

The Empress Jingū 神功皇后 and her Conquest of Silla 新羅*

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The Empress Jingū has certainly been a considerable presence in our country's history hitherto. This she owes to having been an empress, a female sovereign, a shaman and the first leader of an expedition overseas. Also, after the Emperor Ōjin 應神天皇 became the deity of the Hachiman Shrine 八幡宮, she came to occupy the position of a mother goddess. She was, one might say, the Semiramis of Japan. But the legend of the empress, as it appears in the *Kojiki* 古事記 and *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀, is comparatively brief and obscure. So with the rise of rationalistic comparative studies, the structure of the legend has been analysed from various angles, and the individual myths have not been accepted as facts; not only this, but the Silla 新羅 expedition which constitutes the central element has come to be held to have been made up for some specific purpose, while the very existence of the empress herself has been called in question. This sort of negative tendency seems to have generally become stronger in recent years.

There is, of course, sufficient reason for such a manner of thinking. Even so, even if the legend was made up, it would have been difficult for the ancients to have arbitrarily thought up a complete fabrication, and it would have been somewhat easier for them to have based it on some existing tradition. Accordingly, even if the story itself be taken to be made up, we cannot assert that it does not include any kernel of fact. The exodus of the Jews from Egypt is attested by the Merneptah inscription, while the legends of the *Iliad* have acquired a basis of fact from the excavation of Troy. The nature of the traces and relics of the past in our country is different from that of those in the Orient, and we can therefore scarcely hope to find new material through archaeological discovery; but it would not necessarily seem impossible to seek an affirmative result from analysis of the legends themselves. The actual existence of Semiramis, who had been regarded as a metamorphosis of Ishtar, has been maintained by the study of C. F. Lehman-Haupt, a German

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historian. May we not seek a similar kernel of fact in respect of the Empress Jingū?

To examine the legend of the Empress Jingū it is necessary to take a general view of Japano-Korean relations in antiquity based on other reliable material. However, such material has been fairly exhaustively examined by such Japanese scholars as Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 and Ikeuchi Hiroshi 池内宏.⁽¹⁾ As the inscription of Ho-thae-wang 好太王 (reg. 391/92–412) records, Japan had, at the end of the 4th century, subdued Paekche 百濟 and Silla and brought them into her sphere of influence. At the same time, Koguryō 高句麗, with newly developed power, was pushing southwards, causing Paekche to look to Japan to resist this, while Silla, suffering under Japanese pressure, sought the help of Koguryō. Japan and Koguryō thus confronted one another with Paekche and Silla interposed. This situation gave rise to Koguryō's pursuing the Japanese forces and reaching Kala 加羅 (Imna 任那) or what is now the lower reaches of the river Rak-tong-kong 洛東江 (400 A.D.), and, on the other hand, the Japanese forces crossing the Han river 漢江 and penetrating to the area of what had been Tai-fang 帶方 (404).

It is reasonable to suppose that this Japanese power in the peninsula was the result of activities carried out over quite a considerable period. The Japanese used Imna as their base for thus exerting pressure on Silla and Paekche. We may leave aside for the moment the question of there having been close racial or cultural relations between this region and western Japan in antiquity; what is certain is that after Japan had been unified by the Yamato court, it became the earliest object of her overseas activities. That is to say, notwithstanding the unification of the Mok-han 馬韓 communities by Paekche, and that of the Jim-han 辰韓 communities by Silla, Imna still retained its aspect of consisting of the small separate communities of the Pyōn-jin 弁辰 period, and so, it may be conjectured, fell under the control of the Japanese power without having undergone any new social development. The inception of intercourse between Japan and Silla was probably occasioned by the Japanese protecting their sphere of influence on account of the unified Silla's pressure on Imna from the north.

