

Chapter Five

Paekche and the Origin of the
Yamato Kingdom

The Ye-maek Cousins in
the Korean Peninsula and Japanese Islands



Early Fifth Century Haniwa Ship
Excavated at the Ōsaka 大庭寺 遺跡



The "Yayoi Wave" of Yemaek Tungus
circa 300 BCE: Joining the Ainu and
Malayo-Polynesian Aborigine



Middle Tomb Period Haniwa Ship (140 cm)
Takara No. 1 Tomb 三重縣 寶塚1號墳 (三重 松阪市 教育委員會)



The "Kofun Wave" of the Paekche
People circa 370-390 CE



5.1. Three Kingdom Period, Korea



5.2. Late Tomb Period, Japan

CHAPTER FIVE

PAEKCHE AND THE ORIGIN OF THE YAMATO KINGDOM

THE YE-MAEK COUSINS
IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND JAPANESE ISLANDS

1. Building a Model for the Origin of the Yamato Kingdom

The northern Mongoloid populations, who had first settled around Transbaikalia across the Great Altai, seem to have dispersed into the Sakhalin-Hokkai islands to become Ainu on the Japanese archipelago, moved across the Greater Xing'an Range to become the proto-Xianbei-Tungus in Manchuria, and tracked a warmer and moister climate down through the Korean peninsula to become rice-cultivating farmers. The Ainu people in the Japanese islands were soon joined by the Malayo-Polynesian people coming from Southeast Asia, and eventually joined the Yemaek Tungus crossing over the sea from the Korean peninsula.

According to Ledyard (1975), neither in Korea nor in Japan is there any memory of the Japanese islands having been invaded in the ancient period. Nevertheless, Ledyard maintains:

“This loss of memory about such a cataclysmic event is not so unusual as it might appear. The case of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of England in the 5th and 6th centuries suggests an interesting parallel: their legends and traditions contain nothing about their trip across the sea to conquer Roman Britain, and not more than a few words have survived from the partly literate Celtic scribes who were either massacred, sold into slavery or forced to flee. Yet we all know that Britain was invaded by Anglo-Saxons from the mainland side of

the North Sea.”¹

There are, however, enough suggestive records in the accounts of Kojiki and Nihongi to deduce the origin of the Yamato kingdom and the roots of the Japanese imperial family.² These report the “true” life story of the conqueror, telling when and how he and his followers crossed the sea, where they landed, and in what manner they fought and wrought (see Chapter 8). Although there may be distortions in these accounts, the distortions can be identified and corrected because they are systematic. There are, furthermore, suggestive traces dug up from numerous tombs of the Yamato rulers that serve to correct the record. My object is to build a model, reconstruct the actual events, and provide a Korean perspective on the origin of the Yamato kingdom. The scholars of the world are badly in need of a balanced perspective.

Modern historians build models on the basis of the known traces of occurrences (i.e., historical facts) in order to make scientific guesses about “actual occurrences” which are beyond the experience of the historians themselves. Their objective is to give plausible explanations for human activities and to obtain a more profound understanding of phenomena that otherwise would remain anomalous and unexplained.

One cannot, however, always draw a clear line of demarcation between a model founded on “traces” (that is, designed to mirror the essential characteristics of the particular phenomenon under study) and a logical truth called theory (i.e., scientific guesses founded on “established general ideas”). In many cases, what I call theories, including the Egami’s Theory of Horseriding People, may well be considered as models.³

This chapter summarizes the essence of my model and highlights the Paekche, an offshoot of the Puyo-Koguryeo in the Ma-han land of Korean peninsula. The next four chapters present the suggestive records and traces for the origin of the Yamato kingdom and the roots of the imperial family. The historical facts presented in these chapters are intended to convince readers of the plausibility of my model, following which, in Chapters 10 and 11, I apply the model to the origin of the Japanese people and Japanese language.

¹ Joe Cheavens contends that the Ledyard’s assertion that there is no memory of the Anglo-Saxon invasion/conquest is very mistaken. He notes that there are a few extent sources written by Romano-Celts at the time of this invasion and the British reaction to it (e.g., Gildas, *On the Ruin of Britain*, died 570 CE), as well as histories written shortly thereafter (e.g., *Annelles Cambria*, c. 970; Nennius, *Historia Bretonum*, 809; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, 731). He further contends that the tales of King Arthur are folk lore tradition based on the British resistance to this invasion.

² William George Aston (1841-1911), translated the chronicle commonly called Nihon-shoki into English in 1896 and called it, quite correctly, Nihongi 日本紀.

³ Theorizing has the reward of clear causality, but puts one in the straitjacket of mathematics that one can command, severely restricting the room for creative imagination. Modeling allows more room for the intuitive power to perceive the core relationship, but logical inconsistency can easily creep in. A powerful model or theory does not only possess predictive and explanatory power for the existing source materials, but also aid the search and discovery of further relevant traces, revealing equally predictive and explanatory powers for the newly discovered data that played no part in its own prior formulation.



5.3. Kudara at the Baikal Lake

⁴ Kudara (百濟) seems to be a Buriat dialect word, and happens to be the name of a present-day small town in the delta area at the mouth of Selenge River flowing into the Lake Baikal. “Yamato” is written in Chinese 倭, 夜麻登 or 耶麻騰. Formerly the name of the Yamato province was written 大倭 (read Great Yamato) but in 737 the characters were changed to 大和 (also read Great Yamato).

⁵ The location of Fujiwara-kyō had been selected as an appropriate site for the “permanent” capital by Tenmu (r. 672-86), and his wife Jitō (r. 686-97) made the final decision to establish the new capital there in 694. It was surrounded by the Three Mountains of Yamato

2. Essence of My Model

The essence of my model is as follows. I contend that the Jōmon culture (c. 10,000–300 BCE) on the Japanese archipelago was the product of Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian people, while the Yayoi culture (c. 300 BCE-300 CE) was the product of Kaya (Karak) people from the southern Korean peninsula together with Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian aborigines. The proto-Japanese people, speaking proto-Japanese language, were formed during the Yayoi period. I contend that the Kaya dialect of the Korean language provided the basic structure of the proto-Japanese language although lexically (in loan words) and phonologically (in sound), the influence of Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian languages was substantial. I also regard the early tomb culture (c. 300-375 CE) as an extension of the Yayoi culture.

