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Ancient Korea-Japan Relations: Paekche and the Origin of the Yamato Dynasty  
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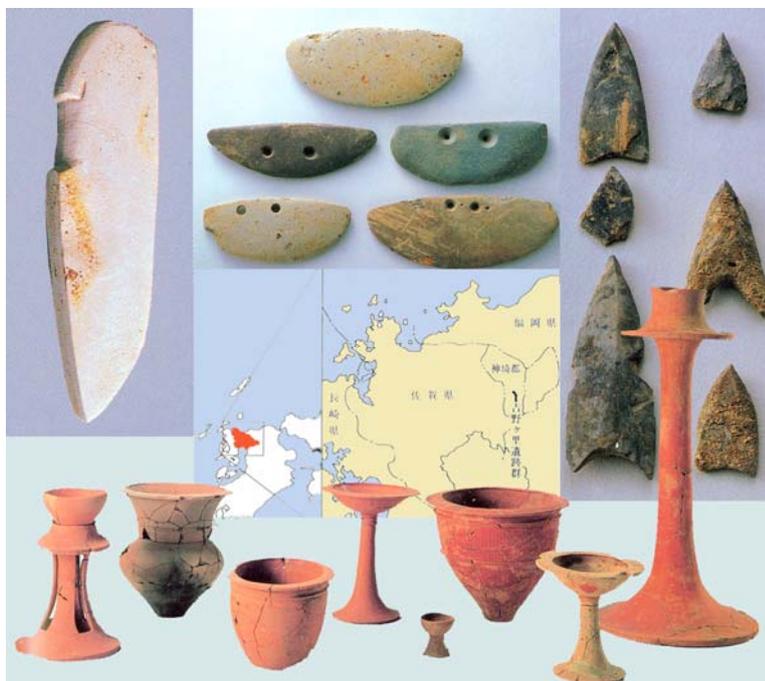
## *Chapter Eight*

# Formation of the Proto-Japanese People

The Yayoi Wave



Yayoi Pottery with Incised Figures 天理市 清水風 遺跡



Yoshinogari, Saga Prefecture, Kyūshū (1st c. BCE) 吉野ヶ里 佐賀縣



Wooden spade from Keom-dan-san-seong, Sun-cheon, Korea (top); and farm tools of the Early Kofun Period, circa 300-375, Japan (bottom)



8.1. Jōmon Pottery

<sup>1</sup> See Imamura (1996); Satoshi Horai and Keiichi Omoto (1999), Hudson (1999); and Unger (2001: 81-111). Edward S. Morse, an American hired by the Meiji government to teach biology at Tokyo Imperial University, discovered a shell midden at Ōmori in 1877, and referred to the pottery found there as “cord marked” after its decorative pattern that was translated into “*jomon*.”

<sup>2</sup> See Susumu (1962: 20). The raised-floor architecture, poncho-type clothing (a one-piece garment with a hole in the middle), the *fundoshi*-type breechcloth, the *hachimaki*-type head-covering, and the activities of painting the body with vermilion and of fishing by diving with cormorants are also regarded as typical Malayo-Polynesian elements. See also Egami (1964: 44).

## CHAPTER EIGHT FORMATION OF THE PROTO-JAPANESE PEOPLE THE YAYOI WAVE

### 1. Jōmon Culture of Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian People

By the 1990s, modern biological anthropology has shattered the transformation theories whereby Jōmon populations evolved into the Yayoi and then modern Japanese. Recent progress in molecular genetics has convincingly established that the proto-Japanese people and proto-Japanese language were formed not during the Neolithic Jōmon period (10,000-300 BCE) but during the Yayoi period (300 BCE-300 CE) of rice cultivation.<sup>1</sup>

Ishida (1962) raised a very fundamental question: “basic Japanese culture undoubtedly took shape in the Yayoi period, and the formation of the Japanese people was complete by the fifth century. Who then, one may ask, were the people of the preceding Jōmon period?”

Some have said that practices in the Jōmon culture associate it with the Malayo-Polynesian culture – practices such as tooth-blackening and tattooing.<sup>2</sup> Genetic studies, however, show that the Ainu are much closer to northern Mongoloid than to Southeast Asian populations.<sup>3</sup> Many place-names in Hokkaidō and the northern main land include Ainu words, but such Ainu-like names never occur in the southwestern area and Kyūshū.<sup>4</sup> This may account for the contrast in Jōmon pottery traditions between southwestern and northeastern Japan, the boundary being located around the Nagoya region. Ishida (1962: 6) mentions the

“contrast between eastern and western Japan” and the “unmistakable dividing line running north-south in central Honshū” from the pre-Jōmon non-pottery period throughout prehistoric times.

It seems that the Ainu people from Siberia came by foot to the Sakhalin-Hokkaidō area toward the end of the glacial period and then spread over the whole archipelago, commencing pre-pottery Palaeolithic life.<sup>5</sup> It seems that, before the end of the glacial period, the Malayo-Polynesian people also came from Southeast Asia via the sea route of the Philippines-Taiwan-Ryūkyū Islands, settling mostly in the Kyūshū area, while others moved into the western mainland.

With the advent of the Neolithic Jōmon period, people on the Japanese Islands were fishing with harpoons and fishhooks, hunting and gathering with polished stone and bone implements, and boiling foods in cord-marked pottery in sunken pit dwellings. It is usually sedentary societies that own pottery. In the Middle East, pottery appeared about 1,000 years after the invention of farming in 8,000 BCE. Amazingly enough, the hunting-gathering Jōmon people commenced the pre-farming Neolithic era with the simultaneous manufacturing of pottery. Jōmon pottery, dating from 10,000 BCE, is claimed to have been the world’s earliest-known earthenware. Agriculture would not reach the Japanese archipelago for another 9,700 years.

