

2.

THE CLOSE KINSHIP BETWEEN THE
 PAEKCHE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE YAMATO
 IMPERIAL CLAN:

The Emotive Records

Hatada (1979) raises the fundamental question: “According to the inscription on the [King Kwanggaet’o 廣開土王] stele, they [Wa] conspired with Paekche, invaded Silla, and fought Koguryeo. According to the Samguk-sagi, they constantly invaded Silla, allied with Paekche, and took hostages from both. Who and what were these Wa?”¹ Hatada also calls our attention to the fact that most of the Samguk-sagi records on Paekche relations with Wa concentrate on the period from A.D. 397 to 428. In this section we will first examine the records of Samguk-sagi (Lee edition: 36-39) concerning the military conflicts between Paekche and Koguryeo and friendly exchanges between Paekche and Yamato Wa during the period A.D. 385-428, and then turn to the emotive records of Nihongi that suggest a close kinship between the Paekche rulers and the Yamato imperial clan.

King Chinsa 辰斯王 (A.D. 385-392) was the second son of Keun Kusu 近仇首王 (A.D. 375-384), younger brother of King Ch’imnyu (A.D. 384-385), and uncle to Asin (or Ahwa, A.D. 392-405) who was the crown prince to King Ch’imnyu. In response to Koguryeo’s invasion in A.D. 386, King Chinsa sent

¹According to Silla Pon’gi in Samguk-sagi, Wa appears forty-nine times prior to A.D. 500 and among these citations thirty-six concern invasions, mostly of the seacoast. On the other hand, as Hirano (1977) notes, “Paekche Pon’gi [in Samguk-sagi] records that when an envoy of Wa arrived in Paekche in 403, ‘King Asin received him with highest honors,’ and that King Cheonji also cordially received a Wa envoy in 409. There are seven recorded cases of Missions exchanged between the two countries in the period from 397 to 427.”

an army to attack Koguryeo in A.D. 389, and ordered Talsol Jin-Kamo 眞嘉謨 to invade Koguryeo in A.D. 390; Jin-Kamo captured the castle Togon-seong and took 200 prisoners. King Chinsa promoted him to Jwa-pyeong 佐平 in military affairs. In A.D. 392, King Kwanggaet'o of Koguryeo invaded Paekche and captured many castles north of the Han river, and King Chinsa himself was killed at a temporary palace. King Asin 阿莘王 (Ahwa 阿華王) appointed Jin-Mu 眞武, an uncle on his mother's side, commanding general, and entrusted all military affairs to him. King Asin 阿莘 ordered Jin-Mu to attack Koguryeo in A.D. 393, 394 and 395 but his forces were defeated by Koguryeo each time. King Asin established friendly relations with Wa and sent the crown prince Cheonji to Japan as a Support 質 in A.D. 397. King Asin promoted Jin-Mu to Jwa-pyeong in military affairs and laid plans for large scale invasions against Koguryeo in A.D. 398 and also in 399. King Asin sent an envoy to Wa in A.D. 402 and obtained large beads. The King accorded a warm welcome to the envoy from Wa 倭國使者 in A.D. 403. When King Asin died in A.D. 405, Cheonji returned to Paekche to become the King. King Cheonji sent an envoy to Wa with noctilucous beads as a present; he was received cordially by the King of Wa. King Cheonji sent an envoy to Wa with 10 *pils* of silk 白綿 in A.D. 418. In the reign of King Piyu 毗有 (A.D. 427-455), grandson of King Cheonji, there came an envoy from Wa accompanied by 50 followers.^{<1>}

According to Samguk-sagi's standard, the above records of conflicts between Paekche and Koguryeo, and exchanges between Paekche and Wa are rather exceptionally frequent and conspicuous. Furthermore, the renewed records on Jin-family 眞 members attract our attention in relation to the frequent involvement of Wa's army in Paekche's conflicts against Koguryeo that are described in Kwanggaet'o stele. It has been suggested that Homuda-wake might have been one of the Jin-family members.

