

## INFORMATION TO USERS

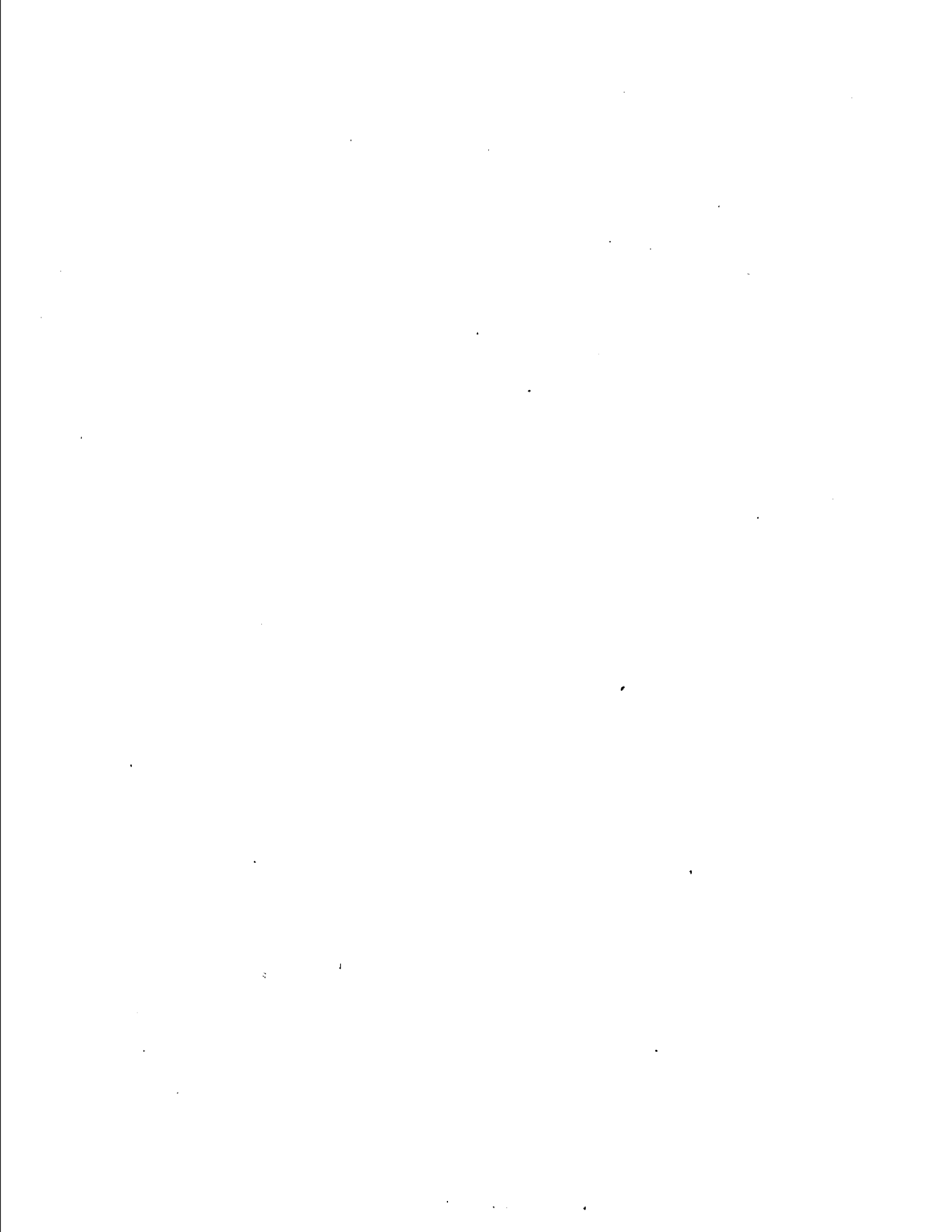
This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University  
Microfilms  
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106



1323940

LI, PO-JU

SINO-JAPANESE POLITICAL RELATIONS BEFORE THE FIFTH  
CENTURY A.D.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

M.A. 1984

University  
Microfilms  
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106



PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark .

1. Glossy photographs or pages \_\_\_\_\_
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print \_\_\_\_\_
3. Photographs with dark background \_\_\_\_\_
4. Illustrations are poor copy \_\_\_\_\_
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy \_\_\_\_\_
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page \_\_\_\_\_
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages
8. Print exceeds margin requirements \_\_\_\_\_
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine \_\_\_\_\_
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print \_\_\_\_\_
11. Page(s) \_\_\_\_\_ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) \_\_\_\_\_ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered \_\_\_\_\_. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages \_\_\_\_\_
15. Other \_\_\_\_\_

University  
Microfilms  
International



SINO-JAPANESE POLITICAL RELATIONS  
BEFORE THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

by  
Po-ju Li

---

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS  
In the Graduate College  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1 9 8 4

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgement of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his or her judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: \_\_\_\_\_

*Dojin Li*

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

*Jing-shen Tao*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Tao Jing-shen  
Professor of Oriental  
Studies and History

*August 20, 1984*  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Date



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deep appreciation to my thesis director, Dr. Tao Jing-shen for guiding me in the study of traditional Chinese history and for reading the early draft of this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Gail Bernstein and Dr. Charles Hedtke for reading the draft.

Further, I owe a great debt to my parents, who sent me to Taiwan where I completed my undergraduate education and learned to read and write the Chinese language. I wish to especially thank my father, Dr. Li Hsien-chang, who has guided me in the study of the social sciences as applied to China and Japan, and who has given me the inspiration to enter this field of study. Finally I would like to thank Mr. John Freedom for his assistance in editing and typing the manuscript.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	v
ABSTRACT .....	vi
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INVESTITURE SYSTEM .....	3
3. EARLY RECORDS OF SINO-JAPANESE POLITICAL RELATIONS .....	23
4. JAPANESE DOMESTIC TURMOIL AND CHINESE DYNASTIC CHANGES .....	39
5. THE BEGINNING OF DIRECT CONTACT WITH CHINA .....	44
6. JAPANESE ADVANCES INTO THE KOREAN PENINSULA .....	61
7. JAPAN'S ENTRANCE INTO THE CIRCLE OF CHINA'S EXTERNAL RETAINERS .....	71
8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS .....	93
ENDNOTES . .....	102
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	113

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS\*

Figure	Page
1. Later Han Period (25-220 A.D) .....	99
2. Three Kingdom Period: Wei (221-263 A.D.), Shu (220-265 A.D.), Wu (222-280 A.D.) ..	100
3. Liu Sung Period (420-479 A.D.) .....	101

---

\*In order to draw these maps, the author consulted the following books: Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, tr. by Ryusaku Tsunoda (South Pasadena: P.D. and Ione Perkins, 1951); Shin-Kan teikoku by Nishijima Sadao (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974); Nihon no rekishi, v. 1, by Inoue Mitsusada (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1965); Sekaishi chizucho by Murakami Kentarō et al. (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 1970).

SINO-JAPANESE POLITICAL RELATIONS  
BEFORE THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

Po-ju Li

The University of Arizona, 1984

Director: Tao Jing-shen

The purpose of this thesis has been to trace the development of Sino-Japanese relations from the earliest records of the end of the second century B.C. through the fifth century A.D., and in so doing to seek to understand the specific nature of these relations.

These relations were characterized by the investiture and tributary systems. These systems are discussed and analyzed in detail, from their origins in the old "commandery-and-district" feudalism of pre-Han times to the ultimately pervasive role they exerted throughout all of China's foreign affairs.

Concurrent historical developments in China, Japan and Korea are noted, and the underlying relationships between these events and the system of investiture are illustrated and explored.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Some students of history attempt to explain international affairs by examining the roles, intentions, and political tactics of specific individuals holding important positions in ruling organizations or by analyzing specific international contact. However, it is better to examine the reasons why foreign policy has fulfilled partial domestic political tactics and measures. Also, besides studying policy from perspectives of the international relation which existed, the consciousness and ideology of the ruling clan, as well as the political structure and historical tradition underling consciousness and ideology must be analyzed. This thesis partially answers this question by taking Sino-Japanese political relation as an example.

With these problems in mind, this thesis examines the functions of China's foreign policy in the East Asian states through the contact with Japan or to examine the common political threads created by China, if any, which run through the histories of the East Asian states before the fifth century. At the same time, this thesis describes and analyzes how the policy and the threads affected Japan's international political and military position in East Asia

as well as the unification of contending Japanese states and Japan's domestic socio-political structure.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INVESTITURE SYSTEM

Several studies on Sino-Japanese relations before the tenth century have been carried out mainly by Japanese scholars.<sup>1</sup> This thesis is to consider Sino-Japanese relations as part of the history of the whole East Asian world, because the histories of China, Korea, Japan and the other East Asian states are not possible to be interpreted independently; rather, East Asian history can only be understood as the history of a world with China as its center.

If one is to consider traditional East Asia as a universe, one can seek to discover common threads which run through the histories of the East Asian states. In taking this perspective, this thesis will treat the policy of investiture, or investment (t'se-feng 册封) as a unifying thread, which can help explain the historical development of China and Japan, and the reciprocal structure of Sino-Japanese political relations. Conversely, the historical meaning of the Chinese investiture system may be clarified through examining the Sino-Japanese political relationship.

To what degree the investiture policy influenced Sino-Japanese political relations still remains a question. However, it certainly did play an extremely important role

in the structure of China's relations with her surrounding states. According to Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生, China and her surrounding states were able to engage in a sovereign-subject relationship through the exercise of the investiture policies; these policies were the key that opened the door to cultural flow. The most important cultural factor was the spread of usage of Chinese characters, which became the basic means of communication for exchanging diplomatic documents. Simultaneously, it enabled the subordinate states to learn and absorb Chinese language, Confucianism, Chinese Buddhism, and law.<sup>2</sup>

The investiture system was developed from the old commandery (chün 郡) and district (hsien 縣) system and was a by-product of the peerage system, in which the Chinese emperors in Ch'in 秦 (221-206 B.C.) and Han 漢 (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) times theoretically had political control over each individual. This system of peerage already could be seen during Chou 周 (722-481 B.C.) feudalism. During Han times, for example, Chinese emperors bestowed one of twenty different honorary ranked titles on individuals. These titles were given in order to regulate social order and position. In return, the honored recipients paid duties and corvee. Those receiving titles also received certain privileges in society and before the law. Historical materials show that the common people could not receive any



titles higher than the eighth rank, called "Gentlemanly Chariot" (kung-sheng 公乘).

Only government officials and military officers could have one of the higher ranked titles. The highest ranked, with which this paper is concerned, was initially termed "Full Marquis" (ch'e-hou 徹侯), and later was referred to as t'ung-hou 通侯 or lieh-hou 列侯; it was given to meritorious officers or political officials after the enthronement of Emperor Kao-tsu 高祖 of the former Han dynasty (206-195 B.C.). After this time, subordinates of the emperor, such as friends and relatives, were not permitted as close a relationship with him as before. When Liu Pang 劉邦 became the Emperor Kao-tsu in 206 B.C., some meritorious officers were appointed military officers with a certain peerage according to their merits. The relationship between Liu Pang as the Emperor of the Han dynasty and his subordinates with official titles or military offices was transformed from a private relationship to a bureaucratic one.<sup>3</sup> After Liu Pang ascended the throne, this relationship was formalized; and over time this relationship was delineated increasingly more clearly.

This relationship was a reciprocal one in that the Emperor gave these titles to meritorious individuals in exchange for their services. At least one fief, equal in size to one district, was given to the highest titleholder, Full Marquis. The enfeoffed district was renamed a

Marquisate, or state (kuo 國).<sup>4</sup> The number of households in each district varied from 500 to 15,000 at first. Any taxes were treated as the revenue of these Full Marquis, but they were usually absent from their own Marquisate and resided in the capital of the state.

Besides the twenty ranked titles, Emperor Kao-tsu specially reserved the title of "Retainer King" (chu-hou-wang 諸侯王) for distinguished meritorious military officers, government officials, and close royal family members. Each title holder could receive several commanderies; each commandery contained more than ten districts. These feoffs were also called kingdoms or states (kuo 國).

In Ch'in times, the commanderies and districts had been managed by administrators appointed by the Emperor. After the period of Emperor Kao-tsu, in addition to those commanderies and districts directly supervised by the Emperor, the Marquisates and Retainer-King-states alone totaled more than thirty commanderies. For this reason this system is generally referred to as the "commandery-and-state system" rather than the "commandery-and-district system" in the Han dynasty.

The right of the sovereign and financial affairs of the kingdom were assumed by the Retainer King, and its government was independent of and almost isolated from the central government. However, the Retainer King was

closely observed by a "Lieutenant Chancellor" (ch'eng-hsiang 丞相) of the central government on behalf of the Emperor. The Retainer King had the duty of having regular audiences with the Emperor twice each year in spring and autumn; otherwise, he would be charged with treason and be punished. However, the trend toward increasing independence for the retainer-kingdoms progressed little by little as their economic power increased, and the balance of power gradually shifted. Thus a state system emerged similar to the the feudal system in the Chou period in which China was not a single political unit but rather a central government overseeing many independent states having their own political organization.<sup>5</sup>

In later periods the commandery-and-state system within China gradually developed into a loose framework connecting the Chinese Emperors and alien rulers under one political system. The policy that the retainer-kingdoms and alien states could stand on an equal footing was also developed.<sup>6</sup>

In the political administration of alien states, tribes and communities, tributary and subordinate relations to the Emperor were formed on the one hand, whereas on the other hand the alien states were allowed to keep their own social system and institutions. This manner of governing alien states was termed the "loose rein" (chi-mi 羈摩) policy.<sup>7</sup> When an alien state acknowledged its political

dependency on China, its rulers received Chinese official titles such as Marquis (hou 侯) and King (wang 王) and would be called "external retainers" (wai-ch'en 外臣). Their state territories, called "external territories" (wai-fan 外藩), became Chinese political administrative units and functioned as "kuo" (states). This whole system is now referred to as the investiture system.

The Chinese counter-part of these terms "external retainer" and "external territory" were "internal retainer" (nei-ch'en 內臣) and "internal territory" (nei-fan 內藩). The term "nei-ch'en" referred to the "Retainer King" (chu-hou-wang), and "nei-fan" referred to the state kuo inside China.

The external retainers appeared in East Asia after the reign of the first Emperor of the Han dynasty. In the case of Nan yŭeh 南粵, as an example, the Emperor dispatched an official, Lu Chia 陸賁 to Nan yŭeh to bestow on Chao T'ŏ 趙佗 the title of King sometime in the late third or early second century B.C. This was probably the first example of a Chinese Emperor treating a foreign state as an external retainer and concluding sovereign-subject relations.<sup>8</sup>

This relationship can be further illuminated through examining the phraseology used in their official correspondence. The Emperor Wen 文 (180-157 B.C.) used the term

"Huang-ti chin wen" 皇帝敬問 (the Emperor reverently asks you) at the beginning of his letter to Chao T'o. Conversely, Chao T'o in his letter to the emperor called himself "Ch'en T'o" 臣佗 (follower T'o) and "Man-i ta-chang-lao" 蠻夷大長老 (barbarian great elderly man). Moreover, he often used the words "Mei-ssu tsai-pai" 昧死再拜 (a man who is worthy of a foolish death receives your honor's order), "Shang-shu" 上書 (present a document to the Emperor) and "Huang-ti pi-hsia" 皇帝陛下 (his majesty the Emperor). These show that Chao T'o acknowledged himself as the Emperor's subject by using the more modest terms.<sup>9</sup> Chao T'o also made a copy of the official seal from the Chinese Emperor showing his subjective loyalty.<sup>10</sup> Then, he demonstrated his leadership by using the title and seal in his relations with people both inside and in the surrounding area of Nan yŭeh.<sup>11</sup>

The above mentioned sovereign-state relationship could be found between China and such states as Min-yŭeh 閩粵, Tung-yŭeh 東粵, Hsi-ou 西甌, Hui 濊, and Ch'ao-hsien 朝鮮.<sup>12</sup> This relationship was characteristically different from those between China and other states such as Hsiŭng-nu 匈奴. As a result of the war in 201 B.C., China and Hsiŭng-nu made a pact of friendship. China presented Hsiŭng-nu with precious cloths and food-stuffs annually. Subsequently, Hsiŭng-nu stood on a superior

diplomatic and political position at least until the reign of Emperor Wu 武 (141-87 B.C.).

In this case also, exchanges of official documents between the two states tell us much about the nature of their relationship. Both the letter of Chieftain Mao-tun (Mao-tun shan-yü 冒頓單于 ; 209-174 B.C.) of Hsiüng-nu to the Emperor Wu in 176 B.C. and the Emperor's response in 174 B.C. used the phrase "ching wen" 敬問 (respectfully ask). In this example it can be seen that Hsiüng-nu's international position stood on at least the same footing as China's. Some scholars point out that the two nations were in "a state of rival status", or "an equal adversary" (ti-kuo 敵國) relationship, which means that the association was equal in terms of "li" 禮 (ceremony; etiquette; propriety).<sup>13</sup>

After the death of Chieftain Mao-tun in 174 B.C. his son, Chieftain Lao-shang (Lao-shang shan-yü 老上單于 ; 174-160 B.C.) ascended the throne. The Emperor Wu sent a girl as a substitute for his daughter with her caretaker, Chung-hsing Shuo 中行說 (second century B.C.), to Hsiüng-nu. This caretaker persuaded Chieftain Lao-shang to use a larger "tu" 牘 (wooden sheet for character-writing) and a larger "ying" 印 (seal).<sup>14</sup> Both the presentation of the girl and the suggestion of the caretaker are evidence of China's humiliation before Hsiüng-nu. In 49 B.C., Emperor Yüan 元 (49-33 B.C.) dispatched Han Ch'an 韓昌 and

Chang Meng 張猛 to Hsiŭng-nu and concluded an agreement with Fu-han-yeh shan-yŭ 呼韓邪單于 (58-31 B.C.), the new chieftain. The content of the agreement was severely criticized by Emperor Yŭan's officials because it stated, in part, that if either state broke the agreement it would receive punishment from Heaven.<sup>15</sup> This implied that the Hsiŭng-nu rulers shared the right to the mandate of Heaven, which was originally the sole domain of the Chinese Emperor. This brought further disgrace upon China.

However, China's political position was not always lower than that of Hsiŭng-nu. For example, in the second century A.D., both China and Hsiŭng-nu entered into an agreement concerning the problem of exiles who sought refuge in Hsiŭng-nu. These agreements stated that Hsiŭng-nu was prohibited by China from accepting any exiles from China, Wu-sun 烏孫, or Wu-huan 烏桓.<sup>16</sup> The leader of the Western Frontier Region States who received official seals from the Chinese Emperor indicating their subordination to China were treated in the same category. Once China achieved a superior status vis-a-vis Hsiŭng-nu, she insisted on maintaining it with all nations: every state had to accept the dictates of the Emperor. Since Hsiŭng-nu was now subordinate to China, exiles could no longer flee there.

Actually, by the end of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.-8 A.D.) China's political prestige had already overshadowed that of Hsiŭng-nu. Hsiŭng-nu's invasions into

China had decreased. As the balance of power between the two states shifted, so did their political relationship. After initially being in "an equal adversary" relationship, this relationship evolved to the point where China categorized Hsiŭng-nu as a "Guest Retainer" (k'o-ch'en 客臣), in which imperial influence was less prevalent and only special aspects of "li" (propriety) were observed.<sup>17</sup>

The case of Hsiŭng-nu was exceptional, while that of Nan-Yŭeh and Ch'ao-hsien were more common. The subordinate relationship characteristic of the latter two states became the standard pattern of Sino-foreign relations up until the nineteenth century.

The status of "external retainer" was a conditional one; these states were expected to fulfill certain obligations to China. For example, during the reign of Emperor Hui 惠 (195-188 B.C.), a Grand Administrator (t'ai-shou 太守) of Liao-tung 遼東 Commandery, who was the mediator between Han China and Wei-Man Ch'ao-hsien 衛滿朝鮮, extracted two pledges from that state. First, the external retainer had to take up garrison duties and prevent the invasion of foreigners.<sup>18</sup> This duty was based on "middle kingdom" (chung-hua 中華) ideology, which sought to separate alien states and tribes from China, and which recognized the true value of human beings only in the Chinese people.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, the external retainer must not interfere with the travel of anyone who wished to visit



China or who had an official audience with the Emperor.<sup>20</sup> The rationale for this policy was termed "civilizing influences" (wang-hua 王化) or "kingcraft" (wang-tao 王道), which implied the cultivation of virtue. The Emperors were considered to be endowed with virtue; the cultivation of virtue would create an ideal world order.<sup>21</sup> The Chinese believed that foreigners visiting China did so because of their admiration of the Chinese rulers' virtue. This policy could then lead to open up political relations between China and foreign states which had formerly been severed.

This policy is closely related to the concepts of "Emperor" (huang-ti 皇帝) and "Son of Heaven" (t'ien-tzu 天子). In order to establish Confucianism as the official ideology in the Former Han dynasty, religious rituals, ancestor worship and modes of conduct were revised and codified. These were based on the political ideology of "kingcraft" or "civilizing influences". However, a rationale for the concept of "huang-ti" (Emperor) was still lacking. Confucianism was a classical thought, and it was difficult to justify a new authority with its precepts. The Five Classics 五經 did not show any references to this concept.

