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Ancient Korea-Japan Relations: Paekche and the Origin of the Yamato Dynasty

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## *Chapter Five*

### Myth, Legends, and Inscriptions

Trinity of Jimmu (Ihare), Ōjin (Homuda) and Ninigi



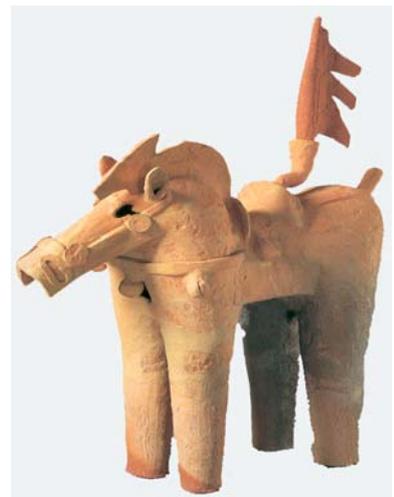
Imitation of Koguryeo Tomb Paintings

(top) Kai-ma-chong, No-san-ri, Pyung-yang 鎧馬塚 魯山里 平壤  
 (bottom) Ssang-yung-chong, Yong-gang, Nam-po 雙楹塚 龍岡郡 南浦



Koguryeo tomb painting (top)  
 heavenly deity 玄室東壁 蓮台立神仙  
 (bottom) sun goddess and moon god  
 玄室天井 日月神.

Tomb No. 4 of the Ji'an Five Tombs  
 集安 五蓋墳 第4號墳



Haniwa Horse from Saka-maki Tomb,  
 Saitama 埼玉縣行田市 酒卷14號墳

<sup>1</sup> 三國史記 高句麗本紀 第一 …曰  
將使吾子孫 立於此 汝其避之. . .  
解慕漱 . . . 河伯之女. . . 誘. . .  
於. . . 即往不返 . . . 幽閉於室中  
爲日所炤. . . 因而. . . 有一男  
兒. . . 弓矢射之 百發百中 扶餘俗  
語 善射爲朱蒙 故以名云. . . 行至  
淹遞水. . . 告水曰 我是天帝子 河  
伯外孫 . . . 魚鼈浮出成橋 (S1: 260  
-261)

東國李相國集

解慕漱. . . 天之子. . . 天帝遣太子  
降遊扶余王古都. . . 世謂之天王郎...  
河伯三女美. . . 可有後胤. . . 長女曰  
柳花. . . 河伯曰 王是天帝之子 有何  
神異 王曰唯在所誠. . . 以禮成  
婚. . . 獨出升天. . . 王知慕漱妃 仍  
以別宮置 懷日生朱蒙. . . 南行至淹  
滯. . . 天孫河伯甥 避難至於此. . .  
魚鼈駢首尾

廣開土王碑文 始祖鄒牟王. . . 出自  
北夫餘 天帝之子. . . 剖卵降世. . .  
巡行南下 路有夫餘奄利大水 王臨  
津言曰 我是皇天之子 母河伯女  
郎. . . 爲我連葭浮龜. . . 造渡

[北]魏書 列傳 高句麗 朱蒙告水曰  
我是日子 河伯外孫

伊奘諾尊 伊奘冉尊. . . 共生日  
神. . . 一書云 天照大神 (NI: 87) 五  
瀨命. . . 日神之御子 (K: 150) 五瀨  
命. . . 日神子孫 (NI: 193) 皇祖高皇  
產靈 . . . 遂欲立皇孫 . . . 以爲葦  
原中國之主 . . . 而問大己貴神  
曰 . . . 欲降皇孫 君臨此地 . . .  
如意何如當須避不 . . . 使降之 (NI:  
139) 幸行筑紫 . . . 乘龜甲爲釣乍

## CHAPTER FIVE

## Myth, Legends, and Inscriptions

## TRINITY OF JIMMU (IHARE), ŌJIN (HOMUDA) AND NINIGI

## 1. The Foundation Myth

## TRINITY OF JIMMU (IHARE), ŌJIN (HOMUDA) AND NINIGI

The close similarity in kingship myths between Koguryeo and the Yamato Kingdom has already been suggested by many Japanese scholars. I believe that the recorded foundation myths in both countries are consistent with my own foundation theory: it was the Paekche people who had established the Yamato Kingdom on the Japanese archipelago, and the roots of the Japanese imperial clan were the Paekche royal family whose origin, in turn, can be traced to the founder of the Koguryeo Kingdom, Chu-mong.

The foundation myth of Koguryeo as recorded in the *Samguk-sagi* and *Old Samguk-sa*, on the one hand, and the foundation myth of the Yamato Kingdom as recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, on the other, reveal surprising similarities in essential motives. In both myths, a son of the heavenly god or sun goddess descends to earth from heaven and marries a daughter of the river god or sea god after being tested for godliness by the bride's father. Their romance terminates in the birth of a founding forefather of the earthly kingdom (being destined to be separated from each other), and the earthly founder leaves the initial settlement, crossing the river or sea, getting the help of turtles or of a man riding on a turtle.<sup>1</sup>

Ōbayashi (1977) has pointed out that among the three

different types of animals appearing in *Kojiki* myth, such as tortoise, crow, and bear, only the bear (the land animal) has a negative value and, analogously, among tortoises, birds, and beasts appearing in Chu-mong myth, only the land animals (beasts) have a negative value. Ōbayashi states that “the structural similarity between the two stories becomes apparent when they are codified.”

In the finale, the foundation myth of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* also matches the legend of Paekche itself: the elder brother Biryu went to the seashore and failed while the younger brother Onjo stayed inland in a mountain area and succeeded in founding a kingdom in the new world. In the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, Jimmu’s grandfather was a second child who was partial to mountains; the elder brother was partial to the sea and failed, subsequently submitting to his younger brother. Jimmu himself was the younger child, and the elder brother was killed in the first land battle. Ōjin was a second child, and the elder brother did not merit so much as a single word of description in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*.<sup>2</sup> A historical event in the formation of Paekche might well have been an additional source of inspiration for the writers of the *Kojiki-Nihongi* myth.

According to Egami, the foundation myth derived from the same source as Puyeo and Koguryeo was brought to the Japanese Islands by an alien race and, with minor adaptations, became the foundation myth of the Yamato Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Ōbayashi (1977: 19) maintains that the “striking correspondence in structure between the Japanese myths and the kingdom-foundation legends of Koguryeo and Paekche ... provides a clue to the origins of the ruling-class culture in Japan,” and also states that (ibid: 22) “the monarchical culture ... came to Japan from Korea ... in the fifth century” and “the people who were responsible for this monarchical culture had absorbed the Altaic pastoral culture to a substantial degree and it had become an integral part of their culture.”

The Age of the God narrated in Book One of the *Kojiki* introduces the mythical founder Ninigi, the grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. Book Two of the *Kojiki* begins the Age of Man with the earthly founder Ihare (Jimmu) and ends with the fifteenth king Homuda (Ōjin). In the preface of *Kojiki*, one reads that “Ninigi first descended to the peak of Takachiho, and

打羽舉來人 遇于 . . . 問汝者知海道乎 答曰能知 (K:148)

See Ōbayashi (1977: 1-23).

