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5. Warriors

You brave Lads of the Kume
With your knob hammers
With your stone hammers
Kill them now!
Kojiki 52,17–21

LEADERS AND TROOPS

Although the sea dance depicted on Jimmu's Mirror is mainly symbolic and legendary, it is also meant to be historic and realistic. Hence though it is a bronze disc only the size of two hands, the Mirror nevertheless tells much about Japan's earliest warriors and thereby opens a window on men – and women – who belong to a known time, a known army, and a known campaign.

Looking rather different from one another, the ten outer warriors each seem to stand for a different war band, representing not only their own persons but a body of troops: while the Mirror depicts only a single Kume warrior, the *Kojiki* describes the Kume as a fighting force. The same is true of the Ukai cormorant keepers: on the Mirror there is only one Ukai warrior, but in the legend a whole troop of Ukai feeds the front-line fighters. Similarly, the Mirror depicts only one woman warrior for each side – if we take the shamans for warriors as well – while the *Nihon shoki* tells of war bands of women on both sides. The Mirror thus shows what troops Jimmu massed for his conquest of Yamato: not a uniform army, but a colorful, motley array of war bands, each fighting under its own leader, in its own style, and inspired by its own gods. They differed because they were only recent allies, but also because to a skillful leader tactical diversity can be useful on the battle field.

In the Late Yayoi period (50–250) war was the root and branch of all great undertakings⁴⁹⁶. According to the *Wei History*, in the early third century Queen Himiko lived in a palace with halls, towers, and stockades like the one seen above in figs. 21 and 31, surrounded with armed guards⁴⁹⁷; the *Kojiki* bemoans that the unruly deities are so many. i.e. foes abounded and fighting never ended⁴⁹⁸. In depicting the clash

of Jimmu's warriors with their foes, the Mirror thus highlights the fighting and the war that led from Yayoi alliances to the Yamato State.

In revealing something of the recruitment, weapons, tactics, and spirit of Jimmu's army, the Mirror characterizes the Early Kofun period (250–400) within Japanese military history as a time when sword and shield rather than bow and arrow were the decisive weapons, when even the best still fought on foot rather than on horseback, and when dance and magic still counted for much⁴⁹⁹.

Sun-line princes

As noted above, the Mirror's first three warriors have oval faces while the next six are round-faced. The contrast is so marked that it must be intended⁵⁰⁰. The first three warriors also sport hip-whorls, very likely badges of high birth.

⁴⁹⁶ Kidder 2007, 83: 'Fighting was arguably the way of life during the peak of the Yayoi era'. *Nihon shoki* 228 (Empress Jingū): 'To make war and move troops is a matter of greatest concern to a country'. Cf. Matsugi 2001, 13. Contra: Piggott 1997, 35: The 'Miwa-led confederacy was founded on mostly peaceful networks of exchange'. Discussion *ibid.* 337, note 78. See above, fig. 45.

⁴⁹⁷ *Wei History*: Tsunoda / Goodrich 1951, 10; Kidder 2007, 16, see above, p. 53.

⁴⁹⁸ *Kojiki* 50, 1; see also 67, 1, etc.

⁴⁹⁹ For the military history of the period, Suenaga 1942 still has its uses. Overviews of research on this topic: Naumann 1981, 90–94; 2004; Kidder 2007, 80–85. (Faris 1995 begins only with A.D. 500). For the Yayoi Period see Matsugi 2001. For Egami's (1967) mistaken claim that horse riders created Yamato, see Kidder 2007, 235.

⁵⁰⁰ Gōda 1991, 75ff. saw all nine outer warriors alike as oval-faced, but here we beg to differ, referring the reader to the color plates.

They thus seem to be members of the ruling house. With their long skulls and noses they look racially different from their allied, broad-skulled warriors, though the latter match them in height⁵⁰¹.

Archaeologists of the Late Yayoi period have found that ‘on the whole, the weapons-burying people of the Southwest tended to have long skulls, while those of the bell-burying people of the East were rounder’⁵⁰². Narrow-faced Yayoi people were identified as immigrants from Korea⁵⁰³, and narrow-faced Early Kofun newcomers as the new Yamato ruling class. Archaeological finds, then, not only bear out the Mirror’s distinction between oval- and round-headed warriors but also Jimmu’s coming from the Southwest as reported by the legend and implied by the Mirror⁵⁰⁴.

Writing a hundred years ago, Basil Hall Chamberlain noted that Japan had

Two chief streams of immigration, both coming from Korea, and both gradually spreading eastward and northward. The first would have supplied the “pudding-faced” type, common among the lower classes. The second would have supplied the aristocratic type, with its more oval outline, thinner nose, more slanting eyes and smaller mouth – the type to which Japanese actors endeavor to conform when representing noblemen and heroes. Be it remarked that both these types are Mongol. On this hypothesis, Jimmu Tennō, the “first earthly emperor”, and his followers would have been this early people’s conquerors⁵⁰⁵.

These observations are consistent with the Mirror, where Jimmu and the princes are oval-faced newcomers, while the six round-faced warriors have the features of the eastern Yayoi, the major population group in the islands, then and today⁵⁰⁶. Further hints on the Mirror of Jimmu’s more recent coming from Korea are his pointed hat⁵⁰⁷ and his shaman’s Korean style sun-mirror. As for mythology, Korean origin would go well with him being an offspring of heaven and his mother a water goddess⁵⁰⁸.

The Mirror also shows Jimmu’s ‘crown’. It is a pointed hat with a large jewel at the top, a type of hat that, without the jewel, was still worn by high-ranking aristocrats in the sixth century, witness several *haniwa* figures⁵⁰⁹. It was still known as Jimmu’s hat in the sixth century when the Takaida drawings were made.

Battle lords and fighting men

Jimmu, his elder brother Itsuse, and his son Tagishimimi embody the warlike character of the Yamato emperors and princes who personally led their men in battle. So too did Yamato Takeru who in the fourth century conquered the Northeast⁵¹⁰, and emperor Yūryaku who in the following century boasted that his forefathers ‘clad themselves in armor and helmet and went over hills and waters, sparing no time for rest’⁵¹¹. They were true warrior aristocrats.

On the Mirror, Jimmu and his son Tagishimimi, wear light battle gear, apparently with short shoulder-breast guards, a type of armor known from *haniwa* warriors⁵¹², which, while granting some protection, still allowed them to attack fast. The same armor, it seems, is worn by the other warriors that may be Jimmu’s officers. The first, third, fourth, and fifth warriors wear bracelet-shaped insignia dangling from their wrists, known as high-rank grave goods of the time, and thus marking their rank⁵¹³. Badges of rank such as these point to orderly field tactics.

The warriors in the outer band of the Mirror wear topknots and trousers. As Gotō Shuichi

⁵⁰¹ For immigrants to the islands being taller see Tanaka 1991, 62; Kidder 2007, 65.

⁵⁰² Brown 1993, 101.

⁵⁰³ Imamura 1996, 147ff.; Kidder 2007, 63ff.

⁵⁰⁴ Hanihara 1986; 1990; Yamaguchi 1990, 163f.; Hudson 1999, 62. New leading class: Yoshie 1986, 73–76; Brown 1993, 28.

⁵⁰⁵ Chamberlain 1905 (2007), 429.

⁵⁰⁶ Then: Hanihara 1986; Miller 1986. Cf. Hall 1970. More or less mixed with the ancient Jōmon-Ainu stock: Yoshie 1986, 50 and 73; Imamura 1996, 147–160; Hudson 1999. Today: Chamberlain 1905 (2007) 429f.; Sansom 1962, 9: ‘The dominant Japanese physical type is Mongoloid insofar as it is broad-skulled’. Both types are still found today in Japan’s racial make-up: Murdoch 1949, 44; Kidder 1967, 43f. Doi / Tanaka 1989, 162.

⁵⁰⁷ Japanese pointed hats inherited from Inner Asia: Kidder 1964, 108.

⁵⁰⁸ Szczesniak 1954; Naumann 1988, 103; Matsumae 1993, 348.

⁵⁰⁹ Nagamine-Mizuno 1977, 74, fig. 148; 216, fig. 4.

⁵¹⁰ Together with high-ranking aristocrats as fellow commanders: *Kojiki* 82,2; 88,3; *Nihon shoki* 204.

⁵¹¹ *Liu Sung History* (De Bary and others 2001, 9). Jimmu, even if holding only a ceremonial spear, differs from Heian courtiers who frowned on warriors and warfare, as described by Morris 1964, 122.

⁵¹² Miki 1960, fig. 26.