The late tomb culture (c. 375-675 CE) was, however, brought about by the Yamato kingdom, the first unified state on the Japanese islands that was newly established at the end of the fourth century by the Paekche people from the Korean peninsula. Syntactically (in patterns of word arrangement) and morphologically (in systems of word formation), the similarity between the Korean and Japanese languages was very much strengthened. However, the lexical and phonological influence of the Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian languages cast a long shadow on the subsequent evolution of the Japanese language. Therefore, by the early ninth century at the latest, due to ever increasing lexical, semantic (in meaning) and phonological differences, the people of the Korean peninsula and the people of the Japanese islands could no longer directly communicate with each other without interpreters.

I postulate that the Paekche people conquered the Japanese islands sometime between 370-90 CE, that Oujin (Homuda) acceded to the throne as the founder of the Yamato kingdom in 390 CE, and that there were some time lags between the commencement of conquest and the burial of conquerors in gigantic tombs with horse trappings. Kojiki and Nihongi write Paekche using Chinese characters and read it “Kudara,” and also write Wa in Chinese and read it “Yamato.”⁴ My theory may therefore be called the Kudara Yamato Theory.

The crucial evidence supporting my theory consists of all the stories contained in *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The object of the following chapters is to present the essence of those stories, thereby enabling readers to grasp the true picture of the origin of the Yamato Kingdom.

“Yamato” is one of five provinces of Kinai, comprising ten districts, which form the “Nara Prefecture.” The Yamato Plain is about 30 km from north to south and 15 km from east to west. It is surrounded by the mountains of Tamba and Hira in the north, by Kasagi in the east, by Kongō, Katsuragi and Ikoma in the west, and by the hills of Takami and Yoshino in the south. Each new king transferred the capital, generally within the Yamato Plain, presumably in order to be enthroned in an unpolluted, ritually clean environment. Like the Shintō shrines of those days, the palaces were simple structures.⁵

3. Silence and Distortions in the Dynastic Chronicles

As in the case of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England, there is no clear historical account (in either Korean or Japanese chronicles extant) of the Paekche people founding the Yamato kingdom. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England, however, the absence of an authentic account of the Paekche people founding the Yamato kingdom in both Korean and Japanese chronicles extant seems to have been intentional.

The chronicles of the Paekche kingdom compiled by the Paekche people themselves (starting with the scholar Ko Heung in 375 and continued by his successors) such as the Paekche Records, the Paekche Annals and the Paekche New Compilations, are all quoted in *Nihongi*.⁶ Unfortunately, all these chronicles from which *Nihongi* takes its quotations have been lost. The handful of fragments that have survived in the form of quotations in *Nihongi*, however, reveal that those records were highly detailed.

The only extant “authentic” Korean chronicle providing systematic accounts of this early period is the *Samguk-sagi* that was compiled in 1145 by Kim Pusik, who was descended from one of the ruling families of the Silla kingdom that conquered Paekche in 663. The only extant “authentic”

(Miminash in the north, Unebi to the west, and Amano-kagu to the east) in the Asuka region. In merely fifteen years after the “permanent” capital was established at Fujiwara, Genmei decided in 710 to relocate the capital 16 km further to the north, to Nara. Heijokyo (Nara) constituted a more efficient location for communication with areas outside the Yamato Plain. The Nara Period ended with the transfer of capital to Nagaoka-kyō in 784 and then finally to Heian-kyō (Kyōto) in 794 by Kanmu.

⁶ 百濟記; 百濟本記; 百濟新撰

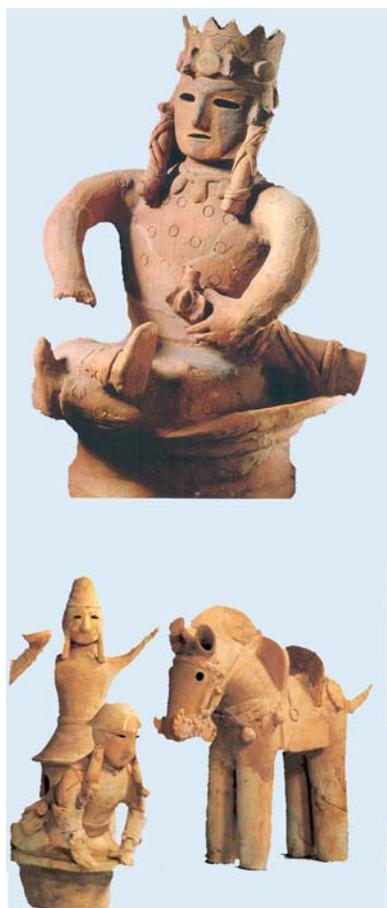
近肖古王 三十年 古記云 百濟開國已來 未有以文字記事 至是得博士高興 始有書記 (S2: 32)



5.4. Late Tomb Period Hanjwa
Japanese Islands

⁷ 應神 八年...百濟記云 阿花王立...
遣王子直支于天朝 以脩先王之好也
(NI: 367)

三國史記 百濟本紀 阿莘王 六年
王與倭國結好 以太子腆支爲質 (S2:
45)



5.5. Late Tomb Period Haniwa
Japanese Islands

⁸ 三國志 魏書 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 韓
傳 魏略曰 王莽地皇時...我等漢人...
爲韓所擊得...皆斷髮爲奴 積三年矣
...臣智激韓忿 攻帶方郡...時太守弓
遵 樂浪太守劉茂 興兵伐之 遵戰死

Japanese chronicles providing systematic records of this early period are Kojiki and Nihongi that, shortly after the fall of Paekche kingdom, were compiled by the Yamato rulers with definite objectives in mind. Neither party, for apparently different reasons, wanted to have a true account of the Paekche people founding the Yamato kingdom. The Samguk-sagi adopted the tactic of passive “silence” and the Kojiki-Nihongi adopted the tactic of active “distortion.”

