea not only for the Yayoi period but also for the Kofun and Nara Periods. Others, however, feel the contact may not have been so direct but parallels could have been produced by an extensive and intensive trade connection between the two regions.

## **Trade and Military Power**

According to Edwards (1983), who does not agree with the idea on the radical change of Japanese culture during the Kofun period as the outcome of an invasion or huge ethnic contact, the emergence of new material aspects of aristocrats in ancient Japan may have been produced by an international trade between Japan and Korea. Furthermore, while many bronze materials prior to the seventh century in Japan has been demonstrated to be of Korean derivation, some scholars account for it as the phenomena produced by ancient trade processes between two regions (see Barnes 1988, Baten 1986, Hudson 1996, Reischauer 1967; Szczesniak 1946; Totman 2000). Szczesniak, for instance, says, “Japan’s gradual interest in Korea and the expansion on this peninsula goes back to the third century A.D. The establishment of the Japanese sphere of influence in Korea, and the domination of Mimana in Southern Korea, were dictated by economic, cultural, and military reasons of Ancient Japan, or the Yamato country” (1946:54). He also explains that Japan was interested in the peninsula because of “receiving the tribute of good not produced in Yamato from a more highly civilized country” (Szczesniak 1946:54), and argues, “Strangely enough Japan first began her continental and external expansion, and only later effected her internal unification and structural organization” (Szczesniak 1946:55). Reischauer (1967) proposes that Japan was never specifically interested in Korea, but viewed it is an important corridor to obtain materials and knowledge from China. Therefore, he argues that Imna (Mimana) was essentially a distant outpost which the Japanese government used as a vehicle through which passed everything from scholars, books, calendars, and objects of art.

It is hard to accept that the relations between the two areas were entirely and only a trade conduit because the influence of Japan in Korea seems small in compared to the influence of Korea in Japan. In other words, “the quantity and value of Japanese artifacts found in Korea cannot possibly compare to the volume of materials coming into Japan” (Farris 1998:108). Farris furthermore insists, “Trade does not seem to have been solely responsible for the dramatic influx of Korean-borne culture into Japan. Immigration was surely part of the reason” (Farris 1998:108). He also argues that since the all the ancient



Kingdoms of the southern Korea were more advanced cultures, it is unlikely that the Wa politically dominated the southern Korean peninsula for the three centuries.

The only possibility to accept the explanation about this odd situation between two regions by economical matters is that ancient Japan should have had stronger military power than the kingdoms in the southern Korean peninsula. Here again, as noted in earlier chapters, historical and archaeological resources fail to support the historical accounts from the Nihongi. Admittedly, major military equipments for the mounted archers and cavalry from Korea were more chronologically earlier and technologically advanced than those in Japan (Shin, K. C. 2000).

The nature of these influences argues strongly for a large influence and possibly a significant influx of Koreans to Japan but additional work is necessary to fully document and describe this phenomenon to everyone's satisfaction.

### Ethnic intermix or diffusion from physical anthropological perspective

Some early Japanese scholars proposed that populations from Wu and Yue located in the southern China moved into southern Korea bringing with them rice agriculture to both Korea and Japan, based on historic descriptions indicating some cultural similarities between groups in Southeast Asia and the Wa (Hudson 1989:60). Some issues related to this idea can be addressed to some extent by physical anthropology though this is only beginning.

#### **East Asian Cluster**

According to some craniometric data, the Chinese from the Bronze Age and the modern Chinese represent remarkable homogeneity (Pietrusewsky et al. 1992), though within the larger modern Chinese geopolitical territory, "Regional differentiation occurs within each of the two major complexes, East Asia, Southeast Asia" (Pietrusewsky et al. 1992:554). Howells (1978), also using osteological data from China, proposes that people living in north China in the 5000 BC or earlier are not distinguishable from modern

Chinese, though also notes regional variability within China. He furthermore argues that the origin of Chinese may not be from the southern China and there was no sign of a blend between the northern Chinese and their neighbor people, Korean and Japanese. Another strategy using blood morphology in East Asian groups, specifically the Han Chinese of different regions and a few ethnic minorities in China, indicates, “The northern and the southern populations are not clearly distinguished, but the cluster groups in the dendrogram tend to be composed of populations with similar geographical distribution” (Jin et al. 1999:22).

Jin and others (1999:22) also indicate that the blood samples from modern Northeastern Chinese people, Inner Mongolian and Manchurian show the greatest affinity with the modern Japanese of the Honshu Island. Another study using genetic material of the East Asian people, HLA (human leucocyte antigen), “Which is the antigen existing on the surface of cells such as leucocyte, shows large genetic variation from individual to individual and has been an important target of research in various medical fields” (Tokunaga and Juji 1992:599). These studies indicate that Chinese samples indicate a genetic closeness to both Korean and Japanese populations (see also Tokunaga et al. 1996). This work indicates that Japanese are closest to the Korean, and the next closest population is the northern Chinese. The work also notes that some of the haplotypes, common in Korea, are not found in Beijing and are quite rare in Southern China, though they are identified in groups in the central and northwestern Honshu region of Japan (Tokunaga and Juji 1992:607). Additionally, these studies indicate that some haplotypes common in Korea and northern Japan are less common in southern Japan (southern Kyushu and Okinawa). Similarly, some haplotypes common in northern China also around found in Seoul population though they are “less common in the western and southern Chinese and very rare throughout Japan” (Tokunaga and Juji 1992:607). Tokunaga and Juji’s findings led them to conclude that while there are not extensive similarities between Japan and Korea, “it may at least be said with certainty that several ancestral groups came to Japan by various routes, then mixed and hybridized to some extent to constitute the present Japanese” (Tokunaga and Juji 1992:608). While some genetic studies indicate regional variations between the southern and northern China (more genetic studies regarding the regional variations among the southern, central, and

northern Chinese are essential), it is reasonable to suggest that northeastern Chinese groups especially show close biological affinity with modern Korean. At the same time, it is possible to argue for a diversity of origins of the modern Korean populations and these studies clearly support a connection between Korea and Japan, even though more studies are inevitably necessary to provide stronger support to the idea of dramatic intermixture between peoples living in two regions. These interpretations are, in many ways, not too dissimilar to hypotheses advanced by modern Korean scholars and interpretations of the archaeological record.

### **Scales of Korean emigrants into Japan throughout ancient periods**

Many modern Japanese scholars now accept the idea that Yayoi people were something of a composite race derived from both Northeastern and Southeastern Asian populations. However, many do not emphasize the input of Koreans into this mix and largely hinge on the interpretation of the magnitude of the possible migration from Korea to Japan (see Chapter 7).

Some argue for a relatively limited influence. Imamura (1996) suggests that the migration from ancient Korea took place within a limited time and involved relatively small numbers of people. He argues, “There was never any wholesale population replacement in the transitional from the Jomon to the Yayoi” (Imamura 1996:120). As also noted in the chapter seven, some other scholars insisting indigenous transformation on ancient Japanese, also propose that the increased stature and robust physique of the Yayoi can be attributed to improvements in health and diet (see Kidder 1993:101-102; Suzuki, H. 1969). There are others, however, who while accepting the diet/health explanation for the difference between the Jomon and Yayoi populations, also admit some curiosity about the regional differences which are still observable, specifically that people living in central Japan are still smaller than those occupying the Kyushu region where the Yayoi culture first appears (Kidder 1993:101). This internal region difference is also noted in a much higher incidence of blood type A in the western provinces of Japan (Hanihara K. 1992b:17).

Scholars arguing for the slow gradual transformation from Jomon to Yayoi often note that some 'Jomon' traits are maintained within the Yayoi context and it could be that such features would in fact be logical even with the 'mixing' of the new immigrants and wholesale replacement is not necessarily the best explanation. However, it should also be emphasized that regardless of wholesale replacement, co-occupation of the region between the native and the new comers along with some degrees of contacts must have been occurred through the Japanese archipelago for the Yayoi period. This explanation makes a lot more sense in terms of human dynamics.

Hanihara K. (1987, 1991, 1992a) who is well known for the theory, 'Dual Structure Model' implies possible strong ethnic relations between Japanese and Korean during the Yayoi and Kofun periods. According to his theory, the Jomon people represent the first and earliest immigrants from Southeast Asia during the Upper Paleolithic Age. The Yayoi and Kofun groups on the other hand represent a second large migration primarily from Northeast Asia. He proposes that it is the mixing of these two groups which lead to the modern Japanese. The theory is mainly supported by regional differences of physical and cultural characteristics between western and eastern Japan and proposes that the majority of the new immigrants primarily occupied the main islands of the Japanese archipelago. In his model, the Jomon peoples living in the far southern and northern reaches of Japan, away from the central island constellation, retained their 'Jomon' features for a much longer time. Hanihara finally tries to calculate possible numbers of migrants in Japan with using paleodemography methods. He supposes that there may have been between one and three million people arriving in Japan from 300 B.C. to A.D. 700. Some researchers however, feel that these estimates are much too high (Katayama 1996:23).

According to Omoto and Saitou (1997), who have examined this Dual Structure Model using genetic data from 26 populations in the world take exception with certain elements of Hanihara's theory. They argue that the Jomon people were not of southeast Asian origin but of northeast Asian origin. They also argue that the Ainu of the north and the Ryukyuan of the southern Japanese archipelago should be included in a Northeast Asia population cluster. They do however, accept the proposition that the modern Ainu and Ryukyuan are descended directly from the Jomon people, while Honshu Japanese

are derived from northeast Asian people after the Yayoi period (Omoto and Saitou 1997:440). Omoto and Saito emphasize the fact that stone tool from “the Upper Paleolithic and the Upper Paleolithic and the successive Jomon period show definite northern affinities.... No stone-tool culture of southeast Asian affinities has been discovered in Japan for the period (20000-12000 years B.P.)” (Omoto and Saitou 1997:443). Under this model, Omoto and Saito conclude that the Jomon people came from somewhere in northeast Asia and are ancestral to the Ainu and Ryukyuan people who share genetic features but are different from Hondo-Japanese. They propose a large population/genetic influx from northeast Asia during the Yayoi and Kofun periods who were different from the Jomon groups and this intermixing of the Jomon and this immigrating groups ultimately leads to the modern Japanese.

This interpretation is also supported by mtDNA studies of Horai and others (1996), indicating Hondo-Japanese and Koreans are genetically very similar. Overall, the physical anthropology and genetic studies point essentially in the same direction, a strong influence and influx of Korean peoples into Japan during the Yayoi period.

## Conclusion

Based on the archaeological and bioanthropological studies, there must have been active contacts between Korea and Japan, especially between the southern Korean peninsula and the northern Kyushu area since the Neolithic period. The contacts between two regions had been continuous and increased dramatically during the Yayoi and Kofun period. It is however still difficult to clarify the size of migration processes.

Nevertheless, we should remember that even though many scholars have spoken in riddle about the origin of Japanese, academic fields have shown that there must have been dramatic changes during the process of ethnic formation. Thus, we always should open our minds to these kinds possibilities. As Pai indicates, “Although scholars agree that there was significant cultural exchange between the Korean peninsula and the Japanese islands (Pearson 1976; Barnes 1986; Okauchi 1986), no one has yet worked out

a systematic model to explain the origins, developments, and consequences of such interactions” (Pai 2000:124).