⁵¹³ Grave goods: Kidder 2007, 109; Barnes 2007, 162. Some rulers may have worn them wrapped around the wrist to flaunt status by having a useless right arm, Hashiguchi 1988, 493, but warrior heroes could not.

showed in his model study of what can be learned from the Mirror, Jimmu's warriors, and not later horse riders, brought the custom of wearing trousers to Japan. Since cavalry came to the islands at least a hundred years after the Mirror was cast, the wearing of trousers by Japanese warriors had nothing to do with the coming of horse riders⁵¹⁴. Jimmu's men also bear shields with crescent badges and dance in step, all things that set them off from the enemy warriors on the inner band of the Mirror. There is no telling whether these features are due to artistic standardizing or whether they reveal a degree of uniformity that Jimmu imposed on his forces.

Women warriors

In ancient Japan women of high rank took the field with princes, serving as shamans⁵¹⁵. Princess Oto Tachibana, wife of the fourth-century Prince Yamato Takeru, went with him on his eastern campaign and threw herself into the sea to appease the sea god when a raging storm threatened her husband's life⁵¹⁶. Women could also hold high power of command, as when the fourth-century Princess Ata commanded an army, or when the seventh-century Empress Saimei gave the order for the fleet to embark⁵¹⁷. Jimmu's Mirror adds now to our knowledge of Japanese military history the earliest and best documented instance of a woman playing a key role on the battlefield: the shaman as the dance leader.

Jimmu's shaman, long rather than broad-faced, is of the same racial type as the members of the ruling house on the Mirror. She thus belongs to the ruling class. The Mirror highlights her outstanding role, and the Gorōyama paintings and the Takaida drawings do so even more. As we have seen, she is likely to be of the Sarume clan at Ise⁵¹⁸ whose women leaders carried the title of *Kimi*, a *kabane* title reserved mainly for members of the royal family who lived away from court⁵¹⁹.

Wielding perhaps a bow on Jimmu's Mirror and on the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya (fig. 26), Jimmu's shaman is also a warrior. An archer and a leader, she may have commanded Jimmu's women warriors, a band that, according to the legend, could fight as a tactically independent force – perhaps they engaged the enemy women in the battle at Oshizaka⁵²⁰, for women warriors are known in Japan since the Yayoi period⁵²¹. That they indeed fought in the forefront seems likely from the outer shaman's kicking a foe's cut-off head.

After the conquest, nothing more is heard of Yamato women warriors or Sarume troops, though during the Kofun period women might still lead troops in the field.

Perhaps, then, women warriors were only an emergency force, furloughed after Jimmu had won⁵²². Nevertheless, Jimmu, according to the legend, awarded the Sarume high court rank and the task of dancing at festivities⁵²³. *Haniwa* figures show that, for centuries still, leading women upheld their warrior image by wearing swords in public⁵²⁴.

Hayato outlanders

Jimmu's advance on Yamato from the Southeast by way of the Ukai, Ukashi, and Kume (fig. 1) implies that he came from across the sea. The same is implied by the waves on both rims of his Mirror's outer band and by the boat on the lower panel of the Gorōyama paintings. His first troops therefore must also have come from somewhere along the seaboard.

The first tribal allies portrayed on the Mirror (after Jimmu, the princes, and Saonetsuhiko) are, to judge from the fifth warrior's looks, the Kumaso-Hayato from southern Kyushu⁵²⁵. The Mirror thus bolsters the often-noted theory that non-Yayoi people joined Jimmu in the conquest of Yamato⁵²⁶. Evidence from skeletons suggests

⁵¹⁴ Gotō as referred to by Kanaseki 1991, 189; cf. Sahara 2005, 154; cf. Egami 1967. As the Mirror shows, even trousers tied at the knees need not point to horse-riding 'barbarians', contra Naumann 1988, 43. Gōda 1991, 72f. calls them *hakama* trousers. Cavalry: below, p. 96.

⁵¹⁵ Akima 1993, 168.

⁵¹⁶ *Kujiki* 84, 4.

⁵¹⁷ *Nihon shoki* 157; *Man'yōshū* 8, see Akima 1993, 168f.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. *Kujiki* 39, 10; 40, 2 and 13; *Nihon shoki* 44; 76; 79.

⁵¹⁹ *Kujiki* 157, with comment by Bentley.

⁵²⁰ *Nihon shoki* 119; 126. Aston 1896, 126 and Florenz 1919, 235 translate 'feebler troops', but the text clearly has 'women war band' (*me-ikusa*), cf. *Kujiki* 259. Matsugi 2001, 47, on the other hand, suggests that only troops several thousand strong would specialize in weapons.

⁵²¹ Imai 1996; Matsugi 2001, 46. Women warriors worldwide: Turney-High 1949, 151–164.

⁵²² Compare *Nihon shoki* 168.

⁵²³ *Kujiki* 269; Aston 1896, 79.

⁵²⁴ Tsuboi 2002, 105 (Tsukamawari kofun).

⁵²⁵ The difference, if any, between Kumaso and Hayato is much debated. Ōbayashi 1991, 14–16 suggests that the Kumaso come from the western, the Hayato from the eastern part of Kyushu. If so, Saonetsuhiko and his men are Hayato.

⁵²⁶ Sansom 1978, 27f. For a discussion whether the Hayato spoke another language (Austronesian) see Hudson 1999, 88f. and 197.

that as late as the Kofun era, Jōmon-type populations survived in remote parts of Kyushu⁵²⁷, and studies in comparative literature and ethnology have suggested that they came originally from much further south⁵²⁸, a conclusion underpinned also by teeth and bone measurements⁵²⁹. Archeological evidence for their southern origin has been meager, however⁵³⁰. All the more valuable, therefore, is the image of the Mirror's fifth warrior with his tooth gaps, frizzy wild hair, and stubby nose.

Tooth gaps and disheveled hair also identify the rower of Jimmu's boat in the Takaida drawings (figs. 18 and 19) as Hayato⁵³¹. Since the myth of Hiko-Hohodemi says that the Hayato were the offspring of Hoderi the fisherman, one is thrilled to see them strenuously rowing Jimmu's boat as they once rowed fishing boats⁵³².

Seventh-century Hayato and Emishi guards at the Yamato court have long been known⁵³³. Now we see that already under Jimmu, four hundred years earlier, men from wild, feisty tribes in outlying parts of the country were recruited into the Yamato army, a custom befitting person-centered rulership⁵³⁴.

Ukai fishermen

According to the legend, the Ukai cormorant-keeping fishermen from the Yoshino River joined Jimmu's forces to feed them. Their leader's name, Niemochinoko (Child with Meat Offerings), bespeaks that role⁵³⁵, and the legend is very much alive to the problem of feeding Jimmu's army⁵³⁶. The Ukai appear in this role in a Kume war song⁵³⁷:

With our lined-up shields
We keep fighting
On Mount Inasa
And keep the watch
From between the trees
But now we are starving.
Cormorant keepers of the islands
Come now and help us
O Cormorant-keeper company!

Scholars have taken this song to be a later addition to the genuine Kume songs of the legend⁵³⁸, but since the Ukai leader appears on the Mirror as a hero of Jimmu's conquest, the Ukai must have indeed mattered as food suppliers to Jimmu's forces. And no wonder, for cormorants can catch a plenty of fish in a short time⁵³⁹. A fifth-century sword from the Eta-funayama mound in Kumamoto shows a cormorant hunt-

ing fish⁵⁴⁰. Whether the sword belonged to a leader of cormorant keepers or to a sports fisherman is uncertain⁵⁴¹, but the engraving on it proves that the supply of cormorant-hunted fish mattered to fifth-century warriors⁵⁴², and by inference, to Jimmu's troops as well. Jimmu thus followed the then universal principle of warfare that provisions must come from the lands of the enemy⁵⁴³.

⁵²⁷ Doi / Tanaka 1988; 1989; Hudson 1999, 64–65; 194. For the separateness of southeastern Kyushu see e. g. Brown 1993, 149f.

⁵²⁸ Naumann 1963, 337 ff. (comparative ethnology); Philippi 1969, 148 (comparative literature); Matsumura 1954–1958, vol. 3, 676–699; Yoshie 1986, 50; Ueda 1995.

⁵²⁹ Hudson 1999, 69 and 272; Matsumae 1993, 330: South Sea influences; Kidder 2007, 64 ff.: not immigrants from southeast Asia.

