

“Myth and History: Shi Xing during the Imjin War and the Construction of His Myth by Chosŏn Korea” (in Chinese)

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Abstract

Slide 1



神話與歷史
—萬曆朝鮮之役中的石星與朝鮮所建構的神話

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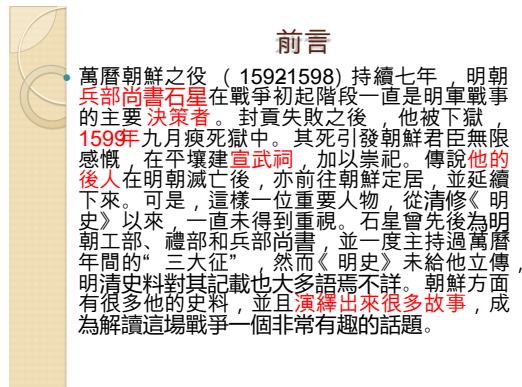
Myth and History: Shi Xing during the Imjin War and the Construction of His Myth by Chosŏn Korea.

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Slide 2



前言

萬曆朝鮮之役（1592-1598）持續七年，明朝兵部尚書石星在戰爭初起階段一直是明軍戰事的主要決策者。封貢失敗之後，他被下獄，1599年九月瘐死獄中。其死引發朝鮮君臣無限感慨，在平壤建宣武祠，加以崇祀。傳說他的後人在明朝滅亡後，亦前往朝鮮定居，並延續下來。可是，這樣一位重要人物，從清修《明史》以來，一直未得到重視。石星曾先後為明朝工部、禮部和兵部尚書，並一度主持過萬曆年間的“三大征”，然而《明史》未給他立傳，明清史料對其記載也大多語焉不詳。朝鮮方面有很多他的史料，並且演繹出來很多故事，成為解讀這場戰爭一個非常有趣的話題。

Foreword

Shi Xing was the Minister of War and main policy maker of the Ming dynasty during the opening stages of the Imjin War. After the investiture of Japan within the tribute system failed, Shi Xing was imprisoned and died in 1599. In Chosŏn Korea, his death led to an outburst of emotion and he was venerated thereafter in P'yŏngyang's Sŏnmu temple. It is said that his descendants lived in Chosŏn as well. Shi Xing has, however, been marginalized in the official Ming dynastic history, even though he held many important posts and presided over the three large military campaigns of the Wanli reign. Many historical materials about him can be found in Korea, however, which are interesting for interpreting the history of the Imjin War.

Slide 3

一、石星早年經歷

- 石星（1537—1599），字拱辰，號東泉。1559年，中進士。石星本是一個文人，年輕時追隨王世貞，是當時文壇“續五子”之一。他生來有著文人的狂氣與意氣，大膽敢言。因為直言，進入官場不久，他即因言獲罪。1567年十一月，他升為吏科給事中。後因上疏論事，觸怒隆慶帝，被廷杖六十，被趕出朝廷，夫人鄭氏亦自盡。這是石星仕途與人生中一個極為重要的事件，反映出他的性格是敢做敢為的，但又行事莽撞，不顧後果。
- 1568年十二月，“吏部言，前給事中石星以愚戇獲譴，今省改既久，子力正強，乞賜錄用。”但並未獲准。吏部稱其“愚戇”，相當貼切，這正是他的性格特點，影響了他的一生，在某種程度上，也影響了明朝的抗倭援朝戰爭。
- 石星被遣回鄉，閒賦5年。一直到隆慶去世，萬曆帝即位後，吏部再次要求起用隆慶年間因言獲罪的官員，石星名列其中，得復原職。從1587年到1591年，石星先後為工部尚書、禮部尚書，最後為兵部尚書，地位越來越重要。



1. Shi Xing's early life

- Shi Xing (1537-1599) became a *jìnshì* in 1559. In his youth he was a man of letters, who followed Wang Shizhen. Because he was reckless and blunt, he soon was punished for his speech. In 1567 he offended the Longqing Emperor (r. 1567-1572), which reflected his daring but rash nature.
- In 1568 the Ministry of Personnel called him reformed, if “stupidly honest”, and tried to reinstate him, but it was refused. His character affected his behaviour to a certain extent during the Imjin War.
- After five years of idleness in his hometown he was finally reinstated during the reign of Emperor Wanli (r. 1573-1620). From 1587 to 1591, Shi Xing's status rose and he served successively as Minister of Work, Minister of Rites, and Minister of War.

Slide 4

壬辰倭亂爆發

- 石星為兵部尚書的次年，1592年，考驗接踵而至。二月，致仕副總兵哱拜在寧夏發動叛亂，連陷河西47堡，很快佔領整個寧夏。四月，豐臣秀吉發動侵朝戰爭，朝鮮三京陷落，連連向明廷告急。石星居中調度，很快于九月將哱拜之亂平定，穩定了寧夏邊疆，然後專力處理朝鮮戰事。
- 在朝鮮戰事上，石星充分發揮了影響力。戰事前半期明朝對於朝鮮戰事的基本策略與他有密切關係，其中最主要的是三件事：
 - 第一，日本侵朝，大敵當前，明朝是否出兵，何時出兵；
 - 第二，他直接主導了明軍壬辰（1592）援朝的戰事，取得平壤大捷，扭轉了朝鮮戰場不利局面；
 - 第三，碧蹄館之役後，戰事進入僵持階段後，他主持了封貢事宜。

The Imjin War erupts

- Challenges presented themselves one after another in 1592, the year after Shi Xing became Minister of War. In the second month, military officer Ba bai (1526-1592) launched a rebellion in Ningxia and occupied the entire province. In the fourth month, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) invaded Chosŏn Korea and it lost three capital cities to the invaders. Again and again it requested emergency assistance from the Ming court. Shi Xing was involved in dispatching troops and in the ninth month the Ba bai rebellion had already been quelled, stabilizing Ningxia. Afterwards he concentrated on the war in Korea.
- During the first half of the Imjin War, Shi Xing intimately concerned himself with the main strategy of the Ming court, especially the following three items:

- First, the question of whether the Ming dynasty should send troops and when;
- Second, he directly directed the Ming army during the hostilities of the Imjin War, recapturing P'yŏngyang and reversing the unfavourable course of the war;
- Third, after the Battle of Pyŏkchegwan (1593) and the following military stalemate, he presided over the issue of Japan's tributary status.

Slide 5

三、石星力主援朝，乃為繼室柳氏報恩？

- 朝鮮戰事初期，舉朝議論紛紛，石星在明廷堅決主張出兵援朝。朝鮮君臣從一開始就認識到，如果沒有石星的支持，明朝很可能不出兵；即便出兵，也不大可能全力以赴，因而對石星充滿感激之情。但不知從何時開始，朝鮮流傳起一種說法：
- 石星之所以如此盡心誠意地幫助朝鮮，拯救朝鮮於水火，是因為其繼室柳氏曾受過朝鮮通事洪純彥的恩情，石星受其夫人的影響，因而要全力援助朝鮮。

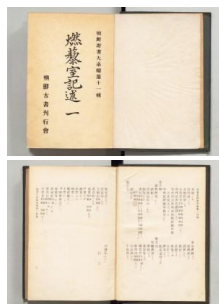
2. Shi Xing forcefully advocated helping Chosŏn Korea, to pay a debt of gratitude owed by the family of his new wife lady Liu?

- The early days of the Imjin War gave rise to many court debates and Shi Xing firmly advocated dispatching troops to help Chosŏn Korea. The Korean king and his ministers realized that, without the support of Shi Xing, the Ming court probably would not dispatch troops. Even if troops were dispatched, there was also a not high probability that the Chinese would go all-out. Therefore, Chosŏn Korea felt indebted to Shi Xing. However, it is unknown when a kind of saying started to circulate in Korea:
- “The reason why Shi Xing with all his heart's sincerity came to the aid of Chosŏn Korea and saved it from the water and fire, was because the family of his new wife lady Liu in the past received favours from the Korean envoy Hong Sunyŏn. Because of the influence of his wife, he consequently wholeheartedly dedicated himself to supporting Chosŏn Korea.

Slide 6

朝鮮神話之來源

- 此事散見於李肯翊 (1736-1806) 的《燃藜室記述》、《通文顯志》、朴趾源 (1737-1805) 的《熱河日記》、尹行旻 (1762-1801) 《碩齋稿》等書籍中。
- 1928年，鄭寅普 (1893-1950) 將相關史料輯為《唐陵君遺事徵》一書，凡38頁。諸家記述大同小異，以李肯翊的《燃藜室記述》最為詳盡。當今韓國學術界大多言之鑿鑿，信以為真，那就更有考察其真偽的必要。(鄭明基有詳細研究，金英淑對洪純彥在對明外交上的作用進行了考察，卻未談此軼事。)
- 《燃藜室記述》是一部紀事本末體史書，其中有“宗系辨譯”一目，但並未載錄洪純彥與石星繼室夫人，而是將此事置於《燃藜室記述別集》中之“譯舌典故”中陳述。



The origin of Chosŏn's myth

- This matter can be traced in Yi Kŭng-ik's (1736-1806) *Yŏllyŏsil kisul (Record and Narrative of the Burning Lamb's Quarters Studio)* and *T'ongmungwan-ji*

(Compendium of the Interpreter's Bureau); Park Chi-wŏn's (1737-1805) *Yŏlha ilgi* (Yŏlha Diary); Yun Haeng'im's (1762-1801) *Sŏkchaego*, etc.

- In 1928, Chŏng In-bo (1893-1950) compiled the relevant historical materials, 38 pages in total, and collected them in his book *Tangnŭnggun yusajing*. The narratives of all are similar with only minor differences, and Yi Kŭng-ik's *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* contains the most detailed version. At present, Korean academic circles hold it to be true, hence it is even more necessary to examine its veracity. (Chung Myung-ki has done a detailed study, and Kim Young-sook has examined Hong Sunyŏn's role in the diplomacy with the Ming dynasty, but he does not mention this anecdote).
- *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* is a traditional history record, which presents history in separate accounts of important topics, but it did not yet record that Hong Sunyŏn did favours for the new wife of Shi Xing. This is narrated instead in the *Yŏllyŏsil kisul byŏlchi* anthology, in the part titled *Yŏksŏl chŏn'go* (Classical Stories of Translated Tongues).