The Japanese Islands were so rich in food resources that even hunter-gatherers could settle down and make pottery; the Japanese forests were abundant in edible nuts, and the rivers and surrounding seas were teeming with fish, shellfish and seaweeds. A Jōmon family could enjoy hearty meals in a settled dwelling without really trying. They did not have to stay on the move, carrying heavy, fragile earthenware.<sup>6</sup> They were sedentary, rather than mobile, hunter-gatherers. There was absolutely no need for the Jōmon inhabitants, estimated to have numbered less than 75,000 persons by the end of the period, to seek for any alternative form of subsistence such as planting crops.

Neither the Ainu nor the Malayo-Polynesian people seem to have been closely related with the Yemaek cousins inhabiting the Korean Peninsula in those Neolithic days. There seems to have been slight contact between them during the Jōmon period.

<sup>3</sup> See Imamura (1996: 112). Ainu and Malayo-Polynesians are not genetically close. See Nei Masatoshi, “*The Origins of Human Populations: Genetic, Linguistic, and Archeological Data*,” in Sydney Brenner and Kazuro Hanihara, eds., *The Origin and Past of Modern Humans as Viewed from DNA* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 1995), pp. 71-91; Omoto Keiichi, “*Genetic Diversity and the Origins of the Mongoloids*,” *ibid.*, pp. 92-109; and Omoto Keiichi and Saitou Naruya, “*Genetic Origins of the Japanese: A Partial Support for the Dual Structure Hypothesis*,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, No. 102, 1997, pp. 437-446.

<sup>4</sup> Diamond (1998)

<sup>5</sup> The skeletal remains of Hokkaidō Ainu share morphologically close relations with northern Mongoloid people such as the Nanai, Ulchi, Nivkh, and Okhotsk people. Some authors suggest that the Ainu people are the descendants of some Upper Paleolithic populations of northeast Asia from which Native Americans are also descended. An analysis of mitochondrial DNA found no shared types between the Ainu and Okinawans. See Hudson (1999: 64-67, 71-72 and 76-78).

<sup>6</sup> See Diamond (1998: 5) and Barnes (1993: 27).

<sup>7</sup> Pottery made by the early rice farmers, clearly different from the

thicker-walled Jōmon and named “Yayoi” after the name of place where it was found, was discovered in the Tokyo area by Tsuboi Shōgorō in 1884. Barnes (1993: 170-1) notes that “rice grains have been recovered from several Late and Final Jōmon sites dating between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and middle 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BCE,” but this fact does not deter her from then stating that “The establishment in c.300 BCE of the Yayoi culture, the first fully agricultural society in the Japanese Islands, set the stage there for the development of complex society. Within a mere six hundred years, society became stratified into elite and commoner social classes, with state formation following on in the subsequent Kofun period from 300 CE.” Barnes (ibid: 222) specifies 300-710 CE as the Kofun period. Farris (1998: 6) notes that: “Beginning in the fourth century BCE, the technologies of wet-rice agriculture and metallurgy entered northern Kyūshū from southern Korea, initiating an epoch identified archaeologically as the Yayoi (conventionally 300 BCE –300 CE).” See also Imamura (1996: 131-2).

<sup>8</sup> See Barnes (1993: 170). Rice cultivation began spreading from northern Kyūshū, reaching as far north as the southern part of the Ou district (the former provinces of Mutsu and Dewa, comprising the whole northern part of Honshū). Red burnished pottery, polished stone tools, cylindrical beads, tanged stone daggers, polished untanged arrowheads of triangular

The people of Korea proper began cultivating millet in the north and rice in the south before 2,000 BCE. They started using bronze c.1,500-1,000 BCE, and iron c.400 BCE. Diamond (1998) has raised the following question: With all these developments going on for thousands of years just across the Korea Strait, doesn’t it seem astonishing that the Japanese Islands were occupied by stone-tool-using hunter-gatherers until 300 BCE? How did the Jōmon culture survive so long? Why did the Korean rice farmers wait so long to cross the Korea Strait and commence the Yayoi era in the Japanese Islands? He gives an answer, but it does not ring true in the context of the times. One of my objects in this chapter is to give a more plausible answer to this puzzle.

## 2. Timing of the “Yayoi Wave”: Why Did They Move in c.300 BCE?

Rice, be it aquatic or dry land, did not originate in the Japanese Islands. The Japanese archeologists have submitted carbonized rice grains from several Jōmon sites in northern Kyūshū to C-14 dating. They came up with a tentative date of 900 BCE. Rice cultivation on a full scale, however, was introduced into the Japanese islands together with new cultural elements, including stone tools, pottery, and pit-dwelling similar to those found in the Korean Peninsula c.300 BCE.<sup>7</sup>

Circa 300 BCE, people from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula, who had been cultivating rice in paddy fields and using pottery produced on potters’ wheels, began to cross the sea to the northern Kyūshū coastal plain.<sup>8</sup> They were from the area of Three Han (Ma-han, Chin-han and Pyun-han), but mostly from the Kaya (Karak) area of Pyun-han. In due course, they started to move into the western extremity of Honshū and then kept moving east and north. They joined the Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian people on the Japanese archipelago to commence the 600-year Yayoi period (c.300 BCE – 300 CE).<sup>9</sup> An ethnic bridge was at last formed between the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Islands.

On a clear day, one can see Tsushima Island with the naked eye from the Pusan area, a southeastern corner of the

Korean Peninsula. From the southern part of Tsushima, one can in turn clearly see Iki island, only a short distance from Kyūshū. People, it is said, are naturally lazy like most animals, and this explains why the peninsular people simply watched the scene over the horizon. What, however, made them stop watching c.300 BCE and decide to cross the sea?