We contend that, since Homuda-wake was a member of the Paekche royal family and since his followers who helped him conquer Japan were all Paekche people, Paekche did welcome the establishment of the Yamato Wa. According to Nihongi (NI: 251), King Keun Ch'ogo 近肖古王 of Paekche [A.D. 346-375] addressed his grandson, Prince Chim-nyu 枕流王 [who reigned during A.D. 384-385], saying: "The honourable country east of the sea with which we are now in communication [Yamato Wa] has been opened to us by Heaven Consequently the foundation of our land is confirmed for ever. Thou shouldst cultivate well its friendship 善脩和好, and having collected our national products [specifically, the iron from Cheolsan -- Iron Mountain], wait on it with tribute without ceasing."^{2 <2>}

Indeed, Nihongi records numerous touching episodes that clearly indicate a close kinship between the Paekche rulers and the Yamato imperial clan. Nihongi also records the Yamato relationships with Silla and Koguryo, but the narrations of these relations conspicuously lack intimacy. This section presents the passages of Nihongi that suggest strongly that Homuda-wake and the Yamato imperial clan must have originated within the Paekche royal family.³

The Heir Apparent to Paekche King Asin 阿莘 lived in Japan with Homuda-wake for a time after A.D. 397, as is recorded in a footnote to Nihongi (NI: 263n) that quotes the notices in the *Tongkam* 通鑑 relating to Prince Työnchi's being sent to Japan. Then the text of Nihongi (NI: 263) itself records the following story for the 16th year of 眞王's reign: "In this year King Ahwa (Asin) of Paekche died. The Emperor then sent for Prince Työnchi 直支 (Cheonji), and addressed him, saying: 'Do thou return to thy country and succeed the (royal) Dignity.' Accordingly he further granted him the territory of Eastern Han 賜東韓之地. . ."³ This is an interesting record. First, since we do know that King Asin of Paekche reigned during the period A.D. 392-405, we can now tell that the first year of 眞王's reign was A.D. 390, although according to the anachronistic Nihongi system it was A.D. 270. Second, we can interpret this story in the following fashion: 眞王, having already become the Lord of Wa, formally renounced any claim on Paekche territories.

Nihongi records for the 39th year of 眞王 (NI: 270) that: "[t]he King of Paekche (Cheonji 直支王) sent his younger sister, to wait upon 眞王. Now the Lady Sin-cha-to 新齊都媛 came over, bringing in her train seven women."⁴

For the ninth year of 眞王, Nihongi (NI: 257-258) recounts a story about

³Nihongi (NI: 251) records that Kutyö and the others told Homuda-wake that Paekche had discovered iron in Mount Cheolsan in the Kong-na 谷那鐵山 region which was the river-source at a distance of "seven days' journey" [from the mouth of the river] and that Paekche would like to supply "the iron of this mountain" to the Yamato Court "for all ages."³ Wong (1980) notes that "since large-scale iron-ore excavation in Yamato did not take place until the eighth century, it is reasonable to suppose that the Korean states were the main suppliers of iron from the fifth century on." Munro (1911: 577) notes that: "We read of bars of iron being presented as tribute from Paekche . . . [W]e gather that iron came more or less in the form of ingots and was fashioned into weapons and implements in Japan."

⁴Hirano (1977) calls our attention to "the general trend in the Nihon shoki and Shoku Nihongi to ascribe the origin of Japan's relations with Korea to 眞王's reign."

Takenouchi no Sukune having been accused of harboring disloyal designs upon the newly established Yamato state: “. . . while he is in Tsukushi [having been sent there by Homuda-wake to inspect the people of Tsukushi], he is secretly plotting to that end [disloyal designs], saying (to himself), ‘Alone I will cut off Tsukushi, and will invite the three Han 招三韓 [Paekche, Silla and Kaya] to come and do homage to me, so that finally I may possess the Empire.’”⁴ This story, mentioned only in passing, nevertheless reveals the somewhat fragile nature of the newly established Yamato state, the role of Tsukushi, and the importance of Korean forces in late fourth-century Japan.