However, based on a proposal from Rouse (1986) suggesting several logical criteria to demonstrate archaeologically a migration process that has taken place: some environmental and cultural favorable reasons for a migration process to any population must be existed, all migration site-units are contemporaneous and show some evidence for intruded material cultures that could be traced back to its homeland, and the local invention and diffusion process must also be considered for the prehistoric migrations that frequently we do not have enough material evidence, some conditions for the case of ancient relations between Japan and Korea could be adequate to Rouse’s criteria of migration events, though favorable reasons for the ancient contacts between two sides are not clearly explained yet.

Therefore, it is also reasonable to suppose that if there were huge migration processes in Japan, they must have come from the Korean peninsula. The evidence is too extensive to ignore. Although it is not universally accepted and some issues require further verification, it is reasonable to propose that ancient Japanese may have shared direct genealogical connections with Koreans with respect to both biology and culture during the Yayoi and Kofun periods.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

The primary thrust of this thesis has been to examine the evidence of connections between Korea and Japan and these interactions in the formation of the modern Japanese society and peoples. To assess these issues, various arguments and studies from history, linguistics, archaeology and biological anthropology have been examined. Several main theories regarding the origin of both Japanese and Korean, and ancient affairs between two peoples have been reviewed to evaluate the relationships between these two peoples in ancient time along with emphasizing all ancient cultural history of two peoples. To accomplish this, broad regional, chronological and multidisciplinary information has been synthesized.

Many issues relate to traditional arguments initially developed by Japanese scholars who utilized virtually minimal archaeological information particularly during the early twenty-century. With a much richer archaeological framework for both Japan and Korea, modern scholars have substantially expanded upon the previous interpretations and many explanations on ancient histories for both regions are increasingly challenged particularly by the Korean academic community. While many modern researchers have also used genetic and skeletal materials in this process, little Korean information has been incorporated in this process and there is still a great deal of ambiguity. Since the term, Mongolian, includes peoples in very broad geographical regions and clearly includes the Japanese, some scholars argue, “we should broaden our view of the relationships of

Japanese populations with circum-Pacific people, and view the Japanese more widely in the context of circum-Pacific Mongoloid groups” (Katayama 1996:25). At the same time, it is also necessary to develop a more detailed narrow focus to address some of the regional and chronological variability seen in these groups. Unifying the results and expanding analysis, of archaeology, bioanthropology, history and culture will be required for a truly effective assessment of the complex population history of this area.

In the first two chapters, a broad overview of the region was provided and included information on the environment and peoples in East Asia including Siberia. This also included an overview, with some detail on historic accounts and ‘literature’ from, China, Japan and Korea. There is obviously, a heavy emphasis on the Chinese literature of the periods. As a part of this process chapter three reviewed linguistic information on the region as well, particularly looking at proto forms of the languages and how they may have evolved into the modern languages of the regions. Chapter four teased from the literature information pertinent to the interrelatedness of the populations in questions. Chapter 5 and 6 focused on the political interactions in the region, and again discusses the issues of their accuracy and veracity. Chapter 7 introduces the archaeological and bioanthropological approach to the origin of Japanese with chapter 8 providing comparable information for Korea. Chapter 9 provides as comprehensive a synthesis of these diverse interpretations as is currently possible and is further synthesized in this chapter (10).

### Formation of Korean identity and its connections with Japanese

Many agree that the early Korean traditions and material culture stem from traditions in the northern YeMaek region combined with some influence from Chinese and northern Nomadic peoples. These influences seem to become more obvious and pronounced through the broader Korean region in the Bronze Period. While this process was certainly complex and involved a large geographic area, unfortunately, modern political conflict and territoriality make access and expanded investigations in the field



very difficult particularly with respect to sites in northern Korea and China. Because the names YeMaek and Choson (Kochosun), appear early in the Chinese literature, many agree these are the earliest possible identities of the Korean entity. However, more effort, particularly from an archaeological perspective, should have been focused on their identification.

While many studies, particularly those emphasizing historical information, proposes and discuss cultural and geographic boundaries between China (especially central China) and Korea, even beginning in the Neolithic Period, modern biological and archaeological anthropological studies support the proposition that there were clear biological and genetic connections between ancient Korea and Japan, especially the Kyushu Island region, throughout the Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron periods. Regardless of the many divergent interpretations of these connections it seems clear that one of the critical needs is a clearer understanding of the origins and evolution of the Korea people. Without a better understanding of this process it is hard to build a solid foundation for the interpretation of later developments.

### Increased ethnic connections between Two peoples

According to the overview provided here it might make sense to propose the following chronological divisions for a better understanding of the relations between Japan and Korea. The earliest stage extends from the early Bronze period to the third century A.D. Although historical sources are more limited than would be ideal but it seems it was during this period that we see the initial development of two different historical peoples in East Asia, each with increasingly divergent cultural traditions and initial processes for opening distinct state level social organizations. At this time population movements in East Asia take place with substantial contact between Korea and Japan, especially the Kyushu region and southern Korea. These movements do, however, make clear definition of specific 'peoples' complex at best and may be further complicated by nomadic populations who may have swept through and across portions of

East Asia. The influence of such groups is clearly documented in the case of China, both before and after the Tang Dynasty. Therefore, since “people from North and Central Asia have continually entered the Chinese scene and have sometimes ruled over it” (Fairbank 1991:100), there must have been tremendous ethnic ‘mixing’ between the ancient Chinese and their neighbors with the ultimate result of this amalgamation process leading to the formation of the modern Han Chinese.

Ancient Korea is likely to have experienced the same kind of influences given the broad border with China and proximity to northern nomadic peoples. Korean contact sometimes resulting in conflict with both entities (Chinese and northern nomads) is noted in the historic documents. Extending this model further it is logical to presume such events and patterns would also influence Japan as well though documentary evidence of such conflicts is not reported in the literature. The absence of reported military conflict in this early interval, however, does not preclude substantial immigration of peoples into Japan proper. Toward the end of this interval, apparently during the second century A.D. Chinese records mention a great Japanese conflict/war but it is unclear whether this documents an internal conflict only or a conflict involving new populations migrated from Korea or China. These ‘Wa’ peoples, apparently the earliest reported mention of peoples in Japan, seem to have included ancient groups and the name was still in use until the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Unfortunately, ancient Chinese historians used the term, ‘Wa’ ambiguously. It is unclear if the Wa were a single group within a specific geographic area or was a descriptor of all people within the main Japanese islands. Some modern efforts at better defining this term argue that the Wa territory was not necessary to be limited to the Japanese archipelago and also included groups in Korea – essentially a ‘pan Korean-Japanese realm’. Such a broad inclusive definition can also be supported by archaeological materials, some of which in fact show striking similarity even back into the Neolithic periods. Therefore, it is generally assumed that there were huge biological and cultural contacts between Japan and Korea during this first stage.

*The second stage*, roughly encompassing the next three hundred years, A.D.4 – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this interval, it appears that there was still wide spread political disorder throughout East Asia. Discord ranged from small dynastic entities within China to

internal rebellions and some foreign invasions by external groups had divided up China for several centuries. By the end of the fourth century, northern nomadic peoples (Xiongnu = Mongol) established a distinct dynasty on the Central Plains and it was existed as one of ancient Chinese dynasties which was ultimately absorbed into the greater Chinese sphere around A.D. 532.

Korea was similarly beset with continuous civil wars until Silla united the warring factions and unified the regions. Japan also experienced a similar unification identified as the Yamato kingdom. What are still as issues are the nature and the direction of the connections and influence between Korea and Japan. There are some who argue that it was more unilateral (Korea to Japan) though others argue for a more bi-directional flow of information, people and traditions. Generally, the divergent opinions can be identified as clearly Korean perspectives and Japanese perspectives. The main issue from all arguments for ancient contacts between two regions in this stage is more directly related with the question, which side dominated politically the other side?

The traditional Japanese perspective is that ancient Japan dominated Korea politically as is indicated in their own historical record, the Nihongi. Some do, however, admit to the possibility editorial license rewriting history to fit political goals and necessities. Within this framework some would accept Korean contacts but seem them largely as Korean tributary activities or the input of small numbers of war refugees. In both cases, the impact would be regarded as relatively limited. This official perspective clearly does not match up with much of the linguistic and archaeological evidence for this process suggesting a much stronger and more profound Korean influence. While many traditional Japanese scholars propose that the early opening period (around A.D. 3-4 centuries) of the Yamato political regime, which, they believe, accelerated the formation process of the modern Japanese ethnic identity, many modern scholars argue that the Yamato regime did not possess enough elements for the state level formation until the 5-7 century as an elaborate administrative structure and clearly state level social organization were initially formed. Furthermore, some Korean scholars argue the possibility of a substantial Korean input during this interval. As for the arguments regarding not only the opening period of first state in Japan but also the location of its' political center, accepting the proposition, 'the Kyushu theory' helps understand many continued and

related issues in the ancient history of Japan. The details of these events are still shrouded in uncertainty though loom large in a rational and careful appraisal of this time interval.

*The final stage* for this chronological breakdown encompasses the 7<sup>th</sup> through 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Throughout East Asia, this is a period of massive unification and stabilization of regional and national identities. During this period, all East Asian countries completed the unification of their own country under the single political regime and the modern ethnic identity for the Chinese, Korean and Japanese were established. China was unified again by Su (Sui) in the sixth century and recovered its political authority that was usurped by northern nomadic people. Korea was also unified by Silla with military assistance from Tang in the seventh century. Japan also undertook its effort to absorb Ainu in the northern island and completed various social reforms.

The Japanese Nihongi again includes many descriptions of almost continual immigration from Koguryo, Silla and Paekjae during this stage. Some Korean scholars as noted earlier, even argue that these immigrants, especially those of Paekjae, once the Silla unification in Korea was complete then expanded this process to Japan. While Koguryo refugees might have been absorbed into the new Kingdom in Manchuria, Palhae, established by one of Koguryo generals, the remarkable numbers of Paekjae immigrants may have been positively predisposed to Japan not only because of geographic proximity but also because of the close political ties already in existence. Many modern Korean scholars emphasize the Nihongi account indicating Paekjae's remarkable cultural impact and its migrants' great involvements on the various fields in the Japanese society. In fact, Paekjae migrants' activities in Japan were more noticeable than any other immigrant group coming to Japan during this period. This connection would apparently be maintained even after Paekjae lost political sovereignty in Korea. Again, this supports the interpretation of extremely strong and close ties between the two regions. This position, or hypothesis is strongly supported by some linguistic, archaeological and historical research. This is clearly a reasonable argument given the commonality of linguistic features between the two languages and leads some scholars to propose the Japanese Kana could be derived from ancient Korea (Miller 1967:91; Shibatani 1990:126). It is interesting, though not within the scope of this thesis, why there are not even more similarities between modern Japanese and Korean.

Although it is too early to accept all ideas proposing very radical changes in interpretations between Japan and Korea, the renewed interest in this topic is constructive. One of the simplest issues that needs to be addressed is the magnitude and nature of the Korean immigration to Japan. There seem to be two main interpretations of this process. One interpretation proposes minimal contact. This interpretation regards the Wa as essentially the 'native' population of Japan which ultimately develops internal political, cultural and ethnic unification during the second and third centuries. Under this model the early Japanese then extend their power and influence toward Korea with a relatively small flow of ideas, information and peoples from Korea to Japan. The alternative to this perspective is that the Wa of the historic records included people both Japan and southern tip of Korea in a larger region and these groups may have shared a common heritage and culture. Under this model the formation of the Yamato entity in Japan is directly connected with the appearance of the huge Korean immigrants in the Japanese history and the proponents of this model emphasize a huge scale of ethnic intermixtures between the native Japanese and ancient Korean. Both these conflicting interpretations have their unique problems as well as strengths.

