

2.

THE MIMANA QUESTION:

Paekche-Kaya-Wa Alliances and the Port of Passage

A. Mimana [Imna] and Japanese Colonialism

Most Japanese historians continue to claim that Japan maintained a colony named Mimana in the southern part of Korea for more than two centuries beginning in the late fourth century. Mimana is the traditional kana rendering for Imna 任那. The Japanese claim is inspired by the fairly confusing records on Imna that cannot be found in any other chronicles of East Asia except Nihongi.¹

The imperialistic expansion of Japanese military power into Korea in the early twentieth century was typically justified with an arbitrarily fabricated Mimana story such as Kuno's (1937: 193): "The power of Japan to rule in Korea began with the creation of the State of Mimana as her protectorate so that Silla could not invade it. Japan's power in Korea began to decline with the destruction of her government-general in Mimana by Silla, and finally, when the allied armies of China and Silla, in 663, annihilated her military force in Korea, Japan was forced to abandon all her claims there. She did not regain authority in Korea until after the Russo-Japanese War. The date of the founding of Mimana is therefore essential to a determination of the period of suzerainty that Japan exercised over Korea prior to 1905." This section critically examines all those passages on Mimana which are recorded in Nihongi. We begin, however, with those passages recorded in Samguk-sagi and Samguk-yusa.

B. Imna: A Member of the Kaya Federation

The Five Kaya States 五加耶 section of Samguk-yusa (Ha & Mintz edition:

¹Even Kojiki never mentions Imna Japanese Government 任那日本府.

42-43) records that: “According to the *Legends of Karak* 駕洛記, a purple ribbon with six round eggs came down from heaven. Five of these eggs went [to five cities], one to each city 各邑, while the sixth stayed in the castle, where it hatched King Suro 首露王 of Keumgwan 金官. The others produced the chiefs of the five Kaya tribes. Naturally, therefore, Keumgwan should not be included in the five states The five Kaya tribes were Ara 阿羅 Kaya (Haman 咸安), Konyeong 古寧 Kaya (Hamnyeong 咸寧), Tae Kaya 大伽耶 (Koryeong 高靈), Seongsan 星山 Kaya (Kyeongsan 京山 or Pyeokchin 碧珍) and So 小 Kaya (Koseong 固城).”^{<1>}

In early Korea, there were three kingdoms, consisting of Koguryeo, Paekche, and Silla, and a federation of walled-town states known as Kaya (A.D. 42 - A.D. 562). On the basis of the recorded history of Samguk-sagi and Samguk-yusa, Lee (1984: 40-41) writes that “[t]he lower reaches of the Naktong River 洛東江, where Kaya emerged, originally were the territory of the twelve ‘states’ of Pyeonhan 弁韓. . . . Kaya at Modern Kimhae 金海 honored Suro as its first king [A.D. 42] and developed into the Pon 本 (*original*) Kaya kingdom, while . . . the region of Koryeong . . . evolved into Tae (*great*) Kaya. Pon Kaya and Tae Kaya then joined with the other walled-town states in the lower Naktong region to form the Kaya federation . . . [and] engaged in vigorous maritime activities Kaya came under persistent harassment from Silla, until first Pon Kaya, in 532, and then Tae Kaya, in 562, succumbed to Silla’s growing might. The other petty states in the lower Naktong region [including Ara Kaya, Konyeong Kaya, Seongsan Kaya and So Kaya] suffered the same fate, thus bringing about the downfall [in A.D. 562] of the Kaya federation.”

According to Samguk-sagi, Imna was one of the Kaya states where the famous Confucian figure of the Unified Silla period, Kangsu 强首, came from. Lee (1984: 84) notes “[a] man of head-rank six from the Imna (a Kaya state) area, Kangsu is remembered for his service in authoring Silla’s diplomatic correspondence with Tang. . . .” Samguk-sagi (Lee edition II: 358) writes that Kangsu was “a man of Imna Karyang 任那加良人.”^{<2>}

After the downfall of the Kaya federation, the ruling class of Kaya seems to have blended into that of Silla. For instance, King Muyeol 武烈 of Silla [29th sovereign, A.D. 654-661], who conquered Paekche, married the younger sister of General Kim Yu-sin 金庾信, a descendant of Kaya royal lineage. Samguk-sagi (Lee edition II: 290) records that: “Kim Yu-sin was a man of Kyeongju. His 12th forefather Suro . . . looked over the nine villages of Karak 駕洛九村 on the Turtle Top 龜峰 [in A.D. 42] . . . and thereby