Slide 7

《燃藜室記述別集》之“譯舌典故”

• 洪純彥，少落拓有義氣。嘗赴燕，遼州。夜遊青樓，見一女子極有殊色，意悅之，托主姬要歡。見其表，問之，則曰：妾父母本浙江人，仕宦京師，不幸遭病疾，俱沒，旅櫬在館，獨妾一身，返喪無不不得已自斃。言畢，哽咽泣下。純彥憫然，問其葬費，可賙金。即傾囊與之，終不近焉。女請姓名，終不言。女曰：次人不肯言，妾亦不敢受賜，乃言姓而出，同行莫不嘆其迂。

• 女後為禮部侍郎石星繼室，星高其義，每見東使，必問洪通官來否。

• 純彥還國，以債未償，逋四年。時本國以案系辨誣，前後十餘使皆未得請。上怒教曰：此案存之罪也，今行又未准請，當斬首譯一人於足譯譯無敢願行者。相與議曰：洪純彥無孀生出獄門之望，吾輩宜賙償債本，贖出而送之，可得准事而還，在策為幸。雖死，固無所乃齊進前其意，純彥慨然許之。

• 宣祖甲申(1584)，純彥隨費廷斌到北京。望見朝陽門外錦幕連雲，有一騎疾馳來，問洪判事，言禮部石侍郎聞公來，與夫人迎候。俄有數十余擁夫人，自帳中出，純彥驚欲退。石星曰：若記遼州地思事乎？我聞夫人言，若誠天下有此女，即臨拜，純彥固辭。星曰：此報恩拜，君不可不愛，仍大張宴。星問東使此來何事，純彥以實對。星曰勿慮。留館月餘，使事果得准請，星實為之地也。

• 及還，夫人以函處十，各盛錦段十疋，曰：此是妾手織，以待公匪純彥辭不受。還到鴨江，見抬柩者置其柩而去。錦緞端皆朝恩二字。純彥歸後，繼國二等勳，封唐鏡君。人稱所居洞為報恩役洞(即今美洞)。其孫孝孫，為肅川府使。

“Classical Stories of Translated Tongues” in *Yŏllyŏsil kisul*

- Hong Sunyŏn was a little unconventional and possessed a code of brotherhood. He once attended a banquet and arrived in Tongzhou. At night he travelled to a brothel and saw a woman of outstanding beauty and wanted to delight her. He asked the hostess if she wanted to make him happy. Viewing her plain clothes, he asked her, and she said: “My parents are originally from Zhejiang and my father was an official in the capital. Unfortunately, we met disease and hardship and they died. They are in a temporary coffin in an accommodation for guests, it's only me, a single person, and I have to return to do the funerary arrangements without support. I have no alternative but to sell myself.” When she finished talking, she choked with sobs and cried. Hong Sunyŏn inquired after the burial costs, and she could use 300 pieces of silver. Thereupon he upended a bag and offered it and in the end he did not get intimate with her. The woman inquired after his name, but he did not tell her. The woman said: “If the great man is not willing to talk, then I also do not dare accept this gift. Only then did he tell his name and left. Among his fellow travellers there were none who did not scoff at the impracticality.
- The woman afterwards became the new wife of Assistant Minister of Rites Shi Xing and Shi Xing became more important. Every time he saw eastern envoys he had to inquire whether the envoy Hong Sunyŏn was coming or not.

- After Hong Sunyŏn returned home, he was arrested and imprisoned for several years, because he did not repay a public loan. At this time our state sent out around ten envoys for the purpose of gaining Ming imperial recognition for the new king of Chosŏn, but all were not granted an audience. The king angrily stated: “This is the fault of the interpreters! If we go now and we are not allowed an audience, I will act to behead one interpreter. Consequently, no interpreters dared and wished to go. Close advisors suggested: “Hong Sunyŏn has not obtained a peek outside of the prison gates, we should compensate for the lost money and let him pay his debt and redeem himself and dispatch him. If he is granted the affair, and then if he returns and is in the gutter, it will be fortunate indeed. Although he will be dead, as a matter of course there will be no hatred.” Thereupon, it was neatly brought forward and the intention explained, and Hong Sunyŏn generously allowed it.
- In the 21st year of King Sŏnjo (1567-1608), Hong Sunyŏn went to the yellow court and elegantly arrived in Beijing. Outside of the Chaoyang gate he saw a brocade tent connected to the clouds in the sky, and there was one horseman who speedily galloped and came and asked after Hong’s specific business. He said Assistant Minister of Rites Shi Xing had enquired after the coming of Hong and he was awaiting to greet him with his wife. Suddenly he saw more than ten slave girls supporting the wife, and they carried her out of a tent. Hong Sunyŏn was stupefied and wanted to retreat. Shi Xing said: “Does the gentleman remember the favour you did at Tongzhou? I have heard my wife say that the gentleman is sincere and a righteous person in this world.” The wife saw him and kowtowed. Hong Sunyŏn firmly refused. Shi Xing said: “This is paying a debt of gratitude and honoring you, the gentleman cannot not accept it.” Hence a large banquet was spread out. Shi Xing asked the eastern envoy for what reason he had come, and Hong Sunyŏn replied with the truth. Shi Xing said: “Do not worry!” He stayed in the accommodation for more than a month, and the envoy’s business was successfully granted an audience. Shi Xing really acted out of his position.
- Reaching his return, the wife had him ten letters with mother-of-pearl inlays, and each contained ten brocade paragraphs as components, and she said: “This is composed by my hand, to entertain the lord’s arrival!” Hong Sunyŏn departed and did not accept them. When he returned to the Yalu River, he saw bickering people, set up his paragraphs and left. When the brocade was held level, the two characters *baoen* (meaning “paying a debt of gratitude”) stuck out. After Hong Sunyŏn returned, he gained the merit of the second rank of the radiant country, and conferred a thick silk Tang fabric. People said that he lives in a cave named the Repaying a Debt of Gratitude Paragraphs Cave (nowadays the Beautiful Cave). His grandchild was a filial grandson, a Sukch’ŏn County envoy.

Slide 8

原始出處為《菊堂俳語》

- 《燃藜室記述》未附其出處為《菊堂俳語》，可見，此事乃是來源於《菊堂俳語》。《菊堂俳語》的作者是鄭泰齊（1612-1669）。鄭泰齊官至禮曹參判，曾三次以書狀官、正朝使身份出使清朝。其所記細節略有出入。但所謂“俳語”，乃談諧調笑語之意，故當不得真。
- 《菊堂俳語》中說法出自何處，既未說明，在鄭寅普的《唐陵君遺事徵》書中也無考證，故為現在所能追溯的最早源頭，就是鄭泰齊出使清朝途中所聽到的亦未可知。從現在所得資料看來，以後諸家記述皆出自此書，因為李肯翊的《燃藜室記述》乃是一部重要史書，故而以他所記為準。

The original source is *Kuktang paeŏ*

- At the end of the *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* it is included that the source is the *Kuktang paeŏ*, which shows that this is the source. The author was Chŏng T'ae-che (1612-1669), an official of the Chosŏn Ministry of Rites. He was sent to the Qing dynasty as an envoy. The details of his record have a few discrepancies, but his so-called *paeŏ* conveys a humorous and teasing intention, and therefore it cannot serve as a true account.
- The origin of the account in the *Kuktang paeŏ* is neither explained nor verified in Chŏng In-bo's *Tangnŭnggun yusajing*. Hence, the earliest source that can be traced is Chŏng T'ae-che's version that he heard on the way to the Qing dynasty and it is also uncertain. Judging from the information obtained so far, all the accounts of this story trace back to this source. Because Yi Kŭng-ik's *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* is an important historical record, his record serves as the standard.

Slide 9

其它版本

- 其一，有官方色彩的《通文館志》。《通文館志》於1708年由司譯院譯官金指南和金慶門父子二人編纂而成，肅宗四十六年（1720）初次刊行。該書卷七《人物》欄目中，談及洪純彥，亦著重寫了此事。然後說石星為代其夫人報恩，為朝鮮做了兩件重要的事情：一是幫助朝鮮解決宗系辯誣之事，再則是壬辰倭亂時，作為兵部尚書的石星，“獨力言救之，且請先賜軍器火藥，吾東得復為國，而免其魚者，皆石公力也。”《通文館志》所載此事，亦出自《菊堂俳語》，只是故事細節上略有改變。
- 其二，乃記載於文集的材料，先後見諸尹行恁《碩齋稿》和朴趾源的《熱河日記》之《玉匣夜話》。細節上亦稍有出入，不過皆將石星竭力援朝之事，看成是石星個人的報恩行為。但仔細考察，會發現這種報恩說法漏洞百出。
- 此外還演繹出多個版本，不過細節上大同小異。

Other versions

- First, there is the official *T'ongmengwan-ji*. This was compiled in 1708 by interpreters at Sayŏkkwan, father and son Kim Chi-nam and Kim Kyŏng-mun, and printed and published for the first time in 1720 during the sixteenth year of King Sukchong's (1660-1721) reign. The seventh volume of the book mentions Hong Sunyŏn and narrated the story again. It mentioned Shi Xing had done two important things for Chosŏn Korea to repay Hong's kindness on behalf of his wife. One was to help resolve the Korean king's succession issue. Moreover, during the Imjin War, Shi Xing was the Minister of War. "Only by his

efforts and words he rescued them, and furthermore he gave weapons and gunpowder. We easterners came to recover our country and spared our fishermen through the efforts of Lord Shi Xing.” *T’ongmungwa-ji* recorded this matter, which also came from the *Kuktang paeŏ*. Only the details of the story have changed.

- Second, there is the material recorded in the literary collections (*wenji*), successively in Yun Haeng'im's *Sŏkchaego* and Park Chi-wŏn's *Yŏlha ilgi* (in *Okkap yahwa*). There are also slight discrepancies in the details, but they all regard Shi Xing's efforts to come to the aid of Chosŏn Korea as his individual action to repay a debt of gratitude. However, upon closer inspection, you will discover that this retelling of repaying a debt of gratitude is full of loopholes.
- In addition, it still evolved in multiple versions, however the details are similar with minor differences.