<sup>2</sup> 三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 …長曰沸流 . . . 欲居於海濱 . . . 彌鄒忽以居之 溫祖都河南慰禮城 . . . 沸流以彌鄒土濕水鹹 . . . 遂慙悔而死 (S2: 15)

天照大御神 . . . 詔太子 . . . 此御子者 御合高木神之女 . . . 生子 . . . 次日子 . . . 邇邇藝 . . . 隨命以可天降 (K: 124-126)

後遊幸海濱 見一美人 (NI: 151) 遂生 . . . 兄 . . . 自有海幸 弟 . . . 自有山幸 (NI: 163) 沈之于海 . . . 至海神之宮 . . . 有一美人 [海神聞之曰 試以察之 . . . 乃知是天神之孫 (NI: 183)] 因娶海神女 . . . 仍留住海宮 (NI: 165) 天孫 . . . 還上國 (NI: 171) 兄知弟有神德 遂以伏事其弟 (NI: 175) 豐玉姬自馭大龜 . . . 海來到 . . . 其兒生之後 . . . 海偃去 (NI: 178-181) 以其姨 . . . 為妃 生彥五瀨命 . . . 次 . . . 次 . . . 次神日本磐余 (NI: 185) 一書曰 先生彥五瀨命 次磐余彥 (NI: 187)

帶中日子天皇 . . . 又娶息長帶比賣命 生御子 . . . 次 . . . 品陀和氣命 . . . 故著其御名 是以知坐腹中國也 (K: 226)

<sup>3</sup> 三國志 魏書 夫餘傳 魏略曰 . . . 有高離之國者 其王者 . . . 婢云有氣如雞子來下 我故有身後生子 . . . 王疑以為天子也 . . . 東明善射 王恐奪其國也 欲殺之 東明走 南至施掩

水...魚鼈浮爲橋...東明因都王夫  
餘之地

Since the principal actor of the Yayoi era was the Karak (Kaya) people, the foundation myth of the Yamato kingdom could not escape some trace of the Karak foundation myth. According to the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, after receiving the order of the heavenly god to rule the land, Ninigi descends on the peak of Kuji-furu (in Kyūshū) that is identical to the name of the place Kuji (in southern Korea) where the founder of Karak descended from heaven. See Egami (1964: 56, 59).

天降坐于竺紫日向之高千穗之久士  
布流多氣 (K: 128) 天神之子 則當到  
筑紫日向高千穗穗觸之峯 (NI:149)

三國史記 列傳 金庾信...首露...漢  
建武十八年壬寅登龜峰 望駕洛九村  
遂至其地開國 號曰加耶 (S2: 290)  
三國遺事 駕洛國記...所居北龜  
旨...皇天所以命我者 御是處 惟新  
家邦...故降矣...始現故諱首露...  
國稱大駕洛 又稱伽耶國 卽六伽耶  
之一也 餘五人各歸爲五伽耶主

<sup>4</sup> 番仁岐命 初降于高千嶺 神倭天  
皇 經歷于秋津嶋 (K: 42)

<sup>5</sup> 息長帶日賣命 於倭還上之時 因  
疑人心 一具喪船 御子載其喪船...  
思將待取 進出於...興軍待向之  
時...爾自其喪船下軍相戰...難  
波...故追退到山代之時 還立 各不  
退相戰...更張追擊 故逃退逢坂 對  
立亦戰 爾追迫敗於...悉斬其軍...  
共被追迫...故...率其太子...造假  
宮而坐 (K: 232-234)

Ihare(Jimmu) passed through the island of Akitsu” in one breath.<sup>4</sup> In Book Two of the *Kojiki*, Ihare, who was born in Kyūshū, commences the epic Eastward Conquest while Homuda, who was also born in Kyūshū, wages a miniature Eastward Conquest with his mother (Jingū), who has just crossed over the sea from the Korean Peninsula and landed on the Japanese Islands.

The Sun Goddess Amaterasu orders her child to descend from heaven to rule the Japanese Islands, while the earthly mother Jingū accompanies her child and herself sees her son through becoming the king at the capital city named Ihare in the Yamato area.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Kojiki*, the divine oracle tells Homuda’s mother (Jingū) that “it is the intention of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu to bestow the country upon her unborn child and let him rule it ... and hence if the country is really desired ... cross the sea!”<sup>6</sup>

The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* first created Jimmu out of the early exploits of Homuda from Paekche and then created Ōjin out of his later exploits. Obviously, the writers of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* attributed all the military activities of Homuda, as recorded in provincial accounts, to Jimmu instead of Ōjin. As Aoki (1974: 39) says, “the silence of both *Kojiki* and *Nihon-shoki* regarding Homuda’s aggressiveness seems intentional.” The newcomers to the Yamato region were Paekche people. Their leader, Homuda, was a member of the Paekche royal family. And yet the writers of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* created out of Homuda both Jimmu the Conqueror and Ōjin the Man of Peace.

In Jingū’s section of the *Nihongi*, Homuda appears as the son of Okinaga Tarashi-hime, masquerading as a shadowy crown prince. If we put Jimmu and Ōjin together, however, we can immediately visualize Homuda, the conqueror and founder of the Yamato Kingdom. Putting them together allows us to make sense out of all those provincial accounts of the aggressive military activities of Homuda.

I contend that Ninigi, the scion of the Sun Goddess recorded in Book One, Ihare the earthly founder, and Homuda the fifteenth king recorded in Book Two (at the beginning and at the end, respectively) of the *Kojiki* portray three different aspects of the real founder of the Yamato Kingdom. In the *Kojiki* as well as in the *Nihongi*, the mythological aspect was covered in the Ninigi section, the records of battles and conquest were covered

in the Ihare (Jimmu) section, and the massive arrival of the Paekche people was covered in the Homuda (Öjin) section. Ihare, Homuda, and Ninigi constitute the trinity in the foundation legend of the Yamato Kingdom.

## 2. The Biryu Line and the Onjo Line

Recounting the foundation legend and putting analytical pressure on it, I will now show a reasonable speculation that the usual theme allows. The foundation legend of the Paekche Kingdom includes two brothers: an elder brother, Biryu, who failed (*à la* Itsuse) and a younger brother, Onjo, who succeeded (*à la* Ihare).<sup>7</sup>

According to the *Samguk-sagi*, the founder of Koguryeo, Chu-mong, had one son, Yuri, by his first wife, whom he married when he was in Northern Puyeo; and two sons, Biryu and Onjo, by his second wife, whom he married when he came down to Chol-bon Puyeo. When Yuri ascended the throne, Biryu and Onjo left Chol-bon Puyeo (which became Koguryeo) and went south with their followers in search of a new territory. On reaching Han-san, they climbed a mountain to the north of present-day Seoul and surveyed the landscape for a place to establish a new kingdom. Although many people advised against it, Biryu, the elder brother, decided to go to the coastal area and found a state. Onjo, the younger brother, chose Wi-rye in inland Ha-nam (along the modern-day Han River) for his capital and called his state Ship-che. As it turned out, Biryu, the elder brother who had gone to live by the sea, was unable to settle there because the soil was damp and the water contained salt. He thus returned to reconsider settling in Ha-nam, where his younger brother had settled. Upon finding that Wi-rye was flourishing and the people there were enjoying a comfortable life, Biryu became so ashamed of his lack of foresight that he committed suicide. Biryu's retainers then formed a union with Onjo followers and the country became Paekche.

After the death of the fourth Paekche king Kae-ru (r.128-66), the kingship had alternated between two royal clans, allegedly a clan of an elder brother, Chogo clan, and a clan of a younger brother, Koi clan, until the time of Keun Chogo (r.346-

神功 攝政三年 立譽田別皇子 爲皇太子 因以 都於磐余 (NI: 349)

<sup>6</sup> 太后歸神 言教覺詔者 西方有國...吾今歸賜其國...凡此國者 坐汝命御腹之御子 所知國者也...是天照大神之御心者...今寔思求其國者...大海以可度 (K: 228-230)

<sup>7</sup> 三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 百濟始祖溫祚王... 沸流溫祚恐爲太子所不容遂與...十臣南行 百姓從之者多遂至漢山登負兒嶽 望可居之地 沸流欲居於海濱 十臣諫曰 惟此河南之地 北帶漢水 東據高岳 南望沃澤 西阻大海 其天險地利 難得之勢... 沸流不聽 分其民 歸彌鄒忽以居之 溫祚都河南慰禮城 以十臣爲輔翼 國號十濟 是前漢成帝 鴻嘉三年也 沸流以彌鄒土濕水鹹 不得安居 歸見慰禮 都邑鼎定 人民安泰 遂慙悔而死 其臣民皆歸於慰禮 後以來時 百姓樂從 改號百濟 (S2: 15)



5.1. 4th century Su-chon-ri site, Kong-ju

<sup>8</sup> 三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 肖古王蓋婁王之子... 百濟本紀 第二 仇首王 或云貴須 肖古王之長子.. 古余王蓋婁王之第二子也 仇首王.. 薨 長子沙伴嗣位 而幼少不能為政 肖古王母弟古余即位... 責稽王 古余王子... 汾西王責稽王長子 ... 比流王仇首王第二子... 及汾西之終 雖有子皆幼得立 是以 為臣民推戴即位 ... 契王汾西王之長子也... 近肖古王比流王第二子也... 近仇首王近肖古王之子 枕流王近仇首王之元子... 辰斯王 近仇首王之仲子 阿莘王枕流王之元子... 驥支王阿莘之元子 (S2: 18, 29-32)  
See also Lee Ki-dong (1996: 132, 143).