Considering the possible availability of several Paekche chronicles compiled by the Paekche people themselves, the “failure” of Kim Pusik to record Paekche history in any detail may be attributed to his hatred for this archenemy of Silla rather than to the shortage of source material. A conspicuous example that reveals Kim Pusik’s hatred of Paekche is found in the record of Prince Cheon-ji of Paekche, where he selects the word “hostage” to describe the prince being taken to the Yamato court in 397, whereas the Paekche Records quoted by Nihongi simply use the word “sent” to describe the incident of the prince going to the Yamato court in that year.⁷

Gardiner (1970: 16) contends that “Paekche was for a very long time the principal opponent of Silla. ... Thus ... it would have been very natural for him to play down the importance of Paekche by giving it less space and a less sympathetic treatment; and by setting the starting-point for its chronology well after that of Silla. The memory of the close alliance which subsisted for many centuries between Paekche and Yamato was also scarcely likely to encourage later Korean historians to attempt to correct Kim Pusik’s generally unfavorable picture of this kingdom.”

It is interesting to note the fact that, while those who had compiled Kojiki (called the *History of Royal Mandate* in its preface) at the order of Tenmu some time before 686 had limited the application of disparaging words mostly to Silla, those who finished compiling Nihongi in 720 apparently made a strategic decision to extend the slighting expression even to Paekche. For instance, Kojiki records that the Silla people came over [in 396] and they constructed a storage dam to make a “Paekche Reservoir,” while Nihongi records that the people of Koguryeo, Paekche, Imna (Kaya), and Silla all came together in

396 and these Koreans were ordered to construct a reservoir that was then named “Korean Men Reservoir.” The nature of such distortions in Kojiki and Nihongi will be delved into in Section 4, Chapter 12.

4. Paekche, An Offshoot of the Puyeo-Koguryeo in the Korean Peninsula

The Samguk-sagi records that Chu-mong came down from the Northern Puyeo to the Chol-bon Puyeo area (around the Hun-Yalu river valleys) to found the Koguryeo Kingdom, and also that a son of Chumong and his followers came down to the Han River basin area to found the Paekche Kingdom. The majority of the Paekche population was apparently composed of the Ma-han people. The Paekche rulers had maintained the court ritual of presenting sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and also to the shrine of Tong-myung, the legendary founder of both Puyeo and Koguryeo (identified as Chu-mong by the Samguk-sagi who was the father of Onjo, the official founder of Paekche kingdom). Paekche later moved its capital further south to the Kum River basin in 538, calling itself, even briefly, the Southern Puyeo.

According to the Dongyi-zhuan, a large number of Han Chinese were taken prisoner by the Han people c. 17-19 CE. This occurred during the reign of King Onjo (18 BCE-28 CE), the founder of the Paekche kingdom. The Dongyi-zhuan further records that the allied forces of Le-lang and Dai-fang commanderies (under the dominion of Wei) launched a large scale attack against the Han River basin area in 246. In the ensuing battle, the governor of Dai-fang was killed.⁸ It was during the reign of King Koi (234-86) in Paekche. By the mid-third century, Paekche seems to have been actively expanding and consolidating its power base around this area. This attack by the Le-lang and Dai-fang forces was apparently to disrupt and prevent the unification of tribal chiefdoms under the emerging leadership of the Paekche.⁹ The Dongyi-zhuan, however, simply records that Paekche was one of the Ma-han states in the Three Han area.

In 260, King Koi appointed six ministers to handle



5.6. Horse Ornaments (top left) Puyeo, (bottom) Hae-nam, (top right) Osaka,

⁹ Lee (1984: 36-37)

¹⁰ 周書 卷四十九 列傳 第四十一 異域上 百濟者 其先蓋馬韓 之屬國 夫餘之別種 有仇台者始 國於帶方

晉書 卷九十七 列傳 第六十七 四夷 馬韓 武帝太康元年 二年 其主頻遣使入貢方物 七年八年 十年 又頻至... 咸寧三年復來

¹¹ 三國史記 百濟本紀 第二 近肖古王 二十四年 秋九月 高句麗王斯由帥步騎二萬 來屯雉壤 分兵侵奪民戶 王遣太子以兵徑至雉壤 急擊破之 獲五千餘級 其虜獲分賜將士 冬十一月 大闕於漢水南 旗幟皆用黃 二十六年 高句麗舉兵來 王聞之伏兵於湍河上 俟其至急擊之 高句麗兵敗北 冬 王與太子帥精兵三萬 侵高句麗攻平壤城 麗王斯由力戰拒之 中流矢死 近仇首王 諱須...高句麗

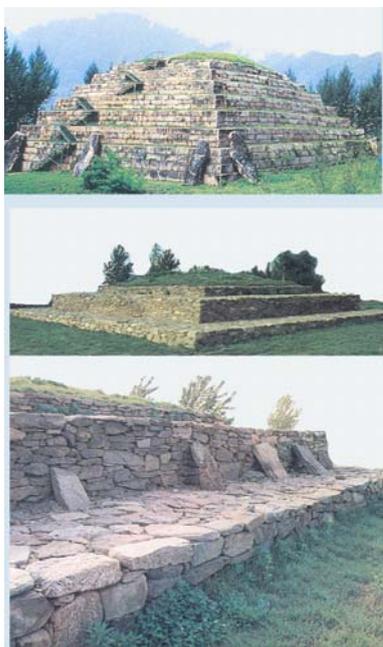
國岡王 斯由親來侵 近肖古王遣太子拒之 (S2: 31-2)

神功 攝政冊九...於是其王肖古及王子貴須 亦領軍來會...四邑自然降服 是以百濟王父子及荒田別木羅斤資等 (NII: 357)

近仇首王 三年 王將兵三萬 侵高句麗平壤城 (S2: 32)

