

4.

THE PAKCHE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT:

*The Uji-Kabane 氏姓 and Be 部 Systems*A. *The Uji-Kabane [Shi-sei] System*

Uji referred to clans which held certain political positions in the court and acquired clan names denoting the place of their domicile or their occupation. *Kabane* were titles conferred on *uji* chieftains on a hereditary basis to show their status (familial order) or occupation. The KEJ (1983: 8. 131-137) presents the following view on the *Uji-Kabane* system in an entry written by Cornelius J. Kiley: “[The Shi-sei system was the] predominant mode of organization among the Japanese political elite during the century-and-a-half preceding the Taika Reform 大化改新 of 645. The *uji* was a corporate group of households that were considered as a single extended kinship unit and that shared a common heritable *uji* name. Within this group were one or more lineages bearing an additional hereditary title, the *Kabane*, which carried with it eligibility for the chieftainship of the *uji* and the privilege of performing some function in the Yamato ruler’s court . . . *Kabane*-bearing *uji* Chiefs were entrusted with the control of socially designated communities or groups, generally called *be* 部 [earlier called *tomo* 伴]. . . [I]t is quite likely that the institution of *be* was the beginning of the *uji*.” Kiley further states that “the *uji* . . . facilitated power sharing by a numerous elite class with minimal reduction of central authority and helped that authority to monopolize strategic technical skills, coopt the power of local chiefs, and seize partial control over military and agricultural potential that would have otherwise been unreachable.”¹

¹Kiley (KEJ: 8. 185) states that *tomo* and *be* must have antedated the *uji* as an institution, and in the early period the *be* and *tomo*, which underlay the *uji*, were the principal means by which the Yamato court was able to marshal the resources necessary to move from mere preeminence to unquestioned sovereignty.

According to 宇野浩二 (1985), the *uji* of ancient Japan were organized to meet political needs by using pseudo-ties such as adoption to include non-kin: “Powerful families constituting the Yamato government tried to bring chieftains and leading members of smaller communities under this sway by creating pseudo kin ties with them and organizing large and not quite homogeneous *uji*.” According to Miller (1976), the use of clan titles probably began in the fourth century. Twenty-five clan titles were employed by the end of the seventh century, and the relative ranking of the important clan titles was determined by the type of ancestors possessed by the clans bearing the title.

J. Edward Kidder, Jr. (KEJ: 3. 161) summarizes: “The Yamato rulers used the *uji* chiefs in organizing BE, or hereditary occupational groupings that furnished goods and services to the Yamato Court. Each *uji* was assigned a different role and task, and they received honorary titles (*Kabane*) indicating their relative status and function.” According to 宇野浩二 (1985), the important factor for the maturation of *uji* in Japan was the influx of the Altaic cultures that introduced some new kinship terms of Altaic provenance and intensified the patrilineal ideology: “This process went hand in hand with the penetration of Puyeo and Koguryeo culture into southern Korea. Material testimony to the entrance into Japan of these influences is not lacking: personal ornaments of glittering gold from some fifth century kofun indicate the arrival of the royal culture of Altaic pastoral people via the Korean peninsula. Some myths and rituals centering on the kingship in ancient Japan with Koguryeo and Paekche parallels surely make up another link in the same chain.” Oka Masao (quoted by 宇野浩二, 1985) believes that *uji* stood originally for a patrilineal exogamous kin group that came to Japan in an ethnic wave, i.e., “with the Altaic royal culture of the Imperial Family in the third or fourth century.” According to Inoue (1977), the term *uji* derives from the Korean word *ul*, which denotes a patrilineal group.

Samguk-sagi (Lee edition: 329) includes a record on a Paekche general named Heuk-chi Sang-ji 黑齒常之 (A.D. 630-689), stating that he was a man of West Bu 西部 who held the rank of Talsol and the position of general of Pung-dal Province 風達郡 concurrently. He successfully led resistance movements against general Su Ding-fang after the fall of Paekche to the Tang army in A. D. 660, but eventually surrendered to Tang only to become a distinguished Tang general by virtue of his brilliant exploits in numerous battles. In 1929, the epitaphs for Heuck-chi Sang-ji and his son Heuck-chi Jun 俊 were discovered in the Luoyang 洛陽 area.² They show the Paekche

²The epitaphs were made in A. D. 699 and 706, respectively (see Yi, 1991).

parallels of the *Uji-Kabane* system. The epitaphs state that the Heuk-chi clan originated from within the Paekche royal family with Puyeon names 其先出自扶餘氏, but since their ancestors were enfeoffed with the Heuk-chi area 封於黑齒, their descendants came to be called by the clan name Heuk-chi 因以為氏. The epitaphs also states that the leaders of the Heuk-chi clan maintained Talsol rank 其家世相承為達率 (see Yi Munki, 1991).

B. Origin of the *Kabane* Titles

Barnes (1988: 29) states that: “The names of several of the standard [*kabane*] ranks have Korean origins and were probably introduced in the mid-fifth century along with the *kabane* idea of systematic ranking and many other innovations. Moreover, many of the *uji* holding *kabane* ranks were themselves of Korean descent.” Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8.136), however, is more specific: “the use of *Kabane* titles, like the division of political jurisdictions into *be*, was adopted from Paekche in the late 5th century.”

According to Inoue (1977), the earliest reference to the *Kabane* title “Kimi 君,” which was granted to powerful, distant semi-independent local magnates, is found in Kudara-honki 百濟本記 as quoted in Nihongi for the third year of Keidai [A.D. 509].³ Inoue further notes that “Omi 臣,” a title granted to local leaders closely related to the Yamato court, first appears in another quotation from the Kudara-honki in Nihongi for the 5th year of Kimmei [A.D. 544].⁴ The title “Muraji 連” which was given to the chieftains of upper-class attendant families (tomo-no-miyatsuko) appears in Nihongi (NII: 13) in the name Mononobe-no-chichi-no-muraji in yet another quotation from the Kudara-honki for the 9th year of Keitai [A.D. 515].^{4b} The KEJ (1983: 8.134) presents the following statement written by Cornelius J. Kiley: “[t]he use of the term *Kabane* to mean ‘inherited status’ and ‘inherited status title’

³Nihongi (NII: 7) records that “[e]nvoys 使 were sent to Paekche. The statement in the Paekche ‘Original Record’ that Lord [Kimi 支爾] Kuramachi came from Japan (Nippon) is unclear.”^{<1>}

⁴Nihongi (NII: 7) records that “Paekche sent the Nasol, A-mang-teung-mun . . . and *Kapi*, the *Nasol of Mononobe*, to present a memorial to the Emperor, as follows: . . . I [King of Paekche] therefore sent messengers to summon the Japanese authorities (the Paekche ‘Original Record’ has ‘Sent to summon Wi-no-phi no Omi.’ This is, perhaps, Iku-ba no Omi 臣.) . . .”^{<2>} Nihongi (NII: 49) records that: “Paekche sent the Si-tok, Ma-mu, the Si-tok Ko-pun-ok and the Si-tok, Sa-na-no-chha-chyu to Imna with the following message to the Japanese authorities and the Kanki of Imna: ‘I sent Ki no Omi, the Nasol, Mi-ma-sa, the Nasol, Kwi-nyon, and *Mononobe no Muraji*, the *Nasol*, [and] *Yong-ka-ta*, to have an audience with the Emperor.’”^{<3>}

was almost certainly the result of cultural borrowing from Korea, especially the Kingdom of Paekche, . . . The *Kabane*, as an element in a heritable name, dates from the late 5th century, in both Japan and Paekche.”