Diamond (1998) tries to answer the question in terms of four possible developments: “the farmers began raising rice in irrigated fields instead of in less productive dry fields; they developed rice strains that would grow well in cool climate; their population expanded in Korea, putting pressures on Koreans to emigrate; and they invented iron tools that allowed them to mass-produce the wooden shovels, hoes, and other tools needed for rice-paddy agriculture.” While Diamond’s answer contains elements of truth, it does not provide an exact answer to the matter of timing, to the question of why southern peninsular farmers decided to cross the sea when they did.

Weiss (2003) offers a history of climate change that leads to the answer to the question of timing. Challenging the conventional explanation by invasion, political disintegration of an overextended empire, unexpected coincidence of poor leadership, or social pathology, Weiss (1993) contended that the sudden end of Akkadian capital in Syria at c.2200 BCE was caused by an abrupt climate change (to long-term drought) that lasted until 1900 BCE. Weiss had only an incomplete mosaic of hard data in 1993, but we now have the (GISP2) proxies to climate changes, such as the values of dust and sea salt for the span between 2200-1900 BCE, to support his contention of extraordinary cooling and drying. The signals of abrupt climate change (that left their imprint on the ice laid down in Greenland) show up around the world, suggesting that the events that made life difficult at Akkadian also impacted other civilizations at that same time.<sup>10</sup>

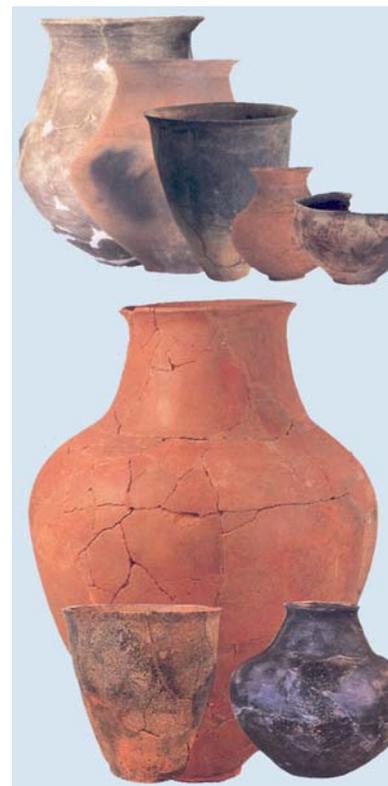
Weiss contends that abrupt climate changes forced radical social adaptations such as societal collapse, habitat-tracking, or innovation of subsistence technology. The world’s climate was temporarily colder and drier on several occasions after the end of the most recent Ice Age. The first of these (known as the Younger Dryas) occurred abruptly some 10,700 years ago. The global climate change modified the fauna and flora, adversely

#### Climate Change Causes Habitat-tracking

cross-section, disk axes, laurel-shaped and triangular reaping knives, grooved reaping knives, grooved adzes, and the technologies of spinning and weaving, lathe-working, and bronze-casting were brought to the Kyūshū area.

<sup>9</sup> Hanihara (1987) contends that population increased from 75,800 at the beginning of the Yayoi period to about 5.4 million in the early Historical period, and such a high rate of growth could have been achieved only by large-scale migration. See Imamura (1996: 156).

<sup>10</sup> Linden (2006: 162 and 149-64)



8.2. Yayoi pottery excavated from the Fukuoka Area

<sup>11</sup> See Sarah H. Parcak, "Archaeological Evidence for Abrupt Climate Change," present at the American Geophysical Union Fall Meeting held at San Francisco December 8-12, 2003. Parcak contends that this event destroyed the well-irrigated Egyptian kingdom by drying out the headwaters of the Nile. A sudden change in climate devastated both rain-fed (such as northern Syria) and irrigated agriculture, reducing population drastically and letting nomadic herds graze on wild plants which required less rainfall than farmed crops. The nomadic sphere expanded at the expense of the devastated farmlands.

<sup>12</sup> Mayewski and White (2002: 114)

<sup>13</sup> Mayewski and White (2002: 115, 121)

<sup>14</sup> See K. W. B., ed., "Climate Variations and Change," *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1986), Vol. 16, p. 534.

<sup>15</sup> See Table 14 of K. W. B. (1986: 534), and Mayewski and White (2002: 121). According to Lamb (1995: 150), "The climate became once more slightly warmer than today after about 800 BCE and still more after 500 BCE, making it possible to grow two crops of millet a year in the southern part of Shantung province (36°N) in eastern China, though a colder regime returned by around 200 BCE. Much of this period was...a time of confusion in China known as the Warring States Period."

affecting the food supply for hunter-gatherers. This created an urgent need for Homo sapiens to find new ways to feed themselves, and induced them soon to invent agriculture, relying on rain to water their crops. Some 8,200 years ago, rainfall abruptly fell below the level needed to sustain primitive farming techniques, and this sudden climate change induced farmers to adopt irrigation, planting wheat, barley or millet near rivers and digging canals. Another period of cooling and drying occurred about 4,200 years ago, and it caused a widespread adoption of pastoral nomadism across West Asia.<sup>11</sup>

Although the Holocene (last 11,500 years) has a significantly milder climate than the glacial period, natural climate variability plays a key role to this day.<sup>12</sup> Change in sea ice extent is determined from the measurements of chloride in the GISP2 (Greenland Ice Sheet Project Two) site. Chloride is transported as sea salt from ocean to the GISP2 site. Increased levels of chloride in the GISP2 ice core characterize the Little Ice Age. The marine sediment record and ice core records reveal similarities as they did for the worldwide glacial expansions.<sup>13</sup> Minor advances or retreats of mountain glaciers provide a sensitive climatic indicator, because small changes in ice mass balance produce a relatively large effect in the ice tongue. There was a readvance of mountain glaciers circa 400 BCE –300 CE.<sup>14</sup>

