

The Native Origins of the Paekche Refugee Ye (彌) Family and the Background of Their Activities in the Tang Dynasty

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Introduction

Research on Paekche has been methodologically limited for a long time because of the paucity of historical materials. However, in the 21st century, several Paekche wooden tablets (*Mokkan*, 木簡) and refugee (遺民) epitaphs (*Myojimyǒng*, 墓誌銘) were excavated and have contributed valuable information about Paekche and East Asia. In particular, the epitaphs help to deepen our understanding about Paekche refugees.

In the early stages of research, many historians concentrated on the introduction and translation of epitaphs. Recently, there have been new comprehensive studies examining the collapse of Paekche, the activity of Paekche refugees, and their ancestry. With the increase in historical breakthroughs, new analytical studies have emerged about research trends in refugee epitaphs,¹ as well as all of new historical materials related to

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1 Yun Yong-gu, "Chungguk Ch'ult'o Koguryō-Paekcheyumin Myojimyǒng Yǒn'gudonghyang (Research Trends of Epitaphs, Excavated in China, for Displaced Peoples of Koguryo and Paekche)," *Han'gukkodaesayǒn'gu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 75 (2014); Bai Gen-xing, "Chunggung Hakkyeüi Paekche Yumin Yessi Kamun Myojimyǒng Kōmt'o (A Review of Epitaphs of the Ye

Paekche.²

For example, the epitaphs of the Ye (禰) family, who held high-ranking government posts in Paekche, are useful materials to understand the process of the Paekche collapse, the activity of Paekche refugees in the Tang dynasty, and their native origins because there are four different epitaphs made by one family including Ye Sikchin and his brother, son, and grandson. Due to this wealth of data, there are numerous studies about the Ye family.³

Family, Former Paekche People, China),” *Han'guksayŏn'gu* (The Journal of Korean History) 165 (2014): Park Ji-hyun, “Chungguk Ch'ult'o Paekchein Myojie Kwanhan Kungnaehakkyeüi Yŏn'guhyŏnhwang (The Domestic Research Trend on the Excavated Epitaphs in China),” in *Chungguk Ch'ult'o Paekchein Myoji Chipsŏng* (The Comprehensive Source Book of Paekche People Epitaphs, Excavated in China) (Kongju: Ch'ungch'ŏngnamdo Yŏksamunhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 2016).

- 2 Moon Dong-Seok, “Icŏnnyŏndae Paekcheüi Shinbalgyŏn Munjajaryowa Yŏn'gudonghyang (The Newly Discovered Text Materials Regarding Paekche and Its Research Trends),” *Han'gukkodaesayŏn'gu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 57 (2010).
- 3 Kim Young-kwan, “Chungguk Palgyŏn Paekche Yumin Yessi Kajok Myojimyŏng Kŏmt'o (A Review of Epitaphs of Ye Family, Former Paekche People, Discovered in China),” *Shillasahakpo* (The Society for the Studies of Silla History) 24 (2012); Kwon Deok-young, “Paekche yumin Yessi Ilchok Myojimyŏnge Taehan Tansang (The Short Review of Paekche Refugees Ye Family Epitaphs),” *Sahakyŏn'gu* (The Studies of History) 105 (2012); Bai Gen-xing, “Tangdae Paekcheyumin Yessigajok Myojie Kwanhan Koch'al (The Review of Paekche refugees Ye family Epitaphs in Tang period),” *Han'gukkodaesayŏn'gu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 66 (2012); Kim Young-shim, “Myojimyŏnggwa Munhŏnjaryorül T'onghae Pon Paekchemyŏlmang Chŏnhu Yessiüi Hwal-dong (Activities of the Ye Family Around the Time of Paekche's Collapse Through the Analysis of Four Epitaphs and Literature Record),” *Yŏksahakyŏngu* (Historical Research) 52 (2013); Kaneko Shuichi, “禰氏墓誌と唐朝治下の百濟人の動向 (Trends of the Paekche People Under the Tang Dynasty Seen in the Inscription on the Tomb of the Deis),” *Nihonshi Kenkyu* (Journal of Japanese History) 615 (2013); Choi Sang-ki, “Paekche Myŏlmang Ihu Yessi Ilchogüi Wisang (The Status of the Ye House After Paekchee's Fall),” *Yŏksawa Hyŏnsil* (Quarterly Review of Korean History) 101 (2016).

Despite the accumulation of research, there is a lack of analysis of the source of the Ye family epitaphs. In the discussions about their native origins and the immigration of the Ye family ancestors, it is hard come to definitive conclusions without close analysis of the source because all Ye family epitaphs recorded different stories about their ancestors.

Moreover, previous studies are limited because they do not consider the background of the Ye family's activities in the Tang dynasty. They were active in various fields of the Tang dynasty shortly after surrendering, and they emigrated to the Tang, not Silla. There are several reported reasons why they went to China, such as the hostile relationship between Paekche and Silla and the powerful leadership of the Tang dynasty in East Asia. However, in addition to these factors, it is necessary to carefully examine the background of Paekche society to fully understand the Ye family.

This paper will introduce the Ye family epitaphs and analyze the native origins of the Ye family through the epitaphs. The last section will focus on the background of the Ye family's activity in the Tang dynasty. In addition to analyzing the native origins, ancestry, and activities of the Ye family, East Asian historical records and new historical materials of Paekche, such as recently excavated refugee epitaphs and wooden tablets are used as sources of data to offer a more thorough interpretation of this period.

The Ye Family Epitaphs and Related Research

Paekche was conquered by Silla and the Tang dynasty in 660. After the conquest, Paekche refugees voluntarily or involuntarily emigrated to the Tang. Some Paekche refugees played an active part in the military or holding diplomatic positions in Tang China and left epitaphs after their death. These epitaphs were enshrined in their tomb and contained several contents such as the lineage of their family, careers in public office, and information about their deaths, funerals, and tombs.

The first research on Paekche refugee epitaphs is from the 20th century,

and included Puyō Yung (扶餘隆), Hükch'i Sangji (黑齒常之), and Hükch'i Jun (黑齒俊). In the 21st century, the excavation of Paekche refugee epitaphs has increased in China resulting in the epitaphs of Nan Wōn'gyōng (難元慶), Ye Sikchin (禰寔進), T'aebi Puyōssi (太妃 扶餘氏), Ye Sosa (禰素士), Ye Insu (禰仁秀), Ye Gun (禰軍), and Chin Bōpcha (陳法子). Most of them were excavated from tombs of the Tang period at Xi'an and Luoyang in China. However, the origins of some epitaphs are difficult to determine because they were located at antiques markets or museums, not archeological research sites. Nevertheless, there are a few studies on the process of excavation or discovery of Paekche refugee epitaphs.⁴ Although the site of excavation may be unknown, these epitaphs help explain the history of Paekche refugees who lived in Tang China.

