

# Memories from Abroad: Han 漢 Chinese and Nomadic Heritage in Korean and Japanese Archaeological Contexts

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## Introduction

The centuries between 100 BCE to 300 CE brought about major changes in material culture, social structures, and cross-cultural trade relations for the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. One major catalyst for these developments was the establishment of four Chinese commanderies in the north of the Korean peninsula in the year 108 BCE, as we can learn from Chinese documentary history. Three of them were vacated soon after their establishment due to constant local resistance; another one, Daifang 帶方, was installed early in the third century, but left no verifiable archaeological traces. The Lelang 樂浪 commandery, however, has left a treasure house of remains for archaeologists to reveal.<sup>1</sup> It remained in existence until the early fourth century CE and transmitted Han 漢 material culture and lifestyle to the peninsula and beyond.

Iron objects, and also bronze items, both showing a close relationship to the neighbouring Liaoning 遼寧 culture, had been present in the northwest of the Korean peninsula from the fourth to third centuries BCE onwards, as can be seen for example at the Yongyöndong 龍淵洞 site near the river Yalu (Yalu jiang 鴨綠江, kor. Amrokgang 압록강) in North-P'yöngan Province.<sup>2</sup> However, the impulse for the rapid spread of the techniques required for bronze and iron manufacture throughout the whole of the peninsula and further south crossing the Korea Strait to the Japanese archipelago is closely connected to the manifestation of Han-Chinese culture on the peninsula itself. This perception was conceptualized by Pai Hyung Il (1989) as the "Lelang interaction sphere", and more broadly elucidated by Barnes' (1993,

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1 For the history of Lelang excavations see especially Kayamoto 1962, 97-123; Kungnip chunggang pangmulgwan 2001.

2 Kungnip chunggang pangmulgwan 1992, 34.

2006) “Yellow Sea interaction sphere”, and by myself (Seyock 2003, 2004) postulating a joint culture of (Kor.) Han 韓 and Wa 倭<sup>3</sup> around the Korean Straits in the early centuries CE<sup>4</sup> on the basis of both historical and archaeological evidences.

Chinese prestige goods, such as bronze mirrors and horse-and-carriage equipment, have been excavated from various elite burials in southeast Korea and the western part of Japan. Animal-style bronzes illustrate the influx of elements from north Asian steppe cultures into this region, while locally produced goods seem to have been extensively traded across the Korean Strait in both directions. New ceramic traditions appeared, and some specific burial forms, such as the jar burial or the burial precinct, were then in use on both sides of the Strait. The techniques for bronze and iron manufacture certainly were most influential for the development of increasingly hierarchical societies among the peoples in the Korean peninsula and beyond. The distribution of sites, settlement and burial patterns, workshops and finds, and their characteristics – regardless of their respective (modern) national affinity – led me to distinguish between different groups of traditions rather than between Korean (Proto-Three Kingdom, *wōnsam-guk* 原三國) and Japanese (Yayoi 弥生)<sup>5</sup> complexes. Focussing on these traditions, cross-cultural bonds appear even stronger than a “mere” trade and interaction approach would accommodate.

A significant feature of the proto-historic cultures in focus here relates to the availability of comparatively detailed information from written sources. For East Asia at the beginning of the Common Era, it is the culture of the Chinese mainland that maintained the position of the most advanced civilization among its contemporaries. Accordingly, the first comprehensive written report on the cultures living on the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago originates from one of the early Chinese standard histories. The

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3 For easier access, all geographic and personal names referring to the Eastern barbarians in Chinese texts are transcribed in Korean (McCune-Reischauer) and Japanese (Hepburn) respectively, with no ethnic or national allocations intended, while Pinyin is used for the Chinese names.

4 Pai 1989, 64-75; Pai 1992, 306-319; Barnes 1993, 208-221; Seyock 2003; Seyock 2004; Barnes 2006, 1-4.

5 The Proto-Three Kingdoms period is commonly dated 0–300 CE. However, as has been postulated earlier (Seyock 2003, 66; 2004, 70), the last century BCE is culturally not to be separated from the later centuries. “Proto-Three Kingdoms” in this essay therefore relates to the centuries between 100 BCE and 300 CE. On the Japanese side, this time span corresponds to the late Middle and Late Yayoi period (after the new chronology of 2004).

*Weizhi* 魏志 (Record of Wei),<sup>6</sup> as part of the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), was written by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–297) in the late third century CE. The “Report about the Eastern barbarians” (“Dongyi zhuan” 東夷傳), i. e. the peoples living east of the Middle Kingdom, was composed as a sort of foreign relations handbook, “written by bureaucrats attached to the central government and for the use of such bureaucrats”.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, a comparative analysis of the text corpus and the respective archaeological remains showed impressive consistency with regard to material culture, social-political structures, cross-cultural trade and conflicts, and regional identities.<sup>8</sup> It is there, in the written history, that we find explanations or supplementary information on the cultures emerging from the archaeological data.

From a historical perspective we are dealing with entities that are entitled (Kor.) “Han”, when it pertains to the southern Korean peninsula, or (Jap.) “Wa” (Fig. 1), when it relates to the cultures on the Japanese archipelago, designating the respective society as such as well as the geographic location. In an attempt at analysing and understanding the distribution of Han-Chinese and epi-nomadic artefacts in Korean and Japanese sites, their links to the Chinese mainland and the north Asian steppes, and their functions within the (Kor.) Han and Wa cultures, I will consider both archaeological and documented sources.

## Han-Chinese Tradition

### Contacts and Tribute: The Chinese Commanderies

Han Chinese culture had been present in the Korean peninsula from the first century BCE, as previously mentioned, but not all elements of the Han inventory made their way into the cultures living south of the commanderies. Three bronze find types are prominent, chariot equipment, coins, and mirrors. Though these are all part of Han-dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) burial culture and continue into later periods, other key elements did not

6 As the actual name, *Weishu* 魏書, might be confused with the *Weishu*, the “History of [the Northern and Eastern] Wei (386–550)”, compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 in 554, *Weizhi* is commonly being used for the *Sanguo zhi* part on Wei. See Twitchett and Loewe 1986, 861, fn. 176.

7 Dubs 1946/47, 31.

8 Seyock 2004.

appear in (Kor.) Han or Wa contexts. The distribution of Chinese-style brick chambers with vaulted ceilings and wooden coffins, or large wooden chamber tombs, featuring gold and silver adornments, jades, and epitaphs in brick or stone, remains confined to the former territory of the Lelang commandery in the region of modern P'yŏngyang, south of the Taedong River.<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 1 Geography of the Eastern barbarians (after the *Wei zhi* description)

<sup>9</sup> See Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 2001.

Interestingly, what is considered the typical (Chinese) burial, is said to be non-existent in at least three of the Eastern barbarian cultures, according to the textual sources. Neither the Puyō (Chin. Fuyu) 夫餘, in the far north of the Korean peninsula, nor the (Kor.) Han or Wa people used “outer coffins” (brick chambers, Chin. *guo* 槨) enclosing the “inner” (regular) coffin (Chin. *guan* 棺), a feature that struck the Chinese historiographer as noteworthy.<sup>10</sup> Horse trappings and chariot fittings, coins and mirrors, on the other hand, were traded beyond Han-Chinese borders; they have been excavated as far north as the Mongolian steppes and as far south as the middle of the Japanese archipelago.

Contacts between the various “Eastern Barbarians” and the Chinese commanderies are minutely described in the “Dongyi zhuan” of the *Weizhi*. According to this text, tribute delegations from the east have a long tradition in the Middle Kingdom, some of them apparently passed through to the Han (206 BCE–220) or, later, Wei 魏 (220–265) court in mainland China. On these occasions, local products were delivered as tribute items to the authorities, and apparently gifts were received in turn. The “Dongyi zhuan” mentions famous local products of the various regions of the “Eastern Barbarians”, such as the “under-the-fruit”-horses and sandalwood-bows of the Ye 濊,<sup>11</sup> the famous sable of the Ŭmnu 挹婁,<sup>12</sup> or the Pyōn-Chin 弁辰 iron,<sup>13</sup> all of which were known and consumed in the Middle Kingdom or the Lelang commandery respectively. It is evident however, that the Chinese presence in the northern Korean peninsula was mainly concerned with gaining control over the notorious Xiongnu 匈奴 and their possible allies, nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples of the northern steppes, who were at times plundering the Han territories near the border and proved to be a serious menace during the reign of Wang Mang 王莽 (r. 9–23 CE). Thus, the main concern of the Chinese military activities in the Korean peninsula thus was to secure the borders of the Han Empire, and not to exploit “barbarian” economies that were regarded as culturally inferior.

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10 See the (German) translation by Seyock 2004, 47, § 1.3.7, *Han zhuan*, [19]. All citations from the *Weizhi* have been translated into English for the purpose of this essay.

11 Seyock 2004, 42, § 1.3.6 *Wei zhuan*, [10], [11]. After an intern commentary of Pei Songzhi 裴松之, the “under-the-fruit”-horses are horses of small height, so they can pass underneath fruit trees with no difficulty (*ibid.*).

12 Seyock 2004, 40, § 1.3.5 *Yilou zhuan*, [4].

13 Seyock 2004, 49, § 1.3.9 *Bian-Chen zhuan*, [6].

## Clothing

In order to consolidate official relationship between the Chinese court and the tributary states return gifts often comprised rank or status assigning items, such as (ceremonial) court clothing – reportedly given to Koguryō 高句麗 in large amounts –, <sup>14</sup> and seals.

