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2. The Mirror's Tale Confirmed by Kofun Art

There appeared a wondrous kite
of a golden color that came flying and
perched on the tip of the Emperor's bow.
Nihon shoki 126

THE GORŌYAMA PAINTINGS

The paintings and drawings on the walls of Japan's ancient grave mounds and rock-cut graves, are much disputed in their meaning¹⁷². Yet, independent of the Mirror, several of them, above all the Gorōyama paintings and the Takaida drawings, can be shown to tell the legend of Jimmu – his conquest of Yamato and his mythic crossing to the other world. Using the same characteristic detail as the Mirror, they prove, as the following will show, that the Mirror indeed tells Jimmu's tale.

The Battle of Tomi

The paintings on the headwall of the sixth-century Gorōyama grave in northern Kyushu are well-known, but what they depict has remained a riddle to scholars. Figure 17 shows the two main panels in a restored version, for they have suffered much since they were found in 1947, and photographs of the original are now hard to decipher. In places, however, the restored version errs and needs to be verified against the photograph of the original (color plate 15)¹⁷³.

The paintings consist of an upper and a lower panel, each on its own huge slab of stone (fig. 17), the lower one nearly nine feet long.

A bird in the middle of the paintings dominates the lower panel¹⁷⁴. Its sharply angled wings, and its head lower than its back, mark it as an osprey fish-hawk¹⁷⁵ that corresponds to the golden *Tobi* kite of the legend quoted below. A round light blazes under one of its wings, and the other wing almost touches the bow of an archer.

The archer is a warrior, not a hunter¹⁷⁶, for he aims his bow not, as has been said, at the four-legged creature to the left above him, but at a high-built house¹⁷⁷.

Nishida and Sakaki / Mori felt that the paintings depict an epic based on historic events¹⁷⁸. They were right, for the kite's dazzling light is blinding the battle lord near the black quiver who seems to shield his eyes. The attack against the tower¹⁷⁹ thus portrays the Battle of Tomi, of which the legend says¹⁸⁰:

¹⁷² Sahara 2005.

¹⁷³ Photographs courtesy Chikushino City Historical Museum (*Chikushino shi rekishi hakubutsukan*). The best illustration of the lower-panel original is that in Kusaka / Kameda 1970, pl. 26, but see also Tsuboi / Machida 1977, pls. 121–122. Less detail: Saitō 1973, II, pl. 18. Other restored versions: Kidder 1964, 311; Kusaka / Kameda 1970, 36, pl. 27; Tsuboi / Machida 1977, 210; Sahara / Harunari 1997, 127, fig. 274 (the restored painting is by Kobayashi Yukio).

¹⁷⁴ Bird: Mori 1964, 52; Saitō 1973, II, 180. Kidder 1964, 168: 'shamanistic horns dominant'; 312: 'green zigzag line, presumably indicating horns'. The Kyushu National Museum, on its website: 'bird of prey' (not just 'bird').

¹⁷⁵ Massey 1982, 168 (*Pandion haliaetus*, *Misago*), with a picture of the hovering; Udvardy 1994, 428: 'Wing shows distinctive bend at "wrist"'.
¹⁷⁶ Hunter: Mori 1964, 52; Kidder 1964, 312; 1966, 164.

¹⁷⁷ The type of building is known from the famous four-house mirror (*Kaoku-mon kyō*), found at the Samita-Takarazuka mound, Nara Prefecture (Tanaka 1977, fig. 143; Shiraishi 1990, 10, pl. 4; Sahara / Harunari 1997, 43, fig. 87, similar houses *ibid.*, pls. 85 and 86).

¹⁷⁸ Nishida as reported by Saitō 1989, 48; Mori 1964, 52f.; Sakaki / Mori 1972, 45.

¹⁷⁹ The *Nihon shoki* says the fight was at a *mura*, that is a place with buildings – surely more than a 'village' as Aston's translation has it, for in ancient times *mura* could mean a village with a fort and a ruler's residence (e. g. Kunyē *mura*, *Nihon shoki* II, 23).

¹⁸⁰ *Nihon shoki* 126f.; *Kujiki* 260. In modern Japanese *tobi* is a kite and not an osprey; the legend seems to have substituted a kite for the original osprey (as it did with the pheasant and the crow of the seventh warrior) since that bird's name sounds like the place name Tomi where the battle happened, cf. Yasumoto 2005, 169; Bentley 2006, 260.



Fig. 17. The upper and lower panels of the Gorōyama paintings (restored). See color plate 12.

