

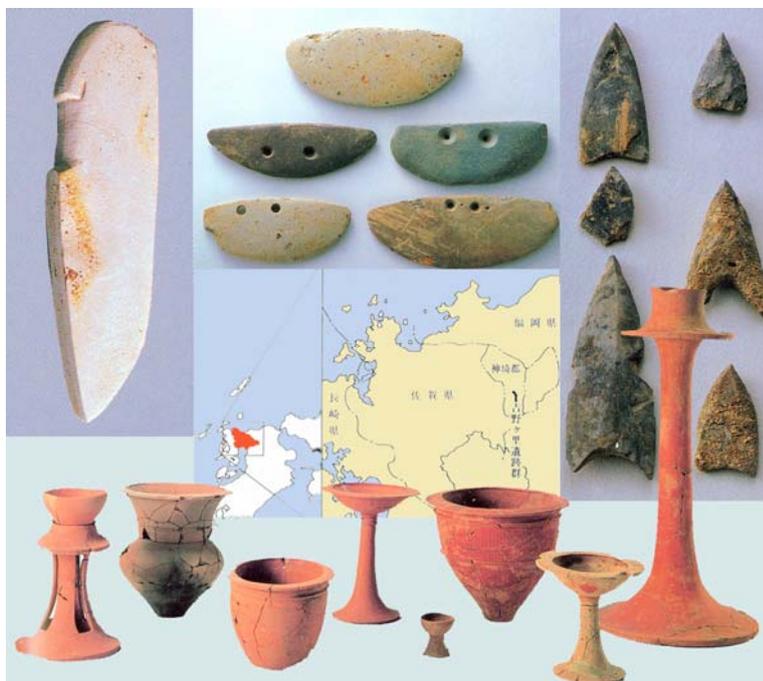
*Chapter Ten*

Formation of  
the Proto-Japanese People

Yayoi Wave



Yayoi Pottery with Incised Figures 天理市 清水風 遺跡



Yoshinogari, Saga Prefecture, Kyūshū 吉野ヶ里 佐賀縣



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



10.1. Jōmon Pottery

<sup>1</sup> See Imamura (1996); Satoshi Horai and Keiichi Omoto (1999), Hudson (1999); and Unger (2001: 81-111).

<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 fishing by diving with cormorants are also regarded as typical Malayo-Polynesian elements.

See also Egami (1964: 44).

<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,

## CHAPTER TEN

## FORMATION OF THE PROTO-JAPANESE PEOPLE

## 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) had 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 northern main land include the Ainu words, but such Ainu-like names never occur in the southwestern area and Kyūshū.<sup>4</sup> It 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 the whole of 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 the 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 and some of them moving into the western mainland.

With the advent of the Neolithic Jōmon period (10,000 – 300 BCE), 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 Jōmon people commenced the Neolithic era with the simultaneous manufacturing of pottery. Jōmon pottery is claimed to have been the world’s earliest-known earthenware at 10,000 BCE. 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 move around carrying the 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 Ye-mack Tungus

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 Hokkaido 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).



10.2. Yayoi Pottery

愛知縣 清洲町 彌生時代 朝日遺跡

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

<sup>7</sup> 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 prevent her from 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 Japanese 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). I take the conventional dates 300 BCE-300 CE for the Yayoi period.

<sup>8</sup> See Barnes (1993: 170). Rice cultivation began spreading from the northern Kyūshū area, 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

inhabiting the Korean peninsula in those Neolithic days. There seems to have been slight contact between them during the Jōmon period.

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

The people of Korea proper began cultivating millet in the north and rice in the south before 2,000 BCE. They started using bronze between 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.

Rice, be it aquatic or dry land, does not originate from the Japanese islands. The Japanese archeologists have submitted carbonized rice grains from several Jōmon sites in northern Kyūshū to C-14 dating and come up with a tentative date of 900 BC. The rice cultivation on a full scale, however, was introduced into the Japanese islands together with new cultural elements, including the stone tools, pottery and pit-dwelling similar to those found in the Korean peninsula around 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 fabricated 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 Pyon-han), but mostly from the Kaya (Karak) area of Pyon-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 around 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 us to answer the question of timing. 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 about 10,700 years ago. The global climate change modified the fauna and flora, adversely affecting the food supply to 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. Around 8,200 years ago, the 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

daggers, polished untanged arrowheads of triangular 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.



10.3. Yayoi pottery excavated from the Fukuoka Area

<sup>9</sup> According to Hanihara, Japanese 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 not have been achieved by natural

increase alone but only in combination with large-scale migration into Japan. See Hanihara (1987) and Imamura (1996: 156).