It was through the acceptance of the theory of "ch'en-wei" 讖緯 (verification of prophecies), that Confucianism was able to legitimize the existence of the

Emperor as a world ruler. "Ch'en" is the character for "natural phenomenon", and refers to a prophecy of the future. Since Confucian thought did not seek to explain universal phenomena, the term "wei" was added, implying and interpretation. Both of these terms have mystical connotations but could solve the necessary problems without contradicting the basic tenets of Confucianism.

Heretofore, it was believed that the ideal ruler was one who would guide the people with his natural virtue. The Heaven (t'ien 天) appointed such a ruler called the "Son of Heaven". The Emperor was then the ruler of the Universe (shang-ti 上帝) who was appointed by the decree of Heaven and possessed absolute authority. The books of "Wei" such as The Bud of Original Life of Spring and Autumn (Ch'un-ch'iu yüan-ming-pao 春秋元命苞)<sup>22</sup> The Verification of the Book of History (Shang-shu wei 尚書緯),<sup>23</sup> and The Verification of Changes (I wei 易緯)<sup>24</sup> explain "Emperor" as a brilliant ruler (huang-huang 煌煌) or absolute existence of the Universe (chih-tsun chih hao, 至尊之號). Thus the term "Emperor" in the book of "Wei" could be reconciled.<sup>25</sup>

In practical usage, however, the function of "t'ien-tzu" was to rule over barbarians, and that of "huang-ti" was to govern kings and marquis within China. This fact is evident from an examination of the official seals of the period. Three kinds of seals with the Chinese

characters "huang-ti" were prepared for internal affairs, and those in which the characters "t'ien-tzu" were inscribed were used for external diplomatic relations. As regards the "Son of Heaven" (t'ien-tzu), the concept of Heaven as the authority regulating the order between China and a foreign state was important because an agreement between the two parties was made under the authority of Heaven. If one of them violated the treaty, it would incur punishment. Therefore any agreements related to foreign affairs had to use the title "subordinated to the Heaven, the son of Heaven".

In examining this matter further, Wang Mang, who spear-headed the nationalization of Confucianism, tried to translate Confucian concepts into political reality. He emphasized the idea of distinguishing Chinese states from barbarian states, which policy could be observed in the gradual worsening of relations between China and Hsiŭng-nu, and in the alienation of Koguryo and the Western Frontier Region States.<sup>26</sup> A coin called "huo-chūan" 貨泉 produced in Wang Mang's reign was discovered in northern Kyūshū. His political influence extended into Japan in the period of Yayoi, (second century B.C. - second century A.D.); however, what political relationships existed at that time is not known. At the least, Japan was a growing power as were the Korean States.<sup>27</sup>

Even while China's Confucian foreign policy was developing, the defensive forces of foreign states were

increasing. China's military superiority existed under a condition of a balance of power with the foreign states. In the later Former Han period (first century B.C.), foreign political relations with Japan and the Korean states were being formalized; however, it was not easy to apply the commandery-and-state system to them. Their political and social growth inhibited the establishment of this system. Nevertheless, despite resistance, this theory had been translated into political reality by the time of the third and fourth centuries A.D.

The major premise for exercising the investiture system was that China needed a well-organized internal political structure, since the external political system was a reflection of the internal one. Also, the East Asian states had achieved a sufficiently advanced level of political society so that both states were able to engage in diplomatic communication. This system worked more effectively in an agrarian society where Confucianism was easily accepted. Chinese culture could not be successfully transplanted to nomadic tribes because they migrated frequently. The balance of power was another factor; in times when the Chinese were clearly superior, the system worked well. Further, both China's and the foreign states' internal conditions affected the working of the investiture system. When one of the parties was not politically stable, the system either could not be established, or would fall apart.

As Nishijima strongly emphasized in his researches, a simple tribute from a foreign state was not sufficient to establish the investiture relationship, because China might not respond to the foreign states' tribute.<sup>28</sup> In many cases, China took the initiative role in such relations, which became established only after China acknowledged the existence of the tributary state and conferred an official title and seal on it. Also, in the early Han dynasty (second century B.C.) a tribute was not requested by China but was often a voluntary action on the part of a foreign state who wished to be a subordinate and to accept Chinese propriety (li 禮) and virtue (te 德) totally or partially.

The practice of receiving tribute was not an expression of economic exploitation on China's part. In actual practice, the Chinese Emperors gave away more return gifts than they received. The Chinese government even restricted the frequency of tributary activities due to its internal financial condition and the excessive expenses incurred. For foreign states, most of the exotic, precious and luxurious goods from China were not quite up to the quality and quantity of the standards of that period; one notable exception being the gifts that the Emperor sent to the Hsiung-nu chieftain, Fu-han-yeh, as "Guest Retainer".<sup>29</sup>

Trade was able to be initiated immediately upon the presentation of tribute to the Emperor or his representative,

but overall, commerce was not very active during the Han period.<sup>30</sup> Chinese goods were able to be purchased as needed through markets in the frontier areas called "kuang-shih" 關市 ("border-area market").<sup>31</sup> Since the society of alien states in those days was still close to a state of nature, and social class and status were not clearly differentiated, purchasing power and demand were not very strong; international trade was thus limited. Goods from China were treated as status symbols by the privileged and did not play a major role in cultural diffusion.

One point which needs to be mentioned here is that cultural flow was mainly affected by immigrants at that time. Agricultural technology and material innovations could be imported and accepted by foreign states much faster than literary expressions. Also, cultural absorption did not always go hand-in-hand with political communication, except where a foreign state had reached a certain level of civilization and had experienced a need for Chinese culture.

One side-benefit of cultural diffusion was that it helped to avoid wars. In the same manner as treaties, tribute, and return gifts, the system itself had the function of negotiation. The external states could use Chinese influence as a safe cushion upon which to organize and advanced political society and to control local leaders and their people. This system helped to facilitate the stable formation of the state, helped enforce political control

over other states, and helped establish a small world order outside China proper.

During the early Han empire, both Nan-yüeh and Ch'ao-hsien became external retainers of China. The pattern in which foreign states subordinated themselves to China did not appear until the Ch'in dynasty. The first Emperor, Ch'in shih huang 秦始皇, unified China and enforced the commandery-and-district system; this system was much preferable than to attempt to control the whole of China directly. At that time, applying this system to foreign states was not even considered. It was not until the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C-8 A.D.) that China adopted the commandery-and-state system, enfeoffing lands with official titles to royal family members and distinguished meritorious officials as well as to foreign rulers outside Chinese territory. This action actually reduced the influence of the Emperors because of the resulting division of power and the revival of feudalism. However, by utilizing the commandery-and-state system along with a commandery-and-district system, political influence could extend to outside China. Thus, alien states received official titles and seals, in the same manner as the internal retainers, and they became part of China's administrative units.

One difference between the internal and external retainers was that the internal retainers were usually given to members of the Liu clan, royal family members, and noble

and meritorious persons. An official called the "Lieutenant Chancellor" was dispatched to supervise the land and retainer. After the Rebellion of the Wu 吳 and Ch'u 楚 states in 154 B.C., the internal retainers lost the right of sovereign power within their own political domains.

At first the external retainers were quite literally "external", and could maintain their own independence. Their traditional ceremonies, culture, institutions, etc. were permitted to be preserved. Chinese laws and ethics were not necessarily absorbed and accepted by the populace; only the rulers were influenced by Chinese "virtue and propriety" to some extent. As communication opened up between China and her subordinate states, some of these states determined to maintain their cultural independence insofar as possible.

However, beginning in the late Former Han period, strong Chinese influence began to endanger the foreign states' independence. This was due, in part, to the increasingly strong centralization of China. China's internal retainers lost sovereignty over their states and were directly controlled by officials dispatched from the central government during the reign of Emperor Wu 武 (141-87 B.C.). The states were reduced to political subdivisions and were treated in the same ways as a commandery-and-district. This trend could also be observed in some of the external retainers and territories.



The existence of the commandery-and-state system did not contradict the existence of the external retainer system. The commandery-and-state system was an extension of the Chinese rulers' policy of expanding China's territory and influence, but practically its enforcement faced political limitations. Therefore, the external retainer system needed to co-exist with the commandery-and-state system; and in practice it would have been impossible to bring all the external retainer-states into the commandery-and-state system. This can be seen from the following examples of Nan-yüeh and Ch'ao-hsien.

In Nan-yüeh, the Lieutenant Chancellor, Lü Chia 呂嘉, insisted that Nan-yüeh should not be an external retainer, and that the king and queen should not pay a visit to Emperor Wu. In 113 B.C. Emperor Wu dispatched two thousand troops with a Chinese official, Han Ch'ien-ch'iu 韓千秋, and a younger brother of the Nan-yüeh queen, Chiu Lo 樛樂, to Nan-yüeh to plot the killing of Lü Chia and to overthrow the government. This attempt was not successful. In the following year a punitive force was sent to Nan-yüeh, and the anti-Chinese elements were suppressed in 111 B.C. The government was overthrown, and Nan-yüeh was divided into nine Chinese commanderies.<sup>32</sup>

During the same period, Yeh-lang 夜郎 and Tien 滇, states maintained their independence as external

retainers. However, several other southwestern tribal states were converted into commanderies because their leaders killed the Chinese envoys who requested reinforcements to resolve the conflict in Nan-yüeh, and thus refused to cooperate with China.<sup>33</sup>

The government of Ch'ao-hsien was also overthrown by China and was converted into the commanderies of Lo-lang 樂浪, Hsüan-t'u 玄菟, Lin-tun 臨屯, and Chen-fan 真番. The king Wei Yu-ch'ü 衛右渠, a grandson of Wei Man, did not have an audience with the Emperors, and also prevented envoys of Chen 辰 and Chen-fan states from visiting the Emperor. Ch'ao-hsien also allowed refugees from China to stay there. These incidents were inconsistent with the duty of external retainers and the ideology of "kingcraft". In 109 B.C. Emperor Wu dispatched troops to Ch'ao-hsien after Wei Yu-ch'ü murdered She Ho 涉何, the Commandant of the Liao-tung commandery. In the summer of 108 B.C. Wei was murdered by a follower, Ni Hsi 尼谿. Soon after Ch'ao-hsien was divided into four Chinese commanderies.<sup>34</sup>

Even though Emperor Wu converted both Nan-yüeh and Ch'ao-hsien into commanderies and districts, the commandery-and-state system became greatly strengthened after Confucianism was nationalized at the end of the Former Han dynasty. Political relations with foreign states were thus expanded.

## CHAPTER 3

### EARLY RECORDS OF SINO-JAPANESE POLITICAL RELATIONS

At this time historical and archaeological materials cannot provide us with enough information to accurately reconstruct Sino-Japanese relations before the Warring States (Chang-kuo 戰國) period (403-221 B.C.). However, China's remarkable influence on Japan had begun at least by the reign of Emperor Wu (141-87 B.C.). During this period the northern Korean peninsula was ruled over by four commanderies under China's direct jurisdiction. China gradually became aware of Japan politically through the commanderies and the South Korean states.

There are three Chinese records on Sino-Japanese relations during the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). Few facts can be verified directly from these fragmentary and one-sided historical materials; we can only conjecture about the nature of Japan's relations with China. The first record of Sino-Japanese relations appears in the History of the Former Han Dynasty (Han-shu 漢書). It records, "In Lo-lang 樂浪 Sea there lived Wa people. There were more than one hundred states. They had an audience [with the Emperor or his officials] every year regularly."<sup>35</sup> These sentences refer to the period after 108 B.C. when the

Lo-lang commandery was established and before 83 A.D. when the History of the former Han Dynasty was compiled.

Most scholars believe that the term "Wa people" (Wo jen 倭人) refers to the Japanese residents of northern Kyūshū 九州; however, some scholars have pointed out that "Wa" is not necessarily the Japanese or Japan. The term "Wa" as used in the Mountain and Water Classics (Shan-hai ching 山海經)<sup>36</sup> and the History of the Later Han Dynasty (Hou Han shu 後漢書)<sup>37</sup> shows that "Wa" could be located in south-eastern Inner Mongolia or the southern part of northeastern China. The Discourse Weighed in Balance (Lun-heng 論衡) implies that the "Wa people" resided in southeastern China;<sup>38</sup> while the History of the Kingdom of Wei (Wei-chin 魏志) suggests that "Wa" was situated in southern Korea.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, even the author of the History of the Former Han Dynasty, Pan Ku 班固 (32-92 A.D.), treated Wa as an area of Yen 燕, state in northeast China.<sup>40</sup>

However, it is still reasonable to believe that the "Wa"\* described in the History of the Former Han Dynasty refers to the Japanese of northern Kyūshū because Pan Ku, in referring to "eastern barbarians", mentioned that this was

---

\*In the following paragraphs, this paper will use the term "Wa" instead of "Wo" to refer to Japan. The term "Wa" is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese character "Wo" 倭.

the reason why Confucius wanted to go out into the Eastern Sea.<sup>41</sup>

The tributary activity of Wa Japan in the Former Han period was probably caused by her fear resulting from the establishment of the Lo-lang and the other three commanderies and the annexation of territory by China in the Northern Korean Peninsula in 108 B.C. One of the purposes of setting up these commanderies in Northern Korea was to oppose the Wei-Man Ch'ao-hsien 衛滿朝鮮 kingdom in Korea. In response, Japan began to communicate with China through the practice of tribute. In the History of the Former Han Dynasty, at the end of the sentence referring to Wa Japan's tribute the term "[it is] said" (yōn 云) is used.<sup>42</sup> This may mean that the record on this matter is not certain or is not based on a reliable source. However, it is probably true that Japanese envoys were occasionally dispatched either to the Lo-lang commandery where China's representative officials were stationed or had visited the Chinese capital to have an audience with the Emperor. It is not known whether or not China conferred any titles, seals or return gifts on the Japanese envoys.

Japanese society around the second century B.C. was in a state of transition from a tribal community developing into a primitively organized political state, which state was parallel to the cultural change from the pottery to the

iron culture without the intermediate bronze stage. Chinese dynastic histories referred to these states in northern Kyūshū as "kuo" 國. The term "state" as used here does not necessarily imply an element of hierarchical society with its accompanying political power. Japan had not yet reached the stage of Chinese state-like social and political structure but was a loosely-united federation of more than one hundred "states". From the record of continual meetings with Chinese Emperors (or Commandery Administrators on the Korean peninsula), at the very least a stable ruling organization existed in such "kuo". However, even if northern Kyūshū at the level of early irrigated-field rice cultivation was ready to accept a certain degree of Chinese or Korean political and social organization, it was still difficult to copy such a system and apply it to Japanese society. Probably Chinese influence was limited to the use of bronze swords and mirrors, precious clothes, ceremonial devices and burial accessories accepted by the ruling classes as shamanistic instruments with which to control their subordinates. These goods were brought into Japan in return for Japanese tribute.<sup>43</sup>

One point which needs to be examined here is the diffusion of culture. Japan's Yayoi 彌生 culture, which was formed in the third and second century B.C. in West Japan, experienced influences from the Continent. Cultural, social and political changes were due to the southward migration of

Chinese exiles and colonial settlers from Lo-lang commandery. The role of immigrants in transplanting Continental culture and civilization was often greater than that of tributary activity.

The second record in 57 A.D. in the History of the Later Han Dynasty reveals some of the reasons why Japan wanted to communicate with China by way of tribute. To examine the historical material first, the History of the Later Han Dynasty, which covers the period 25-200 A.D., was written and edited by Fan Yeh 范曄 (398-445 A.D.) and others of Liu Sung's 劉宋 time (420-479); therefore, the compilation of this book occurred later than the writing of the History of the Kingdom of Wei, which covers the period of 221-265 A.D. and was compiled by Ch'en Shou 陳壽 (233-297 A.D.) of Chin times (265-316 A.D.). Concerning Japan as described in the History of the Later Han Dynasty, the author cited both the History of the Former Han Dynasty and the History of the Kingdom of Wei. However, the History of the Later Han Dynasty is not regarded as accurate because it contains some obvious misquotations and misinterpretations. (The records of 57 and 107 A.D. were collected independently of other materials). Some scholars have hypothesized that Fan Yeh referred to a lost book called the Continual History of the Han Dynasty (Hsü Han-shu 續漢書), compiled by Ssu-ma Piao 司馬彪 (240-305? A.D.), but there is no evidence of this.

The record of 57 A.D. in the History of the Later Han Dynasty, which was the last year of the reign of the first Emperor of the Later Han dynasty, Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 (25-57 A.D.), relates "the Nu 奴 'state' of Wa sent an envoy with tribute and had an audience [with the Chinese emperor]. The dispatched envoy called himself "Grandee" (ta fu, 大夫). [This state was] located in the southern extremity of Wa. [The Chinese Emperor] Kuang-Wu bestowed (upon him or upon the Nu leader) a seal."<sup>44</sup> It is commonly accepted that the location of Nu is contemporary Hakata 博多 area. The envoy called himself "Grandee" because experience with the Lo-lang commandery and with China had given Japan some familiarity with the Chinese official system. The envoy's audience with Emperor Kuang-wu can be confirmed with the record in other chapters of the History of the Later Han dynasty.<sup>45</sup>

Japan's tribute seems to have been influenced by China's forceful foreign policy on the Korean peninsula. The four commanderies established in the northern Peninsula during the reign of Emperor Wu (141-87 B.C.) were reduced to the Hsüan-tu 玄菟 and the Lo-lang commanderies by the late Former Han dynasty because of the decline of Han political power.<sup>46</sup> During the reign of Wang Mang 王莽 (8-23 A.D.), China was only remotely connected to the Lo-lang commandery. When Emperor Kuang-wu rose to power, China's influence was



once again extended to the whole Korean peninsula. This power was enforced by the new Grand Administrator of Lo-lang, Wang Tsun 王遵, and that of Liao-tung 遼東, Chi Yung 奚彤.<sup>47</sup> After that time, foreign states began to be wary of China's political power.

Koguryo, for example, sent tribute to the emperor in 32 A.D.; Han 韓 state of southern Korea was subordinated to Lo-lang commandery in 44 A.D.; and Wu-huan 烏桓 had an audience with the Emperor in 49 A.D. Some other tribes and states also sent tribute to China. Before 57 A.D. China attempted to suppress and control the Han tribe in the southern extremity of the Peninsula. In 44 A.D. Su Ma-shih 蘇馬提 and his follower, Lien Ssu 廉斯 of the Han visited Lo-lang commandery; in return Emperor Kuang-wu appointed them to be "Estate Gentlemen" (i-chūn 邑君), and placed their territories under Chinese influence.<sup>48</sup> In effect, the Lo-lang commandery then directly controlled them. In this manner, the exercise of China's political influence was extended.

China probably also had the intention of taking conciliatory actions toward Wa. Wa was valuable strategically, because if the Han were to rebel, China could then join forces with Wa to take pincer operations against the Han. China could furthermore order Wa not to accept any exiles from Han. These considerations, in part, lay behind China's

actions in bestowing a seal upon and in sending an envoy to Japan's ruler.

On the Japanese side, both Nu-state or Wa also needed to maintain a good political relationship with the Lo-lang commandery or directly with China. In order to become an external retainer of China, preliminary negotiations were necessary. Further, good relations with China or with the Lo-lang commandery would ensure transportation routes for tribute to the Chinese capital, thus ensuring her protection and support. (Sea routes were not considered reliable as a means of keeping in touch with the continent).

The Encyclopedia of General Information (Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao 文獻通考), compiled in ca. 1273 A.D., states that Wa people visited China via Liao-tung, and from the Sui Dynasty period (581-618 A.D.) to the Sung period (960-1279 A.D.) they frequently used sea routes.<sup>49</sup> Even though the author, Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨 (Thirteenth century), wrote this in the late Southern Sung 南宋 period (1127-1279 A.D.), it is considered to be a reliable opinion because many Chinese goods were found on the main routes between China and Japan on the peninsula. In addition, as the History of the Kingdom of Wei and the History of the Later Han Dynasty report, Hui 滸 and Ma-han 馬韓 states as well as Wa engaged in trade in iron ore with Chen-han 辰韓.<sup>50</sup> In order to maintain this relationship for their own

advantage, they engaged in frequent communication with the Korean peninsula and with China.

Being politically and socially more powerful, Kyūshū was better able than Nu to send regular envoys to China. During the Later Han period (25-220 A.D.), Japan was involved in a process of unification; more than one hundred "kuo" were consolidated to thirty ones. Wa at that time was composed of countries such as Matsuro 未盧, Ito 伊都, and Fumi 不彌 on isolated small plains of northern Kyūshū.<sup>51</sup> These "kuo" had contact with Korean states and/or commanderies, and they were hostile toward each other and wished to expand their own territories and influence. In order to exercise superior power, one country or state had to seize the opportunity to pay tribute to China or to one of the commanderies. One of these countries was Nu, which carried on tributary activity in order to gain suzerainty over other states.

From the historical record in the History of the Later Han Dynasty, Emperor Kuang-wu bestowed a seal on either or both the Nu envoy and the Nu ruler. This assumption is based on the fact that the Chinese Emperors had already conferred a gold seal on foreign kings such as the king of Yeh-t'iao 葉調,<sup>52</sup> the king of Chan 揮 state,<sup>53</sup> and the king of Ma-nu 麻奴.<sup>54</sup> Simultaneously, the emperors conferred the seal upon foreign officials such

as "Grand Judge" (ta-li 大吏), "Master of Writing" (ta-lu 大祿), and "Chief Clerk" (ta-chien 大監) of Wu-sun 烏孫 state.<sup>55</sup>

Bestowing the seal originally meant appointing a subordinate official whose duty was to forward diplomatic documents to the Chinese Emperors. This seal was used for sealing diplomatic and administrative documents when a ruler or his official had an audience with the Emperor. The seal as the symbol of a title was developed in the Spring and Autumn (Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋) period (722-481 B.C.), and the bestowal and investing of such seals was systematized in the Ch'in and Han periods. Those who held the different political positions used different seals, which were distinguished by the materials used for the seal and the characters inscribed on it. However, in the case of Japan, it is not known what title was invested, whether a sovereign-subordinate relation concluded, or if Nu-state had the same duties as the other external retainers.