In the early stages of research, there were several studies on the translation and introduction of new epitaphs. Later on, there were more studies on epitaphs, investigating areas such as the process of Paekche's collapse and the Paekche refugees' ancestry and activity in China,⁵ the immigration of Paekche refugees' ancestors,⁶ the government official system of

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- 4 Bai, "Chunggung Hakkyeüi Paekche Yumin Yessi Kamun Myojimyōng Kōmt'o"; Zhang Jin-min, "The Paekche Refugee Tombs at the Tang Dynasty and the Epitaphs," in *Chungguk Ch'ult'o Paekchein Myoji Chipsōng* (The Comprehensive Source Book of Paekche People Epitaphs, Excavated in China) (Kongju: Ch'ungch'ōngnamdo Yōksamunhwa Yōn'guwōn, 2016).
- 5 Kim Young-kwan, "Chungguk Palgyōn Paekche Yumin Yessi Kajok Myojimyōng Kōmt'o"; Kim Young-kwan. "Paekche Yumindūrui Tang Ijuwa Hwaltong (The Former Paekche People's Emigration into Tang and Their Activities in China)," *Han'guksayōn'gu* (The Journal of Korean History) 158 (2012); Kim Young-shim, "Myojimyōnggwa Munhōnjaryorül T'onghae Pon Paekchemyōlmang"; Ueda Ki-heinarichika, "在唐百濟遺民の存在様態 (Refugees from Paekche into Tang and their living status)," *Chosen Gakuho* (Journal of the Academic Association of Koreanology in Japan) 236 (2015).
- 6 Cho Bum-hwan, "Chunggugin Yuiminüi Paekche Kwihwawa Chōngch'ak Kwa-jōng Taehan Kōmt'o (A Study of Chinese Immigrants' Naturalization as Paekche People and Settlement Process in Paekche Region)," *Han'gukkodaesat'amgu* (Sogang Journal of Early Korean History) 19 (2015).

Paekche,⁷ the local government of Paekche,⁸ and a comprehensive sourcebook of Paekche refugees epitaphs.⁹ Also, there are some studies that examine both of the epitaphs of Koguryō and Paekche refugees.¹⁰ Lastly, there are some analytical studies on research trends in refugee epitaphs.¹¹

Most notably, the Ye family epitaphs help to deepen our understanding about the Paekche refugees. Studies on the Ye family epitaphs can be

- 7 Jeong Dong-jun, "Chinbōpcha Myojimyōngūi Kōmt'owa Paekche Kwanje (Paekche's Government Organization in the Memorial Inscription of Jin Beopja)," *Han'gukkodaesayōngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 74 (2014); Kim Young-shim, "Yuminmyoji-ro Pon Koguryō, Paekcheūi Kwanje (Government Organization of Goguryo and Paekche Ascertained Through the Review of Epitaphs of Refugees)," *Han'gukkodaesayōngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 75 (2014).
- 8 Kim Young-shim, "Paekcheūi Chibang T'ongch'igiguwa Chibaeūi Yangsang (Local Government Organization of Paekche and Its Pattern of Control)," *Han'gukko-daesat'amgu* (Sogang Journal of Early Korean History) 19 (2015).
- 9 Kweon In Han, Kim Kyung Ho and Yoon Seon-Tae ed., *Hankuk Kodaie Munja Jaryo Yeongu: Paekche Sang/Ha* (The Study of Korean Ancient Historical Material, Paekche First/Second) (Seoul: Juryuseong, 2015); Ch'ungch'ōngnamdo Yōksamunhwa Yōn'guwōn (Chungnam Institute of History and Culture), *Chungguk Ch'ult'o Paekchein Myoji Chipsōng* (Kongju: CYY, 2016).
- 10 Lee Kichon, "Tangdae Koguryō, Paekchegye Pōnjangūi Chonjaeyang'tae (The Aspect of Foreign Generals Immigrated from Koguryō and Paekche in Tang Dynasty)," *Han'gukkodaesayōngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 75 (2014); Lee Seongje, "Koguryō, Paekcheyumin Myojiūi Ch'ulcha Kirokkwa Kū Ūimi (Origin Records of Koguryo and Paekche Migrants' Epitaphs and the Significance)," *Han'gukkodaesayōngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 75 (2014); Lee Dong-hoon, "Koguryō, Paekcheyumin Chimun'gusōnggwa Ch'ansōja (A Study on Goguryeo & Paekche Immigrants' Grave Epitaph Composition and Its Drafter)," *Han'gukkodaesayōngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 76 (2014).
- 11 Yun Yong-gu, "Chungguk Ch'ult'o Koguryō-Paekcheyumin Myojimyōng Yōn'gudonghyang"; Bai, "Chunggung Hakkyeūi Paekche Yumin Yessi Kamun Myojimyōng Kōmt'o"; Park Ji-hyun, "Chungguk Ch'ult'o Paekchein Myojie Kwanhan Kungnaehakkyeūi Yōn'guhyōnhwang."

divided into introductory and translation research,¹² specific studies on the Ye Gun epitaph,¹³ and comprehensive studies on the Ye family epitaphs. The comprehensive studies explore the activities of the Ye family during the Paekche collapse and in the Tang¹⁴ and the native origins or ancestry of the Ye family. Research on native origins or ancestry are divided into two sides. The first group insists that they were of Chinese ancestry¹⁵ while other scholars claim that the Ye family were of Paekche

12 Kim Young-kwan, “Paekcheyumin Yesikchin Myoji Sogae (The Introduction of Paekche Refugee Yesikjin Epitaph),” *Shillasahakpo* (The Society for the Studies of Silla History) 10 (2007); Lee Do-hack, “Nishikchinmyojimyöngül T'onghae Pon Paekche Nissi (The Ni Family of Paekche Dynasty Through Ni-sik-jin's Tombstone Inscription),” *Chönt'ongmunhwanonch'ong* (The Collection of Studies on Traditional Culture) 5 (2007); Bai Gen-xing, “Baiji Yimin 〈Mishijin Muzhiming〉 Guanlian Wenti Kaoshi (A Study on the Epitaph of Paekche refugee Ye Sikchin),” *Dongbeishidi* (東北史地) 2008-2 (2008); Lee Young-ho, “Saero Palgyödoen Paekcheyumin Yesosa, Yeinsu Myojimyöng T'akpon (Newly Found Rubbed Copies of Memorial Inscriptions of Ye So-sa and Ye In-su, Displaced Persons of Paekche),” *Han'gukkodaesayöngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 65 (2012).

13 There are many studies on the Ye Gun epitaph, because of the record of ‘Ilbon (日本)’. The following are representative studies on the Ye Gun. Wang Lian-long, “Baijiren 〈Mijun Muzhi〉 Kaolun (A Study on the Epitaph of Paekche Ye Gun),” *Shehuikexuezhaxian* (社會科學戰線) 2011-7 (2011); Ge Jiyong, “Yegun Myojie Daehan Gakseo (The Study on the Yegun Epitaph),” *Shillasahakpo* (The Society for the Studies of Silla History) 25 (2012); Lee Sung-si, “Ye Gun Myoji Yöngu (The Study of Yegun Epitaph),” *Mokkan'gwa Munja* (Wooden Documents and Inscriptions Studies) 10 (2013); Lee Yong-hyun, “Yegun Myojiüi Ilbon Taehan Koch'al (Examination for ‘Ilbon’ of the Inscription on a Tomb of Yegun),” *Han'gukkodaesayöngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 75 (2014); Choi Sang-ki, “Ye Gun Myojiüi Yöngu Tonghyanggwa Chönmang (The Prospect and Research Trend of Yegun Epitaph Study),” *Mokkan'gwa Munja* (Wooden Documents and Inscriptions Studies) 12 (2014).