established a state, calling it Kaya 加耶 . . . [which] reached the ninth generation Kuhae 仇亥 . . . who was the great grand father to Yu-sin . . . ”^{2<3>}
 Samguk-yusa (Ha & Mintz edition: 158-164) makes a sketchy description of Karak-kuk [Kaya] which was located in the southeastern area of Korea in ancient times and further notes that: “[d]uring the reign of Peopmin 法敏 (King Munmu 文武王, 30th Silla sovereign, A.D. 661-681), the King issued a decree: ‘When King Kuhyeong 仇衡, in the ninth generation of descent from the founder of Karak-kuk (Kaya State), surrendered to Silla [in A.D. 562], he brought with him to Kerim [Kyeongju] his crown prince, Sejong 世宗. Sejong begat Solu-kong, Solu-kong begat Seoun-Chapkan, Seoun-Chapkan begat Queen Munmyeong 文明 [the younger sister of Kim Yu-sin], and Queen Munmyeong gave birth to me. The founder of Karak-kuk is therefore my ancestor of fifteen generations ago. Though Karak was destroyed long ago, his shrine still exists today. Ye, my loyal subject, must enshrine his tablet in the national sanctuary with those of my royal predecessors and offer annual sacrifice to his noble spirit at his shrine.’”^{<4>}

Nihongi records the complete fall of the Kaya Federation in A.D. 562, and gives the names of its ten member states (NII: 80): Kara 加羅, Ara 安羅, Saiki 斯岐, Tara 多羅, Cholma 卒麻, Kocha 古嵯, Chatha 子他, Sanpanha 散半下, Keolson 乞飡, and Imnye 稔禮. To this list, we may add Thak-sun 卓淳, Tokki-than 曷己吞 and South Kara which were conquered by Silla in the early sixth century, and also add Imna where, Nihongi claims, the so-called Ohomi of the Japanese Administration had resided. In Nihongi, one can find such expressions as *Japanese Authorities of Imna*, *Governor of Imna*, and *Japanese Government House* which, by themselves, might easily convince one to believe in a kind of colonial status for Imna with respect to Japan. There also appears in Nihongi, however, such titles as: *Kwi-neung-ma-ta Kanki*, *King of Imna*, *King of Thak-sun*, *King of Kara*, *King of Ara*, *Kanki of Ku-cha*, *Lord of Chol-ma*, *Lord of Sa-i-ki*, *Lord of San-pan-ha*, *Kanki of Chatha*, and so on. These titles are not consistent with any kind of colonial status for any of the member states of the Kaya Federation. Indeed, in Nihongi, one can also find various expressions which suggest the existence of a Japanese entity separate from the native Imna entity in the Imna area itself, such as: “disputes between the people of Japan 日本人 and the people of Imna 任那人”; “the high Japanese officials . . . long resident in the land of Imna . . . maintain

²Hirano (1977) notes that after the downfall of Keumgwan Kara in A.D. 532 and of Tae (Koryeong) Kaya in A.D. 562, “Keumgwan Kara remained the fief of its former lord Kim Kuhae, and this later led to the rise of Kim Yusin . . .”

a false appearance of amity with Imna”; “the Agent of Imna 任那執事 and the Agent of the Japanese Authority 日本府執事”; “instructions to the Japanese authorities and to Imna”; and “villages of the Japanese domain of Imna.” Nihongi even contains a passage suggesting the existence of Paekche people in Imna as a separate entity: “the Paekche prefects and governors of castles 百濟軍令城主 resident in the part of Lower Kara which belong to Imna.” To add to the confusion, Nihongi often writes *Imna* to represent the whole *Kaya Federation*.

The following section presents the records related to Imna that appear in Nihongi in the chapters that cover Yūryaku [A.D. 457-479], Keidai [A.D. 507-531] and Kimmei [A.D. 540-571]. The last section analyzes these records and offers a conclusion on the Imna question.

C. The Record of Nihongi Related to Imna [Mimana]

The expression “Governor of Imna” appears for the first time in Nihongi (NI: 348) in A.D. 463 in a story about Tasa, Omi of Upper Kibi, who boasted to his friends about the beauty of his wife: “The Emperor [Yūryaku] . . . listening from a distance . . . with the object of obtaining Waka-hime [Tasa’s wife] for himself, and making her one of his concubines, . . . appointed Tasa Governor of Imna 任那國司.”³ <5> The expression “[Imna] Japanese Authorities” also appears for the first time in A.D. 464 (NI: 351-352): “[T]he King of Silla . . . sent a man to the King of Imna, saying: *The King of Koguryeo has attacked our country . . . I humbly beg that the Japanese Authorities 日本府[in Imna] will assist us with war generals.* Accordingly the King of Imna 任那王 persuaded Ikaruga, Kashihade no Omi, Wonashi, Kibi no Omi, and Akamedo, Naniha no Kishi to go to the assistance of Silla.” <6>

Nihongi (NI: 392-393) records that in A.D. 487, the year Kenzo died, “Ki no Ohiha no Sukune, bestriding and making a base of Imna, held communication with Koguryeo, . . . established a government 官府, and styled himself a Deity. By means of a plan laid by Cha-ro-na-kwi and Tha-kap-syo of Imna he slew Mak-ni-ke, the heir to the throne 適 of Paekche, at Irin. He built the castle of Te-san, and then [maintained defenses against] the Eastern province, cutting off the harbour by which supplies were transported . . . The King of Paekche was greatly enraged, and despatched general Ko-ni-ke and an officer of the military store department, named Mak-ko-ke, in command of troops to Te-san, to lay siege to it. Upon [learning] this, Ohiha no Sukune . . .