Slide 10

故事情節分析

- 首先，朝鮮宗系辯誣成功，洪純彥作為首譯，得二等功，合乎情理，並無特別。
- 宗系辯誣成功，發生在1584年（宣祖十七年，萬曆十二年）。洪純彥確是宗系辯誣使之上通事，當年十一月初一日，使行人員還自北京，向國王報告，並上明朝改正之《大明會典》。朝鮮國王李昖將宗系辯誣使行人員，一律嘉獎。“頒光國、平雞兩勳臣券，祭告、會盟如儀，賜賚有差，大赦國內”一等功三人，尹根壽、黃廷戔、俞泓等人；二等功7人，洪純彥是其中之一；三等功21人。
- 洪純彥作為首譯，被授予二等功，符合情理，但並沒有將其特別突出，字裡行間，也絲毫未提到洪純彥有何特別的貢獻。若果真像《燃藜室記述別集》等所言，明朝是因石星報答洪純彥恩情才滿足朝鮮辯誣使要求的，那麼朝鮮國王只給洪純彥加二等功，不大合乎情理。

Storyline analysis

- First of all, the succession issue of the Chosŏn king was successfully attended to, and Hong Sunyŏn functioned as the main interpreter and obtained second-class merit. This is sensible and nothing special.
- The resolution of the succession issue happened in 1584 (seventeenth year of King Sŏnjo, twelfth year of Emperor Wanli). Hong Sunyŏn was indeed the envoy and main interpreter attending to this matter. On the first day of the eleventh month of that year, the envoys returned from Beijing and reported to the king, and the Ming court amended the *Da Ming huidian* (*Statutes of the Great Ming*). King Sŏnjo commended all the envoys on this embassy. Seven men were awarded second-class merits and Hong Sunyŏn was one of them.
- As the main interpreter, Hong Sunyŏn was awarded the second-class merit, which follows conventional etiquette, but was also not something outstanding. Between the lines there was also no mention of any special contribution by Hong Sunyŏn. If the story narrated in *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* is true, and the Ming dynasty granted the succession because Hong Sunyŏn was repaid a debt of gratitude by Shi Xing, then it is not very reasonable that the Chosŏn king only awarded Hong Sunyŏn a second-class merit.

Slide 11

其次，從整個故事來看，許多細節皆不可信

- 鄭寅普《唐陵君遺事徵》所言：
“觀諸所載唐陵事狀，類皆俳而不莊物，其體勢小說稗官之流。岱淵稍部勒之，燕岩濟以陵屬，然亦少誇矣。求其樸而不佞、質而有度，參諸左右而掣然而皆得其所當者，無有也。於是眾說各主所聞，紛紜而莫衷一是，故一事之傳，彼此各異，即如(1)禮部、兵部之官，當時稍參核典故，則寧至滋疑於後如彼哉！(2)至於輸金之數，多寡參差(3)且所謂石星夫人之所以自致于其父母者，或謂賣身以贖父之死，或謂自鬻女閭，將以葬其父母，(4)或謂在皇城，或謂在通州。唐陵之事遠矣，惡從以證其實哉！”

Second, when purveying the whole story, many details do not seem credible

- Chŏng In-bo's *Tangnŭnggun yusajing* states the following:
“Viewing all the facts that were reported by *Tangnŭng*, they are all generally dramatic comedy and not serious matters. Their form is like the short stories of storytellers. [...] They seek simplicity and are unpolished, their quality has limits. [...] As a result of the diverse opinions of each master that I have heard being diverse and not agreeing with each other, and because the transmissions of one story each differ from one another, namely: (1) if officials from the Ministry of Rites and the Ministry of War at that time slightly verified the story behind this, then they would rather arrive at growing doubts afterwards, like this! (2) As to the figure of transported silver, the amount is thin and uneven. (3) Moreover, what is said to be the reason why Shi Xing's wife devoted herself to her parents, it is said she prostituted herself to redeem her father's death, and some people say that she prostituted herself in a brothel in order to bury her father and mother. (4) Some people say it was in the imperial city, and some people say that it was Tongzhou. The affair of *Tangnŭng* is already distant, I loathe engaging in proving its veracity!

Slide 12

故事情節之質疑

- (5) 洪純彥只言其姓，洪姓在朝鮮並非鮮見，焉能讓石星與其夫人認定是洪純彥呢？《菊堂俳語》中並未言洪純彥因將銀送給柳氏而下獄，《燃黎室記述》加入這個細節，更渲染其傳奇性，但也更為失真了。
- (6) 《菊堂俳語》中將洪純彥在通州青樓初見柳氏和再見面時，有一時間說法即“三十年後”。也就是說，洪純彥施恩柳氏在三十年前，柳氏感恩送報恩銀在三十年後，這樣離奇，更不可信。故而以後諸家記載皆省去了這個時間。這也充分說明，在樸述者看來，這一情節太不可信。
- (7) 作為朝中大臣的石星，不顧朝廷禮儀，大張旗鼓地在朝陽門外迎接洪純彥一行，也與朝儀不符。只有這樣杜撰，才能讓人更加欽佩，但也就更為失真了。同時，石星從未任過禮部侍郎，萬曆十二年（1584年）四月，石星只是左副都御史，八月升為兵部左侍郎，他既不可能也無權力左右朝廷更正《明會典》錯誤。
- (8) 當時朝鮮禁用白銀，洪純彥也不可能帶300兩白銀；即便是公用銀，也不可能全部交給譯官。
- 故而，事實上不可信，情理上說不通。

Doubts about the storyline

- (5) Hong Sunyŏn only told his surname, and the name Hong was not very rare in Chosŏn Korea. How could Shi Xing and his wife have firmly believed it was Hong Sunyŏn? *Kuktang paeŏ* does not yet mention Hong Sunyŏn is imprisoned, because he gave the silver to Lady Liu. *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* added this detail, exaggerating the legend even more, but losing even more credibility.
- (6) *Kuktang paeŏ* describes how Hong Sunyŏn sees Lady Liu in a brother in Tongzhou and when they meet again, it is described as “30 years later”. In other words, Hong Sunyŏn did a favor for Lady Liu 30 years earlier and Lady

Liu felt grateful and paid a debt of gratitude in satin 30 years later. This is bizarre, and moreover, it cannot be credible. Therefore, afterwards all authors omitted this time duration. This abundantly makes clear that from the point of view of the ones duplicating the narration, this plot was not credible.

- (7) Shi Xing, as a high official of the Ming dynasty, ignored the court etiquette and made a big show of welcoming Hong Sunyŏn and his party outside the Chaoyang Gate, which is inconsistent with court rituals. Only when this is fabricated, can you appreciate it, but then it loses credibility even more. At the same time, Shi Xing had not been appointed yet as Assistant Minister of Rites. In the fourth month of the twelfth year of Wanli (1584), Shi Xing was merely an imperial censor and in the eighth month he was promoted to Left Assistant Minister of War, hence he could at that time not have had the ability and the authority to induce the Ming court to correct errors in the *Ming huidian*.
- (8) At that time Chosŏn Korea forbade the use of silver, and Hong Sunyŏn could not have had 300 *liang* of silver. Even if it was government silver, it could not have been entirely handed over to an interpreter.
- Therefore, in reality it is not credible, in terms of common sense it is illogical.

Slide 13

第三，親歷者記錄全無，最早的記錄乃五十多年後才出現

- 現存史料皆是此事發生很晚以後才出現的，即便以《菊堂佳話》這個最早記載看，也在半個多世紀以後。親歷者記錄闕如。
- 朝鮮每次使行皆有書狀官記錄使行途中的見聞，而正使、副使、贊正官、通譯等皆有記錄使行日程的習慣。在《燕行錄全集》中，除了編於日治時期的鄭寅普的《唐陵君遺事征》外，無任何其它相關史料。
- 在《朝鮮宣祖實錄》中，絲毫未提及洪純彥有恩于石星繼室夫人之事。縱觀整部《朝鮮王朝實錄》，也無一字提及他們二人有何關係。即便屢屢敘述石星力主出兵朝鮮，也絲毫未提及石星是為了感恩。如果真有此事，為何不見載于《朝鮮王朝實錄》？現今根本找不到洪純彥等當事人所留下的任何記載，只有後人一些追記和杜撰。
- 既然毫無關係，朝鮮人為何要杜撰這個類似神話的傳奇故事呢？留待下文解答。

Third, there is no record of witnesses, and the earliest record appeared more than 50 years later

- Existing historical materials all appear long after the incident happened, and even the earliest source, *Kuktang paeŏ*, appeared only half a century later. There is a lack of records left by people who personally witnessed the event.
- Every time Chosŏn Korea sent envoys there would be clerks recording what the embassy heard and saw while *en route*. Other types of participating officials similarly had a habit of recording the itinerary of the embassy in the *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip*. Besides Chŏng In-bo's *Tangnŏnggun yusajing*, compiled during the Japanese occupation, there are no other related historical materials.
- In the *Veritable Records of Chosŏn Sŏnjo* there is not mention of Shi Xing's wife owing a debt of gratitude to Hong Sunyŏn. Even if we comb the entire *Veritable Records*, we will find not one word mentioning a connection between the two men. Even when it is repeatedly stressed that Shi Xing forcefully advocated coming to the aid of Chosŏn Korea, it never in the slightest degree suggested he did this because of a debt he owed. If there is really a factual basis for this, for what reason was it not put down in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*? Nowadays we cannot find any records left by Hong

Sunyŏn and other involved parties, only postscripts and fabrications written by later generations.

- Since a connection is completely lacking, why did the Chosŏn Koreans make up this kind of myth-like legend and story? We will see the explanation below.

Slide 14

三、石星力主出兵朝鮮的原因

- 1592年四月，豐臣秀吉侵朝，事出突然，朝鮮當即派使臣前往明朝求救，絡繹於道。但當時傳說紛紜，有人說朝鮮勾結日本，為日本先鋒，將侵略明朝。有福建海商也提供類似情報。明朝只得不斷派人前往朝鮮打探情況，以便弄明事實真相。
- 朝中議論紛紛，有人主張不當出兵，有人主張應當靜而觀變。為了弄清朝鮮戰事真相，石星募人前往打探情報，沈惟敬應徵。七月，沈惟敬前往朝鮮，打探戰事情況。與此同時，朝鮮也三番五次派使臣前來請兵，其間最為關鍵性的事件是朝鮮請兵陳奏使鄭崑壽入明，最終令明廷下決心全力救援朝鮮。

Three, the reason why Shi Xing forcefully advocates sending troops to Chosŏn Korea

- In the fourth month of 1592, Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Korea and it happened very suddenly. Chosŏn immediately sent out envoys to proceed to the Ming court to ask for help, and they came and went in a continuous stream. However, at that time circulating stories were diverse and confusing. There were people who said Chosŏn was colluding with Japan and served as the Japanese vanguard, and was going to invade the Ming dynasty. There were Fujianese sea merchants who offered similar intelligence. The Ming court could only unceasingly send people to Chosŏn Korea to make discrete inquiries about the situation, in order to figure out the truth of the matter.
- At the court it gave rise to much discussion. There were people who maintained that it was inappropriate to send the army, and there were people who maintained that they should stay calm and watch the changes. In order to gain a clear idea of the wartime conditions in Chosŏn Korea, Shi Xing recruited men to go and make inquiries discreetly for intelligence, and Shen Weijing was recruited. In the seventh month, Shen Weijing left for Chosŏn Korea to make discrete inquiries after the wartime conditions. At the same time, Chosŏn Korea again and again sent special envoys to request troops, and the most crucial event was that Chosŏn's envoy Chŏng Kon-su entered Ming China to memorialize the emperor to send troops, which finally made the Ming court decide to wholeheartedly come to the aid of Chosŏn Korea.