14 Kim Young-kwan. “Paekche Yumindürüi Tang Ijuwa Hwaltong”; Kim Young-shim, “Myojimyönggwa Munhönjaryörül T'onghae Pon Paekchemyölmang”; Kaneko, “禰氏墓誌と唐朝治下の百濟人の動向.”

15 Kim Young-kwan, “Chungguk Palgyöon Paekche Yumin Yessi Kajok Myojimyöng

ancestry.¹⁶

Before moving to the analysis of the Ye family, it is essential to start with the contents of the Ye family epitaphs. The discovery of the Ye Sikchin epitaph was in 2006. Subsequently, the Ye Sosa and Ye Insu epitaphs were excavated at Xi'an, and the Ye Gun epitaph was introduced in 2011. Ye Gun was the older brother of Ye Sikchin and from the first generation of Paekche refugees. Ye Sosa was the son of Ye Sikchin, and Ye Insu was the son of Ye Sosa.

Figure 1 is the epitaph of Ye Sikchin (禰寔進, 615-672), which was found at Luoyang in 2006 and introduced in 2007.¹⁷ It is 58.5cm in length and width, with 288 characters.

- A-1. 大唐故左威衛大將軍來遠縣開國子柱國禰公墓誌銘并序
 A-2. 公諱寔進百濟熊川人也 祖左平譽多 父左平思善 並蕃官正一品
 雄毅爲姿 忠厚成性 馳聲滄海 効節青丘
 A-3. 公器宇深沉 ... 夙稟貞規 早標義節 占風異域 就日長安
 A-4. 以咸亨三年五月廿五日 因行薨於來州黃縣 春秋五十有八 ...
 以其年十一月廿一日 葬於高陽原¹⁸

Kömt'o"; Bai, "Tangdae Paekcheyumin Yessigajok Myojie Kwanhan Koch'al"; Kim Young-shim, "Myojimyönggwa Munhönjaryorül Tonghae Pon Paekchemyölmang."

16 Kwon, "Paekche yumin Yessi Ilchok Myojimyöngge Taehan Tansang"; Ueda, "在唐百濟遺民の存在様態"; Choi, "Paekche Myölmang Ihu Yessi Ilchogüi Wisang."

17 Dong Yan-xiu and Zhao Zhen-hua, "Luoyang, Lushan, Xi'an Chutu de Tangdai Baijiren Muzhi Tansuo (A Study on the Paekche Refugee Epitaphs Excavated from Luoyang, Lushan, Xi'an)," *Dongbeishidi* (東北史地) 2007-2 (2007).

18 The original text of the Ye family epitaphs is presented in Ch'ungch'öngnamdo Yöksamunhwa Yön'guwön, *Chungguk Ch'ult'o Paekchein Myoji Chipsöng*.

Figure1. Ye Sikchin epitaph.



According to the epitaph of Ye Sikchin (禰寔進墓誌銘), he was from Paekche Ungch'ŏn (熊川, the second capital of Paekche, Ungjin (熊津)), and his grandfather and father were Chwap'yŏng (佐平/左平, Paekche prime minister). Ye Sikchin gained a strong reputation in Paekche and was loyal to Paekche (A-2). He was a talented and dignified person. He analyzed the situation of Paekche (異域) and surrendered to the emperor of China (就日長安) when Paekche collapsed (A-3). After he moved to China, he was promoted to the third rank (正3品) of general (左威衛大將軍) (A-1). He died at the age of 58 in 672 and was buried at Koyangwŏn (高陽原) in Xi'an (A-4).

The epitaph of Ye Gun (禰軍, 613-678) was announced in 2011,¹⁹ but scholars have not found the original. Its existence was confirmed from a

19 Wang Lian-long, "Baijiren 〈Mijun Muzhi〉 Kaolun."

rubbing of the epitaph. Although there is no original stone, it is believed to be genuine because of its similarity with other epitaphs.²⁰ It is 59cm in length and width with 884 characters.

- B-1. 大唐故右威衛將軍上柱國禰公墓誌銘并序
- B-2. 公諱軍字溫 熊津嶠夷人也
- B-3. 其先與華同祖
- B-4. 永嘉末 避亂適東 因遂家焉
- B-5. 綿圖不絕 奕代有聲 曾祖福祖譽父善 皆是本藩一品 官號佐平
- B-6. 去顯慶五年 官軍平本藩日 見機識變 杖劍知歸
- B-7. 以儀鳳三年歲在戊寅二月朔戊子十九日景午 遭疾薨於雍州長安縣之延壽里第 春秋六十有六 ... 粵以其年十月甲申朔二日乙酉 葬於雍州乾封縣之高陽里 禮也

According to the epitaph of Ye Gun (禰軍墓誌銘), Ye Gun was from Ungjin Ui (熊津嶠夷) (B-2). Ui (嶠夷) was the name of the prefecture (縣), and it belonged to the Ungjin Commandery (熊津都督府), which was established by Tang dynasty after they conquered Paekche. Ye Gun or his family wanted to record the native origins according to Chinese standards. His ancestry was the same with Chinese (B-3). His ancestor immigrated from China to the east during the early 4th century (B-4). His family had maintained a well-known reputation, and his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father were Chwap'yōng of Paekche (B-5). Ye Gun realized that he should surrender with his soldiers to the Tang in 660 (B-6). He died in 678 and was buried in the same place (高陽里) as Ye Sikchin (B-7). Also, Ye Gun is recorded in other history books. According to *Samguksagi* (History of The Three Kingdoms, 三國史記) and *Nihonshoki* (The Chronicles of Japan, 日本書紀), he went to Japan and Silla as a diplomat of the

20 Ge, “Yegun Myojie Daehan Gakseo”; Kwon, “Paekche yumin Yessi Ilchok Myojimyōnge Taehan Tansang”; Bai, “Tangdae Paekcheyumin Yessigajok Myojie Kwanhan Koch'al.”

