

Archaeology and History of Toraijin

Human, technological, and cultural flow from the
Korean Peninsula to the
Japanese Archipelago c. 800 BC–AD 600

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Stylistic Notes

• Romanization of Asian words

For many decades, writers around the world used the McCune-Reischauer (M-R) system for romanization of Korean words. Unfortunately, most readers unfamiliar with the M-R system have rendered Korean words and especially Korean personal and place names confusing or unrecognizable. Consequently, in 2000, the Korean government officially adopted the Revised Romanization system (R-R) of Korea. Since then, the latter is used as the primary romanization system in South Korea to the exclusion of the M-R system.

In this book, we use both the M-R system (without diacritical marks) and the R-R system: the former for *some* Korean personal and place names already well-established in Western literature such as Koguryo, Paekche, Kaya, Pusan, Taegu, Pyongyang, Kyongju, Kimhae, Inchon, Kim, Lee, Rhee, and Park and the latter for less known personal and place names and all common Korean words. In some cases, we have romanized Korean authors' names as preferred by the authors themselves. Chinese words are romanized according to the Pinyin system that replaced the older Wade-Giles system in 1989. Romanization of Japanese words generally follows the modified Hepburn system without macrons.

*Asian names

When Asian proper names are cited in full, the surname precedes the given name as in the Asian practice. To make it crystal clear we show these surnames with small caps (Example: KIM Won-yong and KADOWAKI Teiji).

*Translated passages

The English translations of the *Nihon Shoki*, quoted in this book, are from W. G. Aston's *Nihongi* (Tuttle 1972). Those of the *Samguk Sagi* and the *Samguk Yusa* are from translated texts of Yi Pyong-do (1972: 1977) and Jonathan Best (2006). All other translations are our own.

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and online conversations, he has helped elucidate numerous issues including those of the Yayoi chronology.

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Preface

In the ongoing saga of Japan-Korea relations, the years of 2000 and 2001 witnessed two extraordinary events. In the former, INOUE Mitsuo (2000, 16-18), a prominent scholar of Japanese history, highlighted the special place of the Toraijin in Japanese history with the publication of a provocative essay, “Without the Toraijin, Japanese history would have been delayed by 200 years”. In the latter, Emperor Akihito publicly announced: “Those who immigrated or were invited to come to Japan from Korea introduced culture and technology... It was truly fortunate that such culture and technology was brought to Japan through the enthusiasm of the Japanese people and the friendly attitude of the Korean people. I also believe that it contributed greatly to Japan’s subsequent development” (Kunaisho 2001; French 2002).

Indeed, one cannot review the development of society in the Japanese Islands without being astonished at the debt Japanese culture and people owe to early societies on the Korean Peninsula. The arrival of immigrant rice-agriculturalists from the Peninsula in the early first millennium BC was the first of three major waves of technological transfer between the continent and the Islands. The second brought bronze and iron-working to the Archipelago around the 4th century BC, and the third brought elite crafts and administrative technology as well as Confucianism and Buddhism in the 5th and 6th centuries AD.

Until the 1970s, the information on the Toraijin (immigrants to the Japanese archipelago mainly from the Korean Peninsula) was based largely on a few ancient historical texts such as the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters, compiled in 712), the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720), the *Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan Continued, 797), and the *Shinsen Shojiroku* (New Records of Family Registers, 815), documents compiled long after the actual events pertaining to the Toraijin.

Beginning in the early 1980s, however, thanks to massive salvage archaeological excavations undertaken throughout the Archipelago, unprecedented amount of archaeological data has been collected and analysed, shedding much light on the Toraijin: their beginnings, their settlements, their life, and their contributions to the early Japanese society and the beginnings of Japanese civilization. Likewise, similar excavations in the southern Korean Peninsula of the past four decades, are providing much information on the historical and socio-cultural background of the Toraijin.

Dissecting this information is the task of this book, to document whence, when, and why Peninsular people emigrated and how they and their descendants changed the population structure and material culture within the Archipelago. In doing so, it is important to note that such waves of technology transfer and population movement are common in prehistory, exemplified also by the history of the British Isles. The inhabitants of the Korean Peninsula were also subject to such intrusive waves from the China Mainland, Steppe region, and Northeast Asia.

This is not to say that Korea and Japan did not and do not have unique cultures then and now. Periods of migratory quiescence allowed the autochthonous flowering of new forms of material creation and social behavior that became indigenous to the Pen/Insulae. The time-period covered herein can be compared with the Meiji period (1868–1912) in Japan when Western culture was voraciously acquired and consumed. No one can say today that Japan does not have a unique Japanese culture despite its

overt Western appearance. So, what is being offered here is not a denigration of Japanese culture but an explanation of some of the roots and ingredients that made Japan what it was historically.