There seems to have occurred a Little Ice Age c.400 BCE, with cooler conditions persisting until 300 CE.<sup>15</sup> The possible commencement of a glacial advance coincided with the great Celtic migrations (c.400-178 BCE) in the western world, and the Warring States period (403-221 BCE) with seven champion states in mainland China, as well as the rise of nomadic Hu (胡) people as manifested by the building of the first wall, by the Han Chinese (in 369 BCE), in the eastern world. In 390 BCE, the fierce Celtic warriors known as Gauls had besieged Rome itself.<sup>16</sup> The rulers of the seven states adopted the title "king" (that had previously been reserved for the Zhou Son of Heaven) between 344-323 BCE, after which the ruler of Chosun also declared himself king. According to the *Dongyi-zhuan* (in the *Weishu* of *Sanguo-zhi*), Yan and Chosun were then on the brink of fighting each another. Armed conflicts between these two states at last occurred c.300 BCE.

The advent of global cooling and drying seems to have

been associated with Malthusian warfare, giving ascendancy to the nomadic force over the suddenly disrupted sedentary empire. Such a sudden change in climate may have prompted the inhabitants in the eastern extremity of the Eurasian continent at the southern shore of the Korean Peninsula to cross the Korea Strait in search of warmer and moister territory.

Human populations tend to multiply rapidly when living conditions become favorable. Even with a primitive technique of cultivating rice on or near swampy fields relying on rainfall, populations can double with each new generation. More than a millennium after starting rice cultivation in the southern peninsula, the population may have reached a saturation point. A sudden drying and cooling at this juncture would surely destroy the ecological balance and communal equilibrium. Rainfall abruptly falls below the level needed to sustain the primitive rice-farming technique, and this sudden change forces rice farmers to search for new land, a more enticing endeavor than urgently and therefore rapidly improvising an innovation in agricultural technology. And here is the answer to the timing of the southern peninsular farmers' decision to cross the sea. A hazy but familiar image of islands on the horizon in the south would likely have recalled to the minds of those desperate rice farmers, collectively, a warmer and wet dreamland. The shock of cooling and drying made them see and pay attention to what had been before their very eyes for a long time.

The beginning of agriculture in the Japanese Islands was much later than that in mainland China or Korea proper and, consequently, a relatively advanced form of agriculture arrived rather suddenly in the Neolithic Japanese islands. Yayoi culture, including the Korean-style pit-dwelling and storage pits, gradually spread over the mainland.<sup>17</sup> The tradition of Jōmon culture, however, persisted until fairly late, especially in eastern and northern Japan. According to Imamura (1996: 149), chipped stone tools of the Yayoi period were undoubtedly a continuation of the Jōmon stone tool tradition, "because the production of chipped stone tools had become extinct in China and Korea by the beginning of the Yayoi period."

The earliest Yayoi pottery, including narrow-necked storage jars, wide-mouthed cooking pots, and pedestalled dishes, was excavated in northern Kyūshū together with the Final Jōmon

<sup>16</sup> The beginning of the Little Ice Age also coincided with the fall of the well-irrigated Persian Empire (525-330 BCE), followed by the disintegration of the ephemeral empire of Alexander the Great (336-323 BCE). The Romans unified the Italian peninsula in 272 BCE only to engage in the First Punic War (264-241 BCE).

"Wei built two separate wall systems, one along the Luo River to contain Qin and one to the west of Daliang that was begun in 358, three years after the capital was moved there." The walls along the Luo River constructed in 361 BCE were the "interior walls." See Lewis in Loewe and Shaughnessy (1999: 629-30).

史記 卷五 秦本紀第五 孝公 [361 - 338 BCE] 元年 魏築長城...周室微 諸侯力政 爭相併

<sup>17</sup> According to Imamura (1996: 150), the square pit-dwellings in Jōmon tradition and the round pit-dwellings in Korean tradition (i.e., the Song'gungni type with a large central pit and one or two small post-hole-like pits on either side) coexisted at the very beginning of the Yayoi period in northern Kyūshū. Imamura states that: "There is an important possibility that round pit-dwellings, which are very common to the Yayoi period of southwestern Japan, although admittedly without prominent features of the Song'gungni type, may have originated from or been affected by this type."



8.3. Comma-shaped jade beads of the Yayoi period.



8.4. Comma-shaped jade beads of the Tomb (Kofun) period.

pottery, and its appearance reveals some influence of the latter. Much of the latter-day Yayoi pottery is, however, virtually indistinguishable from the plain red-burnished Korean *Mumun* pottery. Imamura (1996: 164-5) points out the quantity of the Yayoi pottery discovered at the southern extremity of the Korean Peninsula: “At one Korean site, Neok-do, Yayoi pottery accounted for 8 percent of all the pottery [... and] at the Ye-soeng site (Pusan City) as much as 94 per cent of all pottery was Yayoi.”

The hunting-fishing-gathering Neolithic culture was replaced by the rice farming culture. There occurred a drastic change in eating habits and mode of life in general. Even the ritual of attaching pig jawbones to wooden poles arrived together with domesticated pigs as part of the new cultural system.<sup>18</sup> According to Barnes (1993: 171, 176), the transition from Jōmon to Yayoi brought about an entire restructuring of the material economy on the Japanese Islands, and “North Kyūshū acted as an incubator for the formation of the Yayoi culture.”

