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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Dennis Hyun-Seung Lee

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Keyhole Tombs and Forgotten Frontiers:

Exploring the Borderlands of Early

Korean-Japanese Relations in the 5th–6th Centuries

by

Dennis Hyun-Seung Lee

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor John Duncan, Chair

In 1983, Korean scholar Kang Ingu ignited a firestorm by announcing the discovery of keyhole-shaped tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin in the southwestern corner of the Korean peninsula. Keyhole-shaped tombs were considered symbols of early Japanese hegemony during the Kofun period (ca. 250 CE – 538 CE) and, until then, had only been known on the Japanese archipelago. This announcement revived long-standing debates on the nature of early "Korean-Japanese" relations, including the theory that an early "Japan" had colonized the southern Korean peninsula in ancient times. Nationalist Japanese scholars viewed these tombs as support for that theory, which Korean scholars vehemently rejected. Approaches to understand the eclectic nature of the keyhole-shaped tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin starkly revealed larger issues in the studies of early "Korean-Japanese" relations: 1) geonationalist frameworks, 2) hegemonic texts, and 3) core-periphery models of interaction.

This dissertation critiques these issues and evaluates the various claims made on the origins of the keyhole-shaped tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin, the racial identity of the entombed, and their geopolitical circumstances. In order to avoid the pitfalls of nationalist and text-centered frameworks, I apply a holistic approach to these tombs by combining a critical analysis of the available historical texts with a quantitative analysis of the archaeological material. In addition, this project addresses questions of territorial control and borders of historical states, such as Paekche on the Korean peninsula and Yamato on the Japanese archipelago in relation to these tombs. I argue that these tombs arose from interactions between autonomous polities in the textually defined borderlands or frontier regions of the historical states of Paekche and Yamato. This study illuminates the role of these "borderlands" within the dynamic political changes occurring in early relations between groups on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago which eventually led to the formation of an early "Korea" and "Japan." As a secondary objective, the dissertation illustrates how geonationalism (i.e. the projection of arbitrary geographical borders into the past), totalizing notions of territory and conquest, and the hegemonic nature of text-based narratives render these "borderlands" invisible and silent.

This dissertation of Dennis Hyun-Seung Lee is approved.

Torquil Duthie

Lothar von Falkenhausen

John Duncan, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

Dedication

To my wife June for never giving up on me.

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Conventions & Abbreviations

For Romanization, I will use McCune-Reischauer for Korean, modified Hepburn for Japanese, and Pinyin for Chinese. The following abbreviations will be used when citing original textual source material:

SGSG   *Samguk sagi*

NS   *Nihon shoki*

SSSR   *Shinsen shōjiroku*

SGZ   *Sanguozhi*

HHS   *Houhanshu*

SS   *Songshu*

NQS   *Nanqishu*

JS   *Jinshu*

WS   *Weishu*

LS   *Liangshu*

ZS   *Zhoushu*

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the strong support, advice, and encouragement of many people. There is simply no way I can acknowledge everyone in this short space, but I am eternally grateful for everyone's support, even if they are not mentioned here.

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Last, I would like to thank my family for supporting me throughout this entire process. In particular, I would like to express my thanks to my parents-in-law and my wife for their critical support during my time in Korea. Without their help, I would not have been able to finish this dissertation.

I credit any value that may come from this project to the guidance, criticism, and support of these and many other people. Any mistakes or problems with this dissertation are solely my responsibility.

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Park Hong-gab. "Settlement of the Balhae Dae-ssi Refugees in the Korean Peninsula."
    Translated by Dennis Lee. Journal of Northeast Asian History. Volume 4-2 (2007): 119-
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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the origins and identities of the persons entombed in the keyhole-shaped tumuli on the Korean peninsula and how they reflect larger issues within the study of early Korean-Japanese relations. Since the rise of modern nationalism, people have often claimed historical monuments and archaeological sites as part of national history, marking them as material manifestations of national identity. In East Asia, historical ownership of ancient material culture is further reinforced by long historiographical traditions that emphasize cultural and political continuity, mostly in the form of dynastic records.

One prominent example of this intersection of nationalism, archaeology and historical texts is the keyhole-shaped tumuli (*zenpō kōenfun* 前方後円墳)[1] in Japan. They dominate the landscape, with tombs ranging from several dozens of meters to more than 2 kilometers in

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[1] The Japanese term *zenpō kōenfun* (K. *chŏnbang huwŏnbun*) 前方後円墳 literally means "square front round back tumulus." In general, these tombs did have a round component with a rectangular component attached to it that (usually elongated trapezoidal in form). However, the generally accepted term referring to those tombs in the English-language literature is "keyhole-shaped tumuli," which refers to their likeness to traditional keyholes used in the West. It is questionable if this translation is adequate as different scholars writing in languages other than English use a variety of terms for this particular tomb shape. Scholars in South Korea, for example, consciously try to distinguish the tombs found on the Japanese archipelago and similar ones on the Korean peninsula by using different terms. For example, Im Yŏngjin refers to the graves on the Korean peninsula as *changgobun* 長鼓墳, which literally means "long drum mounded tumuli" taking the name from a traditional Korean drum that has an hour-glass shape. Other scholars, such as Kim Nakchung describe the same tombs as *chŏnbang huwŏnbunhyŏng kobun* 前方後圓形 古墳, which literally means "square front round back-*shaped* mounded tomb," [emphasis mine] in order to prevent the possible misunderstanding that the keyhole-shaped tombs on the Korean peninsula were under the authority of the Japanese Yamato court. Unfortunately, these distinctions become "lost in translation" when using the term "keyhole-shaped tumuli" for all varieties. Originally, I considered rendering *zenpō kōenfun* as "keyhole tomb tumuli," *changgobun* as "hourglass tumuli" and *chŏnbang huwŏnbunhyŏng kobun* as "keyhole-shaped tumuli," but I found that attempting to preserve the usage of different scholars for the same type of tomb only proved more confusing than helpful. Although Kim Nakchung's argument to avoid equating tomb shapes and political control are valid, there are cases of keyhole-shaped tombs on the Japanese archipelago that were not necessarily under Yamato political control either, but all of them shared structural traits that made them a distinct burial system, including the ones on the Korean peninsula. Therefore, for this dissertation, instead of preserving the diverse terminology used to describe this particular burial system, I will use the general term "keyhole-shaped tomb." For a more detailed discussion of the problems of using different terminology, see Taehan Munhwa Yusan Yŏn'gu Sent'ŏ, ed., *Hanbando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 한반도의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2011), 13–21.

extension. Japanese scholars believe that the largest of these massive mounded tombs or *kofun* 古墳 (K. *kobun*) are the resting places of "emperors"[2] described in the earliest extant Japanese historical sources, the *Kojiki* 古事記 and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. Therefore, Japanese nationalist historians argue that the appearance of keyhole-shaped tombs (ca. mid-3rd century) marks the beginning of "Japan" and the Japanese nation and is of great importance to understanding Japanese state formation. In other words, keyhole-shaped tumuli archaeologically symbolize the beginning of an "unbroken Japanese imperial line" and the "integration of the [Japanese] nation."[3] As highly conspicuous physical representations of Japanese national identity seen through historical texts, keyhole-shaped tumuli were considered a uniquely "Japanese" burial system and presumed only to exist on the Japanese archipelago.

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[2] The Imperial Household Agency (宮内庁) absorbed the functions of the Office of Imperial Mausolea (諸陵寮) in 1949 and is a government agency in Japan that is charged with designating keyhole tumuli as "imperial tombs" recorded in the historical texts, but the process continues to be quite arbitrary with little historical or archaeological basis. As these are considered imperial tombs, access is generally prohibited and archaeological excavations are completely out of the question. Therefore, any data that these tumuli might contain will remain unknown for the time being. For a further discussion on this issue see Takagi Hiroshi, *Ryōbo to bunkazai no kindai* 陵墓と文化財の近代 [The Modernity of the Imperial Tombs and Cultural Properties] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2010), 100–105.

[3] Koji Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 5.

Figure i-1: Keyhole-shaped Tumulus: Daisen Kofun (Sakai, Osaka Prefecture)[4]

That perception was challenged in 1983 when Korean scholar Kang In'gu made the

shocking announcement that he had confirmed the presence of keyhole-shaped tumuli on the

Korean peninsula.[5] The confirmed existence of this "Japanese" burial system in the Yŏngsan

River basin (southwestern corner of the Korean peninsula) created a crisis for Korean and

Japanese nationalist historians. Until then, Korean scholars had successfully ignored or refuted

[5] Kang In'gu, "Che-5-jang Han'bando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun 第五章 韓半島의 前方後圓墳 [Chapter 5 Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula]," *Minjok munhwa yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ* 10 (1983): 257–312.

Japanese nationalist claims that an early Japan had conquered and controlled the southern part of the Korean peninsula from the 4th – 6th century CE,[6] due to lack of archaeological evidence, but these tombs threatened to overturn that view. Likewise, Kang's assertion that keyhole-shaped tumuli originated in Korea challenged the Japanese nationalist narrative that they symbolized the autonomous formation of a native Japanese state. Since then, scholars on both sides of the Korea Strait have produced a wide range of opinions on this topic due to its importance in understanding early Korean-Japanese relations and its potential impact on national identity narratives. As scholars over the past thirty years struggled to explain the origins of this type of tombs, the circumstances of their construction, and the identity of the interred, three particular trends dominated the discourse: 1) the application of geonationalist[7] binaries (Korean peninsula/Japanese archipelago), 2) a heavy reliance on hegemonic historical narratives based on limited and problematic textual sources, and 3) the use of core-periphery frameworks that ignored independent developments on the frontiers.

Although all of these issues are inherent in the studies of early "Korean-Japanese" relations, the Yŏngsan River basin keyhole-shaped tumuli (hereafter "YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli") bring these problems into full relief. The difficulty in categorizing them as "Korean" or "Japanese" makes them an ideal case study to problematize the continued use of nationalist or geonationalist frameworks to study interactions between groups on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. The absence of any historical records about the builders of these tombs as

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[6] All dates moving forward are Common Era (CE) unless otherwise indicated.

[7] I define geonationalism here as the "imagined" geographic space of the nation with its mythical cultural/linguistic/ethnic cohesion and clearly-defined borders. For Koreas, not only does this include the Korean peninsula but Manchuria as well since Sin Ch'aeho (1880-1936) and possibly Yu Tŭkkong (1749-1807). For the Japanese, it is the Japanese archipelago. I focus on this concept instead of nationalism because many recent studies pretend to avoid the problems of nationalist frameworks by simply replacing "Korean" or "Japanese" with the terms "Korean peninsula" or "Japanese archipelago" when describing early polities and material culture. This practice of replacing overtly nationalist descriptors to geonationalist ones is deceptive and does little to resolve the problems of viewing the past through the lens of the nation.

well as their location on the borderlands of historical states also provides an opportunity to let the archaeological record narrate its own story without forcing an interpretation through a hegemonic textual lens. In other words, nationalist or text-based approaches ultimately fail to adequately explain the appearance of YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli in the material record. Instead of framing the construction of YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli as the result of interactions between historical states, I argue that the adoption of the keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin was a product of interactions between autonomous but textually invisible polities in the borderlands or frontier regions of the textually visible states of Paekche on the Korean peninsula and Yamato on the Japanese archipelago from the late 5th – early 6th century.

The YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli were constructed within the context of larger changes happening in Northeast Asia during the 4th – 7th centuries. The 4th century is significant for several reasons: 1) Koguryŏ (trad. 37 BCE - 668), a state based on the Yalu River (K. Amnok River) expanded south into the Korean peninsula and destroyed the last remaining Chinese commanderies there by 314, removing over 400 years of direct Chinese influence from the Korean peninsula. 2) Polities in the southern Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago developed into stratified societies capable of constructing massive mounded tombs around the late 3rd and early 4th century. 3) Although still problematic, the reliability of records regarding events and historical figures from the 4th century onward grew more reliable, especially those that appeared in different historical sources from different regions, allowing for better cross-referencing and verification.

Although historical and archaeological evidence show that many groups existed on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago during the 4th – 7th centuries, the Korean historical records restrict the view of this period to only three Korean "kingdoms" while the

Japanese historical records focus on the activities of a single Japanese "empire." The title of the

earliest Korean history, the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, for example, is quite literally the "Records

of the Three Kingdoms," which were Silla 新羅 (trad. 57 BCE - 935) in the southeastern Korean

peninsula, Koguryŏ 高句麗 (trad. 37 BCE - 668) controlling the northern half extending

throughout Manchuria, and Paekche 百濟 (trad. 18 BCE - 660) in the southwest. Compiled in

1145 by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075-1151) during the Koryŏ dynasty 高麗 (918-1392), the *Samguk*

sagi, as an official history of the Koryŏ kingdom, represented the Koryŏ perspective that it was

the legitimate successor to these previous kingdoms. Likewise, the earliest Japanese sources, the

Kojiki and the *Nihon shoki*, were compiled in the early 8th century to legitimate the rule of the

Japanese state in Nara (710-794) and project its hegemony over most of the Japanese archipelago

anachronistically into the past as the Yamato 大和 polity (ca. 250 – 710). In addition to these

three "Korean" kingdoms and single "Japanese" empire, the above-mentioned historical records

also tangentially record a group of polities collectively called Kaya 伽倻 in the Korean sources

or Mimana 任那 in the Japanese ones, which occupied the Naktong and Sŏmjin River basins on

the southern tip of the Korean peninsula and served as intermediaries between the polities on the

southern part of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago, most probably due to its

advantageous position on trade routes as the closest point on the Korean peninsula to the

Japanese archipelago. Although they do not figure prominently in Korean historiography,

Japanese historians placed great interest on these Kaya polities and their role as a gateway to

continental technology and resources. In addition to political consolidation, the 4th – 7th century

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saw many important social and cultural changes taking place in the southern part of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago, such as the incorporation of new intellectual systems and technology from the Central Plains, such as statecraft, Buddhism, and sericulture. In addition to contact with "Chinese" civilization, many of these changes were stimulated by dynamic political, economic, and military interactions between polities on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago.

In terms of early relations between the polities on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago, the 4th – 7th century is arguably one of the most active periods in the long history of interactions/exchanges between polities on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago since prehistoric times.[8] Archaeologically, we find splendid peninsula-produced gilt bronze jewelry, horse trappings, and iron from the southern Korean peninsula appearing in tombs on the Japanese archipelago. Likewise, we find archipelago-style swirl-shaped bronze objects and keyhole-shaped tombs as well as jade and lumber from the Japanese archipelago on the southern Korean peninsula. From historical texts, we see a range of relations among the various polities on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago, such as close political, cultural, and military ties between the polities of Paekche and Yamato. Kaya also shared a close connection with Yamato, actively exporting iron to the iron-deficient Japanese archipelago. Japanese historical texts also describe Yamato as having considerable influence in affairs on the Korean peninsula.

By the late 7th century, Silla, with the help of Tang China (618-907), defeated its rivals on the Korean peninsula (Paekche in 660 and Koguryŏ in 668), consolidating most of the Korean

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[8] Pak Ch'ŏnsu, *Saero ssŭnŭn kodae Han-Il kyosŏpsa* 새로 쓰는 고대 한일 교섭사 [Interactions between Ancient Korea and Japan] (Seoul: Sahoe P`yŏngnon, 2007).

peninsula up to the Taedong River and "unified" the Korean peninsula for the first time.[9] More

importantly, this established the precedent of a single state controlling most, if not all, of the

Korean peninsula. With the loss of its peninsular allies, Yamato no longer had the same level of

involvement on the Korean peninsula as before, marking the end of a dynamic period of

multilateral relations on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. Like Silla, Yamato

also consolidated its control over most of the Japanese archipelago, as evidenced by the

transformation of its political institutions during the Taika Reforms 大化の改新 in 645 and

further strengthened that control by establishing a political mythology of a unified Japan ruled by

an unbroken line of emperors.

Although the significance of the 4th – 7th century is well-recognized in Korean and

Japanese historiography, related studies are hampered by various issues, such as questionable

historical records and nationalist frameworks. As for historical texts, there is a paucity of sources,

and those that are available are ambiguous and riddled with issues. The available sources can be

divided into Chinese dynastic histories, Korean and Japanese histories, and epigraphy. As for

contemporary Chinese dynastic histories, there are entries on the societies of the Korean

peninsula and the Japanese archipelago, but they are few and far between, limited to brief

descriptions of visiting envoys and vague ethnographic miscellanea, usually seen through a lens

of cultural superiority. The loss of the final remaining two Chinese commanderies on the Korean

peninsula in 313 and 314 as well as internal turmoil during the interregnum period after the fall

of the Eastern Han dynasty (25 – 220) left a conspicuous blank within Chinese historical records

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[9] There is a debate between North and South Korean scholars on when the Korean peninsula (and nation) was first
unified. South Koreans argue that Silla was the first, while North Korean scholars argue it happened under the
Koryŏ 高麗 dynasty (918–1392), since Silla did not control territory up to the Yalu (K. Amnok) River See footnote
2 in John Duncan, "Proto-Nationalism in Premodern Korea," in *Perspectives on Korea* (Sydney: Wild Peony Press,
1998), 198–221.

regarding the southern Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago for most of the 4th century until Paekche established relations with the Eastern Jin (317-420) in 372. In terms of epigraphic records, the Kwanggaet'o stele, erected in 414 by King Changsu of Koguryŏ (r. 413–491), provides valuable information on the political and military situation on the Korean peninsula in the late 4th century, but as a hagiographic monument, it suffers from ambiguous and damaged inscriptions and is a contested source within the study of early "Korean-Japanese" relations.[10] The earliest Japanese sources, such as the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, contain some of the richest accounts of interactions between the the Yamato court and polities on the southern Korean peninsula, but they are a compilation of myths, genealogies, and semi-historical accounts designed to legitimize and enhance the supremacy of the Japanese court.[11] Therefore, many of the accounts were embellished, altered from their original sources, or chronologically distorted to present a narrative of early Japanese domination over the Korean peninsula. Like the *Nihon shoki*, the oldest extant Korean history the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (compiled in 1145) was compiled to

craft a legitimate history of the Koryŏ kingdom (918-1392). Based on earlier written records, the *Samguk sagi* provides valuable information about events on the Korean peninsula during the Korean Three Kingdoms period, but it suffers from being compiled centuries after the fact, incorporating hagiographic mythical elements in its earlier narratives, and quoting heavily from Chinese sources.[12] Ultimately, these textual sources must be referred to with great caution and

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[10] For more information about its problems see Yukio Takeda, "Studies on the King Kwanggaito Inscription and Their Basis," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 47 (1989): 57–90.

[11] John S. Brownlee, *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing: From Kojiki (712) to Tokushi Yoron (1712)* (Waterloo, Ont., Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 9.

[12] K.H.J. Gardiner, "Samguk Sagi and Its Sources," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 2 (1970): 1–41; Jonathan W. Best, "Lessons Learned in Translating the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi," *Acta Koreana* 11, no. 1 (January 2008): 39–49; Edward J. Shultz, "An Introduction to the Samguk Sagi," *Korean Studies* 28 (2004): 1–13, doi:10.1353/ks.2005.0026.

the understanding that they do not represent the whole of all groups and activities taking place on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago.

This dissertation will focus on three major historical events that I argue have a connection with the construction of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli in the late 5th – early 6th century: 1) the supposed invasion of a joint Yamato-Paekche force into the Yŏngsan River basin in 369, 2) the move of Paekche's capital south to Ungjin (present-day Kongju) in 475 and the subsequent political changes that accompanied it, and 3) the second move of Paekche's capital to Sabi (present-day Puyŏ) in 538. According to some interperetations of the *Nihon shoki*, Paekche expanded into the Yŏngsan River basin as early as 369. If this true, then Paekche would likely have had an influence in the construction of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. If not, then the tombs would more likely have been a product of local authorities. In addition, after over a century of hostilities between Koguryŏ and Paekche, Koguryŏ ultimately destroyed Paekche's capital of Hansŏng (present-day Seoul) sending the remnants of the Paekche elite south to Ungjin in 475. This forced Paekche to proactively form or strengthen pre-existing alliances with the Yamato court and other polities on the southern Korean peninsula, possibly including the Yŏngsan River basin, ultimately reconfiguring the pre-existing political/economic relationships in the southern Korean peninsula, Kyushu, and the Kinai region. More significantly, the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli first start to be constructed after Paekche's move in 475. The final historical event of interest is the move of Paekche's capital to Sabi in 538, which reflected Paekche's growing power and confidence after the disasterous loss of its original capital in 475. It is soon after this move that the elite burials in the Yŏngsan River basin, including the keyhole-shaped tumuli, are replaced with Paekche-style tombs and burial goods, signifying Paekche's direct control over the region.

In order to explore all of the issues mentioned above, the dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter 1 situates the nationalist discourse on the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli within the larger issues of early Korean-Japanese relations studies, which have their roots in Imperial Japan's occupation of Korea in 1910-1945 and the Korean nationalist response. The most controversial and defining issue from this period is the Mimana Nihonfu theory (K. Imna Ilbonbu) 任那日本府, which argues that an early Japan successfully invaded and controlled the southern part of Korea from the 4th – 6th century via a "Japanese Governmental Office" in Mimana.[13] Although this theory has been later discounted by Korean and Japanese scholars, its idea of a strong "Japanese" presence on the Korean peninsula still continues to inform many Japanese scholars' views on early Korean-Japanese relations and the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

The second part of Chapter 1 critiques the current research trends regarding the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli and further elaborates on the problems mentioned above: geonationalism, hegemonic texts, and passive peripheries. In order to avoid these problems, I propose the following: 1) avoid, when possible, using the empty terms "Korean peninsula" and "Japanese archipelago" and define four geographic zones of study (Kŭm River basin, Yŏngsan River basin, Ariake Sea/Northern Kyushu, and Kinki region),[14] 2) evaluate the textual and archaeological material separately and synthesize a logical narrative from the two, and 3) focus on the internal developments of the Yŏngsan River basin as seen through archaeological changes.

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[13] Mimana is also known as Kaya in Korea historiography. Mimana can either refer to a specific part of the Kaya region or the entire Kaya region itself depending on the context of the historical text. The Kaya region is generally considered the area including and surrounding the lower Naktong River basin.

[14] All though these zones are also arbitrarily defined, in the case of the Kŭm River basin and the Kinki region, they are the historical centers of Paekche and Yamato respectively. The Yŏngsan River basin obviously is the primary region of this study, and there are similarities between the YSR keyhole-shaped tombs and those along the Ariake Sea/Northern Kyushu region, which makes it another important region of study.

Chapter 2 critically examines the claims made in the historical texts that the Yŏngsan

River basin was under the control of Paekche 百濟 [15] or possibly Wa 倭 [16] from the 4th century

until the appearance of YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli in the late 5th century.[17] Knowing this will

help us determine the amount of influence Paekche or Yamato had over the construction of the

YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli or if they were the product of local authorities. In order to determine

this, I will do a separate analysis of historical sources and archaeological material and conclude

with a comparison of the two.

Chapter 3 seeks to reconstruct the geopolitical situation of the Korean peninsula and the

Japanese archipelago as seen through historical texts in the late 5th to early 6th century when

groups in the Yŏngsan River basin constructed keyhole-shaped tombs. The purpose of this

chapter is to help historically contextualize political or social changes in the Yŏngsan River basin

and identify external events that may have influenced those changes. Particular focus will be

paid to the relationship between Paekche and Yamato and to personals identified as "Wa"

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[15] Paekche is one of the traditional Korean three kingdoms that developed in the Han River basin in present-day Seoul. Traditional Korean histories believe Paekche early on had controlled territory encompassing present-day Kyŏnggi, Ch'unghch'ŏng, and Chŏlla provinces, which would have included the Yŏngsan River basin. It was destroyed by the traditional Korean kingdom of Silla in 660.

[16] As Jonathan Best points out, the term Wa 倭 has been used in Chinese and Korean historical sources as an exonym to refer to either the Japanese archipelago as a location, people and/or culture of the Japanese archipelago, or the state in the Kinki region of Honshū that called itself Yamato 大和 and eventually Japan 日本 (staring from the end of the 7th century). Since the Chinese and Korean texts usually make no distinction between the three meanings, the term Wa becomes highly problematic, especially when discussing polities on the Japanese archipelago that are not necessarily Yamato. For this dissertation, I will use the term Wa to generally refer to any of the polities and cultures on the Japanese archipelago. Yamato will be used to specifically refer to the polity Kinki polity that evolved from the late 3rd century to the mid-6th century. Japan will be used for that centralized polity from the mid-6th century and afterward that consolidated most of the Japanese archipelago. Although I depart from Best's distinctions and definitions, a discussion of the need for clarity on these terms can be found in Jonathan W. Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2006), 65–66.

[17] Since the 3rd century *Sanguozhi* is the earliest extant record that possibly describes the Yŏngsan River basin, I have selected its compilation date as the starting point for my investigation. Since the earliest YSR keyhole-shaped tumulus was constructed sometime in the late 5th century, this seemed to be the logical stopping point for this background chapter.

holding concurrent titles in the Paekche and Yamato courts. In addition, I will also examine the effect of Paekche's southern relocations of its capital to Ungjin (present-day Kongju) and then Puyŏ on the Kŭm River basin.

Chapter 4 focuses on analyzing the available archaeological data on the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. First, I will create a typology of the tomb morphology, burial facilities, and burial goods of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, in order to determine if a central authority directed their construction or if they were constructed by individual local authorities. Second, I will examine the different components of the burial facilities and the foreign prestige goods in the burial assemblage to determine the deceased's relationships with different regions on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. Finally, in order to understand the relationship between the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli and other tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin, I will analyze the distribution of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli based on their positions on waterways in relations to other non-keyhole-shaped tombs. Although it is extremely difficult to identify the ethnic identity of the entombed, the ritual and stylistic choices made for the tomb can give us clues toward the tomb occupant's cultural and ritual propensities that can be compared to other regions.

One of the primary goals and contributions of this dissertation besides analyzing the "identity" of the entombed of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli and the circumstances of the construction of the tombs is to use these tombs as a case study in approaching archaeological phenomena outside of geonationalist and text-centered frameworks, which inherently establish core-periphery relationships (i.e. the historical core versus the textually invisible periphery). Separating the textual and archaeological analysis is useful in preventing hegemonic textual

narratives from making archaeology the "handmaiden to history"[18] or vice-versa. Such an approach is crucial in understanding the complex subtleties and interactions of polities (historical and textually invisible) and regional authorities that existed prior to the consolidation efforts of the major historical states in the 6th and 7th centuries that left Silla in control over most of the Korean peninsula and Yamato dominating most of the Japanese archipelago. This not only applies to singular phenomenon like the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, but to the larger field of early "Korean-Japanese" relations as well.

The study of early "Korean-Japanese" relations still remains underdeveloped and focused on nationalist concerns and national identity politics. Although Japanese scholars have been interested in these relations since the 17th century, they primarily focus on the net effect of these relationships on the development of the Japanese state or to demonstrate its influence over the Korean peninsula. In other words, the study of early "Korean-Japanese" relations within the Japanese academic community remains firmly rooted to the idea that the Korean peninsula existed as a passive provider of resources, such as iron or advanced technology from China to advance the Yamato state. The Korean academic community, on the other hand, remains dismissive of the study of early "Korean-Japanese" relations and considers it a tangential subject to one's work on "Korean" historical states, such as Paekche or Silla. Therefore, with the exception of Pak Ch'ŏnsu and his *Saero ssŭnŭn kodae Han-Il kyosŏpsa* 새로 쓰는 고대 한일

교섭사 [Interactions between Ancient Korea and Japan], very few scholars specialize in it.

Within English-language academia there are even fewer and not without their problems. Gina Barnes, for example, critiques the use of core-periphery models in East Asia by applying a peer

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[18] Ivor Norl-Hume, "Archaeology: Handmaiden to History," *North Carolina Historical Review* 41 (1964): 215–25.

polity interaction model to explain social change within the "Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere"[19] but continues to view polities as "Korean" or "Japanese" and focuses mostly on the development of historical states. William Farris and Walter Edwards, like their colleagues in Japan, focus on the role of early "Korean-Japanese" relations in Japanese state formation.

The historical interpretation of early East Asian relations is not merely just the domain of specialists with little or no practical application, but a critical component of identity politics today. The People's Republic of China's geonationalist projections of its current borders to claim historical ownership of Koguryŏ via its Northeast Project created a furor among the South Korean public and even threatened diplomatic relations between South Korea and China.[20] Likewise, right-wing conservatives in Japan continue to insert the controversial claims of the Mimana Nihonfu theory and early Japanese domination over Korea in official school textbooks and use the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli as evidence.[21] In addition, geonationalism and nationalist interpretations of historical texts have intensified in the 2010s and have taken center-stage in the current territorial disputes between China and Japan over the Senkakau/Diaoyu islands and the South Korean-Japanese dispute over Dokdo/Takeshima in the East Sea/Sea of Japan. With the current political environment favoring stronger nationalist tendencies, the avoidance of nationalist frameworks and hegemonic texts becomes even more necessary, especially when attempting to understand historical relations where nationalist distinctions are inappropriate and did not exist. This dissertation hopes to contribute to that project by

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[19] Gina Lee Barnes, "Jiehao, Tonghao: Peer Relations in East Asia," *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, 1986, 79–91.

[20] Andrei Lankov, "The Legacy of Long-Gone States," *Asia Times*, September 16, 2006, Online edition, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Korea/HI16Dg01.html.

[21] Kim Hyŏn, "Pak Honggŭn ''Il kyokwasŏ, Ilbon i Paekche chibae' tŭng waegok simgak' 박홍근 ''日 교과서, 일본이 백제 지배' 등 왜곡 심각' [Pak Honggŭn ''Japan Ruled Paekche' and other serious distortions in Japanese textbooks']," *News 1 Korea*, September 16, 2013, http://news1.kr/articles/1324475.

challenging some of the historical views generated by nationalist interpretations of hegemonic historical texts that are not supported by the archaeological material and pursuing a more nuanced understanding of the dynamic and complex relations between different regions on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago.

CHAPTER 1

EARLY KOREAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the discourse on the Yŏngsan River basin keyhole-shaped tumuli (hereafter "YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli"), we need to situate it within the larger historical context of studies on early Korean-Japanese relations studies that developed since the early 20th century, especially on the impact of the Mimana Nihonfu theory. Afterward, I will critique recent current studies of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. Finally, I will define the theoretical framework/approach that will be used throughout the rest of this dissertation.

The strong response elicited from the discovery of keyhole-shaped tumuli has its roots in the geopolitical relationship between Korea and Japan in the late 19th and early 20th century. The Japanese Empire occupied Korea from 1910-1945, developing colonial/imperialist historical frameworks to justify its rule over the Korean peninsula.[1] Korean nationalists, such as Sin Ch'aeho (1880-1936), reacted strongly against Japanese attempts to rewrite the past treating Korea as a stagnant former colony by developing their own nationalist frameworks centered on the supremacy of the Korean nation. Even after Imperial Japan's defeat in World War II and the liberation of Korea in 1945, the nationalist polarization between Korea and Japan that began in the colonial period persisted long afterward, and its effects can still be felt today.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EARLY KOREAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN THE 4TH – 7TH CENTURY

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[1] Hatada Takashi, *Nihonjin no Chosenkan* 日本人の朝鮮観 [Japanese Views on Korea] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1969), 11.

The role of polities on the Korean peninsula in Japanese state formation attracted the attention of Japanese scholars since at least the 18th century.[2] The earliest extant Japanese histories, the *Kojiki* 古事記 (compiled in 712) and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (compiled in 720), contained accounts of early Japanese conquests and influence over the Korean peninsula from the 4th – 7th century, through which advanced technology and resources flowed to the early Japanese polity of Yamato 大和 (ca. 3rd century – 710). Particular interest was paid to a group of polities collectively called Kaya 伽倻 (ca. 3rd – 6th century), also referred to as Mimana 任那 (K. Imna) in the Japanese sources. This group of polities occupied the Naktong and Sŏmjin River basins on the southern tip of the Korean peninsula and served as intermediaries between the polities on the southern part of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. The depiction of their relationship with Yamato has been highly controversial, as we will see below. Thus, the earliest studies on early Korea-Japan relations began within the framework of early Japanese state formation, where the Korean peninsula's only role was to passively provide advanced technology and resources. This framework is still widely used in Japanese academia today.

Korean scholars, on the other hand, traditionally placed little importance on the study of Korea-Japan relations and believed early Japan had little to no impact on the development of Korean states. Instead, the focus was on understanding Korean state formation processes during the 4th – 7th century via the extant Korean histories, the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (compiled 1145) and the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (compiled 13th century), which detail the consolidation of three "Korean" kingdoms, Koguryŏ (trad. 37 BCE - 668), Paekche (ca. 3rd century – 660), and Silla (ca. 4th century – 935) into a single "unified Korean" state of Silla during this period. Therefore,

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[2] In Japan, *kokugaku* 国学 or "native studies" was an intellectual movement that emerged in the late 18th century that sought to find the Japanese or native cultural ideal through the reading of early Japanese texts. This was in response to Confucian studies or *kangaku* 漢学, which tried to do the same but through the exegetical examination of Chinese canonical texts.

studies on early Korea-Japan relations form a relatively new field within Korea academia. Prior to these studies, the typical Korean response to Japanese claims on early Korea-Japan relations was to ignore or dismiss them. Due to Korea's Japanese colonial experience and the surge in nationalism after liberation, any suggestion that an early Japanese state had any hegemony on the Korean peninsula was unequivocally rejected.

THE MIMANA NIHONFU

According to the *Nihon shoki*, Empress Jingū of Yamato conquers Silla in 320,[3] and Paekche and Koguryŏ pledge their allegiance to Yamato soon afterward. In the 49th year of her reign (369),[4] Jingū sent a military expedition to the southern Korean peninsula to punish Silla for switching its own inferior tribute with Paekche's. Japanese scholars in the late 19th century, such as Naka Michiyo and Kan Masatomo argued that after this punitive military expedition Yamato established the Mimana Nihonfu 任那日本府 (literally "Mimana Japanese Governmental Office"; K. Imna Ilbonbu) to politically and militarily control the Kaya region[5] and manage affairs in the southern Korean peninsula.[6] This Yamato base operated until Silla annexed it sometime in the 6th century. For Japanese imperialists in the late 19th century, this provided historical precedent to invade the Korean peninsula to "restore the status quo." In addition, the 1883 recovery of the Koguryŏ Kwanggaet'o Stele[7] and its description of an apparent

[3] The original dating for this record is 200, but it has been clocked two sexagenary cycles or 120 years later to match chronologies in the Chinese and Korean historical records.

[4] The original dating for this record is 249, but it has been clocked two sexagenary cycles or 120 years later. See previous note.

[5] Mimana can either refer to a specific part of the Kaya region called Mimana or the entire Kaya region itself depending on the context of the historical text. It is mentioned in the Kwanggaet'o stele, but there is considerable debate on where it was located in the Kaya region.
The Kaya region is generally considered the area including and surrounding the Naktong River basin.

[6] Tanaka Toshiaki, ed., *Chōsen no reikishi: senshi kara gendai* 朝鮮の歴史: 先史から現代 [Korean History: From Prehistory to Modern Times] (Kyoto: Shōwadō, 2008).

[7] Koguryŏ was a polity that at its height covered the northern half of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria. The Kwanggaet'o Stele was erected to extol the successes of the Koguryŏ King Kwanggaet'o (r. 391–413). The inscription describes the Wa 倭 possibly crossing the sea and conquering Paekche and Silla. Due to the lack of punctuation, however, as well as some missing characters, it is not entirely clear who was going across the sea or conquering whom.

"Japanese" or Wa 倭 (K. Wae; C. Wo)[8] invasion seemed to provide outside corroboration for the Japanese sources. Furthermore, the Chinese dynastic history *Songshu* 宋書 (compiled in 488) contained accounts of Wa envoys in the 5th century requesting military titles over Paekche, Silla, and the Kaya polities of Imna and Kara. Taken collectively, the case for early Japanese hegemony over Korea seemed very strong at the time.

After Imperial Japan's formal annexation of Korea in 1910, the newly established Colonial-Governor's office began sponsoring archaeological excavations to support its claim that early Japan had ruled the southern Korean peninsula. Excavations at Taesŏng-dong near present-day Pusan uncovered so-called "Japanese" grave goods, such as bronze shield ornaments and comma-shaped beads. In 1938, when Arimitsu Kyōichi and his team were excavating Sinch'on-ni Tomb 6 in the Yŏngsan River basin, Arimitsu first remarked on its similarities with keyhole-shaped tombs found on the Japanese archipelago, but mentioned nothing conclusive about it in his report.[9] Although Tanii Seiichi's team already surveyed the site in 1917, their report simply concluded it was just another "Japanese"[10] tomb based on its burial goods without any reference to its shape.[11] Korean nationalist scholars during the colonial period fiercely responded to all

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[8] Wa is a problematic term that can have different meanings depending on the context. It has been used as a toponym, ethnic designation, or the name of a state. Therefore, it is not clear if the Wa here refer to people residing on the Japanese archipelago, a Wa ethnic group, or a polity on the Japanese archipelago.

[9] Chōsen Sōtokufu, ed., *Chōsen koseki chōsa hōkoku: Shōwa 13-nendo Chōsen koseki chōsa hōkoku* 朝鮮古蹟調査報告: 昭和 13 年度朝鮮古蹟調査報告 [Investigative Reports of Ancient Korean Sites: 1938 Site Report] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1938), 34.

[10] The original report classifies it as a Wa tomb 倭墓, which in the context of that period makes it equivalent to Japanese.

[11] Chōsen Sōtokufu, ed., *Chōsen koseki chōsa hōkoku: Taishō 6-nendo Chōsen koseki chōsa hōkoku* 朝鮮古蹟調査報告: 大正 6 年度朝鮮古蹟調査報告 [Investigative Reports of Ancient Korean Sites: 1917 Site Report] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1920), 663.

these claims. Sin Ch'aeho categorically dismissed Japanese sources as myths,[12] while Chŏng Inbo, reinterpreted the Kwanggaet'o inscription as a record of a Koguryŏ invasion and not a Japanese one.[13]

After Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, the Japanese academic community continued to accept the Mimana Nihonfu theory, in particular Suematsu Yasukazu. Suematsu even speculated that the Mimana Nihonfu's sphere of influence extended into the Yŏngsan River basin as well.[14] Although the Mimana Nihonfu theory has many flaws and no archaeological support, it has informed the thinking of many scholars of early Japan since.

HORSE-RIDERS, ROLE-REVERSAL, & DIPLOMATS

Post-World War II also saw many new approaches to early Korea-Japan relations. In 1949, Egami Namio proposed that a Central Asian horse-riding culture swept through the Korean peninsula and formed the early Japanese state.[15] Later, Gari Ledyard substituted the Central Asians with the Manchuria-based Puyŏ (C. Fuyu), the presumed ancestors of the Koguryŏ and Paekche royal family. This "horserider theory" turned the Mimana Nihonfu theory on its head by making "Koreans" the conquering colonizers. The Japanese academic community's reaction to this theory was predictably cool. A foreign origin of the early Japanese state did not accord well

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[12] Sin Ch'aeho, "Toksa sillon 독사 신론 [A New Reading of History]," in *Tanjae Sin Ch'aeho chŏnjip* 단재 신 채호 전집 [The Complete Works of Sin Ch'aeho], ed. Tanjae Sin Ch'aeho Chŏnjip P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, vol. 1, 10 vols. (Ch'ŏnan: Tongnip Kinyŏmgwan Han'guk Tongnip Undongsa Yŏn'guso, 2007).

[13] Stella Yingzi Xu, "That Glorious Ancient History of Our Nation: The Contested Re-Readings of 'Korea' in Early Chinese Historical Records and Their Legacy on the Formation of Korean-Ness" (PhD, University of California, Los Angeles, 2007), 226, Dissertations & Theses @ University of California; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Full Text (304872860), http://search.proquest.com/docview/304872860?accountid=14512.

[14] Suematsu Yasukazu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 [A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1961), 115–123.

[15] Egami Namio, *Kiba minzoku kokka: Nihon kodaishi e no apurōchi* 騎馬民族国家: 日本古代史へのアプローチ [The Horse-rider State: An Approach to Ancient Japanese History] (Tokyo: Chūo Kōronsha, 1968).

with the prevalent native-origin theories of a "pure" Japanese state. Furthermore, the archaeological data did not support the horse-rider theory.[16]

In 1963, North Korean scholar Kim Sŏkhyŏng proposed that the Mimana Nihonfu was not a Japanese colony on the Korean peninsula, but a Korean colony on the Japanese archipelago. In other words, Mimana was actually a satellite state formed by Kaya immigrants in northern Kyushu, which meant that Yamato never invaded the Korean peninsula.[17] His "satellite-state theory" was dismissed in Japanese academic circles as nonsensical Korean nationalism, but it shocked the Japanese academic community out of its uncritical approach to the Mimana Nihonfu.[18]

In the 1970s, excavations of Kaya sites, such as Taesŏng-dong and Yean-ni, began to quickly produce new data that challenged Japanese colonial-era interpretations. As a result, Japanese scholars, such as Inoue Hideo, questioned the conservative interpretations of the Mimana Nihonfu. In a reverse variation of Kim Sŏkhyŏng's satellite state theory, Inoue Hideo proposed that a group of Wa from the archipelago migrated to the peninsula and formed an autonomous Mimana Nihonfu in the Kaya region.[19] As evidence, he cites records in the *Nihon shoki* that demonstrate the lack of control the Yamato court had over the Mimana Nihonfu, with one particular later record stating that the Yamato court had to ask Paekche and Silla to deliver messages to it. No archaeological evidence, however, has been found to support this theory, and Inoue's theory is highly problematic due to this selective use of textual accounts. Other scholars,

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[16] Walter Edwards, "Event and Process in the Founding of Japan: The Horserider Theory in Archaeological Perspective," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 265–95.

[17] Kim Sŏkhyŏng, *Ch'ogi Cho-Il kwan'gyesa* 초기조일관계사 [History of Early Korea-Japan Relations] (P'yŏngyang: Sahoegwahak ch'ulp'ansa, 1966).

[18] Tanaka, *Chōsen no reikishi: senshi kara gendai* 朝鮮の歴史: 先史から現代 [Korean History: From Prehistory to Modern Times].

