

3.

QUEEN HIMIKO AS RECORDED
IN THE WEI CHRONICLE:

A Protohistoric Yayoi Ruler

The *Wajin-den* 倭人傳 section of *Wei-zhi* 魏志 was written between A.D. 280 and 297 on the basis of reports made by Chinese envoys to the northern part of Kyūshū during the nine-year period from A.D. 239 to 248.¹ According to *Wei-zhi* (translated by Tsunoda, 1951): “The people of Wa dwell in the middle of the ocean on the mountainous islands southeast of Tai-fang. They formerly comprised more than one hundred communities. During the Han dynasty, [Wa envoys] appeared at the Court; today, thirty of their communities maintain intercourse [with us] through envoys and scribes. To reach Wa from the prefecture 從郡至倭, one sails along the coast 循海岸水行, passing the land of Han 歷韓國. Turning then abruptly to the south, and again abruptly to the east, one reaches its northern coast, called the country of Kou-Ya-han 拘邪韓國 . . . altogether over seven thousand *li*. Then going across the sea for the first time, after over one thousand *li* one reaches the country of Tsushima 對馬國. . . . Setting sail again across the sea known as Han-hai 瀚海, 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 Matsuro. . . . Proceeding five hundred *li* by land to the southeast, one reaches the country of Izu 伊都國. . . . with a hereditary king at the head. These people all owe their allegiance to the Queen’s country. When the commissioner of the prefect 郡使 visits that region, he usually stops there. . . . Then going toward the south, one arrives at the country of Yamaichi 邪馬壹國 [Tsunoda makes it Yamadai], where the Queen holds her court. . . .

¹Chinese neighbors were traditionally recorded as footnotes to the official history of each Chinese dynasty in a section with a title such as “Eastern Barbarians 東夷傳.”

[and] the Queen's dominion comes to an end. To the south is the country of Kunu 狗奴國, where a King rules. . . . This country is not subject to the Queen. . . . There are no oxen, horses 其地無牛馬. . . ."²<1>

Wei-zhi continues: "To the north of the Queen's land, there is a high official stationed especially to exercise surveillance over those provinces, so that they are kept in a state of awe and fear. This official keeps his official residence in the country of Izu 伊都國. In that country there is [also] an official similar to a Chinese governor. When the ruler sends envoys to visit the Chinese capital 京都, or when the Tai-fang prefecture or the various Han 諸韓國 [Korean] countries or prefects 郡 send envoys to the Wa country, they are all made to stop at the port for inspection, so that messages and gifts to the Queen may reach her without mishap."²<2>

Wei-zhi records that: "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 Pimiko 卑彌呼. She occupied herself with magic and sorcery 事鬼道, bewitching the people 能惑衆. Though mature in age, she remained unmarried. She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country."²<3>

Wei-zhi also records that: "In the first year of Zheng-shi 正始元年 (240), the Governor, Gong Zun 弓遵, sent Ti Zhun 梯儁, a commandant of the Imperial Guard 建中校尉, with an Imperial rescript and the ribbon seal to visit the Wa country. He had an audience with the Queen. . . ."²<4> According to Wei-zhi, "[i]n the sixth month of the second year of Jing-chu (A.D. 238), the Queen of Wa sent the grandee Nashonmi, and others to visit the prefecture [of Tai-fang], where they requested permission to proceed to the Emperor's Court with tribute. The Governor, Liu Xia 劉夏, dispatched an officer to accompany the party to the capital. In answer to the Queen of Wa, an edict of the Emperor, issued in the twelfth month of the same year, said as follows: Herein we address Pimiko, Queen of Wa, whom we now officially call a friend of Wei 親魏委王. The Governor of Tai-fang, Liu Xia, has sent a messenger to accompany your vassal, Nashonmi, and his lieutenant, Tsushi Gori. They have arrived here with your tribute, consisting of four male slaves and six female slaves, together with two pieces of cloth with designs, each twenty feet in length. . . . We confer upon you, therefore, the title Queen of Wa Friendly to Wei, together with the decoration of the gold seal with purple ribbon. The latter, properly encased, is to be sent to you through the Governor. . . ."²<5> Himiko might have been the

²The Gong-sun 公孫 rulers had created an independent domain in the Liao-dong region at the end of the Later Han dynasty. Between A.D. 204 and 220, they took over

true leader of the federation of tribal chiefs or might really have been an advisor who, to the Chinese envoys, appeared to have been a ruling queen.

