STATE FORMATION IN JAPAN

Emergence of a 4th-century ruling elite

Gina L. Barnes

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This book examines the processes of elite identity formation and accumulation of political power in Japan between the 2nd century BC and late 4th century AD. It analyses early chiefly patterns of interaction both with peer chieftains on the Korean Peninsula and within the Japanese Islands, and with political superiors in the Chinese imperial court. Chinese records about the archipelago's inhabitants frame the study of polity formation at the 'Edge of Empire', while analyses of new burial data and art historical evidence generate hypotheses that early female queens ruled as earthly equivalents of the Chinese mythical Queen Mother of the West. It offers a rebuttal of Wallerstein's characterizations of the Han tributary system and portrayal of the economic periphery as applied to Japan and undertakes a comparison of the Chinese and Japanese historical records in which the former identifies queens as rulers but which are omitted from the latter. Furthermore, the author presents a thorough examination of the chiefly burial mound system and its research problems and an analysis of burial data to document the formation of polities and emergence of elite rulers. A reconsideration of the identification and role of elite class formation in early state society is presented along with an interpretation of political ideology underpinning the early Japanese state based on Chinese mythology. This book brings together for the first time a significant body of the author's scholarly work on Japanese early state formation, forming a coherent overview of the problems and solutions of ancient Japan.

Gina L. Barnes is Professorial Research Associate at the Japan Research Centre and Department of Art and Archaeology, SOAS, University of London. She is the author of *Protohistoric Yamato* (1988), *State Formation in Korea* (2001) and *The Rise of Civilization in East Asia* (1993/1999) which is used worldwide as the main textbook in the field. She is Founder and First President of the Society for East Asian Archaeology and currently serves as Treasurer and Membership Secretary.

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Gina L. Barnes

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To Henry
who encouraged me to look beyond Japan
both East and West

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Preface

Scope of study

This book focuses on the early segment of historitorical trajectory that produced the entity we now call the Yamato State. The emphasis is on the process of emergence: how centralized polities formed in relation to Bronze Age chiefdoms on the Korean Peninsula and dynastic systems of the China Mainland; how these became territorial hierarchies with elite ruling strata at their tops; and how the regional societies became stratified through those rulers' participation in the alliance structures and material manipulations of the Mounded Tomb Culture. The timespan encompasses from the 1st century BC to AD 350.

This volume was originally planned to include the entire Kofun period (AD 250–710), usually described as the period of state formation, by illustrating the swing of the pendulum from close ties between the emerging elites of the Japanese Islands with the Chinese dynastic courts (3rd–4th centuries), to intense interaction of those maturing elites with their peers on the Korean Peninsula (late 4th to mid-7th centuries), then a return to preoccupation with China again after AD 645. However, there has been so much new research on the first stage, including publication of the keyhole tomb compendium in the 1990s (Kondō 1992–2000) providing data ripe for analysis, that this volume has been subsumed by that first swing of the pendulum. In fact, it doesn't even reach the phase that I personally consider the formation of the Japanese state (late 5th century). Nevertheless, it does by other definitions, thus justifying the main title of this book given to it by my publishers. The rest of the story must await another 70,000-word contract.

My addition to the book's title is the 'Emergence of a 4th-century ruling elite', and the reader will find that the main theme concerns the processes of social stratification in creating a body of elite rulers throughout the central and western Japanese Islands. Many years ago, my PhD Supervisor Henry Wright confided to me that, although it was necessary to understand

the processes of state formation, how societies become socially stratified may be the more fascinating topic. No state has ever arisen in an unstratified society; thus I adopted early on the stance that social stratification is a necessary prerequisite for state formation. With the new data being generated in Early Kofun-period archaeology, we now have one of the best 'laboratories' to explore these interesting processes of social stratification and understand how many regionally based political hierarchies merged into one society comprised of two classes, the rulers and the ruled, in Kofun-period Japan.

One objective in writing this volume has been to reposition the discussion of state formation in Japan from an exclusively internal developmental viewpoint (G. Barnes 1988) to one which takes into account the location and role of Japan within East Asian protohistory. This has necessarily meant shifting the emphasis from the dynamics of processes which have been imbued with importance in primary state formation studies to the historical contingencies inherent in Japan's developmental trajectory *vis-à-vis* the continent. The emphasis on state formation theory is therefore proportionally reduced in favour of interaction theories.

A further objective has been to incorporate some of the multitudes of new ideas, if not all the data, that have been generated in the last twenty years by Japanese archaeologists. Heretofore, the Kofun period has been assessed primarily in terms of its material remains, as demonstrated by the period's characterization as a Mounded Tomb Culture (MTC). We are now at a turning point where we can begin looking at very fine historical detail within both the MTC and its preceding Yayoi cultures in western Japan to assess people's actions rather than their products. This dovetails nicely with the advent of agency theory in western archaeology; and the broad directions in which interpretations are possible or are actively being developed are aired here. The research record for Japan is so rich, however, that it is impossible to convey the fascinating details of much of the scholarship being carried out. For these, one must be referred to the literature in Japanese.