‘The Imperial army at length attacked Nagasunehiko and fought with him several times, but could not win. Then suddenly the sky grew overcast, hail fell. There appeared a wondrous kite of a golden color that came flying and perched on the tip of the Emperor’s bow. The kite shone with light like lightning. Thus dazzled and bewildered, Nagasunehiko’s warriors could not fight stoutly.’

Proof that the painting indeed depicts the Battle of Tomi comes also from the long bowlegs of the enemy leader whose name Nagasunehiko means ‘Prince Longshanks’.

As the Gorōyama paintings show the Battle of Tomi, they reveal some of the protagonists of Jimmu’s conquest of Yamato. According to the legend, the archer to whose bow the kite comes is Jimmu; fittingly, he is here shown wearing his wonted baggy trousers. He appears again in the upper panel with the same gesture of drawn bow

and arrow. The woman standing before Jimmu with her hands held high and her head thrown back, either invoking the gods or dancing, is likely to be Jimmu’s shaman¹⁸². She too appears again in the upper panel of the paintings, making the same gesture as here.

A figure near the tower dances with wide-open arms, evoking the gods¹⁸³. She seems thus to correspond to the Mirror’s inner shaman¹⁸⁴ and wears, like the inner shaman on Jimmu’s

¹⁸¹ Cf. today’s Tomiyama, a hill 245 meter high, in the city of Sakurai, Nara Prefecture.

¹⁸² Kidder 1964, 312: ‘supplicating in the direction of the house’.

¹⁸³ Kidder 1964, 312: an ‘orant’.

¹⁸⁴ Kidder 1964, 312: ‘a shaman’.

Mirror, a mortar-board hairdo (*tsubushi shimada*) with the back part tilting down to the neck¹⁸⁵.

To the left of Jimmu, and higher up, stands a four-legged, two-tailed creature, moving to the left. The massive upright feature on its back suggests that it is not a boar¹⁸⁶ but a *wani*¹⁸⁷, the steed and companion of sun-line rulers (compare fig. 31). It too occurs again in the upper panel of the paintings, with its legs in the same position, head down, a huge upright feature on its back, and likewise moving to the left; there, as we will see, its *wani* characteristics are even more evident. By its position in the painting near Jimmu's weapon, and by its sky-blue color, the *wani* is marked as the counterpart of the kite.

Two *kami* helpers, the *wani* and the kite together flank Jimmu between them, seeing to his victory. The kite seems just to touch the tip of the bow, somewhat like the gods on Jimmu's Mirror who touch their men. The large black dots, beneath and to the right of the bird, may represent the hail mentioned in the legend.

Jimmu's coming across the sea, shown on his Mirror by the waves on both sides of the outer band, is signaled in the paintings by the double 'gondola'-type boat with high stern and bow, suggesting overseas rather than river travel¹⁸⁸. The coming from the sea, the two shamans, and the *wani* are essential links between Jimmu's conquest of Yamato as shown in the paintings and that seen on the Mirror. A lesser link is the blinded enemy leader wearing antler-like hair bunches like the thirteenth warrior on the Mirror.

Due to the time lag of some three hundred years, there are some, but no grave, differences between the Mirror and the paintings, such as the presence of cavalry, or Jimmu's headgear in the lower panel¹⁸⁹, or his weapon, for while on the Mirror he holds a spear, in the paintings and in the written legend he has a bow, in line with the growing role of horse archers during the fifth century.

The lower Gorōyama panel as Japan's oldest battle painting

The lower Gorōyama panel fascinates not only as a portrayal of Jimmu's conquest, but also as Japan's oldest detailed battle painting, a forerunner of the medieval and early modern battle screens and scrolls. It may reveal something of Kofun battle tactics such as the sword-wielding horseman, depicted below Jimmu (the sword marked in red), lining up with the emperor in

a straight line, or the two shamans facing each other in a war dance between the lines¹⁹⁰. Certainly, the wealth of tactical detail proves that by this time large-scale battles were fought in Japan¹⁹¹.

As quivers often designated men, both in statuary and tomb-drawings or paintings¹⁹², and as archers were called *yukepi* after *yuki* 'quiver' and *opi* 'carry on one's back'¹⁹³, the symbolically large quivers in this painting seem to stand for armies¹⁹⁴: the red one in the middle for Jimmu's, the black one for Nagasunehiko's, and the red one to the right for Nigihayahi's, each leader standing before his army.

The bow with the red quiver to the right has no arrow on it, hence that army is not yet fighting. It seems to be led by the man near the bottom who hands over a black, curved object, perhaps a rounded shield like that of the Mirror's twelfth warrior. The man who receives it stands near Jimmu's boat and thus represents

¹⁸⁵ As found with *haniwa* figures of noblewomen: Miki 1960, pl. 8; Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, fig. 215.

