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1. The Mirror

Dancing in rows
They swept away the bandits.
Kojiki, Preface, 14

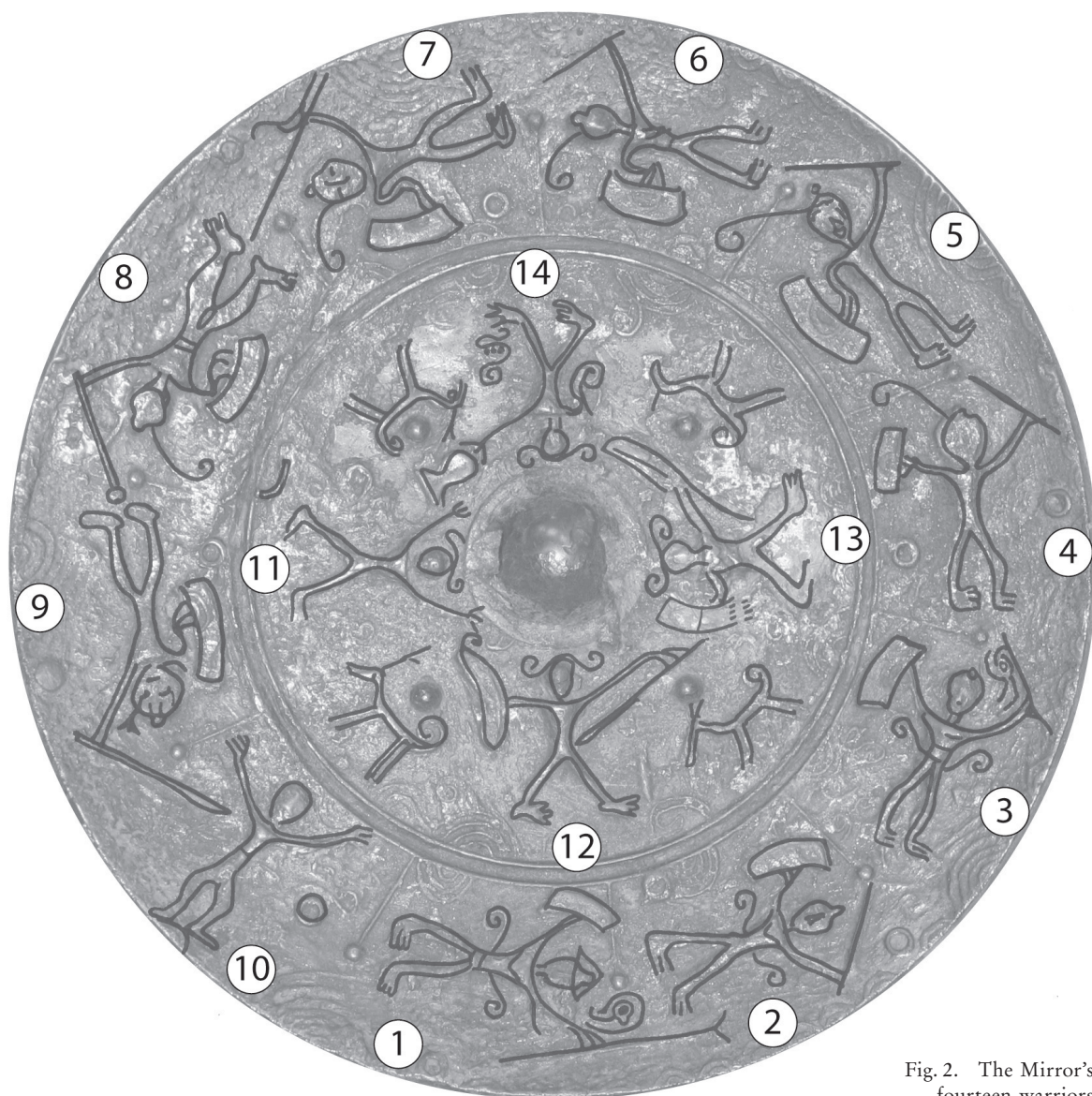


Fig. 2. The Mirror's
fourteen warriors

DESIGN

Bronze mirrors, polished on the looking side and decorated on the back with reliefs or etchings, were outstanding cultural objects in Japan's early history. Rulers of the Yayoi period (300 B.C. – A.D. 250) treasured them¹¹, and,

¹¹ *Wei History* (Kidder 2007, 17); Shiraishi 1989, 143; Higuchi 1990, 61–2; Morimitsu in: Pearson 1992, 184; Kurumazaki 2002, 38; Kidder, 2007, 160ff. Mori 1978, 3f.: 'To study a bronze mirror is one way to understand ancient, and even modern, Japan'. Saitō 1978, 272: 'Mirrors are linked with the history of the soul of the Japanese'. Yayoi mirrors: Shiraishi 1990, 21; Hudson / Barnes 1991, 228; Terasawa 2000, 53f.; Kurumazaki 2002, 21.

like Jimmu's Mirror, many have been found as buried tokens of wealth, power, and hope in the graves of the Kofun period (250–600)¹².

Jimmu's Mirror, of medium size, 18,1 cm – eight fingers – wide and 1,1 cm thick, is on the whole well preserved, though patina and wear from handling have undone some of its details. Cast in Japan rather than imported from China or Korea¹³, it belongs to the group of seven known Sea-Dance mirrors that depict gods and men circling in bands¹⁴. Uniquely Japanese, these mirrors have no parallels on the Asian continent; they date from the Early Kofun period (250–350), the peak of Japanese mirror making¹⁵. Among them, Jimmu's Mirror is the only one that has human figures as its main theme¹⁶.

Jimmu's Mirror portrays fourteen warriors in two concentric, wave-rimmed bands, ten dancers on the outer and four on the inner band. Of the outer warriors nine wheel along with the circumference; only the tenth stands radially, that is with his feet towards the outer rim, thereby anchoring the sequence of the dancers on the outer band. The inner ones all stand radially.

The outer warriors wear their hair in topknots, some with bound *mizura* bunches over the ears. Dressed in jackets, trousers and, it seems, shoulder-breast armor, they hold swords and rectangular, curved shields. With right knees bent, they dance in step, and with heads thrown back, they frown, chant, or roar as victorious warriors do the world over¹⁷.

The figures of the inner warriors are one-seventh shorter than those of the outer ones. They wear no topknots but headbands with round ornaments on their foreheads. Twin whorls – stag antlers? – float over their heads. Some also seem to wear *mizura* hair bunches over the ears. Their bare feet bulge frog-like from stick-figure legs. They brandish no swords; instead, one holds a bow, one a spear, and one a drum. Beset by rising waves that snap at their heels, and with arms stretched out in fear, they run in long strides with straight legs¹⁸. Like losers worldwide, they lower their heads and keep their mouths shut.

Among the inner warriors stand four deer with strangely curled tails and almost birdlike heads¹⁹. Quiet and unmoved, the deer hold their own against the onrush of fleeing warriors; facing the men, they clearly are not part of a hunting scene²⁰. The hooks on the Mirror's innermost circle may be shore-break waves²¹.

As with many Japanese mirrors, the design was carved into the mold, hence left and right

are reversed: the men hold their shield in the right hand and their attack weapon in the left²². But that is a slight blemish. Fully given to the circular sweep, the design is strong: throbbing with figures it is alive and gripping.

FOURTEEN WAR DANCERS

The Mirror's fourteen war dancers, to be described in the following, constitute an astounding wealth of illustration, laden with attributes that herald their role in Jimmu's legend. Theirs is an exuberant variety, a strong density of meaning, and an iconography of hitherto undreamt-of detail and subtlety. The following drawings highlight some of the features that are otherwise hard to discern; to check their accuracy, readers may turn to the evidence of the color plates²³.

¹² Tanaka 1977, 193; Brown 1993, 292 ff.; Kidder, 2007, 160ff.

¹³ Takahashi 1915, 343; Kobayashi 1965, 99; Saitō 1965, 359; Tanaka 1977; Shiraishi 1990, 4; Umezawa 2003, 6.

¹⁴ For the mirrors see Tanaka 1977, figs. 139–141 and p. 212, figs. 175 and 176. Kurumazaki 2002, 29 and 282, 1–3.

¹⁵ Akatsuka 2000, 71; 78; Umezawa 2003, 6; 65.

¹⁶ Akatsuka 2000; Umezawa 2003, 64. Another example of human figures as the main design in Japanese art is the Kagawa *dōtaku* bronze bell, Kidder 1969, pl. 52; Tanaka 1977, 16.

¹⁷ Everywhere: *The Economist*, August 16, 2008, 79.

¹⁸ Takahashi 1915, 342, saw them as marching, but they kick up their heels. Sahara 2005, 153 says they look like the *DAI kanji*.

¹⁹ Sahara 2005, 43 sees here two deer and two dogs. Discussion: Sahara / Harunari 1997, 76f.

²⁰ Thus Kidder 1966, 187; Gōda 1991, 80. Overall, Saitō 1965, 348 may be right to say that standing deer are shown with legs straight down, bounding ones with legs outstretched; but while their legs are outstretched here, the impression is not one of running animals.

²¹ Gōda 1991, 84 suggests that they make the Mirror's innermost band a *tomo-e* whorl.

²² Takahashi 1915, 339; Kobayashi 1965, 99; Kidder 1964, 56f.; 1966, 187; Gōda 1991, 78f. The first mirror from Higashi-no-Miya (fig. 21) shows the same features, and there too the figures in the outer circle whirl counter-clockwise.

²³ Some of our observations are taken from other plates, such as Smith 1964, p. 36 (the right shoe of the tenth warrior and some facial expressions); Kidder 1964, pl. 8 (the second and fifth outer warriors' faces; the eleventh warrior's sex; the antlers of the deer facing away from the thirteenth warrior); photographs 10057–10061 from the Tokyo National Museum (10059: the fourteenth warrior's weapons; 10061: the third warrior's horned snake and the thirteenth warrior's deer); Kurumazaki 2002, color pl. 53 (the foreleg of the *wani*).