辰斯王 六年 九月 王命達率真嘉謨 伐高句麗 拔都坤城 虜得二百人 (S 2: 45)

¹² See Best (2002: 183-89)



5.7. Koguryeo Tomb of General 將軍塚, Ji'an (top), and Paekche Seok-chon-dong 石村洞 Tomb No. 4. with supporting stones 支撐石 Seoul (middle and bottom)

specified administrative functions, established sixteen grades of official rank, and prescribed colors for official dress in accordance with rank. In 262, King Koi decreed that officials who accepted bribes or practiced extortions would be expelled from office after paying a three-fold penalty. The king received his subjects in majestic attire. Such a conspicuous performance by King Koi, as was recorded in the Samguk-sagi, coupled with his military exploits against the Le-lang and Dai-fang allied forces, seems to have made the Zhou-shu record him (K'iaü-yi) as "the founder of Paekche in the Dai-fang area (see CCI, p. 618)." The Jin-shu, in Biographies, records the embassies to the Western Jin court sent by a certain king of Ma-han in 277, 280 and 281 that must have been King Koi.¹⁰

The Samguk-sagi chronology of Paekche kingship is confirmed by both the Shoku-Nihongi compiled in 797 and the Shinsen-Shoujiroku compiled in 815 (albeit the former has one king less). The nature of Chu-mong as the titular founder of Paekche is also confirmed by the latter two chronicles which regard Chu-mong as the spiritual, if not de facto, founder of the Paekche kingdom. (See Section 5.)

By the time King Mi-cheon of Koguryeo conquered the Le-lang Commandery in 313, Paekche came to occupy the Dai-fang Commandery. With the final southward flight of the Jin court in 317, the Han Chinese went out of the picture.

Paekche under the reign of the warrior kings Keun Chogo and Keun Kusu represents the most expansionist era (346-84) for the kingdom.¹¹ Before the appearance of King Kwang-gae-to the Great in 391, Koguryeo had constantly been battered by Paekche. Among the five stone-mounded tombs excavated south of Han River at Seok-chon-dong, Seoul, the largest one (Tomb No. 3) may be the grave of King Keun Chogo. The step-pyramid design of these tumuli compares closely to the stone tombs of Koguryeo in the Tong-gou region including the one believed to be the grave of King Kwang-gae-to.¹²

By the late fourth century, Paekche came to occupy the entire southwestern quarter of the peninsula, facing Koguryeo in the north, and Silla and Kaya in the east. In Silla, the kingship no longer alternated among three royal clans after 356, and was monopolized on a hereditary basis by the Kim

clan. In Paekche, also, the lineal succession began from King Keun Chogo, but the so-called “age of *Jin* family queens” also seems to have begun from his reign, possibly as a result of political compromise. Keun Chogo’s immediate successors are said to have chosen their consorts from this single aristocratic clan. Twenty-two feudal domains (called *tam-ro*) were created and enfeoffed by the royal family members.

According to the *Jin-shu* (in Annals), an embassy from Paekche had arrived at the court of Eastern Jin in 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.”¹³ The *Samguk-sagi* records that Keun Chogo sent another embassy to the Eastern Jin in 373. The *Jin-shu* also records the arrival of a Paekche mission in 384. The *Samguk-sagi* records the sending of an embassy and the arrival of a Serindian monk named Marananta from Eastern Jin in 384, implying the formal introduction of Buddhism to Paekche. The *Jin-shu* records that the title of “Commissioner Bearing Credentials, Inspector-General, General Stabilizing the East, and King of Paekche” was granted to King Chim-nyu in 386.¹⁴ The *Samguk-sagi* records that King Cheon-ji (405-420) sent a mission to the Jin court in 406.

These represent the earliest diplomatic contacts (between Paekche and Chinese dynasties) formally recorded in a Chinese dynastic history.¹⁵ Unlike Koguryeo that bordered upon the dynasties of mainland China and maintained a close relationship (namely, frequent warfare) with them from the time of its foundation, any detailed historical accounts relating to Paekche (or Silla) are absent from the Chinese dynastic chronicles prior to these *Jin-shu* records for 372-86. Furthermore, one has yet to recognize the fact that *Jin-shu* records all these contacts with the Paekche kingdom in its Annals only. In its “Barbarian Section” of *Lie-zhuan* (Biographies 67), a careless copy of *Dongyi-zhuan*, it solely mentions the extinct Ma-han and Chin-han as if Paekche (or Silla) does not exist on the Korean peninsula.

Paekche’s close diplomatic relations with the dynasties in mainland China were maintained throughout the era of Five Barbarian and Sixteen States (304-439) and Tuoba Wei (386-534) in the north, and Eastern Jin (317-420) and Southern

¹³ 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

¹⁴ 晉書卷九 孝武帝 十一年 以百濟王世子餘暉爲使持節 都督 鎮東將軍 百濟王

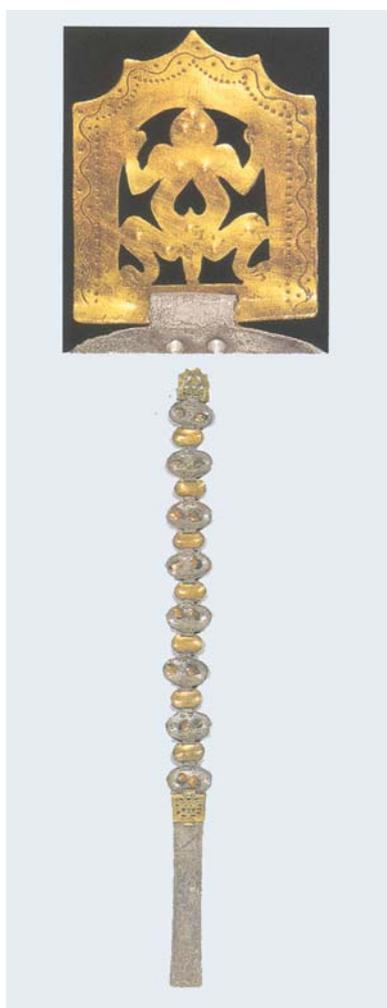
¹⁵ Best (1979: 128) and (1982:453)