5.2. 4th century Paekche Su-chon-ri site, Kong-ju 公州 水村里

<sup>9</sup> 三國史記 百濟本紀 第二 近肖古王二年 春正月 拜真淨為朝廷佐平 淨王后親戚 性狠 戾不仁 臨事苛細 恃勢自用 國人疾之 (S2: 32)

近仇首王 二年 以王舅真高道為內臣佐平 委以政事 (S2: 32)

辰斯王 六年 王命達率真嘉謨伐高句麗 拔都坤城 虜得二百人 王拜嘉謨為兵官佐平

75) when the succession was at last consolidated into the Chogo line. “Keun” Chogo implies “closely related to” Chogo. The succession of Paekche kings stopped oscillating between the Chogo line and the Koi line thereafter, and became lineal from the reign of Keun Chogo. During the 180 year period of 166-346, the two royal clans had produced four kings each: Chogo-Kusu-Saban-Biryu from the Chogo line, and Koi-Chaekkye-Bunseo-Kye from the Koi line. During the first 68 years, the Chogo-line had succeeded the throne: Chogo(r.166-214)-Kusu(r.214-34)-Saban (r.234). Saban was, however, very young and hence was replaced by the (allegedly) Chogo’s younger brother, Koi (r.234-86), followed by his line of Chaek-kye (r.286-98) and Bun-seo (r.298-304). When Bun-seo was murdered by the assassin sent by the Governor of Lelang, his son was very young, and Biryu (r.304-44) could restore the Chogo-line after the lapse of 70 years. After Biryue, Bun-seo’s son Kye (r.344-6) could come back, but apparently he had been waiting too long and died only two years later. The last of the Koi line, Kye, was succeeded by the Chogo line, Keun Chogo, and thereafter the Koi line did not return to the throne, and vanished from the Paekche history. Some Korean historians believe that the (vanished) Koi clan in fact belonged to the (failed Onjo’s elder brother) Biryu line. <sup>8</sup>

It is indeed tempting to speculate that the (vanished) Koi clan may have been the (failed) Biryu line; and furthermore, Keun Chogo may have persuaded the Koi clan in the late fourth century to leave the Korean Peninsula and open a new dynasty in the new world. Homuda could have been the leader of the Biryu/Koi clan who had agreed to leave Han-seong with his followers and, with the full support of (now the Chogo-line) Paekche court, succeeded in founding the Yamato Kingdom in the Japanese Islands by 390.

### 3. The *Jin* (眞) Family Queens in Paekche and the *Ma*-hito (眞-人) Clan of the Yamato Royal Family

According to the *Samguk-sagi*, King Keun Chogo had appointed his brother-in-law, *Jin* (眞) Zeong, as the Chief Minister in 347. *Jin* Zeong is described as “a relative of the queen, a man with a fierce character who lacked virtue, was fussy in every

matter, and being confident in his powerful position, handled every matter whatever way he pleased, and hence was hated by the people.”<sup>9</sup>

The *Jin* (眞) clan was one of the major ruling clans in Paekche. In 331, King Biryu (r.304-44) had appointed *Jin* Yi as his Prime Minister. It was from the reign of Keun Chogo (r.346-75) “that the so-called ‘age of *Jin* family queens’ began, as Keun Chogo’s immediate successors continued to choose their consorts from this single aristocratic house.”<sup>10</sup> In 376, King Keun Kusu appointed his father-in-law, *Jin* Kodo, as prime minister and entrusted to him all government affairs. In 390, King Chinsa ordered Tal-sol *Jin* Kamo to attack Koguryeo. *Jin* Kamo captured the castle Tokon-seong and 200 prisoners, leading King Chinsa to promote him to Commander General in charge of military affairs. In 393, King Asin appointed *Jin* Mu, an uncle on his mother’s side, as Commander General and entrusted to him all military affairs. King Asin ordered *Jin* Mu to attack Koguryeo in 393, 394 and 395, but his forces were defeated each time by the army of Kwang-gae-to.

According to the *Samguk-sagi*, King Chogo (r.166-214) ordered *Jin* Gua of North Bu (北部) to attack a Mal-gal castle in 214, and King Koi (r.234-86) appointed *Jin* Chung as his Commander General in 240, entrusting him with military affairs. In 247, *Jin* Mul was appointed as Commander General. In 262, King Koi appointed *Jin* Ka to the position of Finance Minister.<sup>11</sup> The *Jin* clan might well have been providing queens not only to the Cho-go line but also to the Koi line as early as in the third century, i.e., long before the so-called “age of *Jin* family queens” began in the mid-fourth century.

The preface of *Shinsen Shōjiroku* states that the *Ma*-hito (眞人 *Jin*-person) is the sovereign one among the imperial clans.<sup>12</sup> The records of *Shinsen Shōjiroku* may be interpreted to mean that the family name of Ōjin’s line of emperors was *Jin*. The Chinese character “*Jin* (=Ma 眞)” means “genuine.” One may now wonder whether there was any relationship between the *Jin* clan of Paekche queens and the *Jin*-person (*Ma*-hito) clan of the Yamato imperial family.

According to the *Shinsen Shōjiroku*, Homuda might well have been related to *Jin* Zeong of Paekche or may even have been one of his direct offspring, say, a grandchild by one of his

阿莘王 二年 拜眞武爲左將 委兵馬事 武王之親舅 沈毅有大略 時人服之 (S2: 45)

<sup>10</sup> See Lee (1984: 37).

<sup>11</sup> 三國史記 百濟本紀 第一  
多婁王 十年 北部眞會爲右輔  
肖古王 四十九年 命北部眞果領兵一千 襲取靺鞨石門城

三國史記 百濟本紀 第二 古尔王  
七年 拜眞忠爲左將委以 內外兵馬事  
十三年 魏幽州刺史 毋丘儉與樂浪太守劉茂 帶方太守弓遵伐高句麗王乘虛 遣左將眞忠襲取樂浪邊民  
十四年 拜眞忠爲右輔 眞勿爲左將委以兵馬事  
二十八年 拜眞可爲內頭佐平 比流王 三十年 拜眞義爲內臣佐平 (S2: 29-31)

<sup>12</sup> 枝別之宗 特立之祖…眞人是皇別之上氏也 (SS: 146-147)

<sup>13</sup> 左京皇別 息長眞人 出自譽田天皇諡應神…大原眞人 出自諡敏達孫百濟王也 島根眞人 大原眞人同祖百濟親王之後也..清原眞人桑田眞人同祖 百濟親王之後也 (SS: 149-152)



5.3. 4th century Paekche Su-chon-ri site, Kong-ju 公州 水村里

<sup>14</sup>天照大神之子...娶高皇產靈尊之女...生...瓊瓊杵...故皇祖高皇產靈尊特鍾憐愛 以崇養焉 遂欲立皇孫...以為葦原中國之主 然彼地多有螢火光神 及蠅聲邪 神...故高皇產靈尊 召集八十諸神 而問之曰 吾欲令撥平葦原中國之邪鬼 當遣誰者宜也 (NI: 135)

高皇產靈尊 選當遣於葦原中國者...高皇產靈尊 以真床追衾覆於皇孫...使降之 皇孫乃離天磐座 ...天降於日向襲之高千穗峯矣 (NI: 139-141)  
神武天皇 即位前紀 神日本磐余彥天皇...曰...昔我天神 高皇產靈尊...尊 舉此豐葦原瑞穗國 而授我天祖彥火瓊瓊杵 (NI: 189)

天地初發之時 於高天原成神名天之御中主神...次高御產巢日神 次...此二柱神亦... 上件五柱神者 別天神 (K: 50)  
是高木神者高御產巢日神之別名 (K: 114)  
天照大御神...詔太子...此御子者御合高木神之女...生子...次日子...適藝...隨命以可天降 (K: 124-126)

<sup>15</sup>三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 一云 始祖沸流王...北扶餘王解扶婁庶孫..朱蒙...南奔至卒本立都號高句麗 娶召西奴為妃 其於開基創業 頗有內助...及朱蒙在扶餘所生 禮氏子孺留來 立之為太子...於是沸流謂弟溫祚曰...我母氏傾家財助成邦業...不如奉母氏南遊卜地 別立國都 遂與弟率黨類...至彌鄒忽以居...十三年 [6 BC] 王母薨 年六十一 歲 (S2: 15)

daughters, reminiscent of the relationship between Takami-musubi (Takagi) and Ninigi. After all, the Register not only records that the clan name of Ōjin's line of the imperial family was *Jin* (*Ma-hito*), but also includes records which clearly suggest that they were the descendents of the Paekche royal family, implying that the entire Ōjin line of Japan's imperial families originated from the Paekche royal families.<sup>13</sup> (See Chapter 7, Section 2, and Appendix 7.1.)