Fig. 3. The first warrior.



The first warrior

Standing to the right of the figure that anchors the outer warriors, this man is likely to be first in rank and therefore the leader²⁴. Though corrosion mars his face²⁵, one can still see that his face is amazingly long and that here, unlike on romanticizing modern pictures of him, he seems to lack a beard. Long strands of hair seem to come down on both sides of his head, and one sees his ears. His mouth is open, the right corner drawn down as if scorning.

Decked out as a leader, he wears a belted, three-quarter-length shirt or jacket, perhaps a piece of shoulder-breast armor²⁶, and billowing trousers. His conical hat, known also from *haniwa* figures²⁷ and the Takaida drawings (figs. 18–19), has a round centerpiece like crowns of later *haniwa* rulers²⁸. It seems also to have two tassels hanging down on either side and

one along his nose, likewise a feature of *haniwa* rulers' hat crowns²⁹.

²⁴ Sahara 2005, 178 also counts the warriors away from this person, also toward the right, and also linking this to the meaning of the scene. We assume with Gōda 1991, 74 that the direction to be followed is that in which the feet of the (inner) warriors point.

²⁵ The right part of his face is set off and glossy – repaired? The left side seems part of a kite (see note 34).

²⁶ Like that of the *haniwa* warrior from Sekishiromachi, Makabe-gun, Ibaraki Prefecture (Miki 1960, fig. 26), likewise with flat beads.

²⁷ E. g. Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 27 = 171–4; Kidder 1964, 92 'probably of nomadic origins'.

²⁸ Such as the ruler clad in the polka-dot cloth from the sixth-century Hachiman- or Yawatabara kofun, Gumma (where Jimmu's Mirror seems to have been found): Miki 1960, 33; Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, fig. 147. If his costume represents heaven, as Naumann 1988, 95f. argues, then the headpiece should be the sun, and the same would be true in Jimmu's case.

²⁹ E. g. Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, 74 (Kamiasaku kofun no. 101, Fukushima Prefecture) = Miki 1960, 47 (pl. B). The tassels may symbolize the sun's rays.

Other trappings of high rank are two large, curved jewels worn on the waist, a bead on his neck, a large bracelet dangling from his left wrist³⁰, and a long, forked spear, perhaps with a bell or tassel³¹. From the warrior's sides rise twin whorls, as they do with the second and third warriors, very likely badges of high birth and symbols of life. Though the baggy trousers bespeak elegance and wealth³², his feet, depicted in raised lines, show toes, which suggests that like the other warriors he is barefoot³³.

Above the warrior's spear arm looms the head of a *wani* sea steed (below, fig. 39), its tongue in the shape of a curved sword as on the Hōju mirror (fig. 31), and the great wave of concentric circles, denoting the sea, goes out of its way to touch his foot (fig. 33). As leader of the winning warriors, touched by the sea, and accompanied by a *wani* like Hiko-Hohodemi of the legend³⁴, the first warrior seems to be Jimmu Hiko-Hohodemi of whom the legend says that he conquered Yamato and was Japan's first emperor³⁵.

The second warrior

The second warrior, like the others, stands frontally, looking at the viewer, while his feet turn to the right, forming almost very large ovals, each with three long, bare toes sticking out. His overlong nose seems to reach his topknot, as it does on some *haniwa* figures – or else the ridge of a helmet is meant. The corners of his open mouth are drawn down, and his chin raised up, as if scorning and shouting³⁶. Like most of the outer warriors, he seems to hold his sword and shield with three fingers each. His shield blazons the usual crescent badge. Two whorls, like those of the first warrior, rise from his sides, and a badge, likely to indicate rank, may dangle from his left wrist³⁷.

His earrings with leaf pendants, otherwise known mainly from the fifth and sixth centuries³⁸, show that by the third century Yamato princes were already jingling with copper or gold leaves and needed not, as has been suggested, acquire that habit from Silla centuries afterwards³⁹.

The legend provides a telling clue to the identity of this man, for it says that Itsuse, Jimmu's elder brother, died early in the campaign from an arrow wound in his hand⁴⁰. The Mirror shows that two arrows went through his shield, wounding his hand. Warriors had to fear such wounds in the shield hand, for Japanese bowmen could cleave shields with their arrows⁴¹.

The *Kojiki* says that in his last hour Itsuse groaned, "Oh, to have to die from the wounds inflicted by such a lowly wretch!" Thus shouting manfully, he died'. The *Nihon shoki* reports that he grasped his sword, and striking a martial attitude, said: "How exasperating it is that a man should die of a wound received at the hand of slaves, and should not revenge it"⁴². These accounts go well with the Mirror's portrayal of Itsuse grasping his sword and shouting in anger.

Itsuse was buried at Kamayama, Wakayama City, on the Kii Peninsula where his large burial mound is still cared for⁴³. Long in his grave at the time of the victory dance, Itsuse may be shown here as a *kami* or simply commemorated as a hero who, with Jimmu, had planned this

³⁰ For such bracelets see Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, 43; 70; 78–79; 120; 130; 142f.; Machida 1997, 23; 29ff.; Barnes 2007, 162ff. The closest to that worn by Jimmu seems to be one from the Kanenokuma site, Fukuoka (Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, 78, fig. 172 = Shiraishi 1990, 22, fig. 16). Some of these bracelets could not be worn on the forearm as the holes are too small (Kidder 2007, 108); the Mirror shows for the first time how such bracelets were worn – a later instance is the *haniwa* shaman from Tsukamawari kofun, Tsuboi 2002, 105.

³¹ The shaft seems to widen at the bottom. Perhaps this was a ceremonial weapon (*Nihon shoki* 69; *Kujiki* 173; *Kogoshūi* 426), see also below, figs. 18 and 19. Ceremonial spears in Yayoi times: *Nihon shoki* 231; Matsugi 2001, 52 and 55.

³² Tatsumi 1992, 167.

³³ Sahara 2003, 150.

³⁴ Hiko-Hohodemi and the *wani*: *Kojiki* 44; *Nihon shoki* 92–107. See below, p. 60f. Before the warrior's head flies an osprey with characteristically angled wings, and a round, bright light beneath it. Since it is not easily recognized we merely refer to its counterpart in the Gorōyama paintings (fig. 17).

³⁵ For Jimmu as Hiko-Hohodemi see *Nihon shoki* 110 with the NKBT commentary p. 186: 'Hiko-Hohodemi was the main character of the Eastern Conquest in the original story'. Bentley 2006, 235.

³⁶ Best seen on pl. 8 of Kidder 1964.

³⁷ Its shape is hard to make out. A scepter-rod? For such rods see Barnes 2007, 167; Kidder 2007, 109. Compare also the bracelet Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, 78, no. 174.

³⁸ Kanaseki-Onoyama 1978, 127; 140–141; Chiga / Murakami 2003, 26–29.

³⁹ Kidder 1964, 184. The warrior wears also a breast decoration, very likely of metal.

⁴⁰ *Kojiki* 46,1; 47,1; 48,5ff.; *Nihon shoki* 113f. (elbow instead of hand); 127 – an incident about which the legend speaks at length.

⁴¹ Thus Tatehiko ('Shield-Lad') shot clean through an ironclad Korean shield: *Nihon shoki* 282ff.

⁴² *Kojiki* 48, 10–11; *Nihon shoki* 114.

⁴³ *Kojiki* 48, 13; *Nihon shoki* 114. Mori 1993, 209.

Fig 4. The second warrior.



conquest⁴⁴. Perhaps his dead eyes, his disheveled hair, and his lack of armor are meant to represent him as dead⁴⁵. Unlike the first and third warrior, he lacks a helper god.

The third warrior

Narrow-set eyes, thin streaks of hair or scars and, it seems, a chin beard give the third warrior a long face and a square chin. He wears bound *mizura* tresses over the ears and, it seems, a piece of shoulder-neck armor like Jimmu. An insigne, similar to the flat bracelets known from grave mounds of the time⁴⁶, dangles from the wrist of his sword arm. Wearing hip whorls, he is a high-ranking aristocrat.

A twin-horned *kami* snake lurks in the lines between the warrior's weapon and head⁴⁷; perhaps the wavy line leading down from his right hip is its tail. Japan's best-known horned reptile, the eight-headed Orochi dragon-snake of Izumo⁴⁸, according to the legend ravaged the

land until the god Susanoo killed it and carved out of its tail the sword Kusanagi⁴⁹. That sword was a *kami* with so much horned-snakedness that it could be considered to be, *pars pro toto*, Orochi itself⁵⁰. If so, the sword was the abode

⁴⁴ Historical persons as *kami*: Kitagawa 1966, 14; Matsumae 1993, 337. Planned: *Kojiki* 47, 1–2. Jimmu having Itsuse much in mind at the time: *Nihon shoki* 127.

⁴⁵ Tatsumi 1992, 204f. Unlike the first and third warriors, he seems not to wear a sun jewel but a topknot.

⁴⁶ Shiraishi 1990, 20; Barnes 2007, 163; Kidder 2007, 109, fig. 5.

⁴⁷ Comparable heads of horned snakes on swords: Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, nos. 211 and 212.

⁴⁸ Kaneko Takeo in *Kojiki Kaisetsu* 1970, 77. Horns: Kanda 1978, 16.

⁴⁹ *Kojiki* 19, 20–22 and 39,2; *Nihon shoki*, 52–58 and 76; Kidder 1964, 59f.

⁵⁰ *Pars pro toto*: Naumann 1992, 163; Naumann / Miller 1995, 405. The sword is not the god itself, but takes part in him: Naumann 1988, 99; Naumann / Miller 1995, 400. For a bronze sword suggested to be Kusanagi see Ueda (ed) 1973, 122.



Fig. 5. The third warrior.

(*shintai*) of the snake, the oldest *shintai* known⁵¹. Befitting a snake, the sword is slightly curving with a convex blade, as it is in the sixth-century Takaida drawings (below, figs. 18–19)⁵². While it is hard to see where the tongue of the snake reaches, it may well touch the sword, its protégé. These are the oldest images of Kusanagi and Orochi come down to us from antiquity.