In the light of this general view of the situation, we may imagine that there were frequent collisions between Japan and Silla, before those recorded

(1) Michiyo Naka 那珂通世, *The Conquest of Silla by Empress Jingū* 神功皇后ノ新羅征伐 in *Gaikō Ekishi* 外交釋史, published in *Naka Michiyo Isho* 那珂通世遺書, Tokyo 1915, and reprinted in Tokyo in 1958, pp. 368–396; Sōkichi Tsuda 津田左右吉, *Kojiki oyobi Nihonshoki no Shinkenkyū* 古事記及び日本書紀の新研究, Tokyo 1919, pp. 105–181 (= *Tsuda Sōkichi Zenshū*, *Bekkan Daiichi*, 津田左右吉全集, 別巻第一, Tokyo 1966, pp. 249–292); *Do.*, *Nihon Koten no Kenkyū* 日本古典の研究, 1, Tokyo 1948, pp. 87–137 (= *Tsuda Sōkichi Zenshū*, 1, Tokyo 1963, pp. 87–137); Hiroshi Ikeuchi 池内宏, *Nihon Jōdaishi no ichi Kenkyū* 日本上代史の一研究, Tokyo 1947, pp. 39–108.

on the Kwanggaet'o stele, in the latter half of the 4th century. The Japanese expedition being on a large scale and bearing a special significance, it is certainly not impossible that it was led by the sovereign in person, though there is absolutely no identification of individual persons. In the memorial of King Bu 武 of the Wa 倭, cited in the 'Account of the country of Wa' 倭國傳 in the *Sung-shu* 宋書 (History of the Sung), we find, 'From time of old our forebears have clad themselves in armour and helmet and gone across the hills and waters, sparing no time for rest. In the east they conquered fifty-five countries of hairy men; and in the west they brought to their knees sixty-six countries of various barbarians. Crossing the sea to the north they subjugated ninety-five countries.'⁽²⁾ Embellishment, boasting, propaganda are no doubt present here, but there does not seem to be any objection to taking the view that, as in the case of what this text tells us of the 'hairy men' (*emishi* 蝦夷) and 'various barbarians' (probably the *kumaso* 熊襲 of legend), a sovereign may have led an expedition to the peninsula too. This is, indeed, probable. Tsuda argued that in fully historical times no emperor ever once personally led an expedition to Korea, while even the Empress Saimei 齊明天皇, when help was given to Paekche (663 A.D.), did no more than advance her headquarters to Tsukushi 筑紫.⁽³⁾ But this argument failed to take into account the change in times. It is true that Generalissimo Tokugawa Iemochi's 徳川家茂 (1846-1866), without going so far as Chōshū 長州, the centre of the rebels, taking command of the Chōshū expedition army at Osaka (1865-1866) was an extremely rare occurrence at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate. But this is no sufficient reason for denying the evidence of the rapid comings and goings of Ieyasu 家康 (1542-1616) and Hidetada 秀忠 (1579-1632) in the inaugurative period. This is perhaps somewhat over speculative, but one wonders whether such an event as Saimei's personal leadership, rare as it was, was not, possibly, carried out for the first time in the knowledge of the old precedent, the time-honoured tradition, of the Empress Jingū's expedition to South Korea.

One must next examine the legend of the empress, as it appears in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, but Tsuda's view is extremely intelligent and comprises the main points. The grounds of his argument to the effect that the legend did not recount facts are: the presence of the popular legends (for example, the insertion of the stone in the empress's skirt when the time came for her to give birth), the addition of folk-etymology (for example, the derivation of Matsura 松浦 from *metsurashi* 希見), the unquestioning inclusion of elaborately phrased Chinese prose items (for example, the accounts of the sealing of the important storehouses in the capital of Silla, and of taking

(2) 昔祖禰躬擐甲冑，跋涉山川，不遑寧處，東征毛人，五十五國，西服衆夷六十六國，渡平海北九十五國。(*Sung-shu* 宋書, Ch. 97)

(3) *Kojiki oyobi Nihonshoki no Shinhenkyū*, Tokyo 1919, pp. 117-119 (=pp. 256-257 of 1966 edition.)

possession of the maps and registers), the complete obscurity as to the geography of the warfare, the unlikelihood of the name of the king of Silla being a fact (Tsuda interpreted the name Pashamikin or Phasa Mikeun 波沙寐錦 as an honorific, but I would prefer to settle, with Ikeuchi, for its identification with the traditional fifth king, Pashanishikin or Phasa Nikeun 婆婆尼師今), the idea of Silla being the Land of Gold and Silver being the concept of a later time. In respect of all the above points I find myself obliged to express complete agreement to Tsuda's criticism.

