

## 3.

CONTINUED INFLOWS FROM PAEKCHE IN THE  
SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES:*The Movement of Culture and Technology from Paekche to Wa*

During the era of Yamato Wa recorded in Nihongi, not only did a large number of Paekche people with advanced culture and technology emigrate to Japan on a permanent basis, but there seems to have been a group of elite Paekche technical experts stationed in Japan on a temporary, rotational basis. Furthermore, it seems that some of the core Paekche royal family members had always been stationed at the Yamato Court. The records of Nihongi(NII: 70-72) also suggest that Paekche had depended on bows, horses and troops supplied by Yamato Wa in defending itself against Koguryeo and Silla. We now move to Volume 2 of Nihongi, which covers the period after the fifth century, beginning with Keitai.

Nihongi (NII: 7) records that in A.D. 512 “Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, was sent on a mission to Paekche with a present of 44 horses from the Land of Tsukushi.” Also recorded (NII: 9) is that Paekche sent “a scholar of the five classics 五經博士 named Tan Yang-ni” in A.D. 513. Nihongi (NII: 14) adds that, in A.D. 516, Paekche sent “a scholar acquainted with the five classics, named Ko An-mu. . . and asked that he should be exchanged for Tan-Yang-ni.” The record notes also (NII: 14) that “Paekche sent General Chang-makko and two Japanese, named *Shinato and Ahita* [日本斯那奴阿比多 which may be translated into *Yamato-shina and Nua-hita*], to accompany Ancheong, the Koguryeo envoy, and his party, who came to our Court to cement amicable relations 來朝結好.”<sup><1></sup>

Nihongi records that (NII: 59-60), in A.D. 545, “Paekche made an image of Buddha sixteen feet high 丈六佛, and drew up a written prayer 願文, saying: ‘I [King Seong of Paekche, A.D. 523-554] understand that it is extremely meritorious to make a Buddha sixteen feet high. By the merit which I have now

acquired in reverentially constructing one, I pray that the Emperor [Kimmei, A.D. 531-571] may obtain exceeding virtue 勝善之德, and that all the land of the Miyake belonging to the Emperor may receive blessings.”<sup>1</sup><2>

Nihongi (NII: 61) records that in A.D. 546, “[t]he envoys from Paekche . . . took their departure. They received a present of seventy-four good horses and ten ships.” In A.D. 547 (NII: 62), Paekche sent “Chin-mo-seon-mun, Teok-sol of the Former Division 前部德率, the Nasol 奈率, Kama and others to ask for auxiliaries 乞救軍, and offered Won, son of Tong-seong, (Nasol?) of the Lower Division, exchanging him for the Teok-sol, Mun-hyu-ma-na.”<sup>2</sup><2> In A.D. 548 (NII: 63), “[t]hree hundred and seventy men were sent to Paekche to assist in constructing a fortress 助築城 at Teok-i-sin.” In A.D. 550, Kimmei sent a message to the King of Paekche (NII: 64), saying: “We are informed that you have a trusty Minister, the Nasol, Ma-mu. . . who, being a man after your Majesty’s heart, acts as your assistant. If you wish that your State should be undisturbed. . . all that is necessary is that Ma-mu be appointed your chief Envoy 大使 to Our Court. . . . We are informed that your enemies to the North commit outrages, and we therefore send you thirty sets of arrows, which we hope will serve for the defence of one place.” In A.D. 551 (NII: 65), “[t]he Emperor gave the King of Paekche a present of 1,000 bushels of

<sup>1</sup>The 大内 family, who controlled the western part of the Chugoku region as territorial warlords between the mid-14th century and mid-16th century, were said to have been descended from Prince Rim Seong 琳聖太子, third son of King Seong [or Seong-myeong], who came to Suo Province (now part of Yamaguchi Prefecture) in A.D. 611. The prince’s descendants settled in the Village of Ouchi and appropriated the office of provisional governor of Suo. 大内義弘 (A.D. 1356-1400), the 25th-generation descendant in this line, was appointed military governor of six provinces. Yoshihiro revolted against the Muromachi shogunate 室町幕府 in the incident known as the 應永亂. His brother, Morimi (A.D. 1377-1431), amassed wealth from trade with Korea and China with virtual monopoly. The family reached its zenith in the early 16th century under 大内義隆, who ruled as shugo 守護 of seven provinces and supported the missionary activities of Francis Xavier (see KEJ, 1983: 6. 135). In A.D. 1395 大内義隆 gained control over the entire 濠洲 area, and in A.D. 1399 sent a report to the Court of Choseon that he could sweep the pirates 倭寇 who used to pillage Korea along the coast from the seas of 濠洲. In the report, Yoshihiro wrote that he was a descendant of Paekche’s royal family. The Chronicle on King Cheongjong 正宗實錄 (A.D. 1398-1400) of Choseon records that Yoshihiro was the descendant of King Onjo (B.C. 18 - A.D. 28), the founder of Paekche. Since the 大内 family always emphasized the fact that they were descendants of the Paekche royal family 百濟始祖溫祚高氏之後, they could receive exceptionally preferential treatment from the Court of Choseon in trade.<sup>2</sup><3>