Overall, it is reasonable to suppose that since the Neolithic period, two regions, especially the southern Korean peninsula and the western Japanese archipelago had had strong cultural ties and contacts based on some material cultures found in two regions. From the Bronze period, political situations in East Asia may have played as a main factor triggering continuous huge migration processes from Korea to Japan until the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, no matter what the reality of ancient political relations between Korea and Japan throughout the Bronze and Iron periods, it is possible to conclude that there were huge ethnic contacts between the two peoples living in Korea and Japan. In other words, according to the findings from linguistics, history, archaeology, and bioanthropology overviewed in the previous chapters, there is a great possibility for continuing process of cultural and ethnic mixtures between ancient Korean and Japanese not only for the Yayoi period but also for the Kofun and Nara periods (see figure 10).

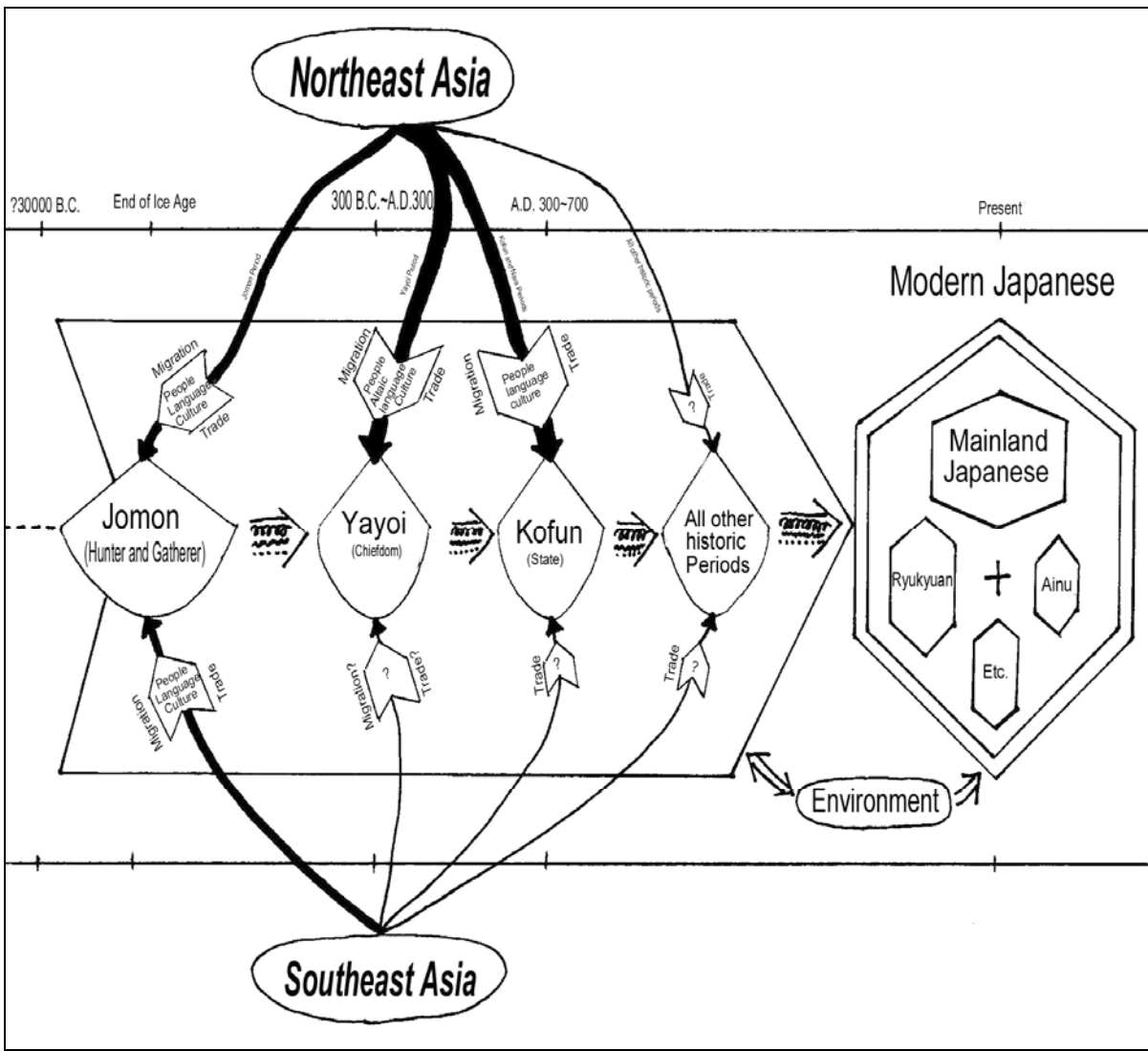


Figure 10. Formation Process of modern Japanese (based on possible cultural and biological influences from Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia)

Clearly, given this overview, a more careful and reasoned consideration of the relations between Japan and Korea is necessary to fully understand the dynamic events of the region. In contrast to interpretations of the past it seems obvious that the role in these process is as an active participant and can no longer be relegated to the role of a minor actor on the regional scale. As others have noted, “the peninsula and islands were not as

firmly divided by the Korean Straits as they are today” (Barnes 2001:xiv). Such a reconsideration also requires a broader regional perspective and these events cannot be viewed in isolation. As Yu, Hak-ku (1990:47) indicates, “We cannot but start from the regional history of Northeast Asia” because “Korea-Japan relations in ancient times developed within the frame of this world”. According to one suggestion from Pai (1999), blaming that the classification for the East Asian prehistoric races at present was produced by colonial construction, since the East Asian regions have been the cultural contact zone, scholars “should avoid as much as possible the indiscriminate “ethnic” labeling of prehistoric archaeological sites and artifacts based on the present geographic locations of their finds” (Pai 1999:373-374). Nationalism while it may argue for purity of past and traditions ignores the realities suggested by the multidisciplinary perspective incorporating linguistic, genetic, osteological, archaeological and historical information and must be extended back to the very beginning of the Neolithic if we are to better understand evolutionary mechanisms within this broad area.

In short, it might be possible to untie the riddle of Japanese origins, if we had a clearer understanding of the relationship between ancient Japan and Korea. To do this nationalistic biases if all must be put aside. Similarly, the strict reliance on revered historic documents must be considered critically and it must be accepted that they may be riddled with revisionist efforts at rewriting history to suit the writers and needs of the moment. One strategy, which is relatively new and promising, is the incorporation of increasing quantities of information from bioanthropology and archaeology. Hopefully, this is the beginning of an effort in which many will participate and work toward a common understanding of the past with implications for the future.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abe, Toshihiko

1998 *Japan's Hidden Face*. BainBridgeBooks, Philadelphia.

Aigner, Jean S.

1972 Relative Dating of North Chinese Faunal and Cultural Complexes. *Arctic Anthropology* 9(2):36-79.

Aikens, Melvin C. and Rhee, Song-Nai

1992 The Emergence of Hunter-Fisher-Gatherers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites in the Prehistory of Pacific Northeast Asia. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gatherers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. Melvin Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 3-9. Washington State University Press, Pullman.

Aikens, Melvin C. and Akazawa, Takeru

1992 Fishing and Farming in Early Japan: Jomon Littoral Tradition Carried into Yayoi Times at the Miura Caves on Tokyo Bay. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gatherers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. Melvin Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 75-82. Washington State University Press, Pullman.

Akazawa, Takeru

1999 Regional Variation in Jomon Hunting-Fishing-Gathering Societies. In *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Origins of the Japanese*, ed. Keiichi Omoto, pp. 223-231. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Tokyo.

Ash, James K

1971 Korea In the Making of the Early Japanese State: Preliminary Survey to 815 A.D. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 35:33-48.

Aston, W. G.

1879 A Comparative Study of the Japanese and Korean Languages. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series 11:XX.

Aston W. G. (translator)

1956 *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan From The Earliest Times To A.D. 697*.



George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

Baba, Hisao, Narasaki, Shuichiro and Ohyama, Seiho

- 1998 Minatogawa Hominid Fossils and the Evolution of Late Pleistocene Humans in East Asia. *Anthropological Science* 106(Supplement):27-45.

Bae, Ki-Dong

- 1992 Kusokgisidae (The Paleolithic Period). In *Hanguksonsakogohag (Korean Prehistoric Periods)*, eds. Mong-Lyong Choe, Yu-Jeon Cho, Ki-Dong Bae, Suk-Jeong Shin, and Sung-Ju Lee, pp. 9-75. Kkachi, Seoul. (In Korean)

- 1997 Gooseokgisidaeui Sigigoobun (Chronology of the Paleolithic Period). In *Hanguksa: Gooseokgi Munhwawa Sinseokgi Munhwa (Korean History: Paleolithic and Neolithic Cultures)*, Vol. 2, pp. 13-40. Gooksapyonchan-wiwonhwe, Seoul. (In Korean)

Bailey, Lisa K.

- 1994 Crowning glory: headdresses of the Three Kingdoms period. *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 5:83-104.

Bailey, S. M., Gershoff, S. N., McGandy, R. B., Nonsasuta, A., Tantiwongse, P., Suttapreyasri, D., Miller, J. and McCree, P.

- 1984 A Longitudinal study of growth and maturation in rural Thailand. *Human Biology* 56:539-557.

Barnes, Gina L.

- 1988 *Protohistory Yamato – Archaeology of the First Japanese State*. Museum of Anthropology and Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

- 1990 Early Korean States: a review of historical interpretation. In *Hoabinhian, Jomon, Yayoi, Early Korean States: Bibliographic Reviews of Far Eastern Archaeology*, ed. Gina L. Barnes, pp. 113-162. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

- 1993 *China Korea and Japan – The Rise of Civilization in East Asia*. Thames and Hudson Ltd., London.

- 2001 *State Formation in Korea: Historical and Archeological Perspectives*. Curzon Press, Richmond.

Barnes, Gina L. and Hudson, Mark J.

- 1991 *Yoshinogari: A Yayoi Settlement in Northern Kyushu* Monumenta Nipponica 46:211-235.

- Batten, Bruce L.  
 1986 Foreign Threat and Domestic Reform: The Emergence of the Ritsuryo State. *Monumenta Nipponica* 41(2):199-219.
- Beardsley, Richard K.  
 1955 Japan Before History: A Survey of the Archaeological Record. *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 14(3):317-346.
- Benedict, Paul K.  
 1990 *Japanese/Austro-Tai*. Karoma, Ann Arbor.
- Boas, Franz  
 1911 *Handbook of American Indian languages*. Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- Bogin, Barry  
 1988 *Patterns of human growth*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Borton, Hugh  
 1938 A Survey of Japanese Historiography. *The American Historical Review* 43(3):489-499.
- Brace, C. L. and Nagai, M.  
 1982 Japanese Tooth Size: Past and Present. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 59: 399-411.
- Brace, C. L., Brace, M. L. and Leonard, W. R.  
 1989 Reflections on the Face of Japan: A Multivariate Craniofacial and Odontometric Perspective. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 78:93-113.
- Brown, Delmer M.  
 1993a Introduction. In *The Cambridge History of Japan* (Vol. I, Ancient Japan), ed. Delmer M. Brown, pp. 1-47. Cambridge University Press, New York.  
 1993b The Yamato Kingdom. In *The Cambridge History of Japan* (Vol. I, Ancient Japan), ed. Delmer M. Brown, pp. 108-162. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Brues, Alice M  
 1990 *People and Races*. Waveland Press, Inc., Illinois.
- Byun, Ju-Na  
 1995 *Early Humans in the Korean Peninsula*. Hyonumsa Publishing Co., Seoul.
- Chamberlain, Basil Hall  
 1887 *The Language, Mythology and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan*,

Viewed in the light of Aino studies. *Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan 1.*

1973 *KO-JI-KI "Records of Ancient Matters."* (trans.) The Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo.