<sup>10</sup> See Sarah H. Parcak, “Archaeological Evidence for Abrupt Climate Change,” presented 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>11</sup> Mayewski and White (2002: 114)

<sup>12</sup> (ibid: 115 and 121)

<sup>13</sup> See K W. B, ed., “Climate Variations and Change,” *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1986), Vol. 16, p. 534.

<sup>14</sup> See Table 14 of K W. B, ed.(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

pastoral nomadism across West Asia.<sup>10</sup>

Although the Holocene (last 11,500 years) has a significantly milder climate than the glacial period, natural climate variability still plays a key role.<sup>11</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>12</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>13</sup>

There occurred a Little Ice Age c. 400 BCE, with cooler conditions persisting until 300 CE.<sup>14</sup> The sudden commencement of a glacial advance coincided with the Warring States period (403-221 BCE) in mainland China and the rise of nomadic Xiong-nu, as manifested by the building of the first wall by Han Chinese (in 356 BCE), in the eastern world, and the great Celtic migrations in the western world. In 390 BCE, the fierce Celtic warriors known as Gauls had besieged Rome itself.<sup>15</sup> According to the *Dongyi-zhuan* (the *Eastern Barbarian* section in the *Wei-shu* of San-guo-zhi compiled by Chen Shou, 233-297 CE), after the disintegration of the Eastern Zhou dynasty in 403 BCE, the hitherto vassal state (Old) Yan claimed kingship, and then the ruler of (Old) Chosun also declared himself king, and these two states were on the brink of fighting each another. The armed conflicts between the Yan and Chosun at last occurred c. 300 BCE.

The advent of global cooling and drying seems to have been associated with the 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 sort of saturation. A sudden drying and cooling at this juncture would surely destroy the ecological balance and communal equilibrium. The rainfall abruptly falls below the level needed to sustain the primitive rice-farming technique, and this sudden change forces those 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 mind 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>16</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 the narrow-necked storage jars, wide-mouthed cooking pots and pedestalled dishes, was excavated in northern Kyūshū together with the Final Jōmon 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

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, however, a time of confusion in China known as the Warring States Period."

<sup>15</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).



10.4. Comma-shaped Jade Beads of the Yayoi Period

<sup>16</sup> According to Imamura (1996: 150), the square pit-dwellings in the Jōmon tradition and the round pit-dwellings in the Korean tradition (i.e., the Songgungni type with a large central pit and one or two small post-hole-like pits on either side of the central pit) coexisted at the very beginning of the Yayoi period within a small central part of 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 Songgungni type, may have originated from or been affected by this type.”

<sup>17</sup> Hudson (1999: 130)



10.5. Comma-shaped Jade Beads of the Tomb Period

southern extremity of the Korean peninsula: “At one Korean site, Neokdo, Yayoi pottery accounted for 8 percent of all the pottery [... and] at the Yesoeng 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 one. 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>17</sup> According to Barnes (1993: 171, 176), the transition from Jōmon to Yayoi was 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

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. 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.” Weapons were too thin to have been functional.

According to the Dongyi-zhuan, the Pyon-han people supplied iron ores to the Wa people (i.e., to the Kaya cousins who had crossed over the sea to settle in Kyūshū).<sup>18</sup> A few iron smelting sites were indeed discovered in the 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 is 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 wooden farming tools such as 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, but it is very likely that iron instruments were used for the production of such wooden tools.

The Yayoi people did not cut the lower part of the rice stalk with a sickle, but 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 taken enormous time and effort. The level of rice-cultivating technology of the Yayoi farmers must have reflected that of the 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. The Formation of Proto-Japanese People and Proto-Japanese Language

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

Barnes notes that Yayoi excavations in western Japan have revealed two distinct skeletal types, i.e., 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

<sup>18</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



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

<sup>19</sup> Horai and Omoto (1998: 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>20</sup> See Barnes (1993: 171 and 176) and also Hudson (1999: 68).

<sup>21</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>22</sup> See Hudson (1999: 98).

<sup>23</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.

Kinai region, which received many peninsular immigrants directly in the fifth century CE.”<sup>19</sup>

Those Ainu clans that were shy of mingling with the newly arrived Pyon-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>20</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 the 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>21</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>22</sup> Unger states that: “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 Marco-Tungusic language in Japan is therefore the start of the Yayoi period.”<sup>23</sup>

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 Honshū. 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 Pyon-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 with a lapse of time came to look more like distant cousins.