[19] Inoue Hideo, *Mimana Nihonfu to Wa* 任那日本府の倭 [Mimana Nihonfu and Wa] (Tokyo: Neirakusha, 1978).

such as Ukeda Masayuki, argued that the Nihonfu was not a political or military organization but an embassy,[20] which was similar to Yoshida Akira's argument that the Mimana Nihonfu represented a group of envoys sent by Yamato to monopolize the flow of advanced culture from the Korean peninsula.[21] All of these approaches, however, continued to view the Korean peninsula as merely a source of resources and technology to advance the Yamato state. In these cases, migration and diplomacy replace military force in the means by which cultural change occurred between the Korean peninsula to the Japanese archipelago.

South Korean scholars, such as Ch'ŏn Kwanu and Kim Hyŏn'gu, argued that the conquerors in the *Nihon shoki* were Paekche not Yamato, based on the inclusion of Paekche historical materials in the *Nihon shoki* and the close ties between Paekche and Yamato.[22] Kim Hyŏn'gu argues that Paekche elite who fled to Japan after the fall of their kingdom in 660 and their descendants heavily influenced the compilation of the *Nihon shoki*. Through the influence of these Paekche immigrants, Kim asserts that Paekche records were revised to be from a Yamato point of view.[23] This approach, however, problematically assumes that many of the semi-mythical and hagiographic accounts in the *Nihon shoki* are valid but merely done by

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[20] Ukeda Masayuki, "6-seiki zenki no Nitchō kankei - Mimana Nihonfu wo chūshin toshite ６世紀前期の日朝関係ー任那日本府を中心として [Early 6th century Japan-Korean relations - focusing on the Mimana Nihonfu]," *Chōsenshi kenkyūkai ronbunshū* 11 (1974): 39–49.

[21] Yoshida Akira, *Kodai kokka no keisei (Shin Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi 2)* 古代国家の形成（新岩波講座・日本歴史２）[Ancient State Formation (New Iwanami Lectures Japanese History 2] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975).

[22] Chun Kwan-Woo [Ch'ŏn Kwanu], "A New Interpretation of the Problems of Mimana," in *Korean history : discovery of its characteristics and developments*, ed. Korean National Commission for UNESCO (Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2004).

[23] Kim Hyŏn'gu, *Imna Ilbonbu yŏ'gu: Han pando nambu kyŏngyŏngnon pip'an* 任那日本府研究: 韓半島南部經營論批判 [The Study on the Mimana Nihonfu] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1993).

different actors. In addition, colonization of the Kaya region is not demonstrated in the archaeological record.[24]

This reaction/counter-reaction over the nature of the Mimana Nihonfu between nationalist groups in Korea and Japan continued until the 2000s, and the inclusion of the Mimana Nihonfu as a Japanese colony in Japanese textbooks is still an issue.[25] In an attempt to bridge this divide, a South Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee was formed in 2001 with University of Tokyo Professor Emeritus Toriumi Yasushi and Korea University Professor Cho Kwang as chairs. In 2005, the committee rejected the existence of Mimana Nihonfu as a Japanese colony.[26] Nevertheless, nationalist Japanese scholars, such as Terasawa Kaoru, continue to assert that ancient Japan had a foothold on the Korean peninsula.[27] Pak Ch'ŏnsu warns that the unchallenged notion of an early Japan having considerable military and political influence over the southern Korean peninsula still persists in Japanese academia, even if scholars reject the Mimana Nihonfu theory in and of itself.[28] Pak's concerns seem justified, as even recent English-language literature on early Japanese archaeology continues to adhere to this

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[24] Yi Yŏngsik, *Kaya shokoku to Mimana Nihonfu* 加耶諸国と任那日本府 [Kaya and the Mimana Nihonfu] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1993).

[25] Etsuko Hae-jin Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese-Korean Relations: From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Macmillan Press ; St. Martin's Press, 1997). 10.

[26] Nikkan Rekishi Kyōdō Iinkai 日韓歴史共同研究委員会, *Nikkan rekishi kyōdō hokokusho* 日韓歴史共同研究報告書 [Report on the Japanese-Korean Joint History Research], 2005, http://www.jkcf.or.jp/projects/kaigi/history/.

[27] Terasawa Kaoru, *Nihon no rekishi 2 - ōken tanjō-* 日本の歴史 2 - 王権誕生- [Japanese History 2 :The Birth of Royal Authority] (Tokyo: Kotansha, 2000).

[28] Ch'ŏnsu Pak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 검토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]," in *Hanbando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 한반도의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2011), 181.

framework.[29] In other words, the framing of early Korea-Japan relations via models of control, cultural diffusion, and resource procurement continue to be an issue today.

KEYHOLE-SHAPED TUMULI IN KOREA

After Japanese colonial rule of Korea ended in 1945, Korean archaeologists reclassified many of the "Japanese" tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin as simply jar-coffin tombs 甕棺墓, including those that were keyhole-shaped. Renowned Korean archaeologist Kim Wŏnyong acknowledged that Sinch'on-ni Tomb 6 and Tŏksan-ni Tomb 2 had "Japanese-style" keyhole shapes but invested little effort to connect them with those on the Japanese archipelago.[30] Japanese scholars also had serious doubts about whether keyhole-shaped tombs existed on the Korean peninsula. In 1967, Nishitani Tadashi, like Kim Wŏnyong, also argued that Sinch'on-ni Tomb 6 had a keyhole-shape but did not pursue it further.[31] On the other hand, Anazawa Wakō and Manome Jun'ichi flat out questioned whether they were Japanese tombs at all.[32] Many Japanese scholars traveled to the Yŏngsan River basin in the 1970s to see these tombs for themselves, but none of them made any claims that they were keyhole-shaped tombs after they returned.[33]

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[29] Koji Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[30] Kim Wŏnyong, *Han'guk kogohak kaesŏl* 韓國 考古學概說 [A General Overview of Korean Archaeology] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1973), 162.

[31] Nishitani Tadashi, "Chōsen ni okeru funkyū no keisei 朝鮮における墳丘の形成 [Tomb Formation in Korea]," *Rekishi kyōiku* 15, no. 3 (1967): 59–65.

[32] Anazawa Wakō and Manome Jun'ichi, "Rashū Hannan-men kofungun 羅州潘南面古墳群 [Naju Pannam-myŏn Cemetery]," *Kodaigaku kenkyū* 古代学研究, no. 70 (December 1973).

[33] Kang In'gu, *Samguk sidae pun'gu'myo yŏn'gu* 三國時代 墳丘墓 研究 [Research on Three Kingdoms Mounded Tombs] (Kyŏngsan: Yŏngnam Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1984), 260–261.

On July 19th, 1972, Korea University Museum manager Yun Seyŏng and Kyunghee University Museum director Hwang Yonghon announced through various newspapers that keyhole-shaped tombs without a doubt existed on the Korean peninsula and demanded immediate excavations to verify their claims, which were based on surface surveys of tombs near the town of Puyŏ.[34] However, that same month, the Cultural Properties Committee (Munhwajae Wiwŏnhoe) declared that excavations were unnecessary and no further resources would be devoted to this issue.[35] Considering the nationalist fervor in academics at the time, it is not surprising that any theory suggesting an ancient Japanese presence on the Korea peninsula would be flatly rejected. To make matters worse, that same month, the director of the Puyŏ Museum Kang In'gu flatly rejected their claims based on his own more comprehensive survey of those sites.[36] This debate, however, led Kang In'gu to seek other possible candidates of keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Korean peninsula, especially the Yŏngsan River basin.

In the summer of 1983, Kang In'gu dropped his bombshell announcement that he had incontrovertible evidence that keyhole-shaped tombs exist on the Korean peninsula.[37] Unlike Yun Seyŏng and Hwang Yonghon, Kang published his comprehensive and systematic survey in an academic forum and offered a significantly more detailed analysis of the tomb features. Predictably, the reaction from the Korean academic community was chilly while the Japanese

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[34] Yun Seyŏng, "Han'guk sok ŭi chŏnbang huwŏn mudŏm 韓國 속의 前方後圓 무덤 [Keyhole-shaped Graves," *Tonga Ilbo*, July 19, 1972, sec. Saenghwal Munhwa 생활문화 [Living Culture]; Kŭnmu Yi, "Puyŏ e 'Chŏnbang huwŏn mudŏm' hyŏng kurŭng 부여에 '前方後圓 무덤'型 구릉 [Keyhole-shaped Grave Mounds in Puyŏ]," *Tonga Ilbo*, July 18, 1972.

[35] Yi Kŏnsang, "Ije nŭn Mahan ida 10: Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk changgobun (sang) 이제는 마한인다 10: 영산강 유역 장고분(상) [Now it's Mahan 10: Yŏngsan River Basin Hourglass-shaped Tombs Part 1]," *Chŏnnam Ilbo*, September 19, 2011.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Kang In'gu, "Che-5-jang Han'bando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun 第五章 韓半島의 前方後圓墳 [Chapter 5 Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula]," *Minjok munhwa yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ* 10 (1983): 257–312.

side buzzed at the announcement. Based on Kang's research, the keyhole-shaped burial system was no longer a unique phenomenon to the Japanese archipelago, and this confirmation ruptured the paradigm of a separate "Korean" and "Japanese" material culture confined to a geonational space (i.e. the Korean peninsula/Manchuria and the Japanese archipelago, respectively).[38]

Even more controversial were Kang's claims that the keyhole-shaped tombs on the Korean peninsula predated the ones on the Japanese archipelago and were therefore the origin for all such tombs in Japan.[39] Like the horse-rider theory, Kang also turned the Mimana Nihonfu theory on its head by arguing that it was Korea that colonized Japan in ancient times, and not the other way around.[40] He based his analysis on measurements of unexcavated tombs, so ultimately his conclusions turned out to be premature.

Grave robbery was the main motivator to excavate these keyhole-shaped tumuli. In April of 1991, tomb raiders descended on the Sindŏk Tomb in Hamp'yŏng and looted it. This prompted the Kwangju National Museum to begin an emergency excavation of the site.[41] The data collected from the excavation changed the chronology of the keyhole-shaped tombs from the early 4th century, as argued by Kang, to the late 5th – 6th centuries, which is the currently

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[38] These would be defined as belonging to the traditional "Korean" three kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla with the Kaya region included for good measure, and "Japanese" material culture, defined as belonging to pretty much anything on the Japanese archipelago.

[39] Kang, *Samguk sidae pun'gu'myo yŏn'gu* 三國時代 墳丘墓 研究 [*Research on Three Kingdoms Mounded Tombs*], 308–312.

[40] Pak Sŏkhŭng, "Il ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun wŏllyu nŭm 日의 前方後圓墳 原流는 韓半島 [The Origin of Japanese Keyhole-shaped Tombs is the Korean Peninsula]," *The Kyunghyang Shinmun*, July 11, 1983, sec. Saenghwal Munhwa 생활문화 [Living Culture].

[41] Sŏng Nakchun, "Hamp'yŏng Yedŏng-ni Sindŏk kobun kin'gŭp susŭp chosa yakpo 咸平 禮德里 新德古墳 緊急 收拾調查 略報 [General Report on the Emergency Collection at the Yedŏk-ni Sindŏk Tomb in Hamp'yŏng]," in *Chŏn'guk yŏksahak taehoe nonmun mit palp'yo yoji. Che- 35-hoe: kwahak kisul kwa yŏksa palchŏn* 전국 역사학대회 논문 및 발표요지. 제 35 회 : 과학기술과 역사발전 [35th Meeting for Science Technology and History Development] (Seoul: Han'guk kwahak sahakhoe, 1992), 356–67.

accepted dating.[42] As for the upper limit of these tombs, there is general consent that the keyhole-shaped tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin disappear from the material record in the early 6th century, along with other local burial systems. The lower limit for dating the tombs, however, is still debated. In addition, although this excavation confirmed similarities with the ones on the Japanese archipelago, the burial goods and construction methodology were significantly different, which led to an explosion of alternative theories.

CURRENT STATUS OF RESEARCH ON THE YSR KEYHOLE-SHAPED TUMULI

Presently, there are 14 known keyhole-shaped tumuli on the Korean peninsula. This is in sharp contrast with the over 5,200 keyhole-shaped tumuli distributed throughout the Japanese archipelago.[43] The YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are found only in the southwestern corner of the Korean peninsula, which includes the Yŏngsan River basin and the neighboring regions of present-day Koch'ang, Yŏnggwang, and the Haenam peninsula.[44] The Yŏngsan River basin has an area of 3,467.83 km[2] and includes parts of present-day South Chŏlla Province and the metropolitan city of Kwangju.[45] It is geographically bounded by the Noryŏng Mountain Range in the north, which runs southwest across the Korean peninsula, the Sobaek Mountain Range in the east and southeast,[46] and the Yellow Sea with its collection of coastal islands to the west. Within

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Hirose Kazuo, *Zenpō kōenfun kokka* 前方後円墳国家 [The Keyhole Tomb State] (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2003).

[44] There is still some debate whether certain tombs are a keyhole-shaped tumulus, such as Yogi-dong Tomb, but I will use the most recent count based on the most current 2012 Myŏnghwa-dong site report. See Cho Hyŏnjong et al., *Kwangju Myŏnghwa-dong kobun* 光州 明花洞古墳 [Kwangju Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb] (Kwangju: Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan, 2012).

[45] Kukt'o Kyot'ongbu [Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport], ed., *Mul kwa mirae: 2013 segye mul ŭi nal charyojip* 물과 미래: 2013 세계 물의 날 자료집 [Water and the Future: 2013 World Water Day Data] (Sejong City: Kukt'o Kyot'ongbu, 2013), 107–108.

[46] The Sobaek Mountain Range also runs southwest and then south to the South Sea 南海 and partially through the Haenam peninsula 海南半島, which adjoins the Yŏngsan River basin in the south.

this space, the Yŏngsan River basin consists primarily of broad regions of flat alluvial plains occasionally dotted with hills and ridges. Of the 14 tombs, only six have been fully excavated, and two have been surveyed. Their construction period only spans the late 5th century through the early 6th century. After the early 6th century, Paekche tombs replaced all the elite burial system in the Yŏngsan River basin. With the exception of Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2, none of these tumuli were constructed in pre-existing cemeteries and were solitary tombs at the time of their construction.

Table 1-1: Yŏngsan River Basin Keyhole-shaped Tombs (Present-day Locations)

Tomb Name	Location (City, County, Subdivision)	Province	Excavation Status
Ch'iram-ni Tomb 七巖里古墳	Koch'ang-gun Kongŭm-myŏn 高敞郡 孔音面	North Chŏlla 全羅北道	
Wŏlgye Tomb[47] 月桂古墳 1 號墳	Yŏnggwang-gun Pŏpsŏng-myŏn Wŏlsan-ni 靈光郡 法聖面 月山里	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	
Changgosan Tomb[48] 長鼓山古墳	Hamp'yŏng-gun Sonbul-myŏn Chugam-ni 咸平郡 孫佛面 竹巖里	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	Surveyed
Sindŏk Tomb[49] 新德古墳 1 號墳	Hamp'yŏng-gun Wŏlya-myŏn Yedŏng-ni 咸平郡 月也面 禮德里	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	Excavated
Yogi-dong Tomb[50] 堯基洞古墳	Kwangju Kwangsan-gu 光州廣域市 光山區	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	
P'yosan Tomb[51] 杓山古墳 1 號墳	Hamp'yŏng-gun Hakkyo-myŏn Masan-ni 咸平郡 鶴橋面 馬山里	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	
Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb 明花洞古墳	Kwangju Kwangsan-gu 光州廣域市 光山區	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	Excavated
Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1	Kwangju Kwangsan-gu	South Chŏlla	Excavated

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[47] This is actually Tomb 1 of a cemetery, but to avoid confusion with Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1, it will just be referred to as Wŏlgye Tomb.

[48] There is some confusion in the literature about this tomb's precise location. Some have it as Changnyŏn-ni, but Chugam-ni is correct.

[49] This is actually Tomb 1 of a cemetery, but for convenience, it will just be referred to as Sindŏk Tomb.

[50] The actual name of the tumulus is Chosan Tomb 조산古墳, but it is more commonly referred to as Yogi-dong Tomb.

[51] This is actually Tomb 1 of a cemetery, but for convenience, it will just be referred to as P'yosan Tomb.

月桂洞古墳 1 號墳	光州廣域市 光山區	全羅南道	
Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2 月桂洞古墳 2 號墳	Kwangju Kwangsan-gu 光州廣域市 光山區	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	Excavated
Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb[52] 聲月里古墳	Tamyang-gun Kosŏ-myŏn 潭陽郡 古西面	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	
Kosŏng-ni Tomb[53] 古城里古墳	Tamyang-gun Su Buk-myŏn 潭陽郡 水北面	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	
Yongdu-ri Tomb 龍頭里古墳	Haenam-gun Samsan-myŏn Ch'ang-ni 海南郡 三山面	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	Excavated
Changgobong Tomb 長鼓峰古墳	Haenam-gun Pugil-myŏn Pangsan-ni 海南郡 北日面 方山里	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	Surveyed
Charabong Tomb 자라峰古墳	Yŏngam-gun Sijong-myŏn T'aegan-ni 靈巖郡 始終面 泰澗里	South Chŏlla 全羅南道	Excavated

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[52] The actual name of the tumulus is Wŏlchŏn Tomb, but it is more commonly referred to as Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb.
[53] The actual name of the tumulus is Wŏlsŏngsan Tomb 1, but it is more commonly referred to as Kosŏng-ni Tomb.

Figure 1-1: Yŏngsan River Basin Keyhole-shaped Tumuli Distribution Map[54]

(1) Ch'iram-ri Tomb
(2) Wŏlgye Tomb
(3) Kosŏng-ni Tomb
(4) Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb
(5) Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1 & 2
(6) Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb
(7) Yogi-dong Tomb
(8) Sindŏk Tomb
(9) Changgosan Tomb
(10) P'yosan Tomb 1
(11) Charabong Tomb
(12) Yongdu-ri Tomb
(13) Changgobong Tomb

[54] Cho et al., *Kwangju Myŏnghwa-dong kobun* 光州 明花洞古墳 [Kwangju Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb], 26.

Since the confirmation of keyhole-shaped tumuli on the Korean peninsula in 1983, the discourse has focused primarily on the identity of the entombed and the circumstances that led to their construction. The limited textual and archaeological data allows for a wide range of interpretations, as each scholar focuses on different aspects of the available material. The varied interpretations, however, tend to fall within several sets of binaries: 1) "Korean" (Paekche or Mahan)[55] vs. "Japanese" (Wa) emphasis, 2) textual vs. archaeological emphasis, and 3) Paekche control vs. local authority control emphasis. For example, one particular view focuses on a specific text but selectively chooses supporting archaeological data. Likewise, another view looking at tomb morphology ignores changes in interstate relationships described in the texts. Based on these biases, the various theories regarding the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli can roughly be divided into three major groups: 1) ethnic Wa theories, 2) Mahan/Paekche repatriation theories, and 3) local authority theories.

ETHNIC WA THEORIES

Ethnic Wa theories generally argue that ethnic Wa groups migrated to the Yŏngsan River basin and constructed keyhole-shaped tumuli there. The reasons for their migration vary from scholar to scholar, but they can be roughly divided into three subcategories: the independent Wa immigration theory, Yamato military officials theory, and the Paekche officials of Wa-descent theory.

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[55] The Mahan 馬韓 were a group of polities described in the late 3rd century Chinese dynastic history *Sanguozhi* 三國志. They are believed to have occupied present-day Kyŏnggi Province, the Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces, and the Chŏlla provinces on the western part of the Korean peninsula. Paekche was one of these Mahan polities. After the 4th century, Chinese dynastic records contain records on Paekche but the Mahan are no longer mentioned. Some scholars believe Paekche absorbed the remaining Mahan polities around this time.

<u>Independent Wa Immigration</u>[56]

Proponents of this theory believe that ethnic Wa from the Japanese archipelago immigrated to the Korean peninsula for various political and economic reasons and were not part of an official political mission or military force from the Yamato government. These theorists emphasize the prevalence and distribution of Wa artifacts along the trade route between the Japanese archipelago and Paekche in the Han River basin as material evidence of Wa immigrants. Second, they note that that the YSR-shaped tumuli did not appear in pre-existing cemeteries in the Yŏngsan River basin, meaning that they were first generation. Their distribution outside the traditional centers of local authority, such as Pannam in the Naju region, further suggests that they were a newly arrived immigrant population. Third, the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are similar in design to those in Kyushu and even use Kyushu-style horizontal corridor stone chambers (hereafter "HCSC"). [57] In order to explain the geographically limited distribution of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, they argue that the Yŏngsan River basin was independent of Paekche.

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[56] Azuma Ushio, "Wa to Eizankō ryūiki: Wa-Kan no zenpō kōenfun o megutte 倭と栄山江流域—倭韓の前方後円墳をめぐって [The Wa and the Yŏngsan River Basin: Concerning the Wa-Han Keyhole Tombs]," *Chōsen gakuhō* 179 (April 2001): 67–112; Hong Posik, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun ŭi sŏngkyŏk kwa ch'ui 영산강유역 고분의 성격과 추이 [Characteristics and Development of Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," *Honam kogohakpo* 21 (2005): 107–37; Kawakami Kunihiko, "Ilbon chŏnbang huwŏnbun kwa hoenghyŏlsik sŏksil 日本 前方後圓墳과 橫穴式 石室 [Japanese Keyhole-Shaped Tombs and Corridor-Style Stone Chambers]," *Paekche yŏn'gu* 31 (2000): 93–102; Suzuki Yasutami, ed., *Kodai Nihon no ibunka kōryū* 古代日本の異文化交流 [Early Japan's Cultural Exchanges] (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008); Yi Yonghyŏn, ed., "Kankoku kodai ni okeru Zenradō to Kudara, Kaya, Wa 韓国古代における全羅道と百済,加耶,倭 [Ancient Korea Chŏlla-do Paekche, Kaya, and Wa]," in *Kodai Nihon no ibunka kōryū* 古代日本の異文化交流 [Early Japan's Cultural Exchanges] (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008).

[57] Hong, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun ŭi sŏngkyŏk kwa ch'ui 영산강유역 고분의 성격과 추이 [Characteristics and Development of Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]."

Although the basis for this theory is primarily archaeological, Azuma Ushio tries to

support this theory using historical texts by arguing that the 5th century references to the

Mohan 慕韓 (C. Muhan) mentioned in the *Songshu* refers to independent polities in the Yŏngsan

River basin.[58] He also argues that references to Wa military activities on the Korean peninsula in

the *Songshu* were actually political and economic ties, which were exaggerated into military

conquests.[59] In order to explain an immigration that would coincide with the chronology of the

YSR keyhole-shaped tombs, Ushio, based on his analysis of the *Nihon shoki*, argues that there

were political and economic changes taking place within the Japanese archipelago that involved

two competing ruling groups in the Kinki core region (hereafter "KCR")[60]: the Wa 倭 and the

Yamatai 邪馬台.[61] As the Yamatai faction essentially won the contest and became the

foundation of the Japanese imperial line, some on the losing side (e.g. the Kyushu authorities)

migrated to the Yŏngsan River basin and constructed the keyhole-shaped tombs, while

facilitating the iron trade with the Wa on the Japanese archipelago.[62] Since presumably they did

not sever all connections with the Japanese archipelago, they independently maintained

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[58] Azuma, "Wa to Eizankō ryūiki: Wa-Kan no zenpō kōenfun o megutte 倭と栄山江流域一倭韓の前方後円墳を
めぐって [The Wa and the Yŏngsan River Basin: Concerning the Wa-Han Keyhole Tombs]."
[59] Ibid.
[60] The Kinki region 近畿地方 is the southern-central region of Japan's main island of Honshu and the core region
where the Yamato polity develops.
[61] Azuma, "Wa to Eizankō ryūiki: Wa-Kan no zenpō kōenfun o megutte 倭と栄山江流域一倭韓の前方後円墳を
めぐって [The Wa and the Yŏngsan River Basin: Concerning the Wa-Han Keyhole Tombs]."
[62] Azuma Ushio, "Eizankō ryūiki to Bokan 栄山江流域と慕韓 [The Yŏngsan River Valley and Mohan]," in *Tenbō
kōkogaku: kōkogaku kenkyūkai shijisshūnen kinen ronshū* 展望考古学：考古学研究会 40 周年記念論集 [Outlook
on Archaeology: Collected Essays for the 40th Anniversary of the Archaeology Research Society] (Okayama:
Kōkogaku kenkyūkai, 1995), 240–48; Azuma, "Wa to Eizankō ryūiki: Wa-Kan no zenpō kōenfun o megutte 倭と栄
山江流域一倭韓の前方後円墳をめぐって [The Wa and the Yŏngsan River Basin: Concerning the Wa-Han
Keyhole Tombs]."

connections with groups in Yamato, Kawachi, and Tsukushi.[63] Unfortunately, the basis for

Ushio's theory is based primarily on speculations about the *Nihon shoki* texts, so it is difficult to

corroborate it with the archaeological evidence or other textual sources.

The independent Wa immigration theory relies heavily on the premise that only "Wa"

can construct keyhole-shaped tumuli or conversely that keyhole-shaped tumuli automatically

mean that the entombed are "Wa." This theory also does not adequately explain the local and

Paekche characteristics of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. A closely related problem is the

uncritical use of the term "Wa." This is a term first used in the 3rd century Chinese dynastic

history *Sanguozhi* 三國志 to refer to a group of polities on the Japanese archipelago. It is not a

precise anthropological category of any kind. In later texts, the meaning of the term Wa changes

depending on the context and could refer to the Japanese archipelago (as a toponym), polities on

the Japanese archipelago, an ethnicity, a culture, or even as shorthand for the Yamato court and

its later incarnations. Additionally, the tendency to project Japan on to Wa is equally problematic,

and is one of the core problems this dissertation addresses. See below for a more complete

discussion on this very problematic term. For now, I will use the term as it used by the author or

historical source and clarify its meaning when necessary.

Yamato Military Officials[64]

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[63] Azuma, "Eizankō ryūiki to Bokan 栄山江流域と慕韓 [The Yǒngsan River Valley and Mohan]," 246–247.

[64] Kimura Makoto, "Chōsen sankoku to Wa 朝鮮三国と倭 [The Korean Three Kingdoms and Wa]," in *Kodai o kangaeru Nihon to Chōsen* 古代を考える日本と朝鮮 [Japan and Korea: Thinking about the Ancient Past] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005); Kobayashi Toshio, "Nihon kodai kokka keisei katei: go, roku-seiki o chūshin ni 日本古代国家形成過程: 五,六世紀を中心に [State Formation Process of the Ancient Japanese State: Focusing on the 5th, 6th Centuries]," in *Shinpojumu Wajin no kuni kara Nihon e : Higashi Ajia kara miru Nihon kodai kokka no kigen* シンポジウム倭人のクニから日本へ : 東アジアからみる日本古代国家の起源 [From the Country of the

This theory is an offshoot of the Mimana Nihonfu theory and argues that the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are the tombs of high-ranking Yamato military officials, who were operating in the Yŏngsan River basin. The entire basis for this theory is based on Suematsu's assertion that the Yŏngsan River basin is part of the Yamato-controlled Mimana Nihonfu and a more literal interpretation of the accounts of the "Wa" in the *Songshu*.

Like Azuma, Kimura Makoto also argues that the country of Mohan 慕韓 mentioned in the *Songshu* referred to the Yŏngsan River basin and was fully independent of Paekche.[65] Unlike Azuma, Kimura argues that the Wa envoys' requests for military titles over Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chinhan, and Mohan actually reflected Yamato's military activities in each of those regions.[66] Kimura notes that the date of the final envoy in 478 coincides with the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. In addition, Kimura believes that the size of the tombs indicates that they were for high-ranking Yamato military officials.[67]

Like Kimura, Kobayashi Toshio also exclusively uses texts to link the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli to a Yamato presence on the Korean peninsula. Kobayashi agrees with Kimura, that the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli were the tombs of Yamato generals and argues, like Suematsu, that the "four districts of Mimana" 任那四縣, mentioned in the *Nihon shoki*, are in the Yŏngsan River basin and not the Kaya region as commonly accepted.[68] Therefore, Kobayashi

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Wa to Japan Symposium: The Origins of the Ancient Japanese State as seen from East Asia] (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 2004).

[65] Kimura, "Chōsen sankoku to Wa 朝鮮三国と倭 [The Korean Three Kingdoms and Wa]," 90.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 90–91.

[68] Kobayashi, "Nihon kodai kokka keisei katei: go, roku-seiki o chūshin ni 日本古代国家形成過程: 五,六世紀を中心に [State Formation Process of the Ancient Japanese State: Focusing on the 5th, 6th Centuries]," 104–105. Suematsu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 [A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana].

cites the existence of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli as archaeological evidence to support his theory.

This theory has many flaws many which overlap with the problems in the Mimana Nihonfu theory but I will focus on detailing the major ones in this section. First, the Liu Song court mostly rejected the Wa king's requests for those military titles. When they eventually did accept their request, the Liu Song court consciously omitted Paekche, since Paekche was already a tributary state with the Liu Song. All the other countries listed did not have formal relations with the Liu Song, so the Liu Song court had no trouble rubberstamping King Bu's request. Therefore, these titles did not actually reflect actual military control over those areas. Second, Suematsu's argument that the "four districts of Mimana" were in the Yŏngsan River basin are based on highly speculative phonetic similarities between old place names, which ultimately have no basis. Most importantly, there is no archaeological evidence to support any of Kimura's or Kobayashi's assertions, and their complete reliance on problematic texts without reference to any archaeological data is feckless. This is an extreme case of the deployment of hegemonic texts for nationalist purposes. The fact that scholars still adhere to these discounted views demonstrates the pervasiveness of hegemonic texts and nationalism in the study of early Korean-Japanese relations.

I also argue that there are many reasons for burial system adoption beyond conquest and diffusion models, especially in the case of keyhole-shaped tumuli. Koji Mizoguchi points out that the spread of keyhole-shaped tumuli on the Japanese archipelago generally did not occur due

to external pressure of diffusion but rather regional elites who wanted to participate in the

network of beneficial relationships associated with the burial system.[69]

Paekche Officials of Wa Descent[70]

Unlike the previous theories, the Paekche officials of Wa descent theory argues that the

Yŏngsan River basin was under Paekche control during the construction period of the YSR

keyhole-shaped tumuli. Proponents of this theory believe that the Paekche court dispatched

ethnically Wa Paekche officials to administer the Yŏngsan River basin and keep the local

authorities in check. When these officials died, they presumably were buried in keyhole-shaped

tumuli in the region they administered. In this way, this theory explains the Paekche prestige

goods and the use of keyhole-shaped tumuli. Supporters of this theory also claim that the

distribution of YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli show strategic placement surrounding the pre-

existing local authorities. In addition, since these officials would have had no prior connection

with the Yŏngsan River basin, this would explain the first generation burials. The supporters of

this theory can be further subdivided into a textual approach and an archaeological one.

Using texts, Chu Podon uncritically accepts the fact that Paekche expanded into the

Yŏngsan River basin in 369, based on a heavily modified reading of a single passage in the

[69] Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State*, 241.

[70] Chu Podon, "Paekche ŭi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chibae pangsik kwa chŏnbang huwŏn p'ijangja ŭi sŏngkyŏk 百濟의 榮山江流域 支配方式과 前方後圓墳 被葬者의 性格 [Paekche's Administration Methods of the Yŏngsan River Valley and the Characteristics of those Entombed in the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," in *Han'guk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 韓國의 前方後圓墳 [Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs] (Taejŏn: Ch'ungnam Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2000); Pak Ch'ŏnsu, *Saero ssŭnŭn kodae Han-Il kyosŏpsa* 새로 쓰는 고대 한일 교섭사 [Interactions between Ancient Korea and Japan] (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2007); Yamao Yukihisa, "5,6-seiki no Nitchō kankei: Kankoku no zenpō kōenfun no ichi kaishaku 5・6世紀の日朝関係-韓国の前方後円墳の一解釈 [Japan-Korea Relations in the 5th-6th Centuries: One Interpretation of Korea's Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," *Chōsen gakuhō* 179 (April 2001): 1–43.

Nihon shoki (Jingū 49).[71] Chu Podon notes that Paekche officials of Wa descent appear in the

Nihon shoki, so there is a precedent for them to exist. Chu's explanations for sending Paekche

officials of Wa descent instead of simply Paekche officials is threefold: 1) to implement a "using

barbarians to control barbarians" 以夷治夷 policy, 2) to increase loyalty by sending Wa to

places where they have no powerbase, and 3) to send them to regions closest to their original

homeland, which would be the Yŏngsan River basin region.[72] First, the historical records claim

that Paekche only sent royal family members to administer the periphery, and there are no cases

in the texts that support Wa officials being sent to the Yŏngsan River basin, so this is speculation.

As for 2), this could have equally applied to regular Paekche officials so is unconvincing.

Explanation 3) is logically inconsistent with explations 1) and 2), since such official could have

used their proximity to their original homes to form strong power bases for themselves. Most

importantly, the archaeological evidence does not support a Paekche expansion into the Yŏngsan

River basin in the late 4th century. Although Chu argues that the introduction of HCSC into the

Yŏngsan River basin in the late 5th century proves Paekche's direct rule over it,[73] the HCSC are

clearly from Kyushu and not Paekche, so this invalidates his argument.

Yamao Yukihisa and Pak Ch'ŏnsu, on the other hand, argue that members of powerful

Wa lineages or *gōzoku* 豪族 from the Ariake Sea in northern Kyushu joined the Paekche court in

the late 5th to early 6th century and aided Paekche's efforts to consolidate its hold on the Yŏngsan

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[71] Chu, "Paekche ŭi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chibae pangsik kwa chŏnbang huwŏn p'ijangja ŭi sŏngkyŏk 百濟의 榮山江流域 支配方式과 前方後圓墳 被葬者의 性格 [Paekche's Administration Methods of the Yŏngsan River Valley and the Characteristics of those Entombed in the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," 53.
[72] Ibid., 86–87.
[73] Ibid., 73.

River basin.[74] Pak Ch'ŏnsu argues that the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli have no connection with the pre-existing tombs and suddenly appear in the archaeological record. Based on the similarities of burial facilities and burial goods with keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Ariake Sea, Pak argues that the groups who constructed the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli must be from Kyushu.[75] In order to explain the Paekche prestige goods, he speculates that they must have been Paekche officials. Like Chu, Pak sees the appearance of Paekche officials of Wa descent in the *Nihon shoki* as evidence that the Wa from the Ariake Sea were Paekche officials.[76]

Although by the early 6th century, the *Nihon shoki* seems to indicate that there were Paekche officials of Wa descent operating in Paekche, Pak and Yamao do not satisfactorily explain why these power lineages from Kyushu would leave their power bases along the Ariake Sea and transplant themselves to the Yŏngsan River basin at the behest of the Paekche government. The relatively small number of keyhole-shaped tumuli and their distribution do not show any pattern of strategic placement to maintain local control. In addition, Paekche prestige goods of equal or greater value, including gilt-bronze crowns and shoes, are also found in most of the local authority tombs, such as Sinch'on-ni Tomb 9. Based on Pak and Yamao's logic, this oddly suggests that the local authorities had equal if not closer ties with Paekche than the occupants of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. The presence of Paekche prestige goods did not, however, equal Paekche control. The type of Paekche prestige goods found in the YSR keyhole-

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[74] Yamao, "5,6-seiki no Nitchō kankei: Kankoku no zenpō kōenfun no ichi kaishaku 5・6 世紀の日朝関係-韓国の前方後円墳の一解釈 [Japan-Korea Relations in the 5th-6th Centuries: One Interpretation of Korea's Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]"; Pak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 검토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]."

[75] Pak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 검토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]," 188.

[76] Ibid.

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shaped tombs and the local authority jar-coffin tombs were for groups on the edge of Paekche's sphere of control. Groups under more direct Paekche control had less elaborate prestige goods. Therefore, it seems more likely that the powerful lineages from the Ariake Sea region in Kyushu would have arrived in the Yŏngsan River basin directly and without the need to be sent by Paekche. In addition, Paekche usually constructed fortresses on territory that it controlled. There is no evidence of Paekche fortresses in the Yŏngsan River basin prior to the mid-6th century, which is after the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. In other words, there is very little evidence textual or archaeological that Paekche had enough control over the Yŏngsan River basin to station Paekche officials of Wa descent there.

MAHAN/PAEKCHE REPATRIATION THEORIES

Instead of a Wa migration to the Korean peninsula, repatriation theories envision the return of Mahan or Paekche peoples, who had immigrated to the Japanese archipelago. The central idea is that these overseas people from the Korean peninsula lived long enough on the Japanese archipelago to absorb the keyhole-shaped tumulus burial culture and brought it back with them when they returned. This puts the agency of the keyhole-shaped tumuli construction firmly in the hands of the Mahan/Paekche (i.e. "Koreans") and does not require the movement of "Wa" (i.e. "Japanese") into the Yŏngsan River basin.

The Returning Mahan Theory[77]

Im Yŏngjin argues that Mahan from the Yŏngsan River basin immigrated to the Kyushu region sometime in the 4th century but then later returned in the late 5th – early 6th century to their

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[77] Yŏngjin Im, "Kankoku chōkofun (zenpō kōenkei kofun) no hisōsha to chikuzō haikei 韓国長鼓墳（前方後円形古墳）の被葬者と築造背景 [Background of Tomb Occupants and Construction of Korean Hourglass/Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," *Kōkogaku zasshi* 89, no. 1 (2005).

ancestral homeland. Although Im believes the Yŏngsan River basin remained independent from Paekche until the early 6th century, he believes that military pressure from Paekche in the late 4th century pushed various Mahan groups south into the Yŏngsan River basin and some all the way to Kyushu. In the late 5th century, pressure from Yamato pushed these immigrant Mahan groups back into the Yŏngsan River basin, bringing back the keyhole-shaped tumuli burial system. Since these returning Mahan no longer had ties with the Yŏngsan River basin, they would have settled outside the regions controlled by the pre-existing local authorities.[78]

There is, however, no archaeological or textual evidence of a mass migration from the Yŏngsan River basin to Kyushu and back. If there were, there should be some trace of this "Mahan" culture in Kyushu, of which there is none, especially if they lived there for two centuries and preserved their culture as Im claims. If these Mahan immigrants assimilated into the culture in Kyushu, there would be little difference between them and other people from Kyushu immigrating to the Yŏngsan River basin in the late 5th century. This theory also does not explain the diverse components of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, especially the appearance of Paekche prestige goods.

The Returning Paekche Theory[79]

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[78] Im Yŏngjin, "Kwangju Wŏlgye-dong ŭi changgobun 2-gi 光州 月桂洞의 長鼓墳 2 基 [2 Hourglass-Shaped Tombs in Wŏlgye-dong Kwangju]," *Han'guk kogo hakpo* 31 (1994): 237–64; Yŏngjin Im, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk sŏksil pongt'obun ŭi sŏngkyŏk 榮山江流域 石室封土墳의 性格 [Characteristics of the Stone Chamber Mounded Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," in *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kodae sahoe ŭi saeroun chomyŏng* 榮山江流域 古代 社會의 새로운 照明 [New Insights on Ancient Society in the Yŏngsan River Valley] (Mokp'o: Yŏksa Munhwa Hakhoe, Mokp'o Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 2000), 169–88.

[79] Chŏng Chaeyun, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏngbun ŭi ch'ukcho wa kŭ chuch'e 영산강유역 前方 後圓形墳의 축조와 그 주체 [Construction and Identity of the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," *Yŏksa wa tamnon* 56 (August 2010): 233–69; Sŏ Hyŏnju, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk changgobun ŭi t'ŭkching kwa ch'uryŏn paegyŏng 영산강유역 장고분의 특징과 출현배경 [The Special Characteristics and Circumstances

Like the returning Mahan theory, the returning Paekche theory assumes that a group or groups emigrated from the Korean peninsula to the Japanese archipelago. In this case, it is Paekche groups immigrating to not only Kyushu but primarily to the Yamato court in the KCR. These Paekche immigrants then returned later to the Paekche court, where they were later dispatched to the Yŏngsan River basin much like the Paekche officials of Wa descent described above. Paekche immigrants to the Japanese archipelago are substantiated in the *Nihon shoki* and the archaeological record, especially after the 5th century. In addition, the Paekche court routinely sent members of the family to serve at the Yamato court for long periods of time to further Paekche interests. When one of these members of the royal family, the future King Tongsŏng, returned to assume the Paekche kingship in 479, many of these overseas Paekche returned with him to serve important posts in his new government. Some of these overseas Paekche were sent to administer the Yŏngsan River basin. According to Chŏng Chaeyun, these overseas Paekche would have assimilated the keyhole-shaped tumuli burial culture due to their long time on the Japanese archipelago, so when they died, they would have been buried in keyhole-shaped tumuli.[80]

Although the return of King Tongsŏng from the Yamato court is generally accepted, there is very little textual and archaeological evidence to support that overseas Paekche were sent to the Yŏngsan River basin or that they would choose the keyhole-shaped tumuli burial system. All of these overseas Paekche would have first returned to the Paekche capital region, so unless all of them were sent to the Yŏngsan River basin, there should be keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Paekche capital region as well. This theory also does not explain local elements found within the

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of the Appearance of Hourglass-shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Valley]," *Han'guk kodaesa yŏn'gu* 47 (September 2007): 77–116.

[80] Chŏng, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏngbun ŭi ch'ukcho wa kŭ chuch'e 영산강유역 前方後圓形墳 의 축조와 그 주체 [Construction and Identity of the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]."

YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, such as Yŏngsan River basin-type pottery found in the burial

chamber or the use of Kyushu-style HCSC instead of the type more popularly found in the KCR.

More importantly, the Paekche prestige items are more appropriate for borderland chieftains and

not members of the Paekche elite, who were buried with less ostentatious symbols of their rank

and office, such as cap decorations instead of gilt-bronze crowns and shoes.

