



Chinese Heroes Never Die: The Xufu Legend in Tokugawa Intellectual History



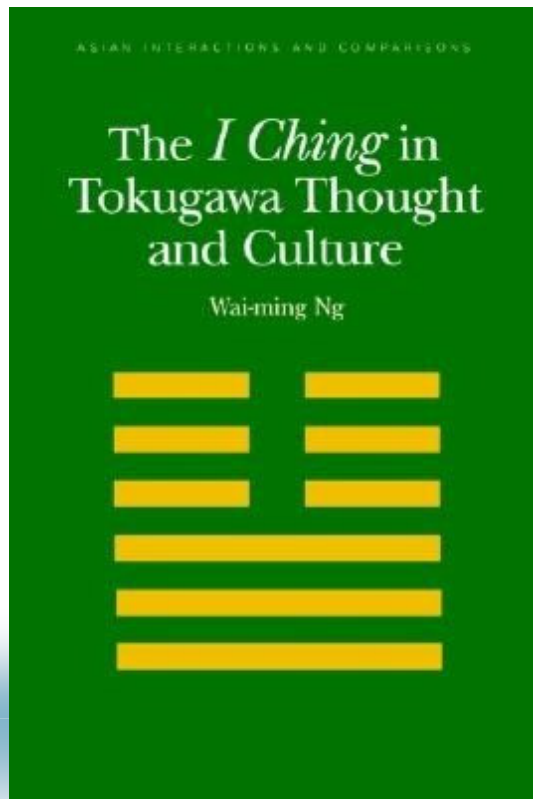
Ben Ng
Japanese Studies

日本研究專著連奪兩項 國際學術獎譽

美國著名書評期刊 *Choice*
稱讚此書「開創了連大部
分的日本學者也未曾觸及
的新研究局面。」



吳偉明教授



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日本杨贵妃传说的流变及思想史考察

吴伟明

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身一变成成为护国神明。日人崇拜杨贵妃并非因为她是中国人或是基于中国崇拜的心理,而是因为她是日本神祇的化身,所以与民族认同不但没有冲突,反而强化民族主义。

[摘要]日本有相当多关于唐代杨贵妃东渡日本的传说。一些日人相信这些东渡日本的传说,而且还提供文献及遗迹作佐证。杨贵妃在日本是个于面佛,以日本神祇、观音、天仙、政治家、难民及女刺客等不同身份出现。日本的杨贵妃传说虽然流于荒诞,但背后有丰富的历史意义,有助我们了解中国文化如何在日本被本地化。在日本流传的诸多杨贵妃传说中,热田神宫版最具创意及影响力,在日本思想史及中日文化交流史都很有意义。将杨贵妃当作是日本天神的化身,以保护日本是集中古以来流行的本地垂迹说及护国思想。这种思想将中国传入的东西本地化,将中国的东西挪用,变成日本自己的东西。日本中世以至近世热田神宫的杨贵妃传说令中国人眼中的红颜祸水摇

WU T'AI-PO IN EARLY TOKUGAWA THOUGHT: IMPERIAL ANCESTOR OR CHINESE SAGE?

吳 Wai-ming Ng

Chinese Confucianism has created many sages as political and ethical models. Confucians in China, Japan and Korea rated Chinese sages differently according to their own changing political and intellectual agendas. Though praised by Confucius as one of the two perfect ancient sages in the *Lun-yü* 論語 (Analects), Wu T'ai-po 吳太伯 (also T'ai-po 泰伯) became a neglected figure in Chinese historiography and Confucianism.¹ Only a few ancient Chinese works, such as the *Lun-yü* and *Shih chi* 史記 (Records of the Grand

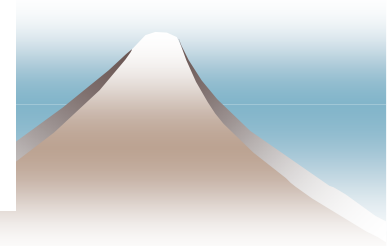
¹ The family name of T'ai-po was in fact not Wu but Chi 姬. Regarded as the ancestor of the Wu regime in southern China, however, he is referred to as Wu T'ai-po in many Chinese sources.

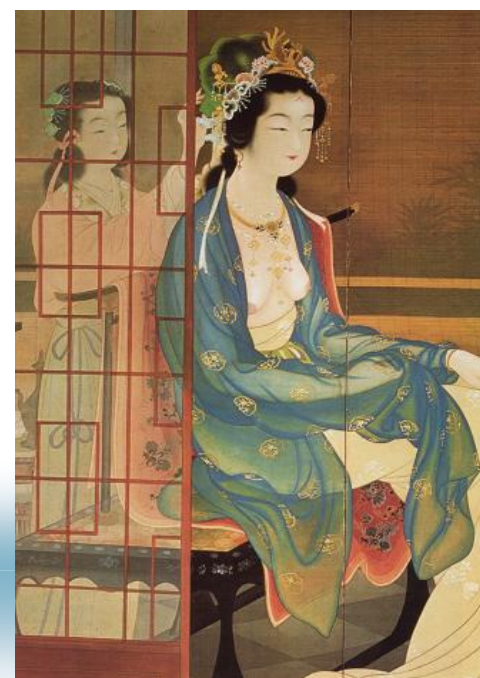
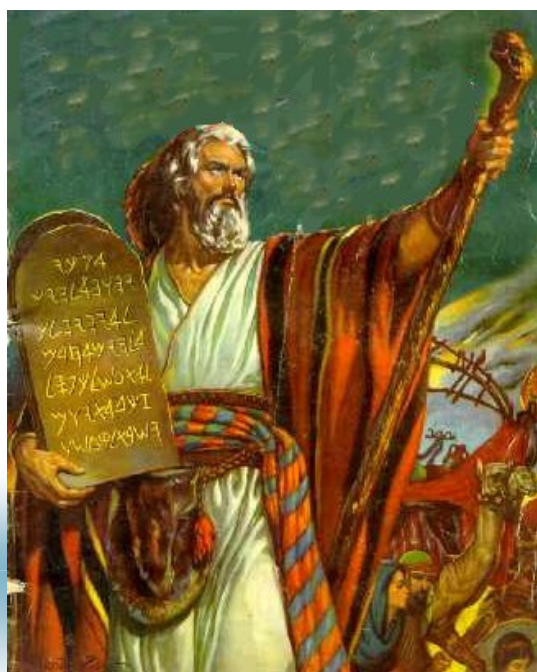
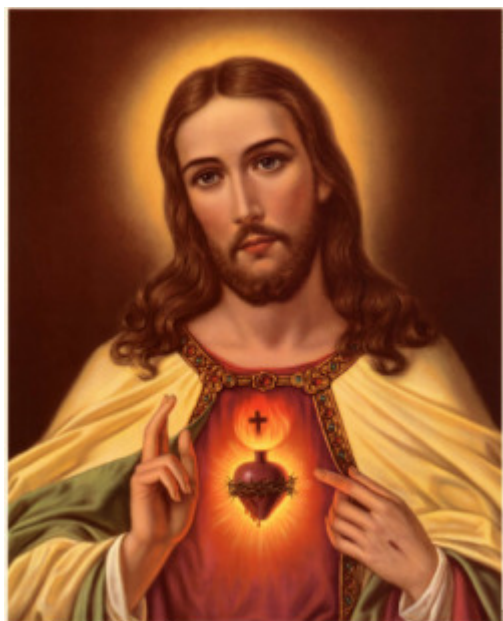
² This is recorded in *Lun-yü T'ai-po ti pa* [T'ai-po in chapter 8 of the *Lun-yü*] and *Shih chi Wu T'ai-po shih-chia* [The Wu T'ai-po

