A Criticism of John Whitney Hall’s Study on Ancient Korea-Japan Relations

Choi Jae-sŏk*

Foreword

From 1985 to 2003 the writer examined the opinions of Japanese historians on ancient history of Japan. As a result he found that nearly all - about thirty - of the Japanese scholars on the history of ancient Japan insisted that the early part of the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) was a fabrication, or on that premise they contended that ancient Korea was Japan's colony. The truth was the other way round. Then the writer grew curious to know what opinions Western historians had on ancient Korea-Japan relations. His first object of interest was John Whitney Hall, an American scholar. After getting his PhD from Harvard, he was a professor at University of Michigan and the head of The Center for Japanese Studies of that university until 1961; he was professor at the History Department of Yale University at the time of writing his Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1970). So he may well be said to be one of the most appropriate candidates for criticism. The first six chapters of the book - the part in which Hall deals with ancient history of Japan - have been examined from nine angles including the tumuli existing in Japan.

* Emeritus Professor, Department of Sociology, Korea University
I . Masters of the Tumuli Existing in Japan

About the tumuli existing in Japan J. W. Hall devotes much space, discussing mainly the five aspects including the dating of tumuli emergence, the nationality of the tumuli builders, the grave goods excavated from the tumuli, the form of the tumuli, the scale of the tomb of Nintoku on the premise that the Japanese built them. With a view to making a fair estimation the writer is going to quote Hall's opinions first. In order to avoid Hall's views being only partially communicated relevant parts will be quoted in full, if possible, before criticizing them. This principle will be adhered to in chapters II through IX of this paper.

A① About the middle of the third century, members of the ruling elite in the Yamato Plain area, the highly developed region at the eastern end of the Inland Sea, began to erect huge earthen mounds as burial tombs. (p. 20)
A② Within another half century this practice had spread westward into north Kyushu. (pp. 20-21)
A③ It is not until the fourth century that kofun begin to contain the new objects of continental origin. (p. 22)
A④ Tomb culture can, in fact, be accounted for as an evolutionary phase of Yayoi culture itself, enriched by continental contact, to be sure, but not dependent on any new wave of invaders from the continent. (p. 22)
A⑤ The tumuli of the third to sixth centuries are literally treasure stores of information on the life and customs of the Japanese elite of the time. (p. 21)
A⑥ It is possible to suppose that the change in character of the Tomb culture was the result of some sort of Japanese advance into Korea and the consequent absorption of continental influence by the Japanese leaders whose aggrandizement both at home and abroad were revealed in the increasing size of the great tumuli. (p. 23)
A⑦ There are a number of pieces of evidence that appear to support the
theory of indigenous evolution. First, let us recall that the earliest tumuli were found in central Japan, not in Kyushu where an invading group would have started its conquest. The first tombs are also found to contain mostly Yayoi-style objects.

A8 The tombs and their contents present us with a further puzzle. Was the Tomb age brought to Japan by yet another wave of continental invaders, Tungusic men of the northern steppe, perhaps set adrift by the breakup of the Han Empire? Did such invaders ride down the Korean peninsula with their iron swords and superior armor and then subdue the Yayoi inhabitants of Japan, imposing upon them a new form of autocratic government? There are many signs of close contact between the Tomb culture and Korea. Tombs similar to those erected in Japan are also found in Korea - with the exception of the keyhole shape. *Magatama* are found in the golden crowns of the Korean kingdom of Silla. But such similarities, while indicating cultural affinity, do not offer conclusive proof of a distinct ethnic conquest. (p. 22)

A9 The tomb finds clearly reveal a class of warrior aristocrats who possessed the power to rule over a thickly settled countryside and to draw upon the agricultural produce of the regions they controlled. (p. 22)

A10 Into the great mounds passage-graves or spacious megalithic chambers were cut where the bodies of the dead were laid. With the bodies were placed objects of great variety, from symbols of wealth and authority such as mirrors, crowns, or strings of precious stones, to objects of everyday use such as swords, armor, horse trappings, pottery vessels, agricultural tools. (p. 21)

A11 Tombs were built in several forms, round or square, but the most distinctive shape was the "keyhole," which appears to have had no counterpart in other mound-building cultures. (p. 21)

A12 The greatest of them, the tomb of Nintoku, stands today nearly fifteen hundred feet long and over one hundred feet high. (p. 21)
1. Dating of Tumuli

J. W. Hall says the tumuli existing in Japan were erected about the middle of the third century through the fourth century, but this is unsupported by fact. The tomb of Ōjin Tenno, which is the oldest existing tomb, has been supposed to have been erected about the beginning or in the first half of the fifth century A.D., according to the common view, which is also unfounded. Actual dating is around A.D. 500. Hall says in A. 2 that the practice of erecting huge earthen mounds spread from the Yamato Plain area westward into north Kyushu, which is also contrary to fact. The fact was that Korean culture was transmitted to north Kyushu and then spread eastward in the direction of the Yamato Plain area.

2. The Nationality of Tumuli Builders

Despite Hall's statement that it is not until the fourth century that kofun begin to contain the new objects of continental origin, his point lies in the view that kofun were erected by the Japanese. Hall seems to be of opinion that kofun were erected by the Japanese with the information obtained on Japan's advance into the Korean peninsula or through the development of Yayoi culture itself or through spontaneous indigenous evolution. Again, Hall's view that the tumuli of the third to sixth centuries offer us very much information on the life and customs of the Japanese ruling class of the time (p. 21) is also based on the premise that the tumuli were erected by the Japanese.

3. Grave Goods of Tumuli

Admitting the close contact between the Tomb culture and Korea and pointing out the similarities of comma-shaped beads used in the golden crowns of Silla kings, Hall says that they indicate only cultural affinity and offer no definite proof of ‘a distinct ethnic conquest’. Commenting on the burial accessories unearthed from the tumuli of the third to sixth
centuries, Hall humorously says those old tombs are “literally treasure stores of information on the life and customs of the Japanese elite of the time,” the elite meaning the ruling class comprised of warrior - aristocrats - the counterparts of today’s statesmen and administrators. (p. 21)

Ishino Hironobu alleges, however, that if those ancient tombs with assorted burial accessories were mapped the Japanese islands would be daubed all over with one Korean color, because Japan at the time was under the overwhelming influence of the three kingdoms of Korea politically, economically, and culturally. 4

4. The Form of Tumuli

Hall says there were round or square forms of tombs but that the “keyhole” was peculiar to Japan. Tombs of this shape exist in Korea, however. The result of joint research by Korean and Japanese scholars was published in a book form in 2000 from Publishing Department of Chungnam University.