seed-wheat 麥種 [barley?].”<sup><4></sup>

In A.D. 552 (NII: 65), “King Seong-myeong of Paekche sent . . . an Image of Shaka Butsu in gold and copper 釋迦佛金銅像, several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of ‘Sutras’ 經論. Separately he presented a memorial in which he lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship, saying: ‘. . . This doctrine can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds, and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom . . .’ ” It is said (NII: 65) that Kimmei, “having heard to the end, leaped for joy” 歡喜踴躍 and inquired of his Ministers whether it ought to be worshipped. Thereby “Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, addressed the Emperor, saying: ‘All the Western frontier lands without exception do it worship. Shall Akitsu Yamato 豊秋日本 alone refuse to do so?’ ”<sup><5></sup>

Nihongi (NII: 68) records that “Uchi no Omi was sent on a mission to Paekche [in A.D. 553] with a present of two good horses, two travelling barges, fifty bows, fifty sets of arrows, and an Imperial message, saying, ‘As to the troops 軍者 asked for by the King, his wishes shall be complied with.’ A separate Imperial order was given, saying, ‘The men learned in Medicine 醫博士, in Divination 易博士, and in the calendar 曆博士, have to take it in turn to come up (to the Japanese Court) and to go down 宜依番上下. The year and month having just now come for the above classes of men to be relieved, let them be sent with the Envoy on his return, so that they may be mutually exchanged 今上件色人. 正當相代年月. 宜付還使相代. Let us also be furnished with books of divination 卜書, calendars 曆本, and drugs of various kinds 種種藥物.”<sup><6></sup>

In A.D. 553, (NII: 70), the King of Paekche sent a memorial to Kimmei, saying that “the lands beyond the sea are very scarce of bows and horses. From old times until now, they have received them from the Emperor 受之天皇, and have therewith defended themselves against their powerful enemies. I humbly pray the Celestial bounty to bestow on us a large supply of bows and horses.” In A.D. 554 (NII: 71-72), “Paekche sent Mok-hyeop Mun-cha. . . to Tsukushi, to communicate with Uchi no Omi. . . . ‘We have just heard that thou, by command of the August Emperor, hast arrived in Tsukushi in charge of the troops bestowed on us by him. Nothing could compare with our joy when we heard this. The campaign of this year is a much more dangerous one than the last; and we beg that the force granted to us may not be allowed to be later than the first month.’ Hereupon Uchi no Omi answered. . . , ‘Accordingly there is being sent an auxiliary force 助軍 numbering 1,000 men, 100 horses, and 40 ships.’ ”<sup><7></sup>

In the same year (NII: 72), “Paekche sent General Sam-kwi, Han-sol of the Lower Division, with *Mononobe no O* 物部烏 [Crow], Nasol of the Senior

Division, to ask for auxiliaries. They took the opportunity of offering Makko, son of Tong-seong, in exchange for the Nasol Won, son of Tong-seong, whose turn it had previously been, and Wang Yang-kwi, a man learned in the five classics 五經博士, in exchange for the Ko-teok. . . and the Buddhist priest Tam-hye, and eight others in exchange for To-sim and six others. Separately. . . they brought the Si-teok, Wang To-nyang, a man learned in divination, the Ko-teok, Wang Po-seon, a man learned in the calendar, the Nasol, Wang-yu-neung-tha, a physician, the Si-teok, Pon-nyang-phung, and the Ko-teok, Phong-yu-tha, herbalists 採藥師, . . . musicians, all which persons were exchanged according to request.” Nihongi (NII: 73) records that in A.D. 554, King Seong-myeong of Paekche sent Kimmei the following presents: “. . . two rolls of brocade of superior quality 好錦, one of woolen carpet, 300 axes, with two men and five women belonging to the captured castle. . .”<sup>2</sup>

Nihongi (NII: 78) records that in A.D. 556, “Prince Hye 惠 of Paekche [the younger brother of King Wi-deok, A.D. 554-598, who later became King Hye, A.D. 598-599] asked to return home. He was accordingly presented with a very large supply of weapons and good horses. Moreover, gifts were liberally bestowed on his followers, so that they uttered respectful exclamations.”