LOCAL AUTHORITY THEORIES[81]

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[81] Ch'oe Sŏngnak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kodae sahoe ŭi silch'e 영산강유역 고대사회의 실체: 해석의 관점에 대한 논의 [Entity of the Ancient Society in the Yŏngsan River Basin: Discussion on the Perspective of Interpretation]," *Chibangsa wa chibang munhwa* 11, no. 2 (November 2008): 181–210; Habuta Yoshiyuki, "Zenpō kōenfun o meguru Kan to Wa 前方後円墳をめぐる韓と倭 [Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of Han and Wa]," in *Kodai Nihon no ibunka kōryū* 古代日本の異文化交流 [Early Japan's Cultural Exchanges] (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008), 660; Kim Nakchung, *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun yŏn'gu* 영산강유역 고분 연구 [A Study on Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Valley] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2009); Oguri Akihiko, "Chŏnnam chibang ch'ult'o sigyun ŭi ŭiŭi 全南地方 出土 埴輪의 意義 [The Significance of the Haniwa Excavated from the Chŏnnam Region]," *Paekche yŏn'gu* 32 (2000): 111–48; Okauchi Mitsuzane, *Kankoku no zenpō kōenkeifun: Waseda Daigaku Kankoku kōkogaku gakujutsu chōsa kenshū hōkoku* 韓国の前方後円形墳：早稲田大学韓国考古学学術調査研修報告 [Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs: Waseda University Korean Archaeology Academic Investigative Training Report] (Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1996); Pak Chaeyong, "Han'guk chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏng kobun ŭi ch'uryŏn kwa kŭ paegyŏng yŏn'gu ŭi nonjaeng kwa kwaje 한국 前方後圓形 古墳의 출현과 그 배경 연구의 논쟁과 과제 [The Appearance and the Background Debate and Issues of Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," *Hosŏ sahak* 45 (2006): 343–67; Pak Sunbal, "Eizankō ryūiki de no zenpō kōenfun no igi 栄山江流域での前方後円墳の意識 [The Significance of the Keyhole-shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," in *Zenpō kōenfun to kodai Nitchō kankei* 前方後円墳と古代日朝関係 [Keyhole-shaped Tombs and Ancient Japanese-Korean Relations] (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 2002); Sin Taegon, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun 영산강유역의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," *Kwagi kogo yŏn'gu* 7 (2001); Suzuki Yasutami, ed., *Kodai Nihon no ibunka kōryū* 古代日本の異文化交流 [Early Japan's Cultural Exchanges] (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008); Tanaka Toshiaki, "Kankoku no zenpō kōen-kei kofun no hishōsha, zōbo shūdan ni tai suru shiken 韓国の前方後門形古墳被葬者,造墓集団に対する私見 [Personal Opinion Regarding the Entombed and Builders of the Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," *Chōsen gakuhō* 179 (April 2001): 157–80; Tsuji Hideto, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun kwa Waeguk chuyŏn chiyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun 榮山江流域의 前方後圓墳과 倭國 周緣地域의 前方後圓墳 [Keyhole Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin and Keyhole Tombs of Wa]," trans. Yamamoto Takafumi, *Paekche yŏn'gu* 44 (2006): 211–44; Yanagisawa Kazuo, "Kankoku no zenpō kōenfun to Kyūshū 韓国の前方後円墳と九州 [Korean Keyhole Tombs and Kyushu]," in *Kodai Nihon no ibunka kōryū* 古代日本の異文化交流 [Early Japan's Cultural Exchanges] (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008); Yi Chŏngho, "Chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏng kobun ŭi yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o 전방후원형 고분의 연구사 검토 [Investigation of the History of Research on Keyhole-shaped Tombs],"

Local authority theories argue that local chieftains of the Yŏngsan River basin adopted the keyhole-shaped tomb burial system. Since there are virtually no historical accounts that address the Yŏngsan River basin during the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, supporting evidence comes almost exclusively from archaeological data. Supporters for this theory argue that the Yŏngsan River basin was politically independent until the early 6th century. Second, they claim that the tomb morphology, burial assemblages, and construction/production techniques of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are closer to local traditions than those on the Japanese archipelago. Kyushu-style HCSC were introduced into the Yŏngsan River basin in the late 5th century and incorporated into the pre-existing jar-coffin burial system. The YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli share the same design and local modifications as the jar-coffin tombs of the local authorities. Although the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli had tomb-encircling ritual pottery (known as *haniwa* 埴輪) normally found on the Japanese archipelago, they were all produced using local manufacturing techniques.[82] The prestige goods found in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli were also very similar to the ones found in the tombs of the local authorities.

In order to explain their adoption, most supporters of this theory believe they arose from interactions and close ties between the local authorities in the Yŏngsan River basin and those on the Japanese archipelago. The Yŏngsan River basin's geographic position on the crucial trade network between the Paekche and Yamato courts would have been conducive to those exchanges

Honam kogohakpo 4 (1996): 129–52; Yŏn Minsu, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun p'ijangja wa kŭ sŏngkyŏk 영산강유역의 前方後圓墳 피장자와 그 성격 [The Interred and Characteristics of the Yŏngsan River Basin Keyhole Tombs]," *Ilbonhak* 32 (2011): 225–59.

[82] Oguri, "Chŏnnam chibang ch'ult'o sigyun ŭi ŭiŭi 全南地方 出土 埴輪의 意義 [The Significance of the Haniwa Excavated from the Chŏnnam Region]," 115.

and relationships.[83] Yet, just having relationships seems insufficient to encourage the adoption

of a totally new burial system. Some scholars, such as Pak Sunbal, Ch'oe Sŏngnak, and Yi

Chŏngho, argue that local authority tombs, such as Sinch'on-ri Tomb 9 and Pogam-ni Tomb 3

Stone Chamber '96, were transitional tombs that link the pre-existing local authority tombs with

the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.[84] Therefore, it would not be a stretch for these transitional

tombs to develop into a localized version of the keyhole-shaped tomb. Many of these so-called

transitional tombs co-existed with the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, so this puts their role as an

intermediate step between the local tombs and the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli in doubt. In

addition, the local authority tombs were communal burials with many people buried within a

single burial mound. The YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli only had one or two occupants per burial

mound, which signaled a considerable shift in mortuary practices.

In a bid to better explain the adoption of the keyhole-shaped tombs in the Yŏngsan River

basin, Sin Taegon argues that political competition among local authorities and pride were the

primary drivers that encouraged local chieftains to be buried in them. These would be local

authorities who wanted to distinguish themselves from others in the region by showcasing their

extensive trade network/connections between Paekche and the Japanese archipelago by

constructing tombs that would have a local burial system as its base, include Paekche prestige

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[83] Okauchi, *Kankoku no zenpō kōenkeifun: Waseda Daigaku Kankoku kōkogaku gakujutsu chōsa kenshū hōkoku* 韓国の前方後円形墳：早稲田大学韓国考古学学術調査研修報告 [Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs: Waseda University Korean Archaeology Academic Investigative Training Report].

[84] Pak Sunbal, "Paekche ŭi namch'ŏn kwa Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏngch'ich'e ŭi chaep'yŏn 百濟의 南遷과 榮山江流域 政治體의 再編 [Paekche's Southern Shift and the Reshuffling of Political Structure in the Yŏngsan River Valley]," in *Han'guk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 韓國의 前方後圓墳 [Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs] (Taejŏn: Ch'ungnam Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2000). Ch'oe Sŏngnak, "Chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏng kobun ŭi sŏngkyŏk e taehan chaego 전방후원형 고분의 성격에 대한 재고 [Re-evaluation of the Characteristics of Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," *Han'guk sanggosa hakpo* 44 (2004): 87–106. Yi Chŏngho, "5-6-segi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun ŭi sŏngkyŏk 5~6 世紀 榮山江流域 古墳의 성격 [Characteristics of Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin in the 5th-6th Century]," *Komunhwa* 59 (June 2002): 35–63.

goods, and include a HCSC with a keyhole-shaped mound in a style reminiscent of his

connections with the Japanese archipelago. In other words, the keyhole-shaped tomb came to be

seen as a status symbol, as these chieftains monopolized economic and political exchanges

between Paekche and the Japanese archipelago.[85]

On the other hand, Tanaka Toshiaki, Ch'oe Sŏngnak, and Kim Nakchung argue that the

keyhole-shaped tombs arose as a political response to Paekche's advance into the region by local

authorities. In essence, these tombs symbolized their independence from Paekche influence by

demonstrating their political relationships with the Japanese archipelago.[86] This theory, however,

does not explain the presence of Paekche prestige goods in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli or

the incorporation of Paekche elements in the tomb design, such as the use of Paekche-style

wooden coffins.

The largest problem with this theory is their distribution outside the traditional centers of

local authority power and the fact that they are first generation tombs and not part of a pre-

established lineage of local authority. This makes it difficult to argue that the pre-existing local

authorities were involved with the construction of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. Kim

Nakchung, however, asserts that new authorities appeared in response to the interstate order after

the fall of Paekche's capital of Hansŏng in 475, so it is conceivable that the appearance of these

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[85] Sin, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun 영산강유역의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]."

[86] Tanaka, "Kankoku no zenpō kōen-kei kofun no hishōsha, zōbo shūdan ni tai suru shiken 韓国の前方後門形古墳 被葬者,造墓集団に対する私見 [Personal Opinion Regarding the Entombed and Builders of the Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]"; Ch'oe, "Chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏng kobun ŭi sŏngkyŏk e taehan chaego 전방후원형 고분의 성격에 대한 재고 [Re-evaluation of the Characteristics of Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]"; Kim, *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun yŏn'gu* 영산강유역 고분 연구 [A Study on Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Valley].

tombs outside traditional cemeteries is also a reflection of this reality.[87] In any case, it is clear that the occupants of the keyhole-shaped tumuli did not represent the traditional local authorities in the Pannam Naju core region.

Paekche-Controlled Local Authorities[88]

U Chaebyŏng, on the other hand, argues that Paekche had control over the Yŏngsan River basin during the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli and commissioned the local authorities to construct keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin to symbolize Paekche's close ties with Yamato.[89] Paekche was facing an existential crisis after the loss of its capital in 475, so it sought to strengthen ties with the Southern Dynasty courts in the Central Plains and Yamato. U argues that Paekche King Muryŏng (r. 501-523) sought to physically represent his foreign policy ties by adopting the Southern court brick-tomb system for his own tomb and having the local authorities, who apparently acted as intermediaries with the Japanese archipelago, create keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin.[90] This would explain the sudden appearance of the keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin and the Paekche and local elements of their design and burial goods.

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[87] Kim, *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun yŏn'gu* 영산강유역 고분 연구 [A Study on Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Valley].

[88] U Chaebyŏng, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnbang huwŏnbun ŭi ch'uryŏn kwa kŭ paegyŏng 榮山江流域 前方後圓 墳의 出現과 그 背景 [The Appearance and Circumstances Surrounding the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Valley]," *Hosŏ kogohak* 10 (2004): 68–69.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Pak Wan'gyu, Pak Sangjin, and Kang Aegyŏng, "Muryŏng wangnŭng ch'ult'o kwanmok punsŏk ŭl t'onghan kodae Han-Il kwan'gye 武寧王陵 出土 棺木分析을 통한 古代 韓日關係 [Ancient Korea-Japan Relations via an Analysis of the Excavated Wooden Coffins of King Muryŏng's Tomb]," in *Paekche munhwa rŭl t'onghae pon kodae Tong Asia segye* 백제문화를 통해본 고대 동아시아세계 [The East Asian World via Paekche Culture] (Kongju: Kongju Taehakkyo Paekche Munhwa Yŏn'guso, 2002), 113–131.

U's reasons for having the construction of keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River

basin are speculative and unconvincing. If King Muryŏng wanted to make a political statement

via a burial system, it would make more sense for the keyhole-shaped tumuli constructed in the

Paekche capital region. Also, none of the oldest and most powerful local authorities constructed

keyhole-shaped tumuli in their own cemeteries, and U never fully explains the identity of those

buried in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. In addition, some of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli

predate Muryŏng's reign, so he could not have commissioned their construction. Also, as

mentioned above, there is little evidence that Paekche had direct control over the Yŏngsan River

basin during the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

PROBLEMATIZING THE "KOREAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS" FRAMEWORK

All of the above theories approach the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli within a nationalist-based

framework of early "Korean-Japanese" relations, the key goal being the identification of the entombed as

either "Koreans" (i.e. Paekche/Mahan) or "Japanese" (i.e. Wa). This poses a problem as such categories

did not exist in the early past, especially in the late 5th – early 6th century. Moreover, ascribing these

anachronistic national categories to the entombed precludes the possibility that those entombed in the

YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli may have belonged to neither category. This also applies to the

"nationalization" of archaeological phenomena, such as treating the keyhole-shaped tumulus burial

system as exclusively Wa (i.e Japanese).

The problems of applying nationalist frameworks to the past has been discussed at length since

the 1980s by scholars, such as Benedict Anderson,[91] Ernest Gellner,[92] and Eric Hobsbawm,[93] who argue

that the nation and the nation-state are modern concepts/categories that cannot be applied to the study of

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[91] Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*
(London; New York: Verso, 1991).
[92] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).
[93] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge [England]; New
York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

the past.. Prasenjit Duara extends the critique by arguing that the hegemonic and totalizing nature of the nation in nationalist historiography marginalizes other narratives and subjects of history, such as gender and class, thus presenting an incomplete picture of history.[94] In addition, Andre Schmid notes that the study of history based on nation-states (e.g. Korean history vs. Japanese history) minimizes or ignores the role of inter-polity interaction and isolates the nation-state in a geographic vacuum.[95]

All of these issues are amplified when discussing the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago prior to the 7th century. Although Anthony Smith argues that a pre-modern sense of nation could have existed based on ethnic and cultural ties,[96] the range of diversity in the material culture and possibly languages on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago prior to the 7th century suggest that there was very little sense of a unified "Korea" or "Japan" at that time.[97]

Over the past decade, Korean and Japanese academia has come to recognize the need to move beyond nationalist frameworks, and efforts are being made to do so, but the Korean colonial experience mentioned above makes this issue difficult to overcome. Lately, scholars have been replacing "Korea" and "Japan" with "Korean peninsula" and "Japanese archipelago," but this is ultimately a superficial attempt to avoid nationalist categories by using geonationalist ones. There is nothing inherent about the Korean peninsula or the Japanese archipelago that would cause all the groups there to share a common identity based on these arbitrary geographic demarcations of space.

Attempts to apply geonationalism (i.e. projection of present-day nation-state borders into the past) have even caused political friction. The most notable example is the recent attempt by the People's

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[94] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[95] Andre Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 4 (November 1, 2000): 951–76, doi:10.2307/2659218.

[96] Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000).

[97] As mentioned previously, there is limited information on the language or languages spoke on the Korean peninsula on the 4th – 7th century. However, some scholars, using the same problematic textual sources, argue that Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Yamato belonged to the same language family, implying that Silla did not. See Christopher I. Beckwith, *Koguryo, the Language of Japan's Continental Relatives: An Introduction to the Historical-Comparative Study of the Japanese Koguryoic Languages with a Preliminary Description of Archaic Northeastern Middle Chinese* (Boston: Brill, 2004). For a more detailed discussion on the possibility of different languages on the Korean peninsula, see Ki-mun Yi and Robert Ramsey, *A History of the Korean Language* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Republic of China to claim historical ownership over the state of Koguryŏ, which not only spanned the northern part of the Korean peninsula, but most of Manchuria (i.e. therefore China) as well. This precipitated a fierce nationalist response from both Koreas (North and South), both who also claim Koguryŏ as part of their own nationalist history.

In order to deal with these issues, in this study I reject the nationalist and geonationalist categories of "Korean/peninsula" and "Japanese/archipelago" in favor of more geographically specific terms, such as the Yŏngsan River basin, northern Kyushu/Ariake Sea, and the Kinki core region (KCR). This will allow for better resolution in examining the interregional interactions than treating the entire Japanese archipelago as a monolithic polity/culture called "Wa," which leads us to our next problem.

HEGEMONIC TEXTS

Another major issue in approaching the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli is hegemonic texts. David Small summarizes the problem with hegemonic texts by noting, "the textual record is a frame, in others, the principal source, against which archaeology plays a secondary role."[98] Although hegemonic texts are nothing new in the field of historical archaeology, their power in dictating interpretations of Korean and Japanese history is further compounded by the many centuries of perceived geographical and political continuity of a single "unified" state on both the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. This sense of geographical historical ownership is built into the earliest extant Korean and Japanese histories. For the compilers of the *Samguk sagi*, the three kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla were antecedents to their kingdom of Koryŏ (918-1392) by virtue of being on the Korean peninsula. The same is true for the *Nihon shoki*, whose worldview is centered on the Japanese archipelago.

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[98] David B. Small, *Methods in the Mediterranean: Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology* (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 4.

Another major problem of hegemonic texts is their limitation with categories of identity. There are roughly two kinds of identity labels in the Korean and Japanese historical sources: 1) those based on polity names (e.g. Paekche, Silla, etc.) and 2) those based on more ambiguous pseudo-ethnic terms (e.g. Wa, Mahan, "southern barbarians"南蠻, etc.). None of these are designed to accurately convey the complex and diverse identities revealed in the material record, yet they are still used uncritically today. As Gideon Shelach has noted, this practice inherently incorporates prejudices contained within the text on to an archaeological data set that may not even be related to it.[99] As mentioned earlier, "Wa" has become a blanket term to describe anything on the Japanese archipelago, which blatantly ignores the archaeological diversity found in places such as Kyushu. Mahan, also, has become a blanket term attributed to any non-Paekche group found in the southwestern part of the Korean peninsula. As we can see in Table 1-2, current theories on the identities of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli generally fall into three textually-derived categories: Wa, Mahan, and Paekche.[100]

Table 1-2: Breakdown of Current YSR Keyhole-shaped Tumuli Theories

Theory	Identity of Entombed	Text or Archaeology Focus	Central or Local Authority
Independent Wa Immigration	Wa	Archaeology	Local Authority
Yamato Military Officials	Wa	Text	Yamato
Paekche Officials of Wa Descent	Wa	Text	Paekche
Returning Mahan	Mahan	Archaeology	Local Authority
Returning Paekche	Paekche	Texts	Paekche
Local Authority	Mahan	Archaeology	Local Authority
Paekche Local Authority	Mahan	Texts	Paekche

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[99] Gideon Shelach, *Prehistoric societies on the northern frontiers of China : archaeological perspectives on identity formation and economic change during the first millennium BCE* (London; Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub., 2009). 28.
[100] Kang Pongnyong tries to solve this problem by calling the groups in the Yŏngsan River basin as the "jar-coffin" culture, but after the late 5th century, the material culture suddenly increases in complexity, where only focusing on the coffin used may not be very useful.

For this dissertation, I will avoid the use of textually-derived categories when looking at the archaeological data and only refer to them as they appear in the historical sources. For archaeological material that has been clearly identified with a historical state (e.g. Paekche), I will use the historical labels, such as Paekche.

Another problematic aspect of hegemonic texts is the totalizing nature of their court-centered narratives, which inherently creates a core-periphery relationship. From the Paekche textual perspective, the Yŏngsan River basin is merely an invisible region just outside its southern frontier. Kent G. Lightfoot and Antoinette Martinez argue that examining frontiers and boundaries through a core-periphery framework[101] is colonialist and problematic for the following reasons: 1) it treats frontiers as lacking agency and as merely passive recipients of innovations happening at the core, 2) it relies on macro scales of analysis that focus too much on the relationship between the core and the periphery and not the periphery itself, and 3) it archaeologically expects sharp frontier divisions of material culture.[102] In addition, the core-periphery framework also focuses primarily on "territorial advancement, boundary maintenance, and relatively homogeneous colonial populations."[103] This is even truer for polities that did not appear in the historical record. Although archaeology can give voices to these invisible polities and societies, approaches relying on hegemonic texts silence them and frame them vis-à-vis their

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[101] Immanuel Wallerstein's formulation of world-systems theory and its application of a core-periphery has been modified and critiqued considerably since his 1974 book *The Modern World-System*. His critique of the nation-state as the subject of analysis has been undoubtedly been useful but does not go far enough in the studies of frontiers and borderlands. My use of the term core-periphery framework refers to any of the variations that have spawned from the original world-systems theory, especially those used in the fields of history and archaeology.
[102] Kent G. Lightfoot and Antoinette Martinez, "Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, no. ArticleType: research-article / Full publication date: 1995 / Copyright © 1995 Annual Reviews (January 1, 1995): 471–92, doi:10.2307/2155946.
[103] Ibid., 472.

relationship with the visible historical states recorded in texts. More often than not, the approach is teleological; focusing on the historical state's inevitable annexation of the invisible polities.[104]

BORDERLANDS THEORY

In order to overcome the many issues discussed above, I propose that we reconceptualize the Yŏngsan River basin during the late 5th – early 6th century as a borderlands region where many different groups, cultures, and technologies intersected and actively mixed. Various scholars over the past 20 years have reframed borderlands or frontiers themselves as dynamic social phenomena or social processes that are politically, socially, and culturally charged and remarkably fluid, thus making them the subject of study.[105] Taking borderlands as the subject of study and not as afterthoughts of core historical polities allows for a greater understanding of processes and social change happening in these regions that cannot simply be explained by changes in the so-called textual core regions.

In order to move away from the categories of Paekche/Mahan and Wa, I propose that we reframe the Yŏngsan River basin as a "third space," which Homi Bhabha defines as a space that transcends conflicting binaries and is an adaptive space of productive culture.[106] Magdalena Naum further refines this concept and applies this to archaeology and the analysis of material

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[104] Many of these frameworks find their way into English-language literature. See Gina Lee Barnes, *State Formation in Korea: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001); Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000); Bruce Loyd Batten, *To the Ends of Japan Premodern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2003), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10388438. The current trend is to move away from this model to Network Systems Theory. See Koji Mizoguchi, "Nodes and Edges: A Network Approach to Hierarchisation and State Formation in Japan," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 28, no. 1 (2009): 14–26; Gina Lee Barnes, *State Formation in Japan: Emergence of a 4th Century Ruling Elite* (London: Routledge, 2010).
[105] I. William Zartman, ed., *Understanding Life in the Borderlands Boundaries in Depth and in Motion* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 2–3; Bradley J. Parker, "Toward an Understanding of Borderland Processes," *American Antiquity* 71, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 77, doi:10.2307/40035322.
[106] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004).

culture by arguing that "the third-space settings of frontiers mean that these spaces are in

constant flux; they are created by negotiation and dialogues within the frontier and outside of

it."[107] I argue that the Yŏngsan River basin and parts of Kyushu bordering the Ariake Sea form

this "third space" between the historical polities of Paekche and Yamato. By seeing the Yŏngsan

River basin as a space where different cultures, technologies, and people negotiate with each

other, this helps avoid applying textually-derived labels of identity, such as Wa or Mahan, to

identify those entombed in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. Instead, this "third space" better

reflects the eclectic and selective aspects of different cultures, technologies, and possibly people

reflected in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

MARCHING SEPARATELY; STRIKING TOGETHER

In order to examine the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli on their own terms without

subconsciously falling into the traps set by hegemonic texts, I propose critically analyzing the

archaeological data and the historical texts separately. As Anders Andrén argues, we should

approach the relationship between textual and material data through the perspectives of

correspondence, association, and contrast.[108] In other words, instead of simply cherry-picking

archaeological data to support a textual historical account or completely ignoring histories

altogether as unreliable subjective accounts, we need to acknowledge the agreements and

differences between the two.

Although the historical records are, for the most part, silent on the events in the Yŏngsan

River basin and the construction of the keyhole-shaped tumuli there, they do provide valuable

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[107] Magdalena Naum, "Re-Emerging Frontiers: Postcolonial Theory and Historical Archaeology of the Borderlands," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 17, no. 2 (June 1, 2010): 107, doi:10.2307/40784756.
[108] Anders Andrén, *Between artifacts and texts : historical archaeology in global perspective* (New York: Plenum Press, 1997). 157.

information on the geopolitical situation and cannot be wholly discarded. The primary data I utilize in this approach focuses on the changes in the archaeological record within the Yŏngsan River basin, using it as a baseline to evaluate important questions related to the original questions regarding the identity of the tomb occupants and the background of their construction: 1) Who controlled the Yŏngsan River basin during the time of their construction? 2) What was the nature of the relationship between the groups that constructed the keyhole-shaped tombs in the Yŏngsan river basin and Paekche, as well as with the local authorities and those of other textually invisible regions, such as Kyushu?

METHODOLOGY

As for the textual sources, I will critically examine all accounts related to the relationship between Paekche, Yamato, the Kyushu region, and the Yŏngsan River basin found in the *Nihon shoki*,[109] the *Samguk sagi*,[110] the Kwanggaet'o stele inscription, and the Chinese dynastic histories (see Bibliography: Primary Sources)[111] as well as the *Liang zhigongtu* 梁職貢圖. I will focus on the Jingū 49 account in the *Nihon shoki* to determine whether Paekche had control over

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[109] For the original source, I have relied on the Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 新編日本古典文学全集 1994 edition published by Shōgakkan. For some of the English translations, I referred to W. G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (London: Routledge, 2011). But due to its archaic language and errors I did my own translations. For the original text used in this dissertation, I used http://www.seisaku.bz/shoki_index.html.

[110] For the original source, I relied on Kim Pusik, *Samguk sagi*, trans. Yi Kangnae (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 2004). For English translation, I quoted from Jonathan W. Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2006); Kim Pusik, *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, trans. Edward J. Shultz, Hugh H.W. Kang, and Daniel C. Kane (Seongnam: Academy of Korean Studies Press, 2012). For original text used in this dissertation, I used http://db.history.go.kr/.

[111] For the original printed source, I have relied on the most recent Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 editions of the text. For the text used in the dissertation, I used the Scripta Sinica database at http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm. For English translations of the Wa envoys, I referred to Ryusaku Tsunoda and L. Carrington Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories: Later Han through Ming Dynasties* (South Pasadena [Calif.: P.D. and I. Perkins, 1951). For Chinese titles, I referred to Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985).

the Yŏngsan River basin since 369 and compare it with contemporary accounts found in the Paekche annals of the *Samguk sagi*. The Chinese dynastic sources and the *Liang zhigongtu* will be used to shed light on Paekche's regional administration and its possible connection to the Yŏngsan River basin as well as the activities of the Wa on the southern Korean peninsula. Finally, I will extract the interstate situation between Paekche and Yamato during the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli from the *Nihon shoki* and the *Samguk sagi*, with additional attention to activities of Paekche officials of Wa descent.

As for the archaeology, I will compare the burial systems and burial goods of the Han River basin (i.e. Paekche pre-475), the Kŭm River basin (i.e. Paekche post-475) and the Yŏngsan River basin to determine their relationship (if any). I will primarily analyze the tomb morphology and burial goods of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli to determine the diversity of their origins, as well as analyze their distribution to determine if they were strategically situated or not.

In the final chapter, I will compare and contrast the data from the textual and archaeological sources to develop the most likely narrative based on the conclusion of both analyses.

CONCLUSION

This study seeks to use the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli as a test case in exploring a separate but joint archaeological-textual approach that moves beyond the nationalist text-centered approaches that have dominated the study of early "Korean-Japanese" studies. The fact that the Yŏngsan River basin is textually invisible and archaeologically diverse makes it ideal to challenge our current notions of what constitutes "Korean" or "Japanese" material culture. Instead of dividing the Yŏngsan River basin's material culture into a binary of Korean

peninsula/Japanese archipelago material culture, it is more logical to define it across an interaction zone that encompasses the Kŭm River basin, Yŏngsan River basin, Kyushu, and the Kinki core region. Likewise, instead of trying to categorize the identity of the entombed using textually-derived categories of identity such as Wa or Mahan, this approach will free us to explore other possibilities that transcend those labels. In order to accomplish this, this study will examine the archaeological data for the Yŏngsan River basin separately from the analysis of the historical records and compare and contrast the two narratives to determine the narrative that best fits the data. This dissertation hopes to contribute to the field by offering a multidisciplinary methodology that gives voice to the textually invisible groups found in the archaeological record for the southern Korean peninsula and Kyushu.

CHAPTER 2

PAEKCHE AND THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN IN THE 3RD – 5TH CENTURIES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the relationship between Paekche and the Yŏngsan River basin from the late 3rd to the late 5th century as seen through historical texts and archaeology. As seen in the previous chapter, many of the theories on the Yŏngsan River basin keyhole-shaped tumuli (hereafter "YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli") are based on assumptions of Paekche and Yamato's relationship with the Yŏngsan River basin during the late 5th – early 6th century and the degree of autonomy of the polities within the Yŏngsan River basin. Therefore, the identity of the entombed in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli cannot be fully answered until we understand the political situation surrounding the Yŏngsan River basin during the time of their construction (Chapter 3). Before that, this chapter will 1) critically examine all textual records concerning Paekche's relationship and actions with the Yŏngsan River basin, beginning with Paekche's first appearance in the historical records in the late 3rd century until the fall of its first capital in 475 and 2) compare the changes in burial systems and prestige goods in the Paekche core regions of the Han River basin (pre-475) within the same period.

PART I: THE TEXTS

While only scant historical records exist regarding Paekche, there are virtually none for the Yŏngsan River basin. With these limitations, the relationship between Paekche and the Yŏngsan River basin will have to be inferred through Paekche activities along its southern frontier and proposed linkages of historical polities and place names with the Yŏngsan River

basin. Neither is a satisfactory approach, but this is unavoidable given the limited materials available.

With such a small pool of textual data and over a century of exegesis, it may seem pointless to re-examine the work that has been done; but many of the most common underlying assumptions and frameworks for these texts are still rooted in a Korean nationalist/Japanese colonialist binary and totalizing models of conquest and territorial control. The most notorious example of this is the military expedition against the southern Korean peninsula as recorded in the 49th year [369] of Empress Jingū's reign (hereafter Jingū 49) in the *Nihon shoki*. This entry has been appropriated by Korean and Japanese nationalist scholars to claim that either Paekche or Yamato conquered the southern Korean peninsula in the late 4th century.[1] Both assume an uncritical approach to conquest that equates the attack on a settlement to long-term hegemony over the entire region. The larger issue is the assumption that Jingū 49 is a reliable record that only needs to be "undistorted" (e.g. swapping the main actor from Yamato to Paekche) in order to make it fit into the nationalist narrative. A critical re-reading of Jingū 49 suggests otherwise, which will be discussed later in this section.

Another consequence of looking primarily at texts concerning Paekche in order to understand its relations to the Yŏngsan River basin is the inherent bias created from viewing Paekche as the center and the Yŏngsan River basin as the periphery. This only reinforces the teleological approach of nationalist Korean historians that assumes that the polities in the Yŏngsan River basin lacked agency and passively waited for Paekche to annex them. Since the

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[1] Yi Pyŏngdo, "Kŭnch'ogo Wang t'akkyŏngko 近肖古王拓境考 [King Kŭnch'ogo's Territorial Expansion]," in *Han'guk kodaesa yŏn'gu* 韓國古代史研究 [Ancient Korean History] (Seoul: Pagyŏngsa, 1976); Yasukazu Suematsu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 [A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1961).

Yŏngsan River basin is invisible in the historical sources and lacks a historical "voice," much care is needed to avoid falling into this trap.

This invisibility of the Yŏngsan River basin in the texts also highlights another characteristic of hegemonic texts: their ability to define and restrict the reality of the past. In other words, it is the idea that consciously or subconsciously, we limit our imagining of the past to only things that are mentioned in the text. In other words, if they are not mentioned, then they did not or no longer exist. One example of this thinking is arguing that the reason why the Yŏngsan River basin does not appear in any historical texts is because Paekche had annexed it early on. This, of course, is not necessarily true, but hegemonic texts have become "sacred and unchallengeable" in historical studies in East Asia, and their limitation of past reality is widespread.[2] Even though it may seem quixotic to attempt to glean any useful information from such a scant collection of Paekche-centric hegemonic textual sources, the value of this approach lies in providing a narrative to compare and contrast with the archaeological one that will be explored further later in this chapter.

PAEKCHE AND THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN PRIOR TO 369

The earliest mention of Paekche, and possibly the Yŏngsan River basin, is in the *Dongyizhuan* 東夷傳 section of the Chinese dynastic history *Sanguozhi*, which was compiled in 289. It records a group called the Mahan 馬韓 that existed on the western Korean peninsula,

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[2] Stella Yingzi Xu, "That Glorious Ancient History of Our Nation: The Contested Re-Readings of 'Korea' in Early Chinese Historical Records and Their Legacy on the Formation of Korean-Ness" (PhD, University of California, Los Angeles, 2007), 13, Dissertations & Theses @ University of California; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Full Text (304872860), http://search.proquest.com/docview/304872860?accountid=14512.

which was further subdivided into 54 polities or *guo* (K. *kuk*) 國 [3]. Paekche (C. Baiji), written

伯濟, was recorded as one of these 54 polities. [4]

Table 2-1: Mahan Polities in the *Sanguozhi*

Modern Korean Name	Modern Chinese Name	Original Text
Wŏnyang	Yuanxiang	爰襄國
Mosu	Moushui	牟水國
Sangoe	Sangwai	桑外國
Lesser Sŏksak	Lesser Shisuo	小石索國
Greater Sŏksak	Greater Shisuo	大石索國
Uhyumot'ak	Youxiumouzhuo	優休牟涿國
Sinbun'go [Sinbunhwal]	Chenfengu [Chenfenhuo]	臣濆沽國 [臣濆活國][5]
Paekche	Baiji	伯濟國
Songnobulsa	Sulubusi	速盧不斯國
Irhwa	Rihua	日華國
Kot'anja	Gudanzhe	古誕者國
Kori	Guli	古離國
Noram	Nulan	怒藍國
Wŏlchi [Mokchi]	Yuezhi [Muzhi]	月支國 [目支國][6]
Charimoro	Zilimoulu	咨離牟盧國
Sowigŏn	Suweigan	素謂乾國
Kowŏn	Guyuan	古爰國
Mangno	Molu	莫盧國
Piri	Beili	卑離國
Chŏmnibi	Zhanlibei	占離卑國

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[3] The actual count in the *Sanguozhi* is 55 polities, if you count Lesser Sŏksak 小石索 (C. Xiaoshisuo) and Greater

Sŏksak 大石索 (Dashisuo) as separate polities. The *Houhanshu*, however, specifically states there are 54 Mahan

polities, and that has been the accepted number by most Korean and Japanese historians.

[4] *SGZ* 30 (Dongyizhuan): 849. For an English translation of the original passage, see Mark Edward Byington, *Early Korea: The Samhan Period in Korean History*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Early Korea Project, Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2009), 132–147.

[5] The Shaoxi edition of the *Sanguozhi* records this polity as Sinbun'go, while the Jiguge and other Ming editions have Sinbunhwal. See note 3 in Chen Shou, "Sanguozhi: The Account of the Han," in *Early Korea: The Samhan Period in Korean History*, trans. Mark Edward Byington, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Early Korea Project, Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2009), 134.

[6] See note 10.

Sinhŭn	Chenxin	臣釁國
Chich'im	Zhiqin	支侵國
Kuro	Goulu	狗盧國
Pimi	Beimi	卑彌國
Kamhaebiri	Jianxibeili	監奚卑離國
Ko'po	Gupu	古蒲國
Ch'riguk	Zhiliju	致利鞠國
Yŏmno	Ranlu	冉路國
Arim	Erlin	兒林國
Saro	Silu	駟盧國
Naebiri	Neibeili	內卑離國
Kamhae	Ganxi	感奚國
Mallo	Wanlu	萬盧國
Pyŏkpiri	Bibeili	辟卑離國
Kusaodan	Jiusiwudan	臼斯烏旦國
Illi	Yili	一離國
Pulmi	Bumi	不彌國
Uban [Chiban]	Youban	友半國 [支半國][7]
Kuso	Gousu	狗素國
Ch'ŏmno	Jielu	捷盧國
Morobiri	Moulubeili	牟盧卑離國
Sinsodo	Chensutu	臣蘇塗國
Mangno	Molu	莫盧國
Korap	Gula	古臘國
Imsoban	Linsuban	臨素半國
Sinunsin	Chenyunxin	臣雲新國
Yŏraebiri	Rulaibeili	如來卑離國
Ch'osandobiri	Chushantubeili	楚山塗卑離國
Illan	Yinan	一難國
Kuhae	Gouxi	狗奚國
Purun	Buyun	不雲國
Pulsabunya	Busifenxie	不斯濆邪國
Wŏnji	Yuanchi	爰池國
Kŏnma	Ganma	乾馬國

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[7] The Shaoxi edition has Uban, while the Jiguge edition reads Chiban.

Ch'ori	Chuli	楚離國

The text of the Dongyizhuan section of the *Sanguozhi* does not specify the exact boundaries for the Mahan, other than being located south of the Chinese commandery of Daifang 帶方郡 [8], bound by the sea to the east, and adjoining the Wa (C. Wo; K. Wae) 倭 to the south.[9]

If we assume that the Mahan existed within that entire space, they would have occupied an area encompassing present-day Kyŏnggi province, the Ch'ungch'ŏng Provinces and the Chŏlla provinces, which includes the Yŏngsan River basin. Of these polities, only the location of Paekche (present-day Seoul) and Kŏnma (present-day Iksan) are known with any certainty. Ch'ŏn Kwanu believes that seven of the polities were located north of the Han River, another six or seven were in the southern Kyŏnggi region, and the rest were distributed throughout South Ch'ungch'ŏng and Chŏlla provinces, yet there is not enough evidence to know for sure.[10]

In addition to their location, the *Sanguozhi* also contains some limited information about the sociopolitical organization of these polities, such as the following description:

> Each [polity] has a chieftain, the most powerful calling themselves *sinji* [C. *chenzhi*; 臣智], while the lesser ones are called *ŭpch'a* [C. yijie; 邑借]. They live scattered between the mountains and the sea, and do not have city walls…The larger polities have more than ten thousand households, while the smaller ones have a few thousand. The [Mahan population] as a whole comprises over one hundred thousand households. The Chin king [C. Chen wang; 辰王] governs from the polity of Wŏlchi [Mokchi][11].

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[8] The Daifang Commandery is believed to be in present-day Hwanhae Province in the Chaeryŏng river basin as well as the attached western coastal region. See Byington, *Early Korea: The Samhan Period in Korean History*, 2:133.

[9] *SGZ* 30 (Dongyizhuan): 849

[10] Ch'ŏn Kwanu, Ko Chosŏnsa, Samhansa yŏn'gu 古朝鮮史, 三韓史研究 [Studies on Ancient Chosŏn History, Samhan History] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1989), 422.

[11] The *Sanguozhi* renders this as Wŏlchi 月支, but the *Houhanshu* and the *Hanyuan* 翰苑 renders it as Mokchi 目支 (C. Muzhi), which is more commonly used by Korean and Japanese scholars. See Byington, *Early Korea: The*

各有長帥，大者自名為臣智，其次為邑借，散在山海間，無城郭…大國萬餘家，小國數千家，總十餘萬戶。辰王治月支國。[12]

The distinction between more powerful and less powerful polities and a "king" ruling from one

of them suggest that the Mahan had a confederated structure with the leader of the confederacy at

the time governing out of Mokchi. Although this confederacy leader had the nominal title of

"king" 王, individual polities apparently engaged in their own affairs, in particular with the

Chinese commanderies Lelang 樂浪郡 [13] and Daifang. In addition, the Mahan polities apparently

had little control over their own villages either, as described below:

> During the Jingchu reign (237-240), Emperor Ming [of the Wei dynasty] secretly sent the Daifang Governor, Liu Xin 劉昕, Lelang Governor, Xianyu Si 鮮于嗣, across the sea to stabilize the two commanderies. The *sinji* of the various Han polities were presented with seals and cordons of Fief Lords 邑君, while subordinates were presented with paraphernalia for Fief Leaders 邑長…Their customs have little by way of law or discipline. Although the central townships of the polities have leaders, their villages are all scattered, so they cannot readily exercise control over them. [14]
>
> 景初中，明帝密遣帶方太守劉昕、樂浪太守鮮于嗣越海定二郡，諸韓國臣智加賜邑君印綬，其 次與邑長…其俗少綱紀，國邑雖有主帥，邑落雜居，不能善相制御。[15]

Instead of the Chin king serving as a central polity for distributing symbols of authority, the

Lelang and Daifang commandies seem to have taken up this role and used official seals and

cordons to form individual relations with the *sinji* in order to keep them in line. More

importantly, with the exception of Mokchi, no other Mahan polity is recorded as being in a role

Samhan Period in Korean History, 2:134. Chen, "Sanguozhi: The Account of the Han," 133–134. I will refer to this polity as Mokchi from this point on.
[12] *SGZ* 30 (Dongyizhuan): 849-850.
[13] The Lelang commandery, originally established in 108 BCE, is believed to have been in the region of present-day P'yŏngyang.
[14] Chen, "Sanguozhi: The Account of the Han," 140–142.
[15] *SGZ* 30 (Dongyizhuna): 851.

of consequence in the *Sanguozhi* census of the region in 289. In other words, Paekche and the polities in the Yŏngsan River basin up to the late 3rd century appear to have been, in Chinese eyes, simply peer polities within a much larger confederated group of Mahan polities.

Paekche, however, reappears in the Chinese dynastic records 83 years later in 372 as a full-fledged kingdom sending its own envoys to the Eastern Jin (317-420), while the Mahan are no longer mentioned after 291. In order to explain this transition, some historians, such as No Chungguk, argue that in 246[16] Paekche took over the role of confederation leader from Mokchi based on this passage from the *Sanguozhi*:

> The Regional Retainer, Wu Lin, seeing that Lelang had originally governed the Han polities, divided off eight polities of Chinhan and gave them to Lelang. But as there were inaccuracies on the part of the interpreters, the Han of Sinch'aekch'ŏm (Sinbun'go)[17] became angry and attacked Daifang's Qili Camp. At that time the Governor, Gong Zun 弓遵, and the Lelang Governor, Liu Mao 劉茂, raised an army to attack them. Zun died during the battle, but the two commanderies presently subdued the Han.[18]
>
> 部從事吳林 以樂浪本統韓國，分割辰韓八國以與樂浪，吏譯轉有異同，臣幘沾(臣濆沽)激韓忿，攻帶方郡崎離營。 時太守弓遵、樂浪太守劉茂興兵伐之，遵戰死，二郡遂滅韓。[19]

No believes Mokchi, as the confederation leader, attacked Qili Camp and was subsequently defeated by the two commanderies. Paekche, taking advantage of the situation, attacked Mokchi

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[16] The original passage in the *Sanguozhi* does not have a date, but Korean historians link the quotes passage from the *Sanguozhi* to an entry in the Paekche Annals of the *Samguk sagi* that describes a Paekche attack on Lelang's border regions and subsequent retreat in 246. The accounts have very little to do with each other however. For a full discussion of this issue see notes 17 & 18 in Jonathan W. Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2006), 241–242.

[17] Mark Byington notes that this could actually be the polity of Sinbun'go, but, due to successive copyist errors, it became corrupted into Sinch'aekch'ŏm. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Note 22 in Chen, "Sanguozhi: The Account of the Han," 141–142.

[18] Ibid., 141.

[19] *SGZ* 30 (Dongyizhuan): 851.

and became the new leader of the Mahan confederation.[20] There are several problems with this interpretation. First, the attacker of the Qili Camp is clearly identified as Sinch'aekch'ŏm or Sinbun'go, neither of which is Mokchi. Second, there is no textual evidence to support a Paekche attack on Mokchi; and if such a displacement of leadership did happen in 246, it would likely have been recorded in the *Sanguozhi* during its compilation in 289.