The *Kabane* titles such as “Kimi” seem to have been copied directly from the Paekche system of titles. Nihongi (NII: 75) records that Yeo-chang 餘昌 (the Paekche King Wideok, A.D. 554-598, who was the son of King Seong-myeong, A.D. 523-554), in his campaign against Silla in A.D. 554, was surrounded by Silla soldiers, but then a skillful archer who was a Miyakko of the Land of Tsukushi 筑紫國造, by shooting arrows one after another like rain, enabled Yeo-chang and his generals to escape back by a by-road. Nihongi (NII: 75) records that Yeo-chang thereby conferred on the archer (the Kuni no Miyakko) the title of “Kurani no Kimi 鞍橋君.”^{<5>}

The kabane title “Kimi” was conferred on *uji* chieftains that apparently included many of those Paekche royal family members who came to Japan in the fifth and sixth centuries. Nihongi (NI: 406) records that “[t]he King of Paekche [Munyeong: A.D. 501-523] sent Lord [Kimi] Shika 斯我君 with tribute, and a separate memorial, saying: – ‘Mana, the previous tribute-messenger 進調使, was no relation of the Sovereigns of Paekche 非百濟國主之骨族. Therefore I humbly send Shika to wait upon the Court.’ He [Kimi Shika] eventually had a son named Lord [Kimi] Peop-sa 法師君. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Yamato 倭君之先.”^{<6>}

Battan (1986) notes that, in the pre-ritsuryo period, the central government of Yamato Wa was headed by the 大臣 *omi* and the 大連 *muraji*, representing, respectively, the semi-autonomous *uji* whose status was close to the royal house itself, and the service nobility. Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8. 135) notes that most high nobles of the *omi* class (regional chiefs of the high nobility) claimed descent from ancient kings, while the most high nobles of the *muraji* class (service group chiefs of the high nobility) usually traced their ancestry to deities who helped the imperial family establish the Yamato kingdom.⁵ The day-to-day affairs of government were supervised by the representatives of groups known as *be* or *tomo*, which were loosely organized under *be*-leaders of the *muraji* class and also by the petty service chiefs, or

⁵Kiley states that “Omi were regarded as subchieftains, and muraji, as leaders of *tomo* serving the king.” According to Egami (1967), the aristocrats whose name included the “Omi” title usually employed local place names in their personal names, suggesting that they were the regional aristocracy. By contrast, the aristocrats with the “muraji” title generally derived their names from occupations, and served important functions in military affairs and economic affairs throughout the country. At the Yamato court, they formed craft guilds under the imperial clan.

petty court functionaries, called *tomo no miyatsuko*.⁶ The primary means of controlling the people in the pre-Taika period was the *be* system.⁷ According to Aoki (1974: 41), “Homuda 瓊瓊杵尊 recruited his lieutenants from the village chieftains in the growing delta. He called them *muraji*, a term of distinctly Korean origin, meaning *village chief*.”

C. The Origin of the Clan Name “Mononobe” 物部

Egami (1964) notes that the “gods of the five companies” who attended Ninigi no mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊 on the occasion of the ascent of the Children of Heaven 天孫 each had their own specialized functions as the heads of corporations (*be*) directly serving the Imperial family. He observes also that the Mononobe were attended by five Miyatsuko and twenty-five Ama mononobe. Egami accepts the idea of Oka Masao 岡正雄, that a five-fold organization of some sort was found in Koguryeo and Paekche, e.g., a division into five companies or settlements [*bu*]. He also agrees that the ancient Japanese ruling class had many social elements in common with the society of the tribes extending from Korea to Manchuria, and that the Japanese ruling class of this time may itself have originated in the Manchuria-Korea area.⁸

It seems that not only the *Kabane* titles such as Omi and Kimi, but also the clan names such as “Mononobe” originated in Paekche. One can find in Nihongi many occasions upon which the clan name denoting the occupation “Mononobe” occurs with the names of Paekche officials. It is recorded (NII: 48) that “King Seong-myeong 聖明王 of Paekche sent [in A.D. 543] Chin-mu

⁶Batten (1986) also notes that the most important unit of local administration under the Yamato state was the *kuni*, which in many cases corresponded to semi-autonomous small ‘kingdoms’ conquered or assimilated by Yamato. Their former rulers continued to govern them as *kuni-no-miyatsuko* 國造, i.e., petty regional chiefs. The title “Miyatsuko” was never held by high nobles.

⁷Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8.134) notes that “the designation of lands and granaries as official domains (*miyake*) had little to do with *uji* or *kabane*, although the workers in these lands were referred to as *be*.”

⁸According to Egami (1964), throughout the establishment of Yamato Wa, “the ancestors of the 大伴連 no Muraji 大伴連 and the Kume no Atahe were the most powerful of the military cooperators with the Children of Heaven . . . [I]n later times . . . [they] were very powerful as military families near to the throne, but it seems that there existed no special situation of a kind which would require us to reject the idea that they had been military cooperators with the Imperial family since the south Korea period, and played a great part in the establishment of the Japanese state.”

Kwi-mun, Nasol of the Fomer Division . . . and Makamu, *Sitok of the Mononobe* 物部施德, with a present of Punam 扶南 products and two slaves.”^{<8>} Nihongi (NII: 49) records that in A.D. 544 the King [Seong-myeong] of Paekche “sent Ki no Omi, the Nasol, Mi-ma-sa, the Nasol Kwi-nyon, and *Mononobe no Muraji*, the Nasol 物部連奈率, Yong-ka-ta, to have an audience with the Emperor,”^{<3>} and also that (NII: 52) in the same year “Paekche sent the Nasol, A-mang-teung-mun . . . and Kapi, the Nasol of Mononobe 物部奈率, to present a memorial to the Emperor . . .”^{<2>} It is further recorded (NII: 72) that in A.D. 554 “Paekche sent General Sam-kwi, Hansol of the Lower Division, with *Mononobe no O* 上部奈率物部烏[Crow], Nasol of the Senior Division, to ask for auxiliaries.”^{<8>} Nihongi (NII: 73) also records the following statement made by the Paekche King Seong: “. . . [I] had sent *Mononobe no Mak-ka-mu no Muraji*, Governor of the Eastern Quarter 東方領物部莫奇武連, in command of the troops of that Quarter, to lay siege to the castle of Hamsan 函山城 [in Silla].”^{<8>} Aston (NII: 73n) comments simply that these are curious mixtures of Japanese titles and Korean names.

D. The *Be* System and Skilled Technicians from Paekche

The *tomo* or *be* groupings represented the hereditary occupational groups serving the Yamato court prior to the Taika reform of A.D. 645 from the fifth century. According to Inoue (1977), it was only after the skilled immigrants from Paekche “were organized into *tomo* 伴 and employed as court attendants that the *tomo-no-miyatsuko-tomo-tomobe* system developed fully” in Japan. According to Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8. 134), “about half of the *tomo* heads with *miyatsuko* as a *kabane* were of Korean origin, as was the system of official *be* they presided over.” Inoue (1977) notes that the Inner Repository 内藏 was built in the reign of Richū to store the goods from Korea and “the Yamato-no-aya-no-atai and Kawachi-no-fumi-no-obito, the two clans who had immigrated earlier, allegedly in the reign of 311, took charge of the inventory.”