Even though the question of the seal remains, there is a possibility that Nu-state received a gold seal. The gold seal bearing the inscription "Han King of the Nu-state of Wa" (Han Wo Nu kuo wang 漢季奴國王) was discovered in 1784 on Shika 志賀 Island near Fukuoka 福岡. Several articles have been written regarding its authenticity. The opinions are divided between genuineness -- it was bestowed by a Chinese emperor to the Nu king in or

around 57 A.D.;<sup>56</sup> and spuriousness -- an unknown person manufactured it based on the record of Chinese dynastic histories in order to enhance the authority of the Nu king. Most authorities subscribe to the former opinion.<sup>57</sup>

Moreover, in accordance with Ch'in and Han official protocol, the gold seal was bestowed only upon those who had the title of "lieutenant Chancellor of State" (hsiang-kuo ch'eng-hsian 相國丞相), "Commander in Chief" (ta-wei 大尉 or ta ssu-ma 大司馬), "Imperial Clerk Grandee" (yü-shih ta-fu 御史大夫), "Grand Master" (t'ai-shih 太師), "Grand Tutor" (t'ai-fu 太夫), "Grand Guardian" (t'ai-pao 太保), "Marquis" (hou 侯), and "King" (wang 王). From these facts, some scholars insist that Wa was highly regarded by the Chinese rulers.<sup>58</sup> In my opinion, however, the Chinese politicians and historians were not familiar with the condition of Wa or Nu very well. Due to the lack of frequent communication because of the geographical distance, (except with Hsüng-nu, Ch'ao-hsien and Nan Yüeh), descriptions of conditions outside China were usually limited several sentences in the dynastic histories. According to these materials, Ma-han 馬韓, Chen-han 辰韓, and Pien-han 弁韓 states (Ma-han, Chin-han, and Pyon-han in Korean) in southern Korea were under the supervision of the Lo-lang commandery, but not of the Chinese

government. Wa or Nu probably was in the same situation. Wa had closer communication with the states and commanderies on the Peninsula than with the Chinese government.

Judging from Chinese inscriptions carved in the gold seal, neither "hsi" 璽, "chang" 章, nor "yin" 印 were used. The character "hsi" was used for the Emperors, queens, and retainer kings who were the most powerful individuals, or for Hsiung-nu who was an extremely strong rival. The characters "chang" and "yin" were prepared for the secondary retainers and less powerful foreign states. Some of the clay seals in Lo-lang also did not have these characters.<sup>59</sup> The seals sent to Wa or Nu did not contain any of these characters because China probably did not consider Wa to be a politically important country. These seals were used as important symbols of political authority; the Wa or Nu rulers probably treated them as sacred instruments for use in domestic affairs.

At that time, China's foreign policy did not attempt to regulate foreign states outside of China's direct influence or outside the influence of the retainer states. Wa was situated in an uncertain location for the Chinese and did not abut upon China's border. Although Wa was not of great importance to China politically, the Chinese Emperors and historians were deeply impressed with her loyalty. Wa was one of several foreign states subordinate to China

through the Korean commanderies which never stood on an antagonistic footing with China. China therefore categorized Wa as a "non-subject" (pu-ch'en 不臣), which meant "not to impose despotic control over them" directly.<sup>60</sup> Superficially the Nu leader's political position was the same as an external subject (wai-ch'en 外臣) with the title of "king", but practically she was not yet grouped within China's commandery-and-state system. Therefore, the political struggle toward unification of Wa was not really noticed in China, nor did China attempt to influence Wa's internal affairs.

The third description of Sino-Japanese relations is the record of 107 A.D., the first year of the reign of Emperor An 安 (107-125 A.D.) of the Later Han dynasty. The sentence follows immediately after the record of 57 A.D. and states, "the Wa king called Suishō 帥舟 and others presented one hundred sixty slaves, making (at the same time) a request for an imperial audience."<sup>61</sup> In this sentence, the name of "Nu" does not appear, indicating that a new country has now arisen. The Treatise of the Constitution (T'ung-tien 通典), compiled by Tu Yu 杜佑 (735?-812 A.D.), quoted this sentence from the History of the Later Han Dynasty, and the name of "Wa state" ("Wo kuo", in Chinese) is copied as "Wo mien t'u kuo" 倭面土國 ("Mien-t'u state of Wa").<sup>62</sup> The Great Number of Literary Men (Han-yüan,

韓范) compiled by Chang Ch'u-chin 張楚金 in the second half of the seventh century makes mention of "Wo Mien-shang Kuo" 倭面上國 ("Mien-shang state of Wa");<sup>63</sup> and the Commentary on the Chronicles of Japan (Shaku Nihongi, 釋日本紀) by Urabe Kanekata (卜部懷賢; thirteenth century) refers to "Wa men koku" 倭面國 ("Mien state of the Wa").<sup>64</sup> From these references to Japanese place names in northern Kyūshū, different opinions exist regarding the correct name of the new state, but none of them is conclusive.<sup>65</sup> The new state, Mien or Mien-t'u (this may be read as "Metsu" in Japanese; no unified pronunciation exists here), replaced Nu during this fifty year period and the new ruler paid a visit to the Emperor An in order to secure his leadership and to receive imperial acknowledgment of his authority.

During this period Wa was in a state of great turmoil, and the leadership changed hands frequently. In consequence, political ties with China were considered to be a most influential and effective way to consolidate and maintain control. This situation is reflected in examining the gifts the Wa leaders offered to the Emperor. The original sentence in the dynastic history uses the term "sheng-k'ou" 生口 ("slaves"), but it may also mean "war captives". During wars and conflicts, any defeated forces would be taken captive. These captives were offered by each state as proof of their submission to Metsu. It seems that the "sheng-k'ou" were most likely not "slaves", because it was



not possible to have so many slaves in a transition period from gathering and hunting to an early agrarian society in the Yayoi culture.<sup>66</sup>

In 239 A.D. Queen Himiko 卑彌呼 of Yamatai 邪馬臺 sent ten captives to China, and later on her successor sent thirty captives. The difference between these numbers was a direct result of the conflicts in Wa.

Metsu won the battle of suzerainty over Nu and the others and requested slaves as tribute from each of the vanquished states. These captives were also used as hostages to guarantee the leadership of Wa. Some of these captives were then given as tribute to certify the new suzerainty of Wa when Suishō asked for an audience with the Emperor. However, as far as can be determined, China showed no reaction to this tribute nor were a seal or title conferred. The intent of the Metsu ruler was to report the change in leadership of Wa without using the seal which had previously been bestowed on the Nu leaders. As stated previously, this seal was given to an external retainer for the purpose of transferring diplomatic notes. Thus, the one who received a seal had to use it when presenting credentials to the Emperor. The Metsu leaders did not have this seal; as a result, Suishō used a great number of captives demonstrating the position of Metsu in Wa instead of taking the normal procedure of using the seal. He did this in order to

receive China's acknowledgment, which was necessary to further consolidate his position and legitimize his new government.<sup>67</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

### JAPANESE DOMESTIC TURMOIL AND CHINESE DYNASTIC CHANGES

The reign of Emperor Kuang-wu 光武 (25-57 A.D.) marked a period of restoration and expansion of power for the Chinese world order. Foreign states such as Wu-huan 烏桓, Hsien-pei 鮮卑, and Koguryo (Kao-kou-li; 高句麗), some local leaders of the Korean states, and Chiao-chih 交趾 and Chiu-chen 九真 in southeast Asia became external retainers.<sup>68</sup> However, during the second century A.D. the Later dynasty declined and ultimately collapsed, because of the monopolization of power by eunuchs, the disintegration of governmental finance and administration, the division of the empire by great generals, and the uprisings of the peasants. Foreign states took advantage of this opportunity to invade China or the Chinese commanderies or to assert their independence. For example, in the middle of the second century, the leader and unifier of Hsien-pei, T'an Shih-huai 檀石槐, refused to receive a seal of investiture to be a commandery official during the reign of Emperor Huan 桓 (147-167 A.D.).<sup>69</sup> In the case of Koguryo, although tributary relations were maintained, she continually made raids on Chinese commanderies on the Korean peninsula, and the investiture system was thus ignored.<sup>70</sup>

On the Korean Peninsula, only the Lo-lang commandery, which was occupied by Chinese immigrants, remained during the Later Han period. the growth of tribal consciousness of the aborigines and their resistance to the Chinese commandery-and-district system reduced China's political influence. In 313 A.D. the offices of the "Eastern Chief Commandant" (tung-pu tu-wei 東部都尉) of Lo-lang commandery and of the Ling-tung 領東 district were abolished. Instead, the leader of Hui-mo 濊貊 was appointed the district Marquis.<sup>71</sup> Thus direct control over the commandery by China was shifted to a policy of indirect control.

In southeast Asia, Nan-yüeh had already been reduced to nine commanderies. In 40 A.D. the rebellion led by Cheng Ts'e 徵側 and Cheng Erh 徵貳 occurred in Chiao-chih. This uprising arose from a strong sense of nationalistic pride and from an attitude of defiance toward the Grand Administrator, Su Ting 蘇定, who did not allow the people to practice their native customs. Also, Su Ting did not allow Chen Ts'e to organize a social movement of her people. The movement was put down forcibly and the commandery-and-district system maintained; however, the native people never entirely ceased rebelling and demonstrating their resistance to the system.<sup>72</sup>

Although there are no formal records of Sino-Japanese relations between 108-258 A.D., it is known that Wa was involved in a period of great civil war and turmoil, according to the History of the Kingdom of Wei<sup>73</sup> and the History of the Later Han Dynasty.<sup>74</sup> Conflict broke out in the second half of the second century A.D., when the Later Han dynasty was on the downfall, and its influence over the Korean peninsula was consequently weak. The History of the Kingdom of Wei reported that the Lo-lang commandery did not operate effectively, and that residents from Lo-lang flowed into the Han area in southern Korea.<sup>75</sup> Since direct Chinese influence did not reach Japan, China was not able to accurately understand the social and political conditions in Japan at that time. Simultaneously, Japan could not preserve social and political order because Mitsu and the other leading states of Wa could not maintain their suzerainty against the background of China's and the Lo-lang commandery's influence. This could also be observed in the interruption of cultural flow from the continent; the imported burial accessories in tombs disappeared suddenly.

During this period, iron implements began to be commonly used in Wa. Contemporary archaeologists have reported the dramatic decrease in the usage of stone implements and their replacement by iron ones. One may assume that iron ore and materials were not monopolized by certain leaders of Wa, and that the rulers of the other states had access to

them as well.<sup>76</sup> The increase of iron implements improved agricultural productivity; it also increased the power of the rulers in terms of iron weapons and agricultural surpluses. As social stratification increased and the ruling classes vied for power, more than twenty-nine "States" in northern Kyūshū engaged in civil war.

The Chinese world order was thus severely threatened, not only by the ineffective policies of the Later Han dynasty but also by the vast political and social changes occurring inside the foreign "kingdoms". During the Former Han period, the acceptance of the commandery-and-state system with the commandery-and-district system led to the establishment of the investiture system; sovereign-and-subject relations were concluded with foreign states. However, these external retainer states were transformed into commanderies and districts during the reign of Emperor Wu. This change occurred because Chinese military and political power increased greatly during this time. Confucian political ideology as a rationale for investiture had not yet been established, and the foreign states were not strong enough to resist Chinese hegemony through the commandery-and-district system.

When political Confucianism became the dominant ideology during the reign of Emperor Yūan 元 (49-33 B.C.), the concept of "civilizing influences" became the core

*political theory for the conduct of foreign policy.*

*However, the weakness of the Chinese government and the fall of the Later Han dynasty prevented the realization of such an ideal world order. Simultaneously, foreign states were growing in power and were beginning to develop a nationalistic consciousness. The realization of the Chinese world order would have to wait until the third and fourth centuries. But paradoxically, as the foreign states developed political power, their need for Chinese civilization increased. As a result, the affairs of the foreign states came to intimately intertwined with China through the investiture relationship.*

## CHAPTER 5

### THE BEGINNING OF DIRECT CONTACT WITH CHINA

The political relationship between China and Japan, or between the Wei 魏 dynasty and Wa from 239 to 248 A.D. is recorded in the History of the Kingdom of Wei. Diplomatic envoys were exchanged three times. In order to receive the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of her leadership over the other states, the Wa leader, Queen Himiko 卑彌呼 of Yamatai 邪馬臺, expressed her respect to the new Chinese dynasty in the traditional manner.

Before Sino-Japanese relations resumed in 239 A.D., Japan had some contact with the Kung-sun 公孫 regime of the Liao-tung 遼東 commandery. According to the History of the Kingdom of Wei, in the era of Chien-an 建安 (196-220 A.D.), Kung-sun K'ang 公孫康 supervised the Tai-fang 帶方 commandery which was south of the Lo-lang 樂浪 commandery. When Kung-sun K'ang's son Kung-sun Yüan 公孫淵 (?-238? A.D.) ascended to the throne, he assumed the title of king of Yen dynasty (or kingdom). After Kung-sun Mo 公孫模 and Chang Pi 張敞 (late second and early third centuries) subdued the Han 韓 and Hui 濊 states in southern Korea in 204 A.D., Wa and Han fell into the Tai-fang commandery's sphere of influence.<sup>77</sup>



Himiko was already the queen of Wa by this time and probably was in communication with the Kung-sun regime. This relationship lasted until the Wei dynasty defeated the Liaotung regime and took over the Tai-fang and Lo-lang commanderies in 238 A.D.

In the sixth month of the second year of Ching-ch'u 景初 (239 A.D.), Himiko sent the Grandee Nanshōbei 難升米, and others to visit the Tai-fang commandery requesting permission to proceed to the Emperor's court with tribute. The Grand Administrator of the commandery, Liu Hsia 劉夏, provided officials for taking the Wa envoys to Lo-yang 洛陽. In the twelfth month of the same year, an edict of Emperor Ming 明 (226-239 A.D.) was issued which stated that the Emperor conferred upon Himiko the title "King (Queen) of Wa Friendly to Wei" (Ch'in-Wei Wo-wang, 親魏倭王), together with the gold seal with purple ribbons and other gifts. Also, Nanshōbei was appointed "Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial Guard" (shuai-shan chung-lang-chiang, 率善中郎將) and Gūri 牛利 to the "Commandant in the Imperial Guard" (Shuai-shan hsiao-wei, 率善校尉). Both received silver seals with blue ribbons in recognition of their services.<sup>78</sup>

The next year (240 A.D.) the grand Administrator of Tai-fang commandery, Kung Tsun 弓遵, sent a "Commandant of the Imperial Guard" (Chien-chung hsiao-wei, 建中校尉), T'i Chūn 梯儁, and others to Wa on behalf of the

Emperor to bring an Imperial rescript along with gifts of gold brocade, tapestries, swords, and mirrors to Queen Himiko.<sup>79</sup> At this point, she officially became "King (Queen) of Wa Friendly to Wei". However, the History of the Kingdom of Wei records the words "temporarily bestows" (chia-shou 假授), "pays an unofficial visit" (pai-chia 拜假), and "temporarily grants" (chia 假) before the title and seal. This may have implied that the title and seal were provisional ones. Wei China thus treated Yamatai as the most powerful among the Wa states; but evidently Wei was not sure that her position would last.\*

In 243 A.D. Himiko sent another mission of eight envoys with gifts to have an audience with the Wei Emperor Fei 廢 (239-254 A.D.). In return, one of the envoys received the title of "Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial Guard."<sup>80</sup>

In 245 A.D. Nanshōbei was granted a yellow pennant (huang-chung 黃幢); it was awarded through the office of the Tai-fang commandery.<sup>81</sup> Mizuno Hiroshi 水野 祐 points out that the reason Nanshōbei did not receive the yellow pennant until two years after the decree was issued in 243 A.D. was that the state of Kunu 狗奴 was also a subordinate state of Wei.<sup>82</sup> Since Wei had arbitrated the Yamatai-Kunu struggle, tribute from Kunu to Wei was expected. Therefore, the Wei Emperor hesitated to give immediate support to Yamatai.

\* See also pp. 50-51

This delay in the delivery of the pennant was also caused partly as a result of events on the Korean peninsula. At that time the Tai-fang commandery was being attacked by Koguryo, Han and Hui; the Grand Administrator of the Tai-fang commandery was killed in battle; and the commandery was attempting to suppress the insurgence of Han.<sup>83</sup> Consequently, it had neither time nor energy for the delivery of the decree and pennant.<sup>84</sup>

A third mission was dispatched in the eighth year of the reign of Cheng-shih 正始 (247 A.D.). When a new Grand Administrator of the Tai-fang commandery, Wang Ch'i 王頊, was appointed in 247 A.D., Himiko had been at odds with the king of Kuru, Himikyūko 卑彌乎呼. Wang Ch'i entrusted Chang Cheng 張政 to deliver the decree and the yellow pennant which confirmed the appointment of Nanshōbei. Wang Ch'i also issued a proclamation advising the reconciliation of the two states.<sup>85</sup>

After Himiko died (in 247 A.D. or later),<sup>86</sup> the following king was not able to maintain political stability in Wa. One of the female relatives of Himiko, Toyo 臺與 (or Iyo, 壹與) was placed on the throne, and order was restored. Chang Cheng issued a proclamation acknowledging her as the new ruler; he then returned to China with twenty escorts and tribute.<sup>87</sup>

Judging from these three interactions, it is reasonable to conjecture that Himiko wished to ascertain China's

reaction toward Japan during the period of dynastic transition. Japan dared to ask whether the new Wei Emperor Ming 明 (226-239 A.D.) would permit her to send envoys and tribute only through the Tai-fang commandery. In doing this, Himiko sought to receive Chinese favor for Yamatai and her allies over Kuru state. At the same time, she would be acknowledged as the leader of Wa. In 247 Himiko's diplomats reported on the condition of the situation with Kuru to the commandery at Tai-fang. The Grand Administrator, Wang Ch'i, issued a proclamation advising her to resolve the problem as soon as possible. Himiko and her envoys received official titles, seals, yellow pennants and return gifts, which symbolically enhanced their political influence and were useful in the repression of domestic conflict.<sup>88</sup>

In looking at the gifts Wa received from China, it is interesting that their quality and quantity were far greater than the tribute given to China. Japan's tribute was not very valuable because Japan as yet could not produce high quality products due to her relatively primitive level of civilization. Japan's tributes usually contained "shenkou" (slaves or captives) and local products, which were the minimum expected for fulfilling the duty of an external retainer. In contrast, China's return gifts, especially bronze implements, were extremely valuable for Japanese rulers. From archeological excavations, a great number of bronze mirrors and Chinese products have been found in the

graves of local leaders. This discovery is parallel to the finding of bronze swords in the graves of local leaders of previous times. These bronze materials from China and the Korean Peninsula were treated as revered objects laden with religious and symbolic meanings. Copies of the mirrors and swords were manufactured after the reception of the real ones, but the value attached to them was very different. Even though many of the bronze products from China were "utility goods", they were not used as such by the Japanese leaders. They were owned by influential people and treated as symbols of authority. When they died, these utility goods became their burial accessories.<sup>89</sup>

Wei China apparently considered Yamatai to be a more civilized and politically advanced state than the others. The author of the History of the Kingdom of Wei describes conditions on Yamatai in detail. Certain aspects of Chinese culture had been accepted by Yamatai; and her socio-political structure was described in a respectful manner. For example, there were five social classes such as "King" (wang 王), "Man of Importance" (ta-jen 大人), "Lower Man" (hsia-hu 下戶), "Captive" (sheng-k'ou 生口), and "Slave" (nu-pei 奴卑). This social stratification could also be observed in the burial accessories found in tombs in Northern Kyūshū. From what we know of their system at that time, it is evident that an authoritarian political society had emerged.

The History of the Kingdom of Wei indicates that Wei through the Tai-fang commandery paid careful attention to conditions on Yamatai. It was not an accident that Chang Cneng, who was the official representative of the Grand Administrator of the Tai-fang commandery, was sent and stationed in Northern Kyūshū for processing Wei-Wa diplomatic matters as well as for advising the governments of Queens Himiko and Toyo when they faced political difficulties.<sup>90</sup> They made full use of this opportunity to implement their political goals, the maintenance of their leadership and the establishment of peace and security.

The request to have audiences with the Wei Emperors by Himiko and Toyo were due in part to their concern over the unstable political situation in East Asia. At the end of the Later Han dynasty, Kung-sun Tu 公孫度 (?-204 A.D.) of the Liao-tung commandery organized an independent political force. He established the Tai-fang commandery to the south of Lo-lang in order to control the northern Korean peninsula. The increase in the Kung-sun clan's influence became a serious danger to the safety and integrity of northeastern China. War broke out in the second year of Ching-ch'u's reign (238 A.D.), and the Wei dynasty defeated the grandson, Kung-sun Yūan, and recovered its sovereign power over the commanderies of Lo-lang and Tai-fang.<sup>91</sup> In the following year, Himiko sent her envoys to Wei. Her

action was thus partially a response to the military and political changes which had taken place.