⁵³⁰ Haguenaer 1956, 141 ff. Southeast Asian and Philippine elements in Japanese history: Ōno 1957; Matsumae 1993, 330 ff.; Ueda 1995. For their impact on Japanese language: Miller 1980, 157–167 and Hudson 1999, 85 ff.

⁵³¹ See the outstanding photograph of Saitō 1973, II, 181. The tooth gap makes him a Hayato rather than a *jisai* (contra Tatsumi 1992, 169 and 1996, 113), i. e. not a diviner who must stay unkempt during ocean voyages and take the reward or punishment for a happy or unhappy trip (for *jisai*, mentioned in the *Wei History*, see Kidder 2007, 15 and 157).

⁵³² *Kojiki* 44, 23–26; *Nihon shoki* 100; 107; *Kujiki* 240f. Yasumura 2003, 14 rightly discerns strenuousness in the bent oar.

⁵³³ *Nihon shoki* 100. Inoue 1949, 32 ff.; 60; Mori 1993, 136 ff.; Naumann 1996, 174; Hudson 1999, 132; Inoue 2006. Cf. Florenz 1919, 115: 'Die wilden, tapferen Stämme nicht-japanischer Herkunft im Süden von Kyūshū'. Ōkada 1973.

⁵³⁴ Hudson 1999, 193–5 errs in suggesting that this began only in the late seventh century. The looks of the fifth warrior, moreover, prove that there was no need to 'exoticise' the Kumaso-Hayato (ibid.).

⁵³⁵ Philippi 1969, 532; Aston 1896 (1972), 119. For Japanese cormorant fishing see Chamberlain 1905 (2007), 112–115.

⁵³⁶ *Kojiki* 51, 17; *Nihon shoki* 117 f.; etc.

⁵³⁷ *Kojiki* 52, 50–56; *Kujiki* 259 f.; Ōkubo 1981, 52 f.; Bentley 2006, 259 f. This being a 'Kume song' (*Nihon Shoki* 127; Yoshie 1986, 98), scholars have asked themselves whether the cormorant keepers were a part of the Kume or not: Inoue 1972, 28 (no); Tsuchihashi 1974, 222 ff. (yes); Naumann 1981, 28 (no). Geographically speaking the Ukai are from the Yoshino River valley, the Kume from the Uda Hills.

⁵³⁸ Naumann 1981, 27 f., with a discussion of the earlier literature.

⁵³⁹ Chamberlain 1905 (2007) 114.

⁵⁴⁰ Tokyo National Museum. Photo: *Wa Koku* 1993, 105.

⁵⁴¹ Even the highborn indulged in cormorant fishing: *Nihon shoki* 341.

⁵⁴² Among sixth-century *haniwa* figures, cormorants with rings around their necks are not rare, see Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 160, 2; 329, 4–6.

⁵⁴³ Cf. Sun zi 2 (Ames 1993, 108): 'The wise commander does his best to feed his army from enemy soil'.

The Mirror and the song quoted above both recall outstanding deeds by the Ukai, for not only does the song call the cormorant keepers a company (*u-kapi ga tomo*), that is, an organized part of Jimmu's army, and places Jimmu's song to them at the big battle against the Shiki of Iware, but the Mirror too places them among the warriors⁵⁴⁴. The Mirror thus confirms what scholars have concluded from Kofun grave goods in the Yoshino River area, namely that the Ukai were fighters as well as fishermen⁵⁴⁵. With fishermen this seems surprising, yet among Jimmu's allies only the Mononobe, i. e. the tenth warrior, were professional fighters: the others were farmers, trappers, and fishermen.

Jimmu's cormorant keepers thus seem to be the earliest known of the trade groups that became so essential to the structure of the Yamato State and its army. After the conquest, Jimmu had no need to assign them lands; they stayed at the Yoshino River to catch fish.

Ukashi hill men

To judge from their place on the Mirror, the Ukashi tribesmen joined Jimmu in the middle of his campaign. Their early joining fits with the passage in the *Nihon shoki* that tells of the lands Jimmu gave to his allies after the conquest of Yamato: the Kume received land west of Mount Unebi with the place Kume no mura, while the Ukashi got land around the village of Takeda no mura, with their leader given the title of Agatanushi of Takeda⁵⁴⁶. Such rewards kept the allied troops nearby, ready for campaigns and for guarding the residence.

Kume

When in the Yayoi period wet-rice farming flourished in the plains, the hill tribes were left behind. It may thus be no happenstance that backward tribal warriors joined Jimmu in his conquest of rich, rice-growing Yamato⁵⁴⁷. The Kume were one such backward group that now made good, weapons in hand⁵⁴⁸, what they had forfeited in not growing rice.

The Mirror, as we have seen, shows the Kume using stone clubs. Clubs were effective weapons in Japan until the beginning to the Edo period⁵⁴⁹. By the third century, however, the Japanese knew well how to make iron weapons⁵⁵⁰, and stone weapons were by then old-fashioned⁵⁵¹. In clinging to their stone clubs, the Kume took pride in a warrior tradition they were loath to give up. Together with the Hayato, the Kume

were thus Jimmu's most colorful and striking war band, with tribal origins going far back into Yayoi times⁵⁵².

Stone-age lore lived on not only in Japan but also elsewhere in Eurasia. The *vajra* hammer of Indra was of stone, and China's Chou emperors worshipped the sun with a stone hammer⁵⁵³. Archaic customs, however, survived longer in Japan than elsewhere, and so the Kume warriors, five hundred years into the bronze-and-iron age, still harkened back to stone-age lore⁵⁵⁴. They used their now offbeat clubs perhaps because in this way each could fashion his own weapon, but very likely also to keep up a ritualized fighting style, which calls to mind the survival, later, of another long-obsolete, highly ritualized fighting style, that of the Samurai⁵⁵⁵.

Were the Kume clubs weapons for sneak attacks, that is for tactics avoiding the risk of open battle⁵⁵⁶? This may have been true for the slaughter in the pit-dwelling at Osaka, recorded in the Kume song from which the epigraph of this chapter is taken. Yet the Mirror depicts the club-wielding eighth warrior as ready for open battle. Indeed, clubs call for as much strength and courage as swords, being fearsome weapons in close-up shock attacks⁵⁵⁷.

⁵⁴⁴ *Kojiki* 52, 47–56; *Nihon shoki* 126 and 130. Both accounts give the same reason for Jimmu's appeal to the Ukai, namely that his men were worn out, which makes the story believable (contra: Naumann 1981, 27).

⁵⁴⁵ Mori 1993, 214.

⁵⁴⁶ *Kojiki* 47, 17; *Nihon shoki* 133.

⁵⁴⁷ Takemura 1979, 119.

⁵⁴⁸ *Kojiki* 52.

⁵⁴⁹ In Japan: Sasama 2004, 128; *Nihon shoki* 194. Effective: Speidel 2004, 87ff. contra Turney-High 1949, 13. An iron club from 5th century Kyushu: Ōtsuka 2000, pl. 19–5, one from the Edo period: Suenaga 1971, 78.

⁵⁵⁰ Kidder 2007, 87ff.

⁵⁵¹ Compare Anglo-Saxons still using stones tied to sticks for clubs in 1066 at Hastings: Speidel 2004, 97.

⁵⁵² Tanigawa 1978 takes them to have come with Jimmu from Kyushu. Naumann 1981 tells their history in full; cf. Ōkubo 1981, 45ff. On later war bands in Japan see Varley 1994, 31.

⁵⁵³ Alföldi 1974, 205.

⁵⁵⁴ *Kubu-tsuchi* swords, once useful in battle according to Takahashi 1911, 157 (with reference to the Jinguki), contra: Naumann 1981, 119, took on a role in ceremony where old-fashioned things are favored: Kanaseki / Onoyama 1970, 100f.; Kanda 1978, 157.

⁵⁵⁵ Keegan 1993, 376.

⁵⁵⁶ Thus Naumann 1981, 17f.; 23f.; 37f.; etc.

⁵⁵⁷ When the *Kojiki* was being written, the attackers at the pit-dwelling were thought to wield swords. Remarkably, the world's first swords, in the earliest Bronze Age, likewise arose from clubs: Turney-High 1949, 13.

The Kume, we have seen, worshipped the monkey god Sarutahiko, perhaps not only for his lust 'for monkeys, often fast, strong, smart, and aggressive, also embody some warrior ideals. A medieval samurai's monkey helmet at the Izushi shrine in Hyōgo Prefecture betokens a thousand years of monkey warriors from the Kume of Jimmu's Mirror to the Middle Ages.