Since Kusanagi was one of the Yamato regalia, a token of the emperor's religious and political authority⁵³, its bearer here should be of the ruling house and in the van⁵⁴. Later, an emperor's son and crown prince, Yamato Takeru, also had Kusanagi with him in the field⁵⁵. According to the legend, after all of Jimmu's elder brothers had left or died, only one imperial prince accompanied Jimmu on the eastern campaign: his son and successor, Tagishimimi⁵⁶. Touched on the foot, like Jimmu, by a big wave of the sea⁵⁷, the

409 rightly infer that its origin, as well as that of the Izumo myths, lies in prehistoric Yayoi times. If *shintai* is a hallmark of Shinto religion, as has been said, then Shinto flourished as early as Yayoi times. Contra Matsumae 1993, 334–5.

⁵² The sword's name matches its *kami* Orochi, for 'Kusanagi' seems to mean 'snake', as a comparative study of the name in Altaic languages suggests (Naumann / Miller 1995, 406, referring to Old Korean **kusinki*); see also *Kōjien* 1998. Winding snake swords reflected widely told myths, see the eighth-century Harima Fudoki, Aoki 1997, 207; Tsuchihashi 1990, 87ff. More than forty winding swords have come to light in Kofun graves: Ōwaku 1972, 342 and pl. 8; *Asahi guraifu* 1991, 134 (*dakō-ken*); Hakkutsusareta 1997, 42. For a slightly S-curving sword as here see Chiga / Murakami 2003, 75–2.

⁵³ *Nihon shoki* 76.

⁵⁴ In the van: *Kojiki* 93, 9–12; *Nihon shoki* 229 and 237; also below, figs. 17–20.

⁵⁵ *Kojiki* 82, 6; *Nihon shoki* 205.

⁵⁶ *Kojiki* 46, 2–3; *Nihon shoki* 114. Earlier, the *Nihon shoki* (111) says explicitly that Jimmu 'in person led the imperial princes and a naval force on an expedition against the East'. The princes clearly mattered enough to be commemorated.

⁵⁷ Cf. treading the crest of a wave: *Kojiki* 46, 2; *Nihon shoki* 114.

⁵¹ From Kusanagi being a bronze sword at Atsuta shrine (85 cm), Gotō 1947, 147ff. and Naumann / Miller 1995,

Fig. 6. The fourth warrior.



third warrior seems indeed to be Tagishimimi⁵⁸. His topknot, as with the first warrior, may be a sun jewel, perhaps set in a crown.

One of the Mirror's unsolved riddles is the burst of whorls between the third warrior and the inner band, for when compared with the empty space between the first warrior and the inner band, it seems to have a specific meaning.

The fourth warrior

The first of the broad-faced warriors, the fourth warrior by our counting, is also the first to wear a curled feather head-badge, an insigne, it seems, of lower rank than hip whorls, distinguishing the round-headed fourth through eighth warriors from the first three long-headed ones. The fourth warrior wears earrings, and a leader's bracelet dangles from his sword hand. He is the last of the warriors who, like Jimmu, raise their shield with the outstretched arm, while the next ones all hold their shields with lowered arms⁵⁹.

With his short shield the fourth warrior seems to be an officer, yet, lacking hip whorls, clearly of lower rank than the three before him.

First after the princes, wielding weapons like they, and ahead of the allies, the fourth warrior is likely to be the expedition's ranking army leader. He thus could be Saonetsuhiko, Jimmu's helmsman and later governor of Yamato⁶⁰. The legend says of him that when Jimmu during the eastern campaign came to the Hayasui channel 'He met a person riding on a turtle's back, fishing and flapping his wing as he came'. Learning that he knew the sea-lanes well, Jimmu took him into his service and gave him the name Saonetsuhiko (Pole-Lad = Helmsman). The Takaida drawings (fig. 18), confirm the legend in that they show a helmsman with a long pole at his

⁵⁸ For his deeds see below, p. 45.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ōtsuka 2000, pl. 14, fig. 1.

⁶⁰ *Kojiki* 47, 8–17; *Nihon shoki* 111f.; 120f.; 133; *Kogoshūi* 430. *Kujiki* 360 even claims Saonetsuhiko to be a grandson of Hiko-Hohodemi, i. e. of imperial blood.



Fig. 7. The fifth warrior.

steering rudder being one of Jimmu's main helpers in the conquest of Yamato.

The fifth warrior

The fifth warrior has the wonted trappings of a leader: a feather badge on the right side of his head and a *Cassis cornuta* conch-shell bracelet dangling from his left wrist⁶¹. His carefully rendered shield has three fields, of which the middle one flaunts the crescent shape found on all the outer warriors' shields⁶². He and the next four warriors hold their shields awkwardly to the side, with the arm bent and some of the fingers showing. Shields are held away from the body only when brandished, and only then does it make sense to show the fingers. The bent arms are to show that the warriors push their shields back and forth. The first four outer warriors, as the leading officers, seem to raise their shields to signal to the others; the next five answer by shaking their shields to hearten themselves and to scare the foe.

The warrior stands out for his misshapen semicircular thighs in very wide trousers and his legs that are much shorter than those of the other outer warriors. Disorderly strings of frizzy hair radiate out from the top of his head; some overlapping strands hang down over the side of his face. The loss of his upper eyeteeth leaves him with glaring tooth gaps. Racially and culturally so different, he may be a Hayato⁶³. If so, as the first of Jimmu's allies, he bears out Jimmu's coming from southeast Kyushu where the Hayato then lived⁶⁴.

⁶¹ For these bracelets see Shiraishi 1990, 20–22; Barnett 2007, 166. The one closest to that of the fifth warrior is the second one in the second line of Shiraishi's pl. 14.

⁶² Compare the Hayato shields from Hējōkyō, Tatsumi 1986, 143–208; idem 1992, 34, pl. 15.

⁶³ Semicircular thighs seem also to mark a Hayato on the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya, and tooth gaps are evident also with the loser on that mirror (fig. 29).

⁶⁴ Philippi 1969, 503; Hudson 1999, 64.

Fig. 8. The sixth warrior.



The sixth warrior

More than other raised spots on the Mirror, the sixth warrior's face is almost rubbed off from wear⁶⁵, though one can still see that – like the inner warriors – he wore a round ornament on his forehead. A feather badge sprouts from the right side of his head, a sign of rank that makes him the equal of the other four warriors who flaunt such badges. Wearing a belted garment and shoulder-breast armor, he swings a sword.

The *Kojiki* says that the first allies Jimmu found on his march inland were Ukai cormorant keepers under Niemochihiko ('Lad That Has Edible Fish') by the Yoshino River⁶⁶. Indeed, to the right of this warrior stands a cormorant, its head and neck stretching over the warrior's chest to give him a fish⁶⁷. One can make out the bird's eye, the fish in the bird's long, straight beak, and the crests on the cormorant's crown and nape⁶⁸. The bird's distinctive, straight tail feathers appear above the warrior's left foot⁶⁹.

In the hands of skillful handlers, well-trained cormorants are good fishing birds: to this day the Imperial household agency employs cormorant keepers to catch fish as offerings to certain shrines.

⁶⁵ If the Mirror was hung against the wall, this was the spot where it touched the wall, for it lies at a right angle to the line of the string passing through the hole in the Mirror, and if the Mirror was taken in one's hand, this was where the finger touched it. The wear and tear may be intentional, adding to the mysteriousness and value of the Mirror (Keene 1988, 19).

⁶⁶ *Kojiki* 50, 4–7; 52, 54. Cf. *Nihon Shoki*, 119. NKBT *Kojiki* 152ff.

⁶⁷ Gōda 1991, 77 sees here rather: 'a slanting line on the chest, maybe a flaw'.

⁶⁸ The crests imply that the Ukai then kept Pelagic cormorants rather than the Temminck's cormorants now used, cf. Massey 1982, 30; www.city.gifu.jp/kankō/Ukai-02.html.

⁶⁹ We do not understand the object behind the bird's back, perhaps a wicker fish basket, nor the tool (?) between the man's legs.

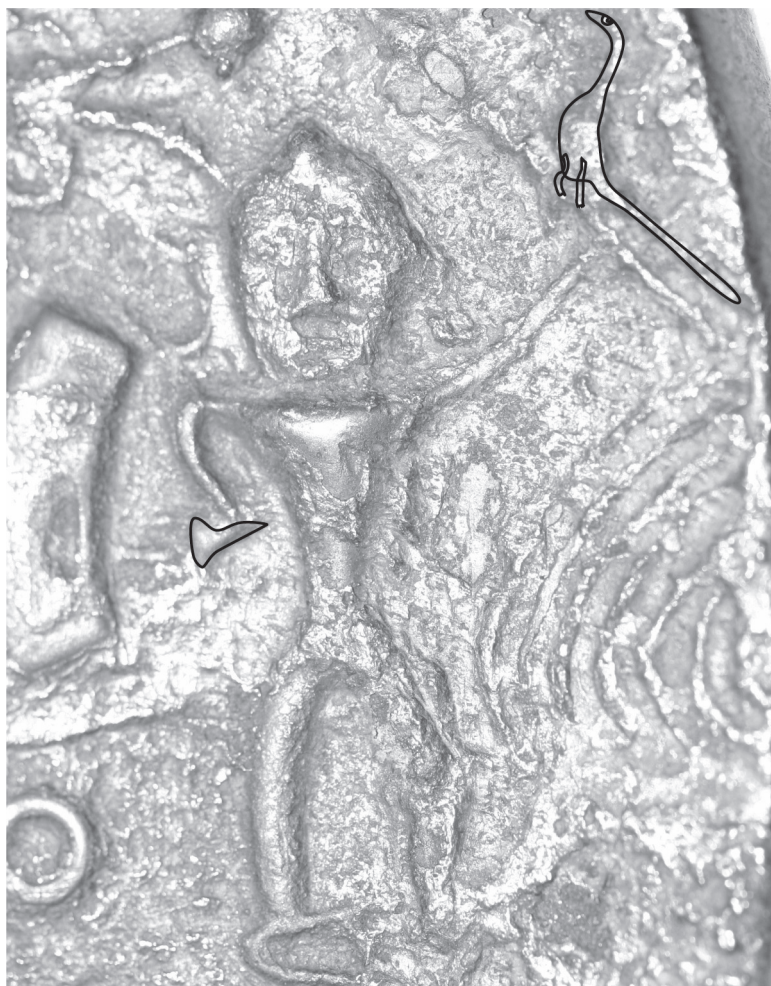


Fig. 9. The seventh warrior.