According to Wei-zhi: “In the eighth year (247), the Governor, Wang Qi, arrived [at Tai-fang] to assume office. The Queen of Wa, Pimiko, had been at odds with the King of Kunu, Pimikuku 卑彌弓呼, and had sent Saishi Uwo of Wa to visit the prefect and report in person regarding the conflict going on When Pimiko passed away . . . a king was placed on the throne, but the people would not obey him. Assassination and murder followed . . . A relative of Pimiko named Iyo 壹與, a girl of thirteen, was [then] made queen and order was restored. . . .”^{<5>}

We can also find mention of Wa in Hou Han-shu, but it was compiled about A.D. 445, long after Wei-zhi was compiled, and incorporated much from the earlier accounts of Wa recorded in Wei-zhi. Hou Han-shu records that: “The Wa dwell on mountainous islands southeast of Han 韓 [Korea] in the middle of the ocean, forming more than one hundred communities. From the time of the overthrow of Zhao-xian 朝鮮 [Cho-seon] by Emperor Wu (B.C. 140-87), nearly thirty of these communities have held intercourse with the Han 漢 [China] court by envoys or scribes. Each community has its king, whose office is hereditary. The King of Great Wa 大倭王 resides in the country of Yamadai 邪馬臺國. The commandery of Le-lang is twelve thousand *li* from that country. The country of Chu-ya-han 拘婁韓國 on the northwest boundary is over seven thousand *li* distant There are no oxen, horses 無牛馬, tigers, leopards, sheep, or magpies The men all tattoo their faces and adorn their bodies with designs In the second year of the Jien-wu Zhong-yuan era 建武中元 (A.D. 57), the Wa country Nu 倭奴國 sent an envoy with tribute who called himself Da-fu 大夫. This country is located in the southern extremity of the Wa country. Guang-wu bestowed on him a seal. In the first year of the Yong-chu era (A.D. 107), during the reign of An-di (107-125), the King of Wa presented one hundred sixty slaves, making at the same time a request for an imperial audience. During the reigns of Huan-di (147-168) and Ling-di (168-189), the country of Wa was in a state of great confusion, war and conflict raging on all sides. For a number of years, there was no ruler. Then a woman named Pimiko appeared. Remaining unmarried, she occupied herself with magic and sorcery and bewitched the populace.

over the Le-lang commandery and also established the Tai-fang commandery south of Le-lang. Liao-dong was then captured in A. D. 238 by the Wei dynasty, which took over Le-lang and Tai-fang as well. In A.D. 313, Le-lang fell to Koguryeo, and, at about the same time, Tai-fang disappeared as Paekche expanded its frontiers northward.

Thereupon they placed her on the throne. She kept one thousand female attendants, but few people saw her. There was only one man who was in charge of her wardrobe and meals and acted as the medium of communication Leaving the queen's land and crossing the sea to the east, after a voyage of one thousand *li*, the country of Kunu is reached, the people of which are of the same race as that of the Wa. They are not the queen's subjects, however (translated by Tsunoda, 1951)."⁶ Expressions like "The King of Great Wa 大倭王" and "Yamadai 邪馬臺國" (instead of "Yamaichi 邪馬壹國") seem to reflect the fact that the writer of Hou Han-shu had been influenced by the development of Japan during the fourth and fifth centuries.