### 3. The Bronze-Iron Yayoi Culture

In mainland China, the Iron Age began c.500 BCE. Barnes (1993: 150, 153) believes that the iron culture of China, in the form of iron weapons, horse trappings, bits, axle caps, hoes, plowshares, and sickles, was transmitted to the Korean Peninsula through Yan, initiating the Korean Iron Age from 400 BCE. The principal method of producing (cast) iron in mainland China, however, was the blast furnace, while the method of producing (wrought) iron in the Korean Peninsula was the bloomery, refining the bloom (i.e., expelling the slag impurities) through hammering.<sup>19</sup> Nelson (1993: 174) notes that “Iron artifacts were produced in small [bloomery] furnaces which have been found along the North Han River, dating to the third century BCE or earlier. These sites are all near sources of iron.” According to Barnes (2001: 83-4), primitive iron-working [bloomery] furnaces have been found from the old Kaya sites on the southern Korean coast and dated to the first and second centuries BCE or even to the third to fourth centuries BCE.

Bronze and iron were introduced to the Japanese Islands at the same time as agriculture. Quite a few bronze daggers,

halberds, mirrors, and bells of the Yayoi period were excavated, often with the *downsize* dolmen in Kyūshū. Dolmen construction had ceased in the Peninsula by c.300 BCE. Not only the bronze mirrors and bells, but also the bronze daggers and halberds seem to have been mostly religious ceremonial objects rather than functional weapons. According to Imamura (1996: 171), “weapons were transformed from the thick and narrow original forms into thin and wide forms at the expense of their actual functionality.”

According to the *Dongyi-zhuan*, the Pyun-han people supplied iron to the Wa people (i.e., to the Kaya cousins who had crossed over the sea to settle in Kyūshū).<sup>20</sup> A few iron smelting sites were indeed discovered in southern Korea. According to Imamura (1996: 169), “as of yet there has been no positive discovery of Yayoi iron smelting sites that would provide evidence of the domestic production of raw iron” in the Japanese Islands.

Although bronze artifacts have been discovered in sizable quantities, there has been a scarcity of iron tools found in Yayoi sites. Yayoi people made hand-axes by grinding stones, and cut trees with the same (gouged chisel-shaped) stone axes. They also manufactured various wooden farming tools (likely applying the iron instruments) such as wooden plows, hoes, knives, and shovels, as well as wooden instruments such as vessels, shoes, and mortars. Virtually all of the Yayoi farming tools that have been excavated were made of wood.

The Yayoi people did not cut the lower part of the rice stalk with a sickle but, rather, cut the ear of rice with a semicircular stone knife with a string running through a small hole. Rice harvesting with ear-cropping stone knives must have required enormous time and effort. The level of rice-cultivating technology of the Yayoi farmers must have reflected that of their contemporary southern peninsular rice farmers. The Yayoi culture seems to have been the product of a gradual fusion (among the people from the Korean Peninsula, Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian) rather than the product of war and conquest.

#### 4. Formation of the Proto-Japanese People and Proto-Japanese Language

According to Unger (2001: 95), a large and growing mass

<sup>18</sup> Hudson (1999: 130)

<sup>19</sup> Barnes (2007a: 65-6)



8.5. Kaya tombs on hilltops at Ji-san-dong, Ko-ryeong 高靈 池山洞

<sup>20</sup> 三國志 魏書 東夷傳 弁辰…國出鐵 韓濊倭皆從取之 諸市買皆用鐵如中國用錢

<sup>21</sup> Horai and Omoto (1999: 40-42). According to Hudson, although the Jōmon people were not totally replaced by the incoming Yayoi migrants from the Korean Peninsula, their genetic contribution to the later Japanese was probably less than one quarter. See Hudson (1999: 81).

<sup>22</sup> See Barnes (1993: 171 and 176) and also Hudson (1999: 68).

<sup>23</sup> Malayo-Polynesian skeletal morphologies continued in northwest coastal Kyūshū (west Saga Prefecture, Nagasaki, and Gotō islands), southern Kyūshū (south Kagoshima, Kumamoto, and the Tanegashima and Amai islands) and the Ryukyu Islands. The skeletal remains of Hokkaido Ainu, on the other hand, share morphologically close relations with northern Mongoloid people. See Hudson (1999: 64-67); and Katayama (2001: 23).

<sup>24</sup> See Hudson (1999: 98).



8.6. Yayoi pottery excavated at the Sinagawa area.

of data from physical anthropology and molecular genetics shows that “the Jōmon, Ainu, and Ryukyu populations were genetically remote from the population of the Yayoi-period and present-day main-island Japan.” According to Imamura (1996: 171), “from skeletal morphology, the similarity of the past Jōmon population to the present Ainu and to the Ryukyuan is closer than to the mainland Japanese. The mainland Japanese are more similar to the peoples on the Northeast Asian continent.” Phylogenetic analysis revealed the closest genetic affinity between the mainland Japanese and Koreans, suggesting that about 65 percent of the gene pool of the former was derived from the latter gene flow.<sup>21</sup>

Barnes notes that Yayoi excavations in western Japan have revealed two distinct skeletal types: the indigenous Jōmon skeletal genotype and the Korean skeletal type. According to Barnes, “physical anthropological studies of modern Japanese show that continental effects on skeletal genetics rapidly diminish as one travels eastwards from Kyūshū – except for the Kinai region, which received many peninsular immigrants directly in the fifth century AD.”<sup>22</sup>

Those Ainu clans that were shy of mingling with the newly arrived Pyun-han (Kaya or Karak) people seem to have joined their old brethren in the northeastern corner of Main Island, surviving as a homogenous group in Hokkaidō until the eighteenth century. The like-minded Malayo-Polynesian clans clung together at the southwestern corner of Kyūshū, still surviving in the Ryukyu Islands.<sup>23</sup> It may well remind us of the Celts that had been driven to Scotland or Wales by the newly arrived Anglo-Saxon tribes in fifth century Britain. The history of the Yamato court records inveterate conflicts with the Malayo-Polynesian and especially with the pure-blooded Ainu tribes, whose ferocity was apparently comparable to the “barbaric” Germans or Scots portrayed in the Roman chronicles.