Kojiki (KP: 284-285) states that: “. . . the king of the land of Kudara [Paekche], King Seuko [Keun Ch’ogo], presented one stallion and one mare, which he sent accompanied by Ati-kisi 阿知吉師. This Ati-Kishi is the ancestor of the Pumi-bitō of Atiki 阿直史. Also . . . he [Keun Ch’ogo] presented a man named Wani-kisi 和邇吉師 . . . This Wani-kisi is the ancestor of the Obitō of Pumi 文首. Again he presented two artisans: a smith of Kara 韓鞞 named Takuso and Saiso, a weaver of Kure. Again there immigrated the

ancestor of the Miyatuko of the Pata [Hada] 秦造之祖, the ancestor of the Atape [Atahe] of the Aya 漢直之祖 . . .”⁹<2. 3. 4><14>

Philippi (KP: 561) notes that Hata (or Hada 秦氏) was “an extremely large family of continental immigrants, ruled by a miyatuko who is said to have immigrated during the reign of Emperor 𣥂. The Nihon Shoki identifies the ancestor of the miyatuko as Yuzuki [the Lord of Yuzuki 弓月君].” Nihongi (NI: 261-264) records that, in the 16th year of 𣥂’s reign (A.D. 405), the “Lord of Yuzuki [弓月王 or 融通王, according to Shinsen Shōjiroku] came from Paekche . . . with one hundred and twenty districts of the people.”⁹<13> The KEJ (1983: 3. 111) presents the following statements written by William R. Carter: “[the Hata family was an] influential family or clan of ancient Japan, descended from continental immigrants. According to family legend, its more important members were descendants of YUZUKI NO KIMI, who arrived from the Korean state of Paekche around A. D. 400 The Hata are associated in early historical accounts with the silkworm culture, weaving, and metallurgy (techniques they may have helped to introduce to Japan), as well as with land development, supervision of government storehouses, and diplomatic service. By the end of the 5th century, members of the Hata family held the status title (*Kabane*) of miyatsuko 國造, [which was] changed in the 7th century to IMIKI 忌寸. Although branches of the Hada spread to many parts of Japan, their principal settlement was in the Kyōto basin, especially the Kadono 葛野 area. Hata no Kawakatsu, a friend of the regent Prince Shōtoku, founded the temple Kōryūji 廣隆寺 in the early 7th century, At the end of the 8th century the Hata provided financial assistance for the building of the new capital city Heiankyō 平安京.”¹⁰

Nihongi (NI: 365) further records that “[t]he Emperor [Yūryaku] loved and favoured [Sake, Hada no Miyakko 秦造酒], and commanded that the Hada House should be assembled and given to Lord Sake of Hada 秦公酒. So this

⁹Shinsen Shōjiroku (Saeki Arikiyo 佐伯有清: 279) records that (King) Yutsuki arrived in the 14th year of 𣥂, but states that he was a descendant of Qin Shi-huang of Qin 秦 China.

¹⁰Abe Takeshi (KEJ: 3. 121) notes that in A.D. 784 “Kammu (781-806), with the support of the Fujiwara 藤原 Family of government bureaucrats and aided by the economic power of the Hata Family of earlier immigrants from the Korean peninsula, moved the seat of government from Nara 奈良 to Nagaoka-kyō 長岡京 However, . . . construction of the capital slowed, eventually coming to a halt. In 793 . . . the emperor ordered . . . [the building of] a new capital in the village of Uda (Kyōto) which, like Nagaoka-kyō, was in Yamashiro 山城 Province, an area that had long been inhabited by the Hata family.”

Lord, attended by excellent Be workmen of 180 kinds, presented as industrial taxes 庸調 fine silks, which were piled up so as to fill the Court. Therefore he was granted a title, viz., Udzu-masa 禹豆麻佐 [in A.D. 471] [Yūryaku] again dispersed to other places the Hada House, and made them pay tribute in industrial taxes [in A.D. 472].”¹¹ <15> Nihongi (NI: 293) records that Lord Chu [Sake 酒] was “the grandson of the King of Paekche” who came to Japan during the reign of Nintoku.^{<16>} Aston (NI: 360n) suggests that this “Lord Sake of Hada” may be the “Lord Chu [Sake]” or his descendant.

Inoue (1977) notes that when the Major Repository 大藏 [Ōkura] was erected during the reign of Yūryaku in order to store the tribute from various local clans, the Aya of Yamato and the Aya of Kawachi participated in its management but “the chief responsibility of storekeeping was placed on the Hata clan which was a naturalized tomo-no-miyatsuko.”¹²

Nihongi (NII: 36) records that when Kimmei [A.D. 531-571] was young he saw a man in his dream telling him that “[i]f thou makest a favourite of a man called Hada no Ohotsuchi, thou wilt surely possess the Empire when thou dost attain to manhood.” According to Nihongi (NII: 36-37), Kimmei found Hada no Ohotsuchi in the province of Yamashiro 山背(山城) and so made him serve near his own person, and when Kimmei came to the throne, he appointed him to the Treasury 拜大藏省.¹³ <17> Hada 波多 [or Hata 波陀] is the kana rendering for Qin China 秦 but also implies loom or cloth. Aston (NI: 265n) notes that “there were numerous weavers among the Korean [Paekche] emigrants to Japan.”¹⁴

¹¹This record is preceded by the statement (NI: 364) that: “[t]he Hada House was dispersed. The Omi and Muraji each enforced their services at pleasure, and would not allow the Hada no Miyakko 秦造 to control them. Consequently Sake, Hada no Miyakko, made a grievance of this, and took [matters] to the Emperor”

¹²Inoue (1977) notes that: “Judging from the fact that there were such *uji* and kabane names as Ōkura-no-atai (later Imiki, belonging to the Yamato-no-aya-no-atai lineage), Uchitsukura-no-atai lineage of Kawachi-no-fumi-no-obito, and Hata-no-kura-no-miyatsuko, [we may conclude that] the Yamato court appointed (1) certain branch families of the two clans, Yamato-no-aya-no-atai and Kawachi 河内 no-fumi-no-obito . . . as hereditary custodians of the financial records of the two newly established repositories, and (2) assigned the management of the repositories to a branch family of the Hata clan The former group was referred to as fuhito (scribes) and the latter kurahito”

¹³Nihongi (NII: 39) notes that the men of Hada numbered in all 7,053 houses and the Director of the Treasury was made Hada no Tomo no Miyakko 秦件造.^{<18>}

¹⁴Oda Takeo (KEJ: 4.334) notes that “the Kyōto fault basin was first settled in the 6th century by the Hata Family, immigrants from Korea. Members of the family were skilled in the silkworm culture and silk weaving and amassed great wealth through

Nihongi (NI: 264-265) records that, in the 20th year of 阿知王 reign [A.D. 409 ?], “Achi no Omi 阿知使主 [King Achi 阿知王, according to Shinsen Shōjirōku], ancestor of the Atahe of the Aya of Yamato 倭漢直祖, and his son Tsugano Omi 都加使主 immigrated to Japan, bringing with them a company of their people of seventeen districts.”⁹ The KEJ (1983: 1. 125) presents the following statements written by William R. Carter: “[the Aya family was] a large and influential group of immigrants . . . most prominent among them were the Yamato no Aya, who settled in Yamato Province (now Nara Prefecture), especially in the Asuka region. A large part of the original group probably arrived in Japan around A. D. 400 and was led by Achi no Omi . . . The various branches of the Yamato no Aya became closely allied with the Soga Family in the middle of the 7th century, and many of its members were prominent in diplomacy, government, military affairs, court ritual, and the support of Buddhism. They also had supervisory functions over those organizations called BE that provided various goods and services. They tended to gravitate to the region of the capital and were less geographically scattered than the Hata Family, also from Korea.”

