

*Chapter Eight*

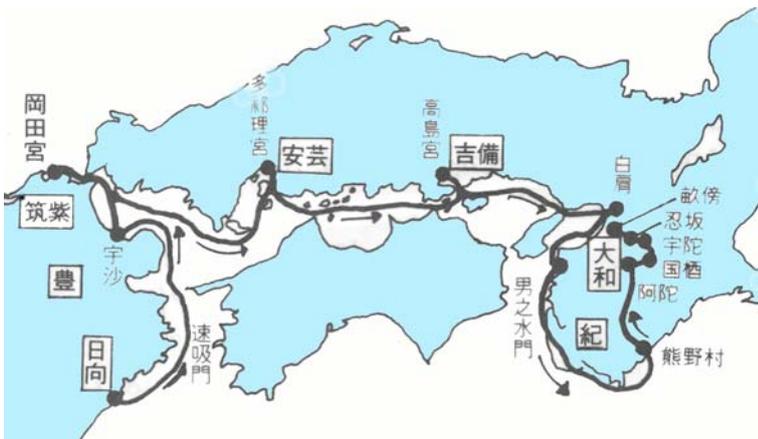
Tracing the Route of Conquest

Records of Kojiki and Nihongi

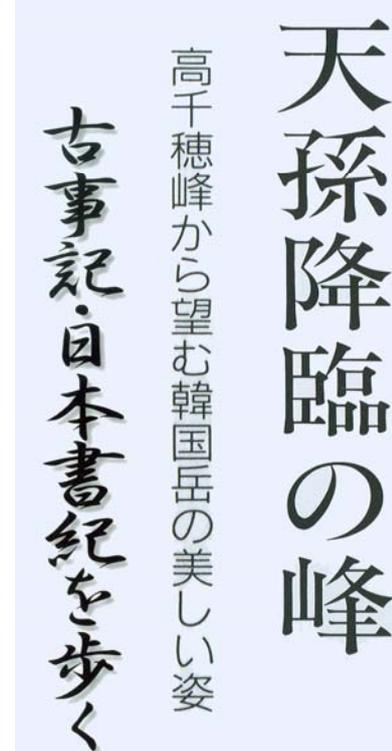
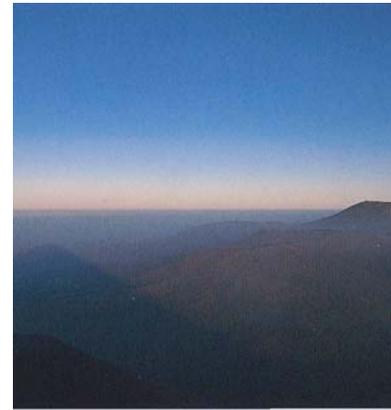


The Route of Expedition Led by Homuda [Oujin]  
from Han-seong, Capital of Paekche in the Korean Peninsula,  
to the Yamato Region in the Japanese Islands

According to the KOJIKI, immediately after NINIGI (the GRANDSON of SUN-GODDESS) DESCENDED FROM HEAVEN to the PEAK of KUJI-FURU of TAKACHIHO in Hyūga, Kyūshū., he made a statement: "THIS PLACE FACES TOWARDS KOREA; it is a place to which one comes directly through the Cape of Kasasa, a land where the morning sun shines directly, a land where the rays of the evening sun are brilliant. This is the most excellent place." According to EGAMI (1964: 55-6), this conspicuous mention of Korea at the very starting point of the FOUNDATION MYTH leads us "to regard KOREA as the ORIGINAL HOME OF THE GODS OF HEAVEN."



The Route of Jinmu's Eastern Conquest according to the Kojiki and Nihongi



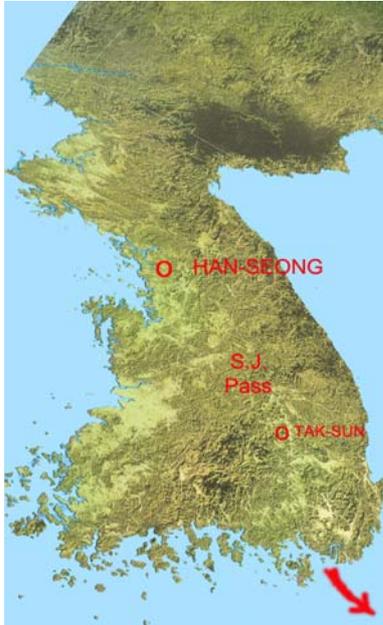
"The graceful figure (*sugata*) of Mount Korea viewed (*nozomu*) from the peak of Takachiho (in Kyūshū)."

The myth of Kojiki and Nihongi lyrically reiterated by Yutaka Hayashi and Oki Kouji (the JTB Can Books, 1995: 46) in "The Peak Where The Heavenly Child Descended On."

CHAPTER EIGHT

TRACING THE ROUTE OF CONQUEST

RECORDS OF KOJIKI AND NIHONGI



8.1. From Han-seong to Tak-sun

<sup>1</sup> 神功 攝政卅六年 [366] 春三月...  
 卓淳王末錦早岐...曰 甲子年 [364]  
 七月中...百濟肖古王...曰...不知道路  
 有志無從...時謂久氐等曰...唯海遠浪  
 峻 則乘大船 僅可得通 若雖有路津  
 何以得達耶 (NI: 353)



8.2. Koguryeo An-ak No. 3 Tomb  
 O-guk-ri, Hwang-hae-do

1. Nihongi Records the Paekche Army Moving South in 369

According to the Nihongi, King Keun Chogo (346-75) of Paekche dispatched scouts to a Kaya state (Tak-sun) in July 364 in order to collect information about the passages to the Japanese islands.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of the 4<sup>th</sup> King Kae-ru (128-66), the kingship in Paekche had alternated between two royal clans, the Chogo clan and the Koi clan, until the time of King Keun Chogo when the succession was at last consolidated into the Chogo clan. Thereafter the Koi line simply vanished from Paekche history. Perhaps the Koi clan was persuaded by King Keun Chogo to open a new dynasty in the new world (see Appendix 7.1). It could have been the clan heir-cum-leader, Homuda, who had agreed to leave Han-seong with his followers and, with the full support of the Paekche court, succeeded in founding the Yamato kingdom in the Japanese islands.

Tak-sun seems to have been located in an area along the Nak-tong River which, flowing south to the modern Pusan area, constituted the shortest route from Paekche to the Japanese islands. What Nihongi tells us is that the King of a Kaya state (Tak-sun) suggested to the Paekche envoys the need for large ships.

What are we able to understand from these Nihongi

records? As of 364, Han-seong was the capital of Paekche, and Ma-han was still occupying the southwestern corner of the Korean peninsula. Hence it was natural that the Paekche people would lack detailed information about the passages to the Japanese islands. The movement of Homuda and his followers to the Japanese islands must have occurred not long after 364, which was the year they had dispatched scouts to gather information about the passages.

In the ensuing narration, however, Nihongi records a large-scale Wa invasion of Korea with “Paekche generals.” According to Nihongi, it was Jingū who dispatched an army to the Korean peninsula in 369 to invade “Silla.” It is said that, when the Wa army arrived at Tak-sun, they discovered that the size of their army was too small and hence had to ask for reinforcements. They were soon joined by troops led by a Paekche general. They then all together invaded and conquered “Silla” and pacified Tak-sun and six other places. From here the armies turned west, conquered the southern savages and then “granted” those conquered lands to Paekche. At this point they were joined by the Paekche King Keun Chogo and his son Prince Keun Kusu, whereupon four more localities spontaneously surrendered. The King and the Crown Prince of Paekche offered their congratulations, and sent the Wa soldiers off with cordial courtesy.<sup>2</sup>

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. Neither can we understand, as pointed out by Ledyard (1975), the story that the Wa armies somehow got to Tak-sun in the first place without passing through the areas they later conquered, nor the story that Wa armies then turned around and conquered the areas from north to south. But once we take those series of military activities as the work of Paekche, these Nihongi records become quite coherent.

By crosschecking the records of Samguk-sagi, Ledyard logically deduces that all those stories recorded in Nihongi represent the historical records of Paekche armies moving south. At this point, however, Ledyard commits an altogether unnecessary and surprising error, calling the Paekche king and his followers “Puyeo warriors.” In Nihongi, the above

<sup>2</sup> See footnote 11.