During the reign of Nintoku, Nihongi (NI: 293-294) records that “Lord Chu 酒君, the grandson of the King of Paekche” was sent to Wa and while staying in the house of Koroshi, Obito of Nishikori in Ishikaha, accompanied Nintoku in hunting and tamed a falcon for him: “Tsuchigura . . . caught a strange bird and presented it to the Emperor The Emperor sent for Lord Chu and, pointing to the bird, said: – ‘What bird is this?’ Lord Chu answered and said: -‘Birds of this kind are numerous in Paekche. They can be tamed. . . .’ So it was given to Lord Chu to be fed and tamed. . . . Lord Chu accordingly fastened to its leg a soft leather strap, and attached to its tail a small bell. Then, placing it on his forearm, he presented it to the Emperor. On this day [they] went to the moor of Mozu and hunted.”⁴

Nihongi (NI: 338-339) quotes Shinsen of Paekche 百濟新撰: “. . . King Kaero 蓋鹵王 ascended the throne [in A.D. 455]. The Emperor [Yūryaku] sent Aretoku hither to ask for a nyeorang 女郎 (lady). Paekche adorned the daughter of the Lady Moni, called the Nyeorang Chokke, and sent her to the Emperor. . . . [But] Iketsu hime of Paekche [Nyeorang Chokke], in despite of the Emperor’s intention to favour [i.e., wed] her, had an amour with Tate Ishikaha. The Emperor was greatly enraged . . . and she was burnt to death.”

According to Nihongi (NI: 345-346), “Lord Kasyuni 加須利君 [Kasuri-nokishi, i.e., King Kaero 蓋鹵王也] of Paekche . . . intimated to his younger

⁴According to Aston (NI: xvii-xviii), “Even so late as the beginning of the 5th century the chronology can be shown to be wrong in several cases by no less an interval than 120 years The first date in the Nihongi which is corroborated by external evidence is A.D. 461, but the chronology is a little vague for some time longer. Perhaps if we take A.D. 500 as the time when the correctness of the Nihongi dates begins to be trustworthy, we shall not be very far wrong.” For instance, it is extremely difficult to guess the exact year of this event of Lord Chu [Sake] taming a falcon of Nintoku.

brother, Lord Kun 軍君 [Koni-kishi, i.e., Lord Kon-ji 昆支也], saying: – ‘Do thou go to Japan, and serve the Emperor.’ Lord Kun answered and said: – ‘. . . I pray thee give me one of thy consorts, and then I will take mission.’ Lord Kasyuni [King Kaero] accordingly took one of his consorts who was pregnant, and having given her in marriage to Lord Kun, said: ‘. . . if she should be delivered on the journey, I pray thee place [the child] on board a ship, and . . . cause it to be at once sent back to this country.’ . . . The pregnant consort . . . gave birth to a child on the island of Kahara 各羅嶋 in Tsukushi . . . Upon this Lord Kun 昆支 straightway took a ship and sent Lord Shima 嶋君 [Sema-kishi, i.e., the son of Kaero] to his country [A.D. 461]. He became King Munyeong 武寧王. The people of Paekche call this island Chuto 主嶋 [Master-island].”⁵⁵ <8>

Nihongi (NI: 346) records that: “The Paekche Shinsen says: ‘In the year Kanoto ushi (A.D. 461) King Kaero 蓋鹵王 sent *his younger brother*, Lord Kon-ji [Konchi or Koni-kish], to Great Wa 大倭, to wait upon the Emperor 天王 [Heavenly King; Yūryaku] and to confirm the friendship of *former sovereigns* [the literal translation should be: “to confirm the friendship of *big brother King* 以脩兄王之好”].”⁵⁶ According to Samguk-sagi (Lee edition II: 60), it was in April, A.D. 477 that King Munju [son of Kaero] appointed *his younger brother* Kon-ji as Jwa-pyeong. That is, according to Samguk-sagi, Kon-ji was not a younger brother but a son of King Kaero. Samguk-sagi records that Kon-ji died in July, A.D. 477 and that Kon-ji’s son became King Tongseong (A.D. 479-501).