In addition to the information about the Mahan in the *Sanguozhi*, the *Jinshu* 晉書 (compiled in 648) recorded ten Mahan envoys to the Western Jin (265-316) from 276 until 291.[21] Of these, only an entry in Zhuang Hua's 張華 (232-300) biography records the name of a Mahan polity or confederation:

> [In 282], among the Dongyi Mahan, twenty of the Sinmi polities [C. Xinmi; 新彌諸國], which are along the mountains and surrounded by the sea and over four thousand *li* removed from [You]zhou [幽]州 [22], all sent envoys to present tribute for the first time.
>
> 東夷馬韓、新彌諸國依山帶海，去[幽]州四千餘里，歷世未附者二十餘國，並遣使朝獻。[23]

Sinmi does not appear in the list of Mahan polities in the 289 census of the *Sanguozhi*, so it is not exactly clear if it is an alternate name for one of those polities or a completely new polity. Unfortunately, there are no additional references about it in any other text. Given the fact that the

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[20] No Chungguk, *Paekche chŏngch'isa yŏn'gu: kukka hyŏngsŏng kwa chibae ch'eje ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn ŭl chungsim ŭro* 百濟 政治史 研究 : 國家形成과 支配體制의 變遷을 中心으로 [Studies on Paekche Political History: State Formation and Changes in the Control System] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1988), 92–94.

[21] For more information about these Mahan envoys, see Hyŏnhye Yi, "Mahan sahoe ŭi hyŏngsŏng kwa palchŏn 마한 사회의 형성과 발전 [The Formation and Development of Mahan Society]," in *Paekche ŭi kiwŏn kwa kŏn'guk* 백제의 기원과 건국 [The Origin and Establishment of Paekche] (Kongju: Ch'ungch'ŏngnam-do Yŏksa Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 2007).

[22] You Province 幽州 included the region of present-day Beijing, Tianjin, and northern Hebei.

[23] *JS* 36 (Zhang Hua Liezhuan): 1071.

Sinmi polity or confederation brought together at least twenty Mahan polities out of the 54 recorded Mahan polities to pay tribute suggests that Sinmi was quite influential. In light of this, No Chungguk speculates that Sinmi was a confederation leader in the Yŏngsan River basin, which would be in opposition to the Paekche-centered confederacy that arose after Mokchi's supposed fall in 246.[24] In other words, in his view, there were two major Mahan confederacies in the late 3rd century: one based around Paekche in the Kyŏnggi, Ch'ungch'ŏng regions and one based around Sinmi, which held control in the Chŏlla region.[25] Although this narrative is compelling, there is very little textual evidence to support it. Unfortunately, there are no more records regarding the Mahan or Paekche after 291, and until 372, the Chinese sources are silent regarding the southwestern section of the Korean peninsula.

In addition to the Chinese dynastic records, the Paekche Annals 百濟本紀 of the 12th century *Samguk sagi* also provide some clues about the state of Paekche in the 3rd century. It is important to note that the compilers of the *Samguk sagi* admit that official accounts were not written down in Paekche until the reign of King Kŭnch'ogo (r. 346-375).[26] The entries prior to the 4th century are chronologically distorted and somewhat mythical. Nevertheless, they help characterize the evolving relationship between Paekche and the Mahan.

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[24] No Chungguk, 1987, p. 39.

[25] No Chungguk, "Munhŏn kirok ŭl t'ong hae pon Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk: 4-5-segi rŭl chungsim ŭro 문헌 기로을 통해 본 영산강 유역: 4-5 세기를 중심으로 [The Yŏngsan River Basin as seen through Texts: 4th - 5th Century]," in *Paekche wa Yŏngsan'gang 백제와 영산강 [Paekche and the Yŏngsan River]* (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2012), 50.

[26] *SGSG* 24 (Kŭnch'ogo 30:7).

According to the Paekche Annals, Onjo 溫祚, a Puyŏ (C. Fuyu) 夫餘 [27] prince and son

of Koguryŏ founder Chumong, founded Paekche in the suspiciously early date of 18 BCE and

established his capital in the Han River basin. The Paekche Annals also note that this was due to

the Mahan generously ceding a section of their northeastern domain to Onjo and accepting him

and his followers as guests.[28] The Mahan appear eight times in the Paekche Annals, all within

the reign of Onjo from 9 BCE until 16 CE. Within that span, the nature of Paekche's relationship

with the Mahan changes from subservient to hostile, resulting in the formal destruction of the

Mahan by 9 CE.[29] The Chinese records implicitly support the narrative of Paekche displacing the

Mahan, but only if the events in King Onjo's reign were moved forward 300 years, or 5

sexagenary cycles.[30] Assuming that refugee Puyŏ elites did in fact establish Paekche in Mahan

territory, the new formation date would be 282 CE and the extinguishing of the Mahan in 309.

This would have allowed for Paekche to be counted in the 289 census of the *Sanguozhi* and

possibly explain the absence of Mahan envoys the Jin court, at least after 309. It is, however,

unlikely that Paekche destroyed all the Mahan within such a short span of time and over such a

large geographic area, so the record of Mahan's destruction probably only refers to Mahan

polities within Paekche's sphere of influence.

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[27] Puyŏ was an ancient state in Manchuria that existed sometime in the 2nd century BCE until 494, according to Chinese dynastic records. Koguryŏ and Paekche foundation myths claim descent from Puyŏ.
[28] *SGSG* 23 (Onjo 24:7).
[29] *SGSG* 23 (Onjo 26:7); (Onjo 26:10); (Onjo 27: 4); (Onjo34:10).
[30] Most historical records were dated using the Chinese sexagenary cycle and not an absolute linear dating system that is used today. Therefore, without additional context, the date for a particular event could be listed as the *imjin* year 壬辰, but that could be the year 1532, 1592, 1652, 1712, etc. Since many of the original records only indicated a point on the 60-year cycle, later compilers had to either guess or intentionally backdate certain records in order to create their narrative. This could be one example, where the content of the records are correct but the dating is not.

Regarding Paekche's territory, the Paekche Annals notes that in 6 BCE, Paekche reported

its borders to the Mahan. If we apply this 300-year correction to that entry, we can determine

Paekche's boundaries in 294:

> [13th year, Autumn] 8th month. An ambassador was sent to the Mahan to announce the
> change of capital and also to fix in writing the borders of the state. To the north, our
> domain extended to the P'ae River, in the south it reached to the Ung River, in the west it
> bordered on the ocean, and in the east it stretched as far as Chuyang.[31]
>
> [十三年秋]八月遣使馬韓告遷都遂畫定疆場北至浿河南限熊川西窮大海東極走壤。
> [32]

Toponyms from this period are notoriously difficult to definitively locate, and there is much

debate about their present-day equivalents. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will give the

two most commonly accepted candidates for each of the above borders. The P'ae River 浿河 in

this context can refer to either the present-day Ryesŏng River 禮成江 or the Imjin River 臨津江,

both of which flow into the Yellow Sea by Kanghwa Island.[33] As for the Ung River 熊川, there

is considerable debate on its location, but the two main possibilities are the Kŭm River 錦江, in

present-day Kongju in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province or the Ansŏng River 安城川 in present-day

Kyŏnggi Province. Chuyang 走壤 is believed to be in the region of present-day Ch'unch'ŏn or

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[31] Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 215.

[32] *SGSG* 23 (Onjo: 13:8).

[33] The designation of the Ryesŏng River as the P'ae River is based on the Hwangju-mok 黃州牧 P'yŏngju Section 平州條 in Monographs on Geography in the Koryŏsa 高麗史, which state Chŏ Shallows 猪淺 was once called the P'ae River. *The Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* Volume 41 Hwanghae-do P'yŏngsan-do Hobu Sanch'ŏn Section 黃海道 平山都護府 山川條 connects the Chŏ Shallows to the present-day Ryesŏng River. On the other hand, Chŏn Yŏngnae argues that it is more likely the Imjin River. See Chŏn Yŏngnae, "Paekche nambang kyŏngyŏk ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn 백제 남방 경역의 변천 [Changes in Paekche's Southern Administration]," in *Ch'ŏn Kwanu sŏnsaeng hwanyŏk kinyŏm Han'guk sahak nonch'ong* (千寬宇先生 還曆紀念)韓國 史學論叢 [Collected Essays on Korean History] (Seoul: Chŏngŭm Munhwasa, 1985), 137.

Py'ŏnggang, both of which are in Kangwŏn Province.[34] Of these, the southern border (i.e. Ung

River) can give us a starting reference to track Paekche's southward expansion into the Yŏngsan

River basin. It is unlikely that Paekche had extended its control as far south as the Kŭm River at

such an early point in its development, nor do I think the Mahan would have been generous

enough to cede nearly a third of their territory to foreign refugees from the north (i.e. Onjo and

his followers) near the onset of their arrival. The more conservative Ansŏng River boundary

seems more appropriate, assuming this record is reliable or its present-day equivalent has been

properly identified. On the other hand, it is likely that the Ung River does refer to the Kŭm River

by the late 5th century, since Paekche was able to relocate to Ungjin (present-day Kongju) on the

Kŭm River in 475 without any problems. In any case, the Paekche Annals contains no further

records regarding its southern frontier or southern expansion until the reign of Munju (r. 475-

477). In other words, if we only rely on the Paekche Annals, Paekche's southern frontier does

not change at all until 475. Moreover, the Yŏngsan River basin continues to remain invisible and

silent within the Paekche Annals.

One of the most significant events recorded regarding the relationship between Paekche

and the Yŏngsan River basin in the *Samguk sagi* is Koguryŏ's annihilation of the Lelang and

Daifang commandery in 313 and 314 respectively.[35] This removed direct Chinese influence from

the Korean peninsula and, to a lesser extent, on the Japanese archipelago. With the

commanderies no longer buffering Koguryŏ from the southern part of the Korean peninsula,

Paekche found itself in direct confrontation with Koguryŏ for the first time. From this point on,

Paekche's foreign relations were dominated by military threats from Koguryŏ for the next three

centuries. The Chinese dynastic records continue to remain silent on Paekche and the Yŏngsan

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[34] Ibid.
[35] *SGSG* 17 (Mich'ŏn 14:8); (Mich'ŏn 15:1).

River basin throughout the early 4th century, but the first substantial record on Paekche and the Yŏngsan River basin makes its first appearance in the most important and controversial entry in the *Nihon shoki*: Jingū 49.

PAEKCHE'S SOUTHERN "CONQUEST" IN 369: THE ACCOUNT OF JINGŪ 49

The theory of Paekche's conquest of the Yŏngsan River basin is completely based on a single entry, which is not from a Paekche record, but from an entry from the *Nihon shoki* for the 49th year [369] of Empress Jingū 神功皇后 (trad. 169-269).[36] This narrative's long unquestioned acceptance as fact within the Korean academic community is a testament to the great power of a historical text to shape interpretations of the past. Ironically, this exact same passage was used as a starting point to prove the Mimana Nihonfu theory. Although its use to support the Mimana Nihonfu has largely been rejected by most Korean and Japanese scholars, its reincarnation as a narrative of Paekche southward conquest continues to be accepted as established fact within Korean academia. Even as more archaeological evidence challenges this view, stalwart adherents continue to advocate the Paekche Southern Conquest Theory.

Renowned South Korean historian Yi Pyŏngdo has been advocating this theory since at least the 1950s, based on his assumption that many of the early Japanese records were actually Paekche records that were repurposed during the compilation of the *Nihon shoki*.[37] Yi's main actor in his "corrected" version of Jingū 49 is not Yamato, but Paekche King

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[36] NS 9 (Jingū 49). Although the original date in the text is 249, it is now common practice to move the date forward two 60-year cycles for this particular section of the text. This is based on the 120-year discrepancy between the death dates of the Paekche kings mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* and the *Samguk sagi* from Kŭnch'ogo (d. 375) to Asin (d. 405). The *Samguk sagi* dates are considered more reliable based on corroboration with Chinese dynastic sources, such as the *Jinshu*.

[37] Yi Pyŏngdo, "Paekche ŭi hŭnggi wa Mahan ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn [백제의 흥기와 마한의 변천 [Paekche's Expansion Period and the Change of Mahan]," in *Han'guksa: kodaep'yŏn* 韓國史: 古代篇 [Korean History: The Ancient Period] (Seoul: Ŭryu Munhwasa, 1959), 730.

Kŭnch'ogo 近肖古王 [38] (r. 346-375). As the first historically verifiable Paekche king,[39]

Kŭnch'ogo is notable for his successful campaigns against Paekche's northern enemy

Koguryŏ,[40] as well as initiating proactive diplomacy with Yamato starting in 366[41] and Eastern

Jin starting in 372.[42] More importantly, he was already a part of the original Jingū narrative, so

replacing Empress Jingū with King Kŭnch'ogo did not require much manipulation of the text. As

Yi's theory of Paekche's southern conquest became canonized into Korean nationalist history,

debates continued about many of the details of the story, but the core narrative of a southern

territorial expansion remained essentially the same. Over the course of these debates, many

details came to be added that are not in or supported by the original text. Therefore, instead of

reviewing the immense discourse and speculation on this passage, I will instead critically analyze

the original text and focus only on elements relevant to the Yŏngsan River basin.

To put the Jingū 49 military expedition in context, the *Nihon shoki* records a Yamato

envoy making first contact with Paekche in 366 via the Korean peninsula polity of T'aksun 卓淳

(J. Tokuju) in 366.[43] King Kŭnch'ogo expressed interest in knowing the way to Yamato and

presented gifts to the Yamato envoys. The following year, King Kŭnch'ogo sent Kujŏ (J. Kute)

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[38] Kŭnch'ogo literally means "the recent Ch'ogo" or Ch'ogo II, since there is another Paekche ruler by that name who reigned (166-214). As Jonathan Best notes, the original Ch'ogo was probably fictitious and the historical Ch'ogo would have been Kŭnch'ogo. For a more detailed discussion of this naming issue see Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 428–431.

[39] The Paekche Annals admit that written historical records only begin from his reign. The fact that events and personages in the Paekche Annals have corroborating records in non-Korean sources, starting from the mid-4th century supports this claim. One prime example is the appearance of King Kŭnch'ogo in the *Nihon shoki* as Shōko 肖古 (K. Ch'ogo) and the *Jinshu* as Yu Gou (K. Yŏ Ku) 餘句.

[40] King Kŭnch'ogo and the crown prince Kŭn'gusu successfully invaded Koguryŏ and assaulted P'yŏngyang Fortress, where Koguryŏ king Kogugwŏn was killed. It was a major victory for Paekche. See *SGSG* 24: 371 (Kŭnch'ogo 26).

[41] *NS* 9 (Jingū 46:3). The Paekche Annals , however, do not record first contact with Yamato until 397. See *SGSG* 25 (Asin 6:5).

[42] *JS* 9 (Xianan 2:1). See also *SGSG* 24 (Kŭnch'ogo 27:1).

[43] *NS* 9 (Jingū 46:3).

久氏, Mijuryu (J. Mitsuru) 彌州流, and Makko (J. Mako) 莫古 to pay tribute to the Yamato

court.[44] Unfortunately for them, the Silla envoy to Yamato captured them, switched out their

own tribute with Paekche's superior goods, and threatened to kill them. This prompted the

Yamato court to send a military expedition to punish Silla for its offense. It is within this context

that Yamato or Paekche supposedly conquered the Yŏngsan River basin. The original text of

Jingū 49 is as follows:

> [369] Year 49, Spring, 3rd Month. [The Yamato court] appointed Areda wake and Kaga
> wake as generals. Together with Kujŏ [J. Kute], they led troops and crossed over arriving
> at the land of T'aksun [J. Tokuju]. They were about to invade Silla when someone said,
> "If you do not have enough troops, you will not be able to defeat Silla." Therefore Sabaek
> [J. Sahaku] and Kaero [J. Kafuro] were once again sent back [to the Yamato court] to
> request reinforcements. Mongna Kŭnja [J. Mokura Konshi] and Sasa Nogwe [J. Sasa
> Naku] (These two men's *kabane*[45] are unknown, but Mongna Konja was a Paekche
> general) were ordered to command an elite force and dispatched with Sabaek and Kaero.
> Assembling at T'aksun, they invaded Silla, conquering it. After pacifying the seven lands
> of Pijabal [J. Hishiha], South Kara, the land of T'ak [J. Toku], Alla [J. Ara], Tara,
> T'aksun, and Kara, they moved their troops, turning westward and arrived at Kohaejin [J.
> Koke no Tsu], where they slaughtered the southern barbarians of Ch'immidarye [J.
> Tomutare][46] and granted [their territory] to Paekche. Their king Ch'ogo [J. Konikishi
> Shōko] and Prince Kwisu [J. Seshimu Kuisu], also commanding troops, arrived to meet
> them. At that time, the four towns of Piri [J. Hiri], Pyŏkchung [J. Hechū], P'omiji [J.
> Homuki], and Pan'go [J. Hanko] surrendered on their own accord. Thereupon the
> Paekche kings, father and son, met together with Areda wake and Mongna Kŭnja at
> Ŭiryu Village [J. Orusuki] (now called Churyusugi [J. Tsurusuki]), felt gladness at seeing
> each other, and were sent off with great courtesy.[47]

> 四十九年春三月、以荒田別・鹿我別爲將軍、則與久氏等共勒兵而度之、至卓淳國、
> 將襲新羅。時或曰「兵衆少之、不可破新羅。更復、奉上沙白・蓋盧、請增軍士。」

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[44] *NS* 9 (Jingū 47:4).

[45] *Kabane* were titles in Yamato court to denote rank and political standing.

[46] The alternate pronunciation in Korea for this is T'ammidarye, which would match the Japanese pronunciation more closely. It is also assumed that this is Cheju Island due to the similarity in its old historical name of T'amna or Tamura. For a more in-depth study of the linguistic analysis done on this place name see Kim Chŏngbin,

"Ch'immidarye ko '枕彌多禮'攷 [Chi'mmidarye Revised]," *Kugyŏl yŏn'gu* 26 (February 2011): 243–68.

[47] *NS* 9 (Jingū 49:3).

卽命木羅斤資・沙々奴跪[是二人不知其姓人也]、但木羅斤資者百濟將也、領精兵、與沙白・蓋盧共遣之、俱集于卓淳、擊新羅而破之、因以平定比自炑・南加羅・喙國・安羅・多羅・卓淳・加羅七國。仍移兵西廻、至古爰津、屠南蠻忱彌多禮、以賜百濟。於是、其王肖古及王子貴須、亦領軍來會、時比利・辟中・布彌支・半古四邑自然降服。是以、百濟王父子及荒田別・木羅斤資等、共會意流村 [今云州流須祇]、相見欣感、厚禮送遣之。

There are several general points that are significant. First, this mission was to punish Silla for its offense not a mission to expand territory. Although punitive military expeditions can include territorial acquisition, the fact that the Kaya region and Silla continued to operate independently afterward suggests that this was more of a raid to terrorize Silla, rather than conquer it, which would be consistent with Silla records.[48] Second, this was clearly a joint Yamato-Paekche military operation. From the onset, the Paekche figures are in joint-command of this expeditionary force. Kujŏ, for example, is not described as having a military title, but is nevertheless jointly "commanding troops" 勒兵 along with the Yamato generals. In addition,

Mongna Kŭnja, one of the commanders of the elite force, is clearly identified as a Paekche general in the interlinear comments. Third, instead of returning to Yamato, they head west in the opposite direction, which would only make sense if they were heading to Paekche. This is confusing because the original mission was only to punish Silla, which means they should have returned to Yamato. The narrative of the entry on this military expedition has three acts: 1) punish Silla and "pacify" the Kaya region, 2) go west and slaughter "southern barbarians" at Ch'immidarye, and 3) rendezvous with King Kŭnch'ogo and his son where several towns

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[48] According to the *Samguk sagi* Silla Annals, the Wa raided twice times during Silla Isagŭm Naemul's reign (r. 356-402).

surrender. Read at face value, there was no grand territorial expansion nor any direct reference to the Yŏngsan River basin.

The connection to the Yŏngsan River basin in this text is based on the interpretation of the place names for Kohaejin, Ch'immidarye, and the surrendering towns. The lack of certainty regarding the locations of these place names is one of the text's largest problems and the cause of its many interpretations. The general approach to finding the present-day equivalents of place names in the texts is to look at historical geographic records, such as the Monographs of Geography 地理志 in the *Samguk sagi* or the *Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 (compiled in 1530), and try to find phonetic correspondences. The problem with this approach is that place names were recorded in Chinese characters, which either tried to approximate the native pronunciation of the place name (e.g. 首尔 Shou'er for Seoul) or translate its meaning into equivalent Chinese characters (e.g. 熊津 Ungjin, which is a literal translation for *komnaru* or "bear port"). The pronunciation of these characters changed over time and over languages, so their original sounds are unknown, but that has not stopped Korean and Japanese scholars from trying to link these place names with those found in the geographic texts to trace them to present-day locations. A lot of this boils down to pure speculation, yet this geographical guesswork done by the earlier generation of scholars such as Suematsu Yasukazu and Yi Pyŏngdo has become generally accepted and almost canonical within

the Korean and Japanese community.[49] With this in mind, I will examine the merits of the most

commonly accepted locations for the place names written in the *Nihon shoki*: Jingū 49.

<u>Kohaejin</u>

Kohaejin 古爰津 is believed to be present-day Kangjin in South Chŏlla Province.[50] The

reasoning for this starts with the Mahan polity Kuhae 狗奚國 found in the *Sanguozhi.* "Kuhae"

狗奚 sounds remarkably similar to "Kohae" 古爰 in Kohaejin,[51] so they are assumed to be the

same location. According to the list of old names 古蹟 for Kangjin County 康津縣條 in the

Sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam, Kangjin used to be called Kugyeso 舊溪所,[52] which sounds

similar to "Kuhae" 狗奚 and to "Kohae" 古爰. Therefore, they are assumed to be the same

location. Although some place names actually do have a legitimate lineage of phonetic changes

that are clearly recorded, most are like Kohaejin, with location placement based on coincidental

phonetic correspondences and circular logic with no additional supporting evidence.

For the moment, however, let us assume that the southern port of present-day Kangjin is

Kohaejin and continue to track the route of the Yamato-Paekche military expedition. I argue that

the most likely route from the Kaya region to the sea port of Kohaejin would have been along the

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[49] Suematsu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 [A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana]; Yi, "Kŭnch'ogo Wang t'akkyŏngko 近肖古王拓境考 [King Kŭnch'ogo's Territorial Expansion]"; Yi, "Paekche ŭi hŭnggi wa Mahan ŭi pyŏnch'ŏn [백제의 흥기와 마한의 변천 [Paekche's Expansion Period and the Change of Mahan]."

[50] Yi, "Kŭnch'ogo Wang t'akkyŏngko 近肖古王拓境考 [King Kŭnch'ogo's Territorial Expansion]."

[51] 津 "jin" means port or crossing, so it is not a fixed part of the name.

[52] 所 "so" means place or location, so it may not be a fixed part of the name.

southern coastline of the Korean peninsula for the following reasons. First, trekking overland from the Naktong River basin (Kaya) to Kohaejin would have required going through the Sobaek Mountain Range, which would have been unnecessarily difficult if one could move by sea. This is also assuming that the Yamato-Paekche army arrived on ships in the first place. Second, if the expeditionary force had attempted an overland crossing through the Sobaek Mountain Range, based on the current terrain, they would have had to pass through the Yŏngsan River basin, in order to reach the southern port of Kohaejin. Ch'imidarye and the surrendering towns are thought to represent the Yŏngsan River basin. If that is so, then the Yamato-Paekche force would have passed those locations, arrived at Kohaejin, and then returned north through the mountains to attack them which is highly unlikley. In addition, King Kŭnch'ogo expressed interest in securing a transportation route with Yamato, so it would be logical to secure the coastal regions rather than spending resources crossing overland to Kohaejin.

Ch'immidarye or Tomutare

The first clue to determining the location of Ch'immidarye is the term "southern barbarian" 南蠻. It is normally used in Chinese historical sources to describe non-Han 漢 or non-Chinese groups south of the central Chinese core. In this case, the center would have to be either Paekche or Yamato. Since the Korean peninsula would have been considered west of the Yamato court, the term "southern barbarian" is not applicable from a Yamato perspective The worldview of the Japanese elites in the early 8th century when the *Nihon shoki* was compiled consisted of the Emishi 蝦夷 in the northeast region of the Japanese Archipelago and the Hayato 隼人 in the southern region of Kyushu (夷狄). On the other hand, from the perspective of Paekche,

"southern barbarian" does make sense, since Kohaejin and the Yŏngsan River basin are south of its capital at Hansŏng (present-day Seoul). This also supports the idea that this record was originally written from a Paekche perspective.

As with Kohaejin, the debate on its location revolves around speculative phonetic correspondences. The one most relevant to our discussion is No Chungguk's argument that Ch'immidarye 忱彌多禮 is a phonetic corruption of Sinmi 新彌, the Mahan confederation leader that was mentioned in the *Jinshu*.[53] As mentioned above, he argues that there were two Mahan confederacies: Paekche in the Han River basin and Sinmi in the Yŏngsan River basin. "-darye" or "-tarye" would have just been a general location suffix, so Ch'immidarye would have just been Ch'immi.

On the other hand, the *Nihon shoki* had phonetic glosses in the margins for the pronunciation of certain proper nouns, especially for foreign names. In the case of Ch'immidarye, the *Nihon shoki* glosses it as "Tomutare."[54] It is possible that the character "ch'im" 忱 was originally "t'am" 耽 but was changed due to a copyist's error, but the phonetic gloss remained unchanged.[55] Therefore instead of Ch'immidarye, it would have been T'ammidarye, which is closer to the original gloss. The significance of this phonetic choice is that some scholars, such as Kim Chŏngbin, argue that Tomutare was an old name for Cheju Island, also referred to as

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[53] No, "Munhŏn kirok ŭl t'ong hae pon Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk: 4-5-segi rŭl chungsim ŭro 문헌 기로을 통해 본 영산강 유역: 4-5 세기를 중심으로 [The Yŏngsan River Basin as seen through Texts: 4th - 5th Century]," 60.

[54] Kojima Noriyuki, trans., *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, vol. 2–4, Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 新編日本古典文学全集 (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1994), 457.

[55] Kim, "Ch'immidarye ko '枕彌多禮'玫 [Chi'mmidarye Revised]."

T'amna 耽羅國 or T'ammura 耽牟羅.[56] The fact that Cheju Island is off the coast of Kangjin (i.e.

Kohaejin) adds circumstantial support for this idea. Additionally, according to the *Sanguozhi*, the

inhabitants of Cheju Island were completely different from the Mahan on the mainland: speaking

a completely different language, shaving their heads, and wearing leather clothes with no

bottoms.[57] This culturally and linguistically different group would be more likely described as

"southern barbarians" from a Paekche perspective than inhabitants of the Yŏngsan River basin,

who were similarly descendants of the Mahan.

The identification of Tomutare with T'amna, however, contrasts with another account in

the *Nihon shoki* that claims that the people of T'amna (J. Tamura) 耽羅人 first had contact with

Paekche in 508.[58] Additionally, the first contact between T'amna and Paekche recorded in the

Paekche Annals is in 476.[59] Therefore, it is not clear if Tomutare was equivalent to T'amna or a

completely different location, but so far, there is no strong evidence that Tomutare was in or

represented any part of the Yŏngsan River basin.

Although the commonly accepted translation of this passage assumes that the territory of

Tomutare was given to Paekche, I argue that the passage suggests that Paekche acquired the port

of Kohaejin and not Tomutare. I base this on the following: 1) the Yamato-Paekche force was on

its way to Paekche along the coastline of the Korean peninsula, 2) it would have been an

unnecessarily large investment of resources to deviate nearly 130 km south from the coastline of

Kohaejin just to "slaughter southern barbarians" on Cheju Island, 3) the "southern barbarians"

were probably slaughtered at Kohaejin, and 4) Paekche wanted to secure trade routes along the

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[56] *SGSG* 26 (Tongsŏng 20).
[57] *SGZ* 30 (Dongyizhuan): 852.
[58] *NS* 17 (Keitai 2:12).
[59] *SGSG* 26 (Munju 2:4).

coast of the Korean peninsula, which would not have necessarily included Cheju Island. If we look at the original text, there is nothing to suggest that the Yamato-Paekche force actually went to Tomutare. There is also textual evidence that people from Cheju Island came to the mainland for trading purposes,[60] so it is entirely possible that there was a settlement or group of Cheju people at Kohaejin. Also, the original text does not explicitly describe that Paekche gained control over Tomutare. I approach the text in this manner:

至古爰津	Arrived at Kohaejin
屠南蠻忱彌多禮	[while at Kohaejin] slaughtered "southern barbarians" of Tomutare
以賜百濟	Took [Kohaejin] and granted it to Paekche

In other words, the omitted object after 以 would make more sense referring back to Kohaejin and not the slaughtered barbarians of Tomutare.

Surrendering Towns

The location of the surrendering towns is also unclear from the text. The only context given in the passage is that King Kŭnch'ogo and his son Kŭngusu (J. Kuisu) led troops and met with the Yamato-Paekche force, which suggests that these towns must have been at or near the rendezvous point of these two armies. The original passage 比利辟中布彌支半古四邑自然降服 has traditionally been interpreted as "the four towns of Piri [J. Hiri] 比利, Pyŏkchung[J. Hechū] 辟中, P'omiji [J. Homuki] 布彌支, and Pan'go [J. Hanko] 半古." Yi Tohak, however, attempts

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[60] *SGZ* 30 (Dongyizhuan): 852.

to link these towns to Mahan polities in the *Sanguozhi* by reading the passage as "the [five]

towns of Piri 比利, Pyŏkchung 辟中, P'omi 布彌, Chiban 支半, and Kosa 古四." This would

then correspond with the Mahan polities of Pulmi 不彌國, Chiban 支半國, and Kuso 狗素國.[61]

Here is Yi's scheme with equivalent present-day place names:

Town Name	Present-day Equivalent	*Sanguozhi* Mahan Polity
Piri	Poan	-
Pyŏkchung	Kimje	-
P'omi	Chŏngŭp	Pulmi
Chiban	Puan	Chiban
Kosa	Kobu	Kuso

All of these locations are located in North Chŏlla province and are not part of the Yŏngsan River

basin. If that is the case, the Yamato-Paekche force, after taking Kohaejin, would have moved up

along the western coastline of the Korean peninsula and met with King Kŭnch'ogo's force in

present-day North Chŏlla province, where various Mahan polities surrendered to them. The next

part of the story seems to confirm this location as King Kŭnch'ogo and the Yamato generals

celebrate their successes together at Churyusugi 州流須祇,[62] which corresponds with Churyu

Fortress 周流城 at present-day Puan in North Chŏlla province.[63] Once again, all of the locations

for these place names are still based on guesswork, so it is difficult to know for sure.

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[61] Yi Tohak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk Mahan cheguk ŭi ch'ui wa Paekche 榮山江流域 馬韓諸國의 推移와 百濟 [Developments of the Mahan Polities in the Yŏngsan River Basin and Paekche]," *Paekche munhwa* 49 (2013): 117.
[62] *NS* 9 (Jingū 49).
[63] Yi, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk Mahan cheguk ŭi ch'ui wa Paekche 榮山江流域 馬韓諸國의 推移와 百濟 [Developments of the Mahan Polities in the Yŏngsan River Basin and Paekche]," 120.

Other scholars, on the other hand, have identified these towns as all being in the Yŏngsan River basin:[64]

Town Name	Present-day Equivalent
Piri	-
Pyŏkchung	Posŏng
P'omiji	Naju
Pan'go	-
Kosa	Kobu

Once again, the weakness in all of these schemes is the reliance of speculative phonetic equivalencies that generally cannot be proven or disproven without additional evidence or context. Even if these towns were somewhere on the southwest Korean peninsula, in my imagining they most likely would have been coastal towns along the sea route between Kohaejin and the Paekche capital on the Han River. In other words, there is nothing in the original text that supports a southern expansion or any expansion into the Yŏngsan River basin.

The Veracity of Jingū 49

Due to the issues above, it is difficult to accept that Paekche (or Yamato) conquered the Yŏngsan River basin or even the South Chŏlla Province region; and even if it did, Jingū 49 would have been a poor representation of that conquest. Instead of a southern overland expansion by Paekche, this record makes more sense as an effort to secure transportation routes between Paekche and Kaya, and possibly Yamato along the coast of the Korean peninsula. This idea is further supported in a speech made by Paekche King Sŏng (r. 523-554) in 541, who

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[64] Yŏn Minsu, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun p'ijangja wa kŭ sŏngkyŏk 영산강유역의 前方後圓墳 피장자와 그 성격 [The Interred and Characteristics of the Yŏngsan River Basin Keyhole Tombs]," *Ilbonhak* 32 (2011): 235.

claimed that Paekche's interest in Kaya began with King Kŭnch'ogo.[65] As the Kohaejin example suggests, territorial conquest would have been limited to settlements along the coast and not an overland invasion throughout the southern Korean peninsula.

Besides the speculative linguistic analysis of the place names, another major weakness of Jingū 49 is the lack of corroborating accounts in other historical sources. The Silla Annals of the *Samguk sagi* has no entry for 369. Furthermore, in the previous year, Paekche sent Silla a gift of two fine horses.[66] This is an unlikely courtesy to a country that had recently robbed its envoy the year before in 367. In addition, there is no record of a Yamato/Wa invasion for 369 either in the Silla Annals, even though Wa raids against Silla were common throughout most of the 4th century. More puzzling is the lack of any references to this considerable Paekche territorial expansion in the Paekche Annals.

From a strategic perspective, it is also improbable that Paekche would have invested significant resources in southern territorial expansion during a time when Koguryŏ represented a credible threat from the north. According to the *Samguk sagi*, in the same year that King Kŭnch'ogo was supposedly conquering the southern Korean peninsula, Koguryŏ invaded Paekche.[67] It seems unlikely that Paekche would have engaged in major military operations in the north and south in the same year, especially since the south did not represent a military threat. Even if Jingū 49 represented a distorted historical fragment of a southern invasion, it would probably have been a raid and not a long-lasting territorial expansion that included the Yŏngsan River basin.

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[65] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 2:4).
[66] *SGSG* 24 (Kŭnch'ogo 23:3); *SGSG* 3 (Naemul 13).
[67] *SGSG* 24 (Kŭnch'ogo 24:9).

Finally, the records of the Jingū section are semi-legendary and embellished upon by later generations, which put its value as a reliable historical data in question. It is important to remind ourselves that the *Nihon shoki* was not compiled to reflect historical accuracy, but rather to craft a narrative to legitimate the early 8th century Japanese ruling line. Therefore, basing an entire theory of a 4th century Paekche southern expansion on a single uncorroborated passage filled with speculative designations for place names is highly problematic. In sum, it is highly unlikely that Paekche conquered and controlled the Yŏngsan River basin in 369.

THE KWANGGAET'O STELE & THE MOHAN

For those in support of the Paekche Southern Conquest Theory, the *lack* of references to the Mahan after 369 in historical sources is sufficient evidence to prove Paekche had indeed annexed the Mahan/Yŏngsan River basin in 369. In order to bolster their case, they refer to Koguryŏ King Kwanggaet'o's (r. 391-413) "invasion" of the southern Korean peninsula as described on the Kwanggaet'o Stele, which was erected in 414 by his son King Changsu (r. 413-491). As for polities on the Korean peninsula, the stele inscription only mentions Paekche, Silla, and the Kaya polities of Alla 安羅 and Imna Kara 任那加羅. No Chungguk argues that the lack of Mahan references (e.g. Sinmi) proves that the Yŏngsan River basin had already been absorbed by Paekche.[68] In other words, the reality of the Korean peninsula in 400 is limited to the polities listed on the Kwanggaet'o stele.

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[68] No Chungguk, "Paekche ŭi yŏngt'o hwakchang e tae han myŏt kaji kŏmt'o 백제의 영토 확장에 대한 몇 가지 검토 [Several Points on Paekche's Territorial Expansion]," in *Kŭnch'ogo wang ttae Paekche yŏngt'o nŭn ŏdi kkaji yŏtna* 근초고왕 때 백제 영토는 어디까지였나 [How Far did Paekche Territory Go during King Kŭnch'ogo's Reign] (Seoul: Hansŏng Paekche Pangmulgwan, 2013), 15.

Koguryŏ's southern "conquest" was in fact an expedition sent in response to Silla's request for assistance against Wa invaders in 399.[69] The following year, Koguryŏ sent 50,000 troops to Silla and chased the Wa to Imna Kara, where they surrendered.[70] It is clear from the inscription that the entire extent of Koguryŏ's southern military action is limited to Silla and the Kaya region. As in Jingū 49, the context here was not one of southern expansion. Since Koguryŏ had no reason to be in the Yŏngsan River basin, there would have been no need to mention it. Therefore, to argue that the Yŏngsan River basin was a part of Paekche at this time simply because it was not mentioned here is a weak argument.

On the other hand, some scholars, such as Azuma Toshio, argue that the Mahan continued to exist through the 5th century based on references to a polity called Mohan (C. Muhan) 慕韓 in the *Songshu*, which he equates with Mahan 馬韓.[71] The *Songshu* records five Wa kings who sent envoys to the Liu Song court 劉宋朝 (420-479) to pay tribute and request confirmation of military titles. The first appearance of Mohan is in the entry for Wa King Chin (C. Zhen) 珍 [72] in 438:

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[69] Kwanggaet'o Stele Face 2 Line 7. 新羅遣使白王云, 倭人滿其國境, 潰破城池. See Yukio Takeda, "Studies on the King Kwanggaito Inscription and Their Basis," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 47 (1989): 57–90.

[70] Kwanggaet'o Stele Face 2 Line 8-9. 十年庚子, 敎遣步騎五萬, 往救新羅. 從男居城, 至新羅城, 倭滿 2)其中. 官軍方至, 倭賊退. □□□□□□□□侵*背急追至任那加羅從拔城, 城卽歸服. 安羅人戌兵滿*□□. Ibid.

[71] Azuma Ushio, "Eizankō ryūiki to Bokan 栄山江流域と慕韓 [The Yŏngsan River Valley and Mohan]," in *Tenbō kōkogaku: kōkogaku kenkyūkai shijisshūnen kinen ronshū* 展望考古学 : 考古学研究会 40 周年記念論集 [Outlook on Archaeology: Collected Essays for the 40th Anniversary of the Archaeology Research Society] (Okayama: Kōkogaku kenkyūkai, 1995), 240–48.

[72] It is difficult to identify these Wa kings with those in the *Nihon shoki* mainly because the dates of death do not correspond, the relationships between rulers are not the same, and there are no records in the *Nihon shoki* of envoys being sent to the Liu Song court. The general assumption is that these kings were from Yamato, but they easily

> When San [C. Zan] died, his brother Chin became king and sent an envoy to present tribute, designating himself as Commissioner Bearing Credentials, Inspector-General of Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chinhan, and Mohan; Great General Pacifying the East; and King of Wa. His memorial requested confirmation of this title. The imperial edict only confirmed him as General Pacifying the East and King of Wa.
> 讚死 弟珍立 遣使貢獻。自稱使持節、都督倭百濟新羅任那秦韓慕韓六國諸軍事、安東大將軍 倭 國王。表求除正詔除 安東將軍倭國王。[73]

There may be some validity to his argument since Chinhan (C. Qinhan) 秦韓 also appears, which is an alternative form of Chinhan (C. Chenhan) 辰韓, who were a group to the east of the Mahan.

Azuma takes this further and equates the Mohan to the Yŏngsan River basin using the same logic as No that any Mahan not part of Paekche must have been in the Yŏngsan River basin.[74] At the very least, this suggests that Paekche did not have control over the Yŏngsan River basin by the last reference to the Mohan in 478.[75] Unfortunately, the text does not give us any additional information about Mohan or its location.

If we accept Azuma's argument that Mohan refers to the Yŏngsan River basin, the *Songshu* also raises the issue of Yamato control. If we examine the entry for 438 above, it is significant that the Liu Song emperor denied King Chin's request to confirm his self-designated titles and only confirmed his title of General Pacifying the East and King of Wa. The Wa kings continued to request titles over Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chinhan, and Mohan, and finally succeeded somewhat in 451 when King Sai (C. Ji) 濟 had the title of Commissioner Bearing Credentials, Inspector-General of Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Silla, Imna, Kara, Chinhan, and Mohan 加使持節、都督倭新羅任那加羅秦韓慕韓六

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could have been sent from another strong authority from the Japanese archipelago, but there is no concrete data to help make that determination.

[73] *LS* 57 (Woguo): 2394-2395.

[74] Azuma, "Eizankō ryūiki to Bokan 栄山江流域と慕韓 [The Yŏngsan River Valley and Mohan]."

[75] *LS* 57 (Woguo): 2395.

國諸軍事 added to his previously confirmed title of General pacifying the East and King of Wa 安東將

軍、倭 國王.[76] Imperialist Japanese scholars saw this as external confirmation that Yamato had control

over the southern Korean peninsula.[77] Korean scholars, on the other hand, note that Paekche was dropped

from the original request and replaced with Kara. Paekche was known to the Liu Song court from its

predecessor the Eastern Jin, and Paekche sent its first of several envoys to the Liu Song court in 424.[78]

Since Paekche was another tributary state, the Liu Song court could not grant the kings of Wa military

titles over it. As for Silla, Imna, Kara, Chinhan, and Mohan, none of them had relations with the Liu Song

court, so the Liu Song court would not have had any problems rubberstamping King Sai's request,

rendering those titles meaningless. In other words, it is unlikely that Yamato had control over Mohan and

by extension the Yŏngsan River basin.

Although it is difficult to establish a connection between Mohan and the Yŏngsan River

basin, the *Songshu* clearly suggests that there were more polities on the southern Korean

peninsula besides Paekche, Silla, and Kaya. This provides indirect textual support that the

Yŏngsan River basin may have continued to exist independently by at least 478.

FINAL THOUGHTS ON THE TEXTS

A critical review of the historical texts up until 475 reveals no evidence that Paekche had

conquered or absorbed the Yŏngsan River basin before the late 5th century. Jingū 49, the only

evidence used to support Paekche southern expansion, ultimately falls apart due to a lack of

support and credibility. On the other hand, there is virtually no textual information regarding the

Yŏngsan River basin and its relationship with Paekche. The *Songshu* opens up the possibility

that there were other polities on the Korean peninsula besides Paekche, Silla, and the Kaya

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[76] *LS* 57 (Woguo): 2395.

[77] Suematsu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 *[A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana]*.