Many Japanese place-names in Hokkaidō and northern Honshū include Ainu words.<sup>24</sup> The Ainu language was indeed spoken until very recently on the northern island of Hokkaidō. The Jōmon inhabitants of the eastern and northern archipelago did likely speak a proto-Ainu language, unlike those of the western and central regions, especially the people of Kyūshū, who likely spoke a proto-Malayo-Polynesian language.<sup>25</sup> According to Unger (2001: 81, 96), “Proto-Japanese was not spoken in Japan

during the Jōmon period, proto-Korean-Japanese accompanied the introduction of Yayoi techniques, and the earliest plausible date for a Tungusic or, more precisely, a Macro-Tungusic language in Japan is therefore the start of the Yayoi period.”

The prototype of the Japanese race sharing the proto-Japanese language was formed during the Yayoi period, going through a relatively peaceful process of genetic mixture over an extended period of time. The proto-Japanese language seems to have evolved on the basis of the Kaya (Karak) dialect of the Korean language, spreading from northern Kyūshū to eastern Hohshū. Both Korean and Japanese belong to the Macro-Tungusic branch of, say, Altaic language, but lexically and phonologically, the Japanese language seems to have been heavily influenced by the languages of Ainu and Malayo-Polynesian. The linguistic influence of the Jōmon aborigine seems to have matched their genetic share in the formation of the Japanese people.

To the Pyun-han (Kaya) people, however, those fellows who had crossed over the sea to Kyūshū island may at first have looked very much like brothers and sisters, but because of a lapse of time, came to look more like distant cousins.

#### 5. Queen Pimihu of Wa in the *Dongyi-zhuan*

##### TRANSFORMING A YAYOI FIGURE INTO A KOFUN FIGURE

The *Wajin-den* section of *Dongyi-zhuan* in the *Weisbu* of *Sanguozhi* was written sometime between 280-97 by Chen Shou (陳壽 233-97) of Western Jin (265-317) on the basis of reports made by Chinese envoys to the northern part of Kyūshū around the nine-year period of 239-48. According to the *Wajin-den* (*Wo-zhuan* translated by Tsunoda and edited by Goodrich, 1951): “The people of Wa [*Wo* in Chinese] ... formerly comprised more than one hundred communities ... [T]oday, thirty of their communities maintain intercourse through envoys ... [G]oing toward ... one arrives at the country of Yama-ichi [邪馬壹國 somehow translated by Tsunoda as Yama-tai], where the Queen holds her court. ... To the south is the country of Kunu, where a king rules. ... This country is not subject to the Queen. ... There is no oxen, horses ... magpies. The country [Yama-ichi] formerly had a man

<sup>25</sup> Ono (1962: 20) has contended that in western Japan, the people of the Jōmon period spoke a language of southern origin with a phonetic system like that of present-day Malayo-Polynesian, while a language with a grammatical system and vowel harmony like the Altaic was introduced with the Yayoi culture and spread eastward from northern Kyūshū along with rice cultivation. The open syllable structure of the Japanese language (each syllable consisting of consonant plus vowel, except for the independent vowels and the syllabic consonant ‘n’) is thought to reflect Malayo-Polynesian affinities.

<sup>26</sup> According to the *Hou Hanshu*, in 57 CE, “the Wa country of Nu [奴 Na] sent an envoy with tribute who called himself da-fu 大夫. This country is located in the southern extremity of the Wa country. Guangwu [r.25-57] bestowed on him a seal... During the reigns of Huandi [r.147-68] and Lingdi [r.168-89] the country of Wa was in a state of great confusion, war and conflict raging on all sides.” Tsunoda (1951: 2)

<sup>27</sup> 呼 was pronounced “hag” in Zhou-Qin times, “ho” in Sui-Tang times, and “hu” in Yuan and modern Beijing times.

<sup>28</sup> 三國志 卷三十 魏書 三十 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 第三十 倭 舊百餘國...今使譯所通三十國 從郡至倭循海岸水行 歷韓國 乍南乍東 到其北岸狗邪韓國 七千餘里 始度一海千餘里至對馬國...又渡一海... 南至邪

馬壹國 女王之所都...其南有狗奴國  
 男子爲王...不屬女王 ...男子無大小  
 黥面文身... 其衣橫幅但結束相連略  
 無縫婦人... 作衣如單被 穿其中央  
 貫頭衣之...其地 無牛馬虎豹羊鵲...  
 其國本亦以 男子爲王 住七八十年  
 倭國亂 相攻伐歷年 乃共立一女子  
 爲王 名曰卑彌呼 事鬼道 能惑衆...  
 有男弟佐治國... 景初二年 [238] 倭  
 女王 遣大夫難升米等詣郡 求詣天  
 子朝獻... 太守劉夏遣吏將 送詣京  
 都 其年十二月 詔書報 倭女王曰  
 制詔 親魏倭王卑彌呼...正始元年...  
 其八年 [247] 太守王頎到官 倭女王  
 卑彌呼與狗奴國男王卑彌弓呼 素不  
 和...相攻擊...卑彌呼以死 更立男王  
 國中不服 更相誅殺... 復立卑彌呼  
 宗女壹與年十三爲王 國中遂定

