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# Journal of Ocean&Culture

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Editorial

Experts on ocean culture in Asia-Pacific have shared the need for international academic of journal to promote common understanding and enhance academic research. The humanistic approach to the ocean is largely made from a variety of perspectives including archeology, history, anthropology, folklore, sociology, literature, philosophy, aesthetics, art history, tourism, and leisure studies. Especially, due to the attribute of the ocean, it tends to be a interdisciplinary study. In general, the study of ocean & culture has been led by Europe and the United States, and the Asian Pacific has started relatively late. The influence of imperialism has been strong on the sea, and the remnants of neo-colonialism are still remained.

Working in Korean civil society, I established APOCC(Asia-Pacific Ocean & Culture Center) and contributed to the foundation of IOCC(International Ocean & Culture Committee). After my appointment as the chief director of KNMM(Korea National Maritime Museum), curators of KNMM have been taking initiatives to make the international journal on Ocean & Culture and just ended up issuing the very first number.

The ocean is a huge world. The maritime culture conceived in the huge sea is infinite. The foundation of the journal was also possible because various organizations such as KNMM, APOCC, and IOCC became one for the purpose. The editorial committee of the journal is comprised of the professionals Korea, China, Japan, Taiwan, Indonesia, and other countries. Of course, it’s open to the representatives from other countries. We look forward to the participation of global people who are interested in Asian Pacific Ocean culture. Korea National Maritime Museum will take a charge of the publication from now on, and IOCC and APOCC will take part in it. Now let us introduce the first issue of Journal of Ocean & Culture to the world.

December, 2018.

Chief Editor of Journal of Ocean & Culture Editorial Committee

Kang-Hyun, JOO

Editorial

6	<b>About the New Silk Road in the East Sea Rim: From the perspective of civilization history</b> by Kang-Hyun Joo	66	<b>Rediscovery of Taiwan Ocean Heritage and Its Sustainability</b> by Ku-Jung Lin, Cheng-Yi Lin
18	<b>The State and Empowerment of Indonesian Maritime Culture: The Case of Traditional Marine Resource Management</b> by Dedi Supriadi Adhuri	84	<b>Revaluation of the international maritime city of “Kobe” in the Middle Ages: The ambition of Taira No Kiyomori and his visionary maritime capital</b> by Jaehyun Park
36	<b>Rediscovery of marine culture from the ancient Japanese literature “Nihon Eitaigura” by <i>Saikaku</i>: “Snapper” and “Boat racing” at a <i>Nishinomiya-Ebisu shrine</i></b> by Masaya Morita	102	<b>Maritime Culture Empowerment under Indonesian Ocean Policy</b> by Tukul Rameyo Adi
46	<b>An Introduction to Materials on the Shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea in the Ch’ing Dynasty Archives</b> by Lin-jian Dai	118	<b>Destination Marketing: The Ecomuseum Mindset of Tamsui Estuary</b> by Beryl Zi-Lin Kuo

# About the New Silk Road in the East Sea Rim

## From the perspective of civilization history

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### Abstract

Far East Asia has two large seas which look like lakes in some ways. One is the sea of Okhotsk between Kamchatka and Sakhalin and the other is the East Sea<sup>1</sup> between Russia's Maritime Provinces, Japan and Korea. The East Sea, once regarded as the peripheral sea of Asia, is being highlighted as South Korea, North Korea, Japan, China, Russia and Mongolia have different purposes for it. A new sea route is opening for logistics movements from an economic viewpoint. However, history surrounding the East Sea is not that simple.

Different maritime races held their own ground in the East Sea. Exemplary countries are ancient kingdoms of Korea, such as Goguryeo and Balhae. The Kitans and Jurchen built their nations based on Manturia and their kingdoms such as the Liao Dynasty, the Jin Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty faced by the East Sea. Among them, Balhae used the East Sea as an official route for trade with Japan. Balhae's exit to the East Sea was 'the route to Japan.'

Regardless of existence of a nation-state, various races and languages coexisted in Siberia. The Russian Empire broke up such order and principle of coexistence. To be precise, Siberia of today is Siberia of the Russian and 'denied history' which eliminated history of the natives. Siberia was 'forcefully found' by the Empire and regarded as 'the abandoned land' despite resident of various ethnicities. China lost their exit to East sea. China is trying to earn a direct route to the East Sea for its Northeastern provinces as it did 150 years ago.

Throughout history of civilization, the East Sea has held significance in the Far East. However, such significance subsided with the end of the Second World War (1945) and the East Sea became the sea in the edge of the world. But, Now the East Sea is on the route to the Arctic Sea and further to Europe and also a way from Europe to the Arctic Ocean to East Asia. This offers great future and possibilities as a sea route. Significance of this new sea route through the Arctic Ocean is tantamount to traditional exchanges between the East and the West through the Suez Canal. With reference to *the East-West Silk Road* in the past, this new route can be called as '*New Silk Road*.'

**Keywords** Civilization, Northeast Asia, New silk road, East-West Silk Road, East sea, Japan sea

## Why does the East Sea become an issue?

Far East Asia has two large seas which look like lakes in some ways. One is the sea of Okhotsk between Kamchatka and Sakhalin and the other is the East Sea<sup>2</sup> between Russia's Maritime Provinces, Japan and Korea. The Kurils stretch from Kamchatka and Sakhalin blocks the Southeastern part, forming 'sea in the middle of lands' just like a lake. The East Sea is no different. The East is the typical type of 'sea in the middle of lands' with several straits as exits.<sup>3</sup>

The East Sea is gathering international attention. The East Sea, once regarded as the peripheral sea of Asia, is being highlighted as South Korea, North Korea, Japan, China, Russia and Mongolia have different purposes for it. A new sea route is opening for logistics movements from an economic viewpoint. However, history surrounding the East Sea is not that simple. Some countries occupied and used the sea. Russia joined the others belatedly. China lost a way out to the East Sea but is determined to use the sea in some day. Mongolia needs the East Sea as a land-locked nation. In its Southern entry are the Pusan Port of Korea, Niigata and other Ports of Japan. If global warming opens the Arctic routes, the East Sea will enjoy international attention as a new route.

Marine environmental conditions of the East Sea are very interesting. The sea is very close to Sakhalin and main land of Russia. Sakhalin along with Hokkaido is the ground for lots of activities done by the Ainu and the Ulchi. The Kurils, north of Hokkaido, is the base for the Ainu as well as the Inuit and the Itelman who came down from Kamchatka. Situation in Russia's Maritime Provinces north of the East Sea is more complex. Various minorities, such as the Orochi and the Nanai were situated in Russia's Maritime Provinces. The area was also the heart for nations like Balhae, Kitan, the Liao Dynasty, the Jin Dynasty and the Qing dynasty. As such, the East Sea and the sea of Okhotsk were the stage for lots of activities done by different people beyond being the simple sea.<sup>4</sup>

## The East Sea to Manchuria and Japan: its importance in civilization

Different maritime races held their own ground in the East Sea. Exemplary

countries are ancient kingdoms of Korea, such as Goguryeo and Balhae. The Kitans and Jurchen built their nations based on Manturia and their kingdoms such as the Liao Dynasty, the Jin Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty faced by the East Sea. Among them, Balhae used the East Sea as an official route for trade with Japan.

Balhae's exit to the East Sea was 'the route to Japan.' From Yongwonbu (currently, Hunchun in China) envoys of Balhae left for Japan. They went southeast from Yongwongbu to reach Kraskino of the Posyet Bay which was Yumju of Balhae. They took a boat here and sailed southeast cross the East Sea and arrived in Fukui and Ishikawa of Japan. This was a relatively close route between Balhae and Japan. 'The route to Japan' in Yongwonbu linked the Tang Dynasty and Japan as well as Balhae and Japan.

Relationship between Balhae and Japan traces back to August in the 727th year, 30 years after Balhae's foundation. In that year, Balhae firstly dispatched envoys to Japan and started diplomatic relation with Japan. Over the next 200 years (727-919) after sending its first envoys across Hokkaido until it finally collapsed, Balhae had frequent exchanges with Japan. Balhae sent delegations 34 times to Japan and Japan sent its delegations to Balhae 12 times.<sup>5</sup>

The rulers of Balhae tried to maintain its relationship with Japan although the sea route was very tough. The main purpose was economic benefits aside from political gains. They could earn specialties and luxury items of a southern nation, while their counterpart in Japan showed interest in fur products. Delegations of Balhae carried tiger fur, bear fur, ginseng and other specialties and trade them in Bungnyuk, the landing area, or in other inland areas.<sup>6</sup>

The route for trade with Japan was not an easy one. Throughout the Balhae Dynasty, people took the same route. They left from Yongwonbu across the East Sea and arrived in coastal areas of Kaga or Nodo of Japan. Then, they took inland routes to get to Kyoto. Delegations of Balhae took advantage of crossing of warm and cold currents as well as seasonal wind. When they left for Japan, they left in Autumn, took a detour in the east end of the East Sea to reach coastal villages of Japan. When they came back to Balhae, they took a detour in the west of the East Sea this time before arriving in Yongwonbu. All told, the sea route between Balhae and Japan was very precarious. It took long and ships were wrecked sometimes, leaving many dead or drifting in the water. After Balhae collapsed (B.C. 916), exchanges

with Japan ended officially. The East Sea was peripheral in the region in the first place anyway.

Recently, Japan is showing deep interest in developing the East Sea and northern east areas-which were left behind economic development. It wants to use the East Sea as a route to deliver resources from Manchuria of China and Russia. Under the circumstances, reconciliation between North Korea and Japan is expected along with peaceful use of the East Sea. Japan's interest in North part of the East Sea was great when it invaded Manchuria and dispatched troops to Japan. In fact, the industrial complex in the east coast of North Korea was built by Japan as a logistics base for its advancement into Manchuria. The ports in the Northern east coast of Japan lost their roles and remained deteriorated. Recovery signs surrounding the East Sea can be a blessing to northern east region of Japan. If Arctic routes are built passing through the East Sea, that will benefit the East Strait and the Tsuruga Channel.

### **The Biggest Incident in Northeast Asia: Russia enters the East Sea**

Regardless of existence of a nation-state, various races and languages coexisted in Siberia. The Russian Empire broke up such order and principle of coexistence. To be precise, Siberia of today is Siberia of the Russian Empire and 'denied history' which eliminated history of the natives. Siberia was conquered. It was 'forcefully found' by the Empire and regarded as 'the abandoned land' despite resident of various ethnicities.