5.8. Tomb of King Mu-nyung
Kong-ju, Paekche

¹⁶ Best (1982: 452)

¹⁷ 宋書 卷九十七 列傳 第五 十七 夷蠻 百濟國 義熙十二年 [416] 以百濟王餘映為使持節 都督百濟諸軍事 鎮東將軍百濟王 高祖踐阼[420]進號鎮東大將軍 少帝景平 二年 映遣長史張威 詣闕貢獻 元嘉二年[425]太祖 詔之曰 皇帝問使持節都督百濟 諸軍事鎮東大將軍百濟王...聿修先業...宣旨慰勞稱朕意



5.9. Tomb of King Mu-nyung

Dynasties (420-589) in the south. The ritual acts of presenting nominal tributes and awarding grand titles in return enhanced the prestige of the rulers of both Paekche and the dynasties of mainland China, providing symbolic support for dynastic self-esteem and respective claims of legitimacy. Except the single embassy sent to the Northern Wei court in 472 (inciting Wei to take military action against Koguryeo), however, the exchange of emissaries was conducted exclusively with the southern dynasties.

Paekche began to send a series of envoys to the northern dynasties only after 567, beginning with an embassy to the court of Northern Qi. Perhaps the existence of a Paekche colony in the Liao-xi area had prevented an early development of friendly relationship between Paekche and northern dynasties. (See the Appendix 5.1.) Crossing the Yellow Sea from the Paekche coast to arrive at the mouth of Huai River or Zhe-jiang seems to have taken nine to ten days.¹⁶ Paekche sent more than 63 missions to the courts of mainland China during 372-652.

According to the Song-shu, the Eastern Jin court granted the title of “Commissioner Bearing Credentials, Inspector-General of Military Affairs in Paekche, General Stabilizing the East, and King of Paekche” to the Paekche king named Ying in 416 (promoted to “Great General” by 420). Samguk-sagi also records the arrival of the Jin envoy in 416.¹⁷

According to the Song-shu, a Paekche mission led by a “Senior Administrator” arrived at the Liu-Song court in 424, and then the Song court sent a mission to Paekche in 425, granting the title of “Commissioner Bearing Credentials, Inspector-General of Military Affairs in Paekche, Great General Stabilizing the East, and King of Paekche” to King Kui-sin (420-27). Paekche sent ten missions to the Liu-Song court between 424 and 471. The Paekche embassy sent by King Kaero in 458 sought investiture in specific martial titles for eleven persons.

In 413, the Yamato court sent tribute to the Jin court and then, in 438, a Yamato king sent an embassy to the Liu-Song court requesting the confirmation of a lengthy self-proclaimed title, “Inspector-General in Charge of All Military Affairs in the Six States of Yamato, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chin-

han, and Ma-han, Great General Pacifying the East, and King of Yamato.” Emperor Wen-di (424-53) ignored the request and granted a simple and lesser title of “General Pacifying the East, the King of Yamato.” In 451, the Liu-Song court belatedly decided to add the expression of “Inspector General in Charge of All Military Affairs in the Six States” as formerly requested, but deleted “Paekche” from the list of six states and replaced it with “Kara,” reflecting the fact that the Song court maintained diplomatic relationship with none of those Korean kingdoms on the list except Paekche. To the Song court, all those on the list except Paekche were unknown entities.¹⁸ A preponderance of Japanese historians claim that the very act of confirmation in 451 by the Liu-Song court of the above self-proclaimed title “proves” that the Yamato kingdom militarily controlled the entire Korean peninsula, blatantly ignoring the fact that the title lists Yamato state on an equal footing not only with “the Imna state and Kara state” (representing Pyun-han or the entire Kaya Federation) but also with the non-existent Ma-han state and Chin-han state.

By the turn of the fifth century, King Kwang-gae-to of Koguryeo overran Paekche’s capital (in 396), and conquered Liao-dong as well as the Sushen people of northeast Manchuria. His son, King Changsu (413-91), moved the capital southward in 427 from the narrow mountain valleys of Yalu to Pyung-yang at the Tae-dong River basin, and seized the Paekche capital at Han-song in 475, beheading King Kaero. After the loss of the Han River basin to Koguryeo, Paekche had to relocate its capital south to Ung-jin.

King Tong-sung (479-501) sought investiture in military titles from the Southern Qi (479-502) court on behalf of some twenty heroic generals and royal kinsmen in 490 and 495. Under the reign of Mu-nyung (501-23), Paekche was fully recovered from the aftermath of disastrous defeat of 475. The brick mausoleum of King Mu-nyung is similar in scale and design to the tomb of Liu family excavated at Chang-sha in Hunan (Tomb No. 2) that contain inscribed bricks dated 499.¹⁹ King Seong-myung of Paekche again moved the capital to Sabi in 538 and renamed his kingdom Southern Puyeo.

Silla had conquered Pon Kaya in 532, and then occupied the Han River basin in 553, opening a direct sea route

¹⁸ 晉書 義熙九年 [413]...是歲 高句麗 倭國...並獻方物

宋書 卷九十七 列傳 夷蠻 高祖 永初二年 詔曰 倭讚萬里修貢...可賜除授 太祖元嘉二年...讚死 弟珍立 遣使貢獻 自稱使持節都督倭百濟新羅任那秦韓慕韓六國 諸軍事 安東大將軍倭國王 表求 除正詔除 安東將軍倭國王...二十年 倭國王濟遣使奉獻 復以 爲 安東將軍倭國王...元嘉二十 八年 [451] 加使持節都督倭新 羅任那加羅秦韓慕韓六國 諸軍事 安東將軍如故...濟死...世子興 遣使貢獻 世祖 大明六年...詔曰倭王世子興... 宜授爵號可安東將軍倭國王 興死弟武立 自稱使持節都督 倭百濟新羅任那 加羅秦韓慕韓七國 諸軍事 安東大將軍倭國王

梁書 卷五十四 列傳 東夷 晉安帝時 有倭王贊 贊死 立弟 彌 彌死立子濟 濟死 立子興 興死立弟武 齊建元中 [479-82] 除武使持節都督倭新羅任那加羅秦韓慕韓 六國 諸軍事 鎮東大將軍 高祖即位 進武號 征東大將軍



5.10. Gilt-bronze Crown, Naju

¹⁹ See Best (2002: 192).