WAI-MING NG
(Chinese University of Hong Kong)

THE HSÜ FU LEGEND IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN: A TEXTUAL STUDY

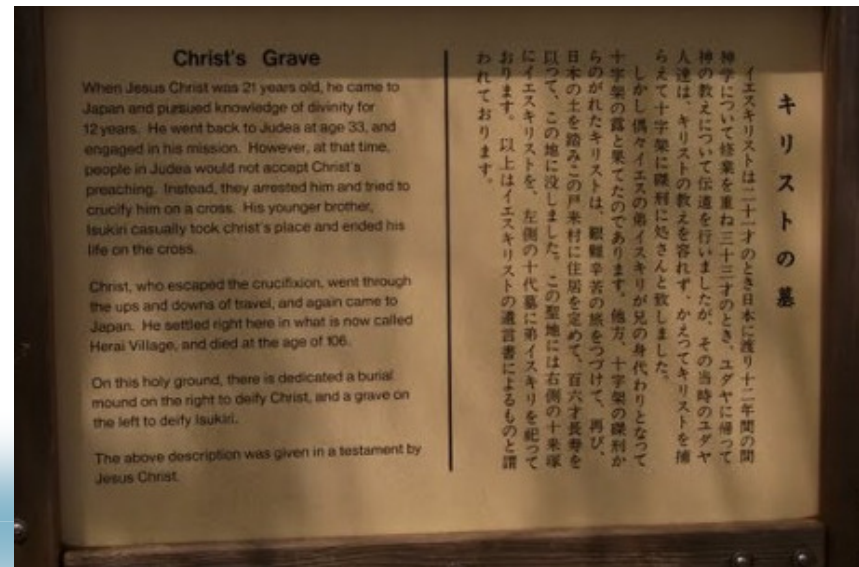
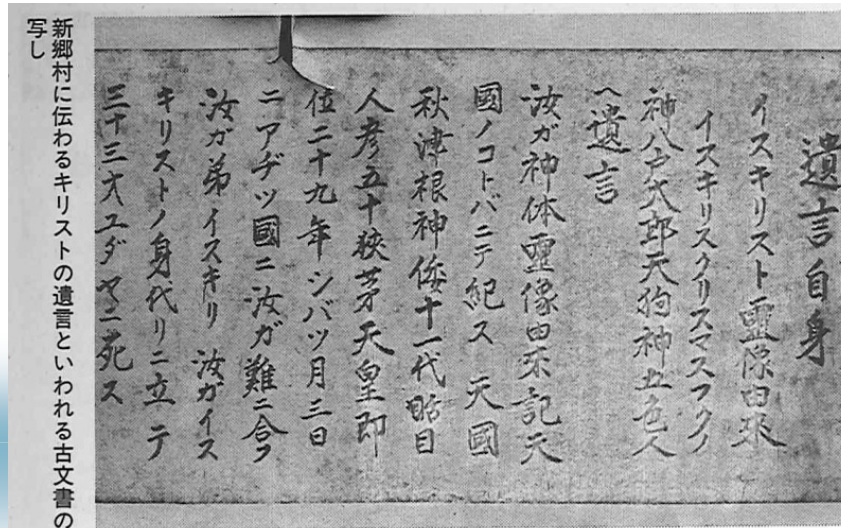
It is highly debatable whether or not Hsü Fu 徐福, a half historical and half legendary figure mentioned in the *Shih Chi* (Records of the Grand Historian, compiled by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, 145-90 B.C.) ever journeyed to Japan. This story has stimulated and fed the imagination of artists in both China and Japan. Heretofore, scholars of Hsü Fu in Japan and China have examined this issue from an archaeological perspective.¹ However, my paper looks into the Hsü Fu discourse from an intellectual and textual





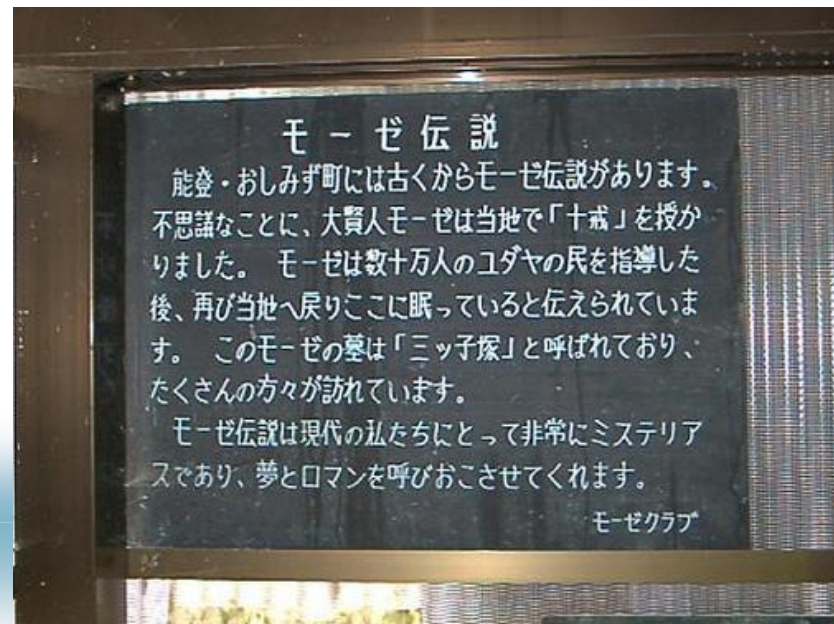


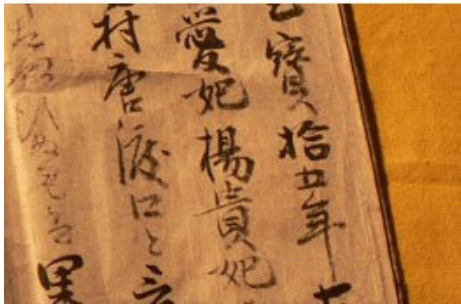
Aomori Prefecture





Ishikawa Prefecture





楊貴妃の墓
 唐の玄宗皇帝の寵愛を一身に受けた楊貴妃は、安史の乱に
 会って蜀へ逃遁する途中、長安の郊外、馬嵬の驛で殺害され
 たと史書には示されており、しかし、巷では楊貴妃は安史
 には死んでいないという噂もあつた。そこで、有名な「長恨歌」
 の中にも日本への来航を想像させる表現があり、
 「此夕津の地では、昔から楊貴妃にまつわる伝説が語り継が
 れてきました。豊原に残されている江戸時代の文書には、次
 のような言い伝えが記されています。」
 「唐の天寶拾五年七月（一七五六年）豊原府に來つた楊貴妃は、
 唐波目という所へ漂着、まもなく死し給うたので里人相寄
 り当寺院に埋葬した。玄宗皇帝の思い切つたため貴妃の靈が
 彼地に往來したのか、幾後か夢枕に立たれ、皇帝は楊貴妃の
 死を知つた。愛情やるかたなく道善のため、弥陀、釈迦の二
 尊像と拾三重の大宝塔を持たせ、家來の陳安を日本に遣わし
 た。陳安は探したが、楊貴妃がいずれの地に漂着したか分か
 らず、やむなく京都の清涼寺へ二尊像を預けて帰国した。か
 後に漂着地が久津と分かつたが、清涼寺では本朝無二の靈仏
 として評判が高かつたため、手放すのが惜しくなつた。
 そこで全く同じ仏像を仏工の名手に作らせ、新田の仏像一休
 寺つを清涼寺と当寺院で分けて安置することになつた。その
 後、楊貴妃の靈、侍女の碑を滿く建てることが出来た。」
 以上が伝説の大要で、中央の五輪塔が楊貴妃の墓とされるも
 のです。