According to Nihongi (NII: 95-96), Prince Oho-wake 大別王 was sent to Paekche in A.D. 577. The King of the Land of Paekche presented to Bidatsu, “through the returning envoys, Prince Oho-wake and his companions, a number of volumes of religious books 經論, with an ascetic 律師, a meditative monk 禪師, a nun, a reciter of antras 呪禁師, a maker of Buddhist images 造佛工 and a temple architect 造寺工, six persons in all.”

Nihongi (NII: 117-118) also records that in A.D. 588, “[t]he Land of Paekche sent envoys, and along with them Buddhist priests . . . with a present of Buddhist relics 佛舍利, . . . ascetics, . . . Temple carpenters 寺工, . . . a man learned in the art of making braziers and chargers, . . . men learned in pottery 瓦博士, . . . and a painter . . . ; Soga no Umako no Sukune inquired of the Paekche priests the method of receiving discipline 受戒, and handing over to the . . . Paekche Envoys the nuns, Zenshin and her companions, despatched them (to Korea) for study. Having pulled down the house of Konoha, ancestor of the Asuka no Kinunuhi no Miyakko, he began to build the Temple of Hōkōji 法興寺. The name of this place was Asuka no Magami no Hara . . .”<sup>2</sup> <sup><10></sup> It is perhaps significant that Nihongi consistently uses the term

<sup>2</sup>According to Kanaji (1985), “the construction of family temples (ujidera) was primarily for praying for the repose of the ancestors and for the well-being and prosperity of the family members, but at the same time it was probably aimed at

*emigrated* 歸化 for Koguryeo priests, while simply using the word *arrived* 來之 for Paekche priests. For example, in A.D. 595 (NII: 123), “[a] priest of Koguryeo, named He-cha 慧慈, *emigrated* to Japan 歸化, and was taken as teacher by the Prince Imperial. In the same year a Paekche priest, named Hyechong 慧聰 *arrived* 來之. These two priests preached the Buddhist religion widely, and were together the mainstay of the Three Precious Things 三寶.”<sup>10</sup> In A.D. 601 (NII: 126), “[a] Paekche priest named Kwal-leuk *arrived* 來之 and presented. . . books of Calendar-making, Astronomy, and Geography 曆本及天文地理書, and also books on the art of invisibility and of magic 遁甲方術. . . Two Buddhist priests of Koguryeo named. . . *emigrated* here together 共來歸.”<sup>11</sup>

Sansom (1931: 37-38) notes that “[t]he first official envoy to the Chinese court representing the whole of Japan appears to have been one Ono no Imoko [despatched by Shōtoku Taishi]. He left Japan in 607. . . . Ono returned in the following year, accompanying two envoys from the Sui court. . . . Late in 608 the Chinese envoys left, again accompanied by Ono. . . . With Ono there travelled a number of scholars chosen by the prince [Shotoku] for study abroad. It is interesting to record their names, for they were pioneers in an important task, and some of them played an important part in Japan [in the Taika Reform, 645-650] upon their return.”<sup>4</sup> Nihongi (NII: 139) notes their names: “. . . the students Fukuin, Yamato no Aya no Atahe 漢直, Emyo, Nara no Wosa 譯語 [interpreter], Kuromaro, Takamuku no Ayabito 漢人, and Ohokuni, Imaki no Ayabito 新漢人, together with the student-priests Hifumi (or Nichibun), Imaki no Ayabito 新漢人, Shoan,

parading the power of the family. In any event the prevalence of that practice among the clans and families [around the turn of the 7th century] brought an end to the age of burial mounds of kofun.”

<sup>3</sup>Kanaji (1985) contends that Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 574-622), who was born not very long after King Seong-myeong of Paekche, introduced Buddhist images and sutras to Japan (A.D. 545). He first accepted Buddhism as a superstitious incantatory belief, later, as a state religion, and then finally as a religion for personal awakening. Kanaji further contends that these were precisely the stages of acceptance of Buddhism in Japan. That is, in the early stages, the Buddhist images were worshipped merely as alien deities that could grant worldly favors, and the Buddhist doctrine itself was mostly neglected.