It is significant for the evaluation of the actual political success of Chinese efforts to achieve supremacy over the Korean peninsula that local people seem to have had their own ways of dealing with the standards of Chinese official bureaucracy. For the (Kor.) Han it is reported:

[*Weizhi*]: There are more than thousand people who accredit themselves with seals, cords, clothes and caps [when they visit the commandery or the court].<sup>15</sup>

Koguryō even installed a special distribution entity – a fortress near the commandery Xuantu 玄菟 – to receive and distribute ceremonial clothing on their terms:

[*Weizhi*]: During the Han period [...] court clothes, [other] clothes and caps were bestowed [upon Koguryō] regularly through the Xuantu commandery. [...] Later becoming somewhat proud, they did not come to the commandery anymore, but installed a little fortress at their eastern borders. There, court clothes, [other] clothes and caps, were kept ready to be collected at certain seasons.<sup>16</sup>

Silk, the material used for Chinese ceremonial clothing, has so far been reported in archaeological contexts of the Proto-Three-Kingdoms from the Sinch'angdong 新昌洞 site only,<sup>17</sup> while a couple of respective finds come from the Japanese archipelago. At the Yayoi moated settlement of Yoshinogari 吉野ヶ里 (Saga Prefecture), for example, first excavated in 1984, some silk fragments are believed to originate from Lelang, while other fabrics might have been locally produced.<sup>18</sup> The “Dongyi zhuan” states that the Wa were familiar with producing silk.<sup>19</sup>

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14 Seyock 2004, 32, § 1.3.3 *Gaogouli zhuan* [7].

15 Seyock 2004, 46, § 1.3.7, *Han zhuan* [16].

16 Seyock 2004, 32, § 1.3.3 *Gaogouli zhuan* [7].

17 Kungnip Kwangju pangmulgwan 2012, 157.

18 Sahara, Takashima, and Nishitani 1989, 76.

19 Seyock 2004, 52, § 1.3.11, *Woren zhuan* [16].

## Seals

The bestowal of seals constituted the official way of endorsing bilateral relationships. Three of the Eastern Barbarian societies are specifically mentioned in this context: firstly the Puyō, who received the “seal of the king of Wei”,<sup>20</sup> and secondly the (Kor.) Han, whose chief leaders were all bestowed with seals, cords, and caps,<sup>21</sup> apparently in an attempt to smooth over the rekindling turmoil among the local groups connected to the installation of the Daifang 帶方 commandery in the beginning third century.

The Wa also received seals; they were treated as an important (new) ally, as the text suggests, and as to be discussed further below. There is one case of an archaeological find, actually, that corresponds to the historical documentation, and this case proves one of the most intriguing elements of ancient Japanese history. The seal of the king of (Jap.) Na 奴, commonly known as the “gold seal”, has been hotly debated since its discovery in 1784.<sup>22</sup> The *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書 (Book of Later Han) by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445), which was composed about 140 years later than the *Weizhi* (“Dongyi zhuan”), and which refers to the history of the Later Han, provides some additional information on the Wa people:

[*Hou-Han shu*]: In the second year of the era *jianwu zhongyuan* 建武中元 [57 CE] the Wa land Na offered tribute and transmitted gifts to the [Han] court. [...] The emperor Guangwu 光武 (r. 25–58) thereupon bestowed a seal with cord [on the envoy].<sup>23</sup>

The exact circumstances of the gold seal, which was discovered by a farmer on Shikanoshima 志賀島, a peninsula that frames the Fukuoka Bay (Kyūshū), remain in the dark. The discovery took place long before regular archaeological excavations started in Japan. Modern surveys failed to locate the original place of discovery. The connection to the *Hou-Han shu* story, however, was easily made, as the inscription of the seal – “Han Wei Nu guo wang” 漢委奴國王 (“The king of the Na land of Wa, [accredited by] Han [-China]”) matches the written information perfectly.<sup>24</sup>

20 Seyock 2004, 31, § 1.3.2 *Fuyū zhuan* [17]. The territory of the Puyō king, so the text, was formerly inhabited by the Weimo 濊貊, which is the cause of the variant seal inscription.

21 Seyock 2004, 46, § 1.3.7, *Han zhuan* [15].

22 For a detailed history of research on the gold seal see Fogel 2013.

23 Seyock 2004, 207–208.

24 For a discussion, interpretation and translation of the seal script see Seyock 2004, 208–210.

For a calibration of historical records with archaeological realities even more important than the find of the gold seal itself is the fact that the *Hou-Han shu* actually contains two small entities of Wa related information, which date to the years 57 and 107 respectively. The latter phrase mentions a tribute of a Wa king to the Chinese authorities. These two entries, though quite brief, constitute a huge increase in information on the Wa during the Han period. Earlier historic documents, namely the *Hanshu* 漢書 (Book of Han) only recognize the mere existence of the Wa people somewhere “beyond the sea of Lelang”. It is also said, there were about a hundred different Wa “countries”, and they would offer tribute depending on the season. It is in the first century CE that the Wa people “entered mainland consciousness”.<sup>25</sup>

Almost 200 years later, the updated report on the Wa, comprising events that mainly date in the second and early third century (Later Han and Three Kingdoms periods, 220–280), is by far more detailed and largely homogeneous. The Wa received the utmost attention; about 25 percent of the whole text is reserved for the “account of the Wa people”, rendered *Wajinden* 倭人伝 in Japanese scholarly writings. This attention is intriguing, considering that the Wa territory constituted the most distant region within the realm of the Eastern barbarians. Still, it is there that we find the most detailed record on return gifts from China to the Eastern barbarians. In response to a tribute mission in the year 238, sent by Wa queen Himiko 卑弥呼 to the Daifang commandery and escorted further to the Chinese capital, an imperial edict was issued, which was later incorporated into the “Dongyi zhuan”.

The edict expresses how favourably Himiko’s tribute gifts had been accepted, and it lists the return gifts. Among various minutely described textiles, the list comprises two swords, a hundred bronze mirrors, a certain amount of gold, as well as pearls and vermillion, and last but not least, a gold seal with a crimson cord – bestowed on Himiko personally, and a silver seal with a blue cord bestowed on the envoy she had dispatched.<sup>26</sup> These two seals have not been discovered (yet?), but certainly would help identifying the – hotly disputed – location of Himiko’s legendary residence in Yamatai 邪馬台.

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25 Seyock 2004, 207–211; Fogel 2013, 157.

26 Seyock 2004, 56–57, § 1.3.11, *Woren zhuan* [30–34].



## Mirrors

Chinese bronze mirrors or those made based on Chinese originals, however, appear frequently in (Kor.) Han and Wa archaeological contexts, and a few hundreds have been excavated all over southern Korea and western Japan. Bronze mirrors constitute the most important finds among the Han-Chinese import products. Undeniably, they are valuable prestige goods that reached the Korean south and the Japanese islands in significant amounts from the start of the Han period on. Various types are extant, and almost all have been excavated from burial contexts.

The two dominant types are the TLV mirror and the mirror with interconnected arc design (Fig. 2). Mirror copies, much smaller and with a simple decoration, make up a third type of popular mirrors. The workshops for this mirror type might have been mainly located in the Japanese islands. At least one mould was excavated from the Suku (also: Sugu) 須玖 site cluster south of Fukuoka, Japan.<sup>27</sup>

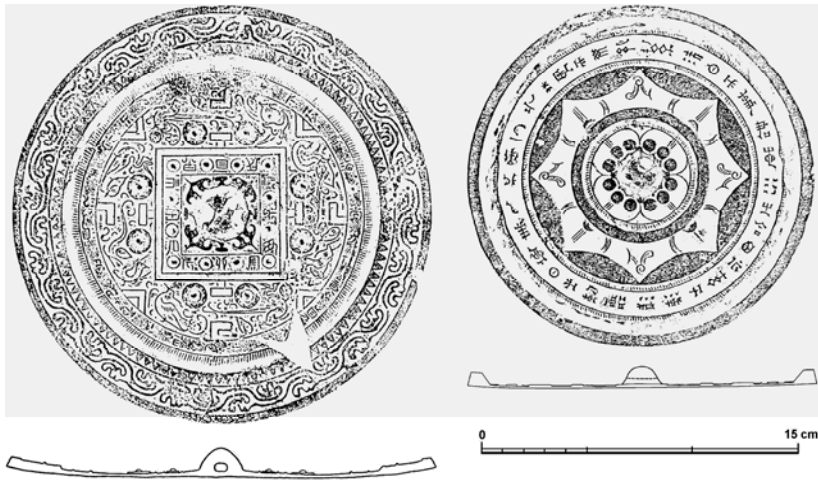


Fig. 2 TLV-mirror (Yangdongni, Korea) and mirror with interconnected arc design (Mikumo, Japan) (source: Oda and Han 1991, 140; Fukuoka-ken kyōiku iinkai 1985, fig. 11)

27 Kasuga-shi kyōiku iinkai 1994, 88.

Han Chinese bronze mirrors are symbols of wealth and status, and they were used as prestigious mortuary goods, thus labelling the specific site as an elite burial.<sup>28</sup>

For the Proto-Three Kingdom sites in the south of the Korean peninsula and the Middle (400 BCE–100 CE) and Late (100–250 CE) Yayoi sites in northern Kyūshū and adjoining regions, various site clusters had been identified situated in the different alluvial plains. They correspond rather precisely with the geographic and topographic descriptions of the *Wajinden* itinerary, which explains the route from the Daifang commandery to the residence of queen Himiko.