According to Nihongi (NI: 353-354), Yūryaku states [A.D. 465] that “Silla occupies the Western Land: age after age [implying the ages of Sosa no wo, Mimaki-Iri-Biko and Himiko] he has done us homage. . . . But since We [implying the 高麗 line of the Paekche royal family] have come to rule the Empire, he has betaken himself beyond Tsushima 對馬之外, and concealed his traces outside of Chamna [implying that Silla no longer frequented the Kyūshū or Idzumo areas]. He prevents Koguryeo from sending tribute, he devours the walled cities of Paekche With the savage heart of the wolf he flies away when satiated, and sticks fast when starving.”⁵⁷ Nihongi (NI: 354-355) further records the joint efforts of Paekche and Yamato rulers to fight against Silla, which were apparently without success.

⁵⁵Hirano (1977) notes that “[t]his agrees completely with Munyeong’s funerary inscription recently discovered at Songsanli, Kongju. It says that the King’s posthumous name was Sama [Lord Shima], and that he died in 523 at the age of sixty-two, which means that he was born in 461, the year given in the Nihon shoki as that in which ‘Sema-kishi’ was born.” Yi Kimun (1982) shows that “kishi” was the Old Paekche word for prince or king (君 or 王).

In A.D. 475, Koguryeo conquered Paekche's capital Hanseong 漢城, forcing Paekche to move its capital to Ungjin [Kongju]. In Nihongi (NI: 366-367), we read that the "King of Koguryeo raised a great army and utterly smote Paekche. There was but a small remnant left, which assembled to occupy Chang-ha. Their victuals became exhausted, and deep was hereupon the weeping and lamentations. Upon this the Koguryeo generals addressed their King, saying: 'There is something extraordinary in the temper of Paekche. Whenever thy servants observe them, they seem unaware of their own ruin. It is to be feared that they will again spread forth and revive. We pray that they may be at length got rid of.' The King said: 'No! I . . . have heard that the Land of Paekche is under the jurisdiction of the Country of Japan, and that this connection is of old standing. It is also known to all the neighbouring countries that their King repairs to Japan and serves the Emperor.' Ultimately it [the proposal to exterminate the Paekche people] was abandoned." Nihongi (NI: 367) continues: "The Emperor, hearing that Paekche had been conquered by Koguryeo, gave Kuma-nari 久麻那利 [Ungjin] to King Munju 汶洲王 [A.D. 475-477], and so lent aid to his country."¹⁰ These statements strongly support the proposition that 高句麗 lineage of the imperial clan originated within the Paekche royal family. Nihongi (NI: 369) records also that on the death of King Sam-Keun of Paekche [A.D. 477-479], who succeeded King Munju, Yūryaku "summoned within the Palace Prince Mata 末多王 (Mute), the second son of Prince Konji's five sons, who was young in years, but intelligent. He himself stroked the Prince's face and head, and made a gracious decree, appointing him to reign over that country. He became King Tong-seong [A.D. 479-501]."¹¹ These records project a feeling of close kinship between Paekche and Yamato rulers.

Nihongi (NI: 406) records that in A.D. 505, "[t]he King of Paekche sent Lord Shika 斯我君 [Shika-kishi] . . . and a separate memorial, saying: 'Mana, the previous tribute-messenger, was no relation to the Sovereigns of Paekche 非百濟國主之骨族也. Therefore I humbly send Shika to wait upon the Court' . . . he eventually had a son named Lord Peop-sa 法師君 [Hōcō - kishi]. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Yamato 倭君之先."¹² Nihongi (NII: 72) records that in A.D. 554 Mak-ko, son of Tong-seong, came to Japan and Nasol Won, another son of Tong-seong, returned to Paekche.¹³