Slide 15

鄭崑壽之請兵

- 鄭崑壽 (1538—1602)，字汝人，號柏毅。1592年（萬曆二十年）八月，鄭崑壽為請兵陳奏使前往北京。其《行狀》中有如斯記載：
- 公即呈文禮部，乞免上、下馬宴，且請速打發兵馬，以拯小邦之急。又呈文兵部，申請益切。又書兵部尚書石星前，痛哭哀籲，悲不自勝。尚書感動，亦泣下沾襟。禮人曰：朝鮮請兵使臣，至誠哀痛，雖秦庭七日之哭，蔑以加矣。
- 鄭崑壽的《赴京日錄》詳細記載了他在北京拜見石星、商談請兵之經過。根據鄭崑壽所述並結合《朝鮮宣祖實錄》的材料，有關這次請兵過程，有幾點值得注意：
- 第一，石星自始至終是決定明朝是否出兵的關鍵人物。朝鮮使行人員到北京後，一直通過各種方式與他溝通，石星的態度也越來越明朗。鄭崑壽一行九月十八日到達北京，十一月初一日從北京出發踏上歸途。他們在北京共逗留2天，幾乎每天都與石星保持聯繫，更曾三度致函石星，懇求儘快出兵。在鄭崑壽也深知，石星是影響明朝出兵與否的最為關鍵性人物。



Chŏng Kon-su's request of troops

- In the eighth month of 1592 (twelfth year of Wanli), Chŏng Kon-su proceeded to Beijing as an envoy to present a memorial to the emperor to request troops. In his brief biography it is recorded as follows:
- After the lord left his petition with the Ministry of Rites, he pleaded for exemption from the emperor and dismounted his horse for a banquet, and furthermore requested to speedily take care of the military forces in order to deliver the small neighboring state from its grave danger. He also petitioned the Ministry of War and asked for advice. He also visited Minister of War Shi Xing, wept bitterly in sorrow and appealed to him; he was unbearably sad. The Minister was moved and also wept so much as to soak his clothes. He called people and said: "Chosŏn's special envoy to request troops is profoundly grieved with complete sincerity. Though he wept at the Qin court for seven days, none will be added."
- Chŏng Kon-su's *Pugyŏng illok* records in detail how he paid a visit to Shi Xing in Beijing and negotiated the process of requesting military aid. According to Chŏng Kon-su's description, in combination with the materials in the *Veritable Records of Chosŏn Sŏnjo*, there are several points worth noting about this process of requesting military aid:
- First of all, Shi Xing, from start to finish, was the key figure deciding whether the Ming court would send troops. After the Korean envoy arrived in Beijing, he would communicate directly with him through various means and Shi Xing's attitude also become increasingly obvious. Chŏng Kon-su's party arrived in Beijing on the eighteenth day of the ninth month and set out on its homeward journey on the first day of the eleventh month. They stayed in Beijing altogether 42 days, and almost every day Shi Xing maintained contact. He also sent letters to Shi Xing to implore him to send troops. Chŏng Kon-su realized fully that Shi Xing was the most critical figure influencing whether the Ming court would send troops or not.

Slide 16

鄭崑壽之請兵

- 第二，此次請兵過程中，各方面的消息證實朝鮮被日兵侵略屬實，因而使得明廷下定決心，全力救援朝鮮。當時石星派往朝鮮的人也帶來了消息，對於朝鮮遭受豐臣秀吉之侵略所帶來的慘重後果，予以充分說明，證實了鄭崑壽的說法，堅定了石星抗倭的決心。故而石星當即批准朝鮮購買火藥、弓箭等火器。這原本禁止朝鮮購買，是為加強朝鮮兵力而解禁的。他在建議後來先給朝鮮火藥兵器時，建議遣兵兩萬前往朝鮮。但朝中反對出兵之人甚多，石星多方斡旋，甚至要親自率兵東征。十月初十日，朝鮮使臣獲知：“石尚書題本：請身自東征，雖不允許，辭直義壯，可以想見其人。”深知石星乃全心全意救援朝鮮。
- 第三，九月底，明朝平定了寧夏哱拜之亂，穩定了國內局勢，就將寧夏戰場上的明軍將士調往朝鮮。十月十六日，明廷命李如松提督薊、遼、保定、山東軍務，充防海鹽倭總兵官，率兵援朝。因而，鄭崑壽此行可謂不辱使命，最終解決了明朝援救的問題。
- 石星之所以極力主張援救朝鮮，乃是其職責所在；明神宗之所以同意出兵，也是基於宗主國保護藩屬國的義務。他深知朝鮮對明朝的重要性，確保朝鮮主權的安寧與穩定，是明朝義不容辭的責任。石星力主出兵朝鮮，乃出於大義，看不出有任何私情。
- 可見，石星態度的堅定也是因為鄭崑壽的勸說，加上明朝探聽得到的情況，證實了鄭崑壽所言屬實。同時，明朝已經結束了平定寧夏哱拜之亂，恰好有兵力前往朝鮮。

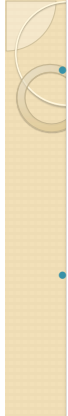
Chǒng Kon-su's request of troops

- Second, during the process of this request for troops, various sources confirmed that Chosŏn Korea had been invaded by Japan, which made the Ming court decide to come to the aid of Chosŏn Korea with wholehearted dedication. At that time, the people sent by Shi Xing to Chosŏn Korea also obtained information about the disastrous aftermath of Hideyoshi's invasion. This fully confirmed Chǒng Kon-su's statements and strengthened Shi Xing's resolve to resist the Japanese. Therefore, Shi Xing immediately approved the purchase of gunpowder, horned bows and other gunpowder weaponry by Chosŏn Korea. These purchases were originally forbidden for Chosŏn Korea, but the ban was lifted to strengthen the armed forces of Chosŏn Korea. While proposing that Liaodong province would first give Chosŏn Korea gunpowder weapons, he suggested dispatching 20,000 Liaodong soldiers to Chosŏn Korea. However, at that time there were many at court who opposed sending troops, and Shi Xing in many ways mediated, and even wanted to personally lead troops to the east. On the tenth day of the tenth month, the Korean envoy learned the following: "Minister Shi proposed this and requested to personally go on an eastern expedition. Although he was not allowed, his language was continuously righteous and strong. We can gather what kind of person he is." He realized fully Shi Xing wholeheartedly wanted to come to the aid of Chosŏn Korea.
- Third, at the end of the ninth month, the Ming dynasty quelled the Ningxia mutiny and stabilized the domestic situation, which allowed the troops in Ningxia to be transferred to Chosŏn Korea. On the sixteenth day of the tenth month, the Ming Court ordered Li Rusong, the commander of Jizhen, Liaodong, Baoding, and Shandong, to take charge of the coastal defense against the Japanese and lead the troops coming to the aid of Chosŏn Korea. Therefore, Chǒng Kon-su's trip can be said to have succeeded and finally determined the question of whether the Ming court would rescue Chosŏn Korea.
- The reason why Shi Xing forcefully advocated coming to the aid of Chosŏn Korea was because he was duty-bound. The reason why the Ming emperor agreed to send troops was also based on his obligation as suzerain to protect his vassal states. He was well aware of the importance of Chosŏn Korea to the Ming dynasty, and it was the duty of the Ming dynasty to ensure the tranquility and stability of the Chosŏn Korean royal dynasty. This was the Ming court's duty-bound responsibility. Shi Xing's main reasons to send troops to Chosŏn

Korea were thus born out of this great righteousness, and it is not possible to discern any personal motives.

- It can be seen that Shi Xing's firm attitude is also indebted to Chǒng Kon-su's persuasion, and the information obtained by the Ming dynasty confirmed that what Chǒng Kon-su said was true. At the same time, the Ming dynasty had ended the suppression of the Ningxia mutiny and just at that time had the military strength to proceed to Chosŏn Korea.

Slide 17



請兵成功與洪純彥無關

- 正因為鄭崑壽請兵成功，朝鮮給鄭崑壽也多次加官。《朝鮮宣祖實錄》多處提及鄭崑壽之功。李如松收復平壤之後，國王李昞曰：“今此討賊，專由天兵。而天兵之出，由於鄭崑壽之陳奏。鄭崑壽從當重賞，姑先加崇政。”後來肅宗、英祖也多次提及鄭崑壽之功。在《朝鮮王朝實錄》的記載中，鄭崑壽始終被認為是請明朝出兵的最大功勞者。故而，毫無疑問，鄭崑壽之請兵才是明朝出兵朝鮮最直接的動因。
- 值得注意的是，在鄭崑壽的記載和《朝鮮王朝實錄》中，沒有一字提過洪純彥。假如洪純彥真是石星繼室夫人的恩人，又有宗系辨誣成功之先例的話，在此關鍵時候，朝鮮焉能不派他前往？故所謂石星為報恩才極力主張出兵朝鮮的說法，只是朝鮮人杜撰的一個傳說而已。

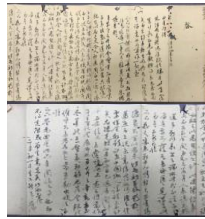
The successful request for military assistance had nothing to do with Hong Sunyŏn

- Exactly because of Chǒng Kon-su's success in requesting military assistance, Chosŏn Korea on many occasions promoted him to higher positions. The *Veritable Records of Chosŏn Sŏnjo* in many places refers to Chǒng Kon-su's achievement. After Li Rusong recovered P'yŏngyang, the Chosŏn king Sŏnjo said: "Today's dispatch of punitive force against the bandits is especially monopolized by the Heavenly army. And the dispatch of the Heavenly army is because of Chǒng Kon-su's memorializing. Following this undertaking, Chǒng Kon-su was handsomely rewarded. For the time being he has been advanced and promoted in the esteemed government." Afterwards, kings Sukchong and Yŏngjo (1724-1776) many times referred to his achievements. In the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, Chǒng Kon-su was always regarded as the main contributor to the dispatching of troops from the Ming dynasty. Therefore, there is no doubt that his request for troops was the direct reason for the Ming dynasty to send military aid to Chosŏn Korea.
- It is worth noting that in Chǒng Kon-su's account and in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, there is no mention of Hong Sunyŏn at all. If Hong Sunyŏn is really the benefactor of the wife of Shi Xing, and there was really a successful precedent in his handling of the succession issue, why did Chosŏn Korea not send him at this critical juncture? Therefore, so-called Shi Xing strongly advocating sending troops to Chosŏn Korea in order to repay a debt of gratitude is just a legend made up by Chosŏn Koreans.