In 240 A.D. the northern community of Ma-han attacked the Tai-fang commandery. The Grand Administrator of the Tai-fang commandery, Kung Tsun, was killed in this action. When Ma-han was suppressed, the Grand Administrator of Hsüan-tu, Wang Ch'i, was transferred to the Tai-fang commandery to fill the position of Administrator in 247. Queen Himiko wasted no time in sending Saishi Uetsu 載斯烏越 and other envoys to Tai-fang to report on the domestic conflict within Wa.<sup>92</sup>

Subsequently Toyo sent tribute and twenty envoys to Wei. The History of the Kingdom of Wei does not mention the date this occurred, but according to the History of the Chin Dynasty (Chin-shu 晉書), it was in 266 A.D.,<sup>93</sup> which was the year after the Chin dynasty had replaced the Wei. It is conjectured that the purpose of this mission was to express gratitude to the Wei government for her support as well as to insure that support in the future.

The international situation in the third century was more complicated than that of the Later Han period because Sino-Japanese relations were affected by the affairs of all the surrounding states as well. In order to preserve the international order, the Wei dynasty or its representative organs had to govern subordinating areas properly, and often

meddled in their internal affairs. Establishing close political rapport between the Wei government and Wa not only secured and supported the authority of Himiko and Toyo in Yamatai but also gave them leadership among the states of Wa. Thus China's authority and political affiliation as a symbol of power was important to them in order to unify the thirty or more states in Northern Kyūshū.

During the period when Nu was the leading state in Wa, she was only a voluntary tributary state without any formal subordination to China. After the queen of Yamatai received the title of "King (Queen) of Wa Friendly to Wei" with the gold seal, Wa's political rank in the Chinese world order was promoted from the level of "non-retainer" (pu-ch'en 不臣) to something closer to "external retainer" (wai-ch'en 外臣). Consequently, Wa naturally began to participate in China's international affairs.

It is evident that Wa did not yet receive the full status of being an external retainer; and this distinction can be confirmed by examining the official documents of these relations. During Han times, the government or Emperor used the "ts'e-shu" 策書 (investiture document) style to appoint a king or to enfeoff land to him, rather than the "Chih-shu" 制書 (order of system) style. The official writing style of the Wei dynasty followed that of the Han for the most part. The term "Emperor proclaims or decrees" (chih-chao 制詔) was frequently used at the



beginning or statements regarding the problems of foreign states in the History of the Kingdom of Wei. In the Han period, the term "Emperor proclaims" was used for the appointment and dismissal of the Nine Chief Ministers (chiu-ch'in 九卿), Officials of the Capitol, and Imperial Attendants. This term continued to be used until the Eastern Chin (Tung-chin 東晉 ; 317-420 A.D.) and Sung (420-479) periods when the term "meng-hsia" 門下 was substituted for it.<sup>94</sup>

The Wa king was invested "King (Queen) of Wa Friendly to Wei" in the manner of "Emperor proclaims". In terms of the Chinese world order of the time, the Wa queen stood on a similar footing with the "Nine Chief Ministers" "Lieutenant Chancellor" (ch'eng-hsian 丞相), "Commander in Chief" (ta ssu-ma 大司馬), "Imperial Clerk Grandee" (yü-shih tai-fu, 御史大夫) and various marquis, even though she had received the title of "King" (Queen).

These distinctions will more easily be understood if we closely examine the meaning of "temporary" (chia 假), which is the character often placed before and together with the term "invest" (shou 授), "carry out" (hsing 行), and/or "receive with respect" (pai 拜). The term "temporary" had several meanings: 1. a leader could hold the title in name but not in deed; or 2. he could hold the title for his life time only but did not have the right to

transfer the title to his successors; or 3. the title would never be replaced with another one. The term "Friendly to Wei" was part of the title; this term was bestowed only on leaders of distant regions. These characters thus reveal the unique nature of Sino-Japanese relations at that time.

On the Chinese side, the Emperors gradually noticed Japan's existence and importance, most notably beginning with the Emperor Ming (226-239 A.D.). He was gratified because Himiko's envoys with tribute were sent to China all the way from Kyūshū, and as such was an expression of Japan's respect and loyalty for China and her Emperors. These actions took place against the background of vast political change in the southern Korean peninsula where aboriginal tribes united with one another to form states such as Ma-han, Chen-han and Pien-han. The time was soon approaching when they would unite under the leadership of a Chen king who was usually elected among Ma-han people. Wei's political and military control over the Korean states was consequently weakening.

Paying tribute to the Wei Emperors also implied the recognition of the Wei dynasty as the legitimate political authority of China succeeding the former dynasties. As long as the Wei dynasty dominated the land of northeastern China and the Korean Peninsula, it was important for it to follow the foreign policy of the former dynasties in welcoming tributary missions from other lands. The Wei could then

exercise foreign policy based on virtue and propriety in a manner similar to the former dynasties.

Being located directly south-east of Korea, Wa was militarily invaluable to the Wei dynasty in the possibility of waging a "two-front" war against the Korean states. Wa's tribute, it seems, came partially in response to the fall of the Kung-sun regime. Conversely, the Wei dynasty's interest in Wa was due not only to her extension of political influence over northeast China; the balance of power in the East Asian states as a whole became an important consideration.

Complicated political maneuverings occurred between the Kung-sun regime of Liao-tung, the Wei dynasty, and the Wu dynasty. When the Wei attacked the Kung-sun regime in Liao-tung, Koguryo sent reinforcements to assist the Wei troops;<sup>95</sup> simultaneously the Wu dispatched troops to northern China to aid the Kung-sun via the sea route. After the fall of the Kung-sun regime, the Wu troops still remained and attacked Wei's frontier garrison in Liao-tung. This tense military situation continued until 238 A.D.

Against this shifting background, to maintain political order and leadership in Wa, Himiko needed to replace the support of the fallen Kung-sun regime with that of the Wei. This point is revealed in the title "King (Queen) of Wa Friendly to Wei". The appellation "Friendly to Wei" was used for both the Wa king (queen) and the king of the

Ta-yüeh 大月 clan, one of the largest states in the Western Frontier Regions. In 229 A.D. the title "King of Ta-yüeh Clan Friendly to Wei" (Ch'in-Wei Ta-yüeh-shih-wang 親魏大月氏王) was given to P'o-t'iao 波調.<sup>96</sup> The background of this investment was that in 227 A.D. the king of Liang chou 涼州 dispatched Chin Fu 支富 of Yüeh-chih 月支, K'ang Chih 康植 of K'ang-chu 康居 and several other foreign marquis (hou 侯) to receive the title of Governor General.<sup>97</sup> The king then proposed that they attack the Shu 蜀 in case of a Shu invasion against the Wei 魏 dynasty. If the army of the Western Frontier Regions (Hsi-yü 西域) joined that of the Shu under Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234 A.D.), the Wei would thus be endangered. The Wei thus invested a special title upon the king of the Ta-yüeh clan to try to prevent a possible invasion by or cooperation with the Shu. A similar situation was occurring between Wei China and Wa; the title "King (Queen) of Wa Friendly to Wei" was thus a product of the Wei's struggle with the Wu and the Kung-sun, and of the continuing strain between the Wei and the Wu in northeastern China.

The importance of Wa's political position at this time can also be revealed through comparing the titles the Kung-sun clan members and others received. Kung-sun Tu received the title "Yung-ning marquis" 永寧侯, Kung-sun K'ang 公孫康 became "Hsian-ping marquis" 襄平侯, Kung-sun Kung 公孫恭 became "Ping-kuo marquis"

平郭侯, Kung-sun YÜan 公孫淵 became "Lo-lang duke" 樂浪公; and some states of Han subordinate to the Tai-fang commandery received the title of Village Prince or Village Chief.<sup>98</sup>

Interestingly, the grateful manner in which Wei Emperor Ming treated the Wa queen with such great honor was partially due to erroneous information he had received. One aspect of this information involved a misunderstanding of the geographical location of Wa. The History of the Kingdom of Wei states that Wa lay in the sea east of K'uai-chi 會稽 (commandery in the contemporary Chiang-su 江蘇 and Che-chiang 浙江 area) and Tung-yeh 東冶 (in the contemporary Fu-chien 福建 area,<sup>99</sup> in reality, Wa was far to the northeast of these areas. The author of the History of the Kingdom of Wei, Ch'en Shou, and others were apparently not aware of this mistake. According to Chinese and Korean maps of the time, such as the Map of the Region of YÜ-kung (YÜ-kung ti-yü t'u, 禹貢地域圖) drawn by P'ei Hsiu (224-271 A.D.), Wa was located in the middle of the Sea of China directly south of Korea.<sup>100</sup> P'ei Hsiu 裴秀 was a contemporary of Ch'en Shou and YÜ Huan 魚豢 (third century?), the author of the Epitome of the Kingdom of Wei (Wei Lüeh, 魏略).<sup>101</sup> It is probable that Ch'en Shou consulted the map of P'ei Hsiu. This information was in use at least until the t'ang period. Chia T'an 賈耽 (710-785 A.D.), who drew the Map of the Inside of the Sea of China and

Foreign States (Hai-nei Hua-i t'u, 海內華夷圖) believed that Japan lay in the middle of the Sea east of China.<sup>102</sup>

It was known that the Wu went on expeditions to I-chou 夷州, T'an-chou 鹽州, Chu-yai 珠崖, and Tan-erh 儋耳.<sup>103</sup> These islands were assumed to be located in the southeastern China sea (Ryūkyū Islands, Formosa, and Hai-nan Island). Communications between Wa Japan and the Wu were thus closer than those between Wa and the Wei. The Wei feared that Wa could be a strategic area if Wa made an alliance with the Wu; so they made an alliance with Wa in order to forestall any military and/or political actions by the Wu.

The question of whether or not such communications by sea were possible in the third century A.D. can be explained from the development of ship building and navigation. Making a voyage was generally risky even when sailing close to the coast. However, in 232 A.D. a general of the Wu, Chou He 周賀, visited Liao-tung with one hundred ships. On his way home, he took in eighty horses from Koguryo. Also, in 233 A.D. a Wu mission led by Chang Mi 張彌, left for Liao-tung with more than seven thousand troops.<sup>104</sup> A large scale fleet of vessels was prepared. From these facts, it is obvious that the Wu could easily have been in communication with Wa.

The Wei also may have been worried about a mythical connection between the Wu and Kunu state. According to the Epitome of the Kingdom of Wei, both the Kunu and the Wu shared a common ancestor in the personage of T'ai-po 太伯.<sup>105</sup> Related to this, some states in Japan opposed to Yamatai enshrined and worshipped T'ai-po as a god. For instance, Ōsumi Kokufu sei-Hachiman-gū 大隅國府正八幡宮 is used in worshipping T'ai-po and other deities.<sup>106</sup>

One other explanation regarding why the Wei dynasty welcomed the allegiance of Wa may lie in demographic studies of the number of Wa households, which can be observed in the History of the Kingdom of Wei. It is not known whether the source of this information was Japan's envoys, the return mission to Japan, or other means of communication. The History of the Kingdom of Wei records household statistics for eight Wa states. Yamatai had 70,000 households, Tōma state (Tōma koku 投馬國) had 50,000, Nu state (Nu koku 奴國) had 20,000, and the other states had 10,000. The total is 150,000 households.<sup>107</sup> When comparing the number of households in any state or community on the Korean Peninsula with these figures, the Wei probably noticed that Wa was the largest country among the eastern barbarian states. Hsiang-ping 襄平, the capital of Liao-tung commandery which was occupied by the Kung-sun clan, had 40,000 households, Liao-tung had 5,400, Lo-lang commandery had

3,700; Tai-fan commandery had 4,900, and Ma-han had more than 10,000.<sup>108</sup> Wa then had great potential military power and might be able to give military assistance to the Wei in case of conflict.<sup>109</sup>



## CHAPTER 6

### JAPANESE ADVANCES INTO THE KOREAN PENINSULA

According to Chinese historical materials, Queen Himiko of Yamatai state was the first Japanese leader to receive the title "King" ("Queen") by a Chinese Emperor. The nature of this title conferred upon the Japanese leader was different from those of the Later Han period which were inscribed with a gold seal. At first, the titles conferred upon external retainers were "King" (wang 王), "Marquis" (hou 侯), "Prince" (chūn 君), and "Chief" (chang 長).<sup>110</sup> The rank of "King" was the highest of all, with the others following. The title "Prince" was also called "Village Prince" (i-chūn 邑君), and the "Chief" also called "Village Marquis" (i-hou 邑侯). Those who received the title of "King" could be demoted to "Marquis", and vice versa. For instance, Wang Mang dispatched envoys to surrounding foreign states to demote them from "King" to "Marquis" when he established the Hsin 新 dynasty (8-23 A.D.).<sup>111</sup> They were re-instated back to "King" after the Later Han period.

These titles were conferred on barbarian rulers and leaders based on their political rank in their own states.

In 54 A.D., the leaders of the Hsien-pei, YÜ-ch'ou-pen 於仇贛, and Man-t'ou 滿頭 sent envoys to China requesting the Emperor's permission to become a subordinate state. The Chinese court bestowed the title "King" on YÜ-ch'ou-pen and "Marquis" on Man-t'ou.<sup>112</sup> Probably Man-t'ou was second only to YÜ-ch'ou-pen in authority. Sometimes the titles "Prince" and "Chief" would be invested on communities or tribes surrounding China. These titleholders might have audiences with the Emperor or send tribute and missions in the same manner as those having the title of "King" or "Marquis".

Changes occurred in the entitlements conferred on external retainers and foreign states following the Later Han period. Besides these four titles, other titles which were originally intended only for the internal retainers were conferred on external retainers; these titles were usually reserved for the rulers of those states. In looking at the case of West Asia first, in 29 A.D. Tu Jung 婁融, the "Grand General of the West of the Ho River" (Ho-hsi ta Chiang-chün 河西大將軍), conferred the title of "King Rendering Meritorious Service and Holding Virtue" (chien-kung huai-te-wang 建功懷德王) and "Great Chief Commandant of the Western Frontier Regions" (Hsi-yü ta-tu-wei 西域大都尉) on the Sa ch'e 沙車 ruler, K'an

康, who rendered distinguished service to China in a punitive expedition against Hsiŋng-nu.<sup>113</sup> His younger brother, Hsien 賢, kept the title of "King" after Kan's death. Hsien subjugated several states to the east of Ts'ung-ling 葱嶺 and asked the Han Emperor to bestow upon him the title of "Protector General of the Western Frontier Regions" (Hsi-yŋ tu-fu 西域都護). The gold seal relevant to this title was conferred, but later the Han Emperor substituted this title and seal with those of a lower title, "Grand General of Han" (Han ta-chiang-chŋn 漢大將軍).<sup>114</sup>

In 24 A.D. Chang-kui 長貴 of Chung 邛 appointed himself "King Ku of Chung" (Chung Ku-wang 邛穀王) and "Grand Administrator of Guiding Affairs" (ling t'ai-shou-shih 領太守事). Later, the Han Emperor Kuang-wu (25-57 A.D.) bestowed the title of "King Ku of Chung" upon Cnang-kui after he defeated Kung-sun Shu 公孫述 (?-36 A.D.). Then, in 38 A.D. the Emperor conferred the title and seal of "Grand Administrator of Yŋ-sui" (Yŋeh-sui t'ai-shou 越巂太守) upon him.<sup>115</sup> Yŋeh-sui was a commandery which had been established during the period of Emperor Wu's reign (112 B.C.).<sup>116</sup>

In 107 A.D. Yung Yu-tiao 雅由調, a king of Shan 掸 state, sent a mission with gifts to have an audience with Emperor An. The next year the Emperor responded to

this tribute by investing Yung Yu-tiao with the title and seal of "Grand Chief Commandant of the Han" (Han ta-tu-wei 漢大都尉).<sup>117</sup>

In East Asia, in 49 A.D. a Grand Administrator of Liao-tung Commandery, Chi Yŏn 祭彤, received the title of "Grand Protector General" (ta-tu-fu 大都護), because he ordered another "Grand Protector General", Pien Ho 偏何, to defend the Hsien-pei tribes against the aggression of Hsiung-nu and Wu-huan.<sup>118</sup> During the reigns of Emperors An (106-126 A.D.) and Hsŭn (125-144 A.D.), the leader of the Wu-nuan, Jung-wei-hui 戎未慮, was appointed to be the "Chief Commandant" (tu-wei 都尉) when he submitted to China after he defeated the Hsien-pei. He also received the title "King in Charge of Guiding People" (shuai-chung wang 率衆王).<sup>119</sup> In this case, the phrase attached to the title "King" may have been somewhat exaggerated.<sup>120</sup>

In this manner, some of China's surrounding tribes and states received the title of "King", "Marquis", "Prince", or "Chief" conferred on external retainers, as well as the military titles of "Chief Commandant" or "Protector General" originally reserved for internal retainers. These titles were bestowed on those who cooperated with the Chinese government and lent their assistance to extend China's domination over foreign states

and tribes. These title-holders became the leaders of military organizations, fortifying the Chinese frontier with their military forces and helping to maintain the Chinese world order.

As far as the Japanese leaders were concerned, military titles were not conferred on them until the fifth century A.D. However, the significance of the title which the Japanese leaders received from Chinese Emperors or from the Grand Administrators in the Korean Peninsula was different from those received by the leaders of Korea and other external retainers. Japan is an island, and her geographical location was very far removed from China. Consequently, antagonistic feeling between Japan and China did not easily occur. In contrast with other states which were adjacent to China, Japan's political relations with China did not endanger Japan's national existence; nor was China concerned about possible Japanese aggressions. The Japanese leaders showed eagerness to absorb Chinese culture and to imitate her political organization; simultaneously they remained loyal to the Emperor by sending missions and tribute. The Emperors believed Japan to be politically stable; they also believed the Japanese to be a people of gentle nature because theirs was an agriculturally-based society. Consequently, the titles conferred upon Japanese leaders were more honorific than substantial, in comparison with those

given to the other retainers, who were closer and thus more important to China.

In 280 A.D. the Chin 晉 dynasty (265-420 A.D.) restored unity to a divided China by conquering the Wu 吳 (ca. 190-280 A.D.). However, as a result of internal dissensions in which eight princes were enthroned and assassinated between 300 and 306 A.D., and of barbarian pressures from northern China, the Chin dynasty was forced to take refuge south of the Yangtzu early in the fourth century; and consequently its influence over Japan and the Korean Peninsula evaporated. The state of Koguryo expanded its territory and destroyed the Lo-lang commandery in 313 A.D.; the states of Paekche and Silla were established in South Korea; the Japanese states continued to unify, and they made advances into Korea. These events stemmed in large measure from China's political chaos.

When this violent period between the end of the third to the middle of the fourth centuries came to an end, the Korean states and Japan started to establish different relations with China. For example, the proto-Mongol Hsienpei tribal state of the Mu-jung 慕容 conquered parts of southern Manchuria and the state of Koguryo in North China during the Earlier Yen (Ch'ien-Yen 前燕, ) period. The Koguryo King Chao 劄 (331-371 A.D.) paid tribute to the Earlier Yen King Mu-jung Sui 慕容儁 and received the titles of "[Military Governor Commanding] All Military

Affairs in the Province of Ying" (Ying-chou chu-chūn-shih  
 營州諸軍事), "Grand General of Conquering the East"  
 (cheng-tung ta-chiang-chūn 征東大將軍), "Circuit  
 Inspector for the Province of Ying" (Ying-chou tz'u-shih  
 營州刺史), "Duke of Lo-lang" (Lo-lang kung 樂浪公),  
 and "[Kao-kou-li] King" (wang 王) in 355 A.D.<sup>121</sup> The King  
 Kao Lien (413-491 A.D.) received the titles of "Messenger  
 with Imperial Insignia" (shih-ch'i-chieh, 使持節),  
 "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in the  
 Province of Ying" (tu-tu Ying-chou chu-chūn-shih  
 都督營州諸軍事), "General of Conquering the  
 East" (cheng-tung Chiang-chūn 征東將軍), "Duke of  
 Lo-lang", and "King of Koguryo" (Kao-kou-li wang  
 高句麗王) from the Eastern Chin (Tung Chin 東晉;  
 317-420 A.D.) Emperor An 安 in return for the tribute of the  
 Koguryo king in 314 A.D.<sup>122</sup> The Liu Sung 劉宋 Emperor  
 Kao-tsu 高祖 (420-422 A.D.) issued the edicts and con-  
 ferred upon the Koguryo King Kao Lien the same titles  
 bestowed by the Chin Emperor An.<sup>123</sup> By the time of Emperor  
 Shih-tsu 世祖 (453-464 A.D.), according to the edict of  
 463 A.D., the Koguryo King Kao Lien received the promoted  
 titles "Messenger with Imperial Insignia", "Regular Cavalier  
 Attendant" (san-ch'i ch'ang-shih 散騎常侍), "Military  
 Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in the Two Provin-  
 ces of P'ing and Ying" (tu-tu P'ing Ying erh-chou chu-chūn-

shin, 都督平定二州諸軍事), "Grand General of Chariot and Mount" (Chū-ch'i ta-chiang-chūn, 車騎大將軍), "Supreme Commander of the Campaign, with the Status of Minister"\* (k'ai-fu i-t'ung san-ssu, 開府儀同三司).<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, Emperor T'ai-wu 太武 (423-452 A.D.) of the Northern Wei (Pei-Wei 北魏; 386-535 A.D.) conferred on the Koguryo king kao Lien the titles "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs of Liao Hai (tu-tu Liao-hai chu-chūn-shi 都督遼海諸軍事), "General of Conquering the East" (Cheng-tung Chiang-chūn 征東將軍), "Guiding Protector for General of the Gentlemen of the Household of Eastern Barbarians" (ling-fu tung-i chung-lang Chiang 領護東夷中郎將), "Duke of the Founding State of Liao tung Commandery" (Liao-tung chūn k'ai-kuo kung 遼東郡開國公), and "King of Koguryo (Kao-kou-li wang 高句驪王).<sup>125</sup>

Paekche and China began to have formal political relations in 372 A.D., which was the year the Eastern Chin Emperor Hsiao-wu 孝武 (372-396 A.D.) conferred the titles "General of Settling the East" (chen-tung Chiang-chūn

---

\*Literary, this title means, "Establishing Office for the Dependent, Who Receiving Ceremony the Same as Three Ministers: Grand Commandant or Grand Minister (T'ai-wei 太尉), Minister over the Masses (Ssu-t'u 司徒), and Minister of Works (Ssu-k'ung 司空)". The terminology "Supreme Commander of the Campaign, with the Status of Minister" is adopted from Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, tr. by Ryūsaku Tsunoda, p. 24.