¹⁸⁶ Thus Kidder 1964, 312; for a contrasting thin-tailed Yayoi *Dōtaku* boar see Sahara / Harunari 1997, fig. 13.

¹⁸⁷ *Nihon shoki* 105; *Kujiki* 236.

¹⁸⁸ Tatsumi 1996, 113; Kidder 2007, 43. The boat cannot, of course, have been present at the inland town of Tomi where the battle took place, but like the Mirror, Kofun artwork habitually depicts in the same composite scene related events that happened at different times.

¹⁸⁹ His tall, flat headgear in the paintings seems to be known also from a sixth-century *haniwa* figure: Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 324,4, and it is found again in the Kiyotosaku painting (Tsuboi / Machida 1977, fig. 136).

¹⁹⁰ The shamans' battle role is known to have been dangerous: a Late-Yayoi woman shaman was found killed by a bronze spear: Ōbayashi 1983, 344; 372. Likewise women shamans in the eighth-century Hayato Rebellion who 'went to the front line to consult the oracles, to inspire the soldiers and to curse their enemies', Allen 2003, 89.

¹⁹¹ Sahara / Harunari 1997, 86; Matsugi 2001, 77.

¹⁹² Kidder 1964, 92; 122; 194 and index s. v. 'quiver-men'. Statuary: Saitō 1973, I, 103; Tomb-drawings: Yoshida rock-cut grave (Tsuboi / Machida 1977, p. 117); Nabeta grave (Tsuboi / Machida 1977, p. 120); the Shigesada kofun has a whole army of quivers and arm guards. In the same way shields could designate sword fighters, see Hakkutsusareta 2007, 66: a shield-*haniwa* with a face from the Takizuka 1 kofun, Kameda city, Kyōtō Pref.

¹⁹³ We thank Dr. John R. Bentley for this information.

¹⁹⁴ After all, quivers could not have moved to the battle field on their own. We thank Dr. Edward J. Kidder for discussing this with us.

Jimmu's side. Handing over, or laying down, one's shield was a sign of surrender¹⁹⁵, hence the leader of the red quiver army could be Nigihayahi who, according to the legend, came out to surrender to Jimmu¹⁹⁶.

The sun or lightning, that is the large circle below the kite, shining at Jimmu's back and into Nagasunehiko's eyes, must have brought to viewers' minds the earlier battle of Kusaka which Jimmu lost because, as he said, he came from the West and fought facing the sun. Having sailed south, around the Kii Peninsula, he could now attack Nagasunehiko from the East, with the sun (or the osprey's lightning) at his back for both practical and symbolical reasons, and thus he won¹⁹⁷.

The warrior above the boat has both arms raised, hence he seems to dance. The large weapon in his left, a shield or quiver, befits the war dance. Whether or not the figures near him also dance, his dance, like that of the shamans on the left, links the painting to the *Kojiki*'s words about the decisive battle: 'dancing in rows they swept away the bandits'¹⁹⁸.

The wealth of battle action and detail seen in this painting remained without match in Japanese art for over five hundred years¹⁹⁹.

The Gorōyama paintings: Crossing over to the other world

In truly heroic poetry, life on earth is all that matters, the afterworld is shadowy and meaningless. In pre-heroic, more magic and shamanistic tales, on the other hand, leaders, when they die, cross to a lively, magic other-world²⁰⁰. So it is in Kofun art: the upper panel of the Gorōyama paintings (fig. 17) shows the protagonists of Jimmu's magic-heroic conquest journeying to the sun (the moon is in the upper right)²⁰¹. They are the same figures as in the lower Gorōyama panel, namely Jimmu, his *wani*, his shaman, and another warrior, perhaps the swordsman of his battle line. The original painting shows the shaman and the swordsman lifting a foot, hence they seem to be dancing. Certainly, the warrior's gesture, one hand on his belt, the other raised, is a dancing gesture, well-known from *haniwa* figures²⁰². While his companions seem to have arrived already near the sun and therefore dance, Jimmu is still riding toward the sun's home – a land evidently imagined as by the Gilgamesh poet, Dante, or Sophocles, to lie 'beyond all seas, at earth's end, wellspring of night, gates of heaven, the sun's ancient garden'²⁰³.

Jimmu's steed in this panel has been taken for a two-tailed horse²⁰⁴. But comparing the figure with the nearly as horse-like, two-tailed *wani* on the Nangō mirror with its huge back (below, fig. 43), it seems instead to be a *wani* sea horse, all the more so since the *Nihon shoki* calls the sea god's *wani* his horse (*uma*), suggesting that it looked somewhat like a horse²⁰⁵. The green banner, hitherto unexplained²⁰⁶, marks, according to a poem in the *Manyōshū*, a state funeral²⁰⁷. Hence the scene here very likely shows Jimmu on his way to the other world²⁰⁸.