There are people within and without Japan (Egami, Ledyard, Covell and Covell, Hong), who speak of conquests and subjugation of the Archipelago's inhabitants by militant Peninsular peoples in the 4th-5th centuries. There are also people (SUEMATSU Yasukazu and his followers), mainly in Japan, who believe that early Japan developed its society by gaining advanced culture and technology of Korea through invasion. In fact, the history of early relations between the Peninsula and Islands is far more nuanced, complicated, and variable than that, with no evidence of a massive state-sponsored military invasion either way at any time. Unpicking those relations is a fascinating task, and every year that passes, with new excavations and analyses, allows us to delve in deeper than before. The Toraijin story is a major key unlocking the box containing the mysteries of Japan's beginnings

Introduction

I. IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT: TORAIJIN

Toraijin (渡來人), a term meaning ‘people who have crossed over’, has ethno-cultural and historical nuances. It is used more in Japan than in other countries in East Asia. In China and Korea, it is rarely mentioned, and their general public would not understand its meaning until they are given an explanation. In Japan it is used primarily to designate people who immigrated to the Archipelago from the Korean Peninsula over two millennia from c. 800 BC to 600 AD.

In the context of such ethno-culturally-driven cognitive differences, Kyoto Bunka Hakubutsukan (Kyoto Museum of Culture) published, in 1989, an attractive photo-laden book with an eye-catching title, *海を渡つて来た人と文化 (Umi o Watatte Kita Hito to Bunka* [The People Who Crossed the Sea and Their Culture]), as a part of its first anniversary celebration. Its primary focus was *Toraijin*, “the people 人 who crossed 渡 the sea to come 來” [to the Archipelago]) and their cultural, technological, ideological, and demographic contributions to Japanese society.

The book was based on a series of special lectures presented by Japan’s prominent archaeologists and historians, including MORI Koichi, professor of archaeology at Doshisha University, NISHITANI Tadashi, professor of archaeology at Kyushu University, UEDA Masaaki, professor of ancient history at Kyoto University, KADOWAKI Teiji, professor of ancient Japanese history at Kyoto Furitsu University, and INOUE Mitsuo, professor of ancient Japanese history at Kyoto Sangyo University.

These five foremost scholars of Japan’s ancient history and archaeology firmly believed that the *Toraijin* phenomenon was of such significance that an authentic history of Japan could not be written without telling its story.

Toraijin were mentioned in Japan’s ancient records as a continental people coming into the Archipelago, normally in groups and at various times, with advanced technical skills of varying kinds, long intriguing the Japanese imagination (N Nakamura 1915; Kanno 1932; Maruyama 1934). The initial interest led to serious scholarly investigations in the post WWII Japanese academia (Takeuchi 1948; Seki 1956; Shida 1959; Ueda 1965; Egami 1967; Imai 1969; Kadowaki 1973; Yamao 1977; S Nakamura 1981). Through the 1960s, the ancient aliens were described as *Kikajin* (歸化人) (‘naturalized people’). Beginning in the 1970s, however, the term has been replaced by *Toraijin* mainly because not all aliens who came to the Archipelago became naturalized (Ueda 1991: 45-80). Nevertheless, Hirano (2018) has recently published *Kikajin to Kodai Kokka* (*Kikajin and the Ancient State*), focusing on the role and the position in ancient Japan of the *Toraijin* and their descendants who became naturalized citizens of Japan under the auspices of the Yamato state.

In the early 1980s, massive nationwide archaeological investigations in Japan began to shed unprecedented light on the *Toraijin*, prompting publication in Japan of several archaeological reports on the critical role of the *Toraijin* during Japan’s formative period (Kyoto Bunka Hakubutsukan 1989; OYBH 1999, OYBH 2004; SKAKH 2001; OFCAH 2004). Along with these, KAMEDA Shuichi (1997: 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2016) and others (Iwanaga 1991; Kataoka

1999, 2006; Shichida 2005, 2007a, 2017b; Saga-ken Kyoiku I'inkai 2008; Sakai 2013; Hashino 2014; K Miyamoto 2017) have made significant contributions on the archaeology of the Toraijin.

The archaeological discoveries have revealed that the first significant wave of Toraijin first appeared in the Archipelago in the early part of the first millennium BC, though individuals may have arrived earlier (Bausch 2017), and that they had helped Japan's prehistoric hunting-fishing-gathering society become a food producing one and acquire bronze and iron technology during the Yayoi period. In the 5th century, the Toraijin helped Japan advance upward to another level with new hitherto unknown technologies. "The 5th century is viewed as the century of technological revolution," states KAMEDA Shuichi (2011: 116):

The arrival in Japan of Sueki stoneware, equipments related to war and military power such as horse paraphernalia, weapons, helmets and body armors, new iron forging techniques and gilt-bronze craftsmanship, and (advanced tools) for agriculture, land reclamation, and public works greatly changed the technology of Japan. Furthermore, the horse and the arrival of new cooking facilities including *kamado* (clay cooking-stove) significantly altered the lifeways of Japan.