As hill tribesmen, the Kume were not professional warriors⁵⁵⁸, though they could be fearsome enemies. Their poems identify them as a turbulent, 'untrammelled people that must have played a vital role in the political amalgamation of southern Yamato in the second half of the third century'⁵⁵⁹. Certainly, after the Yamato conquest, the Kume leader held a position of trust with Jimmu, for as one of Jimmu's closest followers he wooed princess Isukeyori for Jimmu. The Kume, then, served as palace troops and therefore, like the Hayato and the Ukashi, received land not far from the emperor's residence⁵⁶⁰.

At first elite warriors and guards who, as elsewhere in world-history, were granted sexual privileges, the Kume later sank to the role of a *Kume-be* corporation under the Ōtomo clan⁵⁶¹. Yet the legend that records their deeds some 400 years after Jimmu's conquest, still praises them and their songs, a true echo of what had happened: the Mirror, like the legend, heralds them as heroes. Kume songs and Kume dances are still performed today.

The Mirror also helps one understand some sixth-century *haniwa* figures who portray men-of-valiant-mien, dancers who flaunt their penises, turn up their noses, and sneer: they are Kume or similarly challenging men like the Mirror's eighth warrior⁵⁶². Kume war songs, as we have seen, scorn the foe, and the Mirror portrays their scorning by giving the eighth warrior wide nostrils and a turned-up nose. *Haniwa* Kume figures too have their nostrils and even their nose-hair tellingly depicted⁵⁶³, as do the scorning dancers on the Takaida drawings, the Gyōki-ji mirror, and the second mirror from Higashi-no-Miya (above, figs. 20, 22 and 24).

Two further passages of the legend also point to the Kume joining Jimmu for women. One is the famous song the Kume sang at the victory feast after the capture of the Ukashi stronghold in Uda. Eating, drinking, and reveling in the booty, the soldiers sang⁵⁶⁴:

At the fort of Uda
I set a snipe-net.
I waited,

but I caught no snipe.
Instead I caught
Two dauntless hawks.
If the old wife
Asks for some to eat,
Slice off and give her
Little, like the berries
Of the barren hawthorn.

If the new wives
Ask for some to eat,
Slice off and give them
Plenty, like the berries
Of the *Hi-Sakaki*.

Since the Mirror shows the Kume warriors eager for women, and since the myth confirms their eagerness, one may take the two hawks in the song to mean two women given to a Kume warrior from the booty at the fort of Uda. This lets us understand the hitherto dark and much disputed meaning of the poem in a way that links its first half to the second, and the whole poem to the victory feast after the capture of the Ukashi stronghold. It is thus not a hunting song but a winner's triumphant war song⁵⁶⁵, which, in turn, gives meaning to the lustful gesture of the Kume on the Mirror.

Another Kume song also suggests Jimmu's willingness to grant the Kume wives. After the conquest, the Kume leader wooed Princess Isukeyori, either for the emperor, as the legend

⁵⁵⁸ Naumann 1981, 126.

⁵⁵⁹ Miller 1983, 255.

⁵⁶⁰ *Nihon shoki* 133; *Kujiki* 208; 271.

⁵⁶¹ *Kujiki* 208. Tsuchihashi 1981, 85; Naumann 1981, 112–120.

⁵⁶² See Miki 1960, figures 53 and 49, with comment on p. 157; Nagamine / Mizuno 1977, no. 178 and 217, fig. 3; Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 321–4 (Sakai-machi kofun). Putting the arms to one's hip was perhaps part of penis flaunting, see the first-century pottery drawing Sahara / Harunari 1997, 18. Sadly, not enough of the red paint around the eyes is left to see whether it is the famous Kume tattoo. One wonders whether the receding forehead or tight skullcap, seen on both *haniwa* Kume, is also meant to be seen on the Mirror's eighth warrior.

⁵⁶³ Three further *haniwa* heads also seem to wear the Kume tattoo (Ichinose / Kurumazaki 2004, 66, 2–4) and it would be worthwhile to check the originals whether they also portray nostrils and nose-hair.

⁵⁶⁴ *Kojiki* 51, 19–39; *Nihon shoki* 118; *Kujiki* 252. We follow Miller and Bentley's (2006, 252) lead, taking *kudira* for 'two hawks', rather than a whale, see NKBT *Kojiki* 156; NKBT *Nihon shoki* 198.

⁵⁶⁵ Tsuchihashi 1974, 228ff. was right, contra: Naumann 1981, 4f.

Fig. 46. *Charadrius dubius* (Ko-Chidori).



says, or for himself⁵⁶⁶. She answered the Kume's wooing with a song, calling him by three birds' names, among them Ringed Plover (*Tidori* = *Chidori*)⁵⁶⁷:

Ame-tutu
Tidori masi toto
Why the tattooed eyes?

He answered, also in song:

The better to meet
Maidens face to face
Are my tattooed eyes'.

The Mirror shows the tale to be true, for the eighth warrior has a tattoo circling in a strong arc over his forehead, down around the eyes and on to the mouth (above, fig. 10)⁵⁶⁸, while the face of the Little Ringed Plover (*Ko-Chidori*) is likewise marked by a strong line circling over the forehead, down around the eyes, and on to the beak (fig. 46)⁵⁶⁹.

The striking similarities between the tattooed face of the Kume warrior on the Mirror and the face of the Ringed Plover mentioned in the legend⁵⁷⁰, means that the maiden's song and the warrior's response to it have come to us unchanged, bird names and all⁵⁷¹. The *uta-gaki* custom in which boys and girls match one another in song is thereby documented for the third century of our era⁵⁷². The meaning of the song, then, unfolds as follows: proclaiming him to be Kume, the wooer's tattoo allowed him to look more straightway at maidens than another man would dare – a privilege often given to elite warriors throughout world history⁵⁷³.

Stag warriors

The ninth warrior, perhaps Nigihayahi, forebear of the Mononobe, wears an antler ornament on the side of his helmet and thus very likely saw himself as a stag warrior⁵⁷⁴. Stag warriors are found throughout Japanese history and are known as early as the Yayoi period⁵⁷⁵. Indeed,

⁵⁶⁶ Tsuchihashi 1957, 47 and Naumann 1981, 51–53 assume the wooing was not for the emperor but for Ōkume himself.

⁵⁶⁷ *Kojiki* 54, 16–20. Ōkubo 1981, 53 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ In the third century, then, army leaders wore tattoos, as against the very different opinion of Tsuchihashi-Konishi 1957, 111. Tattoo generally used at the time: Kidder 2007, 14 (his fig. 2. 3. 3 comes close to the Kume tattoo). For tattoos special to certain groups see *Nihon shoki* 305; 307 and Philippi 1969, 181; 548. The Kume having a tattoo of their own: Tatsumi 1992, 110f.

⁵⁶⁹ Massey 1982, 132. Picture: Google images.

⁵⁷⁰ Brilliantly inferred already by Motoori as pointed out in the NKBT *Kojiki* commentary p. 163; see also Naumann 1981, 51–53.

⁵⁷¹ Compare the discussion by Philippi 1969, 181: 'may also be nonsense'. 'Fairly intact text transmission': Miller 1983, 254.

⁵⁷² Naumann 1971, 236f.; 1981, 53; Cranston 1993, 489f.; Ōkubo 1981, 57.

⁵⁷³ E. g. Plato, *Republic* 468, c. Speidel 1994, 74f.; 153. Worldwide: Turney-High 1949, 158ff.; Speidel 2004, 79 (with note 141).

⁵⁷⁴ His sword may also proclaim him a stag warrior for the style of its spherical guard seems linked to that of other deer-horn swords: Suenaga 1971, 45 with pl. 34, 3; Murakami 2003, 60–5; Sasama 2004, 91.

⁵⁷⁵ A carved antler head ornament from around 400 B.C. looks much like that of the ninth warrior: Munro 1911, 150 born out by the Mirror. Munro's suggestion that the object, from Miyatojima, Monō county, Miyagi, was

the twin whorls over the heads of the warriors on the inner band of Jimmu's Mirror may mark the men as stag-warriors with antlers⁵⁷⁶.

Among the Tungus, ancestral relatives of the Japanese, shamans were stags wearing iron antlers⁵⁷⁷. Mircea Eliade describes how archaic man, warrior or shaman, changed when he became an animal⁵⁷⁸:

We must not forget that the relations between the shaman (and, indeed, "primitive man" in general) and animals are spiritual in nature and of a mystical intensity that a modern, desacralized mentality finds hard to imagine. For primitive man, donning the skin of an animal was becoming that animal, feeling himself transformed into an animal. We have reason to believe that this magical transformation resulted in a "going out of the self" that very often found expression in an ecstatic experience. Imitating the gait of an animal or putting on its skin was acquiring a superhuman mode of being. There was no question of a regression into pure "animal life"; the animal with which the shaman identified himself was already charged with a mythology, it was, in fact, a mythical animal, the Ancestor or the Demiurge. By becoming this mythical animal, man became something far greater and stronger than himself.