¹⁹⁵ The Shield-Down dance (*tate-fushi mai*; *Nihon shoki* II, 388, with the NKBT commentary vol. 2, 492) apparently was a submission dance, danced by men with feather-headgear: Sahara / Harunari 1997, 83–86.

¹⁹⁶ *Kojiki* 52, 59; *Nihon shoki* 128; *Kujiki* 262.

¹⁹⁷ *Kojiki* 48,6; *Nihon shoki* 113. We owe this observation to the kindness of Prof. J. Edward Kidder. Symbolic: *Kojiki* 128, 13; Philippi 1969, 165.

¹⁹⁸ *Kojiki*, Preface, 14.

¹⁹⁹ The osprey, the legend's 'kite', may appear already on Jimmu's Mirror between the emperor's head and his spear arm, likewise with sharply angled wings, lowered head, and what seems to be a bright, rounded light below (fig. 3). It is hard to make out on the Mirror, so we do not want to build on it, but if it is truly there then the Mirror's iconographic link with the Gorōyama painting will be even stronger.

²⁰⁰ Bowra 1952, 79; 83; 91 ff.: 'pre-heroic'. For an assessment of Japan's Heroic Period proposed by Ishimoda Shō see Miller 1983, 249; Brown 1993, 109; Matsugi 2001, 62.

²⁰¹ As in the Kiyotosaku and Izumisaki paintings (Tsuboi / Machida 1977, fig. 136; Saitō 1973, II, p. 183, pls. 191–195; Shiraishi 1990, 64, pl. 93), the sun is rendered as a spiral, not as a circle: the restored version (fig. 17) here errs.

²⁰² Smith 1964, 31. See also the 6th-century drawing at Takaïda in Yasumura 2003, pl. 7, bottom right, and the seventh-century Kyotosaku Kofun painting Saitō 1973, 5 and 268, 8.

²⁰³ *Gilgamesh*, Tablet IX; Dante, *Purgatorio*; Sophocles, *Orithyia*. For a further parallel compare Dante, *Paradiso* 28, 16 with *Nihon shoki* 49: 'The radiance of the sun goddess filled the universe'.

²⁰⁴ Kidder 1964, 312: 'a long (two?)-tailed horse'; Kidder's long-tailed horses elsewhere (ibid. 296) seem also to be *wani*. Kusaka / Kameda 1970, 137.

²⁰⁵ *Nihon shoki* 105.

²⁰⁶ Kidder 1964, 311: 'a green rectangle, perhaps a quiver'. The green paint comes from far away (Fujii / Ishiyama 1979, 52) and thus is likely to have a specific, important meaning.

²⁰⁷ *Manyōshū* 2, 148. For a discussion of blue-green flags see Tatsumi 1992, 197 ff., for a boat with a banner of this shape Saitō 1973, II, 275, fig. 6. For a horseman with a banner this large, painted in the Yakushi-shita-minami kofun (Fukuoka Prefecture), see Sahara 2005, p. 33.

²⁰⁸ Hitomaro, in 696, likewise speaks of his prince as 'our lord who has gone to rule the heavens above'. *Manyōshū* 199–201. Ruling the sun: ibid. 205. Cf. Naumann 1988, 242.

On the upper Gorōyama panel Jimmu wields his bow and arrow as he does in the battle scene on the lower panel. His shaman too dances or prays, as she does in the battle scene below. The parallels on the two panels not only help one recognize the same persons in both the upper and the lower panels, they even suit the journeyers' role in the other world of Tokoyo, the land of everlasting life²⁰⁹, where, as Kofun-period aristocrats believed, Jimmu welcomed them to drinking, dancing, and hunting²¹⁰. Characteristically, Kofun and Early Buddhist paintings are wont to repeat the same person to show the passing of time and the story's progress²¹¹.

That the same woman who dances for Jimmu in the war dance is present also in his journey to the other world is of outstanding interest, for it shows that she is a shaman in the role of psychopomp, a leader of the soul on the path to the other world. A psychopomp in Altaic and Tungus tradition clearly is a shaman²¹². Sarume as Jimmu's war-dance temptress and her heavenly model, Uzume, are thus proven to be indeed shamans²¹³, making it clear that Japanese shamans of old conform to Eliade's narrow definition of shamanism as traveling to the other worlds.