<sup>4</sup>The edicts of the Taika Reform were issued by Kōtoku (A.D. 645-654) one year after the assassination of Soga no Iruka 蘇我入鹿 in A.D. 645. The Reform intended to subordinate land and manpower to imperial authority and provide an economic system of support for the new political structure.

Minabuchi no Ayabito 漢人, Eon, Shiga no Ayabito, and Kosai, Imaki no Ayabito, in all eight persons.”<sup><1></sup> Sansom (1931: 88) states that: “[t]o judge from their names and titles they were all naturalised Koreans or Chinese, or of Korean or Chinese descent.” More to the point, however, Sansom might have said that “they were all naturalized Paekche people or their descendants.”<sup><12></sup>

In A.D. 609 (NII: 139-140), “[t]he Viceroy of Tsukushi 筑紫大宰[Dazai] reported to the Empress (Suiko) that Buddhist priests from Paekche, named To-heun and Hye-mi, at the head of ten others and seventy-five layman, had anchored in the harbour of Ashigita in the province of Higo.”<sup>5 <13></sup> In A.D. 612 (NII: 144), “[a]nother man of Paekche named Mimachi emigrated to Japan. He said that he had learned from Wu 吳 their style of music and dancing, . . . [and thus] young people collected who were made to learn from him these arts. Hereupon Deshi, Manu no Obito, and Seibun, Imaki no Ayabito 新漢, learned dancing from him, and handed it down (to their pupils).”<sup>6 <13></sup>

In A.D. 642 (NII: 173), “[t]he Oho-omi, Soga, invited Kyoki of Paekche and his companies to his home at Unebi. He had a friendly conversation with them and presented a good [i.e., well-broken] horse and twenty bars of iron.” In the same year, (NII: 175), “[t]he Paekche Envoys. . . took their departure. They were given a large ship and three boats.” For the same year (NII: 176), it is recorded that “[t]he rank of Shotoko 小德 was conferred on the Paekche

<sup>5</sup>Dazai-fu 大(太)宰府 was the name of the government headquarters in 𑖑𑖮𑖫𑖫𑖫 and the official referred to by the title dazai appeared first in this passage (see also NII: 298). In A.D. 664, following the defeat of the Battle of the Paekchon River in Korea, a fort was built in 𑖑𑖮𑖫𑖫𑖫 in anticipation of a counterattack at what became the permanent site of Dazaifu. Robert Borgen (KEJ: 2.79) notes that this special office at Dazaifu, which was directly administered by the Yamato Court, “was necessary because of 𑖑𑖮𑖫𑖫𑖫’s proximity to the Asian mainland and its distance from Japan’s political center in the Kansai region.” Borgen further notes that “[d]uring the 8th and 9th centuries the city flourished and was known as the “distant capital.” According to Borgen, the Dazaifu office was established on a regular basis by the Taiho Code of A.D. 701, which charged it with the administration of the provinces of 𑖑𑖮𑖫𑖫𑖫 in addition to its earlier diplomatic and defense responsibilities.

<sup>6</sup>Nihongi (NII: 140) records that in A.D. 610, “[t]he King of Koguryeo sent. . . Buddhist priests named Tam-chhi 曇徽 and Pop-cheong. Tam-chhi knew the five (Chinese) classics. He was moreover skilled in preparing painter’s colours 彩色及紙墨, paper, and ink. He also made mills. This was apparently the first time that mills were made.” In A.D. 618, Koguryeo sent, “. . . local productions. . . flutes, cross-bows, and catapults - ten in all. They also sent one camel, bred in their country (NII: 146).”<sup><13></sup>

hostage [Support] 質, the Tal-sol, Chang-pok. One grade of rank was 授位一級 conferred on the guests of middle and lower condition, and they each received presents according to their station.”<sup><14></sup>

In A.D. 675 (NII: 252), “[t]he Ambassadors to the Western Sea. . . returned from Paekche. They brought presents for the Empress (Saimei) of the camel and two asses.” In A.D. 661 (NII: 275), Tenji “sent generals of the Front Division. . . to the assistance of Paekche. He also sent arms and grain.” In A.D. 662 (NII: 277), “[a] grant was made to the Kwisil Pok-sin 鬼室福信, Minister of Paekche, of 100,000 arrows, 500 kin of raw silk, 1,000 kin of floss silk, 1,000 tan of cloth, 1,000 hides of leather, and 3,000 koku of seed-rice.”<sup><15></sup>