Background for the dynastic successions in China can be found encapsulated in my earlier work, *The Rise of Civilization in East Asia* (Barnes 1999), and detailed information on most of the peninsular states is given in the companion to this volume, *State Formation in Korea* (Barnes 2001). Reference to relevant material in the latter volume is referred to in this text in square brackets [e.g. SFK, ch. 1]. Important orienting maps and language guides are given in the 'Conventions' section below.

Acknowledgements

How can I thank the innumerable people who have assisted me over several decades in studying the Japanese state? Words are insufficient, and a telephone directory list of all those I am indebted to would be overwhelming. I was introduced to Kofun-period archaeology by Dr J. Edward Kidder at the

International Christian University in Tokyo exactly 40 years ago; to him I owe my career path, and I am grateful now to be able to address him as a peer. Thank you, 'Ted'. This volume is dedicated to Henry T. Wright at the University of Michigan, who took me under his wing with the death of my own Japanese archaeology supervisor, Richard K. Beardsley, and kept me focussed on the theoretical aspects of state formation. He is a long-time supervisor, colleague and friend who has influenced my thinking in many ways. Then HIGUCHI Takayasu, Professor at Kyōto University where I did my doctoral fieldwork, opened doors for me then and continues to provide me with research materials from abroad. When I turn from teachers to close colleagues, my most stimulating discussions have been with TSUDE Hiroshi, OKITA Masaaki and TERASAWA Kaoru, all of whom are friends of 25 years' standing. I admire their work on the Yayoi and Kofun periods, and I draw copiously on their research results while trying to maintain my own interpretations. These must be the six most influential persons in my research life; from them I have gained my knowledge, my understanding, much friendship and constant stimulus and support. My deepest gratitude to all of you.

This is not to say that my debts to others are fewer; I thank all my long-suffering colleagues who have supplied me with materials, graciously welcomed me into their labs, offices and homes, spent many hours discussing the finer points of Japanese archaeology, and provided me with opportunities for field work, field trips, seminar participation and publications. In particular, this book has benefited from discussions with and materials supplied by Kaoru and Tomoko TERASAWA, Walter Edwards, John Rick, Terry Kleeman, SHIRAISHI Taichirō, WADA Seigo and KANASEKI Hiroshi. I am especially grateful for the ever-watchful eye of my husband David, the best critic and copy-editor I have, and for his unfailing support of my efforts. I have benefitted from the skill and ingenuity of Lorne Elliott, Durham Archaeological Services, who generated many new illustrations, all by computer. Thanks to Masumi KANEKO for helping with bibliographical details. And I would like to thank my colleagues in the East Asian Studies Department at Durham University who have encouraged me in my research despite our imminent departmental closure and the end of the Durham East Asia Series published by Curzon and Routledge.

Conventions

- Geography: Several geographical terms have been adopted from my previous publications (G. Barnes 1988, 1999, 2001): 'Pen/Insulae' and 'Pen/Insular' for the Korean Peninsula and Japanese Islands together as opposed to the 'China Mainland'. 'Western/Eastern Seto' designate differential distributions of bronze types in the Yayoi culture at opposite ends of the Inland Sea (the Seto Naikai). The term 'medial Japan' refers

to the most intensely developed region in historic Japan as following the trajectory of the Median Tectonic Line (MTL) from North Kyūshū through the Inland Sea and Kinai into the Kantō regions. See Figures 0.1 and 0.2 and Table 0.1 for maps of administrative district names.