So large are these drawings and paintings, and so prominently placed in this and other graves²¹⁴, that their owners seem to have clung to the belief that they could reach Tokoyo in Jimmu's wake – an amazing outcome of Jimmu's deeds and of his concern with the beyond²¹⁵. In the eyes of sixth-century Yamato aristocrats, then, Jimmu, his crown prince Tagishimimi, and his shaman were not only the founding heroes of Yamato, but also rulers of the other world. A seventh-century painting in the Kiyotosaku rock-cut grave (Fukushima Prefecture) strengthens this view as it shows a figure dressed like Jimmu in the presence of the sun, dancing and welcoming a journeyer there²¹⁶. It was Altaic belief that after death the high and mighty live in the sky, leading a life like that of men on earth²¹⁷, and that a shaman had to guide them there²¹⁸. As Tatsumi Kazuhiro has shown, by the fifth century at the latest, the belief that after death one would reach the other world by traveling across the sea, was widespread in Japan, witness the funeral ship on a cylinder-*haniwa* from the Karako-Kagi site²¹⁹.

When the owner of the Gorōyama mound wanted to join Jimmu in the other world, he had Jimmu's journey to that land painted on the headwall of his grave. Yet even larger, and closer to his resting place, he had a painting of

Jimmu's conquest of Yamato. Would it not have been enough to portray Jimmu's voyage to the sun? Apparently not. It seems that the conquest of Yamato was so much a part of Jimmu's legend that his journey to the sun depended on it. The same held true, as we will see, for the owner of the Takaida cave tomb: he too wanted both of Jimmu's great deeds shown in his grave. Jimmu's conquest of Yamato and his travel to the sun thus were closely linked to each other, and both mattered to the owners of these graves as the two necessary parts of Jimmu's myth. Both these themes celebrated the overcoming of chaos as they reenacted the deeds that had brought about Kofun civilization and Kofun religion.

THE TAKAIDA DRAWINGS

At Takaida in Osaka Prefecture, a sixth-century aristocrat had the entrance walls to his cave tomb covered with drawings that have become famous under the name of *Jinbustu-no-kutsu* ('Human Figure Cave')²²⁰. The meaning of these drawings,

²⁰⁹ Naumann 1988, 239–243; Tatsumi 1992, 175; Kidder 2007, 48.

²¹⁰ Depicted in the Kiyotosaku and Izumizaki rock-cut graves: Tsuboi / Machida 1977, fig. 136; Saitō 1973, II, p. 183, pls. 191–195.

²¹¹ Tatsumi 1996, 120.

²¹² Eliade 1964, 205 (Altaic); 237 (Tungus).

²¹³ Naumann 1988, 86 with a review of scholarly literature; see also: Philippi 1969, 84.

²¹⁴ Chō 1972; Saitō 1973; Kokuritsu / Minzoku 1995.

²¹⁵ According to Naumann 1988, 242, only the emperor and the crown prince were believed to go to heaven, but the paintings and drawings seem to include their vassals as well, if one may see Tokoyo as heaven. Concern with the beyond: see above, p. 34 on ruler necromancy. For the power of the hero generating religious belief see Matsugi 2001, 66 ff. Tatsumi 1996, 121 f. suggests that the grave owner of Takaida would need a personal relationship with Jimmu if he had the eastern campaign drawn here; but as we will see below, going to Tokoyo like Jimmu was a widely held belief among aristocrats.

²¹⁶ Tsuboi / Machida 1977, fig. 136. Jimmu in the Kiyotosaku painting may be recognized not only from his baggy trouser-form skirt but also from the sun touching him as a wave touches him on the Mirror.

²¹⁷ According to Eliade 1964, 206 f. and 507, this is an outgrowth of the most ancient belief in a heavenly highest being with whom one could have direct relations by rising into the sky.

²¹⁸ Eliade 1964, 205 ff.; 355 ff.; Akima 1982, 489.

²¹⁹ Tatsumi 1992, 194 f.

²²⁰ Sixth grave, third group. Drawings after Yasumura 2003, plates 18 f. Other publications: Kidder 1964, 322 f.; 1966, 165; Kusaka / Kameda 1970, nos. 40–41; Saitō 1973, I, 75 f. (drawings); II, pls. 181 and 200–203; Tsuboi / Machida 1977, fig. 162; Tatsumi 1992, 165 ff.

however, has remained in the dark. Now, with the help of the Gorōyama paintings, they can be shown to depict Jimmu's deeds, both his war dance and his journey to the other world.

On the wall at the left side of the grave entrance, three figures stand out. Deeply carved, not retraced, and not overlapping, they were the original drawings. The other figures on the left wall must have been added later, as they are more lightly sketched, unfinished, and overlapping. The original three figures are shown here in Yasumura's 2003 version (fig. 18)²²¹.

