

6.

THE CONQUEST OF JAPAN AND THE CREATION
OF YAMATO WA BY THE PAEKCHE PEOPLE:

A Reconstruction with Recorded Materials

A. A Mythical Description of the Conquest of Japan: Descent from Heaven

Kojiki and Nihongi describe Sosa no wo [brother of the Sun Goddess] going to Silla from Heaven, most likely sometime during the Yayoi period, dwelling there for a time, and then coming to the province of Idzumo 出雲 in Japan. But then we are told that his offspring were not thought fit to rule Japan and that the Sun Goddess sent down other deities to prepare the way for her grandson Ninigi to govern it (see Section 1, Chapter 5).

According to “The Age of the Gods” 神代 in Nihongi (NI: 64), one may interpret that it was Ninigi’s maternal grandfather Taka-mi-musubi rather than his grandmother, the Sun Goddess, who really tried to make Ninigi 瓊瓊杵尊 govern Japan: “. . . the son of Ama-terasu no Oho-kami 天照大神, took to wife . . . the daughter of Taka-mi-musubi 高皇產靈尊.¹ A child was born to them named Ama-tsu-hiko hiko-ho no Ninigi . . . [H]is august grandparent, Taka-mi-musubi . . . desired to establish his august grandchild . . . as the Lord of the Central Land of Reed-Plains 葦原中國. But in that Land there were numerous Deities which shone with a luster like that of fireflies, and evil Deities which

¹Together with Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-mikoto 天(之)御中主尊 and Kamimusubi-no-mikoto 神皇產靈尊, Taka-mi-musubi is, according to Kojiki and Nihongi, one of the creators of the world. Izanagi and Izanami are descendants of the 16th generation of Ame-no-minaka-nushi. Amaterasu-₃-mikami 天照大御神 was born from the left eye of Izanagi. Ninigi no mikoto is her grandson. Jimmu is the fourth child of the grandson of Ninigi. Now we are told that the daughter of Taka-mi-musubi, the first generation god, and the son of Ama-terasu, the 17th generation god, are married.

buzzed like flies . . . Taka-mi-musubi . . . thereupon . . . made Ama-no-ho-hi . . . to go and subdue them. This Deity, however, curried favor with Oho-na-mochi [son of Sosa no wo], and three years passed without his making any reports.”^{<1>}

Hereupon (NI: 65) Taka-mi-musubi dispatched Ame-wake-hiko, but the latter was disloyal, as he wanted to govern the Central Land of Reed-Plains by himself. Upon arrival, he took as his wife Shita-teru-hime, and settled there, never reporting the result of his mission.^{<1>} At that time the Central Land was far from a tranquil place, being described (NI: 76) as “a tumble-down land, hideous to look upon.”^{<1>} Therefore, in order to make his grandson Ninigi descend to the Central Land, Taka-mi-musubi still had to make further efforts. He sent Taka-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi to the land of Idzumo and let them to negotiate with the son of Sosa no wo [who originally came from Silla]. These two deities questioned Oho-na-mochi 大己貴神 (NI: 68): “Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto wishes to send down his August Grandchild to preside over this country as its Lord. He has therefore sent us two Gods to clear out and pacify it. What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?” Hereupon Oho-na-mochi [son of Sosa no wo] answered (NI: 69): “If I were to make resistance, all the Gods of this Land would certainly resist also. But as I now respectfully withdraw, who else will be so bold as to refuse submission?” Nihongi (NI: 69) continues that: “So he [Oho-na-mochi] took the broad spear which he had used as a staff when he was pacifying the land and gave it to the two Gods Thereupon the two Gods put to death all the rebellious spirits and Deities.” According to Nihongi (NI: 69-70), it is only after these two deities subdued all the rebellious spirits and deities in the Central Land that Taka-mi-musubi made his grandchild, Ninigi, leave his Heavenly Rock-seat and descend.^{<2>}

Nihongi (NI: 76-77) records that Ama-terasu gave Ninigi “three treasures, viz, the curved jewel of Yasaka gem 八坂瓊曲玉, the eight hand mirror, and the sword Kusanagi and joined to him as attendants . . . the first ancestor of the Naka-tomi 中臣上祖. . . the first ancestor of the Imbe 忌部上祖 . . . the first ancestor of Sarume 猿女上祖 . . . the first ancestor of the mirror makers . . . the first ancestor of the jewel makers, in all Gods of five Be 五部神.^{<3>} The deities of various Be consisted of the ancestors of hatter [broad-hat-sewer], shield-maker, metal-worker, tree-fibre maker, and jewel maker. (NI: 81). According to Nihongi (NI: 90), the place at which Ninigi “arrived in descent is called the Peak of Sohori-yama 添山峯 [‘Sohori’ implying ‘the capital’ in Korean] of Takachiho in So in Hiuga 日向 [H]e proceeded therefore on his way, . . . [H]e arrived at Cape Kasasa in Ata, and finally ascended the Island of Takashima in Nagaya.”^{<4>} This story is indeed the central point of Books I and II of Nihongi, the climax toward which the narratives of “the Age of the

Gods” have been leading. It is also the antecedent for the narratives of “the Age of Men” to come, which represent the official pseudo-history that begins with Jimmu’s conquest of the Central Plain via Kyūshū²

Ledyard (1975) gives an explanation for Ninigi, the grandson of Amaterasu, having picked Kujifuru, in Kyūshū, perhaps the most unlikely of all mountains in Japan upon which to locate a descent myth: “[F]ar-off Kujifuru was the only respectable peak not already coopted by the deities of other politically important elements of the native population. The fact that the most important clan in Japan has its sacred mountain in such a remote and barren place strongly suggests that it is not an indigenous group.”³

The Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro 太朝臣 安萬侶[? - A.D. 723], the compiler of *Kojiki*, gives a curt summary of the origins of the Yamato imperial clan (KC: 1-2): “. . . A hundred Kings succeeded each other . . . [A] Myriad Deities did flourish. By deliberations . . . the Empire was pacified . . . [w]herefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi first descended to the Peak of Takachi, and the Heavenly Sovereign Kami-Yamato 神倭天皇 [Ninigi’s grandson] did traverse the Island of the Dragon-Fly . . . [A] heavenly sabre was obtained at Takakura . . . [A] great crow guided him to Yoshino . . . [T]hey destroyed the brigands . . . [and] they vanquished the foemen . . . [H]e was . . . therefore styled the Wise Monarch . . . [H]e was benevolent to the black-haired people . . . Determining the frontiers and civilizing the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi, reforming the surnames and selecting the gentile names 正姓撰氏; he held sway at the Further Asuka 遠飛鳥 [what is now Nara Prefecture].”⁴

²Kami-Yamato Ihare-Biko 神日本磐余彦尊 (Jimmu) is recorded as the fourth child of the grandson of Ninigi (the August Grandchild). According to *Nihongi* (NI: 108), “Sano was the name by which he was called when young. Afterwards when he had cleared and subdued the realm, and had control of the eight islands, the title was added of Kami-Yamato Ihare-biko no Mikoto.”⁵ Jimmu is a posthumous name invented during the reign of Kammu (A.D. 781-806).