Chang, Ho-Soo

1997 Hubinggiui Jayeonhwankyung (Environment of the Last Glacial Period) In *Hanguksa: Gooseokgi Munhwawa Sinseokgi Munhwa (Korean History: Paleolithic and Neolithic Cultures)*, Vol. 2, pp. 316-329. Gooksapyonchan-wiwonhwe, Seoul. (In Korean)

Chang, Kwang-chich

1986 *The Archaeology of Ancient China.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Chard, Chester S.

1974 *Northeast Asia in Prehistory.* University of Wisconsin Press, Masison.

Chew, J. J.

1976 The Prehistory of the Japanese Language in the Light of Evidence from the Structures of Japanese and Korea. *Asian Perspectives* 19(1):190-200.

Chisholm, Brian and Koike, Hiroko

1999 Reconstructing Prehistoric Japanese Diet Using Stable Isotopic Analysis. In *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Origins of the Japanese*, ed. Keiichi Omoto, pp. 199-222. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Tokyo.

Choe, Chong-Pil

1986 *Subsistence Patterns of the Chulmun Period: A Reconsideration of the Development of Agriculture in Korea.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh

1991 Inryuhagsanguro Bon Hanminjok Giwonyongooe Daehan Bipanjeok Gumto (A Critical Review of Research on the Origin of Koreans and Their Culture. *HanGukSangGoSaHagBo* 8:7-43. (In Korean)

Choe, Mong-Lyong

1984 *A Study of the Yongsan River Valley Culture: The Rise of Chieftdom and State in Ancient Korea.* Dongsongsa, Seoul.

2000 *Hukkwa Inryu (Earth and Mankind).* Juryusung, Seoul. (In Korea)

Choe, Tac-Son (editor)

1997 *Choson Kogohag Chonseo (An encyclopedia of Choson Archaeology).* Gwahagpackgwasachon, Pyonyang. Reprinted in 1997, Packsanjaryowon,

Seoul. (In Korean)

Choi, Byong-Ho and Han, Sueng-Ho

1999 Anthropological Study of non-metric traits in Modern and Ancient Korean crania. *Joongwonmunhwanonchong* 2-3:175-188. (In Korean)

Choi, Jae-Seok

1998 *Ilbon Godasaewi Jinsil (The truth of ancient Japanese history)*. Iljisa, Seoul. (In Korean)

Choi, Sung-Rak

1996 The Iron Age Culture in Southern Korea and Its Chinese Connection. *Korea Journal* 36(4):28-38.

1998 *Method and Theory in Korean Archaeology*. Hagyouun Munhwasa, Seoul. (In Korean)

Chon, Je-Hon, Yoon, Jin, Kim, Keun-Sik and Ryu, Jeong-Gil

1986 *Ryonggok Donggul Ryujeok (Ryonggok Cave Site)*. Kimilsong Jonghapdaehag, Pyongyang. (In Korean)

Chon, Kwan-U

1974 A New Interpretation of the Problems of Mimana (I), (II) *Korea Journal* 14(2):9-23; 14(4):31-44.

1983 *Inmullobon Hanguk Godaesa (Heroes in ancient Korean History)*. ChongUmMunhwasa. (In Korean)

Chong, Ku-Bok

1986 Traditional Historical Consciousness and Historiography. In *Introduction to Korean Studies*. Published by National Academy of Sciences, pp. 113-136. Daekwang printing Co, Ltd., Seoul.

Cohen, Ronald

1978 Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7:379-403.

Cohen, Warren I.

2000 *East Asia at the Center: Four Thousand Years of Engagement With the World*. Columbia University Press, New York.

Coon, C. S.

1962 *The Origin of Races*. Knopf, New York.

Coon, C. S., Garn, S. M. and Birdsell, J. B.

1950 *Races, A Study of the Problems of Race Formation in Man*. Thomas,

Springfield.

Covell, Carter J.

1981 *Korea's Cultural Roots*. Moth House Publications, Salt Lake City.

1984 *Korean Impact on Japanese Culture – Japan's Hidden History*. Hollym International Corp., New Jersey.

Cranston, Edwin A.

1993 Asuka and Nara culture: literacy, literature, and music. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. Delmer M. Brown. Vol. 1, pp. 453-503. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Crawford, Gary W.

1992 The Transitions to Agriculture in Japan. In *Transitions to Agriculture in Prehistory*, eds. Anne Birgitte Gebauer and T. Douglas Price. Monographs in World Archaeology No. 4, pp. 117-132. Prehistory Press, Madison.

Crawford, M. H., Williams, J. T. and Duggirala, R.

1997 Genetic Structure of the Indigenous Populations of Siberia. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 104(2):177-192.

Deetz, James

1996 *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (revised edition of 1977 work). Anchor, New York.

Deniker, Joseph

1915 *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography*. Charles Scribner & Sons, Walter Scott Publishing, New York.

Diamond, Jared

1998 Japanese Roots. *Discover* 19(6):86-94.

Dodo, Yukio

1986 Metrical and non-metrical analyses of Jomon crania from eastern Japan. In *Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers in Japan*, eds. T. Akazawa and C. M. Aikens, pp. 137-161. University Museum (Bulletin 27): University of Tokyo, Tokyo.

1987 Supraorbital foramen and hypoglossal canal bridging: the two most suggestive nonmetric cranial traits in discriminating major racial groupings of man. *Journal of Anthropological Society of Nippon* 95(1):19-35.

Dodo, Yukio and Ishida, Hajime

1990 Population History of Japan as Viewed from Cranial Nonmetric Variation. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 98(3):269-287.

- 1992 Consistency of nonmetric cranial trait expression during the last 2,000 years in the inhabitants of the central islands of Japan. *Journal of Anthropological Society of Nippon* 100(4): 417-423.
- Dodo, Yukio, Ishida, Hajime and Saitou, Naruya  
 1992 Population History of Japan: A Cranial Nonmetric Approach. In *The Evolution and Dispersal of Modern Humans in Asia*, eds. Takeru Akazawa, Kenichi Aoki, and Tasuku Kimura, pp. 479-492. Hokusensha Publishing Co., Tokyo.
- Dodo, Yukio, Doi, Naomi and Kondo, Osamu  
 1998 Ainu and Ryukyuan Cranial Nonmetric Variation: Evidence which Disputes the Ainu-Ryukyu Common Origin Theory. *Anthropological Science* 106(2):99-120.
- Douglas, John H.  
 1978 The Horsemen of Yamato. *Science News* 113(22):364-366.
- Edwards, Walter  
 1983 Event and Process in the Founding of Japan: The Horserider Theory in Archeological Perspective. *Journal of Japanese Studies* 9(2):265-295.
- Egami, Namio  
 1964 The Formation of the People and the Origin of the State in Japan. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 23:35-70.
- 1978 *Beginnings of Japanese Art*. Translated by John Bester. John Weatherhill, Inc., New York.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland  
 1991 The Cultural Contexts of Ethnic Differences. *Man* 26(1):127-144.
- Fairbank, K. John  
 1991 The Chinese Scene. In *The Chinese: Adapting the Past Facing the Future*, eds. Robert F. Dernberger, Kenneth J. DeWoskin, Steven M. Goldstein, Rhoads Murphey, and Martin K. Whyte, pp. 93-103. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies.
- Farris, William  
 1996 Ancient Japan's Korean Connection. *Korean Studies* 20:1-22
- 1998 *Sacred Texts and Buried Treasures – Issues in the Historical Archaeology of Ancient Japan*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

- Fawcett, Clare P. and Habu, Junko  
 1990 Education and archaeology in Japan. In *The Excluded Past: Archaeology in Education*, eds. by P. Stone and R. MacKenzie, pp. 217-232. Unwin Hyman, London.
- Fujita, Ryosaku  
 1952 Chosengaku ronko (Essays on Korean studies). In *Fujita Ryosaku sensei kinen jigiyokai (Commemoration committee for Fujita Ryosaku)*, Kasai. Tokyo. (In Japanese)
- Gardiner K. H. J.  
 1969 *The Early History of Korea*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Goodrich, Carrington C. (editor)  
 1951 *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories: Later Han Through Ming Dynasties*. Translated by Ryusaku Tsunoda. P.D. and Ione Perkins, South Pasadena.
- Gordon, Claire. C. (editor)  
 1993 *Race, Ethnicity, and Applied Bioanthropology*. Arlington, American Anthropological Association.
- Grayson, James H.  
 1977 Mimana, A Problem in Korea Historiography. *Korea Journal* 17(8):65-69.
- Ha, Tae-Hung and Mintz, Grafton K.  
 1972 *Samguk Yusa-Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*. Yonsei University Press, Seoul.
- Habu, Junko and Fawcett, Clare P.  
 1999 Jomon archaeology and the representation of Japanese origins. *Antiquity* 73:587-593.
- Habu, Junko and Hall, Mark E.  
 1999 Jomon Pottery Production in Central Japan. *Asian Perspectives* 38(1):90-110.
- Hall, John Whitney  
 1970 *Japan-from Prehistory to Modern Times*. Dell Publishing Co., New York.
- Hanrimghahagwonchongseo  
 1997 Hanguk MinjokUi GiwonGwa hyungsungE Gwanhan YeonGoo Toron (Discussion on the Studies for the Origin and Formation of Korean). In *HangukminjokUi GiwonGwa Hyungsung (Origin and Formation of Korean, Book one)*, pp. 239-307. Hanrimghahagwonchongseo 41. Seoul. (In Korean)

Han, Young-Hee

- 1997 HanminjokUgiwon (Origin of Korean). In *HangukminjokUi GiwonGwa Hyungsung (Origin and Formation of Korean, Book one)*, pp. 73-117. Hanrimghahagwonchongseo 41. Seoul. (In Korean)

Hanihara, Kazuro

- 1985 Geographic variation of modern Japanese crania and its relationship to the origin of Japanese. *Homo* 36:1-10.
- 1987 Estimation of the Number of Early Migrants to Japan: A Simulative Study. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 95(3):391-403.
- 1991 Dual Structure Model for the Population History of the Japanese. *Japan Review* 2:1-33.
- 1992a Dual structure model for the formation of the Japanese population. *International Symposium on Japanese as a Member of the Asian and Pacific Populations*, organized and edited by K. Hanihara, pp. 245-251. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto.
- 1992b East Asia and Japanese. In *IlboninUi Giwon (Origin of Japanese)* (Trans. by Ki-Dong Bae). pp. 11-38. Hagiunmunhwasa, Seoul. (In Korean)
- 1998 Reanalysis of Local Variations in the Ainu Crania. *Anthropological Science* 106(Supplement):1-15.