King Seong-myeong of Paekche was slain by Silla in A.D. 554. His son Yeo-chang 餘昌 [King Wi-deok, A.D. 554-598] narrowly escaped from the battlefield by taking a by-road. Nihongi (NII: 75) records that at this point the Silla generals noticed that Paekche was extremely vulnerable and hence "wished to take measures for the destruction of the remainder. But there was

one general who said: ‘This would be a mistake. The Emperor of Japan has frequently attacked our country on account of Imna: much more future mischief should we certainly invite upon ourselves if we should proceed to take steps for the destruction of the Miyake of Paekche.’ This project was therefore dropped.”^{<14>} Nihongi (NII: 75-78) further records that “Yeo-chang . . . sent Prince Hye 王子惠 [the younger brother of Wi-deok, later the King Hye, A.D. 598-599] with a message to the Emperor [Kimmei], saying : ‘King Seong-myeong has been slain by brigands.’ When the Emperor heard this he was indignant 傷恨, and sent an envoy [Soga no Omi] to meet him at the port with a message of condolence. . . . Soga no Omi condoled with him [Prince Hye], saying: ‘ . . . Oh! what a cruel grief. . . . Who is there possessed of feeling who does not lament his death? . . . ’ ”^{<14>}

Nihongi records on Kimmei [A.D. 540-571] include a reference to Yūryaku by the minister Soga, who was addressing the Paekche prince Hye (NII: 76-77): “Formerly, in the reign of the Emperor Oho-hatsuse [Yūryaku], thy country [Paekche] was hard pressed by Koguryeo, and was in an extremely critical position Thereupon the Emperor [Yūryaku] commanded the minister of the Shinto religion 神祇伯 to take counsel of the Gods. Accordingly the priests, by divine inspiration, answered and said: ‘If after humble prayer to the Deity, the founder of the Land, thou goest to the assistance of the Ruler who is threatened with destruction, there will surely be tranquillity to the State and peace to the people.’ Prayer was therefore offered to the Gods, aid was rendered 請神往救, and the peace of the country [Paekche] was consequently assured.”^{<15>}

Soga no Omi continues (NII: 77): “Now the God who originally founded this country 原夫建邦神者 is the God who descended from Heaven 自天降來 [Paekche?] and established this State 造立國家 when Heaven [Paekche?] and Earth [Yamato Wa?] became separated 天地割判之代, and when trees and herbs had speech. I have recently been informed that your country [Paekche?] has ceased to worship him 不祀. But if you now repent your former errors, if you build a shrine to the God 修理神宮 and perform sacrifices in honour of his divine spirit 奉祭神靈, your country will prosper.”^{<15>} At this point Aston (NII: 77) notes that: “The ‘I’sū -sū’ commentator here quotes the following curious statement from a work called the ‘Sei-to-ki’: ‘In the reign of the Emperor Kammu (781-806) we and Corea [Paekche?] had writings of the same kind. The Emperor, disliking this, burnt them and said: ‘These speak of the God who founded the country [Paekche?], and do not mention the Gods our ancestors.’ ”

In A.D. 556, Prince Hye of Paekche returned home. Nihongi (NII: 78)

records that “[h]ereupon Abe no Omi, Saheki no Muraji, and Harima no Atahe were sent in command of a naval force of the Land of Tsukushi to escort him to his country. The Lord of Hi in Tsukushi [the Great Lord of Tsukushi] was sent separately in command of 1,000 valiant soldiers to escort him to Mite [name of a port], and he was accordingly made to guard the strong positions on the way to the port.”^{<16>}

Silla destroyed Imna in A.D. 562. Hereupon an edict was issued by Kimmei (NII: 81-82): “. . . They [Silla] have broken Our Miyake 官家. . . and massacred the population of Our districts. . . . who can bear to hear these things without being grieved in his heart? Much more the heir to the Throne 太子 and the Oho-omi 大臣’ . . . join with Us in slaying the traitors, thus wiping off this bitter outrage against Heaven and Earth”^{<17>} Nihongi (NII: 86) further records that Paekche, with the aid of Sadehiko, who was sent by Kimmei in command of Wa troops, repulsed the King of Koguryeo in A.D. 562.^{<18>}