³Nihongi (NI: 348-349) also notes that “Tasa no Omi’s wife, named Ke-hime, was the daughter of Tamada no Sukune, son of Katsuraki no Sotsuhiko.”

saw that he could not bring matters to a conclusion, and returned from Imna. Consequently the Land of Paekche slew Cha-ro-na-kwi, Tha-kap-syo, and their people ---more than three hundred men.”^{<7>}

After the late fourth century, there was a continuous flow of Paekche people who followed Homuda-wake (*Ōjin*) to Japan, and some of them seem to have decided to settle in the Imna area instead of going all the way to Japan. In the year A.D. 509, Nihongi (NII: 7) records that: “The subjects of Paekche, [for] three or four generations, had made their escape and were living as refugees in the villages of the Japanese domain of Imna 任那日本縣邑, having lost their place in the register of population. [All now were] removed to Paekche and replaced on the registers.”^{<8>}

Nihongi (NII: 7-9) notes that in A.D. 512, “Paekche asked for four districts of the Land of Imna, viz. Upper Tari, Lower Tari, Sata, and Muro. Oshiyama . . . Governor 國守 of the Land of Tari, made a representation to the Emperor, saying: ‘These four districts border on Paekche and are far separated from the Japanese Residency [Japan] 遠隔日本. Morning and evening they (Paekche and Tari) exchange communications: their fowls and dogs cannot be kept apart. If they are now ceded to Paekche and united to it so as to form one country, no better measure of conservation can be adopted. It is true, no doubt, that even if ceded and united to Paekche there will still be a danger for future generations, [however]. How . . . could they be defended if they became foreign territory 況爲異場?’^{<9>} In the Yamato Court, however, there were arguments against Paekche’s plan, such as (NII: 8): “If now we were to divide off (a part) and grant it to others, we should be acting contrary to the interests of our land.”^{<9>} Keitai was in favor of “granting four districts of Imna” 任那四縣 in accordance with Paekche’s request. But the Imperial Prince Ohine 大兄皇子 was against “the cession of territory,” saying (NII: 9): “Since the days of the Emperor in the womb (*Ōjin*) 自胎中之帝 there has been established the land of our Government House 置官家之國. Shall we lightly yield to the request of a frontier land and grant it . . . without difficulty?” Hearing such arguments in the Yamato Court, the Paekche envoys [threatened] Ohine (NII: 9): “But granting that it were true, which is the more painful -- to be beaten with the large end of a staff or with the small one?”^{<9>}

In A.D. 513 (NII: 11), “General Cha-mi Mun-kwi of Paekche, Mun-tok-chi of Silla, Sin-i-hye and Pun-pha-wi-sa of Ara and Kwi-chon-hye and Chung-

⁴Aston (NII: 8 ff.) interprets the last sentence thus: “The meaning is that Paekche will be better able to prevent these provinces from falling into the hand of Silla than Japan.”

mun-chi of Pan-phi 伴岐 were summoned to attend Court in a body and received communication of a gracious Imperial order, giving I-mun [Paekche's territory seized by Pan-phi] and Te-sa to the Land of Paekche."⁵ <10>

In A.D. 527 (NII: 15), "Afumi no Kena no Omi 近江毛野臣, in command of an army of 60,000 men, was about to proceed to Imna, in order to re-establish and unite Imna, South Kara 南加羅 and Tok-sa-than, which had been conquered by Silla when Ihawi, Tsukushi no Kuni no Miyakko 筑紫國造磐井, secretly plotted rebellion, so that there was a delay of several years . . . Ihawi . . . led astray the yearly tribute ships from the countries of Koguryeo, Paekche, Silla, and Imna, while at home he blocked the way for Kena no Omi's army which was being sent to Imna."⁶ <11>

In A.D. 529, (NII: 17-18), "[t]he King of Paekche addressed Oshiyama, Hodzumi no Omi, Governor 國守 of Lower Tari, saying: 'Now our tribute envoys have always to avoid the headlands and expose themselves to the winds and waves. In consequence of this the goods [that] they bear become wet and wholly spoiled and unsightly. I pray that thou wilt make the Port of Tasa 加羅多沙津 in Kara the crossing route 津路 by which to send thy servant's tribute.' Oshiyama no Omi made application to the Emperor [Keidai] accordingly . . . Kasone . . . and others were sent to turn over the Port to the King of Paekche. Hereupon the King of Kara 加羅王 spoke to the Imperial Envoys, saying: 'This Port, ever since the establishment of the (Japanese) Government House 官家, has been the port of passage 津渉 for your servant's tribute. How can you without grave reason change this state of things and grant it to a neighbouring country, contrary to the original definitive enfeoffment of this territory 違元所封限地?' The Imperial Envoy[s] . . . were accordingly unable to make the grant openly. They retired to Ohoshima and sent a clerk specially, by whom the grant to Pu-yeo 扶余 [Paekche] was affected. Owing to this, Kara allied itself to Silla and bred hatred against Japan."⁷ <12>