- Regional names: The regional names are multitudinous and confusing. Two systems are common (Table 0.1): the earlier provincial system used between the 7th and 19th centuries, and the later prefectural system created in 1872. But there are also earlier names still in use from the 4th to 6th centuries: Kibi refes to a slightly larger area than now occupied by Okayama prefecture, Izumo to a greater area than modern Shimane prefecture both Tsukushi and Chikushi to much of northern Kyūshū.
- Chronology: Most of the dates appearing in the text have been integrated into Table 3.1.
- Characters: All italicized East Asian words in the text are defined and provided with characters in the Glossary; characters occur in the text only when the nature of the characters themselves are being discussed. No characters are provided for proper names except under exceptional circumstances.
- Romanization: Japanese is romanized according to the Hepburn system, retaining the 'n' before bilabial consonants; this results in some differences from the norm: Jinmu rather than Jimmu, Tanba not Tamba. Quotes or names taken from Aston's translation of the *Nihon Shoki* retain his romanization. Korean words are romanized using the McCune-Reischauer system, and Chinese words are romanized in Pinyin, with their Wade-Giles equivalents given where needed. The pronunciation of Chinese characters in these different languages are prefaced by the abbreviations C., K., or J. when not obvious.
- Spelling: British English is used with 'ize'. For East Asian words, the same characters are often read with different pronunciations in Japanese, Korean and Chinese. Moreover, some of these pronunciations are unknown for sure since they were written centuries ago; variant spellings occur for **Himiko**/Pimiko, **Jingū**/Jingō, ***hime***/*pime*, ***hiko***/*biko*, etc.; the emboldened choice is used unless quoted from another source. For the Chinese 'Wo', I use the Japanese pronunciation '**Wa**', and J. **Na** for C. Nu. For the Chinese chronicles, I use the Chinese (Pinyin) spellings, but for the Wei chronicles on the Wa peoples, I use the Japanese spelling (*Gishi Wajinden*).
- Hyphenation: Japanese words can become quite long and difficult to read; therefore I have chosen an arbitrary limit of five syllables to include in one word, splitting others by hyphen at a morphemically valid point.
- Illustrations: Those redrawn by Lorne Elliott are: Figs. 0.1, 0.2, 1.1, 1.4, 2.1, 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 5.1, 5.5, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.5, 6.6, 7.2.

- The indexes have all been compiled by the author; they cover the front matter, chapters, epilogue, figures, tables, and endnotes, but *not* the appendices and glossary.
- Abbreviations:

ANT	Actor Network Theory
C., J., K.,	languages of Chinese, Japanese, Korean
CIM	Complex Interaction Model
CWE	capitalist world economy
E, F, T	Endnote page, Figure, Table (in indexes)
EK, MK, LK	Early, Middle, Late Kofun
EY, MY, LY, TY	Early, Middle, Late, Terminal Yayoi
KE, KH	keyhole tombs with round rear mounds (KE) or square rear mounds (KH)
MTC	Mounded Tomb Culture
SFK	see Barnes 2001, *State Formation in Korea*
TR	triangular-rimmed (mirrors)
ch	chapter
cm	centimetres
dm	diameter
km	kilometres
lg	length
lge	large
m	metres
med	medium
m.i.p	mentioned in passing (in index)
sm	small