Kojiki (KP: 324-325) records that Richū held a state banquet, and rejoiced greatly in the fine wine and went to sleep: “Then his younger brother . . . seeking to kill the emperor, set fire to the great hall. At this time, the ancestor of the Atahe of the Aya of Yamato, the Atahe Ati 阿知直 [Achi], spirited him out, put him on horseback, and took him to Yamato 倭.”¹⁰ Kojiki (KP: 329) further notes that Richū “appointed the Atahe Ati head of the treasury 藏官 and also gave him lands.”¹⁵ ¹⁰ This family was called the Aya of Yamato, Eastern Aya, to distinguish it from another family of the same name in Kahachi, Western Aya.¹⁶ Aya is the traditional kana rendering of Han China. Aston (NI: 265n) notes that “no satisfactory explanation of the reason why this character should be read aya has been given.”¹⁷

their commerce in silk goods. In 603, 廣隆寺, the family temple of the Hata was constructed at Uzumasa 太秦 in the western part of the basin.”

¹⁵Aston (NI: 309n) quotes the *Kogo-jui*: “Beside the Sacred Treasury, there was erected an Inner Treasury, where the official property was classified and deposited. Achi no Omi and Wang-in, the learned men of Paekche, were made to record the ingoings and outcomings. A Treasury Be was first established.” Wang-in arrived in Japan in A.D. 405.

¹⁶Nihongi (NI: 309) records that, in the reign of Yūryaku [A.D. 463], a skilled artisan of Western Aya 西漢 named Kwan-in Chiri was sent to Paekche to obtain additional skilled men.¹¹

¹⁷Nihongi (NI: 365) notes that in A.D. 472 Yūryaku “ordered the Aya Be to be brought together, and established their Tomo no Miyakko 伴造者, granting him the title of Atahe 直. One book says: ‘Granted the Aya no Omi 漢使主 the title of Atahe.’”¹²

According to Nihongi (NI: 350), many skilled technicians newly arrived in Japan from Paekche during the reign of Yūryaku were placed under the supervision of Yamato-no-aya-no-atai [Yamato no Aya no Atahe], i.e., the clan that had come over to Japan from Paekche in the reign of 倭王 led by Achi no Omi 倭漢直祖阿知使主 and his son Tsuga no Omi. Those skilled Paekche artisans who came to Japan during the reign of Yūryaku were called in Nihongi (NI: 349) *the Imaki skilled artisans*; Imaki 今來, which means *newcomers*, is also the name of a place in Yoshino 吉野 in Yamato. This term *Imaki* was applied apparently in order to distinguish the *newcomers* 新漢 from those who 倭漢 had immigrated to Japan during the reign of 倭王. Aston (NI: 350n) states that “[t]he Aya or Han would now appear to have three branches, - - the Eastern or Yamato Aya 倭漢, the Western or Kahachi Aya 河内, and the New 新韓 or IMAKI AYA 今來漢 . . . They all consisted of skilled men from Korea [Paekche].”¹⁸

In A.D. 684, Temmu established a system of Eight-Rank clan titles (Yakusa no Kabane 八色姓), namely Mahito, Asomi, Sukune, Imiki, Michi no Shi, Omi, Muraji and Inaki. J. Edward Kidder, Jr. (KEJ: 3. 163) notes that “the two newly instituted top ranks, mahito and asomi, were composed primarily of the closest kinship groups of the imperial family. The third-ranking sukune were the main deity-descended uji, apart from the Sun Line, who had rendered valuable service to the throne. The imiki and michinoshi had no valid claims to imperial connections. With the institution of all these new ranks at the top, the earlier omi- and muraji-holding uji were displaced toward the bottom of the rank scale.” According to Aston (NII: 365n), the fourth title IMIKI 忌寸 “was specifically given to immigrants from Korea [Paekche], and is said to be for the ima-ki 今來 or new-comer 新來.” As noted by William R. Carter (KET: 3. 111), however, the IMIKI title seems to have been conferred also on the HATA 秦 clan.¹⁹

¹⁸Nihongi (NI: 334) records that Prince Mayuwa murdered Anaho and fled to the house of the Oho-omi Tsubura [Daijin or Prime Minister Tsubura] in Katsuraki 葛城園大臣. Tsubura (NI: 335) begged Yūryaku to pardon him for taking Prince Mayuwa into his house. He offered, as a ransom for their (his as well as Mayuwa’s) offences, his daughter Kara-hime [Lady of Korea 韓媛] and the seven buildings [Granaries] of Katsuraki, but Yūryaku set fire to his house and burnt them. Nihongi (NI: 336-337) records, however, that their bones were buried together on the hill south of Tsukimoto in “Imaki no Aya 新韓” and Kara-hime was appointed as the senior Imperial concubine 元妃 who was the mother of Seinei.^{<19>}

¹⁹Hirano Kunio (KEJ: 4.89) simply states that “the title IMIKI or FUBITO was often conferred on lineage groups of continental origin.”

Nihongi (NII: 69) records that in A.D. 553, “by the order of the Emperor, Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune, charged O-shin-mi [of Korean extraction, Aston notes] to keep an account of the shipping tax. He was accordingly made Chief over the ships, and the style [surname] of Funa no Fumibito 船史 was granted him. He was the ancestor of the present Funa no Muraji [Secretary of Shipping 船連].” Nihongi (NII: 78-79) also records that “Soga no Oho-omi, Iname no Sukune and others were sent to the district of Takechi in Yamato 倭國高市郡 [in A.D. 556] to establish the Miyake of Ohomusa of Coreans (by Coreans, Nihongi meant Paekche people 言韓人者百濟也) and the Miyake of Womusa of Koguryeo men.”^{<20>}

Nihongi (NII: 91) records that in A.D. 572 Bidatsu assembled all the scribes and directed them to read the memorial brought by the Koguryeo Envoys but: “[a]t this time all the scribes for the space of three days were unable to read it. Now there was one 𪛗 Chin-ni [of Korean origin], founder of the Funa no Fubito [Recorders of ships], who was able to read it Consequently the Emperor and the Oho-omi [Soga no Umako], both together, complimented him After this, an edict was issued to the scribes of the East [Yamato] and West [Kahachi], saying: ‘How is it that the art which ye practise has come to naught? Though ye are many, none of you is equal to Chin-ni.’ . . .” Nihongi (NII: 94) continues: “By an Imperial order, the title of Tsu no Fubito 津史 [Port-Recorder] was granted to Ushi [Ox], younger brother of 𪛗 Chin-ni, Funa no Fubito.”^{<21>}