However, in spite of the presence of many accretions to the legend and of much of a character to be treated as mythological, I consider that the bones of the story, of the empress succeeding to her deceased husband, and, with the prince in her womb, valiantly leading an expedition to Korea, seem to be a tradition of striking antiquity. In the edict which appears in the *Nihon Shoki*, Bk. 19, under the 23rd year of the Chronicle of Kimmei 欽明紀 (562), there is the following: 'Our Okinaga Tarashihime no Mikoto 氣長足姬尊 [= Jingū] had pity on the extreme condition to which Silla was reduced, and spared the head of the king of Silla, which was about to be cut off. She gave Silla strategic positions and bestowed extraordinary honours on it.'⁽⁴⁾ Earlier, in the 6th year of the Chronicle of Keitai 繼體紀 (512) of the *Nihon Shoki*, Bk. 17, the following words are spoken by the wife of Mononobe no Arakai 物部麴鹿火: 'The great gods of Sumiyoshi first conferred on the Emperor Homuda 譽田天皇 [Ōjin], while in the womb, the lands of gold and silver over the sea, Koryō, Paekche, Silla and Imna. Therefore the great Empress Okinaga Tarashihime no Mikoto and Takenouchi no Sukune 武內宿禰, a minister of her cabinet established official residences in each of these countries and made them into a protective screen beyond the sea. So what has happened has a reason.'⁽⁵⁾ And in the 23rd year, the king of Imna, Konomata Kamki 己能末多干岐 addressed Ōtomo no Kanamura 大伴金村, a general of the expedition as follows: 'The various frontier provinces beyond the sea, ever since the time the emperor was in the womb, have had interior official resi-

(4) 日本書紀，卷十九，欽明天皇二十三年

我氣長足姬尊……

哀新羅所窮見歸，全新羅王將戮之首，
授新羅要害之地，崇新羅非次之榮

Of this part of the *Nihon Shoki* and its textual borrowing from the *Liang-shu*, see Hidene Kawamura 河村秀根, *Shoki Shūge* 書紀集解, Bk. 19, ed. Ritsuanzō 葎菴藏, 52v.-53r., ed. 1937 by the Kokumin Seishin Bunka Kenkyūjo 國民精神文化研究所, II, p. 339.

(5) 夫住吉大神，初以海表金銀之國，高麗百濟新羅任那等，授記胎中譽田天皇。故太后息長足姬尊，與大臣武內宿禰，每國初置官家，爲海表之蕃屏，其來尙矣。抑有由焉。 (*Nihon Shoki*, Bk. 17)

梁書卷四十五，王僧辯傳
(陳霸先) 與王僧辯會于白茅州，登壇
誓誓，禰先爲其文曰，
賊臣侯景……

哀 [侯] 景以窮見歸，全 [侯] 景將
戮之首，置 [侯] 景要害之地，崇 [侯]
景非次之榮

dences installed in them. My land has not been abandoned but has been made my fief, with good reason.'⁽⁶⁾ The text of the Chronicle of Kimmei is well known to have been taken from the Life of Wang Seng-pien 王僧辯傳 in the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Ch. 45 (History of the Liang), but one cannot, for this reason, assert that the legend of the empress is a fiction. Although it would doubtless be too naïve to accept the Keitai item as fact, just as it stands, but there is poor reason for maintaining, like Ikeuchi, that the whole thing was made up by the compilers of the *Nihon Shoki*. As everyone knows, the *Nihon Shoki* tells us that Yutsuki no Kimi 弓月君 and Achi-no-omi 阿知使主 became naturalized, and Achiki 阿直岐 and Wani 王仁 came to the court, in Ōjin's time. This was probably based on the genealogies or house records of the Fumibe 史部 of the East and West or the Hata 秦 clan. It need not be reiterated that these traditions are not to be accepted as facts just as they stand, but, as regards the connection in each case of the ancestors of these foreign families coming to the court in Ōjin's reign, may this not in fact arise from the existence of a tradition or strong memory of a subjugation of south Korean territory in this emperor's reign?

Further inspection of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* tells us that, when Ōjin was born, there was flesh on his arm in the shape of an archer's wrist-guard, and this was likened to his mother's warlike accoutrement; also, that the gods had bestowed the land of southern Korea on the emperor from the time when he was in the womb. His posthumous name, Ōjin ('responding to the gods'), must certainly have been based on this. It would seem that these items would probably have been based on the *Teiki* 帝紀 (Chronicles of the Emperors), that is to say, the genealogies of the imperial house. According to Tsuda's view, the earliest record of the imperial house including the throne could have dated back to the end of the 4th century. If we accept this, we can probably say that these records were constituted at the time of Ōjin or at a period very close to that. That is to say, the tradition itself is extremely ancient. And especially if we hold that the tradition had transmitted the memory of a very particular incident, we cannot but say that the possibility of its being fact is very strong indeed.