Thus the stag appealed to warriors not only by its stateliness, speed, pride, and eagerness to clash with opponents, but also as a mythic animal that, as we have seen, belonged to the center of the world and the renewal there. Warriors upheld the stag tradition from the Mirror's third century down into the Middle Ages: samurai for many centuries wore not only stag helmets but also the stylized *kuwagata* helmet crests derived from antler horns⁵⁷⁹.

According to the legend, Nigihayahi joined Jimmu after his defeat of the Shiki and during the siege of Tomi⁵⁸⁰. This explains his taking part in Jimmu's war dance and why the ninth warrior appears there as a stag warrior, like other warriors of the Mirror's inner band⁵⁸¹.

Jimmu's foes

Unlike Jimmu's warriors, the thirteenth warrior wields a bow. His arrows are in the bow case and in a large quiver he drops from his right hand. He also drops a small, pointed *utsubo* quiver that falls from his left hand. The latter has the same shape as one found in the ground⁵⁸²,

which demonstrates again the Mirror's firm grip on reality. While both Yayoi and, later, Yamato warriors used bow and arrows⁵⁸³, even whistling arrows as we have seen (fig. 9), the Mirror shows that Jimmu's men, like ancient Greeks, Celts, and Germans, regarded the bow as a less heroic weapon than the sword⁵⁸⁴; only by the sixth century do the Gorōyama paintings, and later the legend, describe Jimmu as a bowman.

As he flees, the twelfth warrior drops a shield with a hook that was perhaps used to slash and pull the foe and his dress⁵⁸⁵, or else to tangle with swords and spears in close-up fighting. In China such shields were sometimes weapons of prestige, for one has been found with gold inlay⁵⁸⁶. The twelfth warrior's shield thus shows that Jimmu's foes had links to the Asian continent as a source of weapons, as the *Wei History* reports of Himiko⁵⁸⁷. The Mirror, then, confirms the accuracy of that report and helps one understand the strength of the resistance Jimmu met with as told in the legend.

Jimmu's foes are not portrayed as mere fools or cowards but, in the heroic spirit, as worthy, if losing, opponents. By the end of the

a head ornament is not picked up by Kidder 1966, 271 no. 28, nor by Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, no. 71; another, similar one, comes from not much later: Machida 1979, fig. 74. See also Sahara / Harunari 1997, 85, fig. 181. Magatama and *tomo-e* likewise come from Jōmon times.

⁵⁷⁶ The antlers also hint of Han gods-and-beasts mirrors where both gods and beasts sport such whorls: Tanaka 1977, e. g. nos. 123; 127; 133; cf. 140. Takahashi 1915 and Gōda 1991 think of them as hairdos. For similar antlers worn by a stag see the mirror no. 120 in Tanaka 1977, 100.

⁵⁷⁷ Eliade 1964, 160. Archaic man from as far back as 60,000 B.C. identified with stags: Speidel 2004, 13. For stags in Yayoi culture see Naumann 1971, 231 ff.

⁵⁷⁸ Eliade 1964, 459 f.

⁵⁷⁹ They derive from stag antlers: Sasama 1981, 343 ff.

⁵⁸⁰ *Nihon shoki* 128–130.

⁵⁸¹ Stag warriors from Hyuga: *Nihon Shoki* 260 f.

⁵⁸² Chiga / Murakami 2003, 132–5 (76 cm long).

⁵⁸³ E. g. *Nihon shoki* 178; 200.

⁵⁸⁴ For bowmen in Yamato Takeru's Western campaign (*Nihon shoki*'s 200) see Ueda 1960, 88. The Emishi also used bow and arrows: *Nihon shoki*, 206.

⁵⁸⁵ Perhaps the hooks of some *tomo-e* shield badges served a like purpose, cf. Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, no. 110; *Wa Koku* 1993, no. 46; Higuchi 2004, 121. For a 16th-century Italian buckler with such contraptions see Stone 1934, 554, no. 6.

⁵⁸⁶ Yang 1992, 220 f. and 244: the *gou xiang* of the Eastern Han period.

⁵⁸⁷ Kidder, 2007, 16 ff. If one could make out the shield badge of this warrior one might learn something of his religion.

Yayoi period, the Nara Basin was already the hub of Japan, and its rulers must have had a strong army⁵⁸⁸. Jimmu overcame their bowmen and spearmen with his fearless sword fighters: weapons of close assault carried the day against distance weapons.

Jimmu's army after the conquest

With the help of the Mirror and the legend, we can trace the steps by which sundry forces became Jimmu's allies and then part of the new Yamato State. Together, those allies – the tribal Hayato, Ukai, Ukashi, and Kume, and from Yamato itself Nigihayahi's Mononobe stag warriors – made up most of the early Yamato troops⁵⁸⁹. The Kume may have served Jimmu as a guard⁵⁹⁰, but being only one of four tribal allied troops, they were hardly, as is often said, the main force of the Yamato army⁵⁹¹.

Jimmu, then, built his forces from the fighting tribes he met along the way, like Chinese rulers of the time who also recruited warriors from tribal troops⁵⁹². Unlike the Chinese armies, however, many of the Yamato troops came from the heartland of the new state, mostly from the mountain areas south and east of the Nara Basin, where the archaic warrior spirit still flourished.

One question remains. Why are Jimmu's Mirror and the legend so interested in ethnic otherness, highlighted by such oddities as the flashing of tooth-gaps, cormorants, and penis flaunting? Scholars have taken this ethnographic interest to be an import from China in the early seventh century⁵⁹³, but the Mirror reveals its presence already in the third century and points to Jimmu's own military concerns as the reason for it.

Like Roman emperors, Yamato rulers found tribal troops keen fighters and, in the main, trustworthy vassals⁵⁹⁴. The Mirror and the legend link the tribes' exotic customs to their feistiness and to their contributions to Jimmu's victory – such things as the use of cormorants by the Ukai to feed Jimmu's warriors, and of stone clubs by the Kume to kill diehard foes. To bolster the distinctive fighting spirit, skills, and loyalty of his tribal warriors⁵⁹⁵, Jimmu may have encouraged their ethnic traits in praising them together with their battlefield deeds. The Mirror's and the legend's ethnic interest thus is homegrown and arose from practical needs. It became an abiding feature of the Yamato State and as such appears also in the picture of the Hayato oarsman in the Takaida drawings.

The conquerors and the conquered alike were for the most part racially Yayoi. This meant that since the new Yamato State rested not on the history and culture of a new people, the new ruler and dynasty had to meld the interests and well-being of the sundry ethnic groups that supported them⁵⁹⁶. Building his imperial enterprise on the gathered loyalty of these groups, Jimmu shaped the character of Japan for a long time to come. The leading role of military clans in the state, fashioned by Jimmu, remained a fundamental pattern of early Japan⁵⁹⁷ from the third century onward. As the Yamato army recruited most and some of its best troops from the outlying parts of the country⁵⁹⁸, warfare became the preserve of professionals, while peasant recruitment, even later, was adopted only halfheartedly. Jimmu's military alliances and war bands thus set a pattern that, in some sense, lasted into the Middle Ages.

WARFARE

Appearing in the order in which they joined Jimmu, the outer warriors on the Mirror cannot represent a true battle line. Still, the Mirror reveals some noteworthy points of third-century battlefield tactics.

Battle lines

The song for the Ukai fishermen mentions lined-up shields, which suggests that Jimmu's troops formed orderly, disciplined battle lines⁵⁹⁹. Simi-

⁵⁸⁸ Naumann 1981; Kidder 2007, 162 and *passim*.

⁵⁸⁹ The *Nihon shoki* (134), but not the *Kojiki*, adds the Shiki. Similar results are envisioned in the scholarship reviewed by Naumann 1981, 93f.

⁵⁹⁰ *Kujiki* 208.

⁵⁹¹ A survey of opinions: Naumann 1981, 90ff.

⁵⁹² Yates 1999, 33.

⁵⁹³ Naumann 1981, 111.

⁵⁹⁴ Romans: Speidel 2004, 6; 2006, 301. The *Nihon shoki* (I, 206), also tells of Yamato Takeru having ethnic troops from the far north with him.