³Reischauer (1937: 8) also raises the question: “Was there really any connection between the Imperial Family and Hyuga-no-kuni, or was that province (kuni) later chosen as the location for the story concerning Ninigi-no-Mikoto because the name Sun-Facing Country made it the logical place for the descent from heaven of persons claiming to be children of the Great Sun Goddess?” An interesting fact may be that there are about 3 thousand people living in a place called “Paekche Village (百濟里, 南郷村)” which is about 40km towards Kyūshū mountain range from the present day Hyūga, Miyazaki district (宮崎縣), that corresponds to the old day Hyūga no kuni (日向國), and most of them still believe that they are descendants of the ancient Paekche people.

Meyer (1976: 20) notes that the story of Jimmu's conquest eastward follows the archeological record, but its actual date is probably a millennium later than recorded in legend. Indeed, according to Kim (1982), the story of Jimmu in Nihongi (NI: 110-137) is nothing but the story of the early experiences of Homuda-wake, a member of the Paekche royal family. As Nihongi (NI: 110) describes, Yayoi Japan apparently did "not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord 邑有君, and every village its chief 村有長, who, each one for himself, makes division of territory and practises mutual aggression and conflict."⁴<> Homuda-wake in Paekche must apparently then have thought that this land, Japan, was a suitable place for extending the rule of the royal family of Paekche. We reconstruct Homuda-wake's founding of Yamato Wa with the records in Kojiki and Nihongi.

B. Homuda-wake Decides to Conquer Japan: The Beginning

Sometime in the late fourth century, Homuda-wake [Jimmu] revealed his plan of conquering Japan to other members of the Paekche royal family, saying (NI: 110-111): "Now I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea, that in the east there is a fair land encircled [on] all sides by blue mountains. Moreover, there is one who flew down riding in a Heavenly Rock-boat 天磐船. I think that this land will undoubtedly be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task 恢弘大業 . . . The person who flew down was, I believe, Nigihaya-hi 饒速日. Why should we not proceed thither . . .?" Nihongi (NI: 111) continues: "All the Imperial princes answered, and said: . . . 'This thought is constantly present to our minds also. Let us go thither quickly.' . . . In that year, in winter, . . . the Emperor in person led the Imperial Princes and a naval force on an expedition against the East 舟師東征."⁴<>

The same process of movement from Korea to Japan in the late fourth century is also mythically described in Kojiki (KP: 141): ". . . Ninigi . . . descended from the heavens to the peak Kuzi-Puru-Take 久士布流多氣 of Mount Taka-Ti-Po of Pimuka in Tukusi . . . At this time he said: 'This place is opposite the land of Kara [Korea] 向韓國; [it is a place to which one] comes directly through the Cape of Kasasa, a land where the morning sun shines

⁴This record is preceded by the statement of Kami Yamato Ihare-biko (NI: 110) representing Jimmu-Homuda-wake: "Of old, our Heavenly Deities . . . pointing to this land of fair rice-ears of the fertile reed-plain, gave it to our Heavenly ancestor, Hiko-ho no ninigi no mikoto . . . therefore, he fostered justice, and so governed this western border."⁴<>

directly, a land where the rays of the evening sun are brilliant. This is a most excellent place.”⁵ Kojiki (KP: 163) ultimately connects these narratives to those on Jimmu: “. . . Ihare-Biko 伊波禮毘古 . . . dwelling with his elder brother Itsu-se 五瀬 . . . in the palace of Taka-Ti-Po, consulted him and said: ‘Where [would it be best] to dwell in order to carry on the government of the kingdom peacefully? I am thinking of going eastward.’ Thus departing from Pimuka, he journeyed to Tukupi [Kyūshū].”⁹ According to Egami (1964), the special mention of Kara [Korea] in Kojiki makes it clear that Korea was “the original home of the gods of heaven.” We now further contend that the “original home of the gods of heaven” was Paekche itself.

C. Jin 眞 Family Queens in Paekche and Jin-person 眞人 [Mahito] in Wa

Kim (1982: 204) notes that the records of the New Compilation of the Register of Families (Shinsen Shōjiroku 新撰姓氏錄) may be interpreted to imply that the family name of 眞 line of emperors was “Jin [Mahito].”¹⁰ “Jin” was one of the principal names of the Paekche royal family on its maternal side. Lee (1984: 37) notes that it was from the reign of King Keun Ch’ogo [whose name was Yeo-ku] “that the so-called ‘age of Jin family queens’ began, as Keun Ch’ogo’s immediate successors continued to choose their consorts from this single aristocratic house.”⁶ According to Samguk-sagi (Lee edition: 27), King Keun-Ch’ogo appointed “Jin-Jeong” 眞淨 as Minister of Justice in A.D. 347. Jin-Jeong is described as “[a] relative of the

⁵Chamberlain (KC: 137-138) notes the attempt of a Japanese scholar, Motowori, “to conceal the fact that Korea is mentioned in a not unfriendly manner, in the traditional account of the divine age.” Chamberlain further notes that Motowori “. . . though not daring actually to alter the characters (of the original text), assumes that they are corrupt and in his Kana rendering” omits the sentence mentioning Korea.