After the complete destruction of Paekche by the Silla-Tang forces in A.D. 663, there occurred a series of massive exiles to Japan. Nihongi on Tenji comments extensively on the emigration of Paekche refugees to Japan (NII: 282-292): “Prince Seon-Kwang of Paekche 百濟善光王 and his people were given a residence at Naniha 難波. There was a star which fell north of the capital. [In A.D. 664,] . . . after a comparison of the Paekche degrees of official rank 官位階級 there was granted to the Kwi-sil, Chipsa, in consideration of the eminent services of the Minister Pok-sin, the rank of lower Shokin. Moreover Paekche common people, men and women numbering more than 400, were given residences in the district of Kanzaki, in the province of Afumi 近江國. . . [and] rice lands were granted to the Paekche people of Kanzaki. . . . The Talsol, Tap-Pon Chun-cho, was sent to build a castle in the province of Nagato.<sup>7</sup> The Talsol, Eok-rye Pok-ryu, and the Talsol, Sa-pi Pok-pu, were sent to the Land of Tsukushi, where they built the two castles of Ohono 大野 and Woyogi 椽 [in A.D. 665].<sup>8</sup> Over 2,000 Paekche

<sup>7</sup>The three-tier Paekche office rank system (signified by purple robes, scarlet robes, and blue robes) placed at the top Chwapyeong and the various “Sol” ranks, the secondmost of which was the “Talsol” 達率 (Lee 1984: 52). “Chipsa” 集斯 means the chancellor of an administrative organ.

<sup>8</sup>Batten (1986) notes that “[t]he years between the Paekchon River debacle in 663 and the Tang retreat from Korea in 676 were worrisome for the defeated Japanese . . . whose anxiety can be measured by the feverish defense preparations taken during this same period. In 664, for example, Nihon Shoki states, ‘Frontier guards and signal fires were established in Tsushima Island, Iki Island, and the kuni of Tsukushi. Also, a great embankment was built in Tsukushi to store water. It was named the Water Fortress 水城.’ . . . In 667, the text states that Takayasu Fortress 高安城 in Yamato, Yashima Fortress 屋島城 in Sanuki, and the Kaneta Fortress 金田城 on Tsushima were built . . . . Scattered references to the construction or repair of fortifications continue until 701.”<sup><16></sup>

people, men and women, were settled in the East country. Without distinction between black and white 凡不擇縉素 (i.e., of priests and laymen), they were all maintained at Government expense 官食 for three years beginning with the year Midzunoto I [in A.D. 663]. . . . [T]he Minister Yeo Cha-sin, the Minister Kwisil Chip-sa, and others, men and women, to the number of over 700 persons, were removed and settled in the district of Kamafu in the province of Afumi [in A.D. 669]”.<sup><16></sup> Nihongi (NII: 295) further records that the rank of Upper Daikin 大錦下 was conferred on the [Paekche] Minister Yeo Cha-sin and on Sataek So-myeong (second official of the Department of Ceremonies 法官大輔 that was in charge of personnel administration); the rank of Lower Shōkin 小錦下 on Kwi-sil Chip-sa (Chief of the Department of Education 學職頭); [and] the rank of Lower Daisen 大山下 on the Talsol Kong-na Chin-su (who had a military training 閑兵法), . . . on Kim-su (acquainted with medicine 解藥), . . . on Heo Sol-mo (who thoroughly understood the five classics), and on Kak Pyeong-mu (skilled in the Yin and Yang). The rank Lower Shōsen 小山下 was conferred on the other Talsol, more than fifty persons in all [in A.D. 671].<sup>>17<</sup>

Apparently the newly arrived Paekche refugees, depending on their ranks in Paekche, received either the same honours as the traditional Yamato rulers or at least the same privileges as the common people in Japan. So the Nihongi (NII: 295-296) notes that: “There was a popular ditty, as follows:

The oranges 多致播那播 — Each on their own branches,  
Though they grow — When strung as pearls,  
Are strung on the same string.”<sup>>17<</sup>