A warrior leader or general, as he has been called²²², stands in a 'gondola'-type boat, like that seen in the lower Gorōyama panel. He holds his spear aloft and dances, raising his left leg²²³. Wearing a jacket with a broad belt, a bloused trouser-form skirt, and a conical hat like Jimmu's, he strikes a commanding pose.

The leader's spear ends above in the shape of a half-moon. Scholars took a horizontal line along the top to be part of the spear which then would end in a disk²²⁴, but that horizontal line, being far longer than the spear top, does not belong to it. Instead, the spear is forked and its blade shaped like a half-moon (fig. 19) – a ceremonial weapon like Jimmu's on the Mirror.

The curved line that crosses the spear and runs to the right until it bends down has been taken for a ribbon serving as a flag²²⁵. Yet no ribbon flag could take this shape, even when fluttering in the wind. If one restores to the drawing the eye (documented by color plate 15), then the lines take the shape of a *wani* horse like the one on the Nangō mirror (below, fig. 43). The sparing outline of the *wani* is paralleled by several pottery drawings of the time that show horses in the same shape of S-curves with tails²²⁶. The bent line at the *wani*'s neck, seen by several scholars²²⁷, is likely to be the bent sword of the legend and of the Hōju mirror (below, fig. 31).

The other warrior on the left-wall drawings holds a slightly curved sword, touched by a dragon-snake's tongue²²⁸. Until now, neither the sword nor the dragon-snake have been recognized, but color plate 15 will show that the lines highlighted in fig. 19 are true. Again, the snake does not represent a 'flag'²²⁹. Though the artist misleadingly depicted the warrior's left arm as if it continued his right arm, the man is meant to hold the sword up to the snake whose tongue and tail both touch the weapon. A dragon-snake, guarding a sword, can hardly be any other than the legendary Orochi that once bore the sword Kusanagi within its own

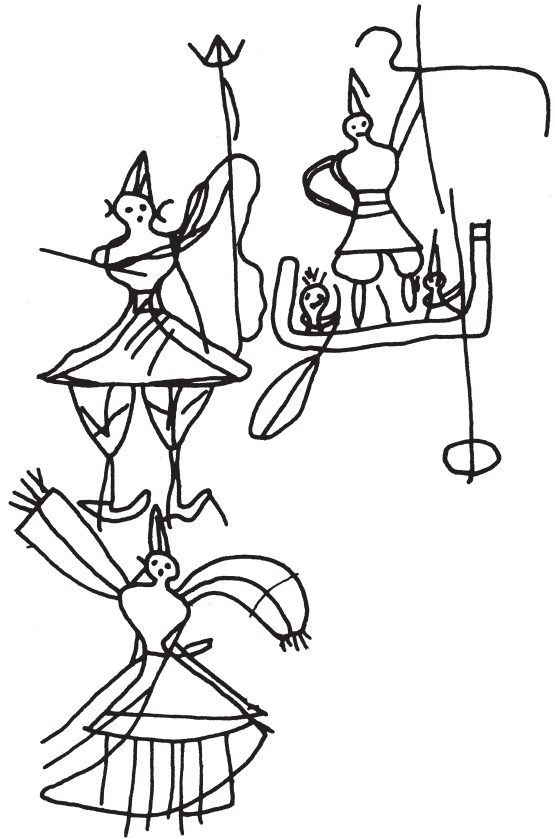


Fig. 18. Takaida drawings, left wall. Jimmu, prince, and shaman.

²²¹ Yasumura 2003, pl. 19. Other figures added later: Tatsumi 1992, 166 and 1996, 109; Yasumura 2003.

²²² General: Takahashi 1919, 8. Military men: Kidder 1964, 322. Warrior: Matsueda 1993, 266. Not warriors: Tatsumi 1992, 173.

²²³ Spear: Kidder 1964, 323. The spear cannot be a mere ceremonial stick (Tatsumi 1992, 168; 173) as it is too long for something like a ceremonial *sashiba* face-cover. The shoes point to the right and up, as they are drawn by Saitō 1973, 76.

²²⁴ E. g. Sahara 2005, 233, fig. 270.

²²⁵ Takahashi 1919, 13; Tatsumi 1992, 197ff.; Yasumura 2003, 15.

²²⁶ Cf. one from Tsuka-no-zuka kofun, Okayama Prefecture, now in the Tokyo National Museum. Photograph: Sahara / Harunari 1997, p. 105, fig. 232; drawing in Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, 179, fig. 13. Discussion of the drawing and similar pictures: Tatsumi 1992, 203–205.