⁶According to Samguk-sagi, King Ch’ogo of Paekche (A.D. 166-214) ordered Jin-Gua 眞果 of North-bu to attack a Mal-gal castle in A.D. 214. In A.D. 240, King Koi (A.D. 234-286) appointed Jin-Chung 眞忠 as his Jwa-jang [Commanding General] and entrusted him with military affairs. In A.D. 247, Jin-Mul 眞勿 was appointed as Jwa-jang. In A.D. 261, King Koi appointed Jin-Ka 眞可 to the position of Finance Minister. In A.D. 331, King Piryu (A.D. 304-344) appointed Jin-Yi 眞義 as his Prime Minister. In A.D. 376, King Keun-Kusu appointed his father in law Jin-Kodo 眞高道 as prime minister and entrusted to him many government affairs. In A.D. 390, King Chinsa ordered Jin-Kamo 眞嘉謨 to attack Koguryeo; he captured To-kon-seong and 200 prisoners. The King then appointed him as Jwa-pyeong in charge of military affairs. In A.D. 393, King Asin appointed Jin-Mu 眞武 as Jwa-jang and entrusted him with military affairs. Jin-Mu was the King’s uncle on his mother’s side.¹¹

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.”^{7<11>} According to the Shinsen Shōjiroku, Homuda-wake [Jimmu-^眞] could well have been related to this Jin-Jeong 眞淨 or may even have been one of his direct offsprings, say, a grandchild by one of his daughters, and reminiscent of the relationship between Taka-mi-musubi 高皇產靈尊 and Ninigi 瓊瓊杵尊. After all, the New Compilation of the Register of Families not only records that the clan name of ^眞 line of the imperial family was “Jin [Mahito],” but also includes records which clearly suggest that they were the descendants of the Paekche royal family.^{8<10>}

D. Paekche and Ma-han

According to Samguk-sagi, the founder of Koguryeo, Chumong, had one son, Yu-ri 類利, by his first wife and two sons, Biryu 沸流 and Onjo 溫祚, by his second wife. After Yu-ri came to the throne, Biryu and Onjo left Koguryeo and came to the Ma-han area. Onjo established the Paekche state, and Biryu separately established another state which was eventually absorbed by the Onjo Paekche. The Wei Chronicle gives a list of 55 town states in the old Ma-han area, and this list indeed includes the name of a “Paekche” state 伯濟.⁹ This

⁷Surprisingly, this paragraph is the first one appearing in the record on King Keun Ch’ogo after he ascended the throne. The record of Samguk-sagi then jumps to A.D. 366; there are no records for the 19-year period covering A.D. 347-366. Nor is there any further mention of Jin-Jeong.^{<11>}

⁸According to Inoue (1977), “mahito” [Jin-person] was one of the five *new titles* created in A.D. 684 above the conventional titles of omi, muraji and inagi, and the mahito title was granted to the “kimi” title-bearers, i.e., the princes descended from Keitai. The directory of newly selected clans began to be compiled in Kammu’s reign (A.D. 781-806) and was completed in A.D. 815. The directory classifies the 1,182 uji first by district and next by putative descent, but it “lists the *uji names* according to the place of birth and sphere of influence, disregarding the order of the kabane titles except for the mahito [Jin-person] title.”

⁹Kim (1982) believes that Onjo-Paekche consolidated the northern Ma-han area while the southern Ma-han area was consolidated into one Biryu State, and that together they formed a confederated kingdom, which in later periods were known simply as Paekche. Kim (1982) believes that the capital of the Biryu state was Ungjin 熊津 (modern Kongju 公州) until A.D. 396, when the Biryu royal family left Korea and settled in Japan, establishing the imperial family of the Yamato State. Ungjin later served as capital of Onjo-Paekche from A.D. 475 until A.D. 538, when the capital was moved to Puyeo (or Sabi).

original Paekche state emerged as a kingdom by incorporating the various town states in the Han river basin. According to Lee (1984: 36-37), “[t]he structuring of Paekche into a centralized, aristocratic state appears to have been completed in the reign of King Keun Ch’ogo 近肖古王 [A.D. 346-375]. A formidable warrior king, in 369 he destroyed Mahan, which by this time seems to have moved its capital southward to the modern Iksan 益山 area. . . . Then, in 371, Paekche struck northward into the Koguryeo domain as far as Pyeongyang, killing the Koguryeo king, Kogugweon 故國原王 Paekche thus came to hold sway over a sizeable portion of the Korean peninsula, including all the modern provinces of Kyeonggi, Ch’ungcheong, and Cheolla, as well as parts of Hwanghae and Kangweon.”

E. Conquest of Ma-han and the Expeditionary Force to Wa: A Close-Up Picture

Nihongi (NII: 43) records the statement made by King Seong [Seongmyeong 聖明王, A.D. 523-554] of Paekche: “In former times, during the reigns of my ancestors, King Sok-ko [Keun Ch’ogo, A.D. 346-375] and King Kwi-su 貴首王 [Keun Kusu 近仇首王, A.D. 375-384], the Kanki 旱岐 of Ara 安羅, Kara 加羅, and Thak-sun 卓淳, first sent envoys and entered into communication. We became knitted together by a cordial friendship, and they were treated as children or younger brothers.”^{<12>}

The record of Nihongi (NI: 246) for the year A.D. 366 [A.D. 246 within Nihongi’s system] contains the following statements made by the King of Thak-sun [a member state of the Kaya Federation]: “In the course of the year Kinoye Ne [A.D. 364], three men of Paekche named Kutyö 久氏, Mi-chu-nyu 彌州流, and Moko 莫古 came up to my country and said; – ‘The King of Paekche, hearing that in the Eastern quarter there is an honourable country [Japan], has sent thy servants to this honourable country’s court. Therefore we beg of thee a passage so that we may go to that Land [Japan]. If you [King of Thak-sun] wilt be good enough to instruct thy servants and cause us to pass along the roads, our [Paekche] King will certainly show profound kindness to my Lord the King.’ I [the King of Thak-sun] then said to Kutyö and his fellows: – ‘I have always heard that there is an honourable country 貴國 in the East [Japan], but I have no communication with it, and do not know the way. There is nothing but far seas and towering billows, so that in a large ship, one can hardly communicate. Even if there were a regular crossing-place 路津, how could you arrive there?’ Hereupon Kutyö and the others said: – ‘Well, then for the present we cannot communicate. Our best plan will be

to go back again, and prepare a ship [or ships] with which to communicate later.”^{<13>}

As of A.D. 364, Hanseong 漢城 was the capital city of Paekche, and Mahan was still occupying the southwest corner of the Korean peninsula. Hence it was natural that the Paekche people could not have detailed information on the passages to Japan, although apparently they had heard about the existence of Japan. The movement of Homuda-wake 譽田別 and his followers into Japan must have occurred not long after the year of Kinoye Ne 甲子年, which was the year in which they had dispatched scouts to gather information on the passages to Japan. What Nihongi tells us is that the King of a Kaya state [Malkeum Kanki 末錦早岐] suggested to Kutyō the need for large ships. In the ensuing narration, however, Nihongi (NI: 248-249) instead records a large-scale Wa invasion of Korea in A.D. 369 with “Paekche generals.” If one tries to understand these military activities described in Nihongi as the work of Wa, then there is no way to understand the “Paekche generals” associating with Wa troops. But once we take those series of military activities as the work of a group of Paekche royal families and their followers led by a Paekche prince named Homuda-wake, these records become quite coherent. At this point one might well ruminde on the comment made by Szczesniak (1951) in a somewhat different context: “Even the most critical historian . . . is unable to get a clear idea of the Japanese-Korean wars at the end of the IVth and beginning of the Vth century, if he relies only on the Nihonshoki and Kojiki, and he will be unable to restore historical truth.”

