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Panel 2. *Mazu* (媽祖) came to Japan: Tracing the Voyage of Goddess in Edo Era

Introduction

Mazu is the goddess of voyages worshipped by people across coastal regions of East Asia. Following the advent of the modern era, both those within the establishment and those outside of it came to believe deeply in her. Therefore *Mazu* is an important keyword for understanding “The Era of Great Trade,” “*Wakō*(倭寇)”, “the Ryūkyū Kingdom” and “overseas Chinese communities”.

In Japan, however, she is barely known outside Okinawa and Nagasaki. By demonstrating relationships between the course of introduction of *Mazu* into Japan and the historical shifts that occurred in East Asia at the same time, this paper attempts to link two history syllabuses in Japanese high schools, namely Japanese History and World History.

1. The *Mazu* festival in the present-day Eastern parts of Japan

In the 1970s, *Hakone Kannon*(箱根観音), a Buddhist temple in Hakone, Kanagawa Prefecture, was presented with a statue of *Mazu* by Tian-hou Temple in Beigang, Taiwan, which was then followed by the establishment of the Japan *Mazu* Society; *Mazu* was *rediscovered* across eastern parts of Japan. In several places, the *Mazu* festival started to be *newly* celebrated, serving also as a tourist attraction. For example, Yokohama’s Chinatown, one of the three major Chinatowns in Japan, began the *Mazu* festival only after a shrine dedicated to *Mazu* was constructed in 2008.

As a matter of fact, *Mazu* was introduced as far as the eastern parts of Japan in the early Edo period.

In some regions, *Mazu* festivals have been celebrated since the Edo period albeit on a small scale. An interesting fact is that *Mazu* was introduced into eastern parts of Japan after Japan adopted the so-called *Sakoku*(鎖国) policy. Students immediately show their interest in this fact.

2. Reviewing Japanese foreign policy in the Edo era

One of the major themes in early modern Japanese history at Japanese high schools is the *Sakoku*. It has previously been defined as the *cause* of Japan's "isolation from and falling behind in world developments," and viewed in a negative light.

However, the history of Japan now taught to high school students sees the *Sakoku* as restrictions on interactions and trade with other countries rather than a *shutdown* of international relations. In addition, current textbooks do not emphasize Nagasaki as the only port of trade with the Netherlands as Nagasaki was also an important window through which trade was conducted with China. Furthermore, there have been calls to recognize the importance of diplomatic relations with Korea through Tsushima, and with the Ryukyu Kingdom through Satsuma, present-day Kagoshima, as well as trade with the north-eastern regions of China through Matsumae in Hokkaidō during the same period. This policy of restricting foreign trade can be seen not only in Japan but also in policies of various East Asian nations in the same period. As a part of this policy the Japanese government forbade Japanese people from traveling and returning from overseas. Although, in principle, the inflow of foreign persons and objects was restricted, people and goods continued to arrive in Japan; it was during this period that *Mazu* was introduced into Japan.

From this point of view, the way we have previously seen Edo culture as being formed in "Japan-specific" ways changes. "*Genroku*(元禄) culture" of the Edo period seems under the influence of the culture that Chinese exiles brought with them in the same period.

This can also be deduced from representations in language. In Japan, names of Chinese dynasties are pronounced in Japanese. For example, Tang is pronounced as Tou, Song as Sou, and Yuan as Gen. However, the Ming and Qing are pronounced far closer to their Chinese pronunciation: – as Min rather than Mei and as Shin rather than Sei. Given that the pronunciations have remained close to Chinese pronunciation, it is possible to assume that a relatively large number of Chinese people had come to Japan.

3. Chinese refugees and the Japanese hosts

The migration of large numbers of Chinese people to Japan was caused by disorders afflicting mainland China during the period of dynastic change from the Ming to the Qing, a period known in Japan as *Kai-Hentai*(華夷変態). Amid the chaos, great numbers of Chinese people migrated to Southeast Asia. Some of them turned their heads toward Japan, which at the time finally established political stability. This essay provides examples of four notable personages who came to Japan, including two in the first half of the 17th century and two in the latter half, and the two *daimyō*(大名) who received them.