²²⁷ E. g. fig. 76 of Saitō 1973, I; fig. 19, 2 of Yasumura 2003; fig. 270 of Sahara 2005, 233 (half the sword).

²²⁸ The sword's shape is best matched by a 6th-century sword seen in Chiga / Murakami 2003, 69–2.

²²⁹ Contra Takahashi 1919, 13f.; Tatsumi 1992, 168; Yasumura 2003, 15.

²³⁰ *Kojiki* 19, 20–22 and 39, 2 with Philippi's commentary. *Nihon shoki* 52–58 and 76. Cf. Naumann 1992, 163; Naumann / Miller 1995, 405.

Fig. 19. Takaida drawings, left wall. Forked spear on the right and *wani*, sword and dragon snake on the left.



tail²³⁰. Since the sword Kusanagi, according to the legend, belonged to the sun-line conquerors, its presence here, confirmed by its slightly convex blade, proves that the Takaida drawings depict sun-line warriors.

Lifting his forked spear²³¹ like the baggy-trousered prince in the boat, the warrior joins in the dance or at least in what has been called the ‘banzai waves of victory’²³². The eye-catching parallel of two warriors making the same gesture, also their two forked spears, and their two long-tailed snake guardians, mark the two princes as of almost equal rank, such as Jimmu and his son Tagishimimi.

That the second prince here is Tagishimimi is suggested also by his dress, a blanket, worn over the shoulders and held together with a broad belt. It is the same as the dress of the third warrior on Jimmu’s Mirror down to the detail that where the blanket opens, shading lines indicate an undergarment. Perhaps this is the true-coach blanket (*makoto ofusuma*) marking the crown prince as on the Takaida drawings and the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya²³³. The same dress, with the same details, is worn, moreover,

by Tagishimimi on the second Higashi-no-Miya mirror (below, fig. 30).

The third figure on this wall is a noblewoman with a sword or dagger in her belt²³⁴. Dressed in a long-sleeved jacket and a pleated *mo* skirt²³⁵, she gracefully waves her sleeves as she dances. The upper Gorōyama panel with Jimmu’s journey to the other world, also portraying the baggy-trousered Jimmu with his *wani* next to his dancing shaman and another warrior (fig. 17), makes it clear that the drawing on the left wall of the

²³¹ It is a spear according to most scholars: Tatsumi 1992, 168.

²³² Kidder 1964, 323. He does not lift his right foot as one would expect.

²³³ *Nihon shoki* 106; *Kujiki* 238; Ellwood 1973, 70f.; Naumann 1988, 95f. See also below, p. 59.

²³⁴ Dagger: Takahashi 1919, 12. Woman: Yasumura 2003, 15. For powerful women in early Japan buried with swords see Iwai 1996.

²³⁵ For such skirts see the sixth-century *haniwa* figures illustrated in Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, pls. 306–12 and 310–1, and paintings of the seventh-century Takamatsuzuka mound in Nara Prefecture, Tsuboi / Machida 1977, 104.

Takaida cave here likewise depicts Jimmu on his voyage to the other world²³⁶. The wealth of storytelling attributes and the dearth of coherent action suggest that the story was well-known to viewers and needed only to be hinted at, not retold²³⁷.

Besides the individual figures, the overall design too links the left-wall Takaida drawings with the upper panel of the Gorōyama paintings, for not only do both scenes show Jimmu riding, whether on a ship or a *wani*, across the sea to the other world²³⁸, but in both scenes Jimmu moves to the left, and the figures closer to the viewer are larger. Indeed, the design of both scenes is so much alike that they reflect a common iconographic tradition; scholars have rightly seen that the art of the Takaida drawings was brought from Kyushu to Osaka Prefecture²³⁹.

The drawings on the other side, on the right wall of the *Jimbustu-no kutsu* tomb at Takaida offer no direct proof for our argument but nicely round out the carvings in this cave with a picture of Jimmu's war dance (fig. 20). The artist carved here likewise three figures free from overlapping (a boat that overlaps them was added later)²⁴⁰. Best preserved is a dancing shaman with round sleeves like the rounded sleeve worn by the shaman on the left wall. She has two long feathers in her hair, one bending left, the other bending right²⁴¹. She wears a tucked-up skirt, and a shaman's sash coming down from her left shoulder²⁴², and perhaps she holds a bow by its tip.

Tatsumi Kazuhiro, noticing that all three figures on the right wall have long noses, while those on the left wall lack them, concluded that another artist carved the figures on the right²⁴³. Yet the right-wall figures also differ from those on the left in showing nostrils and wide, open mouths, which together are the mask of scorn: turning up one's nose and yelling or frowning, as we will see it done on the Gyōki-ji mirror and the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya (figs. 25 and 30).