[78] *LS* 57 (Baijiguo): 2394.

region in the 5th century, but not much beyond that is known. The *Samguk sagi* is completely silent regarding Paekche's southern frontier and focused more on its conflicts with Koguryŏ and relationship with Silla. The *Nihon shoki*'s records for the 5th century focus on the Yamato court's relationship with Silla, the Kaya region, and Paekche, but mention nothing that could be interpreted as being the Yŏngsan River basin. Adherents to the hegemonic nature of these texts would argue that this silence is evidence that the Yŏngsan River basin had been absorbed by one of the polities that are visible in the text. I, on the other hand, strongly disagree with this this idea of restricting the view of the past to only the presence of polities within a historical source. The historical sources are themselves a product of a particular and restricted worldview, usually the central court, yet the view that these texts are canonical and the only starting point of our inquiry into the past is highly problematic.

In conclusion, the textual data only are consistent with the notion that the Yŏngsan River basin was of little interest to Paekche and Yamato by the late 5th century and played very little role in their historical development, but it is also unlikely that either Paekche or Yamato had control over the Yŏngsan River basin. Anything else regarding the relationship between Paekche (or Yamato) and the Yŏngsan River basin is unclear. In order to find additional information, we will need to turn to another approach. This leads us to our next section, which evaluates the parallel narrative of the relationship between Paekche and the Yŏngsan River basin as seen through archaeology.

PART II: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAEKCHE AND THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN

For the 3rd century, there are archaeological traces of regional centers of a shared material culture such as cemeteries and settlements in the Han River basin, Asan Bay, the Kŭm River

basin, the Yŏngsan River basin, and along the southern coast of the Korean peninsula.[79] Most Korean archaeologists automatically associate these regional centers with the Mahan described in the *Sanguozhi* and interpret the archaeological data via the textual records. There is no clear archaeological evidence demarcating 54 Mahan polities in the region of the Kyŏnggi Province, the Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces, or the Chŏlla provinces, so it is difficult to corroborate a particular regional center with a Mahan polity or if the Mahan label even makes sense in an archaeological context, although many scholars have tried.[80] Since we are looking at the relationship of Paekche and groups on the Yŏngsan River basin, I will briefly compare the archaeological developments of the Han River basin (i.e. Paekche) with the Yŏngsan River basin from the 3rd until the late 5th centuries to see if there is any evidence that supports the textual analysis done above.

DIVERGENCE

Starting around the early 3rd century, the burial systems in present-day Seoul/Kyŏnggi Province (i.e. Paekche) and the Yŏngsan River basin began to diverge. The core region of the rising Paekche polity favored stepped-style stone-piled tombs 積石塚, which evolved into Paekche-style stone chamber tombs in the 4th century. Kwŏn Oyŏng characterizes these tombs as not very ostentatious and merely spaces for the dead.[81] This is in sharp contrast to Silla, Kaya, and eventually the Yŏngsan River basin, where massive mounded tombs symbolized the power

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[79] Im Yŏngjin, "Myoje rŭl t'ong hae pon Mahan ŭi chiyŏksŏng kwa pyŏnch'ŏn kwajŏng: Paekche wa ŭi kwan'gye rŭl chungsim ŭro 묘제를 통해 본 마한의 지역성과 변천 과정: 백제와의 관계를 중심으로 [Mahan's Regionality and Change as seen through Burial Systems: Relations with Paekche," *Paekche hakpo* 3 (2010): 25–46.

[80] Yi Hyŏnhye, "Mahan sahoe ŭi hyŏngsŏng kwa palchŏn 마한 사회의 형성과 발전 [The Formation and Development of Mahan Society]," in *Paekche ŭi kiwŏn kwa kŏn'guk* 백제의 기원과 건국 [The Origin and Establishment of Paekche] (Kongju: Ch'ungch'ŏngnam-do Yŏksa Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 2007).

[81] Oh Young Kwon, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries & Research on Paekche History," in *Early Korea: Reconsidering Early Korean History through Archaeology*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA; [Honolulu, HI]: Early Korea Project, Korea Institute, Harvard University ; Distributed by the University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 81.

of the ruling elite. Burial goods were also not very elaborate and consisted mostly of Paekche-style pottery.

Some elite groups in the Yŏngsan River basin, on the other hand, developed U-shaped mounds originally with wooden coffins, which began to appear in the Yŏngsan River basin in the 3rd century. These mounds also had a ditch enclosure similar to those surrounding early tombs found on the Japanese archipelago. These were usually constructed on top of low hills or inclines. These mounds tended to expand horizontally as additional burials were attached to the tomb mound. Depending on the region, the U-shaped tombs were much larger than the earlier low-lying square tombs and had lengths exceeding 30 m. Burial goods included double-rim pottery, jars with two lugs, wide-mouthed jars with perforated bodies, and cups with necks. In addition to iron knives, there are iron helmets as well. We also find significant numbers of discarded ritual items in the ditch enclosure. Based on the scale of the tombs and the richness of the burial goods, Im Yŏngjin argues that these burials were on par with Paekche's and speculates that these tombs probably represent some of the larger Mahan polities mentioned in the texts.[82]

JAR-COFFIN TOMBS

In a radical departure from the material cultures in other regions of the Korean peninsula, the Yŏngsan River basin began to use jar coffins starting sometime in the early 3rd century until the early 6th century. These coffins first start appearing in the upper reaches of the Komak River 古幕川, which is a tributary off of the Yŏngsan River in the northwestern region of the Yŏngsan River basin. These early jar coffins had wide rims and stout main bodies, but as they spread

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[82] Im, "3-5-segi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏkkwŏn Mahan seryŏk ŭi sŏngjang paegyŏng kwa han'gye 3-5 세기 영산강 유역권 마한세력의 성장 배경과 한계 [The Circumstances and Limits to the Growth of Mahan Power in the Yŏngsan River Basin in the 3rd - 5th Century]," 86.

throughout the Yŏngsan River basin into the present-day Koch'ang and Yŏnggwang regions, these jar coffins grew larger and more elongated. It is not entirely clear why these jar coffins came to replace the pre-existing wooden coffins. The wooden coffins originally would be surrounded by various jars, but at some point, the jars themselves became the coffin. Throughout the 4th and early 5th century, the jar-coffin burial system continued to develop independently on its own with little outside influence. U-shaped tombs began to change to higher mounded round or square tombs. In contrast to previous burials, these tombs did not expand horizontally but vertically, as generations upon generations were buried on top of each other to create massive mounds. They also appeared to distinguish differences in rank or other form of hierarchies within cemeteries and within regions. These tombs would also be surrounded by ritually placed earthenware and large quantities of discarded ritual objects would be found in the ditch enclosure. The central hub of this type of tomb was in the Pannam region in Naju.

Table 2-2: Developmental Stages of Tombs and Burial Goods in the Yŏngsan River Basin[83]

Burial System/Period		250	300	350	400	450	500	550	600
Burial Facilities	Wooden Coffin								
	Jar Coffin								
	Stone Chamber								
Tumulus Shape		U-Shaped				Round, Square		Keyhole, Round, Square	Round (Hemispherical)
Mound Size	Tall								
	Medium								
	Low								
Burial System Characteristics		Wooden Coffin Type 1·2 Jar Coffins Type I·II Mixed U-shaped Tombs U-shaped·Jar-Coffin Round(Oval) Tombs		Wooden Coffin (Chamber) Appearance of Type 3A Jar Coffins Type III Mixed U-shaped Tombs Jar Coffin Round Tomb Shift to Round·Square Tombs		Type 3B Jar Coffin Prevalent	Type 3B Jar Coffin Continues Type I HCSC	Type II·Type III HCSC Tomb Common Silver Coffin Ornaments Ornamented Long Swords	
Burial Goods	Pottery	Period I – II Standard Mahan-type (Round Base Short-necked Jars 圓底短頸壺, Double-rim Jars 二重口緣壺)		Period III – IV Yŏngsan River Basin-style Established		Period V Yŏngsan River Basin-style Prevalent	Period VI Peak of Yŏngsan River Basin-style	Period VII – VIII Paekche-style	
	Metalware	Period 1 Small Farming and Manufacturing Tools, Iron Ingots, Small Numbers of Weapons (e.g. Ring-Pommel Long Sword)				Period 2 Increase in Weapons, Ornamental Prestige Goods	Period 3 Sudden Increase in Types of Burial Goods; Horse Trappings	Period 4 Fewer Burial Goods; Status Symbols (e.g. silver cap ornaments related to Paekche's rank system), Coffin Materials Excavated	
Stage		Mixed U-shaped Tombs				Mounded Tombs			
		Mixed U-shaped Tumulus 1 (Wooden Coffins)		Mixed U-shaped Tumulus 2 (Wooden Coffins/Jar Coffins Concurrently Used)		Jar-Coffin Tombs (Mounded Tombs)		Early Stone Chamber Tombs	Paekche-style Stone Chamber Tomb

[83] Kim Nakchung, *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun yŏn'gu* 영산강유역 고분 연구 [A Study on Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Valley] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2009), 102.

Up until the 1970s, due to the Jingū 49 text, archaeologists considered the Yŏngsan River basin as part of Paekche since the 4th century, but most of them admitted that the material culture in the Yŏngsan River basin was completely different from other regions in Paekche or even the Korean peninsula. Hwang Yonghon called the Yŏngsan River basin a "cultural island,"[84] while Yi Yŏngmun described the jar-coffin burial system the remnants of "Mahan tradition."[85] Yi's linking of the jar-coffin burials with the Mahan gained further traction in the 1980s when Ch'oe Mongnyong argued that the groups buried in the jar-coffins at Pannam were the last holdout of the Mahan (i.e. Mokchi from the *Sanguozhi*). But even then, he still argued that Pannam and the other groups in the Yŏngsan River basin were still a part of Paekche.[86]

The major flaw with seeing the Yŏngsan River basin as part of Paekche control after the 4th century is the lack of Paekche prestige goods found in the Yŏngsan River basin prior to the 5th century. During the Paekche Hansŏng period (ca. 3rd century – 475), the preferred method of establishing favorable ties with local leaders on its periphery was through the distribution of prestige goods, such as ornaments, gilt-bronze crowns and shoes, decorative horse trappings, etc. The farther from the Paekche center, the more illustrious the prestige goods, since regions under

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[84] Hwang Yonghon, *Yŏngam Naedong-ni onggwanmyo chosa pogo* 靈岩 內洞里 甕棺墓 調查報告 [Report on the Yŏngam Naedong-ni Jar-Coffin Tombs] (Seoul: Kyŏnghŭi Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 1974).

[85] Yi Yŏngmun, "Yŏngsan'gang haryu chiyŏk ŭi kobungun: Naju Pannam-myŏn kobungun ŭl chungsim ŭro 榮山江 下流地域의 古墳群: 羅州 潘南面 古墳群을 中心으로 [The Cemeteries of the Lower Reaches of the Yŏngsan River: Naju Pannam-myŏn Cemetery]," in *Naju Taean-ni 5-ho Paekche sŏksilbun palgul chosa pogo* 羅州 大安里 5 號 百濟石室墳 發掘 調查 報告 [Naju Taean-ni Tomb 5 Paekche Stone Chamber Tomb Excavation Site Report] (Naju: Naju Kunch'ŏng, 1978).

[86] Ch'oe Mongnyong, "Kogohakchŏk ch'ŭngmyŏn esŏ pon Mahan 고고학적 측면에서 본 마한 [Mahan as seen through Archaeology]," *Mahan Paekche Munhwa* 9 (1986): 5–15; Ch'oe Mongnyong, "Pannam-myŏn kobun'gun ŭi ŭiŭi 반남면 고분군의 의의 [The Significance of the Pannam-myŏn Cemetery]," in *Naju Pannam-myŏn kobun'gun: chonghap chosa pogosŏ* 羅州 潘南 古墳群: 綜合調查報告書 [Comprehensive Site Report of Pannam-myŏn Cemetery in Naju] (Kwangju: Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan, 1988).

direct Paekche control no longer need to be incentivized to recognize its sovereignty. During and after King Kŭnch'ogo's supposed southern expansion in 369, no recognizable changes are seen in the Yŏngsan River basin that could be attributed to Paekche until the late 5th century.

Im Yŏngjin, who recognized the problems of seeing the Yŏngsan River basin as a part of Paekche at such an early date, declared the Yŏngsan River basin was the site of a remnant Mahan state that was completely independent of Paekche.[87] Although he rejected the textually hegemonic notion that Paekche had conquered the Yŏngsan River basin in 369, he was still constrained by his use of the textual identity of Mahan. Interpreting the groups in the Yŏngsan River basin as "remnant Mahan," while describing the Han River basin as Paekche creates several problems. First, it treats every non-Paekche group in the traditional Mahan regions monolithically, which was clearly not the case. Second, the structure of the Paekche/Mahan narrative in the historically texts automatically creates a core-periphery relationship. In other words, it is implicitly understood that the textually invisible non-Paekche "Mahan" groups silently await annexation or subjugation by the very visible Paekche, so these Mahan groups appear to have very little agency at all (See Figure 2-1). Third, the other implication by the use of the textually-derived term "Mahan" is the implication that the groups in the Yŏngsan River basin were developmentally frozen at the Mahan level of development or stagnant, which was also clearly not the case.

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[87] Im Yŏngjin, "Naju chiyŏk Mahan munhwa ŭi palchŏn 나주 지역 마한 문화의 발전 [The Development of Mahan Culture in the Naju Region]," in *Naju Mahan munhwa ŭi hyŏngsŏng kwa palchŏn* 마한 문화의 형성과 발전 [The Formation and Development of Mahan Culture in Naju] (Naju: Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 1997).

Figure 2-1: The Expansion of Paekche[88]
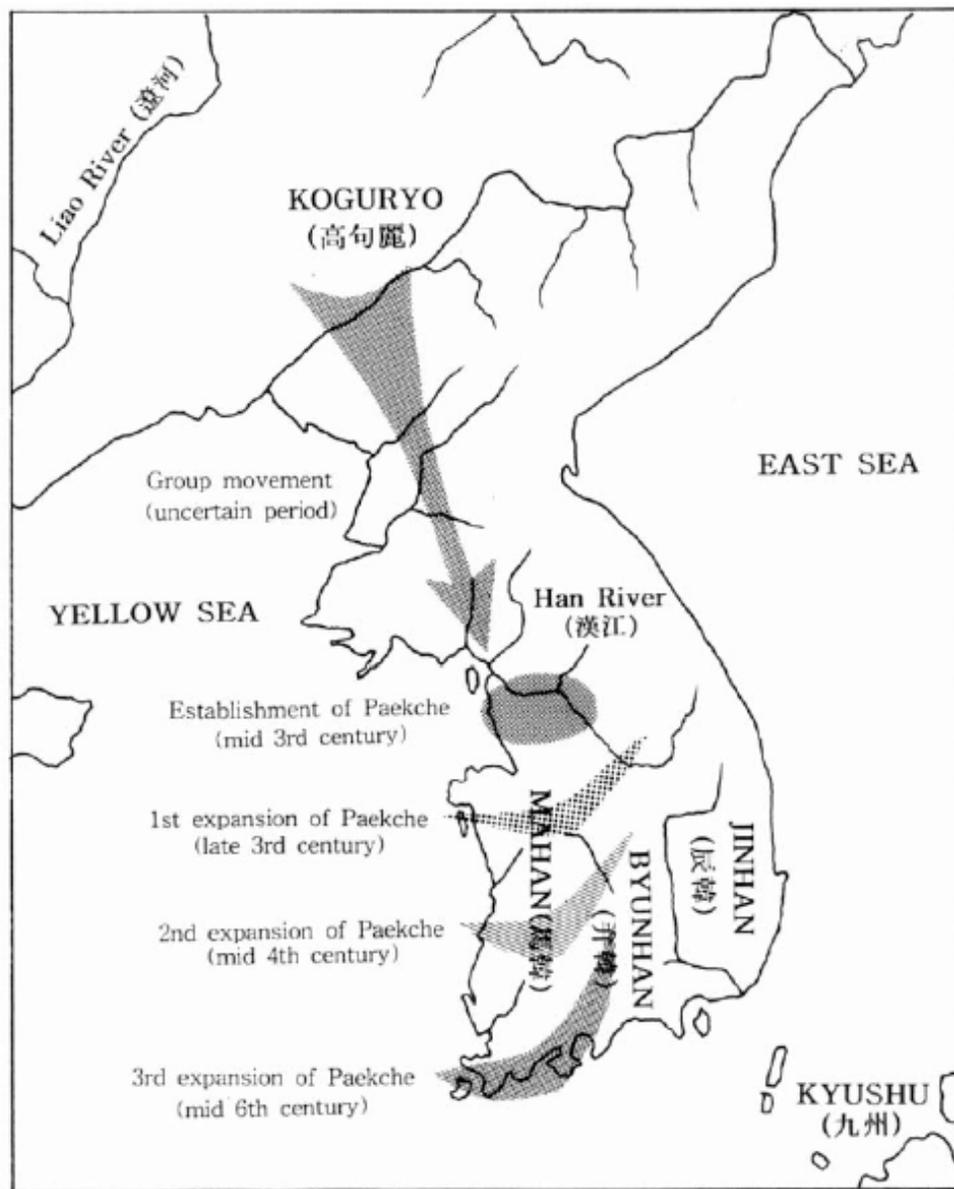
On the other hand, there are a few scholars, such as Kang Pongnyong,[89] who completely

reject the use of textually-derived labels of identity and use the term "jar-coffin tomb society"

[88] Im Yŏngjin, "Mahan ŭi somyŏl kwachŏng e taehan kogohakchŏk koch'al 馬韓의 消滅過程에 대한 考古學的 考察 [Archaeological Investigation into the Extinction of the Mahan]," *Honam kogohakpo* 12 (2000): 208.

instead. This recognition of the independent nature of the Yŏngsan River basin, however, is fairly recent. Therefore, studies into the internal developments of the Yŏngsan River basin and its relationship with Paekche and other neighboring groups have only begun in the past few years. In any case, there is no archaeological evidence that Paekche subjugated the Yŏngsan River basin in 369, or had any significant relationships with it until the late 5th century. It continued to develop its own unique material culture with apparently very little influence from Paekche.

CONCLUSION

While the traditional textual perspective sees Paekche King Kŭnch'ogo conquering the Yŏngsan River basin in 369, the impact of that invasion did not leave a trace in the material record. A re-evaluation of the Jingū 49 text shows that Kŭnch'ogo never made it further south than the Kŭm River. This is consistent with the lack of Paekche material culture in the Yŏngsan River basin until the 5th century and its divergence from other material cultures on the Korean peninsula, including Paekche.

The textual and archaeological evidence suggest that Paekche and the Yŏngsan River basin were culturally distinct as early as the 3rd century. The extent of Paekche's territorial control at this point is still debated, but it seems unlikely that Paekche had even nominal control over the Yŏngsan River basin at this point. Unfortunately, due to the lack of textual sources and corroborative archaeological data, there is very little information about the relationship between Paekche and groups in the Yŏngsan River basin. Although No sees Sinmi as leading the confederation out of Chŏlla province in the Yŏngsan River basin and being in competition with

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[89] Kang Pongnyong, "5-6-segi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk 'onggwan kobun sahoe' ŭi haech'e 5-6 세기 영산강유역 '옹관고분사회'의 해체 [The Dissolution of 'Jar Coffin Tomb Society' in the Yŏngsan River Basin in the 5th - 6th Century]," in *Paekche ŭi chibang t'ongch'i* 百濟의 地方統治 [Paekche Regional Control] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 1998).

Paekche, there is very little to corroborate this in any other text or suggestions in the archaeological record that there was any active trade or conflict between these two entities. In addition, the jar coffin burial system and local pottery show no major influence from Paekche until the late 5th century, so if Paekche was forming relationships with the polities in the Yŏngsan River basin, there is no evidence of that in the material record.

Strictly textual scholars and archaeologists swayed by hegemonic texts ignore these developments and continue to assume that the Yŏngsan River basin was controlled by Paekche via some form of regional control, which may have even dispatched officials from the central government to the outlying regions. Others interpret this lack of Paekche influence on the material culture as indicating a very indirect form of rule, such as a confederated structure or co-opting local authorities in the Yŏngsan River basin to act as proxies to extend Paekche influence starting from the mid-5th century, but there is no evidence of that either. None of these theories, however, explains the absence of Paekche prestige goods or any other Paekche material culture until the mid-5th century.

In sum, the silence regarding the Yŏngsan River basin in historical texts related to Paekche is well warranted, since Paekche prior to the late 5th century had no political control over the Yŏngsan River basin. The Jingū 49 text, the sole basis for all theories of a Paekche southern expansion in 369, is a weak source that relies on too many levels of speculation for it to be reliable, especially regarding place names. Without Jingū 49, there is no case that Paekche had annexed the Yŏngsan River basin in the 4th century. The archaeological evidence On the other hand, major changes began happening to Paekche and the Yŏngsan River basin in the late 5th century, and we will examine those in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN IN THE LATE 5TH – EARLY 6TH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to understand the geopolitical situation of Paekche and Yamato during

the construction period of the Yŏngsan River basin keyhole-shaped tumuli (hereafter "YSR

keyhole-shaped tumuli") that may have influenced the Yŏngsan River basin as seen through

historical sources. Although there are virtually no written records directly pertaining to the

Yŏngsan River basin during this time, a survey of the geopolitical situation of Paekche and

Yamato will help historically contextualize any political or social changes in the Yŏngsan River

basin and identify external events that may have stimulated the construction of the YSR keyhole-

shaped tumuli. For Paekche, this period starts from the reign of King Kaero (r. 455-475) through

King Sŏng (r. 523-554). For Yamato, this corresponds to the reigns of Yūryaku (r. 456-479)

through Keitai (507-535).[1] (See Table 3-1).

Table 3-1: Paekche and Yamato Rulers from the Late 5th – Early 6th Century

Paekche[2]		Yamato[3]	
Ruler Name	Reign Period	Ruler Name	Reign Period
Kaero	455-475	Yūrayku	456-479
Munju	475-477	Seinei	480-484

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[1] The names of rulers found in the *Nihon shoki* are mid-to-late 8th century names and not their original names. For example, Yūryaku's alias in the *Nihon shoki* is Ohatsuse Wakataeru no Mikoto. The name King Wakatakeru is also found on the inscription of the contemporary Inariyama and Eta Funayama sword, which suggests that Yūryaku was actually called King Wakatakeru and post-humously renamed Yūryaku in the 8th century. The case of Keitai is even trickier. For the sake of convenience, I will use the traditional names for rulers listed in the *Nihon shoki* with the understanding that these names are problematic.
[2] All dates are taken from the *Samguk sagi*. There are several minor discrepancies of names and dates regarding these rulers and their relationships with each other between the *Samguk sagi* and the *Nihon shoki*. For a full discussion, see Jonathan W. Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2006), 103–116.
[3] All dates taken from the *Nihon shoki*.

Samgŭn	477-479	Kenzō	485-487
Tongsŏng	479-501	Ninken	488-498
Muryŏng	501-523	Buretsu	498-506
Sŏng	523-554	Keitai	507-531

Not only do we lack records of the Yŏngsan River basin for this period, but the sources we have on Paekche and Yamato are also limited and conflicting. The Paekche Annals of the *Samguk sagi* are remarkably silent on Paekche's relations with the Yamato court between 428 and 653. Jonathan Best notes that the compilers of the *Samguk sagi* had very little material on Paekche and probably did not have access to Japanese source materials.[4] Therefore, the richest materials still available on Paekche-Yamato relations, albeit scanty, are the *Nihon shoki*. The Paekche Annals are also silent about Paekche's southern frontier and southward expansion. For information on most of this, we also have to rely on the *Nihon shoki* for indirect clues at best, for even the *Nihon shoki* is silent on this matter. Interestingly, most of our knowledge about Paekche's frontier and regional administration comes from Chinese dynastic sources, and even they are extremely limited.

Even with these limitations, the available historical sources can provide an overall description of important political and military events that may have influenced the Yŏngsan river basin. According to the *Samguk sagi*, Paekche barely survived after the destruction of its first capital in 475 and only began to recover during the reign of Muryŏng in the early 6th century. The *Nihon shoki* also reports that the Yamato court as well was facing difficulties of its own during this period, with a rash of succession issues and "rebellions" of powerful lineages, as it tried to continue it process of consolidating rule over the Japanese archipelago. During most of this period, interactions between Paekche and Yamato grew more involved, especially during the

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[4] Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 472–473.

reigns of Muryŏng and Keitai and even more intense during Sŏng and Kinmei, according to the *Nihon shoki*. In other words, the late 5th to early 6th century is a period of many changes across the southern Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. Under such dynamic circumstances, the construction of keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin may not appear as surprising.

This chapter will chronologically examine the critical events and historical figures that may have influenced the Yŏngsan River basin. In addition, it will examine Chinese dynastic records concerning Paekche's regional administration during the late 5th – early 6th century to understand Paekche's evolving relationship with the Yŏngsan River basin. The focus of this chapter is to look at the original texts as closely as possible and address secondary literature for context.

THE FALL OF HANSŎNG AND THE MOVE TO UNGJIN (475)

The fall of Paekche's capital of Hansŏng (present-day Seoul) in 475 was one of the most traumatic events in Paekche history.[5] Koguryŏ had been constantly threatening Paekche from the north since at least the 4th century and even assaulted Paekche's capital once before.[6] 475, however, was the first time that Koguryŏ had taken the capital, killed its king Kaero, and completely removed the Paekche ruling elite from the Han River basin. With most of the royal family captured or killed, the surviving remnants re-established a new capital to the south at Ungjin (present-day Kongju). This led to conflicts between the displaced Hansŏng elite and the local elites of the new capital. Militant factionalism consumed the Paekche court, which led to a

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[5] *SGSG* 25 (Kaero 21:9).
[6] The Kwanggaet'o stele inscription notes a naval attack on the Paekche capital in 396, which forced Paekche to surrender and declare fealty to Koguryŏ. See [HKK 1:10(f) and 18(f)].

swift succession of short-lived rulers until the reign of King Tongsŏng. In other words, for most of the late 5th century, Paekche was militarily weak and politically unstable.

The construction of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli sometime after Paekche's move south to Ungjin suggests a possible connection between the two. The move south of the Paekche capital and the loss of its territory in the Han River basin would have undoubtedly changed the geopolitics of the southwestern Korean peninsula. One thing to note is that Ungjin is on the Kŭm River, which marked the southern edge of Paekche territory at this time, meaning that Paekche's center had now shifted to its southernmost limit. Confronting the possibility that Koguryŏ would have continued further south, the remnant Paekche elite would have sought refuge as far south on territory it solidly controlled without leaving it altogether. The fortress at Ungjin would have made a logical choice in that regard. As we saw in Chapter 2, Paekche had not made any inroads into the Yŏngsan River basin prior to the late 5th century. With Paekche's interests now turning south, this would have created more opportunities and incentives for Paekche to cultivate relationships in the Yŏngsan River basin, especially in its weakened condition soon after its move to Ungjin. Later, as Paekche gained in military and economic strength, it could have converted those relationships with Yŏngsan River basin polities into annexation. In this regard, this change in geopolitics presented both an opportunity and a threat to the polities in the Yŏngsan River basin. Paekche offered advanced technology, culture, and political legitimacy, while the Yŏngsan River basin offered human as well as agricultural resources from its large swaths of arable land. On the other hand, Paekche also threatened the autonomy of the Yŏngsan River basin polities, which would have made polities that were opposed to the idea of submitting to Paekche look to other places for support.

Another consequence of the move of the Paekche capital is the intensification of relations between Paekche and Yamato. One notable feature of Paekche's foreign relations with Yamato was the appointment of key royal family members to long stays at the Yamato court. There are even records of Paekche kings Tongsŏng and Muryŏng being born on the Japanese archipelago. Moreover, in the case of Tongsŏng, he later became king with Yamato military support. Some scholars, such as Chŏng Chaeyun, argue that the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli developed within these close relations between Paekche and Yamato, partly due to the activities of a Paekche royal named Konji.[7]

KONJI: THE BEGINNING OF A YAMATO DYNASTY IN PAEKCHE

Puyŏ Konji 扶餘昆支 (? – 477), the younger brother[8] of Paekche King Kaero, not only played an important role in relations between the Paekche and Yamato courts but was one of the highest ranking members of the royal family. The interest in Konji stems from speculations about his 16-year stay at the Yamato court (461-477) as well as the fact that one of his Yamato-born sons became Paekche King Tongsŏng, whose reign fall within the construction of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

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[7] Chŏng Chaeyun, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏngbun ŭi ch'ukcho wa kŭ chuch'e 영산강유역 前方 後圓形墳의 축조와 그 주체 [Construction and Identity of the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," *Yŏksa wa tamnon* 56 (August 2010): 233–69.

[8] There is confusion about Konji's relationship with Kaero. According to the *Nihon shoki*, Kaero, the future King Munju, and Konji were brothers. Kareo was the oldest, King Munju was the second-oldest, and Konji was the youngest. See *NS* 14 (Yūryaku 5:4) & *NS* 14 (Yūryaku 21:3). The *Samguk* sagi, on the other hand, records that Munju was Kaero's son and that Konji was Munju's younger brother. See *SGSG* 26 (Munju 1 & 3.2) and *SGSG* (Tongsŏng 1). The *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏録 (compiled in 814) supports the *Nihon shoki* claim that Konji was King Kaero's younger brother. See *SSSR* 2.327 (Asukabe no Miyatsuko.2). As Jonathan Best points out, the Paekche Annals suggest that Kaero and Munju were close in age, since Munju served as Kaero's Senior Counselor from early in Kaero's reign. Therefore, it is more likely that Munju and Konji were Kaero's younger brothers rather than his sons. See Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 103.

Konji first appears in the *Songshu* as one of 11 people who were invested with military titles requested by a Paekche envoy to the Liu Song court in 458. His importance in the Paekche hierarchy can be seen by his initial title of Acting Barbarian-Conquering General and *Xianwang* of the Left 行征虜將軍左賢王.[9] *Xianwang* of the Left 左賢王 (lit. "wise king") was a Xiongnu 匈奴 [10] title for those directly below the ruler.[11] Assuming Paekche was following the same conventions, Konji's title suggests that he ranked right below the king and was the second most powerful person in Paekche.

According to the *Nihon shoki*, in 461, King Kaero sent Konji on a long-term mission to the Yamato court to further ties between the two courts:

> [461] Summer, 4th month. Lord Kasuri (King Kaero) quickly heard about Princess Chijin's [J. Iketsu hime] (the young girl Chŏkkye)'s immolation[12] and held counsel saying, "The earlier [custom of] sending girls as tribute to be *uneme*[13] is uncivil and damages our country's reputation. Henceforth, there will be no sending of girls as tribute." Then he told his younger brother Lord Kun (Lord Konji), "You should go to Japan and serve the Emperor." Lord Kun replied, "My lord's commands must not be disobeyed. I would like to receive one of my lord's consorts, and then I will undertake this mission." Lord Kasuri then took a pregnant consort and gave her to Lord Kun in marriage saying, "My pregnant consort is due to give birth this month. If she gives birth on the way, please place [the child] on a ship, regardless of where you are, and quickly send [the child back to our] country." Finally, [Konji] took his leave and undertook his mission to the [Yamato] court.

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[9] *LS* 17 (Baijiguo): 2394.

[10] The Xiongnu were an ancient nomadic group who ranged north of the Central Plains. They first appear in Chinese sources from the 3rd century BCE. See Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[11] It is not clear if the Paekche court was using Xiongnu titles or if the Liu Song court equated native Paekche titles with Xiongnu ones, since both were "barbarian." For more information about Xiongnu titles, see Thomas J. Barfield, "The Hsiung-Nu Imperial Confederacy: Organization and Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 41, no. 1 (November 1, 1981): 45–61, doi:10.2307/2055601.

[12] This refers to an earlier record where a Paekche girl was sent as tribute to the Japanese emperor. She had an affair with a nobleman which enraged the emperor, who had her burned to death. See *NS* 14 (Yūryaku 2:7).

[13] Uneme are women who serve the Japanese emperor.

6th month, 1st day. The pregnant consort gave birth to a child, just as Lord Kasuni said, on Kahara Island in Tsukushi[14]. Thus they named this child "Lord Shima." Then Lord Kun immediately had a ship send Lord Shima back to [Paekche]. [The child later] became King Muryŏng. The people of Paekche call this island, "Chudo."

Fall, 7th Month. Lord Kun entered the capital and had five sons.

The Paekche Sinsŏn[15] says, "In the *sinch'uk* year [461], King Kaero sent his younger brother Lord Konji to Great Wa to serve the Emperor and cultivate the good relations of the former kings."

夏四月、百濟加須利君[蓋鹵王也]、飛聞池津媛之所燔殺[適稽女郎也]而籌議曰「昔貢女人爲采女而既無禮、失我國名。自今以後、不合貢女。」乃告其弟軍君[崑支君也]曰「汝宜往日本、以事天皇。」軍君對曰「上君之命、不可奉違。願賜君婦而後奉遣。」加須利君、則以孕婦嫁與軍君曰「我之孕婦、既當産月。若於路産、冀載一船、隨至何處、速令送國。」遂與辭訣、奉遣於朝。

六月丙戌朔、孕婦果如加須利君言、於筑紫各羅嶋産兒、仍名此兒曰嶋君。於是軍君、即以一船送嶋君於國、是爲武寧王。百濟人、呼此嶋曰主嶋也。

秋七月、軍君入京、既而有五子。[百濟新撰云「辛丑年、蓋鹵王、遣王遣弟昆支君向大倭侍天皇以脩先王之好也。」]¹⁶

This is significant for several reasons: 1) sending the highest ranking member of the royal family besides the king demonstrated the importance of Yamato's alliance with Paekche, 2) the length of the stay would have allowed Konji to develop strong connections and proactively promote Paekche interests at the Yamato court, and 3) his children, including the future King Tongsŏng, were all born in Yamato.

Chŏng Chaeyun notes that Konji left Paekche in the 4th month, arrived at Tsukushi in the 6th month and only arrived at the Yamato capital sometime in the 7th month. He also argues that

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[14] Tsukushi is the name of an old province that corresponds with present-day Fukuoka Prefecture in northern Kyushu.

[15] The *Paekche Sinsŏn* 百濟新撰 [The New Selections of Paekche] is one of three now lost Paekche texts that are quoted in the *Nihon shoki*. The other two are the *Paekchegi* 百濟記 [Paekche Records] and the Paekche pon'gi 百濟本紀 [Paekche Annals], not to be confused with the Paekche Annals from the *Samguk sagi*.

[16] *NS* 14 (Yūryaku 5:4, 6, 7).

the shortest time traveling from Paekche's capital to Yamato is only one month, yet Konji spent possibly up to two months at Tsukushi before arriving at the Yamato capital.[17] Based on this, Chŏng argues that Konji was interacting with hypothetical expatriate Paekche communities in northern Kyushu (and possibly others along the route) to manage their affairs as a representative of the Paekche court, recruit military personnel, and generally cultivate support for the Paekche court. This would also be a role that he performed at Yamato as well.

Although this is an intriguing theory, there is very little to support this line of speculation. Also, there are many possibilities that could have delayed Konji's arrival to the Yamato capital, such as adverse sailing conditions and possibly traveling with a large entourage that would have slowed him down. There is also the return of Lord Shima to consider, which may have required more than just placing him on a ship and sending it in the opposite direction. On the other hand, there clearly were people from Paekche living on the Japanese archipelago, who are recorded in the *Nihon shoki*, so it is entirely possible that Konji would have had interactions with them. Nevertheless, it is not clear what those interactions would have been. In any case, Konji's primary mission was to promote Paekche interests and cultivate ties that would support it, especially in its long continuous confrontation with Koguryŏ.

Paekche's military situation during the latter part of Kaero's reign was dire. Since at least the 4th century, the threat from Koguryŏ in the north had forced Paekche to cultivate alliances with Yamato,[18] Silla,[19] and the Southern Dynasties (420-589).[20] The fact that Kaero was willing

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[17] Chŏng, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏngbun ŭi ch'ukcho wa kŭ chuch'e 영산강유역 前方後圓形墳 의 축조와 그 주체 [Construction and Identity of the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," 256.

[18] The earliest record of contact between Paekche and Yamato is found in the *Nihon shoki* Jingū Year 46 [366] when a Yamato envoy reached the Paekche court. This diplomatic visit was reciprocated the following year in 367. Afterward, Paekche and Yamato continued to have frequent interactions. The *Samguk sagi* Paekche Annals first mentions the establishment of friendly relations in 397 and also notes the Paekche court sent the crown prince

to send a high-ranking royal family member such as Konji to promote Paekche interests in

Yamato for 16 years reveals that Paekche must have felt very threatened by Koguryŏ around 461.

Further evidence of this desperation can be seen in the unusual decision to send an envoy to the

Northern Wei (386-534), imploring punitive action against Koguryŏ in 472.[21] Until then,

Paekche had never sent an embassy to a Northern Dynasty court. Judging from the memorial

presented to the Northern Wei, Paekche desperately tried to incite Northern Wei to attack

Koguryŏ, but ultimately the Northern Wei denied Paekche's request, not wanting to disrupt its

relations with Koguryŏ.[22]

As mentioned above, in 475, Paekche faced extinction when Koguryŏ sacked its capital

at Hansŏng (present-day Seoul) and captured the Han River basin. Just prior, Kaero had sent his

younger brother Munju to request a relief force from Silla, but Munju returned too late. With

most of the royal family captured or killed, Munju became king and the surviving remnants re-

established a new capital to the south at Ungjin (present-day Kongju).[23] The situation afterward

could only be described as chaos. The surviving elites jockeyed for power against a weakened

kingship and nearly dragged the state into civil war. Konji returned to Paekche in 477 to assist

King Munju as Minister of Palace Affairs 内臣佐平, but died suddenly the same year.[24] Munju

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Chŏnji to Yamato as a hostage. The *Nihon shoki* corroborates this account in the same year. See *SGSG* 25.397 (Asin 6:5) and *NS* 10.366-367 (Ōjin 7:9 and 8:3). Chŏnji would later return with an armed escort of one hundred Yamato soldiers. See *SGSG* 25.405 (Chŏnji 1) and *NS* 10.372-373 (Ōjin 16). This is the first example of a Yamato ruler sending back a Paekche royal hostage with an armed escort to assume the kingship.
[19] *SGSG* 3 (Nulchi 17:7); *SGSG* 25 (Piryu 7:7)
[20] The Central Plains region had been divided into competing states after the collapse of the Eastern Jin collapsed (317-420). Those who based their capital in Jiankang (with the exception of Liang) were called the Southern dynasties. Those to the north of the Southern dynasties were called the Northern dynasties.
[21] *SGSG* 25 (Kaero 18); *WS* 100 (Baijiguo): 2217-2219.
[22] Ibid.
[23] *SGSG* 26 (Munju 1:10).
[24] It is never mentioned, but considering the political climate at the time, it is possible he was assassinated.

was assassinated shortly after by a faction led by Hae Ku.[25] Munju's eldest son became King

Samgŭn at the age of 13, but Hae Ku had full control of political and military affairs and

eventually revolted the following year in 478. Samgŭn died suddenly in 479, leaving a power

vacuum at the barely functioning Paekche court.[26]

KING TONGSŎNG & THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN

According to the *Nihon shoki*, Konji's second son, the future King Tongsŏng, was born at

Yamato and was even on close terms with the Japanese ruler.[27] Upon hearing of the death of

King Samgŭn, the *Nihon shoki* has the following account:

> Year 23, summer, 4th month. Paekche King Mun'gŭn [Samgŭn] died. The Emperor summoned Prince Malda [J. Mata], who was the second of Prince Konji's five sons, young in years but intelligent to the inner chambers of the palace. [The emperor] personally stroked the prince's head and face, made a gracious decree, and made [the prince] king of his country. He then bestowed weapons on him as well as sending 500 soldiers of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. He became King Tongsŏng. This year Paekche's tribute was more than usual. Achi no Omi and Umakahi no Omi of Tsukushi commanded a naval fleet to attack Koguryŏ.

> 廿三年夏四月、百濟文斤王、薨。天王、以昆支王五子中第二末多王・幼年聰明、
> 勅喚內裏、親撫頭面、誠勅慇懃、使王其國、仍賜兵器、幷遣筑紫國軍士五百人、
> 衞送於國、是爲東城王。是歲、百濟調賦、益於常例。筑紫安致臣・馬飼臣等、率
> 船師以擊高麗。[28]

The chaos at the Paekche court and the threat of other challengers to the throne after the death of

Samgŭn must have been considerable to have warranted dispatching 500 troops. For Yūryaku,

supporting Tongsŏng's claim to the kingship would have appeared as a good investment. Having

been born and raised in Yamato, Tongsŏng would most likely have been pro-Yamato. After

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[25] *SGSG* 26 (Munju).
[26] This could be another case of assassination.
[27] *NS* 14 (Yūryaku 23: 4).
[28] *NS* 14 (Yūryaku 23: 4).

Tongsŏng became king in that year, Paekche tribute to Yamato was more than normal, which initially suggests that Yūryaku's investment in him was worthwhile.

With a small army at his back, Tongsŏng would have been able to reconfigure the court with his loyalists. One thing that stands out in the above passage is that the soldiers and naval fleet both came from Tsukushi (i.e. northern Kyushu), which had ties with the Yŏngsan River basin.[29] Chŏng suggests that Konji's possible long stay in northern Kyushu and connections in Tsukushi could have contributed to the deployment of this military assistance. In addition, the relevance of this passage is not only the movement of 500 soldiers from northern Kyushu to Paekche, but Tongsŏng's retinue as well, which would have included his Yamato and expatriate Paekche supporters. Chŏng even argues that these expatriate Paekche/Wa officials in Tongsŏng would have been integrated into his new government.[30] This seems highly likely as Tongsŏng's base of power derived from his own and Konji's connections more than with the powerful elite in Ungjin, which he probably never visited. Some scholars even argue that some of Tongsŏng's returning retinue was buried in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.[31] The argument in support of this theory is that these soldiers and some of the court officials were from Yamato and

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[29] Although Yamato influence extended as far as Kyushu by the late 5th century, it was not a direct form of control but a network of real or fictitious kinship connections. Koji Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[30] Chŏng, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnbang huwŏnhyŏngbun ŭi ch'ukcho wa kŭ chuch'e 영산강유역 前方後圓形墳의 축조와 그 주체 [Construction and Identity of the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," 261–262.

