Japanese Myths of Descent from Heaven and Their Korean Parallels

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INTRODUCTION

There are several myths in Japan which describe how a deity descended from heaven to earth.[1] These myths have been attracting increasing interest in recent years, especially among advocates of the hypothesis that horseriders invaded Japan from the Korean peninsula to found the Japanese Empire. Yet there is still only a microscopic literature on this subject in the English language.[2] The present paper treats a type of descent myth typified by the tale of Nigihayahi 饒速日, a grandson of the sun-goddess Amaterasu 天照.

The best known of the descent myths, however, is that of his younger brother Ninigi 瓊々杵, and accordingly it would be salutary to present the myth of the younger brother first. According to the *Kojiki* 古事記 and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (both chronicles compiled by the central government in the early eighth century A.D.), Ninigi descended onto Mt. Takachiho 高千穂 in the part of Kyushu known as Himuka 日向 having been ordained and blessed by the major deities in heaven to be the legitimate ruler of the earth. During his descent Ninigi was accompanied by a retinue which included the ancestors of warrior families as well as deities with a priestly function. A mirror, a sword, and a jewel, comprising the three imperial regalia, betokened his heavenly origin and his legitimacy as the trueborn ruler of the terrestrial world.

This descent of Ninigi constitutes a major event in the orthodox, official myth system of early Japan, emphasizing as it does the heavenly origin of the imperial family line.

The story of the descent of Ninigi's elder brother Nigihayahi is, on the contrary, rather heterodox. He was the apical ancestor of the

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Mononobe 物部, a warrior family wielding power at the imperial court in the sixth century. Though only cursorily mentioned in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the Nigihayahi myth is detailed in *Sendai kuji hongi* 先代旧事本紀. Parenthetically, it should be noted that as an annal this work does not have a high reputation among modern scholars. It is a clumsy concatenation of several heterogeneous sources, and it bears a preface allegedly written by Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 in the year 622—an obvious case of forgery, for the text is proven to have been put together in the course of the ninth century (see Kamata 1962: 73–112). Yet *Sendai kuji hongi* is by no means a worthless work. It contains some precious information, such as an origin myth and genealogy of the Mononobe, which is unavailable elsewhere.

Sendai kuji hongi relates that Nigihayahi descended in the Heavenly Rock Boat, with a set of ten regalia and a large retinue, onto Mt. Ikaruga 哮 in Kahachi 河内 Province. He then betook himself to Mt. Shiraniha 白庭 in Tomi 鳥見, Yamato 大和 Province, where he married Mikashiya-hime 御炊屋姫, a sister of the local chieftain Nagasune-hiko 長髄彦. Nigihayahi reigned over Yamato with the support of Nagasune-hiko, but expired before his son Umashimaji 宇麻志麻治 was born. Then Takamimusubi 高皇産霊, a high god of heaven, despatched the whirlwind god to transport Nigihayahi's corpse back up to heaven so his funeral ceremony could be conducted on high. When Ninigi's great grandson, Jinmu 神武, came on the scene later from Kyushu seeking to conquer Yamato, Nagasune-hiko offered him stubborn resistance until Umashimaji slew Nagasune-hiko and submitted to Jinmu, paying him homage. Thus was removed the final major obstacle to Jinmu's establishing himself Japan's first emperor.

The motif of the descent of sovereigns from heaven, far from being restricted to Japan, is widespread in East and Southeast Asia. It is found in Korea and Mongolia, among the Thai peoples of southeast China and Indochina, as well as among the Bugis and Makassars of Sulawesi (Celebes). It is noteworthy that the motif fails to appear apodictically in China, although there the "Son of Heaven" ruled the empire with a mandate from Heaven.

Korean Descent Myths

Within this distribution, Japanese myths of the descent of sovereigns are most closely related to the Korean ones, as has been pointed out by many scholars, Japanese and Korean alike.[3] Two Korean examples, the myths of Tangun 檀君 and Suro 首露, should suffice to illustrate this point. According to an extract of an "ancient record" (*kogi* 古記) appearing in *Samguk yusa* 三国遺事, Hwan'ung 桓雄, the son of a con-

cubine of Hwan'in 桓因, deigned to quit heaven that he might save the people of earth. Hwan'in endorsed his plan and conferred the Three Heavenly Regalia on him. Hwan'ung then descended with a retinue of three thousand onto Mt. T'aebaek 大伯, and went under a sacred paktal tree. He took a woman to wife who had transfigured from an ursine form, and their child was King Tangun, whose sojourn on earth lasted 1500 years.