8.3. 16 Ships Incised on a Panel of Wood Excavated from the Early Tomb Period Hakaja Site of Hyōgo Prefecture  
兵庫縣 出石町 袴狭 遺跡

<sup>3</sup> Actually it was Egami (1962: 12-13) himself who suggested that the early Japanese rulers came from Korea to Japan and “that they had arrived in Korea as conquerors out of pastoral zone of Asia,” and made the statement that Paekche “was founded by a royal family of the Fuyu [Puyeo] tribe out of northern Manchuria during the first half of the fourth century CE” Ledyard’s statement (1975: 245-246) that “the huge labor force that must have been required to build [the gigantic tombs] were probably prisoners, captives, dragged behind Puyeo horses from conquests in Manchuria and Korea across the sea to do the work of the new state” seems to have highly dramatized Egami’s idea, making it very pleasing to the ear of the Japanese general public.

<sup>4</sup> This chapter selects the relevant passages of Kojiki (translated by Philippi) and Nihongi (translated by Aston) directly related with the route of conquest, taking the freedom of arranging and connecting the recorded materials systematically.

三國史記 卷第三十七 雜志 第六百濟...溫祚...自卒本扶餘至慰禮城立都稱王 歷三百八十九年 至十三世近肖古王 取高句麗南平壤 都漢城 (S2: 233)

<sup>5</sup> 神武天皇 卽位前紀...而遼邈之地猶未霑於王澤 遂使邑有君村有長各自分疆 用相凌躐...抑又聞於鹽土老翁曰 東有美地 青山四周 其中亦

story ends with the Paekche King and the “Wa soldiers,” who are heading to the Japanese islands, pledging eternal friendship and bidding farewell. If we take the departing “Wa soldiers” as a contingent of Paekche warriors led by a Paekche prince named Homuda, without invoking Puyeo warriors out of the blue, then the entire story becomes coherent.<sup>3</sup>

There are suggestive records in the accounts of Kojiki and Nihongi from which to construct the true life story of the conquerors, telling how they masterminded the conquest, who was the leader, when they crossed the sea, where they landed, and in what manner they fought and wrought. This chapter reconstructs the sequence of conquest almost exclusively on the basis of the records of Kojiki and Nihongi. All the statements below between quotation marks [except those words in square brackets that represent my efforts to correct the distortions] are the records of Nihongi translated by Aston or of Kojiki translated by Philippi.

## 2. The Starting Point: At the Paekche Court in Han-seong

According to the Samguk-saki, Paekche moved its capital from Wi-rye to Han-seong in 371 during the reign of King Keun Chogo (346-75). During the period between 18 BCE and 475 CE, before Paekche moved its capital to Kong-ju (475-538), the capital was always located at somewhere in the Han River basin (the modern-day Seoul area), and therefore the entire period (of 493 years) is often called the era of Han-seong Paekche.<sup>4</sup>

The Nihongi reads: [*On a day, at the Paekche Court in Han-seong, Jin Zeong, who had been appointed as the Chief Minister in 347, told Prince Homuda and his elder brother, Itsuse*] -- “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. The remote region does not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord, and every village its chief, who, each one for himself, makes division of territory and practices mutual aggression and conflict. I think this land will undoubtedly be suitable for the extension of our

Heavenly Realm, so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the center of the world. Moreover, there is a person [from our own country] who flew down [there] riding in a Heavenly Rock-boat. Why should we not proceed thither, and make it the capital?" "The Imperial Princes answered, and said: --"The truth of this is manifest. This thought is constantly present to our minds also. We may well proceed thither as soon as possible.' This was the year Kinoye Tora of the Great Year [354]."<sup>5</sup>

The metaphor of Kojiki reads: --"Then, by command of Takaki and Amaterasu, the eight-hundred myriad deities assembled in a divine assembly in the river-bed of [Han River], who were told that 'This Central Land of the Reed Plains is the land entrusted to our child as the land to be ruled by him.' Two deities were dispatched to make inquiries into the path to the land, and they in due course returned and reported on their mission. Thereafter, Takaki and Amaterasu caused Ninigi to descend from the heaven."<sup>6</sup>

According to the Kojiki, Amaterasu and Takaki are in-laws. According to Samguk-saki, King Keun Chogo and Jin Zeong are in-laws. I take Amaterasu for King Keun Chogo and Takaki for Minister Jin Zeong. I also take Ninigi, Jinmu and Homuda, all together, as representing the one and only founder of the Yamato kingdom.

### 3. Sending Scouts to the Upper Nak-tong River Valley

The Paekche court sent scouts over the Sae-Jae Pass to the upper Nak-tong river valley to collect information on the passage to the Japanese islands. The Nak-tong River makes a sharp turn to south at the modern-day Mun-gyung area and flows down to the Pusan area.

Nihongi records the statement made by King Seongmyung (523-54) of Paekche: "In former times, during the reign of my ancestors, King Sok-ko [Keun Chogo] and King Kwi-su [Keun Kusu, 375-84], the Kanki of Ara, Kara and Tak-sun first sent envoys and entered into communication. We became knitted together by cordial friendship, and they were treated as children or younger brothers."<sup>7</sup>

有乘天磐船而飛降者 余謂彼地必當足以恢弘大業...蓋六合之中心乎 厥飛降者 謂是饒速日歟 何不就而都之乎 諸皇子對曰 理實灼然 我亦恒以爲念 宜早行之 是年也太歲甲寅 (NI: 189-91)

倭之青垣東山 (K: 108)

其大后息長帶日賣命者 當時歸神...言教覺詔者 西方有國 金銀爲本 目之炎耀 種種珍寶 多在其國...凡此國者 坐汝命御腹之御子(品陀) 所知國者也...爾具請之 今如此言教之大神者 欲之其御名 卽答詔 是天照大神之御心...浮大海以可度 (K:226-30)

臣安萬侶言...懸鏡吐珠 而百王相續...以萬神蕃息與 議議安河而平天下 論小濱而清國土 是以 番仁岐命 初降于高千嶺 神倭天皇 經歷于...所以稱賢后 望烟而撫黎元 (K: 42)

既而天照大神...命降之於葦原中國 是時...彼地未平矣 不須也頗傾凶目杵之國歟 (NI: 147)

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...以爲葦原中國之主 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)

于時 高皇產靈尊 以眞床追衾 覆於皇孫...使降之 (NI: 141)

<sup>6</sup> 爾高御產巢日神(高木神) 天照大

御神之命以 於天安河之河原 神集  
八百萬神集而...爾...神 副...神而遣  
是以此二神 降到... 故...返參上 復  
奏言...之狀 爾天照大御神 高木神  
之命以 詔太子...爾其太子...將降裝  
束之間 子出生...此御子者 御合高  
木神之女...生子...次日子...適藝...  
科詔...適藝...此豐葦原水穗國者  
汝將知國 言依賜 故 隨命以可天降  
(K: 112, 120, 124-126)

<sup>7</sup> 聖明王曰 昔我先祖遠古王貴須王  
之世 安羅加羅卓淳早岐等 初遣使  
相通 厚結親好 以爲子弟 (NII: 71)

<sup>8</sup> 神功 攝政卅六年...卓淳王末錦  
早岐...曰 甲子年七月中 百濟人  
久氐彌州流莫古三人 到於我土曰  
百濟王 聞東方有日本貴國 而遣臣  
等 令朝其貴國 故求道路 以至於斯  
土 若能教臣等 令通道路 則我王必  
深德君王 時謂久氐等曰 本聞東有  
貴國 然未曾有通 不知其道 唯海遠  
浪嶮 則乘大船 僅可得通 若雖有路  
津 何以得達耶 於是 久氐等曰 然  
即當今不得通也 不若 更環之備船  
舶 以後通矣 (NI: 353)



8.4. Koguryeo An-ak No. 3 Tomb  
O-guk-ri, Hwang-hae-do

The record of Nihongi for the year 366 (246, without the usual two-cycle correction) contains the following statements made by the King of a Kaya state, Tak-sun: “In the course of the year Kinoye Ne [364], three men of Paekche named Ku-zeo, Mi-ju-ryu, and Mak-go came up to my country and said; - ‘The King of Paekche [Keun Chogo], hearing that in the Eastern quarter there is an honorable country [the Japanese islands], has sent thy servants to this honorable country’s court. Therefore, we beg of thee a passage so that we may go to that Land. If you wilt be good enough to instruct thy servants and cause us to pass along the roads, our King will certainly show profound kindness to my Lord the King’ I (the King of Tak-sun) then said to Ku-zeo and his followers: - ‘I have always heard that there is an honorable country in the East, 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, how could you arrive there?’ Hereupon Ku-zeo and the others said: - ‘Well, then for the present we cannot communicate. Our best plan will be to go back again, and prepare ships with which to communicate later.’”<sup>8</sup>

What the Nihongi tells us is that the King of a Kaya state (Tak-sun) suggested to Ku-zeo the need for large ships. Thus they went back. Apparently, the King of Tak-sun wanted to know what he would get in return for his cooperation and preparation of large ships for the King of Paekche.