Hanihara, Tsunehiko

- 1990 Studies on the Affinities of Sakhalin Ainu Based on Dental Characters: The Basic Populations in East Asia, III. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 98(4):425-437.
- 2000 Frontal and Facial Flatness of Major Human Populations. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 111:105-134.

Hass, Jere D and Pelletier, David L.

- 1989 Nutrition and Human Population Biology. In *Human Population Biology: A Transdisciplinary Science*, eds. Michael A. Little and Jere D. Haas, pp.152-167. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hatada, Takashi.

- 1969 *A History of Korea*. American Bibliographical Center – Clio Press, Santa Barbara.
- 1979 An Interpretation of the King Kwanggaet'o Inscription. *Korean Studies* 3:1-17.



- Hatta, Yoko, Ohashi, Jun, Imanishi, Tadashi, Kamiyama, Haruo, Iha, Masaharu, Mimabukuro, Tsuyoshi, Ogawa, Atsuko, Tanaka, Hidenori, Akaza, Tatsuya, Gojobori, Takashi, Juji, Takeo and Tounaga, Katsushi  
 1999 HLA Genes and haplotypes in Ryukyuan suggest recent gene flow to the Okinawa Islands. *Human Biology* 71(3):353-365.
- Henshall, G. Kenneth  
 1999 *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Henthorn, E. William  
 1971 *A History of Korea*. The Free Press, New York.
- Hirano, Kunio.  
 1977 The Yamato State and Korea in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. *Acta Asiatica* 31:57-82.
- Hodder, Ian  
 1986 *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hong, Won-Tack  
 1988 *Relationship Between Korea and Japan in Early Period: Paekche and Yamato Wa*. Ilimsa, Seoul.  
 1994 *Packjaewa Dahwallbonui Giwon (The origin of Paekjae and Yamato)*. Goodala International, Seoul. (In Korean)
- Hong, Yun-Gi  
 2000 *Ilbon-Cheunwhangeun Hangkooninida (The relationship between Japanese emperor family and ancient Korean)*. HyosungChoolpansa, Seoul. (In Korean)
- Horai, Satoshi, Hayasaka, Kenji, Murayama, Kumiko, Wate, Noriyuki, Koike, Hiroko, and Nakai, Nobuyuki  
 1996 mtDNA Polymorphism in East Asian Populations, with special reference to the peopling of Japan. *American Journal of Human Genetics* (59):579-590.
- Howells, W. W.  
 1966 *The Jomon population of Japan: a study by discriminant analysis of Japanese and Ainu crania*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University: 57:1-43.  
 1978 *Origins of the Chinese people: Interpretations of the Recent Evidence*. Presented at the Conference on the Origins of Chinese Civilization at University of California, Berkeley on 26-30 June, 1978. Peabody Museum

Harvard University.

1993 *Getting Here: The Story of Human Evolution*. Compass Press, Washington, D.C.

Hudson, Mark J.

1989 Ethnicity in East Asian Archaeology: Approaches to the Wa. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 8(1):51-63.

1994 The Linguistic Prehistory of Japan: Some Archaeological Speculations. *Anthropological Science* 102(3):231-255.

1996 Maruyama: A New View of Prehistoric Japan. *Asia-Pacific Magazine* 2:47-48.

1999 *Ruins of Identity – Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Hutchinson, J. and A. D. Smith

1994 *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hylander, W. L.

1977 The Adaptive significance of Eskimo Craniofacial Morphology. In *Orofacial Growth and Development*, eds. A. A. Dahlberg and T. M. Graber, pp. 129-169. Mouton Publishers, Paris.

Ikawa-Smith, Fumiko

1980 Current Issues in Japanese archaeology. *American Scientist* 68(2): 134-145.

Imamura, Keiji

1996 *Prehistoric Japan – New Perspectives on Insular East Asia*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

Im, Hyo-Jae

1983 The Comb Pattern Pottery Culture of the West Coast of Korea with an Emphasis on its Chronology. *Hangukkogohagbo* 14/15:1-18. (In Korean)

1992 Prehistoric rice agriculture in Korea. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gatherers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. M. Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 157-160. Washington State University Press, Pullman.

1995 The New archaeological data concerned with the cultural relationship between Korea and Japan in the Neolithic Age. *Korea Journal* 35(3):

31-39.

1996 The Korean Neolithic Age and Its Cultural Relationship to Northeast China. *Korea Journal* 36(4):5-16.

1999 *Hanguk Kodae Munhwa ui hurum (The Flow of Civilization in ancient Korea)*. Chimmundang, Seoul. (In Korean)

Inoue, Naohiko, Sakashita, Reiko, and Molleson, Theya

1998 Comparative Study of Tooth-to-denture-base Discrepancy and Dental Caries in Japanese, British, and Chinese Skeletal Remains. *Anthropological Science* 106(supplement):67-884.

Jeong, Ho-Wan

2000 Packjaewa MacUi Sangkwansung (The correlation between Packjae and Mac). *Inmunyaesoolnonchong* 20(1):47-64. (In Korean)

Jeong, Yang-Mo

1997 Inssamal: Tookbyoljeon, 'HangukgodaeU Togi' (Acknowledgement on Special Exhibition, 'Korean Ancient Pottery'). In Special Exhibition, Korean Ancient Pottery, ed. The National Museum of Korea, pp. 2-3. Tongchonmunhwasa, Seoul. (In Korean)

Jin, F., Saitou, N. and Omoto, K.

1999 Population Genetic Studies on the Chinese. In *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Origins of the Japanese*, ed. Keiichi Omoto, pp15-24. International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Tokyo.

Jones, Sian

1994 Nationalism, Archaeology and the Interpretation of Ethnicity: Israel and Beyond. *Anthropology Today* 10(5):19-21.

1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. Routledge, London.

Kaifu, Yousuke

1995a Regional Variation in Mandibular Morphology of the Jomon People. *Bulletin of the National Science Museum, Tokyo, Series D* 21:37-50.

1995b Differences in Mandibular Morphology of the Jomon People from Kanto and the Yayoi People from Northern Kyushu and Yamaguchi. *Anthropological Science* 103(3):291-308.

1997 Changes in Mandibular Morphology From the Jomon to Modern Periods in Eastern Japan. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 104:227-243.

- 1999 Changes in Alveolar Prognathism and Anterior Teeth Protrusion in Japan.  
*Anthropological Science* 107(1):3-24.
- Kamstra, J. H.  
1967 *Encounter or Syncretism: The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism*.  
Leiden.
- Kaner, Simon  
1996 Beyond Ethnicity and Emergence in Japanese Archaeology. In  
*Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, eds. Donald Denoon,  
Mark Hudson, Gavan McCormack, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki, pp. 46-59.  
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kang, In-Gu  
2000 *Kofunyonngu (The Study of Tombs)*. Hagyunmoonhwasa, Seoul.  
(In Korean)
- Katayama, Kazumichi  
1996 The Japanese as an Asia-Pacific Population. In *Multicultural Japan:  
Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, eds. Donald Denoon, Mark Hudson,  
Gavan McCormack, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki, pp. 19-30. Cambridge  
University Press, Cambridge.
- Kidder, J. Edward Jr.  
1959 *Japan: Before Buddhism*. In the Series, Ancient People and Places,  
ed. Glyn Daniel. Frederic A. Praeger, Inc., New York.
- 1977 *Ancient Japan*. Elsevier-Phaidon, Oxford.
- 1993 The Earliest Societies in Japan. In *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol.1:  
Ancient Japan*, ed. Delmer M. Brown, pp. 48-108. Cambridge  
University Press, Cambridge.
- Kiley, Cornelius J.  
1969 A Note on The Surnames of Immigrant Officials in Nara Japan.  
*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 29:177-189.
- 1973 State and Dynasty in Archaic Yamato. *Journal of Asian Studies*  
33(1):25-49.
- Kim, Bang-Han  
1981 The Relationship between the Korean and Japanese languages.  
*Hangul* 173-174(12): 657-667.
- 1983 *HangukouiKyetong (Genealogy of Korean)*. Minumsa, Seoul.  
(In Korean)

Kim, Byong-Mo

1981 Hanguk KosukMunhwa Wolryue Kwanhan Yongu (A Study of the origin of Korean megalithic culture). *Hangukkogohagbo* 10(2):55-78. (In Korean)

1982 A New Interpretation of Megalithic Monuments in Korea. In *Megalithic Cultures in Asia (Monograph No. 2)*, ed. Byung-mo Kim, pp. 164-189. Hanyang University, Seoul.

Kim, Chong-Youl

1976 Hanguksonsasidaein IngolUi Gaeinsicbyol (A Case Report of Individual Identification of Ancient Korean Skeletons. *Daehanchikwahagwheji* 14(11):909-917. (In Korean)

Kim, Chol-Jun

1986 The Formation and Development of Ancient Korean Culture. In *Introduction to Korean Studies*. Published by National Academy of Sciences, pp. 41-88. Daekwang printing Co. Ltd., Seoul.

Kim, Don-Soo

1987 Kogikiae Natanan Hanbandoinu YukhwalE KhanHayeo (Studying about a rule of Korean migrants through 'Kojiki'.) *Dongdaenonchong* 17(1):189-212. (In Korean)

Kim, Hee-Jin

1997 Hangukin TuckpyeogwanUi Hyongtae (Shape of the Korean Mandible). *Daehanhaebuhagwheji (The Korean Journal of Anatomy)* 30(2):161-168. (In Korean)

Kim, Hee-Jin, Paik, Doo-Jin, Choi, Byung-Young, Chung, Min-Seok, Han, Seung-Ho, Hwang Young-Il, and Sohn Hyung-Jun

1997 Measurements of the Zygomatic Bones and Morphology of the Zygomaticofacial and Zygomaticotemporal foramina in Korean. *ChaejilInryuhagwheji (Korean Journal of Physical Anthropology)* 10(2):225-234. (In Korean)

Kim, Hee-Jin, Kim, Gi-Dock, Choi, Jong-Hoon, Heu, Kyung-Suk, Oh, Hyun-Joo, Kang, Min-Kyu, and Hwang, Youg-Il

1998 The differences of the Korean adult cranium measurement by sex and ages. *ChaejilInryuhagwheji (Korean Journal of Physical Anthropology)* 11(2):197-212. (In Korean)

Kim, Hyong-Kyu

1972 *Kugouhak Gaelon* (Introduction of Korean Linguistics). Ilzogak, Seoul. (In Korean)

Kim, Hyun-Koo

1989 A Study of Korea-Japan Relations in Ancient Times: Centering on the Taika Reforms and Formation of Cooperation among Shilla, Japan, and Tang China. *Korea Journal* 29(10):18-27.

Kim, Ick-Dal (editor)

1974 *Korea – Its People and Culture*. Hagwonsa, Seoul.

Kim, Jae-Sun

1999 *Hangul Dong-I-Chun* (Korean translation of Don-I Story). Seomoonmunhwasa, Seoul. (In Korean)

Kim, Jeong-Hak

1964 Hanguk Minjok Hyongsonsa (History of the Formation of the Korean Race). In *Hanguk Munhwasa Taegae* (A General Introduction to Korean Civilization), Koryodaehakkyo Minjok Munhwa Yonguso, Vol. I, pp:317-430. Koryodaehakkyo, Seoul. (In Korean)

1978 *Prehistory of Korea* (Translated by Richard J. Pearson and Kazue Pearson). The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu.