[31] Pak Ch'ŏnsu, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 겁토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]," in *Hanbando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 한반도의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2011), 175–255; Chu Podon, "Paekche ŭi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chibae pangsik kwa chŏnbang huwŏn p'ijangja ŭi sŏngkyŏk 百濟의 榮山江流域 支配方式과 前方後圓墳 被葬者의 性格 [Paekche's Administration Methods of the Yŏngsan River Valley and the Characteristics of those Entombed in the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," in *Han'guk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 韓國의 前方後圓墳 [Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs] (Taejŏn: Ch'ungnam Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2000).

subscribed to the keyhole-shaped tumuli burial culture, so when they died in Paekche, they would have been buried in a ritual system familiar to them.

One of the problems with the theory that Tongsŏng's returning retinue were interred in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli is that the 500 bodyguards most likely became integrated into the capital palace guards or central military. If that is the case, then there should be keyhole-shaped tumuli around the capital area of Ungjin, yet there are none. There also would have been little reason to settle them out to the countryside, especially in the borderlands of the Yŏngsan River basin. Even if they had been, they would have had to have the authority to command the construction of these large-scale keyhole-shaped tumuli, which is unlikely since they had no local base of power. Therefore, it is unlikely the tomb occupants were Yamato officials or soldiers. In addition, it is unlikely that Paekche was strong enough during Tongsŏng's reign to annex the Yŏngsan River basin. Unfortunately, the texts do not give us any additional context, so the connection between Tongsŏng's retinue and the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli cannot be answered satisfactorily.

The most direct reference to the Yŏngsan River basin is found in the Paekche Annals during the reign of Tongsŏng as follows:

> [498] 8th month. Since T'amna[32] had not presented tribute, the king personally led an army as far as Mujinju. When the people of T'amna heard of this, however, they sent an envoy and admitted their guilt, so the king halted the campaign.[33]
>
> 八月王以耽羅不修貢賦親征至武珍州耽羅聞之遣使乞罪乃止。[34]

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[32] T'amna is believed to be Cheju Island. First contact with T'amna is recorded in the *Samguk sagi* during the 2nd month of the 2nd year of Munju's reign [476]. This, however, contradicts the *Nihon shoki,* which records first contact between T'amna and Paekche in 508. See *NS* 17 (Keitai: 2:12). See Chapter 2 and the section regarding Ch'immidarye/Tomutare.

[33] Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 312.

Mujinju is clearly identified in historical geographical texts as being present-day Kwangju, which is in the Yŏngsan River basin. The key to deciphering this passage is the character *chŏng* 征, which in this context could either mean "go on a military campaign" or "go on a journey/travel to." Jonathan Best's translation does an excellent job conveying the ambiguity of the sentence, since it is not clear if Tongsŏng was invading/acquiring territory up to Mujinju or simply passing through. The context of the sentence suggests that Tongsŏng was simply using the Yŏngsan River basin as a transportation route to reach T'amna, since he stopped advancing by the time the people of T'amna apologized. There are also no indications he faced resistance or subjugated any towns or people; 征 in the military sense seems to describe the nature of his punitive mission against T'amna and not a territorial expansion in this case. This could be seen as evidence that Paekche already had control over the Yŏngsan River basin at this time. On the other hand, it is also possible that Tongsŏng was merely passing through allied or neutral polities in the Yŏngsan River basin and not necessarily evidence of direct control. Without additional context, it is not clear.

PAEKCHE'S SOUTHERN EXPANSION VIA CHINESE DYNASTIC RECORDS

While it is clear that Paekche eventually did annex the Yŏngsan River basin by the early 6th century, the process through which this occurred is a mystery. As we discovered in Chapter 2, Paekche had little to no authority in the Yŏngsan River basin prior to the late 5th century. Afterward within the span of several decades, Paekche managed to consoidate its control over the Yŏngsan River basin. Since the Paekche Annals and the *Nihon shoki* provide no information about Paekche's southern advance into the Yŏngsan River basin, the evolution of Paekche's

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[34] *SGSG* 26 (Tongsŏng 20:8).

regional administration may provide some clues regarding Paekche's increased interest in the

Yŏngsan River basin at this time.

The only mention of regional administration in the Paekche Annals of the *Samguk sagi* is

the establishment of *pu* 部, which Jonathan Best translates as "circuits," that correspond to the

four directions: north, south, east and west.[35] According to the Paekche Annals, the Northern and

Southern Circuit were defined in the year 13, and the Eastern and Western Circuit were

established two years later, all during King Onjo's reign. There is no further information

regarding the boundaries of these circuits.[36] For additional clues, we need to turn to the Chinese

dynastic histories.

The Nobility System 王侯制度

The *Nanqishu* 南齊書 (compiled in 537) is the earliest external record of Paekche's

regional administration. Tongsŏng sent two embassies in 490 and 495 to request titles for his

subordinates for loyalty to the court, political merit, assisting the state, and military achievements.

In addition to the Southern Qi military titles, the Paekche embassy also requested confirmation

for native titles which included territorial designations and either the title of "lord"王 or

"prince"侯. This is described in Korean and Japanese academic literature as Paekche's nobility

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[35] Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*.

[36] No T'aedon believes that these *pu* were semi-autonomous regions that gave up trade, foreign relations, and military control to the central authority but maintained their own affairs. The local authorities who were incorporated into the *pu* system adopted the political and cultural authority of the central authority. See No T'aedon, "Ch'ogi kodae kukka ŭi kukka kujo wa chŏngch'i unyŏng: puch'ejeron ŭl chungsim ŭro 초기 고대국가의 국가구조와 정치운영: 부체제론을 중심으로 [The State Structure and Political Administration of of Early Ancient States: The Pu System]," *Han'guk kodaesa yŏn'gu* 17 (March 2000): 5–27.

system 王侯制度. Similar to the current British peerage system, Paekche elites must have held

titles that had at least nominal ties to a certain territory. For example, Chŏ Kŭn held the native

title of Lord of Myŏnjung 面中王, which was changed to Prince of P'alchung 八中侯.[37] Looking

at the list of title recipients, the majority are members of the royal lineage Yŏ 餘 (shortened from

Puyŏ 夫餘), while the rest are lineages inter-married with or closely affiliated with the royal

lineage.

Table 3-2: [490] Paekche Embassy to Southern Qi Court[38]

Name	Southern Qi Title	Native Title
Chŏ Kŭn 姐瑾	General Tranquilizing the North 寧朔將軍 => Champion General 冠軍將軍	Lord of Myŏnjung 面中王 => Prince of P'alchung 八中侯
Yŏ Ko 餘古	General of Establishing Might 建威將軍 => General Tranquilizing the North 寧朔將軍	Prince of P'alchung 八中侯 => Lord of Ach'ak 阿錯王
Yŏ Ryŏk 餘歷	General of Soaring Dragons 龍驤將軍	Lord of Maero 邁盧王
Yŏ Ko 餘固	General of Establishing Might 建威將軍	Prince of Pulsa 弗斯侯

Table 3-3: [495] Paekche Embassy to Southern Qi Court[39]

Name	Southern Qi Title	Native Title
Sa Pŏpmyŏng 沙法名	General Tranquilizing the North 寧朔將軍	Lord of Maera 邁羅王 [Same as Maero 邁盧]

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[37] The assumption here is that being Prince of P'alchung is superior to being Lord of Myŏnjung, since these title changes were all promotions.
[38] *NQS* 39 (Gaoliguo): 1020.
[39] *NQS* 39 (Gaoliguo): 1011-1012.

Ch'an Suryu 贊首流	General Pacifying the State 安國將軍	Lord of Pyŏkchung[40] 辟中王
Hae Ryegon 解禮昆	General of Martial Might 武威將軍	Prince of Pulchung 弗中侯 [Same as Pulsa 弗斯]
Mok Kanna 木干那	General of Military Expansion 廣武將軍	Prince of Myŏnjung 面中侯

Unfortunately, the present-day equivalents of these territorial designations are unclear, but Suematsu Yasukazu argues that these places were in Okku, Kimje in present-day North Chŏlla Province and Kwangju, Mokp'o and Naju in South Chŏlla Province:[41]

Place Name	Present-Day Equivalent	River Basin
Myŏngjung 面中	Kwangju	Yŏngsan River
Tohan 都漢	Kohŭng	Yŏngsan River
P'alchung 八中	Naju	Yŏngsan River
Ach'ak 阿錯	Mokp'o	Yŏngsan River
Maero 邁盧	Okku	Kŭm River
Pulsa 弗斯	Chŏnju	Man'gyŏng River
Pyŏkchung 辟中	Kimje	Man'gyŏng River

The argument is that by 490, Paekche had recently annexed these new territories and needed to confirm these titles and territorial designations to members of the royal family and close kin. If this schema is correct, that means that major parts of the Yŏngsan River basin were nominally

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[40] Pyŏkchung is one of the towns mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* Jingū 49 that surrendered to a joint Yamato-Paekche force and King Kŭnch'ogo and his son Kŭngusu in 369.

[41] Suematsu Yasukazu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 [A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1961), 110–113.

under Paekche's control by 490. These locations are all ideally positioned to form relationships with local authorities.

Unfortunately, this does not tell us the exact nature of Paekche's control. Having a title over a region and actually having direct control are two different things. The Paekche court requested confirmation of its titles by the Southern Dynasty courts in order to establish a bureaucratic order. Much in the same way that the Wa kings tried to request titles over territories they clearly did not control, these Paekche envoys could be doing the same. Yŏn Minsu argues that these titles could represent officials who were responsible for collecting tribute from semi-autonomous polities in the Yŏngsan River basin, but there is not enough data to know for sure.[42]

The *Tamno System* 擔魯制度

The next most contemporary source available is the *Liang zhigongtu* 梁職貢圖 [43] (created sometime between 526-539), which has the following description of Paekche's regional administration and neighboring polities:

> The fortress from where it rules [i.e. the capital] is called Koma [C. Guma]. [They] call [their] towns *tamno* [C. *danlu*]. It is like the Chinese prefecture-county system. There are 22 *tamno* divided among the king's sons or other members of the royal family who control them. The small polities surrounding [Paekche], such as Panp'a [C. Panbo][44], T'ak [C. Zhuo][45], Tara [C. Duoluo], Chŏnna [C. Qianluo], Sara [C. Siluo][46], Chimi [C.

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[42] Yŏn Minsu, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun p'ijangja wa kŭ sŏngkyŏk 영산강유역의 전방후원분 피장자와 그 성격 [The Interred and Characteristics of the Keyhole Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Basin]," in *Hanbando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 한반도의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2011), 238.

[43] The *Liangshu* 梁書 (compiled in 636) repeats most of this verbatim.

[44] Panp'a is another name for Tae Kaya and also appears in the *Nihon shoki NS* 17 (Keitai 7:6).

[45] T'ak 卓 could be the phonetically similar T'ak 喙 or an abbreviated form of T'aksun 卓淳, both of which are Kaya polities referred to in Jingū 49.

[46] This is probably Silla.

Zhimi], Maryŏn [C. Malian], Upper Samun [C. Upper Siwen].[47] Lower Ch'imna [C. Zhenluo],[48] etc., belonged to Paekche.

所治城曰固麻 謂邑檐魯於中國郡縣有二十二檐魯 分子弟宗族爲之。 旁小國有叛波, 卓, 多羅, 前羅, 斯羅, 止迷, 麻連, 上巳文, 下枕羅, 等附之。 [49]

The author of the *Liang zhigongtu* was most likely drawing a loose analogy between the *tamno* system and the Chinese prefecture-county administrative system, where a centralized government sent officials out to directly administer prefectures and counties. I agree with Yu Wonjae's assessment that the *tamno* meant "fortress" or "castle-town," where a representative of the Paekche court resided and managed the tributary relationship between the region and the central government.[50] This is in accord with the *Nanqishu*'s account of Paekche requesting titles for royal family members over regional areas. In other words, the aristocracy system and the *tamno* system were two different descriptions of essentially the same thing.

As for whether or not these *tamno* included the Yŏngsan River basin, Im Yŏngjin advances an interesting hypothesis that they did not. At the time the *Liang zhigongtu* was created in 539, Paekche had 22 *tamno*. By the time of Paekche's extinction in 660, it had a total of 37 prefectures 郡, which Im assumes were geographically based off the original *tamno*, with one of them being the capital. So between 539 and 660, Paekche added 15 administrative units. In the Later Silla period (668-935), former Paekche territory was divided into 36 prefectures, also based on the old Paekche administrative divisions. Sixteen of those prefectures constituted

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[47] This is probably the same as Kimun 己汶 recorded in the *Nihon shoki*. See *NS* 17 (Keitai 7:6).

[48] This is probably a copyist error for T'amna 耽羅 or Cheju Island.

[49] Yi Tohak, "Yang chikkongdo wa Chungguk ŭi kodae Han'guk yuimin 양직공도와 중국의 고대 한국 유이민 [The Liang Zhigongtu and China's Ancient Korean Immigrants]" (Puyŏ: Kungnip Puyŏ Pangmulgwan, 1998), 88–94.

[50] Yu Wŏnjae, "Yangsŏ Paekchejŏn ŭi tamno 『양서』<백제전>의 첨로 [The Tamno in the Baijizhuan of the Liang Shu]," *Paekche yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ* 5 (1997): 91–120.

the Yŏngsan River basin region. Therefore, Im concludes that the annexation of the Yŏngsan

River basin must have occurred after 539.[51] If this is true, then the Yŏngsan River basin would

have come under direct Paekche control soon after King Sŏng moved the capital to Sabi

(present-day Puyŏ) in 538 and instituted the five-province system 五方制度.

The Five-Province System 五方制度

The five-province system is first mentioned in the *Zhoushu* 周書 (compiled in 636):

[There is the capital] Koma Fortress. Beyond it are five provinces: the Central Province is called Kosa Fortress, the Eastern Province is called Tŭgan Fortress, the Southern Province is called Kujiha Fortress, the Western Province is called Tosŏn Fortress, the Northern Province is called Unjin Fortress…The five provinces each have a province commander, who is of the rank of *talsol*.[52] [a province is composed of <up to> 10 prefectures].[53] There are three prefecture generals, who are of the rank of *tŏksol*.[54] [Each] province [prefecture][55] has a total of between 700 and 1,300 troops. Around the fortresses are the commoners and smaller fortresses. They are all distributed among them.

治固麻城。其外更有五方：中方曰古沙城，東方曰得安城，南方曰久知下城，西方曰刀先城，北方曰熊津城。。。五方各有方領一人，以達率為之；郡將三

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[51] Im Yŏngjin, "3-5-segi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏkkwŏn Mahan seryŏk ŭi sŏngjang paegyŏng kwa han'gye 3-5 세기 영산강 유역권 마한세력의 성장 배경과 한계 [The Circumstances and Limits to the Growth of Mahan Power in the Yŏngsan River Basin in the 3rd - 5th Century]," in *Paekche wa Yŏngsan'gang* 백제와 영산강 [Paekche and the Yŏngsan River] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2012), 128–129.

[52] A *talsol* is the second highest rank in the Paekche sixteen bureaucratic grade system. For more information about Paekche's bureaucratic rank system, see Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 41–51.

[53] According to the *Zhoushu* commentary, this line appears in the *Suishu* 隋書, and the *Beishi* 北史 (compiled in 658), but it omitted here. It was probably omitted by error.

[54] A *tŏksol* is the fourth highest rank in the Paekche sixteen bureaucratic grade system.

[55] The *Zhoushu* commentary notes that the character for province *pang* 方 is missing in the *Beishi* version, and that the total number of soldiers refers back to a prefecture and not the province. This makes more sense since the original passage suggests that Paekche only an average of 5,000 soldiers in the countryside, which makes absolutely no sense.

人，以德率為之。方統兵一千二百人以下，七百人以上。城之
內外民庶及餘小城，咸分隷焉。[56]

As we can see, the five-province system supersedes and simplifies the 22 *tamno* system into five

regions, each with a regional capital and composed of up to 10 prefectures. This is ultimately the

system that Paekche continues to use after its move from Ungjin to Sabi in 538 until its

destruction by Silla in 660.

Based on Chinese dynastic records, we can conclude that after the move to Ungjin in 475,

Paekche had a tributary-style system of governing its provincial regions via a fortress or castle-

town controlled by a member of the royal family. Although it is not clear from the texts, the

Yŏngsan River basin most likely was not part of the *tamno* provincial administration system until

after Paekche moved its capital to Sabi in 538, at which point it was incorporated into the five-

province system of more direct and centralized control. All of this, however, does not negate the

likelihood that Paekche did not have direct control over the Yŏngsan River basin during the late

5th – early 6th century. This also does not give us clues as to the identity of those entombed in the

YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. For that, we need to return to the larger narrative of Paekche-

Yamato relations.

LULL IN OFFICIAL PAEKCHE-YAMATO RELATIONS

During Tongsŏng's reign, no additional tribute missions were sent to Yamato. This is

unusual, considering Tongsŏng had significant personal ties to Yamato. This absence of tribute

missions or any relations for a span of 25-years did not go unnoticed at the Yamato court. When

a Paekche envoy finally did arrive in 504, Yamato ruler Buretsu imprisoned him, noting the

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[56] *ZS* 41 (Baiji): 886.

many years Paekche had not sent tribute.[57] Buretsu's entry tells us that the absence of recorded tribute missions was actually due to a period of no tribute missions from Paekche, and not missing historical records. The reason for this lull in official activity between Paekche and Yamato is not explained. The Paekche Annals records for Tongsŏng's reign suggest he valued hunting and extravagance over ruling, which ultimately ended in his demise. If official contact between Paekche and Yamato were closed during the late 5th century as the records indicate, their impact on the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli construction would have been minimized, which further weakens the case that Paekche or Yamato had an active hand in their construction. Unfortunately, we do not have records of non-official contact that most likely continued to exist, which may have shed more light on the interactions of Paekche and Yamato during this period.

Yamato, during the time of Tongsŏng's reign (479-501), was having its own political problems. After the death of Yūryaku in 479, the Yamato court was plagued with succession issues, competing factions, and family drama that even included the roasting of an imperial prince.[58] After Yūryaku there was a succession of several rulers with relatively short reigns until Keitai in 507. This instability at the Yamato court most likely weakened its hold on frontier local authorities, such as those on Kyushu, which had opted into the Yamato network of kinship ties. The political situation in Yamato may have incentivized local authorities, such as in Kyushu, or those outside the Yamato court to further strengthen their own ties with other regions, such as the Yŏngsan River basin. Keitai, according to the *Nihon shoki*, was also an outsider of the Yamato core and originally from Tamba Province 丹波国 (part of present-day Kyoto Prefecture and

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[57] *NS* 16 (Buretsu 6:10).
[58] *NS* 15 (Seinei 1).

Hyōgo Prefecture). This could be considered the inauguration of a new dynasty, since Keitai is said to be a fifth generation descendant of one of Ōjin's sons, according to the *Nihon shoki*.

REVITALIZATION OF PAEKCHE-YAMATO RELATIONS

After a lull in relations after 479, contact between Paekche and Yamato intensified during the reigns of Paekche King Muryŏng and Yamato King Keitai, starting with a Yamato envoy to Paekche in 509.[59] In fact, the highest concentration of records concerning Paekche in the *Nihon shoki* is during the reigns of Keitai and Kinmei (r. 539-571). This period of increased activity is also characterized by Yamato's implicit or explicit support of Paekche's expansion into the Sŏmjin River basin of the Kaya region, as well as resistance to Silla's own annexation of the Kaya region throughout Kinmei's reign. More importantly, the *Nishon shoki* records local authorities from the border regions carrying title and ranks from both the Paekche and the Yamato courts. Although the Yŏngsan River basin is never mentioned, it is possible that local authorities from there could have similarly held title and ranks from Paekche and Yamato courts as well.

The earliest example of this recorded in the *Nihon shoki* is Hozumi no Omi Oshiyama 穗積臣押山,[60] who was the regional authority of Tari 哆唎國 in the Kaya region. In 512, the Yamato court had Oshiyama send 44 horses from Tsukushi as tribute to Paekche.[61] It seems odd that the Yamato court would ask a Kaya regional authority to procure horses from Kyushu to send to the Paekche court, unless he had strong connections with both courts and Kyushu. It may

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[59] *NS* 17 (Keitai 3:2).

[60] Omi 臣 was a Yamato hereditary title or *kabane* 性 reserved for the most powerful lineages. Traditionally, those who held the *kanabe* of *omi* were considered branches of the imperial line whether fictitious or real. The part of the title in front of Omi was usually a territorial designation, usually their place of origin.

[61] *NS* 17 (Keitai 6:4).

also indicate Oshiyama's influential position on the Paekche-Kaya-Kyushu-Yamato trading network. In the 12th month of the same year, Oshiyama accompanied a Paekche envoy to Yamato requesting ownership over the following "four districts of Mimana" 任那四県: Upper Tari 上哆唎, Lower Tari 下哆唎, Sat'a 娑陀 (J. Sada), and Moru 牟婁. Oshiyama, as the authority of Tari, made the following impassioned plea:

> [512] Hozumi no Omi Oshiyama, the governor of the land of Tari, petitioned the [Yamato] emperor saying, "These four districts are closely connected to Paekche but distantly separated from Japan. Morning and night [Paekche and Tari] exchange communications, and our chickens and dogs [are so close to each other] it is difficult to distinguish [whose are whose].[62] If [these counties] are now bestowed to Paekche and joined together to form the same country, then there is no better policy. True there may be a threat to future generations if [these counties] are bestowed to make a unified country. But how many years can [they] be defended if they are separate?
>
> 哆唎國守穗積臣押山奏曰「此四縣、近連百濟、遠隔日本、旦暮易通、鷄犬難別。今賜百濟合爲同國、固存之策、無以過此。然縱賜合國、後世猶危、況爲異場、幾年能守。」[63]

The request was subsequently granted.[64]

Oshiyama's impassioned plea tells us several things. One, Paekche at this time had expanded far enough to neighbor Tari on the Sŏmjin River. Second, Oshiyama had calculated that merging his territory with Paekche would be more beneficial than being independent or continuing relations with Yamato. This provides an example of a regional elite willing to merge

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[62] This appears to be an allusion to Laozi in a similar line in the *Daodejing* 道德經 where it describes neighboring states being so close that they can "hear the sounds of each other's chickens and dogs" 雞犬之聲相聞.

[63] *NS* 17 (Keitai 6:12).

[64] The designations for these place names to present-day are in many ways just as arbitrary as Suematsu's choice to equate the "four counties of Mimana" to the Yŏngsan River basin. In the case of Kimun and Taesa, there seems to be a general agreement among Korean and Japanese scholars about their present-day equivalents. See Kim T'aesik, *Kaya yŏnmaengsa* 加耶聯盟史 [History of the Kaya Confederation] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1993); Suematsu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 [A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana], 130.

his territory into Paekche and join the ranks of Paekche's elites for political and/or economic reasons and not within the context of a conquest. A similar situation may have been developing in the Yŏngsan River basin as well.

On the other hand, some Japanese scholars believe that the "four districts of Mimana" are in the Yŏngsan River basin.[65] All of these theories, however, are based on very arbitrary and questionable linguistic work done by Suematsu Yasukazu, who looked at Paekche place names and tried to find ones that sounded similar to the ones of the four districts in present-day South Korea. One example is his arbitrary decision that Moru was the same as present-day Muan in South Chŏlla Province. According to the Monograph of Geography in the *Samguk sagi*, the old Paekche name for Muan was Murahye 勿阿兮. Suematsu argues that this name would have been pronounced "mur-a-xoi" at the time, which happens to sound similar to Moru.[66] No other evidence is presented, and no further analysis or even sources for his reconstruction are given. Yet many Japanese nationalist scholars have taken his geographic designations as canon and do not question it. In addition, if Oshiyama is considered a regional authority of the Yŏngsan River basin, his participation in the following Paekche tribute mission to Yamato is problematic.[67]

> [513] 7th Year, Summer, 6th Month. Paekche sent General Chŏmi Mun'gwi [J. Sami Monki] and General Churi Chŭgi [J. Tsuri Soni], along with Hozumi no Omi Oshiyama (the Paekche Annals say, "Commissioned Lord Oshiyama.") to present a scholar of the Five Confucian Classics Tan Yangi[68] and a separate memorial that said, "the land of

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[65] Suematsu, *Mimana kōbōshi* 任那興亡史 [A History of the Rise and Fall of Mimana].
[66] Ibid., 123.
[67] Recently, there is a view that these 4 districts of Mimana are related to the fall of Kŭmgwan Kaya and is in the region of Kimhae. See Suzuki Hideo, "Iwayuru 'Mimana shiken katsujō' mondai to Ōtomo Kanamura no shikkyaku: 'Kumanari' to 'Mimana shiken' no ichi いわゆる「任那四県割譲」問題と大伴金村の失脚--「久麻那利」と「任那四県」の位置 [The So-called 'Yielding of the Four Districts of Mimana' and the Downfall of Otomo Kanamura: The Location of 'Kumanari' and 'The Four Districts of Mimana,'" *Kokugakuin daigaku kiyō* 48 (2010): 277–95.
[68] The person most likely was a person of Paekche of Han Chinese-descent based on the name.

Panp'a [Tae Kaya][69] has seized our land of Kimun [J. Komon].[70] We humbly wish that your Heavenly favor can restore it to its original jurisdiction."

七年夏六月、百濟遣姐彌文貴將軍・洲利卽爾將軍、副穗積臣押山[百濟本記云、委意斯移麻岐彌]貢五經博士段楊爾、別奏云「伴跛國、略奪臣國己汶之地。伏願、天恩判還本屬。」[71]

If this passage is accurate, Tae Kaya (i.e. Panp'a) and Paekche were both expanding into the upper reaches of the Sŏmjin River basin and apparently clashing with each other. Not only did Paekche absorb Kimun, but several months later, thanks to Yamato diplomacy, it had also absorbed Taesa 帶沙 (present-day Hadong, South Kyŏngsang Province) at the mouth of the Sŏmjin River.[72] Oshiyama's participation in this would only make sense if he were already a regional authority of the Sŏmjin River and could negotiate on behalf of Paekche. As a local authority of the Yŏngsan River basin, he would have very little influence on the outcome of this negotiation.

The presence of Oshiyama as a regional authority of the Sŏmjin River basin and mediator between Paekche, Yamato, and the Sŏmjin River authorities is also a possible model for something similar happening in the Yŏngsan River basin. It is also interesting to note that Oshiyama is still recorded with his Yamato title Hozumi no Omi while also holding a Paekche title as well. Kimun or Taesa was not one of the "four districts" that Paekche had acquired the previous year, but it is clear that Paekche's expansion into the Sŏmjin River basin was nearing completion by this point, according to the *Nihon shoki.* A similar expansion must have also been occurring in the Yŏngsan River basin as well, since the Yŏngsan River basin is geographically

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[69] Panp'a is generally thought to be the polity of Tae Kaya, which was based out of present-day Koryŏng, North Kyŏngsang Province in the Naktong River basin.
[70] Kimun is thought to be in present-day Namwŏn, North Chŏlla Province in the Sŏmjin River basin.
[71] *NS* 17 (Keitai 7:6).
[72] *NS* 17 (Keitai 7:11).

adjacent to the Sŏmjin River basin. The lack of any references to the Yŏngsan River basin in the *Nihon shoki* suggests that the Yamato court had either no relations with it or interest in it. Based on Paekche's expansion into the Sŏmjin River basin, the local authorities in the Yŏngsan River basin would have been keenly aware of Paekche's southern intentions. Whether some embraced it, as Oshiyama had, or resisted it is a question that cannot be answered with the extant texts.

PAEKCHE OFFICIALS OF WA-DESCENT

In addition to regional authorities such as Oshiyama, we see the sudden appearance of additional Paekche officials of Wa-descent appearing in the early part of Yamato King Kinmei's reign (r. 539-571), which overlaps with Paekche King Sŏng's reign (523-554). Paekche's foreign relations situation at the time consisted of fighting with Koguryŏ in the north and confronting Silla in the Kaya region in the south. In the early 6th century, Silla began expanding into the Kaya region, which, according to the *Nihon shoki*, alarmed Paekche and Yamato. As a result, many envoys were sent from Paekche and Yamato to the Kaya region to try to find a solution to the Silla crisis. Unable to find a diplomatic solution, the situation quickly deteriorated into a conflict, which the Kaya polities lost. The following is a chronological list of Paekche officials of Wa-descent found in the *Nihon shoki* during the reigns of Keitai and Kinmei:

[512, 513, 529] Hozumi no Omi Oshiyama 穗積臣押山

[516]　Shinano Ahita 斯那奴阿比多 [73]

[541,542, 544] Nasol Ki no Omi 紀臣奈率 [74]

[543] Sidŏk Mononobe no Makamu 物部施德麻哿牟 [75]

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[73] *NS* 17 (Keitai 10:9).
[74] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 2:7; 3:7; 5:2). According to the commentary in the *Nihon shoki*, Nasol Ki no Omi was probably the son of Ki no Omi and a woman from the Korean peninsula, who remained in the country and was made Nasol by Paekche. It is not clear who his father was. Here Ki no Omi is just a hereditary title and not a personal name.

[544; 545] Nasol Mononobe no Yōkata no Muraji 物部連奈率用歌多 [76]

[544] Nasol Kose Kama 許勢奈率歌麻 [77]

[544] Nasol Mononbe no Kahi 物部奈率歌非 [78]

[553] Nasol Shinano Shishu of the Upper Division 上部徳率科野 [79]

[553] Kawachibe no Ashihita 河内部阿斯比多 [80]

[553] Nasol Shinano Shiragi of the Upper Division 上部奈率科野新羅 [81]

[554] Nasol Mononobe no Kaku of the Upper division 上部奈率物部烏 [82]

[554] Governor of the Eastern Province Mononobe no Makamu no Muraji 東方領物部莫哥武連 [83]

The lineages of some of these Paekche officials of Wa-descent are the same as those that form the core of the Yamato court, such as Ki 紀氏, Mononobe 物部氏, Shinano 科野(斯那奴, 斯奈奴)氏, Kose 許勢氏, which suggests that they had connections at the Yamato court as well. [84] With the exception of Mononobe no Makamu no Muraji, these Paekche officials of Wa-

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[75] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 4:9).
[76] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 5:2; 6:5).
[77] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 5:3; 5:10; 5:11).
[78] Ibid.
[79] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 14:1).
[80] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 14:1).
[81] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 14:8).
[82] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 15:2).
[83] *NS* 19 (Kinmei 15:12).
[84] Kasai Wajin, "Kinmei-chō ni okeru Kudara no tai-Wa gaikō: toku ni Nikkei Kudara kanryō wo chūshin ni 欽明朝における百済の対倭外交: 特に日系百済官僚を中心に [Paekche's Foreign Relations with Wa during the Reign of Kinmei: Japanese Paekche Officials]," in *Nihon shoki kenkyū 1* 日本書紀研究 1 [Studies on the Nihon Shoki 1] (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1964); Kasai Wajin, *Kodai no Nitchō kankei to Nihon shoki* 古代の日朝関係と日本書紀 [Ancient Japan-Korea Relations and the Nihon Shoki] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000); Kim Hyŏn'gu, *Yamato seiken no taigai kankei kenkyū* 大和政権の対外関係研究 [Yamato's Foreign Relations] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa

descent functioned primarily to request military assistance from the Yamato court or were sent to Kaya to devise strategies to restore the Kaya polities that were being annexed by Silla.

Among the above-listed historical figures who had dual Paekche-Yamato ranks and title, Mononobe no Makamu no Muraji is notable because he served as a high-ranking Paekche military officer and was even governor of Paekche's Eastern Province 東方. Since provincial governors had to have held at the rank of *talsol* [Rank 2 out of 16], Mononobe no Makamu no Muraji would have been the highest-ranking dual Paekche-Yamato official ever recorded. In 554, as the governor of the Eastern Province, he was assigned to attack Silla's Hamsan fortress. Hamsan Fortress, Silla's Kwansan Fortress (present-day Okch'ŏn), is where King Sŏng was killed. Mononobe no Makamu no Muraji was of the Mononobe lineage, who handled military affairs in Yamato. The headquarters of the Eastern Province was in present-day South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. Therefore, if he had been buried in a keyhole-shaped tumulus, it would have been there or in the Paekche capital of Sabi but not in the Yŏngsan River basin.

Starting in the 540s, there was a sudden jump in the number of Paekche officials of Wa-descent. This also happens to coincide with Paekche's annexation of the Yŏngsan and Sŏmjin River basins. This suggests that there must have been local authorities of Wa-descent, who had connections with both Paekche and Yamato and were absorbed into the Paekche central elite. In

Kōbunkan, 1985); Yi Chaesŏk, "Sowi Wagye Paekche kwallyo wa Yamato wanggwŏn 소위 倭系百濟官僚와 야마토 王權 [The So-called Wa Paekche Officials and the Yamato Royal Authority]," *Han'guk kodaesa yŏn'gu* 20 (December 2000): 531–67; Paek Sŭngch'ung, "Imna Ilbonbu wa Paekche-Waegye kwallyo 任那日本府와 百濟倭系官僚 [Mimana Nihonfu and Paekche's Officials of Wa-Descent]," in *Kangjwa Han'guk kodaesa che-4-kwŏn: kodae kukka ŭi taeoe kwan'gye* 강좌 한국고대사 제 4 권: 고대국가의 대외관계 [Lectures on Ancient Korean History Volume 4: Foreign Relations of the Ancient State] (Seoul: Karak Kuksajŏk Kaebal Yŏn'guwŏn, 2003), 395; Yŏn Minsu, "6-segi chŏnban Kaya cheguk ŭl tullŏssan Paekche, Silla ŭi tonghyang 六世紀前半 加耶諸國을 둘러싼 白濟, 新羅의 動向 [Trends in Paekche and Silla Surrounding Kaya in the Early 6th Century]," *Silla munhwa* 7 (December 1990): 105–43.

fact, Paekche's countryside already seemed to have been quite diverse as indicated by the

Chinese dynastic histories *Suishu* 隨書 (compiled in 636) and the *Nanshi* 南史 (compiled in

659):

> A province has [up to] ten prefectures. Each prefecture has a general. The people are a
> mix of Silla, Koguryŏ, Wa, etc., and there are also Chinese.
>
> 方有十郡，郡有將。其人雜有新羅、高麗、倭等，亦有中國人。[85]

Paekche would have found these local authorities of Wa-descent, such as Oshiyama,

quite useful for their connections with other regional authorities and their positions on the

Paekche-Kaya-Kyushu-Yamato trade network. Yŏn Minsu speculates that these Paekche

officials of Wa-descent would have also been useful for their language skills as well, although

the Paekche and Wa seemed to have had no trouble communicating previously.[86]

The main problem connecting these figures to those buried in the YSR keyhole-shaped

tumuli is the chronology. These Paekche officials of Wa-descent appeared after the last of the

YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli were constructed, so they could not be the ones buried in them. The

only possibilities are that the above Paekche officials of Wa-descent are the offspring of those

buried in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli or that the tomb chronology is incorrect. The

chronology of the texts is difficult to question since the circumstances of their activities (i.e.

Silla's annexation of the Kaya region) is cross-verified in other texts, such as the Silla Annals.

HISTORICAL FIGURES OF MIXED HERITAGE

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[85] *Suishu* 46 (Baiji): 1818.

[86] Yŏn Minsu, "Waegye Paekche kwallyo ŭi silch'e wa kŭ sŏngkyŏk 倭系百濟官僚의 실체와 그 성격 [The Reality of Paekche Officials of Wa-Descent and their Characteristics]," in *Ch'ungch'ŏng Hakkwa Ch'ungch'ŏng Munhwa 11* (Kongju: Ch'ungch'ŏngnam-do Yŏksa Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 2011), 7.

Current theories regarding the identity of those entombed in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli have been restricted to limited identity labels found in historical texts, such as Wa or Mahan. I argue that some of the entombed may not have fallen so easily into either textually-derived category of identity and could either be a different group or a group made up of "Wa" and "Mahan," which may explain the eclectic nature of the burials. Evidence for people of mixed heritage between "Japanese" people and Han 韓, a general term for people from the southern Korean peninsula,[87] can be found in the *Nihon shoki*. One example is a memorial sent by the ruler of Imna to the Yamato court complaining about Kena no Omi, the Yamato envoy to Imna:

> [530] [Kena no Omi] is negligent in administering governmental affairs. There are many complex disputes regarding children between Japanese and Imna people. None have been resolved. Kena no Omi enjoys trials by boiling water saying, "Those who are true will not be scalded. Those who are false will surely be scalded. Due to this, many have been scalded to death by being plunged into the boiling water. Furthermore, he killed Nadari [J. Natari] and Sap'ori [J. Shifuri], the Han children of Kibi. (Those born of Japanese marriage with barbarian women were called "Han children."
>
> 懶聽政焉。爰以日本人與任那人頻以兒息、諍訟難決、元無能判。毛野臣、樂置誓湯曰、實者不爛、虛者必爛。是以、投湯爛死者衆。又、殺吉備韓子那多利・斯布利[大日本人娶蕃女所生、爲韓子也、恆惱人民、終無和解]。

Another example found in the *Nihon shoki* regarding Paekche is Nasol Ki no Omi:

> [541] Fall, 7th Month. Paekche heard that the Japanese authorities of Alla [J. Ara] and Silla were scheming together, so it sent Nasol Piri Makko of the Forward Division, Nasol Sŏnmun, Nasol Mokhyŏp Misun of the Middle Division, and Nasol Ki no Omi Mimasa. (The Nasol Ki no Omi was probably the son of a Ki no Omi by marriage with a Han 韓 woman, who then remained in Paekche and became a Nasol.)

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[87] The Han 韓 refers to the Three Han 三韓 groups that inhabited the southern half of the Korean peninsula mentioned in the *Sanguozhi*, namely the Mahan, Chinhan 辰韓, and Pyŏnhan 弁韓. In later periods, this term became synonymous with inhabitants of the Korean peninsula and currently is used as the official name of South Korea Tae Han Minguk 大韓民國 or quite literally "the Great Han Republic."

秋七月、百濟聞安羅日本府與新羅通計、遣前部奈率鼻利莫古・奈率宣文・中部奈率木刕眯淳・紀臣奈率彌麻沙等、[紀臣奈率者、蓋是紀臣娶韓婦所生、因留百濟、爲奈率者也。未詳其父。他皆效此也。]⁸⁸

Nasol Ki no Omi Mimasa is half "Wa" and half "Han" 韓. Mimasa represents a third identity

that may have been quite common for this time, having a Yamato name and title, residing in

Paekche and also carrying a Paekche title. This could also equally apply to Korean peninsula

immigrants groups residing on the Japanese archipelago.

Another example of the fluid exchange between the Japanese archipelago and the Korean

peninsula is Nichira:

> [583] "The late emperor planned to restore Imna but died before [his plan] came to
> fruition and could not complete his will. Therefore, I must undertake his divine plan.
> Talsol Nichira, the son of Arishito, ruler of the province of Ashigita in Hi[89], is now in
> Paekche. He is wise and brave."

> 先考天皇謀復任那、不果而崩、不成其志。是以、朕當奉助神謀復興任那。今在百濟、火葦北國造阿利斯登子達率日羅、賢而有勇。⁹⁰

Nichira's father is a regional authority in Kyushu, and yet his son decided to pursue a political

career in Paekche. Even as late as 583, this shows that there was considerable mobility between

Kyushu and Paekche.

IWAI'S REBELLION (527) & THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN

The agency of local authorities is usually ignored in these court-centered texts, except in

cases of rebellion. Although the *Nihon shoki* claims places, such as Tsukushi, were provinces

under direct control of the Yamato court, it is merely an anachronistic projection of the political

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⁸⁸ *NS* 19 (Kinmei 3:7).
⁸⁹ Hi Province is within present-day Nagasaki, Saga, and Kumamoto prefectures in Kyushu.
⁹⁰ *NS* 20 (Bidatsu 12:7).

situation of the 8th century back into the past. In reality, the Yamato court's hold on Kyushu up until the early 6th century was based on a series of constantly negotiated relationships (fictitious or actual) with regional authorities, who had their own autonomy and own relations with other regions, such as the Yŏngsan River basin. Kyushu had the geographic advantage of occupying the middle of the valuable trade route between the Korean peninsula and the Yamato court. For the most part, the *Nihon shoki* portrays Tsukushi in Kyushu (within present-day Fukuoka Prefecture) as being a cooperative partner in its dealings with the southern Korean peninsula. This, however, was not the case when Iwai of Tsukushi resisted Yamato's attempt to support the Kaya region:

[527] 21st year, Summer, 6th Month, 3rd day. Afumi no Kena no Omi, commanding 60,000 [troops], wanted to go to Imna in order to restore South Kara and T'akkit'an [J. Tokukoton], which were conquered by Silla, and unite them with Imna. Thereupon, Iwai, the ruler of the land of Tsukushi, who had secretly plotted rebellion, and had prepared for several years, feared that this would ruin his plans. [Iwai] was constantly waiting for the right time [to put his plans into action]. Silla, knowing this, secretly bribed Iwai and urged him to hold back Kena no Omi's army. Thereupon, Iwai unexpectedly seized the two lands of Hi[91] and Toyo[92] and would not allow them to send tribute [to the Yamato court]. Abroad, he appropriated the sea routes and led astray the yearly tribute ships from the lands of Koguryŏ, Paekche, Silla, and Imna. Domestically, he blocked off Kena's army that had been sent to Imna and, using foul language, threatened, "Now you are an envoy. Previously you were my comrade. We had rubbed shoulders, touched elbows and even ate together from the same dishes. How is it that you can make me bow down before you as the [official] envoy?" They fought, and [Iwai] ultimately did not receive him. [Iwai] was arrogant and boastful. For this reason, Kena no Omi was blocked and [his mission] was delayed midway. [The emperor] addressed Ōtomo no Ōmuraji Kanamura, Mononobe no Ōmuraji Arakahi, Kose no Ōomi Ohito, saying, "Iwai of Tsukushi has rebelled and has taken possession of the territory of the western barbarians. Who can now take command?" The Ōtomo no Ōmuraji and the others all said, "Upright, benevolent, courageous, well-versed in military affairs, there is no one now who can best Arakahi." The emperor said, "Let it be so."

Autumn, 8th Month, 1st day. The emperor said, "Ōmuraji! Iwai does not obey. Go forth and punish him"…The emperor picked up an *ono* axe and a *masakari* broadaxe and personally handed them to the Ōmuraji saying, "I will control everything east of

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[91] Hi 火国 is located in present-day Nagasaki, Sata, and Kumamoto prefectures in Kyushu.

[92] Toyo 豊国 is located in present-day Ōita Prefecture and northeastern Fukuoka Prefecture in Kyushu.

Nagato.[93] You will control everything west of Tsukushi. Dispense rewards and punishments accordingly. Do not bother yourself to send frequent memorials [to the court].