Nihongi (NII: 199-200) records that in A.D. 645 “Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, was sent to the province of Wohari and Komoto . . . to levy offerings for the Gods [Shinto].” Nihongi (NII: 228) further records that in A.D. 647: “The engineer of the rank of Daisen [seventh cap grade], Aratawi no Hirafu, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, mistakenly dug a canal which led to Naniha and distressed the people. Upon this some one presented a memorial of remonstrate, and the Emperor [Kōtoku] made a decree, saying: ‘We unwisely gave ear to Hirafu’s misrepresentations, and so dug this canal to no purpose. It is We who are to blame.’ . . .” In A.D. 650, it is recorded that (NII: 240) “Agata, Yamato no Aya no Atahe . . . [was] sent to the province of Aki to build two Paekche ships 百濟船.” Nihongi (NII: 355) records that “the Yamato no Aya no Atahe were granted the title of Muraji” in A.D. 682.^{<22>}

E. The Origin of *Be* 部: The Paekche System of Government

Be were service groups initially formed of Paekche people on a Paekche model in order to serve the Yamato court directly in cultivating land,

producing craft goods or iron weapons, and performing special services such as record-keeping. The leaders of these tomobe 伴部 constituted an important part of the Yamato court officialdom, and the creation of these organizations apparently contributed to the centralization of power under the Yamato rulers. According to Inoue (1977), the use of the character *be* for the technical groups serving the Yamato court “was presumably influenced by the twelve court offices [*bu* or *be*] of Paekche, the home country of the tomo 伴 immigrants.” Inoue notes that “the Yamato court appears to have followed this Korean [Paekche] system, and applied the word *be* to the occupational groups (tomo) of newly naturalized [Paekche] technicians. At the same time they used it in the *uji* names newly conferred on tomo-no-miyatsuko 伴造, such as Amabe-no-muraji and Mononobe-no-muraji, to express their profession. Later the local workers’ communities [bumin 部民] supervised by the tomo-no-miyatsuko [the chiefs of an occupational group] were also known by such names as Amabe and Mononobe.”

According to the Paekche section of Yi-yu-chuan 異域傳 of Zhou-shu, Paekche utilized a system of twelve *be* [bu] which served the court as palace functionaries and ten *be* which filled government offices (divisions of the government at large). The former included kokbu 穀部 [*be* of grain], yukbu 肉部 [*be* of meat or butchers], naeryakbu 內掠部 [*be* of inner repository or storekeeping], woeryakbu 外掠部 [*be* of outer repository], mabu 馬部 [*be* of horses], tobu 刀部 [*be* of swordsmiths], yakbu 藥部 [*be* of medicine], mokbu 木部 [*be* of carpenters], and beopbu 法部 [*be* of law]. The latter included sagunbu 司軍部 [*be* of military service], satobu 司徒部 [*be* of education], sakongbu 司空部 [*be* of civil engineering], sagubu 司寇部 [*be* of judicature], jeomgubu 點口部 [*be* of registry], gaekbu 客部 [*be* of diplomacy], and chubu 綱部 [*be* of finance or taxation].^{<23>}

Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8. 132) states that: “the development of the institution [*be*] was stimulated by Korean examples, particularly that of the state of Paekche . . . [it] was almost certain, moreover, that the term *be* was introduced to Japan by Korean scribes.” Kiley (KEJ: 8. 133) further states that the government of Yamato Wa, “whose development was both influenced and accelerated by extensive contacts with the older Korean kingdoms, embodied a distinction between the inner court, i.e., the King’s domestic household, and the outer court or government at large, and each court had its own treasury.”

One may now compare these various *be* of Paekche with those of the Yamato court: Yamabe [gathering such mountain products as chestnuts,

bamboo and vines], imbe 忌部 [performing religious services], hajibe [making Haji ware and Haniwa], kanuchibe [producing iron weapons], nishigoribe [weaving silk fabrics], kinunuiibe [sewing clothes], umakaibe [raising horses or producing cattle feed], kuratsukuribe [making saddles and other equipment], toneribe [performing miscellaneous tasks and policing duties], kashiwadebe [working in the imperial kitchens] and saekibe [performing military services].²⁰ According to Hirano Kunio (KEJ: 1. 147): “The *be* system can be considered to represent the basic sociopolitical structure of the primitive Japanese state: at the apex was the Yamato sovereign, who had secured the allegiance of powerful *uji* 氏 chieftains . . . Below them were the numerous *be* 部 service groups, who provided labor and goods . . . Thus, the people of ancient Japan were organized in a hierarchy that was maintained by the ruling *uji* stratum. It was only after the Taika Reform 大化改新 . . . that a more centralized form of state organization [the Ritsuryō System 律令制] was established.”

According to Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8. 136), the Yamato court structure “was further refined by distinguishing between the household or palace organization and the so-called *outer court*, which was in fact the national government at large. High grandees of the *omi* 臣 and *muraji* 連 classes continued to act on both levels, while lesser *kabane* holders like the *miyatsuko* 造, were confined to either one or the other. This distinction, another adaptation of Paekche institutions, made room for the development of more purely political offices in the national administration . . .”

Reischauer (1937: 12) notes that “[t]he great influx of Korean . . . immigrants in the fifth, sixth, and early seventh centuries disorganized the clan system and furnished the Imperial Family with competent literate officials and valuable groups of skilled artisans. Consequently not only was the number of people directly controlled by the Imperial Clan greatly increased, but it far outstripped any other clan in the amount of brains and ability it had at its disposal. The Imperial Clan therefore, grew increasingly able to impose its authority ever more forcefully over the small local clans.”

According to Sansom (1963: 37), the Imperial Clan took vigorous measures to extend its power by creating new corporations of highly skilled specialists and by appointing to the higher ranks of key corporations men upon whom it could depend for support. He further notes that (1963: 38-39) “[a]t first such persons could be recruited only from the refugees who began

²⁰Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8.133) notes that the “horse-keepers’ *be*, *umakaibe* 馬飼部, employed in the government stables, were drawn from a number of specially designated immigrant [i.e., Paekche] communities in the Yamato area.”

to cross over from Korea around A.D. 400 These important emigres, who continued to arrive during the fifth and sixth centuries, were usually settled in areas under the control of the Crown, and formed into corporations under their own leaders . . . [these leaders were] given the rank and style of a nobleman of good standing . . . [B]y the sixth century they were firmly established and were without doubt a most important, perhaps the most important, element in the composition of the Japanese people, if we exclude the mass of agricultural workers.” Sansom (1963: 39) concludes that “[t]heir contribution to the growth of civilized life was indispensable, for whatever virtues the Japanese possessed, prior to the fifth century their leaders were very backward in comparison with the exponents of the great cultures of the Asian mainland.”