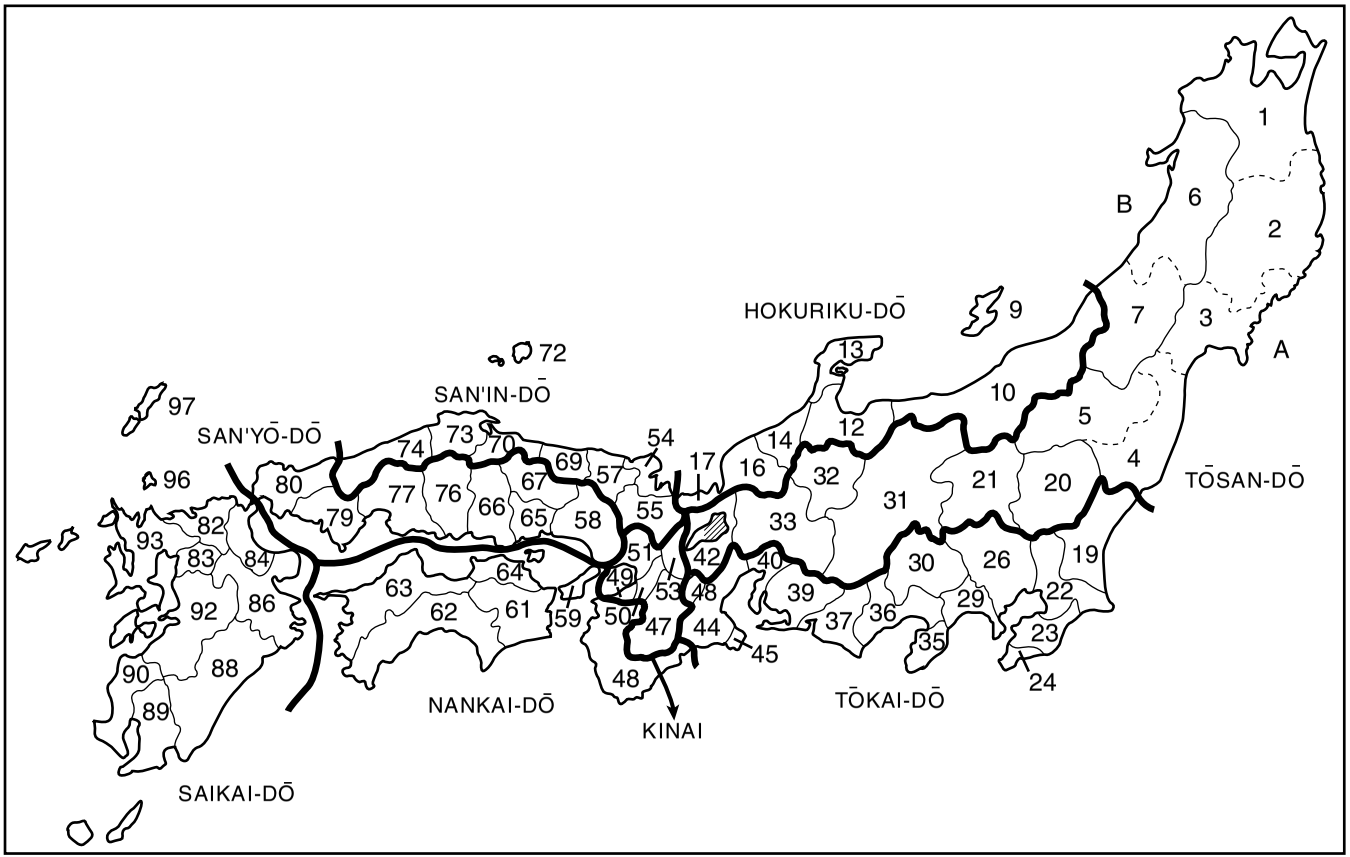

Figure 0.1 Provincial divisions of Japan used between 645 and 1871 (after G. Barnes 1988: fig. 2)

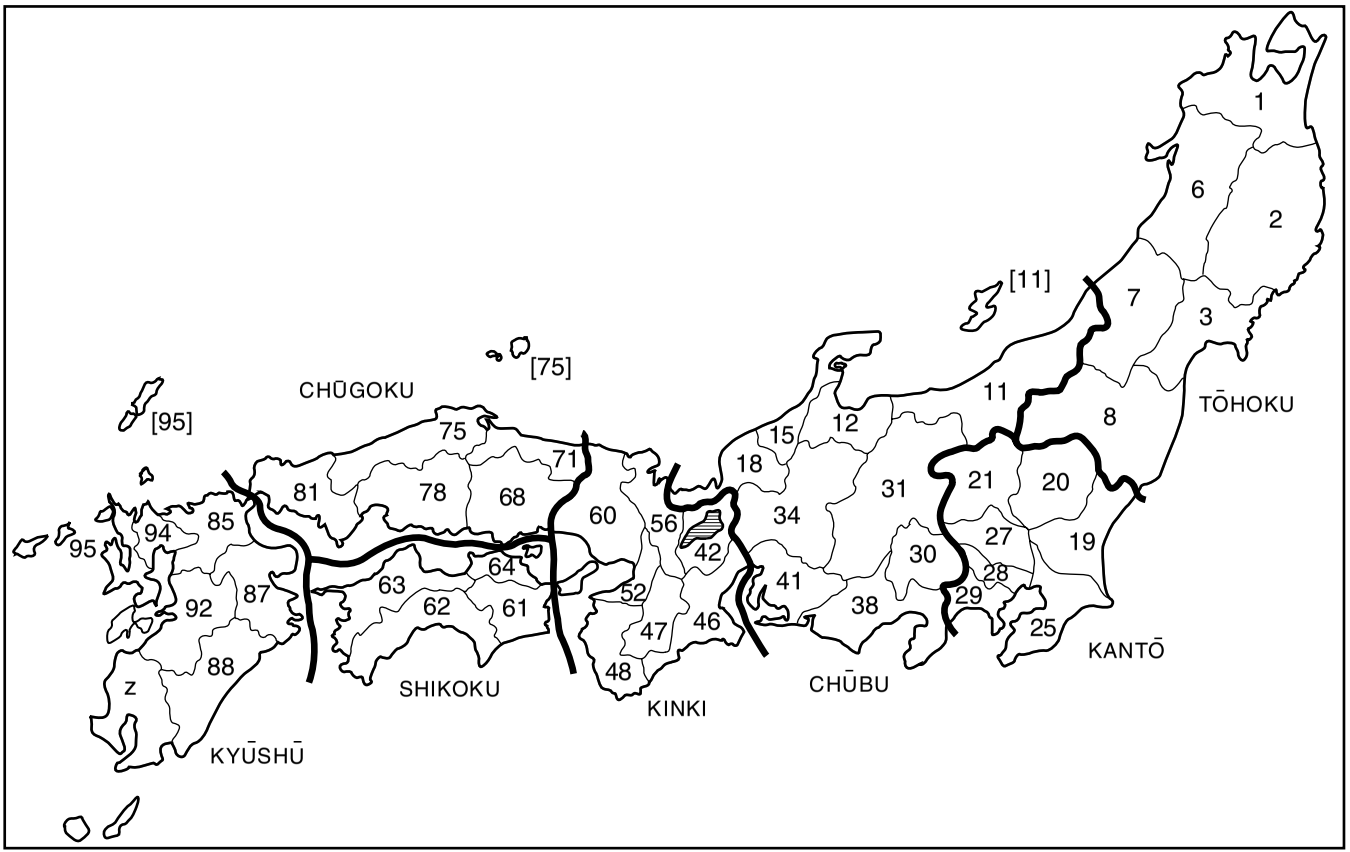

Figure 0.2 Prefectural divisions of Japan since 1871 (after G. Barnes 1988: fig.1)