Oranges seemingly allude to the rulers of Paekche and the rulers of Yamato-Wa. It has been asserted that, as a result, more than one-third of the entries listed in a seventh-century “Who’s Who” of Japan were descendants of Koreans.<sup>10</sup> Morishima (1982: 30-31) states that “[a]fter the defeat, many

<sup>9</sup>Nihongi (NII: 352) records that in A.D. 681, “[a] notification was made to the people of the three Han [the Koreans who had settled in Japan], saying: ‘On a former day, your taxes were remitted for a period of ten years, which now come to an end. In addition to this, all forced labor 役 is remitted for a period of ten years to you who accepted our rule, and also to your children and grandchildren who accompanied you in the first year.’”<sup>>18<</sup>

<sup>10</sup>According to Reischauer and Fairbank (1958: 471), “[t]he great importance of the Korean immigrants in the Yamato aristocracy is indicated by a book of noble

Koreans – politicians, scholars, priests and artists – extricated themselves from Paekche and came to Japan, where they contributed greatly to the development of culture, as did the American occupation force after the Second World War.”

Considering the origins of the imperial clan, it may be only natural that 天孫-Yamato rulers from the first maintained an extremely close relationship with Paekche. Both the Korean chronicles (Samguk-sagi 1145 and Samguk-yusa 1285) and the Japanese chronicles (Kojiki 712 and Nihongi 720) abundantly document the hostile relationships between Silla and the Yamato rulers, but in a conspicuous contrast they--and especially the Nihongi-- record a very intimate relationship between Paekche and Yamato rulers. In fact, Korean historians traditionally regarded Silla as the primary dynasty of interest; as a result, Paekche receives very little space in the chronicles, and the amicable relationship between Paekche and Japan understandably attracts a minimal amount of attention.

Covell and Covell (1984: 111) note that “[w]hen the Record of Ancient Matters 古事記 and the Chronicles of Japan 日本紀 were compiled, Japan had recently been swelled with refugees from Koguryeo and Paekche<sup>11</sup>. . . . Korean-descended rulers no longer sat in the catbird seat of power in Japan, but the influence of Korean was still considerable. . . . Silla had been the refugees’ historic enemy. Scholars from Paekche, because their classical

genealogies compiled in 815, which attributes foreign origins to more than a third of the 1182 families of the central nobility of the period.” Hall (1971: 46-47) argues that “[i]n the long sweep of Japanese history, the seventh century may best be looked upon as the time of transition to an aristocratic style of culture. During this century the former uji elite converted themselves into a civil nobility (called kuge 公家 by the Japanese) that centered on a new imperial court, divesting themselves of their former localized and warlike qualities. The uji elite took with them into the aristocratic age their lineages (some eleven hundred are listed in the ninth-century Shinsen Shojiroku, or Register of Genealogies). While they left behind their sources of independent military and economic strength, they gained new prestige and security by their association with the new central government and by their access to a highly sophisticated way of life . . . . Historically, their political powers proved inadequate only after the twelfth century, . . . .”

<sup>11</sup>Shoku Nihongi (Snellen edition: 185) records the appointment of Kudara no ō-en-ho [the literal translation should read “Paekche King” En-ho 百濟王遠寶, implying a member of the royal family of Paekche] as the governor of Hitachi 常陸 in A.D. 700, and also records (ibid.: 211) the appointment of Kudara ō Ryogu [“Paekche King” Ryogu] as the governor of Iyo 伊豫 as well as the appointment of Hata no Ason Hirotari as the ambassador to Silla in A.D. 703.

Chinese was superior, helped to collate the two historical works, particularly the Nihongi. They had opportunities to cast a bad light upon Silla. This included claiming that Silla had been under the control of Japan for more than a century. The text was ‘slanted’ accordingly.”<sup>12</sup> Indeed an archeological excavation in late 1985 provided conclusive proof that Achi-kishi 阿知吉師, who came from Paekche in A.D. 403, became the ancestor of the Achiki Scribes as recorded in Kojiki 阿直史之祖 [KC: 313], and furthermore that the Achiki Scribes performed the central role in writing Nihongi.<sup>13<19></sup> In 1979, a 41-character Chinese epitaph 墓誌 inscribed on a bronze plate was excavated from the grave of 阿 no Yasumaro 太安萬呂 [the putative compiler of Kojiki as well as Nihongi (see Sakamoto, 1991: 38)]. Murayama and Miller (1979) note that “the Chinese language of the inscription contains a startling linguistic [Old Paekche] Koreanism, in its employment of the Chinese grammatical particle Ch. zhi ‘this’ 之 [which is used as the direct object of the intransitive verb ‘died’ 卒] . . . [I]t is a usage that is remarkably well attested [though totally ungrammatical for Chinese] from early epigraphical specimens of Chinese as it was written in Korea from the sixth through the mid-eighth centuries.” These scholars also comment: “It will be interesting to see how long the Japanese reading public is kept in the dark concerning this startling [Old Paekche] Koreanism in the Yasumaro epitaph.”<sup>14</sup> Sakamoto (1991: 5) also notes the fact that the compilers of Shoku Nihongi 續日本紀, Tsu Muraji (Sugano) Mamichi 津連(菅野)眞道 and others, “recount the immigration of their ancestors from Paekche. . . and their meritorious service during the reign of Emperor 阿知, Nintoku, and Bidatsu 敏達.”