The other example, the Suro myth, was recorded in the Kara Gukgi 駕洛国記 which has been preserved in an extract appearing in *Samguk yusa*. The people of Kara repaired to Mt. Kuji 亀旨 on a day of ritual purification in the third lunar month. The assembly suddenly heard an awesome voice announce the advent of a sovereign who would come with a mandate of Heaven. A golden case shrouded with a red coverlid (*hongp'ok* 紅幅) descended onto the mountain. The case contained six golden eggs which later turned into six boys. The eldest, whose tabu name was Suro, received the investiture and became the first king of Kara.

These Korean myths present some details in common with the Japanese myths we have already seen. For example, like Ninigi and Nigihayahi, Hwan'ung descended with regalia and a large retinue onto a mountain. When Suro descended from heaven, he arrived as an egg in a case shrouded with a red coverlid. Similarly, the infant Ninigi descended from heaven enshrouded in a royal bedcloth (*ma-toko-ofu-fusuma* 真床追衾).

The foregoing are some general resemblances among Japanese and Korean descent myths which scholars already have observed. Other resemblances remain, however, to which no adequate attention has yet been given. I shall limit myself to two unstudied topics of particular interest: some significances of the weapons appearing in the myths mentioned above, and the post-mortem return to heaven, of which we have already seen one example in the Nigihayahi myth.

The Return to Heaven

First let us consider the post-mortem return. This motif fails to appear in the *Nihon shoki*'s account of Ninigi. He simply died and was interred in a grave in Kyushu; there is no extant account to suggest Ninigi returned to heaven after his death. On the other hand, the myth of Amewaka-hiko 天稚彦 a son of the heavenly deity Amatsukuni-tama 天国玉, was commissioned by Takamimusubi to descend to earth and negotiate the cession of Ohona-muchi's 大己貴 dominion to the scions of Amaterasu. Ohona-muchi, incidentally, has many names, the best known being Ohokuni-nushi 大国主; he held sway over the earth in its aboriginal state.

Upon Amewaka-hiko's departure from heaven, the Heavenly Hunter's Bow (Amenomakago-yumi 天真鹿児弓) and Heavenly Serpent Arrows (Amenohaha-ya 天羽羽矢) were conferred on him. But after arriving below he fell to evil ways, contumaciously marrying a daughter of Ohokuni-nushi (whose name here is given as Utsushikuni-tama 顕国玉) and entertaining ambitions of usurping the terrestrial dominion for himself. Takamimusubi despatched a pheasant to find out whether Amewaka-hiko was discharging the duties of his commission. Amewaka-hiko, however, presumed to let fly a Heavenly Serpent Arrow at the pheasant. The arrow passed through the pheasant's breast and arrived, wet with blood, at the feet of Takamimusubi. Takamimusubi recognized the arrow, put a curse on it, and cast it back down to earth. The fatal arrow struck the breast of Amewaka-hiko, who just then happened to be reposing after the harvest festival. When Amatsukunitama noticed his son lying dead, he had the gale god transport the corpse back to heaven for a funeral.

This is the main version of the myth recorded in *Nihon shoki; Nihon shoki*'s variants are almost identical with the *Kojiki* account. It is readily seen that Amewaka-hiko has much in common with Nigihayahi: each descended from heaven to become a terrestrial ruler, and each returned to heaven after dying in the land he ruled.

Another instance of the post-mortem return motif is furnished by the great poet Kakinomotono Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂, who served the imperial court in the late seventh century and on into the eighth. When Crown Prince Kusakabe 草壁 died in 689, Hitomaro composed a dirge for him as follows:

At the beginning of heaven and earth
The eight hundred, the thousand myriads of gods,
Assembled in high council
On the shining beach of the Heavenly River,
Consigned the government of the Heavens
Unto the goddess Hirume, the Heaven-Illuminating One,
And the government for all time,
As long as heaven and earth endured,
Of the Rice-abounding Land of Reed Plains [i.e., Japan]
Unto her divine offspring,
Who, parting the eightfold clouds of the sky,
Made his godly descent upon the earth.
Our noble Prince, child of the Bright One above,
Regarding this—the land over which
The gracious Sovereign reigns as a god
From the Kiyomi Palace of Asuke, stout-pillared,

Has ascended the Plain of Heaven,
Opening wide the gate of stone.[4]

In the language of the court poet, the imperial prince's birth was descent from heaven, and his death a return to heaven. It is quite conceivable that the aristocratic descendants of heavenly deities were thought ideally to return to heaven, the land of their origin, even though they died and were buried in the terrestrial realm. If true, then some light is shed on the death and burial of Ninigi.