5. The Tomb of Nintoku Tenno

Hall says the tomb of Nintoku is the greatest of them all, mentioning its external size only. It used to be called Ōyama tumulus before it was renamed the royal tomb of Nintoku. According to Mori Kōichi, as Ōyama tomb was declared off limits even to scholars, he was unable to measure the actual size of the tomb himself, so he gives others’ measurement. 6 On September 7, 1872 (the fifth year of Meiji), there occurred a cave-in at the tomb, exposing the sepulchral chamber and the stone coffin in the front half of the tomb. The records of the emergency excavation at that time were kept and handed down in the houses of Tsutsui Kenzo and Okamura Heybeye of Sakai-ichi City. The record kept at Okamura’s was donated to Ōsaka Municipal Museum in 1770.7 Mori says that the top limit dating of the tomb of Nintoku is the middle of the fifth century A.D. and the lowest the beginning of the sixth century. Of burial accessories glass vessels
were identical with those excavated in plenty from ancient tombs of Silla. The copper mirror and the hilt of the sword were similar to those found in the royal tomb of Paekche King Muryŏng in Kongju.8

II. Characteristics of the Races Who Settled in the Japanese Islands

Let’s look into who settled in the Japanese islands. J. W. Hall’s views on the subject are in the following quotations B.

B① Techniques of glottochronology suggest that the Japanese speech community separated from Okinawan some eighteen or nineteen hundred years ago. Such a date would seem to fit the sequence of development as the joint Yayoi ancestors of the Japanese and Okinawans moved into future homelands and subsequently lost contact with each other. (p. 23)

B② The Japanese islands, like the British Isles, obviously became the home of a mixture of peoples who arrived at various times and from various places on the continent, and, perhaps, even from islands to the south. By historic times this mixture had produced a relatively homogeneous people who stood out distinctly from their continental neighbors, such as the Chinese, the Koreans, or the Mongols, in terms of language, physical type, religion, and political and social structure. (p. 13)

B③ Thus by the age of the great tomb builders, the Yayoi people, by virtue of how much fusion with the earlier-Jomon inhabitants and by how much subsequent absorption of immigrants through Korea we do not know, had become the historic Japanese. (p. 23)

As is shown in the above quotations B, Hall is of opinion that the common ancestors of the Japanese and Okinawans were the Yayoi people. On the other hand, Hall admits that in prehistory the Japanese islands had a mixture of peoples who came over from various places in the continent
and even from islands to the south. By historic times, however, these mixed peoples succeeded in forming a relatively homogeneous nation distinct from their Oriental neighbors in culture in general. In short, Hall insists that the Japanese and the Koreans belong to fundamentally different races. On this point the present writer has a radically different view. The following is his pet theory.

Many places of ancient Japan were named after ancient Korean kingdoms, especially Paekche, (Kudara), Silla, Koguryo or Koryo (Koma) and Kaya. If all those places bearing the names of ancient Korean kingdoms were to be marked in pigment gel ink on the map, the Japanese islands would be daubed with that ink all over. Not only places but also mountains, rivers, bridges, etc. were also named after ancient Korean kingdoms. To make a more detailed list: a prefecture, a village, a county, a street, a shrine, a temple, a station, a stock farm or ranch, a ferry, a (mountain) pass, a plain, an estuary, the beach, a pond or lake, an island, an inn, a harbor, etc. They made proper nouns out of all of these with the name of the ancient Korean kingdoms added before each.\(^9\) All things considered, it becomes all too clear that the Japanese islands are where ancient Koreans migrated and settled. We are reminded here that not a few places and people in the United States, Australia, and New Zealand were named after British proper nouns.

Closing their eyes to the data of DNA, HLA, etc., Japanese historians and archeologists speak ambiguously about their ancestors; some say they came over from southern China, and others say they came from what region of the continent God only knows. Those Japanese academicians are unwilling to admit the close relationship between the Japanese and the Koreans. Japanese scholars admit the fact that many migrants crossed over to Japan, but attribute the time of migration to the Yayoi period, refusing to admit that many Koreans came over to Japan during the Tomb age. For the same reason they refuse to recognize the similar structure of the two languages. Truth to tell, those Korean immigrants who crossed the sea to Japan during the Tomb age spoke Korean. In other words, ancient Japanese was ancient Korean.\(^{10}\)
III. Political Center and the Rulers of Japan

J. W. Hall’s statements on the subject follow:

C① About the middle of the third century, members of the ruling elite in the Yamato Plain area, the highly developed region at the eastern end of the Inland Sea, began to erect huge earthen mounds as burial tombs. (p. 20) (Quoted as A① earlier.)

C② From the time of the establishment of the Yamato state in the third century, the Sun Line chieftains and their supporters worked persistently to extend their influence and consolidate their hegemony. (p. 36)

C③ First to be settled and to be politically organized were the regions of northern Kyushu and the shores of the Inland Sea. This became the “core region” of old Japan, centered on the Kinai Plain and oriented toward the distant continent. It was here that the seat of political authority was first established and flourished. (p. 11)

C④ (…) Thus the kinship-based authority structure through which the imperial house first established its hegemony over the Japanese islands was backed by the sacerdotal powers of the ancestral Sun Goddess. This, the earliest form that sovereignty took in Japan, was to persist until modern times. (p. 10)

C⑤ Such local clusters of uji, then, were the “hundred or more countries” identified by the Han historians. Presumably at first they were independent of one another, but soon larger geographical coalitions were formed, and these in turn awaited only the assertion of a superior force of leadership to be brought under a single authority. The rise of the chiefs of the Sun Line to power in Yamato followed some such process. (p. 30)

C⑥ The name Jimmu (“Divine Warrior”) and the concept of a ruling emperor are, of course, later creations by Japanese historians who sought to emulate the Chinese dynastic tradition. And historians have cast doubt upon the historicity of Jimmu himself and on his eastward
expedition. However, there is no disputing the appearance of a powerful group of families in Yamato led by the chieftain of the Sun Line. Here indeed was the origin of the first political hegemony in Japan holding sway over what we may describe as the Yamato state. (p. 28)

C⑦ Once formed, the Yamato hegemony took on certain structural characteristics. At the top of the hierarchy of power was the chief of the main house of the Sun lineage. Around him a loose cluster of intimately related housed comprised the Sun Line うじ itself. (p. 31)

In quotations C① to C③ Hall states that the “core region” of old Japan was Yamato or the Kinai area. But the fact was that the Kinai which included Yamato was all the territory old Japan claimed. Hall argues that those two areas were political “core region” on the premise that the whole Japanese islands belonged to the territory of Japan. Not only in the sixth century but also well into the seventh century, however, the territorial extent of the Yamato state or Japan was limited to the Kinai Plain. Hall says that backed up by the priestly authority of the sun goddess (Amaterasu-Ōmikami) the Sun Line chieftains and the descendants of the first tenno (emperor) Jimmu were placed at the top of power structure. Amaterasu-Ōmikami, however, was a mythical sun goddess, the heroine of an invented story, and so was Jimmu, the grandson of the sun goddess. If the Sun Line lineage ever existed and ruled over ancient Japan, it would be more plausible to say they came over from the Korean peninsula. Again, Hall’s statement that the Yamato state was established in the third century is unfounded. Seeing that the grave finds unearthed from all old tombs including the tombs of Ōjin Tenno and Nintoku Tenno are Korea-related without exception, we may justly guess the ancient rulers of Japan were Koreans.