Slide 18

四、石星與封貢之議

- 在持續七年的戰爭中將近一半的時間裡，中日之間接洽封貢。從一開始，石星就有兩手準備，以戰為主，以和為輔。李如松碧蹄館失利之後，亦贊同封貢議和，故而之後以和為主，以戰為輔。石星在封貢事情上，費盡心機，期望將朝鮮戰事一舉弭平，但因偏信沈惟敬，封貢失敗，他自己亦被下獄，最終瘐死獄中。（右為石星書法作品）



Four, Shi Xing and the discussions about tribute

- For almost half the duration of the war, China and Japan were arranging the matter of tribute. From the very beginning, Shi Xing had two strings on his bow, with war being given the first place, and peace took a backseat. After the defeat of Li Rusang at the Battle of Pyökchegwan (1593), he also endorsed peace negotiations and inclusion in the tributary system. Therefore, afterwards peace was given the first place, and war took a backseat. Concerning the tributary matter, Shi Xing racked his brains, and he hoped to bring the war in Chosŏn to an end in one fell swoop. However, because of his faith in Shen Weijing, the tributary matter failed, and he himself was imprisoned, where he eventually died. (On the right is Shi Xing's calligraphy).

Slide 19

石星與沈惟敬

- 在封貢過程中，石星居中策劃，在朝中仰仗首輔趙志皋的支持，在外則依靠沈惟敬聯絡交涉。無論中朝史料，皆將封貢失敗的原因，歸咎于石星過於信任沈惟敬，認為沈惟敬與日本議和使者小西行長的故意欺瞞，是封貢失敗的直接動因，有關失敗原因，研究很多，分歧也很大，在此只討論石星的責任，無法全面討論封貢之事。石星與沈惟敬到底有著怎樣的關係，或許是探討明朝封貢問題的一個重要層面。

Shi Xing and Shen Weijing

- During the process of arranging the tributary matter, Shi Xing was in the midst of planning, and at court he looked at Grand Secretary Zhao Zhigao for support, and outside the court he relied on Shen Weijing to conduct relations and negotiations. Regardless of the Chinese and Korean historical materials, they all attribute the failure of the tribute negotiations to Shi Xing excessively relying on Shen Weijing. They hold that Shen Weijing, during the peace negotiations with Japanese envoy Konishi Yukinaga (1558-1600), intentionally duped Shi Xing, which was the fundamental reason the tributary negotiations failed. There has been much research concerning the reasons of the failure, and the differences in interpretation are substantial. We can only discuss Shi Xing's responsibilities here, and cannot fully discuss the issue of the tributary status. In the end, the kind of relationship Shi Xing and Shen Weijing is

perhaps an important factor to explore regarding the Ming court's tributary issue.

Slide 20

石星與沈惟敬

- 石星與沈惟敬的相識，中日韓的史料皆有所提及。沈德符《萬曆野獲編》與朝鮮成海應《研經齋全集》與日本川口長孺《征韓偉略》皆有記載，只是細節上略有不同。
- 沈惟敬與石星相識，是因為石星妾父之介紹。沈惟敬之所以對日本有所瞭解，是因為他的僕人沈嘉旺介紹，沈嘉旺說日本只是“求貢中國”而已。沈惟敬因之得到石星信任。當時就有人勸石星，不可信任沈惟敬。石星不聽，在朝鮮戰事上，只信任沈惟敬。沈惟敬也每每以石星私人“信使”的身份出現。
- 沈惟敬第一次受命于石星，前往朝鮮探聽軍情，時為1592年八月十五日。此後的兩年中，沈惟敬是明廷與日軍交涉的最重要使者，幾度穿梭於遼東與朝鮮半島，後來還前往日本，面見豐臣秀吉。但他過於自信，有時信口開河，隨意答應日軍的條件，對明廷，又故意隱瞞真實情況，兩邊欺騙，火中取栗。石星卻一味信任他，言聽計從。
- 李如松在碧蹄館進攻失利之後，也與經略宋應昌一起贊同封貢，賦予沈惟敬更大的權力。

Shi Xing and Shen Weijing

- The acquaintance of Shi Xing and Shen Weijing is mentioned in the historical materials of China, Japan, and Korea. There are records in Shen Defu's (1578-1642) *Wanli ye huo bian*, Sŏng Hae-ŭng's (1760-1839) *Yŏn'gyŏngjae chŏnjip* and Kawaguchi Chōju's (1773/4-1834) *Sei Kan i ryaku*, but the details are slightly different.
- Shen Weijing was acquainted with Shi Xing, because they were introduced to each other by the father of Shi Xing's concubine. The reason why Shen Weijing was knowledgeable about Japan, was because his servant Shen Jiawang was acquainted with the country. Shen Jiawang said that Japan simply "sought to bring tribute to China" and nothing more. For this reason, Shen Weijing obtained Shi Xing's trust. At that time there were already people who did not trust Shen Weijing. Shi Xing did not listen, and during the war he only trusted Shen Weijing. Shen Weijing also again and again appears in the capacity of Shi Xing's personal messenger.
- On the fifteenth day of the eighth month of 1592, Shen Weijing was ordered for the first time by Shi Xing to proceed to Chosŏn Korea to make inquiries about the war situation. For the next two years, Shen Weijing was the most important liason between the Ming court and the Japanese troops during the negotiations. Many times he commuted between Liaodong and the Korean peninsula, and afterwards he even left for Japan to face Hideyoshi. However, he was overconfident and talked irresponsibly and reacted to the Japanese terms at will. He also hid the true situation from the Ming court and duped both sides. He was a cat's-paw. Shi Xing, however, stubbornly trusted him, and always followed his advise.
- After the failure of Li Rusong's assault at Pyŏkchegwan, he also agreed with Military Comissioner Song Yingchang to endorse tributary relations, and entrusted Shen Weijing with even more authority.

Slide 21

宋應昌對“封貢”之解釋

- 明廷對石星、宋應昌等依賴沈惟敬，一味主和，多表示不滿。有大臣彈劾其“許貢”之誤，宋應昌辯解道，他只是把封貢當成一種策略，並非真想與日本議和封貢。
- 石星亦對宋應昌表示支持：“經略宋應昌始末講貢之由，恢復朝鮮之故，大抵以撻伐為威，以許貢為權，惟冀成功，無嫌詐計。而其遣使密探，行間捐金，則臣星實與之謀焉。”石星毫不諱言，支持宋應昌封貢之論。

Song Yingchang's explanation of the “investiture (of Japan) within the tributary status”

- The Ming court was unsatisfied with the fact that Shi Xing, Song Yingchang, and others depended on Shen Weijing who claimed to negotiate for peace. To respond to the criticism on “the approval of tribute”, Song Yingchang explained that he simply viewed “tribute” as a strategy, but that he did not truly negotiate peace and the tribute matter.
- Shi Xing agreed with Song Yingchang on his argument of tribute. “The reasons for Song Yingchang’s tribute argument and the restoration of Chosŏn were because battles were used as a form of authority and tribute served as a form of power, in the hope of success, without suspicion of fraud.”

Slide 22

兩次明使臣赴日

- 在沈惟敬多方溝通下，宋應昌于1593年四月，派謝用梓、徐一貫為使節，前往名護屋，拜見豐臣秀吉。豐臣秀吉對明使團提出了議和7項條款：迎明公主為日本天皇之後妃；恢復勘合貿易；明日兩國武官水陸圍好；朝鮮京城及四道歸還朝鮮，另外四道割讓予日本；朝鮮送一王子至日為人質；交還被俘的朝鮮國二王子及其他朝鮮官吏；朝鮮大臣永誓不叛日本。
- 徐、謝二人將此7條帶回，似乎未告知宋應昌，只說日本恭順，願意議和。石星、宋應昌就在日本“恭順”的印象中，繼續與日本進行封貢接洽。但明廷議論結果是許封不許貢，而且日軍必須全部撤兵、上表稱臣。小西行長獲知明廷要求，感嘆明、日雙方要求相差甚巨，於是約見沈惟敬，兩人擔心談判失敗，遂共同偽造《關白降表》。
- 1594年（萬曆二十二年）十月，日本派小西飛（內藤如安）與明朝使團到北京，小西飛信口答應明廷所提的3項條款：“一、勤修禮節；二、既封不貢；三、誓無犯朝鮮”。十二月，封議定，命諭准侯李宗城充正使，以都指揮楊方亨副之，同沈惟敬前往日本。李宗城乃開國元勳李文忠之後，在釜山獲悉日方真實意圖，“宗城恐，變服逃歸。”明廷只得改派楊方亨為正使，沈惟敬為副使，以完成冊封之事。豐臣秀吉原本很高興接受明朝金印、冕服，但當他聽到萬曆皇帝諭旨中稱封他為日本國王時，當即惱怒，隨即驅逐明朝使臣，並要將小西行長處死，冊封失敗。
- 次年正月，豐臣秀吉再次發動侵朝戰爭，戰事重起。

Ming envoys went to Japan twice

- In the fourth month of 1593, through Shen Weijing's negotiations with multiple parties, Song Yingchang dispatched the envoys Yong Zi and Xu Yiguan to Nagoya to visit Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi proposed seven requirements for the peace negotiations to the Ming envoys. “1. Provide the Ming emperor's daughter as a bride for the emperor of Japan; 2. Resume trade between Japan and Ming China; 3. Establish friendly relations between the high-ranking officials of both countries; 4. Cede the southern four provinces of Chosŏn [to Japan] 5. Provide a Chosŏn prince as a hostage to Japan; 6. Return the two Chosŏn princes captured by Katō Kiyomasa; 7. The ministers of the Korean court must provide written oaths stating their absolute obedience to Japan.”
- These Ming envoys only told Song Yingchang that Japan showed respect and willingness to negotiate. Thus, Shi Xing and Song Yingchang made a submissive impression on Japan and continued to negotiate the tributary status with Japan. However, after a discussion at the Ming court, the results were to offer Japan the Chinese investiture for the King of Japan 封 without

tribute 贡, and to require their complete withdrawal, and to ask Japan to represent itself as a minister in front of the Ming empire. Yukinaga heard the Ming's requirements and noticed the huge difference in requirements between Japan and Ming China, so he met with Shen Weijing. They were worried about the failure of the negotiations and made a fake report of Kampaku's surrender 關白降表 together.