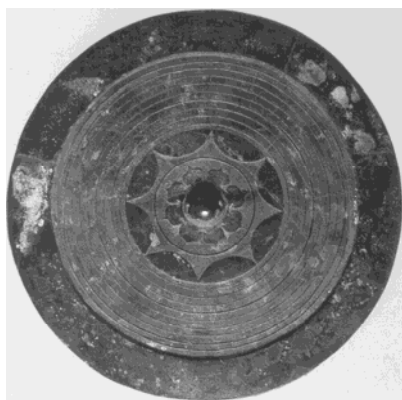


Fig. 3 Bronze mirror (copy) (Hirabaru, Japan) (source: Harada 1991, suppl.)

The different site clusters all provide about a handful of richly furnished burial sites. Typically, one or two mirrors were placed as grave goods (Map I and table). One exception on the Korean side is the Ōndong 漁隱洞 site in North Kyōngsang, where 16 mirrors have been found. Most of them, however, are small mirror copies with diameters of less than 6 cm. Some outstanding finds come from the north of Kyūshū, and there from the Itoshima 糸島 peninsula. Han-Chinese bronze mirrors in single burials, such as at the Hirabaru 平原 and Mikumo 三雲 sites, amount up to 39 specimens. For Hirabaru, a moated burial precinct with a central wooden coffin grave, a few mirror copies have also been identified. These copies of Han mirrors, however, show a very different, namely a much better workmanship than the regular small mirror copies that have been

28 Additionally, mirror fragments, showing perforations on the edge, were in use during the Late Yayoi period. The exact meaning and function of this kind of artefact is still subject to debate, but for Late Yayoi the use of fragmented mirrors in various ritual contexts has been suggested, while later on in the early Kofun 古墳 period (250–700 CE) fragmented mirrors mainly functioned as substitutes where complete mirrors were not available for burial purpose (Tsujita 2007).

excavated both in Korea and Japan. With a diameter of about 46.5 cm the four locally produced mirrors from the Hirabaru site (Fig. 3) actually rank as the largest mirrors ever found in Japan. They imitate Chinese mirrors with inter-connected arc design.<sup>29</sup>

From an archaeological perspective, a rather powerful or rich unit emerges in the Itoshima peninsula, even in comparison to the other regional “chiefdoms” of northern Kyūshū in the Late Yayoi period. Chinese import goods generally constitute the characteristic feature here. But not only bronze mirrors have been discovered. The Mikumo excavation revealed eight gilded bronze fittings in the shape of four-petalled knobs, ornaments that were originally used as wooden coffin decorations in Han-Chinese context (Fig. 4). The site moreover yielded the fragment of a Chinese *bi* 璧 disc made of glass,<sup>30</sup> while from the Hirabaru site the find of 12 red tubular agate beads as well as c. 500 globular amber-opal beads has been reported, both types are typically found in Late Han burials of the Lelang commandery.<sup>31</sup> Lelang style ceramics have been collected at several settlement sites, for example at the Fukae-imuta 深江井牟田 site and at the Mikumo site cluster.<sup>32</sup> The Itoshima peninsula, it appears, must have been one of the main gateways for goods obtained from Lelang.

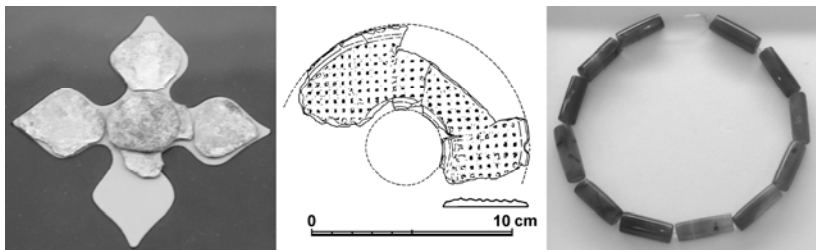


Fig. 4: Bronze fitting and glass *bi* disc (Mikumo), agate beads (Hirabaru), (source: Fukuoka-ken kyōiku iinkai 1985, 29; photos by author, Ito-koku rekishi hakubutsukan 2006)

Looking for a supplementary explanatory approach we may again consult documentary history. The first five stops of the *Wajinden* itinerary in the Japanese archipelago have been geographically identified. They fit well into the archaeological landscape of Late Yayoi northern Kyūshū. One of the itinerary stops is

29 Fukuoka-ken kyōiku iinkai 1985; Harada 1991; Seyock 2003; Seyock 2004, 107-109, 187-193.

30 Both artefact types, gilded bronze fittings in the shape of four-petalled knobs as well as *bi* discs, are also present in Xiongnu burials in Mongolia (see Eregzen 2011, 69-70, 143).

31 Watanabe Seiki 1991, 244seqq; Seyock 2004, 189-193.

32 Ito-koku rekishi hakubutsukan 2004, 18-23.

Ito 伊都, apparently located in the Itoshima peninsula. According to the text, Ito maintained a distinct political position within the Wa confederation. Of all the 28 Wa units dependent on the queen of all Wa – Himiko, only Ito was in a position to maintain a royal house. It is said that “since generations there have been kings [in Ito]”.<sup>33</sup> The reason for this may be related to the fact that Ito constituted the main port of entrance to the Wa confederation, and that an inspector was specially installed there. He was in charge of controlling all the traffic and economic activities of the “countries” lying north of the queen’s residence. Further on it is stated:

[*Weizhi*]: When the queen dispatches envoys to the [Chinese] capital, to the Daifang commandery or to the different [Kor.] Han countries, or when the commandery [Daifang] dispatches to the country of Wa, all that reaches the port [in Ito] is examined and disclosed. Transmitting documents and presents, and proceeding to the queen, there should be no mistake.<sup>34</sup>

The historical source thus provides us with a plausible explanation for the prominence of this region and for the remarkably rich burials of the late Middle and Late Yayoi Itoshima plain. Purchasing power for Chinese bronze mirrors, and other Chinese luxury goods, is clearly concentrated here.

## Horses

For the (Kor.) Han and Wa culture, clear evidence for regular horse and carriage usage does not exist, though on the Korean side we do have a couple of iron bits from Proto-Three Kingdom period sites in the southeast of the peninsula, such as from the Sarari 舍羅里, P’yöngnidong 平里洞, Imdangdong 林堂洞 and Yesanni 禮山里 sites in North Kyöngsang, as well as at the Tahori 茶戶里 and Yangdongni 良洞里 sites in South Kyöngsang (Fig. 5). Here we meet a bronze example dated to the first century CE (Fig. 6).<sup>35</sup> Recent digs at the well-known Sinch’angdong wetland site in South Chölla Province constitute a major enhancement of our knowledge in this regard as they produced wooden cart remains and a horse collar, dated to the Proto-Three Kingdom (or Late Iron Age) period, a detail that challenges the “Dongyi zhuan” information, which is not clear about horses.<sup>36</sup>

33 Seyock 2004, 51, § 1.3.11, *Woren zhuan* [6].

34 Seyock 2004, 55, § 1.3.11, *Woren zhuan* [26].

35 Kungnip Kyöngju pangmulgwan 2012, 86; Kim Tu-ch’öl 2012, 151-152.

36 Kungnip Kwangju pangmulgwan 2012, 100-105, 233.

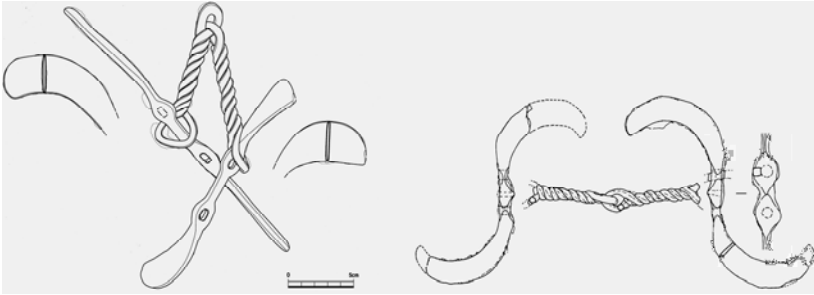


Fig. 5 Iron horse bits, l. Tahori, r. P'yongnidong (source: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 2012, 257; Yun 1991, 261)

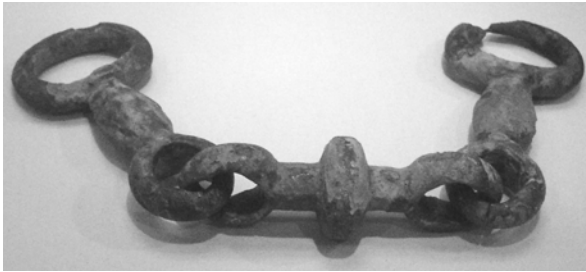


Fig. 6 Bronze horse bit, Yangdongni (photo by author, Kyöngju National Museum 2004)

One entry in the *Han zhuan* states:

[*Weizhi*]: They are not aware of horseback-riding or riding of cattle; cattle and horses [instead] are used up for accompanying the dead.<sup>37</sup>

As a contradictory phrase in the *Bian-Chen zhuan* 弁辰傳 asserts that people do mount chariots, cattle and horses to travel<sup>38</sup>, and considering the Sinch'ang-dong artefacts, it appears as if at least for the Korean side the knowledge of using horses for transport might have spread after the first century CE. While the *Han zhuan* part of the “Dongyi zhuan” appears to have been composed of an older information stratum, the main corpus of the historical source – and likewise the *Bian-Chen* related information, relates to the second and early third century CE. For Japan it is stated that they do not have horses,<sup>39</sup> and from an archaeological perspective too, there is no evidence to date for horse-and-carriage culture in the Late Yayoi period.