<sup>29</sup> 晉書 卷九十七 列傳 第六十七  
 倭人 泰始[265-74]初 遣使重譯入貢

<sup>30</sup> 攝政六十六年 晉起居注云 武帝  
 泰初二年 [266] 倭女王遣重譯貢獻

<sup>31</sup> 晉書 卷十 帝紀 第十 安帝 義熙  
 九年 是歲 高句麗倭國...並獻方物

<sup>32</sup> The *Nihongi* describes Jingū practicing shamanism and deluding her people. She conducted the ceremony of purification, constructed a palace of worship, discharged in person the office of priest, hooked the trout in the river with threads from her skirt, made sacrifices, caused a channel to pierce through a great rock, and made her hair part of its own accord spontaneously simply by bathing in the sea.

as a ruler. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare.<sup>26</sup> Thereupon the people agreed upon a woman for their ruler. Her name was Pimihu [卑彌呼 somehow translated by Tsunoda and Goodrich as Pimiko].<sup>27</sup> She occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching the people. ... [In 238 CE] the Queen of Wa sent ... to visit the prefecture [of Daifang], where they requested permission to proceed to the Emperor's Court with tribute. ... [In 247 CE] the Governor, Wang Ch'i, arrived [at Daifang] to assume office. The Queen of Wa, Pimihu, had been at odds with the King of Kunu ... and had sent ... to visit the prefect and report in person regarding the conflict going on. Chang Cheng, Acting Secretary of the Border Guard, was dispatched with rescript ... He issued a proclamation advising reconciliation. When Pimihu passed away [in 248 CE?], ... a king was placed on the throne, but the people would not obey him. ... A relative of Pimihu named Iyo, a girl of thirteen, was then made queen and order was restored. Cheng [the Wei ambassador dispatched by the Governor of Daifang] issued a proclamation to the effect that Iyo was the ruler. Then Iyo sent a delegation...to accompany Cheng home [to Daifang]. The delegation visited the capital and presented thirty male and female slaves [to the Wei court]."<sup>28</sup> According to the *Jinshu*, an envoy from Wa came to the court of Western Jin with tribute sometime early in the period 265-74.<sup>29</sup> According to the *Nihongi* (quoting a Jin person), it seems to have been the year 266.<sup>30</sup> The "queen" recorded in the *Nihongi* as having sent a tribute to the Western Jin court in 266 seems to have been Iyo.

The Japanese Islands disappear thereafter from the Chinese dynastic chronicles until 413, when the Yamato state and Koguryeo were recorded to have sent local products to the Eastern Jin court.<sup>31</sup> Historians speculate that the lacuna of these years (approximately a century and half between 266-413) may imply some sorts of chaos having prevailed in the Japanese Islands.

The writers of *Nihongi* were apparently inspired by the *Wajin-den* (*Wo-zhuan*) records on Pimihu, and decided to create a figure called Empress Jingū (as a regent during 201-69).<sup>32</sup> According to the *Nihongi*, the 70-year interval between the death of the fourteenth king Chiuai (in 200 CE) and the enthronement of the fifteenth king Ōjin (in 270 CE) was ruled by Empress Jingū

as regent (201-69 CE).<sup>33</sup> The *Nihongi* includes quotations from *Dongyi-zhuan* as footnotes for the 39<sup>th</sup> (239), 40<sup>th</sup> (240), and 43<sup>rd</sup> year (243) of the Jingū's reign. The *Nihongi* further notes that the 66<sup>th</sup> year of Jingū's reign corresponds to the second year of Jin Wudi's reign (266).<sup>34</sup> The writers of *Nihongi* tried to fill the 201-13 period by writing a few paragraphs up to the fifth year of Jingū's reign from scratch, and then jumping to the thirteenth year. There are no records for the 31-year period of 214-45 except the seven letters specifying the year 239 and a few sentences quoted from the *Dongyi-zhuan* that were apparently added later as footnotes. Substantial narrative begins to appear only from the year 246 (the year 366 with the two-cycle correction). They filled in the period between forty-sixth and sixty-fifth year of Jingū's reign with various stories related to the Korean Peninsula for the period of 364-85.<sup>35</sup>

The writers of *Nihongi* made a heroic attempt to transform the third century *Wajin-den* figure, Pimihu, into the Regent Empress Jingū, and then link this fictitious figure to the late fourth century founder of the Yamato Kingdom by making Homuda the second son and crown prince of Jingū. Unfortunately, their effort to manufacture the *Bansei-Ikkei* (an unbroken line of emperors since 660 BCE) myth came to torture numerous modern Japanese historians who somehow feel obliged to square the fiction with the actual history and archeological findings. Quite a few Japanese scholars were imaginative enough to substantiate the *Nihongi* story of the Jingū's conquest of Silla (in October 200, according to the *Nihongi* chronology) and to come up with the Mimana story of colonizing the southern peninsula by the Yamato Kingdom in the fourth century (by the ghost of Jingū in 369).<sup>36</sup>

#### READING YAMA-ICH AS YAMA-TAI AND EQUATING IT TO YAMA-TO

One of the most interesting aspects of Japanese history as written by Japanese historians is the fact that while Chen Shou (233-97), the third century author of the *Weishu*, calls Pimihu's state "Yama-ichi," almost all Japanese historians have decided to read it "Yama-tai" and understand it to imply "Yama-to." Indeed Fan Yeh (范曄 398-445) of Liu Song (劉宋 420-79), the author of *Hou Hanshu*, invigorates those Japanese historians who eagerly want to believe that Pimihu's state was located in the Kinai-

<sup>33</sup> 神功 攝政元年...是年也 太歲辛巳 卽爲攝政元年 (NI: 349)

神功 攝政六十九年 皇太后崩...時年一百歲...是年也太歲己丑(NI: 361)