Is it due to the pre-dominance of the Great Voyage? 'The Conquest into the East' by the White House Empire is relatively less-known. Many are familiar with 'the Era of Great Voyage' by maritime powers, such as Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands and the UK but regard 'the Conquest into the East' as a separate incident. However, 'the Conquest into the East' is one of important shocks which greatly affects the history of civilization. It started from Peterburg to Yakutsk, Khabarovsk and Kamchatka and finally reached Alaska. This was remarkable because Russia became a new player in geopolitics dominated by countless natives, China, Japan and Korea. Russia's entrance heralded start of totally new and different

history in Northeast Asia which maintained long history. The Era of Great Voyage was well organized and aligned concept (although this was done mainly by western scholars) while the Conquest into the East received rather small attention and remained unpolished.

Troops of tsar was led by Cossack and followed by fur traders. The government of Moscow invaded Siberia with Cossack, sending troops in boats in every direction to conquer natives and build fortress. Huntsmen, the plunderers in the wild, and fur traders went after, followed by clerics of Russian Orthodox Church with cross.

Cossack finally reached the Lena River and built the Yakutsk fortress. With Yakutsk as starting point, conquest continued in three directions. One was towards northeast, the Bering Strait while another went towards Kamchatka and east, the way to the Sea of Okhotsk. The other direction was to reach the Amur River (Heilong Jiang).

Europe-Russia continued marching east over the Ural Mountains to reach the Far East and built Asia-Russia. This is the history of colonial management itself. Things were no different after socialist revolution. Its advancement to the east continued throughout the 21st Century. The time passed and it becomes history.

Today is the 21st Century. Resources in the Far Eastern Russia and Siberia are preparing themselves for new version of the Great Voyage. Gas, oil and coal abundant in Far East and Siberia are ready to be sold off to Korea, China and Japan. Zarubino and other ports in the East Sea evolved into large ports, boosted by joint investment with China. As it had deep interest in an ice-free port, Russia rented the Najin Port of North Korea for a long period of time, securing access to the East Sea. Russia has been attentive to the East Sea due to economic and military reasons. Moreover, Russia will leap the largest benefits if Arctic routes open because the routes will go northwards via the East Sea.

Vladivostok in the East Coast acted as a trade port as well as a military port. However, its function as a trade port was taken over by Nakhodka, a newly built port 90km away from Vladivostok. Vladivostok is the largest base for fishing industry in Maritime Province of Siberia, such as whaling ships, floating crab canneries and refrigerator ships. Nakhodka is located east from Vladivostok and is connected to the northern part of the East Sea. It is the last stop of the Siberian



Railway and reaches to Korea, Japan, China, Singapore, Hong Kong and India, acting as the gateway of the Trans-Siberian Railway for international cargoes and passenger ships. Zarubino port is a port city in the Posyet Bay, located 220km away from Vladivostok or 105 km by sea. Close to Hunchun of China, Zarubino port is regarded as the only sea route to link the East Sea and Northeast three provinces of China.

### The Lost Exit to the East Sea: China's efforts to recover one

The border between China and Russia's eastern part was firstly decided according to the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) with the Argun River, Gorbitsa River, the Stanovoy Range and the sea as boundaries. In the mid-19th Century, the imperial Russia forced the Qing Dynasty to sign unequal treaties such as the Treaty of Aihun (1858) and the Treaty of Peking (1860). As a result, current Primorskiy (Maritime Province) and southern part of Khabarovsk became Russian territories.

These treaties confirmed the eastern border of the two countries as the areas from the Heilong Jiang and the Ussuri River to the Tumen Jiang, which is still valid today. M.I.Venyukov, a scholar and commentator of the imperial Russia once said (1873)<sup>7</sup> about the importance of maritime border provinces, particularly that of southern maritime border provinces from geo-strategical, economic, political and military viewpoints as follows;

*"No other land is more promising than the east border province of the Amur-Tumen River to Russia which has very far exit to the world. Here in east provinces Russia has an open window to the sea Europe cannot offer. Therefore, Russia should join its forces against its enemy which tries to hold world supremacy... These are the only provinces which can secure essential ports for free seaborne trade with sources of long-term wealth, such as the US, the Sunda Islands and India... If Russia should lose some parts of its land, nothing will be sadder than losing these provinces."*

M.I.Venyukov lived in Vladivostok and his view is closer to Russians in the Maritime Province than those in Moscow. He also said;

*"China is paying keen attention to the crossing of borders of Russia, China and North Korea for geological and economic reasons. Intensive economic development of Neimenggu, Heilongjiang and Jilin in Northeast provinces is being limited by transportation. These provinces have no direct access to the sea and rely on Dalian-Harbin railway route which is already saturated with cargo transportation from Northeastern provinces. For this reason, China has tried to secure an exit to the East Sea. If China secures such direct route to the sea, it will generate tremendous economic benefits."*<sup>8</sup>

China is still trying to earn a direct route to the East Sea for its Northeastern provinces as it did 150 years ago. It can secure such direct route by acquiring southernmost territory of Russia close of the Posyet Bay, the Tumen River (through river bed dredging works and construction of a river port with linkage to the Tumen River and the East Sea) or long-term lease of Russian rail bed which connects Hunchun, Kraskino and Zarubino port. The last measure is to be realized by an international consortium for the Tumen Project supported by the UNDP. A different route can be found through the Najin Port in North Korea.

China's direct route to the East Sea will establish a new transportation system by shortening the distance from China to Japan, Korea and its southern part. By doing so, China will be able to accelerate economic development of Northeastern provinces, while Japan will boost relatively retarded economic development of its western areas. In addition, the route is a direct channel for Japan to import cheap raw materials from Northeastern parts of China, which will benefit both.

### Conclusion

Throughout history of civilization, the East Sea has held significance in the Far East. However, such significance subsided with the end of the Second World War (1945) and the East Sea became the sea in the edge of the world. As the Korean peninsula was divided, North Korea's access to the East Sea became impossible. During the Cold War, relations between the Soviet Union, China, Korea and Japan remained frozen too. Big changes occurred when the socialist system broke down. China is seeking an exit to the East Sea with industrialization of its



three Northeastern provinces. Russia is trying to use the East Sea to export its gas and other resources. South Korea and Japan are advancing northward through the East Sea. China needs the East Sea for logistics reasons, to transport resources and products to Northeastern provinces (Manchuria). For that goal, China is expanding the Zarubino Port jointly with Russia and tries to enter the East Sea via the Najin Port of North Korea, the shortest route from Manchuria.

North Korea also has its share of worries and tasks. The key issue is economic difficulties and insufficient infrastructure. This is why it rented the Najin Port to China and Russia for long term. With its efforts for infrastructure development, North Korea will seek logistics movements towards South Korea and Japan through the Najin Port.

On its part, South Korea has remaining tasks. For its linkage to the Eurasia railway, passage through a North Korean railway is a must. However, the division between the two Koreas and political conflicts limit South Korea's use of North Korean railway.<sup>9</sup> Chances are that transportation will be carried out through the East Sea route or the Najin Port will be used in the future.

Meanwhile, Mongolia has limitations as a land-locked nation surrounded by Russia and China. It still has ethnic resistance to China. However, the nation dreams of transporting its resources through the East Sea, checking a possibility of using the Najin Port to go to the East Sea. Recently, Mongolia launched the Maritime and Fisheries Office although it was land-locked.

Climate change and Arctic routes are putting a new light on the East Sea. The sea route through the East Sea is the shortest route to the Arctic Ocean. Climate change is a challenge but also an opportunity to the East Sea. The East Sea is emerging from the periphery of the world system to the center stage as a new trade route.

The East Sea is on the route to the Arctic Sea and further to Europe and also a way from Europe to the Arctic Ocean to East Asia. This offers great future and possibilities as a sea route. Significance of this new sea route through the Arctic Ocean is tantamount to traditional exchanges between the East and the West through the Suez Canal. With reference to *the East-West Silk Road* in the past, this new route can be called as '*New Silk Road*.'

Korea is conducting basic research about the maritime civilization in the

Korean East Sea which reaches to North Korea, Japan, Russia, China and Mongol, etc. and this is being expanded with future vision. Due to thawing of the North Pole due to climate changes, the Ocean shipping route is coming as a future vision for a new shipping route.

Notes

1 Korea and Japan are divided over the naming of ‘the East Sea.’ Korea has called it ‘the East Sea,’ while Japan has argued for ‘the Japan Sea.’ This report consistently uses the term of ‘the East Sea.’

2 Korea and Japan are divided over the naming of ‘the East Sea(東海).’ Korea has called it ‘the East Sea,’ while Japan has argued for ‘the Japan Sea(日本海).’ This report consistently uses the term of ‘the East Sea.’

3 The East Sea includes the deep sea going deeper than 3,000m, spanning 300,000*km*<sup>2</sup>. With the average depth of 1,684m, the East Sea shows very unique marine environment. First, cold current and warm current are met together. The East Korea Warm Current meets the North Korea Cold Current around 40° north latitude, forming wonderful fishing ground. The warm current brings with it squid, while the cold current comes with queen crab. Other major fish stock includes salmon, pollack, herring and cod. On balance, the East Sea can be summarized in the following ways.

① Small-sized (like lake) but deep sea

② Sea surrounded by South Korea, North Korea, Japan, Russia and various minorities

③ Located peripherally despite civilization exchanges in the past

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8 M.I.Venyukov, *East Borders in documents of Russia and China and facts*, trans. Sung Jong-hwan, Vladivostok: Woosuri Publishing, 1999, 309.

9 *Maritime Silk Road and Seaport Cities*, Trident Nariman Point Mumbai, India, 16th-17th, Oct, 2014, hosted by Korea Maritime and Ocean University.

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# The State and Empowerment of Indonesian Maritime Culture

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## The Case of Traditional Marine Resource Management

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### Abstract

This paper introduces the Indonesian maritime culture. While it explains the coverage of the whole maritime culture in the introduction, in the main texts focuses on two examples of the culture on traditional marine resource management. The two examples are taken from Maluku and Papua. It explains the similarities and differences, the state of the culture and some revitalization initiatives. It notes that while the marginalization and weakening of the traditions are due to government policy and market economy, it also notes that the changing government regime and policies and NGOs support can revitalize and re-strengthen the culture.