千時明和三歳唐千仲春日書
 龍楊山三續院妃大義す福林坊
 立拾五也 現住惠學字識之





西郷隆盛



徐福さん

伝承地に見る徐福像と徐福伝説



史記

秦始皇本紀第二十八年
既已、齊人徐市等上書、言海中有三神山、名曰蓬萊、方丈、瀛洲、僊人居之。請得齋戒、與童男女、於是遣徐市、童男女、數千人、入海求僊人

東海に蓬萊島あり、
島上に仙人あり、
山上に仙薬あり、
食すれば不老不死を得る



修潔人樂同則嘉保太平後敬奉法常治無極與舟不

傾從臣誦烈請刻此石光垂休銘還過吳從江乘渡

地理

志丹陽有江乘縣

竝海上北至琅邪方士徐市等入海求神藥

數歲不得費多恐譴乃詐曰蓬萊藥可得然常為大鮫

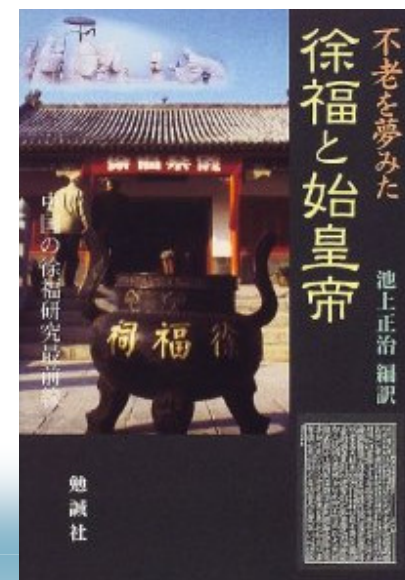
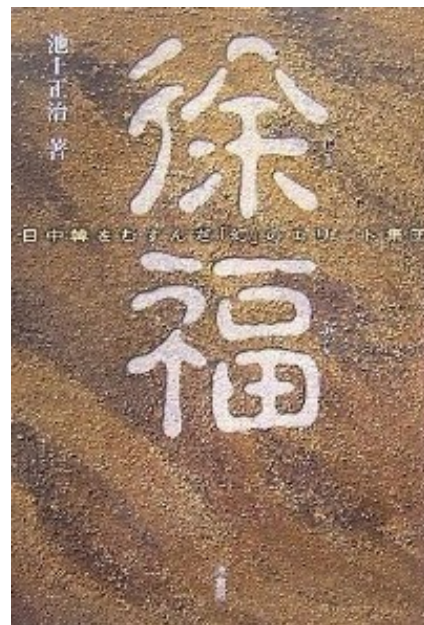
魚所苦故不得至願請善射與俱見則以連弩射之始

皇夢與海神戰如人狀問占夢博士曰水神不可見以

大魚蛟龍為候今上禱祠備謹而有此惡神當除去而

善神可致乃令入海者齋捕巨魚具而自以連弩候大



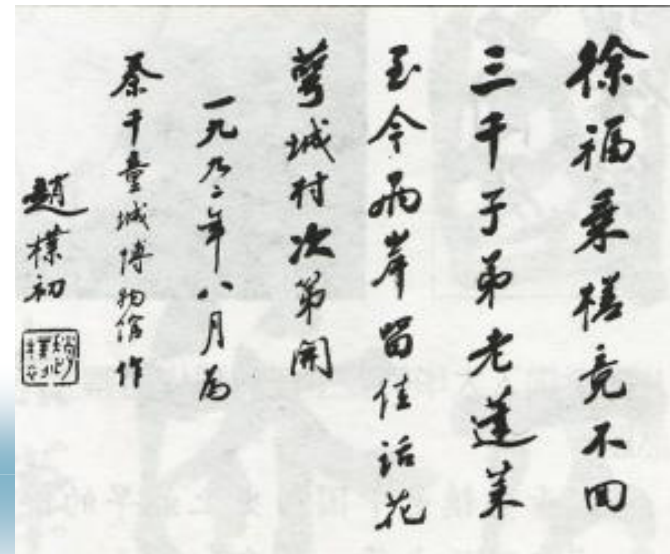




国家级非物质文化遗产

徐福传说

中华人民共和国国务院公布
中华人民共和国文化部颁发
2011年5月



Theories of Xu Fu before the Tokugawa



(1) Mt. Fuji



“The nation of Japan is also called Yamato-kuni 倭國. Located in the Eastern Sea, Xu Fu brought five hundred pairs of boys and girls to this nation in the Qin period. Nowadays, its people and culture are like those in Changan. More than a thousand miles in the Northeast, there is a mountain called Fuji, also named Mountain Penglai 蓬萊山. . . Xu Fu settled down there and called it Penglai. Now his descendants name Hata 秦. This land has never invaded others, protected by the dragon deity. Its laws have no capital punishment and the criminals will be sent to an island.”

by the Chinese monk Yi Chu

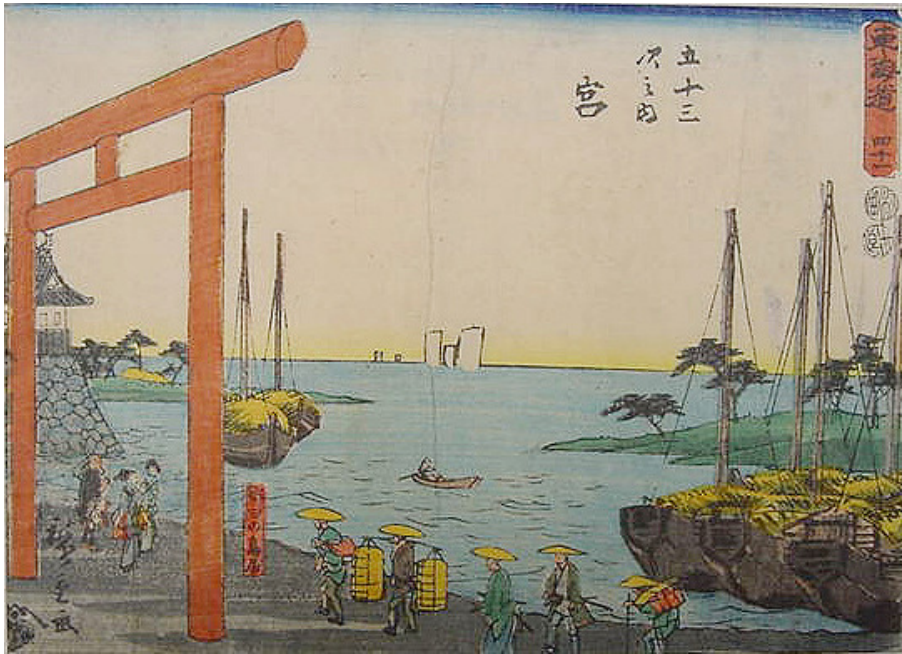
釋氏六帖

(2) Kumano



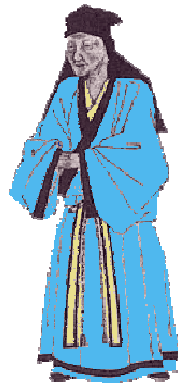
“In the seventy-second year of the regime of the Korei emperor [218 B.C], the founding emperor of Qin sent Xu Fu to look for miracle medicine at sea. Xu Fu eventually arrived and settled in Kumano. In the seventeenth year of the Sujin emperor [81 B.C], Kumano Daigongen 熊野權現神 (God of Kumano) emerged. After his death, Xu Fu became a Shinto deity. He continued to be worshipped by people until the present day.” ---- By the Korean Shin Sukju