⁵⁹⁵ Hudson 1999, 195.

⁵⁹⁶ Inoue 1949, 148ff.; Ōbayashi 1991, 17.

⁵⁹⁷ Farris 1995, 27.

⁵⁹⁸ Inoue 1949, 32ff.; 60.

⁵⁹⁹ *Kojiki* 52, 51, perhaps not a 'pillow word', but a reference to an actual battle line: *Kojiki* NKBT 160 (commentary). Even if, with Naumann 1981, 26f., one does not take this for a genuine Kume song, it should still come from the third or fourth century A. D., as the scene of action is Yamato. For a battle line of shields under Jimmu see also *Nihon shoki* 113. Compare, much later, the over-

larly, the preface to the *Kojiki* says of Jimmu's troops that dancing in rows, they swept away the bandits. which likewise implies that they fought in disciplined lines. The Mirror confirms this by showing the outer warriors dancing in step, which is much like advancing in step⁶⁰⁰.

The beginning-of-battle ceremony

In ancient and medieval times, the ceremonial order of battle in Japan included sending messages to the battle-ready foe with rude words for him, then shooting turnip-shaped whistling arrows to signal the beginning of the fight⁶⁰¹. The whistling arrow in the hand of the seventh warrior on Jimmu's Mirror, together with the legend's tale about the elder Ukashi using it, show that the traditional order of battle was used as early as the third century of our era. In representing the arrowhead, the Mirror bears out the whistling arrow's significance: it was more than a noisy nuisance, it was a formal declaration that the fighting was to begin.

Swords

Enemy warriors on the inner band of Jimmu's Mirror have only bows and arrows or spears, while Jimmu's men brandish swords. Jimmu's sway over northern Kyushu, Izumo, and the trade routes to Korea may account for this edge in weapon supply and technology. With Jimmu, the sword became the decisive weapon of the Early Kofun period⁶⁰².

Possession of swords, however, is only the beginning. Training and discipline were needed for swords to be effective weapons. As has been rightly noted, 'swords are the weapon of choice among only the more severely disciplined armies of high chiefdoms and states. These weapons are very dangerous to an opponent, but they put their wielder at great risk. Only units disciplined by training and fear of punishment could be expected to traverse the missile zone and close for shock action with an unbroken enemy'⁶⁰³.

Nearly all sword blades on the Mirror are straight rather than curved, only the third warrior's Kusanagi ('Snake') sword has a slightly convex blade (figs. 5 and 18) like the much later northern swords, the *warabite tō* of the eighth century⁶⁰⁴. Seen thus, the sword Kusanagi is a forerunner of the true Samurai sword. While curved swords are best for slashing, straight swords like those of Jimmu's men serve above all for thrusting. The swords on the Mirror allowed for two-handed as well as one-handed

use, for they are shown held not at the end of the hilt but somewhat further in⁶⁰⁵.

A rather unusual weapon was the long, curved *sabi*. One such was held by Jimmu's brother Inahi who turned into a *wani*. This seems also to have been Jimmu's own kind of sword, for as Hiko-Hohodemi he gave it to the *wani* that that had been his steed (fig 31). Jimmu's own *wani* on his Mirror also holds such a weapon. The word *sabi* comes from Indo-European **ser-p-* 'sickle, hook, hoe'. It is the English word *sharp* and *saber*. and in ancient Greek it likewise means a hooked sword, the *harpe*⁶⁰⁶. Ring-pommed swords of such shape, dating to the third century, have been found in Japan, above all a heavy, forward-curving sword for slashing⁶⁰⁷. Borne out by the *wani* on Jimmu's mirror and on the Hōju mirror, the legend lets us know the ancient name of these curved swords: *kara sabi* (Korean curved blade').

Swords lent themselves to flashy display: according to the legend, Amaterasu herself grasped her sword when doing the war dance⁶⁰⁸. Above all, swords throughout history have been weapons for the quick, daring assault⁶⁰⁹. Attacking without armor made for even greater speed and daring, witness Emperor Trajan's bare-bodied, rapier-flashing Germanic guards in the Dacian War of 101–102⁶¹⁰. The Mirror's stress on swords suggests that in third-century Japan swordsmanship likewise was the keenest, most heroic way of fighting, or, as J. Edward Kidder

lapping shields reported by the *Heike Monogatari* 11, 5. For a closely held shield see the cylindrical *haniwa* figure from Yokoba, Kidder 1965, 132, fig. 86.

⁶⁰⁰ McNeill 1995.

⁶⁰¹ Varley 1994, 25f.; Sasama 2004, 66.

⁶⁰² Cf. Matsugi 2001, 79 and 124; Kidder 2007, 87.

⁶⁰³ Turney-High 1949, 12f.; Keely 1996, 49f.

⁶⁰⁴ Ratti-Westbrook 1973, 258; Friday 2004. Winding swords (*dakō-ken*) of the time have also come to light: Ishino 1991, 22.

⁶⁰⁵ For Chinese, Han-period, slightly curving swords with hilts for two-handed use see Yang, 1992, 209.

⁶⁰⁶ Pokorny 1959, 911f.; Naumann / Miller 1995, 411. Taken for just a sword: Sakamoto and others 1994, 99.

⁶⁰⁷ Chiga-Yasuyuki 2003, 8–11.

⁶⁰⁸ *Nihon shoki* 34f.

⁶⁰⁹ Thus in 521 B.C. the field marshal of Qi told his soldiers: 'If one is to fight to the death, it is best to throw the pole weapons away. The weapons of the foe are many. I ask you all to reach for the sword'. Zhao 21, 1428, according to Kolb 1991, 229. Likewise the Vandals, in their last stand against the Byzantines, used neither spear nor any other weapon but their swords: Procopius, *Wars* 4, 3, 9.

⁶¹⁰ Speidel 2004, 62f.

observed: 'Out of the wars that had enthroned Himiko emerged a new elite and dominant military class, whose iron swords and iron body armor went with them to their graves'⁶¹¹.

Short swords, whether single or double-edged, served best for thrusting, while long ones – some have been found up to 120 cm long – were mainly single-edged⁶¹² and thus good also for cutting⁶¹³. At the Mesuriyama mound in Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture, archaeologists unearthed forty-five double-edged iron swords, the longest about 40 cm, all piled up at the grave enclosure⁶¹⁴. These swords may well have been the equipment of a ruler's personal guard. Since such swords are best for thrusting, this may have been the way of Jimmu's own men, while his allies preferred slashing. Having both kinds of troops gave Jimmu useful tactical freedom⁶¹⁵.

By the fourth century, when under Emperor Suinin a thousand swords were made and offered to the shrine of Isonokami⁶¹⁶, swords were in the hands of many and were the main weapon of the Yamato army⁶¹⁷. The Mirror shows that this began with Jimmu's conquest in the third century, and scholars have long seen that early Yamato conquests arose from a wider use of iron weapons, above all swords⁶¹⁸. By depicting Jimmu's troops using swords and their foes lacking them, the Mirror bears this out.

Having equipped his men with both short and long iron swords and having trained them in the discipline of the outright attack was perhaps the main reason why, in the end, Jimmu won. He himself, however, may have fought with his forked spear that, like the Spanish 'half moon', used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁶¹⁹, is a good weapon for cutting and gouging the foe as long as the wielder is guarded by his own swordsmen⁶²⁰.

Helmets, armor, and shields

The ninth warrior with his very long blade stands for helmeted and armored sword fighters⁶²¹. One can see the ears of most warriors on the Mirror, hence they may not have worn helmets. The ninth warrior, however, wears a close-fitting helmet and, it seems, body-armor as well, including perhaps a wraparound, sheet-iron neck guard of the kind known from *haniwa* figures and finds in the ground⁶²². Such tall shoulders were useful for fighting on foot with spear or sword.

In the mid-third century, helmets and armor were still imported from the Asian continent and rare in Japan. Few such items have been

found in graves of the time⁶²³, and most of Jimmu's warriors on the Mirror lack them. Like berserks, some of Jimmu's elite fighters may have scorned armor⁶²⁴, others may have forgone armor for the sake of speed and dash.

Jimmu, as we have seen, wore an open, brimmed, conical hat or helmet, altogether different from the ninth warrior's closed headpiece. The fourth warrior too seems to have worn a closed helmet reaching down to his chin with a *wage* knob atop, like the ninth warrior, to hold his hair⁶²⁵. Perhaps his helmet was of leather, for

⁶¹¹ Kidder 2007, 111, cf. Ōbayashi 1983.