37 Seyock 2004, 47, § 1.3.7, *Han zhuan* [19].

38 Seyock 2004, 49, § 1.3.9 *Bian-Chen zhuan* I [4].

39 Seyock 2004, 51, § 1.3.11, *Woren zhuan* [6], 112.

## Carriage Fittings and Small Bronze Bells

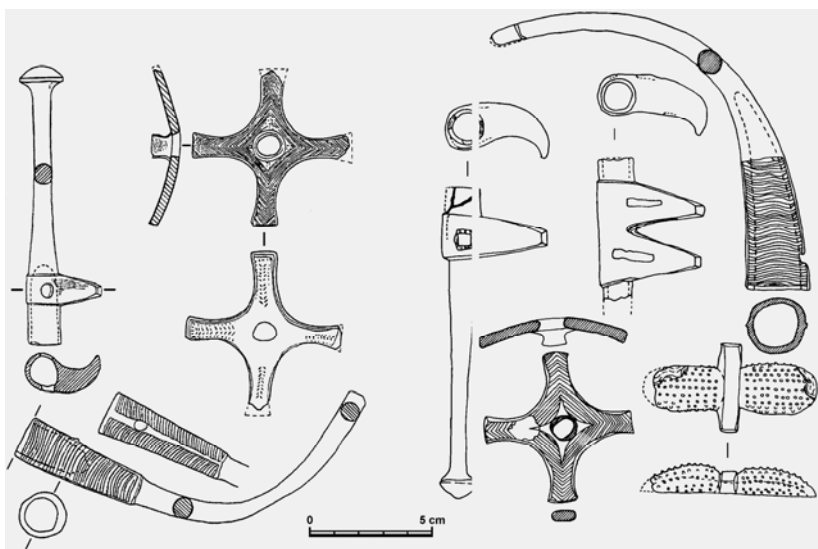


Fig. 7 Bronze carriage fittings, l. Tōzaki (Japan), r. Nakdongni (Korea) (source: Tsushima iseki chōsa iinkai 1974, 533; Yun 1991, 304)

Bronze carriage fittings and horse-bells are distributed widely both in the Korean south and western Japan. The distribution map of relevant finds (Map 2) demonstrates that the main centres for umbrella rib points and caps for wooden poles are located in the Korean southeast and Tsushima Island in the Korea Strait. Two assemblages are especially intriguing, those from the Nakdongni 洛東里 site in North Kyōngsang Province and the Tōzaki 唐崎 site in Tsushima island, as they show a very similar inventory. The Tōzaki stone cist contained a bronze umbrella rib point, a horn-shaped object, and a cross-shaped ornament. The same objects had been discovered at Nakdongni; a second bronze rib point adds to the assemblage (Fig. 7), while both sites also yielded a cross-shaped pommel decoration, although of different design. The Tsushima Kisaka 木坂 site also yielded, among many burial goods, a bronze umbrella rib point, a bronze horn-shaped object, and a cross-shaped ornament.

Bronze pole caps have been reported from North-Kyōngsang Province, such as from the P'yōngnidong site and also from the Angyeri 安溪里 site; the latter examples date to the first century BCE.<sup>40</sup> An imitation of a pole cap made

<sup>40</sup> Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 2001, 218; Kungnip Kyōngju pangmulgwan 2012, 87.

of clay from the Katōda-higashibaru 方保田東原 site in Kumamoto Prefecture may exemplify the general interest in this kind of commodity.<sup>41</sup>

A similar pattern is noticeable for small bronze bells, although they are more widely distributed throughout the core area of (Kor.) Han and Wa culture (Map 2). Small bronze bells have been extant since the latter phase of the Early Iron Age (400–0 BCE), as is evident from for example the Koejōngdong 傀亭洞 site in Taejōn, which roughly dates to the second century BCE.<sup>42</sup>

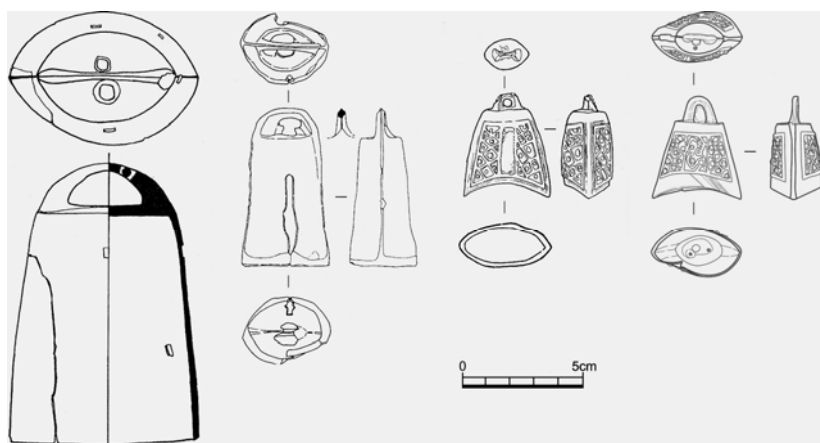


Fig. 8 Small bronze bells in Korean (l.) and Chinese style (r.): Koejōngdong (Korea), Urashi 浦志 (Japan), Shigenodan シゲノダン (Japan), Tahori (Korea) (source: Kungnip pangmulgwan 1968, fig. 7; Oda and Han 1991, 178, fig. 82/2 and 194, fig. 98/4; Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 2012, 33, fig. 12/1-17)

The examples from this period, however, are much larger than the items which were in use as horse bells, or respectively as trade goods later. As, generally, two different types of small bronze bells appear in the (Kor.) Han and Wa culture, a Chinese and a Korean one, the questions remains in how far the earlier Iron Age type actually constituted the prototype for the later typological developments in the Japanese archipelago (Fig. 8).

A lot of clay imitations of small bronze bells have also been excavated in northern Kyūshū. Shortly after the first imports small bronze bells were produced locally in many places. They were also distributed in western Honshū, and later took a rather independent development in style and size in the eastern

41 Oda and Han 1991, 89, fig. 10.

42 Kungnip pangmulgwan 1968, 6 and fig. 7.

part of Yayoi culture, in central Japan. There, very large ornamented bronze bells of Late Yayoi are typically excavated from agricultural ritual contexts, while small bronze horse bells in Korean and Japanese style normally – but not necessarily – come from settlement contexts, where they might have functioned as a kind of “ringing ceremonial instrument” in designated places.<sup>43</sup>

## Coins

Chinese coins also show a large distribution pattern (Map 1). So-called (Jap.) *kasen* 貨泉 or Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE-23 CE) coins, cast around the turn to the common era, have been excavated in the peninsula and beyond, as are *Wu-shu* 五銖 coins, which centre especially in the coastal areas as well as around Taegu City. Quantities normally do not exceed one or two coins, sometimes five to fifteen. There is just one hoard find in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. On Kōmundo 健門島 Island off the southern Korean coast almost 1000 coins were found. Quite a few hoard finds were made around the former Lelang commandery and further north. Quantities go up to several thousand coins there.<sup>44</sup> In the Japanese archipelago the picture is generally similar. Up to a handful of coins used to turn up both in burial and sometimes in settlement contexts. An exception comes from Yamaguchi Prefecture; at the Okinoyama 沖ノ山 site, again a peripheral region, where almost a hundred *Wu-shu* coins were found.<sup>45</sup>

## Traditions Linked to Nomadic Culture

### Movements and Conflict: The Steppe Cultures

In Korean Proto-Three Kingdom and Japanese late Middle and Late Yayoi archaeological contexts artefacts attract attention that apparently originate from a non-Han Chinese cultural setting. Items of a formerly nomadic heritage, which can be linked to the north Asian steppe cultures, show in many (Kor.) Han and Wa sites. Though the distribution pattern is generally similar to the spread of artefacts of the Han-Chinese tradition, different core areas can be identified (Map 3 and 4). For the perception of these find types, including animal-style bronzes and bird-shaped ceramics, gaining access through the

43 Matsui 2004, 67-71; Ito-koku rekishi hakubutsukan 2009, 32-33.

44 Pak 2008.

45 Ishii 2006, 122-123.



Chinese historical texts is much more difficult. The Chinese historiographer recognizes nomadic elements in “Eastern Barbarian” cultures, but beyond rather general statements, like “they must be nomadic people” for parts of the Pyön-Chin,<sup>46</sup> direct information is rather scarce.

Clearly, however, people must have been engaged in frequent interactions through population movements at various scales during the centuries of the Han Empire and before. Several passages in the “*Dongyi zhuan*” mention population movements (in the past) and refugee groups. For the Puyō it is said that not only “the old people there call themselves refugees” but the king himself too.<sup>47</sup>

One entry refers to the acceptance of 500 Hu 胡<sup>48</sup> families by Koguryō,<sup>49</sup> while the legendary Yen 燕 refugee Wiman 衛滿 usurped the Chosŏn 朝鮮 thrown and let the former king Chun 準 flee southwards:

[*Weizhi*]: Chun [then] led his attendants and palace women across the sea, settled down in [Kor.] Han and declared himself king.<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, the Chinhan 辰韓 consider themselves refugees. They fled from the pressure of the Qin 秦 dynasty (221–206 BCE), it is said, and settled in the Lelang area. When the Chinese commandery was installed, they were pushed further south and relocated to the east of Mahan 馬韓.<sup>51</sup> Hence based on the textual information there is sufficient reason to believe that movements of people down the Korean peninsula from the very north, where contacts to, and conflicts with, the Xiongnu and other ethnic groups from the steppes were nothing particularly surprising, bringing cultural elements to the Korean south which found their expression both in material culture and ritual beliefs.<sup>52</sup>

## Animal-Style Belt Hooks

The most obvious nomadic heritage ornaments, animal-style belt hooks and antenna daggers have been excavated from various sites in the Korean southeast and in Japan. For the origin of animal-style belt hooks, the *Hanshu* gives some

46 Seyock 2004, 49, § 1.3.9 *Bian-Chen zhuan* I [3].

47 Seyock 2004, 31, § 1.3.2 *Fuyu zhuan* [9.], [17].

48 After Morohashi (1984, 29400) Hu refers to the Xiongnu. Hu, however, also was one of the “general names used for peoples living along China’s north-eastern frontier [...]” (Kessler, 1993, 37).