Nihongi (NII: 97-99) records that “[t]he Talsol, Illa, son of the Arisateung, Miyakko of the Province of Ashigita in Hi, now resident in Paekche [was summoned to Japan in A.D. 583] [H]e addressed (a message to) the Emperor [Bidatsu], saying: ‘The people of Paekche talk of a plan according to which it is intended to request (a settlement in) Tsukushi 欲請筑紫 [Kyūshū] for 300 ships 有船三百 (of emigrants?). If they really make this request, I advise Your Majesty to pretend to grant it. Paekche will then wish to create a new country, and will certainly put the women and children on ship-board and come with them in advance. The Government, when this time is at hand, should place in ambush in Iki and Tsushima plenty of troops, and, awaiting their arrival, slay them.’”^{<19>} Aston (NII: 99n) could not resist making a comment on this record: “All this seems great nonsense. It has puzzled the native commentators.”

Nihongi (NII: 90) records that Bidatsu “made his palace at Oho-wi in Kudara 百濟大井 [the name of a place in Kahachi]” in A.D. 572.^{<20>} *Kudara* is written with the Chinese characters for Paekche. It further records (NII: 169-170) that: “The Emperor [Jomei] made a decree, saying: ‘This year let there be a great palace and a great temple built.’ So the bank of the Kudara River 百濟川 was chosen as the site for the palace In this month a pagoda of nine stories was erected on the bank of the River Kudara” [in A.D. 639]. Nihongi then adds that Jomei “removed to the Palace of Kudara 百濟宮 [in A.D. 641] The Emperor died in the Palace of Kudara. He was temporarily interred north of the Palace. This was called the ‘great temporary tomb’ of Kudara 百濟大殯.”^{<20>}

Nihongi (NII: 171-173) records that when Kōgyoku [A.D. 642-645] assumed the throne, Soga no Omi 蘇我臣(蝦夷) was made Oho-omi as before and his son Iruka 兒入鹿 “took into his own hands the reigns of government, and his power was greater than his father’s.” Then, “the Oho-omi, Soga, invited Kyoki of Paekche [son of the King of Paekche, the chief envoy to Japan] and his companions to his house at Unebi. He had a friendly conversation with them . . .” [in A.D. 642]. Nihongi (NII: 176-174) also notes that when “a child of Kyoki died . . . Kyoki removed with his wife and children to the house of Ohowi in Kudara 百濟大井家, and sent people to bury his child in Ishikaha . . . The Paekche Envoys . . . were entertained at Court . . . [S]tout fellows were commanded to wrestle before Kyoki When the banquet was over, they retired and went to pay thier respects at Kyoki’s gate.” It is also recorded (NII: 179) that in A.D. 643 “[t]he Viceroy of Tsukushi sent a mounted messenger with a message to the Empress [Kōgyoku], saying: ‘The Prince, the younger brother of Kyoki, son of the King of Paekche, has arrived in the company of the tribute Envoys.’”^{<21>}

It seems that some members of Paekche royal families were always at the Yamato Court, either as envoys or as long-term visitors. When a white pheasant caught in the Anato area was presented to Kōtoku in A.D. 650, Nihongi (NII: 236) records that “. . . inquiry was made of the Lords of Paekche [about its implication], who said: ‘. . . in the reign of Ming-di of the Later Han dynasty, white pheasants were seen in a certain place.’” Kōtoku thereby took the appearance of this white pheasant as a good omen and displayed it to the Ministers and functionaries. Nihongi (NII: 238) describes the scene: “Ihimushi, Ahata no Omi, and three others were made to take the pheasant’s litter and move off ahead, while the Oho-omi of the Right and Left at the head of all the functionaries and Phung-chang 豐璋, Lord of Paekche, his younger brother Se-seong, [and] Chung-seong [Phung-chang’s uncle] . . . advanced into the Central Court.”⁶