Wei-zhi did not write anything about the origin of the queen, Himiko, or the origin of the queen's country, Yamaichi. Nihongi, however, gives extensive records on Okinaga-Tarashi [Empress Jingū] who is said to have ruled Japan during the first half of the third century. Many historians believe that the story of Jingū [Okinaga-Tarashi] found in Nihongi was inspired by the story of Himiko in Wei-zhi. On the assumption that the story of Jingū described in Nihongi and Kojiki has some elements of truth, this section investigates the origin of Himiko [or Jingū].

Nihongi (NII: 81) records that, when Silla conquered Kaya in A.D. 562, an edict was issued by Kimmei which contained a mention of Jingū [Okinaga Tarashi 息長帶日(比)賣命]: "When our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto 氣長足姬尊 . . . made a tour throughout the Empire . . . she pitied the condition of Silla 哀新羅所窮見歸, which was then reduced to an extremity, and spared the head of its king, which was about to fall. She granted to Silla strong positions, and bestowed on it honours it was not entitled to. In what respect did Our ancestor, Okinaga Tarashi hime no Mikoto, show a want of consideration for Silla, or Our people an unfriendly feeling towards that country? Yet Silla with long spears and strong bows has oppressed Imna [Kaya]."^{5.1.4}

This edict may create confusion about the relationship between Okinaga Tarashi, Kaya [Imna] and Silla. Furthermore, in Book Two of Kojiki (KP: 291-293) one finds a rather strange chapter on Ame-No-Pi-Poko 天之日矛 crossing from Korea to Japan 渡來 in pursuit of his runaway wife, who is recorded to have been born from a red jewel. This chapter begins with the statement that "[I]n ancient times, there was a son of the King of the land of Siragi [Silla] 新羅國主之子, whose name was Ame-No-Pi-Poko."³ Eventually

³According to Kojiki (KP: 293), this Ame-No-Pi-Poko, the son of the Silla king, brought to Japan with him "jewel-treasures, two strings of beads; as well as the wave-raising scarf, the wave-cutting scarf, the wind-raising scarf, the wind-cutting scarf; as

we are told that Ame-No-Pi-Poko's great-great-grandson took to wife his niece, and there was born a child who was "the ancestor [mother] of Okinaga-Tarashi-Pime-No-Mikoto 息長帶日(比)賣命之御祖."^{<7>} The latter represents Jingū and, according to Kojiki, is a descendant of a son of the King of the land of Silla.

Covell and Covell (1984: 12-15) speculate that King Tarashi-Nakatsu [Chūai] must have been the King of Kaya, and Okinaga-Tarashi 息長帶日賣命 [氣長足姬尊] was made his queen in A.D. 193. Nihongi (NI: 218) records that, before this, King Tarashi-Nakatsu had already taken as consort his uncle's daughter, who bore him princes, and he furthermore took another consort who also gave him a prince. In due course Okinaga-Tarashi [Jingū] also got pregnant, but she knew that there was little hope for her child to succeed Tarashi-Nakatsu. King Tarashi-Nakatsu wanted to conquer a certain Kumaso in the south in order to make it a fiefdom for Okinaga-Tarashi and her child. But apparently Okinaga-Tarashi had a different idea.

The following is the story told by Covell and Covell (1984: 15-19): "Chūai's Prime Minister and leading male shaman was . . . Takenouchi no Sukune 武内宿禰 . . . From the events which unfolded, this prime minister-shaman seems to have been swept along with Jingū's ambitious plans for conquest [of Japan] and to have become her first lover . . . After encompassing Chūai's death, young Jingū and [Takenouchi no Sukune] . . . began to form an army of soldier-adventurers in the Tae Kaya 大伽耶 area, with Koryeong 高靈 [modern Taegu 大邱] as its capital. Apparently messengers were sent to Paekche, with a deal for the monarch there: Support the endeavors of Jingū and she would conquer *The Land of Across* as Paekche's suzerain and also bring the Kaya League territory under its sway . . . The Nihongi of 720 A.D. gives Jingū's route of conquest, beginning with Koryeong and continuing southward . . . However, in order to make Jingū a Japanese, the court histories needed to start Jingū from Kyūshū and take her to Koryeong and then backtrack southward. (In other words she passed peacefully over south Korean territory, and then reversed her route, fighting all the way.)⁴ . . . With [Takenouchi no Sukune] as military advisor,