Nihongi (NI: 248) records that in A.D. 369, “Areda-wake 荒田別 and Kaga-wake 鹿我別 were made generals. Along with Kutyō and the others they prepared a force with which they . . . came to Thak-sun [Tak-sun].”^{<14>} This “Kutyō” was one of three men of Paekche who, according to Nihongi, visited Thak-sun in A.D. 364. Thak-sun seems to have been located in an area along the Nak-tong River, which flows south to the modern Pusan area 釜山, and thus represents the shortest route to Japan.

According to Nihongi (NI: 191-192), Keikō 景行 had eighty children, and with the exception of Yamato-dake, Waka-tarashi-hiko and the Imperial Prince, these children were all granted fiefdoms of provinces and districts: “Therefore, those who at the present time are called Wake 別者 of the various provinces are the descendants of these separated Princes 別王.”^{<15>} Paekche, in its early days, had maintained a feudal system and granted fiefs of provinces and districts to princes and other royal families. The title “wake” in Yamato Wa seems to have originated from the designations for these Paekche princes

in Korea. According to the Paekche Section of Nan-shi, Paekche initially had 22 feudal provinces 擔魯 governed by princes. (Also refer to the record on Paekche general Heuk-chi Sang-ji 黑齒常之 cited in Chapter 3, Section 4.) “Areda-wake” and “Kaga-wake” seem to have been two of these princes. Furthermore, the leader of the expedition to Japan, Homuda-wake, seems to have been one of these royal family members who was rather influential and close to King Keun Ch’ogo.

The Inariyama tumulus 稻荷山古墳 sword, which was unearthed in Saitama 埼玉 Prefecture in 1968, was discovered in 1978 to contain 115 Chinese characters inlaid in gold into both surfaces of the blade. The inscription begins with a date in the sexagenary cycle that may correspond to any one of the following years: A.D. 411, 471, 531, 591, 651, etc. Murayama and Miller (1979) note that a number of linguistic and orthographic indicators of Korean origin which have been identified in the text of the inscription all point in the direction of Paekche origin for the author of this text, the owner of the sword, and/or the person interred in the tumulus from which the sword was excavated.¹⁰

According to Murayama and Miller (1979), one of the important findings from the Inariyama tumulus inscription is that “[t]he title *wake* [prince] is almost surely of Altaic origin.” The first phonogram of the word representing *wake* in this inscription is written *huo* 獲 [seize, catch in the hunt], but this graph is actually writing *wa(k)*. The second phonogram is written *ju* 居, but it is actually writing *ke* as in *miyake*. According to Murayama and Miller

¹⁰Murayama and Miller (1979) give a full translation of the inscription: “Inscribed in the seventh lunar month of a xin-hai year 辛亥年七月中記; Wo wake omi; [his] remote ancestor’s name 乎獲居臣上祖名, OPO piko (𠄎-hiko) 意富比土危; his child’s name, Kari tsukunie 其兒多力味利足尼; his child’s name Teyo kari wake; his child’s name, Takapatsi wake; his child’s name Tasaki wake; his child’s name, Pandepi; his child’s name, Katsapaya; his child’s name, Wo wake omi; From generation into generation, we have served as the sword-bearers 杖刀人; chief[s], down to the present time. When the great king Waka Takiru’s 獲加多支鹵大王 court was in the Siki palace 寺在斯鬼宮時, I assisting in the governance of the realm 吾左治天下, caused to be fashioned this well-wrought efficacious sword 令作此百練利刀, recording my origins in service 記吾奉事根源也.” They note that the entire corpus of epigraphical materials from early Japan had consisted of 75 characters inscribed on swords and 48 on metal mirrors, and hence the discovery of the Inariyama 稻荷山 sword inscription has doubled the inventory. Furthermore, unlike the previous epigraphical material, the Inariyama sword inscription includes 22 different Chinese characters that are used as phonograms to write 46 syllables in what are certainly not Chinese, and are most likely the Old Paekche words.^{<16>}

(1979), the second phonogram “in this word is almost surely one of the important and fairly blatant Old Paekche Koreanisms in this inscription.” They contend that “the morpheme *wake*, . . . is well known in early texts, where it is generally written with a variety of logograms, especially Cho. *ruo* ‘young’ and Cho. *bie* ‘separate’ [It represents] a title of status or rank that is almost surely of Altaic etymology.” They call our attention to the fact that “Altaic *bag* was a princely title of wide distribution throughout the Altaic world, cf. Tk. *beg*, Mo. *Begi*, Ma. *belie*, and all meaning ‘prince, feudatory ruler’”¹¹

Now we go back to Nihongi (NI: 248-249): “They [Areda-wake, Kaga-wake, Kutyo and others] were accordingly about to invade . . . when someone said: – ‘Your troops are too few. You cannot defeat [the enemy]. . . .’ They respectfully sent back again Sa-paek 沙白 [and] Kae-ro 蓋盧 to ask for reinforcements.”^{<14>} This “Sa-paek” and “Kae-ro” who were sent back to Homuda-wake to ask for reinforcements were again Paekche generals.

Nihongi (NI: 249) continues: “Mong-na Keun-cha 木羅斤資 and Sa-sa Nokwe were forthwith ordered to take command of choice troops which were sent along with Sa-paek [and] Kae-ro.”^{<14>} Then, incomprehensively, Nihongi has “the Grand Empress Jingū and her son, the Crown Prince Homuda-wake” give orders to these four Paekche generals to take command of choice troops and invade their own native Korea. Furthermore, Nihongi (NI: 249) writes that these “Paekche generals” 百濟將 who allegedly crossed the sea from Japan were first quite miraculously assembled at a northern inland area and then started to conquer southward: “They all assembled at Thak-sun, invaded Silla, and conquered it. Seven [southern] provinces [in the Kaya area] were accordingly subdued, viz. Pi-cha-pun, South Kara, Tok-kuk, Ara, Tara, Thak-sun, and Kara.” It is only then that they supposedly swung westward, conquered the southern Ma-han area, and granted it to Paekche: “Then they moved their forces, and turning westward, arrived at Ko-hye-chin, where they slaughtered the southern savages of Chim-mi-ta-mye and granted their country to Paekche.”^{<14>}

The Japanese historians dealing with this period have undoubtedly read these Nihongi records. Surprisingly, they make these records the very source of their claim that there existed a powerful Yamato state in the late fourth century and that the Yamato Wa conquered Silla and Kaya in A.D. 369 and