Hall interprets the “hundred or more countries” mentioned by the Han historians as local clusters of うじ, but there existed no うじ at that time. The Han historians’ mention had better be interpreted as so many small states comprised of villages settled by immigrants from Paekche, Silla, Koguryo, and Kaya. Here we are reminded of the Emperor Jomei’s case as being
typical. In the eleventh year of Jomei (A.D. 639) the emperor planned to build a palace near the Paekche river (Kudaragawa); in December a nine-storied pagoda was erected near the Paekche river. Next year he moved to the newly built Paekche Palace (Kudaranomiya). On October 9, 641, the Emperor Jomei died at the Paekche Palace; on the 18th a mortuary was set up in the north of the Paekche Palace, which was called Great Paekche Mortuary. Judging from the above description of the Nihon shoki, it is indisputable that Paekche people ruled over Yamato-Wa (Japan).

When the Japanese navy was put to rout on the Baekchon river in 663 by the allied Silla-Tang forces, Paekche kingdom was put an end to. Along with the Paekche ruling class, Paekche generals retreated to Japan, building up Paekche-style hill-forts at Tsushima Island, Tsukushi, strategic points along the Inland Sea, and at the border of Nara and Osaka, in preparation against the possible Silla-Tang attack. This single fact alone is enough to convince us that Yamato-Wa was placed under the direct control of Paekche.

IV. The Theory that Japan Advanced into the Korean Peninsula

The following are Hall’s statements on Japan’s advancing into the Korean peninsula.

D① It is possible to suppose that the change in character of the Tomb culture was the result of some sort of Japanese advance into Korea and the consequent absorption of continental influence by the Japanese leaders whose aggrandizement both at home and abroad were revealed in the increasing size of the great tumuli. (p. 23) (Quoted as A⑥ earlier.)

D② Thus by the age of the great tomb builders, the Yayoi people (...) by how much subsequent absorption of immigrants through Korea we do not know, had become the historic Japanese. (p. 23) (Quoted as B③ earlier.)

D③ As local leaders in their own right, they (the great uji chiefs) joined
their forces to the Yamato expeditions to Korea. (p. 37)

D4 (…), but Japan’s final disengagement from the peninsula became unavoidable after 668 when Silla, with Chinese aid, united all of Korea. (p. 38)

D5 Thereafter the three native Korean kingdoms fought among themselves while strengthening control over their own territories. Political unification was in the air, and, as we have seen, the Japanese, having achieved some measure of unity at home, were soon to become involved in Korean affairs. A stone monument erected in 414 to the king of Koguryo on the bank of the Yalu states that in A.D. 391 the Japanese crossed over into Korea and defeated the armies of Paekche and Silla. (p. 25)

D6 In the sixth century Japan was not an insignificant member of the East Asian community of states. Since the previous century, the Japanese had been active in Korea and had acquired a base of operations in the territory of Mimana. This Japanese foothold on the peninsula apparently played an important role in the triangular struggle between Koguryo, Paekche, and Silla. (p. 37)

D7 (…), in 562, the Japanese were driven from Mimana entirely. (p. 38)

D8 The Japanese themselves claim to have established during the middle of the fourth century a military foothold in Kaya (or Mimana) along the southern Korean coast. (p. 23)

D9 For some years he (Shōtoku Taishi) worked to recapture Japan’s lost power on the continent, sending expeditions to retake Mimana in 595 and 602. Then, abandoning his military efforts, he opened direct communication with the reunited Chinese empire in 607. (p. 43)

Quotations D① to D⑤ mention Japan’s advancing into the Korean peninsula. D⑥ states that Koguryo King Kwanggaeto’s monumental inscription says that in A.D. 391 Japanese troops came over to Korea to defeat Paekche and Silla armies respectively; D⑦ to D⑩ are about Mimana.

Japan (Yamato-Wa) was notoriously backward in shipbuilding and
navigation skills. So much so that Japanese envoys and student monks had to come to Silla first to be allowed to get aboard Silla ships bound for Tang China. According to Tamura Encho, Japanese religious historian, all Japanese student monks dispatched to China returned home without exception aboard Korean - mostly Silla – ships, unwilling to journey aboard Japanese ships because of their poor maneuverability. Viewed from this angle, the statements in D① to D⑤ that Japanese troops advanced into the Korean peninsula or came over to Korea to conduct military operations, are hardly believable.

Japanese troops crossing the sea to the Korean peninsula to rout Paekche and Silla armies in A.D. 391 as reportedly inscribed on King Kwanggaeto’s monument is also far from true. The Wa on the monumental inscription was not Yamato-Wa. The Nihon shoki’s record that the two Japanese student monks (E-on and E-un) who had been dispatched to Tang China returned home in company with the Silla envoy definitely proves that comings and goings of people between Korea and Japan were rarely done with Japanese ships.

On the premise that Mimana and Kaya indicated one and the same country, John, W. Hall says that Japan secured a military foothold in Mimana when Yamato-Wa’s troops advanced into Kaya. This is a mere echo of the assertion of Japanese scholars. Kaya and Mimana were not and could not be one and the same country when one takes into account, first of all, the entry for the 65th year of Sujin of the Nihon shoki, the years of the ruin and foundation of Kaya and Mimana, different place names belonging to Kaya and Mimana respectively, repeated accounts of the downfall and recovery of Mimana which cast doubt on the existence of Mimana, etc. According to the Nihon shoki entries for July of A.D. 610 (the 18th year of Suiko), for August of the same year, for 623 (the 31st year of Suiko), and for July of the same year, the official ranks of both Silla and Paekche were being used in Mimana. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to regard Mimana as the common colony of Paekche and Silla.
V. Political Milieu of Japan in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

J. W. Hall’s statements about the subject are as follows.

E① Historians today agree that the achievement of political unity in Japan more likely occurred at the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth century A.D., at a point marked by the appearance of the kofun tumuli. (p. 25)