In A.D. 529 (NII: 18), "The King of Kara 加羅王 married the King of Silla's daughter, who eventually had issue by him.⁶ When Silla first sent a

⁵It was noted (NII: 9) that "Paekche sent General Chami Mun-kwi and General Chu-ri Cheung-ni . . . They . . . addressed the Emperor, saying: 'The land of Pan-phi has seized thy servants' [i.e., Paekche's] territory of I-mun 已汶 [a district on the north-east frontier of Imna].'" <10>

⁶Aston (NII: 18n) notes that: "The 'Tongkam' 通鑑 (A.D. 522) speaks of Silla giving a lady of royal blood in marriage to Kara. The two kings had a friendly meeting in 527."

daughter, 100 men were sent away with her as her escort. When they were received, they were dispersed throughout the districts of the country [Kaya], and allowed to wear the Silla costume.⁷ But Arasateung railed at their strange garments and sent messengers to return them secretly. Silla felt greatly insulted In the end it came to pass that (Silla) captured the three castles of To-ka, Ko-phi, and Phona mura.”^{<12>}

In A.D. 529 (NII: 19), “Kwi-neung-ma-ta Kanki 己能未多干頓, King of Imna 任那王, came to Court. [Kwi-neung-ma-ta was doubtless the Arasateung.] He addressed Kanamura . . . ‘The several frontier provinces beyond the sea, ever since the time of the Emperor in the womb have had Interior Government Houses 內官家 placed in them. My land [Imna] has not been abandoned, but the territory has been enfeoffed to me 因封其地 not without good reason. But now Silla, in defiance of this original definitive enfeoffment 違元所賜封限, has frequently crossed the borders and invaded us. I pray, therefore, that thou wilt represent this to the Emperor [Keitai], so that he may come to the assistance of [Imna] In this month an envoy was sent to escort Kwi-neung-ma-ta Kanki, and at the same time to convey to Afumi no Kena no Omi, who was a resident in Imna”^{<13>}

In A.D. 530 (NII: 22), “[a]n envoy from Imna 任那使 made representation to the Emperor, saying, ‘It is now two years since Kena no Omi proceeded to Kusamura, where he built a house and took up his residence. But he is remiss in the discharge of his Governmental duties 聽政. Now there are frequent disputes between the people of Japan 日本人 and the people of Imna 任那人 . . . which are difficult to settle . . . He constantly harasses the people, and there is never [an] amicable solution of difficulties.”^{<14>} In the same year (NII: 23-24), “Mitsugi no Kishi arrived from Imna and informed the Emperor [Keitai] of Kena no Omi’s arrogant and perverse disposition: ‘He was inexperienced (he said) in the administration of government 治體 and never brought about [an] amicable solution. He disturbed Kara [Kaya].”^{>14>}

In A.D. 540, the first year of Kimmei, Nihongi (NII: 38) records that “Koguryeo, Paekche, Silla and Imna all sent envoys together . . .”^{>16>} In this record, Nihongi again seems to have written “Imna” to represent the whole Kaya Federation. By this time, however, the position of Imna’s port facility

⁷Aston (NII: 18n) notes that: “Silla, according to the ‘Tongkam,’ first regulated official costume, no doubt on the Chinese model, in A.D. 520. It was apparently these garments that excited the reprobation of Kara [Kaya].”

⁸The records on Senka [A.D. 536-539] also contain a statement related to Imna (NII: 35): “By reason of Silla’s hostility towards Imna, the Emperor commanded . . . to send . . . Sadehiko to the assistance of Imna He also lent aid to Paekche.”^{>15>}

as well as the existence of the entire Kaya Federation seemed to have become very precarious. It has already been noted that during the reign of Keitai [A.D. 512], Paekche took over four districts of Imna with the consent of the Yamato Court, and many people in the Yamato Court believed that, because of this, “Silla . . . cherished resentment for many years (NII: 39).”^{<16>} It is said that Kanamura, who was in favor of Paekche’s take-over of these four districts, reproached himself later, saying that “The Ministers now say that it was I who lost Imna (NII: 39).”^{<16>} Nihongi (NII: 42-43) notes that: “Now the territory of Imna is conterminous with Silla, and it is to be feared that this will prove disastrous to Thak-sun, etc. [Tok-kwi-than and Kara].”