The revolutionary changes, Kameda continues,

did not happen because certain *mono* (things, objects) came into the country. They happened because of the coming of the people who possessed techniques and technologies. In the earlier days also, cultural exchanges took place through the movement of people, but particularly the revolutionary changes of the 5th century cannot be considered without the large number of people coming in, namely 'the Toraijin.' Therefore, the 5th century may be called 'the century of Toraijin'.

Echoing Kameda, SHIRAISHI Ta'ichiro, Director of the Osaka Furitsu Chikatsu Asuka Museum, has summed up the significance of the Toraijin in Japanese history (2004: 7-14):

The Toraijin... brought to Wa (Japan) new technologies including horse breeding and horse-riding, metallurgy, a Sueki (stoneware pottery) industry, and weaving skills, along with civil and architectural engineering, astronomy, calendar, arithmetic, Chinese writing, and religious and political ideologies among other things. It goes without saying that these new cultural and technological contributions propelled the advancement of Japanese civilization... The role of the Toraijin in civilizing Wa was immense (*kiwamete okii*).

By 'Wa', Shiraishi means ancient Japan, which was described in the ancient Chinese records as Wo (倭) or Woguo (倭國) (J. Wa, Wakoku). According to the *Xin Tang Shu* (The New History of Tang Dynasty, compiled in 1060), the Archipelago came to be called Nihon (日本) for the first time in 670.

Some of the 5th-century Toraijin were officials on a diplomatic mission, or temporary resident scholars and teachers (somewhat similar to British and American advisors brought in by the Meiji government in the late 19th century); but the majority comprised the general population including farmers, bronze and iron smiths, potters, craftsmen, military personnel, and even elites who fled

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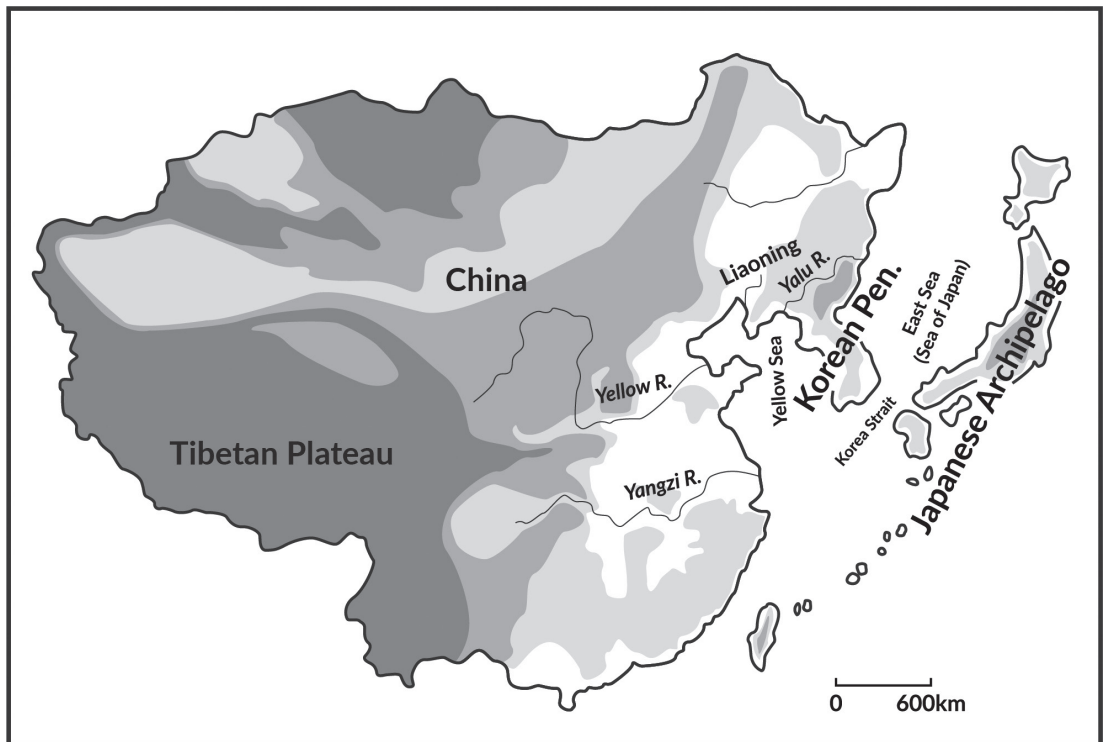
their homeland for one reason or another in search of a new haven. They settled permanently and became Kikajin (naturalized immigrants).