Nihongi records that in A.D. 658 (NII: 258), “Paekche sent Envoys with the following message to the Empress [Saimei]: ‘Great Tang and Silla have joined their powers for an attack upon us.’” Subsequently Nihongi (NII: 266) records the fall of the capital city of Paekche to Silla-Tang allied forces in A.D. 660: “Chun-chu-chi 春秋智 [King of Silla], by the aid of the General-in-Chief, Su Ting-fang 大將軍蘇定方 [of Tang], caused Paekche to be invaded and destroyed.” Then it is recorded (NI: 268-269) that the people of Paekche

⁶Nihongi (NII: 184) notes that, in A.D. 643, “the Heir Apparent to the throne of Paekche, Yeo Phung-chang 百濟太子餘豐[璋], set loose and kept four hives of honey-bees on Mount Miwa 三輪山; but they did not multiply their kind.”^{<22>}

reassembled and formed a new kingdom [at Chu-yu]: “Kwisil Pok-sin 鬼室福信, Minister of Paekche sent the Minister Kwi-chi 佐平貴智 and others . . . to the Empress [Saimei] . . . asked for troops . . . and . . . [asked for] Prince Yeo Phung-chang. . . who was sent by Paekche to be in attendance at the . . . [Yamato] Court. . . to make him the Ruler of the Country. . . .”²³ Saimei is then recorded to have replied: “We learn that in ancient times there have been cases of troops being asked for and assistance requested: to render help in emergencies, and to restore that which has been interrupted, is a manifestation of ordinary principles of right. The Land of Paekche, in its extremity, has come to us and placed itself in our hands . . . Our resolution in this matter is unshakable. We shall give separate orders to Our generals to advance at the same time by a hundred routes . . . Let the proper officials supply them with everything they require”²⁴

Western scholars have tended to accept the one-sided Japanese version of ancient histories, but they cannot help being extremely puzzled by the question posed thus by Batten (1986): “Why the Japanese should have thrown themselves with such vigor into a war [between Paekche and Silla-Tang] that, if not quite an intramural Korean conflict, had at least no direct bearing on Japanese territory, is not easy to answer. The explanation offered by *Nihon shoki* [i.e., the statement made by Saimei 齊明] . . . while high-sounding, can hardly be taken at face value.”⁷

According to *Nihongi* (NII: 252-255), a grandson of Saimei [A.D. 655-661], Prince Takeru, died in A.D. 658 at the age of eight, and his remains were deposited in a tomb which was raised for him over the Imaki valley 今城谷上. The Imaki valley was the place where the Imaki Aya people from Paekche were settled during the reign of Y ūryaku. Saimei was beside herself with grief, and she made up songs, saying:

On the Hill of Womure⁸ in Imaki 伊麻紀一
 If but a cloud arose, plain to be seen,
 Why should I lament?

⁷Batten (1986) notes that the Yamato “court’s response was surprisingly vigorous . . . Saimei left Naniwa Harbor in command of an expeditionary navy Prince Naka . . . attended to the organization of the foreign war from Nanotsu . . . [T]he prince dispatched five generals to aid Paekche. Arms and grain were also sent Prince Phung was escorted home by an army of more than 5,000 [S]ix more generals were sent in command of 27,500 men to smite Silla.”

⁸Aston (NII: 253n) notes that “[a] native commentator remarks that *mure* is the Corean word for mountain. *Womure* would therefore mean little-mountain. There were Corean settlers in Imaki.”

I never thought that he was young
 As the young grass
 Like the flowing water of the River Asuka
 Which surges as it flows, unceasingly
 I long for him!
 Though I pass over the mountains and cross the seas
 Yet can I never forget the pleasant
 Region of Imaki.

Nihongi (NII: 255) records that Saimei “commanded Mari 萬里, Hada no Oho-kura no Miyakko 秦大藏造, saying: ‘Let these verses be handed down and let them not be forgotten by the world.’”²⁵ Hada was an extremely large Paekche family whose ancestors had immigrated during the reign of Homudawake. This is just another example of how the emotive records suggest an extremely intimate relationship between Paekche and the Yamato imperial clan.