49 Seyock 2004, 35, § 1.3.3 *Gaogouli zhuan* [23].

50 Seyock 2004, 36, 46, § 1.3.4 *Dong-Woju zhuan* [3], § 1.3.7, *Han zhuan* [9-10].

51 Seyock 2004, 36, 46, § 1.3.8 *Chenhan zhuan* [1-2].

52 See Seyock 2004, 112-117.

advice. In the chapter on the Xiongnu, a golden belt ornament in the shape of a rhinoceros is mentioned, and a connection is also made to the cultures of the Xianbi 鮮卑.<sup>53</sup> It seems that belt hooks have been recognized as specific nomadic elements of the northern steppes culture, irrespective of which nomadic group was concerned. Horse- and tiger-shaped belt hooks excavated from nomadic contexts of seventh to sixth century BCE north or northeast China may well represent ancient forerunners of the specimen discovered at sites of the (Kor.) Han and Wa cultural sphere.<sup>54</sup>

The most common shape in Korean and Japanese archaeological context is a standing horse, but belt hooks in the shape of a crouching tiger have also been discovered in several places (Fig. 9). At the Ōundong site, both a horse-shaped and a tiger-shaped belt hook originated from a single burial of unclear design.<sup>55</sup> A similar pair comes from the Tōkch'ōnni 독천리 site in North-Kyōngsang, though in this case from two separate wooden coffin graves, and two tiger-shaped ones have been reported from the wooden coffin tomb no. 130 at the Sarari site in the same area.<sup>56</sup> Single tiger-shaped examples have been reported, moreover, from the Taesōngdong 大成洞 site in South-Kyōngsang Province and the Pisandong 飛山洞 and Sindaei 신대리 sites in Taegu.<sup>57</sup>



Fig. 9 Bronze horse- and tiger-shaped belt hooks (l. Ch'ōngdangdong, r. Sarari, Korea)  
(source: Sō, O and Ham 1991, I; photo by author, Kyōngju National Museum 2014)

53 See Goepper and Lee-Kalisch 1999, 130-131. "Rhinoceros", however, is the modern rendering of *xi* 犀 (*Hanshu*, chapter 94a), a mysterious buffalo-like animal with a single horn that may faintly remind us of the unicorn, which is a major motif among Xiongnu ornaments (see i. e. Eregzen 2011, 208-213).

54 See So and Bunker 1995, 168-170.

55 Yun 1987, 153-157; Goepper and Lee-Kalisch 1999, 130-131.

56 Yi 2006, 78-86; Kungnip Kyōngju pangmulgwan 2012, 23.

57 Kim Chōng-hak 1972, 128; Kungnip Kimhae pangmulgwan 1999: 58; Daegu National Museum 2012, 31.

Bronze belt hooks turn up in larger numbers in some burials. Inside a wooden coffin grave at the Ch'ongdangdong 淸堂洞 site in South Ch'ungch'ong Province, eleven horse-shaped items were found placed in a row.<sup>58</sup> A comparable find was made at the nearby Pongmyongdong 鳳鳴洞 site; 15 items have been collected there from one wooden coffin grave.<sup>59</sup> In the same area, the Ŭngamni 응암리 excavation raises particular interest, as in the year 2008 horse-shaped belt hooks, again twelve items, were identified in settlement context for the first time.<sup>60</sup> Due to the association with iron ingots and the apparently deliberate abandonment of the location, we may suspect a hoard find here.

Ch'ungch'ong Province may be considered as a periphery of (Kor.) Han and Wa culture. Here, the finds belong to the latest phase of the Proto-Three Kingdoms period or even to the beginning (Kor.) Three Kingdoms (Paekche 百濟) (300–700 CE). The same is true for the rare finds of bronze horse-shaped belt hooks from the Japanese islands. In Japan, such finds have been reported only from a Yayoi site of the latest phase in Nagano (Asakawabata 浅川端 site) and the Kinki area (Sakakiyama 神山 kofun, Okayama). The latter find of six bronze horse-shaped belt hooks dates from the early Kofun period.<sup>61</sup>

Seeing the chronological context of these finds and also the fact that belt hooks were discovered in larger numbers in the geographic periphery, we are reminded of a theory that was postulated by Erika Kaneko already in 1966 with reference to the tradition of jar burials in the same macro area: singular elements or even whole traditions may stay longer, and may get stronger in the peripheries of the core area.<sup>62</sup> The discoveries of recent years emphasized Ch'ungch'ong Province as a distribution centre for horse-shaped belt hooks from the late third to the fourth century, and a connection to the formation of early Paekche culture therefore seems natural. To what extent these developments are also connected to Mahan culture, is an issue not easily addressed. As postulated earlier, the geographic whereabouts of Proto-Three Kingdom Mahan culture seem to centre in Ch'olla Province instead.<sup>63</sup> The Ch'ungch'ong finds still wait to be sufficiently incorporated into a larger framework of scholarly approach regarding the Mahan-Paekche dichotomy.

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58 Sō, Kwōn and Ham 1991.

59 Ch'a 2003.

60 Kim Sōng-uk and Kim Mu-chung 2008, 63–66.

61 Makabe and Makabe 1985, 123; Asahi.com 28.09.2001.

62 Kaneko 1966; see also Seyock 2008, 27, fn. 7.

63 Seyock 2004, 88–89, 230–231.

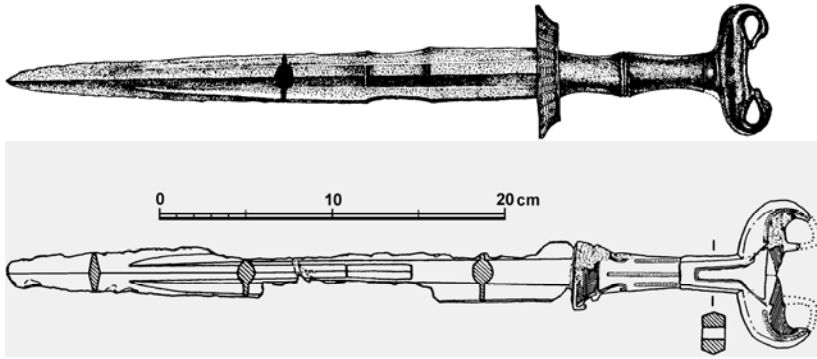


Fig. 10 Bronze antenna daggers, a. Pisandong (Korea), b. Kashiwazaki (Japan) (source: Okazaki 1982, 201; Kim Chŏng-hak 1972, 129)

### Antenna Daggers and Animal-Style Ornament

Bronze antenna daggers are familiar from the Ordos region in Inner Mongolia to the Minusinsk cultures in the Siberian steppes.<sup>64</sup> A “classical” example with a double ring pommel design has been unearthed at the Kashiwazaki 柏崎 site in Karatsu (Kyūshū) (Fig. 10), and two more – though of unclear provenance – are reported from Taeyŏng Museum in South-Ch’ungch’ŏng Province and from the Keio University Museum in Tōkyō.<sup>65</sup> The fragments of comparable items found at the Sakadō サカドウ and Takamatsunodan タカマツノダン sites on Tsushima Island as well as at the Chisandong 池山洞 site (North-Kyōngsang) are of the same style, whereas the double-ring pommel of the Pisandong example is executed in the shape of symmetrical animal heads, possibly horses, maybe ducks (Fig. 10).<sup>66</sup> All in all, antenna daggers are rare finds in Korean and Japanese context, and a recent find from Shiga Prefecture in Japan exemplifies how Yayoi people might have met the shortage of this specific kind of object. There, a mould for a rather simplified antenna dagger has been discovered in 2013. The mould shows no sign of having been used, and no such dagger has ever been unearthed in Japan. The find therefore remains somewhat mysterious.<sup>67</sup>

Not exactly matching the concept of antenna daggers, but closely linked to the Pisandong animal style pommel design, decorations in the shapes of sym-

<sup>64</sup> Okazaki 1982, 203; Chŏn 1991, 546-548; Kim Wŏn-yong 1987, 241-242.

<sup>65</sup> Oda and Han 1991, 177.

<sup>66</sup> Fujiguchi 1974; Anraku 1995, 19; Oda and Han 1991, 177 and plate 63.