The idea of a post-mortem return to heaven is known in Korea, too. As *Samguk yusa* states, Hyŏkkŏse 赫居世, the ancestor of Silla's 新羅 ruling elite, descended in a big purple egg to Najŏng 蘿井 Well at the foot of Mt. Yang 楊. He took to wife the daughter of a "chicken-dragon." Obviously she is an earthly being, comparable to the sister of Nagasune-hiko in the Nigihayahi myth or the daughter of Utsushi-kuni-tama in the Amewaka-hiko myth. Hyŏkkŏse returned to heaven after sixty-one years of reign, and seven days later his corpse fell down from heaven, whereupon the queen, too, died. Hyŏkkŏse's return to heaven here is almost synonymous with his death.

Another Korean myth relates how a heavenly prince descended to earth, married one of the daughters of a river god, Habaek 河伯, and returned to heaven, not after his death but during his lifetime. This is the Koguryŏ 高句麗 myth of Haemosu 解慕漱 recorded in *Ku Samguk sa* 旧三国史. A variant of this myth appears in the 414 A.D. stele inscription of Kwanggaet'o 広開土, the nineteenth king of Koguryŏ; here it is stated that Chumong 朱蒙 who was the product of the marriage of Heaven (Hwangch'ŏn 皇天) with the same daughter of Habaek, went to heaven on a yellow dragon.[5] This story seems to imply that Chumong, because of his heavenly origin, returned to heaven on his death. *Ku Samguk sa* and *Samguk sagi* 三国史記 similarly report the post-mortem ascension of Chumong.

I may cite further in this connection the legend of Chakchegon 作帝建, ancestor of the Koryŏ dynasty, which is recorded in *Koryŏ sa* 高麗史. When Emperor Su-tsung 粛宗 (r. 756–762) of T'ang China was yet crown prince, he visited Korea incognito and loved a girl named Chinui 辰義. When he noticed she was pregnant, he gave her a bow and arrows and returned to China, charging her to give them to the child if it were a son. As we might expect, a son was born to her. Chakchegŏn, the son, was renowned for his skill in archery while still a lad; when he came of age, his mother presented him with the bow and arrows his father had left behind. With these he shot an old fox to death in order to rescue a dragon. He married that dragon's daughter, and

she bore him four sons, the eldest being the father of T'aejo 太祖, founder of the Koryŏ dynasty.

In this case, Su-tsung is no heavenly deity, and neither did he return to his homeland (China) after death, but rather returned during his lifetime. The similarity between the Chakchegŏn legend and the Nigihayahi myth would appear fairly tenuous. Nevertheless there is a feature in the Chakchegŏn legend, namely the present of bow and arrows, which is of special interest in this connection and to which we now turn.

Weapons in the Myths

My second topic concerns the weapons appearing in these myths. This topic has several aspects; the first is the descending deity's possession of the bow and arrow.

Nigihayahi brought with him from heaven ten regalia which, though including a sword, omitted the archer's weapon. This notwithstanding, in order to prove his heavenly provenance, Umashimaji, Nigihayahi's son, allowed Nagasune-hiko to show the invading Jinmu the Heavenly Serpent Arrows and quiver of his father rather than, as we might have expected the sword of the regalia. Jinmu accepted these as positive identification. This is the version in *Sendai kuji hongi*. According to *Nihon shoki* it was Nigihayahi himself who let Nagasune-hiko show the weapon to Jinmu. Whichever the case may be, the myth clearly implies that Nigihayahi brought a bow and arrows with him from heaven.

Immediately called to mind here is the myth of Amewaka-hiko, who, as we have seen, received the Heavenly Hunter's Bow and Heavenly Serpent Arrows upon his departure from heaven. And again, we have just seen in the Chakchegŏn legend that Su-tsung bequeathed the bow and arrows used by his son to fell the fox.

There is also a Chinese parallel in the myth of Huang-ti 黃帝, the Yellow Emperor. According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's 司馬遷 Shih-chi 史記 (vol. 12), a dragon swooped down to earth to pick up the Yellow Emperor and transport him to heaven. Riding the dragon, he soared aloft with his consorts and high retainers. Some of his lower-ranking retainers clung to the dragon's whiskers attempting to go with him. But the whiskers, unable to withstand the weight of the many retainers, broke off, and when they did so the Yellow Emperor dropped his bow to earth. Yearning for their great sovereign, the abandoned subjects embraced the bow and the dragon's whiskers (cf. the Heavenly Serpent Arrows of Amewaka-hiko).