Nihongi continues: “Hereupon [the King of Tak-sun] sent a man [in company with the returning Paekche envoys] to the Land of Paekche. ... King [Keun Chogo] of Paekche was profoundly pleased, and received [the man from Tak-sun] cordially. The King presented to him a roll each of five kinds of dyed silk, a horn-bow and arrows, together with forty bars of iron. Thereafter he opened his treasure-house, and pointing to his various rare objects, said: --‘In my country there is great store of these rare treasures. I have wished to pay tribute of them to the honorable country, but not knowing the way I was unable to carry out my intention. I shall now entrust them to envoys, who will visit your country in order to offer them.’ [The man from Tak-sun] took charge of this message, and on

his return informed King.” In 367, “The King of Paekche sent Ku-zeo, Mi-ju-ryu, and Mak-go with tribute. Hereupon the [King of Tak-sun was] greatly delighted and said: --‘People from the country wished for by our late Sovereign have now come to Court.’”<sup>9</sup>

At that time, the Paekche court was planning not only the conquest of the Japanese islands by sending an expeditionary force led by Homuda, but also the conquest of the Ma-han states in the southwestern part of the Korean peninsula by a force led by King Keun Chogo himself in collaboration with the expeditionary force on its way to the Japanese islands.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4. The Paekche Armies Advance toward South

In 369, “Hwang-jeon and Rok-a were made generals. Along with [Homuda, Itsuse], Ku-zeo and the others they prepared a [spearhead] force with which they crossed over [the Sae-Jae Pass] and came to Tak-sun. They were accordingly about to invade [Ma-han] when some one said:--‘Your troops are too few. You cannot defeat [Ma-han]’ They respectfully sent back again Sa-baek and Kae-ro to ask for reinforcements. Mong-na Keun-ja, Sa-sa and No-kwe were forthwith ordered to take command of choice troops which were sent along with Sa-baek and Kae-ro. (Nihongi notes that ‘the surnames of Sa-sa and No-kwe are unknown, but Mongna Keun-ja was a Paekche general.’) They all assembled at Tak-sun, invaded [Ma-han states], and conquered them. Seven provinces were accordingly subdued. Then they moved their forces, and turning westward, arrived at Ko-hye-chin, where they slaughtered the southern savages of Chim-mi-ta-rye and granted their country to Paekche. Hereupon, their King Chogo [Keun Chogo], together with [Crown] Prince Kuisu [Keun Kusu], came to meet them with more troops. Then four villages spontaneously surrendered. Thereupon the Kings of Paekche, father and son, met [Homuda, Itsuse], Hwang-jeon, Mong-na Keun-ja, and the rest at the village Ui-ryu, and at an interview offered their congratulations and dismissed them with cordial courtesy. ... [Before the farewell, the King of

<sup>9</sup> 神功皇后 攝政 四十六年...即而僂人爾波移與卓淳人過古二人 遣于百濟國...時百濟肖古王 深之歡喜 而厚遇焉 仍以五色綵絹各一匹 及角弓箭 并鐵鋌四十枚...便復開寶藏 以示諸珍異曰...欲貢貴國 不知道路 有志無從...於是爾波移奉事而還 告...便自卓淳還之也

四十七年 百濟王使 久氐彌州流莫古 令朝貢...於是 皇太后 太子譽田別尊 大歡喜之曰 先王所望國人 今來朝之 (NI: 353)

<sup>10</sup> Samguk-sagi records the Paekche's conquest of Ma-han in 9 AD. According to Ledyard (1975), Samguk-sagi transferred the story backward by six cycles in order to lend antiquity to the date of Paekche's conquest of Ma-han. Lee Byung-do (S2: 34n) also gives the same interpretation.

三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 百濟始祖 溫祚王 二十四年 秋七月 王作熊川 柵 馬韓王遣使責讓曰 王初渡河 無所容足 吾割東北一百里之地安之 其待王不為不厚 宜思有以報之 今以國完民聚 謂莫與我敵 大設城池 侵犯我封疆 其如義何 王慙壞其柵

二十五年 春二月 王宮井水暴溢 漢城人家馬生牛 一首二身 日者曰 井水暴溢者 大王勃興之兆也 牛 一首二身美 大王并鄰國地應也 王聞之喜 遂有并吞辰馬之心

二十六年 秋七月 王曰 馬韓漸弱 上下離心 其勞不能久 儻為他所并 則唇亡齒寒 悔不可及 不如先人而

取之 以免後艱 冬十月 王出師陽言  
田獵 潛襲馬韓 遂并其民邑 唯圓山  
錦峴二城 固守不下

二十七年 夏四月 二城降 移其民於  
漢山之北 馬韓遂滅 (S2: 16)

<sup>11</sup> 神功皇后 攝政四十九年 以荒田  
別 鹿我別爲將軍 則與久氐等 共勒  
兵而度之 至卓淳國 將襲新羅 時或  
曰 兵衆少之 不可破新羅 更復 奉  
上沙白 蓋盧 請增軍士 卽命木羅斤  
資 沙沙 奴跪 是二人 不知其姓人  
也 但木羅斤資者 百濟將也 領精兵  
與沙白 蓋盧共遣之 俱集于卓淳...  
擊新羅而破之 因以 平定比自焮 南  
加羅 喙國 安羅 多羅 卓淳 加羅  
七國 仍移兵 西廻至 古奚津 屠南  
蠻 忱彌多禮 以賜百濟 於是其王育  
古及王子貴須 亦領軍來會 時此利  
辟中 布彌支 半古 四邑 自然降服  
是以 百濟王父子及荒田別 木羅斤  
資等 共會意流村 今云 州流須祇  
相見欣感 厚禮送遣之 唯千熊長彦  
與百濟王 至于百濟國 登辟支山盟  
之 復登古沙山 共居磐石上 時百濟  
王盟之曰...自今以後 千秋萬歲 無絕  
無窮 常稱西蕃 春秋朝貢...厚加禮  
遇 亦副久氐等 而送之 (NI: 355-7)

<sup>12</sup> 神武天皇 卽位前紀 大歲甲寅 冬  
十月丁巳朔辛酉 天皇親帥諸皇子舟  
師東征 至速吸之門 時有一漁人 乘  
艇而至...又問之曰 汝能爲我導耶  
對曰 導之矣...爲海導者...行至筑紫  
國 菟狹 時有菟狹國造祖...乃於菟  
狹川上 造一柱膳宮而奉饗焉...至筑  
紫國岡水門 (NI: 191)

Paekche and Homuda] ascended Mount Pi-ji and made a solemn declaration. ...they ascended Mount Ko-sa, where they sat together upon a rock, and the King of Paekche made a solemn declaration, saying:--'I make this solemn declaration of alliance to show that it will remain undecayed to distant ages. ...and ... will attend your Court with tribute.' ... [The King] also made Ku-zeo and the others escort [Homuda and his followers]."<sup>11</sup>

## 5. Embarking on the Expedition to the Japanese Islands

Leaving the southeastern shore of the Korean peninsula, crossing the Korea Strait, and passing the islands of Tsu-shima and Iki, the expeditionary force led by Homuda and Ituse lands on Kyūshū, not on the northern plain area crowded by the Yayoi aborigine but, passing the Kammon Strait (at the modern-day Shimonoseki City), on the secluded southeastern shore of Kyūshū island, the modern Hyūga.