After the reign of Keun Chogo, the Koi line vanished from the peninsular history. It is hence tempting to speculate that Homuda might have been the last leader of the Koi-line, to reappear in the Japanese Islands as the founder of a new kingdom. King Keun Chogo and the Chief Minister *Jin* Zeong were in-laws, as were Amaterasu and Takagi in the *Kojiki-Nibongi* mythology. In the foundation myth, Ninigi was the grandchild of Amaterasu, and Takagi was the maternal grandfather of Ninigi. According to the *Kojiki* and *Nibongi*, Takagi was much more active than Amaterasu in making Ninigi the ruler of the earthly kingdom on the Japanese Islands.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the *Jin* clan had been maintaining the in-law relationship not only with the Chogo line but also with the Koi line that lost in the succession contests, and hence came to harbor a strong maternal compassion for Homuda's endeavor. The *Jin* clan could have been the maternal root of both the Koi clan (à la *Jin*-family queen) and the founding family of the Yamato Kingdom (à la Ninigi's maternal grandfather, Takagi).

*Jin* Zeong could have played the role of Takagi. If Ninigi had to leave the Heavenly Kingdom, Takagi had to make Ninigi the ruler of the Japanese Islands. Likewise, if the last heir to the Koi line had to leave Paekche, *Jin* Zeong had to make Homuda the founder of a new kingdom. Perhaps that is why the sovereign Yamato royal family carried the clan name of *Jin*-person (*Ma-hito*) while at the same time affirming its kinship with the Paekche royal family.

Paekche was born after the contest for succession had been lost at the Chu-mong's court. And yet, after successfully founding a new kingdom, the Paekche rulers held no grudge against Chu-mong but, rather, maintained annual rites at his shrine. According to the *Samguk-sagi*, the mother of Paekche's founder (So-seono) played a role comparable to that of Homuda's

mother depicted in the *Nihongi* (Jingū).<sup>15</sup> Homuda could have inherited the (Biryu-Onjo) pioneer spirit of opening up a new world, and the preservation of the clan name *Jin*-person (*Ma-hito*) by the sovereign Yamato royal family might suggest Homuda's sense of indebtedness to his maternal roots.

#### 4. King Kwang-gae-to's Epitaph

##### SIN-MYŎ RECORDS: WA COMING IN THE YEAR 391

The Paekche court at first seems to have treated Homuda as the king of a vassal state, as was inscribed on the Seven-branched Sword. King Chinsa (r.385-92), a son of Keun Kusu, in particular, seems to have treated Homuda as inferior to himself. According to the *Nihongi*, Homuda dispatched four generals to Paekche and severely reprimanded Chinsa in 392 for such unwarranted treatment, which perhaps came to be inscribed in the Kwang-gae-to's epitaph as "Wa coming in the year 391." Homuda also severely reproved the new king Asin (392-405), a grandson of Keun Kusu, in 397 (or in 396) for such an attitude.<sup>16</sup> I speculate that Homuda, the founder of the Yamato Kingdom, and Keun Kusu, the crown prince and later the king of Paekche, belonged to the same generation, possibly with some age difference, and hence Homuda could not stand such an unwarranted attitude in young Paekche kings of the later generation.

Paekche had managed to maintain the upper hand militarily against Koguryeo until September 390 (when King Chinsa let General *Jin* Kamo capture a Koguryeo castle and 200 prisoners), but the appearance of King Kwang-gae-to the Great (r.391-413) in Koguryeo completely reversed Paekche's fortunes on the battlefield.<sup>17</sup> King Asin seems belatedly to have recognized the urgent necessity, for the very survival of Paekche, of the help from the newly born Yamato Kingdom still fresh in its conqueror's vigor. King Asin decided to send his crown prince Cheon-ji to the Yamato court in 397 in order to transform the unnecessarily created ill will between the two courts into an active alliance.<sup>18</sup> The inscription of Kwang-gae-to's stele suggests that the efforts by Asin and Cheon-ji were apparently successful. The Koguryeo army led by King Kwang-gae-to devastated Paekche in

[Another source states.] The founder was King Biryu who was the grandson (by a concubine) of King Hae Buru of Northern Puyeo. The founder's mother was So-seono who gave birth to two sons, the elder being Biryu and the younger being Onjo. When her husband died, she returned to Chol-bon. Later, when Chu-mong fled south to Chol-bon area, he took So-seono as his wife. Since she proved instrumental in the successful foundation of his state, Chumong treated her sons as if they were his own. Yet later, when Yuryu (the son who had been born earlier while he was in Puyeo) arrived, Chu-mong invested him as crown prince. Biryu reasoned with his younger brother, Onjo, saying, "Formerly, at the time when the Great King fled from Puyeo to dwell in this land, our mother expended her resources in aiding him to establish his rule. Wouldn't it be better going south together with our mother to find suitable land and establish a separate state there?" So-seono died in 6 BCE at the age of 61. (S2: 15) See also Best (2006: 208-10).

<sup>16</sup> 應神 三年 是歲 百濟辰斯王立之失禮於貴國 天皇故遣...噴讓其无禮狀 由是 百濟國殺辰斯王以謝之 (NI: 365)  
應神 八年 春三月 百濟人來朝...百濟記云 阿花王立无禮於貴國故奪我...侵...東韓之地 (NI: 367)

<sup>17</sup> 三國史記 百濟本紀 第三 辰斯王六年 九月 王命達率 眞嘉謨 伐高句麗 拔都坤城 虜得二百人

<sup>18</sup> 應神 八年 是以遣王子直支于天朝 以脩先王之好也 (NI: 367)

<sup>19</sup> 廣開土王碑文  
百殘新羅舊是屬民 由來朝貢 而倭以辛卯年來 渡海破百殘 任羅加羅 以爲臣民 以六年丙申 王躬率水軍 討伐殘國… 而殘主困逼獻出男女生口一千人 細布千匹 跪王自誓從今以後 永爲奴客 太王恩赦始迷之愆 錄其後順之誠 於是得五十八城 村七百 將殘主弟并大臣十人 旋師還都

The King Kwang-gae-to's stele was erected by his son, King Chang-su (413-91), in 414 in commemoration of his predecessor.

<sup>20</sup> In the *Sin-myō* record, there are three missing letters between the word "Paekche" and the letter "ra(la)." Indeed it is a real curiosity that most Japanese scholars could simply fill up the missing three letters following Paekche to make them read "Imna, Silla." First of all, no one can ever deny that the *Sin-myō Record* (391) was inserted to justify the invasion of Paekche, not Silla, by King Kwang-gae-to in 396. The following inscriptions clearly state that Koguryeo and Silla maintained a friendly relationship, that Koguryeo never invaded Silla but rather helped it to repulse Wa troops, and hence Silla did not have to be implicated in the official excuse for the invasion carried out in 396. Indeed, a later line of the inscription for the year 400 specifically records that King Kwang-gae-to annihilated the Wa troops by chasing

392 and 396, but later saw as valiant warriors the Yamato soldiers fighting alongside the Paekche soldiers in 400 and also in 404.