well as the mirror of the offing and the mirror of the shore."^{<7>}

⁴According to Kojiki (KP: 262-263), Jingū was able to conquer Silla and Paekche with astonishing ease: "Then, exactly in accordance with these [divine] instructions, they put their army in order and marshalled many ships . . . Then a favorable wind began to blow strongly, and the ships moved along with the waves. These waves washed the ships ashore in the land of Siragi, [and they came to rest] halfway across the country 既到半國. At this time the king of the country, struck with awe, said: 'From

augmented by troops and good wishes from Paekche, and also help from Silla, Jingū's plans for conquest of *The Land of Across* went smoothly. According to both court histories of the eighth century, *Silla sent eighty tribute ships* filled with silver and gold. This would seem to be literary hyperbole. Ships were certainly needed to carry out the first amphibious landing in number attempted in this part of the world . . . Both the court histories (Kojiki and Nihongi) report that Jingū and her fleet arrived in Kyūshū without damage."

One may now read Nihongi within the framework set by Covell and Covell (1984). According to Nihongi (NI: 221), in A.D. 199 King Tarashi-Nakatsuhiko was consulting with his ministers about attacking a certain Kumaso 熊襲: "At this time a certain God inspired the Empress [Okinaga-Tarashi] and instructed her, saying 時有神 託皇后 而誨曰 . . . '[Kumaso] is a land wanting in backbone. Is it worthwhile raising an army to attack it? There is a better land than this, a land of treasure, which may be compared to the aspect of a beautiful woman - the land of Mukatsu 向津國 [Opposite]. In that land there is gold and silver and bright colour in plenty.'"^{<10>} One may now contend that Okinaga-Tarashi apparently had Japan [Kyūshū] in mind.

But then Tarashi-Nakatsu heard the words of the God 神言 as transmitted by the queen (NI: 221-222): "If thou worshippes me aright, that land will assuredly yield submission freely, and the edge of thy sword shall not at all be stained with blood"; and "In worshipping me, let these things [the King's ship and rice lands 水田] be given as offerings [to the God]." His mind was filled with doubt. Hence the King answered the queen (i.e., the God whom Okinaga-Tarashi was supposed to represent): "We have looked all around, and there is sea, and no land. Can there be a country in that Great Void? Who is the God who cheats Us with vain illusions?" Hereby Okinaga-Tarashi Jingū must have said to herself (NI: 222): "I see this country lies outstretched like a reflection from Heaven in the water. Why sayest thou [Tarashi-Nakatsu] that there is no country, and dost disparage my words? But as thou, O King! hast spoken thus, and hast utterly refused to believe me, thou shall not possess this land. The child [with whom I have] just become pregnant, he shall obtain it 有胎 其子有獲焉."^{<10>} [This indeed implies that *the Land of Opposite*, i.e.,

now on I will obey . . . ' In accordance with this, the land of Siragi [Silla] was designated as the royal stable-groom, and the land of Kudara [Paekche] was designated as the overseas miyake 屯家 . . . Then she crossed back over [the sea]." ^{<8>} According to Nihongi (NI: 231), the King of Silla, whom 牟婁王 allegedly made her "forage provider" in A.D. 200, was "Phasa 波沙 Maekeum 寐錦," the fifth King of Silla, who reigned from A.D. 80 to A.D. 112.^{<9>}

Japan, was for the Emperor in the Womb, Homuda-wake, to obtain.] Thereupon Okinaga-Tarashi murdered the King, apparently with the help of the Prime Minister Takenouchi no Sukune, and they (NI: 222) “suppressed the mourning for the Emperor [Chūai], and did not allow it to be known to the Empire.” Nihongi (NI: 224) records that the King did “not follow Divine instruction, and had consequently died a premature death.”^{<11>} Nihongi (NI: 223) further records that while the whole kingdom remained ignorant of the King’s demise, Okinaga-Tarashi buried the body of the King secretly in the Palace and then prepared her expedition [against Japan].^{<11>}