Having presented the myths and legends above, I am now prepared, with only minor reservations, to outline a specific hero-type common

to them all. This hero, a child of heavenly deities, descends from heaven to earth (or from China to Korea), bringing with him a bow and arrows. He marries a local girl, sires a son (Amewaka-hiko is the apparent exception here), then he repatriates to his native land which is really a sort of eternal world either post-mortem or in vivo. This type of hero is common to the tales of Nigihayahi, Amewaka-hiko, and Su-tsung. He is also common to the Chumong myth in the version recorded in King Kwanggae'to's inscription. The Koguryŏ myth perhaps borrowed the " ascension on a dragon " motif from China. At any rate, despite the fact that the myth of the Yellow Emperor lacks the element of an original descent from heaven, this myths does show that our hero-type, by no means restricted to Japan and Korea, was also known in China.

A second point of interest in connection with the topic of weapons is a certain correlation between the type of weapon and the generation of the mythical figure. According to *Sendai kuji hongi*, Nigihayahi, the sire, brought from heaven ten regalia which included a sword, while Umashimaji, the sired, proved his heavenly ancestry with arrows and a quiver. The first generation is thus associated with the sword and the second with the bow and arrows. Such is also the case with the myth of Ninigi: Ninigi descended with three imperial regalia that included a sword, and his eldest son Hikohohodemi 彦火火出見 was a hunter with the bow and arrow. Hikohohodemi (or Howori 火遠理) was nicknamed Yamasachi-hiko 山幸彦 (" Luck of the Mountain ") in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, indicating that he was a hunter by profession.

A Koguryŏ parallel is seen in the *Ku Samguk sa*'s myth of Haemosu, which was mentioned above. Haemosu, the son of the Emperor of Heaven, descended to earth with a sword named Dragon Light depending from his waist, while Chumong appears in the succeeding generation as an excellent archer and a hunter. Indeed, we are told that the name Chumong means nothing other than " excellent archer " in the Puyŏ 扶余 tongue. Puyŏ was a sister state of Koguryŏ, being closely related ethnically, linguistically and traditionally, since Chumong was believed to be the apical ancestor of the ruling houses of both these kingdoms.

The third and final aspect of our weapons topic concerns the apical ancestor of a dynasty who was a hunter. We have already seen instances of this phenomenon in the descent myths. As just mentioned, Hikohohodemi was skilled at hunting with the bow and arrow. Significantly enough he was, of the ancestors of the imperial family, the first to be born on earth rather than in heaven. In much the same way, Chumong, the ancestor of both the Puyŏ and Koguryŏ dynasties, was an excellent archer and a hunter. Recall, too, that the bow of Ame-

waka-hiko was named Heavenly Hunter's Bow; he thus pertains also to the hunter dynastic ancestor, although it transpired that his untimely death precluded his founding a dynasty.

Especially interesting in this connection are mentions of royal hunts in the Korean and Japanese texts. In the case of Korea, *Samguk sagi* registers numerous instances of hunting by the dynasts of Koguryŏ and neighboring Paekche 百済. (Paekche's dynasty also claimed Chumong as its ultimate ancestor.) For instance Yuri 琉璃, a son of Chumong and second king of Koguryŏ, went hunting in the third, twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-fourth years of his reign, while Onjo 温祚, another son of Chumong and first king of Paekche, hunted in the fifth, eleventh, and forty-third years of his reign (see Appendices I & II for complete list of hunts).

On the other hand a scarcity of similar activities may be observed for Sillan kings in the *Samguk sagi*.[6]

As for Japan, some of its dynasts, too, have a predilection for hunting. Two emperors in the fifth century, Ritchū 履中 and Yūryaku 雄略 are noted in *Nihon shoki* for their inclination to hunting; hunts by Emperor Kanmu 桓武 were registered in *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 ("*Continuation of the Nihon shoki*") and in the *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 ("*Latter chronicles of Japan*"); and Emperor Saga 嵯峨 hunted according to *Nihon kōki*. The importance of hunting for the Japanese emperors is further documented in the *Harima no kuni fudoki* 播磨国風土記, a gazetteer of Harima Province compiled in the eighth century. This gazetteer presents a series of legends concerning the visitations of Ōjin 応神 and other emperors to Harima. Hunting constitutes one of the major activities of vistant emperors, along with the digging (or finding) of a well and the *kunimi* 国見 (the *kunimi*, a formal inspection of the country of a province, served the purposes of benediction and confirmation of the domain).[7]

My impression is that these royal hunts were originally re-enactments of those of the primordial dynastic ancestor. The mythical founder of a dynasty was an excellent hunter who set a model his descendants, the later kings or emperors, had to follow. Conceivably these royal hunts lost their original sacred meaning in the course of time and degenerated gradually into a favorite sport and a pleasant divertissement of the royal persons.