(3) *Atsuta*

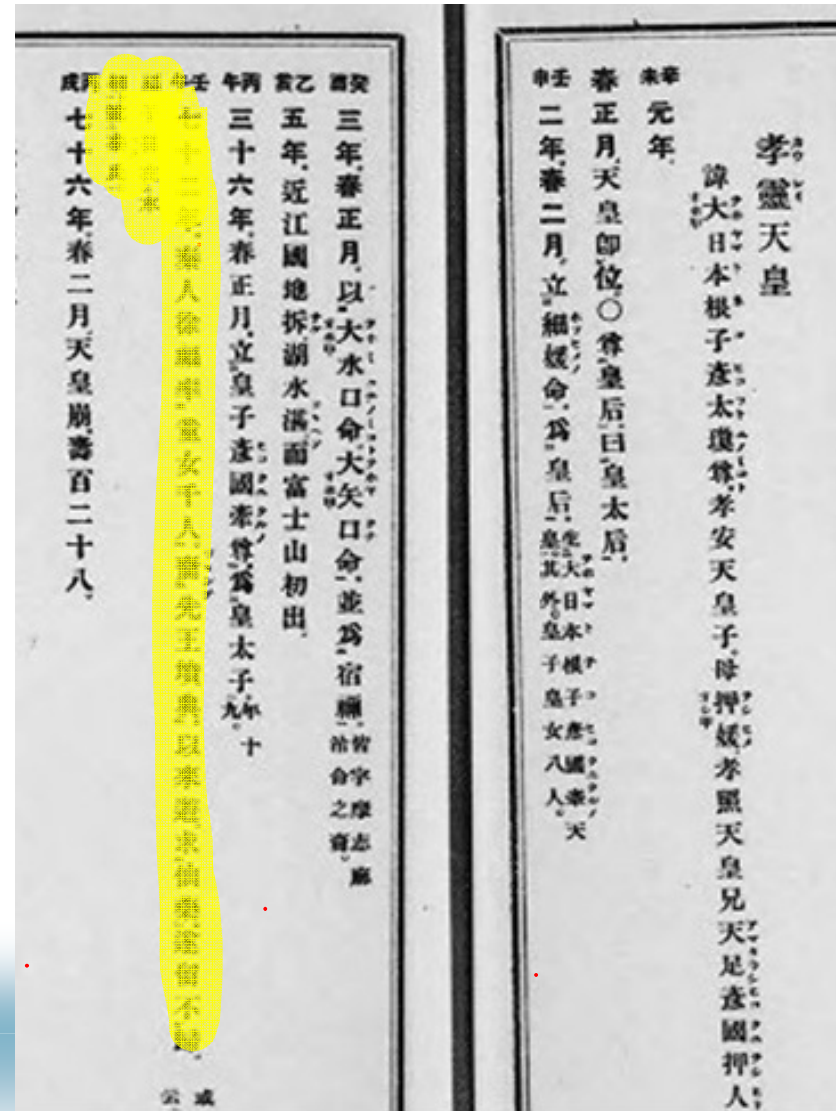


- ◆ *“According to tradition, in the Qin period, Xu Shi (also Xu Fu) wrote to the First Emperor, asking for five hundred pairs of boys and girls to search for elixir in the three heavenly mountains in the sea. He landed an island and did not return. It marked the beginning of the Atsuta Shrine in my nation.”---by Monk Isho*

Xu Fu Boom in the Tokugawa

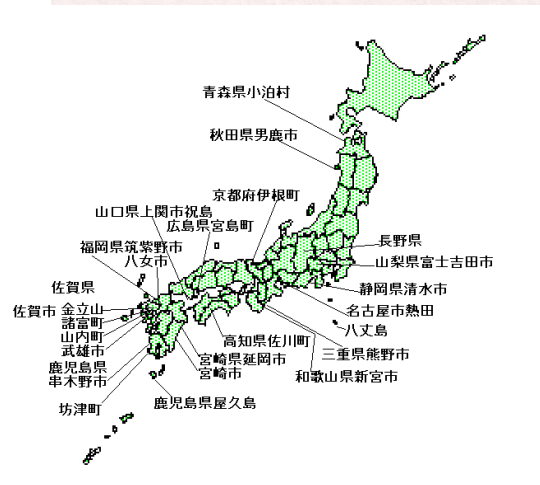


- ◆ Golden period of Sino-Japanese cultural exchange
- ◆ Age of historiography
- ◆ Heyday of textual forgery and historical imagination



徐福东渡的故事

日本の徐福ゆかりの地



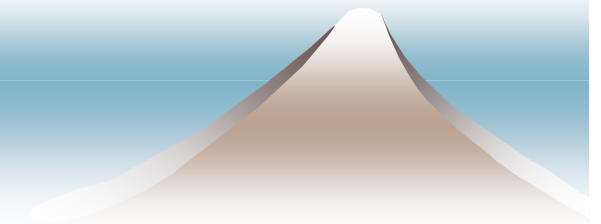
(1) Mt. Fuji

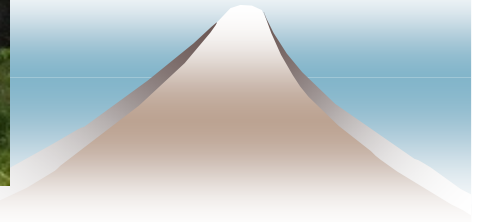
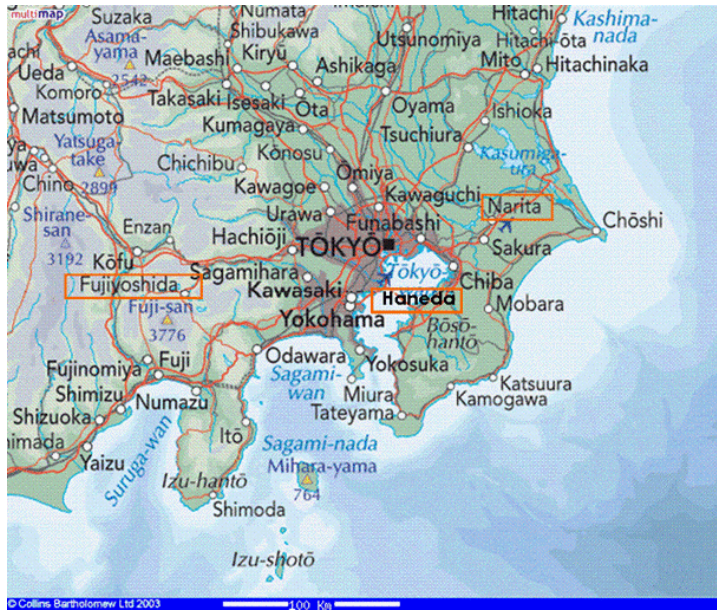