¹¹Murayama and Miller (1979) note that “*wake* would go fairly regularly with an Altaic *bagi*, and allomorph of the same Altaic *begi* that probably underlies Tk. *beg*, etc., just as *wake* ‘young, immature’, would go with *baga* underlying e.g., Mo. *baga* ‘young little,’”

started the “administration” of the colony called Mimana [Imna]. By contrast, we interpret these Nihongi records (NI: 246-249) in the following fashion: A member of the Paekche royal family called Homuda-wake and his followers -- including Kutyo, Sa-paek, Kae-ro, Sa-sa Nokwe and Mong-na Keun-cha -- helped King Keun Ch’ogo 近肖古王 of Paekche and his son (who became the King Keun Kusu 近仇首王 during A.D. 375-384) to conquer the Ma-han area, and passed through the Kaya area on their way to conquer Japan some time around A.D. 369. No designs on Silla were contemplated during this campaign.

Nihongi (NI: 249) describes the farewell scene: “Hereupon their King, Syoko 肖古 [King Keun Ch’ogo], together with Prince Kwisu 貴須 [Keun Kusu], came to meet them with more troops. Then four villages viz. Pi-ri, Phi-chung, Pho-mi-ki, and Pan-ko, spontaneously surrendered. Thereupon, the Kings of Paekche, father and son, met Arede wake, Mong-na Keuncha, and the rest 木羅斤資等 at the village of Wi-niu [Tsurusugi], and at an interview offered their congratulations and dismissed them with cordial courtesy.”^{<17>} What Nihongi tells us, in other words, is that the Paekche King Keun Ch’ogo met Homuda-wake, Mong-na Keuncha and other Paekche generals at Wi-niu, congratulated them on their successful military exploits in the Ma-han area, and then bade farewell to this group of expeditionary forces as they sailed to Japan with his blessings.

F. Homuda-wake Battling in Japan: Back to the Mythical Story

When Homuda-wake arrived at Kyūshū 行至筑紫國, he seems to have been welcomed by those who had migrated from Paekche to that area a long time before. According to Nihongi (NI: 112-113), “[a]t this time there appeared the ancestors of the Kuni-tsu-ko of Usa, named Usa-tsu-hiko and Usa-tsu-hime . . . [T]hey built a palace raised on one pillar on the banks of the River Usa, and offered them a banquet. Then by Imperial command, Usa-tsu-hime was given in marriage to the Emperor's attendant minister Ama no tane no Mikoto . . . Going onwards, he entered the land of Kibi 吉備國, [and] built a temporary palace, in which he dwelt . . . Three years passed, during which time he set in order the helms of his ships, and prepared a store of provisions. It was his desire by a single effort to subdue the empire . . . The Imperial forces at length proceeded eastwards . . . [I]n this way they entered the inner country 中洲 (Yamato).”^{<18>}

There they seem to have at first faced fierce resistance from the native settlers [NI: 126-128]. They then discovered the clan who came from Paekche via Kyūshū some time ago, however, and they were able to obtain

the allegiance and support of this clan: “The Imperial army at length attacked Naga-suno-hiko and fought with him repeatedly, but was unable to gain the victory Now Naga-sune-hiko sent a foot-messenger, who addressed the Emperor, saying: ‘There was formerly a child of the Heavenly Deity 天神之子 [a Paekche man], who came down from Heaven to dwell here, riding in a Rock-boat of Heaven 天磐船. His name was Kushi-dame Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto 饒速日命. He took to wife my younger sister Therefore I did take (him) . . . for my Lord, and did service to him. Can it be that there are two seeds of the children of the Heavenly Deity?’ The Emperor said: ‘There are many children of the Heavenly Deity.’ . . . When Naga-sune-hiko saw the Heavenly token 天表(表物) he became more and more embarrassed. But the murderous weapons were already prepared, and things were in such a state that he (Naga-suno-hiko) was unable to pause in his career. Therefore he adhered to his misguided scheme, and would not alter his purpose. Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto, knowing from the first that the Heavenly Deity had simply generously bestowed the Empire on the Heavenly Grandchild 天孫, [Homuda- wake], and that in view of the perverse desposition of Naga-sune it would be useless to instruct him in the relation of Heaven to Man 天人之際 (i.e., Lord and Vassal), put him to death. He (Nigi-haya-hi) then came with his army and made submission. The Emperor, who from the first had heard that Nigi-haya-hi no Mikoto had come from Heaven 天降者 [Paekche], finding that he now had actually performed faithful service, accordingly praised him, and was gracious to him. He was the ancestor of the Mono no Be House 物部氏之遠祖.”^{<19>}

Nihongi (NI: 129-130) notes that at that time there were still Tsuchi-gumo, [outlaws who defied imperial authority, Aston notes] who refused to present themselves at Jimmu’s Court at the village of Taka-wohari, and hence Jimmu’s troops put them all to death: “Wherefore the name of that village was changed to Katsuraki 葛城. It is in the land of Ihare 磐余之地. Its ancient name was Kataru, or Katatachi. When our Imperial forces routed the enemy, a great army assembled and filled that country. Its name was accordingly changed to Ihare 磐余.”^{<20>}

Nihongi (NI: 131-134) describes the finale: “The Emperor made an order, saying: ‘During the six years that our expedition against the East has lasted, . . . the wicked bands have met death. It is true the frontier lands are still unpurified But in the region of the Central Land 中洲 there is no more wind and dust I should then respond to the kindness of the Heavenly Powers in granting me the Kingdom I should extend the line of the Imperial descendants and foster rightmindedness The Emperor assumed

Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Kashiha-bara. This year is reckoned the first year of his reign. . . . The name of the Emperor who thus began to rule the Empire was Kami Yamato Ihare-biko 神日本磐余彦 (神倭伊波禮毘古). . . . [T]he Emperor ascended the Hill Waki Kamu no Hotsuma. Here, having viewed the shape of land on all sides, he said: ‘Oh! what a beautiful country we have become possessed of!’”^{<21>}

G. Homuda-wake’s Conquest of Central Japan: Ihare (Ipare) vs. Wi-rye

King Keun Ch’ogo apparently encouraged and gave material support to Homuda’s expedition to Japan, making a “solemn declaration of alliance” 盟 that was to “remain undecayed to distant ages” on Mount Ko-sya (NI: 249).^{<17>} Nihongi (NI: 251) also notes that King Keun Ch’ogo sent to Homuda-wake in A.D. 372 “a seven-branched sword 七枝刀 and a seven-little-one- mirror 七子鏡, with various other objects of great value.”^{<22>}