Jimmu recruited the Ukai no doubt to feed his army, yet by portraying their leader brandishing sword and shield and taking part in the war dance, the Mirror shows that they also fought⁷⁰. Cormorant keepers as Jimmu's allies both in the legend and here on the Mirror strongly suggest that the Mirror tells the same tale as the legend.

The sixth warrior's cormorant may be more than a mere emblem, it may be a *kami*, a god standing by his worshiper. Touching the body of his man would be in line with the other gods on the Mirror who also touch their worshipers.

The seventh warrior

When Jimmu came to the Uda Mountains, the legend goes, there were two brothers, E-ukashi, the elder, and Oto-ukashi, the younger. Jimmu sent the crow Yatagarasu to them as a messenger, asking them to join his forces. The elder brother responded by shooting a whistling arrow at the crow and preparing a trap for Jimmu;

the younger fed the crow, followed its summons, and betrayed his brother's evil intentions to Jimmu. After the elder Ukashi came to grief in his own trap, the younger became leader of the Ukashi tribe and served Jimmu⁷¹.

The Mirror reflects this tale, for on the seventh warrior's sword, at his hand, sits a bird, more than likely a messenger bird. Magic birds often lit on weapons, like the golden kite that in the Battle of Tomi settled on Jimmu's bow and dazzled the foes so that they fought poorly and lost⁷². The younger Ukashi, moreover, also seems to hold the head of a whistling arrow in his shield hand, evidence for his brother's

⁷⁰ Mori 1993, 214 was right.

⁷¹ *Kojiki* 51, 2–10. The *Nihon shoki* (117 and 125) and *Kujiki* 258f. split the episode between the Ukashi and the Shiki. For the sky god Takaki, not Amaterasu, to send the crow, see Florenz 1919, 430f. No sender: *Kogoshūi* 430f. For Takaki see Philippi 1969, 24f. and 596; Naumann 1988, 93 ff.

⁷² *Nihon shoki*, 126f., discussed below, fig. 17.

wrongdoing⁷³. The Mirror thus matches the account in the *Kojiki* in astonishing bits of detail as well as in the thrust of the story about the elder brother's treachery and the younger brother's betrayal of that treachery. The Mirror strangely gives the seventh warrior two telltales: the arrow head and the bird. Either of these would have been enough to tell the knowing viewer which hero this image represents, but the joy of storytelling is at play here and delights the viewer – as well as the shrewd scholar.

Nevertheless, the Mirror here depicts an older version of the Ukashi legend that says a pheasant rather than a crow summoned the Ukashi, for to judge by its long tail the bird on the Mirror is a copper pheasant (now the national bird of Japan)⁷⁴. Perhaps the writers of the legend later substituted the crow Yatagarasu for the pheasant since the crow was the bird of the sun⁷⁵ and was mentioned shortly before⁷⁶. In old Japan, however, the proverbial messenger bird was a pheasant⁷⁷, for in the wild it draws attention with its sudden fluttering and overbearing voice⁷⁸. The legend tells a similar tale from the age of the gods about a faithless retainer who shot the pheasant messenger sent to summon him⁷⁹. With one foot the bird may touch the warrior's hand, for *kami* on the Mirror touch their men.

The seventh warrior's broad face gives no hint of his youth to distinguish him from the elder Ukashi, which seems not to have been a concern of the artist. Nor can one see what he is wearing – possibly even a helmet with ear-guards swinging out⁸⁰. He sports *mizura* hair bunches, as Amaterasu did when she stamped the war dance⁸¹. His open mouth droops scornfully, befitting the war dance. A feather badge rises from the right side of his head. His long sword, about a fifth longer than those of the other warriors on the outer band of the Mirror, might appear to be a spear if he held it more toward the middle.

The eighth warrior

As with other broad-headed warriors depicted on the Mirror, the Kume leader's head is wider than his waist, and, as usual, a feather badge rises from the side of his head. His nose is long with flaring nostrils, his mouth thick, his eyes big, round, and staring. Over his forehead arches a strong tattoo that joins the eyes and runs down the cheeks, identifying him as a Kume (fig. 46).

As ethnically colorful as the fifth warrior described above, the eighth warrior brandishes

a club instead of a sword⁸² and is hence likely to be of the Kume tribe, about whom the legend hands down this war song⁸³:

Many are
In the large pit dwelling
Of Osaka.
Though many
Are here
You, the brave
Lads of the Kume
With knob hammers
With stone hammers –
Will beat them dead!

The song says that the Kume used stone hammers for weapons, that is, clubs, like the one depicted on the Mirror⁸⁴. The doughnut-shaped stone club-head with a hole for tying it to a stick is known worldwide in prehistoric cultures. Sharp-edged and polished, it is widely found in Japan, and specifically in the Yamato

⁷³ See below, p. 92. For such turnip-like arrows see Stone 1934, 670, fig. 858; Fujimoto 2000, 18f.; Sasama 2004, 66f.

⁷⁴ Massey 1982, 198f., cf. *Manyōshū*, 2813. The bird's neck is stretched beyond the length of a true pheasant's neck – perhaps to show that the bird is alarmed.

⁷⁵ The crow as the bird of the sun: Ōtsu (circa 680) Kaifusō (D. Keene 1955, 59); Naumann 1994, 399. For a discussion of the bird, its name, and worship see Florenz 1919, 430f.; Aston 1972, 115f.; Naumann 1988, 193.

⁷⁶ *Kojiki*, Preface 13; 50, 2–3.

⁷⁷ Messenger bird: *Kojiki* 33, 20; *Nihon shoki* 90; *Kujiki* 165; Chamberlain 1906 (1981), 116. In China too the pheasant was as messenger bird, surely also because of its voice; there is no need to think of Chinese influence here, contra Matsumura 1954ff., vol. 3, 447.

⁷⁸ Voice: 'Loud crowing caw-cawk! followed by a resonant beating of the wings' (Udvardy 1994, 450). Sudden appearance: Massey 1982, 198: 'When flushed, bursts straight upward, then glides down to a low-laying area'. Hence the proverb 'The pheasant would not be caught but for his cries'.

⁷⁹ *Kojiki* 33, 7–20; *Nihon shoki* 65; 73; 90.

⁸⁰ The second, fourth, and ninth warriors likewise lack hem and belt lines.

⁸¹ Mizura: Sahara 2005, 154. Amaterasu: *Kojiki* 14,4. Ours is one of the oldest known examples of this hairdo. Others are first known from sixth-century *haniwa* figures (Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, nos. 147; 154–156; 161; 163; 169; 170) or from kofun paintings (Tsuboi / Machida 1977, nos. 128; 136 = Fujii 1979, fig. 58, Kiyotosaku). For surviving examples see Kidder 2007, 291.

⁸² Cf. Gōda 1991, 77. For long, thin-shafted stone clubs see e.g. Stone 1934, fig. 232–2.

⁸³ *Kojiki* 52, 10–16, cf. 39, 14; also 60, 12; *Nihon shoki*, 123, cf. I, 87; *Kujiki* 257. Tsuchihashi 1977, 72; Ōkubo 1981, 45ff.

⁸⁴ The sketching outline around the weapon's head is clearly seen on photographs.

area, as late as the first centuries of our era⁸⁵.

The Mirror illustrates what the Kume song says of stone hammers, hence the song refers not to swords as some said⁸⁶, but to clubs, to stone ring-axes such as that held by the eighth warrior⁸⁷. The song takes clubs to be typical of the Kume, as does the Mirror when it uses the club to identify the Kume. The third-century war song thus is genuine in its wording, even though it was written down more than hundred years later⁸⁸, and the Mirror, for its part, shows authentic Yayoi detail, borne out by archaeology.

The Kume's trousers dangle on his thighs and he brashly flaunts an oversized penis, depicted in raised outline⁸⁹. The artist deftly underscored the Kume's brazen gesture by portraying him alone with his feet turned out, the better to bare himself⁹⁰, and with a rump longer by half than those of the other warriors. In this unabashed portrayal the Mirror matches the sometimes obscene passages of the written legend. With penis-flaunting their most notable feature on the Mirror, the Kume may have been eager lovers, and Jimmu, as we will argue below, won them over to his side by granting them women.

Behind the Kume warrior on the Mirror lurks a macaque monkey with its characteristic lack of an upper lip, a long, narrow mouth and neatly drawn sideburns on the left (below, fig. 42), perhaps with its tail curving behind his head: the tail held up is the sign of the dominant male among Japanese macaques. This is Sarutahiko, the eighth warrior's *kami*, who, as the legend says, was likewise won over by the award of a woman. The head of the monkey is partly hidden behind the warrior's club, as most of the animal *kami* on the Mirror are partly hidden, befitting the dreamlike way *kami* appear to people⁹¹. The monkey god hovers close to his worshiper's right ear, perhaps to counsel him. Like the gods that accompany the first, third, sixth, and seventh warriors on the Mirror, he touches his worshiper bodily, for monkey fur, perhaps of the god's arm, is seen on the warrior's left cheek.

The Mirror also supports a new understanding of the legend's text about



Fig. 10. The eighth warrior.

⁸⁵ Munro 1911, 161 and fig. 23, 1; Kanda 1978, fig. 164 F and E; Naumann 1981, 23; Hōjo / Negita 2002, pls. 57–16; 96–1; 96, 5–10. Polished and sharp edges: *Hakkutsusareta* 2000, 82 (Shiga); Karako / Kagi Museum Collection, vol. 2, 2009, 9.