The belief that Japan had a unified and powerful state as early as the third or fourth century, possessed a colony called Mima-na on the southern peninsula, and controlled Paekche and Silla used to be based on the anachronistic and incoherent bits and pieces of episodes and fantasies recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. There are, of course, no records which suggest any such possibility in any Korean or Chinese chronicles. Nonetheless, the Japanese made a discovery in 1882 which could be viewed as an objective support for their claim. It is a single line in the inscription on the epitaph of Kwang-gae-to, a copy of which was brought to Japan by Sakao Kagenobu, an army officer and intelligence agent of the Japanese General Staff Office. This is the famous *Sin-myō* (391) *Record*. Japanese historians interpret the line of inscription in the following fashion: "Since the year of *Sin-myō*, Wa came and crossed over the sea, and conquered Paekche, Imna and Silla, and thereby made them [Wa's] subject." This translation constitutes the so-called unshakable "evidence" in support of the dogma of almost every Japanese historian working on this period: the dogma that the Yamato Kingdom already existed in the fourth century as a unified and powerful state and, furthermore, had militarily controlled (or even colonized) South Korea.<sup>19</sup>

According to Hatada (1979): "Prewar [Japanese] history textbooks were based on the records of the *Nihon shoki* and said that Japan had controlled ancient Korea, whereas postwar texts were based on the King Kwang-gae-to stele inscription, but still accepted Japan's control of Korea. Thus the basis for the view that Japan had controlled Korea moved from an unreliable ancient chronicle to the reliable stele inscription. Though the history texts written after the surrender were vastly different from their prewar counterparts, in this one respect there was no change, and King Kwang-gae-to's stele was the basis of the argument."

According to Ledyard (1975), Paekche "came under heavy and continuous battering from their Koguryeo cousins in the north, and were quite severely in trouble during the 390's and 400's. Help from their brothers in Japan may have been the only thing that saved them – in any case, this is what I think it means on the Kwang-gae-to's Stone when it says that the Wa came across the sea and fought in Korea." Hence, one may understand the

statement that “Wa conquered Paekche, Imna and Kara and made them their subjects” as reflecting the feeling of contempt that Koguryeo must have held for Paekche’s dependence on Wa troops.<sup>20</sup> That is, Koguryeo must have been angered by Paekche’s frequent reliance on Wa soldiers, and therefore could have decided to inscribe on the monument, with contempt, that Paekche, together with Imna and Kara, were conquered by Wa and became its subjects.

#### CROSSING THE YELLOW SEA ALONG THE WESTERN COASTLINE

Of course there are alternative ways to interpret the Sinmyo Record. For instance, Cho (1984: 35-64) interprets it in the following fashion: “Paekche and Silla were formerly [Koguryeo’s] subjects. They have been paying tributes. The Wa came in the year *Sin-myō* (391). [The King Kwang-geo-to] crossed over the sea and destroyed Paekche, [Imna and Ka]ra to make them his subjects.” According to Cho, the “sea” in the inscription must refer to the “Yellow Sea” along the western coastline of the Korean Peninsula, given that it was the most convenient expeditionary route to the southwestern and southern parts from the northwestern coast.

Indeed, the inscription immediately following the Sinmyo (391) record reads: “King himself led a **naval force** in the sixth year, Byung-shin (396), and smashed Paekche.” It subsequently records the acquisition of 58 Paekche castles, but never records that Paekche was conquered. In any case, the only way for the Koguryeo to attack Paekche with its naval force was to sail the “Yellow Sea” along the western coastline. If the Koguryeo force crossed the Yellow Sea in 396, there is no reason why they should not have crossed the Yellow Sea before (in 391).

#### YAMATO SOLDIERS FIGHTING FOR PAKECHE

By the late fourth century, Paekche came to occupy the entire southwestern quarter of the peninsula, facing Koguryeo in the north, and Silla and Kaya in the east. The reversal of Paekche’s military fortune at the turn of the century seems to have necessitated the military assistance of the newborn Yamato Kingdom. The active participation of *Yamato* (written *Wa*) soldiers in the peninsular warfare during the period of 396-404 came to be inscribed on the King Kwang-gae-to’s stele. The epitaph gives

them all the way to the Imna, Kara area and thereby rescued Silla. Reading it as “Im-na, Ka-ra” instead of “Im-na, Sil-la” is therefore more consistent with the fact that Koguryeo did not fight against Silla at that time. We also find the expression “Imna, Kara” in the orthodox chronicles of Chinese dynasties, such as the record of *Songshu* on the five kings of Wa.

<sup>21</sup> 廣開土王碑文 九年 己亥 百殘  
違誓 與倭和通 王巡下平穰 而  
新羅遣使白王云 倭人滿其國 境  
潰破城池 以奴客為民 歸王 請命  
太王恩慈 稱其忠誠 特遣 使還  
告以密計 十年庚子 教遣步騎五萬  
往救新羅 從男居城 至新羅城 倭滿  
其中 官軍方至 倭賊退 自倭背急  
追至任那加羅 從拔城 城即歸服 安  
羅人戍兵 拔新羅城 倭寇大潰  
城內十九 盡拒隨倭... 殘倭遣逃 ...  
昔新羅寐錦未有身來論事 □□□□  
廣開土境好太王□□□□ 寐錦□家  
僕勾請□□□朝貢  
廣開土王碑文 十四年 甲辰 而倭  
不軌 侵入帶方界 和通殘兵 □石城  
□連船□□□ 王躬率□ 討從平穰  
□□□鋒相遇 王幢要截盪刺 倭寇  
潰敗 斬煞無數



5.4. Late 4th century Koguryeo  
Ji'an Tomb No. 12 集安12號墳

<sup>22</sup> 欽明 五年 百濟遣…曰夫建任那之國…請將士 而助任那之國將士之糧 我當須運 將士之數 未限若干 (NII: 79-83)

欽明 五年 聖明王謂之曰… 新羅安羅兩國之境有大江水 要害之地也 吾欲據此修繕 六城謹請天皇三千兵士每城充 以五百… 所請兵士 吾給衣糧 (NII: 83-91)

欽明 八年 百濟遣…等 乞救軍 (NII: 95-97)

欽明 九年 遣三百七十人於百濟 助築城於得爾辛 (NII: 97-99)

<sup>23</sup> 欽明 十四年 百濟遣…等 乞軍兵 六月 遣內臣 闕名 使於 百濟 仍賜良馬二匹 同船二隻 弓五十張 箭五十具 勅云 所請軍者 隨王所須…又復海表諸國 甚乏弓馬 自古迄今 受之天皇 以御強敵 伏願 天慈多貺弓馬 (NII: 103-7)

欽明 十五年 百濟遣中部 木昴 施德…等於筑紫 諮內臣…等曰…方聞 奉可畏天皇之詔 來詣 筑紫 看送賜軍 聞之歡喜 無能比者 此年之役 甚危於前 願遣賜軍 使逮正月 於是 內臣…答報曰 即令遣助軍數一千 馬一百匹 船四十隻 (NII: 109)

<sup>24</sup> 晉書 卷九十七 列傳 第六十七 倭人 泰始[265-74]初 遣使重譯入貢 攝政 六十六年 晉起居注云 武帝 泰初二年 [266] 倭女王遣重譯貢獻 晉書 卷十 帝紀第十 安帝義熙九年 [413] 是歲 高句麗倭國…並獻方物

notice (in contemptuous words) to the emerging alliance among Paekche, Yamato, and Kaya states (the latter represented by two names, Imna and Kara) after the year 391, and the forlorn Silla seeking help from Koguryeo in 399.