鎮東將軍), and "Guiding Grand Administrator of Lo-lang (ling Lo-lang t'ai-shou 領樂浪太守) upon the Paekche King Yü Kou 餘句 (364-375 A.D.). The background of this entitlement is that in 371 A.D. Paekche made an invasion against the capital of the Koguryo, P'yongyang 平壤.<sup>127</sup> In 382 A.D. his son, Yü Hui 餘暉 (375-384 A.D.) received "Messenger with Imperial Insignia", "Military Governor", and "General of Settling the East".<sup>128</sup> Then, in 416 A.D. the king Yü Ying 餘映 (405-420 A.D.) was appointed "Messenger with Imperial Insignia", "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in Paekche" (tu-tu Pai-ch'i chu-chün-shih 都督百濟諸軍事), General of Settling the East", and "King of Paekche".<sup>129</sup> After that time, the Paekche kings received almost the same titles through the Liu Sung period.<sup>130</sup> Silla sent tribute to the Former Ch'in (Ch'ien-Ch'in 前秦) dynasty in 377 A.D. but was not politically important enough to receive any titles.

The tributary and investiture relations between the Korean states and China had potential political implications in terms of deterring possible hostilities. Generally speaking, even though the Korean states were not quite willing to be subordinate states of China, they still voluntarily and formally joined in China's investiture system in the hope of receiving political and military advantages in the future. By participating in the Chinese world order,

the Korean states expected the Chinese Emperors' acknowledgment of their political positions and territories. "Lo-lang", which had been the name of a commandery since the Han period, was converted into a title for investiture. The Koguryo king actually occupied the territory of Lo-lang commandery and controlled its domestic politics; but from the Chinese viewpoint this was simply a conversion of this territory from a commandery to a state through conferring the title of "Duke". The Koguryo king's political position both internally and in the Chinese world order was thus fortified.

## CHAPTER 7

### JAPAN'S ENTRANCE INTO THE CIRCLE OF CHINA'S EXTERNAL RETAINERS

According to the History of the Chin Dynasty (Chin-shu 晉書), formal Sino-Japanese relations were resumed in 413 A.D. after an interval of one and one-half centuries.<sup>131</sup> The History of the Liu Sung Dynasty (Sung-shu 宋書) and other dynastic histories reported on Sino-Japanese relations for about a century during which five Japanese kings requested official and military titles such as Koguryo and Paekche had received. Even though the Eastern Chin dynasty was on the decline, Japan still considered it to be the legitimate Chinese government. In order to establish its suzerainty among the states of Wa, gain political advantage on the Southern Korean Peninsula, and solidify its hereditary kingship in Japan, the restoration of diplomatic relations with a legitimized Chinese dynasty was a crucial matter for Japan. Being placed under China's sovereignty, Japan's internal and external positions in East Asia would be secured. However, payment of tribute was not carried out as Japan wished due to the heavy military operations against North Korea carried on by Koguryo and the dangers of travel by sea.

In the following paragraphs, I will describe Sino-Japanese relations based mainly on the record of the History of the Liu Sung Dynasty. When the dynasty (420-479 A.D.) was formed, a Japanese king, San 言贊 (Tsan in Chinese), dispatched missions and brought tribute to the Liu Sung in 421 A.D. The History of the Liu Sung Dynasty does not mention which titles were bestowed upon the Japanese king. Since the term "confer" (ch'u-shou 除授) was used in the record, the titles conferred were probably either "General of Pacifying the East" (an-tung Chiang-chün 安東將軍) and/or "King of Wa state" (Wo-kuo wang 倭國王) which may be conjectured from the following examples recorded in the dynastic histories. Sakamoto Taneyoshi suggests that generally the titles which the following king requested and received were those already conferred on the former king. He drew this conclusion from a study of the example of the King of Wu-tu (Wu-tu wang 武都王) (the leader of a Tibetan tribe in the Kan-su area) who requested and received several titles from the Emperor.<sup>132</sup> Later, San sent two other tributary missions to the Liu Sung in 425 and 430 A.D. Regarding the mission in 425 A.D., Sōtatsu 曹達 (Ts'ao-ta in Chinese), who had the official title of "Major" (shiba 司馬; Ssu-ma in Chinese) was dispatched.<sup>133</sup> The "Major" was under the authority of the "Armed Forces Department of the Military Governor" (tu-tu chün-fu 都督軍府) and one of three lower officials: "Chief Clerk" (Chang-shih

長史), "Major" (Ssu-ma 司馬), and "Military Councillor" (ts'an-chūn, 參軍). The Chinese Imperial Court often used these officials for missions between China and the East Asian states. However, the Chinese court did not permit the subordinate states to use these titles for the envoys who visited the Emperors.<sup>134</sup>

After Chin, San's younger brother, succeeded to the throne, he called himself "Messenger with Imperial Insignia", "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six States of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Mimana, Chin-han, and Mok-han" (tu-tu Wo, Pai-ch'i, Hsin-lo, Jen-na, Ch'in-han, Mu-han liu-kuo chu-chūn-shih, 都督倭百濟新羅任那秦韓蒸韓六國諸軍事), "Grand General of Pacifying the East" (an-tung ta Chiang-chūn, 安東大將軍), and "King of Wa state" (Wo-kuo-wang, 倭國王) when he sent a tribute to the Liu Sung.<sup>135</sup> This occurred in 438 A.D. according to the Chronicle of Emperor Wen in the History of the Liu Sung Dynasty.<sup>136</sup> The Emperor Wen, in issuing an edict to Chin, appointing him "General of Pacifying the East" and "King of Wa state", did not treat him in the same category as the kings of Koguryo and Paekche, except in acknowledging him as the leader of the unified Wa state. Moreover, King chin asked Emperor Wen to bestow the titles "Generals of Appeasing the West, Conquering the Prisoners, First Degree, and Supporting State" (p'ing-hsi, cheng-lu, kuan-chūn, fu-kuo Chiang-chūn, 平西征虜冠軍護國將軍)

upon Wasui (倭隋 ; Wo Sui in Chinese) and twelve other officials.<sup>137</sup> The Japanese leader's request may have indicated the instability of the central government, which was called the Wake 別 dynasty. In order to ensure the political authority of royal family members such as Wasui and other leaders close to the king, Chin requested these titles as an effective last measure.<sup>138</sup>

In 443 A.D. Sei 濟 (Ch'i in Chinese), the next king after Chin, once again received the titles "General of Pacifying the East" and "King of Wa state" in return for sending tribute and missions. (Ch'i received the title "Grand General of Pacifying the East" according to the Chronicle of Emperor Wen). Later in 451 A.D. the Emperor Wen conferred the titles "Messenger with Imperial Insignia", "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six States of Wa, Silla, Mimana, Kala, Chin-han and Mok-han" (tu-tu Wo, Hsin-lo, Jen-na, Chia-lo, Ch'in-han, Mu-han, liu-kuo chu-chün-shih 都督倭新羅任那加羅秦韓六國諸軍事) upon Sei.<sup>139</sup> At this time, the Japanese king was not allowed to have Paekche (Pai-ch'i) under this authority as Military Governor; instead he received the state Kala as a satellite. Paekche was removed probably because the Paekche King had already received the titles "Messenger with Imperial Insignia", "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in Paekche", "Grand General of Settling the East", and "King of Paekche" in 425 A.D.<sup>140</sup> China had

already treated Paekche as an independent state or as an external retainer by the time of the Japanese King Sei. At the same time, twenty-three Japanese officials who presented a memorial from Sei to the Emperor Wen received the title "Chōn chōn" 軍郡 or the title "chōn" 軍 or "chōn" 郡.<sup>141</sup> The meaning and function of such titles is not known at this time.

Kō 興 (Hsin in Chinese), a son of Sei, received the titles "General of Pacifying the East" and "King of Wa state" in 462 A.D. because "Kō continues the loyalty of his forbears in his outlying domains beyond the sea, keeps peace in accordance with the example set by us, and respectfully observes the duty of sending tribute" according to an edict of the Emperor Shih-tsu 世祖.<sup>142</sup>

Kō died and his brother Bu 武 (Wu in Chinese) ascended the throne in ca. 471 A.D. He assigned himself to be the title holder of the titles "Messenger with Imperial Insignia"; "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in the Seven States of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Mimana, Kala, Chin-han, and Mok-han" (tu-tu Wo, Pai-ch'i, Hsin-lo, Jen-na, Chia-lo, Ch'in-han, Mu-han ch'i-kuo chu-chōn shih 都督倭百濟新羅任那加羅秦韓七國諸軍事); "Grand General of Pacifying the East" and "King of Wa State".<sup>143</sup> Tribute to China was delayed until 478 A.D. because the transportation routes were threatened by Koguryo's hostile operations

against Paekche. When he sent the mission with tribute to the Emperor, he denounced the conduct of the Koguryo king for neglecting the duties of an external retainer and for perpetrating injustice. In suppressing barbarian tribes and states, the Japanese kings of that period were following the Chinese policy of "kingcraft" or "civilizing influences". In order to help subjugate Koguryo, King Bu appealed to the Emperor Hsün 宣 (477-679 A.D.) to bestow upon him the title of "Supreme Commander of the Campaign, with the Status of Minister" which the Koguryo king, Kao Lien, already possessed. With the permission of the Emperor, King Bu proposed to attack Koguryo on his behalf.<sup>144</sup>

These events occurred during a period when, with her influence over South Korea on the decline, Japan had the intention to retrieve the territory of Mimana. Her immediate justification for making the appeal to the Emperor was that Koguryo was carrying out schemes of conquering Paekche and governing Silla.<sup>145</sup> For example, in 475 A.D. the capital of Paekche, Hansan 漢山 (Han shan in Chinese), was captured; and the Paekche king Un'i Lung 齊隆 (455-475 A.D.) was executed by the Koguryo army.<sup>146</sup> Japan also was threatened by Koguryo's invasions into Japanese territory. Thus she sought imperial Chinese recognition of the rightness of her cause in the war with Koguryo.



The Emperor Hsūn conferred the four basic titles on King Bu, but on a temporary basis only. These were: "Messenger with Imperial Insignia", "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six States of Wa, Silla, Mimana, Kala, Chin-han, and Mok-han", "Grand General of Pacifying the East" and "King of Wa".

The Emperor Hsūn was impressed by the Japanese rulers' loyalty and by their contribution to maintaining peace in East Asia; he demonstrated his appreciation by bestowing all four titles. As a result, the political status of King Bu was formally promoted to the level of the kings of Koguryo and Paekche. Also, King Bu received the title of "Grand General" instead of merely "General"; and the title of "King of Wa State" instead of "King of Wa". The term "Grand General" could mean that King Bu's military position was higher than that of the other Japanese officials, royal family members and local leaders. The "King of Wa" may have implied that Japan was acknowledged as a unified state similar to Koguryo and Paekche by the Chinese Emperor.

After the fall of the Liu Sung in 479 A.D., the Japanese king Bu continued to bring tribute to the Southern Chinese dynasties who maintained the old Chinese traditions. In 479 A.D. the Southern Ch'i Emperor Kao (高祖) (479-482 A.D.) conferred the titles "Messenger with Imperial Insignia",

"Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs in the Six States of Wa, Silla, Mimana, Kala, Chin-han, and Mok-han", "Grand General of Pacifying the East", and "King of Wa" upon King Bu. King Bu named himself additionally "Grand General of Settling the East".<sup>147</sup> In 502 A.D., Emperor Wu 武 (502-549 A.D.) of the Liang dynasty raised the title or "Grand General of Settling the East" to that of "General or Conquering the East".<sup>148</sup> These titles conferred by the Emperors of the Southern Ch'i and the Liang dynasties may have been ceremonial only because King Bu did not bring tribute to the Emperors, according to the records of the dynastic histories.

In the fifth century the Japanese kings requested the Emperors to bestow upon them the title or "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Mimana, Chin-han, and Mok-han". The kings never gave up the idea of including Paekche as part of their domain, as well as Pyon-han, whose government they never recognized. Interestingly, at that time the territories of Chin-han and Mok-han were included even though they did not exist as states.<sup>149</sup> During the reign of King Kō, in addition to Mimana, the territory of Silla was added to this list, even though this was another geographical name for "Mimana".<sup>150</sup>

The title "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs", with the names of the foreign states appended, indicated Japan's opposition to Koguryo's military operation

in southern Korea. As stated in King Bu's letter to the Emperor Hsün in 478 A.D., the Japanese king was deeply concerned about Koguryo's military operations on the Korean Peninsula. Koguryo had threatened and invaded Paekche with the support of Silla since the middle of the fourth century. Consequently, Japan's periodic tribute overland through the Korean Peninsula to China was interrupted. The Japanese king requested the titles including that of "Supreme Commander of the Campaign, with the Status of Minister", the Same as Ceremony, for Establishing a Dependent Office" in order that he would be able to stand on equal terms with the Koguryo king and increase his influence on the Korean Peninsula through a base of operations at Mimana. Japan had reinforced this military base at Paekche's request, and these titles would serve to further legitimize this action.

Japan's request for the title of "Military Governor Commanding All Military Affairs...." indicated her desire for suzerainty over several of the Korean states; and China was not eager to approve this request. Paekche never became part of Japan's military suzerainty, as it was an independent state as well as an external retainer of China. The Liu Sung dynasty wished to avoid the situation of double subordination -- to both China and to Japan. Although Paekche, Silla and other Korean states treated Japan as a superior state or suzerain (like the so-called "ta-kuo 大國)

(Great State) in the sui period)<sup>151</sup> and sent tribute to Japan, the Liu Sung dynasty hesitated to create a smaller world order within the Chinese world order. The Liu Sung also wanted to maintain Paekche as a buffer state against Koguryo. Politically Japan had to go along with China's intentions.<sup>152</sup>

At this time it is not clear whether Japanese influence extended over Chin-han and Mok-han or not. Actually, by the fifth century, Chin-han had been absorbed by Silla, and Mok-han was occupied by Paekche. Pyon-han was governed by Japan, and the name of the state was replaced with Mimana. According to the Chronicles of Japan, (Nihongi 日本紀), Mimana was located on Southern Korea whereas Paekche and Silla were not.<sup>153</sup> Any Pyon-han tribal communities who wanted to maintain their relationships with the Japanese government in Kala were considered to be part of Mimana. In other words, Mimana as a Japanese political and military base was comprised of tribal communities in both Pyon-han and Kala. The Japanese King Chin professed himself to be the Military Governor of Mimana; Kala was not mentioned probably because the king believed Kala to be part of Mimana. The Liu Sung Emperors, however, had given military jurisdiction over both Mimana and Kala to King Sei in 451 A.D. and to King Bu in 478 A.D.<sup>154</sup>

From the viewpoint of the Liu Sung, both states were independent; the Liu Sung were also aware that Japanese commandery influence over South Korea had been on the decline since the beginning of the fifth century; simultaneously, the tribal communities in Mimana had become independent by the third quarter of the fifth century. In 479 A.D. the Kala king, Ho Chih 荷知, sent an envoy to the new Southern dynasty, the Southern Ch'i, and in return received the titles "General of Supporting State" (fu-kuo Chiang-chün 輔國將軍) and "King of Kala State" (Chia-lo kuo-wang 加羅國王).<sup>155</sup> The Japanese idea to take advantage of her titles to control South Korea with the aid of Chinese diplomacy thus did not prove successful.

With regard to Chin-han and Mok-han, it seems that these state names were valuable only insofar as they would add weight to the titles. Since Silla and Paekche could not dominate and control every corner of Chin-han and Mok-han, there were some villages and outlying areas outside of their influence. Paekche extended her domination over southern Mok-han after 475 A.D.; and Silla re-organized her government more strongly after 450 A.D. after being saved from domination by Koguryo. However, part of Chin-han and Mok-han remained independent, and were still referred to with these names. The Chinese dynasties and Japan, therefore, treated them as independent states.

Japan wished to have the name of every part of southern Korea in its title in order to establish her suzerainty. This was certainly an exaggeration of the political realities. The largest roadblock keeping the Japanese from extending their suzerainty to all of the Korean states was acknowledgment by China; and this, apparently, the Liu Sung were not willing to do.

For Japanese kings with an established political center in central Japan, commonly called "Yamato" 大和, the bestowal of the titles "General" and "King" by the Southern Dynasties exerted a great influence over domestic policies. With imperial acknowledgment from China came increased stature. According to archaeological excavations of tombs of local leaders from before the fifth century A.D., it is reasonable to surmise that their political influence was upheld, in part, by shamanistic beliefs; their burial accessories were mainly composed of religious instruments, sacred Utensils such as bronze mirrors, bronze swords and bronze bells, and religious instruments used in agriculture. Communications between the leaders of Yamato Japan and his followers were strongly influenced by sacred treasures and magical rites. However, from the second half of the fourth century, shamanistic influence over politics declined, the south Korean expeditions began and local states around

Yamato state were subdued. For example, Katsuragi Sotsuhiko 葛城襲津彦 (or Sachihiko 沙至比跪), who was a member of Yamato Katsuragi 大和葛城, was dispatched as a commanding officer to restore Japanese influence over South Korea. This was possible only when the king wielded tremendous political military power.<sup>156</sup>

Again, considering the evidence from burial accessories, after the second half of the fourth century, the number of religious articles decreased, while armored suits, horse-armor, and Continental-style gold and silver ear-rings, dresses, hats and ornaments became much more common. This may indicate that the political leadership of Japan was being decided by military power. Both the Record of Ancient Matters (Kojiki 古事記) and the Chronicles of Japan suggest that the king or the Japanese Emperor (tennō, 天皇) was the military commander.<sup>157</sup> The officers proceeded to their posts following the orders of the Emperor. Indeed, as stated in the memorial of King Bu, the Emperor himself took the military lead in establishing a unified state. As a result, even through the History of the Liu Sung Dynasty, the History of the Liang Dynasty, and the Chronicles of Japan record the lineage of the five Japanese kings differently, it is evident that hereditary rulership had been established during the fifth century. Mimana in southern Korea and parts of Japan were controlled as patrimonial estates or subordinate territories. Chinese and

Korean technology and learning were imported to Japan, including iron weapons and cavalry-battle techniques, which were invaluable for strengthening the position of the king and the ruling class.<sup>158</sup>

In order to establish an effective political organization and maintain social stratification, local officials such as "Local Landholders" (kuninomiya tsuko 國造) and the "Chief of the District" (agatanushi 縣主) were appointed, and the differences between professional groups called "bumin" 部民 were clearly distinguished. Beginning with the second half of the fourth century to the first half of the fifth century, the Japanese kings' domestic title changed from "Distinguished" (wake 別) to "King" (kimi 王). Originally, the title "Distinguished" was reserved for use by the king only, but later on the heads of distinguished royal families and powerful local leaders gained more influence and began using this title also. The title "Distinguished", together with the size of the tomb, was insufficient to distinguish the king's position. Consequently, the title "Distinguished" was replaced with the title "King" (kimi), and later with the title "Grand King" (ōkimi, 大王) during the reigns of King Chin and King Sei (fifth century).<sup>159</sup>

The systems of "clan" (uji 氏) and "bone" (kabane 姓), which classified social and political groups by



appointed names were gradually formed during this period also. The "clan" was a semi-autonomous unit and probably developed out of the tribal communities which comprised the old "state" ("kuo" described in the dynastic histories). The smaller unit of the "clan" was the "be" 部 (group of skilled workers) which performed specific economic functions and services. "Various titles used by the chiefs of the "clans" and the "corporations" ("be") came to represent graded ranks or nobility." These titles were called the "bone". "In this emerging nobility, the 'clans' and the 'corporations' belonging to the Yamato group, being close to the source of political authority, naturally outraged the others...."<sup>160</sup>

In the third century, the names of Japanese kings and officials were recorded on historical materials with Japanese pronunciation of Chinese characters. The names of queen Himiko and of the official Nanshōbei are examples. Later, in the fifth century, the first Japanese king recorded in the History of the Liu Sung Dynasty was reported as "Wo Tsuan" 倭 讚.<sup>161</sup> The first character of the state name "Wo kuo" (Wa state) was used as the family name, and the other character used was apparently the given name. A similar example can be seen in the case of Koguryo and Paekche. The King of Koguryo was Kao Lien 高 璉, and a Chief Clerk (Chang shih) was named Kao I 高 翼. The names of the Paekche kings were recorded as YŪ Ying 餘 映 and

Yü P'i 餘毗. The family name was specially chosen from the second character of their mythical ancestral tribe Fu yü 扶餘. Some with the family name on Yü received the title of "General" from the Liu Sung Emperor Hsiao-wen. They were Yü Chi 餘紀, Yü Kun 餘昆, Yü Hun 餘暉, Yü Tu 餘都, Yü I 餘乂, and so on.<sup>162</sup> Similar examples can be found with other countries in the dynastic histories.