E② The fifth century probably brought the power of the early Yamato state to its peak. It begins with the ruler Nintoku, whose spacious tomb is said to have taken twenty years to complete. It ends with Yuryaku, the eccentric despot, who worked incessantly to increase the flow of tribute. His boast, repeated in the Chinese records, was that he held sway over fifty-five provinces to the east, sixty-six provinces to the west, and fifteen across the sea in Korea. Chinese sources mention five “kings” of Japan during this century who sent tribute embassies to China. By the sixth century, the outlines of a more advanced structure of government had become discernible. The head of the Yamato confederation, styling himself a true sovereign (sumeramikoto), had become to claim more abstract and absolute prerogatives of authority over the assemblage of uji chiefs, claiming that they were in fact his officials and accountable to his pleasure. A more precise set of titles of rank (kabane) had also been evolved. (p. 36)

E③ Historically the Japanese most frequently allied themselves with Paekche, perhaps because its location was so strategically placed along Japan’s sea route to China, but also because it seems to have maintained a higher level of cultural achievement. (pp. 37-38)

E④ During the fifth and sixth centuries (…) the ability to write was probably limited for some time to Korean or Chinese immigrants who served the ruling elite as scribes. The name “scribe” (fuhito) became one of the noble titles assigned by the Yamato rulers. These early centuries also saw the introduction of new irrigation techniques, improved systems of paddy field organization, a more exact calendar,
A Criticism of John Whitney Hall’s Study on Ancient Korea-Japan Relations

and a variety of other innovations. The transmission of the Buddhist doctrine to Yamato, probably in 538, brought to a high point this early absorption of Chinese civilization through Korea. (pp. 38-39)

Hall’s above-quoted assertions may be summed up:

1. Japan achieved political unification from the end of the third century to the beginning of the fourth century.
2. In the fifth century the Yamato state (Japan) became a powerful country, one proof of which is the account of the “five kings of Wa” in Chinese history books.
3. The sixth century saw Japan’s advance into Mimana.
4. In the sixth century Yamato-Wa (Japan) concluded an alliance with Paekche.
5. In the sixth century Japan absorbed Chinese culture through Paekche.

As mentioned earlier, the supposed date of the oldest tomb existing in Japan is around A.D. 500, so the statement that Japan achieved unification from the end of the third century to the beginning of the fourth century is unfounded. Again, there are conflicting views about the “five kings of Wa”. In light of (1) the Nihon shoki’s statement in its entry for Sujin 65th year that Mimana is not situated on the Korean peninsula, (2) the different dating of the foundation and downfall of Kaya and Mimana, (3) the different naming of places belonging to each, and (4) the Nihon shoki’s mention of Mimana’s repeated downfall and rebirth, Kaya and Mimana cannot have been one and the same state. Since throughout the sixth century Paekche indirectly ruled Yamato-Wa by periodically dispatching Yamato-Wa-administering teams, an alliance between the two countries is contrary to the fact. So is Hall’s allegation that Japan absorbed Chinese civilization through Korea. A more detailed description of Korea-Japan relations in the sixth century is quoted below from the present writer’s book.

Paekche King Murîōng, who was on the throne from 501 to 522, ruled over Yamato-Wa where there were no office ranks legislated by dispatching
the prince or doctors of the five Chinese classics, and had 40 horses, a specialty of that region, brought to Paekche. King Muryŏng, who vicariously ruled over Yamato-Wa, was confirmed in 1971 when the royal tomb of King Muryŏng was excavated at Kongju, especially by the epitaph and the material of the coffin whose wood was produced in Japan.

King Sŏng, who took over his father king’s unfinished job, periodically sent Yamato-administering teams comprised of expert professionals in major fields, introducing Buddhism to Japan. He had more Japanese produce brought to Paekche than his father did. According to the Nihon shoki, they were 1,000 sók of barley seeds, 70 good horses, 10 ships, etc.

King Widŏk, who spurred his father’s Buddhist policy toward Japan on a more concrete basis, dispatched Paekche officials, monks, temple carpenters, Buddhist image makers, et al, putting up temples with Buddhist statues enshrined. The most representative temple was the Genkoji temple (Asuka-dera), which took eight years to complete from 588 to 596. On the other hand, King Widŏk had some Yamato-Wa nuns educated in Paekche; sent a high priest to live at the Hokoji temple, and had the Standing Kannon statue sculpted at Yumedono of the Horyuji temple, especially in memory of his deceased father King Sŏng, as is described in the Seiyōsho.

**VI. Political Milieu of Japan in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries**

John W. Hall states Japan’s characteristics in the seventh and eighth centuries as follows.

F① Twice in their history the Japanese people have given the appearance of having been totally engulfed by foreign influence: once in the seventh century when the country wholeheartedly embraced Chinese civilization, and then in the nineteenth century when Japan absorbed the impact of Western expansion into East Asia. (p. 35)
F② Sir George Sansom has written of the seventh and eighth centuries as a time when Japan awoke dramatically to the superiority of Chinese
A Criticism of John Whitney Hall’s Study on Ancient Korea-Japan Relations

culture. Arnold Toynbee has conceived of Japan as entering for the first time upon the stage of high civilization under Chinese tutelage. To both historians, Japan was overwhelmed by the example of China and thus driven to imitation and emulation. (p. 35)

Hall says Japan absorbed Chinese civilization through Korea in the seventh and eighth centuries. Sir George Sansom and Arnold Toynbee share Hall’s opinion, all echoing the conventional view of Japanese historians. This view, however, is entirely contrary to the truth. Historical facts were that throughout the sixth century and until the middle of the seventh century Yamato-Wa was under the direct control of Paekche; after the fall of Paekche Silla took over the position of a mentor of Yamato-Wa from 668 up to the eighth century.

As we have already touched upon the close relationship between Paekche and Yamato-Wa, let’s examine Silla-Japan relations after 668 when Silla virtually unified the whole Korean peninsula. In 668 Silla sent Kim Tong-ŏm as envoy to Yamato-Wa to call the Japanese to task for siding with Paekche in the Paekkanggu Battle; he collected postwar reparations of 50 pil of fine silk, 500 kŭn of cotton, 100 sheets of hide, and 2 ships. According to the entry for November 1 of 668 (the seventh year of Tenchi of the Nihon shoki), two Japanese envoys accompanied Silla envoy Kim on his way home. Just as Parhae envoys made Japanese envoys carry so much Japanese tribute to Parhae capital, so Silla envoy Kim must have acted the same way.

After 668 Silla – the victorious county went on sending her envoys to Japan to guide them in place of Paekche people. For 32 years from 668 to 700 Silla dispatched her envoys no less than 24 times ultimately to reform Japan’s all systems in the Silla style. These reforms in the Japanese national administration can be classified into two categories – those carried out under the direct guidance of Silla envoys while they were staying in Yamato-Wa and those done after the Silla envoys returned home. For example, the Ninety-two Bans on Costume proclaimed on April 3, 681, and bestowal of surnames on April 12 of the same year were
superintended by Kim Yak-pil who stayed in Japan from November 24, 690, to August 20, 691, and the revision of cap rank system which was carried out on January 21, 685, was supervised by Silla envoy Kim Mul-yu who sojourned in Japan from December 6, 684, to March 14, 685.