《蓬来物語》 ©T. Ishikawa, 2010



- ◆ *“Having wandered around the three mountains in Kumano, Xu Fu went to Atsuta in Owari. He then visited other provinces and finally settled down on the slopes of Mount Fuji.”*









(2) Kumano



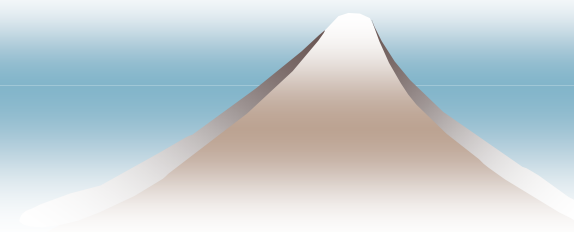
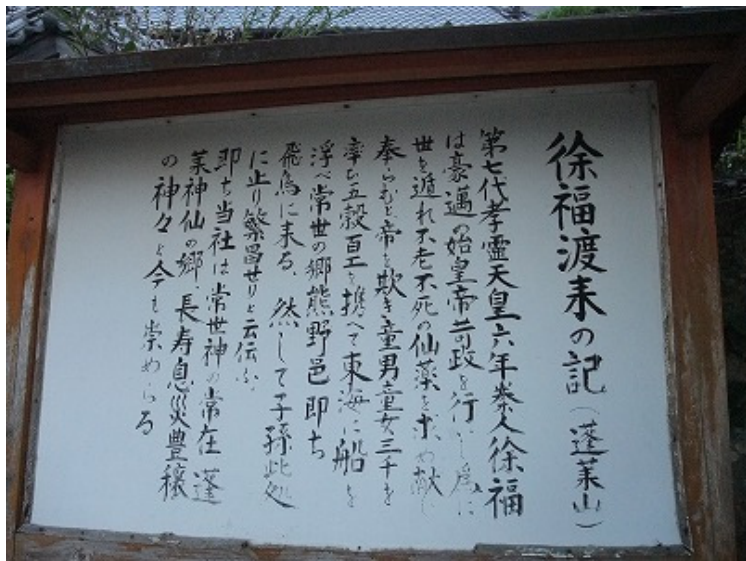
文ナトイヘル物ニハスヤオレハ我国ノ
 古ニ用ヒシ所モ異朝ノ昔ニカハラオ
 リシニヤ又秦ノ徐福カ我國ニ来シ
 時百篇ノ尚書ヲモチキタリヨシ彼
 国ノ人イヒ傳ヘタレハコレヲ竹簡
 カノ百篇ノ尚書ナランモシレスト
 イフ人アリ徐福カ尚書ヲ携テ我國
来シヨシハ宋ノ政陽脩
 ノ外集ニ見ヘタリソノ後ノ諸儒 彼
 コノ下ヲ述シコトコレオホシ
 ニツノ社ニアリトイフナル竹簡



新井白石肖像

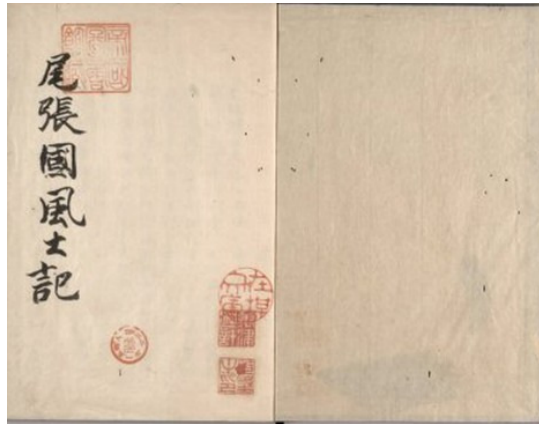




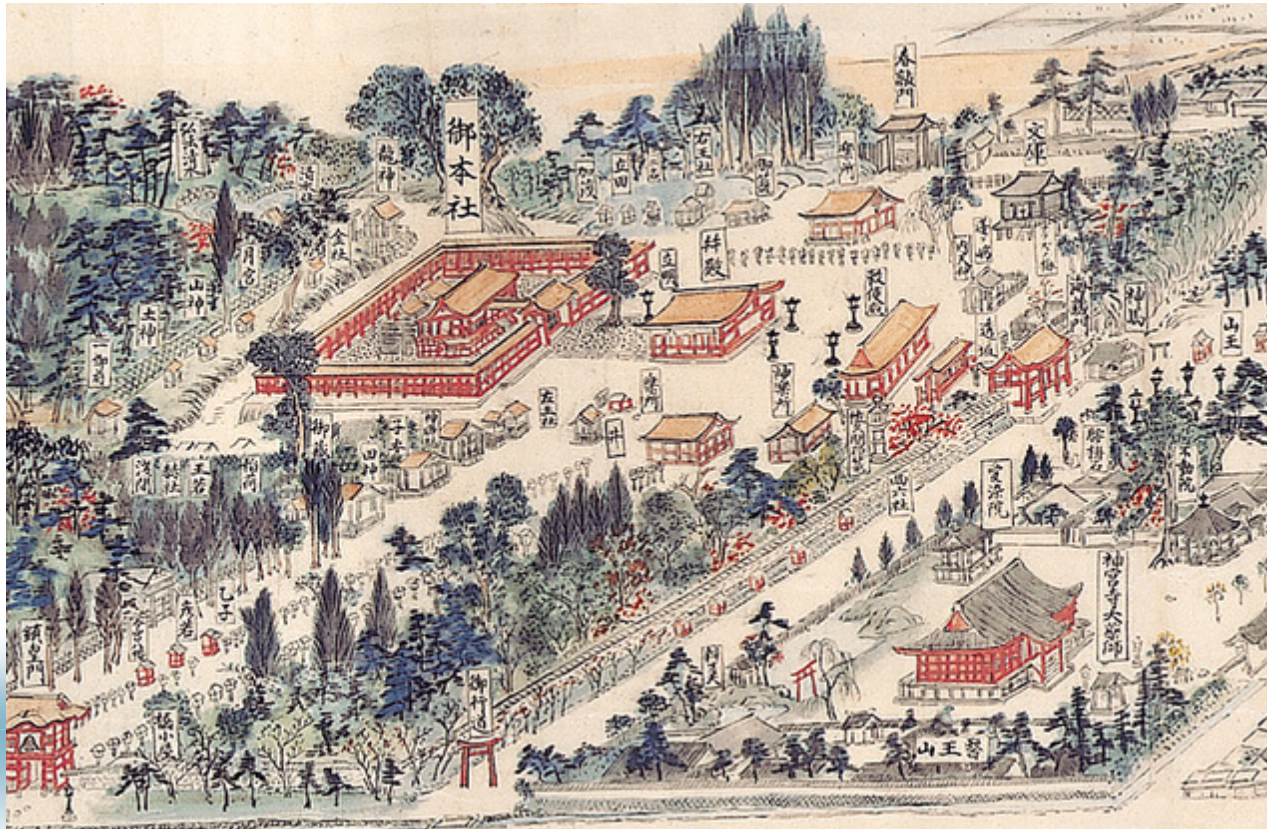








(3) *Atsuta*



阿
辰
紀
行

熱
田

日本武尊、東よりかへり給ふ時、尾張の稻種宿禰がむすめ、
 すより、此社の神といはひ申すなり。然るに世俗の説に、
 貴妃を祭るといふ。されば宋大史が日東の曲にも、國に楊妃が
 祭ありといへり。
 世間の傳説は、おほやう覺束なき事多かる。