Okinaga-Tarashi [Jingū] addressed the ministers (NI: 228) in this manner: “[A]though I am a woman, and a feeble woman too . . . I will avail myself of your assistance . . . Brandishing our weapons, we shall cross the towering billows: preparing an array of ships, we shall take possession of the Land of Treasure. If the enterprise succeeds, all of you, my ministers, will have the credit, while if it is unsuccessful, I alone shall be to blame.” Nihongi (NI: 228) describes the difficulty she faced in collecting ships: “The various provinces were ordered to collect ships and to practise the use of weapons. But an army could not be assembled. The Empress said: ‘This is surely the will of a god!’ So she erected the Shrine of Oho-miwa 大三輪社, and offered there a sword and a spear. Then the troops assembled freely.”^{<12>} Nihongi (NI: 231) notes that the “King of Silla . . . loaded eighty vessels, which he made to follow after the Imperial forces [Okinaga-Tarashi].”^{<9>} Nihongi (NI: 230) records that: “Winter, 10th month, 3rd day, sail was set from the harbor of Wani 和珥津 [in Tsushima] . . . Presently a great wind blew from a favourable quarter on the ships under sail, and following the waves, without the labour of the oar or helm, they arrived at” the destination. Nihongi clearly notes that it was “winter” when [Jingū] started on her voyage. We do know that winter is exactly the right season to sail from Korea to Japan to take advantage of the seasonal winds blowing from the north-west toward Japan in the southeast.^{5 <12>}

Kojiki (KC: 289) also notes that: “. . . while this business was yet uncompleted, [the child] with which she was pregnant was about to be born [in Korea] . . . [S]he took a stone and wound it round the waist of her august

⁵Varley (1973: 16) writes on the voyage of the Japanese envoys to Sui and Tang by ships: “. . . [T]heir sail and rudder systems were primitive and . . . they were obliged to rely on the seasonal winds. They usually left in the spring, when the prevailing winds were westward, and returned in the winter, when the winds blew to the east. The shortest route . . . was across the 115-mile channel that separates *Kyū sū* from southern Korea.”

skirt, and the august child was born after she had crossed [*from Korea*] to the Land of Tsukushi [Kyūshū] [T]he stone . . . is at the village of Ito 筑紫國之伊斗村”^{<8>} When Okinaga Tarashi arrived at Kyūshū, Kojiki (KC: 292) records that she had “doubts concerning the disposition of the people [there] 於倭還上之時 因疑人心” and indeed “King Kagosaka and King Oshikuma, having heard [of the circumstance], thought to waylay her [They] raised an army and lay in wait [for Okinaga-Tarashi-hime] Then an army was landed from the mourning-vessel [which of course was in reality no mourning-vessel, but full of the soldiers from Korea], and joined in combat with the opposing forces.” Kojiki (KC: 293) further records that the troops of Okinaga-Tarashi-hime 息長帶日賣命 “had driven [King Oshikuma’s troops] as far as Yamashiro, [where the latter] turned and made a stand, and both [sides] fought together without retreating . . . [The enemy] fled away to Afu-saka, rallied, and fought again. Then [the troops of Okinaga-Tarashi-hime] pursued and defeated them, and cut to pieces that army at Sasanami. Thereupon King Oshikuma, together with the Noble Isahi, being pursued and pressed, got on board a vessel and floated on the sea. . . . [T]hey plunged into the sea, and died together.”^{<13>}