⁸⁶ Ōkubo 1981, 46; Bentley 2006, 257.

⁸⁷ Thus Ōno 1974 and 1990, 95; Naumann 1981, 20–23.

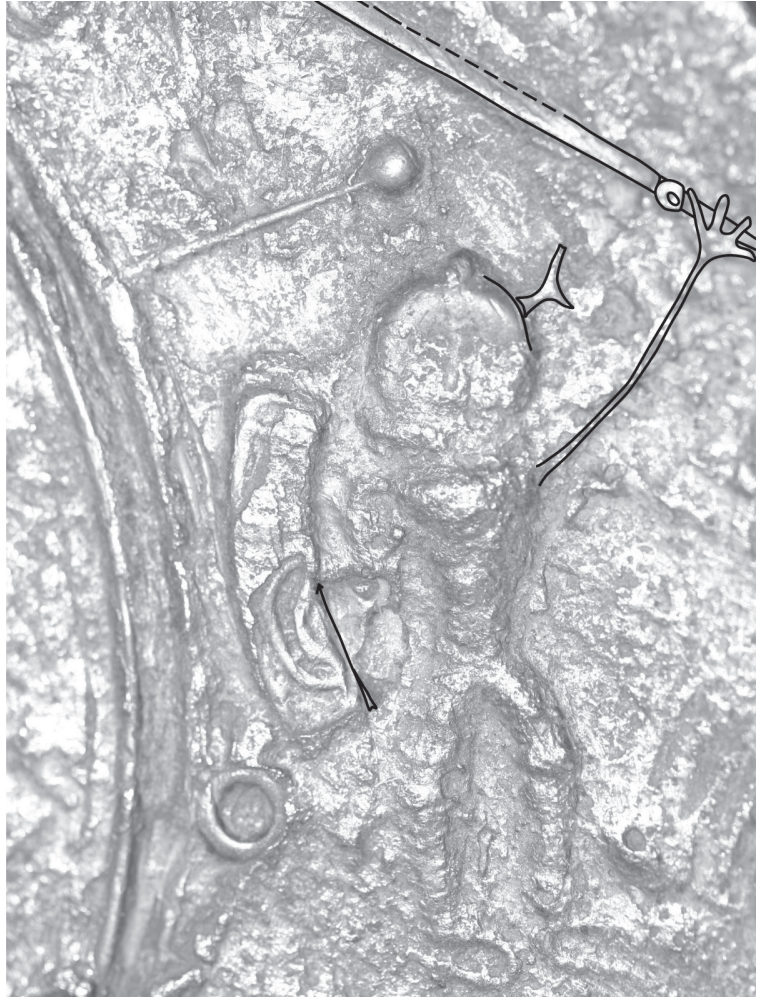
⁸⁸ For Kume songs see Tsuchihashi 1981, Naumann 1981 and Miller 1983. The *Kojiki* adds to the above song the statement that ‘As the song was sung, they drew their swords and smote them to death all at once’. Most scholars therefore translated ‘knob hammers’ (*kubu-tsuchi*) as ‘mallet-headed swords’, even though *kubu* means ‘knob’ or ‘fist’, and *tsuchi* ‘hammer’ (Takahashi 1911, 156; Philippi 1967, 175; Ōkubo 1981, 46; Miller 1983, 258). The Mirror now shows that it was wrong to take the clubs for swords. Rather, by the late third century, the Kume still used knob-headed stone clubs instead of swords, which confirms the conclusions drawn by Ōno 1975, 93; Tsuchihashi 1981, 75; Naumann 1981, 22f. and 37; Ōkubo 1981, 46; Miller 1983, 258.

⁸⁹ Gōda 1991, 77 rather sees it as a knot.

⁹⁰ The outer shaman, of course, does the same.

⁹¹ Gods seen but faintly: *Kojiki* 49,1.

Fig. 11. The ninth warrior.



Sarutahiko. Older translations of the *Nihon shoki* speak of Sarutahiko's mouth and his behind brightly lit up, while newer versions have the corners of his mouth brightly lit up. On the Mirror the high corners of the monkey's mouth widen indeed markedly and thus light up⁹².

The ninth warrior

While the fourth, fifth, and eighth warriors on the Mirror have astonishingly broad heads, the ninth warrior's head is even rounder. Showing neither hair nor ears, his head seems clad in a helmet, perhaps with a hole or a knob on top to hold his topknot⁹³. Such a helmet, built from metal segments, is known from a stone sculpture in Kyushu and there too lines are radiating out from the helmet's crown⁹⁴. The man's sword is longer and broader than those of other warriors on the Mirror⁹⁵, and it alone has a guard at the hilt. His is the longest shield on the Mirror.

From the left side of the ninth warrior's helmet rises an antler-like ornament, at first straight and then two-pronged, with a thicker prong toward the sword arm and a thinner one

⁹² *Nihon shoki* 77. Aston 1896 translated 'A light shines from his mouth and his posteriors', cf. Czaja 1974, 240 who thought of baboons' behinds. NKBT 1968, 148 (hesitatingly) and Philippi 1969, 138 give the above translation. Bentley 2006, 227 translates the *Kujiki* 'light emits from the bottom of his mouth'. The corners of the mouth widen also on the *saruiishi* 'monkey stones' of Nara, Tsuboi / Machida 1977, figures 213–214, where the eyes too are round.

⁹³ A *haniwa* helmet with a hole in the top is known from Tottori, Yasaka-machi, Kyoto Prefecture, illustrated in Kidder 1965, 104 fig. 66. Cf. Miki 1960, pl. 32; Sasama 2004, 238f. For *wage* see Stone 1934, 654. Compare a similar 6th-century helmet from Watanuki / Kannon-yama Kofun, Takasaki City, Gumma Prefecture, in: Chiga / Murakami 2003, fig. 105–5.

⁹⁴ Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 325–5.

⁹⁵ Early Kofun period swords averaged between 70 and 80 cm, 'ten-fist' would be more than 90 cm, while 'heroic swords' have been found up to 122 cm in length. Kidder 2007, 84f., rightly reckons a 'fist' or 'span' (*ko*), to be the width of four fingers, i. e. between 7 or 8 cm.



Fig. 12. The outer shaman.

on the other side. Thus antlered, he must have seen himself as a stag warrior⁹⁶.

Last of the warriors on the outer band of the Mirror, the ninth warrior may be Nigihayahi, Jimmu's elder brother and forefather of the Mononobe clan, for the legend says he was the last to join Jimmu⁹⁷, and the *Kujiki* places him in the foreground of events⁹⁸. The Mononobe ('Sword-Men') were weapon masters of the Yamato rulers, a role suggested by this warrior's highly wrought arms and armor⁹⁹.

In his shield hand, the warrior holds what may be the rest of an arrow, perhaps the heavenly token, which the legend says Nigihayahi presented to Jimmu when he yielded to him¹⁰⁰, thereby giving up the claims to rulership that came with his own heavenly origin.

The tenth warrior – the outer shaman

The tenth dancer among the outer warriors is a woman shaman¹⁰¹ and set off from the others by standing on the Mirror's rim rather than

alongside it. With her head thrown back like Jimmu's shaman in figure 17, she raises both arms in the traditional dancing and shamanic gesture¹⁰². Her frightfully broad nose may be

⁹⁶ Compare a similar, first-century Yayoi drawing from Saga, Sahara / Harunari 1997, 85, fig. 181. Since the inner warriors are shown with head-whorls that may be stag horns, perhaps they are the stag warriors from whom Nigihayahi defected.

⁹⁷ *Kojiki* 52, 57–59; *Nihon shoki* 128; *Kogoshūi* 430.

⁹⁸ Bentley 2006, 246.

⁹⁹ For this interpretation of the name Mononobe see Uemura 1957, 31; Philippi 1969, 177; 524. For the role of the Mononobe advocated here see *Nihon shoki* 183 f.; Uemura 1957, 31; Brown 1993, 120. Sasayama Haruo 1962 on the other hand, holds that the Mononobe began as priests, for which see the discussion by Ellwood 1973, 85. Not all that the legend says about the Mononobe is later addition: Matsumae 1993, 350.

¹⁰⁰ *Kojiki* 52, 59; *Nihon shoki* 128; *Kujiki* 262.

¹⁰¹ Ōtsuka et al., 2000, pl. 13 (caption): 'Armed warriors with shields, swords, and spears, led by a shaman who does not have a weapon'.

¹⁰² See for example the *haniwa* shaman Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 175–7; also below, figs. 13; 17; 18; 44.

a war dancer's bird mask as known from pottery drawings (below, fig. 32), all the more so since she also seems to have two feathers in her hair.

Her main hairdo is the long, horizontal bun or mortar board (*tsubushi shimada*), perhaps with two loops atop, often worn by *haniwa* women, some of them shamans¹⁰³. Of this, hers is now the earliest known example. Besides the bun she also wears a *mizura* hair bunch over her right ear, a double hairdo, known also from *haniwa* figures which shows that the *Kujiki* preserved the best version of the legend when it says of the sun goddess 'She undid her hair and tied it into a bun on top of her head, and then tied it into a man's style'. The *Kujiki*, alone of all texts of the legend, thus says that the goddess wore both, the bun on top and the *mizura* bunch on the side¹⁰⁴, which is now confirmed by the Mirror.

A bejeweled round disc, like those seen on several *haniwa* hairdos¹⁰⁵, graces her hair bun, and on her left arm she wears a wrist band of *magatama* beads. Around her shoulders and around her lower chest she seems to wear the two shaman's sashes likewise known from *haniwa* figures¹⁰⁶. The ring to her right could be the sun mirror of the imperial regalia, as we will argue in the chapter on the gods. To the left below it, a blazing spiral may represent a fire like the one Uzume lit for her dance¹⁰⁷. With her left hand she shakes what may be a bow like the one held by the sun goddess¹⁰⁸.