Other Similarities

In the foregoing I have discussed some common features of the dynastic myths of Japan and Korea. These myths resemble each other in a number of motifs, including the descent from heaven, the advent of an

infant ruler swaddled in a special cloth, regalia and retinue, the return to heaven, the association of a sword and a bow and arrows respectively with two succeeding generations, and the hunter-dynastic ancestor. The resemblances seem especially close between the myths of Japan and Koguryŏ. But the parallels in the descent myths discussed above, not by any means isolated, are contextually accompanied by yet other myths and ideas that betoken the close relations between the ruling aristocratic cultures of Japan and Koguryŏ. Let me cite but two examples from my own studies: the myth of the Eastward Expedition of the first emperor, Jinmu (Jinmu Tōsei 神武東征), and the mythical representation of the season of kingship renewal.

The myth of Jinmu tells us essentially how he founded the Japanese Empire; it resembles the Chumong myth of the Puyŏ and the Koguryŏ on the one hand, and the myth of the origin of Paekche on the other. According to *Kojiki*, Jinmu encountered three kinds of animal on his way to Yamato: a sea-tortoise representing water, or the sea, a bear standing for the land, and finally a crow symbolizing heaven. Similarly, as depicted in *Ku Samguk sa*, Chumong, the apical ancestor of both the Puyŏ and the Koguryŏ dynasties, came upon land animals, tortoises and fishes, and pigeons (representing respectively the land, water, and heaven) in the course of his eventful life. For both Jinmu and Chumong, the tortoises and birds are positive influences whereas the land animals are negative influences. Indeed, both Jinmu and Chumong succeeded in founding a kingdom and ruling it as a universal sovereign only after confronting and surmounting an obstacle of the land, aided by water and heaven (Ōbayashi 1975: 229–236; 1977a: 18–19).

The *Kojiki* version of the Jinmu myth also contains a structure in common with that of Paekche's origin myth. According to *Kojiki*, Itsuse 五瀬, the elder brother of Jinmu, played a no less important role than Jinmu himself in the Eastward Expedition. By the same coin, Onjo, the first Paekche king, wandered with his elder brother Pullyu 沸流 seeking a place to found a kingdom. The gist of the story is the same in both the Japanese and the Paekche myths. Two brothers start out together to seek a locality for a new kingdom. The elder brother, who in each case represents the sea principle, dies in vain while the younger brother, who symbolizes the land, succeeds in founding the kingdom and in receiving the investiture to become its first ruler (Ōbayashi 1975; 229–235; 1977a: 16–17).

These points of evidence suggest the Japanese myth of Jinmu's Eastward Expedition is related to the Koguryŏ and Paekche myths.

Still another point of evidence for the connections between ancient Japanese kingship and the kingships of Koguryŏ and Paekche is the

mythic idea concerning the proper season for the renewal of kingship. In Japan that season was both the tenth lunar month and the succeding month of the Niiname 新嘗 Harvest Ritual, as shown in various passages in *Nihon shoki* (we have seen an example in the death of Amewaka-hiko). Similarly according to *Samguk sagi* that season covered the same tenth and eleventh lunar months—the months of harvest—in Koguryŏ and Paekche. An expression of the renewal of kingship and of the reconstitution of the order of the kingdom was the regicide which occurred often in the harvest season in the three countries, whereas for Silla regicides show no clear-cut correlation with any particular season at all (Ōbayashi 1980).