Nihongi (NII: 42-44) records that in A.D. 541: “[t]he second Kanki of Ara 安羅次早岐 . . . the Sang-su-wi [Highest Rank] of Kara 加羅上首位 . . . the Kanki of Cholma . . . the junior Kanki of Tara . . . son of the Kanki of Sa-i-ki . . . together with Kibi no Omi, the (Japanese) Commissioner of Imna 任那日本府, proceeded to Paekche . . . Seong-myeong, King of Paekche, addressing the Kanki of Imna 任那早岐等 and the others, said: ‘The Emperor of Japan decrees that Imna shall be wholly re-established. Now by what means is this [re-establishment of the Kaya Federation] to be done? . . . In former times [of King Keun Ch’ogo] 昔我先祖速古王貴首王之世 . . . the Kanki of Ara, Kara, and Thak-sun first sent envoys and entered into communication 初遣使相通. We became knitted together by a cordial friendship, and they were treated as children or younger brothers 厚結親好 以爲子弟. It was my hope that they should flourish continuously. But now they have been deceived by Silla and have caused the Emperor to be wroth, and Imna to be angry . . . Tok-ki-than lies on the border between Kara and Silla, and for several successive years [it] has been harassed and defeated. Imna has not been able to render it assistance . . . South Kara, being a very small place . . . has come to ruin. As to Thak-sun [Tak-sun], the upper and lower classes practise double dealing . . . Therefore it has come to ruin. Viewed in this light, the downfall of these three provinces had very sufficient causes. Formerly, Silla asked [for] help from Koguryeo, and with its assistance invaded Imna [the Kaya Federation] and Paekche, but to this day without conquering them. How then could Silla alone destroy Imna [the entire Kaya Federation]? If you and I . . . now join our powers . . . Imna [the Kaya Federation] will assuredly be established.”^{<17>}

Nihongi (NII: 44-45) records that: “Paekche, hearing that the (Japanese) authorities of Ara 安羅日本府 were intriguing with Silla, sent Pirimakko, Nasol of the Senoir Division . . . and Ki no Omi, the Nasol Mimasa, on a mission to Ara, to summon to them the agents 執事 of Silla and Imna, and to [take]

measures for the establishment of Imna [the Kaya Federation]. He [the King Seong-myeong of Paekche] separately reproved Kahachi no Atahe roundly [the Paekche ‘Original Record’ has Kapuchipi Atahe Akyoninasa-charomato], the chief Japanese authority of Ara, for intriguing with Silla . . . He said: ‘In past times, my ancestors, King Sokko and Kwisu [King Keun Ch’ogo and King Keun Kusu], were first joined in amity with the former Kanki 與故旱岐等 始約和親. They became as [if they] were brethren 式爲兄弟. I therefore look upon you [Kanki from Kaya] as my children or younger brothers 我以汝爲子弟, and you regard me as a father or elder brother 汝以我爲父兄. Together we . . . repel hostile violence, procuring up till now the peace of the country and the integrity of the State. When I think of the friendly language of my ancestors and the former Kanki, it seems to me like the shining sun. From that time to this, I have sedulously maintained friendship with my neighbours and have always dealt honestly with the allied countries.”^{<18>}

King Seong-myeong of Paekche continues (NII: 45-46): “I therefore wish to go back and revere the kindly feeling of the friendship of former ages, and . . . rescue from Silla the provinces torn off by it, viz. South Kara, Tok-ki-than, etc . . . restoring them to their original connection [within the Kaya Federation] and making them transfer to Imna their substance. [I] strive to play the part to them of father or elder brother, constantly doing homage to Japan . . . [It] is to be feared lest you, having fallen into and become entangled in the nets and pitfalls of the slanderous deceit [of Silla], should ruin your country and overturn your State, becoming yourselves the captives of others. . . . If you [the Kaya people] desire to hold permanently your original territory, and to rule long over your old subjects, [here are] the means of doing so”^{<18>}

Nihongi (NII: 46-47) then records that: “King Seong-myeong 聖明王 further addressed the Japanese authorities of Imna 任那日本府, saying: ‘. . . If Imna falls, you are left without resources; if Imna [the Kaya Federation] is established, you will in that case have succour. You should therefore join us in setting up Imna and restoring it to its former position, so as to provide a help for yourselves and a kindly maintenance for your people If you, the Japanese authority . . . lend aid to Imna, this will assuredly be attended by the Emperor’s approval, and you personally will reap rewards the high Japanese officials 日本卿等, having been long *resident* in the Land of Imna, close to the Silla frontier . . . have . . . been poisoning Imna, and devising means of defense against Japan . . . they beguile the [Yamato] Court with feigned service, and maintain a false appearance of amity with Imna 僞和任那;

it is my desire that before they have annexed Imna . . . you should now seize the opportunity . . . The Imperial decree urging us to establish South Kara and Tok-ki-than does not date merely from a few years ago, and yet Silla has not once listened to this order . . . Now, can anything be better than . . . to endeavour to establish Imna [the Kaya Federation]?”^{<19>}