Like Uzume during her dance in heaven to lure out the sun goddess (below, fig. 44)¹⁰⁹, and like the shaman on the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya (fig. 28), she has her upper garment folded back to show her breasts, and she is naked below, witness the horseshoe line around her sex¹¹⁰. Having pushed her skirt down in front, she deftly swirls it across her thighs. The well-known myth of Uzume's dance gains here a fine illustration, for the Mirror's image is much closer to the wording of the legend¹¹¹ than are the various *haniwa* figures of shamans that are either altogether naked or flipping up their skirt¹¹². As with the whistling arrow of the seventh warrior, the Mirror here matches the descriptions of the legend down to very small, if significant, detail.

Wearing shoes with ornaments near the tip and heel, and slightly raising one foot, the shaman, as the legend says, dances on an overturned tub¹¹³, her feet turned outward¹¹⁴. Wooden shoes, known from the Yayoi Period¹¹⁵, were well suited for tapping the rhythm of the dance on such a

tub. Since the tub needs solid ground, the waves that circle the Mirror turn away from it. To her side she may have an hourglass drum like that of the fourteenth warrior.

Befitting a victory dance, the shaman with her left foot kicks the cut-off head of a foe. The head's curling antlers or hair bunches are of the same shape as those of the thirteenth warrior, Jimmu's main foe, and those of the loser on the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya (fig. 29). Kicking that head also marks the shaman as the leader of the dance. As we will argue below, she may be Sarume, forebear of the Sarume clan¹¹⁶.

¹⁰³ Miki 1960, 38 and fig. 27 (= Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, no. 149) and 34. *Kujiki* 142 also seems to mention her hair bun. Cf. Blacker 1975, 107f.

¹⁰⁴ For such a double hairdo on *haniwa* figures see Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 197, 13. We thank Prof. John Bentley for having discussed the texts with us.

¹⁰⁵ Nagamine / Mizuno, nos. 58; 149; 207. Two fifth-century shaman's headpieces have been found: Machida 1979, fig. 12, and p. 75, from Shinzawa ruin, Nara Prefecture; Machida 1997, 6, pl. 10, and another, slightly diminished piece from Kokōge mound 1, Tottori, see Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, no. 284; Machida 1997, 26.

¹⁰⁶ E. g. Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 26; 308.

¹⁰⁷ *Nihon shoki* 44; *Kujiki* 151.

¹⁰⁸ *Kojiki* 14, 6 (on Amaterasu): 'shaking the upper tip of her bow'. Philippi 1969, 74: 'The female priestess would be possessed by the spirit of the deity and would naturally behave in the manner of the deity'. Compare the naked shaman on the seventh-century Nabeta rock-cut grave that with her bow accompanies Jimmu: Kidder 1964, 294–297; Saitō 1973, 147–149; Tsuboi / Machida 1977, 120f. The bow as a tool of ancient woman shamans was predicted by Saigō 1973, 31f. and Blacker 1975, 105.

¹⁰⁹ *Kojiki* 17,15: 'Pulling out the nipples of her breasts'; *Kujiki* 151 'She bared her breasts'.

¹¹⁰ Drawn like that of the famous naked *haniwa* woman from the Nawatorizuka mound in Tochigi, Miki 1960, fig. 50; Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, no. 177.

¹¹¹ *Kojiki* 17,14: 'She pushed her skirt-band down to her genitals'; *Kujiki* 151: 'She pulled the cord of her sash down to her private parts'.

¹¹² Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 311, figs. 311–3; 4; 5; 6.

¹¹³ *Kojiki* 17,5: '(Uzume) overturning a tub before the heavenly rock-dwelling door, stamped loudly on it'; *Kujiki* 151: 'A wooden tub was overturned and Ame no Uzume danced on it, producing loud sounds'. A suitable third-century wooden tub of the time, two meters long, has come to light in Makimuku on the foot of Mt. Miwa, Ishino et al. 1991, frontispiece. A rich survey of wooden tubs from the Yayoi period: Kuraku 1989.

¹¹⁴ Her right shoe is best seen on the photograph Smith 1964, p. 36.

¹¹⁵ Iwanaga 1989, 167, fig. 336.

¹¹⁶ *Kojiki* 39, 1; 10; 40; *Kujiki* 174. See below p. 43; 57 and for Sarume-warriors p. 85.



Fig. 13. The inner shaman.

The eleventh warrior – the inner shaman

Though not a drummer, the eleventh warrior seems to be a shaman, for she neither holds nor drops any weapon. Like the outer shaman she may be a woman and naked below, for she seems to have a similar horseshoe line around her sex. She too wears *mizura* hair bunches and a mortar board hair bun like the outer shaman. Above her head, as with the other warriors in her band, hovers an up-curling twin whorl¹¹⁷. Her face is marred by corrosion, her mouth shut tight. She is wearing shoes.

The fact that she turns both feet in the same direction shows that she is fleeing; otherwise she would have both feet turned out as do the eighth warrior and the shaman in the outer band, the better to bare themselves.

The presence of this figure among the warriors of the inner band may suggest that women shamans traditionally belonged in war dances: this was not an innovation Jimmu brought about. Indeed, Jimmu's rituals fit in well with

those of the Yayoi period, for the holy woman then was the main cult figure¹¹⁸.

The twelfth warrior

The twelfth warrior is typical of the other warriors on the Mirror's inner band in that he lacks trousers. He may wear shoulder-breast armor with a decorative round piece in the middle: fifth-century armor with similar ornaments, made from shell, are known¹¹⁹. Otherwise he seems to wear only a jacket and perhaps a loin cloth. Like the other inner warriors, he has no

¹¹⁷ Perhaps she drops a bundle of tied-together ceremonial strips, such as those described by Müller 1971, 43 ff. We do not understand the sickle-shaped object to her left, strongly set off from the background.

¹¹⁸ Blacker 1975, 115, referring to Yanagita and Hori. Cf. fig. 28.

¹¹⁹ E.g. those from the Maruzoka kofun, Ueki town, Kumamoto Prefecture, now in the Kyushu National Museum, Dazaifu.



Fig. 14. The twelfth warrior.

topknot, only a headband with a round ornament. An up-curling twin whorl hovers over his head. Although the deer facing him quietly blows fog or feeds in the high grass, he shows signs of being overwhelmed, almost frozen by fear, with lips shut tight, head bent forward, and arms outstretched. His head, like that of the others is so expressive – no less so than those of the *haniwa* figures – it is a great pity that their small scale makes the faces on the Mirror so hard to see. The intention that the scenes of the Mirror should add up to a dramatic tale shows through nevertheless.

The large object on the left side of the twelfth warrior's head may be a *mizura* hair bunch rather than an earring, but the corresponding item on the right side is very vague. The left hand of this warrior lets go of a long, broad-bladed spear with either a hooked side blade or an eyelet to fasten the blade to the shaft¹²⁰. His curved,

narrow shield, with rounded top and bottom, seems to have a hook on the upper end, perhaps to catch flying spears¹²¹. In his panic, the man holds his shield, like his spear, the wrong way, with the hollow side away from himself. Not knowing the spearmen who fought against Jimmu, we cannot name this warrior.

However, dress, hairdo, and weaponry reveal this and the other inner warriors to be Yayoi *Wa*, of whom the Chinese *Wei History* (compiled ca. 290) famously says 'they all go bare-foot'; 'the men wear a band of cloth around

¹²⁰ Stone 1934, 295; the sheath of the blade, it seems, drops near the warrior's right foot. Spear sheaths were later bidden by law, *ibid.* 574. Sasama 2004, 116. Gōda 1991, 80 takes the man not for a warrior but for a priest.

¹²¹ It is not a bow as Shitara 1991, 61 saw it and as in the drawing of Sahara / Haunari 1997, fig. 228. To Gōda 1991, 78 it is not a shield; see below, p. 90.

their heads, exposing the top'; 'their clothing is fastened around the body with little sewing'; 'their weapons are spears, shields, and wooden bows. The wooden bows are short below and long above'¹²². The warriors of the inner band of Jimmu's Mirror, matching these descriptions point by point, confirm the accuracy of the *Wei History*. In some cases, as with the passage that the band of cloth around their heads exposes the top, the Mirror shows how the text should be understood¹²³. The Mirror also makes it clear that the *hachimaki* head cloth was indeed used in battle¹²⁴.

Since Yayoi pottery drawings also show barefoot warriors, the Mirror in this too reflects reality¹²⁵. Japan's grasslands and clay soils, like the bogs of Britain and Ireland, were good for warriors fighting barefoot¹²⁶. Several times in world history warriors took pride in fighting barefoot, from ancient Germanic berserks to Henry the Fifth's Welsh longbow men and Shaka's Zulu¹²⁷. Jimmu's foes too may have taken pride in fighting barefoot, as did some Samurai in the Middle Ages¹²⁸. Since the Mirror portrays the feet of warriors in the inner band in zany, bulging relief¹²⁹, Jimmu and his men, though barefoot themselves, may have ridiculed their foes' feet. By the time of the Takaida drawings in the sixth century, however, Yamato leaders wore closed shoes, as do *haniwa* figures.

As for leg wear, the Mirror artist went out of its way to set off the legs of warriors in the outer band, with their sometimes billowing trousers, from the thin, bare legs of those in the inner band. The *Wei History* says that *Wa* men's clothes were unsewn¹³⁰, and since trousers require much sewing, the inner warriors wear none. The *Wei History* may also be right in saying that the Yayoi wrapped loin cloths around their body¹³¹, for that is what the Mirror seems to show.

Lastly, just as the *Wei History* says the Yayoi have spears, shields, and wooden bows, these are the weapons the Mirror shows in the hands of the warriors in the inner band. Here too, the *Wei History* and the Mirror confirm each other, and both are born out by archaeological finds from the Yayoi period¹³².

With trousers and topknots Jimmu gave Japanese fighting men a new look that lasted for a millennium and a half¹³³. Though the written legend tells us little about the eleventh and fourteenth warriors on Jimmu's Mirror, the *Wei History* makes up for it by revealing that their dress belongs to a Yayoi tradition that gave way before Jimmu.