熱田を意來といふなれ

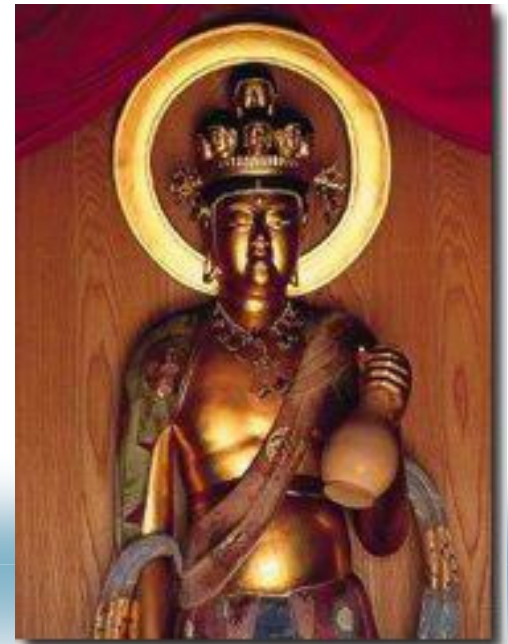
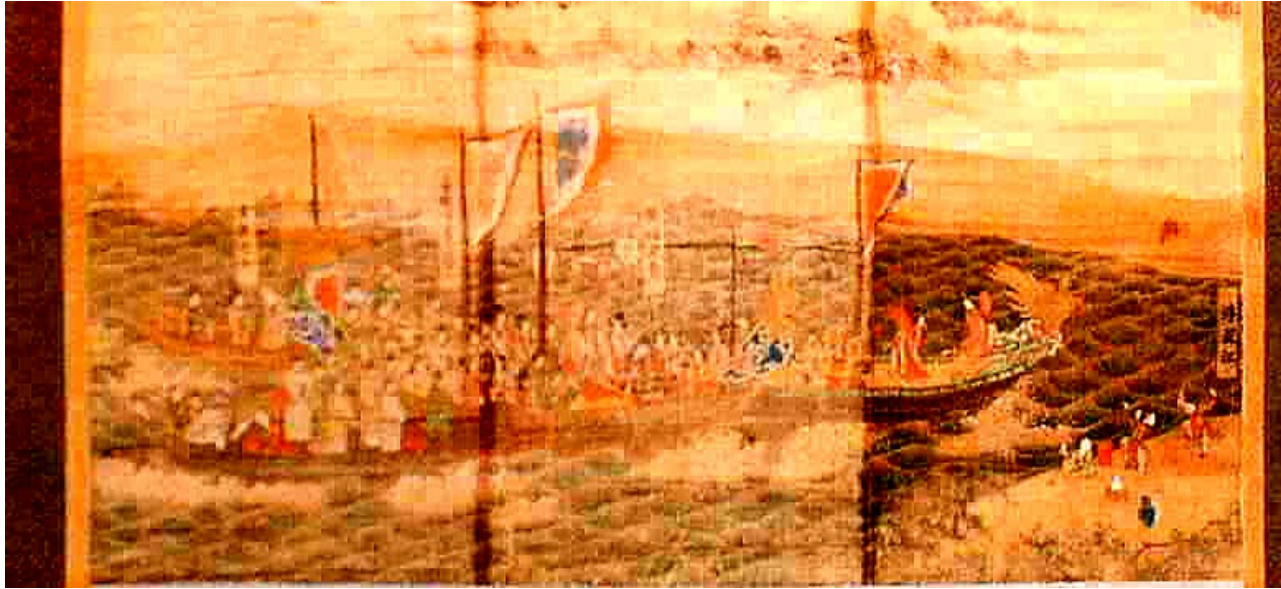
(4) Saga



佐賀周辺の徐福伝説

順	現在の地名	伝説の呼称	徐福にまつわる伝説の内容
1	鎌倉町浮遊	浮遊	霧が流れ垂れた地
2	鎌倉町寺井	獅子金井戸	上陸後、徐福が掘った井戸
3	鎌倉町三差	新北神社のヒャクシ	徐福が植えた首木
4	佐賀市藤人	寺町	金立山へ向かった徐福の休憩地
5	金立町千布	千布	徐福一行が千反の布を斬り断った地
		お辰蔵	徐福と密仲になったお辰蔵の伝説
		源蔵屋敷	源蔵が徐福一行を接待した屋敷
		源蔵松	源蔵が室内改を祈った記念に植えた松
6	金立町久富	額(白金)土井	金立財宝を積んだ駄馬隊が隊列を整えた地
7	久保原町村邊水	石土井(投げ石)	徐福が川の深さを計るため投げ入れた石
8	久保原町上粕原	金立森	金立山入山の途中で一泊した地
9	久保原町川久保	鐘かけ松	徐福一行が休憩し石燈を渡っていくことを決めた地
10	久保原町西原	金立道	金立山上登に通ずる山道
		八百平	金立道を山頂まで案内した村人
11	金立山頂	不老不死の薬草(霊草)が自生	不老不死 - フロフシ - フロフキと呼ばれる
12	金立神社	金立神社上宮	熊神は穀物の神、水の神、徐福の三神
		取上観音	徐福が頼んだ神
13	金立神社	中宮	金立神社中宮、山麓に下宮
14	大和町宇野口	新洗原(あらびき)の湯(あらい)	徐福が洗った湯
15	富士町古湯温泉	鶴堂泉(つるどう)	徐福が洗った湯(鶴の湯が湧いたという)
16	武雄市武雄温泉	蓮葉山(はすのやま)	不老不死の薬草を求めた山
17	八女市重興山古墳	重興山(かさね)	徐福一行が別れて住み着いた所