The Nihongi reads: "In that year, in winter, on the fifth day of the 10<sup>th</sup> month, [Homuda] in person led the Imperial Princes and a naval force on an expedition against the [Japanese islands]. When he [was to embark] there was there a fisherman who came riding in a boat. [Homuda] asked him: 'Canst thou act as my guide?' He was accordingly made pilot. Proceeding on their voyage, they arrived at Usa in the Land of Toyo-kuni in Tsukushi (the modern-day Usa-shi, Oita Prefecture, North Kyūshū)." [The people there] built a palace raised on one pillar on the banks of Usa River, and offered [Homuda] a banquet."<sup>12</sup> Homuda and his followers seem to have been welcomed by those who had migrated from Paekche to this area a long time ago.

Now we read the metaphor of Kojiki as follows. "[Minister Jin Zeong, the brother-in-law to King Keun Chogo, commanded Homuda] to leave the Heavenly Rock-Seat. Pushing through the myriad layers of the heaven's trailing clouds, pushing his way with an awesome pushing, [Homuda] stood on a flat floating island by the Heavenly Floating Bridge, and descended from the heavens to the peak of Kuji-furu of Mount Taka-chiho of Hiuga in Tsukusi." When Homuda was

journeying across the sea, “he met in the straits a person riding on a tortoise’s back. [Homuda] asked: ‘Who are you?’ He answered: ‘I am an earthly deity.’ Again [Homuda] asked: ‘Do you know the sea-lanes?’ He answered: ‘I know them well.’ Again [Homuda] asked: ‘Will you serve as my attendant?’”<sup>13</sup>

Homuda then arrived at the harbor of Oka. The destination at which he had arrived is the modern-day Hyūga, Miyazaki Prefecture. The Kojiki, however, specifies the Peak of Kuji-furu of Taka-chiho in Hyūga.

According to Kojiki, immediately after Ninigi descended from heaven to the peak of Kuji-furu, he made a statement: “This place faces towards Kara Kuni (Korea); it is a place to which one comes directly through the Cape of Kasasa, a land where the morning sun shines directly, a land where the rays of the evening sun are brilliant. This is the most excellent place.”<sup>14</sup> According to Egami (1964: 55-6), this conspicuous mention of Korea at the very starting point of the foundation myth leads us “to regard Korea as the original home of the gods of heaven.” Chamberlain, who had translated the Kojiki into English, notes (in pp. 137-8) the Motowori’s attempt to delete the word *Korea*: “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. Chamberlain further notes that: “His evident reason for wishing to alter the reading is simply and solely to conceal the fact that Korea is mentioned in a not unfriendly manner, in the traditional account of the divine age. ... [There] is no excuse for so dishonest a treatment of the text he undertakes to commentate.”

Motowori Norinaga (1730-1801) was the leader of so-called Kokugaku (National Learning) tradition that supposedly takes the words and phrases in Kojiki and Nihongi literally, and then interprets their meaning in the most nationalistic way.

A modern-day tourist will find the “Paekche Village” (also called Nan-go Village) about forty kilometers inland from Hyūga city towards the Kyūshū Mountains, whose 3,000 inhabitants still believe they are descendants of the Paekche people.<sup>15</sup> Numerous artifacts used by the Paekche conquerors were excavated from the area, and hence the Japanese government had financed the construction of West Shōsoin, an

<sup>13</sup> 高皇產靈尊 選當遣於葦原中國者...使降之 皇孫...天降於日向襲之高千穗峯矣 (NI: 141)

天神之子 則當到筑紫日向高千穗穗觸之峯 (NI: 149)

故...瓊瓊杵根...降到於日向穗日高千穗之峯 (NI: 153-155)

皇孫...瓊瓊杵...而排披天八重雲 以奉降之... 降到之處者 呼曰日向襲之高千穗添山峯矣 (NI: 161)

故爾詔...日子...通通藝...而 離天之石位 押分天之八重多那 雲而...於天浮橋...天降坐于竺紫日向之高千穗之久士布流多氣 自久以下六字亦以音 (K: 128)

即自日向發 幸行筑紫 故 到豐國宇沙之時 其土人...作足一騰宮而 獻大御饗 亦從其國上幸而 於吉備之高嶋宮八年坐 故從其國上幸之時 乘龜甲為釣乍 打羽舉來人 遇于速吸門...問汝者知海道乎 答曰能知... (K: 148)

<sup>14</sup> 於是 詔之 此地者 向韓國 真來通笠沙之御前而 朝日之直刺國 夕日之日照國也 故 此地甚吉地 (K: 128)

In old Korean, furu (pul) means field or plain.

<sup>15</sup> The journey to Paekche Village takes 1 hour and 10 minutes by the bus for Naka-yama from the Hyūga Bus Center in front of JR Hyūga city station. Tourists get off at Kudara-no-Yakatamae bus stop at the Nan-go village.

<sup>16</sup> 神倭伊波禮毘古命 與其...兄五瀨命 二柱坐高千穗宮而議云 坐何地者 平聞看天下之政 猶思東行...從其國上幸而於吉備...八年坐 (K: 148) 神日本磐余彥天皇...謂諸兄及子等曰 昔我天神 高皇產靈尊...舉此 豐葦原瑞穗國 而授天祖...瓊瓊杵...是時 運屬鴻荒 時鍾草昧...何不就而都之乎 (NI: 189)

<sup>17</sup> 神武 即位前紀...至安藝國...徙入吉備國 起行館以居之...積三年間 脩舟楫 蓄兵食 將欲以一舉而平天下也 (NI: 191) 神功皇后 攝政五十二年 久氐等...獻七枝刀一口 七子鏡一面 及種種重寶 (NI: 359)



8.5. Gilt-bronze Headgear Ornament Parts, and Sword Ring-Pommel Excavated at the Iki Island 壹岐島 Sou-roku 双六古墳

exact duplicate of the Shōsoin (Imperial Treasure House) in Nara, using Kiso cypress. Few people know of the existence of this Nish-no-Shōsoin because the Japanese Government is reluctant to advertise its presence to all the world. Inside the museum, tourists first find introductions to the history and legends of Paekche, along with an ancient bronze bell said to have been brought there from Paekche.

## 6. Eastern Conquest Commencing from the Hyūga Base

Kojiki states: “[Homuda], dwelling with his elder brother [Ituse] in the palace of Taka-chiho, 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 Hiuga, he journeyed to Tsukusi [Kita Kyūshū]. From there he sailed to Takeri in the land of Aki [the modern-day Aki District, Hiroshima Prefecture]. From that land he sailed and journeyed upward to Taka-shima in Kibi [the modern-day Oka-yama City].”<sup>16</sup>

At the presumed point of Homuda’s departure on the Hyūga sea coast, at the mouth of a stream, modern-day tourists will find a huge signboard stating “The Birthplace of Japanese Imperial Navy” which was erected by an admiral of the old Japanese imperial navy at his own expense.

Nihongi states: “Going onwards, [Homuda] entered the land of Kibi, and built a temporary palace, in which he dwelt [for a while; for three years, according to Nihongi]. It was called the Palace of Taka-shima. 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.

In 372, Ku-zeo and the others again came along and presented a seven-branched sword and a seven-little-one-mirror, with various other objects of great value.<sup>17</sup> Quite surprisingly, this Seven-branched Sword is still preserved at the Ison-kami Shrine. (See Appendix 8.2.)