In time, some of them became powerful magnates (*gozoku*豪族) while others became government officials, technocrats, and political functionaries, playing a critical role in the advancement of politics, economy, and culture of ancient Japan (Ueda 1965: 86-96, 180). YAMAO Yukihiisa (1977: 39-50) observes that “without the Toraijin, it is impossible to consider the process of state formation [in Japan] during the 6th–7th century”, highlighting the vital role which the Toraijin played in social, economic, agricultural, industrial, and political transformation of ancient Japan. They also became ancestors of many modern Japanese.

In “Japan and Continent,” a chapter in *The Cambridge History of Japan* Vol. 1, OKAZAKI Takashi highlights Japan’s indebtedness to the Asian continent for its civilization (1993: 268):

Japan’s prehistory was marked by the gradual transmission of techniques and artifacts from the continental civilizations of Asia... Imported technology – the cultivation of rice in paddies, and bronze and iron technology – enabled the Japanese to create a settled and stratified society, and...contributed to the formation of the Japanese state.

This was a part of a grand civilizational drama taking place in a corner of the world aptly named the ‘Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere’ (Map 0.1); it was also the final phase of the formation of the great East



Map 0.1. Geographical map of East Asia (by Lucas Pauly).

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF TORAIJIN

Date	China	Korea	Japan
B.C. 14,000	PALAEOLITHIC	PALAEOLITHIC	PALAEOLITHIC JOMON Incipient
10,000			
9000	NEOLITHIC		
8000	Yangshao		Initial
7000		NEOLITHIC (Chulmun)	
6000			
5000			Early
4000			
3000	Longshan		Middle
2000	SHANG	BRONZE AGE (Mumun)	Late
1000	W. ZHOU		Final
900		Early	
800			
700	E. ZHOU	Middle	YAYOI Early
600			
500			
400	WARRING STATES	Late	
300		IRON AGE	
200	QIN/W. HAN	GO CHOSON (WIMAN CHOSON)	Middle
100		SAM HAN/LELANG-DAIFANG	
0	E. HAN		
AD 100		KOGURYO	Late
200	THREE KINGDOMS	PAEKCHE, SILLA, KAYA	KOFUN
300	(222-280)	LATER MAHAN	Early
400	SIX DYNASTIES		Middle
500	(420-581)		Late
600	SUI (581-618)		ASUKA
700	TANG (618-966)	UNIFIED SILLA	HEIJO (Nara)
800			HEIAN (Kyoto)
900			(794-857)

Table 0.1. Chronology of East Asia (by Lucas Pauly).

Asian civilization which began more than 10,000 years before in the Asian mainland (Barnes 2015: 361-383) (Table 0.1).

In the transmission of the continental civilization to the Archipelago, many hands were involved, including traders, travellers, diplomats, immigrants, and even soldiers on foreign expeditions. Certain technologies absolutely essential to the advancement of Japanese civilization, however, had to wait for the arrival in the Archipelago of skilled technicians with their technological know-how. The history of iron technology in the Archipelago is a good case in point.

II. IRON, A CASE STUDY

Ever since the inhabitants of the Archipelago discovered the superiority of iron over stone and wooden tools in the 3rd century BC (or even earlier), they sought to develop their own iron technology (Murakami 1999: 84-150, 2007: 9-138). With skills learned from the continent as well as with their own ingenuity the Archipelago smiths made a variety of simple iron implements with raw iron materials imported from the continent. By the Early Kofun period, they were using the improved forging method (*tanya*) to produce useful iron tools such as iron axes, chisels, sickles, hoes, arrowheads, knives, daggers, and swords (Murakami 2007: 123-126).

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Iron implements requiring complex technology such as riveting, however, had to wait until the arrival of skilled Toraijin technicians in the 5th century. It was the latter that helped revolutionize the iron technology of the Middle Kofun period in the production of advanced weapons, horse paraphernalia, iron helmets and body armor, which became the new status symbols of the emerging elites (Murakami 1999: 128-129, 188-189; Kameda 2000: 165-169).

Most critical in the development of the Archipelago iron technology, however, was its lack of success in iron production. Even around 550, the technology essential to iron production (*seitetsu gijutsu*) was still in a state of infancy or nil after more than eight or nine centuries of attempts by the Archipelago artisans to produce the raw iron locally (Murakami 2007: 47-50, 170-175). Consequently, for iron supplies, the Archipelago had to depend almost completely on the continent through much of the Late Kofun period (Murakami 1999: 60-120, 2004: 70-75, 2007: 110-135). This changed after 550 with the arrival in the Archipelago of skilled iron technicians from the continent who helped develop the iron production industry (Kameda 2000: 174-179; SKAKH 2001: 34-36). For their insatiable demands for the iron, the Wa elites still had to depend on the continent for the supply of raw materials (Murakami 2007: 304-305), but the groundwork was laid by the Toraijin technicians for development of the local iron production industry (Kameda 2000: 174-179; SKAKH 2001: 34-36).