The dancing shaman on the right wall, shouting defiantly, thus strikes the pose Amaterasu struck when threatened by her brother²⁴⁴:

She bound up her hair into knots and tied up her skirt into the form of trousers. Then, shaking the upper tip of her bow, she shouted with an awesome fury, she shouted stamping her feet.

Goddess and shaman are war dancing alike²⁴⁵. The middle figure on the right wall holds a curved sword with its tip up, the way one holds

a sword in the war dance. Although the weapon has not been recognized so far, its slightly convex blade looks like that of Kusanagi on the left wall. The warrior who holds it would thus seem to be Tagishimimi, Jimmu's son, and if so, the third figure, also with a pointed hat, and perhaps holding a forked spear, is likely to be Jimmu himself²⁴⁶. They thus seem to be the same three persons as those on the left wall. Both men also scowl and scorn, witness the nostrils of their turned-up noses and their flat or drawn-down mouths – both therefore dance the war dance, as do the warriors of the second Higashi-no-Miya mirror (fig. 26).

Stylistically, the Takaida figures share with those on Jimmu's Mirror the wide legs, thin

²³⁶ As early as 1919 Takahashi Kenji wondered whether the Takaida drawings portrayed Jimmu on his eastward foray into Yamato, but his suggestion, though mentioned by Kobayashi 1964, 98; Ishiyama 1995, 97, and Sahara 2005, 163, and supported by Saitō 1989, 46ff. ('epic deeds'), was not really taken up by modern research. Discussion: Tatsumi 1992, 172, also 1996, 71 and 121; Matsueda 1993, 266. Tatsumi 1992, 177 takes the prince in the boat to be the owner of the grave.

²³⁷ This is true also for Saonetuhiko, Jimmu's helmsman. His rudder here is not an anchor (contra Takahashi 1919, 8; Kidder 1964, 323; 1966, 165; Kobayashi 1964, 98; Tatsumi 1992, 169 'anchor or rudder'; and Yasumura 2003, 14), for the line across the rudder blade merely marks a rib to strengthen the blade as in other boat-drawings from Nara Prefecture (Sahara / Harunari 1997 figures 21 and 23). A round-bladed oar with a very long pole is a handy steering rudder, according to Matsueda 1993, 266; one such is drawn on a *haniwa* cylinder from the Karikodake grave, Kurio, Kyoto Prefecture, illustrated in Kidder 1965, 109, fig. 69.

²³⁸ Thus, with conviction, Tatsumi 1992, 175ff. and 195, concluding that the Takaida drawings and the Gorōyama paintings depict the same beliefs about crossing the sea to the other world (though not thinking of Jimmu's crossing, of course).

²³⁹ E. g. Takahashi 1919, 9; Yasumura 2002, 52.

²⁴⁰ No overlapping means no perspective – a Yayoi characteristic: Sahara 2005, 106.

²⁴¹ On the left wall, the unfinished figure of a woman below the boat also sports two such such feathers or bent hair bunches, as does the shaman on the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya mirror (below, fig. 26).

²⁴² Compare the *haniwa* women Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 307.

²⁴³ Tatsumi 1992, 194.

²⁴⁴ *Kojiki* 14, 3–6; *Nihon shoki* 34–37; *Kujiki* 142. Cf. Philippi 1969, 74; Kidder 2007, 265f.

²⁴⁵ Compare 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'.

²⁴⁶ The pointed hat is well portrayed in Saitō 1973, 47.

arms, slender waists, and near triangular upper bodies; and though they look straight at the viewer, most figures have their feet turned to the right. Both works of art also depict the same kind of dress, such as Jimmu's baggy trousers and conical hat and Tagishimimi's blanket. Neither on the Mirror nor on the drawings do the figures overlap which bespeaks an unbroken iconographic tradition from the third to the sixth century.

The Gorōyama paintings can be shown, independently of the Mirror, to portray Jimmu with a *wani* and a shaman, crossing the sea, while the drawings on the left wall of Takaida's *Jinbustu-no-kutsu* portray a warrior prince with a forked spear, a *wani*, and a shaman, crossing the sea together with a prince that holds the snake-guarded sword Kusanagi – all of which are images of the Mirror and essential traits of the written legend. The Gorōyama paintings and the Takaida drawings thus prove that the Mirror tells the tale of Jimmu's conquest of Yamato, a fact that we will take for granted from here on.



Fig. 20. Takaida drawings, right wall. Jimmu's war dance.