⁶¹² Shiraishi 1990, 86ff. Double-edged: see also Kidder 1966, 187; Tanaka 1991, 48.

⁶¹³ Lacking a ring at the pommel, the swords of the Mirror seem to differ from the Chinese *dao* (*tao*), the ring-pommel, one-edged, heavy slashing sword also found in Japan: Yang 1992, 210 and color fig. 32 of one unearthed from an ancient grave at East Great Temple Mountain of Ichinomoto, Nara Prefecture; cf. Harris / Ogasawara 1990, 15f. The medieval terminology with its differentiation of *tachi*, *katana*, and *tsurugi* swords (e.g. Friday 2004, 79), is not valid for antiquity, see Takahashi 1911, 125; Naumann / Miller 1995, 373ff.

⁶¹⁴ Kidder 2007, 107 and 242f.

⁶¹⁵ The same was true for Han Chinese armies where likewise both types of swords were in use: Yang 1992, 207. Sahara 2005, 178 considers that the differences in the size of swords and shields show the artist flagging, but this is not to reckon with his keen interest in detail, as seen, for example, in the guard of the second warrior's sword.

⁶¹⁶ *Kojiki* 69, 12; to be balanced against the statement in *Nihon shoki* 178 about the dedication of other weapons such as bows, arrows, and cross-swords.

⁶¹⁷ For the high regard in which swords were held during the fourth century see Brown 1993, 120ff. To Friday 2004, 68 the bow seems more highly valued, but see Friday 2004, 78 for the worth of swords to warriors.

⁶¹⁸ Brown 1993, 120; Kidder 2007, 106, speaking of Himiko. Early import of such swords: Barnes 2007, 109.

⁶¹⁹ Stone 1934, 276.

⁶²⁰ It is later also used for catching foes: Sasama 2004, 129.

⁶²¹ *Nihon shoki* 126, for what it is worth, mentions armored and helmeted troops of Jimmu.

⁶²² *Haniwa*: e.g. those from the Funasake kofun, Ibaraki Prefecture (Nagamine / Nagao 1977, 151). Another: Miki 1960, pl. 26. Actual finds: Kanasaki / Obayama 1978, 222.

⁶²³ Suenaga 1942, 71; Harris / Ogasawara 1990, 16f.; Edwards 1999, 96; 105. Japanese production of armor beginning only towards the end of the fourth century: Kanaseki / Onoyama 1978, 194f.

⁶²⁴ Berserks, forgoing armor and helmets worldwide: Spiedel, 2004, 57ff. Later Japanese warriors doing this: *Taibeiki* 10, 14 (Nagasai Jirō Takashige); *Heike Monogatari* 4, 11 (Minamoto no Yorimasa) and 11, 10 (Taira no Noritsune); Varley 1994, 146.

⁶²⁵ *Wage*-knob: Stone 1934, 654.

with his astonishingly small shield and short sword he seems to represent lightly armed troops, used for scouting or rushing around the foe. The *Nihon shoki* tells of Emperor Jimmu taking personal command of such troops (*isasa keki ikusa*) for scouting⁶²⁶. By depicting the fourth warrior thus armed, the Mirror suggests that the legend here reports a true third-century tactical detail. Indeed, the fourth warrior holds a place of honor on the Mirror as he stands beside the princes.

The arc-shaped, narrow shields depicted on the Mirror and in fig. 32 lent themselves well to fencing, since they guarded the fencer's body without hindering swordplay by the right arm⁶²⁷. Varying in length from two-thirds to the whole of the warrior's height, and somewhat curved at the bearer's side, these shields are not 'oddly shaped' as has been said⁶²⁸, for both Kofun and Yayoi pottery drawings depict them⁶²⁹. Jimmu's allies, it seems, hold shields of traditional length. It is the short shields of the first four warriors that are exceptional, and hence perhaps part of a new sword-fighting style Jimmu brought along⁶³⁰. The Mirror thus agrees with pottery drawings on the use of shields: while seldom used in later Japan, hand-held shields were routine in Yayoi and Kofun times⁶³¹. The claim that in battle only shields propped up on the ground were used, while hand-held shields were for dances only, remains unproven and thus is unsafe ground to declare that the dance on the Mirror was merely ceremonial⁶³². Both the legend and the Mirror report the arrow wound of the second warrior's shield hand and thereby prove that hand-held shields were used in battle.

Head taking

The shaman in the Mirror's outer band kicks a foe's cut-off head with antler hair bunches like those of the thirteenth warrior, Nagasunehiko, the leader of the foes⁶³³. Beheading foes and proudly displaying their heads after battle, known world-wide, is also one of the striking features of ancient and medieval Japanese warfare, with the heads of leaders especially prized⁶³⁴. The custom of beheading is known from the Yayoi period⁶³⁵, and the *Nihon shoki* reports it in Jimmu's own time⁶³⁶. The Mirror's testimony likewise lets the gruesomeness of war leap to the eye.

The first, seventh, and ninth warriors depicted on the Mirror may also kick cut-off heads of foes, but the lines are not very clear. To the

ancient warrior, the most telling effect of kicking a head was the insult thereby heaped on the fallen foe: a foot on one's head was unspeakable shame⁶³⁷. In ancient and medieval Japan, where the fear of shame overawed all else, the fear of beheading must have heightened the fierceness of fighting⁶³⁸.

The war dance

Although the Mirror portrays rather a symbolic than a real event, it nevertheless reveals much about war dancing in ancient Japan. Throughout the archaic world, dancing was the liveliest way of worshiping the gods, and drumming was the surest means of frenzying warriors⁶³⁹. Like all archaic warriors, including Amaterasu herself, Jimmu strove to cow his foes and hearten his own men through a frightening show and fren-

⁶²⁶ *Nihon shoki*, 118.

⁶²⁷ As, for example, in the Dun Huang Grotto 285 battle scene (Yang, 1992, color fig. 37).

⁶²⁸ Thus Kidder 1966, 187.

⁶²⁹ Yayoi: Sahara / Harunari 1997, fig. 178 (first century B.C.). Kofun: above, fig. 32. Chinese shields of the time are drawn in the same shape: Yang 1992, 212, fig. 305, a fourth-century brick, unearthed at Xuezhuan Village, Dengxian, Henan Province; see also Yang 1992, 238, fig. 325. For the same type of shield still used in the Wei Dynasty period at Dun Huang see Yang 1992, color fig. 37.

⁶³⁰ Even though those found in the ground are less strongly curved e.g. in the Sakurazuka tomb at Osaka; or a Middle Yayoi one from Shimonoō iseki, Shiga, made from Japanese Cedar wood, 105 cm high: *Hakkutsusareta* 2000, 35. Kidder 1966, 171; Mori 1986, 186f. Long, narrow, somewhat curved shields from Yayoi times: *Asahi guraifu* 1999, 45; Ōtsuka 2000, pl. 11, 1. A Late Yayoi, narrow shield made from fir: Hashiguchi 2004, 48. Shields curved on both sides: Suenaga 1974, pl. 215.

⁶³¹ Stone 1934, 557.

⁶³² Gotō 1942; Sahara 2003, 118.

⁶³³ *Nihon shoki* 128. Compare Sun-zi 11 (Ames 1993, 162): slaying the enemy commander is the goal of fighting.

⁶³⁴ Yayoi warrior buried with head missing: Hudson-Barnes 1991, 224f.; *Wa Koku* 1993, 52; Ōtsuka (ed.) 2000, pl. 5 (Yoshinogari site); Fujiwara 2004, 42. Medieval: *Heike Monogatari* 4, 6. Varley 1994, 27f.

⁶³⁵ Matsugi 2001, 25ff.; 34.

⁶³⁶ *Nihon shoki* 117; 158; Brown 1993, 118.

⁶³⁷ Varley 1994, 43.

⁶³⁸ Ancient: *Kojiki* 45, 8; 75, 3. Medieval: Varley 1994, 18f. Cf. Benedict 1989.

⁶³⁹ Recitation, chant: Yanagita 1956; inevitably danced: Speidel, 2004, 110–126. Liveliness: Ueda (ed.) 1973, 184ff. Frenzy: Speidel, *ibid.* For China during the Western Zhou dynasty (1045–770 B.C.) see Lewis 1990, 15–28.

zied dance⁶⁴⁰. On the Mirror, he and his men dance the way it was done worldwide: right foot forward, arms raised, stamping a beat⁶⁴¹, singing and shouting.