- In the tenth month of 1594, Japan dispatched Naitō Joan 內藤如安 (C. Xiao Xifei) (1550-1626) to come together with the Ming envoys to Beijing. Naitō Joan agreed with the Ming court's three requirements. 1). Japanese withdrawal from Chosŏn. 2). Chinese investiture of Japan but disallowance to send tribute 3). The promise of not invading of Chosŏn. After this discussion ended in the twelfth month, the Ming envoys went to Japan. In the beginning, Toyotomi Hideyoshi was delighted to receive the Ming's gold stamp and coronation costumes in order to complete the investiture ceremony. However, when Ming emperor Wanli called him the King of Japan, he was outraged, so he expelled the Ming envoys and wanted to kill Yukinaga.
- In the first month of 1595, Hideyoshi launched another invasion.

Slide 23

日本名護屋城遺址



Heritages of the Japanese Nagoya castle

Slide 24

封貢失敗明朝方面的原因

- 封貢失敗原因很多，雖然最主要的是沈惟敬與小西行長的互相欺瞞，使得明、日雙方都不大清楚對方的要求，南轅北轍，固然不可能成功外，明廷內部亦有原因值得反思。
- 第一，石星始終是明朝封貢的主持者和策劃者，沈惟敬直接受命於他，因而，石星對明朝封貢失敗應負主要責任。
- 封貢議事，石星所用非人，且一意孤行，絲毫不聽其他意見，甚至為了實現他所謂的封貢，也行欺騙之事。1595年（萬曆二十三年）七月，朝鮮國王李昞以日本謝恩人船取道對馬島，從朝鮮經過，“恐複起變端，願依舊臣願義讓所議，貢道仍出寧波。”但石星“聽信沈惟敬之言，以為關白格遵三事約束，計日焚柵，卷還悉歸，不宜示以猜疑之端”，他對朝鮮所上表文，一旦發現內有不利於封貢議和的文字，竟會自行刪改，引起朝鮮使臣之不滿。封貢失敗之後，朝鮮曰：“惟敬……因舞智揣摩，巧完封事，弄石尚書于掌股之間矣……惟敬本一無賴也，星誤中其遊說，借款息兵，欲倚小人而成功，竟至事敗，惜哉！”

Reasons for the failure of the Ming court's tribute arrangements

- There are many reasons for the failure of the investiture and tribute matter. The main reason was the mutual deception between Shen Weijing and Konishi Yukinaga, which made both Ming China and Japan unclear about each other's demands and made them act at cross-purposes. There were also factors at play within the Ming court that deserve reflection.

- First, Shi Xing was the main Ming planner for the investiture and tribute of Japan, and Shen Weijing was directly under his command, so Shi Xing was mainly responsible for the failure.
- Shi Xing did not listen to others' opinions and he even cheated to achieve his so-called investiture and tributary status. Shi Xing "believed in Shen Weijing's words, and thought that the Kanpaku would strictly follow the three restrictions... so it was not advisable to show any suspicion". In the report to the Chosŏn court, if he found any text that was not conducive to the peace negotiations, he would delete it himself, causing dissatisfaction among the Chosŏn envoys. After the failure of the investiture and tribute matter, the Chosŏn court said: "Weijing held Shi Xing between the palms of his hands. Weijing was originally a rascal, but (Shi) Xing mistakenly fell for his lobbying... It is a pity!"

Slide 25

石星性格上的缺陷

- 石星所用非人，固然是一個方面，但更重要的原因是他**性格上的問題**。《兩朝平壤錄》評之曰：
- 即和議一事，本心無非為國。第大臣貴虛心集善，根本不欺。星乃偏聽執己，希幸成功，事涉欺罔。遂亦不顧封事之敗，舉國知之，舉國言之，星皆目為異己，新進浮躁而排斥之，一惟敬言是聽……故委曲掩飾以陷於罪。此皆偏執所致。迨其終也，欲身請入倭營，持虎鬚，愚亦甚矣哉！
- 可見，朝鮮封貢的失敗，既因為石星的所用非人，過於相信沈惟敬，也因為石星性格上的固執己見——就如同他初入仕途莽撞上書指陳隆慶帝的過錯，最終被罷官閑住。石星本人的“愚惑”是封貢失敗的原因之一，他本人對此事件負有不可推卸的責任。

Drawbacks of Shi Xing's characteristics

- Regarding the peace negotiations, its true intent is only for [the benefit of] our state. It is important for a minister to be modest, to gather virtue, and to not deceive at all. However, Xing listened to his side of the story in the hope of success and by utilizing the deception. Then he did not concern himself with the failure of investiture and tribute. Although the entire state was aware and discussing it, he still saw them as newly appointed and impetuous, and rejected them while only listening to Weijing's words... This is all due to paranoia. Regarding the result, he wanted to get personally invited into the Japanese camps, smoothing th tiger's fur with his hand, such foolishness!
- Shi Xing was stubborn - as he used to be when he first went into an official position, and he recklessly submitted a letter stating the faults of the Longqing emperor, which led him to be dismissed from office. His 'foolishness' was one of the reasons for the failure of investiture and tribute.

Slide 26

第二，封貢失敗亦在於明廷的無知

- 一方面是對冊封禮儀的無知，另一方面是對日本的無知。石星是兵部尚書，派兵征伐是其職責所在，但封貢冊封應該屬於禮部職掌，由石星主持封貢事宜，有越俎代庖的嫌疑。同時，泱泱大明王朝，舉朝群臣竟然找不出一位日本專家，只能通過招募，依仗沈惟敬這樣一位“無賴”，去洽談封貢事宜，焉能不敗？兵部、禮部職掌不明，是一筆糊塗賬。

Second, the failure of investiture and tribute lies in the ignorance of the Ming court

- The Ming court was ignorant about the conference of the ritual investiture and about Japan as well.
- Shi Xing was a minister at the Ministry of War, so his duty was to send troops to conquer, while the investiture and tribute related tasks should be managed by the Ministry of Rites. Thus when Shi Xing was in charge of the tribute affairs, he was overstepping his authority.
- There was no expert on Japan at the Ming court and the court relied simply on Shen Weijing, which determined the failure of the negotiations. The distinction of responsibilities between the Ministry of War and the Ministry of Rites was not clear.

Slide 27

對於日本的無知

- 另一種糊塗，在於對日本的無知。於慎行說：
日本關白封貢之議，一時台諫部司上疏力諫，日無虛牘，爭之誠是也。然皆揣摩情形，泛論事理，至於日本沿革，絕不考究……四夷封略在禮部客司，大司馬石公徒欲取効目前，不暇深考，竟不知日本為何國，關白為何人，盈庭之言，皆如喙嚙，以此禦難，何以為國？
- 于慎行于1590年(萬曆十八年)致仕，家居17年，以讀書著述為業。他親眼目睹石星封貢經過，驚歎朝中無人指出封貢本非石星職掌，亦慨歎朝中無人，對日本無知，又不思考證，致使事敗。縱觀有明一代，倭患始終未絕，但明朝對日本所知甚少，在萬曆間大敵當前，朝中竟然找不出一位日本專家，致使石星依賴“無賴”沈惟敬，最終將這場封貢引入死胡同。
- 總之，封貢失敗原因是多方面的，仔細考察，也包括朝鮮與日本方面的原因，從明朝來說，石星應負主要責任，他既有用人不當之責，亦過於固執，偏聽偏信之愚。而從大的方面講，也是朝中無人，集體無知所致。

Ignorance of Japan

- “Regarding the discussion on the tribute of the Kanpaku....Shi Xing wanted in vain to obtain it, but was too preoccupied to deeply investigate it, not knowing what kind of country Japan was, what kind of person the Kanpaku was...how can this help to serve the country?”
- To sum up, there were many reasons behind the failure of the tribute issue, among which the Chosŏn Korean and Japanese factors also played an important role. From the Ming side, Shi Xing should be seen as the most responsible person, because he employed an unsuitable person, and he was foolish to the extent of being so stubborn, that he did not listen to more people. It was also due to the lack of experts at the Ming court, which was one of the drawbacks of the courtiers.

Slide 28

五、朝鮮對石星之感恩

- 1597年(萬曆二十五年,宣祖三十年) 九月壬辰, “**逮前兵部尚書石星下獄·論死。**” 沈德符《萬曆野獲編》稱: “**近日樞臣石星.....論極刑·妻子亦坐流徙·則數十年來僅見者。**” 可見, 在當時人看來, 對於石星的處置, 是相當重的。以兵部尚書之職而被論死, 妻子皆被流放, 全家遭殃, 嘉、萬年間罕見。當時明朝人感覺石星因東征封貢失敗被論死, 有點冤枉。而**朝鮮人則覺得愧疚**, 因為**石星是為救朝鮮而被下獄論死的。**

Five, Chosŏn's gratitude towards Shi Xing

- In the ninth month of 1597, Shi Xing was put into jail and sentenced to death.
- “Recently the minister Shi Xing...was sentenced with an extreme penalty, his wife was also expelled, which was rarely seen in these ten years.”
- These records suggest that the punishment of Shi Xing was relatively extreme for the standards of that time. Some Ming Chinese also felt miserable about the assignment of the death penalty, because of the failure of the tribute issue.
- Chosŏn Koreans also felt guilty, because Shi Xing died for saving Chosŏn.