Nihongi (NII: 279-280) records that the Japanese force of more than 10,000 stout fellows dispatched by the Yamato rulers was annihilated by a fleet of 170 Tang fighting ships in a battle near the mouth of the Paekchon River 白村江 in the 8th month, A.D. 663, and that Chu-yu 州柔 also fell to the Tang forces shortly thereafter.⁹ Nihongi (NII: 280) describes the reaction of the Yamato people when they heard the news that the Paekche city of Chu-yu had surrendered to Tang forces: “Then the people of the country said to one another ‘Chu-yu has fallen; there is nothing more to be done; this day the name of Paekche has become extinct. Shall we ever visit again the place where the tombs of our ancestors are?’ 丘墓地所 豈能復往.”¹⁰ ^{<26>} The records of Kojiki and Nihongi presented in this section reconfirm the blood relationship among the rulers of Paekche and Yamato

⁹Batten (1986) notes that: “According to a Chinese source, about 400 Japanese vessels were sunk in the engagement.” Shoku Nihongi (Snellen edition: 238) records the homecoming of Nishigoribe no Tora and two others who “were made prisoners by the Tang troops” at the time “when (an expedition was sent) to assist Kudara [Paekche]”; they “became slaves for forty years.” They were liberated and came back to Japan in A.D. 707 “in the suite of the envoy [to Silla] Awata no Ason Mabito.” It is noted that in sympathy for their misfortunes, gifts of “clothes, salt and cereals” were made to them.

¹⁰For some reason, Aston inserted the word “that” in place of “the” in front of the word “country” 國, making the sentence read: “Then the people of *that* country said 國人相謂之曰 . . .” In a similar case elsewhere (NI: 328), Aston simply translated it (國人) into “*the nation* (censured him)” 國人(諍之).

Wa that has already been revealed by the *New Compilation of the Register of Families*.

Best (1990: 441) offers the following commentary on Hong (1988): “One would expect that if, as Hong avers, Homuda-wake was a military leader from Paekche, possibly of royal blood, who invaded Japan with the blessing of Paekche’s King Keun Ch’ogo, then the relationship between the Japanese court that he founded and the court of Paekche would at the most be that of equals in terms of comparative status. If Homuda-wake *was* of Paekche descent, then in a proper Confucian construction of the relationship, his court would be cast in the subordinate role. As Hong reveals through his extensive use of quoted material, however, the *Nihon shoki* contains a number of passages concerning the long-term residence of Paekche princes and even crown princes as hostages at the Japanese court between the fifth and mid-seventh centuries. These passages, many of which are cited by Hong, cannot possibly be construed as indicating the dominance, or even equivalency, of Paekche’s political status vis-a-vis the Japanese court. Hong does not attempt to dismiss these accounts as nationalistic fabrications of the *Nihon shoki*’s compilers; rather he simply interprets them as evidence of the kinship of the rulers of Paekche and Japan (see pp.123-25). Kinship there may or may not have been, but these passages only indicate the siting of precedential status within the relationship . . .” As almost everyone acknowledges, however, *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* were compiled to justify the imperial family’s claims to divine origins and a reign unbroken since Jimmu’s time. As such, the authors had to use expressions like “hostages” for Paekche princes and officials of long-term residence in Yamato Wa whose tasks were actually “consultation,” “counseling,” “coordination,” and “supervision.” Indeed, *Nihongi* (NI: 346), quite likely unwittingly, quotes the *Paekche Shinsen* 百濟新撰 which states that Paekche’s King Kaero sent his younger brother to Wa “to confirm the friendship of *big brother King* 以脩兄王之好.”^{<8>} Tsuda (津田 1966: 51) also seems to have understood why *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* construed history as they did: “in writing of matters related to Paekche, Silla and Kara, they applied the writing method of uplifting the authority of Yamato Wa in the fashion of Chinese and Confucian ideologies.” Tsuda states that those were the authors’ ideologies, and had nothing to do with realities.^{<11>} [See also Section 4, Chapter 5.]