F. The Non-Technical Role of *Be* in Yamato Court

Among the clans of Paekche skilled technicians, the Atahe of the Aya of Yamato 倭漢直 seems to have played the most prominent and lasting role in serving the Yamato rulers.²⁰ The following stories provide illustration. After Nintoku’s death, Nihongi (NI: 302) records that a Prince was about to kill Richū and thereupon “Heguri no Tsuka no Sukune, Mononobe no Ohomahe no Sukune, and Achi no Omi, the ancestor of the Aya no Atahe 漢直祖阿知使主, these three men, gave information to the Heir [Richū].”²⁴ According to Nihongi (NI: 369), Yūryaku died in A.D. 479, “having left command to Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji and Yamato-Aya no Tsuka no Atahe.” After Yūryaku’s death, Prince Hoshikaha took possession of the Treasury in an attempt to ascend to the Imperial rank and squandered the official resources. Nihongi (NI: 374) notes that “hereupon Ohotomo no Muruya no Ohomuraji spake to Yamato no Aya 東漢 no Tsuka no Atahe, saying: ‘The time has now come when the dying injunctions of the Emperor Ohohatsuse are to be fulfilled . . . and [we are to] do service to the Prince Imperial [Seinei].’ So they raised an armed force and besieged the Treasury . . . and . . . roasted to death the Imperial Prince Hoshikaha.”²⁵

According to Nihongi (NI: 111-112), the Uji-Kabane system began with Jimmu’s granting of the title “Shihi-netsu-hiko” [Prince of Shihi root] at the Haya-suhi gate to “the first ancestor of the Yamato no Atahe 倭直部始祖,” who was made a pilot 海導者 of Jimmu’s naval expedition force against the East.²¹

²¹Nihongi (NI: 111-112) records that: “. . . when he [Jimmu] arrived at the Haya-suhi gate, there was there a fisherman who came riding in a boat The Emperor . . . inquired of him, saying; ‘Canst thou act as my guide?’ He answered and said: ‘I will

This Atahe of the Yamato 倭直 clan also seems to have originated from Paekche as did the Atahe of the Aya of the Yamato clan 倭漢直. The following story provides circumstantial evidence for our speculation. After Maro's death, one of the Princes tried to take charge of the official rice-lands of Yamato 倭屯田, arguing that those rice-lands were originally Mountain-warden-land 山守地. Nihongi (NI: 273-274) records that hereupon Nintoku “inquired of Maro, the ancestor of the Atahe of Yamato 倭直祖: ‘It is stated that the official rice-lands of Yamato were originally Mountain- warden-land. How is this?’ He [Maro] answered and said: ‘Thy servant knows not, but thy servant’s younger brother, Akoko, knows.’ It happened that at this time Akoko had been sent to the Han country 韓國 [Korea] and had not yet returned. . . . Hereupon Ou proceeded to the Han country 韓國, and straightway came accompanied by Akoko. . . [who confirmed that] the official rice-lands of Yamato were always to be the official rice-lands of the reigning Sovereign, and could not be held by anyone who was not the reigning Sovereign, even an Emperor’s child.”²² <27> This record also reveals the great authority of the Atahe of Yamato in the early Yamato State.

G. The Soga Family and the Yamato Aya Clan

Kiley (1973) states that “by the end of the fourth century, the agricultural population of Yamato was ruled by a military class” and that the service groups called *be* “were a major source of strength for both the royal institution and the rising service nobility The Wani 王仁 no Omi, who had been so influential in Keitai’s court, had been completely displaced by the Soga 蘇我 no Omi by the time Kimmei’s regime was firmly established. They claimed to be the successors of the old Kazuraki 葛城 nobles They took charge of a large sector of the crown’s economic affairs, particularly those in which Korean clerks were involved Court formation meant the creation of invidious status differences among former equals The result was the eradication of status parity among the descendants of the conquerors,

do so.’ . . . [He] was made pilot. A name was specifically granted to him, and he was called Shihi-ne-tsu-hiko 稚根津彦. He was the first ancestor of Yamato no Atahe. Proceeding on their voyage they . . . arrived at the harbour of Oka in the land of Tsukshi.”²³ <26>

²²Nihongi (NI: 303-304) further records that Akoko, Atahe of Yamato, offered his own younger sister Hinohime [Princess of Sun] to the emperor and that “it was probably at this time that the custom began of the Atahe of Yamato sending as tribute ladies of the Palace [Uneme 采女].”

and the formation of a national state. This state incorporated a new sort of almost purely fiscal service nobility, the Soga, whose agents were largely Korean clerks.”²³

Nihongi (NII: 154) records Empress Suiko’s [A.D. 592-628] testimony that: “We are sprung from the Soga family. Moreover the [Soga no] Oho-omi is Our uncle by our mother’s side. Therefore, the words of Oho-omi, if spoken at night, [are carried into effect by us] before the night has given way to morning”^{<29>} According to Nihongi (NII: 33 & 40), Soga no Iname no Sukune, who died in A.D. 570, was made Oho-omi in A.D. 536 during the reign of Senka, and one of his daughters became a concubine to Kimmei [A.D. 540-571], whose first child was Yomei [A.D. 586-587] and fourth child was Suiko [A.D. 592-628].^{<30>} Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子, who ruled during A.D. 593-622, was the second child of Yomei.²⁴

According to Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8. 133), the treasuries had been controlled by the Soga family during much of the sixth century, and they were staffed by “kurabe 藏部” drawn from the Hata group and the Yamato no Aya group. Kiley states that the Hata group, led by a chief called Hata no Miyatsuko, and the Aya group, whose chief was the Yamato no Aya no Atahe, “allegedly Chinese but actually immigrants from Korea [Paekche], provided a wide range of specialized services to the burgeoning economic administration of the court, including the manufacture of fine textiles.”

It is recorded in Nihongi (NII: 192) that when Soga, Iruka 入鹿 no Omi, was murdered by Prince Naka no 中大兄, later Tenchi, and Nakatomi no Kamatari 中臣鎌足, later named Fujiwara no Kamatari, in A.D. 645, “the Aya no Atahe assembled all their clan. Clad in armour and with weapons in their hands, they came to the assistance of the Oho-omi, and formed an army.”^{<31>} William R. Carter (KEJ: 7. 220) understates that the Soga family (uji) “were

²³According to Nihongi (NII: 119-120), Soga no Umako 馬子 no Sukune, under the pretense of presenting the taxes 調 of the Eastern provinces, “sent Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atahe 東漢直, who killed the Emperor [Sujin]” in A.D. 592. This Koma, the son of Ihawi, Yamato no Aya no Atahe, evidently “had a clandestine amour with the Imperial concubine Kahakami no Iratsume, daughter of Soga [no Mumako no Sukune], and made her his wife.”^{<28>}

²⁴Kiley (1973) notes that in seventh-century Japan “the office of queen was reserved for dynastic members, and the selection of the queen was aimed at winning support from potentially hostile members of the dynastic group During the eighth century, the ruler’s chief consort . . . could expect to occupy the throne for some time after her husband’s death The position of first consort, however, had been monopolized by dynastic member[s] long before this.”

closely associated with the Aya Family of Korean immigrant descent.”²⁵

The KEJ (1983: 7. 220-221) presents Carter’s view on the origin of the Soga family: “Shinsen Shōjiroku . . . traces the Soga origins to Takenouchi no Sukune 武内宿禰, but some scholars believe that the 5th-century official Soga no Manchi 蘇賀滿智, the first member of the family mentioned in historical sources (NI: 306), is identical to an official and foreign affairs activist of the Korean state of Paekche whom the Korean chronicle of Samguk-sagi calls ‘Mongna Manchi 木訶滿致,’ and the Nihon shoki ‘Moku Manch’i 木滿致.’”²⁶ <33>

According to Samguk-sagi, at the time Hanseong 漢城 was about to be conquered in A.D. 475 by the Koguryeo army, King Kaero (A.D. 455-475) ordered his son (Munju: A.D. 475-477) to escape southward with “Mongna Manchi 木訶滿致” while he himself stayed at Hanseong and fought to the death against the Koguryeo army.^{<34>} In Nihongi, however, Soga no “Manchi” appears in the reign of Richū who was the eldest son of Nintoku.