Nihongi continues: “The imperial forces at length proceeded eastwards, the prow of one ship touching the stern of another. Just when they reached Cape Naniha they encountered a current of great swiftness [at the Akashi Strait]. Proceeding upwards [from the Gulf of Ōsaka]

against the stream, they went straight on, and arrived at the port ... in the township of Kusaka [a wharf nearby the modern-day Kusaka-cho, East Ōsaka City], in the province of Kawachi. The imperial forces in martial array marched on to Tatsuta. The road was narrow and precipitous, and the men were unable to march abreast, so they returned and again endeavored to go eastward, crossing over Mount Ikoma [a small mountain range on the limits of Kawachi and Yamato]. In this way they entered the inner country. Now when Nagasune heard this, he said: --‘The object of the children of the Heavenly Deity in coming hither is assuredly to rob me of my country.’ So he straightway levied all the forces under his dominion, and intercepted them at the Hill of Kusaka. A battle was engaged, and Itsuse was hit by a random arrow on the elbow. [Homuda said]: --‘I am the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, and if I proceed against the Sun to attack the enemy, I shall act contrary to the way of Heaven. Better to retreat and make a show of weakness. Then sacrificing to the God of Heaven and Earth, and bringing on our backs the might of the Sun-Goddess, let us follow her rays and trample them down.’<sup>18</sup>

Nihongi continues: “From this place they journeyed on and arrived at the river-mouth of Wo in the land of Kii [at the mouth of the Kii River of Waka-yama City], where Itu-se died in the army. [At *Han-seong, King Keun Chogo, in the presence of Minister Jin Zeong*] summoned and commanded Take-mika, saying: --‘I still hear a sound of disturbance from the Central Land of Reed Plains. Our offspring seem to be in difficulties. Here is the [long] sword with which I pacified the land. Send it down!’<sup>19</sup> Kojiki notes that the “Pacifying Long Sword” is also preserved at the Isono-kami Shrine, the place where the Seven-branched Sword is now preserved. Apparently, the “Pacifying Long Sword” was lost sometime after Kojiki was compiled.

Homuda and his army could not make their way up the Ki River towards the Yamato hinterland, which constitutes the logical short-cut, most likely due to the presence of an adversary blocking the route.

Nihongi continues: “The army arrived at the village of Nagusa, where they put to death the Tohe of Nagusa. Finally they crossed the moor of Sano, and arrived at the village of Kami ... Here they embarked in the rock-boat of Heaven, and



8.6. Koguryeo An-ak No. 3 Tomb  
O-guk-ri, Hwang-hae-do

<sup>18</sup> 神武天皇 即位前紀...皇師遼東...方到難波之碕 會有奔潮太急 因以名爲浪速國 亦曰浪花 今謂難波訛也...遡流而上 徑至河內國 (NI: 191)

皇師勒兵 步趣龍田 而其路狹峻 人不得并行 乃還更欲東踰膽駒山 而入中洲 時長髓彥聞之曰 夫天神子等所以來者 必將奪我國 則盡起屬兵...與之會戰 有流矢中五瀨命肱脛 皇師不能進戰...今我是日神子孫 而向日征虜 此逆天道也 不若退還示弱 禮祭神祇 背負日神之威 隨影壓躡...時五瀨命矢瘡痛甚 乃...進到于紀國...而五瀨命薨 (NI: 193-195)

故從其國上行之時 經浪速之渡而泊...津 此時登美...毘古 興軍待向以戰...於是...五瀨命於御手負登美毘古之痛矢串 故爾詔 吾者爲日神之

御子 向日而戰不良 故負賤奴之痛手 自今者行廻而背負日以擊期而 (K: 150)

<sup>19</sup> 到紀國男之水門而詔 負賤奴之手乎死 男建而崩...故神倭伊波禮毘古命 從其地廻行 到熊野村之時...熊野之高倉下 費一橫刀...天照大神 高木神...召建御雷神 而詔...我御子等 不平坐良志 此二字以音 其葦原中國者 專汝所言向之國 故汝建御雷神可降 爾答曰 僕雖不降 專平其國之橫刀 可降是刀 此刀者 坐石上神宮也 降此刀狀者 穿高倉下之倉頂 (K: 150-2)

番仁岐命 初降于高千嶺 神倭天皇 經歷于秋津嶋...天劔獲於高倉...大鳥導於吉野 列儻攘賊...敬神祇 所以稱賢后 望烟而撫黎元 (K: 42)

<sup>20</sup> 軍至名草邑 則誅...遂越狹野...而到熊野神邑...海中卒遇暴風...時...歎曰...吾祖則天神 母則海神...至熊野荒坂津 因誅...者...天照大神...曰 夫葦原中國猶聞喧擾之響焉...而下予平國之劔...既而皇師 欲趣中洲 而山中嶮絕 無復可行之路...天照大神訓于天皇曰 朕今遣頭八咫鳥 宜以為鄉導者 果有頭八咫鳥 自空翔降 天皇曰 此鳥之來...乃尋鳥所向...遂達于菟田下縣...至吉野時... (NI: 195-9)

<sup>21</sup> 於是亦 高木大神之命以覺白之天神御子 自此於奧方莫使入行 荒神甚多 今自天遣八咫鳥 故其八咫鳥引道 從其立後應幸行 故隨其教覺 從其八咫鳥之後幸行者 到吉野河 (K: 150-2)

proceeded onwards by slow degrees. In the midst of the sea, they suddenly met with a violent wind. [Homuda] cried: --‘My ancestors were Heavenly Deities, and my mother was a Goddess of the Sea.’ Leading his army forward, [Homuda] arrived at Port Arazaka in Kumano [the modern-day Shingū City], where he put to death the Tohe of Nishiki. A person called Taka-kurazi of Kumano came bringing the sword [the Pacifying Long Sword sent by King Keun Chogo]. All of the unruly deities in the Kumano Mountains were of themselves cut down. [Homuda] then endeavored to advance into the interior, but among the mountains it was so precipitous that there was no road by which they could travel, and they wandered about not knowing whither to direct their march. [*At Han-seong, King Keun Chogo*] said:--‘I will now send thee the Yata-garasu. Make it thy guide through the land.’ Guided by the direction taken by Yata-garasu, [Homuda] arrived at the lower reaches of the Yoshino River [in Yoshino District, Nara Prefecture]. From here they pierced their way across and came to the district of Lower Uda [the modern-day Uda District, Nara Prefecture].<sup>20</sup>

King Keun Chogo died in 375.

The metaphor of Kojiki reads: “Takaki commanded, giving these instructions ... do not proceed further ... we will now dispatch a giant crow ... Follow after it and continue your journey... Following the giant crow, they arrived at the lower reaches of Yoshino River.”<sup>21</sup> A modern-day tourist traveling the winding narrow roads from Kumano to Yoshino River will come across a large flag with the crow symbol at a mountain village junction. Over the mountain, one sees another mountain. In the old days, one would surely have gotten lost without an expert guide. The Yoshino River rises in the Kama-ga-mori Mountain, passes through Awa and enters the Pacific Ocean. It is considered the third largest river in Japan.

## 7. Pacifying the Yamato Region and Founding a New Kingdom

Nihongi continues: “After this he [Homuda] wished to inspect the Land of Yoshino, so taking personal command of

the light troops, he made a progress round by way of Ukechimura in Uda. Again there was the army of Ye-shiki, which covered all the village of Ihare. There were in the province of Yamato, in the village of Shiki, eighty Shiki bandits. He first of all attacked the eighty bandits at Mount Kunimi, routed and slew them.” [Homuda] performed a memorial service for [Jin Zeong].<sup>22</sup>

Nihongi continues: “There were Tsuchi-gumo at the village of Taka-wohari (in Yamato). The Imperial troops slew them. Wherefore, the name of that village was changed to Katsuraki. It is in the land of Ihare. Its ancient name was Kataru. When the Imperial forces routed the enemy, a great army assembled and filled that country. Its name was accordingly changed to Ihare.”<sup>23</sup>

Nihongi continues: “The Imperial army proceeded in great force to attack the Hiko of Shiki. They arrived at Osaka [in the modern-day Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture], and then River Uda. [Homuda] crossed Sumi-zaka, and, going round the rear, attacked Shiki the elder and the others from two sides and put them to the rout. The [Homuda’s] army at length attacked Naga-sune and fought with him repeatedly. ... Now Naga-sune sent a foot-messenger, who addressed the [Homuda], saying: “There was formerly a child of the Heavenly Deity [a Paekche person], who came down from Heaven to dwell here. ... His name was Nigi-haya-hi. 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?” [Homuda] said: “There are many children of the Heavenly Deity.’ ... When Naga-sune saw the heavenly token he became more and more embarrassed. But the murderous weapons were already prepared, and things were in such a state that he was unable to pause his career. Therefore, he adhered to his misguided scheme, and would not alter his purpose. Nigi-haya-hi, knowing from the first that the Heavenly Deity had simply generously bestowed the Empire on the Heavenly Grandchild [Homuda], and that in view of the perverse disposition of Naga-sune it would be useless to instruct him in the relation of Heaven to Man [Lord and Vassal], put him to death. ... [Homuda], who from the first had heard that Nigi-haya-hi had come from Heaven [Paekche],