When Homuda-wake successfully completed his conquest of Central Japan via Kyūshū and established the Yamato state, Paekche expressed its congratulations by sending a mission with the following message (NI: 250): “The vast blessings of the Celestial Court [Yamato’s Court] reached after [afterwards] to our mean village [Paekche], and our king capered with delight. Out of the fulness of his heart he has sent a . . . mission in token of his great sincerity. Though it come to the ten thousandth year, in what year shall we fail to attend thy Court?”^{<23>} It must have been Homuda-wake [then 蘇我] who made the following response (NI: 250): “We, in accordance with the divine testimony, having for the first time laid open a road, subdued the lands west of the sea [the Ma-han area] and granted them to Paekche [on our way to Japan], would now again draw closer the bonds of friendship 今復厚結好 and make lasting our loving bounty.”^{<23>}

Ledyard (1975) calls our attention to the tale of the fabulous birth of Homuda-wake, whom, according to Nihongi, Okinaga Tarashi [Jingū] kept in her womb for three months beyond term by placing rocks on her skirt. It is told that Okinaga Tarashi was campaigning in Korea at the time, and she

¹²According to Nihongi (NI: 254), when 蘇我 was born “there was flesh growing on his arm in a shape like an elbow-pad [tomo] 肘甲. The tomo or leather shield worn on the fore-arm by archers was to protect against the recoil of the bow-string. According to Nihongi, the tomo was commonly called Homuda in earliest antiquity and this is why 蘇我 was named “Homuda.” However, Nihongi (NI: 254-255) also writes that 蘇我’s original name was “Isasa” and Homuda was the name of the god of Tsutsuhi in Tsunoga, but they exchanged names.”^{<24>}

wanted to delay the birth of Homuda-wake until she got back to Kyūshū. According to Kojiki (KC: 286), the land in question was the land to be ruled over by the august child in Jingū's womb 凡此國者 坐汝命御腹之御子 所知國者也, namely Homuda-wake 品陀和氣命. Kojiki (KC: 289) states that the august child was born after Jingū had crossed back to Kyūshū from Korea 渡筑紫國. Hence Ledyard (1975) concludes that “it is clear that Homuda's physical presence in Korea is implied in the story, and that the legend-spinners were only able to get him born in Japan by gynecological legerdemain. Such were some of the problems of incorporating the traditions of the conquerors into the indigenous legends of Wa.” Thus not only Hirano (1977) but most of the post-War Japanese historians admit “the general trend in the Nihon shoki and Shoku Nihongi to ascribe the origin of Japan's relations with Korea to 仁德 reign.” According to Nihongi (NI: 221-222), Jingū conceived Homuda-wake on Korean soil, brought him across the sea, and gave birth in Japan, stating that this was the Land of Opposite that Homuda-wake [the Emperor in the womb 胎中之帝] was to obtain.

Ledyard (1975) also calls our attention to the place name “Ihare” 磐余 (伊波禮) found in the title of Jimmu [Kami Yamato Ihare-biko] and in the name of the capital 都 for Homuda-wake (NI: 241).^{<25>} Ledyard states that the Korean variant of Ihare is Ipar [written as Keo-bal 居拔(城), but a Korean “kun” reading of Keo being “i”, yields the reading of I-bal or I-par] which, according to Sui-shu, Bei-shi and Tong Dian 通典, is the name for the capital of Paekche (see CCII: 44 & 127). The second Chinese character 余 with which Ihare is written is also the second character of the name Pu-yeo, suggesting a connection between Ihare and Pu-yeo 夫餘, which is the name for Paekche's last capital.¹³

According to Nihongi (NI: 241), Homuda-wake was appointed Prince Imperial in the third year of Jingū's administration of the government, and “accordingly, the capital was made at Ihare 磐余.”^{<25>} In Kojiki, Ihare is written Ipa-re 伊波禮. The first capital 都 of Paekche was Wi-rye 慰禮. Samguk-sagi (Lee edition, I: 262 & II: 231) records that, in A.D. 4, the second Koguryeo King Yuri 琉璃明王 moved his capital from Cholbon 卒本 to Kugnae-seong 國內城 which is also called Wi-na-am-seong 尉那巖城. According to Zhou-shu (CCI: 596), the Paekche kings 王 were also called Eo-ra-ha 於羅暇. Do (1972) regards that Wi-rye, 慰禮, Eo-ra 於羅, and Wi-na 尉那

¹³Ihare was also a favorite site in Yamato for the palaces of Yamato kings. Phillippi (KP: 476) notes that “Kojiki locates the palaces of Richū, Seinei, Keitai, and Yūmei in Ipare.”

represent the same reading. Yi (1990) cites the proposition that Wi-rye and Eo-ra-ha represent the same reading, and that Wi-rye implies king 王. The third character 禮 with which I-pa-re is written is also the second character of Wi-rye, suggesting a connection between Ipare and Wi-rye. We may now hypothesize that Ihare (written 磐余 in Nihongi and 伊波禮 in Kojiki), the capital for Homuda-wake, represents Wi-rye 慰禮, the first capital of Paekche, that may correspond to I-bal 居拔 in Bei-shi and Eo-ra-ha 於羅假 in Zhou-shu. That is, we may contend that Homuda-wake established the Yamato Wa and called its first capital Ihare (Ipare) after the name of the first capital of Paekche, Wi-rye (I-bal or Eo-ra-ha).

H. Splitting the Story of Homuda-wake into Those of Jimmu and 天孫

Kim (1982) contends that the Japanese court histories first created Jimmu out of the early experiences of Homuda-wake from Paekche and then created 天孫 out of his later experiences. Indeed Aoki (1974: 35-37) focuses on the fact that while the gazettes of various provinces including Harima Fudoki 播磨風土記 are full of the accounts of the fighting career and aggressive profile of Homuda-wake, neither Kojiki nor Nihongi records much of his military activities.¹⁴ Aoki states that: “This must be an indication of some efforts made to cover up Homuda’s undesirable aspects for the record. In fact, the compilers of Kojiki and Nihon shoki seem to have taken pains to conceal his belligerence before and after his emergence as the ruler of the Yamato state, or the unifier of the several confederacies of the Japanese islands.”