Tang dynasty.²¹

The epitaphs of Ye Sosa (禰素士, ?-708) and Ye Insu (禰仁秀, 675-727) were excavated from tombs in southern Xi'an in 2010. This site is known as Koyangwŏn (高陽原) where the Ye family was buried. It is presumed that the tombs of Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun were located in this area.²²

- C-1. 公諱素士字素 楚國琅琊人也
- C-2. 自鯨魚隕彗 龍馬浮江 拓拔以勁騎南侵 宋公以強兵北討 乾坤慘黷 君子滅跡於屯蒙 海內崩離 賢達違邦而遠逝 七代祖嵩自淮泗浮於遼陽 遂爲熊川人也
- C-3. 曾祖真帶方州刺史 祖善隨任萊州刺史 父寔進入朝爲歸德將軍東明州刺史左威衛大將軍
- C-4. 景龍二年六月 奉使徐兗等卅九州存撫 … 景龍二年八月廿九日 卒於徐州之官舍 呼嗚哀哉 卽以其年十一月二日 遷窆於雍州高陽原 禮也

According to the epitaph of Ye Sosa (禰素士墓誌銘), he was from Ch'oguk Nangya (楚國琅琊). Nangya (琅琊) was the name of the southern Shandong peninsula in China (C-1). His seventh ancestor (七代祖) Sung (嵩) fled China to Paekche in the early fifth century when the Liu Song dynasty fought against the Northern Wei dynasty. Sung left the Huaihe (淮河) and Sishui (泗水) basin in southern Shandong and northern Jiangsu and crossed the Yellow Sea (遼陽) (C-2).²³ His great-grandfather and

21 “王疑百濟殘衆反覆 遣大阿滄儒敦於熊津都督府請和 不從 乃遣司馬禰軍窺覘 王知謀我 止禰軍不送 舉兵討百濟” *Samguksagi* 6, *Annals of Silla*, July of the 10th year of King Munmu; “庚午朔壬辰唐國遣朝散大夫沂州司馬上柱國劉德高等[等謂右戎衛郎將上柱國百濟禰軍 朝散大夫柱國郭務儉 凡二百五十四人]” *Nihonshōki* 27, Sept. of the 4th year of King Tenji.

22 Zhang Jin-min, “Xinchu Tang Baiji Yimin Mishijiazhu Muzhi Kaolue (A Tentative Study of the Newly Discovered Epitaph of the Ye Family from Paekche),” *Tang-shiluncong* (唐史論叢) 14 (2012).

23 Kim Young-kwan, “Chungguk Palgyŏn Paekche Yumin Yessi Kajok MyojimyoŅg Kŏmt'o,” 106-10.

grandfather were governors of Daifangzhou and Laizhou(帶方州刺史, 萊州刺史) (C-3). This epitaph is different from Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun's epitaphs that indicated their ancestors as Chwap'yōng of Paekche. Ye Sosa died in 708 and was buried in the same place (高陽原) as Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun (C-4).

- D-1. 隨末有萊州刺史禰善者 盖東漢平原處士之後也 知天猷隨德
乘桴竄海 遂至百濟國
- D-2. 王中其說 立爲丞相 以國聽之 泊子寔進 世官象賢也
- D-3. 有唐受命 東討不庭 卽引其王 歸義于高宗皇帝
- D-4. 寔進生素士 襲父封仕至左武衛將軍 君諱仁秀 卽武衛府君之
長子也
- D-5. 開元十五年 終于臨洮軍之官舍 爲壽五十三矣 越以天寶載庚
寅夏五月戊子朔廿二日己酉 克葬于長安縣之高陽原 禮也

The epitaph of Ye Insu (禰仁秀墓誌銘) lists his ancestor as Eastern Han (東漢) P'yōngwōnch'ōsa (平原處士) and his descendant as Yesōn, a governor of Laizhou (萊州刺史). Yesōn noticed the decline of the Sui dynasty and immigrated to Paekche (D-1). He was promoted to Chengxiang (丞相, prime minister) in Paekche, and his son was Ye Sikchin (D-2). Ye Sikchin led his king and surrendered to the emperor of the Tang (D-3). Ye Sosa was Ye Sikchin's son and Ye Insu was Ye Sosa's son (D-4). Ye Insu died in 727 and was buried in Koyangwōn (D-5). The epitaph is similar to Ye Sosa's, which declared his ancestor as a Chinese official, but it was the first time for P'yōngwōnch'ōsa to be named as a Ye family ancestor.

The Ye family epitaphs reveal a new historical record showing the collapse of Paekche. In the historical records of China, there was a Ye Sik (禰植) who is presumed to be Ye Sikchin at the time of the fall of Paekche. Ye Sik is considered to be the same person as Ye Sikchin because their name and period of work is similar.²⁴ According to one historical record,

24 Kim Young-kwan, "Paekcheyumin Yesikchin Myoji Sogae," 377.

Ye Sik surrendered to the Tang with his king,²⁵ but another one claims that Ye Sik led his king and surrendered.²⁶ Before finding the epitaphs of the Ye family, it was difficult to assume which one was correct. However, according to the Ye Sikchin epitaph, he decided to surrender himself while the Ye Insu epitaph indicates Ye Sikchin led his king and surrendered to the Tang. Also, Ye Gun surrendered with his soldiers. Therefore, Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun were probably the leaders of Paekche who forced the submission of the Paekche king in 660.²⁷ This new understanding differs with *Samguksagi* that revealed the Paekche king surrendered to the Tang with his son.²⁸

Interpretations of Paekche's collapse using the Ye family epitaphs can be integrated into one conclusion. However, all of the Ye family epitaphs indicated different stories about the native origins of the Ye family. Therefore, it is necessary to further examine the epitaphs to establish the origins of the Ye family.

The Native Origins of the Ye Family through an Analysis of the Ye Family Epitaphs

Among the Ye family epitaphs, all indicate that their ancestors were Chinese and immigrated from China to Paekche except the Ye Sikchin epitaph. However, there are many inconsistencies in their epitaphs as seen in Figure 2.

Additionally, the description of the ancestry changed. There is no rec-

25 “其將禰植與義慈降” *Xin Tang Shu* (新唐書) 111, Liezhuan 36, Su Ding-fang (蘇定方).

26 “其大將禰植又將義慈來降” *Jiu Tang Shu* (舊唐書) 83, Liezhuan 33, Su Ding-fang (蘇定方).

27 Kim Young-kwan, “Chungguk Palgyŏn Paekche Yumin Yessi Kajok Myojimyŏng Kŏmt'o,” 98-100-150.

28 “義慈率太子及熊津方領軍等 自熊津城來降” *Samguksagi* 5, Annals of Silla, July 18, the 7th year of King T'aejongmuyŏl.

Figure 2. The contents of the Ye family epitaphs

	Native origin	Ancestry	Timing and process of immigration	Father	Grandfather	Great-grandfather
Ye Sikchin (裨寇進, 615-672)	Paekche Ungch'ōn (百濟熊川)			Sasōn (思善) *左平	Yeda (譽多) *左平	
Ye Gun (裨軍, 613-678)	Ungjin Ui (熊津嵎夷)	Chinese (與華同祖)	Late Yōngga (永嘉) (early 4 th century) To the east	Sōn (善) *佐平	Ye (譽) *佐平	Pok(福) *佐平
Ye Sosa (裨素士, ?-708)	Ch'oguk Nangya (楚國琅琊)	Sung(崇) *7 th ancestor	(Early 5 th century) Sung (崇), to the east, (淮泗→遼陽, 熊川人)	Sikjin (寔進)	Sōn (善) *萊州刺史	Jin(眞) *帶方州 刺史
Ye Insu (裨仁秀, 675-727)		Eastern Han (東漢) P'yōngwōnc h'ōsa (平原處士)	Late Sui(隋末) Sōn (善), To Paekche	Sosa (素士)	Sikjin (寔進)	Sōn (善) *萊州刺史 →丞相

ord in the Ye Sikchin epitaph, but the Ye Gun epitaph described his ancestry as Chinese, and the Ye Insu epitaph indicated his ancestor as P'yōngwōnc'h'ōsa. Moreover, it was Ye Hyōng (裨衡) who lived in Shandong China in the late 2nd century. Thus, according to the Ye family epitaphs, their ancestry became more specific over time.