<sup>67</sup> See Asahi.com 09.08.2013. Special thanks to Nakamura Daisuke and Dennis Lee for pointing me to the mould find.

metrically arranged horses or ducks have been excavated at the Yangdongni site in the Nakdong delta and at Shigenodan site on Tsushima Island (Fig. 11). The Yangdongni example features two outwards looking pairs of standing horses. For Shigenodan, it is again not clear whether we see some kind of water fowl here, or the simplified heads of horses. Another find, which is almost identical to the Shigenodan one, is kept in the Sungsil 崇實 Museum in Seoul.<sup>68</sup>

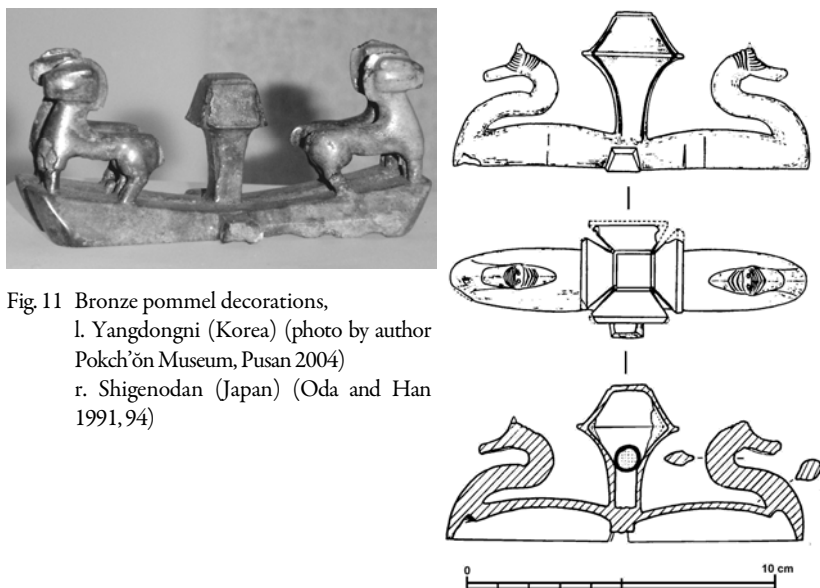


Fig. 11 Bronze pommel decorations,  
l. Yangdongni (Korea) (photo by author  
Pokch'ŏn Museum, Pusan 2004)  
r. Shigenodan (Japan) (Oda and Han  
1991, 94)

These three bronze ornaments are exceptional finds. There are, however, a couple of bronze items from the Öündong site (North Kyöngsang), which also count among animal-style ornaments. Five small frog-shaped bronze buttons (length 0.8 cm), dated to the first century CE, were collected from a very richly furnished burial near the Kümho River. More than 170 bronze objects come from this pit grave of unclear architecture; the tiger- and horse-shaped belt hooks have already been mentioned. Two small bronze pendants in the shape of a standing horse (length 5.4 cm) and a deer head (height 3.3 cm) showing geometrical design again recall the motif repertoire of northern steppe cultures.<sup>69</sup>

68 Kim Chöng-hak 1972: 144; Tsushima iseki chösa iinkai 1974: 518-521; Kungnip Kimhae pangmulgwan 2012, 120-121.

69 Yun 1987, 153-154; Lee-Kalisch 1999, 126-128.

## Bronze Buttons and Ring-Pommel Swords

Bronze buttons show the same distribution pattern as other finds of epinomadic heritage in Korea and Japan. Again, respective finds centre along a line linking the Korean southeast (Kyöngsang), Tsushima Island, and northern Kyūshū (Map 3). Round, conical bronze buttons, plain or with geometric design (lines radiating from the centre, or fields of parallel lines) are known from burials of the Karasuk culture in southern Siberia, and quite generally from the north Chinese borderland.<sup>70</sup> In Japanese and Korean contexts bronze buttons are regularly collected in small numbers. The chronologically earliest examples, two plain round bronze buttons, which are less conical than later ones, come from the first century BCE Ipsili 入室里 site in North-Kyöngsang Province. Five frog-shaped bronze buttons from the Öündong site have been mentioned in the context of animal-style ornaments. What makes the Öündong site exceptional again is the large number of round, and also rectangular-shaped, bronze buttons with geometrical design, 1.3 to 2.8 cm in length. 123 buttons were recovered, and due to the position of the finds at the lower legs of the dead, they might have functioned as boot decorations (Fig. 12).<sup>71</sup>

Another find type we may suspect as originating from similar geographic whereabouts is the ring-pommel sword or knife, a regular find in elite burial finds in the Korean southeast and in northern Kyūshū. The ring-pommel may be considered a feature too universal to follow its tracks in the macro region and decide about the true origin of this cultural impetus. In Korean archaeological research the ring-pommel iron sword is commonly discussed as part of Han-Chinese culture – and of course they are found in the Lelang area, but seeing the background of accompanying traditions in the archaeological contexts of (Kor.) Han and Wa sites, I would rather suspect the origin of this cultural element in the ring-pommel knives of the steppe cultures, especially from the Tagar cultural sphere. Iron ring-pommel swords like the ones from the Hirabaru site in the Itoshima peninsular are typologically to be distinguished from the Chinese (Zhou 周 or Liao-ning 遼寧) -style bronze daggers with wide T-shaped pommel and bronze swords with hilts, as they are also present in a couple of Korean and Japanese sites, such as Tahori, Yangdongni, and Sangnimni 上林里 (Wangju) in Korea, as well as Yoshinogari, Tōzaki, Kisaka, and Miku-mo in Japan (Fig. 13)

70 Jettmar 1950, 94.

71 Yun 1987; Lee-Kalisch 1999, 128-129; Seyock 2004, 107-109.

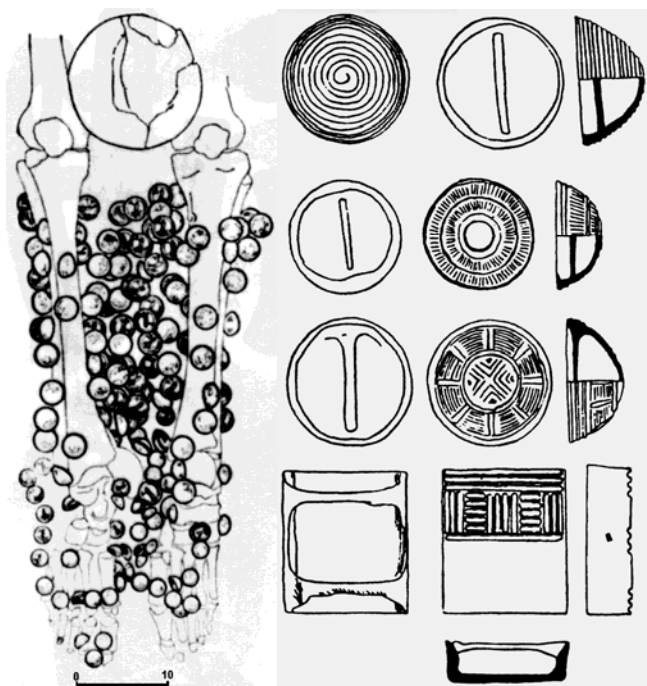


Fig. 12 Bronze buttons from the Öndong site (Korea) (source: Kim Wŏn-yŏng 1987, 278; Yun 1991, 271)

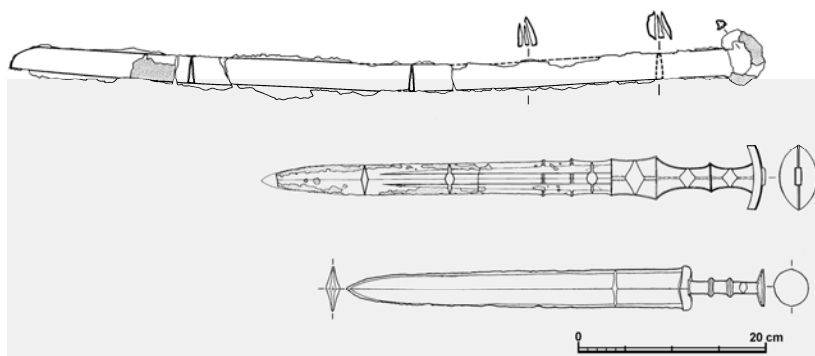


Fig. 13 Iron ring-pommel sword (Hirabaru, Japan) and Chinese-style bronze daggers (a. Mikumo, Japan, b. Sangnimni, Korea), (source: Harada 1991, 261; Fukuoka-ken kyōiku iinkai 1985, fig. 8, Oda and Han 1991, 108)

## Bird-Motif

A different approach has to be applied when addressing yet one more element from the northern steppes, the bird motif, a cultural component that highlights the transfer of ideas or religious imagery rather than that of elite goods. Bird-shaped ceramics, present at a couple of late (Kor.) Han and Wa sites (e.g. Kun'gongni 郡谷里, Korea, and Higashi-shimoda 東下田, Japan) (Fig. 14), and – more broadly distributed – continue through (Kor.) Three Kingdom and Kofun periods, may stand as a placeholder for a much wider range of cultural influences from abroad with even deeper impact on the life of entire societies. The bird, a symbol for the passage to afterlife not only in Siberian shamanism, appears in various contexts on both sides of the Strait, including the historical document. For the Pyön-Chin it is said:

[*Weizhi*]: They furnish their dead with feathers of large birds. They wish the dead would use them for flying.<sup>72</sup>

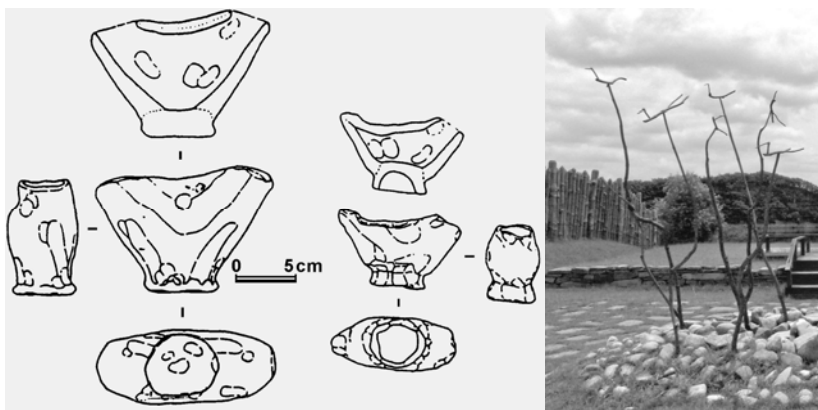


Fig. 14 Bird-shaped ceramics, Kun'gongni, Korea, and modern version of a *sottae*, Chinju, Korea (source: Ch'oe 1995: 156; photo by author, Bronze Age Museum, Chinju 2012)

Birds also appear on an oblong bronze fitting discovered in late Proto-Three Kingdom context at the Sudong 水洞 site in South-Chōlla. Two opposite sitting birds are accompanied by another one flying down on them from above. A similar item was found at the Tongoedong 東外洞 site in South-Kyōngsang, though from a fourth century context.<sup>73</sup> Wooden bird sculptures, moreover,

<sup>72</sup> Seyock 2004, 49, § 1.3.9 *Bian-Chen zhuan* I [5].