Kim, Jin-Jeong, Kim, Bong-Seon; Ogata, Takahiko; Jo, Un-Bock and Yoshida, Shunji

1981 Anthropological Study on the Human Skeletal Remains from Yean-ri Site, Kimhae, Korea. *Pusan-Eudae-Jabji* (*Journal of the Medical School in Pusan University*) 21(1):35-50. (In Korean)

Kim, Jung-Bae

1972 Racial Composition and Cultural Complex in Ancient Korea. *Korea Journal* 12(9): 4-17.

1975 Bronze artifacts in Korea and their cultural-historical significance. In *The Traditional Culture and Society of Korea: Prehistory*, ed. R. J. Pearson, pp:130-191. Occasional Papers of the Center for Korean Studies (3). University of Hawaii, Honolulu.

1980 *Hanguk Minjok Ui Kiwon* (The Origins of the Korean race). Koryodaehakkyo, Seoul. (In Korean)

1987 Formation of Ethnic Korean Nation and Coming of Its Ancient Kingdom States. *Korea Journal* 27(4):33-39.

Kim, Kyo-Kyong

1981 Saero Balkyontoen Mandalli Donggul Ryujeok (Newly Discovered Mandalli Cave Site). *Ryoksakwahag* 81(5). (In Korean)

Kim, Kyu-Taik

1960 A Study of Anthropological Analysis of Korean Natural Dentition. *Daehanchikwahaghweji* 3:1-29. (In Korean)

1961 A Biometrical Study of the Inhabitants of Seoul, Kyung-Gee-Do, Kyung-Sang-Nam-Do and Kuyng-Sang-Book-Do. *Seoul-Eudae-Jabgji (Journal of the Medical School in Seoul National University)* 2(2):73-76. (In Korean)

Kim, Mee-Eun

1997 *Sex and age determination of the Kaya's ancient human skeletal remains via dental approaches*. Dissertation, Department of Dentistry, Graduate School of Pusan National University. (In Korean)

Kim, Sung-Ho

1982 *Biryu-Packjae and the origin of Japanese State*. Jimoonsa, Seoul. (In Korean)

Kim, Taek-Su

1994 *Widaehan Packjae Wang-guk (The Great Kingdom of Packjae)*. Koryoseojeok, Seoul. (In Korean)

Kim, Won-Yong

1967 The Comb Pattern Pottery Culture Along the Reaches of the Yalu River. *PaeksanHagbo* 3:99-108. (In Korean)

1972 Impact of Ancient Korean Culture upon Japan. *Korea Journal* 12(6):34-35.

1977 Some Aspects of the Interrelation of Korean, Chinese and Japanese Arts. *Korea Journal* 17(11):10-14.

1983a *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Republic of Korea*. UNESCO and The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Paris and Tokyo.

1983b *Hanguk Kogohag Kaesol (Introduction to Korean archaeology)*. Ilchisa, Seoul. (In Korean)

1986 The Formation of The Korean Prehistoric Cultures. In *Introduction to Korean Studies*, pp. 3-40. National Academy of Sciences, Seoul.

1989 *Hanguk Kogohag yongu (An anthology of Korean archaeological studies)*. Ilchisa, Seoul. (In Korean)

Kirkland, Russell

1981 The "Horseriders" in Korea: A Critical Evaluation of a Historical Theory. *Korean Studies* 5:105-128.

- 1997 The sun and the throne: The origins of the royal descent myth in ancient Japan. *Numen* 44(2):109-52.
- Kito, Kiyooki  
 1995 Some Questions Concerning Ancient Japanese History: With Reference to State Theory. *Acta Asiatica* 69:1-13.
- Kobayashi, Tatsuo  
 1992 Patterns and Levels of Social Complexity in Jomon Japan. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gathers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. M. Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 91-96. Washington State University Press, Pullman.
- Ko, Myung-Yun, Park, June-Sang and Shu, Bong-Jik  
 1995 Age and Sexual Determination of the Catholic Martyrs by means of the remained Jaws and Teeth. *Daehangugangnaegwahagwheji (Korean Journal of Oral Medicine)* 20(1):217-228. (In Korean)
- Koh, Ki-Seok, Shon, Hyun-Jun, Chung, Rak-Hee, Kang, Ho-Suck  
 1997 An Anthropometric Study of Flatness of the Korean Crania. *ChejilInryuhagwheji (Korean Journal of Physical Anthropology)* 10(1):1-11. (In Korean)
- Koike, Hiroko  
 1992 Exploitation Dynamics During the Jomon Period. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gatherers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. Melvin Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 53-57. Washington State University Press, Pullman.
- Kouchi, Makiko  
 2000 Brachycephalization in Japan Has Ceased. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 112:339-347.
- Koyama, Shuzo  
 1978 Jomon subsistence and population. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-65.
- Kozintsev, Alexander  
 1990 Ainu, Japanese, Their Ancestors and Neighbours: Cranioscopic Data. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 98(3):247-267.
- Kwag, Sang-Hyun; Kim, Sun-Hyun and Kim, Baik-Yoon  
 1992 An Anthropological Study on the Excavated Human Bones from Seokgye village, Uelgye-ri, Uelya-myun, Hampyung-kun, Cholanamdo Province. *ChejilInryuhagwheji (Korean Journal of Physical Anthropology)* 5:149-165. (In Korean)



Kwon, Tae-Won

2000 Godaehanminjokmunhwasayungoo (*Study of the History on the Ancient Korean Race Culture*. Ilchokak, Seoul. (In Korean)

Kwon, Yi-Gu

1997 HwasukIngolkwa Pyonyeon (Human Skeletal Remains and Chronology). In *Hanguksa: Guseokgi Munhwawa Shinseokgi Munhwa (Korean History: The Paleolithic and Neolithic Periods, Vol. II)*, pp. 72-83. Kuksapyonchanwiwonhwe, Seoul. (In Korean)

Larichev, Vitaliy, Khol'ushkin, Uriy and Laricheva, Inna

1990 The Upper Palaeolithic of Northern Asia: achievements, problems, and perspectives. II. Central and Eastern Siberia. *The Journal of World Prehistory* 4(3): 347-85

Ledyard, Gari

1975 Galloping Along With the Horseriders: Looking for the Founders of Japan. *Journal of Japanese Studies* 1(2):217-254.

Lee, B. Kenneth

1997 *Korea and East Asia: The Story of a Phoenix*. Westport, Connecticut.

Lee, Chung-Kyu

1989 Chejudo Gosanlichulto Yungkimuntogi (Yungkimun pottery at the Gosanli site in the Cheju Island). *TamlaMunhwa* 9:135-154. (In Korean)

1996 The Bronze Dagger Culture of Liaoning Province and the Korean Peninsula. *Korea Journal* 36(4):17-27.

1997 YoungNamjibang CheongdonggimunhwaUi Jeongae (Chronology of Bronze artifact assemblages in YoungNam Province). *YoungnamKogohag* 21:29-78. (In Korean)

Lee, DoHag

1991 PackjaeUi GiwonGwha GukgabaljeonE Kwanhan Gumto (A Study on the Origin of Packjae and the Process of her state development). *Hangukhagnonjip* 19(1):139-192. (In Korean)

1992 Koguryo Chogi WanggaeUi BokwonUi Wihan Gumto (The Review to Restore the Royal Family Lineage at the Beginning of Kyoguryo). *Hangukhagnonjip* 20(1):175-198. (In Korean)

1997 PackjaemunhwaUi Ilbon Jeonpa (Cultural influence of Packjae on Japan). In *PackjaeUi Ryusawa Munhwa (The History and Culture of Packjae)*, ed. WonJae Yu, pp.397-434. Hageyeonmunhwasu, Seoul. (In Korean)

- Lee, Heon-Hae  
 1991 Mahan PackjaegookUi Hyongseongghwa JibaejipdanUi Chulja (The Origin of Formative Packjae and its ruling class). *Packjaeyonggoo* 22:5-26. (In Korean)
- Lee, Hong-Jik  
 1963 The Relationship of Korea and Japan in the Earliest Period of Their Histories. *Koreana Quarterly* 5(2):140-145.
- Lee, Keun-Soo  
 1981 Godae SamgukUi Unoe Daehan Gochal (A Study on the Language of the Three Kingdom Period). *Hongdaenonchong* 13(1):13-32. (In Korean)
- Lee, Ki-Baek  
 1984 *A New History of Korea*. Ilchokak, Seoul.
- Lee, Ki-Baek and Lee, Ki-Dong  
 1982 *Hanguksa Kangjwa I - Kodaе Pyon* (Lectures on Korean History. Vol. I, Ancient Korea. Ilchogak, Seoul. (In Korean)
- Lee, Ki-Moon  
 1976 *Kaejeong KugOusa Kaseol* (A Revised Introduction to the History of Korean). Minjungseokwan, Seoul. (In Korean)
- 1979 A Look at Research in Korean Historical Linguistics. *Korea Journal* 19(2):4-10.
- Lee, Moon-Soo  
 1980 PackJaeUi YosurgonggyoukE Kwanhan Gochal (A Study on the Conquest of Yosur of Backje). *Nonmunjip* 10(1):101-108. (In Korean)
- Lee, Sung-Ju  
 1992 Shinseokgisidae (The Neolithic Period). In *Hanguksonsakogohag (Korean Prehistoric Periods)*, eds. Mong-Lyong Choe, Yu-Jeon Cho, Ki-Dong Bae, Suk-Jeong Shin, and Sung-Ju Lee, pp. 77-168. Kkachi, Seoul. (In Korean)
- Lee, Yung-Cho  
 1997 GuseokgisidaeUi Yujeokkhwa Yumul: Namhan & BukhanUi Guseokgi Yujeok (Remain and Site of the Paleolithic Period: South and North Korean Sites). In *Hanguksa: Guseokgi Munhwawa Shinseokgi Munhwa (Korean History: The Paleolithic and Neolithic Periods, Vol. II)*, pp. 84-126. Kuksapyonchanwiwonhwe, Seoul. (In Korean)
- Lewin, Bruno  
 1973 Japanese and the Language of Koguryo. *Papers of the C.I.C. Far Eastern*

*Language Institute* 4:19-33.

- 1976 Japanese and Korean: the problems and history of a linguistic comparison. *Journal of Japanese Studies* 2(2):389-412.

Liu, Zhen-hua

- 1995 Recent Neolithic Discoveries in Jilin Rprovince. In *The Archaeology of NorthEast China: Beyond the Great Wall*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson, pp. 89-117. Routledge, London and New York.

Lu, David J.

- 1974 *Sources of Japanese History*, Vol.1. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.

Macdonald, Donald S.

- 1996 *The Koreans: Contemporary Politics and Society*. Westview Press, Seoul.

Mackerras, Colin (editor)

- 1995 *East and Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Survey*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Maher, John C.

- 1996 North Kyushu Creole: A Language-Contact Model for the Origins of Japanese. In *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, eds. Donald Denoon, Mark Hudson, Gavan McCormack, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki, pp. 31-45. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Martin, Samuel E.