Furthermore, there are three different stories about the timing and process of immigration in the Ye Gun, Ye Sosa, and Ye Insu epitaphs and no description in the Ye Sikchin epitaph. After time, the story became more detailed and the timing of immigration was recorded close to the Tang dynasty. For example, the Ye Gun epitaph reported that his ancestor came to Paekche in the early 4th century, but the Ye Insu epitaph recorded that his great-grandfather Sōn, who was the governor (刺史) of China, fled the Sui dynasty in the late period of the Sui.

This pattern is similar to King Chun, the king of Old Chosōn, who was documented to have immigrated from Chosōn to the south. The story of King Chun's immigration also changed after some time. The latest historical record offers the most detailed information on King Chun. Because of

Figure 3. The family tree of the Ye family

Time Period	Ye Sikchin Epitaph	Ye Gun Epitaph	Ye Sosa Epitaph	Ye Insu Epitaph
430s (?) - 490s (?)			Sung (崇) *7 th ancestor	
460s (?) - 520s (?)				
490s (?) - 550s (?)				
520s (?) - 580s (?)		Pok (福) *佐平		
550s (?) - 610s (?)	Yeda (譽多) *左平	Ye (譽) *佐平	Jin (眞) *帶方州刺史	
580s (?) - 640s (?)	Sasōn (思善) *左平	Sōn (善) *佐平	Sōn (善) *萊州刺史	Sōn (善) *萊州刺史→丞相
610s - 670s	Ye Gun (禰軍, 613-678)		Ye Sikchin (禰寔進, 615-672)	
640s (?) - 700s			Ye Sosa (禰素士, ?-708)	
675 - 727			Ye Insu (禰仁秀, 675-727)	

it, this story may have been exaggerated by later historians.²⁹

In Figure 3, the names of the ancestors are different. The most serious problem is that, although Ye Sikchin is the father of Ye Sosa, the Ye Sikchin and Ye Sosa epitaphs contain different government official names (官職名) of their ancestor. The Ye Sosa and Ye Insu epitaphs recorded the name of the government official in Chinese style, but the Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun epitaphs described their ancestor as a high-ranking official of Paekche.

The Ye Insu epitaph in particular listed Sōn, a governor of Laizhou in the Sui, who became a Chengxiang (丞相) in Paekche. Chengxiang is an expression that was changed from Paekche's Chwap'yōng to a Chinese

29 Park Dae-Jae, "Chunwangnamnaesōre Taehan Pip'anjōk Kōmt'o (A Critical Review on the Theory of King Chun's Southward Migration)," *Sōnsawa Kodae* (Pre-history and Ancient History) 35 (2011).

style title. It seems that these Chinese government official names were intended to replace the Paekche official name after the fall of Paekche. Therefore, this difference can be seen as the result of Paekche refugees adopting a different survival strategy for each generation. The descendants of the Ye family gradually demonstrated a willingness to Sinicize.

Despite these inconsistencies, some research focused on the native origins or ancestry through these epitaphs. One theory is that the Ye family lived in Shandong China and moved to Paekche.³⁰ Another study posits that an ancestor of the Ye family immigrated in the early 5th century and was promoted to Chwap'yōng. After that, Yesōn was sent to the Sui dynasty to participate in the war against Koguryō, promoted to governor of Laizhou of the Sui, and returned to Paekche at the end of the Sui dynasty.³¹ A different interpretation contends that an ancestor of the Ye family immigrated from China in the 5th century because the Ye family name such as Ye Hyōng was found in Chinese historical record and Ungch'ōn or Ungjin which was recorded in the Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun epitaphs was just their fields of activity, not their native origin.³² Other scholars also insist that despite the inconsistencies, the Ye family came from China.³³ Although there are different conclusions in the research, they are based on the belief that the epitaphs provide accurate information.

In the Ye family epitaphs, however, the Ye family ancestry had become detailed and the timing of immigration was recorded close to the Tang dynasty. Therefore, there are several critics who suspect that the Ye family wanted to erase their Paekche identity and show their willingness to

30 Zhang Jin-min, "Xinchu Tang Baiji Yimin Mishijiazu Muzhi Kaolue."

31 Kim Young-kwan, "Chungguk Palgyōn Paekche Yumin Yessi Kajok Myojimyōng Kōm'to."

32 Kim Young-shim, "Myojimyōnggwa Munhōnjaryorūl T'onghae Pon Paekchemyōlmang."

33 Bai, "Tangdae Paekcheyumin Yessigajok Myojie Kwanhan Koch'al"; Cho, "Chunggugin Yuiminūi Paekche Kwihwawa Chōngch'ak Kwajōngae Taehan Kōm'to."

Sinicize.³⁴ One study firmly supports this notion, and suggests that the record of Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun epitaphs is more reliable, and the Ye family might be natives of Paekche Ungjin.³⁵ Another scholar argues that the ancestry of Ye family was not Chinese because there is no evidence in the Ye Sikchin epitaph, and the timing of immigration is not clear.³⁶ Additionally, another interpretation disputes the Chinese ancestry of the Ye family, considering the general fallacy of the ancestry of the ethnic group who lived in the Tang. In addition, it is reasonable to assume that Paekche refugees wanted to Sinicize as seen in the example of Ye Insu who married a Chinese.³⁷

According to a study on Koguryō refugee epitaphs, the third generation of refugees in the early 8th century recorded their ancestry as Chinese, not Koguryō, which is different from first or second-generation refugees.³⁸ Other research attributes this designation to a strategy of refugees to be assessed by one's ancestor's achievements in the Tang dynasty.³⁹

Nevertheless, criticism of using the epitaphs of the Tang dynasty as historical material also exists.⁴⁰ According to this study, the credibility of epitaphs in the Tang dynasty is questionable because epitaphs would be viewed publicly. As such, they were written based on documents of the deceased that were submitted by the family.

34 Kwon, "Paekche yumin Yessi Ilchok Myojimyōnge Taehan Tansang."

35 Choi, "Ye Gun Myojiūi Yōn'gu Tonghyanggwā Chōnmang; "Paekche Myōlmang Ihu Yessi Ilchogūi Wisang."

36 Lee Dong-hoon, "Koguryō, Paekcheyumin Chimun'gusōnggwā Ch'ansōja," 270-2.

37 Ueda, "在唐百濟遺民の存在様態," 100-4.

38 Lee Moon-key, "Myojiro Pon Chaedang Koguryō Yuminūi Chosōnūishik Pyōnhwa (The Change of the Consciousness on Their Ancestors of Koguryo Peoples Lived in the Tang Seen from Their Tombstones)," *Taegusahak* (The Historical Study of Taegu) 100 (2010).