One can see that the writers of Kojiki and Nihongi attributed all those military activities of Homuda-wake recorded in provincial accounts to Jimmu instead of 天孫.¹⁵ As Aoki (1974: 39) says, “the silence of both Kojiki and Nihon shoki regarding Homuda’s aggressiveness seems intentional.” The newcomers to the Yamato valley were Paekche people. Their leader, Homuda-wake, was a member of the Paekche royal family. And yet the writers of Kojiki and Nihongi created both Jimmu the Conqueror and 天孫

¹⁴Aoki (1974: 36) presents one such account recorded in Harima Fudoki: “It was during the reign of Prince Homuda that there were about two hundred chieftains in the land of Harima who fought incessantly. Prince Homuda . . . chased them all to this village [Kusaye], where they were executed. The bodies created a terrible stench, and the blood of the dead turned back and flowed like a river . . .”

¹⁵According to Aoki (1974: 37), the records of Nihongi on the birthmark of Homuda-wake (i.e., an archery arm-piece) imply that he was a man of martial strength and therefore “their silence on his aggressive activities arouses one’s suspicion.”

the Man of Peace out of Homuda-wake. In Jingū's section of Nihongi, Homuda-wake appears as the son of Okinaga Tarashi-hime, masquerading as a shadowy crown prince. If we put Jimmu and 天孫 together, however, we can immediately visualize Homuda-wake, the conqueror and founder of Yamato Wa, and then we can also make sense out of all those provincial accounts of the aggressive military activities of Homuda-wake. (See also Inoue, et al. 井上外 3人, 1984: 273.)

I. Mongna Keuncha 木羅斤資

One interesting side-story recorded in Nihongi is that of the Paekche general 百濟將 “Mong-na Keuncha.” Mong-na Keuncha seems to have been a faithful general to Homuda-wake before as well as after the latter became the Lord of Wa [Jimmu-天孫].¹⁶ Nihongi (NI: 252) notes that Silla did not attend the Court and hence *Sotsuhiko* 襲津彦 was sent to chastise Silla. Then it quotes the Paekche record: “[In the] . . . year Midzunoye Muma 壬午年 [A.D. 382] . . . , [t]he honourable country [Wa] sent Sachihiko [i.e., Sotsuhiko] to attack it [Silla]. The men of Silla dressed up two beautiful women whom they sent to meet Sachihiko 沙支比判 at the port and inveigle him. Sachihiko [Kazuraki 葛城 no Sotsuhiko] accepted them, and turning aside, attacked the land of Kara. Kwi-pon Kanki, King of Kara [Kaya], and his sons, Pek-kuchim A-syu-chi, Ik-sya-ra, I-ra-ma-chyu, and I-mun-chi, fled to Paekche, taking with them their subjects Kwi-chon-chi, the younger sister of the King of Kara [was sent to Wa] [Hearing what Sachihiko had done, Homuda-wake] was greatly enraged, and forthwith sent Mongna Keuncha in command of an army to bring them together in Kara and to restore the temples of the Earth and of Grain [a Chinese metaphor for the State].”¹⁷ Nihongi (NI: 267-268) further quotes the Paekche Record on Mongna Keuncha: “Mong-man-chi 木滿致 was the son of Mongna Keuncha The great services of his father gave him absolute authority in Imna.”^{3. 4. 33} The so-called “great services of Mongna Keuncha” must have been his services to Homuda-wake in the conquering of Japan and his help in keeping the Kaya

¹⁶Ledyard (1975) notes that “Mong-na” was evidently a representative of a leading Paekche military family because “generals with similar-sounding names (but in different periods and different transcriptions) are mentioned in Samguk sagi (Kaero 21), and Nan-qi-shu (Paekche).”

¹⁷Nihongi (NI: 252) records that “Sachihiko, when he learnt that [Homuda-wake] was wroth with him, did not dare to return [to Wa] openly, but hid himself . . . [and], seeing that he would not be pardoned, went into a cave of a rock and died.”²⁶

corridor open for the continued flow of Paekche people who subsequently followed Homuda-wake to Japan.

J. Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko 葛城襲津彦

Another less coherent but still interesting side-story is that of Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko. Sotsuhiko appears for the first time in Nihongi (NI: 242) in the 5th year of Jingū's reign (A.D. 205 by the Nihongi system) in connection with a story that seems to have occurred in A.D. 418 according to Korean chronicles. It is recorded that Sotsuhiko, apparently without consulting the "Prince Imperial" Homuda-wake, proceeded to Silla via the harbor of Tatara, captured the Castle of Chhora, and returned with captives that "were the first ancestors of the Han 漢 [Aya] people of the four villages of Kuhabara, Sabi, Takamiya, and Oshinomi."²⁷ Sotsuhiko appears for the second time in Nihongi (NI: 252) in the 62nd year of Jingū's reign (A.D. 262 in Nihongi system) in a quotation from the Paekche Record. The record shows that Sotsuhiko was ordered to attack Silla [in A.D. 382] but he instead attacked Kaya and forthwith Mongna Keuncha was sent to Kaya in command of an army in order to restore what Sotsuhiko had destroyed.¹⁴ Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko appears a third time in Nihongi (NI: 261) in the 14th year of Ōjin [A.D. 404] in a story about the Lord of Yutsuki 弓月. This Lord came from Paekche and informed Homuda-wake that, while he was coming to offer allegiance with one hundred and twenty districts of the people of his own land, Silla had forced them to remain in the land of Kaya. Hereupon Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko was sent to bring the men of Yutsuki from Kaya but three years passed and Sotsuhiko did not come. Nihongi (NI: 262-264) further records that Homuda-wake thereupon sent two generals with choice troops to Kaya, and they were able to bring away with them the people of Yutsuki and Sotsuhiko. Sotsuhiko appears for the last time in Nihongi (NI: 293) in the 41st year of Nintoku (A.D. 353 in Nihongi system) in a story about a grandson, Lord Chu, of the King of Paekche. It is recorded that Lord Chu 酒 [Sake] was disrespectful, and hence the King of Paekche sent him to Nintoku, bound in iron chains, under Sotsuhiko's custody.²⁸

Kiley (1973) calls our attention to the fact that Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko had a daughter, Iwa-no-hime 磐之媛, who became Nintoku's queen and the ancestress of all later fifth-century Wa kings; Kiley also proposes that Sotsuhiko was the ancestor of the sixth-century Soga 蘇我 family.¹⁸ Ledyard

¹⁸According to Nihongi (NI: 337 & 373), the name of the senior concubine to

(1975) notes that whenever Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko is mentioned in Nihongi, he is on or around Korean soil. Neither Kiley nor Ledyard, however, ventures to state that Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko might have been a Paekche general, like Mongna Keuncha.