In 425 A.D. King Chin asked Emperor Wen to confer the title of "General" on Wasui and twelve other envoys.<sup>163</sup> Wasui may have been a Japanese royal family member holding a distinguished office. Even though the names of the other envoys granted the title of "General" were not mentioned, some of them probably held the same family name with similar official positions. The others were senior officials or part of the royal entourage.

The use of the Chinese-style name for foreign kings started during the period of the Liu Sung (420-479 A.D). According to the History of the Liu Sung Dynasty, the names of the leaders of the So-lu 索虜 tribe such as So T'ou 索頭, T'o Pa 託跋, I T'o 猗馳, and Shih-i-chien 什翼犍 were represented phonetically in Chinese characters. However, the son of Shih-i-chien used both his tribal name Sh'e-kui, 涉珪 and the Chinese-style family name K'ai 開.<sup>164</sup> His successor used two names in a similar manner.

These phonetic phrasings of family names were used by Japanese leaders as well.

The practice of using Chinese-style names was commonly accepted by China's subordinate and external states, tribes and communities when they engaged in political communication with China, especially with the Southern Dynasties. This practice began in reaction to the invasion of Northern China by foreign tribes during the Five Barbarian and Sixteen States period (311-386 A.D.). Those foreign states remaining loyal to China considered the Southern dynasty to be the legitimate Chinese rulers; as a sign of their loyalty, they used Chinese-style names and titles.

During the fifth century, the Japanese kings asked the Chinese Emperors to confer titles upon their subordinates, but it is not known whether or not these titles had already been conferred on the subordinates by the king beforehand. In the case of Paekche, it is evident from the contents of records and from the Chinese character "Hsin" 行 (already, bestowed) that several officials received the titles of "General" and "King" from the Paekche King Ch'in in 458 A.D. He later asked the Chinese Emperor Hsiao-wu (453-463 A.D.) to formally re-invest these titles upon his officials.<sup>165</sup> A similar situation may have occurred in Japan.

It is not clearly known whether or not the Japanese "General" title-holders (with the exception of the king) had any roles of local leadership and/or the obligation of foreign military service. The common point in Paekche's and Japan's case is that these titles were used as an instrument to court their subordinates' favor. In return, the kings expected the subordinates to acknowledge the legitimacy of his kingship. This is the probable reason why the Japanese kings requested the titles of "General" for their subordinates.

The Japanese kings and their subordinates both held the same title of "General". Differences in rank were distinguished by appellations attached to the title. The names bestowed on the subordinates such as "Appeasing the west", "Conquering the Prisoners", "First Degree", and "Supporting State" were considered to be of a lower rank than the phrase "Pacifying the East", conferred on King Cnin, for example.<sup>166</sup> The same title with minor differences of rank did not necessarily distinguish the king's position; for this reason the title of "Grand General" (ta Chiang-chün) was conferred upon the king by the Chinese Emperor, and his superiority over the other "Generals" was thus clearly established. In actual practice, the position and superiority of the king were obvious in that his subordinates came to him requesting these titles.

From this discussion, it can be seen that the changes in the king's domestic titles from "Distinguished" (wake) to "King" (kimi) or "Grand King" (okimi) corresponded to the difference between "General" (chiang-chūn) and "Grand General" (ta Chiang-chūn). Domestically, the Japanese rulers established their supremacy from the inside; internationally, they sought recognition of their political authority by requesting the title of "Grand General" from the Emperor.

The dynastic histories show that in the fifth century the Chinese Emperor generally conferred upon the Koguryo, Paekche, and Japanese kings as well as other foreign rulers five titles. These were "Messenger with Imperial Insignia" (shin-cn'ih-chieh 使持節), "Military Governor" (tu-tu 都督), "General", "King", and "Duke". Some of the rulers did not receive the title "Duke" because this title was given to royal family members who had different family names and to foreign rulers appointed to govern a commandery. These titles were originally prepared for the chief administrator of a province (chou 州) or prefecture (chen 鎮) who were dispatched from the court of the central government in order to resolve domestic conflicts in the Late Han dynasty.

The title "Staff of Authority Bearing Imperial Insignia and Credentials" (ch'ih-chieh 持節) indicated the authority delegated to the provinces from the Emperor to the representative official. but the chief administrator of a province or prefecture held the title of "Military Governor" (tu-tu 都督).<sup>\*</sup> The holder of this title usually held the title of "Inspector of a Circuit" (tz'u-shih, 刺史) concurrently. He also had the authority to determine the military affairs of his province. The title "General" was reserved for leaders commanding troops; the appellation attached to this title reflected his political position under the Emperor.

During the process of decentralization from the late Later Han to the Three Kingdoms period, the number of local militia and noble family members holding the post of "Military Councillor" (ts'an-chün 參軍) under the "Chief Clerk" (chang-shih 長史) and the "Major" (ssu-ma 司馬) of provincial governments increased; the chiefs of the province or prefecture were sometimes influenced by these Councillors to revolt against the central government. Also, as

---

<sup>\*</sup>Staff of Authority Bearing Imperial Insignia and Credentials (ch'ih-chieh 持節) includes Messenger with Imperial Insignia (shih-ch'ih-chieh 使持節), Authority with Imperial Insignia (ch'ih-chieh 持節), and Authority with Temporal Imperial Insignia (chia-chieh 假節). Military Governor (tu-tu 都督) is subdivided into Military Governor (tu-tu 都督), Military Supervisor (chien 監), and Military Viceroy (Tu 督).

the power of the Great families increased, the Commandery Administrators and Prefects who were dispatched from the central government were sometimes selected from among the great family members in that locality.<sup>167</sup> Further, the restoration of the five-rank peerage system of Chou times in 265 A.D. allowed distinguished people who had served the Wei dynasty to receive the titles "Duke" (kung 公), "Marquis" (hou 侯), "Earl" (po 伯), "Viscount" (tzu 子) and "Baron" (nan 男).<sup>168</sup> This restoration was suggested by Ssu-ma Chao 司馬昭 (211-265 A.D.), who was a king of the Wei Empire and the father of the first Emperor of the Western Chin dynasty (265-316 A.D.).<sup>169</sup> In doing this he sought to prevent any revolt by the Wei during the period of dynastic transition by guaranteeing their social status. The title holders were enfeoffed with either commanderies or districts according to the rank of their titles. This peerage system lasted well into the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.).<sup>170</sup>

Under these political circumstances, the Emperor in the fourth and fifth centuries treated foreign rulers and external retainers on the same footing as the chiefs of Chinese provinces and prefectures. These foreign rulers not only were used to protect China from foreign invasion but also became a potent force for maintaining the rule of the dynasties. These rulers took advantage of China's domestic

conflicts and requested higher political and military titles to establish and maintain their own political positions. Foreign rulers were the rulers of their own states; as external retainers, they were on the same political footing as the internal retainers. The external retainers were thus absorbed into China's world order, and the ideal Chinese empire based on the concept of ethnocentrism gradually dissolved.<sup>171</sup> In the case of Japan, by the end of the fifth century, the king was acknowledged as an official external retainer.



## CHAPTER 8

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The focus of this paper has been to examine and to seek to understand the nature of foreign relations in East Asia before the fifth century A.D. Ideologically, these relations were shaped by Confucian ideals of duty and propriety, with the Emperor, who had received the "mandate of Heaven", as the ruler of the Universe. Politically, China, being culturally the most advanced and militarily the most powerful nation at that time, was the sun in a universe around whom the affairs of the small states revolved. Structurally, these relations gradually developed into and became characterized by the investiture and tributary systems.

The system of investiture developed out of the old "commandery-and-district system" in which great nobles and landlords pledged their allegiance to the Emperor in return for his sanction and political protection. Gradually, this system expanded into the "commandery-and-state system", as nations outside of China proper ("external retainers") received a status similar to those of the "internal retainers". This relationship was mutually beneficial to both parties. The external states sent periodic envoys to

the Emperor to pay tribute and to pledge their allegiance to the Chinese world order. In return the state rulers would be invested with official titles such as "King" or "General", and would receive an inscribed gold seal of office, expensive gifts of bronze, gold and precious clothes, and most importantly, imperial acknowledgment and support for their political positions within their own countries.

As the terms "All under Heaven" (t'ien-hsia) and the "Middle Kingdom" (Chung-kuo) indicate, the Chinese empire included all of the countries in the world with China as the center. This sinocentrism simultaneously combined the assumption of Chinese superiority with a prejudicial attitude toward non-Chinese peripheral tribes and states. The Chinese Emperor (huang-ti) or "Son of Heaven" (t'ien-tzu), as the ruler of the known world, governed China as the internal kingdom and her peripheral states as an external kingdom under the concept of "civilizing influences" (wang-hua). In acknowledging China's superiority and suzerainty, the rulers of tributary states were granted investiture and thereby avoided direct intervention by China in their internal affairs. China could then govern these states indirectly in a manner similar to her governing of the internal retainers and thus maintain peace on her frontiers. The investiture system thus sought to unify all peoples in the East, through bringing all the separate

sovereignties together under the protective umbrella of the Chinese world order.

In this study, the roles, intentions, and political tactics of specific individuals holding high positions in ruling organizations are not considered to be an important element in understanding the foreign policies and political affairs of that time. The emphasis is rather on the political structures, and on the philosophic and historical traditions underlying those structures, which shaped and molded the conduct of Sino-foreign relations.

The main sources used in this paper are Chinese dynastic histories such as the History of the Former Han Dynasty (Han-shu) compiled by Pan Ku (32-92 A.D.) and others; the History of the Later Han Dynasty (Hou Han-shu) by Fan Yeh (398-445 A.D.) and others; the Epitome of the Kingdom of Wei (Wei-lüeh) by Yu Huang (third century ?); the History of the Kingdom of Wei (Wei-chih) by Ch'en Shou (233-297 A.D.); the History of the Chin Dynasty (Chin-shu) by Fan Hsüan-ling (578-648 A.D.); the History of the Liu Sung Dynasty (Sung-shu) by Shen Yüeh (441-513 A.D.); the History of the Southern Ch'i (Nan-Ch'i-shu) by Hsiao Tzu-hsien (489-537 A.D.); and the History of the Liang Dynasty (Liang-shu) by Shen Yüeh (441-513 A.D.).

Most of the records on Japan and Sino-Japanese relations are brief and fragmented, and were often recopied and rearranged by other dynastic historians. Also, the records

are not complete; there are gaps in the periods 108-239 A.D. and 266-413 A.D.

Information on Sino-foreign relations with other East Asian states are also recorded in these dynastic histories. The stone monument of the Koguryo king Kwanggaet'o and the Chronicles of Japan (Nihongi) give us some information about the political and military struggle between the Korean states and Japan in the fourth and fifth centuries; its authenticity has been the subject of much controversy. Other than this monument, the dynastic histories are the only records of Sino-foreign relations available to us from that era.

The period of history examined in this paper was simultaneously a period of great cultural advancement and political turmoil in East Asia. Culturally, it was marked by the diffusion and spread of the Chinese system of writing, thought and law to foreign states. Politically, the states in this area were going through growing pains, as the forces of nationalism and unification forced tribes and communities into forming small states and nations in the interests of self-defense. Wa Japan in Kyūshū was metamorphosed from a group of over one hundred "states" with Nu state as the leader in the middle of the first century A.D., and Metsu state as the leader in the early second century A.D. Under the government of Queen Himiko, Yamatai state emerged as the leader of the Japanese states during the

first half of the third century; by the late fourth century, Wa Japan had become consolidated into a relatively unified nation.

In northern Korea, the four Chinese commanderies (Lo-lang, Hsūan-t'u, Chen-fan and Lin-tun) which had been established by Emperor Wu in 108 B.C., were gradually abandoned as the Koreans put up strenuous resistance; first Chen-fan and Lin-tun in 82 B.C., and Hsūan-t'u in 75 B.C. The Lo-lang commandery was taken over by the Kung-sun clan, and later by the Wei and Chin dynasties. The constant political turmoil in China and frequent shift of rulers in Lo-lang greatly weakened Chinese hegemony in the area; Lo-lang lasted until 313 A.D., and the Koguryo tribes in the northeast dominated northern Korea after this time. In southern Korea, three Han tribes (Ma-han, Chen-han and Pien-han) were gradually conquered and absorbed by neighboring tribes. By the middle of the fourth century, Paekche had increased its territorial and political domination in southwest Korea, and Silla had achieved the same in the southeast.

The end of the Han period in 222 A.D. was followed by three and one-half centuries of the division of China into several kingdoms with separate ruling dynasties, each of whom claimed to be the legitimate rulers of China. The destruction of a centralized bureaucratic was accompanied by the growth in power of local great families; the appearance

*of powerful independent Grand Generals; the degeneration of the commandery-and-district system; the abolition of the twenty-rank peerage system; and the transformation from a Sinocentric world to a more egalitarian system of political relations. Throughout all of this growth and turmoil, there were periods of political calm and stability. The system of investiture was the major framework holding together the fabric of Sino-foreign relations during this period.*

- |                        |                                      |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Nu koku (Nu kuo)    | 7. Koguryo (Kao-kou-li)              |
| 2. Chin-han (Chen-han) | 8. Hsiŏng-nu (or Southern Hsiŏng-nu) |
| 3. Pyon-han (Pien-han) | 9. Fu-yŏ                             |
| 4. Ma-han (Ma-han)     | 10. Wu-huan                          |
| 5. Hui, or Hui-mo      | 11. Hsien-pei                        |
| 6. Lo-lang             | 12. Yŏeh-nan                         |
|                        | 13. Tien                             |

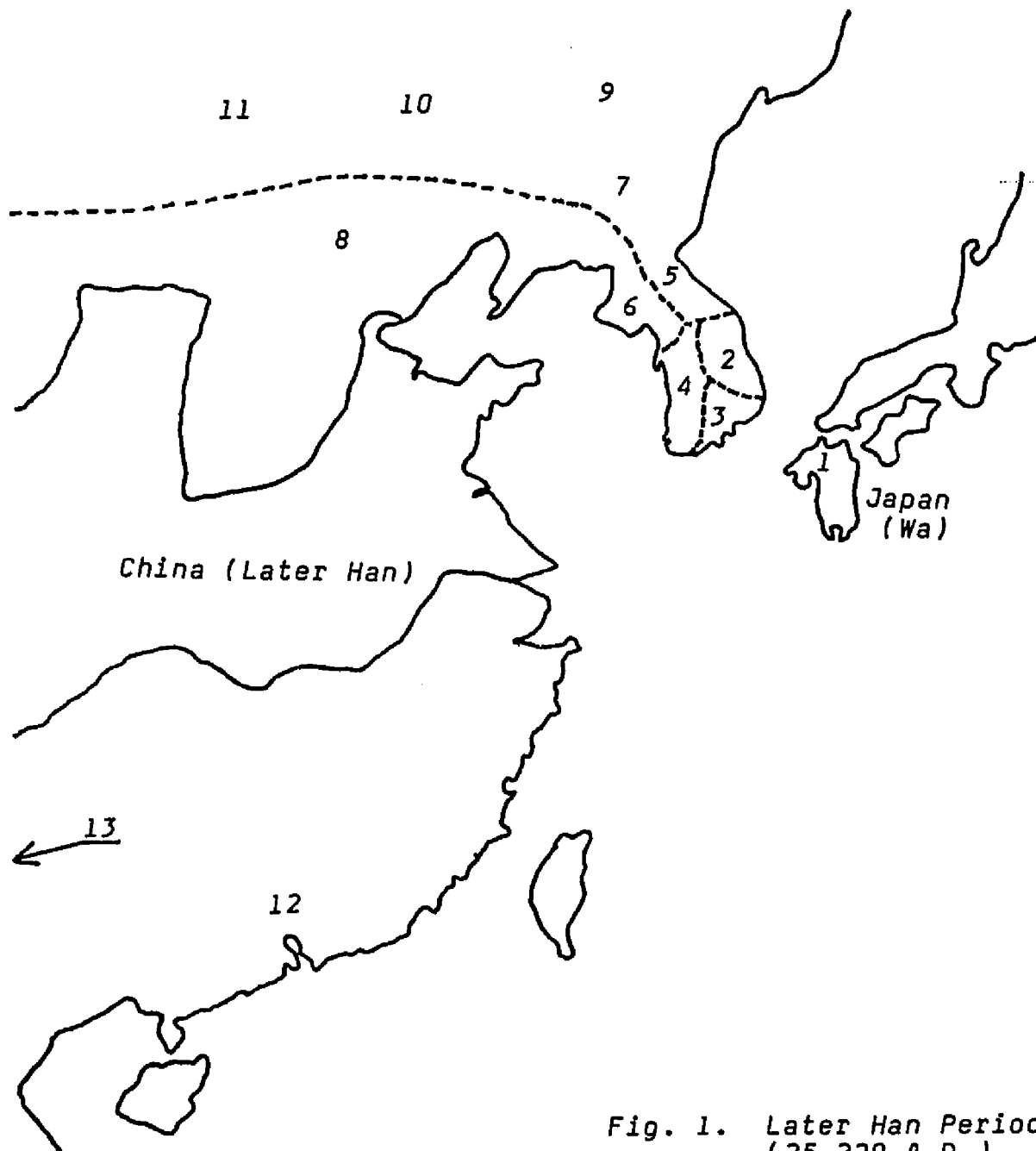


Fig. 1. Later Han Period  
(25-220 A.D.)

- |                                   |                 |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Kuru koku (Kou-nu kuo)         | 10. Liao-tung   |
| 2. Yamatai koku (Yeh-ma-t'ai kuo) | 11. Wu-huan     |
| 3. Chin-han (Chen-han)            | 12. Hsien-pei   |
| 4. Pyon-han (Pien-han)            | 13. K'uai-chi   |
| 5. Ma-han (Ma-han)                | 14. Tung-yeh    |
| 6. Hui                            | 15. Chu-yai     |
| 7. Tai-fang                       | 16. Tan-erh     |
| 8. Lo-lang                        | 17. T'an-chou ? |
| 9. Koguryo (Kao-kou-li)           | 18. I-chou ?    |

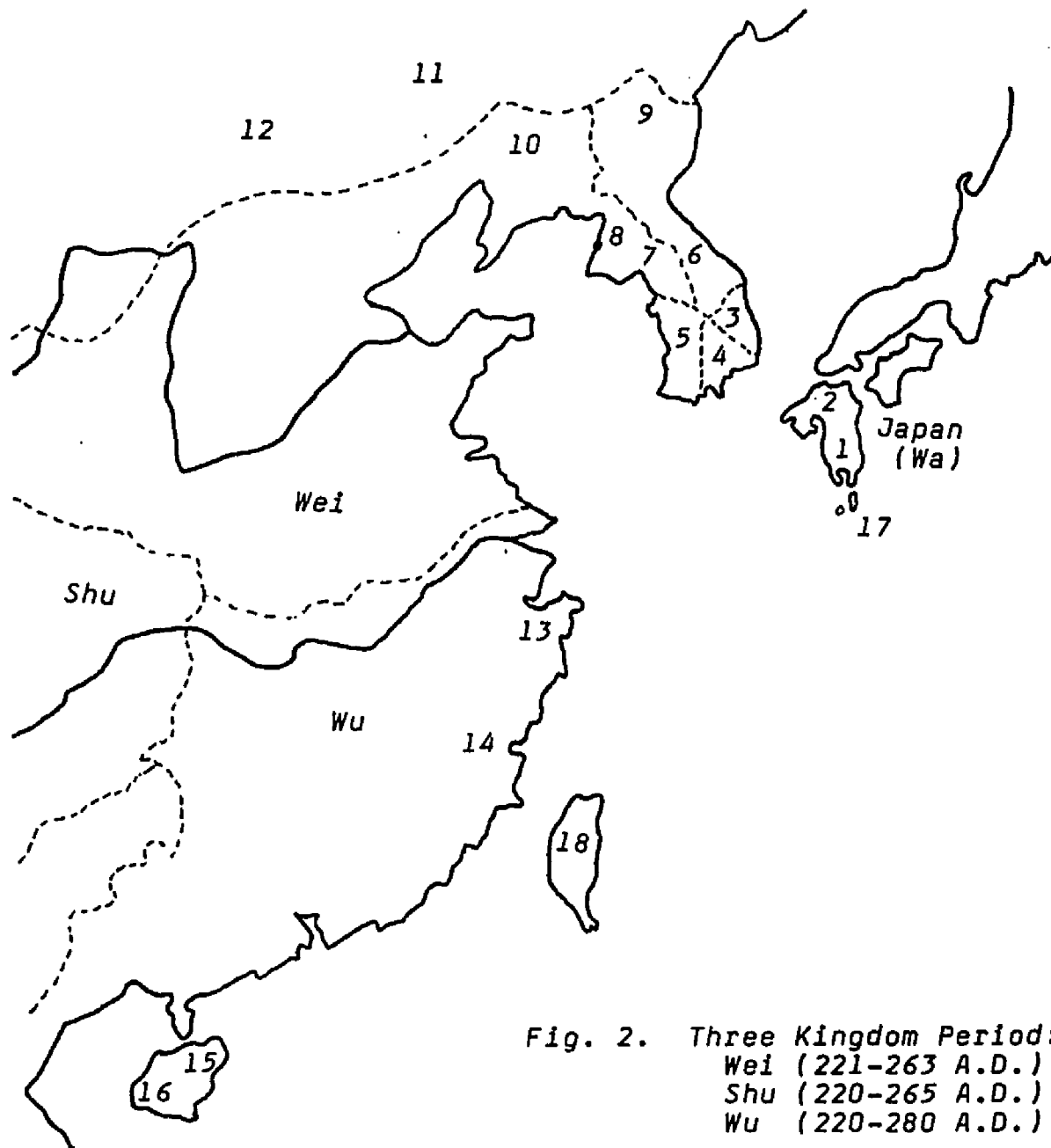


Fig. 2. Three Kingdom Period:  
 Wei (221-263 A.D.)  
 Shu (220-265 A.D.)  
 Wu (220-280 A.D.)