In A.D. 543, Tsumori no Muraji was sent to Paekche with a message from Kimmei to the following effect (NII: 48): “Let the Paekche prefects and governors of castles 百濟郡令城主 resident in that part of Lower Kara which belongs to Imna 在任那之下韓 be joined to the Japanese jurisdiction 宜附日本府 . . . For more than ten years past you have presented memorials saying that Imna [the Kaya Federation] should be established. But notwithstanding these representations the matter still remains unaccomplished. Now Imna is the roof-tree of your country. If the roof-tree 棟梁 is broken, who shall erect a house with it? . . . You ought speedily to establish Imna.”^{<20>}

Nihongi (NII: 48-49) records that King Seong-myeong, having heard the message from Kimmei [A.D. 531-571], asked for the opinions of his ministers who replied: “Our prefects and governors of castles in Lower Kara should not leave our jurisdiction. As to [the] establishment of the country [the Kaya Federation], the Imperial [Kimmei’s] decree should be at once complied with . . . Thou shouldst summon the agents of Imna 任那執事 and the Kanki of the various provinces 國國旱岐等, and [plan] along with them a common policy . . . [However] Kahachi no Atahe, Yanasa and Mato are still resident in Ara-Imna, and (while this is so) it is to be feared that it will be hard to establish it. Add therefore a further memorial, praying that they may be removed to their original place.” Accordingly, King Seong-myeong (NII: 49) “sent the Si-deok, Ko-pun, to summon the Agent of Imna 任那執事 and the Agent of the Japanese authority 日本府執事 . . . [However] Neither the Japanese authorities nor [the Kanki of] Imna sent their Agents.”^{<20>}

Nihongi (NII: 51) records that King Seong-myeong told (in A. D. 544) “the chief Japanese authority of Imna 日本府卿 and the Kanki of Imna” 任那旱岐 that: “[i]n regard to the matter of establishing Imna 夫建任那之國 [the Kaya Federation], how could any one do so without borrowing the Emperor’s power? It was therefore my intention to appeal to the Emperor [Kimmei] and request of him an army with which to succour the Land of Imna. The provisions for this army would be supplied by me. Whilst the number of the troops was still undecided, it was naturally impossible to make any fixed arrangements for the transport of provisions.”^{<21>} King Seong-myeong continues (NII: 53): “Now Imna treats Ara as an elder brother 以安羅爲兄, and

simply follows its wishes, while the people of Ara regard the Japanese authority as Heaven 以日本府爲天, and are implicitly guided by its wishes. (The Paekche *Original Record* has, “treats Ara as a father, and regards the Japanese authority as the origin 本”) . . . Yanasa and Mato are only mean persons of no family, yet they exercise absolute authority over the Japanese administration 日本府之政 . . . [I]f you allowed those two men to remain in Ara, they would carry on their manifold intrigues, making it impossible for Imna [Kaya Federation] to be established, and assuredly preventing the states west of the sea from doing their services.” The answer from Kimmei was (NII: 53): “It was not by our wishes that Ikuba no Omi and the others went to Silla . . . Is it necessary to repeat what we have already told thee, namely, that if Imna is established, Yanasa and Mato will withdraw of their own accord.”^{<22>}

In A.D. 544, Paekche sent a reminder to Kimmei (NII: 54-55): “. . . Silla, every spring and autumn, assembled troops in large numbers with the object of invading Ara and Hasan, or as some say, to invade Kara . . . [Because of this] I sent troops for the protection of Imna . . . and it was owing to this that . . . Silla did not dare to molest them. Yet it was reported . . . that Paekche was so far distant that it was unable to help them in their need . . . This is deceiving the Celestial Court . . . Cha-ro-ma-to, although the son of a Korean mother, holds the position of Ohomuraji and takes precedence among the Agents of Japan (日本執事) . . . And yet he now wears the cap of the Silla official rank of Namanye, from which it may be readily seen that he is devoted to that country body and soul . . . The downfall of the Tok country was owing to no other cause than this.”^{<23>}

In A.D. 544, a lengthy statement made by King Seong-myeong to Kibi no Omi and the Kanki appears again (NII: 56-58): “The land of Imna has, from old times, bound itself to be to our Paekche, as a son or younger brother 約爲子弟 [i.e., a dependant]. Inchimi, of the Japanese Miyake 日本府 (the name of the Japanese Omi resident in Imna), has already smitten Silla . . . Now the object of sending Inchimi to Imna was never that it should be invaded and destroyed. From old times until now, Silla has been without principle . . . In this way it has brought our faithful ally, the Land of Thak-sun, to ruin . . . It is my hope and desire that the Land of Imna [the Kaya Federation] may thus be set up and continue as in former days, and that we may long be brethren 永爲兄弟 . . . [O]n the frontier between . . . Silla and Ara there is a great river . . . I intend . . . to construct six fortresses along it, and . . . petition the Emperor for 3,000 troops -- 500 for each fortress. Adding to these my own soldiers . . . the Land of Thak-sun will be restored again . . . For the troops which I shall

request of the Emperor, I will provide clothing and food [I]n respect to the stationing of prefects and governors of castles 置郡令城主者 in South Kara . . . I . . . propose to retain them in their stations for the harassment of Silla, and the preservation of Imna.” Hereupon Kibi no Omi and the Kanki said (NII: 58): “We pray that we may be allowed to return and respectfully advise . . . the Oho-omi of the Japanese Administration 日本大臣, the King of Ara 安羅王, [and] the King of Kara 加羅王 . . .” In A.D. 545 (NII: 59), “Paekche sent Po-che . . . to Imna with a present . . . for the Omi of the Japanese Government 日本府臣 there, and for all the Kanki 諸早岐, each in proportion to his rank.”^{<24>}