Egami (1964) notes that, in Kojiki and Nihongi, the two most important figures who followed Ninigi no mikoto, the Child of Heaven par excellence, were Ame no Oshihi no mikoto, the ancestor of the 大伴 no Muraji, and Amatsu Kumo no mikoto, the ancestor of the Kume 久米 no Atae (or Kumebe). These figures were the most powerful of the military operators among the Children of Heaven. In the case of the Jimmu's easterly movement, the names of Hinoomi, the ancestor of the 大伴 no Muraji, and Okume, the ancestor of the Kumebe, generals in the service of Jimmu, are specifically mentioned. According to Egami, "this may be understood as a reflection of the fact that in later times the 大伴 no Muraji and Kume no Atae were very powerful as military families near the throne, but it seems that there existed no special situation of a kind which would require us to reject the idea that they had been military operators with the Imperial family since the south Korea period, and played a great part in the establishment of [the] Japanese state."

K. From Kyūshū to the Kinki 近畿 Region

Egami (1964) states that: "From these traditions in Kojiki and Nihon Shoki it may be inferred that the Children of Heaven, who are considered to be the ancestors of the Emperors of the Yamato court, crossed from south Korea to north Kyūshū and established their first settlement at Tsukushi 筑紫, and after the lapse of some generations migrated in the direction of the Kinki region." Since Egami makes Mimaki-iri-biko represent "the Children of Heaven" who supposedly established their first settlement at Tsukushi and makes Jimmu represent the founder of the Yamato court in the Kinki region, he needs a "lapse of some generations" between the Children of Heaven and Jimmu. Instead, we simply take Homuda-wake 瓊麻 as the founder of the Imperial Clan, who crossed from Paekche (via the Kaya area in south Korea) to north Kyūshū and then, after a lapse of some years, not generations, migrated eastwards to the Kinki area to establish the Yamato court.¹⁹

Yūryaku 雄略 was Kazuraki no Kara-hime 葛城韓媛 [Lady Han], who was the daughter of the Oho-omi Tsubura in Kazuraki and the mother of Seinei [A.D. 480-484].^{<29>}

L. The Record of Samguk-Sagi 三國史記

One may understand without too much difficulty why neither Nihongi nor Kojiki gives any straightforward records on the relationship between Paekche and Yamato Wa. One may, however, be curious about the absence of clear statements on their relationship in Korean chronicles, i.e., Kim Pu-sik's 金富軾 Samguk-sagi. Gardiner (1988) calls our attention to the fact that Kim Pu-sik was a descendant from an old Silla ruling clan that was the traditional rival of Paekche and hence was unsympathetic toward compiling anything that would glorify Paekche. According to Gardiner (1970), "it seems to have been part of Kim Pu-sik's purpose to demonstrate that amongst these three [kingdoms] only one kingdom, Silla, provided a line of legitimate rulers."²⁰

Gardiner (1970) states that: "Paekche was for a very long time the principal opponent of Silla and -- even more significant -- . . . Chin Hwon [Kyeun-hweon 甄萱], the warlord who proclaimed himself "King of Later Paekche 後百濟" in 900, and was, after the death of Kung Ye 弓裔 in 918, the principal rival of Wang Keon of Koryeo whom Kim Pu-sik regarded as the legitimate heir to Silla. Thus in view of Kim Pu-sik's policy of emphasizing the role of Silla in order to prove the legitimacy of Koryeo's succession, it would have been very natural for him to play down the importance of Paekche by giving it less space and a less than sympathetic treatment, and by setting the starting-point for its chronology well after that of Silla. The memory of the close alliance which existed for many centuries between Paekche and Yamato 大和 was also scarcely likely to encourage later Korean historians to attempt to correct Kim Pu-sik's generally unfavorable picture of this kingdom."

Apparently Kim Pu-sik tried to downgrade the important aspects of the relationship between Paekche and Yamato Wa. In particular, he tried to

¹⁹The contention that the origin of the Yamato imperial clan was Homuda-wake is also supported by the frequent occurrences in Nihongi of the following type of statement "Since the days of the Emperor in the womb 自胎中之帝" (NI: 9) or "From the days of the Emperor in the womb [Homuda-wake] down to Ourselves . . ." (NII: 34)^{<30>}

²⁰Gardiner states that: "He did it in several ways: by devoting more space to Silla than either of the other two kingdoms; by emphasizing the sage qualities of the early legendary rulers of Silla; and by arranging the chronology so that the foundation of Silla preceded that of the other two states, whose rulers were consequently made to appear in some sense as usurpers."

eliminate any hint of Paekche's role in the formation of the latter. Even Kim Pu-sik, however, could not completely ignore the developments occurring between Paekche and Yamato Wa at the turn of the fifth century.

Kim Pu-sik's *Samguk-sagi* records that: "In the fifth month, sixth year [A.D. 397], King [Asin 阿莘 or Ahwa] formed a friendly alliance 結好 with Wa and sent crown prince Cheonji to Wa. . . . In the fifth month, eleventh year [A.D. 402], Paekche sent an envoy to Wa and acquired a big bead 大珠. In the second month, twelfth year [A.D. 403], an envoy came from Wa and the King received it with a profound welcome . . . In the ninth month, fourteenth year [A.D. 405], King [Asin] died . . . [The Paekche court] was waiting for the return of crown prince [Cheonji] from Wa. In the meantime [Cheonji's] next younger brother, Hunhae 訓解, was administrating the government. The youngest brother, Seol-lye, however killed Hunhae and set himself up as King. When Cheonji heard of the King's death in Wa, he wept loudly and asked permission to return. The King of Wa let one hundred soldiers escort Cheonji. When he arrived at the border, a man of Hanseong 漢城 named Haechhung came to meet him and said: 'When the great King died 大王棄世, the youngest brother Seol-lye killed his elder brother [Hunhae] and set himself up as King. I pray the Heir Apparent would take caution and not proceed [to Hanseong].' Cheonji kept Wa soldiers to guard him and waited on an island. Soon the Paekche people killed Seol-lye and established Cheonji as king. . . . In the fifth year [A.D. 409], Wa sent an envoy with a gem that emitted light in the dark, and the King [Cheonji] gave a cordial reception . . . In the summer of the fourteenth year [A.D. 418], Paekche sent an envoy to Wa 遣使倭國 with 14 pil of silk 白綿 . . . In the second month of the second year [A.D. 428] of King Piyu, an envoy came from Wa with 50 attendants."^{<31>}

According to *Samguk-sagi's* standard, this is an extensive record on the Paekche-Wa relationship concentrated over a short span of time [i.e., thirty years, covering the period A.D. 397 - A.D. 428]. Kim Pu-sik would most likely have known what had happened in Japan in the late fourth century and what the relationship had been between Paekche and Yamato Wa. Since he could not completely ignore their relationship, he seems to have decided to give a minimal sketch from carefully selected and often inconsequential facts.