The thirteenth warrior

The thirteenth warrior is the most poorly preserved on Jimmu's Mirror. Strangely, much of him and his weapons, except for his chest and waist, is scratched away so purposefully that the scratched-out area follows exactly the outline of the head, the legs, the left arm, and the two quivers. The scratching was done so thoroughly that the deeper, yellow layer of the bronze now contrasts sharply with the silver-green of the rest of the Mirror.

¹²² Discussion Kidder 2007, 1 ff.; translation: 14 ff.

¹²³ Kidder 2007, 15; 290 f.; Kidder's discussion of the original Chinese text adds much to scholarship on third-century Japan, but we fail to see how one could translate the text to mention 'looped hair' (*mizura*); Hudson / Barnes 1991, 227. On the information the *Wei History* provides for Yayoi Japan see also Okazaki 1993, 287 ff.; Sahara 2003.

¹²⁴ Contra Saitō 1992, 22 ff. As Saitō points out, some Yayoi graves have yielded head cloths as well. The *hachimaki* became widespread again in the Kamakura period: Fujimoto 2000, 105.

¹²⁵ Saitō 1963, 101 ff.; Shiraishi 1990, 81 ff. Ōtsuka 2000, pl. 11, 1; Sahara 2003, 150. The transition to wearing sandals came slowly, and though some sixth-century *haniwa* warriors wear shoes, others, even in the seventh century, are still barefoot. Ōtsuka 2000, pl. 19, fig. 3.

¹²⁶ Britain and Ireland: e. g. Herodian 3, 14, 5, and the portrait of Captain Thomas Lee 1594 by Marcus Gheeraerts II in London's Tate Gallery; Speidel, 2004, 64–5. An impression of straw sandals is known from the Late Kofun Period near Tokyo: *Hakkutsusareta* 1995, 44.

¹²⁷ Speidel 2004, 64 f.

¹²⁸ Seventeenth-century war scrolls (*kassen emaki*) show sundry Samurai fighting barefoot, a reference we owe to Dr. Paul Varley.

¹²⁹ Cf. Kidder 1966, 187. Gōda 1991, 75 ff. rightly observes here a different relief style: *han'niku – bori* (raised relief) rather than *saisen* (thin-line relief) for the feet of the outer warriors.

¹³⁰ Kidder 2007, 15.

¹³¹ Lu 1997, 12.

¹³² Some swords, of course, were already then in use by aristocrats, but not as typical weapons for the soldiery. Kidder, 2007, 80 ff. The fact that the foes are dressed and armed like the Yayoi of the *Wei History*, while Jimmu brings new customs in dress, weapons, and hairstyle, speaks against the *Wei History* describing conditions under or after Jimmu (Barnes 2007, 93, Kidder 2007, 192 f.; 281).

¹³³ Topknots were worn by Chinese soldiers in the terracotta soldiers of Emperor Ch'in (221 B.C.), and figurines in the grave of emperor Jing of Han (156–141 B.C.): Allan 2005, 276. As a Yayoi custom: Sahara 2003, 66 with explicit reference to Jimmu's Mirror. The sixth warrior has both, topknot and headband. Before Jimmu's time, topknots belonged to southern and western Japan rather than the East; they were abolished by government order in 1871.

Fig. 15. The thirteenth warrior.



The warrior's head is round, the decorative piece in his headband is large, and he wears a *mizura* hair bunch over his left ear. His mouth, nearly chiseled out, still betrays tooth gaps like those of the fifth warrior. Unlike the other dancers on the inner band, he has no up-curling twin whorls draped over his head, but instead tresses of down-curling hair¹³⁴ like the trophy-head kicked by the outer shaman (fig. 12) or the head of the loser on the second Higashi-no-miya mirror (below, fig. 29).

Chiseled out high above the warrior's head are either still more exuberantly curling hair bunches or a huge, twin-pointed feather crown like those known to have been worn by Yayoi battle lords¹³⁵. With such luxurious headgear he could well be the military leader of the inner warriors.

Alone of all the deer, the thirteenth warrior's animal has turned away from him as if from evil¹³⁶, a telling gesture when seen in the light of the other known image of such a dance, in which the deer all face in the same direction

(below, fig. 44)¹³⁷. Perhaps, then, the deer shows the sympathetic response of the heart so characteristic of Japan¹³⁸. Even the wave that snaps at the warrior's heel curls away from him.

With his left hand the thirteenth warrior throws away his long bow, a bow case with the arrows upside down¹³⁹, and a small, pointed

¹³⁴ For antlers curling (in art) see e. g. the mirror 120 in Tanaka 1977.

¹³⁵ Yayoi feather crown: Sahara / Harunari 1997, 85.

¹³⁶ Shitara 1991, 59 believes that its head is lost, but it can be seen, antlers and all, looking toward the fourteenth warrior. Its curly tail is also visible.

¹³⁷ Sahara 2005, 43 and Umezawa 2003, 6 saw in this animal a dog, but the photograph in Kidder 1964, pl. 8 is unmistakable.

¹³⁸ Kitagawa 1966, 11.

¹³⁹ It resembles those still used in early modern Japan, like one of the 16th century seen on the Nagashino battle screen; Edo period: Sasama 2004, 76–80, where the arrows are below, not above as here. Similar Chinese bow cases of the Tang period: Yang 1992, color fig. 45.

utsubo quiver that may be the foot quiver Nagasunehiko first showed Jimmu and that Nigihayahi, the ninth warrior, later presented to Jimmu¹⁴⁰. With his other hand the thirteenth warrior drops a large quiver from which arrows seem to fall¹⁴¹. The quiver is marked by a horizontal band in the middle and curved slightly in the same perspective that makes the shields on the Mirror curve. The quiver's curved shape is correct, however, for it matches an archaeological find¹⁴².

The *Kojiki* says that the enemy leader, the wretch Nagasunehiko, with his bow shot Itsuse, Jimmu's brother, wounding Itsuse's hand. The wound led to Itsuse's death, which grieved Jimmu so much that he called for revenge¹⁴³. Being armed with bow and arrow, the thirteenth warrior may be this Nagasunehiko¹⁴⁴. Like Jimmu, he also wore some sign of authority dangling from his wrist, though it is now erased.

Why are the thirteenth warrior's head, legs, left arm, weapons, and bracelet scratched out? In Kofun times, magic rites were wrought on mirrors when they were placed in graves¹⁴⁵. Nagasunehiko thus may have been disembodied when the Mirror was buried. Possibly, though, his mangling came soon after the Mirror was cast, when hatred or fear of him was still fresh, as with the Roman *damnatio memoriae* of about the same time¹⁴⁶.

Nellie Naumann has traced the history of backward magic in ancient Japan: backward speaking, backward flaying, backward clapping of hands were death-dealing curses arising from the reversal of blessings. Harming body parts in images of one's foes was one such curse, hitherto known in Japan only from the seventh century onward, for example at the well-known Nagaiwa cave tomb¹⁴⁷. By documenting the custom for third-century Japan, the Mirror bears out Naumann's conclusion that this was not Taoistic import from China but part of a worldwide practice¹⁴⁸. In Nagasunehiko's bodily reversal, done with great care and accuracy, the history of magic in Japan finds a prime exhibit.

This seems also to relate to what the *Wei History* says about Queen Himiko: 'She used the Way of the Demons to keep all under her spell'. Her magic has been characterized as 'communication with and control of the spirits of the dead'¹⁴⁹, and that is what one could hope to accomplish by reversing the figure of Nagasunehiko on the Mirror. Necromancy, then, was a ruler's or shaman's art: Himiko used it, and here it is performed on Nagasunehiko, Jimmu's foe in order to control his fate.

The fourteenth warrior

Like the other warriors on the inner band, the fourteenth one wears a head band with an ornament in the middle. Twin whorls hover over his head, and he seems to wear *mizura* hair bunches over his ears. Unlike the other inner warriors, he has a round, rather than a long face. His left cheek is heavily tattooed, his lips are tightly shut, his head bent forward. Under magnification, he stares with unearthly big, round eyes. As with most warriors, his right hand is shown with three fingers, his feet with three toes. Like the twelfth warrior, he is a paragon of the frog-footed, and the deer facing him, for mysterious reasons, blows fog from its nostrils. Two strong bands across his waist represent perhaps a belt and the lower hem of a very thick chest-cover garment. Over his head he wears a badge of two up-curling whorls, as do the tenth and eleventh warriors.

His left arm swings down to his fist that holds a curved drumstick, shaped like that of a *haniwa* drummer from Gumma¹⁵⁰: the small crossbar at the end of the fist is still to be seen. Dropping beneath the warrior's right arm, the looped strap for holding the drum looks like the

¹⁴⁰ *Nihon shoki* 128; *Kujiki* 262. The small quiver seems to cover part of the bow which continues below the warrior's leg, as in the drawing by Sahara / Harunari 1997, 104.

¹⁴¹ This is the oldest depiction of such a quiver in Japan. Similar large quivers: Tsuboi / Machida 1977, 117; Tsumi 1992, 207. It is the Heian *yanagui-ebira* type: a decorated box with a grid of leather or bamboo, holding arrows tied to its open upper part with a loose cord. *Kusaka-Kaneda* 1970, 142 (*utsubo* below); Friday 2004, 71–3; Sasama 2004, 73. In China it was in use already during the Han dynasty: Yang 1992, 197. Warriors wore both kinds of quivers together, one on the back and one on the side; even Amaterasu put on both when she prepared for battle: *Kojiki* 14,5.

¹⁴² Chiga / Murakami, 2003, 132–2.

¹⁴³ *Kojiki* 48; 52, 23; cf. *Nihon shoki* 113; 128.

¹⁴⁴ For his bow see Ōbayashi 1984, 176.