[528] 22nd Year, Winter, 11th Month, 11th day. The Great General Mononobe no Ōmuraji Arakahi personally engaged in battle with the rebel leader Iwai at Miwi District in Tsukushi. Banners and rums faced each other. The dust clouds [of the armies] touched each other. At the deciding moment, the battlefield was unavoidably filled with 10,000 dead. In the end, [Arakahi] beheaded Iwai and ultimately stabilized the frontier.

12th Month. The Lord of Tsukushi Kuzuko, fearing he would share his father's fate, presented the granary of Kazuya and begged for his life.

二十一年夏六月壬辰朔甲午、近江毛野臣率衆六萬、欲往任那爲復興建新羅所破南加羅・喙己呑而合任那。於是、筑紫國造磐井、陰謨叛逆、猶預經年、恐事難成、恆伺間隙。新羅知是、密行貨賂于磐井所而勸防遏毛野臣軍。

於是、磐井、掩據火豐二國、勿使修職、外邀海路、誘致高麗・百濟・新羅・任那等國年貢職船、內遮遣任那毛野臣軍、亂語揚言曰「今爲使者、昔爲吾伴、摩肩觸肘、共器同食。安得率爾爲使、俾余自伏儞前。」遂戰而不受、驕而自矜。是以、毛野臣乃見防遏、中途淹滯。天皇、詔大伴大連金村・物部大連麁鹿火・許勢大臣男人等曰「筑紫磐井、反掩、有西戎之地。今誰可將者。」大伴大連等僉曰「正直・仁勇・通於兵事、今無出於麁鹿火右。」天皇曰、可。[94]

秋八月辛卯朔、詔曰「咨、大連、惟茲磐井弗率。汝徂征。」…天皇親操斧鉞、授大連曰「長門以東朕制之、筑紫以西汝制之。專行賞罰、勿煩頻奏。」[95]

廿二年冬十一月甲寅朔甲子、大將軍物部大連麁鹿火、親與賊帥磐井交戰於筑紫御井郡。旗鼓相望、埃塵相接、決機兩陣之間、不避萬死之地、遂斬磐井、果定疆場。

十二月、筑紫君葛子、恐坐父誅、獻糟屋屯倉、求贖死罪。[96]

This passage reveals that the regional authorities in Kyushu were strong enough to keep an

expeditionary force from Yamato at bay if they wanted to, and had considerable control over the

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sea routes between the Korean peninsula and the Yamato court. Second, calling Tsukushi the territory of the Western Barbarians 西戎, which could also translate to the western wilderness is probably used here to denigrate Tsukushi, but it also points out that Tsukushi is the Yamato's western borderland, which it obviously did not have full control over. It is possible that the prior instability at the Yamato court after Yūryaku's reign encouraged elites in Kyushu to rely less on Yamato and to grow more independent, resulting in this military conflict. It is also telling that the Yamato ruler "allowed" Arakahi to rule Kyushu, leaving only Honshu for himself. Even at this point, Yamato continued to rely on these relationships to enforce its influence. As Iwai refused to acknowledge the reciprocal responsibilities of the relationship, he was replaced by someone who would.

As for this account's relevance to the Yŏngsan River basin, it indirectly shows that the Kyushu region during the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli had the autonomy to form its own relationships with groups on the Korean peninsula, as the Silla bribery incident demonstrates. It also would not be surprising if the Kyushu regional authorities also had close ties with those in the Yŏngsan River basin and transmitted the keyhole-shaped burial system there.

PAEKCHE'S MOVE TO SABI (538) & THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN

In 538, Paekche King Sŏng (r. 523-554) moved the Paekche capital approximately 30 km southwest from Ungjin to Sabi (present-day Puyŏ) and changed the name of the state to Nam Puyŏ 南夫餘.[97] Several factors precipitated this move, but the primary concern seemed to be

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[97] *SGSG* 26 (Sŏng 16).

breaking free from the militarily defensible but restrictive geography of Ungjin, which was surrounded by mountains and difficult to access, to Sabi, which was on an open plain and closer to the oceanic transportation routes to China and the Japanese archipelago.[98] The move to Ungjin from the previous capital Hansŏng was not by choice and hastily prepared, and the primary goal at the time was to reconstitute the government as quickly as possible in a militarily defensible position. However, as the population grew, the militarily advantageous rugged terrain became a limiting factor in Ungjin's growth and its ability to foster trade and diplomacy outside the Ungjin region. The move to Sabi, on the other hand, was carefully planned and reflected Paekche's new confidence in its political and military strength.[99]

King Sŏng's move of the capital also bookmarks the end of the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. It may seem coincidental that the beginning and end of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are timed to changes in Paekche's capital, but I think it is no accident. The geopolitical and economic changes that accompanied each move must have had an impact on the internal changes already taking place within the Yŏngsan River basin.

CONCLUSION

After examining the available textual data concerning Paekche and Yamato in the late 5th to early 6th century, there are several events and figures that may provide clues regarding the relationship between Paekche and the Yŏngsan River basin. First, Paekche's move to Ungjin and loss of all its territory in the Han River basin in 475 as well as the persistent threat from Koguryŏ in the north would have encouraged Paekche to focus south for allies and resources. According

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[98] Yi Tohak, "Paekche Sabi ch'ŏndo ŭi chaegŏmt'o 백제 사비 천도의 재검토 [Reevaluating Paekche's Move to Sabi]," *Tongguk sahak* 39 (2003): 25–52.

[99] Best, *A History of the Early Korean Kingdom of Paekche: Together with an Annotated Translation of the Paekche Annals of the Samguk Sagi*, 122.

to the *Samguk sagi*, Paekche at the time was too weak in the late 5th century to have absorbed the polities in the Yŏngsan River and most likely formed relationships with the local authorities in the Yŏngsan River basin instead. Second, although Paekche King Tongsŏng returned from the Yamato courtwith 500 soldiers from Kyushu, as well as a retinue of supporters from the Japanese archipelago, it is unlikely that any of them would have ended up in the Yŏngsan River basin and established enough authority to warrant the construction of a keyhole-shaped tumulus. They most likely were incorporated into the Paekche military and elite in the capital at Ungjin and died there.

The *Nihon shoki* also shows that there was considerable mobility of people between Paekche and the Japanese archipelago. Groups from the Japanese archipelago could easily migrate into the southern Korean peninsula and integrate with the local authorities. Local authorities in the Kaya region, Kyushu, and presumably the Yŏngsan River basin could simultaneously hold rank and title in the Paekche and Yamato courts. In other words, there was considerable flexibility of identity across the Paekche-Yŏngsan River Basin-Kyushu-Yamato trade corridor. This also meant that local authorities in the Yŏngsan River basin had access to groups that specialized in the construction of keyhole-shaped tumuli via their connections in Kyushu. The Chinese dynastic histories also confirm that there was considerable ethnic diversity in the Paekche countryside, which further supports the idea of a fluid multi-ethnic/multicultural world at this time.

As for Paekche's relationship with the Yŏngsan River basin, the Chinese dynastic records describe Paekche as having a system of control with regions outside of its capital through castle-towns called *tamno*, which were managed by members of the royal family and other influential lineages. Based on backtracking Later Silla administrative divisions to Paekche's administrative

divisions at its fall in 660, it seems that the Yŏngsan River basin was not incorporated into the *tamno* system; rather, they most likely came under direct Paekche rule around 538 when King Sŏng reorganized the *tamno* system into the five-province system. This also marked the end of the construction period of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

The historical sources, however, provoke more questions than answers. The identity of those buried in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli is not answered, nor is the process that led up to the adoption of the keyhole-shaped tumuli in certain areas of the Yŏngsan River basin and the relationship between the local authorities, Paekche, and polities on the Japanese archipelago that might have influenced it. The absence of historical sources regarding the Yŏngsan River basin limits their usefulness regarding these questions, which forces us to look at archaeological approaches.

CHAPTER 4

THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN KEYHOLE-SHAPED TOMBS

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter raised several questions that the textual data could not answer, such as the nature of Paekche's relationship with the authorities in the Yŏngsan River basin, and if the construction of the Yŏngsan River basin keyhole-shaped tumuli (hereafter "YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli") were a development of pre-existing local authorities or signs of an emigrant group. This chapter seeks to understand whether the local authorities in the Yŏngsan River basin had agency in the construction of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, or whether the tombs represented the expansion of Paekche[1] into the Yŏngsan River basin via "Wa" proxies or a mass immigration from Kyushu. This large question can be broken down into four separate questions that will be tested using the archaeological record.

First, was a single group behind the construction of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli or several unrelated groups? Since all of these tumuli were built within the span of several decades, major differences in tomb morphology or burial facilities cannot be easily attributed to changes in style over time. Therefore, a uniform pattern across all the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli would demonstrate production by a single group or authority. This would support the theory that Paekche had sent a group of "Wa" to the Yŏngsan River basin to keep the local authorities in

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[1] Although I try to avoid identifying sets of material culture with names derived from the texts when the connection is not clear, in the case of Paekche and material culture found on the Kŭm River basin for this period, it is quite clear that there is a Paekche material culture. The Japanese archipelago, on the other hand, is still not clear. Although there clearly is something we could attribute to Yamato in the Kinki core region (KCR), its exact relationship with the Kyushu region is not clear, and there are clear differences in the material culture (e.g. stone chambers) that make it inappropriate to describe all material culture on the Japanese archipelago as "Wa," (i.e Japanese) as many Korean and Japanese scholars have done. This is another manifestation of the geonationalism that continues to persist in the field.

check. On the other hand, a diversity of tomb morphologies and burial facilities indicates individualization by multiple unrelated groups, which demonstrates the agency of local authorities in their construction. In order to answer this question, I will run a comparison of the tomb morphology and burial facilities of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

Second, were there major differences in burial facilities related to the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli and other burial systems in the Yŏngsan River basin? To expand the question further, how did they compare with those for Paekche, Kyushu, or those in the Kinki core region (hereafter "KCR")? [2] Immigrant groups from Kyushu, for example, most likely would continue following Kyushu practices, so there would be little difference in their choices concerning the type and placement of ritual pottery, the type of coffin, etc. Similarities with pre-existing Yŏngsan River basin mortuary practices, on the other hand, would support the idea that local authorities were experimenting with tomb designs but preserving their pre-existing core mortuary rituals. A comparison of the types and placement of ritual pottery, coffin types, and the placement of the body within the tomb between the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli and contemporary pre-existing jar-coffin burials of the Yŏngsan River basin will allow us to answer this question. If the burial facilities for the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are consistent with Kyushu tombs, it would support migration theories. If they are more consistent with local traditions, then that would support the theory that those entombed in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are local authorities.

Third, what do the origins and mix of the burial goods found in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli tell us about the relationships the entombed had with Paekche, Kyushu, the KCR, and the

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[2] The Kinki core region refers to the present-day Kinki region on Japan's main island of Honshū, which is synonymous with the Kansai region. This term has been adopted from Koji Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

local authorities? A related question is whether Paekche's authority (or lack thereof) can be determined by examining the type of prestige goods found in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. For answers to these questions, I will examine the burial goods of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

BACKGROUND OF THE KEYHOLE-SHAPED TUMULI

In order to situate our discussion about the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli within a larger context, I will give a brief overview of the origins of the keyhole-shaped tumuli and the mechanism of their spread. Keyhole-shaped tumuli began to take shape in the KCR on the Japanese archipelago sometime in the late 3rd century to the late or end of the 4th century. They were the result of a gradual consolidation and standardization of a mortuary package that was monopolized by elites in the KCR and consisted of physical objects (portable or monumental), the technologies and skills to produce them, and the rituals that accompanied them, Their widespread distribution throughout the Japanese archipelago, as Koji Mizoguchi emphasizes, was not imposed on others outside the KCR but rather adopted and shared by elites of other regions who could leverage this emerging elite network to dominate their respective regions.[3] In addition, local elites localized the "ideal" KCR mortuary package to suit their particular needs. In other words, the acceptance of the package itself did not suggest that the elites in the KCR had control over or replaced the local elite.[4] Instead, the adoption of the keyhole-shaped tumuli burial system created kinships ties (real or fictitious) with others participating in the same system. The physical manifestation of this membership was the keyhole-shaped tumulus.

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[3] Ibid., 241.
[4] Ibid., 272.

Although the content of the KCR keyhole-shaped tumuli mortuary package changed over time and incorporated innovations from various regions, it continued to serve as the "ideal." On the other hand, each locality adopted this so-called "ideal" differently. Mizoguchi divides the pattern of adoption into four categories. The largest tumulus of each phase that sets the ideal standard within the KCR is classified as the A-type. B-type are those tumuli that adopt the mound shapes of the A type but contain different facilities and/or grave goods. Those that have identical facilities and/or grave goods with the A type but use a different mound shape are called C-type. D-type are those that have different mound shapes and facilities/grave goods. The YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli clearly fall into the B-type of Mizoguchi's scheme, considering the clear use of the mound shape but the use of wooden coffins (instead of stone) with an eclectic mix of burial goods.

The construction of keyhole tumuli, while adhering to certain ritual and stylistic specifications, would have been technically difficult and would have required a group of specialists/artisans in their construction. Not only was technical knowledge necessary but esoteric ritual knowledge was needed as well.[5] Even if groups could master the physical methods of production, the ritual aspect most likely would have come from a specialized group (e.g. priestly class) managed by the KCR. The groups that constructed the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, likewise, would have had to acquire this technical/ritual package by a) bringing in specialists, b) taking advantage of specialists who may have immigrated into the region, or c) crudely imitating the burial forms using local construction techniques and mortuary rituals.

The builders of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli did not merely produce crude imitations of the mound shape but also skillfully incorporated use of northern Kyushu-style horizontal

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[5] Ibid., 271–272.

corridor stone chambers (hereafter "HCSC") and followed many of the ritual prescriptions for a keyhole-shaped tumulus. The use of northern Kyushu-style HCSC in the majority of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli suggests that the group of specialists would have come from or would have been trained in Kyushu instead of the KCR.

So far, it is clear that the builders of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli had access to specialists in Kyushu-style keyhole-shaped tumuli. Yet, this does not mean that all of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli followed a consistent design, which will be explored in the next section.

TOMB MORPHOLOGY

In order to determine if the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli shared a uniform pattern of construction, we need to examine their tomb morphology. Consisting of a round section connected to a trapezoidal section, there is no denying that the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli have some connection to the keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Kyushu region. Compared to other tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin, the keyhole-shaped tumuli are the largest but are considered medium or small compared to their counterparts in the Kinai region. As for their total lengths, they range from the Kosŏng-ni as the smallest at 24 m to Changgobong as the largest at 76 m, with the largest on par with tombs of powerful regional chieftains, such as in Fukui Prefecture 福井県 Wakasa Province 若狭国, Nishizuka (西塚, 74m), Nakatsuka (中塚, 72m), and Jūzen no Mori (十善の森, 68m).[6]

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[6] Fukui-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, *Wakasa chihō shuyō zenpō kōenfun sōgō chōsa hokokusho* 若狭地方主要前方後円墳総合調査報告書 [Primary Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Wakasa Region Site Report] (Fukui: Fukui-Ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1997); Irie Fumitoshi, "Hokuriku chihō ni okeru saigo no zenpō kōenfun: Chōsen hantō shozai no zenpō kōenfun to yamete 北陸地方における最後の前方後円墳: 朝鮮半島所在の前方後円墳と絡めて [The Final

Table 4-1: Yŏngsan River Basin Keyhole-shaped Tumuli Dimensions

Tomb Name	Total Length (m)	Square Section		Bridge Section[7]		Round Section	
		Width (m)	Height (m)	Width (m)	Height (m)	Diameter (m)	Height (m)
Ch'iram-ni Tomb[8]	55	30.8	5.7			38.4	10.3
Wŏlgye Tomb[9]	41.2	19	2.5	11	2	22.5	6
Changgosan Tomb[10]	68	36	5			36	4.5
Sindŏk Tomb[11]	51	25	4	19	3.25	30	5
Yogi-dong Tomb[12]	50	20				20	
P'yosan Tomb[13]	46	26	4	13	3.5	25	5
Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb[14]	33	24	2.73	12	1.87	18	2.73

Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Hokuriku Region: Their Ties with the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs on the Korean Peninsula]," *Ishikawa Kōkogaku Kenkyūkai* 49 (2006).

[7] The shaded sections indicate measurements not for the bridge section but for the section of the trapezoidal section attached to the round section.

[8] Ch'oe Wan'gyu, Kim Chongmun, and Cho Kyut'aek, *Koch'ang ŭi pun'gumyo: punp'o mit silch'ŭk chosa pogosŏ* 高敞의 墳丘墓: 分布 및 實測調查 報告書 [Koch'ang Mounded Tombs: Distribution with Survey Site Report] (Koch'ang: Paekche Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 2000).

[9] Im Yŏngjin, Cho Chinsŏn, and Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, *Chŏnnam chiyŏk kobun ch'ŭngnyang pogosŏ* 전남지역 고분 측량 보고서 [Survey of Tombs in the Chŏnnam Region] (Kwangju: Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 2000).

[10] Ibid.; Im Yŏngjin, Cho Chinsŏn, and Yi Yŏnmin, *Hamp'yŏng ŭi kobun* 咸平의 古墳 [Hamp'yŏng Mounded Tombs] (Kwangju: Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 2006).

[11] Sŏng Nakchun, "Hamp'yŏng Yedŏng-ni Sindŏk kobun kin'gŭp susŭp chosa yakpo 咸平 禮德里 新德古墳 緊急 收拾調查 略報 [General Report on the Emergency Collection at the Yedŏk-ni Sindŏk Tomb in Hamp'yŏng]," in *Chŏn'guk yŏksahak taehoe nonmun mit palp'yo yoji. Che-35-hoe: kwahak kisul kwa yŏksa palchŏn* 전국 역사학대회 논문 및 발표요지. 제 35 회 : 과학기술과 역사발전 [35th Meeting for Science Technology and History Development] (Seoul: Han'guk kwahak sahakhoe, 1992), 356–67.

[12] Im Yŏngjin, "Kwangju P'yŏng-dong, P'ungam chiyŏk ŭi kogohak yujŏk 光州 平洞 - 楓巖地域의 考古學 遺蹟 [Archaeological Remains of the Py'ŏng-dong and P'ungam Region in Kwangju]," in *Kwangju P'yŏng-dong, P'ungam kongdan chiyŏk ŭi munhwa yujŏk chip'yo chosa* 光州平洞 - 楓巖工團地域의 文化遺蹟 地表調查 [Cultural Remains Index of P'yŏng-dong and P'ungam Production Complex in Kwangju] (Kwangju: Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 1992), 37–57.

[13] Im, Cho, and Yi, *Hamp'yŏng ŭi kobun* 咸平의 古墳 [Hamp'yŏng Mounded Tombs].

[14] Pak Chunghwan and Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan, *Kwangju Myŏnghwa-dong kobun* 光州 明花洞古墳 [Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb] (Kwangju: Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan, 1996).

Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1[15]	45.3	31.4	5.2	14.5	3.8	25.8	6.1
Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2[16]	34.5	22	3	14.5	1.5	20.5	3.5
Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb[17]	38	15				18	3
Kosŏng-ni Tomb[18]	24	12				14	
Yongdu-ri Tomb[19]	41.25	22.5	2.6		2.25	22.5	3.7
Changgobong Tomb[20]	76	37	9	30	6	43	10
Charabong Tomb[21]	37	20	2.4	11	2.26	24	4.6

In terms of positioning, YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli were always constructed near rivers or the sea, signifying the great importance the builders placed on waterways. They are also found along the slope of hills or ridges with gradual inclines. The round or trapezoidal section faced the top of the hill or ridge, emphasizing this part of the structure. This is in contrast with their counterparts on the Japanese archipelago, which were situated flat on the top of ridges or in the middle of plains.[22] The positioning of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli is similar to the jar-coffin tombs and different from contemporary Paekche stone chamber tombs, which are usually found

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[15] Im Yŏngjin, "Kwangju Wŏlgye-dong ŭi changgobun 2-gi 光州 月桂洞의 長鼓墳 2 基 [2 Hourglass-Shaped Tombs in Wŏlgye-dong Kwangju]," *Han'guk kogo hakpo* 31 (1994): 237–64; Im, Cho, and Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, *Chŏnnam chiyŏk kobun ch'ŭngnyang pogosŏ* 전남지역 고분 측량 보고서 [Survey of Tombs in the Chŏnnam Region].

[16] Im, "Kwangju Wŏlgye-dong ŭi changgobun 2-gi 光州 月桂洞의 長鼓墳 2 基 [2 Hourglass-Shaped Tombs in Wŏlgye-dong Kwangju]"; Im, Cho, and Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, *Chŏnnam chiyŏk kobun ch'ŭngnyang pogosŏ 전남지역 고분 측량 보고서 [Survey of Tombs in the Chŏnnam Region]*.

[17] Im, Cho, and Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, *Chŏnnam chiyŏk kobun ch'ŭngnyang pogosŏ* 전남지역 고분 측량 보고서 [Survey of Tombs in the Chŏnnam Region].

[18] Ibid.

[19] Hyŏnjong Cho et al., *Haenam Yongdu-ri kobun* 海南 龍頭里古墳 [Yongdu-Ri Tomb in Haenam] (Kwangju: Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan, 2011).

[20] Ŭn Hoesu and Ch'oe Sangjong, *Haenam Pangsan-ni Changgobong kobun sigul chosa pogosŏ* 海南 方山里 長鼓峰古墳 試掘調査 報告書 [Haenam Pangsan-ni Changgobong Tomb Trial Site Report] (Haenam: Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan, 2001).

[21] Taehan Munhwa Yusan Yŏn'gu Sent'ŏ, *Yŏngam T'aegan-ni Charabong kobun* 영암 태간리 자라봉 고분 [Yŏngam T'aegan-ni Charabong Tomb] (Kwangju: Taehan Munhwa Yusan Yŏn'gu Sent'ŏ, 2011).

[22] Tsuji Hideto, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun kwa Waeguk chuyŏn chiyŏk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun 榮山江流域의 前方後圓墳과 倭國 周緣地域의 前方後圓墳 [Keyhole Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin and Keyhole Tombs of Wa]," trans. Yamamoto Takafumi, *Paekche yŏn'gu* 44 (2006): 211–44.

at the foot of mountains. This sensitivity to local traditions of tomb placement suggests that the builders may have been local authorities or strongly influenced by them.

Based on the available data, it is possible to create a typology based on the tomb morphology and external burial facilities to determine whether the builders all followed a similar plan, or if each tomb was highly localized/individualized. Sŏ Hyŏnju attempted to do so based on three variables: 1) symmetry of the trapezoidal section, 2) ditch enclosure shape, and 3) the presence or absence of a section that connects the round and trapezoidal section, which is called a bridge section.[23] Unfortunately, the small number of variables did not produce any clear answers for Sŏ. Therefore, including Sŏ's variables I will run a comparison based on the following variables:

1) Ratio of Round Section Diameter: Trapezoidal Section Width

2) Ratio of Round Section Diameter: Total Length

3) Section of Greater Height: Round or Square

4) HCSC Offset Angle

5) Symmetry of Trapezoidal Section

6) Ditch Enclosure Shape (Shield vs. Keyhole-shaped)

7) Bridge Section (Presence/Absence)

I selected added variables 1) and 2) based on the assumption that the keyhole-shaped tumuli would have consistent ratios between the round and trapezoidal sections. Variable 3) and 4) are discussed below.

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[23] Sŏ Hyŏnju, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk changgobun ŭi t'ŭkching kwa ch'uryŏn paegyŏng 영산강유역 장고분의 특징과 출현배경 [The Special Characteristics and Circumstances of the Appearance of Hourglass-shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Valley]," *Han'guk kodaesa yŏn'gu* 47 (September 2007): 77–116.

Figure 4-1: Schematic Diagram of Keyhole-shaped Tumulus
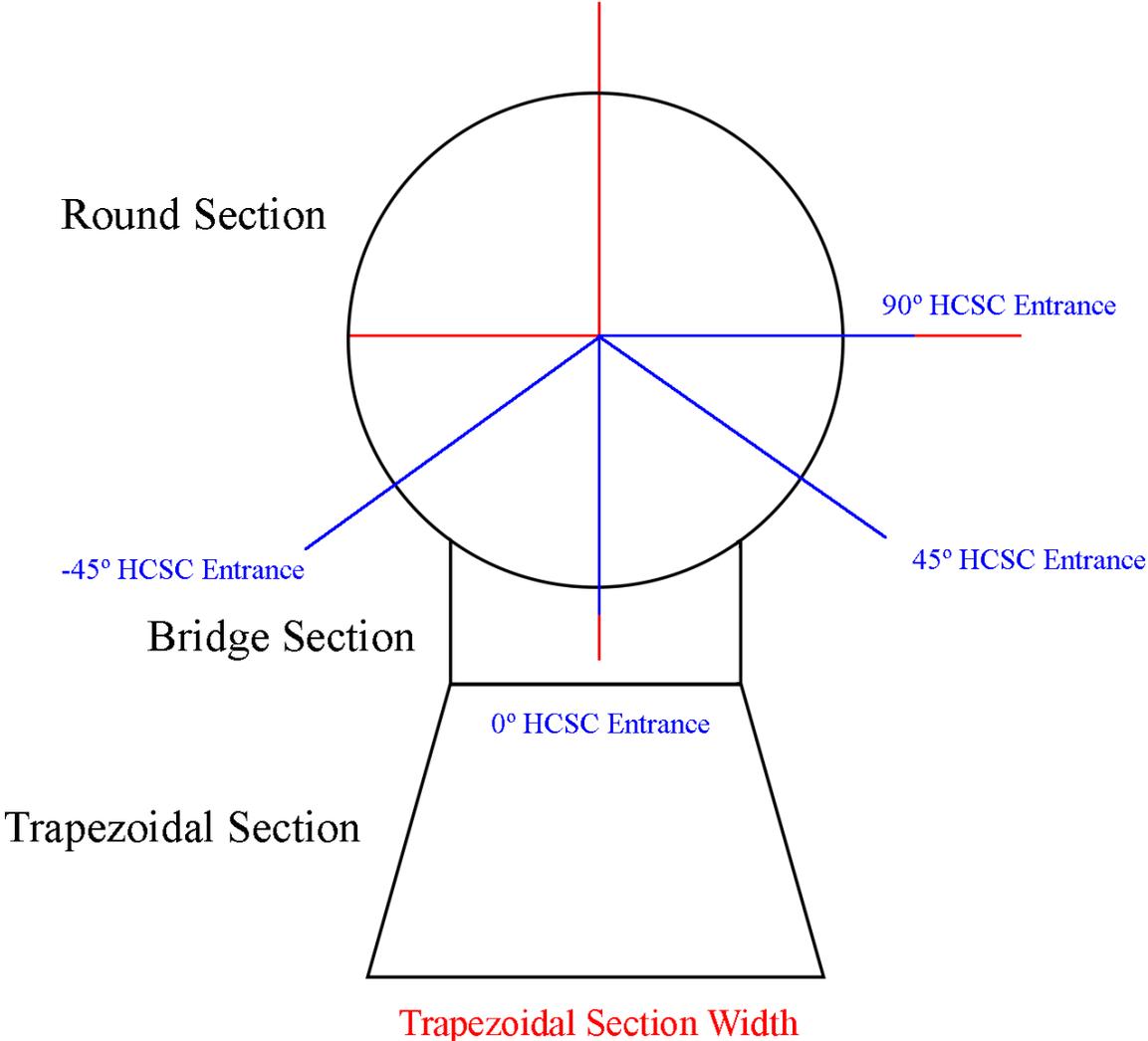
Figure 4-2: Survey Drawings of the YSR Keyhole-shaped Tumuli[24]

1: Yŏngam Charabong Tomb
2: Haenam Changgobong Tomb
3: Hamp'yŏng Changgosan Tomb

4: Hamp'yŏng Sindŏk Tomb 1
5: Haenam Yongduri Tomb
6: Yŏnggwang Wŏlgye Tomb
7: Tamyang Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb
8: Tamyang Kosŏng-ni Tomb

9: Kwangju Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1
10: Koch'ang Ch'iram-ni Tomb
11: Hamp'yŏng P'yosan Tomb 1
12: Kwangju Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2
13: Kwangju Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb

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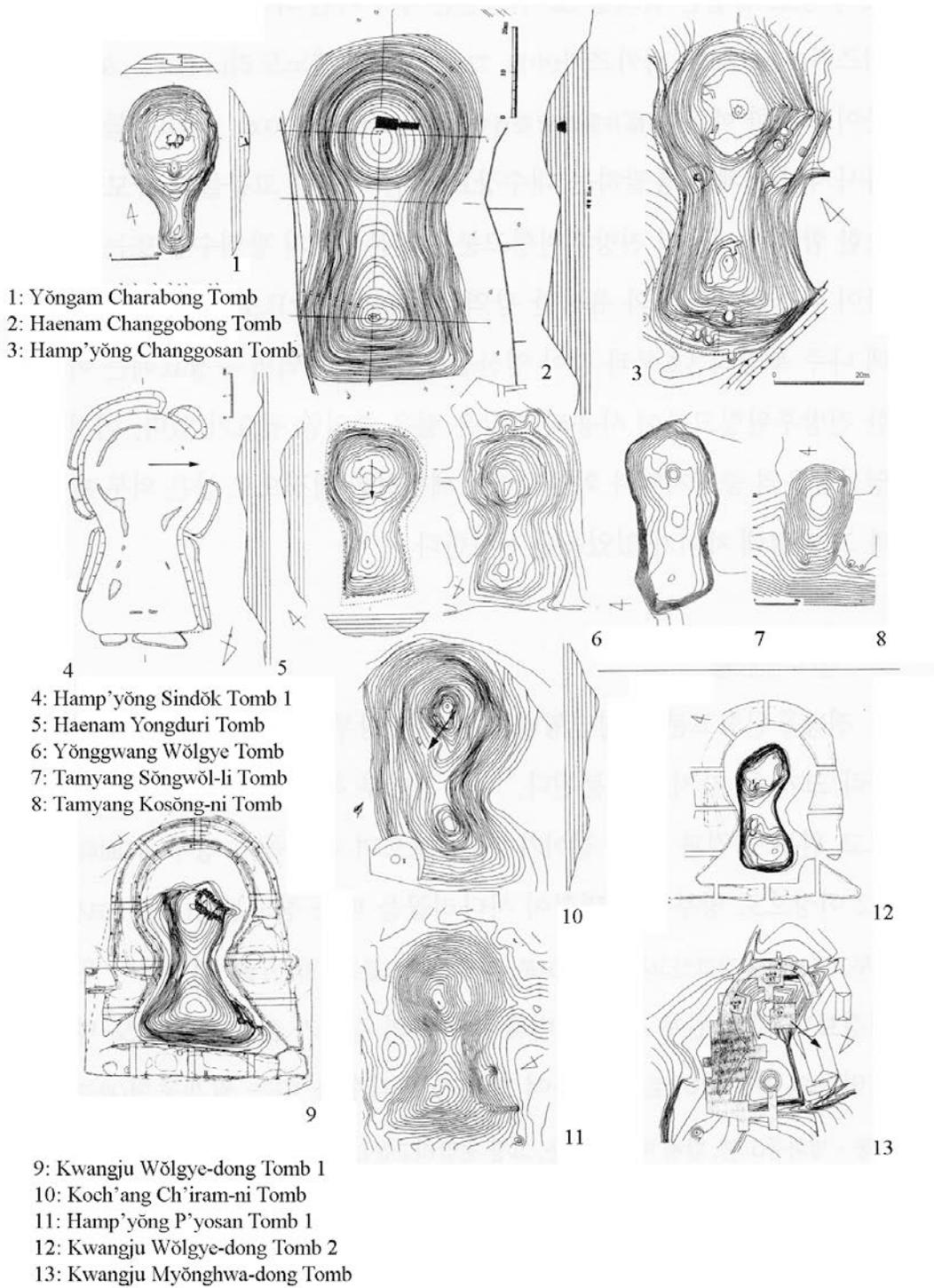
[24] Kim Nakchung, *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun yŏn'gu* 영산강유역 고분 연구 [A Study on Tombs of the Yŏngsan

Table 4-2: Tomb Morphology

Tomb Name	Total Length (m)	Max Trapezoidal Section Width (m)	Round Section Diameter (m)	Ratio of Round Section Diameter: Max Trapezoidal Section Width	Ratio of Round Section Diameter: Total Length	Section of Greater Height: (R)ound or (S)quare	HCSC Offset Angle	Symmetry of Trapezoidal Section	Ditch Enclosure Shape: (S)hield vs. (K)eyhole-shaped	Bridge Section
Ch'iram-ni Tomb	55	30.8	38.4	1.25	0.7	R?	-45°	S?		Y?
Wŏlgye Tomb	41.2	19	22.5	1.18	0.55	S		S?		Y
Changgosan Tomb	68	36	36	1	0.53	R		A?	K	Y
Sindŏk Tomb	51	25	30	1.2	0.59	R	90 °	S	K	Y
Yogi-dong Tomb	50	20	20	1	0.4			?		?
P'yosan Tomb	46	26	25	0.96	0.54	S		A?	S	Y
Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb	33	24	18	0.75	0.55	S	45 °	?	S	Y
Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1	45.3	31.4	25.8	0.82	0.57	S	45 °	A	S	Y
Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2	34.5	22	20.5	0.93	0.59	S	45 °	A	S	Y
Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb	38	15	18	1.2	0.47			?		?
Kosŏng-ni Tomb	24	12	14	1.17	0.58			S?		?
Yongdu-ri Tomb	41.25	22.5	22.5	1	0.54	R	0	S?		N
Changgobong Tomb	76	37	43	1.16	0.57	S?	90	S?		N
Charabong Tomb	37	20	24	1.2	0.65	R	n/a	S?		N

The ratio of the round section versus the maximum length of the trapezoidal section distinguishes two general tomb shapes. For those with a wider trapezoidal section than the round section diameter, the trapezoidal section seems almost triangular in shape, and they have ratios less than 1. On the other hand, those with a trapezoidal section shorter than the round section's diameter have less pronounced trapezoidal sections and have ratios greater than 1. Simply based on this ratio, an interesting distribution pattern emerges: those with ratios less than 1 are concentrated in the Kwangju region: Wŏlggye-dong Tomb 1 & 2, Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb, and P'yosan Tomb, which is adjacent to the Kwangju region. Yogi-dong Tomb, also in the Kwangju region, appears to have a ratio of 1, but the original dimensions of this tomb are difficult to

discern due to natural erosion and human activities. Nevertheless it is possible that Yogi-dong Tomb would also have had a ratio of less than 1. All other YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli have ratios higher than 1. This suggests that the builders of the other YSR tombs were not the same as those that constructed the ones in the Kwangju region.

Sŏng Nakchun and Habuta Yoshiyuki argue that keyhole-shaped tumuli had a round section diameter versus total length ratio of 4:7 or 0.57.[25] As predicted, most of the tombs fell within that ratio except for four of them. Ch'iram-ni Tomb had a value of 0.7, which is significantly different. It is possible that its current dimensions do not accurately reflect its original ratios, but there are other elements of this tomb that make it different from the others such as its HCSC offset angle. Yogi-dong Tomb, as explained above, has unclear dimensions, so its variance was expected. Sŏngwŏl-li, like Yogi-dong, has not been excavated, so it is possible that its reported dimensions are not accurate. Charabong Tomb, on the other hand, is very different from the other YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli in many aspects, such as its lack of a HCSC and lack of a bridge, so its variance was expected. With these exceptions aside, the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli faithfully maintained the 4:7 round section diameter: total length ratio.

On In the KCR, the height of the round section of the KCR keyhole-shaped tumuli was higher than the trapezoidal section during the Early (ca. 275 – 400) and Middle Kofun (400 – 500) periods, but after the end of the Middle Kofun period, but the height of the trapezoidal

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[25] Sŏng Nakchun, "Chŏnnam chibang changgohyŏng kobun ŭi ch'ukcho kihoek e taehayŏ 全南地方 장고형고분의 축조기획에 대하여 [Regarding the Construction Design of the Hourglass-Shaped Tombs of the Chŏnnam Region]," *Yŏksahak yŏn'gu* 12 (1993); Habuta Yoshiyuki, "Han-Il chŏnbang huwŏnbun ŭi pigyo kŏmt'o 韓日 前方後圓墳의 比較檢討 [Comparative Study of Korean-Japanese Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," in *Han'guk ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 韓國의 前方後圓墳 [Korean Keyhole-Shaped Tombs] (Taejŏn: Ch'ungnam Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2000), 262.

section began to exceed that of the round section.[26] Mizoguchi attributes this change to a shift in the portrayal of the dead chieftain from the "embodiment" of the community to the "commander" in charge of the activities of the community.[27] Thus, the construction of the keyhole-shaped tumulus focuses on the monumental aspect of the trapezoidal section, making the burial section (i.e. the round section) seem inaccessible. All of the Kwangju region tombs have higher trapezoidal sections (Wŏlgye Tomb 1 & 2, Myŏnghwa Tomb, and P'yosan Tomb). Wŏlgye Tomb, in the north, also has a higher trapezoidal section and possibly Changgobong Tomb on the Haenam peninsula, but the rest all have higher round sections, which is an interesting construction choice and was possibly influenced by local traditions that still focused on the burial sections of their tombs.

With the exception of Charabong Tomb, all of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are believed to have horizontal corridor stone chambers (HCSC), which have an entrance orthogonal to the long axis of the tomb, usually at the side of the round section, or at a 45º angle to the left if standing at the center of the round section and looking toward the trapezoidal section (see Figure 4-1). These entrances open into the stone burial chamber. Among the seven tumuli where this HCSC offset angle is known, all the keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Kwangju regions have an offset of 45º, while Sindŏk Tomb and Changgobong Tomb in the south have an offset angle of 90º. Curiously, Yongdu-ri Tomb has an offset angle of 0º, which means that the orientation of the HCSC was parallel to the long axis of the tomb. Ch'iram-ni Tomb had an offset of minus 45º,

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[26] Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State*, 245–246.
[27] Ibid., 246.

which is very unusual, and even caused some scholars to doubt if it was a keyhole-shaped tumulus at all.[28]

The symmetry of the trapezoidal section and the ditch enclosure shape also seems to confirm that the Kwangju region tombs followed a similar construction plan as they are all asymmetrical. The rest of the tombs, with the exception of Changgosan Tomb, all had symmetrical trapezoidal sections. In addition, the Kwangju region tombs all had shield-shaped ditch enclosures, while Changgosan Tomb and Sindŏk Tomb had keyhole-shaped ones (see Figure 4-3). It is not clear what would have influenced these different construction choices, but the fact that there are these differences indicate that the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli did not all follow a single construction plan, which probably meant that there were different unrelated groups constructing these tumuli.

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[28] Sŏ, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk changgobun ŭi t'ŭkching kwa ch'uryŏn paegyŏng 영산강유역 장고분의 특징과 출현배경 [The Special Characteristics and Circumstances of the Appearance of Hourglass-shaped Tombs in the Yŏngsan River Valley]."

Figure 4-3: Ditch Enclosure Types

Shield-shaped Ditch Enclosure   Keyhole-shaped Ditch Enclosure
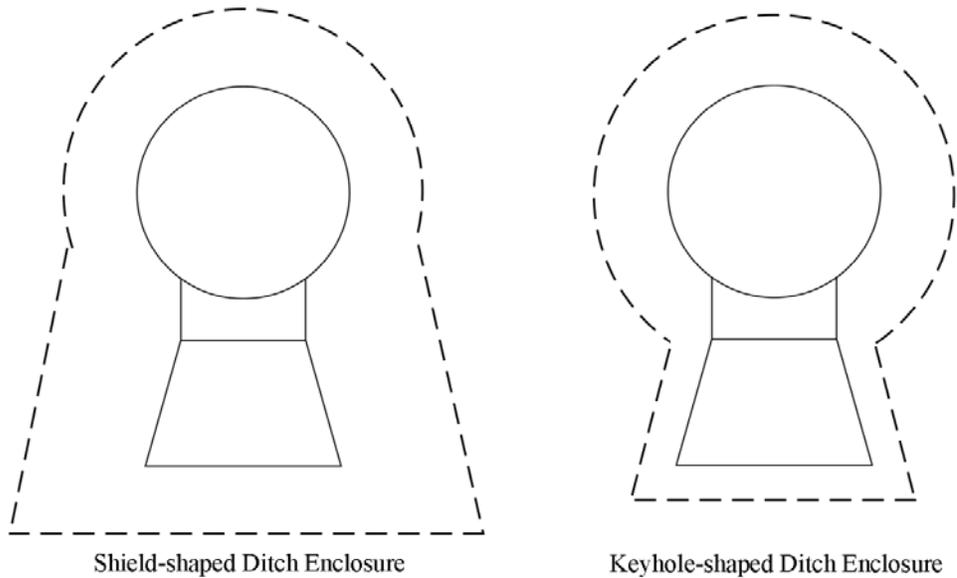
As for the bridge section (see Figure 4-1), the data indicates that all the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli have a bridge section except for those in the south on the Haenam peninsula and Charabong Tomb. This makes the keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Haenam peninsula distinct from all the others. Charabong Tomb is also positioned close to where the Haenam peninsula meets the mouth of the Yŏngsan River. Its construction is unusual, being the only one without a HCSC and having completely different round/square ratios to all the other keyhole-shaped tumuli. Therefore, it is difficult to group with any of the other YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

It is clear from the data that there were different groups of builders or, at the very least, different models being followed for different regions. As mentioned above, since all of these tumuli were constructed within the span of several decades, it is reasonable to assume that these differences were not due to changes over time, but rather due to the localized/individualized adoption of this tomb structure. If all the entombed belonged to a single centralized authority, it

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is more likely that there would be greater consistency in their construction. Since the current data does not support that, this contradicts Pak Ch'ŏnsu's argument that the occupants of these tumuli were all Wa dispatched from the Paekche court to keep the local authorities of the Yŏngsan River basin in check.

Instead of a single central authority regulating the construction of all the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, we can conclude that there were several distinct regions of keyhole-shaped tumulus adoption. The largest and most consistent is the Kwangju region (Wŏlggye-dong Tomb 1 & 2, Myŏnghwa-dong, P'yosan Tomb, and Yogi-dong Tomb). The Tamyang group (Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb and Kosŏng-ni Tomb) also seem to share a few traits, but their connection is inconclusive. The Haenam peninsula group (Changgobong Tomb and Yongdu-ri Tomb) in the south also seems to be a distinct grouping as well, especially since they all lack bridge sections. The northern group, however, is more diverse and more difficult to categorize, since there is individual variability of tomb morphology. Of these, Ch'iram-ni Tomb's unusual HCSC offset angle and proportions suggest that is it was adopted by a local authority. The most unusual tomb out of all of these is Charabong, which has an earlier pit-type outer stone coffin 竪穴式石槨,

instead of a HCSC, and has drastically different proportions than any of the other YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. Charabong Tomb may have been an early attempt by local authorities to imitate a keyhole-shaped tumulus. In any case, it is clear that several different keyhole-shaped tumuli construction groups were operating in the Yŏngsan River basin, which discounts theories of either a centralized Paekche or Yamato dispatch of ethnic "Wa" soldiers or officials. This leaves the possibility that local authorities, immigrants or intermixed descendants of the two constructed the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli.