1. Wa
2. Mok-han (Mu-han)
3. Mimana (Jen-na)
4. Kala (Chia-lo)
5. Ch'in-han (Chen-han)
6. Paekche (Pai-ch'i)
7. Silla (hsin-lo)
8. Koguryo (Kao-kou-li)

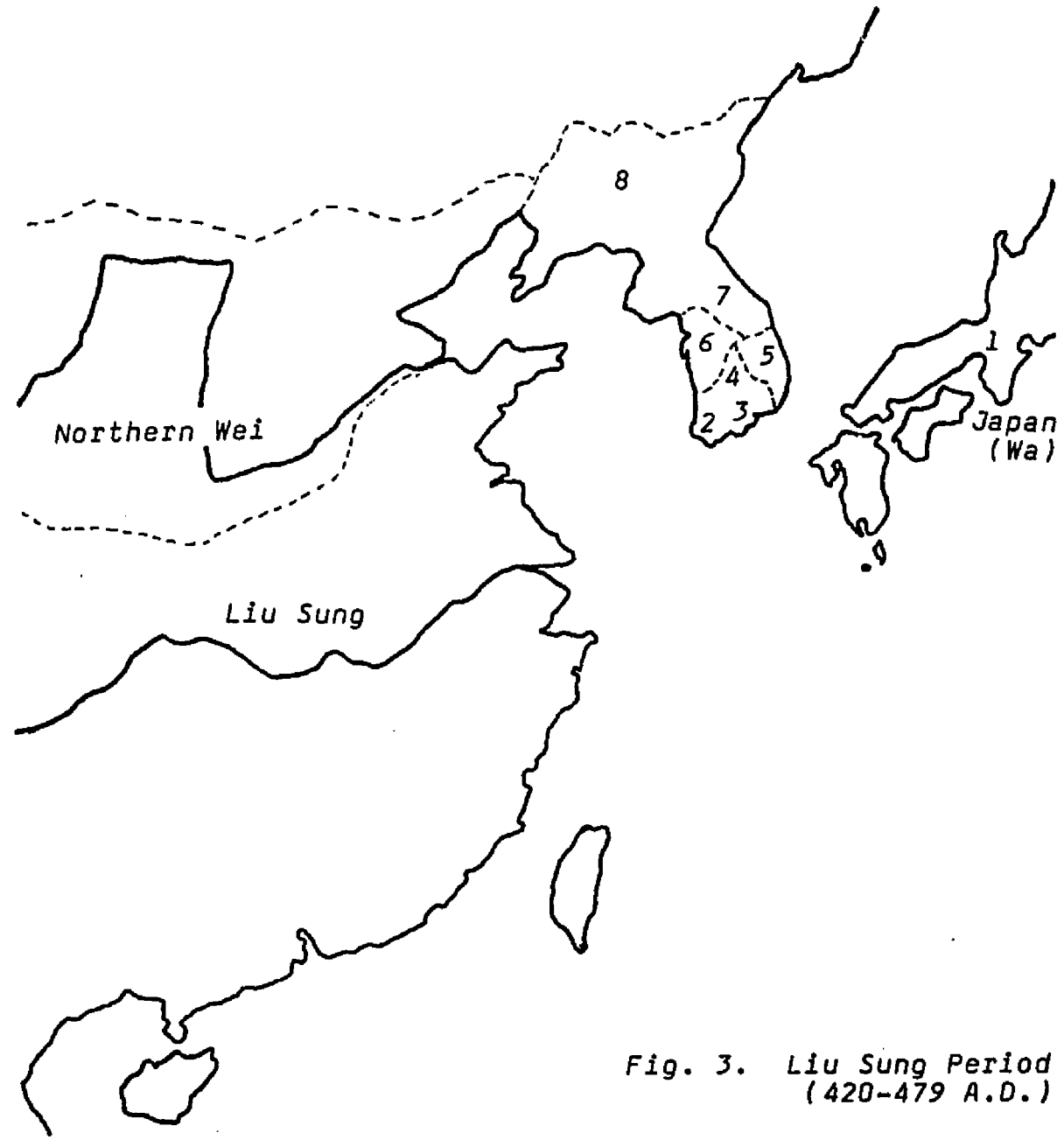


Fig. 3. Liu Sung Period (420-479 A.D.)

ENDNOTES

Abbreviations used in the endnotes:

CS: Chin shu, comp. by Fang Hsūan-ling (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1974).

HHS: Hou Han-shu, comp. by Fan Yeh (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1965).

HS: Han-shu, comp. by Pan Ku (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1962).

SS: Sung-shu, comp. by Shen Yūeh (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1974).

WC: Wei-chih, comp. by Ch'en Shou, (v. 1 & 2 of San-kuo chih; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1959).

1. Maeda Naonori, "Higashi Ajia ni okeru kodai no shumatsu," Chugokushi no jidai kubun (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1957), pp. 349-367.

Ishimodā Sho, "Chuseishi kēnkyū no kiten," Chūseitēki sekai no keisei (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1957), pp. 391-426.

Matsumoto Shinpachirō, Sekaishi no kihon hōsoku (Tokyo: Rekishigaku Kenkyukai, 1949).

Nishijima Sadao, "6-8 seiki no higashi Ajia," Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962), v. 2, pp. 229-278.

Tōyama Gunji, Zui-To sekai teikoku, (v. 5 of Tōyō no rekishi; Tokyo: Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1967).

2. Nishijima Sadao, "Higashi Ajia sekai to Nihonshi," Rekishi koron (Tokyo: Yuzankau, Jan. 1975 - Nov. 1976).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Higashi Ajia sekai no seiritsu to tenkai," Ajia no naka no Nihon (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1975), pp. 135-170.

3. John K. Fairbank, "A Preliminary Framework," The Chinese World Order (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968). p. 8.

4. Hsü Tien-lin, Hsi-Han Hui-yao (Shanghai: Jenmin ch'u-pan she, 1977). 35/407-415.

5. Nishijima Sadao, Chūgoku kodai teikoku no keisei to kozo, (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1961).

6. Kurihara Tomonobu, "Bunken ni arawaretaru Shin-Kan jin no kenkyū," Shin-Kanshi no kenkyū (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1960), pp. 123-286.

Nishijima Sadao, "6-8 seiki no higashi Ajia."

7. Yang Lien-sheng, "Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order," The Chinese World Order, ed. by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 31-33.

8. HS, 95/3848.

9. Ogata Isamu, "Kandai jinbo keishiki ni tsuite," Shigaku zasshi, v. 76, no. 8, pp. 1-45.

10. Kurihara Tomonobu, "Bunken ni arawaretaru Shimkan no kenkyū," p. 174-181.

11. HS, 95/3849-3853.

12. HS, 95/3853-3869.

13. HS, 94b/3752-3753.

14. HS, 954b/3760.

15. HS, 94b/3800-3801.

16. HS, 94b/3818-3819.

17. John K. Fairbank, "A Preliminary Framework," p. 8.

18. HS, 95/3864.

19. Nishijima Sadao, "Higashi Ajia sekai to Nihonshi."
20. HS, 95/3864.
21. Nishijima Sadao, "Higashi Ajia sekai to Nihonshi."
22. Quoted in T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, comp. by Li Fang & et al. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), 76/354.
23. Ibid., 76/355.
24. Ibid., 76/355.
25. Nishijima Sadao, Shin-Kan teikoku (v. 2 of Chügoku no rekishi; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1974), pp. 304-334.
26. HS, 99a/4039-4196.
27. Itano Chöhachirō, Chügoku kodai ni okeru ningenkan no tenkai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972).
28. Nishijima Sadao, "Higashi Ajia sekai to Nihonshi."
29. Kurihara Tomonobu, "Bunken ni arawaretaru Shin-Kan Jiin no kenkyū," pp. 258-259.
30. Yü Ying-shih, Trade and Expansion in Han China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 184-186. My opinion is different from his.
31. Tzu-chih t'ung-chien, comp. by Ssu-ma Kuang (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1971, 13/424.
32. HS, 95/3853-3857.
33. HS, 95/3838-3845.
34. HS, 95/3863-3867.
35. HS, 28b/1658.
36. Shan-hai ching (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1980; annotated by Yüan K'e; ed. by Chang Ming-hua), 12/321.
37. HHS, 90/2994.

38. Wang Ch'ung, Lun-heng (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1957; annotated by Liu Fen-sui), 8/172, 19/395.

39. WC, 30/838, see note.

40. HS, 28b/1658.

41. HS, 28b/1658.

42. HS, 28b/1658.

43. Naoki Kōjirō, Nihon no rekishi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1965) v. 2, p. 194.

Nihon kōkogaku no shiten, ed. by Saitō Tadashi (Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki, 1974), v. 1, pp. 302-307.

Ōba Iwao, "Genshi bunka" (v. 4 of Kōkogaku kōza; Tōkyō: Yūzankaku, 1969).

Mori Teijirō, "Yayoi bunka wa naze kigenzen 2-3 seiki ni okotta ka," Kaigai kōshōshi no shiten (Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki, 1975), v. 1, pp. 28-33.

44. HHS, 85/2822.

45. HHS, 1b/84.

46. HHS, 85/3817.

47. HHS, 85/2814.

48. HHS, 85/2820.

49. Wen hsien t'ung-k'ao, comp. by Ma Tuan-lin (Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chū, 1964) 324/2553.

50. WC, 30/853.

HHS, 85/2819.

51. WC, 30/854.

52. HHS, 86/2837.

53. HHS, 86/2851.

54. HHS, 87/2892.

55. HS, 96b/2908.

56. Kurihara Tomonobu, "Bunken ni arawaretaru ...." pp. 207-219.

57. Kayamoto Tojin, "Wa-nu koku to kin'in no iseki," Kōkogaku zasshi, v. 45, no. 3 & 4.

58. Enoki Kazuo, "Yamataikoku to Gi tonō kōshō wa donoyo de attaka," Kaigai kōshoshi no shiten v. 1, p. 42.

59. Nishijima Sadao, Shin-Kan teikoku, pp. 327-330.

Fujita Ryōsaku, "Rakurō fudei kō," Chosen kōkogaku kenkyū (Kyoto: Takagiri Shoin, 1948), pp. 293-356.

60. Yang Lien-sheng, "Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order," p. 31.

61. HHS, 85/2821.

62. Tu Yu, T'ung-tien (Yü-ko ed.) (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1959), 183/13a.

63. Chang Ch'u-chin Han Yüan, v. 30; quoted in Naoki Kojiro, "Kokka no hassei," Nihon rekishi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962), p. 203. Many other scholars quote this material.

64. Urabe Kanetaka, Shaku Nihongi, collected in Kokushi taikai (Tokyo: Hayashi Jo, 1935), v. 8, 1/8-10.

65. Naitō Konan, "Yamato-koku," collected in Naitō Konan zenshū (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1976), v. 7, pp. 184-289. Detailed explanations are given and other materials are shown.

Hashimoto Masukichi, Tōyō shijō yori mitaru Nihon jōkoshi kenkyū (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1956), p. 180.

Shiratori Kurakichi, "Wa jōō Himiko mondai wa ikani kaisetsu seraru bekika," Shigaku zasshi, v. 38, no. 10, pp. 100-2.

66. Sugihara Sōsuke, Sekai kōkogaku taikai (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1962), v. 2, p. 5.

Kagamiyama Isamu, Sekai kōkogaku taikai, v. 2, p. 21.

67. Inoue Mitsusada, Nihon kokka no kigen (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960), p. 27.

Toma Seita, Uzumoreta kin'in (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970) p. 105.

68. HHS, 84/2834-2837.

69. HHS, 90/2989-2990.

70. HHS, 85/2813-2815.

71. HHS, 85/2817.

72. HHS, 86/2836-2837.

73. WC, 30/856.

74. HHS, 85/2821.

75. WC, 30/851.

76. Kondō Yoshirō, "Tetsugu no shutsugen," Sekai kōkogaku taikei, v. 2, p. 37.

Takabe Shōzō, "Kodai bunmei no shōjōken," Kōza Nihon bunkashi (Tokyo: Nihonshi Kenkyūkai, 1961) v. 1, p. 88.

77. WC. 8/253-254.

78. WC. 30/857.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Mizuno Hiroshi, "Kunu-koku ni kansuru Gishi Tōiden no kisai ni tsuite," Shikan, v. 50, no. 1, pp. 25-49.

83. WC, 30/845, 849, 851.

84. Kurihara Tomonobu, "Gishi Wajinden ni mieru Yamataikoku o meguru kokusai kankei no ichimen," Shigaku zasshi, v. 73, no. 12, pp. 1-38.

Inoue Mitsusada, "Yamataikoku no sei-ji kōzō," shinpojiumu Yamataikoku (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1976).

85. WC. 30/857.
86. Pei-shih, comp. by Li Yen-shou (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1974), 94/3135.
87. WC, 30/858.
88. Ibid.
89. Naoki Kōjirō, Wakoku no tanjō (v. 2 of Nihon no rekishi; Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1973), pp. 174, 180, 182, 290-301.
90. WC, 30/857-858.
91. WC, 8/253-254.
92. WC, 30/857.
93. CS, 3/55.
94. Ōba Osamu, "Himiko o Shin-Gi-Wa-ō to suru seisho o meguru modai," Suenaga sensei koki kinen kodaigaku ronsō (Tokyo: Dokai, 1967), pp. 177-203.
95. WC, 3/108, 3/111, 8/253, 30/845.
- Wu-chih, comp. by Ch'en Shou (v. 4 of San-kuo chih; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1959), 47/1129-1130, 48/1145, 58/1350.
- HHS, 85/2822.
96. WC, 3/97.
97. Shu-chih, comp. by Ch'en Shou (v. 3 of San-kuo chih; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1959), 33/895-896, see note.
98. WC, 8/252-254.
99. WC, 30/855.
100. P'ei Hsiu, Yū-kung ti-yū' tu, quoted in Naoki Kōjirō, Wakoku no tanjō, pp. 283-284.
101. Wei-lōeh, comp. by Yu Hui; collected in Gishi Wajinden .... ed. by Wada Sei & Ishihara Michihiro (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1951). pp. 91-92.



102. Chia T'an, Hai-nei Hua-i t'u, quoted in Naoki Kōjirō, Wakoku no tanjō, pp. 283-284.

103. Wu-chih, 47/1136, 58/1350.

104. Wu-chih, 52/1223.

105. CS, 97/2535; Liang-shu, comp. by Yao Ssu-lien (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1973), 54/806.

106. Nakano Hatayoshi, Yahata shinkōshi no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1967).

107. WC. 30/854.

108. CS. 14/427. see also WC, 30/831-853.

109. Hashimoto Masukichi, Tōyō shijō yori mitaru Nihon jōkoshi kenkyū, pp. 206-231.

110. HHS, 86/2857.

111. HS, 99b/4115.

112. HHS, 90/2985.

113. HHS, 88/2923.

114. HHS, 88/2923.

115. HHS, 86/2853.

116. HHS, 86/2853.

117. HHS, 86/2851.

118. WC, 27/744-745.

119. WC, 30/831.

120. Tanigawa Michio, "Higashi Ajia sekai no shiteki kōzō," Zui-Tō teikoku to higashi Ajia sekai (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1979), p. 101, note 25.

121. CS, 110/2835.

122. Ibid.

123. SS. 97/2392.

124. Ibid.

125. Wei-shu, comp. by Wei Shou (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1967), 100/2214-2217.
126. CS, 9/223.
127. Han Woo-keun, The History of Korea, trans. by Lee Kyung-shih (Seoul: the Eul-yoo Pub. Co., 1970), p. 43.
128. CS, 9/235.
129. SS, 97/2393.
130. SS, 97/2392-2394.
131. CS, 97/2536.
132. Sakamoto Yoshitane, "5 seiki ni okeru Wakoku no shōgō ni tsuite," Nihon rekishi, 1970, no. 262. pp. 40-54.
133. SS, 97/2394.
134. Sakamoto Yoshitane, "Kodai higashi Ajia no Nihon to Chōsen," Hisutoria, v. 50, pp. 37-52.
135. SS, 97/2395.
136. SS, 5/85.
137. SS, 97/2395.
138. Ueda Masaaki, "Kodai kizoku no kokusai ishiki," Nihon kodai kokka ronkyū (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1968), pp. 447-448.
139. SS, 97/2395.
140. SS, 97/2392-2394.
141. SS, 97/2395.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid.
144. Ibid.
145. Nihongi (v. 1 of Kokushi taikēi; Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1951), 15/411-412.
146. Han Woo-keun, The History of Korea, pp. 47-48.

147. Nan-Ch'i-shu, comp. by Hsiao Tzu-hsien (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1972), 58/1012.

148. Liang-shu, 54/802.

Nan-shih, comp. by Li Yen-shou (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1975), 79/1975.

149. Kasai Wajin, Kenkyūshi Wa no goō (Tokyo; Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975).

150. Shimizu Shōji, "Wa no gōo ni kansuru kisoteki kōsatsu," Shigaku, v. 39, no. 2, pp. 41-55.

151. Sui-shu, comp. by Wei Cheng (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1973), 81/1826.

152. Ishimoda Shō, "Kodaishi gaisetsu," Nihon no rekishi, v. 1, (Tokyo: Iwanam Shoten, 1962). pp. 25-26.

153. Nihongi (v. 1 of Kokushi taikai), 14/373-374.

154. Kasai Wajin, Kenkyūshi Wa no goō.

155. Nan-Ch'i-shu, 58/1012.

156. Inoue Mitsusada, "Teiki kara mitaru Katsuragishi," Kojiki taisei, v. 4, p. 231.

157. Nihongi (v. 1 & 2 of Kokushi taikai).

Kojiki (v. 7 of Kokushi taikai).

158. Ishimoda Tadashi, "Kodaishi gaisetsu."

159. Ueda Masaaki, "Yamato kokka no kōzō," Nihon rekishi, pp. 22-40.

Hirano Kunio, "Taika zendai no shakai kōzō," Nihon rekishi, pp. 83-122.

160. Edwin O. Reischauer & John K. Fairbank, East Asia (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), pp. 469-473.

161. SS, 97/2394.

162. SS, 97/2393-2394.

163. SS, 97/2395.

164. SS, 95/2321-2322.

165. SS, 97/2394.

166. Sakamoto Taneyoshi, "Kodai Ajia no kokusai kankei," Hisutoria, v. 49, pp. 1-25; v. 50, pp. 37-52.

167. Tanigawa Michio, "Higashi Ajia sekai keiseiki no shiteki kōzō," p. 100.

Kawakatsu Yoshio, "Riu-Sō seiken no seiritsu to kanmon bujin," Tohō gakuho, v. 36, pp. 215-233.

168. Moriya Mitsuo, "Sō-Gi shakusei ni kansuru nisan no kōsatsu," Tōyoshi kenkyū, v. 20, no. 4, pp. 28-48.

Miyazaki Ichisada, Kyūhin kanjin hō no kenkyū (Kyōto: Dohosha, 1956), pp. 14-15, 171-172.

169. CS, 2/38.

170. Miyazaki Ichisada, Kyūhin kanjin hō no kenkyū. pp. 14-15.

171. Tanigawa Michio, Sekai teikoku no keisei (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1977), pp. 206-212.

\_\_\_\_\_, Chūgoku chūsei shakai to kyōdōtai (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankokai, 1976).

\_\_\_\_\_, "Higashi Ajia sekai keiseiki no shiteki kōzō," pp. 102-105.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akiyama, Kenzō 秋山謙藏 . Nitchū kōshō shiwa 日中  
交涉史話 . Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki, 1935.
- Aoki, Michio Yamaguchi. Ancient Myths and Early History of  
Japan: a Cultural Foundation. New York: Exposit-  
tion Press, 1974.
- Beardsley, Richard K. "Japan before History: a Survey of  
the Archaeological Record," Japan, ed. by John A.  
Harrison. Tucson: University of Arizona Press,  
1971.
- Bodde, Derk. "Feudalism in China," Feudalism in History,  
ed. by R. Coulburn. Princeton: Princeton Univer-  
sity Press, 1956. Pp. 49-92.
- Chang, Ch'u-chin 張楚金 . Han-yüan 翰苑, v, 30,  
quoted in Naoki Kojiro 直木孝次郎, "Kokka no  
hassei" 國家の発生, Nihon rekishi  
日本歴史, v.1. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962.
- Ch'en, Shou 陳壽, Shu-chih 蜀志, San-kou chih 三  
國志, v.3. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Wu-chih 吳志, San-kuo chih 三國志,  
v.4. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1959.
- Chia, T'an 賈耽 . Hai-nei Hua-i t'u 海內華夷圖,  
quoted in Naoki Kojiro 直木孝次郎,  
Wakoku no tanjo 倭國の誕生, Nihon no rekishi  
日本の歴史, v.1. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1973.  
Pp. 283-284.
- Chōsen sangoku to Wa-koku 朝鮮三國と倭國, ed. by  
Inoue Mitsusada 井上光貞 . Tokyo: Gaku-  
seisha, 1980.
- Dull, Jack L. A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal  
(Ch'an-wei) Text of the Han Dynasty. University of  
Washington Ph.D. dissertation, 1966.