Therefore, ancient Japan, in order to advance into a settled and stratified society and eventually into an enduring state, required from the continent not only advanced goods and technologies (wet-rice farming technique, bronze and iron technology, horse breeding and horse-driven transportation, civil engineering, etc.) but also technicians and engineers who could transplant the vital technologies *in situ*.

III. WHO WERE THE TORAIJIN, WHERE DID THEY COME FROM, AND WHAT DID THEY CONTRIBUTE TO THE ARCHIPELAGO?

KATAOKA Koji (1999: 177) defines Toraijin as “the people who came from the Korean Peninsula to the Japanese Archipelago crossing the sea and their descendants who continued to live with the lifeways and traditions [of their parents and grandparents].” INOUE Mitsuo (1991: 96-97) is more specific: “Stated succinctly, they are the people who came from Korea *in groups and with a distinct purpose* (集團で意志をもつて)” (italics added).

Scholars at the Kyoto Museum of Culture relate them to the origins of Japanese civilization (Kyoto Bunka Hakubutsukan 1989: 9):

In seeking the source of Japan’s ancient culture, many will look to China, but the quest will finally lead to Korea where China’s advanced culture was accepted and assimilated. In actuality, the people who crossed the sea [Toraijin] were the people of the Korean Peninsula and their culture was the Korean culture.

World historians – Murdoch (1910), Sansom (1958), Reischauer and Fairbank (1958, 1960), Hall (1970), and Brown (1993) – have stressed the pervasive influence of China and its advanced culture in the rise of Japanese civilization. In this narrative, the Korean Peninsula, situated between China and Japan, has been portrayed as a mere bridge or a conduit through which the advanced continental civilizations passed on their way to the Japanese Archipelago.

Such a perception of the Korean Peninsula is both simplistic and erroneous. Barnes (2015: 331), while discussing the emergence of Korea's early states, observes that, for example, the Peninsular polities that arose from the late 3rd century were neither mere extensions of [Chinese] dynastic power nor copycat borrowings of those dynastic systems...their internal dynamics and material representations are all substantially different, attesting to cultural creativity and local solutions for administrative problems. Regarding the early kingdom of Paekche, Walsh (2017: 161), in light of her analysis of its ceramic production, usages, and exchange, concludes that "the kingdom clearly deployed autochthonous political, economic, and social strategies to integrate and administer its territory, rather than relying on imported Chinese bureaucratic models."

Accordingly, world historians are warned against their tendency to view the Korean Peninsula as no more than a conduit through which Chinese civilization flowed into Japan (Barnes 2007: 1-3). As with other peoples, the ancient Peninsula inhabitants advanced their civilization by close interaction with their neighbors. Archaeological and historical records reveal clearly that they adopted advanced cultural elements from China and its northern neighbors. However, in the course of evolving, they assimilated the borrowed cultures and technologies and further refined them according to their own needs (Okazaki 1993: 271; SJ Lee 2007: 164-185; Barnes 2015: 331). Likewise, in the Archipelago also, the Peninsular culture, as it arrived along with the Toraijin, was adopted and adapted through time to become specifically Japanese, as shown in later chapters.

In the course of time, some of these Peninsular inhabitants became the Toraijin, the people who crossed the sea for one reason or another, reaching the Japanese Archipelago. Some of them were temporary residents, but many (more than a million over several centuries) settled permanently throughout the Archipelago, becoming critical contributors in the building of the Japanese civilization. Already by 600, many ancient Korean immigrant communities were well established in the Osaka-Kyoto-Nara area, playing an indispensable role not only in transplanting vital technologies of the continent in the Japanese soil but also in ancient Japan's accessing the continent and its rich civilization. The *Song shi* (the official account of the Liu Song Dynasty, 420-479, compiled in 488) reports that during the 5th century, five kings of Wa came to the Liu Song court in southern China to pay an official visit. "Without the information and knowledge of the Toraijin," states ICHIMURA Kunio (2004: 49), "even the diplomatic mission of the Five Kings of Wa to [Liu] Song China would have been impossible." Likewise, when the Yamato court sent an official cultural mission to Tang China in 608 to acquire the best parts of Chinese civilization, seven or all eight members of the mission were from the Yamato Aya Clan comprised of Korean immigrants and their descendants (*Nihon Shoki*: Suiko year 16).

In sum, about three thousand years ago, when the Archipelago's indigenous people were still engaged in lifeways based on fishing, hunting, and gathering, the Toraijin came and transplanted wet-rice farming in the Archipelago, transforming the Japanese lifeways forever. Six hundred years later, they brought and transplanted bronze technology. In the 5th and 6th centuries, they added the vital technologies of horse breeding and horse driven transportation, stoneware pottery, high-temperature iron-working and hi-tech iron tool-manufacturing, a writing system, and the ideologies of Confucianism and Buddhism critical to nation-building.