¹⁴⁵ Thus the first and the second mirrors from Higashi-no-Miya were purposely broken, then carefully put together again and laid to rest beside the dead: Higashi-no-Miya Symposium 2005, 7. For the value of mirrors to vassals, and their place in the grave, see Koide 1980, 42.

¹⁴⁶ Hence the face of Caracalla's brother Geta is scratched out on the small round family painting of Septimius Severus, now in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.

¹⁴⁷ E. g. Tsuboi / Machida 1977, 158 f.

¹⁴⁸ Naumann 1999.

¹⁴⁹ Kidder 2007, 137; 300, note 82. This is Tungusic tradition: Eliade 1964, 236 ff.

¹⁵⁰ Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, no. 168.

Fig. 16. The fourteenth warrior.



matching strap of the outer shaman. With his right hand he throws away a jar-shaped drum, variously mistaken for a *sake* jar, or a shield¹⁵¹, though it is a drum, witness the curved drumstick beneath it.

A MASTERPIECE

The Mirror's fourteen war dancers are as lively and colorful as any group of Japanese warriors. To be compelling, the figures had to be large, and this, more than anything else, shaped the Mirror's design: almost as in classical Greek art, human figures are its mainstay. For a stark background against which the figures could stand out, the artist brushed away all the geometric patterns, decorative lines, and nonessential shapes that take up so much space on other mirrors. He did away with the many traditional ridges and concentric surface steps¹⁵², enlarged the diameter, shrank the knob in the middle, and narrowed the dividing lines between inner and

outer bands – all to make room for the figures. He thus gained an outer band of figures that is wider than that on any mirror, and an equally wide inner band, so that nothing stood in the way of the throbbing, whirling war dance. The result is spectacular: of all the early Japanese mirrors showing human figures¹⁵³, none shows so large and lifelike a cast of characters as Jimmu's¹⁵⁴ – they hold their own even against *The Forty-Seven Rōnin*. This is the more striking since in adopting Chinese mirror designs, other

¹⁵¹ Drum: Takahashi 1915, 340. Jar: Tomioka 1920, 386; Kidder 1966, 187. Pot: Shitara 1991, 61; Gōda 1991, 78ff. Shields of a pot-like shape were used at the time (Kidder 1966, 171, fig. 47 b), but here the sides of the object curve in too strongly for a shield, as one may see from the *haniwa* representation of such shields: Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 268f.

¹⁵² See the photograph Kurumazaki 2002, 326–7.

¹⁵³ Best studied by Akatsuka 1995 and 2000.

¹⁵⁴ Higuchi 1979, 351; Akatsuka 2000.

Japanese mirror makers often shrunk the field of figures so as not to have to draw them too finely.

The Mirror is nevertheless also traditional. Its figures owe much to Yayoi pottery drawings in which birds and four-legged animals are shown in profile, but human figures in the more striking head-on style, with only the feet pointing sideways and seen from above¹⁵⁵. There people, as on the Mirror, have overly large heads, thin arms, wide legs, three-fingered hands, and three-toed feet¹⁵⁶. Figures on Yayoi *dōtaku* bronze bells often have triangular bodies with broad shoulders and narrow waists – a tradition the Mirror carries on¹⁵⁷. While the cosmic design of a four-knobbed square at the center may come from Chinese tradition, the closest forerunner to the overall circular design of the Sea-Dance mirrors is a native Yayoi pottery drawing depicting a shaman's round dance with deer (below, fig. 44).

Expressiveness, needed for a good story, is also a strong feature of the Mirror, as in the case of the fifth warrior, who draws his mouth sidewise. Thus the eighth warrior's sexual organ is frighteningly huge, 'a characteristic of all Japanese old and later erotic representations'¹⁵⁸, and the outer shaman stands appallingly unabashed, deftly swirling her flowing skirt over her thighs. In the same way, the zany bare feet of the warriors on the inner band bulge mockingly.

For all that, the Mirror, despite its small size, is also realistic. The artist kept the figures within a well-planned, balanced shape, roughed out by sketching lines that are still preserved here and there on the Mirror¹⁵⁹. Realistic details abound, such as the Kume's carefully drawn tattoo and stone club, the cormorant's crests on crown and nape, and the thirteenth warrior's quivers. Clearly, the Mirror grasps its subject with precision, and where detail matters the artist shows a masterful will to get it right¹⁶⁰.

Though one of the earliest masterpieces of Japanese art, the Mirror nevertheless embodies several aesthetic principles that characterize later Japanese art, notably suggestion, irregularity, and simplicity¹⁶¹. It is suggestive above all through its emblematic signs and symbols. A cormorant keeper cannot very well dance with a fishing bird at his side, nor a warrior with a pheasant on his sword¹⁶². Out of place in an actual dance, such things are shown on the Mirror to identify individual warriors and to point to their legendary deeds; indeed, no historic drama is shown at all, only the attributes for it. The same is true of the gods: one sees no actions of

theirs, but they make one think of all kinds of mythical interaction with their worshippers.

Suggestion altogether overpowers realism when the war dance that frightens Jimmu's foes turns to waves that snap at them: only single waves are shown, yet some of them are breaking high, hinting of storm and rising tide. This is paralleled by the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya (fig. 26) where Jimmu dances the victory dance with the sea gods in their undersea palace while the foes are drowning. Jimmu's Mirror derives from that image, mixing symbolism with realism and following the lure of magic, not logic.

Irregularity as a principle may account for the shaman of the outer band standing on the circumference while the men are carried along inside the band. It accounts for the shaman of the inner band being placed not over the one on the outer band but somewhat to the side. It may explain why both the thirteenth warrior's deer and his heel-snapping wave turn away from him. Whereas the other deer and heel-snapping waves all turn toward their warriors – not to mention the different sizes and directions of the waves around the inner warriors, the ninth warrior's lack of a head whorl, and the dancers' different-sized ears or earrings¹⁶³.

As for simplicity, unlike Chinese figure-decorated mirrors, Jimmu's Mirror strives for easy graphic accessibility. While bringing together many figures in a small space, the principle of simplicity keeps them from crowding or overlapping each other. The same principle did away with the busy lines found on most other mirrors, making room for considerable empty space that emphasizes simplicity.

The rhythm of the dancers with their slender waistlines gives the scene a dramatic, enthralling

¹⁵⁵ See below, fig. 45. Cf. Sahara 1995, 80f.; idem 2005, 98.

¹⁵⁶ Naumann 1988, 17; Gōda 1991, 84.

¹⁵⁷ Takahashi 1915, 339. Wide legs and thin arms also among *haniwa* figures and Takaida drawings: Takahashi 1919, 12.

¹⁵⁸ Morris 1964, 18. Sahara 2005, 162: Emphasized parts are drawn bigger.

¹⁵⁹ E. g. around the head of Jimmu, of the sixth and the twelfth warrior; also around the club-head of the eighth warrior.

¹⁶⁰ Precision: Okada 1965, 377.

¹⁶¹ Simplicity and irregularity as Japanese principles of aesthetics: Keene 1988, 10ff.; Haga 1989.

¹⁶² Takahashi 1915: symbolic rather than realistic.

¹⁶³ Earrings may vary so much in size because they were made of perishable material: Nakamura 1992.

effect¹⁶⁴. The dancers' untrammelled enthusiasm has something of the naïve brightness that characterizes much modern Japanese art¹⁶⁵ and is a harbinger of the *haniwa*, whose 'youth was the youth of the whole civilization'¹⁶⁶. Indeed, fresh, eager, and giving themselves fully to the occasion, the figures on the Mirror may be the earliest graphic representation of *yamato damashii*, the Japanese spirit that to writers of the Heian period differed from staid Chinese tastes. There, it has been said, 'men and women who figure prominently in tales are not praised so much for their accomplishments in Chinese arts or for their practice of Confucian virtue as for such traditional qualities as vigor, liveliness, and effectiveness in the handling of state affairs'¹⁶⁷. Being in tune with nature, another

quintessential Japanese trait, shows in the tide buoying the outer warriors and besetting the inner ones, and in the fog billowing from the deer's nostrils¹⁶⁸.

For all its emblematic, symbolic, and mythic elements, the Mirror's dance as such yet seems to reflect a real event, for the *Kojiki* preface says that Jimmu's men danced at the decisive victory. Certainly, Jimmu's Mirror is the earliest known Japanese work of art to tell a story of real people¹⁶⁹. Doing this, it is the most surprising and characteristically Japanese of all the mirrors¹⁷⁰, characteristic because it is so close to Yayoi drawings, Kofun paintings, and *haniwa* figures, surprising because it tells a historical tale. Jimmu's Mirror, then, is truly a masterpiece¹⁷¹.

¹⁶⁴ Hosaka 1957, 99; Okada 1965, 377. The decoration is not confused (nor the finish enamel green); contra: Kidder 1966, 187.

¹⁶⁵ Tsuji 1995, 133.

¹⁶⁶ *Haniwa* art: Miki 1960, 18f. Art on perishable material – wood, leather, cloth – may have carried the tradition across the gap of time. Youth: Miki 1960, 28.

¹⁶⁷ Brown 1993, 535. *Yamato damashii* also: Morris 1964, 10; 175; 'Vitalism': Brown 1993, 535–537.

¹⁶⁸ 'Breathing fog' even may have been a by-word for deer, as the *Nihon shoki* (205) says of those that Yamato Takeru was to hunt 'their breath is like the morning mist'.

¹⁶⁹ As does the Hiko / Hohodemi myth of the same time: Masuda 1970.

¹⁷⁰ Kidder 1966, 187; Morishita 2002, 306: 'The most representative of Japanese mirrors'.

¹⁷¹ Masterpiece: Kidder 1966, 187; Okada 1965, 376f.; Kusaka / Kameda 1970, 134; Tanaka 1977, 118; Shiraishi 1990, 4 and 92; Akatsuka 2000, 72; Umezawa 2003, 8. It is one of the *tokusyu-mon kyō*, or unusual-pattern mirrors, like the *chokko-mon kyō* and the *kaoku-mon kyō* (Hosaka 1957, 98; Hachiga 1990; Umezawa 2003, 18).