- 1966 Lexical evidence relating Korean to Japanese. *Language* 42(2):185-251.
- 1975 Problems in Establishing the Prehistoric Relationships of Korean and Japanese. In *Proceedings International Symposium Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of Korean Liberation*. National Academy of Sciences, Seoul.
- 1990 Morphological clues to the relationships of Japanese and Korean. In *Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 45*. Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology, ed. P. Baldi, pp. 483-509. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Matsumura, Hirofumi

- 1989 Geographical Variation of Dental Measurements in the Jomon Population. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 97(4):493-512.
- 1998 Native or Migrant Lineage? -The Aeneolithic Yayoi People in Western and Eastern Japan- *Anthropological Science* 106(Supplement):17-25.

- Matsumura, Hirofumi, Shigehara, Nobuo, and Kanazawa, Eisaku  
 1996 Dental Characteristics of the Japanese Population. In *Prehistoric Mongoloid Dispersals*, eds. T. Akazawa and E. Szathmary, pp. 125-136. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Mays, Simon  
 1998 *The Archaeology of Human Bones*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Meyer, Milton W.  
 1993 *Japan – A Concise History*. Littlefield Adams Quality Paperbacks, Lanham.
- Miller, Roy Andrew  
 1967 *The Japanese Language*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.  
 1971 *Japanese and the Other Altaic Languages*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.  
 1974 The Origins of Japanese. *Monumenta Nipponica* 29(1):93-102.  
 1976 The Relevance of historical linguistics for Japanese studies. *Journal of Japanese Studies* 2(2):335-388.  
 1980 *Origins of the Japanese Language*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.  
 1986 Linguistic Evidence and Japanese Prehistory. In *Windows on the Japanese Past: Studies in Archaeology and Prehistory*, eds. Richard Pearson, G.L. Barnes, and K.L. Hutterer, pp. 101-120. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies.  
 1994 Yamato and Paekche. *Asian Pacific Quarterly* 26(3):1-13.
- Minagawa, Masao and Akazawa, Takeru  
 1992 Dietary Patterns of Japanese Jomon Hunter-Gatherers: Stable Nitrogen and Carbon Isotope Analyses of Human Bones. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gathers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. M. Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 59-68. Washington State University Press, Pullman.
- Monks, G. Gregory (editor)  
 1984 *50000 Years of Japanese Prehistory* (A Transcript of the Symposium of November 1, 1978). University of Manitoba Anthropology, no. 29 (September), Winnipeg.

Mote, L. Victor

1998 *Siberia: Worlds Apart*. Westview Press, Boulder.

Mouri, Toshio

1976 A study of non-metrical cranial variants of the modern Japanese in the Kinki district. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 84:191-203.

1988 Incidences of Cranial Nonmetric Characters in Five Jomon Populations From West Japan. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 96(3):319-337

Nelson, Sarah M.

1975 *Han River Chulmuntogi: A Study of Early Neolithic Korea*. Program in East Asian Studies, Occasional Paper No. 9. Western Washington State College.

1982a The Origins of Rice Agriculture in Korea. *Journal of Ancient Studies* 61(3):511-48.

1982b The Effects of Rice Agriculture on Prehistoric Korea. *Journal of Asian Studies* 41(3):531-543.

1992 Korean Archaeological Sequences from the First Ceramics to the Introduction of Iron In *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, ed. R. W. Ehrich, Vol.1 pp. 430-438. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1993 *The Archaeology of Korea*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

1995 *The Archaeology of Northeast China: Beyond the Great Wall* (ed). Routledge, London and New York.

Nish, Ian

1968 *A Short History of Japan*. Frederick A. Praeger, New York.

Oblas, Peter B.

1995 *Perspectives on Race and Culture in Japanese Society – The Mass Media and Ethnicity*. The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston.

Okauchi, Mitsuzane

1986 Mounded Tombs in East Asia from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> Centuries A.D. In *Windows on the Japanese Past: Studies in Archaeology and Prehistory*, eds. Richard Pearson, G.L. Barnes, and K.L. Hutterer, pp. 127-148. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies.

- Omoto, Keiichi and Saitou, Naruya  
 1997 Genetic Origins of the Japanese: A Partial Support for the Dual Structure Hypothesis. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 102:437-446.
- Ohno, Susumu  
 1957 *Nihongo no Kigen (The Origin of the Japanese Language)*. Iwanami, Tokyo. (In Japanese)  
 1970 *The Origin of the Japanese Language*. Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (Japan Cultural Society), Tokyo.  
 1980 *Nihongo no Seiritsu, Nihongo no sekai 1 (Formation of the Japanese Language, The World of the Japanese Language)*. Chuokoronsha, Tokyo. (In Japanese)
- Ossenberg, Nancy S.  
 1986 Isolate conservatism and hybridization in the population history of Japan: the evidence of nonmetric cranial traits. In *Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers in Japan*, eds T. Akazawa and C.M. Aikens, pp. 199-215. University Museum (Bulletin 27): University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.
- Pack, Doo-Jin; Kim, Hee-Jin; Choi, Jong-Hoon and Kim, Gi-Duck  
 1999 Anthropological Study on the Dental Morphological Traits of Korean People from the Historic to the Modern Period. *Joongwonmunhwanonchong* 2-3:155-173. (In Korean)
- Pack, Gi-Ha and Jang, U-Jin  
 1973 Chosonsaram moulipioUi Inryuhagjeok Tukging (Physical anthropological Characteristics appeared on the Human Craniums of Chosun People). *Kogominsoknonmunjip* 5. (In Korean)
- Pack, Gi-Suk, and Kim, Myung-Gook  
 1989 Studying of the Korean Maxillary. *Chejil-Inryuhaghweji (Korean Journal of Physical Anthropology)* 2:95-100. (In Korean)
- Pai, Hyung Il  
 1999 Japanese Anthropology and The Discovery of Prehistoric 'Korea.' *The Journal of East Asian Archaeology*. 1(1-4):353-382.  
 2000 *Constructing "Korean" Origins – A Critical Review of Archaeology, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories*. Harvard University Press, Massachusetts.
- Park, Sun-Joo  
 1977 Human Bone from Pusan, AChi-Island (ChoDo). In *Packsanhagbo*, 22(6):83-136. (In Korean)

- 1990 Bioanthropological Analysis of the Origin of Korean People. *Chungbuk Sahag* 3(June):1-19. (In Korean)
- 1997 Origin of Korean Root and Formation. In *Hanguminjokui GiwonGwha Hyungsung (Origin and Formation of Korean, Book one)*, pp. 185-238. Hanrimwhahagwonchongseo 41. Seoul. (In Korean)
- 1999 *Paleoanthropology*. Daewoohagsoolchongseo, Seoul. (In Korean)
- Park, Sun-Joo; Lee, Eun-Kyung and An, Mi-Yung  
 1996 An anthropological Study on the Excavated Human Bones from the Later Choson Period, HyunHwaLi Site. In *PyungTack HyunHwaLi Report*, ChoongBook University (Sunsamunhwayeonguso) pp: 311-335. (In Korean)
- Park, Sun-Joo; Koh, Ki-Seok, and Shon, Hyun-Jun  
 1999 Anthropological Study on the Facial Flatness of Korean from the Historic to the Modern Period. *Joongwonmunhwanonchong* 2-3:135-153. (In Korean)
- Pearson, Richard  
 1978 Japan, Korea, and China: The Problem of Defining Continuities. *Asian Perspectives* 19(1):176-189.
- 1979 Lolang and the Rise of Korean States and Chiefdoms. *Journal of the Hong-Kong Archaeological Society* 7 (1976-8):77-99.
- 1992a *Ancient Japan*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 1992b The nature of Japanese archaeology. *Asian Perspectives* 31(2):115-127.
- Pietrusewsky, Michael  
 1999 A Multivariate Craniometric Study of the Inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands and Comparisons with Cranial Series from Japan, Asia, and the Pacific. *Anthropological Science* 107(4):255-281.
- Pietrusewsky, Michael, Yongyi, Li, Xiangqing, Shao, and Quang, Quyen  
 1992 Modern and Near Modern Populations of Asia and the Pacific: A Multivariate Craniometric Interpretation. In *"The Evolution and Dispersal of Modern Humans in Asia"* eds. Takeru Akazawa, Kenichi Aoki, Tasuku Kimura, pp. 531-557. Hokusen-sha Publishing Co., Tokyo.
- Polivanov, E.D.  
 1924 Toward work on musical accentuation in Japanese (in connection with the Malayan languages). In *Selected Works*. ed, A.A. Leonte, The Hague, Mouton, 1974.

- 1927 *K voprosu o rodstvennyx odnosenijax korejskogo i 'altajskix' jazykov* (On the issue of the genetic relationship of Korean and Altaic languages). *Izvestja Akademia Nauk, SSSR, Ser. VI, XXI. 15-17:1195-204.* Moscow.
- Poppe, N. N.  
 1960 *Vergleichende Grammtik der altaischen Sprachen, Teil 1, Vergleichende Lautlehre.* Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.  
 1962 *American studies in Altaic linguistics (ed).* Uralic and Altaic series v.13, Indiana University Publications, Bloomington.  
 1965 *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics.* Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- Portal, Jane  
 2000 *Korea – Art and Archaeology.* Thames & Hudson Inc., New York.
- Pulleybank, E. G.  
 1983 The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric Times. In *Origins of Chinese Civilization*, ed. D. Keightley, pp. 442-463. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Ramstedt, G. J.  
 1924 *Towards of Korean-Japanese.* Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne 55. Helsinki.  
 1928 *Remarks on the Korean language.* Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne 58. Helsinki.  
 1949 *Studies in Korean Etymology.* Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- Reischauer, Robert K.  
 1967 *Early Japanese History*, vol. I. Reprinted. Peter Smith, Gloucester.
- Rightmire, Philip G.  
 1999 Dental Variation and Human History. *Review of Archaeology* 20(2):1-3.
- Ro, Hyuk-jin  
 1992 A Revised Framework for Korean Prehistory. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gathers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. M. Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 209-213. Washington State University Press, Pullman.  
 1997 Chongdonggisidae (Bronze Period) In *HangukminjokUi GiwonGwa Hyungsung (Origin and Formation of Korean, Book one)*, pp. 119-183. Hanrimwahagwonchongseo 41. Seoul. (In Korean)



- Rouse, Irving  
1986 *Migrations in Prehistory*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Saeki, Arika  
1977 Studies of Ancient Japanese History-Past and Present.  
*Acta Asiatica* 31:113-131.
- SahweGhaHagWon KoGoHagYonGuSo  
1977 *Choson Kogohag Kaeyo (Introduction to Korean Archaeology)*.  
Sahwegwahagwon Kogohagyeonguso, Pyongyang. (In Korean)
- Saiki, Kazunobu, Wakebe, Tetsuaki and Nagashima, Seiji  
2000 Cranial Nonmetrical Analyses of the Yayoi People in the Northwestern  
Kyushu area. *Anthropological Science* 108(1):27-44.
- Sakamoto, Taro  
1991 *The Six National Histories of Japan*. University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.
- Salzmann, Zdenek  
1998 *Language, Culture & Society*. Westview Press, Oxford.
- Sansom, George B.  
1958 *History of Japan to 1334*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Sasaki, Komei  
1991 The Wa People and Their Culture in Ancient Japan: The Cultures of  
Swidden Cultivation and Padi-Rice Cultivation. *Acta Asiatica* 61:24-46.
- Sato, Yoichiro  
1999 Origin and Dissemination of Cultivated Rice in the Eastern Asia.  
In *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Origins of the Japanese*, ed.  
Keiichi Omoto, pp. 143-153. International Research Center for Japanese  
Studies, Tokyo.
- Sharp, John and McAllister, Pat  
1993 Ethnicity, Identity and Nationalism: International Insights and the South  
African Debate. *Anthropology Today* 9(5):18-20.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi  
1990 *The Languages of Japan*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Shin, Kyung-Cheol  
2000 Relations between Kaya and Wa in the Third to Fourth Century AD.  
*Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 2(3-4):112-121.