These observations in the archaeological and ancient historical records have led Japanese scholars (Ueda 1965; Yamao 1977; Okazaki 1993; Kataoka 1999; Sakai 2013; Hashino 2014; K Miyamoto 2017; Shichida 2017) to conclude that each major epoch in Japanese history, from the advent of the Yayoi

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rice farming society to the emergence of metallurgy of the Middle Yayoi, and the revolutionary socio-cultural dynamism of the Kofun period, coincided with the appearance of the Toraijin. The Toraijin, by their crisis-born fate, thus became cultural agents during Japan's formative period (c. 8th century BC–AD 600), which is the central theme of this monograph. Essentially, they acted as transmitters as well as transplinters of the advanced continental civilization in the Japanese Archipelago. But it is essential to acknowledge that the peoples on the Korean Peninsula themselves had undergone similar previous transformations with the introduction of millet and rice agriculture, bronze and iron objects and technologies from further west and north. Japanese development is not unique in this way; however, the one thing that cannot be countenanced is to ignore or even reject such continental influences, nor should they be overstated as in the Horserider Theory which we will revisit in later chapters.

IV. PUSH-PULL DYNAMICS IN MIGRATION

Human migration in ancient times around the world has long been a subject of serious interest among archaeologists and historians as an event as well as a process (Hauray 1958; Rouse 1986; Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000; Lyons 2003; Manning 2013). Tracking methods of the immigrants' movement and migration markers are well developed.

“In general, migration is most likely to occur when there are negative (push) stresses in the home region *and* positive (pull) attractions in the destination region...” states Anthony (1990: 899, italics added). The negative (push) stresses may be economic-environmental (climate change, shortage of arable land), or socio-political (population pressure, internal strife, civil wars, invasions, and wars). The positive (pull) attractions may also be environmental/economic – open fertile land, better climate, more material resources, and opportunities for a better life – or socio-political such as the relative absence of war and a host population welcoming the immigrants for what they might have to offer to improve their life. Add to these the presence of previous immigrants, kin or not.

Migration is integral to human adaptive strategies for survival and improvement of life; it is a rational process. Decisions are made about questions of where, when, and how. Information on the destination is gathered, networks are established, and logistics are developed. The structure of many migrations, according to studies on migration in history resembles a stream more than a wave, as stated by Anthony (1990: 903):

Migrants tend to proceed along well-defined routes toward specific destinations... Earlier migrants create pathways by overcoming obstacles and providing routing information for later migrants. The route is therefore often just as finely targeted as the destination. Archaeologically, this ... result [s] in artifact distributions that follow a specific line of movement.

Through the study of cultural remains left by the immigrants, researchers are able to map the point of their origin, their initial arrival, spread, settlement, and economic and other activities. Historical records, if available, provide valuable complementary information. In Japan, through extensive archaeological researches (Kameda 2000, 2004a, 2004c, 2010, 2016; OYBH 1999; SKAKH 2001; OFCAH 2004; Okuno 2012) much is known about these aspects of the Peninsular immigrants, the Toraijin of ancient Japan. Through environmental, archaeological, and ancient historical records, the push/

pull dynamics can be identified in the migrations of Korea's Middle Mumun people to the Japanese Archipelago across the Korea/Tsushima Strait.

V. PRIMARY OBJECTIVES OF THIS BOOK: THE SEVEN QUESTIONS

More than three decades have passed since the Kyoto Bunka Hakubutsukan highlighted the Toraijin and their extraordinary si

gnificance in ancient Japan. Since then the Toraijin has become a major subject of scholarly interest *within* Japan, and Japanese archaeologists and historians have shed more light with publications of their research result, as mentioned above. Nevertheless, not a single monograph in English, focused on the Toraijin, has appeared. We can only speculate on the reason.

In this book, we present a panoramic bird's eye view of the fourteen centuries-long Toraijin story, from c. 800~600 BC to 600 AD or thereabouts, on the basis of our own archaeological and historical researches over several decades in Korea and Japan as well as reports and insights provided by Korean and Japanese scholars.

Specifically, we seek to answer the following seven questions:

- (1) Where did the Toraijin come from?**
- (2) What was their historical and socio-cultural background?**
- (3) Why did they leave their homeland, risking their lives on the turbulent and notoriously dangerous waters of the Tsushima Strait?**
- (4) Where did they live in the Archipelago?**
- (5) What did they do in the Archipelago?**
- (6) How did the Archipelago people treat the Toraijin?**
- (7) What contributions did the Toraijin make to the ancient Japanese society?**

We explore these questions in five chapters, with each chapter focused on a major period in Japanese history: Incipient/Early Yayoi (Chapter 1), Middle Yayoi (Chapter 2), Late Yayoi/Early Kofun (Chapter 4), and Middle/Late Kofun (Chapters 4 and 5). In the way of enhancing the flow of the Toraijin story, we have chosen "From the Peninsula to the Archipelago" approach. Therefore, in each chapter, first we meet the Toraijin in their Peninsular homeland archaeologically and historically (where historical records are available), and then we meet them in the Archipelago archaeologically and historically (where historical records are available).