Table 0.1 Provinces and prefectures of Japan

Provincial system (645–1871)	*Prefectural system (1871–present)*	*Provincial system (645–1871)*	*Prefectural system (1871–present)*
No. (in Figure 0.1)	*No. (in Figure 0.2)*	*No. (in Figure 0.1)*	*No. (in Figure 0.2)*
A Mutsu (divided in 1868 into):			
		47 YAMATO =	47 NARA
1 Mutsu ~	1 Aomori	48 Kii ~	48 Wakayama
2 Rikuchū ~	2 Iwate	49 Izumi	
3 Rikuzen ~	3 Miyagi	50 Kawachi	52 Ōsaka
4 Iwaki		51 Settsu	
5 Iwashiro	8 Fukushima	53 Yamashiro	
		54 Tango	56 Kyōto
B Dewa (divided in 1868 into):		55 Tanba	
		57 Tajima	
6 Ugo ~	6 Akita	58 Harima	60 Hyōgo
7 Uzen ~	7 Yamagata	59 Awaji	
		61 Awa =	61 Tokushima
9 Sado		62 Tosa =	62 Kōchi
10 Echigo	11 Niigata	63 Iyo =	63 Ehime
12 Etchū =	12 Toyama	64 Sanuki =	64 Kagawa
13 Noto		65 Bizen	
14 Kaga	15 Ishikawa	66 Bitchū	68 Okayama
16 Echizen		67 Mimasaka	
17 Wakasa	18 Fukui	69 Inaba	
19 Hitachi ~	19 Ibaragi	70 Hoki	71 Tottori
20 Shimotsuke =	20 Tochigi	72 Oki	
21 Kōzuke =	21 Gumma	73 Izumo	75 Shimane
22 Shimo'osa		74 Iwami	
23 Kazusa	25 Chiba	76 Bingo	
24 Awa		77 Aki	78 Hiroshima
26 Musashi	27 Saitama	79 Suō	
	28 Tōkyō	80 Nagato	81 Yamaguchi
29 Sagami =	29 Kanagawa	82 Chikuzen	
30 Kai =	30 Yamanashi	83 Chikugo	85 Fukuoka
31 Shinano =	31 Nagano	84 Buzen	
32 Hida		86 Bungo ~	87 Ōita
33 Mino	34 Gifu	88 Hyūga =	88 Miyazaki
35 Izu		89 Ōsumi	
36 Suruga	38 Shizuoka	90 Satsuma	91 Kagoshima
37 Totomi		92 Higo =	92 Kumamoto
39 Mikawa		93 Hizen ~	94 Saga
40 Owari	41 Aichi	96 Iki	
42 Ōmi =	42 Shiga	97 Tsushima	95 Nagasaki
43 Iga			
44 Ise	46 Mie		
45 Shima			

Chapter One

Orientation

Investigation into any instance of state formation is tied to specific times and places, and is grounded in certain kinds of data. This chapter outlines the where, when, and what of the Japanese case study. The 'where' focuses on the Yellow Sea between the China Mainland and the Korean Peninsula, and a short introduction to turn-of-the-millennium interaction in this area (ca. 100 BC–AD 200) provides background to the actual period of state formation: the Kofun period (AD 250–710). Characterized as a Mounded Tomb Culture, the material remains of the Kofun period provide half of the 'what' in the second section. Their important transformations through time delineate the 'when' – the archaeological periodization schemes for the period. The third section identifies documentary sources that inform on the protohistoric period of Japan, providing the other half of 'what'. Methods of evaluating texts and coordinating archaeological and textual sources of data are basic to the ensuing chapters, giving this work its protohistoric character.

The historical context

The Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere

The overarching context of Japanese state formation is Japan's position in what we might call the Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere (Barnes 1990b, 1993, 1999: ch. 13), named after the Yellow Sea and its connecting shorelines belonging to modern China, Korea and Japan (Figure 1.1). This interaction sphere is not a concrete entity with firm boundaries in time and space; rather, it is a conceptual field that allows a narrowing of time-space systematics in order to monitor interaction that seems to have some geographical coherence and historical trajectory over time. Its existence is empirically based, as there is no theory that would necessarily demand