**Keywords** maritime culture, traditional marine resource management, communal marine tenure, petuanan, sasi, kiripup.

### Introduction

Indonesia is a country of rich maritime culture. One of the reasons for this is the archipelagic nature of the country. Indonesia is a country with 5.8 millions m<sup>2</sup> of its territory is marine water. Our sea is three times larger than the land, which is only 1.9 millions m<sup>2</sup>. These waters—located in the tropical zone which support high biodiversity—is also the location where around 17,000 islands, mostly small in size, sit. This makes Indonesia as the second longest country in the world in term of coastline (95.181 km). With these geo-spatial characteristics, it is a nature call for Indonesians, particularly coastal people to adapt their live and livelihoods to marine environment. Thus, for us to develop maritime culture is essential. Further, it is not just a maritime culture but a culture that should be adapted to tropical waters—with mega bio-diversity—, shallow and deep water of and between Indian and Pacific Oceans. Hence, it's logical if our maritime culture is so rich.

In Indonesia, the discussions of maritime culture should, at least, talk about four categorical but interrelated cultural groups associated with four types of communities; (1) the Bajau or Orang Laut (The People of the Sea) or commonly also called the Sea Nomad, (2) fishing communities, (3) sailing communities, and (4) coastal communities. In this regard, according to national census 2000, Indonesia

was a home to 158,970 Bajau people (Sea Nomad). Although majority of them have given up living on the boat, most of them still live either in settlement constructed on the coastal waters—they still live on the water—or in the coastal land. They are those whom more than 70% of their live and livelihoods depend on marine ecosystem. They are the very people of maritime culture. Indonesia is also a home for 2,261,874 fishers (2016). They fish with 625,633 boats of various size (2014, see Figure 1 for some examples), majority of which (95,6%) are less than 10 gross tones. The latter means that they are small scale or traditional fishers. They are those who learn fishing knowledge and skill from their fellow fishers of older generation or their peers. So, it is legitimate to say that fishing for them is practicing culture.

On sailing culture, the archipelagic nature of the country has also forced people to use sailing as a traditional mode of transportation. This is recorded in one of our songs. When we were little, we used to sing the following song:

Nenek moyangku orang pelaut	[My ancestors are sailors]
gemar mengarung luas samudra	[happy to wade through the ocean]
menerjang ombak tiada takut	[crashing the waves are not afraid]
menempuh badai sudah biasa	[taking a storm is normal]

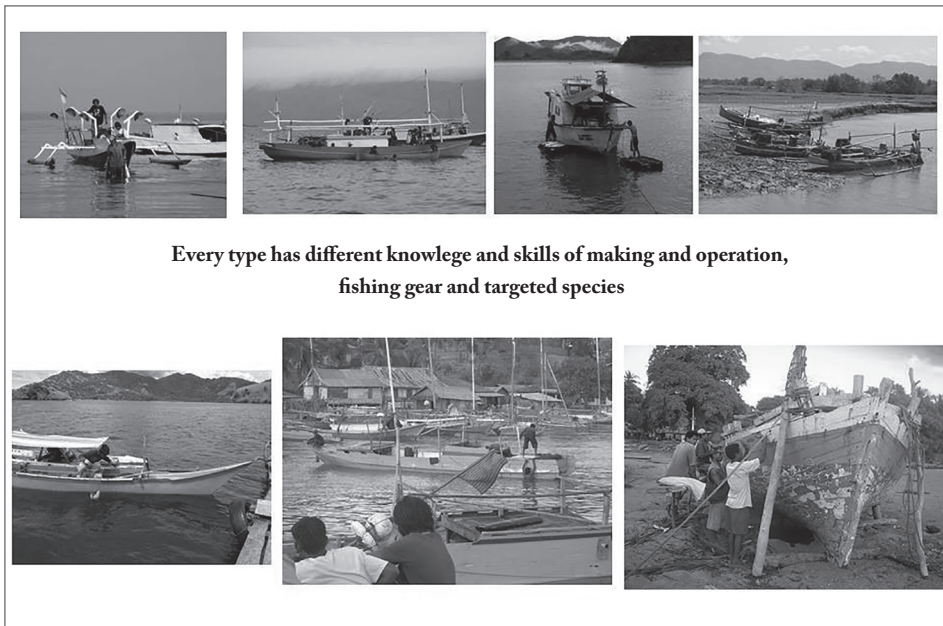


Figure 1. Some Fishing Boats in Indonesia

Source: Adhuri's personal collections

angin bertiup layar terkembang	[the wind blew the sail expanded]
ombak berdebur di tepi pantai	[waves crashing on the shore]

pemuda b'rani bangkit sekarang	[brave youths rose now]
ke laut kita beramai-ramai	[to the sea we are abuzz]
nenek moyang ku seorang pelaut	[my ancestors were sailors]

(The song was made Ibu Sud)

Although most of people would think that the song records our historical fact as most of the sailing traditions, particularly associated with long overseas voyages, have gone, but some domestics' intra and inter islands traditional sailing (*pelayaran rakyat*) still exists. *Kompas* noted that in 2016, we still had 1,384 traditional sailing boats, transporting people and goods from many islands in the country (see Figure 2 for example of a sailing boat, number and their routes).

Finally, on coastal communities, the statistics are as follows, 140 millions out of 250 millions of Indonesian are living in coastal areas and 297 of 540 districts/

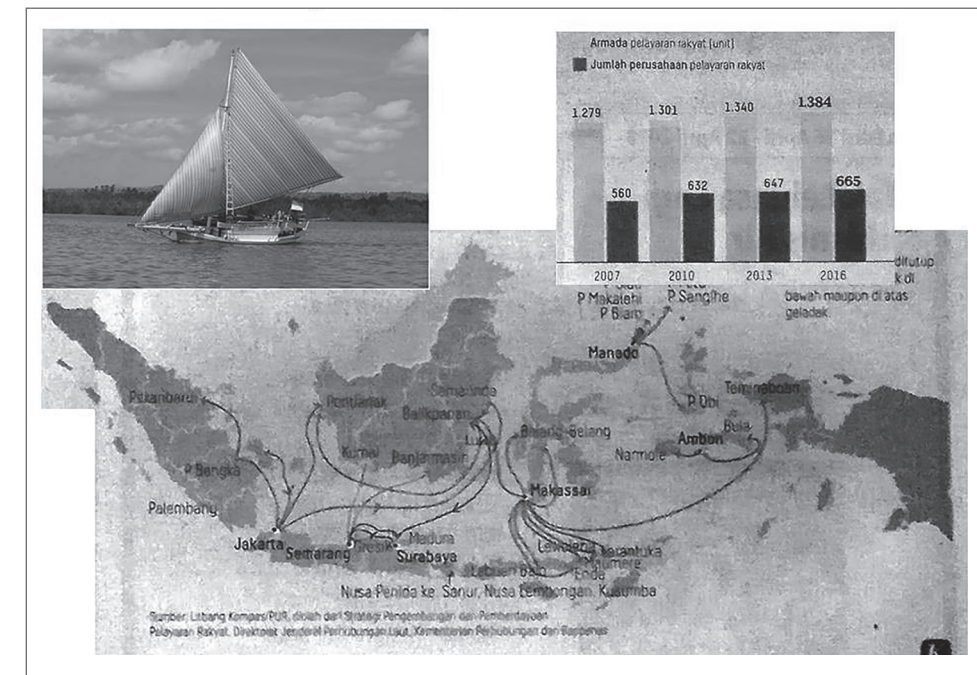


Figure 2. Sailing Boat, Number and Routes

Source: *Kompas*, May 2018



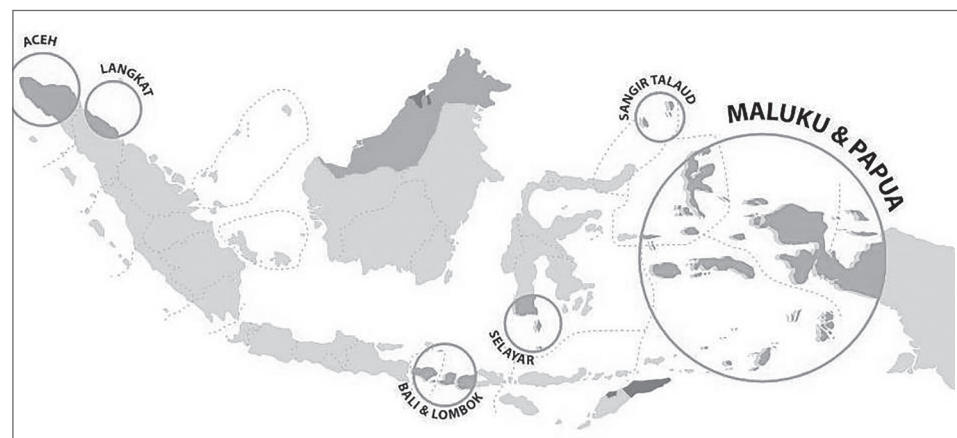


Figure 3. Traditional Marine Resource Management in Indonesia

Source: writer's creation

cities are also located on coastal areas. Although not all coastal communities have strong maritime culture, studies show that many coastal communities have developed traditional marine/coastal resource management. Studies also found that these traditions scattered from the western tip of the country, Aceh to the eastern most, the Papua (Figure 3).

A comprehensive discussion of Indonesian maritime culture, i.e. the Sea Nomads, fishing and sailing cultures as well as traditional marine resource management is beyond a scope of a single article or even a book. In fact a comprehensive discussion on one cultural category alone might deserve many articles or books. Nonetheless, as an introductory work, this paper would like to cover a discussion on traditional marine resource management focusing on their characteristics, the state and various empowerment efforts. In this regard, I would describe two examples from Papua and Maluku.

### Traditional Marine Resource Management in Indonesia: Examples from Papua and Maluku

#### Papua

The practice of traditional marine resource management in Papua lies in two main concepts, *wilayah adat laut* (communal marine territory) and *kiripup*<sup>1</sup>. *Wilayah*

*adat laut* refers to the coastal water that is subject to communal property right. In Papua, every coastal water is claimed to be owned by particular social group, generally a *keret* (clan). There are at least two different rights attached to communal marine territory, the *hak makan* (use right) and *hak milik* (property right). The *hak makan* is the right to access make use and catch fish in communal marine area. This right is shared to all members of the community, and those others but have some associations with the community. The second right is called *hak milik*. This is a stronger type of right. *Hak milik* covers *hak makan* and the right to manage the waters. These include the right to exclude others from fishing and determine open-close fishing seasons. *Hak milik* is the exclusive rights of the owner, a particular *keret*.