<sup>22</sup> 故爾於宇陀 有兄...弟...二人 故先遣八咫鳥問二人曰 今天神御子幸行 汝等仕奉乎 於是兄...將待擊云而聚軍 然不得聚軍者...作大殿 於其殿內作押機待時 弟...先參向 拜曰...爾大伴連等之祖 道臣命 久米直等之祖 大久米命二人 召兄...先入 明白其將為仕奉之狀而...追入之時 乃己所作押見打而死 (K: 154-156)

神武 元年...又頭八咫鳥 亦入賞禮其苗裔 即葛野主殿縣主部是也 (NI: 215)

神武 即位前紀 戊午年九月... 復有兄磯城軍 布滿於磐余邑...倭國磯城邑 有磯城八十梟帥 又高尾張邑 有赤銅八十梟帥 乃使推根津彥 ... 又使弟...為老父貌...潛取其巔土... 二人得至其山取土來歸...時勅道臣命今以高皇產靈尊 朕親作顯齋 顯齋此云于圖詩怡破毘 用汝為齋主...勒兵而出 先擊八十梟帥於國見丘 破斬之 (NI: 199-203)

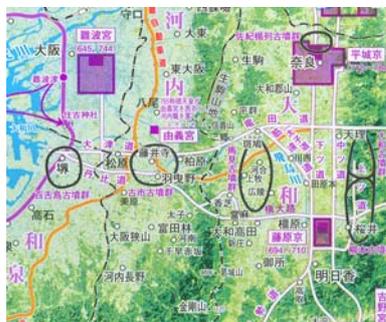
<sup>23</sup> 神武 即位前紀...又高尾張邑 有土蜘蛛 其為人也 身短而手足長 與侏儒相類 皇軍結葛網 而掩襲殺之 因改號其邑曰葛城 夫磐余之地...逮我皇師之破虜也 大軍集而滿於其地 因改號為磐余 或曰...磯城八十梟帥於彼處屯聚居之 屯聚居 此云怡波瀨萎 果與天皇大戰 遂為皇師所滅 故名之曰磐余邑 (NI: 211)

<sup>24</sup> 神武 即位前紀...皇師遂擊長髓彥 連戰不能取勝...時長髓彥 乃遣行人...曰 嘗有天神之子 乘天磐船 自天降之 號曰...饒速日...此云備藝波

椰卑 是娶吾妹...故吾以饒速日命  
為君而奉焉 夫天神之子 豈有兩種  
乎...天皇曰天神子亦多耳...然而凶器  
已構 其勢不得中休...饒速日命 本  
知天神慇懃 唯天孫是與 且見夫長  
髓彥稟性悞恨 不可教以天人之際  
乃殺之帥其眾而歸順焉 天皇素聞饒  
速日命 是自天降者 而今果立忠效  
則褒而寵之 此物部氏之遠祖也 (NI:  
209-211)

<sup>25</sup> 神武 卽位前紀...自我東征 於茲六  
年矣 賴以皇天之威凶徒就戮 雖邊  
土未清 餘妖尚梗 而中洲之地 無復  
風塵 誠宜恢廓皇都 規摹大壯而今  
運屬屯蒙 民心朴素 巢棲穴住 習俗  
惟常 夫大人立制 義必隨時 苟有利  
民...經營宮室 而恭臨寶位 以鎮元  
元 上卽答乾靈授國之德 下則弘皇  
孫養正之心...觀夫畝傍山 畝傍山  
此云宇彌摩夜摩 東南糧原地者 蓋  
國之塊區乎 可治之...天皇卽帝位於  
糧原宮...於畝傍之糧原也 (NI: 213)

神功 攝政三年 春正月 立譽田別皇  
子為皇太子 因以都於磐余 (NI: 349)



8.6. Yamato Region, Kinai

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.”<sup>24</sup>

[It took six years to pacify the Yamato region.]

On a day [in 388], Homuda proclaimed:--“During the six years that our expedition against the East has lasted, owing to my reliance on the Majesty of Imperial Heaven, the wicked bands have met death. It is true that the frontier lands are still unpurified, and that a remnant of evil is still refractory. But in the region of the Central Land there is no more wind and dust. Truly we should make a vast and spacious capital, and plan it great and strong. At present things are in a crude and obscure condition, and the people’s minds are unsophisticated. They roost in nests or dwell in caves. Their manners are simply what is customary. Now if a great man were to establish laws, justice could not fail to flourish. When I observe the Kashiha-bara plain, which lies southwest of Mount Unebi [a hill between the villages of Shiraka City and Masuge in Yamato], it seems the Center of the Land. I must set it in order. Two years later, Year [390], Spring, 1st month, 1st day, [Homuda] assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Kashiha-bara.”<sup>25</sup>

## 8. Paekche Congratulating the Birth of New Kingdom in the Japanese Islands

Nihongi records: “Ku-zeo and the rest arrived from Paekche [in 391], and said to [Homuda]: ‘The vast blessings of the Celestial Court reached afar to our mean village, and our king [King Chin-sa, r. 385-92, the second son of the former king Keun Kusu] capered with delight. Out of the fullness of his heart he has sent a mission in token of his great sincerity. Though it comes to the ten thousandth year, in what year shall we fail to attend thy Court?’ Hereupon [Homuda] addressed the [ministers], saying: --‘We owe it to Heaven and not to man that we have a friendly country like Paekche. It brings constantly, without missing a year, tribute of trinkets and rarities such as there have never been before. We, seeing this true affection, are always rejoiced at it, and so long as we live will heartily bestow on it our favor. We, in accordance with the

divine testimony, having for the first time laid open a road, subdued the lands west of the sea [Ma-han] and granted them to Paekche, would now again draw closer the bonds of friendship and make lasting our loving bounty’.”<sup>26</sup>

Paekche discovered iron in Mount Cheol-san and promised to supply the iron acquired from this mountain to the Yamato court.

Nihongi records: “Ku-zeo and the others again came along and ... addressed [Homuda], saying: --‘West of thy servants’ country there is a river-source which issues from Mount Cheol-san in Kong-na. It is distant seven days’ journey. It need not be approached, but one should drink of this water and so having gotten the iron of this mountain, wait upon the sage Court for all ages.’ [King A-shin, r. 392-405, the grandson of King Keun Kusu] addressed his [son], Prince [Cheon-ji, r. 405-20], saying: --‘The honorable country east of the sea with which we are now in communication has been opened to us by Heaven. Therefore does it bestow on us Celestial bounty, and dividing off the land west of the sea [Ma-han], has granted it to us. Consequently the foundation of our land is confirmed for ever. Thou [Cheon-ji] shouldst cultivate well its friendship, and having collected our national products, wait on it with tribute without ceasing.’”<sup>27</sup> According to Nihongi, these statements were addressed by King Keun Chogo to his grandson, Prince Chim-nyu (r. 384-5).

The quantity of iron excavated from burial sites of all types in Japan grew dramatically in the early fifth century and, what is more, the source for all of this iron must have been the Korean peninsula, at least until iron sand was finally discovered in the Japanese islands in the sixth century.<sup>28</sup>

Some readers may be touched by the Nihongi records of the ruler of the Yamato kingdom saying that “We owe it to Heaven and not to man that we have a friendly country like Paekche ... and so long as we live will heartily bestow on it our favor. ... We...would now again draw closer the bonds of friendship and make lasting our loving bounty” and the ruler of Paekche telling his son that the Yamato kingdom “east of the sea ... has been opened to us by Heaven. ... Consequently the foundation of our land is confirmed for ever. Thou shouldst cultivate well its friendship...”