<sup>73</sup> Kungnip Kimhae pangmulgwan 1999, 107, 162; Kungnip Kwangju pangmulgwan 2000: 31; Seyock 2004, 88, 128.



depicting water fowl, have been excavated in several locations (e.g. Yoshinogari and Ikegami-sone 池上曾根, Japan, Sinch'angdong and Kun'gongni, Korea). They are believed to have been positioned on wooden poles along settlement borders, thus serving as a kind of guarding totems or mediators between the rural community and the agricultural spirits.<sup>74</sup> This interpretation is not fully supported by archaeological excavations, though a scene portrayed on a second century from Taejŏn, Korea,<sup>75</sup> seems suspicious. There, birds are sitting on some kind of rod, while other picture fields show scenes of rural activity. The wooden bird artefacts, moreover, show fixture devices. These finds, together with a mixture of information from historical sources and transmitted folklore are responsible for the actual perception of a (Kor.) *sottae* 솟대.

In the (Kor.) Han part of the “Dongyi zhuan” it is said:

[*Weizhi*]: All lands, moreover, have got a special location they call *sodo* 蘇塗. There they put up large trunks, attach bells and drums, and [thus] praise the spirits.<sup>76</sup>

The *sodo* locations would serve as an asylum for all kind of criminals – so the additional information. The connection to the “bird-poles” is not made easily here, though there are structural resemblances;<sup>77</sup> specific locations of spiritual or otherwise social value and meaning are marked by tree trunks or branches, which carry items that play a role in shamanistic context. The bird motif thus may allow a glimpse into the spiritual world of (Kor.) Han and Wa culture; it certainly touches beyond a mere reflection of the natural environment of rural societies.

## Conclusion

After exploring the archaeological and historical sources with regard to imported goods and cultural elements in the Han and Wa cultures, it is evident that Han-Chinese cultural traditions had a larger impact on the development of social structures in the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago compared with the relatively few nomadic elements. Japan, then, was on the road to a pre-state formation stage, and luxury goods from the Lelang commandery, in

74 Saga-ken kyōiku iinkai 1995, 17; Ōsaka furitsu Yayoi bunka hakubutsukan, 2006, 10; Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 2008, 253.

75 Kungnip Ch'ŏngju pangmulagwan 2000, 16, 167.

76 Seyock 2004, 48, § 1.3.7 *Han zhuan* I [23].

77 Eikemeier 1974; Vos 1977, 89, 97.

especially Chinese bronze mirrors, contributed much to the self-perception of the elites in the various small principalities of northern Kyūshū. Societies in the Korean southeast quite generally were in a similar situation. The influx of foreign elements, however, was even stronger there and culminated in a lively mixture of cultural novelties that proved formative for the entire region along a cultural current that connected the Korean southeast with both the north-western areas and the Japanese islands. It is conspicuous that the Ch'ungch'ōn area emerges as a strong cultural region only at the end of the Han and Wa period, as is evident not only from the bronze belt hook finds. It appears that the core area of social-cultural developments was located much farther away from the direct influences of the Chinese commanderies, namely in the Chinhan and Pyōn-Chin area.

All luxury goods that reached the (Kor.) Han and Wa sphere from the Lelang commandery might have carried the underlying wish to impose a piece of Han authority upon the societies of the receivers,<sup>78</sup> regardless of the actual transfer situation, be it an official tribute return gift, or an otherwise traded item. However, Han period prestige goods were traded as exotic items instead; they seem to have lost their original functional purpose – when their users were still alive, even though they still would end up in burial contexts. That is especially true for items that had been detached from their original context, such as in the case of the gilded bronze coffin ornaments, which were used independently as grave goods, or with regard to bronze chariot fittings, which appear in (Kor.) Han and Wa burials, but as singular items. Different from the original richly furnished Han burial, it is not a complete chariot that contributes to the status of the deceased or their surviving family.

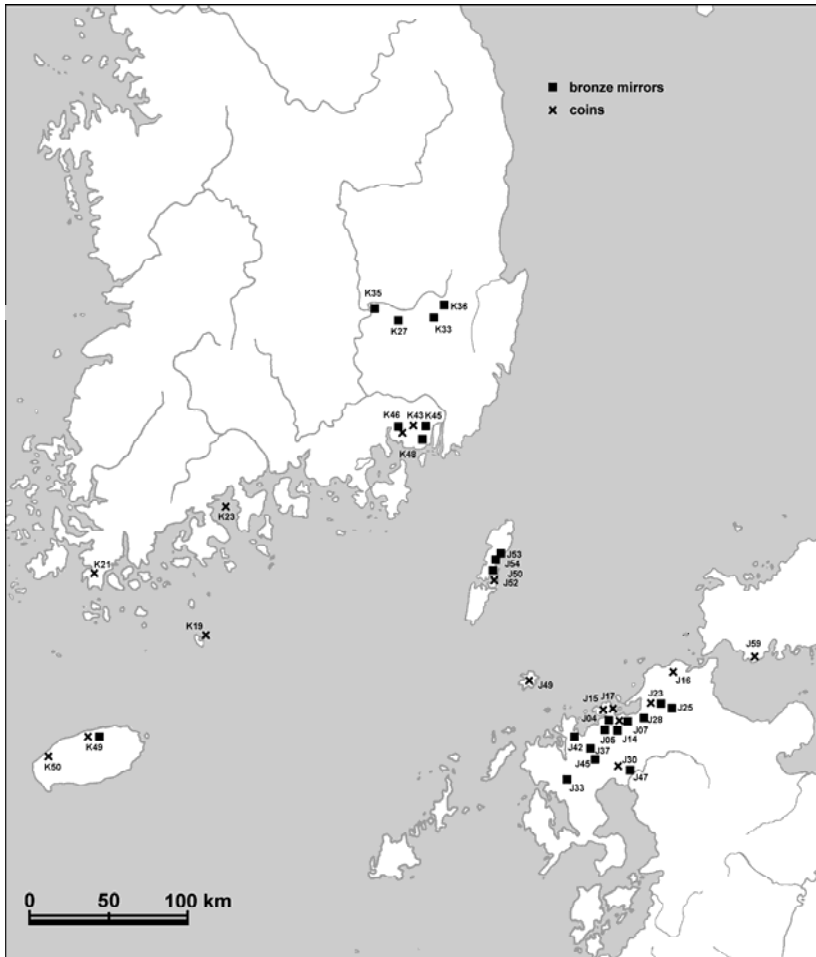
Of course, all horse-and-carriage related artefacts may also be linked quite generally to cultures of the northern steppes and the activities of the notorious Xiongnu as they appear in Chinese historical reports. Other types, animal-style ornaments and belt hooks, as well as the bird motif, indicate connections to the archaeological heritage of the Ordos region and the Karasuk and Tagar cultures of Siberia, which are all part of the overall Scythian circle.<sup>79</sup> We may even label this kind of finds “epi-nomadic” to emphasize that there are no layers of a sedentary or semi-sedentary life style connected to it; on the contrary the various societies living in the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago were all wet-rice farmers and fishermen, yet in an increasingly stratified society,

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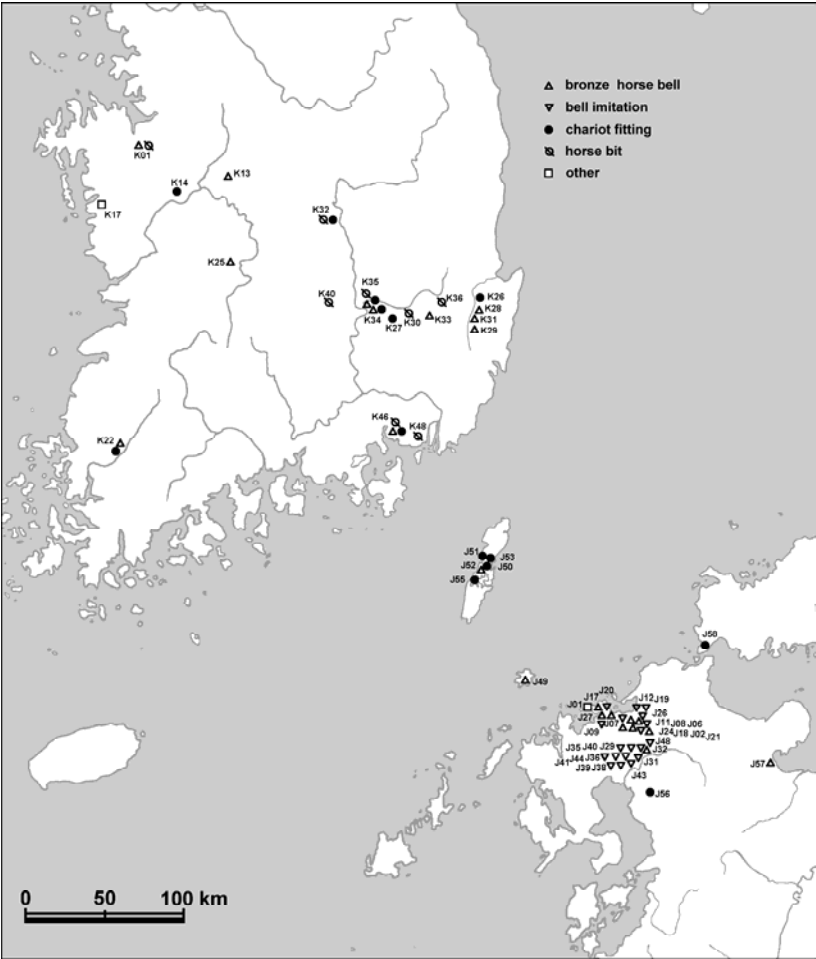
78 Mizoguchi 2002, 165.