In contrast to the last 32 years of the seventh century which saw Silla envoys sent to Japan 24 times, the whole eighth century saw them only 20 times. When the Silla envoy announced the death of the Silla king on January 9, 703, Japanese government proclaimed a decree of amnesty for criminals. For Silla’s national mourning Japan offered plenty condolence goods: 2 pil of fine silk, 40 pil of coarse silk, etc. – a token of the unusually close relationship between the two countries. In 706 Silla had Japanese people take off their traditional clothes to wear white trousers as Silla people did. The Silla envoy who went to Japan to inspect the building of Heijokyo was presented with many tributes to be offered to the Silla king. Thus in the eighth century also the Japanese were guided by Silla officials in their administration.26

Notwithstanding J. W. Hall’s assertion that Japan was diligently drawing up Chinese civilization in the seventh and eighth centuries, Japan was under constant guidance and control by Silla in those times. For 33 years from 668 to 701 Silla forbade the Japanese regime to send official envoys to Tang China. Only in 701 was the ban lifted. The entry for December 8, 689, of the *Nihon shoki* says that the popular game of *sugoroku* was forbidden simply because it originated from Tang China. All things considered, Hall’s assertion that Japan was busily engaged in sucking up Chinese civilization in the seventh and eighth centuries is far from true.

For eight yeas from 664 to 672 Tang China administrated Japan from the Protectorate-General at Tsukushi, a gateway to Japan. It was customary with Tang China to establish a Protectorate-General in the defeated country. When Paekche King Ùija formally surrendered in 600, Tang promptly established the Protectorate-General at Ungjin to officially govern that kingdom’s former domains.

When the Japanese troops led by Paekche King Pung were routed at the Paekganggu Battle in 663, Tang set up the Protectorate-General at
Tsukushi of Kyushu in 664 to rule over Japan for eight years by dispatching a 2,000-strong army six times until May, 672, when Tsukushi Protectorate-General was withdrawn. Each dispatched Tang army stayed in Japan for about five to six months. The Tang commander-in-chief stationed in Paekche administrated Paekche from Ungjin Protectorate-General and Japan from Tsukushi Protectorate-General.

The *Nihon shoki*, however, describes Tang envoys dispatched by the Tang commander-in-chief at Ungjin as if they were envoys from a vassal state who had come to offer tribute to a suzerain state. The vast amount of postwar reparations brought from Japan by Tang envoys were “granted,” not offered. On one occasion, informed of the death of the Japanese emperor, the Tang envoys dispatched from the Tang commander-in-chief in Paekche were in mourning black, and made three deep bows in the direction where the deceased emperor had resided, uttering a wailing cry. In other words, the *Nihon shoki* records in a tone as if Yamato-Wa were Tang China’s suzerain state.

That the Tang commander-in-chief set Paekche people at the head of governing both Paekche and Yamato-Wa substantiates the unusually close ties between the two.

Ⅶ. On Shōtoku Taishi

Let’s listen to what J. W. Hall says about Shōtoku Taishi.

G① Suiko’s nephew, Umayado-no-toyotomimi-no-mikoto (574-622, posthumously known as Shōtoku Taishi), was concurrently named regent. Fortunately for the Yamato *ujii*, Shōtoku Taishi, though married to a Soga lady, jealously guarded the interests of the ruling family. At least, during his lifetime, Soga aggrandizement was placed under restraint. (p. 42)

G② Shōtoku Taishi was less successful in securing the political reforms that hoped would bolster the authority of his family in Yamato. He attempted, however, to gain recognition for the Yamato sovereign as
a ruler in the imperial sense, endowed with the moral attributes of sovereignty and supported by a court and administrative officials. He announced in 603 a new system of twelve court ranks, presumably so that the sovereign might determine a new order of official precedence. In 604 he issued a code of seventeen articles of government with which he hoped to establish a new tone of political ethics. Borrowing Confucian theories of state, he likened the relationship between sovereign and subject to that between Heaven and Earth. In official correspondence he worked for the acceptance of a new terminology of sovereignty, employing the concepts of imperial China and asserting for the Yamato chief the dignity of “emperor” and “son of heaven.” (p. 43)

G③ If we are to believe the traditional and undoubtedly idealized story, Shōtoku Taishi dedicated his life to increasing the prestige of the 
mikoto of Yamato both at home and abroad. In his youth he fought, alongside the Soga, to gain the acceptance of Buddhism as a religion of the state, and in his later years he richly endowed Buddhist institutions in order to make his family the prime patron of the new religion. For some years he worked to recapture Japan’s lost power on the continent, sending expeditions to retake Mimana in 595 and 602. Then, abandoning his military efforts, he opened direct communication with the reunited Chinese empire. (pp. 42-43) (Quoted earlier in D⑨)

In the above quotations J. W. Hall asserts that as a ruler of Japan Shōtoku Taishi kept within bounds Soga’s aggrandizement, legislated twelve court ranks, proclaimed seventeen-article Constitution, opening direct communication with the reunited Chinese empire – Sui. The present writer, however, entertains doubts about the very existence of Shōtoku Taishi. The Nihon shoki accounts of Shōtoku Taishi were fairy tales; later Japanese fabrications of him were far more elaborate and expanded than the Nihon shoki, and it is the mainstream of the majority of Japanese historians to accept those invented stories as historical facts. Setting aside the problem that there are two conflicting views on the year of Shōtoku’s death and three different opinions of the year of his birth, it leaves a persistent doubt
in the back of our mind about the very existence of Shōtoku to hear that he took part in a war against his political enemy at age two and became regent at age seven to make a decision on every important policy. In fact, Empress Suiko made far more decisions, so those contradictions can be possible only in a fabrication. By the way, the actual existence of Empress Suiko is doubtful, too. Tamura Encho alleges that Shōtoku Taishi was not a historical figure but a man existing in a make-believe world.27

The Japanese, however, went ahead with their cunning ways of making Shōtoku a sage. For instance, in the Golden Hall of the Hōryuji temple there are three Buddhist images with Gautama Buddha in the middle and the image of the healing Buddha, both of which have inscriptions indicating they were sculpted for Shōtoku Taishi in 623 and 607. If those Buddhist images had been chiseled in the years indicated on the inscriptions, they would have denoted a single-petaled lotus flower design of Paekche of the early seventh century, but in point of fact they had plural-petaled lotus flower design of Unified Silla at the end of the seventh century. Hence the inscriptions proved to have been faked. Somebody else’s portrait was once interpreted as Shōtoku’s and various pictures were painted to make his historicity stand out. There is no proof, however, that the so-called “Shōtoku Taishi and Two Princes” is genuine. Considering the fact that the men of those days wore loincloth, the hero of the picture cannot have been Shōtoku Taishi. What then was the reason the Japanese as a nation were obsessed with the job of making an imaginary figure of uncertain date of birth and death a preeminent statesman and a sage? The answer is simple enough. First, by showing how distinguished a statesman Shōtoku was as regent to Empress Suiko Yamato-Wa can be presented as a sovereign state centered around its “king”, and not as a territory under the direct control of Paekche. Second, by showing Shōtoku as a sage learned enough to give lectures on and to annotate Buddhist scriptures, Yamato-Wa can be presented as an independent state with Buddhism in their own right, and not a mere mission field for Paekche Buddhism.28