Slide 29

石星下獄與朝鮮之態度

- 早在明軍收復平壤、開城、漢城等大部分朝鮮國土以後, 1594年(宣祖二十七年)十月, 明廷派使臣前往日本冊封之時, 朝鮮君臣就議論要為石星與明總兵李如松建生祠, 以示感恩。幾經商討, 決定給石星與李如松共建一祠。當初力排群議, 命將出師, 來救我國。石尚書之功, 果為重大。為設位版, 與李提督同入一祠.....其於情禮, 極為允當。但因為當時還處於戰亂期間, 未果。
- 封貢失敗之後, 石星受到牽連。1597年四月, 告急使行護軍權快馳啟曰: “**是日臣在兵部, 聞有聖旨: 石星革職, 候旨定奪。**” 朝鮮君臣謀求上疏申救石星, 備邊司上啟曰: “**今承下教, 其欲申救之意全矣。但石尚書被參曲折, 外國勢難有若預知者, 而敢為救解於其間, 情雖欲救, 而事實難為, 臣等不知所處。**” 最終朝鮮未採取行動。十月, 朝鮮獲知: “**皇上以石尚書主和誤國, 將置極刑.....沈惟敬亦令錦衣衛拿去.....身將被戮矣。**”
- 國王李昫雖知此情曰: “**石尚書大人救援平壤, 再造東方, 常切感激。沈大人亦以小邦事, 五六年奔走于道路, 勤勞甚至, 小邦人民都未忘兩大人之德。今聞如此, 不勝憐痛之至。而小邦無路辨釋, 尤增冤悶。且天朝大人, 以小邦故, 至於此極, 無任未安之至。**”
- 言辭之間, 顯示出感激與愧疚之情。但最終還是沒有採取行動, 未向明廷請求寬恕石星。

Chosŏn's attitude towards Shi Xing's penalty

- Earlier, when Ming armies helped to reclaim large parts of Chosŏn lands after the Battle of P'yŏngyang, the Battle of Kaesŏng, and the Battle of Hansŏng, in the tenth month of 1594, the Chosŏn king and ministers discussed the construction of shrines for Shi Xing and Ming general Li Rusong to express their gratitude. After consideration, they decided to build a joint shrine for them. However, it was still in the midst of the war so the plans were in vain.
- After the failure of the investiture and tribute negotiations, Shi Xing was involved in trouble. In the fourth month of 1597, the Chosŏn king and ministers heard this and planned how to report this to the Ming court to save Shi Xing. However, Chosŏn did not take any action and in the tenth month of 1597, they heard that the Ming emperor punished Shi Xing with a serious penalty, because his negotiation proposal was thought to have endangered the state.
- Chosŏn King Sŏnjo expressed his gratitude, “Shi Xing has aided by saving P'yŏngyang and recovered the east. (I am) always thankful...Shen Weijing also made efforts to travel for our small state affairs. The people of the small state have never forgotten the kindness of these two lords. It is with great pity

that we hear of this. Also, the people of the small state have no way to understand it, which especially adds to our feelings of injustice.”

- These words show a sense of Chosŏn’s gratitude and guilt. However, Chosŏn did not take any action to rescue him.

Slide 30

石星向朝鮮求情與朝鮮之崇祀

- 1599年（宣祖三十二年）初，右議政李恒福和同知中樞李廷龜出使北京，在回國前一天，明兵部聽差官把總楊應春混進會同館，密見朝鮮通官李彥華。楊應春說：昨日去刑部兒了石星，石星對他說：“我專為朝鮮，既不賣朝鮮糧，又不妄殺官軍，今以東征一事，妻子遠配廣西，只有一子，年方十二歲，骨肉不相見者累年。”楊應春希望朝鮮為此斡旋：“萬一爾國土上本、事或可解，爾國至則進一線路如何？必須宰相傳報國王后，次使臣之來，上本如何？”朝鮮也未採取行動。
- 同年十月，國王李昖獲知石星瘐死獄中後說：“石尚書有功於小邦，而竟至於此，不勝驚倒。”遂指令討論是否應該致祭。但朝中意見不一，禮書最後決定不致祭。《朝鮮宣祖實錄》還就此事發表議論曰：
“攻和一脈，互萬古而不易者也。石星身為大臣，力主和議，終被重罪，死於牢獄，則是堂堂大義，怎麼不誠於今日。我國豈可以區區之恩致祭，於得享天下後世乎？”
- 以所謂“私情”與“大義”相悖，最終沒有向石星致祭，顯示朝鮮一切從實際出發，與明朝的外交往來也是以實際為目的。

Shi Xing doing a favor for Chosŏn and Chosŏn’s worship

- At the beginning of 1599, Ming minister Yang Yingchun 楊應春 met Chosŏn minister Yi Yŏnhwa 李彥華 in secret. Yang told that he met Shi Xing yesterday who asked him to convey some words to Chosŏn, saying that “I am especially dedicated to Chosŏn without wasting Chosŏn’s food or unreasonably wasting any government troops. Due to this eastern expedition, my wife has been exiled far to Guangxi, and I have only one son, aged twelve, and I have not seen my flesh and blood for years.”
- Yang Yingchun hoped that Chosŏn could intercede: “If the king of your state memorialized to the imperial court, this matter might be resolved...How about asking the minister to report to the Chosŏn king and dispatching envoys to come to report to the imperial court?” However, Chosŏn did not take any action in the end.
- In the tenth month of the same year, the Chosŏn king was informed of Shi Xing’s death in prison, and the king said, “Shi Xing did favours to our state but ended in this way, which I am shocked to hear.” He then presided over a discussion on whether they should hold a ritual ceremony. Although the court was divided in its opinions, the Ministry of Rites decided not to hold any sacrificial ceremony.
- “... Shi Xing, as a minister, advocated for peace but was eventually convicted of a serious crime and died in prison, which is great righteousness and will not be extinguished today. How can our state hold a ritual for such a small favour, which will offend China’s future generations?”
- Because of the fact that the so-called ‘personal emotions (私情)’ were at odds with the ‘great righteousness (大義)’, Chosŏn did not perform a ritual ceremony for Shi Xing. This shows that Chosŏn always prioritized the practical benefits in managing its foreign relations with Ming.

Slide 31

對報恩傳奇故事之解釋

- 1603年（萬曆三十一年）八月，朝鮮在平壤建武烈祠，崇享兵部尚書石星、提督李如松、左協將楊元、中協將李如梅、右協將張世爵、參將尚志，供奉其畫像。故朝鮮對石星之感恩，僅局限於在朝鮮本土建祠加以崇祀的禮節性舉措。
- 石星是因為封貢失敗而被下獄，最終死於獄中，曾經想法請求朝鮮為其申訴，但朝鮮未置一詞，甚至聞知他死訊時，亦不致祭。可是朝鮮君臣又無法忽視石星對朝鮮之恩，於是就杜撰出來之恩，才力主援朝的神話故事。這樣一方面可以解除朝鮮君臣內心之不安，另一方面也能夠為他們後來的行動辯解。這應該是其杜撰出這個故事的出發點。



Explanations of the myth of gratitude

- In the eighth month of 1603, Chosŏn built a shrine in P'yŏngyang, where the portraits of many Ming generals and ministers were placed, including the Minister of War Shi Xing. The expression of gratitude by Chosŏn Korea to Shi Xing was only limited to the ritual of building a shrine to commemorate him.
- Shi Xing was imprisoned for the failure of the investiture and tribute negotiations, and he died in prison. He tried to ask Chosŏn to plead for him, but Chosŏn did not say a word and did not offer a sacrificial ritual upon hearing of his death. However, the Chosŏn king and ministers could not ignore his contribution to Chosŏn Korea. This is probably the reason for the constructed myth that Shi Xing expressed his gratitude to Hong Sunyŏn 洪純彥, who saved his wife, which led him to assist Chosŏn. In doing so, it could help to relieve the anxiety among the Chosŏn king and ministers, and justify their actions.

Slide 32

《東泉先生實紀》

- 1599年（萬曆二十七年）九月，石星瘐死獄中，其妻、子皆發配粵西。天啟元年（1621）五月，因刑部侍郎鄒元標呈請，“宥原任兵部尚書永戍石星子石正奇回籍。”
- 1622年（天啟二年）三月，“蔭原任兵部尚書石星男茂恩指揮僉事。”前面提及石星曾對楊應春說，他唯一子，年方十二。《明實錄》中，提及的石正奇、石茂恩皆是石星子，或許只是同一人，一為名，一為字。天啟二年時當為35歲。
- 韓國現存一種資料《東泉先生實紀》，除了收錄石星資料外，更重要的是有前往朝鮮半島之石星後人的資料。其中載錄，石星有子二，長子曰石潭，次子曰石洙。此種史料矛盾重重，卷二先載錄石潭所書《遺書》，落款為“崇禎己巳（1629，崇禎二年）九月人不肖孤潭泣血謹書”。

Tongch'ŏn sŏnsaeng silgi [Real records of Tongch'ŏn]

- In the ninth month of 1599, Shi Xing died in prison, while his wife and son were sent to western Guangxi. In the fifth month of 1621, the son of the previous minister of the Ministry of Punishment, Shi Zhengqi 石正奇, returned.
- In the third month of 1622, “the son of the previous minister of the Ministry of Punishment Shi Xing, Maoen 茂恩 commanded official affairs.”
- In *Ming Shilu* (Veritable Records of Ming 明實錄), the names of Shi Xing's sons were mentioned as Shi Zhengqi 石正奇 and Shi Maoen 石茂恩. Perhaps they were the same person, one was his given name, *ming* 名, and the other

near the north, (he) returned to the South China Sea, resting in Hönam (the southern region of Korea). Ten years of drifting south were gone with tears. Worshipping the relatives with the character Xing, who resided in **Söngju 星州**.

- Shi Tan and Shi Jian came to the Korean peninsula. Shi Jian first came to the Korean peninsula with a merchant ship and was able to live in Söngju. Shi Tan first went to Guangxi with his mother, and after Tian Qi returned from his expulsion, he came to the east with his mother and found Hong Sunyön, who reported this matter to the Chosön court. They finally lived in **Haeju 海州**. But the two brothers lost contact on the Korean peninsula, and did not know how the other brother was doing.
- *Tongch'ön sönsaeng silgi* [Real records of Dongquan] was said to be a private historical material compiled by the descendants of Shi Xing. However, there is no official historical record to confirm it. How can it not be included in the *sillok* [The veritable records of the Chosön Dynasty]? There is no information about them in it.
- This is contradictory to the record that Shi Xing once said that he had only one son, twelve years old.