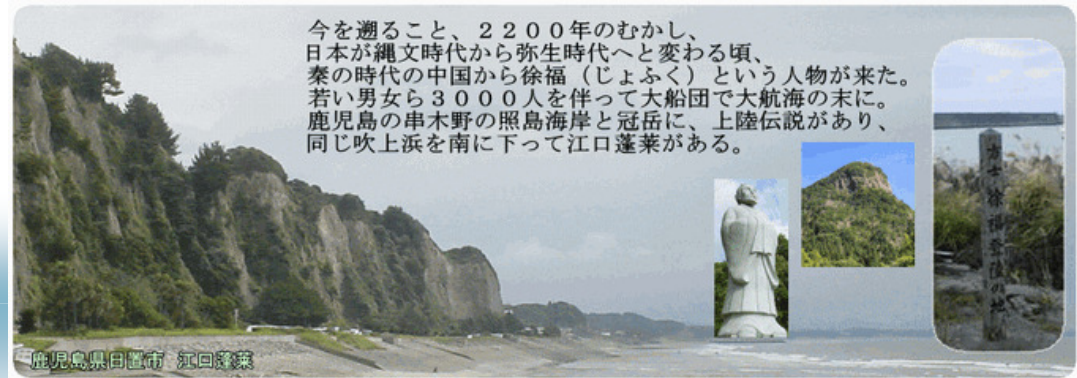
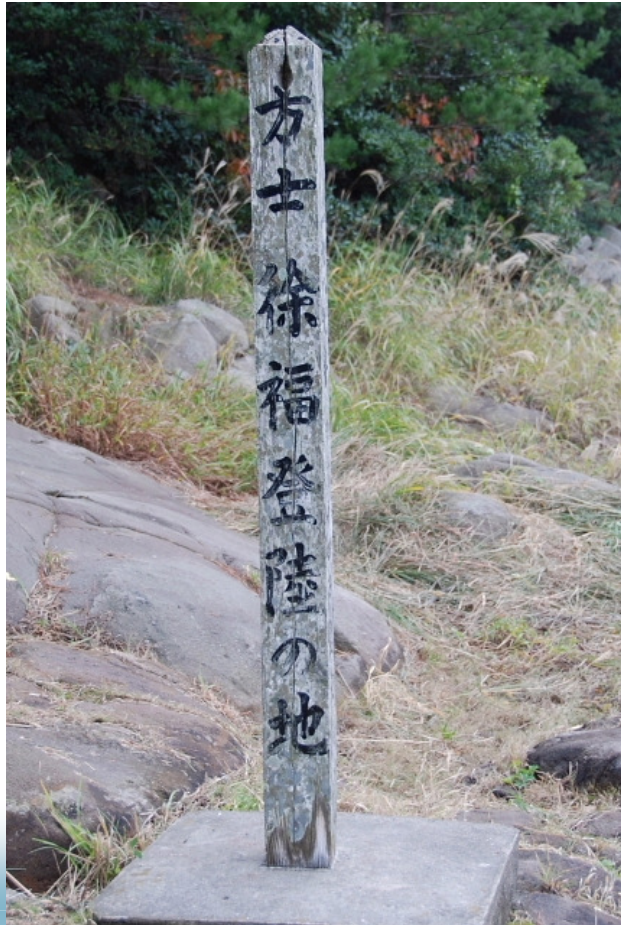
佐賀に息づく
徐福



Jofuku-Saga



(5) Satsuma







Images of Xu Fu in Tokugawa Japan



◆ *Transmitter of Chinese Culture*

◆ *Political Refugee*

◆ *The Other*





- ◆ *“Xu Fu came to Japan about six or seven years before the burning of books and the burying of Confucians alive [by the First Emperor of the Qin]. During that time [in Japan], few people could understand the greater seal script and the lesser seal script written down on lacquered or bamboo plates [that Xu Fu brought to Japan].” ---Hayashi Razan*



熊沢蕃山

- ◆ *“Xufu came to Japan because he heard from the Koreans that Japan was a land of benevolence....He introduced Confucian morality, public manners and various systems. Xu Fu found refuge in Japan and settled down here with thousands of followers. Although some Chinese classics disappeared in China, they had survived in the foreign land [Japan].”*

◆ *---Kumazawa Banzan*

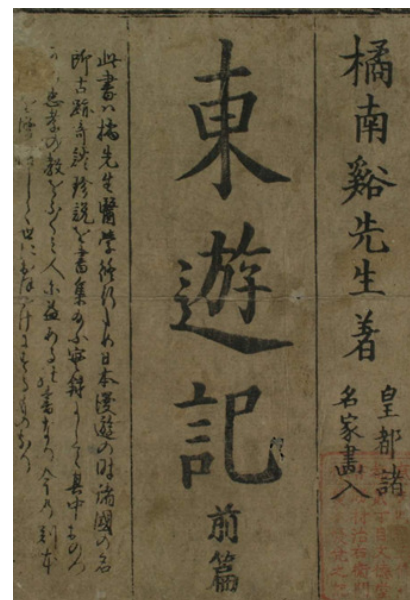
新井白石肖像



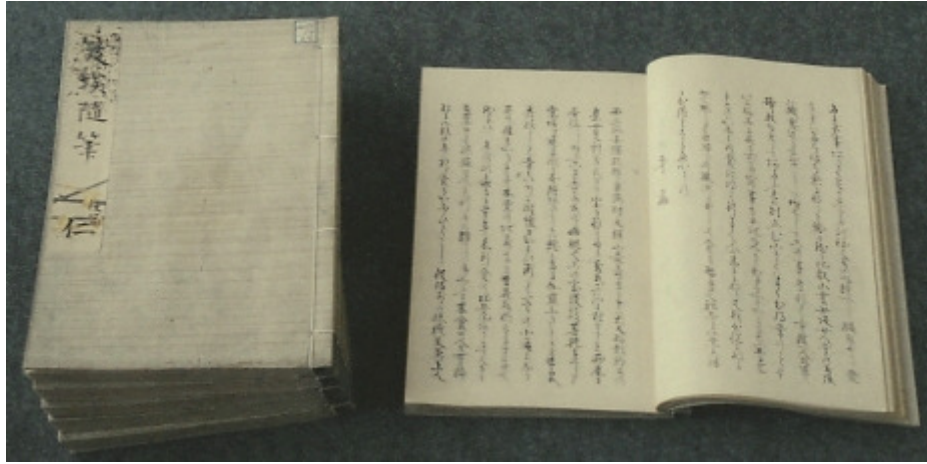
古文尚書堯典第一 堯書 九十六篇上篇 七五篇見存 孔氏傳

皆在帝堯聰明文思光宅天下 言堯往也 將遜于位 讓于舜 避也 堯使 攝遜禪之也 作堯典 言堯丁為百代 堯典 曰若古帝堯 考古也 稽考也 言能順 道也 曰放勳 欽明 文思安 勳功欽敬也 言堯放勳上世之功化而百代 允恭克讓 先被四表 格于上下 允信克讓 先格至 能讓故其名前充溢 聖表 堯明俊德 曰親九臬 信恭 至于天地 九臬 既睦 平章百姓 既已也 百姓 高祖玄孫之親也 九臬 既睦 平章百姓 百官也 言化 九族而平 百姓昭明 功味萬邦 黎民於敦昔也 昭亦 和章明也





- ◆ *“Together with five hundred pairs of boys and girls, the seeds of five crops, and agricultural tools, Xu Fu escaped from China and came to Japan by boat. Having reached the coast of Kumano, Xu Fu landed and settled down. He engaged in agriculture and educated the boys and girls. His descendants also became the leaders of Kumano and they enjoyed a life of stability and prosperity.”* ---Tachibana Nankei



- ◆ *It looks different and it is not the kind of paper that we often see. I asked how and the monk replied: "This paper is not for sale. It is only used by the villagers. In ancient past, Xu Fu came to Japan and settled down in Kumano. He taught the natives to make paper. Even now, there are two villages in this area that have kept this tradition. They call it Xu Fu paper. Although it is like Tang paper, when you tear it apart, it always breaks horizontally." This is evidence that the legend of Xu Fu is real. ---Momoi Tou*



- ◆ *“The field around the tomb [of Xu Fu] in the four sides is called the paddy field of Xu Fu. On a certain day in every April, the villagers gather to sow the seed and hum the tune of the Xu Fu song. One night, I listened to the singing of this song and found out that it matches Chinese musical theory and its sounds are all ancient Chinese sounds.”---Sato Shigehiro*