The first half of the 17th century saw the arrival of Chen Yuan-Ping(陳元贊), under the patronage of Tokugawa Yoshinao(徳川義直) of the Owari domain, which controlled the region surrounding modern-day Nagoya City, and Zhang Chenfu(張振甫), who came to Japan in 1647. Tokugawa Yoshinao was a descendant of Tokugawa Ieyasu(徳川家康) and was known for being in favor of providing the exiled Ming government with military assistance .

A theory exists that, Zhang Chenfu was the last Crown Prince, Zhu Cilang(朱慈娘), of the Chongzhen Emperor(崇禎帝) in the Ming dynasty. According to records of the Tokugawa Shogunate and a Dutch Company's Journal of Nagasaki, Zhu Cilang and his entire clan, which consisted of 360 people, commandeered a Portuguese ship in 1647 and was docked at Nagasaki. Only 30 close relatives were granted entrance into Japan and entrusted to the Owari domain by the government without this being publicly declared. Zhu Cilang changed his name to Zhang Chenfu to hide the fact that he is in exile and started to practice medicine in the Owari domain. He passed his skills and knowledge to his grandchildren. Traces of him can be found today in the name of a town, Chenfu Town (Shinpo-chō in Japanese) , which is located in Nagoya.

The latter half of the 17th century saw the arrival of Zhu Zhiyu(朱舜水), under the patronage of Tokugawa Mitsukuni(德川光圀) of the Mito domain, which controlled the region surrounding modern-day Mito City, and Donggao Xinyue(東臯心越). Tokugawa Mitsukuni was another descendant of Ieyasu, and was ideologically strongly influenced by Tokugawa Yoshinao.

Zhu Zhiyu and Donggao Xinyue participated in Zheng Chenggong(鄭成功)'s anti-Qing movement, and fled to Japan after a defeat in the battle of Nanjing in 1659. Tokugawa Mitsukuni received these exiles not only for the purpose of introducing Chinese culture into Japan, but also in order to be able to assess contemporary situations in East Asia accurately. In fact, Mitsukuni oversaw three investigations of Yezo in the 1680s. These investigations were carried out in light of the sense of crisis felt by the Shogunate and the Mito domain concerning the situation in Northeast Asia that foretold a collision of Qing China and Russia, and who saw trade with Yezo as a major source of revenue.

In 1676, Donggao Xinyue entered Nagasaki via Kagoshima. He was detained in Nagasaki under suspicion of being a spy for the Qing. He was released in 1683 through the efforts of Tokugawa Mitsukuni and moved to Mito, bringing two statues of *Mazu* with him from Nagasaki. This led to the introduction of *Mazu* into East Japan.

It is worth mentioning that while *Mazu* is known as *Tian-hou*(天后), “Empress of Heaven,” in Taiwan, she is more commonly known in Japan and Okinawa as *Tian-fei*(天妃), “Princess of Heaven.” The title “Empress of Heaven” became the norm after the Qing conquered Taiwan. Places where *Mazu* had been introduced and held strong anti-Qing sentiment maintained the use of the old title “Princess of Heaven.” Tian-fei Elementary School, where remains of a Tian-fei shrine can be found, in Naha City, Okinawa is a fine example.

4. Spreading Tian-fei belief in East Japan

In 1671 an eastern shipping route was opened up, stretching from Yezo to Edo along the Pacific Ocean coast. Because this shipping route passed through Mito, Mitsukuni prepared a base port and sea gods on both sides of the Naka River that ran through Mito into the Pacific Ocean. The principal object of worship at the Isohama Tian-fei Shrine, which was built on the southern side of the river, was a statue of *Tian-fei* brought to Nagasaki by Donggao Xinyue. From here, the *Tian-fei* worship spread in the eastern parts of Japan. Soon afterwards, several shrines dedicated to *Mazu* appeared between Yezo and Mito. The northernmost shrine for *Mazu* is the Ooma Inari Shrine, built in Aomori in 1696, which is located at the northern tip of the island of Honshu.