John W. Hall appears to have taken mainstream Japanese view on
Shōtoku and to treat him as an authentic historical figure.²⁹

Ⅷ. Exchange of Envoys between Korea, Japan, and China; Building Temples and Capitals in Japan; Legislation of Basic Laws

The dating of building Japanese temples, new capitals, legislation of basic laws, and the exchange of envoys between Korea, Japan, and China in a tabular form are as follows.

Table 1. The Building of Japanese Temples, Capitals, Legislation of Basic Laws, & Silla–Japan Exchange of Envoys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japan’s temples, capitals, basic laws</th>
<th>Silla envoys sent to Japan</th>
<th>Japanese envoys sent to Silla</th>
<th>Japanese envoys sent to China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction of the Hōryuji temple</td>
<td>680. 11 - 681. 8</td>
<td>681. 7 - 681. 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(689-690s)</td>
<td>681. 10 - 682. 2</td>
<td>684. 4 - 685. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>683. 11 - 684. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>685. 11 - 686. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>687. 9 - 688. 2</td>
<td>687. 1 - 689. 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>689. 4 - 689. 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>690. 9 - 690. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>692. 11 -</td>
<td>693. 3 -</td>
<td>702. 6 - 704. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>693. 2 -</td>
<td>695. 9 -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>695. 3</td>
<td>740. 4 - 740. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>697. 10 - 698. 2</td>
<td>700. 11 –</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>742. 2 -</td>
<td>693. 3 -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>743. 3 -</td>
<td>695. 9 -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>752. intercalary 3</td>
<td>752. 1 -</td>
<td>752. intercalary 3 - 753. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction of the Todaiji temple</td>
<td>689. 4 - 689. 7</td>
<td>681. 7 - 689. 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(743-752)</td>
<td>690. 9 - 690. 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>692. 11 -</td>
<td>693. 3 -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>693. 2 -</td>
<td>700. 5 - 700. 10</td>
<td>702. 6 - 704. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>700. 11 -</td>
<td>703. 10 - 704. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>703. 1 - 703. 5</td>
<td>704. 10 - 705. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>705. 10 - 706. 1</td>
<td>706. 11 - 707. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>709. 3 - 709. 6</td>
<td>712. 10 - 713. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>714. 11 - 715. 3</td>
<td>718. 5 - 719. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building of Fujiwarakyo (690–694)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building of Heijōkyō (now Nara) (708-712)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>695. 3 -</td>
<td>693. 3 -</td>
<td>702. 6 - 704. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>697. 10 - 698. 2</td>
<td>695. 9 -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>700. 11 -</td>
<td>700. 5 - 700. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>702. 6 - 704. 7</td>
<td>703. 10 - 704. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>704. 10 - 705. 5</td>
<td>706. 11 - 707. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>707. 10 - 713. 8</td>
<td>712. 10 - 713. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>718. 5 - 719. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remark: For example, “680. 11 – 681. 8” indicates the envoy left Nov. 680 and returned home in Aug. 681.
As the above table shows, Japan’s building of Buddhist temples, relocation of the capital, and legislation of basic laws have nothing to do with Japanese envoys being sent to China, but they are closely related to Silla-Japan exchange of envoys.

As Tamura Encho so justly pointed out, the origins and background of Japanese Buddhism during Asuka · Hakuho · Nara period (the middle of the sixth century to the early eighth century) were not Tang China but ancient Korean Buddhism, and the reconstruction of the Hōryuji temple was out of the question without the cooperative assistance of Silla professionals. The building of the new capital Fujiwarakyo was closely related with Silla envoys sent to Japan as we have observed in Table 1, and actually the design on tiles unearthed there was identical with that of Unified Silla. Besides, not only Fujiwarakyo but also Buddhist temples such as the Hokoji temple, the original Hōryuji temple, the Shitenōji temple, the Yamadadera, the Kawahiradera, and the reconstructed Hōryuji temple were all set up with the Korean carpenter’s rule.

During Japan’s founding of a nation state from the end of the seventh century to the early eighth century Japan required Silla’s help. The building of the Hōryuji temple and Heijōkyo and the relocation of the capital absolutely called for the approval of the Silla authorities. The Silla envoys sent to Japan in 709 and 714 had the duties of fulfilling this process. On March 14 of 709 (Sŏngtŏk 8, Wado 2) the Japanese welcomed the Silla envoy and his company on both sea and land. On May 27 of the same year a banquet was held in the Imperial Court for the Silla envoy and his company and entrusted them with Japan’s tributes to the Silla king - 20 pil of fine silk, 30 pil of coarse silk (special product of Mino region), 200 kŭn of silk thread and 50 don of cotton. This may well be interpreted as the Japanese appreciation of the technical guidance of Silla experts and Silla king’s approval of Japan’s relocation of the capital to Heijōkyo. On November 11, 714, on the arrival of the Silla envoy Kim Wŏn-jŏng and his 20-odd company Japan welcomed them with 990 cavalrymen and on the 15th they were greeted by courtiers especially sent down from Nara, the capital, at Tsukushi of Kyushu, so far away from the
new capital. When they entered the capital on December 26 of the same year, 170 cavalrymen welcomed them out at the outskirts of the capital. On January 16, 715, a banquet was given at the Imperial Court for the Silla delegation. When they were leaving for Silla on March 23 of the same year, they were presented with 5,450 kūn of cotton and a ship.34

A.D. 709 is one year before the relocation of the capital to Heijōkyo, and 714 is two years after the completion of the building of Heijōkyo. As quoted earlier, Tamura Encho said the reconstruction of Hōryuji temple was unthinkable without the help of Silla experts.35 Since the building of Heijōkyo is removed only a dozen or so years from the reconstruction of the Hōryuji temple, it would be justifiable to suppose that the setting up of Heijōkyo was also helped by the Silla technicians. The fact that the Silla delegation of 709, especially that of 714, was treated with more courtesy than ever before, was caused by the Japanese eagerness to have the building and relocation of the capital approved by Silla.