Eventually jingū seems to have been able to conquer a large portion of Kyūshū, and establish the Queen Country recorded in Wei-zhi. According to Nihongi, however, the conquered land represents the *Land of Opposite* that the child with whom jingū had become pregnant on Korean soil was told to obtain after his birth 有胎其子有獲焉. Nihongi (NI: 241) records for the year A.D. 201 that: “[t]he ministers honoured the Empress [Okinaga-Tarashi-hime] with the title of Grand Empress 皇太后 It was reckoned the first year of her administration of the Government 攝政元年.”^{<14>} As far as Kojiki is concerned, the record on Okinaga-Tarashi-hime essentially terminates at this point. Nihongi(NI: 241), however, states that “the Imperial Prince Homuda-wake,” who was allegedly born in A.D. 200, was appointed *Prince Imperial* 立譽田別皇子 爲皇太子 and accordingly the capital was made at Ihare 都於磐余 in the third year of jingū’s reign [A.D. 203], and then Nihongi adds other stories associated with Homuda-wake.^{<14>} Indeed, the records of Nihongi on the 46th year of jingū and thereafter up to the 65th year seem to be exclusively the stories on Homuda-wake (the Emperor in the Womb 胎中之帝) during the period A.D. 366-385.

Nihongi records that, with the successful conclusion of jingū’s expedition to Kyūshū, Silla and Paekche sent friendly envoys and presents to her and congratulated her on her success. Nihongi (NI: 247) records that in the “47th year [A.D. 247] . . . [t]he King of Paekche sent [an envoy] 王使 . . . with tribute. Now a tribute envoy 調使 from Silla came along with [the Paekche

envoy]. Hereupon the Grand Empress [Jingū] . . . was greatly delighted and said: ‘People from the countries wished for by our late Sovereign [Chūai] have now come to the Court. Alas! that they cannot meet the Emperor!’ There was not one of all the ministers who did not shed tears.”^{6<15>}

The above story of Jingū’s conquest of Kyūshū, Japan, seems to be consistent with an old Korean myth recorded in Samguk-yusa (Ha & Mintz edition: 57-58): “In the fourth year of the reign of King Atala 阿達羅王, the eighth Silla sovereign [A.D. 157] . . . there lived on the eastern seacoast a married couple named Yeonorang 延烏郎 and Seonyeo 細烏女. One day Yeonorang was diving in the ocean to collect seaweed. Suddenly a monstrous rock (some say a big fish) rose beneath him and carried him off to Japan 日本. The people there thought him quite an uncommon person and made him their king 立爲王. Seonyeo, meanwhile, was wondering why her husband did not come back. As she was searching for him along the shore, she saw a pair of straw shoes lying on a big rock at the edge of the water. Recognizing them as her husband’s, she jumped onto the rock and looked about for him. The rock immediately shook gently to and fro for a moment and then drifted merrily off to Japan as before. The Japanese in great wonderment took her from the rock and presented her to their king. Thus the couple was reunited and Seonyeo became a queen 貴妃. The people respected the royal couple and worshiped them like sun and moon.”^{17>}

Nihongi (NI: 224-229) describes extensively the ways in which Okinaga Tarashi [Jingū] practiced shamanism and deluded her people. She conducted the ceremony of purification, constructed a palace of worship, and discharged in person the office of priest 禱祈神祇 while making Takenouchi no Sukune to play on the lute and designating Nakatomi as Saniha 審神者 (the official who examines the utterances prompted by the Deity). She hooked the trout in the river with threads from her skirt, made sacrifices 祭祀神祇, tilled a sacred rice-field, 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, among other feats.^{18>}

According to Matsumoto (1983), “the shamanism by which Himiko deluded people came from southern Korea and was a form of spirit worship.

⁶Nihongi (NI: 247) also records that in the previous year, envoys had been sent “to the Land of Paekche to make friendly inquiries of the King’s health. 遣于百濟國 慰勞其王 [Thereby the] King . . . of Paekche was profoundly pleased, and received them cordially. He presented to Nahaya [chief envoy] a roll each of five kinds of dyed silk, a horn-bow and arrows together with forty bars of iron.”^{16>}

In northern Korea all members of a tribe took part in services for the souls of their ancestors, but in the south one person was chosen as a go-between. The shaman's job was to convey messages from ancestral spirits to the people.”⁷ Matsumoto considers Himiko a kind of an advisor to the federation of tribal chieftains, a shaman who made predictions on matters such as sowing, harvesting, and fighting (against Kuna) but who “must have looked like a ruling queen” to the Chinese envoys who visited Kyūshū in A.D. 239-248.