The series of parallels among the descent myths, foundation myths, and myths of kingship renewal speaks positively for the inference that there was a genetic relationship between the ruling aristocratic culture of Japan in the south and those of Koguryŏ (and Puyŏ) and Paekche in the north. To be sure, the ancient Japanese kingship complex did have some continuities with Silla and Kara. Such continuities are evidenced, as we have seen, by the parallels with the Hyŏkkŏse and Suro myths. They are further evidenced by the cultus at the Grand Shrines of Ise, wherein stand the sanctuaries of the imperial ancestress Amaterasu, for as the historian Akihisa Maekawa argues, the Ise shrines contain certain elements of Sillan origin.[8] Notwithstanding these ties with Silla and Kara, however, the kingship complex of ancient Japan on the whole appears closer to those of Koguryŏ and Paekche. This strengthens the inference that the ruling aristocratic culture of ancient Japan was akin to that of ancient Koguryŏ (and those of Puyŏ and Paekche). In this regard, though with some reservation, I come near the invasion hypothesis which finds ardent proponents in Masao Oka (1956) and Namio Egami (1967; cf also Ladyard 1975) and is still gathering support among Japanese anthropologists.[9]

Appendix 1

INSTANCES OF HUNTING BY KOGURYŎ KINGS

(Source: *Samguk sagi*, vols. 13–19. Numbers in parentheses indicate the kings' positions in the reign sequence. Numbers separated by a colon indicate, respectively, the year of the reign and the lunar month in which the king hunted.)

(2)	Yuri	3: 10, 21: 4, 22: 12, 24: 9.
(3)	Taemusin	3: 3.
(4)	Minjung	3: 7, 4: 4,7.
(6)	T'aejo	10: 8, 46: 3, 55: 9.

(entered under T'aejo's reign are the following hunts by Prince Susong, who later became T'aejo's successor, King Ch'adae: 80: 7, 86: 3,7, 94: 7).

(7)	Ch'adae	3: 7.
(10)	Sansang	3: 7.
(12)	Chungch'on	12: 12, 15: 7.
(13)	Soch'on	7: 4, 19: 8.
(21)	Munja	15: 8.
(22)	Anjang	11: 3.
(25)	P'yongwon	13: 7.

Appendix 2

INSTANCES OF HUNTING BY THE KINGS OF PAEKCHE

(Source: *Samguk sagi*, vols. 23–26. See Appendix 1 for legend.)

(1)	Onjo	5: 10, 10: 9, 43: 8.
(2)	Taru	4: 9.
(3)	Kiru	27: ? (month not given).
(4)	Kaeru	4: 4.
(6)	Kusu	16: 10.
(8)	Koi	3: 10, 5: 2.
(11)	Piryu	22: 11.
(16)	Chinsa	6: 10, 7: 7.
(17)	Asin	(enthusiastic about falconry).
(21)	Piyu	29: 3.
(22)	Munju	4: 9.
(24)	Tongsong	5: 3,4, 12: 9, 14: 10, 22: 4, 23: 11.
(25)	Muryong	22: 9.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper read a symposium in Seoul in 1981 (Ōbayashi 1982a). The revision consists primarily in adding notes and references as well as in expanding the concluding remarks. The material for revision was taken largely from the Japanese language version of this paper (Ōbayashi 1982b). I am grateful to Walter Skya for correcting the English of the first draft and to Peter Metevelis for the final editing.

2. The only work worth citing at the present time is Waida 1973.

3. See especially Ōbayashi 1973: 215–219; 1977a: 16; Mishina 1974: 149–154; Oka 1979: 3–5, 30, 171–173; Chang 1977.

4. The translation here has been extracted from Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 1965: 34–35.

5. Professor Ueda Masaaki of Kyoto University has kindly called my attention to the variant contained in the stele inscription.

6. I am obliged to an oral communication from Professor Lee Pyong Du of Seoul for information concerning the following hunts made by the kings of Silla. *Samguk sagi* records an instance of hunting by King P'asa isagum 婆娑尼師今 in the chapter on his successor, successor, Chima isagum 祇摩尼師今. The annals, in their biographical chapter, report that Kim Hujik remonstrated with King Chin'yong about the king's hunting.

7. Higo 1942: 322–334. The eighth century *Hitachi no kuni fudoki* 常陸国風土記 tells of hunts by " Emperor Yamato-takeru " (he was actually a prince, and not an emperor) in the province of Hitachi. As Owa Iwao pointed out in a personal communication, instances of royal hunts in Japan tend to be concentrated in the so-called " Ōjin dynasty," which includes Emperors Nintoku, Ritchū and Yūryaku.

8. Maekawa 1974 and 1977. Yet the cultus of the Grand Shrines of Ise contains also some features reminiscent of the cultus at the court of Koguryŏ (Ōbayashi 1978.)

9. On the relationship of the ruling aristocratic culture to that of Altaic pastoral nomads, and further to that of the Indo-Europeans, see Yoshida 1961–1963; 1977; Ōbayashi 1977a; 1977b.

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