IX. Political Role of Soga-no-Umako

Hall makes only a brief mention of Soga-no-Umako without going into detail.

H① The victory of 587 also made Soga all-powerful in Yamato, and for the next sixty years successive Soga leaders were able to dominate Yamato affairs, even to the point of near usurpation of sovereign authority. In 592, Soga-no-Umako (?-626), to whom belonged the credit for the annihilation of the Mononobe, was able to maneuver the assassination of the Yamato chief (his nephew) and replace him with a female ruler, Suiko (his niece).

H② The death of Shōtoku Taishi in 622 and the passing of Soga-no-Umako from the political scene soon after, plunged Yamato into a state of bitter political rivalry. (p. 43)
H③ In 645, at a state ceremonial, Naka-no-Ōe himself took a hand in the assassination of Umako’s grandson, Soga-no-Iruka, and thus prepared the way for the elimination of Soga influence. (p. 44)

Hall’s statements in the above quotations are:

1) For sixty years from 587 successive Soga leaders grasped absolute political power in Yamato, and
2) Soga-no-Umako’s grandson, Soga-no-Iruka was assassinated. Hall mentions Umako’s maneuvering behind the political scene without touching upon Umako’s personal traits and his special relationship with Paekche. Historical facts concerning Soga-no-Umako follows.36

In general, before 642 (Kogyoku 1st year; King Ūija 2nd year) the Soga family (Iname & Umako) faithfully followed the directions of Paekche envoys (Paekche officials) sent to Japan by King Ūija, whereas from 642 on they openly disobeyed Paekche king’s orders, assuming an air of Yamato-Wa king, and began to rule over Yamato-Wa. Soga-no-Emishi and Soga-no-Iruka, father and son, who rebelled against Paekche King Ūija were dealt a hard blow by King Ūija. The execution of Soga father and son that took place on June 12 of 645 (Kogyoku 4th year) was carried out by the royal command of Paekche King Ūija. Historical materials about this incident from the Nihon shoki are as follows:

N① May 21, 587 (Sujun Before 1st year): The nun Zen-shin and the others addressed Oho-omi (Soga-no-Umako), saying: - “Discipline is the basis of the method of those who renounce the world; we pray thee to let us go to Paekche to receive instruction in the Law of Discipline. This month tribute Envoys from Paekche arrived at Court.” The Oho-omi addressed the Envoys, saying: “Take these nuns with you, and when you are about to cross over to your country, make them learn the Law of Discipline. When they have done, send them off.” The Envoys answered and said: - “When we return to our
frontier State, we shall first of all inform the King of our country, and it will afterwards be not too late to send them off.”

N② 588 (Sujun 1st year) Soga-no-Umako no Sukune (…) handing over to the Eun-sol, Su-shin, and the other Paekche Envoys the nuns Zen-shin and her companions, dispatched them (to Korea) for study.

N③ January 15, 642 (Kogyoku 1st year): The Oho-omi’s son, Iruka, took into his own hands the reins of government, and his power was greater than his father’s (Yemishi, Soga-no-Omi’s).

N④ 642 (Kogyoku 1st year): This year Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, erected his own ancestral temple at Taka-miya in Katsuraki, and performed an eight-row dance (These were assumptions of Imperial rank.) (…) Moreover, he levied all the people of the land as well as the serfs of the 180 Be, and constructed two tombs at Imaki in preparation for his death. One was called the Great Missagi, and was intended as the tomb of the Oho-omi; one was called the Small Missagi, and was meant for the tomb of Iruka no Omi.

N⑤ November 644 (Kogyoku 3rd year): Iruka no Omi, son of Yemishi, Soga no Oho-omi, built two houses on the Amagashi Hill. The Oho-omi’s house was called the Palace-Gate. Iruka’s house was called the Valley-Palace-Gate. Their sons and daughters were styled Princes and Princesses. Outside the houses palisades were constructed, and an armory was erected by the gate. At each gate there was set a tank for water, and several tanks of wooden hooks as a provision in case of fire. Stout fellows were constantly employed to guard the houses, with arms in their hands. The Oho-omi made Osa no Atahe build the Temple of Hokonuki on Mount Ohoniho. Moreover, he built a house on the east side of Mount Unebi and dug a pond, so as to make of it a castle. He erected an armory, and provided store of arrows. In his goings out and comings in he was always surrounded by an attendant company of fifty soldiers. These sturdy fellows were called the Eastern Company. The people of various uji came to his gate, and waited upon him. He called himself their father, and them his boys. The Aha no Atahe attended wholly upon the two houses.
January 1, 644 (Kogyoku 3rd year): Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was appointed Chief of the Shinto religion. He declined the appointment several times, and would not take it up. (…) Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji was a man of an upright and loyal character and of a reforming disposition. He was indignant with Soga no Iruka for breaking down the order of Prince and Vassal, of Senior and Junior, and cherishing veiled designs upon the State. One after another he associated with the Princes of the Imperial line, trying them in order to discover a wise ruler who might establish a great reputation. He had accordingly fixed his mind on Naka no Ohoye, but for want of intimate relations with him he had been so far unable to unfold his inner sentiments. Happening to be one of a football party in which Naka no Ohoye played at the foot of the keyaki tree of the Temple of Hokoji, he observed the (Prince’s) leathern shoe fall off with the ball. Placing it on the palm of his hand, he knelt before the Prince and humbly offered it to him. Naka no Ohoye in his turn knelt down and respectfully received it. From this time they became mutual friends, and told each other all their thoughts. There was no longer any concealment between them. They feared, however, that jealous suspicions might be caused by their frequent meetings, and they both took in their hands yellow rolls, and studied personally the doctrines of Chow and Confucius with the learned teacher of Minabuchi. Thus they at length while on their way there and back, walking shoulder to shoulder, secretly prepared their plans. On all points they were agreed. Now Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji counselled him, saying: - “For him who cherishes great projects, nothing is so essential as support.” (…)

June 12, 645 (Kogyoku 4th year): The Empress held a Court in the Taikyokuden. (Prince) Furubito no Ohoye was in attendance. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji, knowing that Soga, Iruka no Omi, was of a very suspicious nature, and wore a sword day and night, showed the performers an expedient to make him lay it aside. Iruka no Omi laughed, and, having ungirded his sword, entered and took his place in attendance by the throne. Kurayamada Maro no Omi
advanced and read aloud the memorials of the three kingdoms of Korea. Hereupon (Prince) Naka no Ohoye ordered the Guards of the Gates to fasten all the twelve gates at the same time, and to allow nobody to pass. (…) (Prince) Naka no Ohoye then took in his own hands a long spear and hid it at one side of the Hall. Nakatomi no Kamako no Muraji and his people, armed with bows and arrows, lent their aid. Katsumaro, Ama no Inukahi no Muraji, was sent to give two swords in a case to Komaro, Saheki no Muraji, and Amida, Katsuraki no Waka-inu-kaahi no Muraji, with the message, “Up! up! make haste to slay him.” (…) Komaro, Saheki no Muraji and Amida, Waka-inu-kaahi no Muraji, slew Iruka no Omi. (…) When Furubito no Ohoye saw this, he ran into his private palace, and said to his people: - “The Koreans have slain Kuratsukuri no Omi. My heart is sore.” Then he went into his sleeping-chamber, shut the door, and would not come out. (…)

N8 June 13, 645: On this day permission was given for the interment of the bodies of Yemishi, Soga no Omi, and Kuratsukuri in tombs. Lament for them was also allowed.