- Shinoda, Ken-ichi and Kanai, Satoru  
 1999 Intracemetery Genetic Analysis at the Nakazuma Jomon Site in Japan by Mitochondrial DNA Sequencing. *Anthropological Science* 107(2):129-140.
- Shiratori, Kurakichi  
 1913 Kandai no Chosen (Korea in the Han dynasty). In *Manshu rekishi chiri (A Historical Geography of Manchuria)*, Vol. I, ed. Kurakichi Shiratori, Wataru Yanai, Sokichi Tsuda, and Hitoshi Matsui, pp. 1-101. Minami Manshu tetsudo kabushikigaisha, Tokyo. (In Japanese)
- 1914 Chosengo to Ural-Altai-go to no hikaku kenkyu (A comparative study of Korean and Ural-Altaic languages). *Toyo gakujutsu kyokai (Committee for East Asian Studies)* 4:143-146. (In Japanese)
- Shirokogoroff, S. M.  
 1966a *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus (with Introductory Chapters Concerning Geographical Distribution and History of these Groups)*. Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout.
- 1966b *Anthropology of Northern China*. Royal Asiatic Society. Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout.
- Sohn, Ho-Min  
 1999 *The Korean Language*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Sohn, Pow-Key  
 1989 Physical anthropological approach on the origin of Korean People. *Kuksakwannonchong*, 4:1-32. (In Korean)
- Sohn, Pow-Key, Kim, Chol-Choon, and Hong, Yi-Sup  
 1970 *The History of Korea*. Korean National Commission for Unesco, Seoul.
- Starostin, Serigei A.  
 1991 *Altaiskaia problema I proiskhozhdenie iaponskogo iazyka*. Nauka, Moskva.
- Storm, P. and Nelson, A.J.  
 1992 The Many Faces of Wadjak Man. *Archaeology of Oceania* 27:37-46.
- Street, John (reviewer)  
 1973 Japanese and the Other Altaic Languages, by Roy Andrew Miller (1971). University of Chicago Press, Chicago. *Language* 49(4):950-954.
- Stringer, Christopher  
 1990 The Emergence of Modern Humans. *Scientific American* 263(6):98-104.

- Stringer, C. and Andrews, p.  
1988 Genetic and Fossil Evidence for the Origin of Modern Humans. *Science* 239:1263-1268.
- Suzuki, Hisashi  
1956 Changes in the skull features of the Japanese people from ancient to modern times. In *Men and Cultures*, ed. A. F. C. Wallace, pp. 717-724. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.  
  
1969 Microevolutional Changes in the Japanese Population from the Prehistoric Age to the Present-day. *Journal of Faculty of Science*, University of Tokyo, Sec. V, 3:279-309.  
  
1981 Racial history of the Japanese. In *Rassengeschichte der Menschheit*, 8. Lieferung, ed. I. Schwidetzky, pp. 7-69. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Munchen.
- Suzuki, Naohide  
1993 Generational Difference in Size and Morphology of Tooth Crowns in the Young Modern Japanese. *Anthropological Science* 101(4):405-429.
- Szczesniak, Boleslaw  
1946 Japanese-Korean wars in A.D. 391-407 and their chronology. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April:54-66.  
  
1951 The Kotaio Monument. *Monumenta Nipponica* 7(1/2):242-268.  
  
1952 Some Revisions of the Ancient Japanese Chronology Ojin Tenno Period. *Mnumenta Nipponica* 8(1/2):1-14.
- Takahashi, Ryuzaburo, Toizumi, Takeji and Kojo, Yasushi  
1998 Archaeological Studies of Japan: Current Studies of the Jomon Archaeology. *Nihon Kokogaku (Journal of The Japanese Archaeological Association)* 5:47-72.
- Takashi, Okazaki  
1993 Japan and Continent. In *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol.1: Ancient Japan*, ed. Delmer M. Brown, pp. 268-316. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Takeda, Yukio  
1989 Studies on the King Kwanggaito Inscription and Their Basis. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 47:57-90.
- Tikhonov, Vladimir  
1998 On the Problem of International Status and Stages of the Socio-Political Development of Tae-gaya in the Late 5th and Early 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

*Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 73:55-87.

Toby, Ronald P.

1985 Why Leave Nara?: Kammu and the Transfer of the Capital  
*Monumenta Nipponica* 40(3):331-347.

Tokunaga, Katsushi; Imanishi, Tadashi; Takahashi, Koki and Juji, Takeo

1996 On the Origin and Dispersal of East Asian Populations as viewed from  
HLA Haplotypes. In *Prehistoric Mongoloid Dispersals*, eds. T.  
Akazawa and E. Szathmary, pp. 187-200. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Tokunaga, Katsushi and Juji, Takeo

1992 The Migration and Dispersal of East Asian Populations as Viewed from  
HLA Genes and Haplotypes. In *The Evolution and Dispersal of Modern  
Humans in Asia*, eds. Takeru Akazawa, Kenichi Aoki, and Tasuku Kimura,  
pp. 599-611. Hokusen-sha Publishing Co., Tokyo.

Totman, Conrad

2000 *A History of Japan*. Blackwell Publishers Inc., Massachusetts.

Tsuboi, Kiyotari (editor)

1987 *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Japan*. UNESCO and The Centre for  
East Asian Cultural Studies, Paris and Tokyo.

Tsude, Hiroshi

1992 The Kofun Period and State Formation. *Acta Asiatica* 63:64-86.

1999 Homogeneity and Regional Variability in Cultures of The Kofun Period.  
In *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Origins of the Japanese*, ed.  
Keiichi Omoto, pp. 168-179. International Research Center for Japanese  
Studies, Tokyo.

Turner, Christy G. II.

1976 Dental evidence on the origins of the Ainu and Japanese. *Science*  
193:911-913.

1987 Late Pleistocene and Holocene population history of East Asia  
based on dental variation. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*  
73:305-321.

1989 Teeth and Prehistory in Asia. *Scientific American*, 260(2):88-96.

Twitchett, Denis

1979 *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 3: Sui and Tang China, 598-906,  
Part I*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Uemura, Seiji  
 1977 The Empress jingo and her Conquest of Silla. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 35:75-83.
- Unger, J. Marshall  
 1990 Japanese and what other Altaic languages? In *Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs* 45. Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology, ed. P. Baldi, pp. 479-482. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Vovin, Alexander  
 1993 Notes on Some Japanese-Korean Phonetic Correspondences. In *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*. Vol.3, ed, Soonja Choi, pp. 338-350. Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford.
- Wada, Yo and Motomura, Hiroyuki  
 2000 Temporal Changes in Stature of Western Japanese Based on Limb Characteristics. *Anthropological Science* 108(2):147-168.
- Watson, Burton  
 1993 *Records of The Grand Historian: Han Dynasty (Shi-ji)*. Vol. I, II. Columbia University Press Book, New York.
- Whang, Yong-Hoon  
 1982 The General Aspect of Megalithic Culture of Korea In *Megalithic Cultures in Asia (Monograph No. 2)*, ed. Byung-mo Kim, pp. 41-64. Hanyang University, Seoul.
- Whitman, J. B.  
 1985 *The Phonological Basis for the Comparison of Japanese and Korean*. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.
- Whymant, A. Neville, J.  
 1926 The Oceanic Theory of the Origin of the Japanese Language and People. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (2nd series)* 3:15-81.
- Wolpoff, Milford  
 1992 Theories of human origins. In *Continuity or Replacement? Controversies in Homo sapiens Evolution*, eds. G. Brauer and Fred H. Smith, pp. 25-64. Balkema, Rotterdam.
- Wolpoff, M, Wu Xin Chi and Alan G. Thorne  
 1984 Modern Homo Sapiens Origins: a general theory of human evolution involving the fossil evidence from east Asia.. In *The Origins of Modern Humans*, eds. Fred H. Smith and Spencer Frank, pp. 411-483. Alan R. Liss, Inc., New York.

- Wolf, E. R.  
 1994 Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture and People. *Current Anthropology* 35(1):1-12.
- Xinzhi, Wu  
 1997 Origin of Modern Humans In *The Changing Face of East Asia During The Tertiary and Quaternary: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference on The Evolution of the East Asian Environment*, ed. Nina G, Jablonski, pp. 430-437. The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.
- Xu, Yu-lin  
 1995 The Houwa Site and Related Issues. In *The Archaeology of NorthEast China: Beyond the Great Wall*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson, pp. 65-88. Routledge, London and New York.
- Yamaguchi, B.  
 1967 A comparative osteological study of the Ainu and the Australian Aborigines. *Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Occasional Papers*, 10:1-73.  
 1982 A review of osteological characteristics of the Jomon population in prehistoric Japan. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 90 (Suppl.):77-90.
- Yi, Chong-Hang  
 1977 On the True Nature of "Wae" in Samguk Sagi. *Korea Journal* 17(11):51-59.
- Yi, Seon-Bok  
 1992 Early Holocene Adaptation in Korea: Current Status and Problems. In *Pacific Northeast Asia in Prehistory: Hunter-Fisher-Gatherers, Farmers, and Sociopolitical Elites*, eds. C. Melvin Aikens and Song Nai Rhee, pp. 23-26. Washington State University Press, Pullman.
- Yi, Seon-Bok and Clark, G. A.  
 1983 Observations on the Lower Palaeolithic of Northeast Asia. *Current Anthropology* 24(2):181-202.
- Yi, Sung-Yong  
 1986 The Korean Language. In *Introduction to Korean Studies*. Published by National Academy of Sciences, pp. 789-807. Daekwang printing Co, Ltd., Seoul.
- Yongyi, Li, Brace, Loring C., Qiang, Gao, and Tracer, David P.  
 1991 Dimensions of Face in Asia in the Perspective of Geography and Prehistory. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 85:269-279.

Yoon Mu-Byong

1975 The Classification of Plain Coarse Pottery. *Jindanhagbo* 39:5-41.  
(In Korean)

1987 *A Study on the Korean Bronze Age*. YegyongsanUrsa, Seoul. (In  
Korean)

Yoon, Nae-Hyun

1987 True Understanding of Old Choson. *Korea Journal* 27(12):23-40.

Young, John

1958 *The Location of Yamatai: A Case Study in Japanese Historiography,  
720-1945*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Yu, Hak-Ku

1990 Early Historical Relations between Korea and Japan: Some  
Methodological Issues. *Korea Journal* 30(6):45-48.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jaehoon Lee was born in S. Korea where he raised and received a Bachelor of Arts in English Literature & Language from Kangnung National University in 1996. Cultural studies encouraged his burgeoning interest in anthropology. Enrolling at the Department of Anthropology, Florida State University in the fall of 1997, he initially focused on cultural anthropology and museum studies. This interest was transformed and developed to bioarchaeology after he began to take classes from Dr. Doran at the department. In addition to his Masters in Anthropology, he achieved a Museum Studies Certificate while at Florida State. He entered the department of anthropology at University of Florida in August of 2002 and focuses on archaeology with a concentration in prehistoric population movement of East Asia.