神功 攝政前紀 (仲哀 九年十二月) 生譽田天皇於筑紫 (NI: 341)

息長帶比賣命 生御...大和氣命 亦名品陀和氣命 (K: 226)

<sup>34</sup> 神功 攝政三十九年 是年也 太歲己未 魏志云 明帝景初 三年 [239]

倭女王遣大夫..等 詣郡求詣天子 朝獻 太守...遣吏將送詣京都 (NI: 351)

攝政四十年 魏志云 正始元年 遣建忠校尉梯携等 奉詔書印綬詣倭國也 (NI: 351)

攝政四十三年 魏志云 正始四年 倭王復遣使大夫 伊聲者掖耶等八人上獻 (NI: 353)

攝政六十六年 是年 晉武帝泰初(始)二年 [266] (NI: 361)

<sup>35</sup> 神功 攝政 五十五年 百濟肖古王薨 五十六年 百濟王子貴須立爲王 (NI: 359-61)

神功 攝政 六十四年 百濟國貴須王薨 王子枕流王立爲王 六十五年 百濟國枕流王薨 王子阿花 年少叔父辰斯奪立爲王 (NI: 359-61)

<sup>36</sup> 神功 攝政 三年 立譽田別皇子爲皇太子 因以都於磐余 (NI: 349)

神功 攝政前紀 九月...于時也 適當皇后之開胎 皇后卽取石插腰 而祈之曰 事竟還日 產於茲土... 冬十月 從和珥津 發之時 飛廉起風 陽侯舉浪 海中大魚 悉浮扶船 卽大風順吹 帆船隨波 不勞楫 便到

新羅 時隨船潮浪 遠逮國中...新羅  
王...降於王船之前 (NI: 337-9)

整軍雙船 度幸之時 海原之魚 不  
問大小 悉負御船而渡 爾順風 大起  
御船從浪 故其御船之波瀾 押騰新  
羅之國 既到半國於 是其國王畏惶  
奏言 自今以後隨 天皇命而為御馬  
甘...無退仕奉...爾以其御杖銜立新  
羅 國主之門...其政未竟之間 其懷  
妊產 即為鎮 御腹 取石以纏於裳  
之腰而 渡筑紫國 其御子阿禮坐 阿  
禮二字以音 (K: 230-2)



8.7. Comma-shaped jade beads  
excavated from (top) the Sun-san area,  
and (bottom) tomb of King Mu-nyung

Yamato area because he refers to Pimihu's state as Yama-tai (邪馬臺國). Fan Ye wrote *Hou Hanshu* between 429-39. The political development of the Japanese Islands unifying during the late fourth century and the early fifth century could have influenced the fifth century author of *Hou Hanshu* to make this “innocent” error. Fan Yeh even used such an expression as “the King of Great Wa (大倭王).”<sup>37</sup> In spite of the compelling facts, presented by Furuta (1983), that show it to be otherwise, the speculation over the location of the so-called “Yama-tai Koku” (i.e., the so-called Kinai hypothesis of Yama-tai location) continues to serve as a sort of public entertainment in Japan.

Takemoto (1983) summarizes the study of Furuta as follows. In the *Wajin-den*, Pimihu's state is named Yama-ichi. In the *Hou Hanshu*, it is called Yama-tai. Chen Shou was writing contemporary history and had personally observed much of what he wrote about, whereas Fan Yeh was writing about events relying solely on written sources.

In the Chen Shou's *Sanguozhi*, of which the *Weishu* is a part, the character “ichi” appears 86 times and the character “tai” appears 56 times, but Chen Shou never confused the two characters. During the Wei period, “tai” was one of their most sacred words, implying a religious-political sanctuary or the emperor's palace. The characters “ya” and “ma” mean “nasty” and “horse,” reflecting the contempt Chinese felt for a barbarian country, and it is most unlikely that Chen Shou would have used a sacred word after these two characters. It is equally unlikely that a copyist could have confused the characters, because in their old form they do not look nearly as similar as in their modern printed form. Yama-tai was Fan Yeh's creation.

Furuta further shows that at least 10 different characters were used to transliterate the sound “to” in the *Hanshu*, *Weishu* and *Xin Tangshu*, but in no case was the character “tai” [臺 pronounced “dæg” in Zhou-Qin, “dai” in Sui-Tang] used to represent the sound of “to” [written 登, 騰 “təng/dəng” in *Kojiki-Nihongi*]. There could similarly have been no mistake about the location of Yama-ichi. The *Weishu* includes a total of 2,237 references to direction, but not once does Chen Shou confuse “east” with “south.” Furuta found 159 examples in which Chen Shou gave distance between two known places in “li.” One “li” during the Wei period was between 75 and 90 meters, but closer

to 75. Therefore, the Yama-ichi state described by Chen Shou had to be located in the northern part of Kyūshū.

Barnes (2007a: 103) admits that “the archeological evidence is weakest of all” for accepting “the equation of Yamatai with Yamato.” Despite this admission, she contends that, “taking into consideration the current **documentary** evidence, however, there is a reasonable case for accepting as an assumption the equation of Yamatai with Yamato.”

<sup>37</sup> 後漢書 卷八十五 東夷列傳 第七十五 倭在韓東南大海中 依山島爲居 凡百餘國 自武帝滅朝鮮 使驛通於漢者三十許國 國皆稱王 世世傳統 其大倭王居邪馬臺國 ... 桓靈間 [146-89] 倭國大亂 有一女子 名曰卑彌呼 年長不嫁 事鬼神道 能以妖惑 衆於是共立爲王...自女王國東度海天餘里至拘奴國 雖皆倭種而不屬女王





Chapter 9 begins at 189.