10.7. Kaya Tombs on Hilltops  
at Ji-san-dong, Ko-ryeong

<sup>24</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  
子為王...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 男子為王 住七八十年 倭國  
亂 相攻伐歷年 乃共立一女子 為王  
名曰卑彌呼 事鬼道能惑眾...有男弟  
佐治國...景初二年六月 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 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 年十三為  
王 國中遂定

The ancient reading of 呼 was “ho” or  
“hu,” and modern reading is “hū.” It has  
never been read as “ku or ko” as  
Tsunoda does. The ancient reading of  
弓 was “kiuŋ, kiur, or kior,” and  
modern reading is “kuŋ or gōng.” It  
has never been read as “ku.”

<sup>25</sup> 晉書 卷九十七 列傳 第六十七  
倭人 泰始初 遣使重譯入貢

<sup>26</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>27</sup> Nihongi describes extensively in

## Appendix 10.1. Queen Pimihi (Himiko) in the Dong-yi Zhuan

The Wajin-den section of Wei-zhi was written between 280-97 on the basis of reports made by Chinese envoys to the northern part of Kyūshū during the nine-year period of 239-48.

According to the Wajin-den (translated by Tsunoda, 1951): “The people of Wa ... formerly comprised more than one hundred communities. ... today, thirty of their communities maintain intercourse [with us] through envoys ... To reach Wa from the [Dai-fang] prefecture, one sails along the coast, passing the land of Han. ... Then going across the sea for the first time, after over one thousand li one reaches the country of Tsushima ... Setting sail again across the sea known as Han-hai, after a journey of one thousand li or more toward the south one arrives at another large country ... Going again across the sea for over one thousand li, one reaches the country of ... Proceeding five hundred li by land to the southeast, one reaches the country of ... going toward the south, one arrives at the country of Yama-ichi [Tsunoda somehow makes it Yama-dai], 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 formerly had a man as a ruler. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare. Thereupon the people agreed upon a woman for their ruler. Her name was Pimi-hu. [Tsunoda somehow writes that her name was Pimiko.] She occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching the people. ... She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country. ... [in 239] the Queen of Wa sent ... to visit the prefecture [of Dai-fang], where they requested permission to proceed to the Emperor’s Court with tribute. ... [in 240] the Governor, Gong Zun, sent ... with an Imperial rescript and the ribbon seal to visit the Wa country. ... [in 243], the Wa ruler sent another embassy ... [in 247] the Governor ... arrived (at Dai-fang) to assume office. The Queen of Wa, Pimihi, had been at odds with the King of Kunu, Pimi-kiung-hu [Tsunoda somehow writes that his name was Pimikuku], and had sent ... to visit the prefect and report

in person regarding the conflict going on ... When Pimihi passed away, a great mound was raised, more than a hundred paces in diameter ... a king was placed on the throne, but the people would not obey him. ... A relative of Pimihi named Iyo, a girl of thirteen, was [then] made queen and order was restored.”<sup>24</sup> Iyo sent a delegation of twenty ... The delegation visited the capital. According to the Jin-shu, an envoy from Wa came to the court of Western Jin sometime early in the period of 265-74.<sup>25</sup>

The Japanese islands are never mentioned thereafter in the Chinese dynastic chronicles until 413 when a king of Yamato was recorded to have sent local products to the Eastern Jin court.<sup>26</sup> Historians speculate that the lacunae 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 records on Pimihi, and decided to create a figure called Empress Jingū.<sup>27</sup> According to Nihongi, the 70-year interval between the death of the fourteenth king Chiui (in 200) and the enthronement of the fifteenth king Oujin (in 270) was ruled by Empress Jingū as regent (201-69).<sup>28</sup> Nihongi quotes the Dongyi-zhuan records of the year 239 for the 39<sup>th</sup> year of Jingū's reign (saying that “in the reign of the Emperor Ming-di, 226-39, the Queen of Wa sent ... to the province ... sent an officer to escort them to the capital”), those of 240 for the 40<sup>th</sup> year (saying that “... proceeded to the Wa country ... with an Imperial rescript and a seal and ribbon”), and those of 243 for the 43<sup>rd</sup> year of Jingū's reign (saying that “the ruler of Wa again sent high officials as envoys with tribute”). Nihongi writes that the 66<sup>th</sup> year of Jingū's reign corresponds to the year 266, the second year of Jin Wu-di's reign (265-90) saying that “the Queen of Wa sent interpreters with tribute.”<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, the Nihongi states that Paekche King Keun Cho-go died in the 55<sup>th</sup> year of Jingū's reign (255). The Samguk-sagi records that Keun Cho-go died in 375. According to Nihongi, Paekche King Chim-yu died in the 65<sup>th</sup> year of Jingū's reign (265). The Samguk-sagi records that King Chim-yu died in 385.<sup>30</sup> This is the so-called two sexagenary cycles difference between the records of Nihongi and those of

which Jingū practiced shamanism and deluded 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.