(2) Political Refugee





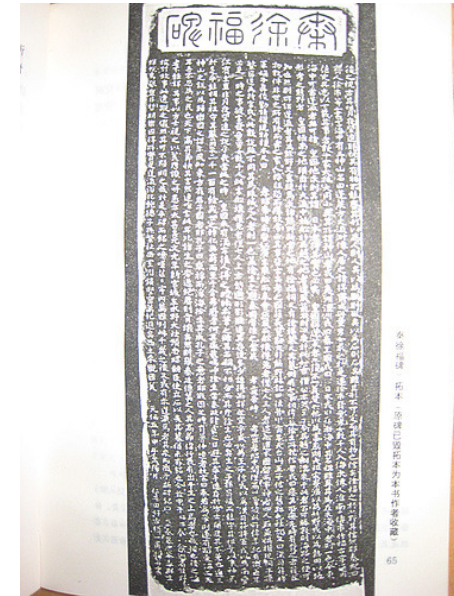
異稱日本傳卷上
 平安城 西峰松下見林 編集
 山海經卷第十二海內北經
 南倭北徐屬燕冠郭誤注倭因在帶方東大海內以女爲主
 一男子數十婦也
 今按王充論衡曰禹益並治洪水禹主治水益主記異物
 海郊山表無遠不至以所聞見作山海經觀此則山海經
 者益之所作堯時之書也山海經有倭名則倭名舊矣凡
 異邦人以我望之倭此爲權輿乎然據我舊記則倭名爲
 起於漢賈矣卜部兼方日本書紀釋曰弘仁私記序曰日
 本古者謂之倭國但倭義未詳或云取我之音漢人所名
 之字也我唯此藤原兼良日本書紀其疏曰舊曰說吾邦之

今按徐福祠事見上卷通鑑前編日本爲秦伯之後愚談
 亦爲徐福之後諸葛氏俱以爲非此實得事之正矣仁山
 撰通鑑前編者國語寡人達王于前句東數言吳語曰吳
 敗越王告吳王曰寡人其達王於前句東達致也前句東
 外洲夫婦三百唯王所安以淡王年夫婦各三百人以奉
 也夫差辭遂自殺觀此則吳王終不居洲也天正王指正規
 町天皇國王益謂將軍家其刑法無官杖古者有苔杖徒
 流死五刑與唐無異出名例律今也無官杖開曰倭之木

“Xu Fu saw the national glory of Japan and came to settle down in Japan. He escaped from the Qin, the land of tigers and leopards, and died in Japan as a deity. He lived in the three mountains in Kumano and was not an ordinary man.”—Matsushita Kenrin



- ◆ *“Xu Fu and his people escaped to Japan from the authoritarian Qin Dynasty. They became the subjects of Japan and settled down in the countryside of Kumano. They admired the virtues of my nation and became our officials and people. When foreigners heard of this thing, they said Wu Taibo and Xu Fu were the ancestors of Japan. They lived in ancient past. For people who have not examined carefully, they suggested wrong ideas. Our imperial line started several thousand years before the times of Wu Taibo and Xu Fu. Why did people say our Japanese are the descendants of the Wu or Qin people? I understand why foreigners advocate this idea. However, Confucians of our nation who support this idea are indeed traitors of our divine nation and deities. They are unpardonable evildoers!”
---Ono Takakiyo*



“It is understandable that the scholar Xu Fu, in order to avoid being killed under the tyranny of Qin, pretended to be a Taoist priest. He advocated the idea of the three divine mountains as a means to seek refuge in a land of happiness. Didn't he know that there was a nation of gentlemen in the East? ... Alas! In the whole wide world, thousands of nations are now at odds with each other. Ten thousand years later, when people look for Horai [Penghai, or heaven on earth], they should come here [Japan]. This is the reason why I wrote the epigraph for this memorial.” ---Niida Nanyo

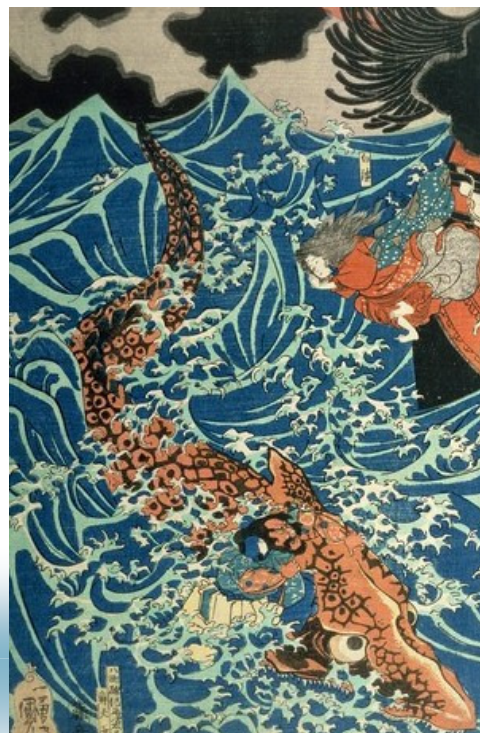
(3) The Other

“There is no evidence to support the claim that Xu Fu brought the writing system to Japan. Xu Fu cheated the First Emperor of the Qin, taking his treasures as well as boys and girls away. He left without a trace. All theories about his landing are speculations. Instead of denying them, [some of us] followed these far-fetched ideas from books and evil monks. I do not believe them at all.”---Yamagata Banto

徐福日本へ来テハ文字ヲ傳ヘシト云フ者多シ
然レモ其ノ實ニハ何レカ
徐福日本へ來ルニ始メテ其ノ財宝及ヒ童男女ヲ奪集ヒ去テ
再ヒカヘラズリハ終ニ其ノ跡ヲ見ラズカハ怪スルカヲ云ハシナ
虚説ニコレヲコトフ正アスミテ無稽ノ書ヨリ又ハ
妖僧ノ虚説ヲキテソレヲ實トス我ハ信テサルナリ



平田篤胤



今あれ二傳を和會して説かむ。先あの徐福が還して云
 語を文名爲、僞蘇曰や記し。費多、恐、乃詐曰や記せるを。司馬
 遷が神仙に境界を知らざる。儒見のほくら語めて。本より此

文ふて非だ。おて實ふは我が皇國の地方ゆ至ま。大和多
 都美神の神異を示して。其蓬萊山をも見しめ給。予ぬ其時此
 神語多。徐福が有はま。お始皇お言。予ぬれり。然るを其言。予
 ぬ語ども。能くも我が神典に趣符を。却して彼國史の語
 ぬを疎く似ざる。哉思むて知る。然まど。則安傳れると。始皇
 本紀あると。此相違を。上ゆ



伊勢貞丈



- ◆ *Someone wrote: “The Qin official Xu Fu went to Japan. The Shang shu remained intact” This was recorded in the foreign nation [China], but not in our official historical records, and therefore we should not believe it. Recently, Confucians of our nation have evinced respect for that foreign nation and refer to it as the Central Kingdom and belittle Japan as a barbaric nation. They are disloyal people who look down upon Japanese traditions, believing that stories about Wu Taibo and Xu Fu are historically true.” ---Ise Sadatake*

Concluding Remarks



徐福紀行



- ◆ *An intellectual battleground for Tokugawa scholars*
- ◆ *A Metaphor to define Sino-Japanese relations*