The Mirror's outer warriors wave their shields awkwardly with their elbows sticking out. They hold the shields far from the body, as do dancing warriors in both Yayoi and Kofun pottery drawings (figs. 32 and 45)⁶⁴². To judge from the Mirror and these drawings, ancient Japanese war dances all looked much alike.

The beat for the war dance, it seems, came from the shaman. According to the myth, Uzume, when dancing in heaven, sang⁶⁴³. On the Mirror, the shaman's mouth is too blurred for us to see whether she is singing, though one may infer from the Nabeta rock carvings⁶⁴⁴ that she made a great noise. On the Mirror she marks the beat also by stamping her wooden shoes on the overturned tub. To tap her tub, she had to stay in place during the dance, while the warriors moved around. She is thus likely to be the dance leader⁶⁴⁵, rousing the ecstasy the men needed if they were to fight, and holding forth for them the paradise (fig. 44) that awaited the fallen.

The ribald custom of baring oneself to show fearlessness is known from the oldest times of history and throughout the world. In images that survive from Akkadian Mesopotamia (2220–2159 B.C.), muscular, bearded, Enkidu-type heroes strut in the buff. Celtic and Germanic warriors and gods likewise stamped their war dances naked, as did Aztec warriors⁶⁴⁶. When Uzume had to meet Sarutahiko, she too flaunted fearlessness by baring herself: 'though she was a graceful maiden, she could face and overwhelm others'⁶⁴⁷.

War dancing marked the blustering, threatening phase at the beginning of a battle. When truly awe-inspiring, it could lead to victory without a fight⁶⁴⁸: the king of Silla surrendered when he saw the Yamato army's lances and heard their drums and fifes⁶⁴⁹. The *Nihon shoki* describes Yamato tactics of staging a fierce, warlike show, pretending to greater strength than it really had or planned to use⁶⁵⁰. The war cry alone could do much to frighten the enemy, witness Hitomaro's poem of 672, in which the prince 'with fierce battle cry urged on the valiant fighting men'⁶⁵¹. The lower panel of the Gorōyama paintings (fig. 17) suggests that egged on by their shamans, the warriors on the inner and the outer bands of Jimmu's Mirror may have danced within sight and earshot of each other until the inner warriors gave way and fled.

Parallels from other ancient cultures bear witness of the havoc that war cries⁶⁵², threats, and shows of fierceness can wreak on enemy morale⁶⁵³. On the Mirror, the dance – and the tide – so strike the inner warriors with fear and panic that they throw their weapons away and run off in long strides, betraying their fright with raised arms and open palms, that are the gestures of fleeing warriors everywhere⁶⁵⁴.

War dances make use of songs, and Japanese war songs tended to end with shouts of laughter to sweep away evil and heap scorn on the foe⁶⁵⁵. The Mirror portrays several men (the fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth warriors) with open-mouths, very likely singing, chanting, shouting, laughing or mocking. Laughter was a major tactic for undermining the foe's

⁶⁴⁰ Amaterasu: *Kojiki* 14,4ff.; *Nihon shoki* 34ff. Show: *Nihon shoki*, 113. Sun Pin 9 and 17 (Ames 1996, 163 and 197) urges, for an impression of force, to 'maintain a wide interval among the troops, make extensive use of flags, banners and standards, and parade flashing blades on all sides – tactics that are reflected also on the Mirror's dance with its flashing of blades and wide intervals between the warriors.

⁶⁴¹ Wild dance instead: Umezawa 2003, 6.

⁶⁴² Warriors worldwide brandish weapons with similar gestures: Speidel 2004, 114–126; see also the triumphant Chinese foot soldier on a Tang-period brick from San-shippu, Liuan County, Anhui Province: Yang 1992, 248. For the Chinese war dance see Lewis 1990, 213ff.; Kolb 1991, 158ff.

⁶⁴³ *Asobi*: *Kojiki* 17, 18, with Philippi's commentary.

⁶⁴⁴ Tsuboi / Machida 1977, p. 121.

⁶⁴⁵ Umezawa 2003, 6 suggests she is the leader. The crowned shaman of the Chibusan mound (Tsuboi / Machida 1977, no. 114; Fujii 1979, 16), though a man, likewise raises his hands thus.

⁶⁴⁶ Aruz, 2003, 214–218; Speidel 2004, 57ff.; 117ff. In the belief and artwork of fifth-century Visigoths, Jesus Christ himself did this; see the Grésin Tile, Vallet 1989.

⁶⁴⁷ *Kojiki* 38, 10.

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. *Kojiki* 67, 22–27. Compare Tacitus, *Germania* 3,1: *Terrent enim trepidantque prout sonuit acies*.

⁶⁴⁹ *Nihon shoki* 230. *Tsuzumi* drums and flutes for such ceremonies: Cranston 1993, 494.

⁶⁵⁰ *Nihon shoki*, 113 and 126. Later Yamato forces using such tactics: *Nihon shoki*; 204, etc.

⁶⁵¹ *Manyōshū* II, 199.

⁶⁵² Sun-zi (Ames 1993, 217f.): 'With . . . our ferocious battle-cries, the enemy will be terrified'. Kolb 1991, 148: 'roar like wild tigers'.

⁶⁵³ Speidel 2004, 110ff. To Chinese war thinkers, winning by breaking the foe's spirit (*qi*) was the highest form of victory: Lewis 1990, 223.

⁶⁵⁴ On Trajan's Column in Rome, for example, all those who flee stretch out their right arm: Cichorius 1896, 180.

⁶⁵⁵ *Kojiki* 51, 39; *Nihon shoki*, 124 and 264; Tsuchihashi 1981, 72; 111; Naumann 1981, 24; Cranston 1993, 486f.

morale⁶⁵⁶, hence scornful laughter was cultivated among Jimmu's warriors⁶⁵⁷. The fifth and eighth warriors on the Mirror scorn the enemy and so, it seems, do *haniwa* figures of naked Kume warriors.

War dances are safest when the enemy has no bowmen, slingers, or horsemen, all of whom can undo war dancers. One of the inner warriors on the Mirror, however, has a bow. To guard against the threat from arrows, and to appear ready to fight, Jimmu's war dancers had to use their shields. The *Heike Monogatari* tells of a fearless war dancer shot by a bowman from two hundred and fifty feet away. Similarly, Tacitus tells of Thracians who in 26 A.D. war danced against a Roman force whose bowmen rudely shot them down⁶⁵⁸. Horsemen could rough up war dancers even worse. Cavalry came to Japan only around 450⁶⁵⁹, long after Jimmu's day; with its arrival and the greater use of the bow the role of the war dance is likely to have shrunk. It is all the more noteworthy that the sixth-century Gorōyama paintings still portray some war dancing by both shamans and warriors.

The strength and liveliness of the war dance was a worldwide way for warriors to call on and let go of bursting energy. During the Bronze Age even Rome and China, each then in its archaic phase, made much of the war dance. Rome's dancers were the *Salii*, China's the *Wu* dancers. A Chou battle ax from around 1000 B.C. portrays a wild-haired warrior who, according to the inscription, does the Great War Dance (*da-wu*) with a Phoenix, a symbol of warrior fury, hovering over him⁶⁶⁰. The more disciplined an army is, the less it wants war dances. Hence in the more rational days of their empires, neither Rome nor China indulged in war dances, though both kept up other traditions of ancient warfare. Nations nearer their archaic past, such as the Japanese and Germans, delighted in the war dance until the Middle Ages⁶⁶¹: Jimmu's warriors, in keeping with the spirit of their times, won their victory by dancing⁶⁶². They were archaic warriors in the full sense of the word: skilled and daring, but driven by flights of fancy, which is why we meet them dancing on the Mirror.

⁶⁵⁶ Tsuchihashi / Konishi 1957, 113.

⁶⁵⁷ *Kojiki* 51, 39; *Nihon shoki* 124; Saigō 1973, 22f.

⁶⁵⁸ *Heike Monogatari* 11, 5; Tacitus, *Annals* 4, 47.

⁶⁵⁹ Mori 1991, 14; Cf. Kidder 2007, 239.

⁶⁶⁰ Kolb 1991, 157 and pl. 12, 1–2: Qi battle ax of the Western Chou dynasty, from Jing-men-xian, Hebei province. Chinese rousing themselves for the attack by singing and dancing: Lewis 1990, 226; Yates 1999, 20.

⁶⁶¹ Germanic warriors: Speidel 2004, 114ff.; Japanese warriors: *Heike Monogatari* 11,5.

⁶⁶² Prince Shōtoku in the seventh century still danced the war dance before overwhelming the foe: Ōno 1990, 114.