Matsumoto (1983) speculates on the cause of war between Wa (of Himiko 卑彌呼) and Kuna 拘奴 (of Pimikuku 卑彌呼): “To some degree it may have been a racial conflict. Probably people from the South Pacific islands continued to migrate to south Kyūshū, where, mixing with the native people, they formed a new race that might be called the southern Kyūshū people. The inhabitants of northern Kyūshū, on the other hand, must have originally crossed from the Korean Peninsula.”⁸ Matsumoto presents three prevailing opinions on the eventual fate of the queen's country and Kuna: “Wa later subjugated Kuna, and its people then moved to Kinai 畿内 Kuna destroyed Wa, and moved eastward or [B]oth Wa and Kuna were conquered by a horseriding people from the Korean Peninsula, who then moved to Kawachi 河内 and began the Yamato dynasty.”

One of the most interesting aspects of Japanese history as written by Japanese historians is the fact that while Chen Shou 陳壽 (A.D. 233-297), the author of Wei-zhi, calls Himiko's state “Yamaichi,” almost all Japanese historians have decided to read it “Yamadai 邪馬臺國” and understand it to imply “Yamato 大和.” Indeed Fan Yeh 范曄 (A.D. 398- 445), the author of Hou Han-shu, invigorated those Japanese historians who eagerly wanted to believe that Himiko's state was located in the Kinai-Yamato area by referring to Himiko's state as “Yamadai.” It seems that the development in Japan during the fourth and the first half of fifth century had apparently influenced the author of Hou Han-shu and led him to make this “innocent” error. Anyway, wild speculations over the location of the so-called “Yamatai Koku” seem to have been a form of public entertainment in Japan until Furuta

⁷Matsumoto (1983) continues: “Since the faith did not exist in China, or in the part of the Korean peninsula under strong Chinese influence, the Chinese considered it a pagan religion.”

⁸According to Egami (1964), “the manners and customs of the Wo-jen 倭人 or people of Wo described in Wo-jen-Chuan 倭人傳 are remarkably *southern* . . . [T]here is no doubt that the manners of the people of Wo - the people of the late Yayoi period - in western Japan, particularly ㄝyū slū as known to the Chinese of the third century, included much that was common to the manners of the people of South East Asia. . .”

Takehiko 古田武彦 (1983) spoiled the affair by making public his unflattering theory.

Takemoto (1983) summarizes the study of Furuta Takehiko as follows. In *Wei-zhi*, which was written by Chen Shou between A.D. 280 and 297, Himiko's state is named Yamaichi. In *Hou Han-shu*, written by Fan Yeh between A.D. 429 and 439, it is called Yamadai. Chen Shou was writing contemporary history and had personally observed much of what he wrote about. Fan Yeh was writing about events that preceded him by several hundred years, relying solely on written sources. In Chen Shou's *San-guo-zhi*, of which *Wei-zhi* is a part, the character "ichi" 壹 appears 86 times and the character "dai" 臺 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" 邪 and "ma" 馬 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. Yamadai was Fan Yeh's creation. Furthermore, Furuta 古田 shows 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 Yamaichi. 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 Yamaichi state described by Chen Shou had to be located in the northern part of Kyūshū

Miller (1980: 127) notes that: "The fascist-nationalist ideologists erected an elaborate and extremely mischievous myth, one that attempted to project the power, authority, and quasi-divine role of the late- and post-Meiji imperial figure back into the remote past, in a thoroughly unhistoric and indeed quite anachronistic manner. In defending this indefensible myth against the plain evidence of history, the location as well as the identification of Japan's earliest center of culture [at the Kyōto-Nara area] became a matter of great ideological urgency for them. As a result, even the study of this aspect of early Japan was sharply regulated, and these questions could not be studied [before 1945] in anything resembling the spirit of free inquiry without the danger of repressive measures of the most severe sort."