The record of Nihongi (NI: 267-268) on the 25th year of 仁智 states that: “King Tyōn-chi 直支王 of Paekche died [in A.D. 420]. Accordingly his son Ku-ni-sin became King. The King was a child. Therefore Mong-man-chi 木滿致 took over the administration of the State. He had an intrigue [affair] with the King’s mother, and his conduct was in many ways improper. The Emperor hearing this, sent for him. The Paekche Record 百濟記 says: ‘Mong-man-chi was the son of Mong-na Keuncha 木羅斤資, born to him of a Silla

²⁵Nihongi (NII: 190) notes that “the Aya no Atahe 漢直 attended wholly upon the two houses [i.e., the houses of Iruka 入鹿 no Omi and Yemishi 蝦夷, Soga no Oho-omi].”^{<32>}

²⁶William R. Carter continues: “Soga no Iname 稻目 (d 570), the first of four generations of Soga who consecutively held the post of oomi (chief minister) at the Yamato Court, showed much interest in Korean affairs and was one of the first converts to Buddhism, recently introduced from Paekche . . . Umako’s [Soga no Umako 馬子, A.D. 626, who was Iname’s son] almost obsessive hatred of the Korean state of Silla caused international friction and unnecessary bloodshed. One military expedition, sent to southeastern Korea in 600, was commanded by Umako’s brother Sakaibe no omi Marise 境部摩理勢.” It is said that Soga 蘇我 no Iruka 入鹿 (Kuratsukuri 鞍作) was also called Hayashi-Taro Kuratsukuri 林大郎鞍作. Shinsen Shōjiroku records that Hayashi clan 林 was a descendant of the Mok Kwi clan of Paekche 百濟國人木貴. See Yi Chinhui (1982) and Nihongi (II: 171).

woman when he invaded the country. The great services of his father gave him absolute authority in Imna. He came into our country and went back and forth to the honourable country, accepting the control of the Celestial Court. He seized the administration of our country, and his power was supreme in that day. The Emperor, hearing of his violence, recalled him.” This Mongman-chi of the Paekche Record could have been Mongna Manchi of Samguk-sagi or someone closely related to him in some way, and Soga no Manchi of Nihongi could have been the offspring of Mongman-chi or Mongna Manchi.^{<33>}

According to Aoki (1974: 72), “[t]he Soga family who came to power at the Yamato court . . . established their stronghold in the district of Imaki 今來 (“the newly-settled”) and claimed the lineage of blue blood, relating themselves to a legendary man of the Katsuraki 葛城 tribe. Since their claimed forefather is a legendary figure, there is little credibility to their genealogy. But one thing is clear: the Soga family rose to power from [within the] immigrant population and were accepted as aristocracy.”

According to J. Edward Kidder Jr. (KEJ: 3. 161-162), “the most powerful *uji* chiefs at the Yamato court in the mid-6th century were the Soga family (tax officials), the Imbe 忌部 family (diviners), the Nakatomi 中臣 family (priests), the Mononobe family (professional soldiers), and the *Ōtomo* 大伴 family, all with territorial claims in the Yamato Plain. Each *uji* had certain rights and privileges, one of which was to contribute wives to the imperial line. One of these wives enjoyed the position of imperial consort; the right of contributing her initially belonged to the Soga, who were *omi*, and was later extended to the Nakatomi and Mononobe, who were *muraji*.”

H. From *Be* to the Ritsuryō System 律令

According to Inoue (1977), “the primitive tomo-no-miyatsuko-tomomobe developed in the sixth and seventh centuries into an advanced bureaucratic system with various tomo 伴 groups as the nucleus, and paved the way for the ritsuryō bureaucracy introduced later.” According to Inoue, the power of the Yamato court to control the provincial chieftains (kuni-no-miyatsuko 國造) declined in the sixth century because of the dissemination of technological innovations in the means of production [i.e., the innovation initiated by the Paekche immigrants] and the consequent expansion of productivity in the provinces: “At this stage the Yamato-court started to gain control over the people under kuni-no-

miyatsuko by establishing imperial estates at strategic points within the territories governed by the *kuni-no-miyatsuko*.” By the seventh century, therefore, these *uji-kabane* and *tomo* [*be*] systems had to change into the Japanese-style *Ritsuryō* system.

Cornelius J. Kiley (KEJ: 8.135), however, has a slightly different view: “The *be* 部 and *tomo* 伴 which underlay the *uji* were, during the early and middle periods [i.e., from the early 5th to the mid-7th century], the principal means by which the Yamato dynasty was able to marshal the resources necessary to move from mere paramountcy to unquestioned sovereignty. Once the court structure had crystalized and regional autonomy was eradicated, hereditary power over *be* and *tomo* became a hindrance to further centralization. Nobles of the central court intent on bureaucratic consolidation on the Chinese model seized control in the Taika 大化 coup of 645, and thereafter most *be* and *tomo* were converted into ‘public subjects’ (*kōmin* 公民), the use of *uji* names became nearly universal, and the *uji* itself survived as an extended family group under the chieftainship of a high rankholder in the official bureaucracy.”²⁷

When the heir of Soga Yemishi 蝦夷 killed Shōtoku : son, the faction of Nakatomi Kamatari 中臣鎌足 (A.D. 614-669) staged a coup, in concert with Prince Nakano- 中大臣, and wiped out the Soga family. The Nakatomi’s reform is called Taika [the Great Change] after the name of the era between A.D. 645 and 650. The reform re-oriented administrative channels of the country and put all the peasantry that had been controlled by the large clans under direct royal control through a land allotment system.