The epitaph as well as the *Nihongi* record the frequent participation of Yamato troops on the side of Paekche in battles against Koguryeo and Silla, just like the frequent participation of the Black-Water Mohe soldiers on the side of Koguryeo.<sup>21</sup>

According to the *Nihongi*, the Paekche practice of using Yamato soldiers in intramural armed conflicts continued well into the sixth century. The *Nihongi* records the statement made by King Seong-myung of Paekche in 544 who intended to request from Kimmei “an army with which to succor the Land of Imna” and also 3,000 troops to construct six fortresses along the frontier between Silla and a Kaya state. The *Nihongi* records that Paekche sent envoys to Yamato “to ask for auxiliaries” in 547, and “three hundred and seventy men were sent to Paekche to assist in constructing a fortress at Toki-sin” in 548.<sup>22</sup>

The *Nihongi* records that, in 553, “Uchi no Omi was sent on a mission to Paekche with a present of two good horses, two traveling barges, fifty bows, fifty sets of arrows, and an Imperial message, saying, ‘As to the troops asked for by the King, his wishes shall be complied with.’” In 553, King Seong-myung sent a memorial to Kimmei, saying that “the lands beyond the sea are very scarce of bows and horses. From old times until now, they have received them from the Emperor, and have therewith defended themselves against their powerful enemies. I humbly pray...to bestow on us a large supply of bows and horses.” In 554, “Paekche sent ... to communicate with Uchi no Omi... ‘We have just heard that thou, by command of the August Emperor, hast arrived in Tsukushi [Northern Kyūshū] in charge of the troops bestowed on us by him. Nothing could compare much more with our joy when we heard this. The campaign of this year is a much more dangerous one than the last; and we beg that the force granted to us may not be allowed to be later than the first month.’ Hereupon Uchi no Omi answered ... ‘Accordingly there is being sent an auxiliary force numbering 1,000 men, 100 horses, and 40 ships.’”<sup>23</sup>

## 5. Five Kings of Yamato in the Chinese Dynastic Chronicles

## FIVE KINGS OF YAMATO APPEARING IN THE SONGSHU

Saeki (1977) notes that “it is possible to reconstruct Japanese history in the second and third centuries to some extent on the basis of the account of the *Wo-zhuan* in Chinese history, the *Weizhi*. ... [But] there are no extant sources for the fourth century.” Some Japanese historians have attempted to fill the gap that is often referred to as “the mysterious fourth century” by examining the records on five kings of Yamato of the fifth century appearing in the *Songshu*. According to the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, the Chinese character “Wo” was read (no longer as Wa but) as “Yamato” in the Japanese Islands in the fifth century.

After the lacuna of the period 266-413 in Chinese dynastic chronicles that covers the so-called mysterious fourth century, the *Jinshu* at last records the arrival of a tribute envoy from the Yamato State in 413.<sup>24</sup> According to the *Songshu*, eight years thereafter in 421, King Zan [Nintoku?] of Wo (Yamato) was granted unidentified rank and title by the Wudi (r.420-2) of Liu-Song (420-79). Sometime after 425, the *Songshu* records that Zan [Richū?] died and his brother, Zhen [Hanzei?] came to the throne, and the latter sent an envoy to the Song Court with tribute. Signing himself as King of Yamato and the Great General Who Maintains Peace in the East (*Andong-da-jiangjun*) Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Yamato, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chin-han, and Ma-han, he requested that these self-claimed titles be formally confirmed. Wendi (r.424-53) of Liu-Song ignored the request and granted a simple and lesser title of “General Pacifying the East (*Andong-jiangjun*), the King of Yamato” sometime between 425-42.<sup>25</sup>

In 443, King Sai [Ingyō? r. ?-443-51-?] succeeded to the same title, *Andong-jiangjun*, King of Yamato. The *Songshu* does not specify the relationship between Zhen and Sai. In 451, the Liu-Song court somehow decided to add the self-proclaimed title of “Inspector General in Charge of All Military Affairs in the Six States” as requested by the former Yamato king, Zhen, but deleted “Paekche” from the list of six states and replaced it with “Kara,” reflecting the fact that the Song court maintained diplomatic relations with none of those five Korean kingdoms on the list except Paekche. To the Song court, all those on the list

<sup>25</sup> See Tsunoda and Goodrich (1951: 22).

宋書 卷九十七 列傳 夷蠻 高祖 永初二年 [421] 詔曰 倭讚萬里修貢... 可賜除授 太祖元嘉二年 [425] 讚又遣...表獻方物 讚死弟珍立 遣使貢獻 自稱使持節都督倭百濟新羅任那秦韓慕韓六國諸軍事 安東大將軍倭國王表求 除正詔除安東將軍倭國王珍又求除正...等十三人 平西征盧冠軍輔國將軍號 詔並聽 二十年 [443] 倭國王濟遣使奉獻 復以爲安東將軍倭國王 二十八年 [451] 加使持節都督倭新羅任那加羅秦韓慕韓六國諸軍事安東將軍如故 并除所上二十三人軍郡 濟死世子興遣使貢獻 世祖大明 六年 [462] 詔曰 倭王世子興奕世載忠...可安東將軍倭國王 興死弟武立 自稱使持節都督倭百濟新羅任那加羅秦韓慕韓七國諸軍事 安東大將軍倭國王

本牟多 [Homuda/Ōjin] 能比 [日] 能美古 [御子] 意富佐邪岐 [Nintoku 大雀] (K:246-7)

大雀命 [大鷦鷯]...治天下也 (K: 264)

履中 [Richū] 卽位前紀 去來穗別天皇 大鷦鷯天皇太子也 (NI: 419)

弟水齒別 [Hanzei]..治天下也 (K:288)

反正 卽位前紀 瑞齒別天皇...生而齒如一骨...五年 天皇崩 (NI: 431)

允恭 [Ingyō] 卽位前紀 先皇責之曰...其長生之遂不得繼業 亦我兄二天皇愚我而輕之..乃卽帝位 (NI: 435)

允恭 二年 生...穴穗天皇 [Ankō]...大泊瀨 [Yūryaku]...天皇 (NI: 435-437)



5.5. Paekche envoy appearing on a Liang scroll (dated 526-39) 梁職貢圖

梁 職貢圖 百濟國使 百濟舊來夷馬韓之屬 晉末駒麗畧有遼東 樂浪亦有遼西晉平縣 自晉已來常修蕃貢 義熙中其王餘腆 宋元嘉中其王餘毗 齊永明中其王餘太 皆受中國官爵 梁初以太 除征東將軍 尋為高句麗所破 普通二年其王餘隆遣使奉表云 累破高麗 所治城曰固麻 謂邑檐魯於中國郡縣 有二十二檐魯 分子弟宗族為之 旁小國有叛波 卓多羅 新羅 止迷(速)麻連 上己文 下枕羅等附之 言語衣服畧同高麗 行不張拱拜不申足 以帽為冠 襦曰復衫 袴曰禪 其言參諸夏 亦秦韓之遺俗

<sup>26</sup> Best 2006 (285-8, 291-4, 297) 三國史記 卷第二十五 百濟本紀 第三 蓋鹵王 十八年 遣使朝魏上表曰 ... 臣與高句麗 源出扶餘 先世之時 篤崇舊款 其祖釗 [故國原王]...親率士衆 凌踐臣境 臣祖須...梟斬釗

except Paekche were, diplomatically, non-existent entities.

According to the *Samguk-sagi*, Silla established the first contact with the Southern Chinese Dynasties in 521 by sending an envoy to the Court of Liang along with the Paekche envoy. By the fifth century, the majority of walled-town states constituting Ma-han and Chin-han had already been conquered and annexed by either Paekche or Silla, and hence were by themselves no longer independent political entities. The remnants of Chin-han and Ma-han existed as members of the Kaya Federation, represented by the Imna league and Kara league, by the time Yamato kings sent their envoys to China in the early fifth century. The Song court had established formal diplomatic relations neither with Silla nor with Imna, Kara, Chin-han, nor Ma-han. Hence the Liu-Song rulers apparently did not care much about the title “Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six States, Yamato, Silla, Imna, Kara, Chin-han and Ma-han” after making sure to delete Paekche from the list of the diplomatically unknown states the Yamato rulers presented.

A preponderance of Japanese historians, however, claim that the very act of confirmation in 451 by the Liu-Song court of the above self-proclaimed title “proves” that the Yamato Kingdom militarily controlled the entire Korean Peninsula, blatantly ignoring the fact that the title places the Yamato State on an equal footing not only with “the Imna State and Kara State” (together representing Pyun-han or the entire Kaya Federation) but also with the bygone Ma-han State and Chin-han State.

Kō [Ankō?], the crown prince of King Sai, was also granted the title of *Andong-jiangjun*, King of Yamato. The *Songsbu* says that Kō was the “crown prince” of Sai, but does not say that he was a son or a brother of Sai. The *Songsbu* further records that when Kō died, and his brother, Bu [Yūryaku? r. circa 457 or 463-79], came to the throne.

An interesting aspect of these records is the lingering echoes of bygone states such as Ma-han, Chin-han, and Pyun-han in the minds of the Yamato rulers. By the fifth century, these Three Han states were no longer recorded in the chronicles of Chinese dynasties as independent political entities. Most of the Ma-han and Chin-han member states were absorbed into Paekche and Silla by the late fifth century. Only Pyun-han managed to form a loose federation of town-states with a new name “Kaya”

or “Imna-Kara.” Nevertheless, in the minds of the Yamato rulers who left the Korean Peninsula in the late fourth century, these Old Three Han states still existed. It is very likely because a few remnants of Old Ma-han and Old Chin-han member states could have joined the Kaya Federation (consisting of the Imna league and the Kara league), and remained in existence at that time. In any case, the Han Chinese rulers did not care, but made sure that the name of Paekche was deleted from the list of six or seven countries the Yamato rulers presented.