EXTERNAL TOMB FEATURES

External tomb features of the "ideal" KCR-type included four general components: ditch enclosures, stone coverings or *fukiishi* 葺石, terraces or stepped construction 段築, and mound-encircling pottery called *haniwa* 埴輪 in the Japanese literature and *punju t'ogi* 墳周土器 in the Korean literature. As with tomb morphology, there appears to be some variability in the builders' choices for each tomb. There is also the possibility that some features were originally implemented but no longer visible in the material record. Sindŏk Tomb, for example, may have had a terrace, but it is not as clearly delineated like the ones on the Japanese archipelago.[29] On the other hand, remnants of tomb-covering stones or *fukuishi* are still visible on Yongduri Tomb. None of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, however, have protruding sections on the mounds, which were common in the KCR.

Ditch enclosures are found on the majority of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli and probably existed for all of them. They, however, were already a feature of many of the pre-existing tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin, so their inclusion in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli package was not necessarily a new feature, but there were differences in their construction methodology. A traditional Yŏngsan River basin-style ditch enclosure was created by digging several holes spaced apart and later linking them together, instead of uniform digging around the mound site. According to Kim Nakchung, there is evidence that Sindŏk Tomb and Yongdu-ri Tomb had Yŏngsan River basin-style ditch enclosures.[30]

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[29] Kim, *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun yŏn'gu* 영산강유역 고분 연구 [*A Study on Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Valley*], 216.
[30] Ibid.

Table 4-3: YSR Keyhole-shaped Tumuli External Features[31]

	Ditch Enclosure 周溝	Covering Stones 葺石	Terraces 段築	Haniwa 埴輪
Ch'iram-ni Tomb	●			○
Wŏlgye Tomb	●		○	?
Changgosan Tomb	●			●
Sindŏk Tomb	● [YSR-style?]	○	○	
Yogi-dong Tomb	?	?	?	?
P'yosan Tomb	●			?
Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb	●			●
Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1	●			●
Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2	●			●
Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb	?			?
Kosŏng-ni Tomb	?			?
Yongdu-ri Tomb	● [YSR-style?]	●		●
Changgobong Tomb	●			●
Charabong Tomb	○			

• = Confirmed   ○ = Disputed   ? = Unchecked   [*blank*] = Not Found

As for *haniwa*, the full excavation of Sindŏk Tomb provided a great amount of material data, but surprisingly, no *haniwa* fragments have been identified. If no *haniwa*-type ritual pottery was used at Sindŏk tomb, this would be highly unusual, not only for a keyhole-shaped tumulus, but also for any tomb in the Yŏngsan River basin. The pre-existing Yŏngsan River basin jar-coffin burials also surrounded their mounds with ritual pottery, much in the same way *haniwa* was used around keyhole-shaped tumuli. Therefore the lack of *haniwa* would be a significant break from that tradition. One important note about the *haniwa* found at the YSR keyhole-shaped sites is that they were locally-produced, even if the designs were taken from the Kyushu region.

BURIAL FACILITIES

Burial facilities in the Yŏngsan River basin changed sometime in the late 5th century with the introduction of horizontal corridor stone chambers. Previously, the dead were placed in jar-

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[31] Modified from Ibid., 208.

coffins and buried in pits in a single tumulus. Multiple generations of a family could be buried in

a single burial mound, which would grow larger with each additional burial. Unlike the pit

burials, the horizontal corridor stone chambers allowed re-entry into the burial chamber to add

additional burials and created different mortuary ritual spaces. Their introduction also coincided

with the construction of keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin, which also used

these HCSC.

Previously, scholars believed that the HCSC that had spread throughout the Japanese

archipelago, as well as the Yŏngsan River basin, originated in Paekche where stone chambers

had been used earlier,[32] but research in the late 1990s shows that the HCSCs in the Yŏngsan

River basin had no relationship with those in Paekche until after the mid-6th century.[33] Now, the

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[32] Yanagisawa Kazuo, "Higo-gata yokoana-shiki sekishitsu kō: Shoki yokoana-shiki sekishitsu no keifu 肥後型横穴
式石室考: 初期横穴式石室の系譜[Thoughts on Higo-style Horizontal Corridor Stone Chamber: The Lineage of
Early Horizontal Stone Chambers," in *Kagamiyama Takeshi sensei koki kinen kobunka ronkō* 鏡山猛先生古稀記
念古文化論攷 [Papers on Ancient History in Celebratio of Professor Takeshi Kagamiyama's 70th Birthday]
(Fukuoka: Dō Kankōkai, 1980), 465–97; Yanagisawa Kazuo, "Tateana-kei yokoana-shiki sekishitsu saikō: shōki
yokoana-shiki sekishitsu no keifu 竪穴系横穴式石室再考: 初期横穴式石室の系譜 [Re-thinking Pit-style
Horizontal Corridor-type Stone Chambers: Early period Horizontal Corridor Stone Chamber's Lineage]," in *Mori
Teijirō hakase koki kinen kobunka ronshū* 森貞次郎博士古稀記念古文化論集 [Papers on Ancient History in
Celebration of Dr. Teijiro Mori's 70th Birthday] (Fukuoka: Mori Teijirō hakase koki kinen ronbunshū kankōkai,
1982), 1051–1109; Morishita Hiroyuki, "Nihon ni okeru yokoana-shiki sekishitsu no shutsugen to sono keifu: Kinai-
gata to Kyushū-gata にほんにおける横穴式石室の出現とその系譜: 畿内型と九州型 [The Appearance of
Japanese Horizontal Corridor Stone Chambers and their Lineage: Kinai and Kyushu]," *Kodaigaku kenkyū* 111
(1986): 1–17.
[33] Im Yŏngjin, "Honam chiyŏk sŏksilbun kwa Paekche ŭi kwan'gye 湖南地域石室墳과 百濟의 關係 [The
Relationship between the Honam Region's Stone Chamber Tombs and Paekche]," in *Honam kogohak ŭi chemunje:
Che 21-hoe Han'guk kogohak chŏn'guk taehoe* 호남고고학의 제문제: 제 21 회 한국고고학전국대회 [Issues of
Honam Archaeology: The 21st National Meeting of Korean Archaeology] (Seoul: Han'guk Kogohakhoe, 1997), 236;
Pak Sunbal, "4-6-segi Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk ŭi tonghyang 4-6 世紀 榮山江流域의 動向 [Trends in the Yŏngsan
River Valley in the 4th - 6th Centuries]," in *Paekche sasang ŭi chŏnjaeng* 百濟史上의 戰爭 [Wars within Paekche
History] (Seoul: Sŏgyŏng Munhwasa, 2000), 157–87.

general consensus is that they were adopted from the Kyushu region.[34] The stone chambers of

the Kyushu region during the 5th – 6th century are further divided into northern Kyushu-style and

Higo-style stone chambers. Both types can be seen in all the stone chambers in the Yŏngsan

River basin, not only the ones in the keyhole-shaped tumuli. Im Yŏngjin also argues that there is

a native stone chamber type, which he calls the Yŏngsan River-type stone chamber.[35] Although,

many of these distinctions over typology and chronology are still intensely debated, it is clear

that the groups in the Yŏngsan River basin took the Kyushu HCSC and localized it in three ways:

wooden coffin burials, jar coffin burials, and stone coffin burials.

The use of wooden coffins in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli is interesting for several

reasons. First, keyhole-shaped tumuli in Kyushu and the KCR primarily use stone coffins, so the

use of wooden coffins is a local adaption of the original mortuary package. Although no wooden

coffins survived, coffin metal fittings such as coffin nails and iron loops for transport have been

excavated in Sindŏk Tomb, Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb, Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1 & 2, and non-

keyhole-shaped tombs, such as Chosan Tomb and Songhak-tong Tomb 1B. Second, the use of

wooden coffins suggests Paekche influence, since local authorities, such as at Pannam, were

usually buried in jar coffins. Sindŏk Tomb is also unusual because it has a stone platform for

placing the coffin, which is an element from Paekche-type HCSC, but the HSCS of Sindŏk

Tomb is clearly Kyushu-style.[36] Banzuka Kofun 番塚古墳 in northern Kyushu, is the only

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[34] Yanagisawa Kazuo, "Zennan chihō no Eizankō-kei yokoanashiki ishimuro no keifu to zenpō kōenfun 全南地方の 栄山江形横穴式石室の系譜と前方後円墳 [Lineage of the Horizontal Corridor Stone Chamber of the Yŏngsan River in Chŏnnam and Keyhole-Shaped Tombs]," *Chōsen gakuhō* 179 (April 2001): 113–56.

[35] Im, "Honam chiyŏk sŏksilbun kwa Paekche ŭi kwan'gye 湖南地域石室墳과 百濟의 關係 [The Relationship between the Honam Region's Stone Chamber Tombs and Paekche]."

[36] Hong Posik, ed., "Hanbando nambu chiyŏk ŭi Wae-kye hoenghyŏl-sik sŏksil ŭi kujo wa kyet'ong 한반도 남부지역의 왜계 횡혈식석실의 구조와 계통 [The Structure and Lineage of Wa-style Horizontal Corridor-type

keyhole-shaped tumulus on the Japanese archipelago to have a wooden coffin, which indicates a connection with similar tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin that had connections with Paekche.[37]

As for jar coffins, their use in HCSC is a continuation of local burial practices and can be found at sites, such as Pogam-ni Tomb 3 Stone Chamber '96, which is located in the Pannam core of pre-existing local authorities. The burial of multiple jar coffins in one stone chamber over time became normal practice. In the case of Pogam-ni Tomb 3 Stone Chamber '96, it contains 4 jar coffins, which were interred in 4 separate occasions.[38]

Lastly, the only case of a stone coffin is in Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1. It is similar to those found in Higo in Kyushu. Not only is this tomb unusual for having a stone coffin, but it is the only known case of a YSR keyhole-shaped tumulus having multiple burials. The HCSC of other excavated YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli were too severely damaged by grave robbing to determine if there were multiple burials, but it is possible that other unexcavated YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli may have them. The occurrence of multiple burials in a single HCSC is a prevalent characteristic of local authority burials. If the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli also incorporated this into its mortuary practice, it could be seen as an additional localization.

As we can see, the Yŏngsan River basin in the late 5th – early 6th century clearly experimented with different combinations of mortuary practice, taking elements, such as wooden coffins and coffin platforms from Paekche, the original HCSC design from Kyushu, and possible

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Stone Chambers in the Southern Korean Peninsula]," in *Hanbando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 한반도의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2011), 286.

[37] Takaku Kenji, "Kōsatsu: mokkan,hikigaeru-kei shoku kanagu 考察一木棺・蟾蜍形飾金具一[Study on Wooden Coffins, Toad-shaped Ornamented Metal Fittings]," in *Banzuka Kofun* 番塚古墳 [Banzuka Tumulus] (Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Bungakubu Kōkogaku Kenkyūshitsu, 1993), 265–274.

[38] Sŏng Nakchun, *Naju Pannam-myŏn kobun'gun: chonghap chosa pogosŏ* 羅州 潘南 古墳群 : 綜合調査報告書 [Comprehensive Site Report of Pannam-myŏn Cemetery in Naju] (Kwangju: Kungnip Kwangju Pangmulgwan, 1988).

multiple burials. This makes the original dividing lines of Paekche, "Wa," and Yŏngsan River basin local authority less clear.

BURIAL GOODS

The YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli do not have a monopoly on the sheer diversity of burial goods. In fact, the overall trend of burial goods throughout the Yŏngsan River basin is an eclectic collection from local goods, Paekche prestige goods, Kyushu weapons, and even bits and pieces as far away as the Southern dynasties. Since many of the burial goods were robbed from the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, it is difficult to compare their contents with other tombs.

Table 4-4: YSR Keyhole-shaped Tumuli Burial Goods

Burial Goods	Sindŏk Tomb	Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1	Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2	Myŏnghwa-dong Tomb	Yongdu-ri Tomb	Charabong Tomb
YSR Jar 壺	●				●	
YSR Cup with Lid 蓋杯	●			●	●	
Pedestal Stands 器臺	●	●		●	●	
Wide-mouthed jar with perforated body 有空廣口壺		●		●		
Tripod Vessel 三足土器		●				
Long-necked Jar with Wide Mouth 廣口長頸壺					●	
Bottle with two lugs and an indented base 兩耳附扁瓶			●			
Haniwa		●	●	●		
Ornamented Sword	●				●	
Gilt-Bronze Crown or Gilt-Bronze Shoes	●					●
Gilt-Bronze Quiver				●	●	
Arrowheads	●	●			●	●
Knives	●	●				●
Iron Axes				●		
Iron Spears						●
Stirrups	●					
Gold-inlaid Glass; Silver-inlaid Glass	●				●	
Gold Earrings	●			●		●
Jadeite	●				●	
Wooden Tomb Figures		●				
Wooden Table	●					
Wooden Hammers		●				
Sickles	●					●
Farming Implements	●					
Scissors				●		

As Table 4-4 shows, Sindŏk Tomb has the most complete and impressive collection of burial goods among the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli that have been excavated. Hemispherical-

ornamented inlaid-silver ring-pommeled long swords 半球形裝飾附 銀製環頭大刀, triangular

inlaid-silver iron spearhead 刃部斷面 三角形 銀製鐵鉾, and flank armor 脇甲 all are of Kyushu

origin, along with necklaces 頸飾 composed of gilt glass jade 金箔琉璃玉, jujube jade 棗玉,

and *gan'gi* jade 雁木玉 that have also been found in Paekche King Muryŏng's tomb.[39] The

inclusion of a gilt-bronze Isan-style 二山式 crown suggests close ties with Paekche, since Isan-

style crowns were usually buried with local chieftains in the Paekche region, such as Ipchŏm-ni

Tomb in Iksan. The hemisphere-shaped petal ornamented muscovite 花瓣裝飾雲珠 and horse

implements were also all produced in Paekche. These Paekche prestige-goods indicate that the

occupant of Sindŏk Tomb participated in Paekche's regional/frontier administration but, at the

same time, maintained autonomy to cultivate a similar relationship with Kyushu and possibly the

KCR. Paekche chieftain tombs closer to the center do not contain Isan-style 二山式 crowns or

such elaborate prestige goods. As a powerful chieftain in the frontier between Paekche and

Kyushu, he or she could afford to play both sides.

Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1 does not have overt Paekche prestige goods, such as the gilt-

bronze crowns, but the inlaid-silver nails, iron loops, and other metal fittings for its wooden

coffin (and possibly the coffin itself) were produced exclusively in Paekche.[40] It is possible that

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[39] Pak Ch'ŏnsu, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 겁토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]," in *Hanbando ŭi chŏnbang huwŏnbun* 한반도의 전방후원분 [Keyhole Tombs of the Korean Peninsula] (Seoul: Hagyŏn Munhwasa, 2011), 232.

[40] Ibid., 233.

any Paekche gilt-bronze prestige good was plundered, so it is difficult to know if the occupant of Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1 had as close of a relationship with Paekche as the occupant of Sindŏk Tomb.

Yongdu-ri Tomb, on the other hand, has far fewer burial goods associated with Paekche, with the most prominent being a long-necked jar with wide mouth 廣口長頸壺. It is possible that the more valuable Paekche prestige goods have already been looted, but there is very little in the burial goods inventory to suggest a strong link with Paekche and more to suggest a stronger relationship with Kyushu, such as the presence of Kyushu-style swords and glass decorations. Due to its relatively close proximity to northern Kyushu, this would make sense. Interestingly, large Southern Dynasty *qianwen* pottery 錢文陶 was recently excavated.[41] Pak Ch'ŏnsu argues that Paekche had a monopoly on *qianwen* pottery and was distributing them as prestige goods,[42] but the group associated with Yongdu-ri Tomb could have just as equally acquired it, considering their strategic location on the Yellow Sea trade routes to the Central Plains.

The overall pattern, based on the burial goods, is that the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli cannot be treated monolithically in terms of their connections with Paekche and Kyushu. On the one end, Sindŏk Tomb seems to have the closest relationship with Paekche, while others like Yondu-ri had a more distant relationship with Paekche.

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[41] Cho et al., *Haenam Yongdu-ri kobun 海南 龍頭里古墳 [Yongdu-Ri Tomb in Haenam]*.

[42] Pak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 검토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]," 232.

Figure 4-4: Major Tomb Distributions in the Yŏngsan River Basin Late 5th C – Early 6th C[43]

1: 고창 봉덕리·죽림리고분군
2: 고창 칠암리고분
3: 영광 학정리고분군
4: 영광 월산리 월계고분
5: 장성 영천리고분
6: 담양 고성리고분
7: 함평 장년리 장고산고분
8: 함평 예덕리 신덕고분
9, 10: 광주 월계동 1·2호분
11: 광주 쌍암동고분
12: 담양 성월리고분
13: 무안 고절리고분
14: 함평 마산리 표산고분군
15: 나주 복암리고분군
16: 광주 명화동고분
17: 화순 천덕리고분군
18: 나주 반남고분군
19: 나주 송제리고분
20: 영암 자라봉고분
21: 해남 성산리고분군
22: 해남 용두리고분
23: 해남 조산고분
24: 해남 장고산고분
25: 죽막동 제사유적
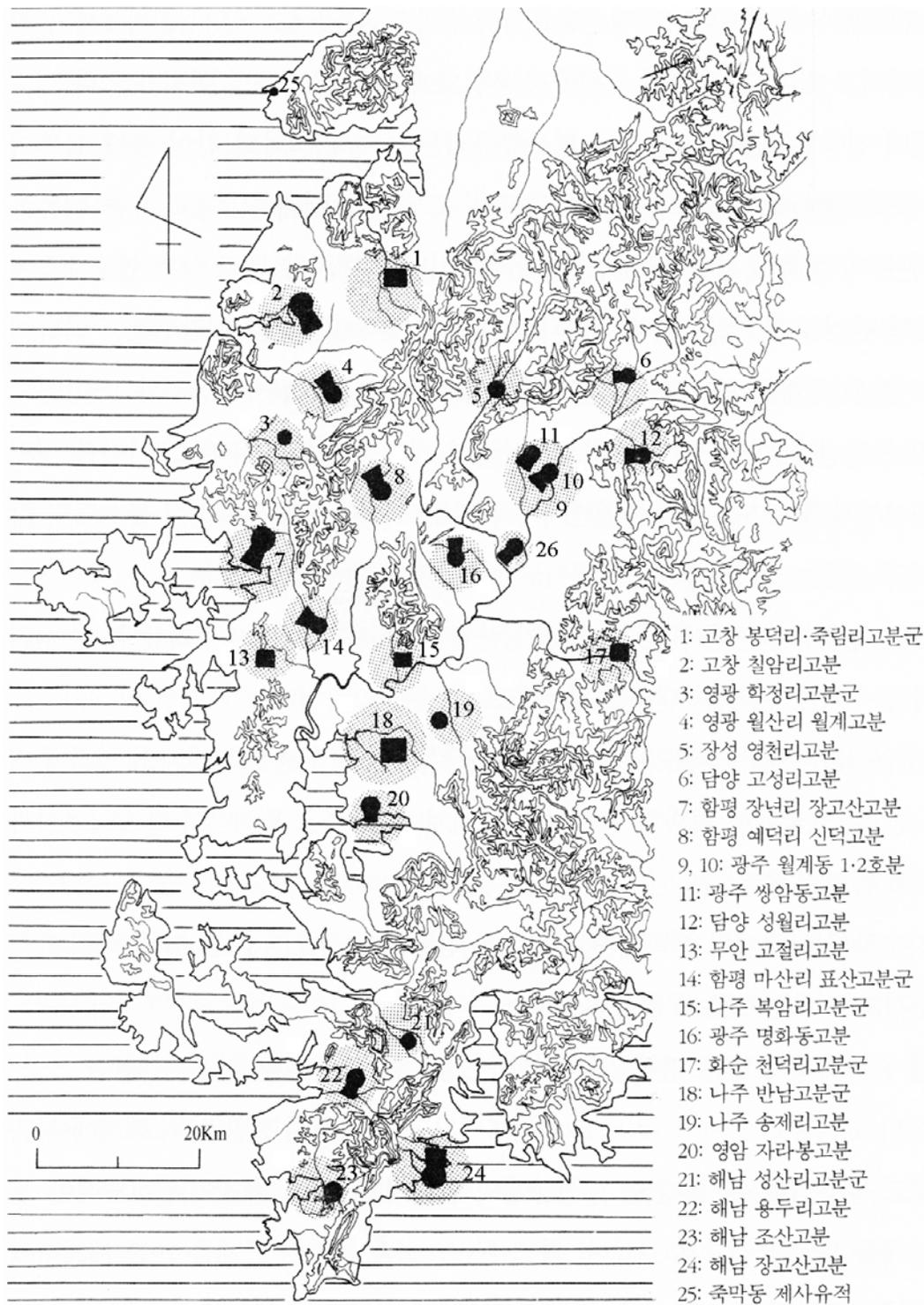
[43] Pak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 검토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]," 177.

Key to Figure 4-4

1. Pongdŏng-ni & Chungnip-ni Cemetery (Koch'ang)

2. Ch'iram-ni Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Koch'ang)

3. Hakchŏn-ni Cemetery (Yŏnggwang)

4. Wŏlgye Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Yŏnggwang)

5. Yŏngch'ŏn-ni Tomb (Changsŏng)

6. Kosŏng-ni Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Tamyang)

7. Changgosan Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Hamp'yŏng)

8. Sindŏk Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Hamp'yŏng)

9, 10. Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1 & 2 (Kwangju)

11. Ssangam-dong Tomb (Kwangju)

12. Sŏngwŏl-li Keyhole-shaped Tumulus

13. Kojŏl-li Tomb (Muan)

14. P'yosan Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Hamp'yŏng)

15. Pogam-ni Cemetery

16. Myŏngwan-dong Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Kwangju)

17. Ch'ŏndŏng-ni Cemetery (Hwasun)

18. Pannam Cemetery (Naju)

19. Songje-ri Tomb (Naju)

20. Charabong Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Yŏngam)

21. Sŏngsan-ni Cemetery (Haenam)

22. Yongdu-ri Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Haenam)

23. Chosan Tomb (Haenam)

24. Changgosan Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Haenam)

25. Chungmak-tong Ritual Site

26. Yogi-dong Keyhole-shaped Tumulus (Kwangju)

DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of the YSR keyhole-shaped tombs has attracted attention as a possible clue in determining the identity of the entombed. There are three general theories regarding their distribution: 1) they represent the strategic deployment of "Wa" official/soldiers sent to keep the local authorities in check,[44] 2) they represent an immigrant community from Kyushu trying to avoid pre-existing local authorities,[45] and 3) they represent an organic emergence of pre-existing local authorities.[46]

Looking at Figure 4-4, no. 18 represents the largest and oldest pre-existing local authority of Pannam. With a few exceptions, the rest of the non-keyhole-shaped tumuli are recently emerged or emerging local authorities, which seem randomly scattered throughout the region. Figure 4-4 does not show the large number of single-generation or solitary non-keyhole-shaped tombs that appeared in the late 5th – 6th century.[47] If one were to map them all and show their emergence over time, the distribution of the keyhole-shaped tumuli would not seem so clear.

The theory of a strategic deployment of "Wa" to the Yŏngsan River basin is problematic because the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli cannot be treated monolithically or under a central

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[44] Pak, "Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk chŏnban huwŏnbun e taehan yŏn'gusa kŏmt'o wa saeroun chomyŏng 영산강유역 전방후원분에 대한 연구사 겁토와 새로운 조명 [A Review and New Insights into the Research on the Keyhole-Shaped Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Basin]."

[45] Im Yŏngjin, "Eizankō ryūiki no yokoana-shiki sekishitsu no hennen 栄山江流域の横穴式石室の編年 [Chronology of the Horizontal Chamber Sone Chambers of the Yŏngsan River Basin]," in *Nikkan kofun jidai no nendaikan* 日韓古墳時代の年代観 [Views on Periodization of the Japanese-Korean Tomb Period] (Pusan: Pusan Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 2006).

[46] Kim, *Yŏngsan'gang yuyŏk kobun yŏn'gu* 영산강유역 고분 연구 [A Study on Tombs of the Yŏngsan River Valley].

[47] I am basing this observation on a survey of two sources: Mokp'o Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, *Chŏnnam ŭi kodae myoje* 全南의 古代 墓制 [The Ancient Burial Systems of Chŏnnam] (Kwangju: Mokp'o Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 1996); Im, Cho, and Chŏnnam Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, *Chŏnnam chiyŏk kobun ch'ŭngnyang pogosŏ* 전남지역 고분 측량 보고서 [Survey of Tombs in the Chŏnnam Region].

authority, as the diversity of their characteristics and their placement in locales is more suggestive of local authorities. Even if these tombs were strategically placed to surround the pre-existing local authorities and control transportation routes along the sea and the Yŏngsan River, one could just as easily argue that these tombs could also represent defensive positions for the local authorities against external attack and control over the sea routes. The notion of the influx of large numbers of immigrants also faces the same issue of treating these keyhole-shaped tumuli monolithically. If there were a large-scale migration, it would make more sense if there were several different groups entering different parts of the Yŏngsan River basin. So far, based on tomb morphology, we have discovered several possible groupings for the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli, which include the diverse northern group, the Kwangju group, the Tamyang group, the Haenam group, and the solitary Charabong, which does not fit anywhere.

Im Yŏngjin asserts that water transport was more prevalent than overland travel for the Yŏngsan River basin.[48] If this is true then a more useful method of looking at distribution is by plotting the positions of each tumulus or cemetery along their respective waterways. Therefore, I propose the following divisions: 1) The Pŏpsŏng Harbor system, 2) The Chup'o Bay system, 3) the Yŏngsan River system, 4) The Koch'ŏnam Inland Sea system, and 5) the South Sea system.[49]

Table 4-5: Hydrospheres of the Yŏngsan River Basin Keyhole-shaped Tumuli

Hydrosphere	Tumulus	Route to Ocean
Pŏpsŏng Harbor	Koch'ang Ch'iram-ni Tomb	Kuam Stream => Pŏpsŏng Harbor
	Yŏnggwang Wŏlgye Tomb 1	X => Taesan Stream => Wat'an Stream => Pŏpsŏng Harbor
Chup'o Bay	Hamp'yŏng Changgosan	Chup'o Bay

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[48] Ibid., 102.
[49] The South Sea is used to refer to the ocean off of the southern coast of the Korean peninsula within Korean-language literature, which is part of the larger body the Korea Strait.

	Tomb	
	Kŏsŏng-ni Tomb	Yŏngsan River
	Sŏngwŏl-li Tomb	Chŭngam River => Yŏngsan River
	Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 1	Yŏngsan River
	Wŏlgye-dong Tomb 2	Yŏngsan River
Yŏngsan River	Yogi-dong Tomb	Yŏngsan River
	Myŏnghwa Tomb	P'yŏngdong Stream => Yŏngsan River
	Sindŏk Tomb	Komagwŏn River
	P'yosan Tomb 1	Hakkyo River => Hamp'yŏng River => Yŏngsan River
	Charabong Tomb	Theoretical Yŏngsan Harbor
Koch'ŏn Inland Sea	Yongdu-ri Tomb	Samsan River => Koch'ŏn Inland Sea
South Sea	Changgobong Tomb	South Sea

X = Remnants of Waterway / No Direct Waterway

Table 4-5 roughly agrees with the typology based on the tomb morphology, but breaks it down even further while consolidating all the tombs in the Yŏngsan River basin. With the exception of Charabong Tomb, tombs on the Yŏngsan River are mostly far upstream or on upstream branches, while the Pannam-Naju region controls access to the mouth of the Yŏngsan River and its lower reaches. This puts the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli on the Yŏngsan River system at a major disadvantage if they want to navigate the river to the Yellow Sea. The other waterways seem to be in better position to control the transportation lanes between Paekche, Kaya, Kyushu, and the KCR, but they would be competing with other groups, such as Pongdŏng-ni (no. 1) and Chosan (no. 23). There probably is a geographic logic to the placement of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli (as with any other tomb), but without further detailed mapping studies, their distribution does not seem to provide any useful information in determining the identities of the entombed.

CONCLUSION

The late 5th – early 6th century was a time of many changes and experimentation in the Yŏngsan River basin. The introduction of many innovations, such as the Kyushu-style HCSC, Paekche wooden coffins, and, of course, the keyhole-shaped tumulus burial system completely reorganized the material expression of the Yŏngsan River basin. Groups in the Yŏngsan River basin could be seen mixing and matching different aspects of many different burial systems and technologies, such as Paekche, Kyushu, and their own native traditions.

The increase in Paekche prestige goods in elite tombs throughout the Yŏngsan River basin strongly suggests that Paekche was forming strong ties with groups there. At the same time, the groups in the Yŏngsan River basin were forming or strengthening their ties with groups in Kyushu, as evidenced by the importation of fundamental burial technology as well as Yŏngsan River basin pottery or other material culture being found in tombs in northern Kyushu such as Banzuka Kofun or Umebayashi Kofun 梅林古墳 or along the Ariake Sea, such as Eta Funayama Kofun 江田船山古墳. The appearance of these prestige goods or mortuary packages did not mean Paekche (or Yamato) had hegemony over the Yŏngsan River basin. Instead, the archaeological data suggests that the groups in the Yŏngsan River basin were opportunistic and trying to take advantage of all that Paekche or the KCR (via Kyushu) had to offer.

The YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are a physical manifestation of this experimentation and hybridization. The best way to describe the diversity and hybrid nature of the tomb morphologies, mortuary practices, and burial goods is as a borderland where local, Paekche and Kyushu culture intersected, mixed, and synthesized. Instead of trying to categorize the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli as belonging to Paekche, Wa, or the local authorities, the groups that constructed them were clearly something new and different and a synthesis of many different available cultures

and technologies in a borderland space where all of them came together. The identity they project is the selective adoption of useful technologies from the cultural palette surrounding them. It is entirely possible that the movement of groups from Kyushu into the Yŏngsan River basin via inter-marriage with local authorities or other process supported this creolization process.

Although Paekche's influence on the Yŏngsan River basin was clearly growing stronger during this period, there is nothing that suggests that Paekche had converted the region to direct rule during this period. First, there are no known Paekche fortresses that date during this period, which is a good indicator of Paekche hegemony. Second, the Paekche prestige goods are more appropriate to chieftains beyond the boundaries of Paekche direct control, and no Paekche tombs have been found for this period.

This dynamic period starts coming to a close after the early-6th century, as Sabi-style Paekche tombs replace nearly all the burial system in the Yŏngsan River basin and pottery becomes uniformly Paekche in style. Surprisingly, no Buddhist-related material culture has been excavated in the Yŏngsan River basin, at least up to the mid-6th century, even though it was exploding in the Paekche core regions of Sabi (present-day Puyŏ). That, however, will require a separate study.

CONCLUSION

The keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin (hereafter "YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli") defy categorization within frameworks based on nationalism, hegemonic texts, and core-periphery models that are prevalent in the study of early "Korean-Japanese" relations, making it an excellent test case to find new approaches. First, the confirmation of keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin shattered the idea that the keyhole-shaped tumulus was a uniquely "Japanese" archaeological phenomenon. Instead of evidence that an early Japan subjugated Korea in the early past as the Mimana Nihonfu theory advocates, the archaeological evidence shows that local authorities willingly adopted and localized the keyhole-shaped tumulus burial system. Second, the Yŏngsan River basin's invisibility in the historical sources and its remarkably different material culture makes it difficult to categorize it within the limited ethnic/cultural/political vocabulary of the texts, such as Mahan or Wa. In fact, I argue the eclectic burial assemblages and selective use of the keyhole-shaped tumuli burial system suggest a completely different category for those entombed in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. Third, groups in the Yŏngsan River basin clearly had agency in their selective adoption of horizontal corridor stone chambers (hereafter "HCSC") and later the keyhole-shaped tumuli and were not simply accepting these burial systems passively nor waiting to be annexed by Paekche. Instead, the Yŏngsan River basin in the late 5th – early 6th century was a dynamic locus of cultural experimentation, selective technology adoption, and multicultural/multiethnic interaction. The rest of this conclusion will summarize the findings of this study and synthesize the results from textual analysis (Chapter 3) and the archaeological analysis (Chapter 4).

As Chapter 2 has shown, the Yŏngsan River basin was politically and culturally independent until at least the late 5th century. The notion that Paekche King Kŭnch'ogo expanded

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into the Yŏngsan River basin in 369 is based on a highly flawed interpretation of an already problematic passage from the *Nihon shoki* (Jingū 49). There is no other textual evidence that Paekche had any contact or entered the Yŏngsan River basin until Paekche King Tongsŏng's reign in the late 5th century. The archaeological evidence concurs with this conclusion by showing the complete absence of Paekche prestige goods, fortresses, or any other material indication that Paekche had a presence in the Yŏngsan River basin until the late 5th century. In fact, starting from around the 3rd century, the material culture of the Yŏngsan River basin significantly diverged from the rest of the Korean peninsula with the development of jar-coffin burials in community burial mounds, which continued until the early 6th century. Until the late 5th century, the Yŏngsan River basin was a "cultural island" isolated from the rest of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF 475

Chapter 3 notes that a major shift in geopolitics occurred in 475 when Paekche lost its capital at Hansŏng (present-day Seoul) and retreated south to Ungjin (present-day Kongju). The significance of this event reverberated all the way to the Yamato court in the Kinki core region (present-day Kansai region). This traumatic event nearly destroyed Paekche, as internal strife among the elites and a weakened kingship threatened to tear the kingdom apart soon after moving to Ungjin. At this point, Paekche would not have the stability or military strength to expand into the Yŏngsan River basin, so it is highly unlikely that it had any direct influence on the Yŏngsan River basin. In 479, the Yamato court sent the Yamato-born Paekche King Tongsŏng to assume the kingship along with 500 troops from Tsukushi (northern Kyushu) as well as ordering a naval strike against Koguryŏ using a Tsukushi fleet.

Although his reign was not completely stable, Tongsŏng brought Paekche back from the brink of destruction, and he pursued a proactive foreign policy with the Southern Dynasty courts and probably sought new allies. With Paekche's northern frontier controlled by Koguryŏ, it would make sense that Paekche would look south to form alliances and establish economic partnerships.

At the same time, after the death of Yūryaku in 479, the Yamato court became weakened by a series of succession disputes and internal instability, which ultimately ended with the selection of Keitai as ruler in 507. This period of uncertainty most likely encouraged the authorities in Kyushu to strengthen their ties with groups on the southern Korean peninsula, including the Yŏngsan River basin as well as with Paekche.

Chapter 4 shows that we see major changes in the material culture happening in the late 5th century, which strongly suggests that Paekche's move southward changed its relationship with the Yŏngsan River basin. With Paekche too weak to directly annex the Yŏngsan River basin, it probably sought ties with the local authorities. In addition, we see an expansion in the number of first generation tombs being constructed, which suggests that new local elite were emerging from the late 5th century. It is within this explosion of new local authorities that the YSR-keyhole-shaped tumuli came to be constructed. Paekche's interest in cultivating ties with the local authorities would explain the sudden appearance of Paekche prestige goods in the Yŏngsan River basin after the late 5th century, not only inside the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli but in the local jar coffin burials as well. In fact, other than the mound shape and the coffin-type, the composition of burial goods in most of the elite burials in the Yŏngsan River basin show a high degree of similarity and diversity. The type of Paekche prestige goods found during this period is normally used for regional authorities who are in Paekche's frontier and not under its direct

control. We see evidence in the *Nihon shoki* and the archaeological record of Paekche's strategy of winning over regional elites with political and economic incentives, which include the distribution of highly valuable prestige goods to confer legitimacy to local authorities who are in competition with other local authorities. The earliest recorded example of this is Hozumi no Omi Oshiyama, who was the ruler of the Kaya polity of Tari, who negotiated the incorporation of his own polity and several others into Paekche in 513.

REGIONAL AUTHORITIES WITH PAEKCHE AND YAMATO RANK AND TITLES

Hozumi no Omi Oshiyama is the first regional authority mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* who has court ranks and title from both Paekche and Yamato courts. Strangely, during Tongsŏng's reign, there is virtually no contact between Paekche and Yamato, but starting from Paekche King Muryŏng's reign (501-523) and Yamato King Keitai's reign (507-531), we see a rapid increase in contact, as well as an increasing number of these regional authorities with Paekche and Yamato titles. One of these, Mononobe no Makamu no Muraji, even became the governor of Paekche's Eastern Province in 554 and participated in battles against Silla on behalf of Paekche King Sŏng. It is clear that regional authorities divided their loyalties between Paekche and Yamato to suit their interests and whether they lived on the Japanese archipelago or the Korean peninsula was not the primary factor in determining their loyalty. One late example of this was Nichira, whose father was a regional authority in Kyushu, but he decided to pursue a political career in Paekche. From 500 onward, there seemed to have been considerable mobility between Paekche, Kyushu, and Yamato. Presumably, groups in the Yŏngsan River basin would have been able to move just as freely along this network as well, and groups from Paekche, Kyushu, and Yamato would have equally been able to move into the Yŏngsan River basin as well.

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THE YŎNGSAN RIVER BASIN AS A BORDERLAND

The Yŏngsan River basin, based on the archaeological data, seems to be a borderland between Paekche (Kŭm River basin) and Kyushu, acting as zone where culture, technology, and possibly people from those regions intersected and mixed. The archaeological data, on the other hand, seems to indicate that the Yŏngsan River basin had the closest ties with groups on Kyushu. This can be seen via its adoption of Kyushu-style HCSC and the appearance of Kyushu-produced prestige goods, such as ornamental long swords. This alone, however, does not explain the selective adoption of different mortuary practices and technologies in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli. First, based on tomb morphology, it is clear that there was more than one group constructing keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Yŏngsan River basin. Generally speaking, there is the diverse northern group north of the Noryŏng Mountain Range, the more consistent Kwangju region group, the Tamyang group, and the southern Haenam peninsula group. These probably represented different groups of local authorities who had adopted the keyhole-shaped tumulus burial system, but localized it to their needs. Instead of the stone coffins normally used in keyhole-shaped tumuli, they were replaced by wooden coffins with metal fittings, nails, and clamps, which are part of Paekche mortuary traditions. Interestingly, the keyhole-shaped Banzuka Tomb 番塚 found along the seacoast of Suonada 周防灘 in Fukuoka Prefecture (northern Kyushu) contains nearly the same modifications founds in the Yŏngsan River basin with the wooden coffin, Paekche prestige goods and Yŏngsan River-produced pottery which confirms the close ties between the two regions.

It is clear from the tomb data that the local authorities experimented with new burial technologies. The pre-existing local authorities in the Naju region, such as at Pannam, remained relatively conservative by only adopting the Kyushu-style HCSC and incorporating more Paekche and Kyushu prestige goods. Some of the newly rising local authorities obviously did not feel compelled to adhere to the pre-existing mortuary traditions and not only imported the Kyushu-style HCSC, but much of the keyhole-shaped tumuli mortuary package, albeit modified with Paekche and local elements. Nearly everything was produced using local production techniques. Even the *haniwa* or tomb-encircling ritual pottery were created using the same paddling techniques used for creating the local Yŏngsan River basin-style pottery. It is possible that immigrants from Kyushu settled in the Yŏngsan River basin at this time, but they would have been so tightly integrated with the native groups that it would be difficult to distinguish the two based on tomb data alone.

As for trying to determine if those entombed in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli are Wa, Mahan, or Paekche, I argue that those identity categories are not particularly useful. Wa is too vague a term, while Mahan was a reference to a 3rd century identity category that would be inappropriate to use in the late 5th century and early 6th century. If the groups in the Yŏngsan River basin were Mahan, then technically Paekche would be Mahan as well, but both developed quite different since the late 3rd century. Paekche burials almost exclusively used Paekche-style HCSC, so it would be odd for someone subscribing to Paekche mortuary rituals to be buried in such an eclectic tomb as a YSR keyhole-shaped tumulus. If the tomb and related mortuary practices are a reflection of that person's identity, then those entombed in the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli identified with many different traditions and technologies. Moreover, those entombed most likely had strong ties with Paekche and Kyushu, while identifying with the local

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traditions as well. It would not surprise me if these local authorities also held Paekche and Yamato rank and titles and expressed their multilateral connections via their own creolized version of the keyhole-shaped tumulus system.

PAEKCHE DIRECT CONTROL IN 538

In 538, Paekche King Sŏng moved the capital once more to Sabi (present-day Puyŏ), which signaled the new beginning of a more secure and confident Paekche. The Chinese dynastic records indicate that Paekche reorganized its regional administration from a loose network indirect rule via fortress-towns to a more centralized system consisting of provinces and commanderies. This change is also reflected in the material record of the Yŏngsan River basin, as all the local elite burial systems were all converted to the Paekche Nŭngsan-ni-style round tombs with Paekche HCSC, which are found in the Paekche capital. The bloom of the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli came to a swift end, and the Yŏngsan River basin fell under direct Paekche administration.

CONCLUSION

By approaching the available material on the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli via separate historical and archaeological approaches and then comparing and synthesizing them at the end, I have been able to weigh both approaches without having one dominating the other. This is particularly important when examining the archaeological evidence of groups that are invisible in the textual record, since hegemonic texts can marginalize the agency of such groups in favor of textually visible states. Such text-centered approaches would have us believe that Paekche (or Yamato) had control over the Yŏngsan River basin and sent "Wa" officials to administer the region or that remnant Mahan adopted keyhole-shaped tumuli to resist Paekche, none of which is

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consistent with the archaeological record. On the other hand, the textual data provides useful context, such as Paekche's southern shift in 475 and the weakening of Yamato's authority in the late 5th century, which stimulated the Kyushu authorities to seek closer ties with the groups on the southern Korean peninsula and Paekche.

The findings regarding the YSR keyhole-shaped tumuli also challenge the simplistic framework of early "Korean-Japanese" relations. Instead of viewing the interactions of polities through a bilateral relationship via their position on the Korean peninsula versus the Japanese archipelago, a multilateral view along interaction networks, such as the Kŭm River basin-Yŏngsan River basin-Kaya-Kyushu-KCR is more useful. It is my hope that this dissertation will provoke further discussions to move away from a geonationalist model of interaction to a more interregional one.

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