In practice, nonetheless, the daily management of the communal marine territory is led by village government<sup>2</sup> that manage village territory generally comprises of several *keret* (clan) territory. The fact that *keret* waters are managed by village government leads people to generally talk more about *wilayah laut kampung* (kampung marine territory), rather than *keret* territory (see Figure 4 as an example). Thus, the regulations pertaining to make use of the village territory (the sum of some *keret*'s waters) are decided through the decisions made at the village level. For examples, prohibition of destructive fishing, or the arrangement of giving permission to non-village fishers are established through a village level discussion. Nonetheless, the voice of the marine owner *keret*'s is very important.

The second concept is *kiripup*. This concept refers to the tradition of temporary closing/opening of the communal marine area for exploitation. In time of need, coastal people in Papua usually close a particular part of their village marine territory for exploitation. The closing season can last for months or a year depending on their need for the fish. When they need a lot of fish for an important ritual or festival, they will close bigger plot of the waters for longer period. For example, for a death ritual of well-known and high ranking traditional leader (Ondoapi), where the ritual would involve a lot of people, a bigger and longer *kiripup* would be exercised. In the ritual of implementing *kiripup*, the leader of the *keret* who owns the marine territory will lead the ritual in the form of setting the *tabom*, that is the sign of the prohibition made by coconut leaves. He will also lead the ritual of uplifting the prohibition when the time comes for communal fish harvesting. The fish will, then, be used for the intended ritual/festival.

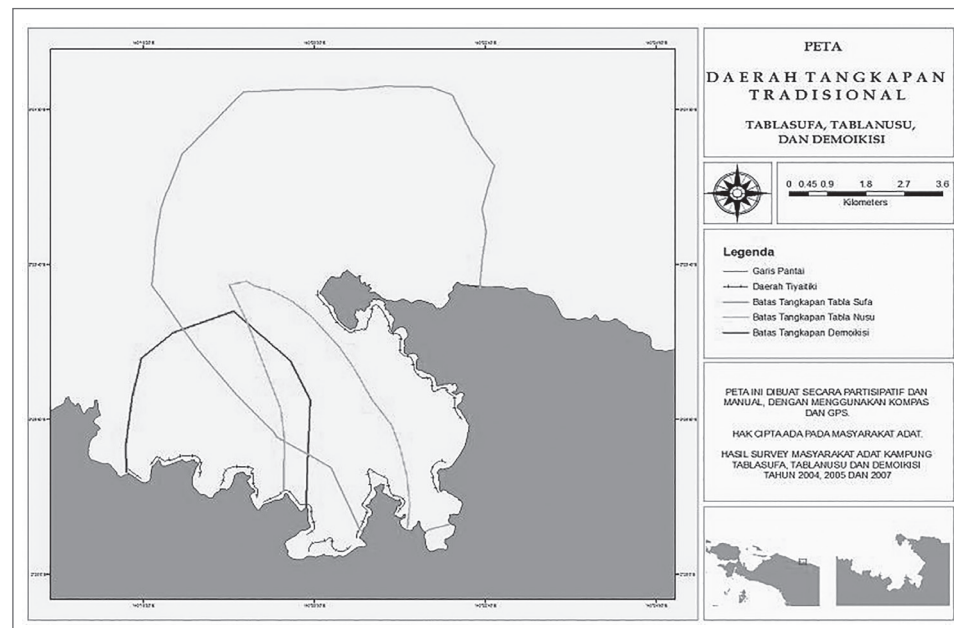


Figure 4. The Communal Marine Areas of the Kampung Tabla Sufa, Tabla Nusu and Demokisi in Papua

Source: Tabla Sufa village regulation

## Maluku

Similar to the practice in Papua, traditional marine resource management in Maluku also lies in two main concepts. The first concept is *petuanan laut* (sea estate). Similar to the concept of *wilayah adat laut* in Papua, *petuanan laut* is also communally owned marine area. A slight difference is on the right holders. While in Papua the main right holder unit is *keret*, in Maluku it varies. It starts from a clan, but mostly ranging from settlement (sub-village), village (*Ohoi*) up to federation of several villages (*Ratchap*). In fact, in Kei Islands, Southeastern Maluku, there is a unit of *petuanan laut* belong to the whole of Kei islands people (an ethnic group).

On types of rights associated with a *petuanan* unit, the same as in Papua, people in Maluku recognize *hak makan dan hak milik*. The *hak makan* is shared among all members of the community and associated individual or social group. The *hak milik*, is usually the exclusive rights of a clan (*fam*), where the *petuanan* belongs to a clan, or core clans if the *petuanan* is under the control of settlement, village or bigger social groups.

As a sign of their familiarity, a basis of their territorial claim, as well as for

management purposes, in Maluku, people usually develop elaborated traditional zonation or naming systems to their territory. The followings are two examples of this. The first one is from Kei Besar (Great Kei) island and the second is from Dullah Laut Village, Kei Kecil (Small Kei) archipelago in Southeast Maluku. Figure 5 shows that people divide marine area into eight different zones, each zone has its own name, characteristics and use. For example, *Ruhan met soin* is part of the inter tidal zone. This is the coastal area where people park their boat and do some gleaning. *Met*, still inter tidal zone but further to the sea, is the location where people anchor their boat, do some bait fishing and marine-culture activities (usually sea weed culture). As the picture depicts the zonation goes on until the farrest area where people can go.

In Dullah Laut Island on Kei Kecil archipelago, people recognize their marine area via naming rather than zonation system (see Figure 6). The sea territory (*Petuanan Laut*) of Dullah Laut village is the waters surrounding the village's seven Islands. People do not make zonation, instead, they put an elaborate names to many spots in their territories. This naming system, which is unique, is the source of legitimation for their territorial claim. This will be obvious during the time of conflict. They will challenge any claim by asking them to names their territory. Outsiders will have difficulties to recite this as each name is associated with

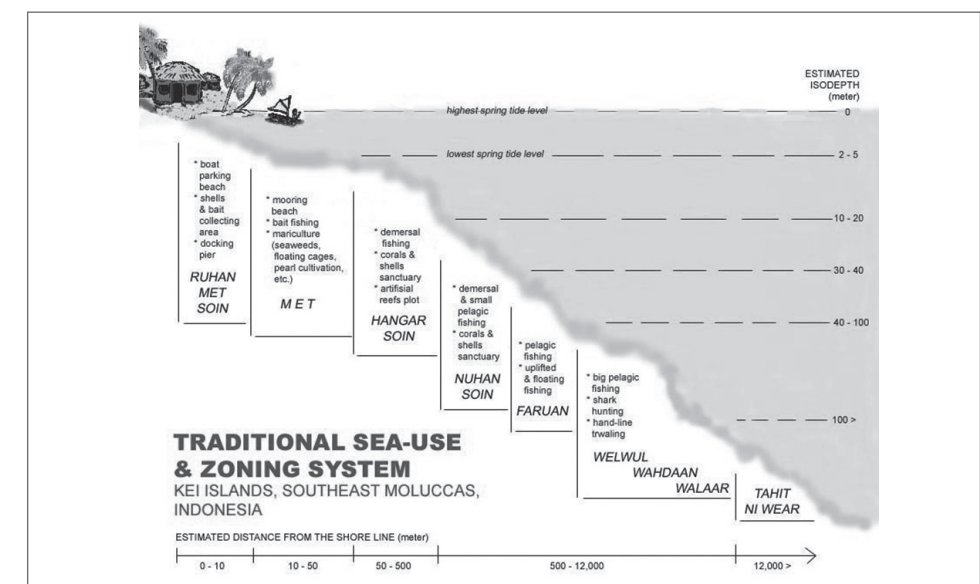
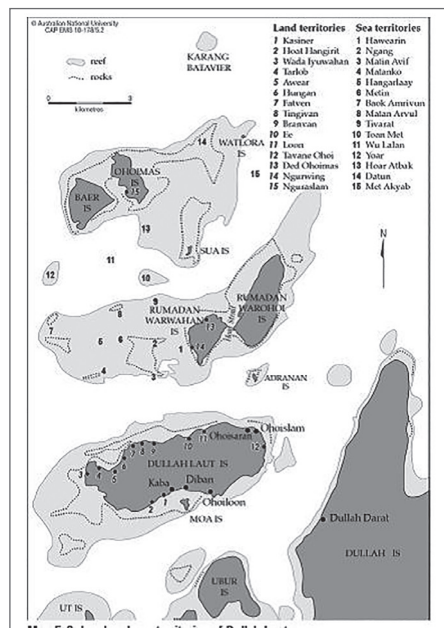


Figure 5. Traditional Sea-use and Zoning system in Kei Besar Island

Source: Marlessy 2017



**Figure 6. Land and Sea Territory of Dullah village, Kei Kecil**

Source: Adhuri 2013, 87

particular narrative that explains the establishment of the village or any traditional domain. Wada Iyuhah (No. 3 in Figure 6), for example, a marine spot to the North of Dullah Island was given the name because that particular spot was the location where one of their ancestors from Banda (Wada) anchored for the first time in the village territory. Only prominent local villagers would know this story.

The second concept in the practice of traditional marine resource management in Maluku is Sasi. This concept refers to system of beliefs, rules and rituals pertaining to temporal prohibitions on use of a particular resource or territory<sup>3</sup> (Adhuri 2013). Sasi is actually similar to kiripup, except that the time of opening and closing of sasi are determined more by the condition of particular resources (object of the prohibition) or the economic motive of the community. For the former, let me call an example of Sasi Ikan Lompa (Trissina baelama) in Haruku village on Haruku Island, Central Maluku. When schools of Trissina baelama come to the village waters and go to the river for laying their eggs, Kewang (the traditional committee in charge for surveillance and performing the opening and closing rituals of Sasi) will declare the sasi is close (tutup sasi). Thus, the coastal waters and the river where the fish live will be prohibited for any exploitation. When Kewang observes that the fish have settled well and laid their eggs, ready to go out to the

sea, they will prepare the ritual of opening the sasi (buka sasi) and invite people to come for harvesting the fish. The Sasi opening is the festival of Ikan Lompa (Trissina baelama) harvest, everybody can join, not only villagers. Elderly people, village traditional leader and orphans who could not take part in the harvest were usually given some portion of the harvest. For the latter, we can observe Sasi bia lola (Trochus niloticus) and Tripang (sea cucumber). In several villages, people use to have Sasi Bia Lola and Tripang. This means that people decide to close (tutup sasi) some parts of their marine territory for Bia Lola or Tripang exploitation or other targeted species. Tutup Sasi ritual will be performed to start the closing season. Since then, no one can harvest the targeted species until the ritual of opening sasi is carried out as the declaration of lifting the prohibition. Unlike Sasi Lompa, for Sasi Lola or Tripang, the harvest is subject to further regulation. In Nolltoh, Central Maluku, only certain people who are allowed to harvest the Trochus. This people will be paid or shared the harvest while the whole harvest will be for village government. The money from selling the harvest will be used, by the village fovernment, for village development programs. In Watlar, Kei Besar Island, each household representative is allowed to harvest the Trochus and other target, and they will receive certain amount of share from the harvest, other portion is for village government. The money from the selling of the harvest will also be used for village programs. The use of the share of every household representative is their own decision. Free can be represented everybody only certain people who are allowed to fish.