Not only is the legend of the Empress Jingū ancient, there is also proof in the *Nihon Shoki* itself that it was believed to be true. This is the fact that the compilers of the *Nihon Shoki* identified the empress with the queen of the country of Yamatai. That is to say, under the 66th year of Jingū (266), they quote the court records (*ch'i-chü-chu* 起居注) of the Chin 晉 as saying, 'In the 2nd year of *T'ai-ch'u* 泰初 of the emperor Wu 武帝 [of Chin], the

(6) 任那王己能未多干岐來朝。啓大伴大連金村曰，夫海表諸蕃，自胎中天皇，置內官家，不棄本土，因封其地，良有以也。(*Nihon Shoki*, Bk. 17)

queen of Wa sent envoys with tribute';⁽⁷⁾ and then three years later the empress' death is recorded in her 69th year. It is perfectly clear here that the empress was identified with a queen of Wa. It is not clear in fact what person this queen was meant to be, and it may well be that she was the Iyo 壹與 who appears in the 'Account of the Wei' 倭人傳 in the *Wei-chih* 魏志, but it would seem that the compilers of the *Nihon Shoki* identified her rather with the previous queen, the famous Himiko 卑彌呼. This is because Himiko's despatch of envoys to the Wei covered the years 238 to 243, which would just fit with the period (201–269) of Jingū's reign given by the *Nihon Shoki*. It has long been the established theory that all the items in the *Nihon Shoki* which correspond with the historical sources for Paekche and so on are back-dated by just two sexagenary cycles (120 years), and this would seem to have been necessary for the sake of consistency, entirely because of the identification of the empress with Himiko. Moreover, in their proceeding to such unwarrantable lengths in the attempt to identify the empress with a queen of Wa in a foreign history, is there not something to suggest that the tradition was very ancient in the first place and was, further, believed to be true?

There could be, perhaps, the opposite theory, that the compilers of the *Nihon Shoki* constructed the legend of the empress from their knowledge of foreign histories. However, one way or another, it is hard to believe this. No part of the records relating to Himiko in the 'Account of the Wei' in the *Wei-chih* can be found such as would suggest and lead to the development of the legend of the empress. I myself am quite unable to believe that the compilers could have invented, from a female ruler already adult and without a consort, an empress with a prince in her womb, and, from payment of tribute to the Wei, an expedition against Silla. Indeed it may rather be thought that the compilers of the *Nihon Shoki* were fairly faithful at least to the sources at their disposal. That the object of the compilation of the *Nihon Shoki* was to explain the origins of the imperial house does not admit of doubt, but it is going too far to hold that this story was made up for that reason. The existence of such fabrications would seem certain. But in many cases the effort was made to use already existing traditions. When such use was made, there were of course embellishments and alterations, but there is no doubt that the tradition itself was respected. This is because, for various reasons, the compilers of the *Nihon Shoki*, though needless to say not possessed of the rigour of modern historians, must all have been men who had yet learnt something of the concepts and methods of contemporary Chinese historiography.

(7) (神功皇后, 攝政) 六十六年, 是年武帝泰初二年, 晉起居注居云, 武帝泰初二年十月, 倭女王遣重譯貢獻. (*Nihon Shoki*, Bk. 9). According to Hidene Kawamura, the statement under the 66th year of Jingū Kōgō, being not available in older editions, is to be considered as a later addition (*Shoki Shūge*, Bk. 9, ed. Ritsuzanzō, fol. 33r, ed. 1937, I, pp. 373–374.)