The effort of Tenji during the years 664-671 to transform the familiarly organized Yamato Wa into a powerful centralized *ritsuryō* state based on Chinese-style penal and administrative codes is, however, usually linked to the Battle of the Paekchon 白村 River in 663, in which the Wa army, dispatched to aid the Paekche restoration movement, was annihilated by the Tang force; subsequently Paekche land was subjugated by the Silla-Tang allied forces.²⁸ According to Inoue (1977), the direct motive of the Yamato

²⁷According to Inoue (1977), the “Twelve Cap Ranks” 冠位十二階 system which went through augmentation and revision in the reign of Tenji [A.D. 661-671] was not a *ritsuryō* institution but a system modeled after the rank system of Paekche and Koguryeo.” According to Nihongi (NII: 127), cap ranks in twelve grades were first introduced in A.D. 603 in the reign of Suiko, which were subsequently modified and ultimately abandoned altogether (see NII: 128n).^{<35>}

court in adopting the *ritsuryō* system was the military need to cope with the critical situation that arose with the destruction of Paekche and Koguryeo. Japan was very much alarmed, and started fortifying its defenses by erecting fortresses and beacons in western Japan, with the help of Paekche generals who managed to cross over to Japan. Batten (1986) notes that “the Yamato Wa faced a foreign crisis (in the 660s) paralleled in magnitude only by the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century or the events following Commodore Perry’s arrival in the nineteenth [I]n this period the court created a line of fortifications stretching from Tsushima to northern Kyūshū and then on up the Inland Sea to the capital region These complexes are obviously modelled on the ‘mountain fortresses’ 山城 known in Korea [Paekche] in the same period, which is hardly surprising in view of the role played by Koreans [Paekche people] in their construction” (NII: 283, 284, 286 & 344).²⁹ <36>

²⁸The Japanese army aboard 400 vessels was annihilated by a fleet of some 170 Tang warships in the Battle of the Paekchon River in A.D. 663. According to Tsunoda *et al.* (1964: 34): “A crisis had developed in Japan toward the end of the sixth [seventh] century as [a] unified and expanding China under the Sui [Tang] and a unifying [unified] Korea under Silla were now facing a weak and decentralized Japan. Apart from whatever threat to their security the Japanese felt to lie in the changing conditions on the continent, there was also of course the desire to emulate the superior achievements of the rising Chinese and Korean dynasties. In this situation the Yamato court attempted to enhance its power. . . by adopting . . . superior Chinese civilization, especially its political institutions.” Though somewhat anachronistic and misdirected, this account seems to provide a glimpse of what was happening in this period.

²⁹The efforts of Yamato Wa to fortify its defenses are recorded also in Shoku Nihongi (Snellen edition: 175, 176, 181, 215, 272): “Dazaifu 大宰府 [which held jurisdiction over Kyūshū] was instructed to repair the fortifications in Ono, Kii and Kukuchi” in A.D. 679; “[t]he fort of Takayasu was repaired” in A.D. 698, having been built in the 5th year of Tenji; “Dazaifu was ordered to repair the forts of Mino and Inatsumi . . . [and] Imperial orders were given repeatedly to the princes, high officials, [and] the Home provinces, to prepare war-implements”; “[t]he soldiers in the provinces . . . shall receive instruction in military arts for a period of ten days . . . [and it] is not allowed to employ them for other purposes than [those] provided for in the articles of law . . . [but they] ought to be used for the protection of fortifications which have to be defended anyhow . . .”; and “Nowadays the weapons made by all provinces in the Realm are extremely flimsy, of what use are they in battle? From now on models must be presented every year and these must be strictly tested . . .” There was an Imperial Edict in A.D. 711 (*ibid.*: 244): “Soldiers are provided for emergencies But they are all weak, they have not learnt the arts of warfare, they [are soldiers only in] name, but they are of no use. How is it possible to employ them as soldiers if something happens?”

Inoue (1968: 16) states that: “In 672 the Emperor Temmu, who had once been driven from the court, led a revolt known as the Jinshin revolt 壬申亂 and, after successfully driving the powerful clans from the court, ascended the throne . . . [H]e strengthened Imperial rule and laid a strong foundation for the later development of the 律令 system in Japan. Throughout this time the work of compiling a Japanese legal code consisting of penal and administrative laws continued and finally took shape in the Taihō Code 大寶律令 of 701.”³⁰ Powerful families were deprived of their traditional privileges, but acquired a new status as high ranking bureaucrats.

I. *Be* and Yamato Wa

Kiley (1973) introduces the view of Tsuda Sōkichi that the Yamato kingdom was not a tribal state and that *uji* and *be* were political organizations. *Uji* represented the ruling clans that existed only as a means of utilizing the *be*. Many of the *kabane* titles conferred on *uji* chieftains reveal apparent Korean etymologies, and the *be* system was an institution borrowed directly from Paekche and transplanted to Japan. *Be* represented communities appropriated for the logistic support of the Yamato rulers. Kiley (1973) notes that “administrative power over *be* was in fact the sole *raison d’être* of many sixth and seventh century *uji*.” According to Kiley, Tsuda’s greatest contribution is his view that the appropriation of *be* amounted to “a direct attack on whatever local or kinship ties may have existed in the tribal stage of [pre-Yamato] Japanese society.” This view corroborates Egami’s insistence on a conspicuous shift from religious-ritual tribal chieftainship to military chieftainship late in the fourth century, which he argues with archeological evidence.³¹

According to Kiley (1973), “the appearance of special crown lands, called *miyake*, and a whole series of other comparable holdings, is closely linked to

³⁰Farmers under the Taihō Code were given land but they did not have right to sell or buy the land of others. Inoue (1968: 18) notes that every male farmer “was obliged to serve in the local militia (*gundan* 軍團), to serve in the Imperial guard (*ejū* 衛士) in the capital for one year, and to go to northern Kyūshū to work for three years in the border guard (*sakimori* 防人).” By the mid-eighth century, however, the military threat from the continent had abated and consequently, Inoue (1977) notes, “the imperial court lost its zeal for maintaining the 律令 system, which in its initial stages, had a military significance.”

³¹Kiley (1973) notes that “the military-heroic elements in the Japanese chronicles, and the famous letter sent by a fifth century Yamato king to the Song court, confirm the military nature of the Yamato government at the time.”

the rise of the service nobility. Even the earliest of the fifth century kings had maintained a staff of Paekche clerks, and various other craftsmen of Korean origin. By the mid-fifth century, these clerks had begun to apply their skills to land reclamation and management. The Yamato king's grip on diplomatic relations with China and the Korean kingdoms, in which these same clerks necessarily played a major part, was a crucial element of royal authority at home. Lands and people under royal administration, for example, included entire villages of transplanted Koreans. By the time the Keitai-Kimmei conflicts ended [in A.D. 539], lands, people and granaries incidental to the office of king . . . were now far more extensive . . . than any individual candidate for the kingship could hold in his own right. These estates, and their administrators, were a new and critical factor in royal succession It was perhaps through this service nobility that ethnic differences between conquerors and conquered began to diminish”

J. Conclusion

Yamato Wa could not have developed as it did without its continental connection with Paekche. The organization of the nobility and the *be* point to a common cultural heritage with the Paekche people. The founders of Yamato Wa must have been the military leaders of the Paekche ruling families who were engaged in warfare with Koguryeo and Ma-han before they crossed over the sea in search of a New World. They could not settle in *Kyūshū* 九州, as it was an Old World, but they found their New World in the Yamato area. Archeological evidence clearly indicates that conquest was an important element in the formation of Yamato Wa. The development of Yamato Wa should thus be seen as one part of the history of Paekche. The Paekche model of the organization of service nobilities provided the Yamato rulers with an effective means of mobilizing the newly-arrived immigrants as well as the aboriginal manpower.³² Indeed Hirano (1977) contends that “a unified state in Japan first came into being in the late fifth century (the *Yūryaku* era) on the basis of the *Be* community system.”

³²Wong (1980) notes that “[w]hether or not one is convinced by the ‘horserider’ theory, which suggests an invasion of Japan in the early fourth century by a race of continental horseriding warriors, there is abundant evidence, both documental and archeological, to support the contention that there was a substantial Korean contribution to the development of Yamato culture from the fourth century onwards.”