<sup>26</sup> 神功 攝政五十年 久氐等奏曰 天朝鴻澤 遠及弊邑 吾王歡喜踊躍 不任于心 故因還使 以致至誠 雖遠萬世 何年非朝 (NI: 357)

攝政五十一年 百濟王亦遣久氐朝貢 於是皇太后語太子...曰 朕所交親百濟國者 是天所致 非由人故 玩好珍物 先所未有...常來貢獻...每用喜焉 如朕存時 敦加恩惠...朕從神所驗 始開道路 平定海西 以賜百濟 今復厚結好 永寵賞之 (NI: 357-9)

<sup>27</sup> 神功 攝政五十二年 秋九月 久氐等...仍啓曰 臣國以西有水 源出自谷那鐵山 其邈七日行之 不及當飲是水 便取是山鐵 以永奉聖朝 乃謂孫枕流王曰 今我所通 海東貴國 是天所啓 是以垂天恩 割海西而賜我 由是國基永固 汝當善脩和好 聚斂土物 奉貢不絕 (NI: 359)

<sup>28</sup> See Farris (1998: 71-73). 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.”



8.7. Asuka 飛鳥

<sup>29</sup> 繼體 二十三年夏四月 任那王 己能末多干岐 來朝 (NII: 39-41)

雄略 七年 新羅王...乃使人於 任那王曰...伏請救於日本府行軍 元帥等由是 任那王勸...往救新羅 (NI: 479)

<sup>30</sup> 三國志 魏書 三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 韓傳 韓在帶方之南...有三種 一曰馬韓 二曰辰韓 三曰弁韓...馬韓在西 有...伯濟國...凡五十餘國...弁辰 亦十二國...彌烏邪馬國...狗邪國...斯盧國

宋書 卷九十七 列傳 夷蠻 倭國 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

廣開土王碑文 九年己亥 百殘達誓與倭和通...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

<sup>31</sup> According to Egami, it was Mima-ki who crossed over to Kyūshū from the Mima-na area in Kaya and occupied it, while it was his descendant Homuda who carried out the conquest eastward to Kinki region and established the Yamato kingdom.

垂仁 二年 是歲 任那人...欲歸于國...一云 御間城天皇之世 額有角人乘一船泊于...意富加羅國王之子...是時遇天皇崩 便留之仕活目天皇逮于三年 天皇問...欲歸汝國耶...改汝女國名 追負御間城天皇御名便為汝國名... 返于本土 故號其國謂彌

## Appendix 8.1. The Mimana [Imna] Story

Morishima (1982: 21-30), a distinguished economist, writes: “Since about 370, the Japanese had occupied the southern tip of the Korean peninsula. This Japanese territory ... was called Mima-na ... Japan had also had extensive influence in Paekche and Silla from about the same time, and they paid tribute to her.” Morishima’s story is simply a faint recitation from his childhood memory of the Meiji-style history textbook. A typical version of the Korea-Japan relationship goes as follows (Kuno, 1937: 193, 234-42): “The power of Japan to rule in Korea began with the creation of the State of Mimana as her protectorate. ... It is a widely accepted historical fact that prior to the seventh century a sort of suzerain and tributary relationship existed between Japan and the Kingdoms and states in southern Korea. ... In 1910, when Korea was annexed to Japan, the Japanese magazine *History and Geography* ... issued a special edition ... [and] the chief editor made the following statement ... ‘This great accomplishment may be regarded ... as the restoration of Japan’s ruling power in Korea that she lost in the seventh century’...”

Nihongi writes “Imna” in Chinese characters and reads it “Mima-na,” and then lets it represent either the entire Kaya Federation, the Imna state ruled by the King of Imna, or the place where, Nihongi claims, the *Omi* [Minister] of the Mima-na Yamato Authority had resided.<sup>29</sup>

The list of 12 Pyon-han states recorded in the Dongyi-zhuan includes “*Miyama*” [presumably indicating Mima] and “*Kuya*” [presumably indicating Kaya or Kara]. These Pyon-han states had evolved into the Kaya Federation that often appears in the Chinese chronicles by the two representative names, Imna (read Mima-na in Nihongi) and Kara. According to the Song-shu, the Yamato rulers listed Imna and Kara together with the extinct “Ma-han and Chinhan” on an equal footing with “Yamato, Paekche and Silla.” Since the names of Imna and Kara appear side by side as a rather conspicuous couple also in the Kwang-gae-to epitaph as well as in Samguk-sagi, one might well assume that Pyon-han had evolved into the Imna League and the Kara League, and these two minor leagues constituted the whole Kaya

Federation.<sup>30</sup>

According to Nihongi (N1: 166-7), a prince of the Great Kara came to the Japanese islands, and the Emperor Suinin urged him to change the name of his country after the name of his father, Mima-ki (Sujin), and that was the reason why the Great Kara became to be called Mima-na. Egami (1964) notes that “it is more probable, however, that the derivation is in the opposite direction, and that the element *mima* in the name of the Emperor Sujin is derived from the word Mima-na.”<sup>31</sup>

Nihongi (NII: 80) records in 562 that: “Mima-na [Kaya Federation] was destroyed. The general term Mima-na includes the states called separately Kara, Ara, Saiki, Tara, Cholma, Kocha, Chata, Sanpanha, Kwison, and Imnye, in all ten states.”<sup>32</sup> To this list we may add Tak-sun, Tok-ki-tan and South Kara that had been conquered by Silla in the early sixth century. The rulers of both Paekche and the Yamato kingdom did their best to reestablish the Kaya Federation, an effort that turned out to be futile.

Nihongi records the dying words of Yamato King Kimmei (r. 531-71), exhorting the Heir Apparent to restore Mima-na [the Kaya Federation], and “renewing a relationship like that of a husband and wife just as it was in former days (NII: 89).”<sup>33</sup> Japanese historians apparently read the “husband and wife relationship” as the “suzerain and colony relationship.”

In Nihongi, we find such expressions as Yamato Authorities of Mima-na, Governor of Mima-na, and Yamato Government House in Mima-na which, by themselves, may lead one to believe in some kind of colonial status for the Kaya Federation with respect to the Yamato kingdom. However, in Nihongi, there also appear entities with such titles as: King of Imna, King of Tak-sun, King of Kara, King of Ara, Kanki of Kucha, Lord of Cholma, Lord of Saiki, Lord of Sanpanha, and Kanki of Chata. The titles of these entities indeed are not consistent with any kind of colonial status for any member states of the Kaya Federation.<sup>34</sup>

Nihongi (NII: 44-5) records the statement made by the King Seong-myung (523-54) of Paekche: “In past times, my ancestors, King Keun Chogo and King Keun Kusu, were first

摩那國 其是之緣也 (NI: 257-259)

<sup>32</sup> 欽明 二十三年 春正月 新羅打滅任那官家 任那滅焉 總言任那 別言加羅國 安羅國 斯二岐國 多羅國 卒麻國 古嗟國 子他國 散半下國 乞淦國 稔禮國 合十國 (NII: 119)

<sup>33</sup> 欽明 三十二年 夏四月 天皇寢疾不豫 皇太子向外不在 驛馬召到 引入臥內 執其手詔曰 朕疾甚 以後事屬汝 汝須打 新羅 死無恨之 封建任那 更造 夫婦 惟如舊日 (NII: 131)

<sup>34</sup> 欽明 二年 安羅次早岐...加羅上首位...卒麻早岐...多羅下早岐...斯二岐早岐...子他早岐等 與任那日本部古備臣往赴百濟 俱聽詔書(NI:68-71)

<sup>35</sup> 欽明 二年 百濟本記云...乃謂任那曰 昔我先祖速古王貴首王與 故早岐等始約和親 式爲兄弟 於是 我以汝爲子弟 汝以我爲父兄 (NII: 73-77)

欽明 二年 百濟 聖明王謂任那早岐等言... 昔我先祖速古王貴首王之世 安羅加羅 卓淳早岐等 初遣使相 通厚結親 好以爲子弟 (NI: 68-71)

<sup>36</sup> 繼體 二十四年 任那使奏云 毛野臣 遂於久斯牟羅起 造舍宅 淹留二歲 懶聽政焉爰以 日本人與任那人 頻以兒息 諍訟難決 元無能判 毛野臣樂置誓湯 (NII: 43-5)