#### KAERO'S LETTER TO TUOBA WEI AND YŪRYAKU'S LETTER TO SONG

The *Samguk-sagi* as well as the *Weishu* record a lengthy (identical) petition sent in 472 by King Kaero (r.455-75) of Paekche to the Northern Wei (386-534) court in North China during the reign of Xiaowen'di (471-99). It was just three years before the Paekche capital Han-seong was overrun by the Koguryeo army and Kaero was killed. The *Songsbu* also records a lengthy memorial sent by King Bu [Yūriaku] of Yamato six years later in 478 to the Song (420-79) court in South China during the reign of Shun'di (r.477-9). It was just one year before the downfall of Liu-Song. These two pieces of lengthy memorials give us a rare first-hand glimpse of the contemporary state of international affairs in this period.

The following is a paraphrase with some quotations, excerpted from the Kaero's lengthy petition to the Northern Wei court as recorded in the *Samguk-sagi*.<sup>26</sup>

Both the Paekche royal house and that of Koguryeo originally came forth from Puyeo. In earlier ages, we both respected our ancient bonds, but Koguk-won [r.331-71] transgressed our frontier. Our ancestor Keun Kusu [r.375-84, as the crown prince] marshaled troops and beheaded Koguk-won. “For a long time thereafter [the northern foe] did not dare so much as to cast a glance southward in our direction. Ever since the Feng clan [of Northern Yan, 409-36] was largely destroyed and the battered remnants of their troops fled [into Koguryeo in 436], however, the filthy rogues have steadily grown stronger and constantly threaten us. ... Their present ruler, [King Chang-su r.413-91], has committed offenses against the sanctioned order of humanity. ... Sometimes in the south they plot with the Liu clan [Liu Song, 420-79], and sometimes in the north they collude with

首自爾已來 莫敢南顧 自馮氏數終  
餘燼奔竄 醜流漸盛 遂見凌逼 構怨  
連禍 三十餘載...今璉有罪...戮殺無  
已...或南通劉氏 或北約蠕蠕 共相  
脣齒 謀凌王略...又詔曰 知高句麗  
阻疆 侵軼卿上 修先君之舊怨...兵  
交累載 難結荒邊...便求致伐 尋討  
事會 理亦未周...未及卜征 今若不  
從詔旨...便可豫率同興... 師舉之日  
卿為鄉導之首... 王以麗人屢犯邊鄙  
上表乞師於魏 不從 王怨之 遂絕朝  
貢 二十一年 麗王巨璉帥兵三萬來  
圍王都漢城... 文周乃與木荔滿致...  
南行焉...王出逃...城下戕之 (S2: 48-  
9)

<sup>27</sup> Tsunoda and Goodrich (1951: 23-4)  
宋書 卷九十七 列傳 夷蠻 順帝  
昇明二年 [478] 遣使上表曰..自昔祖  
禰 躬擐甲冑 跋涉山川 不遑寧處  
東征 毛人五十五國 西服眾夷六十六  
國 渡平海北 九十五國 王道融泰  
廓土遐畿 累葉朝宗 不愆于歲...歸  
崇天極 道遙百濟 裝治船舫 而句驪  
無道 圖欲見吞 掠抄邊隸 虔劉不己  
每致稽滯 以失良風 雖曰進路 或  
通或不 臣亡考濟 實忿寇讐 壅塞  
天路 控弦百萬 義聲感激 方欲大  
舉 奄喪父兄 使垂成之功 不獲一簣  
居在諒闇 不動兵甲 是以偃息 未  
捷至今欲練甲治兵 申父兄之志 義  
士虎賁 文武効功 白刃交前 亦所  
不顧 若以帝德 覆載 摧此疆敵 克  
靖方難 無替前功 竊自假開府儀同  
三司 其余咸 假授以勸忠節 詔除武  
使持節都督倭新羅任那加羅秦韓慕  
韓六國諸軍事安東大將軍 倭國王

<sup>28</sup> 梁書 卷五十四 列傳 東夷 晉  
安帝時 [396-418] 有倭王贊 贊死立

弟彌 彌死立子濟 濟死立子興 興死立弟武 齊建元中 [479-82] 除武使持節督倭新羅任那伽羅秦韓慕韓六國諸軍事 鎮東大將軍 高祖即位 [齊太祖高皇帝, 479-82; 梁高祖武皇帝, 502-49] 進武號征東大將軍

<sup>29</sup> 南齊書 卷五十八 列傳 第三十九 東夷 百濟國 寧朔將軍面中王姐瑾 … 今假行冠軍將軍都將軍都漢王建威將軍八中侯餘古… 今假行寧朔將軍阿錯王建威將軍餘歷… 今假行龍驤將軍邁盧王廣武將軍餘固… 今假行建威將軍弗斯侯… 牟大又表曰 臣所遣 行建威將軍廣陽太守兼長史臣高達 行建威將軍朝鮮太守兼司馬臣楊茂 行宣威將軍兼參軍臣會 邁等 … 往泰始中 [465-71] 比使宋朝… 宜在進爵 謹依先例 各假行職… 伏願天監特除除正… 達… 今假行龍驤將軍帶方太守 茂… 今假行建威將軍廣陵太守… 邁… 今假行行廣武將軍清河太守 詔可 竝賜軍號 除太守 爲使持節都督百濟諸軍事鎮東大將軍… 策命大襲亡祖父牟都爲百濟王 … 是歲 魏虜又發騎數十萬攻百濟 入其界 牟大遣將 沙法名 贊首流 解禮昆木干那 率衆襲擊虜軍 大破之 建武二年 [495] 牟大遣使上表曰… 去庚午年 [490] 獠狁弗悛 舉兵深逼 … 軍逆討… 尋其功勳… 今假沙法名 行征虜將軍邁羅王 贊首流爲行安國將軍辟中王 解禮昆爲行武威將軍弗中侯 木干那 前有軍功 又拔臺舫 爲行廣威將軍 面中侯 伏願天恩特 愍聽除 又表曰 臣所遣行龍驤將軍樂浪太守兼長史慕遺 行建武將軍城陽太守兼司馬臣王茂 兼參軍行振武將軍朝鮮太守臣張塞… 各假行署 伏願聖朝特賜除正… 詔可 竝賜軍號

the Ruan-ruan [402-552], to whom they are closely allied and with whom they connive to subvert your Majesty's dominion." Wei Emperor Xiaowen then sent an envoy with the imperial rescript, saying: "We are aware that Koguryeo harasses your borders and mounts assaults upon your domain. Since their rulers harbor an ancient grievance concerning the death of their former lord, they have...made war for years on end--thereby causing great suffering in your border regions. ... You have...requested that We go forth and chastise them. But at Our audience to discuss the matter, your argument were not sufficiently convincing [to cause Us to proceed with such an undertaking]. ... [It] has not yet come to the point where we should speak of a campaign against them. ... But if hereafter they should not obey Our imperial proclamations...we both could easily assemble our forces and together set out... If at some future day Our armies are marshaled for such a campaign, then your forces shall act as Our guides ..." "Since Koguryeo continued time and time again to harass [Paekche's] borders, the king [Kaero] sent another petition to the Northern Wei pleading for troops, but the emperor again denied his request. The king bitterly resented this and thereafter ceased to render homage and remit tribute." In 475, King Chang-su of Koguryeo, "leading a force of thirty thousand soldiers, came down and surrounded the royal capital at Han-seong. ... At this juncture Munju, together with Mokhyup Manchi ... fled southward from there. ... [K]ing [Kaero] rode out to escape. ... [Koguryeo] generals ... slew him."