39 Lee Seongje, "Koguryō, Paekcheyumin Myojiūi Ch'ulcha Kirokkwa Kū Ūimi."

40 Iwami Kiyohiro, "唐代墓誌史料の概観-前半期の官撰墓誌・規格・行狀の關係 (A General View of Epitaphs in the First Half of the Tang Era)," *Tōdaishi-kenkyū* (The Journal of Tang History Studies) 10 (2007).

Therefore, it is urgent to consider the limited reliability of the refugee epitaphs. While it is reasonable to assume that the Ye family wanted to shed their Paekche identity and emphasize their Sinitic identity,⁴¹ it is necessary to investigate the origins of the Ye family.

There are three possibilities. The first is that the Ye family was indeed a Chinese family. However, the four epitaphs of the Ye family, which were made by one family and excavated in the same area, recorded their native origin, ancestry, timing and process of immigration, and names of ancestors and their government officials differently.

Furthermore, Ye Hyǒng (禰衡), who might be an ancestor of the Ye family, died at the young age of 26. In his biography in *Hou Hanshu* (後漢書), he had no wife or descendants. After he died, it is very hard to find someone with the Ye (禰) family name in Chinese historical or genealogical records, such as *The Yuanhe Xingzuan* (元和姓纂), besides a short record of Ye Hyǒng.

Ye Insu or his family might have learned about Ye Hyǒng and cited him as their ancestor.⁴² Ye Hyǒng had been documented as a talented but arrogant person. According to *Jiu Tang Shu* (舊唐書) and *Xin Tang Shu* (新唐書), there was the *Ye Hyǒng Collection* (禰衡集) in the Tang dynasty. Thus, Ye Sikchin or Ye Gun who was from the first generation could not indicate that his ancestor was Ye Hyǒng because they were probably not familiar with the story of Ye Hyǒng. But, Ye Insu from the third generation could have known about Ye Hyǒng. In summary, the assumption that the Ye family immigrated from China is questionable, and the story about the Ye family ancestry might have been created.

The second presumption is that the Ye family fled the Lelang Commandery (樂浪郡) or Daifang Commandery (帶方郡), which were not central districts of China. According to the Ye Gun epitaph, their ancestors left China for the east, in the late Yǒngga period (永嘉, 307-313). This time was chaot-

41 Kwon, "Paekche yumin Yessi Ilchok Myojimyǒnge Taehan Tansang"; Choi, "Paekche Myǒlmang Ihu Yessi Ilchogŭi Wisang."

42 Lee Dong-hoon, "Koguryǒ, Paekcheyumin Chimun'gusǒnggwa Ch'ansǒja," 270-1.

ic for China, and the Lelang and Daifang Commandery were expelled from the Korean peninsula. During this time, some of the Lelang and Daifang refugees immigrated to Paekche. In general, many studies agree that these refugees were active in the development of the state system and the diplomatic fields with China. Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that the Ye family escaped the two commanderies, but other epitaphs recorded different accounts of the timing and process of immigration. Moreover, the Ye family name is absent from the artifacts of the Lelang or Daifang Commandery such as bricks excavated from tombs.

The last theory is that the Ye family were natives of Paekche. If the Ye family had immigrated from China, it would be hard to accept that the four epitaphs recorded different stories about their ancestry. However, there is no person with the Ye family name in Paekche historical materials except Ye Sik (禰植) and Ye Gun. Likewise, it is suspicious that there is no record of the Ye family ancestor who was promoted to Chwap'yŏng, one of the top ranks of the Paekche government. Thus, it remains difficult to confirm that the Ye family were natives of Paekche.

However, one acceptable claim is that the Ye family had lived in Paekche since at least the sixth century when the great-grandfather of Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun was active in Paekche. The record of the Ye Sikchin epitaph, which described his native origin and ancestors as Paekche, would be the most accurate because it was the first epitaph in the Ye family, suggesting that the Ye Sikchin epitaph contained correct information about his ancestors. Also, the Ye Gun epitaph, made just after Ye Sikchin's, showed that his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father were Chwap'yŏng in Paekche. The other epitaphs made after Ye Sikchin's could have embellished their ancestor's native origins. Therefore, although it is difficult to confirm the origins of the Ye family's ancestors, it is plausible that at least Ye Sikchin was from Paekche and his great-grandfather lived in Paekche, suggesting that the Ye family had already become accustomed to the Paekche language and culture since they lived in Paekche for over 100 years.

With this understanding, it is interesting to hypothesize how they could

have been active in the Tang dynasty shortly after surrendering to the Tang. This notion raises questions about the background of the Ye family's activities in the Tang dynasty.

The Background of the Ye Family's Activities in the Tang Dynasty

Many Paekche refugees, including Ye Sikchin and Ye Gun, held military and diplomatic positions in the Tang dynasty after surrendering to the Tang. For example, Ye Sikchin was a general of the Tang, and Ye Gun was appointed to general in the Tang and sent to Japan as a diplomat. In addition, Hŭkch'i Sangji (黑齒常之) also served as a general immediately, and Chin Bŏpcha (陳法子), who was a government official in Paekche, was appointed to general of the Tang.

With these examples, it is interesting to see how they could be active in the military and diplomatic fields right after surrendering to the Tang dynasty. Since the Ye family had lived in Paekche since at least the sixth century and records of their ancestors as Chinese are likely fabricated, the Ye family would have needed time to adapt to the culture and language of the Tang when they emigrated. However, as in the case of the Ye family and other Paekche refugees, they did not need a considerable amount of time to adjust.

Because there was a general from another ethnic group (蕃將) in the Tang, some scholars may speculate that the Ye family did not need to use the Chinese language or be familiar with Chinese culture. However, the general of Koguryŏ or Paekche had different features from other generals from other ethnic groups (蕃將). They did not use the refugees as their power base and were promoted to high government posts based on their personal ability or their relationship with the emperor.⁴³ Therefore, how they could have attained such high status in the Tang dynasty remains

43 Lee Kichon, "Tangdae Koguryŏ, Paekchegeye Pŏnjangŭi Chonjaeyang'tae."

unanswered.

In addition, although Paekche had generally shared very similar ethnic elements with Silla, it is unclear why they surrendered and moved to China, not Silla. According to historical records in China, Silla had the same culture as Paekche.⁴⁴ There is also substantial evidence that Paekche and Silla could communicate without translators.⁴⁵ Also, the Tang recognized Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla as the three eastern kingdoms (海東三國).⁴⁶

In fact, it was natural for Paekche government official surrender to the Tang, not Silla, because the Tang dynasty was the leader in East Asia and combined forces between the Tang and Silla in 660. After its conquest, a number of Paekche elites were taken to the Tang as prisoners. Also, some of the ruling class in Paekche, including the Ye family, surrendered and emigrated to the Tang. At that time, the Tang dynasty was relatively generous to this new ethnic group.