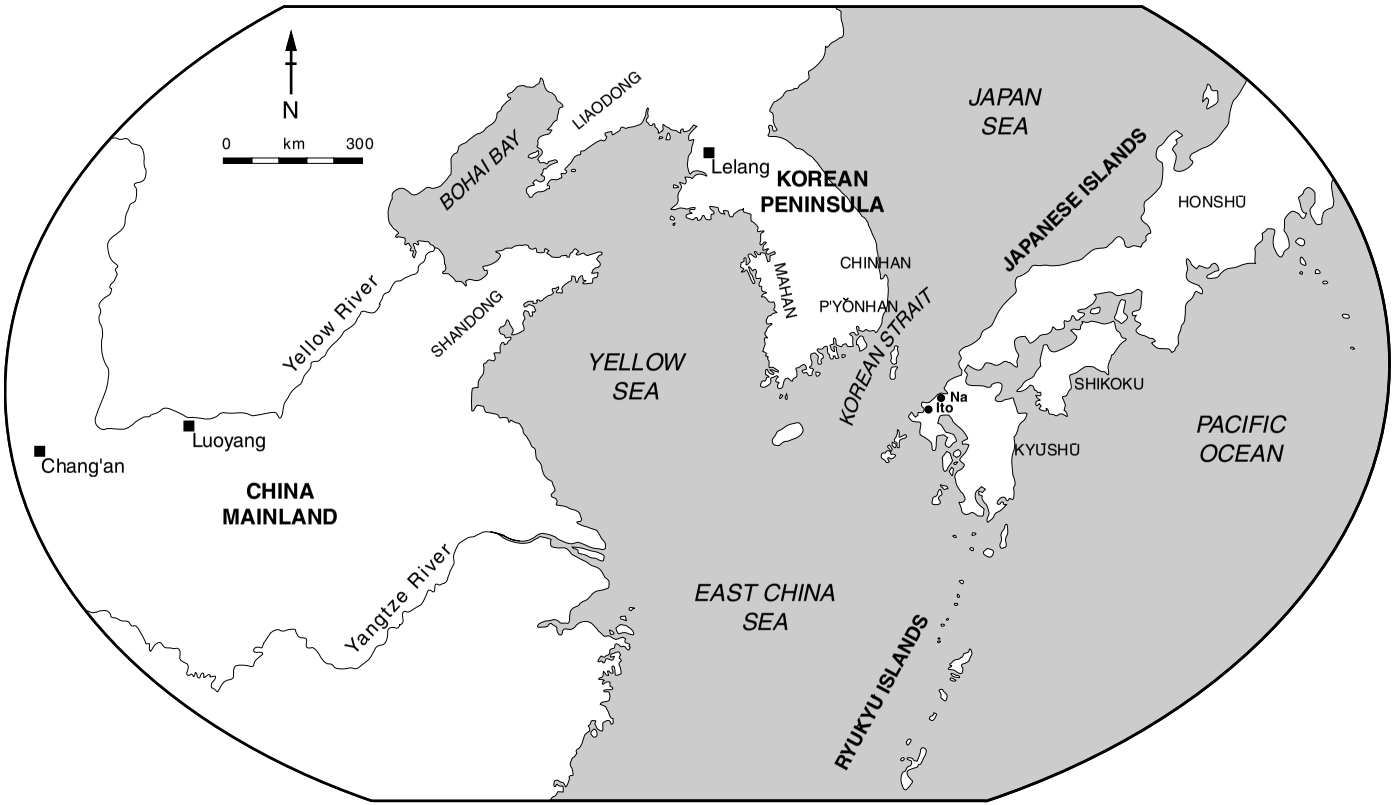

Figure 1.1 Focus on the Yellow Sea: Pen/Insular East Asia in the commandery period, 108 BC–AD 280 (overlapping with the Korean Samhan period AD 0–300 and Middle to Late Yayoi period ca. AD 0–250)

coherent interaction around a body of water. It thus represents a sub-region of greater East Asia as defined by Lewis and Wigen (1997).

The concept of an interaction sphere that integrates the three East Asian countries is a powerful antidote to the popular view of Japan as an isolated nation of autochthonous origins. Amino (1990) has challenged the 'insularity theory' (*shimaguni-ron*), 'which presumes that while the seas within the territory of present-day Japan provided paths of communication and transport that united the people of the archipelago, the seas surrounding . . . it cut them off from other peoples, [as] fundamentally flawed' (Ōbayashi 1991b: 18). Instead, he sees the surrounding seas as connecting the Japanese Islands to other regions and providing them with developmental stimuli. Interaction within this sphere began in the Early Jomon period (3rd millennium BC), with sea-faring visits distributing Sobata-type pottery and Mt Aso obsidian to the southern peninsular coast (Sample 1974; Imamura 1996: 213); such interaction has continued to the present-day. The historical snapshot shown in Figure 1.1 is relevant to the period of interaction between the 1st century BC and 3rd century AD, which forms the focus of Chapter 3.