²⁰ Best (1982: 480)

舊唐書 東夷列傳 百濟 武德十五年
璋卒...太宗素服哭之 新唐書 帝為
舉哀玄武門

²¹ 冊府元龜 卷九九一 外臣部 備禦
四 貞觀十七年 九月 帝謂使人曰...
爾國以婦人為主為隣國輕侮



5.11. Tomb of King Mu-nyung

²² 續日本紀 桓武天皇 延曆 八年...
皇太后 姓和氏諱新笠... 后先出自
百濟武寧王之子純陀太子... 其百濟
遠祖都慕王者 河伯之女 感日精而

to China. Silla at last extinguished the entire Kaya Federation by conquering Tae Kaya in 562, and encircled the entire land frontiers of Paekche. After Silla's occupation of the Han River basin and the death of King Seong-myung (523-54) in the hands of Silla soldiers, Silla became Paekche's primary foe.

When King Mu (600-41) of Paekche died, Tai-zong (626-49) of Tang himself donned white robes and issued a statement of grief at the Xuan-wu Gate in the northern wall of the capital city.²⁰ King Uija (641-60) of Paekche captured more than 40 Silla castles in 642 and, forming a military alliance with Koguryeo, laid a joint siege upon the Tang-hang Fortress at the mouth of the Han River in 643 in order to cut off the Silla's access to the Yellow Sea. Queen Sun-duck (632-47), the first of the three woman rulers of Silla, sent a desperate memorial to the Tang court. Best (1982: 482) quotes *Ce-fu Yuan-kui*: Tai-zong promised to take some concrete measures to stop their aggression, but could not help voicing to the envoy his opinion that Silla's troubles might be "attributed to the fact that the kingdom was ruled by a woman and consequently lacked the respect of its neighbors."²¹ What an odd prophecy to be uttered by Tai-zong on the impending fate of Tang under the Empress Wu!

Until then, the fresh vigor of the early decades of the Tang dynasty had been directed to the conquest of Central Asia, but the development on the Korean peninsula started to attract the attention of Tang rulers to the east. In 645, Tai-zong personally led a large army to invade Koguryeo, but suffered disastrous defeats. Paekche seized seven Silla castles in 645, and captured twenty more castles by 651, causing Silla to send urgent pleas to the Tang court for military assistance in 648, 650 and also in 659. The Tang-Silla allied forces at last destroyed Paekche in 663 and Koguryeo in 668.

5. Dating the Foundation of the Paekche Kingdom

Since virtually all Japanese historians accept the thesis that the Yamato kingdom was established in the Japanese islands sometime during the fourth century, they want to believe that the Paekche and Silla kingdoms also appeared in

the Korean peninsula sometime during the fourth century. Ledyard's postulation of Paekche being established in the mid-fourth century by the Puyeo refugees simply echoes the contentions of Japanese scholars, completely ignoring the extant Korean chronicles. We might well have a look at the extant Japanese chronicles themselves.

Shoku-Nihongi was finished by the Yamato court in 797. It is the official history of the Yamato kingdom covering the period between 697 and 791. Its record for the ninth year of Kanmu (781-806) states that Kanmu's mother was an offspring of the Paekche King Mu-nyung (501-23). The record also tells that Chu-mong (the founder of Koguryeo who was the father of the Paekche's founder) was born to the daughter of River God (*Habaek*). It further declares that Kanmu's mother was therefore a descendant of Chu-mong. The records of Shoku-Nihongi on the following year state that King Keun Kusu (375-84) was the "sixteenth" king of Paekche when counted from the Paekche's great ancestor, Chu-mong.²² Shoku-Nihongi apparently regards Chu-mong as the symbolic founder of Paekche.

The Samguk-sagi, a Korean chronicle compiled by Kim Busik in 1145, regards Onjo (the third son of Chu-mong) as the official founder of Paekche. Samguk-sagi further records that King Keun Kusu was the fourteenth king of Paekche when counted from Onjo. That is, according to the Samguk-sagi, King Keun Kusu (375-84) should be the "fifteenth" king if counted from Chu-mong. The Chewang-un'gi, a Korean chronicle compiled in 1287, states, however, that Onjo's elder brother (Chumong's second son) was the first king of Paekche, who died five months after enthronement. That is, there was an ephemeral king between Chu-mong (the symbolic founder of Paekche) and his third son Onjo who should have been recorded as the official founder of Paekche. Such a possibility was indeed acknowledged by the Samguk-sagi itself in a footnote. According to the Chewang-un'gi, however, the Samguk-sagi should have recorded Onjo as the second king and his elder brother as the official founder of Paekche in the main text instead of suggesting such a possibility in the footnote as a mere conflicting story.²³

The Shinsen Shoujiroku (A New Compilation of Clan

所生 皇太后 卽其後也. . . 延曆九年七月. . . 貴須王者 百濟始興第十六世王也 夫 百濟太祖都慕大王者 日神降靈 奄扶餘而開國. . . 諸韓而僞王 (NS 5: 448-52, 468-72)

²³ 帝王韻紀 百濟始祖名溫祚. . . 與母兄殷祚南奔立國 殷祚立五月而卒

三國史記 百濟本紀 第一 一云 始祖沸流王. . . 北扶餘王解扶婁庶孫母召西奴 卒本人延陀勃之 女. . . 生子二人 長曰沸流 次曰溫 祚 寡居于卒本 後朱蒙不容於扶 餘. . . 南奔至卒本 立都 號高句麗 娶召西奴爲妃. . . 及朱蒙在扶餘所 生禮氏子孺留來 立之爲太子. . . 於是沸流謂弟溫祚曰. . . 我母氏傾 家財助成邦業. . . 不如奉母氏南遊 卜地 別立國都 與弟率黨類. . . 至彌鄒忽以居之 (S2: 15)

²⁴ It also records that King Hye was the thirtieth king of Paekche when counted from Chu-mong while the Samguk-sagi records him as the twenty-eighth king of Paekche counted from King Onjo.