Slide 35

正祖時期傳言石星弟石奎玄孫

- 1791年（正祖十五年）三月，有一對兄弟石漢英、石漢俊自稱是石星弟石奎之玄孫，正祖正設法表明遺民後孫，當獲知他們係石星弟之後人，非常高興，下教曰：
- 噫嘻！尚書有恩，我國未酬。其死乃由於我國，我國所以崇報之者，豈或後於上所雲諸名將。而提督之後，流在我國。年前別講義起之禮，立廟造祠版，饗之以牲牢。尚書則其從孫，亦有與僧徽貞浮於海，遁跡東郡者。向於郊行，始覺有尚書弟奎之孫、之玄孫，俾與望拜之班矣……然尚書直派有無，無以知之。則廟與版之另造，提督家已例，雖難遽議，而曾聞武烈祠，惟尚書之像，銷面宛然如生雲。安峽流寓人石漢英、石漢俊等，令兵曹給馬，今日下送平壤地武烈祠，使之瞻。
- 言辭之間，頗感欣慰。且派人將他們送到平壤，使之瞻仰武烈祠，並予以祭拜。且令人去查考石漢英、石漢俊所言是否屬實。不久，查考之人回話：“非但石哥之無所聞，並與記事述傳之李世瑛，憑問無路。”

The myth of a grandson of Shi Xing's brother Shi Kui during King Chǒngjo's reign

- In the third month of 1791, a pair of brothers, Shi Hanying and Shi Hanjun, claimed themselves to be the great-grandsons of Shi Xing's younger brother Shi Kui. King Chǒngjo tried to offer honour to the Ming descendants.
- “Minister (Shi Xing) did favours, but our state has not repaid him. His death was because of our state, and those our state worship and retribute, how could we not (include) the descendants of those famous generals mentioned above? And the descendants of the admiral fled to our country. In previous years, we discussed the rituals of righteousness, building temples and serving with livestock. The grandsons of Minister [Shi] also drifted in the sea with the monk Huizhen and escaped to the eastern counties. When travelling to the suburbs, I realized that these were the grandsons and great-grandsons of Minister [Shi]'s younger brother Kui, while I would like to honour... However, it is unknown whether there are really direct descendants of the Minister. Then, the construction of temples had been regulated. Although it is difficult to discuss completely, I have heard that at the Mulyölsa Temple, there was only the portrait of Minister [Shi], whose face looked like a holy cloud. The displaced Shi Hanying, Shi Hanjun and the others were ordered to be given horses by the Minister of War. They were sent down to the Mulyölsa Temple in P'yöngyang today so that they could perform worship.”

- The Chosŏn king's words suggest his delight. These descendants of Shi Xing were sent to P'yŏngyang to visit the Muyŏlsa [Martial Shrine] and to pay their respects. He also dispatched officers to check whether, what Shi Hanying and Shi Hanjun had said, was true. Soon afterwards, the investigation officer came to report, "Not only was nothing heard about Shi's brother, but also there was no way to verify the narratives of Yi Seyŏng."

Slide 36

正祖時期傳言石星弟石奎玄孫

- 儘管查無實據，正祖並不氣餒，他反而說：
- 水中之蟹，草間之蛛，尚為人愛惜，況以石為姓者，於我國果何如也？當壬辰之役也……惟大司馬石公，慷慨以東事自負，排甲乙盈庭之論，動百萬超距之眾，垂德於不報之地，而志決身殲，竟不免為大僂，雖使環東土小大黎獻家祭而戶祝，尚不足為百身之贖矣。今於滄桑百變之後……況姓石者乎？姑先付之禦營給料，以待文跡之推現，別加收用。

The myth of a grandson of Shi Xing's brother Shi Kui during King Chŏngjo's reign

- Although there was no evidence, Chŏngjo was not discouraged but said:
- "[...] only the great Shi Xing, who was generous to take responsibility for the eastern affairs, responding to the diverse discussions in the court, moving millions of people over a distance, achieving virtues with no retribution, but ending his life by a serious slaughter. Even though all the small and large families in the eastern land were asked to offer family rituals and household blessings, it was even not enough to redeem hundreds of bodies... At this moment, offer them materials at the royal camp first, while waiting for the further inscriptions to be revealed, so don't charge more."

Slide37

正祖重視石氏兄弟之原因

- 儘管查無實據，正祖還是很興奮，因為他們號稱是石星之後人。遂指令，一方面讓禦營廳給其俸祿，另一方面，派使行前往中國，想法購買石星家譜，以為憑考之一助”。正祖並不在乎是否真是石星弟後人，因為其號稱為石星後人，就足以讓他高興。
- 正祖這麼重視查考石漢俊、石漢英之真實情況，卻查無實據，反而證明《東泉先生實紀》所載為誤。因為如果按照《東泉先生實紀》所載石潭與其母柳氏，石星兩子果真前往朝鮮，尤其是石星長子前去朝鮮，還找到了傳說中的石星繼室的恩人洪純彥，且上報了王廷，並被安排在海州居住，若此事屬實，正祖怎麼可能找不到他們的後人呢？
- 可見，《東泉先生實紀》所載並不可信，值得懷疑的。

The reasons for Chŏngjo's attention to Shi's brother

- Although there was no evidence, Chŏngjo was still very excited because they claimed to be the descendants of Shi Xing. He then ordered to offer them an official salary and to dispatch envoys to the empire to buy the genealogy records of Shi Xing, in order to aid in investigating the truth. He didn't care

whether they were the real descendants of Shi Xing's younger brother, but the claim of being a descendant of Shi Xing alone could satisfy him.

- This also proved that the *Tongch'ŏn sŏnsaeng silgi* [Real records of Tongch'ŏn] were wrong and questionable. Because, in accordance with the records in *Tongch'ŏn sŏnsaeng silgi*, why could the king not find his descendants in Chosŏn?

Slide38

在朝明東征將士後裔之真假

- 傳說石星、李如松、李如梅、陳璘等人後代，明朝滅亡後，都想法逃到了朝鮮半島，成為朝鮮王朝的臣民。事實上，除了李如松後代之外（乃其朝鮮妾所生），其他幾人的後代都無法在朝鮮官方史料中找到確切證據，只是民間傳說。即便有家譜，因為無法跟官方史料應證，也不大可信，很難說確有其事。即便不是真的，也有重要的歷史意義。為何這麼說呢？
- 戰爭結束後，朝鮮國王李肅把明朝東征將領看成是施予“皇恩”的具體執行者，為了表示對明東征將士的感激之情，他建造了許多碑、祠、廟，作為崇祀明東征將士的場所。最主要的有宣武祠、武烈祠、瀆忠壇，連同明朝將領建造的關王廟。碑則相當多，以記載明東征之恩，表達朝鮮君臣感激之情。
- 其中對石星、李如松、楊鎬、邢玠四人尤為特別對待。他們四人成為朝鮮重點崇祀祭奠的對象。因而朝鮮在平壤建武烈祠，崇祀石星、李如松及其部將，在漢城建宣武祠崇祀邢玠、楊鎬。從此開啟朝鮮王朝懷念祭奠明東征將士之先聲，也使得朝鮮民眾，從兩班貴族到平民百姓，對於明東征將領姓名，耳熟能詳。

The authenticity of the descendants of the Ming generals in Chosŏn

- There were folk tales that most of the descendants of Shi Xing, Li Rusong, Li Rumei, and Chen Lin fled to the Korean peninsula after the fall of the Ming dynasty, and became subjects of Chosŏn. In fact, except for the descendants of Li Rusong (born by his Chosŏn concubine), the descendants of several other people cannot be found in the official Korean historical materials, but remained folklore. Even if there are private genealogical records, they cannot match official historical materials so they are not very credible.
- After the war, King Sŏnjo regarded the Ming generals as the specific implementors of the “imperial kindness”. To express gratitude, he ordered the construction of many shrines and temples.
- The most important four figures included Shi Xing, Li Rusong, Yang Hao, and Xing Jie, who became the key objects of worship in Chosŏn. Therefore, Chosŏn built the Muyŏlsa in P'yongyang to worship Shi Xing, Li Rusong and their generals, and the other Sŏnmusa in Seoul to worship Xing Jie and Yang Hao. Since then, it became the pioneering action of Chosŏn to commemorate the Ming generals and soldiers. From the *yangban* elites to the common people, they were all familiar with the names of the Ming generals who contributed to the Imjin War.

Slide39

在朝明東征將士後裔之真假

- 當1637年仁祖臣服清朝，朝鮮王朝被迫成為清朝藩國。在隨後一百多年的歲月中，朝鮮王朝高舉尊周思明的大旗，長期堅持尊周思明的活動。
- 1704年，肅宗國王在昌德宮中後苑建大報壇，崇祀明神宗皇帝。後來英祖擴大到明太祖與崇禎皇帝，每年國王親自祭奠。並下令修繕明朝將領陳璘等在全國所建關王廟，並將明朝將領作為關王廟從祀的對象，尤其是將陳璘與李舜臣列為漢城關王廟的崇祀對象，又掀起一股追懷明東征將士的熱潮。
- 更重要的是，以明末九義士後人為主，設立漢旅，成為大報壇守值人員，並參與國王對大報壇的祭祀。甚至設立專門的科舉考試，這樣無形中，提升了明朝後裔人士的地位，對於朝鮮普通百姓是一股強有力的吸引。
- 也就在這樣的氛圍之下，出現石星、李如松、陳璘等人後代的傳說。正祖時期，聽說找到了石星的後人，特別派人去調查，也查無實據。因此，這些傳說明朝東征將領後代的出現，恰恰與朝鮮王朝長期堅持尊周思明的氛圍分不開，某種意義上是朝鮮王朝長期追思明東征將士氛圍所催生出來的。所以即便是假的，也給我們認識朝鮮王朝後期社會提供了一個認知的物件。

The authenticity of the descendants of the Ming generals in Chosŏn

- When King Injo surrendered to the Qing empire in 1637, Chosŏn was forced to become a vassal state of the Qing. In the following two hundred years, Chosŏn persisted in respecting the rituals of Zhou and served the Ming, and performing the related activities.
- In 1704, King Sukchong built the Altar of Great Retribution (Taebodan) in the garden of the Palace of Ch'angdŏkgung to worship the Ming Emperor Shenzong. Later, Chosŏn king Yŏngjo included Ming Taizu and Emperor Chongzhen, and the Chosŏn king personally paid homage every year. He also ordered the repair of the temples of Guanwang built by Chen Lin, a Ming general during the Imjin War, while the other Ming generals were also treated as the objects of worship there. Especially the portraits of Chen Lin and Yi Sunsin were worshipped at the Temple of Guanwang in Hansŏng, which created an upsurge of worshipping and commemoration of the Ming generals.
- Nine descendants of righteous soldiers from the late Ming dynasty were set up as a Han lineage (漢旅), being the watchmen of the Altar of Great Retribution and participating in the king's sacrifices at the Altar of Great Retribution. Even a special civil examination was established, which improved the social status of the descendants of the Ming dynasty, and even drew the attention of common Chosŏn Koreans.
- It was in such an atmosphere that the legend of the descendants of Shi Xing, Li Rusong, Chen Lin and others appeared. The appearance of these legends celebrating the descendants of the Ming Imjin generals was inseparable from the long-term adherence to the atmosphere of respecting the Rituals of Zhou and commemorating the Ming in the late Chosŏn dynasty. Therefore, even if they are false, they provide us with hints to understand some perceptions in late Chosŏn society.

Slide40

Thank you!