At the beginning of the Edo period, course of the Tone River was artificially changed as a part of the

cultivation of the Kanto Plains , for the sake of creating a passage for commodities moving from the eastern parts of Japan to Edo. The Tone River basin is the site of over at least thirty *mizu jinja* or *sui jinja* (水神社), means water shrines, built in particular shapes at the lower reaches of the river. From the middle of the Edo period onwards, through multiple post-flood reconstructions, only one of these shrines, “Arakawa Tian-fei Palace” was dedicated to *Tian-fei*. Details of how this shrine came about is unknown. The Mazu festival was celebrated there, although the date of this festival moved two months from the date of her birth, which is on the twenty-third day of the third lunar month of the lunar calendar.

This is how the *Mazu* worship spread in the Edo period along the coastal regions of the eastern parts of Japan. However, after the Edo period the people forgot *Mazu*. The reason behind that lies in her relationship with the *sonnō jōi*(尊王攘夷) movement during the Bakumatsu era. Tokugawa Nariaki(徳川斉昭), the lord of Mito during the Bakumatsu, was a daimyō known for being an active proponent of the *jōi* faction and responsible for an extremely nationalistic reform of the shrines within his territory. In this reform process *Mazu* was considered a “foreign idol” and replaced with Oto Tachibana Hime(弟橘媛), a traditional Japanese goddess of sea voyages. The statues brought by Xinyue were removed. However, people of the local town of Ōarai call the shrine “ten-pi san” and celebrate the Tian-fei Festival annually at the end of April up until the present day.

5. Teaching practice related *Mazu*

The largest Chinatown in Japan can be found in Kanagawa, and I have supervised several school tours trips around it as part of off-campus learning about global history. It seems easier to imagine “the Mazo” goddess as a shrine to *Mazu* that are now built. However, it is added that “Chinese ships did not come; she is now followed in the same way as in Taiwan as a goddess of safety.”

Both Japanese history and World history are compulsory subjects in public high schools in Kanagawa. In most cases, World History Type A and Japanese History Type A (which focuses on the modern era) are compulsory, while humanities students can take Japanese History Type B and World History Type B, which cover *Mazu*. Japanese History Type B covers *Wakō*, *Sakoku* and trade in Nagasaki. World History Type B makes it possible to learn from portraits and images that cover “The Era of Great Trade”, the migration of overseas Chinese across Asia, Zheng Chenggong and Taiwan, although unfortunately they are not open to students following the “science course”.

However, many schools in Kanagawa organize school trips to Okinawa for second-year students. As a part of preparation for the trip many schools offers classes about history and culture of Okinawa. Some of my students discovered the Tian-fei Elementary School as part of their research on the commerce of the Ryukyu Kingdom during the Middle Ages.

Finally, I worked for Yokosuka Otsu High School in the southern part of the Miura Peninsula that lies at the mouth of Tokyo Bay, close to Uraga where Perry landed. At the tip of the Miura Peninsula stands the Hashirimizu Shrine, where the aforementioned Oto Tachibana Hime is worshipped. She accompanied her husband Yamato Takeru no Mikoto(日本武尊) on his expeditions around the eastern provinces, and offered herself to the seas to calm stormy waves at the point of crossing Tokyo Bay. That is to say, in Japan her shrine is a central Shintō shrine for the creed of sea rescuing. Elementary school students all learn this story as part of local history.

Oto Tachibana Hime became a goddess who protected the Imperial Japanese Navy at Yokosuka naval

base during the Meiji era. The predecessor of Yokosuka Otsu High School, was set up to educate and train future wives of the Japanese naval officers. Oto Tachibana Hime is mentioned in the lyrics of the school song of Yokosuka Otsu High School. I would like to mention that, it was not hard for the students to understand *Mazu* as they see her as the “Chinese Oto Tachibana Hime.”

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*Because of sudden illness, SATOH absented from the congress. His paper was presented by KANDA Motoshige (Kamakura Gakuen Junior and Senior High School)