新撰姓氏錄 第三帙 左京諸蕃下 百濟朝臣 出自百濟國都慕王三十世孫惠王也 百濟公 出自百濟國都慕王二十四世孫汶淵王也 石野連 出自百濟國人近遠王孫

²⁵ The Shinsen Shoujiroku records a clan that has the seventh king of Paekche, Saban (234 CE), as its progenitor. It further records two clans that have King Piryu (the eleventh King of Paekche, 304-344) as their progenitor who was, the Shinsen

Appendix 5.1. The Territorial Sphere of Paekche: the Paekche's Colonization of a Liao-xi Area

The *Territory Section* of *Man-zhou Yuan-liu Gao* gives a fairly coherent and a rather surprising summary of the Paekche territory showing that it obviously included a portion of the Liao-xi. The following is almost a literal translation.²⁶

The boundary of Paekche begins from the present-day *Guang-ning* and *Jin-Yi* provinces in the northwest and then crosses the sea in an easterly direction to arrive at the Chosun's Hwang-hae, Chung-cheong, Jeon-ra, etc. provinces. Running east to west, the Paekche's territory is narrow; running north to south, it is long. Thus it occurs that if one looks at the Paekche's territory from the *Liu-cheng* and *Bei-ping* area, Silla is located in the southeast of Paekche, but if one looks from the Kyung-sang and Ung-jin area of Paekche, Silla is located in the northeast. Paekche also borders Mohe in the north. Its royal capital has two castles at two different places in the east and west. Both castles are called "Koma." Song-shu says that the place governed by Paekche was called the *Jin-ping* district of the *Jin-ping* province. *Tong-gao* says that the *Jin-ping* province was located between *Liu-cheng* and *Bei-ping* of the Tang period.²⁷ Hence one of the nation's capital was located in "Liao-xi," and the other inside the Chosun provinces. It was during the reign of Liang Wu-di [502-49] that Paekche relocated its capital [in 538?] to a castle in South Korea (South *Han*). When the Tang conquered Paekche in 660, they established five commanderies including the Tong-myung Commandery. Tong-myung is the name of the Paekche's founder who originally came across the river from Ko-ri. Hence Tong-myung seems to indicate the name of a place not far from Ko-ri. According to the History of Liao, Ko-ri represents *Feng-zhou* and *Han-zhou*, all of which were located at the present-day *Kai-yuan* area. Therefore, the Tong-myung Commandery must have been located not far from the *Kai-yuan* area. Tang-shu says that the Paekche territory was eventually divided up between Silla and Parhae-Mohe, and Paekche henceforth came to an end.

There appears in the Samguk-sagi, a record of the King Mi-cheon of Koguryeo (309-31), in alliance with two Xianbei tribes (Duan and Yu-wen), attacking another Xianbei



5.13. The Woodcut map by Luo Hong-xiang (1504-64), descended from the *Guang Yutu* of 1320 by Zhu Siben. Nebenzahl (2004: 129)

²⁶ 欽定滿洲源流考 卷九 疆域二 百濟諸城...謹案...百濟之境 西北自今廣甯錦義 南踰海 蓋東極 朝鮮之黃海忠清全羅等道 東西狹而南北長 自柳城北平計之則 新羅在其東南 自慶尚熊津 計之則 新羅在其東北 其北亦與 勿吉為隣也 王都有東西兩城 號固麻城 亦曰居拔城 以滿洲語考之 固麻為格們之轉音 居拔蓋滿洲語之卓巴言 二處也 二城皆王都 故皆以固麻名之 宋書言百濟所治謂之 晉平郡晉平縣 通考云 在唐柳城北平之間則國都在遼西 而朝鮮全州境內又有俱拔故城殆 梁天監時 [502-19] 遷居南韓之城 歟唐顯慶中 [656-60] 分為 五都督府曰...東明為百濟之祖 自橐離渡河以之名地當與橐離國 相近考 遼史 橐離為鳳州韓州皆在今開原境則東明都督府之設 亦應與開原相適矣... 唐書又言後為新

羅渤海靺鞨所分百濟遂絕
 欽定滿洲源流考 卷十一 疆域四 遼
 東北地界 遼史 顯州...本漢無慮縣
 卽醫巫閭...自錦州八十里至...自一
 百里至顯州...遼西州...本漢遼西郡地
 ...屬顯州...遼東行部誌 廣甯本...遼
 世宗改顯州...乾州...本漢無慮縣 元
 一統志 乾州故城在廣甯府西南七里
 欽定滿洲源流考 卷十四 山川一
 元一統志 十三山在廣甯府南一百里
 ...在今錦縣東七十五里 卷十五
 山川二...明統志 大凌河源出大甯自
 義州西六十里入境南流經廣甯左右
 屯衛入海
 金史 地理上 廣甯府本遼顯州...廣
 甯有遼世宗顯陵
 遼史 地理志二 東京道 顯州...奉顯
 陵...置醫巫閭山絕頂築堂曰望海...
 穆宗葬世宗於顯陵西山...有十三山

²⁷ 欽定 滿洲源流考 卷三 部族 百
 濟...通典 [卷一百八十五 邊方典
 一]...晉時句麗旣略有遼東 百濟亦
 略有遼西 晉平 唐柳城北平之間...
 元史...唐柳城北平之間實今錦州