The above quotations are from A. G. Aston’s version of Nihongi (Tokyo: the Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1972). N1 and N2 deal with Soga-no-Umako’s sending Japanese nun Zen-shin and her companions to Paekche to learn Buddhist disciplines there through the good offices of Paekche envoys after securing the royal permission of the Paekche king. N3-N5 describe Soga-no-Yemishi and his son Iruka defying Paekche’s directions, putting on a show of a Yamato-Wa king. N6-N8 describe the intimacy of Prince Ohoye and Kamatari and the slaying of Iruka by Kamatari and others who had been especially dispatched by Paekche King Úija.

Conclusion

John Whitney Hall’s study on ancient Korea-Japan relations has been
so far examined from nine angles including the nature of ancient tombs exiting in Japan. Hall’s description of the ancient history of Japan is almost the same as that of conventional Japanese historians, because Hall had accepted at face value Japanese historians’ distorted views of the ancient history of Japan. Of course, Hall is primarily to blame for his uncritical repetition of the conventional historical distortion, but Korean historians are also blameworthy to a considerable extent. They have shown no formal reaction to Japanese historians’ falsification of history by publishing authentic critical articles or books in Korean, much less in English.

However, long-awaited books on true ancient history of Japan and the hidden history of ancient Korea-Japan relations have been cropping up since 1985 in Korea and since 1990 even in Japan that had been traditionally swept by historical alteration and misrepresentation. Hopingly, it will not be long before mistaken cognition is corrected on ancient history of Japan and ancient Korea-Japan relations.

**Key Word**: The history of Ancient Korea-Japan relations, John Whitney Hall, Japanese historians on ancient history, the distortion of ancient history, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times*

**Notes**:

1. A① to A③ deal with the dating of the tumuli emergence, A④ to A⑦ the tumuli builders’ nationalities, A⑧ to A⑩ the grave goods of the tumuli, A⑪ the form of the tumuli, and A⑫ the tomb of Nintoku Tenno.
2. The pagination at the end of each quotation indicates the pages of J. W. Hall’s book.
5 Chungnam University: hankuk ū chŏnbang huwŏn pun (The Korean “Keyhole” Tombs) (Daejon: Publishing Department, Chungnam University, 2000).


Mori, op. cit., p. 141.


15 Cf. Entries of the Nihon shoki for Sept. 7, Tenchi 2nd year; Tenchi 3rd year; Aug. Tenchi 4th year; Nov. Tenchi 6th year.


16 Cf. Entry of the Nihon Shoki for the 3rd year of Saimei (A.D. 657).


18 Ishiwatari shinichiro: op. cit., p.198.


20 Ibid.

21 Cf. Footnote 3.


Ibid, pp. 269-289.


Choi Jae-sŏk: Cf. Footnote 17.


The Shoku Nihon shoki entries for March 14, May 27 of Wado 2nd year.

The Shoku Nihon shoki entries for November 11, 15, December 26 of Wado 7th year; January 16, March 23 of Reiki 1st year.


REFERENCES:


4 Choi Jae-sŏk: kodae han-il bulgyo kwangaesa (A History of Ancient Korea-

Submission date: 2008.6.5       completion date of review:2008.8.22
A Criticism of John Whitney Hall's Study on Ancient Korea-Japan Relations

John W. Hall의 고대한일관계연구비판

본인은 1985년부터 2003까지 사이에 일본고대사학자들의 견해를 검토 한바있다. 그 결과 일본고대사학자들은 거의 모두(약 30명) 한국고대사에 관한 기본서인 「삼국사기」의 초기 기록은 조작되었다고 주장하거나 그러한 전제하에서 고대 한국은 일본의 식민지였다는 주장을 하고 있음을 알게 되었다. 사실은 정반대였다. 그렇다면 일본인이 아닌 서구의 사학자들은 고대한일관계에 관하여 어떠한 견해를 가지고 있는가 호기심을 가지게 되었다. 이리하여 본인의 제일 먼저 관심의 대상이 된 이가 미국의 John Whitney Hall 였다. 그는 하버드(Harvard)에서 학위를 따고 1961년까지 미시간대(Univ. of Michigan) 교수를 하면서 동 대학 일본연구센터(The Center for Japanese Studies) 소장을 역임하다가 본서 저술 시까지 예일대(Yale Univ.)의 사학과 교수를 하였으니 서구 학자 가운데 가장 적합한 사람의 한 사람이라 할 수 있을 것이다. 필자는 그의 저서 Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times (N.Y.: Dell Publishing Co., 1970)의 고대사에 대하여 언급한 제1장~제6장에서 고분을 위시하여 아홉 가지 측면—일본에 존재하는 고분의 주인공; 일본열도에 정착한 민족의 성격; 일본의 정치중심지와 통치자; 일본의 한반도 진출설; 5~6세기의 일본의 정치적 상황; 7~8세기의 일본의 정치적 상황; 소오토쿠다이시(聖德太子)에 대하여; 한·중·일 3국의 사인교환과 일본에서의 사찰·왕경조성과 기본법제정; 소가노우마꼬(蘇我馬子)의 정치적 역할—에서 고대한일관계사를 살펴보고자 한다. 하지만 일본고대사에 관한 한 J. W. Hall의 책은 애석하게도 본 저자를 실망시키고 있다. 왜냐하면 Hall의 모든 견해는 일본 사학자들의 왜곡과 위조에 기반하였기 때문이다. 명백하게 Hall은
일본사학자들의 왜곡된 역사적 사실을 액면 그대로 받아들이고 있다. 
물론, John W. Hall은 고대사 왜곡에 대한 주된 책임을 지고 있지만, 한
국인 학자들 또한 이러한 측면에서의 비난으로부터 자유롭지 못하다. 
왜냐하면 그들은 근거 있는 논문 또는 저서들을 영어뿐만이 아니라 한
국어로 출판함으로써, 일본인 학자들의 고대한일관계사 위조에 대응하
는 데에 실패했기 때문이다.

주제어: 고대한일관계사, John Whitney Hall, 일본고대사학자, 고대사왜곡,
**Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times**