Three years thereafter, in 478, King Bu [Yūriaku] of Yamato wrote to the Song court in South China as follows.<sup>27</sup>

"From time of old, our forebears [i.e., Jimmu/Ōjin] have clad themselves in armor and helmets and gone across the hills and waters, sparing no time for rest. In the east they conquered fifty-five countries of hairy [Ainu] men; in the west, they brought to their knees sixty-six countries of various barbarians [likely including the Kunu people in southern Kyūshū]. Crossing the sea to the north they [Jimmu/Ōjin] subjugated ninety-five countries [in the old Ma-han area where they assisted King Keun Chogo of Paekche, and in the Kaya area which they passed through on their way to the Japanese Islands] ... Thus order is established in the land. Generation after generation, without fail, our forebears have paid homage to the [Chinese] Court ... [In order to go] by way of Paekche, far distant though it

is, we prepared ships and boats. Koguryeo, however, in defiance of the law, schemed to capture them. Borders were raided, and murder was committed repeatedly. [Therefore] we were delayed every time and missed favorable winds ... My deceased father [Ingyō] became indignant at the marauding foe who closed our way to the Sovereign Court. Urged on by sense of justice, he gathered together a million archers and was about to launch a great campaign. [But] because of the death of my father and brother [Ankō], the plan that had been nurtured could not be carried out at the last moment ... Now, however, we again set our armor in array and carry out the desire of our elders [i.e., to revenge the misery suffered by the Paekche from the persistent invasions of the Koguryeo] ... I therefore beg you to appoint me supreme commander of the campaign, with the status of minister, and grant to others (among my fellows) ranks and titles, so that loyalty may be encouraged.” With this appeal, King Bu got the title of “*Andong-da-jiangjun*, Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six States of Yamato, Silla, Imna, Kara, Chin-han and Ma-han, King of Yamato” in 478. Again, Paekche was not included in the list of the six states. The Song state was replaced by Qi in 479.

#### ORDER OF PRECEDENCE AS SEEN FROM CHINA

The *Liangshu* records that King Bu was promoted to *Zhen-dong-da-jiangjun* sometime between 479-82, and that the ruler of the Yamato Kingdom was further promoted to *Zheng-dong-da-jiangjun* sometime between 502-49 (or 479-82).<sup>28</sup> According to Sakamoto (quoted by Hirano, 1977), the rulers of Yamato were placed below the kings of Koguryeo and Paekche because when King Kō was given the title of *Andong-jiangjun* in 462, (according to the *Songshu*) the king of Koguryeo [Chang-su, r.413-91] bore the title of *Zheng-dong-jiangjun*, and the king of Paekche [Cheon-ji, r.405-20] *Zhen-dong-da-jiangjun*: “That was the order of precedence as seen from China, which is understandable from the viewpoint of the existing international situation,” says Hirano.

Hirano (1977) notes that the titles conferred on Paekche generals and vassals by the Qi court (479-502) carried place names indicating their titular domains after the title *jinag-jun*, saying that “since these were for princes and nobles, the king of Paekche must have been in the position of an overlord, the *great king*.” According to the *Nan Qishu*, the King Tong-seong (r.479-501) of

宋書 卷九十七 列傳 夷蠻 百濟國  
世祖大明元年 遣使求除授 詔許  
二年 慶遣使上表曰... 仍以行冠軍  
將軍右賢王餘紀為冠軍將軍 以行征  
盧將軍左賢王餘昆 行征盧將軍餘暉  
並為征盧將軍

<sup>30</sup> 欽明 二年 百濟聖明王...今用何策  
起建任那...任那早岐等對曰...夫建  
任 那者 爰在大王之意 (NII: 69-71)  
欽明 五年 百濟遣...使于任那 謂日  
本府與任那早岐等曰...大王為建任  
那 (NII: 83)



5.6. The Inariyama tumulus sword was unearthed in Saitama Prefecture in 1968, and in 1978 was discovered to contain 115 Characters inlaid in gold.

<sup>31</sup> 埼玉縣稻荷山古墳 鐵劔金象嵌銘  
(表)辛亥年七月中記 乎獲居臣祖上  
名意富比跪 其兒多加利足尼 其兒  
名弓己加利獲居 其兒名多加披次獲  
居 其兒名沙鬼獲居 其兒名半弓比  
(裏)其兒名加差披余 其兒名乎獲居  
臣世世爲杖刀人 首奉事來至今 獲  
加多支鹵大王寺在斯鬼宮時 吾左治  
天下 令作此百練利刀 記吾奉事根  
原也

熊本縣 江田船山古墳出土太刀  
(治)天下獲□□□鹵大王世奉爲(事)  
典曹人名无(無)利工八月中用大鑄  
釜并四尺□刀八十練六十□三寸上  
好□刀服此刀者長壽子孫洋洋得□  
思也不失其所統作刀者 名伊太□書  
者張安也

See also Piggott (2006: 82-3).



5.7. The inscribed Eta Funayama sword and gold crown were unearthed by local residents in 1873. Machida Hisanari, head of the Museum Bureau during the 1870s, bought up these newly discovered treasures for national museum. See Edwards (2005: 39).

Paekche submitted a list of provisional ranks and titles for his followers which was formally confirmed by the Qi court. The list included five titles of king, three titles of vassal, and seven titles of Governor.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the *Nihongi* (N2: 42) uses the expression “the Great King” in addressing the King [Seong-myung] of Paekche in 541.<sup>30</sup> There was, however, absolutely no suggestion in Chinese chronicles of the overlord status for the five Yamato kings.

Saeki (1977) calls our attention to the fact that the five kings of Yamato persistently requested that the Song emperor bestow the title *da-jiangjun* on them. But these requests were not granted, and “all they could obtain [prior to 478] was the title general or *jiang-jun* which was bestowed also on those who were apparently local magnates of Wa [Yamato].”

#### INSCRIPTIONS ON INARIYAMA AND FUNAYAMA SWORDS

The Saitama Inariyama sword was excavated from a fifth century tomb in old Musashi Province, today’s Chiba Prefecture. The inscription on the Inariyama sword mentions a “Great King” and, according to Murayama and Miller (1979: 432), this represents the same Great King named on the inscription on the Funayama sword. Furthermore, the first syllable (支) designating the Great King should be read either “*kei*” or “*ke*.” The inscription may, therefore, be read as: “Inscribed in July, in the year of *Xin-bai* (471). The ancestor of Oho Wake Omi was Oho Hiko ... From Generation to generation they served as heads of the swordbearers. When the court of Great King *Wakata Kae-ro* (支鹵大王) was in the *Sa-gui* Palace, I aided in ruling the realm and had this hundred-times-wrought sword made to record the origins of my service.” Here the *Oho Wake* (乎獲居) implies the Great Prince. The Chinese character for *wake* (別) in the *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* seems to originate from the word *beg* in Turkish, *begi* in Mongolian, and *belie* in Manchu language, all implying prince or feudal ruler in the Altaic world.

According to Murayama and Miller, the employment of the letter “in” or “middle” (中 *zhong*) between the lunar-month designation (辛亥年七月) and “inscribed” (記) is a well established usage in Korean epigraphical materials from the middle of the fourth century on. Murayama and Miller also note that the Korean scholar, Yi Chinhui (1982), has long held that the “Great King” in

the Funayama inscription refers to a Paekche king, say King Kaero (r.455-75), and not to a Japanese emperor such as Yūriaku (雄略/大泊瀬/大長谷 r.456-479). The inscription on the Eta Funayama sword excavated from Kumamoto Province in Kyūshū may be read as: “Under the reign of the Great King *Wakata* Kaero, who ruled the nation, a ... named ... who served (the Great King), in August, used a large ... to make a sword ... The person who bears this sword shall live long, and his descendants shall continue to enjoy ... and shall never lose what they rule. The swordsmith was ... .”

On the basis of what Murayama and Miller call the “blatant Old Paekche Koreanisms” or what Kim Suk-hyung calls the “Korean *Idu* system” found in the inscriptions of the Inariyama sword and the Funayama sword, one may, as Kim Suk-hyung (1969: 243-45) suggests, conclude that these swords were made in Paekche, and the great kings mentioned in their inscriptions represent the Paekche King Kae-ro.<sup>31</sup>



5.8. Koguryeo painting of deities (top) Tomb of Heavenly & Earthly Deities, dated 5<sup>th</sup> century, Soon-cheon, Pyungnam 天王地神塚 平南 順川; and (bottom) Tomb of Four Deities, dated 6<sup>th</sup> century, Jian 四神塚 集安(通溝).

Chapter 6 begins at 125.