Although this interaction sphere can be seen to provide an integrated view of activities across modern nation-state boundaries, it is also clear from the historical and material records that there are at least two separate developmental trajectories within East Asia: that of Mainland China itself, which developed quite early, and the peninsular and insular regions, which developed later, together, and under the influence of Mainland China. Thus, the developmental histories of the Korean Peninsula and Japanese Islands are more similar to each other than either is to Mainland China, which is why I have grouped the former into a single region, the Pen/Insulae, to contrast against China (Barnes 1993, 1999). This is in opposition to the tendency for world historians to view the Korean Peninsula as a passive conduit for the flow of civilization from China on into Japan. Moreover, Korea is often lumped together with China, while Japan is viewed as an offshoot of China worthy of 'civilization' status in its own right (Melko 1995: table 1.1). According to Melko's analysis, research by Toynbee leading to these conclusions was based on the historical situation in East Asia after AD 500; but even in investigations that monitored Japan from AD 400 or 100 BC (by Kroeber and Quigley, respectively, as mentioned by Melko), the close relationships between the peoples of the Korean Peninsula and Japanese Islands at these times (Hanihara 1991) went unacknowledged.

Within the Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere, there are relations between the Pen/Insulae and the Chinese dynastic courts that can be characterized as hierarchical and that fall into the category of 'core-periphery' in World-Systems theory. But these concepts are not sufficient to understand the trajectory of Pen/Insular political development. We also need to examine the relations between political peers within the Pen/Insulae. Thus, we are looking not only

at core-periphery relations between the Chinese court and its 'barbarian' (*yi*)[1] hinterland – both in civilizationist terms (Wilkinson 1991, 1993) and as historically recognized by China, styling itself the 'Central Kingdom' (*zhongguo*)[2] as opposed to the barbarian fringe – but also at peer relations between the secondary cores that developed at the edge of empire. These concepts will be examined more fully in Chapters 2 and 3.

Protohistoric development

We begin our investigation with the adoption of bronze casting technology from the Korean Peninsula in the Middle Yayoi period (200 BC–AD 0); during the Late Yayoi (AD 0–200), rice agriculturalists of western Japan were divided into two spheres of bronze use: the Western Seto bronze weaponry sphere and the Eastern Seto bronze bell sphere (Figure 1.2). Such bronze cultures were a result of socio-economic exchange relationships with and technological transfer of metal-working from chiefly societies on the Korean Peninsula. By the 1st century BC social status differentiation in burials was evident in Western Seto, signalling incipient hierarchization and

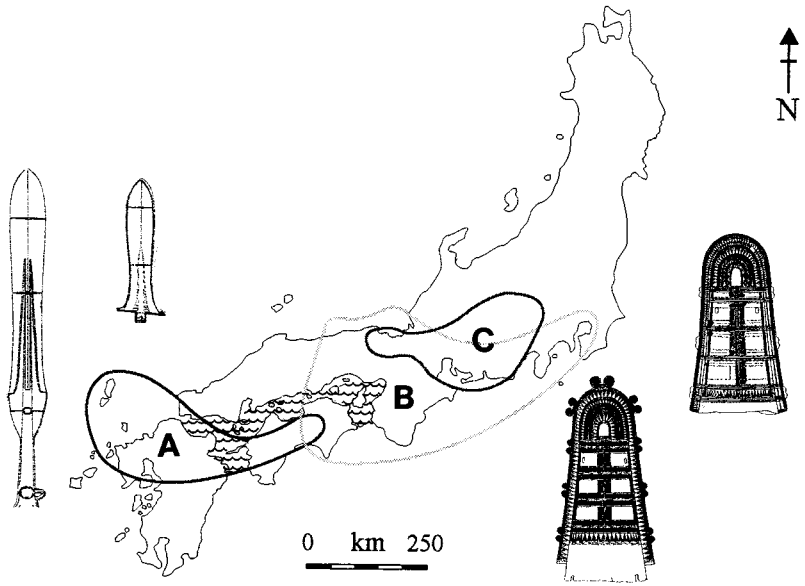

Figure 1.2 Bronze distributions in western Japan during the Late Yayoi period (AD 50–200) shown at the beginning of the 2nd century AD (after Terasawa 2000: 223). The Inland Sea (Seto Naikai in Japanese) is indicated by wave legend
Western Seto: (A) broad-bladed halberds and socketed spearheads
Eastern Seto: (B) bells of Kinki style and (C) bells of San'en style

the formation of chiefly societies in the islands as well. The Han invasion of the northern Korean Peninsula in 108 BC [SFK, pp. 17–20][3] marked the effective truncation of indigenous development among Bronze Age chiefdoms on the Peninsula, but the incorporation of emerging polities in Western Seto into the tributary networks of the Later Han Dynasty (AD 25–220) and its successor, the Wei Dynasty (AD 221–265), accelerated their development.