- Enoki, Kazuo 榎 一 雄 . "Yamataikoku to Gi tonō kōshō wa donoyō de attaka 邪馬台國と魏との交渉はどのようであったか, Kaigai koshoshi no shiten 海外交渉史の視点, v.1. Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki, 1975. pp. 38-43.
- Fairbank, K. John. "A Preliminary Framework," The Chinese World Order. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. Pp. 1-19.
- Fan, Wen-lang 范 文 瀾 . Chun-kuo t'ung-shih chien-pien 中國通史簡編. Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1958.
- Fan, Yeh 范 曄 . Hou Han-hsu 後漢書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1965.
- Fang, Hsūan-ling 房 玄 齡 . Chin-shu 晉書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1974.
- Fu, Ch'i-hsūeh 傅 啟 學 . Chung-kou ku tai wai chiao shih liao hui pien 中國古代外交史彙編. Taipei: Kuo-li pien-i kuan, 1980. V.1.
- Fujita, Ryōsaku 藤 田 亮 策 . "Rakurō fudei kō" 樂浪封泥考, Chōsen kokogaku kenkyū, Kyoto: Takagiri Shoin, 1948. pp. 293-356.
- Gishi Wajinden, Gokanjo Waden, Sōsho Wakokuden, Zuisho Wakokuden 魏志倭人傳後漢書倭傳宋書倭傳隋書倭國傳. Ed. by Wada Sei 和田清, Ishihara Michihiro 石原道博. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1951.
- Han Woo-keun. The History of Korea. Tr. by Lee Kyung-shih. Seoul: The Eul-yoo Pub. Co., 1970.
- Hashimoto, Masukichi 橋 本 增 吉 . Tōyō shijō yori mitaru Nihon jōkoshi kenkyū 東洋史上より見たる日本上古史研究, rev. ed. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Yamataikoku to dai-Wakoku tonō kanren ni tsuite" 邪馬台國と大倭國との関連について. Shigaku, v. 25, no. 1, pp. 1-71.

- Hirano, Kunio 平野邦雄. "Taika zendai no shakai kozo" 大化前代の社会構造, Nihon rekishi 日本歴史, v. 1. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962. Pp. 81-122.
- Hori, Toshikazu 堀敏一. "Higashi Ajia no rekishizō o do kosei suruka" 東アジアの歴史像をどう構成するか, Rekishigaku kenkyū, v. 276. pp. 46-69.
- Hou, Wai-lu 侯外廬. Chung-kuo ssu hsiang t'ung shih 中國思想通史. Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1957.
- Hsiao, Tzu-hsien 蕭子顯. Nan-ch'i-shu 南齊書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1972.
- Hsing, I-t'ien 邢義田. "Han tai ti i i chih i lun" 漢代的以表制表論, Shih-yüan 史原, no. 5, pp. 9-53.
- Hsü, Shih-hao 徐士浩. "Han chih tui wai chen tz'e" 漢之對外政策, Chen-heng 政衡, v. 1. no. 12.
- Hsü, Tien-lin 徐天麟. Hsi-Han hui-yao 西漢會要. Shanghai: Jen-min chu-pan she, 1977.
- Ikeuhci, Hiroshi. "The Chinese Expedition to Manchuria under the Wei Dynasty," Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Bunko, v. IV, pp. 71-119.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Study on Lo-lang and Tai-fang, Ancient Chinese Prefecture in Korea Peninsula," Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, v. V, pp. 79-95.
- Inoue, Mitsusada 井上光貞. Nihon kokka no kigen 日本國家の起源. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Yamataikoku no seiji kōzō" 邪馬台國の政治構造, Shinpojium Yamataikoku シンポジウム 邪馬台國. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Teiki kara mitaru Katsuragishi" 帝紀から見たる葛氏, Kojiki taisei 古事記大成. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1956.

- Ishida, Eiichirō 石田 英 一 郎 . "Kodai Nihon no minami-Chōsen keiei wa jijitsu ka" 古代日本の南朝鮮経営は史実か, Chōsen kenkyū 朝鮮研究, v. 69. pp. 12-33.
- Ishimoda, Shō 石母田 正 . "Chūseishi kenkyū no kiten" 中世史研究の起点, Chuseiteki sekai no keisei 中世的世界の形成. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kodaishi gaisetsu" 古代史概説, Nihon rekishi 日本歴史, v.1. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962. pp. 1-76.
- Itano, Chōhachi 板野長八 . Chūgoku kodai ni okeru ningenkan no tenkai 中国古代における人間観の展開. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jukyō no seiritsu" 儒教の成立, Iwanami koza sekai rekishi 岩波講座世界歴史, v.4. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973. Pp. 333-366.
- Itsui, Naohiro 五井直弘 . "Chūgoku kodai teikoku no ichi seikaku: Zen-Kan ni okeru hōken shokō ni tsuite" 中国古代帝国の一性格: 前漢における封建諸侯について. Rekishigaku kenkyū 歴史学研究, v. 146, pp. 33-43.
- Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories. Tr. by Ryūsaku Tsunoda. South Pasadena: P.D. and Ione Perkins, 1951.
- Kagamiyama, Isamu 鏡山 猛. Sekai kōkogaku taikai 世界古考学大系, v. 2. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1962.
- Kasai, Wajin 笠井 倭人 . Kenkyūshi wa no goō 研究史倭の五王. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1971.
- Kawakatsu, Yoshio 川勝義雄 . "Riu-Sōseiken no seiritsu to kanmon bujin" 劉宋政權の成立と寒門武人, Tohō gakuho 東方学報, v. 36, pp. 215-233.
- Kayamoto, Tojin 樫本 杜人 . "Wa-nu koku to kin'in no iseki" 倭奴国と金印の遺跡, Kōkogaku zasshi 考古学雑誌, v. 45, no. 3 & 4.



- Kida, Sadakichi 吉田貞吉 . "Wanu koku to Wamendo koku oyobi Wa koku to ni tsuite Inaba-kun ni shitsusu"  
倭奴国と倭面土国及び倭国とに就いて稻葉君に對す. Kida Sadakichi chosakushū 吉田貞吉著作集 . v.3. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1981. Pp. 5-13.
- Kikuchi, Hideo 菊地英男 . "Sōsetsu: kenkyūshiteki kaiko to tenbō" 總説: 研究史的 回顧と展望 . Zui To teikoku to higashi Ajia sekai 隋唐帝國と東アジア世界 . Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1979. Pp. 1-84.
- Kitō, Kiyooki 鬼頭清明 . Nihon kodai kokka no keisei to higashi Ajia 日本古代國家の形成と東アジア . Tokyo: Azekura Shobo, 1976.
- Kobayashi, Yukio 小林行雄 . "Yamataikoku no shozairon ni tsuite" 邪馬台國の所在論について , Hisutoria ヒストリア , v. 4, June 1952, pp. 1-10.
- Koda, Takehiko 古田武彦 . Ushinawareta kyūshū ōchō 失われた九州王朝 . Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Yamataikoku wa nakkata 邪馬台國はなかった . Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1971.
- Kojiki 古事記, Kokushi taikai 國史大系 , v. 7. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1951.
- Kondo, Yoshiro 近藤義郎 . "Tetsugu no shutsugen" 鉄具の出現, Sekasi kokogaku taikai 世界考古学大系 , v. 2. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1962.
- Kuo, chi-ch'iao 郭寄嶠 . Pien chiang cheng ts'e chih yen chiu 邊疆政策之研究 . Taipei: Meng-Tsang Wei-yüan hui, 1972.
- Kurihara, Tomonobu 栗原朋信 . "Bunken ni arawaretaru Shin-Kan jiin no kenkyū" 文献にあらわれたる秦漢墓印の研究, Shin-Kan shi no kenkyū 秦漢史の研究 . Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1960. Pp. 125-286.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gishi Wajinden ni mieru Yamataikoku o meguru kokusai kankei no ichimen" 魏志倭人伝に見える邪馬台國をめぐる國際関係の一面, Shigaku zasshi 史学雑誌 , v. 73, no. 12, pp. 1-38.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Jōdai Nihon taigai kankei no kenkyū  
上代日本对外関係と研究 . Tokyo:  
Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kan no insei yori mitaru 'Kan Wa-nu kokuo' ni  
tsuite" 漢の印制より見たる漢倭奴國  
について. Shikan 史観, v. 42, pp. 3-40.
- Li, Chin-hui 李進熙. "Kōkaidō ryōhai kenkyūshijō no  
mondaiten: 1910 nendai made no Chugoku no kenkyū o  
megutte" 広開土王陵碑研究史との問題点:  
1910年代までの中国の研究をめぐ  
って, Kōkōgaku zasshi 考古学雑誌, v. 58,  
no. 1, pp. 30-63.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Kōkaidō ryōhai no kenkyū 広開土王陵碑  
の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1973.
- Li, Fang 李昉 et al. T'ai-ping yū-lan 太平御覽 .  
Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1960.
- Li, Yen-shou 李延壽. Nan-shih 南史 . Peking:  
Chung-hua shu-chū, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Pei-shih 北史 . Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū,  
1974.
- Ling-hu, Te-fen 令狐德棻. chou-shu 周書 .  
Peking: chung-hua shu-chū, 1971.
- Ma, Tuan-lin 馬端臨. Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao 文獻通  
考 . Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chū, 1964.
- Maeda, Naonori 前田直典. "Higashi Ajia ni okeru  
kodai no shumatsu" 東アジアにおける古代  
の終末, Chūgokushi no jidai kubun 中国史  
の時代区分 . Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku  
Shuppankai, 1957. pp. 349-367.
- Masubuchi, Tatsuo 増淵龍夫. "Kandai ni okeru kokka  
chitsujo no kozō to kanryō" 漢代における国家  
秩序の構造と官僚. Hitotsubashi ronsō 一橋  
論叢, v. 28, pp. 467-496.

- Masuda, Tatsuo 増田龍夫. "Sen-Shin jidai no hōken to gunken" 先秦時代の封建と郡縣. Keizigaku kenkyū (Hitotsubashi Daigaku Kenkyū nenpō) 経済学研究所(一橋大学研究年報). v. 2.
- Matsumoto, Seichō 松本清張. Kodaishi no nazo 古代史の謎. Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1974-76.
- Matsumoto, Shinpachirō 松本新八郎. Sekaishi no kihon hosoku 世界史の基本法則. Tokyo: Rekishigaku Kenkyukai, 1949.
- Miyazaki, Ichisada 宮崎本定. Kyūhin kanjin hō no kenkyū 九品官人法の研究. Kyoto: Dohōsha, 1956.
- Mizuno, Hiroshi 水野祐. "Kunu-koku ni kansuru Gishi Toiden no kisai ni tsuite" 匈奴国に関する魏志東夷伝の記載について, Shikan 史観, v. 50, no. 1.
- Mori, Teijirō 森貞次郎. "Yayoi bunka wa naze kigenzen 2-3 seiki ni okotta ka" 弥生文化はなぜ紀元前2-3世紀に起きたか, Kaigai Kōshōshi no shiten 海外交渉史の視点, v. 1. Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki, 1975. Pp. 28-33.
- Moriya, Mitsuo 守屋美都雄. "Sō-Gi shakusei ni kansuru nisan no kōsatsu" 曹魏藩制に関する二、三の考察, Toyoshi kenkyū 東洋史研究. v. 20, no. 4.
- Naitō, Konan 内藤湖男. "Wamendokoku" 倭面土国. Naitō Konan zenshū 内藤湖男全集, v. 7. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1967. Pp. 284-289.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Yamatai-koku" 邪馬台国, collected in Naitō Konan zenshū 内藤湖男全集, v. 7. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1976. pp. 184-289.
- Nakano, Hatayoshi 中野幡能. Yahata shinkō shi no kenkyū 八幡信仰史の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1967.
- Naoki, Kōjiro 楠木孝次郎. Kodaishi no mado 古代史の窓. Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Nihon no rekishi 日本の歴史, v. 2. Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1965.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . Wakoku no tanjō 倭國の誕生 . Nihon no rekishi 日本 の 歴史 , v. 1. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1973.
- Nihon kokogaku no shiten 日本考古学の視点 . Ed. by Saito Tadashi 斎藤 忠 . Tokyo: Nihon shoseki, 1974.
- Nihongi 日本紀 , Kokushi taikai 国史大系 , v. 1 & 2. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1951.
- Nishijima, Sadao 西島定生 . "6-8 seiki no higashi Ajia" 6-8世紀の東アジア , Iwanami koza Nihon rekishi 岩波講座日本歴史 , v. 2. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962. Pp. 229-278.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Chūgoku kodai teikoku no keisei to kōzō 中國古代帝國の形成と構造 . Tokyuo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Higashi Ajia sekai no seiritsu to tenkai" 東アジア世界の成えと展開 . Ajia no naka no Nihon アジアの中の日本 . Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Suppankai, 1961. Pp. 137-170.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Higashi Ajia sekai to Nihonshi" 東アジア世界と日本史 , Rekishi koron 歴史公論 , Jan. 1975-Nov. 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Shin-Kan teikoku 秦漢帝國 , Chūgoku no rekishi 中國の歴史 , v. 2. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1974.
- Ōba, Iwao 大場 磐雄 . "Genshi bunka" 原始文化 , Kokogaku koza 考古学講座 , v. 4. Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1969.
- Ōba, Osamu 大庭 脩 . "Himiko o Shin-Gi-Wa-ō to suru seisho o meguru mondai" 卑彌呼を親魏倭王とする制書をめぐる問題 . Suenaga sensei koki kinen kodaigaku ronso 末永先生古稀記念古代学論叢 . Tokyo: Dokai, 1967. Pp. 177-203.
- Obi, Takeo 小尾 孟夫 . "Nanchō ni okeru chihō shihai to gozoku" 南朝における地方支配と豪族 . Tohogaku 東方学 , v. 42, pp. 32-48.

- Official Titles of the Former Han Dynasty. Tr. & transcribed by H.H. Dubs. Canberra, Australia: Australia National University Press, 1967.
- Ogata, Isamu 尾形勇. "Kandai 'jinbo' keishiki ni tsuite" 漢代「臣某」形式について, Shigaku zasshi 史学雑誌, v. 76, no. 8, pp. 1-45.
- Pan, Ku 班固. Han-shu 漢書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1962.
- P'ei, Hsiu 裴秀. Yü-kung ti-yu t'ü 禹貢地域圖, quoted in Naoki Kojiro 直木孝次郎, Wakoku no tanjo 倭國の誕生, Nihon no rekishi 日本歴史, v. 1. Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1973.
- Pien chiang lun wen chi 邊疆論文集. Taipei: Kuo-fang Yen-chiu-so, 1964.
- Reischauer, Edwin O. & John K. Fairbank. East Asia. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958.
- Saeki, Arikiyo 佐伯有清. Kenkyūshi: sengo no Yamataikoku 研究史: 戦後の邪馬台國. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1972.
- Saeki, Arikiyo 佐伯有清. Kenkyūshi Yamataikoku 研究史邪馬台國. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1974.
- Sakamoto, Yoshitane 坂本義種. "5 seiki ni okeru Wakoku no shōgo ni tsuite" 5世紀における倭國の稱号について, Nihon rekishi 日本歴史, v. 262, pp. 44-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Kodai higashi Ajia no Nihon to Chōsen 古代東アジアの日本と朝鮮. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kodai Ajia no kokusai kankei" 古代アジアの国際関係, Hisutoria ヒストリア, v. 49. pp. 1-25; v.50. pp. 37-52.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Wa no goō 倭の五王. Higashi Murayama: Kyoikusha, 1981.
- Sanson, George Bailey. A History of Japan: To 1334. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.

- Shang-hai ching 山海經. Shanghai: Ku-chū ch'u-pan she, 1980.
- Shen, Yūeh 沈約. Sung-shu 宋書. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1974.
- Shih, Ching-cheng. International law in the Ch'un-ch'iu Period. University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation, 1946.
- Shimizu, Shōji 清水正司. "Wa no goo ni kansuru kisoteki kosatsu" , Shigaku 史学, v. 39, no. 2, pp. 41-55.
- Shiratori, Kuakichi 白鳥庫吉. "Wa jōō Himiko mondai wa ikani kaiketsu seraru bekika" 倭女王卑彌呼はいかに解決せらるべきか, Shigaku zasshi, 史学雑誌, v. 38, no. 10.
- Ssu-ma, Kuang 司馬光. Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑. Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1971.
- Sugihara, Sōsuke 杉原莊介. Sekai kōkogaku taikai 世界考古学大系, v. 2. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1962.
- Sun, Wei-fo 孫偉佛. "T'ang ch'ien Chung Jih kuan hsi lun" 唐前之中日關係論, Li hsing 力行, v. 2, no. 2, pp. 158-165.
- Suzuki, Chusei. "China's Relation with Inner Asia: the Hsūing-nu Tibet. The Chinese World Order. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. Pp. 180-197.
- Takagi, Akimitsu 高木彬光. Yamataikoku no himitsu 邪馬台國の秘密. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1979.
- Tanabe, Shozo 田辺昭三. Himiko igo 卑彌呼以後. Tokyo: Tokuma shobo, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kodai bunmei no shōjōken" 古代文明の諸条件, Koza Nihon bunkashi, v. 1. Tokyo: Nihonshi Kenkyukai, 1916.
- Tanigawa, Michio 谷川道夫. Chūgoku chūsei shakai to kyōdotai 中国中世社会と共同体. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1976.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Higashi Ajia sekai keisei no shiteki kōzō" 東  
アジヤ世界形成の史的構造, Zui-Tō teikoku  
to higashi Ajia sekai 隋唐帝國と東ア  
ジヤ世界. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1979. Pp. 87-111.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Sekai teikoku no keisei 世界帝國の形成.  
Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977.
- T'ao, Chin-sheng 陶晉生. Pien chiang shih yen chiu chi  
邊疆史研究系. Taipei: T'ai-wan shang-wu  
yin-shu kuan, 1971.
- Tōma, Seita 藤間生大. Uzumoreta kin'in 埋北大金  
印. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970.
- Toyama, Gunji 外山 皐治. Zui-Tō sekai teikoku 隋唐  
世界帝國. Toyo no rekishi 東洋の歴史,  
v. 5. Tokyo: Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1967.
- Ts'ao, Lun-yü 曹掄宇. "Han chi Han i ch'ien Chung-kuo  
jen kuan yü Jih-pen chih chih shih" 漢及漢以前中  
國人關於日本人之知識. Tung fang tsa chih  
東方雜誌, v. 26, no. 7, pp. 85-90.
- Tu, Yu 杜祐. T'ung-tien 通典 (Yūan-ko 淵閣 ed.).  
Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1959.
- Ueda, Masaaki 上田正昭. "Kodai kizoku no kokusai ishi-  
ki" 古代貴族の國際意識, Nihon kodai  
kokka ronkyū 日本古代國家論究. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobo,  
1968, pp. 440-463.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Yamato kokka no kōzō" 大和國家の構造,  
Nihon rekishi 日本歴史, v. 2. Tokyo:  
Iwanami Shoten, 1962. Pp. 1-40.
- Urabe, Kanetaka 卜部 懷賢. Shaku Nihongi 釋日本紀,  
Kokushi taikai 國史大系, v. 8. Tokyo:  
Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1935.
- Uzumoreta Yamataikoku no nazo 埋北大金馬台國の謎.  
Ed. by Ueda Masaaki 上田正昭, Tanabe Shozo  
田邊 昭三. Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1981.
- Wang, Chin-lin 王金林. "Yamataikoku wa Kyūshū no  
tan'itsu kokka" 邪馬台國は九州の単一國家.  
Yomiuri shinbun 讀賣新聞, 18 June 1984, p. 22.

- Wang, Ch'ung 王充 . Lun-heng 論衡 . Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1957.
- Wei, Cheng 魏徵 . Sui-shu 隋書 . Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1973.
- Wei, Shou 魏收 . Wei-shu 魏書 . Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1967.
- Yamataikoku to kodaikokka 邪馬台國と古代國家 . Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1981.
- Yang, Lien-sheng. "Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order," The Chinese World Order, ed. by John K. Fairbank. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. pp. 20-33.
- Yoa, Ssu-lien 姚思廉 . Liang-shu 梁書 . Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1973.
- Yasumoto, Biten 安本美典 . Wa no goō no nazo 倭の五王の謎 . Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981.
- Yoshida, Osamu 吉田修 . Wa no goō to Keitai tennō 倭の五王と継体天皇 . Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980.
- Young, John. The Location of Yamatai: a Case Study in Japanese Historiography. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1957.
- Yü, Huan 魚豢 . Wei-lüeh , collected in Gishi Wa jinden, Gokanjo Waden, Sosho Wakokuden, Zuisho Wakokuden 魏志倭人傳後漢書倭傳宋書倭國傳隋書倭國傳, ed. & trans. Wada Sei 和田清, Ishihara Michihiro 石原道博 . Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1951. pp. 91-92.
- Yü, Po-yen 俞百岩 . "Ch'in Han shih tai chih Chung Jih kuan hsi," 秦漢時代之中日關係, Shih ti chou k'an (Ta kung pao) , no. 78.
- Yu, Ying-shih. Trade and Expansion in Han China. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Zui To teikoku to higashi Ajia sekai 隋唐帝國と東アジア世界 . Tokyo: Kyuko Shoin, 1979.