欽明 二年...日本卿等 久住任那之國 近接新羅之境...僞和任那 如斯感激任那日本府者 (NII: 73-7)

欽明 四年 詔百濟曰...**在任那之下**  
**韓 百濟郡令城主** 宜附日本府...且  
夫任那者爲爾國之棟梁...爾須早建  
... 聖明王曰 是月乃遣施德高分 召  
**任那 執事與日本府執事** (NII: 77-79)

欽明 五年... 又謂**日本府卿任那早岐**  
等曰 夫建任那之國...將出在下韓之  
百濟郡令城主 唯聞此說 不聞**任那**  
**與日本府** 會於百濟 (NII: 78-83)

欽明 五年...今日**日本府臣及任那國執**  
**事宜**來聽勅...安羅王加羅王 俱遣使  
同奏天皇 (NII: 83-91)

欽明 十三年 百濟 加羅安羅 遣...  
詔曰 今**百濟王 安羅王 加羅王 與**  
**日本府臣等** 俱遣使奏 (NII: 101-103)

<sup>37</sup> 應神 七年 高麗人 百濟人 **任那**  
**人 新羅人** 並來朝 (NI: 367)

<sup>38</sup> 神功攝政 五十年 久氐等奏曰...  
皇太后勅云 善哉汝言是朕懷也 增  
賜**多沙城**爲**往還路驛** (NI: 357)

繼體 二十三年 百濟王 謂下哆唎國  
守...曰...請以**加羅多沙津**爲臣朝貢津  
路 (NII: 37)

於是 **加羅王**謂勅使云 此津從置官  
家 以來爲臣朝貢津涉安得輒 改賜  
隣國 達元所封限地...是月...勅勸新  
羅 更建**南加羅喙己吞** (NII: 38-41)

<sup>39</sup> At first (in 1443), three ports (Naei-po, Pusan-po and Yeom-po) were opened to the Japanese, and trading and living quarters were established in each to enable the Japanese to conduct their business. See Lee (1984: 191-2).

joined in amity with the former Kanki. They became as if they were brethren. I therefore look upon you as my children or younger brothers, and you regard me as a father or elder brother. ... From that time to this, I have sedulously maintained friendship with my neighbors and always dealt honestly with the allied countries.”<sup>35</sup>

In Nihongi, we can further find various expressions which suggest the existence of a Yamato entity clearly separate from the native Imna entity within the Imna area itself, such as: “disputes between the people of Yamato and the people of Imna”; “the high Yamato officials ... long resident in the land of Imna ... maintain a false appearance of amity with Imna”; “the Agent of Imna and the Agent of the Yamato authority”; “instructions to the Yamato authorities and to Imna”; and “villages of the Yamato domain of Imna.” Nihongi even contains a passage suggesting the existence of Paekche people as a separate entity in Imna: “the Paekche prefects and governors of castles resident in the part of Lower Kara which belongs to Imna.”<sup>36</sup>

In the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Oujin [396], Nihongi (N1: 257) records that: “Men of Koguryeo, men of Paekche, men of Mima-na (written Imna in Chinese characters), and men of Silla all together attended the Court.” In this sentence, the Imna (read *Mima-na* in Nihongi) is placed on an equal footing with Koguryeo, Paekche, and Silla, apparently indicating the entire Kaya Federation and without implicating any colonial status for it.<sup>37</sup>

Because of the intimate relationship that had been maintained with Paekche, the successive Yamato rulers apparently tried to maintain a port facility at the southern tip of the Korean peninsula “to serve as a station in going and returning (N1: 250).”<sup>38</sup> According to Nihongi, there was a “port of passage” with Yamato troops and residents, and there existed an official entity called “Mima-na Yamato Authority.” The efforts by Yamato rulers to secure a crossing route to Paekche seem to have been exaggerated out of all proportion by those Japanese who wanted to justify the invasion of Korea in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century into the story of Japanese colonization of the southern part of Korean peninsula for more than two centuries.

The status of the port facility called Mima-na may be compared to that of the Dutch trading station at Nagasaki (1609-1856) or the port of entry for Japanese ships and cargoes called *Wae-gwan* at modern-day Pusan, where a large number of Japanese were allowed to reside (after 1512) under the surveillance of Chosun officials.<sup>39</sup>



8.8. Cho-ryang Wae-gwan, Pusan



8.9. Seven-branched Sword  
奈良縣 天理市 石上神宮 七支刀

<sup>40</sup> 神功皇后 攝政五十二年 秋九月 丁卯朔丙子 久氐等...則獻 七支刀一口 (NI: 359)

<sup>41</sup> 石上神宮七支刀銘文  
泰□四年□月十六日丙午正陽造 百練鐵七支刀 生辟百兵 宜供供 侯王□□□□作 先世以來未有 此刀 百慈王世□奇生聖音 故 爲倭王旨造 傳示後世

See Hong (1994: 251-4).

## Appendix 8.2. The Seven-Branched Sword

The Seven-branched Sword, that is preserved at the Isono-kami Shrine, is believed to be the sword that is spoken of in Nihongi as having been sent by the Paekche court to the Jingū's court in 372.<sup>40</sup> Nihongi portrays Prince Homuda as a son of Jingū Regent and the heir apparent to the throne at that time.

According to the Nihongi record for the year 366, the Paekche court had dispatched scouts to a Kaya state in 364 to gather information about the passages to the Japanese islands. The movement of the Paekche people to the Japanese islands must have occurred not long after 366. According to the Nihongi record on the extensive pen/insular military activities in 369 (involving the Yamato soldiers, Paekche generals, King Keun Chogo and the Crown Prince Keun Kusu), Prince Homuda [the founder of the Yamato kingdom] and his followers seem to have departed the Korean peninsula sometime during 369-70.

Apparently as a symbolic gesture of well-wishing for his endeavor and solidarity with his new kingdom, the king of Paekche seems to have bestowed the Seven-branched Sword upon Homuda, who was undertaking the conquest of the Japanese islands. The inscription on the Seven-branched Sword says that the sword was manufactured in May 369, and the Nihongi says that the sword was delivered to Homuda on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 372, most likely soon after he had landed on the Japanese islands. Taking account of the fact that so many people from the Korean peninsula had already gone across the sea to settle in the Japanese islands, official evidence to testify visually to the mandate of the Paekche court bestowed upon Homuda as the ruler of the new kingdom was presumably expected to increase the cooperation of the old settlers and facilitate the conquest. King Keun Cho-go died in 375.

The full translation of the inscription on the sword may be read as follow: "On May 16<sup>th</sup>, the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Tae-hwa [369], the day of Byung-O at noon, this seven-branched sword was manufactured with hundred-times-wrought iron. As this sword has a magical power to rout the enemy, it is sent

[bestowed] to the king of a vassal state. Manufactured by □□□□. Never has there been such a sword. The Crown Prince of Paekche, who owes his life to the august King, had this sword made for the king of Yamato [or the king of vassal state]. Hope that it be transmitted and shown to posterity.”<sup>41</sup>

Naturally, most Japanese scholars have tried to turn the inscription around and cast Paekche as the “vassal state” by reading the inscription “respectively presenting the sword to the Emperor by the Paekche King.”<sup>42</sup>

According to the Jin-shu, an embassy from Paekche had arrived at the court of Eastern Jin in January 372, and then a Jin envoy was sent to the Paekche court, granting Keun Chogo the title of “General Stabilizing the East and Governor of Le-lang” in June 372. Using the name of Jin’s era to designate the year 369, therefore, does not seem unnatural.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Ueda Masaaki (quoted by Saeki, 1977) is rather an exception among Japanese historians because he “has maintained that the Seven-branched Sword was ‘bestowed’ on the Wa ruler by the king of Paekche.” Ueda “based his interpretation on the argument that the term ‘koo’ [howang] appearing in the inscription is written in the commanding tone of a superior addressing an inferior, exemplified by the sentence reading ‘Hand down [this sword] to [your] posterity.’”

<sup>43</sup> 晉書 卷九 簡文帝 二年 春正月 百濟林邑王 各遣使貢方物... 六月 遣使拜百濟王餘句 爲鎮東將軍 領樂浪太守