The Chinese dynastic histories (Appendix One) refer to socio-political units in these regions as *guo* (K. *guk*; J. *kuni, koku*)[4] – a term often understood by both Korean [SFK, pp. 1–8] and Japanese scholars as 'state' but which probably indicated politically centralized and socially hierarchical societies without adminstrative infrastructure. This term is discussed further later, but by way of introduction, I will use the words 'country' or 'polity' rather than 'state' as the translation for *guo*. In contrast, Tsunoda and Goodrich (1951) often render it as 'community' or omit its mention altogether; in quoting their translations later, I will indicate where the word *guo* occurs in the original.

The Han invasion and establishment of military commanderies in the western Manchurian massif and northern Korean Peninsula was a strategic move to prevent the uprising of one eastern chieftain in particular, Weiman [SFK, pp. 9–15], and to prevent potential alliances of such local chieftains with the steppe nomads who threatened China's northern border. The Lelang commandery, established at Weiman's 'capital' near modern P'yŏngyang, was initially a military installation, but its political and economic functions grew in importance as it represented the Han Court in cultivating tributary relations with the surrounding peoples, including the Samhan peoples [SFK, pp. 27–31] in the southern peninsula and the Wo peoples (as the Chinese called them)[5] in the Japanese Islands (Figure 1.1).

Ethnographic reports on the societies peripheral to Han and Wei are incorporated into the Chinese dynastic histories. These tell us that small Yayoi polities were integrated into the Han tributary network by AD 57. With the waning of Han power at the end of the 2nd century, however, the Lelang region fell into the hands of a local warlord family known as Gongsun in AD 204, who established another commandery, Daifang (W.-G. Taifang),[6] sometime between then and 220. The Wei came to power in 220 and took over this commandery around 238. Immediately, Chinese sources tell us, embassies began to be sent from a person in the Japanese Islands known as Himiko, Queen of the Country of Wa (C. Wo), with her court in the Country of Yamatai. Though both Wa and Yamatai are referred to as 'countries' (C. *guo*), the latter is described as a hegemonic presence among other polities in the archipelago. A common scholarly view is thus that Yamatai was the dominant polity in the larger country of Wa. Himiko is clearly a major figure in the story of Japanese state formation, but enigmatically, she is not directly attested in the Japanese chronicles (Appendix Two).

Nevertheless, Yamato is now equated by scholars with her country of Yamatai, providing a starting point for our enquiries into state formation processes. The reasoning behind and validity of this equation between these two separately documented polities are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

The political vacuum left by the withdrawal of the Wei interests from the Korean Peninsula are attributed to a worldwide economic decline between AD 250 and 500, within which China's decline is thought to have been the severest of all (Bosworth 1995: 216). Subsequent to the cessation of tributary relations with China after AD 266, the Kofun period entailed the rise of the Yamato State[7] in what can be looked upon as a Toynbeean creative response (Wallerstein 1974: 53) to opportunities and knowledge afforded it both by the Chinese dynasties and by the peninsular societies at levels of social development similar to its own. These peninsular societies included the Three Kingdoms period (AD 300–668) states of Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla plus the chiefly federation of Kaya [see SFK, ch. 1]. Particularly seminal were Yamato's relations with the emergent Kaya chiefdoms and Paekche state. Kaya was the source of the iron that underpinned Yamato agricultural and military power, and the latter was expended on behalf of Yamato's ally, Paekche, in fending off hostile advances from the northern state of Koguryŏ which took possession of the old territory of Lelang in 313. Much of the Yamato Court system that developed in the 5th century was a product of contributions by Paekche scribes and aristocrats and of the necessity to govern the craftspeople who emigrated to the islands to escape Koguryŏ's military incursions into Paekche territory. In the mid-6th century, Paekche gifts of sutra and a small Buddha statue to the Yamato king stimulated the adoption of Buddhism, which eventually became the quasi state religion.

With the draining of power from Paekche through emigration of many of its courtiers and craftspeople, the theretofore late-developing polity of Silla in the southeastern peninsula rose to prominence. By the mid-6th century Silla had conquered the Kaya region, removing that source of iron from Yamato's grasp, and in 660 it conquered Paekche, leaving Koguryŏ as its only opposition on the peninsula. Silla then formed an alliance with the newly consolidated Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907) of China to conquer Koguryŏ in 668 and unify the peninsula.

With the threat of allied Silla and Tang expansion facing the Yamato Court in the 7th century, the aristocracy did a remarkable thing, similar to the reaction of some Tokugawa *daimyō* to Perry's Black Ships a millennium later. Progressive elements in the shogunate effected the abandonment of the feudal governmental framework for a more democratic model, heralding the Meiji period (1868–1912). In the 7th century, the Yamato courtiers decided that the best way to foil the threat from the Silla/Tang alliance was to adopt the administrative technology of the Tang as the most advanced in the region. In doing so, the reformers intended Yamato to become as strong as its potential enemy. Yamato after 645 was thus ostensibly transformed