In the former time, before 1970s, the Bia Lola Sasi could last until three years. Since 1970an until now people harvest Bia Lola and Tripang every year, usually close to Christmas time for Christian communities. The driver of implementing the tradition of Sasi, in this regard, is the income from harvesting the marine species.

## The State and Empowerment of Traditional Marine Resource Management

During the Indonesian New Order Regime (1966-1998), particularly after the passing of the Village Law No. 5/1979, Indonesian traditional world was in crisis; being marginalized and weakened. As Johannes (1978, 1981) identified in



Micronesia, the weakening of the marine culture was due to government regulations and intensification of market economy. The New Order Regime looked at tradition and traditional people as barriers to development. In fact, development was meant to modernize the Indonesian traditional world. The Village Law No. 5/1979 was an instrument to create a 'modern' village government body and system that were the same for all Indonesian. Thus there was no room for Indonesian traditional cultures and organizations. The penetration of market economy has also eroded traditional social cohesion and institutions. People rushed for cash as they needed more money for fulfilling their new needs brought about by market economy. Traditional norms and leaders were no longer important. In fact, tended to be disregarded.

It was not until 1980s concerns on traditional marine resource management emerged. Interestingly it started in Maluku with concern on Sasi. Inspired by widespread environmental and social movements, NGO activists became actively involved in empowering local leaders to revive and document their tradition (see Kissya 1995; Rahail 1995). A major focus of the initiatives has been identifying the elements of resource management and the spatial distribution of such practices. These efforts were formally acknowledged when Kalpataru—the medal for special achievement in environmental conservation was awarded to village traditional leader in Central Maluku for practicing 'sustainable' traditional resource management, that is the Sasi Ikan Lompa.

Adopting international discourse on the common pool resource management, academia also involved in study on traditional marine resource management in Maluku in the same period. Lokolo (1988, 1994), Bailey and Zerner (1992) and Nikijuluw (1994) and (Pannell 1997) are some examples of such works. They all consider the practice is important for both resource sustainability and protecting the right of traditional people for managing their own resources and people.

The formal government support for the strengthening of the traditional marine resource management came after the collapsed of the Indonesian New Order Regime in 1998. The changing regime has brought decentralization and more autonomy to local governments. The formal government acknowledgement on the traditional wisdom, traditional community rights come also as part of the package. Since then, many laws and other regulations mention explicitly the obligation of government, business entity to protect and regard the practice of traditional resource

management, including marine resource management. Table 1(p.30) shows some of these laws and regulations.

Reading the laws and regulations in table 1, we can see that the government empowerment of traditional marine resource management is more for the purpose of increasing the sustainability and fairness of the management as well as acknowledging the rights of traditional people. I should also note that at the practical level, some effort of empowerments are geared toward the development of secondary use of the practice as tourist attraction. There are some positive results for this but also some risk from its commodification. Economic motive might erode the social and cultural values of the practice. For example, people question the aspect of resource sustainability of Sasi Lompa in Haruku when so many people were invited to take part in the harvest.

Another revitalization efforts that worth mentioning, other than government regulation, is the work of conservation NGOs. This is also a relatively new trend, about a decade long. The difficulties and problems experienced my conservation NGOs when they apply conventional conservation approach—that is looking at people as and 'enemy' of conservation or people as 'predators' of those conserved natural resources and ecosystems—has shifted the paradigm to embrace the people/ community as collaborator of /for conservation. One of their strategy of using people as their collaborators is making use of their tradition for conservation purposes. In this regard, these NGOs work with the community to strengthen their traditional marine resource management with some upgrade, that is putting in conservation concerns in the traditional practices.

One of well-known programs on this is the program developed by the Indonesian Locally Managed Marine Area (ILMMA). This NGOs have supported more than hundreds villages in Papua and Maluku to strengthen their traditional marine resource management practices. The programs include, not exclusively, the formalization of the traditional into the form of village regulation, adding permanent no take zone to the tradition of sasi and kiripup. In Tanimbar Kei, they also added access fee to outsider fishers. This fee is a new element in the tradition, but considered as very important. The access fee has made the community being able to collect enough fund to carry out more management activities. In fact, this fee has also made them possible to provide scholarship for kids to go studying in the

Table 1. Some Laws and Regulations that Empower Traditional Resource Management

Law/Regulation	Para	Regulation description
Constitution (amended after the collapsed of the New Order Regime)	18B(2)	The State recognises and respects traditional communities along with their traditional customary rights as long as these remain in existence and are in accordance with the societal development and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and shall be regulated by law.
	28I (3)	The cultural identities and rights of traditional communities shall be respected in accordance with the development of times and civilisations. [part of the chapter on human rights]
	61(1)	The government recognises, respects, and protects the rights of indigenous peoples, traditional communities and local wisdom in Coastal Areas and Small Islands which has been used for generations.
Law on Coastal and Small Islands Management No. 27/2007	4(c)	Strengthen the role of communities and government agencies and encourage community initiatives in the management of the resources of Coastal Areas and Small Islands in order to achieve equity, balance and sustainability; and
	61(1)	The government recognises, respects, and protects the rights of indigenous peoples, traditional communities and local wisdom in Coastal Areas and Small Islands which has been used for generations.
	(2)	Recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples, traditional communities and local wisdom as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be used as a reference to the sustainable management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands.
Ministerial Decree of the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries on the General Guidelines for Sustainable and Community-Based Management of Small Islands No. 41/2000		Management objectives for small islands: The realisation of small island management mechanisms (whether by government, the community, or business) by placing the community as the main actor and by keeping in mind the rules of environmental sustainability. Community-based Management is management that positions the community as the manager of its natural resources and environmental services, which is supported by government and business. States recognise and protect customary law / original rights over the control of land and small island territorial waters in addition to other rights in accordance with prevailing laws and regulations.

District Regulation of East Lombok District on Participatory Fisheries Resource Management, No. 9/2006	In essence, this regulation governs the management of fisheries in East Lombok District, which was developed in a participatory manner. This law also uses <i>Awig-arwig</i> as part of the arrangement. Some of the stipulations are: - <i>Awig-arwig</i> management is an inter-community agreement and/or with other parties concerning the management of fishery resources, as outlined in a consensus document signed by the Village Head and Village Consultative Board and authorised by the Subdistrict head - that sanctions will be applied to any violations of the management plan in the designated <i>Awig-arwig</i> management area
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city and helping ill people to have a better treatment in the city.

Concluding Remarks

I would consider this paper as an initial step to record and share the Indonesian maritime culture. First, I argue that Indonesia has a rich maritime culture as it is, for a simple reason because we are an archipelagic country. We do not have much option rather than developing maritime culture as our means of adaptation. Second, the discussion of maritime culture in Indonesia should cover about the Bajau people (the Sea Nomad), fishing culture, sailing culture and the culture of coastal communities, particularly to their traditional marine resource management.

Further, due to space limitation, this paper only focuses on the culture of marine resource management that is practiced in Papua and Maluku. In regard, this paper tries to shows that some similarities and differences of the practices are obvious. While the basis of both practices are the concept of communal marine tenure and the tradition of closing-opening seasons, the right holder units and motives behind these practices are different. If the main right holder unit of communal tenure in Papua is keret (clan) and village community, in Maluku the rights holder unit ranging from several clans that form the core member of the community up to an ethnic group. In Papua the motive that drives the opening and closing seasons is socio-religious, while in Maluku, it is more the condition of the

resources and economy.

This paper has also noted that while during the New Order Regime the tradition tend to be marginalized and weakened, the reform era (Post-new Order) have brought empowerment. These involve research and community empowerment on the ground and discursive level and also government policy support. The later takes the form of the passing of laws and regulation that acknowledge and protect traditional marine resource management.

Finally, on the ground or in the sea, the revitalization or strengthening of the culture of marine resource management is also carried out with the support of NGOs. Interestingly, this effort is not merely a means of cultural revitalization but also for environmental conservation.

## Notes

- 1 The term might be different from place-to place in Papua. In Malay language it is also commonly called Sasi, the same term that is also used in Maluku. Here I use kiripup that is the term used by the Papuans who live in Demta, Jayapura.
- 2 In Papua, the village governance is run by a dual village institutions that work collaboratively. The first is traditional government (*pemerintahan adat*) led by Ondoapi. They deal with matters related to traditions. The second is pemerintahan kampong (village government), this is the institution established during the Dutch colonialisation which is adopted with continuous updates/revisions by the Indonesian government. This kampong government deals with matter related to modern state management.
- 3 *Sasi* is differentiated on the basis of a specified resource or territory as well as the belief system, ritual leaders and location (see Monk et al. 1997) and Soselisa (2002) for more detailed accounts of *sasi*. Some examples of terms used for resource and territory *sasi* include those that describe: coconuts (*kelapa*); *Trochus niloticus* (*lola*) ; land (*darat*); and sea (*laut*). Terms related to belief systems, ritual leaders and location include: local village beliefs (*sasi negeri*); Christian rituals conducted in a church by a priest (*sasi gereja*); and Islamic rituals conducted in a mosque by an imam (*sasi mesjid*). The rituals of applying and lifting the *sasi* for local village beliefs are performed at sacred places in the village, led by a traditional leader.