It should be remarked that the story of the Silla expedition constitutes no more than a part of the legend of the Empress Jingū, and that that legend is only complete with the addition of the story of the subsequent revolt of the two princes, Kagosaka 麿坂 and Oshikuma 忍熊 who were both elder brothers of the later Emperor Ōjin whom they wanted to have left out.⁽⁸⁾ Since there is no incident in foreign sources with which the story of the revolt of Kagosaka and Oshikuma may be compared, there is almost no critical comment to be made; but in containing as it does popular traditions (for example, the homosexuality between Shinu 小竹 and Amano 天野, two *hafuri* 祝 or lower class of Shintō priests), place-name legends (for example, Ausaka 逢坂 or an ascent where people meet, explained as thus named because Takenouchi no Sukune met there Prince Oshikuma) and popular tales (Takenouchi no Sukune's tricking Prince Oshikuma's army into cutting their bow-strings), the story is just like that of the Silla expedition, and may be considered as forming a single chain with it from the start. The foreign expedition of the empress is only completed, with beginning and end corresponding, by the presence of the domestic incident of the revolt of the princes. If this were not so, would not the very particular matter of the emperor in the womb be almost meaningless? I am myself one who considers that, in view of the tradition of the two princes, Kagosaka and Oshikuma, elder brothers of the Emperor Ōjin by a different mother, having existed, this information was in the 'Chronicles of the Emperors', which were utilized as a source of the *Nihon Shoki*, and I go so far as to believe that there is probably even a kernel of fact in the matter of the insurrection, but this is no doubt a heterodox view. There is at least no doubt at all that we should not separate the Silla expedition and the revolt of the two princes in the legend of the Empress Jingū for the purposes of criticism but should examine them as a story forming a single chain.

When we thus look over the whole of this story, what invites our attention is how conspicuously rich it is in religious colouring, specifically in the many accounts of divine revelations and acts of worship. Of course the stories belonging to later periods are less so, but not even those belonging to earlier periods, not even the legend of Yamatotakeru no Mikoto 日本武尊, not even the legend of the Emperor Sujin 崇神天皇, or indeed not even that of the Emperor Jimmu 神武天皇 have such conspicuous religious colouring. One is led to conjecture that there must have been some special reason for this.

When we look into this, we find that various deities manifested themselves in the course of the story of the empress, and as representative cases we must cite Uwatsutsuo 表筒男, Nakatsutsuo 中筒男 and Sokotsutsuo 底筒男,⁽⁹⁾ the so-called three deities of the Sumiyoshi Shrine 住吉宮. These were the

(8) See the *Nihon Shoki*, Bk. 9.

(9) See the *Nihon Shoki*, Bk. 9.

gods who in the first place prophesied the Silla expedition, these were the gods who, when the expedition set out, led the fleet, these were the gods who, after the subjugation of Silla, became the tutelary deities of that country, these were the gods who, on the triumphal return, were worshipped at Anato 穴門 or Nagao 長峽 of Ōtsu 大津.⁽¹⁰⁾ In other words, the story of the Empress Jingū may be regarded, from one point of view, as relating the miraculous powers of the three deities of Sumiyoshi. It is perhaps too bold a conjecture, but may it not be that part of the legend of the Empress Jingū, that is to say, the Kyūji 舊辭 or Old Records, which were utilized as a source of the *Nihon Shoki*, relating to the empress, was taken from something in the nature of a record of the history of the gods of Sumiyoshi after proclamation of their divine virtue? These gods, whether at Ubara 菟原 in what is now the Hyōgo Prefecture or Naniwa 難波 or what is now Osaka, were always worshipped at vital points of communication; their priests, the Tsumori no Muraji 津守連, were charged with responsibility for ports and harbours, and members of this family were frequently given responsibility for missions overseas—these are notable facts of the historical period. It seems likely that, in regard to their enfeoffments and other rights, much was composed early as to their origin and divine qualities. There survives at present a document known as a *gejō* 解狀 or an explanatory statement, in which the so-called three deities of the Sumiyoshi Shrine are described to have helped the Empress Jingū conquer Silla, of *Tempyō* 天平 3 (731),⁽¹¹⁾ and this in turn is said to be based