Nihongi reveals that, until the early fifth century, the only route used by the Japanese to reach mainland China was through the Korean peninsula. According to Nihongi (NI: 269-270), in A.D. 426, “Achi no Omi 阿知使主 and

<sup>12</sup>According to Sansom (1931: 141), reading and writing the Chinese language in the Nara period was confined to a special class dominated by the men from Korea. It was the function of a public office to copy the manuscripts brought over from continent, and “at its head was an official of high rank, such as Kishida Yoroshi, a prominent scholar of Korean origin, who held the post in 733.”

<sup>13</sup>Ongoing since the late 1960s, this excavation yielded inscribed wooden slips [mokkan 木簡] at the Fujiwara Palace 藤原宮 site occupied during the period A.D. 694-710.

<sup>14</sup>左京四條四坊從四位下勳五等太朝臣安萬侶以癸亥年七月六日卒之養老七年十二月五日乙巳. Nihongi’s record on the 62nd year of 仁皇 (NII: 252) cites the Paekche Record that shows the identical usage of Ch. zhi “this” 之: “. . . sent Sachihiko to attack it 遣沙至比 令討之.”

Tsuga no Omi 都加使主 were sent to Wu 吳, to procure seamstresses. Now Achi no Omi and his companions crossed over to the land of Koguryeo, and endeavored to reach Wu. But on arriving at Koguryeo they knew not the road at all, and begged Koguryeo give them persons who knew the road . . . . In this way they were able to reach Wu.<sup>15 <20></sup>

By the mid-fifth century, the sea route to China from Japan seems to have followed the west coast of Korea up to the Liao-dong 遼東 peninsula and crossed over to the Shan-dong 山東 peninsula at its shortest distance [Lüda-Yantai shortcut]. As shown in the letter of Wa King Bu 武 to Shun-di of Liu Song 劉宋 [A.D. 478] that was recorded in Song-shu, however, Koguryeo frequently captured the Wa ships that were passing through its area; as a result, by the late fifth century the Wa ships seem to have been forced to head westward to the Shan-dong peninsula across the Yellow Sea 黃海 as soon as they reached the Paekche-Koguryeo borderline [approximately the modern Inchon 仁川 area]. After the destruction of Paekche by Silla-Tang forces in A.D. 663 and the unification of the Korean peninsula in A.D. 676, as Reischauer (1937: 57-58) notes, the Japanese embassies to China had to sail by the southernmost routes across the treacherous East China Sea [arriving in the modern Shanghai-Zhejiang area] instead of the Yellow Sea.<sup>16</sup> If we take into account the extreme hazards along all these routes to China, the “direct” Chinese influence on Japan’s early cultural development could not have been as great as the contemporary Japanese wish to believe.<sup>17</sup> Robert Borgen (KEJ: 7. 260) states that: “The voyages to China were very

<sup>15</sup>Aston (NI: 269n) notes that “the last sovereign [Wu or Kure] was deposed in A.D. 280, long before the despatch of these envoys . . . . [H]owever . . . this appellation [of Kure] was applied to all six dynasties established at Nanking, or the neighbourhood from Wu to Chen inclusive, i.e., from A.D. 229 to 589.”

<sup>16</sup>Xin Tang-shu notes that, when Silla had closed the sea route, the Japanese envoys had to come to the Tang Court to pay tribute by way of Ming and Yueh prefectures [modern Ningbo and Shao-xing in Zhejiang].