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# Rediscovery of marine culture from the ancient Japanese literature “Nihon Eitaigura” by *Saikaku*

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## “Snapper” and “Boat racing” at a *Nishinomiya-Ebisu shrine*

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### Abstract

In many of cases, literature can be the valuable historical materials to rediscovery of the new maritime cultures. In this paper, the theme is to describe certain case that the literature is worth equivalent to the facts and real historical events sometimes, through Gennai’s story appearing in Nihon-Eitaigura which is a representative work of Saikaku

In the Edo era, the Nishino Miya Ebisu, where is the key place of Genai’s story, was surrounded by sea, the participants were competing in a blood-rushing “boat racing” to the Nishino Miya beach as described in Genai’s story. However the current Nishino Miya Ebisu region is soil, and there is no historical record proving that the Nishino Miya Ebisu was located by the seaside.

Rediscovery of marine culture such as whale fishing, some fishery technology, sailing with “Kobayabune” depicted in the story, and geological changes were possible through ancient literature such as Nihon Eitaigura by Saikaku.

**Keywords** Japanese Literature in 17century, Saikaku, whale fishing, fishery technology, Deity of Ebisu, Nishino Miya Ebisu, Boat racing, Kobayabune.

### Introduction

Among the numerous collections of short tales by Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693; Figure 1), one of the most distinguished novelists in seventeenth-century Japan, his magnum opus is no doubt *Nihon Eitaigura* (1688; Figure 2). Of late this work has been noted, not only from the national but also international viewpoint, as one of the most interesting and illuminating historical writings regarding their contemporary economic phenomena and ideas. From its subtitle, *Daifuku Shin Chozza Kyo*, this collection might at first sight seem to be a moral book (‘kyo’) on how to have success in life (‘choza’) in the current thriving society (‘daifuku’, ‘shin’). Only two thirds or so of the 30 tales in it, in fact, were moral fables about those piling up riches thanks to their ingenuity or dexterity or ending in retributive poverty due to their conceit or wickedness. The rest of them feature real successful entrepreneurs, by the alias or real name (e.g., Mitsui Takatoshi, 1622-1694, the





Figure 1

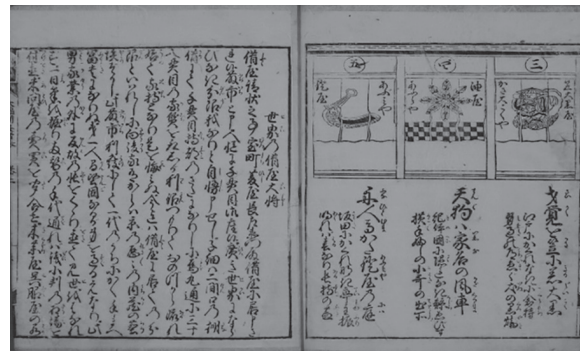


Figure 2

founder of Mitsukoshi), and describe vividly, if in somewhat comedic veins, the way in which they struggled in the so-called cash nexus.

### The tale in volume 2, number 4, of *Nihon Eitaigura*

The tale in number 4 of volume 2 of the collection, entitled ‘Tengu wa iena no kazaguruma’, is a case in point. It unfolds as follows.

The fishery village of Taiji, Wakayama, has a master of harpooning, whose given name is Gennai, family name Tengu, and house flag of a pinwheel (‘kazaguruma’ in Japanese). He led the local whaling industry to prosperity not only by taking by far more whales than anyone else but also by ingeniously producing oil from disused whale bone fat. The prosperity accelerated as he devised a collective way to whale using fishing nets and organised the fishery profession beyond his native village. These also procured him not just enormous wealth but also wide reverence.

Gennai was also devout, practicing his religion at Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine (a shrine which is located at Nishinomiya, a pivotal place for transportation about 130km away from his village in a straight line but in much more distance by sea). Such was his faith that his annual pilgrimage to the shrine on the early morning of the tenth day of the new year lasted for over two decades, the festive morning event in every year which continues at the same shrine to date, known as ‘Toka-Ebisu’.

On the tenth day of a year, however, he woke up so late that he could by no means arrive at the shrine in the morning. Too late though it was, he rushed in a high-speed boat with twenty oars, but not until night fell did he come ashore at Nishinomiya. He saw no visitors around the shrine any longer, nor was he received by any shrinemen; he could not but turn back with his resentment finding no outlet. While lying still in frustration aboard back, he dreamt a sleeping or waking dream, in which Ebisu, the god enshrined at Nishinomiya, made his appearance to reveal an oracle or divine instruction to him to the effect that Gennai could and should carry his caught sea breams fresh to more distant consumers by pricking them with a needle. Back in Taiji he followed the instruction to see his market more expanded and, thereby, his wealth more accrued.

### Ebisu at Nishinomiya and sea breams

As many commentators have pointed it out, it is Taichi Kakuuemon (1623–1699) that is the most possible real person that Saikaku might have borne in mind writing this tale. Kakuuemon is noted to have revolutionised whaling from a simple way of harpooning to a combining way of netting and harpooning (Figure 3, the

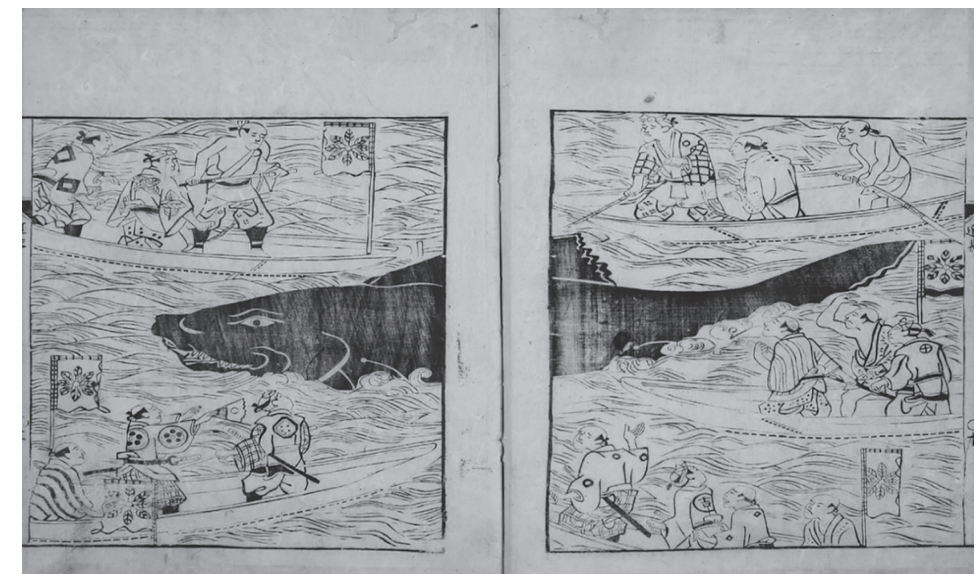


Figure 3

supposedly oldest extant graphic representation about whaling, reproduced from volume 2, number 4, of *Nihon Eitaigura*). In Saikaku's days, also, he may have been well known and charismatic among the readership, considering his innovation is presumably dated circa 1677. It may be remarked, nevertheless, that there is no documentary proof hitherto available that Kakuemon would have played a role in commercial distribution of sea breams.

First of all, this story may well draw our attention to the deity of Ebisu and its relationship to the significance of the sea bream. Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine is today called simply 'Nishinomiya Shrine', but its official name in the seventeenth century was 'Nishinomiya Ebisu Daimyo Shrine', as the record of building its main architecture in July 1663 shows. As *Nihon Eitaigura* implies, moreover, the shrine was held in worship as the most prestigious of all the places enshrining Ebisu in the country, especially, among the merchant classes, by the time that Saikaku wrote it. The present article uses the appellation 'Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine', to note the deity enshrined therein (Figure 4).

Ebisu is featured in *Kojiki*, the oldest extant chronicle in Japan (c.711), and *Nihon Shoki*, the second oldest (c.720). According to them, Ebisu was born to Izanagi and Izanami, the god and goddess creating Japan, but was shortly exposed to sea because of his innate disabledness, with the final result that he was enshrined as god of the sea—for safe water navigation and good fishery harvests—at Nishinomiya. The worship of Ebisu got soon disseminated among sailors and fishermen to the point where many shrines with the same divine name were erected everywhere they dropped in across the nation, providing meeting places which in turn helped transmit the worship to local merchants. This explains why Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine may well be regarded now as well as before as the pivotal place for the faith underpinning thousands of Ebisu shrines.

The quintessential figure of Ebisu in graphic description features a lovely combination of ample body and smiley face, with a fishing-rod on his right shoulder and a sea bream under his left arm (Figure 5). As a matter of fact, there are hardly any exceptions. Considered to be a symbolic representation of the enjoyable gift of sea bream—the most popular, supposedly luxurious and divine fish—, this demonstrates how common among sailors and fishermen was the conception or even aspiration that the deity of Ebisu should not be parsimonious or punitive but



Figure 4



Figure 5

liberal and supportive. It is not too digressive to remark here that this is the case with Inari, god of the land, regarded in worship mainly by farmers and peasants across the nation, with Fushimi Inari Shrine, Kyoto, enjoying the pivotal place comparable to that of Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine.

Simply put, Ebisu as well as Inari was a god for a good harvest. Since a good harvest was obviously beneficial to all members of the community, Ebisu was worshiped as coming up with a blessed visitation to the whole. The ascending dominance of the cash nexus, however, led many to doubt the obvious; since the market economy made a good harvest give profits to some but losses to others within the same community, Ebisu was no longer for the communal happiness but rather a god to which to pray for one's personal gain. It was the Edo era that witnessed this change in divinity of Ebisu.

Another pivotal role played by Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine was in diffusing Bunraku (Figure 7). As mentioned above, Ebisu has a fishing-rod on his right shoulder and a sea bream under his left arm, but, as is often unattended, he uses a small shrimp as bait. That is a representation of a bonanza, bearing in mind that whereas shrimps were commonplace, sea breams were scarce. To stand for this bonanza, as is well known, the dance called 'Dance for Ebisu (Ebisu-Mai)' (Figure 6) was born and was later turned into a puppet theatre for larger audience. This puppet theatre was toured across the nation by puppeteers, the profession which was organised and controlled under Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine and allegedly instrumental for intelligence activities in the Medieval era or the Warring States



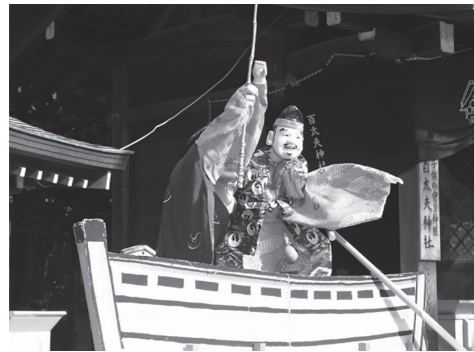


Figure 6



Figure 7

period. Either way, the puppet theatre was combined with the popular version of music called 'Joruri-Bushi' to gain huge popularity as 'Ningyo (puppetry)-Joruri' in the Edo era, boasting Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725), the most famous scriptwriter. This form of puppet theatre is still popular while today known as Bunraku.