- (10) Anato is what is now Nagato 長門 or Toyoura Gōri 豊浦郡 and its adjacent territory of Yamaguchi 山口 Prefecture. Nagao of Ōtsu, meaning Nagao which is a big port, is located either at Sumiyoshi 住吉, Higashi-Nada-ku 東灘區, City of Kobe 神戸 or at Sumiyoshi-ku 住吉區 in the City of Ōsaka 大阪, which is believed preferable (See *Nihon Shoki*, 1, 日本書紀, 上, *Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū* 日本古典文學全集, 67, Tokyo 1967, p. 615). According to Tōgo Yoshida 吉田東伍, *Dainihon Chimei Jisho* 大日本地名辭書, I, Tokyo 1900, p. 1177, under Nagato, Anato 穴門 was originally read Nagato which was corrupted as Anato or Anado, while Teikichi Kida 喜田貞吉 is of the opinion that Anato should be read Anagato (<Nagato 長門). (See his article *Anagato-kō* 穴門考, in *Rekishi Chiri* 歴史地理, Vol. XXXIV, No. 5, 1918, pp. 364).
- (11) The *gejō* of the third year of *Tempyō* (731) is quoted in and makes the main part of the *Sumiyoshi Taisha Jindaiki* 住吉大社神代記. (*History of the Head Shrine of Sumiyoshi in its earliest period*) which is the earliest document treasured by the shrine. It is the diary of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家, entitled the *Meigetsuki* 明月記, under the year 1230 (33rd day of the fifth month of the second year of *Kanki* 寛喜) which mentions of this document produced to the government by the Sumiyoshi Shrine to justify its territorial right challenged by the Shitenōji 四天王寺 Temple. From that time, the existence of the document was known in the academic world, but the document itself had been kept secret until the 70ies of the 19th century when scholars started to study its content and authenticity. A party of scholars considered it as a forgery of later date, while other tried to find out something authentic in the statement. In 1951, Professor Takashi Tanaka 田中卓, professor of Japanese history at the Kōgakukan Daigaku University 皇学館大学, published a detailed study and tried to establish its authenticity. It is entitled *Sumiyoshi Taisha Jindaiki* 住吉大社神代記, in which he published a photo-

on a historical document 縁起 of *Daihō* 大寶 2 (702).⁽¹²⁾ There too there is room for further investigation, but setting aside such minute questions, it is surely not necessarily wholly unreasonable to suppose that ancient traditions of such a nature were included in the 'Old Records'.

In addition, we will take it that the legend of the empress is to be sought in the history of the gods of Sumiyoshi. Though of a different period, a work which in a sense has a very similar character is the *Hachiman gudō-kun* 八幡愚童訓 (Childish tales of Hachiman).⁽¹³⁾ This book is a record of foreign incursions and expounds the divine virtue of the Great Bodhisattva of Hachiman, and, though much of its contents is rather hard to believe, apart from diaries and genealogies and other fragmentary documents, it is fair to say that it constitutes almost the only work from the Japanese side which recounts the epoch-making foreign invasions of the latter part of the 13th century. The south Korean expedition of the Empress Jingū took place further back in antiquity. There are no military proclamations, no official reports, and no foreign sources for comparison. The only surviving material consists of myths replete with divine miracles. Even so, does it not seem that, just as in this other case, we are obliged to affirm, as a result of our critical examination of the tradition itself, the existence of a kernel of fact therein?

graphic reproduction of the original document in a minimized size, as well as the decipherments of the text. In 1963, Professor Tanaka once more published the text and its readings in the *Sumiyoshi Taishashi* 住吉大社史 or *History of Sumiyoshi Shrine*, Bk. 1, Osaka, 1963, a publication in celebration of the 1750th anniversary of the shrine, in order to clarify the history of its establishment. [However, the authenticity was challenged by Professor Tarō Sakamoto 坂本太郎 in an article entitled *Sumiyoshi Taisha Jindaiki ni tsuite* 住吉大社神代記について, *Kokushigaku* 国史学, no. 89, 1972, pp. 1-18, which is of the opinion that the *gejō* in question was composed on the basis of *Nihon Shoki* and of some traditions of the shrine itself. The date of composition is considered to be sometime after the 27th day of the 8th month of the 8th year of *Enryaku* 延暦 (789). It seems that the view of Professor Sakamoto has been generally accepted as reasonable. K.E.].

- (12) This *gejō* is included in and makes the main part of the *Sumiyoshi Jindaiki* 住吉神付記 (*Jingi Zensho* 神祇全書, III, Tokyo 1951).
- (13) A manuscript copy of this work has been printed in the *Gunsho Ruijū* 羣書類聚, Bk. 13, Section on *Jingi* 神祇部, 13, ed. 1905, I, pp. 447-497. It is in this book that the history of the Mongol invasion in 1274 and 1281 is related systematically, ascribing the Japanese victory to the divine help of the Emperor Ōjin 應神, son of the Empress Jingū and later enshrined as the God Hachiman 八幡.