<sup>17</sup>Nihongi (NII: 260-261) records that in the reign of Saimei [A.D. 655-661] a mission to Tang was sent on board two ships; on the 3rd day of the 7th month, A.D. 659, “they started from the Bay of Mitsu in Naniha”; “On the 11th day of the 8th month, they left the Bay of Ohotsu in Tsukushi”; “On the 13th day of the 9th month they arrived at an island on the southern border of Paekche”; “On the 14th, the two ships put out to sea in company”; “On the 15th day, at sunset, the ship of Ihashiki no Muraji met crosswise with a contrary wind and was driven to an island in the Southern Sea . . . Arima, Yamato no Aya no Wosa no Atahe 東漢長直, . . . , stole a ship belonging to the islanders, and embarking in it, escaped to Kwachow 括州.”<sup>21></sup>

dangerous, in part because of poor seamanship. The Japanese tended to set sail when the monsoon winds were blowing in the wrong direction, hence the many oarsmen [they needed]. . . [A]fter . . . [the] 7th-century . . . Japanese ships were no longer welcome [in Korea] and so had to sail directly to China. This was an exceedingly difficult voyage for Japan's primitive ships . . ."

All totalled, about 18 official envoys (Kenzuishi 遣隋使 and Kentōshi 遣唐使) were sent to China during the periods A.D.607 - 669 and A.D.702 - 838. The first official envoy to the Sui court was sent [via unspecified means] in A.D. 607, and came back (passing through the land of Paekche) in the following year in company with an envoy from the Sui court (NII: 136-137). The Sui envoys left in A.D. 608 in company with the second Wa envoy and a number of scholars of Paekche descent chosen by Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子. The envoy came back in the following year (NII: 139-140). Inugami no Kimi and Yatabe no Miyakko were sent to Sui in A.D. 614 and they returned in the following year accompanied by an envoy from Paekche (NII: 145-146). An envoy to Tang was sent in A.D. 630 [via unspecified means] and Tang sent an envoy in A.D. 632 to escort the Wa envoy back to Japan (NII: 165-166). In A.D. 653, two ships were sent to Tang with separate ambassadors, but one ship was lost. The envoy came back in A.D. 654 with escorting envoys from Silla and Paekche (NII: 242-247). An envoy was sent to Tang in A.D. 654 on two ships. They proceeded by way of Silla (NII: 246), and returned in the following year (NII: 249). Another envoy (NII: 260) was sent in A.D. 659. In A.D. 665 emissaries escorted Chinese visitors back to China (NII: 284). Another envoy (NII: 292) was sent to Tang in A.D. 669 [via unspecified means]. There were no embassies sent to Tang during the period A.D. 670-701. About nine missions to the Tang court were recorded during the period between A.D. 702 and 837 (see KEJ: 7. 260). Among the nine missions sent to the Chinese court during A.D. 607-669, only those of A.D. 653 and A.D. 654 were clearly recorded as having been sent in Japanese ships.<sup>18</sup> After A.D. 702, the official envoys to Tang seem to have been sent mostly in Japanese ships, and most missions seem to have consisted of more than a hundred persons.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Nihongi (NII: 251-252) records that in A.D. 657 envoys were sent to Silla with the following message: "We wish to send to Great Tang under the charge of your country's envoys the Buddhist priest Chitatsu, Mimumaya, Hashibito no Muraji, and Wakugo, Yojami no Muraji." Nihongi records that "Silla refused to grant such escort, and therefore the Buddhist priest Chitatsu and his colleagues returned."

These official envoys brought back to Japan the knowledge and material objects they could obtain in China as a means to transmit the superior Chinese culture to Japan. As Sansom (1931: 90-91) notes, however, this process must have been imperfect because “[f]or most Japanese, a knowledge of China, Chinese institutions, and Chinese thought was to be obtained only at second or third hand, passing at one stage through the medium of an alien language. It is therefore to be expected . . . that what would reach Japan would be the forms rather than the essence.” After all, by the early 9th century, the Japanese began to lose interest in Chinese culture, and direct contact with China ceased until the 15th century.

<sup>19</sup>Sansom (1931: 87-89) could only conclude that official embassies from Japan to China seem to have been rather infrequent, though these few contacts were carried out on an imposing scale. In the early eighth century as many as four ships used to sail together, but the voyage was no light undertaking: “The travellers might be driven on to the then hostile shores of Silla, or their little ships swallowed up by the China Sea in one of the typhoons . . . . Not one party that took the southern route escaped some damage, and they were lucky if not more than one of their ships was driven ashore and wrecked.”