79 See Davis-Kimball, Bashilov, and Yablonsky, 1995.

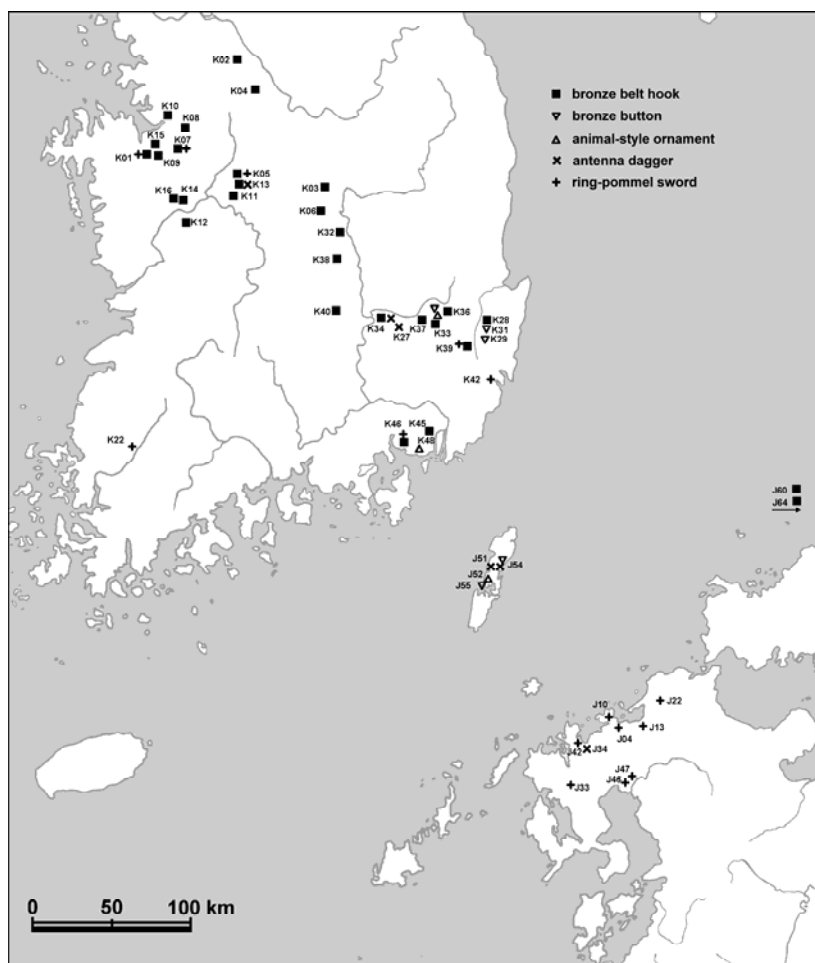
and apparently with a lot of conflicts for land and resources going on. Cultural elements transmitted down the Korean peninsula were already separated from their original setting or traditional usage, this is also true for the Han-Chinese items, but in the pre-formation stage of states they contributed much to the status and welfare of their purchasers. Although some traditions seeped through into later periods, for today's researchers it is the mere memory of a different cultural and geographic setting that these finds reflect.



Map 1: Han-Chinese tradition: distribution of bronze mirrors and coins



Map 2: Han-Chinese tradition: distribution of chariot equipment



Map 3: Nomadic tradition: distribution of bronze and iron finds



Map 4: Nomadic tradition: distribution of bird ornaments

Table Sites and finds from southern Korea and western Japan

				Nomadic tradition								Han-Chinese tradition					
Site		Province/ Prefecture	No.	Belt hook	Antenna dagger	Ring-pommel sword	Bronze Burton	Animal-style ornament	Bird-shaped ceramic	Wooden birds	Bird ornament	Chariot fitting	Horse bit	Bronze bells	Bell imitation	Mirrors	Coins
<b>Korea</b>																	
Myŏngamni-Pakchīmŭre	명암리/ 박지므레	Ch'ungbuk	K01	X		X			X	X			X	X			
Munsŏngni	문성리	Ch'ungbuk	K02	X													
Sinhŭngni	신흥리	Ch'ungbuk	K03	X													
Kŭmnŭng-dong	금릉동	Ch'ungbuk	K04	X													
Songdaeri	송대리	Ch'ungbuk	K05	X		X											
Sŏngdongni	성동리	Ch'ungbuk	K06	X													
Ch'ŏngdang-dong	淸堂洞	Ch'ungnam	K07	X		X											
Injadong	인자동	Ch'ungnam	K08	X													
Kalmaeri	갈매리	Ch'ungnam	K09	X													
Maduri	마두리	Ch'ungnam	K10	X													
Sannamdong	산남동	Ch'ungnam	K11	X													
Sŏknamni	석남리	Ch'ungnam	K12	X													
Pongmyŏng-dong	鳳鳴洞	Ch'ungnam	K13	X	X									X			
Ŭngamni	응암리	Ch'ungnam	K14	X								X					
Yongduri	용두리	Ch'ungnam	K15	X													
Yonghori	용호리	Ch'ungnam	K16	X													
Sangnimni	上林里	Chŏbuk	K17									<i>Zhou swords</i>					
Yejiri	禮智里	Chŏbuk	K18						X								
Kŏmundo	거문도	Chŏnam	K19														X
Kundong-ra	郡洞라	Chŏnam	K20						X								
Kun'gongni	郡谷里	Chŏnam	K21						X								X
Sinch'angdong	新昌洞	Chŏnam	K22			X				X		X		X			
Sŏdori	西島里	Chŏnam	K23														X
Sudong	水洞	Chŏnam	K24							X							
Kŏcjŏngdong	傀亭洞	Taejŏn	K25											X			
Angyeri	安溪里	Kyŏngbuk	K26									X					
Chisandong	池山洞	Kyŏngbuk	K27		X							X				3	
Choyangdong	朝陽洞	Kyŏngbuk	K28	X										X			
Chuktongni	竹東里	Kyŏngbuk	K29				X							X			
Imdangdong	林堂洞	Kyŏngbuk	K30										X				
Ipsili	入室里	Kyŏngbuk	K31				X							X			





Japan																	
Site		Province/ Prefecture	No.	Belt hook	Antenna dagger	Ring-pommel sword	Bronze button	Animal-style ornament	Bird-shaped ceramic	Wooden birds	Bird ornament	Chariot fitting	Horse bit	Bronze bells	Bell imitation	Mirrors	Coins
Fukae-imuta	深江井牟田	Fukuoka	J01											Lelang pottery			
Gokuden	御供田	Fukuoka	J02												X		
Higashi-shimoda	東下田	Fukuoka	J03						X								
Hirabaru	平原	Fukuoka	J04			X										39	
Iwara-yarimizo	井原鍵溝	Fukuoka	J05														18
Ijiri B	井尻 B	Fukuoka	J06											X	X		
Imajuku-gorōe	今宿五郎江	Fukuoka	J07											X			X <sub>2</sub>
Itazuke	板付	Fukuoka	J08											X			
Jōkansu	上罐子	Fukuoka	J09												X		
Kamimachi-mukaebara	上町向原	Fukuoka	J10			X											
Kasanuki	笠拔	Fukuoka	J11												X		
Kubozono	久保園	Fukuoka	J12												X		
Maruo-dai	丸尾台	Fukuoka	J13			X											
Mikumo	三雲	Fukuoka	J14														35/22
Mitoko-matsubara	御床松原	Fukuoka	J15														X
Moritsune	守恒	Fukuoka	J16														X
Moto-oka	元岡	Fukuoka	J17											X			X
Ōminami	大南	Fukuoka	J18											X			
Ōtani	大谷	Fukuoka	J19												X		
Ōtsuka	大塚	Fukuoka	J20												X		
Ryūmyōji-chiku	立明寺地区	Fukuoka	J21											X			
Shioi-gake	汐井掛	Fukuoka	J22			X											
Suku-okamoto	須玖岡本	Fukuoka	J23														30X
Suku-sakamoto	須玖坂本	Fukuoka	J24											X			
Tatei'wa	立岩	Fukuoka	J25														10
Shimotsuki-guma	下月隈	Fukuoka	J26												X		
Urashi	浦志	Fukuoka	J27											X			
Yoshitake-takaki	吉武高木	Fukuoka	J28														1
Harukoga-sanbontani	原古賀三本谷	Saga	J29												X		

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