遼史 地理志三 興中府...古孤竹國
 漢柳城縣地 慕容皝以柳城之北...構
 宮廟...後爲馮跋所滅...元魏取爲遼西
 郡...開元四年復治柳城 統和中制置
 建霸宜錦白川等五州
 遼史 地理志四 平州 商爲孤竹國...
 秦爲遼西 右北平二郡也...漢末公孫
 度據有...隋開皇中改平州...唐...天寶
 元年 仍北平郡 營州...漢爲昌黎郡

²⁸ 三國史記 高句麗本紀 美川王 十
 四年 侵樂浪郡 十五年...南侵帶方
 郡 二十年 我及殷氏宇文氏 使共攻
 慕容廆 二十一年...遣兵寇遼東

tribe led by Murong Hui (?-333) in 319. The records of Jin-shu on Murong Huang, the son of Hui who proclaimed himself the king of Yan in 337 and founded the Former Yan dynasty in 349, include a statement that the allied forces of Koguryeo, “Paekche” and two Xianbei tribes (again, the Duan and Yuwen) took military action.²⁸

According to the Song-shu, “Koguryeo came to conquer and occupy Liao-dong, and Paekche came to occupy Liao-xi; the place that came to be governed by Paekche was called the Jin-ping district, Jin-ping province.”²⁹ According to the Liang-shu, “during the time of Jin Dynasty (317-420), Koguryeo conquered Liao-dong, and Paekche also occupied Liao-xi and Jin-ping, and established the Paekche provinces.”³⁰

The Zi-zhi Tong-jian, compiled by Si-ma Guang (1019-86) of the Song Dynasty (960-1279), states that in 346 Paekche invaded Puyeo that was located at Lushan, and as a result the people of the country were scattered westward in defeat toward Yan. Then, however, the King Murong Huang of Yan dispatched the Crown Prince with three generals (all except one with Murong names) and 17,000 cavalrymen to attack the defenseless Puyeo.³¹ 346 CE was the first year of the King Keun Chogo's reign (346-75) in Paekche.

The eleventh-century Zi-zhi Tong-jian as well as the nearly contemporary record of the Nan-Qi-shu state that a Northern Wei (386-534) army, comprised of 100,000 cavalry, attacked Paekche but were defeated by the Paekche army (led by four generals) in 488. This account is confirmed by the Samguk-sagi records on the tenth year of King Tong-seong's reign (488).³² In addition, the Nan-Qi-shu records that in 495 the Paekche king Tong-sung sent an embassy that requested honorary titles for the heroic generals who had repulsed the Wei attack. Since it is highly unlikely that a cavalry force of such magnitude as recorded in these chronicles could have made its way from northern China to find defeat in the southwestern corner of the Korean peninsula without having passed through Koguryeo (in the reign of King Chang-su, 413-91), and also without being recorded in contemporary chronicles, the “Paekche” appearing in the Zi-zhi Tong-jian and the Nan-Qi-shu must have referred to the Paekche province in Liao-xi. The titles conferred on Paekche generals by the

Southern Qi court indeed carried the names of their titular domains that sounded conspicuously like some Liao-xi areas such as Guang-ling, Qing-he, Cheng-yang, etc.³³

According to all of these records, Paekche must have held the Liao-xi province for more than a hundred years, withstanding the animated Murong-Xianbei Yan, the ever-expanding Koguryeo, and the fierce Tuoba-Xianbei Wei. Both the Old and the New History of Tang say that the old Paekche territories were divided up and taken by Silla and Parhae-Mohe. If there were no Paekche territory in Liao-xi, and if the Paekche territory existed only at the southwestern corner of the Korean peninsula, then it would have been impossible for the Parhae-Mohe to occupy any of the old Paekche territories.³⁴

Very few events that have ever occurred in Korea proper were corroborated so repeatedly by so many separate records in such diverse dynastic histories of China as the Paekche's colonization of a Liao-xi area. Also, very few events in Korean history were subject to such an insane refutation by the Japanese scholars as these records.

For those Koreans who believe in modesty as a virtue, the statement of Choi Chi-won (857-?), a great Silla scholar and allegedly a practitioner of Sinocentrism, that "Koguryeo and Paekche at the height of their strength maintained strong armies numbering one million soldiers, and invaded Wu and Yue in the south and You, Yan, Qi, and Lu in the north of the mainland China, making grave nuisances to the Middle Kingdom" has been a conundrum.³⁵

晉書卷一百九 載記第九 慕容皝 句麗百濟及宇文段部之人 皆兵勢所徙

²⁹ 宋書 列傳 夷蠻 東夷 百濟國 高麗略有遼東 百濟略有遼西 百濟所治 謂之晉平郡晉平縣

³⁰ 梁書 列傳 東夷 百濟 晉世句麗既略有遼東 百濟亦據有遼西 晉平二郡地矣 自置百濟郡

³¹ 資治通鑑 晉紀 穆帝 永和二年 夫餘居于鹿山 為百濟所侵 部落衰散 西徙近燕 而不設備 燕王皝 遣世子儁 帥慕容軍 慕容恪 慕容興 根三將軍 萬七千騎 襲夫餘 ... 虜其王玄及部落五萬餘口 而還

³² 資治通鑑 齊紀 武帝永明六年 魏遣兵擊百濟 為百濟所敗...晉世句麗略有遼東百濟亦據有遼西晉平二郡也 (二: 1159)

南齊書 列傳 東夷 百濟國 魏虜又發騎數十萬攻百濟入其界 牟大遣將...率眾襲擊虜軍 大破之 建武二年 牟大遣使上表曰...臣遣...等領軍逆討 三國史記 百濟本紀 東城王 十年 魏遣兵來伐 為我所敗

³³ 南齊書 百濟國...牟大又表曰 臣所遣行...廣陽太守...廣陵太守 清河太守...詔可...除太守...城陽太守...詔可 竝賜軍號

³⁴ 舊唐書 列傳 東夷 百濟 其地自此為新羅及渤海靺鞨所分百濟之種遂絕

³⁵ 三國史記 下 卷第四十六 列傳 第六 崔致遠...高麗百濟全盛之時 強兵百萬 南侵吳越 北撓幽燕齊魯 為中國巨蠹