As we meet them in the Peninsula, we observe their settlements, their lifeways, houses they built, tools they made and used, their weapons, pottery vessels, their mortuary practices, and the character of their social organization. As we meet them in the Archipelago, we locate their settlement sites and examine the Peninsula cultural complex which they transplanted in the Archipelago: houses they built, tools and pottery vessels they made and used, their mortuary practices, and how they interacted with the Archipelago people.

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Of special importance, as we follow the Toraijin during each major period, we seek to answer three vital questions: (1) Why did the ancient Peninsula people leave their homeland to cross the South Sea and the Korea/Tsushima Strait? (2) How did the Archipelago people treat the Toraijin? And, (3) what did they contribute to the Archipelago society?

Finally, in the final section, *Collaboration Not Conquest*, we examine and assess major alternative explanations regarding the revolutionary socio-cultural transformations in ancient Japan and offer our own findings in light of the archaeological and historical evidences presented in the five chapters. Also, we assess the nature of Toraijin contributions to Japan's formative period.

VI. RESEARCH DATA: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

Archaeological Data

For the Toraijin-related archaeological data in the Archipelago, this study relies *primarily* on the evidence presented by Japanese scholars for the Japanese data and by Korean scholars for the Korean data.

Due to logistic difficulties accessing field excavation reports, we have relied largely on the publications of research staff and archaeologists at various museums, universities, and field research institutes inside Japan, who, on the basis of their examination of the field excavation reports or their own field work, have published informative monographs. A conscious effort has been made to convey *their* observations in *their own words*, albeit in translation by the authors unless otherwise noted. This, therefore, is the story being told by scholars and front-line researchers in Japan and Korea, *not by outside observers*.

For the Korean archaeology, we have incorporated our own field research results along with information embodied in monographs and journal articles published by field researchers, research institutes, museums, and university archaeology faculties.

The theoretical principle underlying our evaluation of archaeological data is the anthropologically informed notion that during migration *a culture moves with people from one region to another – not as isolated artifacts or trade goods but as integral components of well-established and socio-economically integrated systems* (Haury 1958: 1-7; Burmeister 2000). Kameda and others have identified archaeological markers of the Toraijin settlements in the Archipelago in terms of the pottery used in daily life, culinary features including especially the *yeonjil* earthenware, mortuary practices, and/or residential patterns unique to the Toraijin's pre-migration life-ways (Kameda 2003a: 1-14, 2003b: 55-65, 2005: 1-16, 2011: 116-119; K Tanaka 2004: 88-95; Kyoto Bunka Hakubutsukan 1989; OYBH 1999, OYBH 2004; SKAKH 2001; OFCAH 2004; Iwanaga 1991; Kataoka 1999, 2006; Shichida 2005, 2007a, 2017; Saga-ken Kyoiku I'inkai 2008; Sakai 2013; Hashino 2014; K Miyamoto 2017).

For example, the Songguk-ni type residential buildings and the mortuary culture of dolmen construction, unique to the Peninsular Middle Mumun society, serve as archaeological markers for the Early Yayoi-period Toraijin when these features occur archaeologically in mutual association (i.e., linked into a settlement system, not emulated individually). Likewise, a sudden appearance of Peninsular Jeomtoda pottery (pots with a clay ring around their rim) and the wood-coffin burial system would indicate the presence of the Middle Yayoi Toraijin (Kataoka 1999, 2006).

Also, residential buildings equipped with an attached Peninsular-style cooking oven and supported by four posts, buildings with thick walls, and buildings equipped with an *ondol* (an ancient traditional Korean under-floor heating system), accompanied by Yeonjil (soft earthenware) pottery of ancient Korea, serve as archaeological markers for Kofun period Toraijin settlements (Kameda 2003a: 1-14, 2004a: 75-94, 2005: 1-16, 2016: 283-321; Sakai 2013: 77-78; GGOB 1999: 60).

Along with these cultural features, human skeletal remains provide vital clues regarding the identity of the people associated with settlement sites (Shichida 2017: 41-42). Quantitative and qualitative differences in skeletal morphology distinguish between incoming populations from the Peninsula and the indigenous hunter-gatherer populations of the Archipelago. Inter-marriage created a descendant population with combined features. Dental metrics of modern Japanese reveal ratios of immigrant/native influence as 3:1 in the Kanto region as opposed to 3:2 in the Ryukyus and 3:7 in the Hokkaido Ainu (Matsumura 2001).

DNA studies are clarifying gene flow from the continent but concentrate mainly on modern population compositions due to the lack of skeletal remains in the Mumun and Yayoi periods. Nevertheless, modern Japanese (including the Ainu) are assessed to have between 50–80% continental genes (the rest inherited from the indigenous hunter-gatherer population) with the latest study averaging more than 80% continental genes except in the far north (Kanazawa-Kiriyama et al. 2015).