<sup>28</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...皇太后崩於雅櫻宮 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...大鞞和氣命 亦名品陀和氣命 (K: 226)

<sup>29</sup> 神功 攝政三十九年 魏志云 明帝景初三年六月 倭女王遣大夫 難斗米等 詣郡求詣天子朝獻 太守鄧夏遣吏將送詣京都也 (NI: 351)

神功 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)

神功 攝政四十三年 魏志云 正始四年 倭王復遣使大夫...等八人上獻 (NI: 353)

神功 攝政六十六年 是年晉武帝 泰初二年...十月 倭女王遣 重譯貢獻 (NI: 359-61)

<sup>30</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 王子枕流王立為王 六十五年 百  
濟國枕流王薨 王子阿花年少 叔父  
辰斯奪立為王 (NI: 359-61)

<sup>31</sup> 神功 攝政三年 立譽田別皇子為  
皇太子 因以都於磐余 (NI: 349)

<sup>32</sup> 神功 攝政前紀九月...于時也適當  
皇后之開胎 皇后即取石插腰 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 即大風  
順吹 帆船隨波 不勞楫棹 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... 爾以其御杖衝立新  
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)



10.8. Haniwa Figures

Samguk-sagi in this period. The writers of Nihongi then decided to make Homuda (Oujin) the second son and crown prince of Empress Jingū, and let him succeed her to the throne in 270.<sup>31</sup> If we take account of the two sexagenary cycle difference, Oujin became the king in 390 instead of 270.

The writers of Nihongi apparently did their best to link the third century Wajin-den figure of Pimihu (in the form of the fictitious figure Jingū) and the late fourth century founder of the Yamato kingdom, Homuda (as the second son and crown prince of Jingū). The writers of Nihongi tried to fill the 200-69 period by writing up to the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Jingū's reign from scratch, then jumping to the 13<sup>th</sup> year, and then jumping again to the 39<sup>th</sup> year. They filled up the period between 39<sup>th</sup> and 69<sup>th</sup> year with various stories related with the Korean peninsula for the period of 359-89, while quoting the Wajin-den records on the third century figure Pimihu at the same time. 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 were imaginative enough to support the story of Jingū's conquest of Silla and to come up with the Mimana story of colonizing the southern peninsula by the Yamato Kingdom in the fourth century.<sup>32</sup>

One of the most interesting aspects of Japanese history as written by Japanese historians is the fact that while Chen Shou (233-97), the author of *Wei-zhi*, calls Pimihu's state "Yama-ichi," almost all Japanese historians have decided to read it "Yama-dai" and understand it to imply "Yama-to." Indeed Fan Yeh (398-445), the author of *Hou Han-shu*, invigorated those Japanese historians who eagerly want to believe that Pimihu's state was located in the Kinai-Yamato area by referring to Pimihu's state as Yama-dai. It seems that the development in the Japanese islands during the late fourth century and the early fifth century had influenced the author of the *History of Later Han* and led him to make this "innocent" error. Fan Yeh even used such an expression like "the King of Great Wa." In spite of the compelling facts presented by Furuta (1983), the speculation over the location of the so-called "Yamatai Koku" 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 *Hou Han-shu*, written by Fan Yeh between 429-39, it is called Yama-dai. Chen Shou was writing contemporary history and had personally observed much of what he wrote about. Fan Yeh was writing about events relying solely on written sources.

In Chen Shou's *San-guo-zhi*, of which *Wei-zhi* (*Wei-shu*) is a part, the character "ichi" appears 86 times and the character "dai" 56 times, but Chen Shou never confused the two characters. During the Wei period, "dai" 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-dai was Fan Yeh's creation.

Furuta furthermore show that at least 10 different characters were used to transliterate the sound "to" in *Han-shu*, *Wei-zhi* and *Xin Tang-shu*, but in no case was the character "dai" used to represent the sound. There could similarly have been no mistake about the location of Yama-ichi. In *Wei-zhi*, there is 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.



10.9. Playing Lute

(top) Tomb Period Haniwa, Japan; and  
(bottom) Koguryeo Tomb of Dancing,  
Jian, Korea



