In A.D. 553 (NII: 69), “Paekche sent Kwa-ya . . . who presented a message to the Emperor, saying . . . ‘This year there is the unexpected news that Silla and Koma [Koguryeol] have made a common plan, saying: Paekche and Imna resort frequently to Japan, doubtless in order to ask for troops wherewith to invade our territories It may be hoped that we shall anticipate the Japanese troops and conquer Ara before they have started. We can then cut off their communications with Japan.’ Such is their plan.”^{<25>}

In A.D. 562 (NII: 80), “Imna was destroyed. The *general term Imna* 總言任那 [任那], Kaya Federation] includes the provinces called separately Kara, Ara, Saiki, Tara, Cholma, Kocha, Chatha, Sanpanha, Kwison, and Imnye, in all ten provinces.” Hereupon (NII: 81-82), “An edict was issued as follows: ‘The Silla people, a tribe of wretches in the West, have . . . disregarded the favour We have shown them. They have broken Our Miyake 官家, poisoned Our black-haired people, and massacred the population of Our districts In what respect did Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto 氣長足姬尊 show a want of consideration for Silla, or Our people an unfriendly feeling towards that country? Yet Silla with long spears and strong bows has oppressed Imna . . . they have butchered . . . them [J]oin with Us . . . doing vengeance on the enemies. . . . [E]ven in my grave I shall be indignant’” In A.D. 571 (NII: 89), “The Emperor [Kimmei] took to his bed, sick and ill at ease. The Prince imperial . . . was summoned The Emperor . . . gave command to him, saying: ‘. . . Thou must make war on Silla, and establish Imna as a feudal dependency 封建任那, *renewing a relationship like that of a husband and wife* 更造夫婦 *just as it was in former days*. If this be done, in my grave I shall rest contented.”^{<26>}

The exact location of Imna remains a curiosity. Nihongi (NII: 19 & 42) records that after the fall of Southern Kara and Tok-sa-than in the reign of Keitai, Imna came to have a common boundary with Silla. Nihongi (NII: 47) further records that: “Paekche sent Ki no Omi, Nasol Mimasa, and Kwi-nyon,

Nasol of the middle division [in A.D. 542] to come and report to the Emperor [Kimmei] on the administration of Imna in Lower Kara” Since the report must have been concerned with the administration of the port facilities, Imna must have been a southernmost state along the coast among the Kaya Federation of walled town-states.

Remarkably, Japanese historians who must have read all of the statements presented in this section still managed to conclude that Japan had maintained a “colony” for more than two centuries in the southern part of Korea.

D. A Port of Passage and the Japanese Residency

Nihongi (NI: 257) records that in the 7th year of *Ōjin* [A.D. 396] “Men of Koguryeo, men of Paekche, men of Imna, and men of Silla all together attended the Court. Orders were then given to Takenouchi no Sukune to take these various men of Han [Korea] and make them dig a pond. Therefore the pond . . . was called the pond of the men of Han [Korea].”^{<28>} In this story, Imna might well have represented the entire Kaya Federation. In any case, this story clarifies that Mimana was not a Japanese colony at that time.

Because of the natural, 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 Kaya crossing route “to serve as a station in going and returning 往還路驛 (see Nihongi NI: 250)”^{<29>} These efforts by Yamato rulers to maintain a port facility seem to have been exaggerated out of proportion in Japan in the late 19th century by those Japanese who wanted to justify the invasion of Korea by promoting a story of Japanese colonization of the southern part of Korea for more than two centuries.

It seems that the Yamato rulers managed to obtain a permit from the King of Kaya to administer a port facility (naturally with a group of Japanese residents) at the southern tip of Kaya as a direct short-cut crossing route from Japan. Nihongi (NII: 17-18) records that when Paekche tried to share the port facility as a convenient passage from Paekche to Japan, however, the King of Kaya was very annoyed.^{<12>}

Nihongi makes it clear that there was a “port of passage” located in the Imna [i.e., Mimana] area with Japanese *residents* and that there was an official entity which Nihongi called the “Japanese Government House 任那日本府,” with someone at the top with the title of “Governor of Imna 任那國司.” Nihongi also makes it clear, however, that there was “the King of Imna 任那王” who ranked equally with Kings of Koguryeo, Silla and Paekche. Nihongi records further that there were frequent conflicts between the Japanese agents 日本人 [in the port facility] and the Imna people 任那人. The status of what the