Ethnologically the modern Japanese population is dual-structured, exhibiting “the native Jomon and immigrant Yayoi traits” (Hanihara 1991; 2000: 4; Allen 2008: 122). According to genetic researches, two different sets of Y chromosomes mark “the Jomon and the Yayoi populations in the Japanese paternal gene pool, going back over twenty thousand years and three thousand years respectively” (Allen 2008: 122-123). Of special significance, while the Jomon chromosome markers are rare among the population of Korea, they are more common among the Ainu and the Okinawans than in the population of Honshu. On the other hand, the Yayoi markers are common in Korea and Japan except in Okinawa and among the Ainu. “This,” Allen concludes (2008: 123), “supports the hypothesis that the peninsula migrants and their descendants prevailed in many parts of Japan while the native population and culture remained predominant in northern and southern spheres.” Thus, the migration of Toraijin did not end with changing the culture of the Japanese Archipelago but it effected a transformation of the population that survives to the present day.

Historical Sources

The archaeological data are complemented with gleanings from ancient Chinese records including the *Shiji* (Historical Records) compiled by SIMA Qian (145–85? BC), the *Hanshu* (History of the [Former] Han Dynasty), compiled by BAN Gu at the end of the 1st century, and the *Weizhi* (Records of the Wei Dynasty), compiled by CHEN Shou (233–297) and existing as part of the *Sanguozhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms, c. 220–265).

For the Three Kingdoms period of Korea (Koguryo, Paekche, Silla, and Kaya) and Kofun period Japan, we have drawn, along with rich archaeological data, useful information from the Stele of Gwanggaeto (414), the *Samguk Sagi* (Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms) (1145), the *Samguk Yusa* (Anecdotes of the Three Kingdoms) (1281), the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) (712), and the *Nihon Shoki* (the Chronicles of Japan) (720).

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The Gwanggaeto Stele has been subject to controversy ever since it was discovered around 1880, and questions regarding its contents will never end because many of the inscribed words are no longer legible and there are discrepancies among the extant copies of their original rubbings (SH Park 2007; HG Lee and RH Park 1996; JS Park 1996). Likewise, questions abound regarding the historical accuracy of the *Samguk Sagi* and *Samguk Yusa* in light of ancient historical texts from China as well as archaeological data (HS Shin 1981; Shultz 2005; McBride II 2006; Best 2003: 165-167; 2006: 31-35; 2016). Jonathan Best (2016) has found the early chronology of the *Samguk Sagi* unreliable and cautions against indiscriminate use of its narratives.

Equally questionable is the historicity of many accounts in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki* (Tsuda 1924: 1948, 1950; Umezawa 1962, 1988; Mishina 1971; Yamada 1991; Furuta and Shibuya 1994; Piggott 2002; Shinkawa and Hayakawa 2011). Created as a political treatise rather than a historical narrative, for the purpose of legitimizing the Yamato hegemony, the *Nihon Shoki* suffers in historical accuracy. Aston (1972[1896]: xv-xvi) has observed that the early part of the *Nihon Shoki* is essentially fictional and that “trustworthy record of events” appear after the mid-5th century. Its compilers also transposed many of the ancient historical records, creating confusion about the actors of various historical events as well as numerous chronological discrepancies (Tsuda 1924, 1948, 1950). Problematic also are numerous cases of anachronism, rendering the 4th–5th century events according to the perceptions of the 8th century, such as describing ancient Wa as ‘Nihon’ (Japan) (first used in the latter part of the 7th century and the ancient kings of Wa as ‘Tenno’ (Emperor) (also first used in the latter part of the 7th century). Finally, the Japan-centered worldview, underlying the ideology of the *Nihon Shoki* compilers, resulted in skewed perceptions of Yamato’s relationship with its neighbor states, especially those in the Peninsula.

Keeping in mind the inherent textual problems, we have sought to ensure that the accounts cited from the ancient records are not contradicted by other reliable historical records and archaeological investigations. Where their historicity is questioned, we have so noted.

Because of logistic difficulties in accessing voluminous excavation and fieldwork reports in various Korean and Japanese research centers the authors have relied on journal articles and monographs published by Korean and Japanese archaeologists and archaeological research centers, providing the essential information on their researches.

In addition to numerous publications by academicians, research institutes, museums, and universities, this volume also reflects on many conversations which the authors personally held with eminent Japanese and Korean researchers at research institutes, universities, and museums from Seoul to Kyoto.

Finally, we wish to remind our readers that the primary focus of this book is neither Korean history nor Japanese history. It is the Toraijin and their contributions to ancient Japanese society. Hence, we devote much of our narratives to the archaeology and history of the Toraijin. Korean and Japanese history are discussed only where they are relevant to the Toraijin.