Also, Paekche and Silla maintained a hostile relationship for a long time. According to the *Samguksagi*, Paekche continuously invaded Silla after Silla killed the Paekche King in 554. Silla sent an envoy to the Tang, informing them of the invasion of Paekche and asked for military aid. With these hostile relations, it was hard for many Paekche elites to surrender and be active in Silla. There were some officials who surrendered to Silla, but Silla discriminated against them by assigning them to a lower official rank than Paekche.⁴⁷

Due to the poor relations with Silla, Paekche refugees went to the Tang and worked in various fields in the Tang. At this point, it is necessary to

44 “風俗・刑政・衣服 略與高麗・百濟同” *Sui Shu* (隋書) 81, Liezhuan 46, Silla; “其風俗・刑法・衣服 與高麗・百濟略同” *Jiu Tang Shu* (舊唐書) 199 上, Liezhuan 149 上, Silla.

45 *Samguksagi* 5, Annals of Silla, Aug., the 3rd year of King Chindök; July 13, the 7th year of the King T'aejongmuyöl.

46 *Jiu Tang Shu* (舊唐書) 199 上, Liezhuan 149 上, Paekche.

47 Noh Choong-Kook, “T'ongilgi Shillaüi Paekchegojjibae (The Domination of Silla to Paekche in Unification Period),” *Han'gukkodaesayön'gu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 1 (1988).

consider the background of Paekche.

Although Paekche had a different ethnic identity than the Tang, the Paekche elites who emigrated to the Tang were comfortable with the language and culture of the Tang. According to his epitaph, Hükch'i Sangji studied Chinese historical records since his childhood in Paekche.⁴⁸ Ye Gun was also likely to be proficient in Chinese, because he was sent to Silla and Japan as a diplomat of the Tang. For example, Ye Gun went to Japan as a diplomat in 665 with a Chinese official.⁴⁹ Also, Paekche shared similar cultural aspects such as weddings, food, and drink with China, as well as considerable knowledge of Chinese medicine, astrology, and the calendar system.⁵⁰

Among the three kingdoms, Paekche appeared to be the most cosmopolitan, flexible, and receptive kingdom, which opened its doors to East Asia. According to *Sui Shu* (隋書), there were Silla people, Koguryō people, Japanese, and Chinese in Paekche society.⁵¹ In general, Paekche had accepted refugees from China or the Lelang and Daifang Commandery and used them to develop the political system, scholarship and diplomacy with China. Paekche frequently sent envoys to China before Silla did. Additionally, Paekche had maintained strong ties with Japan, which facilitated the movement of many Paekche refugees to Japan after the fall of Paekche. Considering the actions of the Paekche ruling class, they seemed to have an open attitude towards East Asia.

Most researchers agree that Paekche readily accepted Chinese culture due to their close relationship, as evidenced by the Paekche wooden tablets (木簡) excavated in the 21st century.

For example, the Chwakwan Taesikki (佐官貸食記) wooden tablet of Puyō Ssangbuk-ri recorded the system of Taesik (貸食), which is a loan of

48 “年甫小學 卽讀春秋左氏傳 及班馬兩史” (*The epitaph of Hükch'i Sangji*)

49 *Nihonshyoki* 27, Sept. of the 4th year of King Tenji

50 *Zhou Shu* (周書) 49, Liezhuan 41, Paekche; *Sui Shu* (隋書) 81, Liezhuan 46, Paekche; *Jiu Tang Shu* (舊唐書) 199 上, Liezhuan 149 上, Paekche.

51 “其人雜有新羅・高麗・倭等 亦有中國人” *Sui Shu* (隋書) 81, Liezhuan 46, Paekche.

grains to an official to increase the finances of the government. The word Taesik is found on the wooden or bamboo tablets of China. The system of Paekche Taesik was linked with the Chinese system.⁵² In ancient Japan, the system of Suiko (出舉), similar to Taesik is frequently found in wooden tablets and was influenced by Paekche.⁵³ Also, the multiplication table wooden tablet of Ssangbuk-ri is potentially due to the result of accepting the multiplication table and wooden tablet from China. After that, Paekche sent them to Japan.⁵⁴ The No.2 wooden tablet of Naju Pokam-ri functioned as a database for the census or family registry system in the Paekche period. This tablet is similar to the family registry documents of the West Wei (西魏)⁵⁵ or Qin (秦) and Han (漢).⁵⁶

These examples excavated and studied in the 21st century directly illustrated the historical role of Paekche in East Asia. Paekche accepted the writing system and wooden tablets from China in its own way, earlier than Silla or Japan. The Paekche wooden tablets, which have a long shape

52 Jeong Dong-jun, Chwagwandaeshikki Mokkanüi Chedosajök Ŭimi (The Institutional Historical Meaning of Jwagwan Daesikgi Wooden Tablet),” *Mokkan'gwa Munja* (Wooden Documents and Inscriptions Studies) 4 (2009); Jeong Dong-jun, “Paekche Taesikcheüi Shilsanggwa Han'gye (The Dae'shik System of Paekche),” *Yöksawa Hyönsil* (Quarterly Review of Korean History) 91 (2014); Dai Wei-hong, “Chunghan Taesikkan Yöngu (A Study on the Daesikgan of Korea and China),” *Taedongmunhwayöngu* (Journal of Eastern Studies) 88 (2014).

53 Mikami Yoshitaka, 日本古代の文字と地方社会 (Writing and Local Society in Ancient Japan) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2013).

54 Jeong Hoon-jin, “Puyö Ssangbuk-ri Paekcheyujök Ch'ult'o Mokkanüi Sönggyök (The Feature of Wooden Tablets, Excavated from Puyeo Ssangbukri Paekche Ruin),” *Mokkan'gwa Munja* (Wooden Documents and Inscriptions Studies) 16 (2016).

55 Yoon Seon-Tae, “Naju Pogam-ri Ch'ult'o Paekchemokkanüi P'andokkwa Yongdobunsök (An Analysis on the Wooden Tablets of Bogam-ri, Najoo-si),” *Paekcheyöngu* (The Study of Paekche) 56 (2012).

56 Hong Sueng-woo, “Mokkan Charyoro Pon Paekcheüi Changjök Munsöwa Such'wijedo (A Study on Paekche Dynasty's Household Register Related Documents Written on Wooden Strips),” *Han'gukkodaesayöngu* (The Journal of Ancient Korean History) 80 (2015).

for documents and accounts, are similar to Silla and Japan. Thus, it is possible that Paekche accepted the writing system and wooden tablet from China, and after that, Japan might have adopted this practice from Paekche.⁵⁷ In these aspects, Paekche can be considered a cosmopolitan kingdom in East Asia that quickly adopted Chinese culture and spread it to other countries.

Consequently, Paekche refugees, shortly after surrendering, could emigrate to the Tang and be active in East Asia because Paekche had maintained their cosmopolitanism, open-mindedness, and had been familiar with the Chinese language and culture. Previous research emphasizes the Sinicization of Paekche refugees and the policies of the Tang dynasty. However, this study broadens the scope by considering the historical context of Paekche as a basis for interpreting Paekche refugee activity.