Japanese like to call the “Imna Japanese Government” might at most be compared to that of the Dutch trading station in Nagasaki, an area which became a foreign possession during the period 1609-1856.⁹ Indeed, in the later period of the Choseon dynasty, Pusan 釜山, a port located at the southern tip of Korea directly across from Kyūshū, constituted the main port of entry for Japanese ships and cargoes. Here the Japanese were allowed to reside under the surveillance of Choseon officials.¹⁰

Nihongi (NII: 8) presents one of the favorite scenarios entertained by the contemporary Japanese: “Originally the Deities of Sumiyoshi bestowed on the Emperor Homuda while in the womb 授記胎中譽田天皇 the gold and silver lands beyond the sea, namely Koryeo [Koguryeo], Paekche, Silla and Imna. Therefore did the Great Empress Okinaga-tarashihime no Mikoto 太后息長足姬尊 and the Oho-omi Takenonchi no Sukune first establish Government Houses 置官家 [Miyake] in each of these countries and constitute them our screen territory beyond the sea.”^{<30>} The *Government House* that the Japanese imagine to have been established in Imna was exactly like the ones that the Japanese imagined in Koguryeo, Paekche and Silla. These political fantasies were never reality. There is not a single chronicle in East Asia, with the exception of Nihongi, in which one can find an expression like “Imna Japanese Government.” Kojiki mentions Kudara [Paekche], Siragi [Silla] and Koma [Koguryeo], but it never mentions the “Imna Japanese Government.” Apparently, the Yamato court historians decided to manufacture the grand idea of the Imna Japanese Government 任那日本府 to describe the Japanese agents taking care of the port facilities located at the Imna crossing route

⁹According to Batten (1986): “While the Japanese cannot be said to have ruled Mimana in any meaningful sense, the court did exercise some sort of political influence there, a role that was probably encouraged rather than endured by Mimana’s tribal chiefs, who desired a counterweight against their two powerful neighbors, especially Silla. For the Japanese the arrangement assured continued access to iron and advanced continental culture, which had been channeled through the area since ancient times.”

¹⁰“ . . . the Yi government took a conciliatory position, granting the Japanese limited trading privileges. Three ports were opened to them along the southeast coast of Korea, at Naeip’o 乃而浦 (Ungcheon 熊川), Pusanp’o 富山浦 (Tongnae 東萊), and Yeomp’o 鹽浦 (Ulsan 蔚山), and trading and living quarters (Waegwan 倭館) were established in each to enable the Japanese to conduct their business Sometime later, in 1510, the Japanese residing at the three ports rose in arms against the Korean garrison commander, with whom they had been at odds After this was put down, Japanese privileges at the three ports were abolished [I]n 1512 trade again was allowed” Quoted from Lee (1984: 191-192).

(with some military contingent) only after they had finished writing Kojiki.¹¹

Aoki (1974: 50) states that: “While the Japanese nationalist historians are fervently insisting that . . . Pyeon Han 弁韓 peoples had long been under the control of the Japanese . . . , the fact was perhaps the other way around. The Pyeon Han peoples regarded northern Kyūshū and the western tip of Honshū as their additional territories, and peoples in these areas as their fellow tribesmen and trade partners There must have been rows of business offices and storehouses standing on the wharfs of the trading port in the Pyeon Han territory. As more [of the] Pyeon Han population moved to the islands, the original site of the port became a kind of trading depot for the peoples concerned (c. A.C. 380). The territory came to be called Imna (or Mimana in Japanese). . . .”

The paucity of factual records tempts historians to indulge in fantasies. The most surprising fact, however, seems to be that, in terms of ancient history, most contemporary Japanese historians ceased to be historians and became faithful mouthpieces of the 19th-century imperialists’ propaganda machine. Furthermore, the so-called pro-Japanese Western scholars have shamelessly parroted or exaggerated the biased stories told by these Japanese colonialists.

According to Befu (1971: 33), “Japan has always been at a periphery of major cultural centers Historical and geographical circumstances have made Japan principally a borrower or receiver of cultural innovations Japan’s uniqueness, according to Kroeber, lies in its ability to work out *stylistic* refinements of borrowed elements This intensive cultural borrowing has gone hand in hand with a feeling of inferiority which the Japanese have toward donor cultures. In the language of social psychology, the reference group of the Japanese has always been [that of] a culturally or technologically superior nation. We do not know how this feeling of inferiority came about, although ultimately it probably has to be analyzed in relation to the desire of the Japanese to improve their cultural status relative to superior cultures.” In any case, this feeling of inferiority must be kept in mind to understand the way Japanese historians and the Japanese people generally distort the relationship between Korea and Japan in the early period.

¹¹Kim Suk-hyung 金錫亨 of North Korea contends that the term “Wa” implies the various “branch states” established by Koreans (*i.e.*, the people of Koguryeo, Silla and Paekche) in Japan, and that these Korean branch states were not subjugated by Yamato Wa until the sixth century, and that the so-called Imna Japanese Government was a Korean office to control these branch states (see Hirano, 1977).