Conclusion

In the 21st century, several Paekche historical materials were excavated. Among them, the Paekche refugee epitaphs provide new information about the fall of Paekche, Paekche refugee activity and their native origins. Thanks to these resources, it is possible to carefully study these aspects through the Ye family epitaphs. There have been some comprehensive studies on the Ye family, but they did not address the reliability of the sources. Critically examining the sources is essential to understanding the native origins of the Ye family. Moreover, only considering the background of the Ye family's activity in the Tang dynasty is also short sight-

57 Hashimoto Shigeru, 韓國古代木簡の研究 (A Study of Ancient Wooden Tablets of Korea) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2014); Lee Kyoung-sup, "6~7Segi Han'guk Mokkanül T'onghaesö Pon Ilbon Mokkanmunhwaüi Kiwön (The Origin of Japanese Wooden Documents Culture via the Korean Wooden Documents in the Sixth and Seventh Century)," *Shillasahakpo* (The Journal for the Studies of Silla History) 37 (2016).

ed without analyzing the sources meticulously.

Nevertheless, the epitaphs of the Ye family are valuable materials for understanding the collapse of Paekche and the activity of Paekche refugees in East Asia. According to the epitaph of Ye Sikchin (禰寔進墓誌銘), he was from Paekche Ungch'ŏn (熊川), and his ancestor was Chwap'yŏng of Paekche. He surrendered to the Tang when Paekche collapsed. The epitaph of Ye Gun (禰軍墓誌銘), Ye Sikchin's brother, indicated that Ye Gun was from Ungjin Ui (熊津岬夷), and his ancestor came from China to the east during the early fourth century. His great-grandfather, grandfather, and father were Chwap'yŏng. He surrendered to the Tang in 660. According to the epitaph of Ye Sosa (禰素士墓誌銘), son of Ye Sikchin, he was from Ch'oguk Nangya (楚國琅琊), and his seventh ancestor (七代祖) fled China for Paekche in the early fifth century. His great-grandfather and grandfather were governors (刺史) in China. The epitaph of Ye Insu (禰仁秀墓誌銘), grandson of Ye Sikchin, revealed that his ancestor was Eastern Han (東漢) P'yŏngwŏnch'ōsa (平原處士), and his descendant Yesŏn immigrated to Paekche in the late Sui dynasty.

All of the Ye family epitaphs contain conflicting information about their native origins, ancestry, timing and process of immigration, and government official names of ancestors. The record of the epitaphs became more detailed and Sinicized as time went by. Therefore, the Ye family's Chinese ancestry and escape from China to Paekche is likely to have been fabricated to survive. Accepting this interpretation leaves two possibilities; the first is that the Ye family fled the Lelang or Daifang Commandery, and the second is that they were natives of Paekche. However, confirming either is problematic. Nevertheless, one strong likelihood is that the Ye family had lived in Paekche since at least the 6th century and had already become accustomed to the Paekche language and culture.

With this understanding, it is interesting to see how the Ye family was active in the Tang dynasty and not in Silla, just after surrendering to the Tang. In fact, it was natural for Paekche officials to yield to the Tang dynasty because the Tang was the largest political entity in East Asia and was relatively generous to immigrant ethnic groups. Also, Paekche and

Silla maintained hostility toward each other for a long time.

However, in addition what happened in the Tang and Silla, it is necessary to consider why the Ye family went to the Tang and how they could seamlessly and rapidly adjust. The Paekche elites who emigrated to the Tang were comfortable with the language and culture of the Tang since Paekche shared many cultural similarities with China. Among the three kingdoms, Paekche appeared to be the most cosmopolitan and receptive kingdom. These features of Paekche society can be seen in the recently excavated Paekche wooden tablets that exhibit Chinese characters much earlier than Silla and Japan due to a close exchange with China and Paekche later transmitted them to Silla and Japan.

In conclusion, according to the epitaph of the refugee Ye family, the native origins and ancestry became more detailed and Sinicized over time. The record of their ancestry is likely to have been created for the survival of the descendants in the Tang. Although it is difficult to identify their true origin, it is quite certain that the Ye family lived in Paekche since at least the 6th century. Because Paekche had maintained its cosmopolitan and open attitude coupled with their familiarity with the Chinese language and culture, the Ye family could emigrate to the Tang and hold their status in various fields in East Asia.

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<Abstract>

The Native Origins of the Paekche Refugee Ye (禰) Family and the Background of Their Activities in the Tang Dynasty

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The excavation of Paekche refugee epitaphs has increased in the 21st century. Among them, the epitaphs of the Ye (禰) family are valuable materials to understand the fall of Paekche, Paekche refugee activity, and their native origins. However, all of the Ye family epitaphs contain different stories about their native origins. More specifically, the native origin and ancestors of the Ye family became more detailed and Sinicized over time. The record of their ancestors is likely to have been fabricated for the future survival of the descendants in the Tang.

Although the exact native origin is not clear, it is almost certain that the Ye family lived in Paekche since at least the sixth century and had already become accustomed to Paekche language and culture. With this understanding, it is remarkable how they could have been active in the Tang, just after surrendering, and not in Silla. It was natural for Paekche officials to yield to the Tang because of the situation in both the Tang and Silla. However, other factors related to Paekche were also important. Because Paekche had maintained its cosmopolitan and open attitude coupled with their familiarity with the Chinese language and culture, the Ye family could emigrate to the Tang and hold high status in various fields in East Asia.

Keywords: Paekche refugee, the epitaphs of Paekche refugee, Ye (禰) family, the epitaphs of Ye family, Ye Sikchin, Ye Gun, Ye Sosa, Ye Insu.

〈국문 초록〉

백제 유민 예씨 가족의 출신과 당에서의 활동 배경

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백제 유민 묘지명의 발견은 21세기에 들어와 급증하였다. 그 중에 4개의 예씨(禰氏) 가족 묘지명은 백제의 멸망, 백제 유민의 활동과 출신을 보여주는 좋은 자료이다. 예씨 가족 묘지명은 예식진과 그의 동생, 아들, 손자를 위해 만들어졌음에도 불구하고, 그들의 출신에 대해서 서로 다르게 기록하였다. 예씨 가족의 출신과 가계는 시간이 지날수록 중국화, 구체화되었다. 예씨 가족의 후손들은 당에서 적응하기 위하여 그들의 조상을 중국 출신이라고 기록하였던 것으로 보인다.

현재 자료로 볼 때 예씨 가족의 출신은 명확하지 않지만, 중국 출신이었을 가능성은 낮다. 또한 예씨 가족이 적어도 6세기부터 백제에서 살면서 백제의 언어와 문화에 익숙하였다는 것은 분명하다. 그렇다면, 그들이 신라가 아닌 당에서 어떻게 활동할 수 있었는지 의문이 제기된다. 당시 당과 신라의 상황을 고려하면 백제 관료들이 당에 투항한 것은 자연스러운 일이었지만, 백제의 내부적 배경도 중요하다. 예씨 가족이 당에 투항한 직후 동아시아의 여러 분야에서 활동할 수 있었던 것은 백제가 국제적이고 개방적인 특징을 오랫동안 지속해왔고, 중국 언어와 문화에 익숙했기 때문이었다. 특히 예씨 일가를 비롯하여 당에 투항한 백제 유민들은 중국의 언어와 문화에 익숙하였던 것으로 생각된다.

주제어: 백제 유민, 백제 유민 묘지명, 예씨(禰氏) 가족, 예씨 가족 묘지명, 예식진, 예균, 예소사, 예인수