Before proceeding to the next section, let us account succinctly for how Gennai treated his caught sea breams, as described in *Nihon Eitaigura*. What Ebisu advised him to do was presumably not to leave them dying but to make them braindead aboard. For one, this treatment enabled him to distribute his sea breams fresh in such a distance that he gained success in fishery; for another, it is generally used among the fishery in Japan, today known as 'ikejime'. (One can see the theoretically identical technique in the final episode of *Dae Jang Geum*, a Korean TV drama series.) It is possible and probable that Saikaku may have heard of an entrepreneur winning a bonanza using this innovative technique in the emerging market society, whether or not he was Kakuemon from Wakayama, a region whose coastal waters boast good harvests of sea breams to date.

### The early-morning boat pilgrimage to Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine

Saikaku's story about Gennai has another episode relevant to our purpose; his failed early-morning pilgrimage to Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine by sea. One can

watch TV news shows on the 10th January every year that report that hardly does the shrine open its gate in the early morning before many young men rush in for its central building in competition with one another, and that the shrine awards the winner the prize 'The Lucky Boy of the Year'. But no one hears in detail of how this avowedly old racing event developed over time. Interestingly enough, Saikaku in his *Nihon Eitaigura* wrote about Gennai's regular attendance—and his careless nonattendance—at the early-morning pilgrimage to the shrine on the 10th January by boat (for details see Morita 2011). Although there is no definitive evidence for it, it is not too unreasonable to infer from Gennai's high-speed boat that the pilgrimage took one or another form of boat racing in those days, and that it provided a prototype for today's racing for 'The Lucky Boy of the Year'. Gennai's sort of high-speed boat was originally used for whaling, but is used for festive boat races (Figure 9), for it is easy to change her direction. Moreover, considering that usual use was made of a small boat with twelve oars for an urgent purpose (Figure 8) and of a large boat with forty for a less urgent and more caring or long-distance purpose, it seems to have been reasonable enough that Gennai would have chosen a boat with twenty oars on the morning that he woke up too early. Assuming that he would have had forty sailors bend the oars by turns from embarkation to landing and that the weather and tide would have had no effect on his navigation on the average, Saikaku's description of Gennai's fourteen hours or so travel from Taiji to Nishinomiya seems to be realistic enough or not too fictitious to be a reliable material for social history (for detail see Morita 2011). It is not too conjectural to infer from this that the coastal waters before Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine were covered with innumerable high-speed boats coming across the nation on the day of

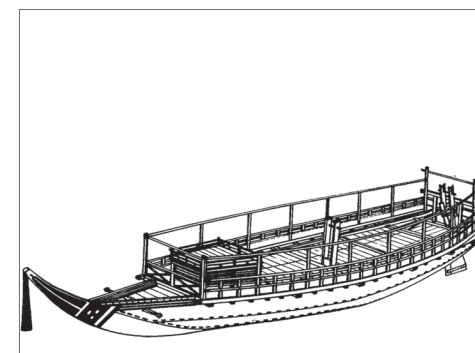


Figure 8



Figure 9

early morning pilgrimage.

That the annual boat race at Nishinomiya, on the 10th of January, attracted many fearless sailors seeking the crown, is implied in an early-modern tale that dates from 330 years ago, and it is very likely. All novels and tales are not too unreliable for historiography.

Concluding Remarks

Henrich Schliemann (1822-1890), a German archaeologist, discovered the ancient remains of Troy along with the Mycenaean sites, led by his belief that that Homer’s *Iliad* reflects historical events, a pioneering work on Aegean civilisation. This way of discovery may not be confined to the archaeology or historiography of the West. We conclude the present paper by suggesting that the classic literature all over the world may provide us numerous hints to unknown marine ethnographies.

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# An Introduction to Materials on the Shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea in the Ch'ing Dynasty Archives

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Lin-jian Dai\*

## Abstract

This paper focuses on the historical materials on the shipwrecks in the Ch'ing Dynasty archives in China and aims at introducing the one rescue between Ch'ing Dynasty and Chosŏn Korea among these materials to Korean academics with the introduction of the relevant retrieval and use methods. Simultaneously, it will be illustrated that the importance of the comparison between the Ch'ing Dynasty archives and the Chosŏn's archives.

As so far, Korean academics have gained lots of researches about the case study of Chinese and Korean drifters. But there still have considerable room for the use of the archives in China. These materials are mainly being kept at the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing and the National Palace Museum and the Academia Sinica in Taiwan. In addition, the records about the communication between local scholars and Chosŏn's drifters could also be found in the personal anthologies in Ch'ing Dynasty.

Comparing the records in both the drifter's homeland and the salvation country is important. The shipwreck survivors' repatriation networks, which gradually institutionalized in the tribute trade system and became a reference for dealing with similar problems later, had existed in the pre-modern East Asian Sea. With the study on the drifting records, the existence of such a network could be more clearly proved. However, it is also suggested that the analysis of the drifting records should not only stay at the diplomatic level of the two countries but also, from the perspective of maritime history, give attention to the different maritime peoples themselves.

**Keywords** shipwreck, drift, drifter, Chosŏn, Ch'ing Dynasty, archives

## Introduction

It may not be too much to argue that spurred by the increasing influence of the viewpoint of maritime history, topics related to the history of international relations observed through the maritime area surrounding the continent, are drawing an increasing interest of the academic community in East Asia. In

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particular, in Korea, when the effectiveness and limitations of ‘maritime/ continental’ in the discussion about East Asian Community have been proved, it is being confirmed that the identity of Korea, which was found in East Asian Sea in history with ‘maritime/continental’, was not depending on the policy of maritime trade prohibition(*Haegeum*, 海禁) but the people’s actions in East Asia Sea, with whom carrying a ‘maritime intentionality’<sup>1</sup>. And one of those people was the drifter, who survived from the shipwreck.

Research on shipwrecks or the drifter in East Asia focusing on China, Japan, Korea, Ryukyu and so on, has produced a wealth of papers. And most of their topics tend to focus on the salvage activities or individual events in a country or between two regions.<sup>2</sup> But compared with Japan, the related researches in Korea and China are still insufficient. Particularly, although Korea and China themselves are keeping a lot of drifting materials related to each other, works dealing with salvage activities and repatriation systems between two countries are still few in number. Personally, the reason should be that the related materials in Korea have not been sorted out effectively, as well as they in China.

This paper focuses on the historical materials on the shipwrecks in China, which have not been compiled separately. These materials, including information on shipwrecks rescue among China, Chosŏn, Japan, Ryukyu and other Southeast Asian countries, are basically scattered in different literature collections or massive archives. This paper aims at introducing the one rescue between Ch’ing Dynasty and Chosŏn among these materials to Korean academics. Certainly, other scholars have begun this work before. Since 1999, Liu Shiuh-feng(劉序楓), Tang Shi-yeoung(湯熙勇) from Taiwan and Matsuura Akira(松浦章) from Japan had begun collating the materials on the shipwrecks around the China coast.<sup>3</sup> In addition, in 2004, Liu Shiuh-feng personally published a book with a high reference value, named *Catalogue of Shipwreck Records in the Ch’ing Archives*(*Qingdai dang’an zhong de hainan shiliao mulu*, 清代檔案中的海難史料目錄), which lists and catalogues some parts of Ch’ing Dynasty archives related to the historical shipwrecks.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of these achievements, this paper will sort out and summarize the historical materials on the shipwrecks related to Ch’ing Dynasty and Chosŏn, and then introduce the relevant retrieval and use methods. Simultaneously, it will be illustrated that the importance of the comparison between the Ch’ing Dynasty archives and the Chosŏn’s archives.

## Research to Materials on the Shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea in the Ch’ing Dynasty Archives in China (with the Searching Methods)

The Korean Peninsula’s geographical location, surrounded by sea on three sides, determines its inseparable relationship with the sea. The people, then, born on this land, are by nature carrying a ‘maritime intentionality’. Although Chosŏn Korea implemented the relatively strict policy of maritime trade prohibition, in effect the coastal people’s maritime activities—situations of putting out to sea without authorization—are not completely cut off, which give rise to the increase in the frequency of shipwrecks. The definition of the shipwreck involved in this paper is mainly for the drifters, namely the experiences of the ship’s personnel who managed to survive by drifting to other countries or regions and the cargo carried on board after maritime casualty. This reference scope differs from the relevant connotations in modern law, which has also been clearly pointed out in previous studies.

In Ch’ing Dynasty, shipwreck salvage and survivor’s repatriation between Chosŏn and China were an important part of the diplomatic relations between two countries. In particular, Chosŏn, as the tributary state of the Ch’ing, was an important vassal state in Ch’ing Dynasty’s foreign policy called “cherishing men from afar(*Huairou yuanren*, 懷柔遠人)” and its drifters hence received preferential treatment. In addition, although most of shipwrecks were caused by natural factors such as severe weather, it was not excluded that some people had created an illusion of shipwreck intentionally. On the other hand, the local government conducted relevant inquiries and investigations when they confronted surviving the drifters from Chosŏn. And in principle, these processes would be recorded and reported to the central government. The materials preserved till now were parts of those records. And the other records about the interpersonal process between local scholar-officials and the drifters from Chosŏn were scattered in some local scholars’ anthologies. Similarly, the relevant records of the Chosŏn’s salvage for the drifters of Ch’ing Dynasty would also be delivered to the Ch’ing’s central government, which one were kept in the Ch’ing Dynasty archives. Furthermore, there were no lack of records about the shipwrecks among the historical materials well-known by the academics, for instance, the official materials like *Da-Qing huidian*(大清會典), *Da-Qing huidian zeli*(大清會典則例) and *Da-Qing huidian shili*(大清會典事例). The materials on



shipwrecks of Chosŏn in the Ch'ing Dynasty archives collected by author so far could be classified as follows:

### Basic Historical Materials:

- (1) *Da-Qing huidian*(*the periods of Kangxi, Yongzheng, Qianlong, Jiaqing and Guangxu*) [大清會典(康熙朝'雍正朝'乾隆朝'嘉慶朝'光緒朝)]
- (2) *Da-Qing huidian zeli*(*Qianlong period*)[大清會典則例(乾隆朝)]
- (3) *Da-Qing huidian shili*(*Guangxu period*)[大清會典事例(光緒朝)]
- (4) *Qinding libu zeli*(*Daoguang period*)[欽定禮部則例(道光朝)]
- (5) *Qinding hubu zeli*(*Toganzhi period*)[欽定戶部則例(同治朝)]
- (6) the archives of the Grand Secretariat(*Neigedaku dang'an*, 內閣大庫檔案)
- (7) the Ch'ing palace memorials(*Gongzhongdang zouzhe*, 宮中檔奏摺)
- (8) the Grand Council copies of palace memorials(*Junjichu lufu zouzhe*, 軍機處錄副奏摺)
- (9) the Grand Council imperial edicts(*Junjichu shangyudang*, 軍機處上諭檔)

### Archives Compilation:

- (1) *Kangxichao Hanwen Zhupi Zouzhe Huibian*[康熙朝漢文硃批奏摺彙編] (Beijing: Dang'an Chubanshe, 1984)
- (2) *Shiliao Xunkan*[史料旬刊] (Beijing: Beijing Library Press, 2008)
- (3) *Mingqing Shiliao*[明清史料] (Taipei: Weixin Shuju, 1972)
- (4) *Zhengzhi Guanbao*[政治官報] (Reprint, Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1965)
- (5) *Sanchao Chouban Yiwu Shimo*[三朝籌辦夷務始末] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008)
- (6) *Qingdai Zhongchao Guanxi Shiliao Huibian*[清代中朝關係史料彙編] (Beijing: China International Culture Press, 1996)
- (7) *Qingdai Zhongchao Guanxi Shiliao Xubian*[清代中朝關係史料續編] (Beijing: Dang'an Chubanshe, 1998)
- (8) *Qingdai Zhongliu Guanxi Dang'an Xuanbian*[清代中琉關係檔案選編] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1993)
- (9) *Qingdai Zhongliu Guanxi Dang'an Xubian*[清代中琉關係檔案續編] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1994)
- (10) *Qingdai Zhongliu Guanxi Dang'an Sanbian*[清代中琉關係檔案三編] (Beijing:

Zhonghua Book Company, 1996)

- (11) *Qingdai Zhongliu Guanxi Dang'an Sibian*[清代中琉關係檔案四編] (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2000)
- (12) *Qingdai Zhongliu Guanxi Dang'an Wubian*[清代中琉關係檔案五編] (Beijing: Dang'an Chubanshe, 2002)
- (13) *Qingdai Zhongliu Guanxi Dang'an Liubian*[清代中琉關係檔案六編] (Beijing: Dang'an Chubanshe, 2005)
- (14) *Qingdai Liuqiu Guowang Biaozou Wenshu Xuanlu*[清代琉球國王表奏文書選錄] (Hefei: Huangshan Publishing House, 1997)
- (15) *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dang'an Huibian*[清代澳門中文檔案彙編] (Macao: Macao Foundation, 1999)

### Personal Anthology:

- (1) *Cibai Shanfang Shigao*[慈栢山房詩稿]
- (2) *Goryo Fengsuji*[高麗風俗記]

The above information are supplemented and revised on the basis of the prior researches of Liu Shih-feng and Tang Shi-yeoung. First of all, look at the 'basic historical materials' section. The parts of (1) to (5) and the archives compilation have been released in the form of publications, consequently for Korean academics there won't be much problems in their use. Therefore, this paper will focus on the partial materials of (6) to (9) which have not been made full use in Korean academics.

(6) the archives of the Grand Secretariat. These archives were originally kept at the Grand Secretariat Storehouse in the Ch'ing imperial palace. A part of them were removed from the Storehouse when it underwent renovation in 1909, but the rest of them were not. After the overthrow of Ch'ing Dynasty, these archives changed hands several times, and were, at last, divided into two parts: the archives housing at the Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica in Taiwan, and the archives housing at the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing. These archives are including imperial decrees, edicts, memorials, tribute document, documents from the offices of the Grand Secretariat, documents from the offices for book compilation and so on. Memorials make up the bulk these documents. In addition, these archives contain valuable source materials for institutional historians.

They record general administrative activities and legal cases, many of which cannot be found in the Ch'ing legal compendia.<sup>5</sup> According to author's incomplete statistics, there are 47 records concerning the shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea that can be retrieved in the memorials written in Chinese, which are being housed at the Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica in Taiwan.<sup>6</sup>

(7) the Ch'ing palace memorials and (8) the Grand Council copies of palace memorials. Little by little Ch'ing Dynasty developed a secret memorials system after going through the three periods of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong, by which local officials could delivered either government affairs or private affairs directly to the emperor. Compared with normal memorials, secret ones were characterized by high secrecy, quickness and nonstop to the emperor without registration in the cabinet. The royal memorials of this kind would be returned to the palace, so they were called "palace memorials(*Gongzhongdang*, 宮中檔)". In addition, the Grand Council was established during Yongzheng period. After that, the memorials approved by the emperor would be sent to the Grand Council to be transcribed for future reference, thus these transcripts were called "copies of palace memorials(*Lufu zouzhe*, 錄副奏摺)". Some of the memorials were written by Chinese while some of them by Manchu, and there were also situations in which written by both Chinese and Manchu. At the present, The Ch'ing Palace Memorials and The Grand Council Copies of Palace Memorials are collected in two places: one is the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, and another one is the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing. According to author's incomplete statistics, there are 45 palace memorials and 56 copies of palace memorials concerning the Chosŏn shipwrecks among the archives written in Chinese, which are being housed at the National Palace Museum in Taiwan at present.

(9) the Grand Council imperial edicts. In the archives issued by the emperor, "in general, the order issued intentionally by the emperor, or the order which was declared to the all people immediately after memorializing is called 'Yu(諭)'."<sup>7</sup> In Ch'ing Dynasty, in order to keep the archives on file, many vital government offices had a specialized records of imperial edicts. There is a kind of comprehensive records of imperial edicts in the Grand Council, on which the word 'Shangyudang(上諭檔)' was written down. Here is the introduction of this type of records. It was recorded by the bulk of imperial edicts that Ch'ing Dynasty's supreme decisions on the

important affairs of the politics, military, foreign affairs, nationality, economy and culture. In terms of the language, they were recorded both Chinese and Manchu. From 1986 to 1999, the First Historical Archives of China cooperated with Dang'an Chubanshe(檔案出版社) and Guangxi Normal University Press(廣西師範大學出版社) in order of priority, and successively reprinted and published the imperial edicts of the holdings from the period of Qianlong to Xuantong. However, up to now, with the full flow of the archival datamation, a majority of imperial edicts there have achieved the full-text digital retrieval. On the other hand, in Taiwan, the National Palace Museum keeps the imperial edicts of the Qianlong period to the Guangxu period, while there are a lack of volumes in each period. Due to its square shape, they used to be called like "the square imperial edicts(*Fangben shangyudang*, 方本上諭檔)". No matter where they are kept, then, the records involved the shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea in the imperial edicts always belong to the category of diplomacy.

Secondly, look at the 'Archives Compilation' section. Except for (2), (4) and (5) in the above mentioned archives compilation publications, they are in accordance with some parts of the Grand Council copies of palace memorials since basically they are re-edited and reprinted by the copies of palace memorials. Despite of this, it is still a pretty low rate of usage in Korean academics. Since Liu Shiuh-feng has elaborated the shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea in his book,<sup>8</sup> it will be no longer detailed here. However, there are still a few points need to be added. Firstly, the records related to the shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea included in the *Mingqing Shiliao*(明清史料) can be retrieved in (7) and (8) of the 'Basic Historical Materials', so there is no need to list them separately. Secondly, according to Liu, there are 417 records in the *Qingdai Zhongchao Guanxi Shiliao Huibian*(清代中朝關係史料彙編), in which there are 30 records related to the shipwrecks between the Ch'ing and Chosŏn. But in fact, according to author's statistics, there are 33 records. Thirdly, records concerning the repatriation of Chosŏn's drifters involved in the Sino-Ryukyu Relations Archives(*Zhongliu guanxi dang'an*, 中琉關係檔案) are urgent to be studied, since they belong to the remedy through third-party countries and reflect the handling of diplomatic affairs among the East Asian countries in the tribute trade system<sup>9</sup>.

Finally, look at the 'Personal Anthology' section. As the large number of literati collections in Ch'ing Dynasty, it is impossible to enumerate them one

by one here. So there are only two collections, including the records about the communication between local scholars and Chosŏn's drifters, will be introduced. First one, entitled *Cibai shanfang shigao*(慈栢山房詩稿), was a manuscript copy of a collection written and edited by a local scholar named Yu E 余鶚(T. 起潛 H. 慈栢) from Hangzhou. There are two poems, *Chaoxianguo xiaolian Cuidoucan hanghai beifeng zhi hang yu xianlinsilou wanghu youzuo yiyun he zhi*(朝鮮國孝廉崔斗燦航海被風至杭廬仙林寺樓望湖有作依韻和之) and *Zeng Cui xiaolian*(贈崔孝廉), concerning the Chosŏn's drifter. In 1818, Yu met a Chosŏn's drifter called Choi Du-chan(崔斗燦)(T. 應七 H. 江海散人, 1779-1821) at Xianlin Temple(仙林寺) in Hangzhou and they both wrote the presenting poems to each other, including the two poems mentioned above. These two poems could be compared with the same one included in the drifting record entitled *Seungsalok*(乘槎錄), which was written by Choi. Now the *Cibai shanfang shigao* is kept at Nanjing Library. The second one, which was entitled *Goreyo fengsuji*(高麗風俗記) (It will hereinafter be referred to as *GF* respectively) written by the local scholar called Qi Zhou-hua(齊周華, T. 巨山 H. 漆若, 1698-1768) from Taizhou, was included in a written collection edited by Qi himself and entitled *Mingshancang fuben*(名山藏副本). Qi had directly observed a group of Chosŏn's drifters came from Jeju in Taizhou on 1741, and marveled at their high ethical attitudes and behaviors. He called Chosŏn Korea a high attitude nation by his words in the *GF*. Now the written collection is kept at the museum of Linhai City in Taizhou. Overall, the Korean academics need to pay attention to these two collections.<sup>10</sup>

For Korean academics, there may be some difficulties in using above-mentioned historical materials because all of them are kept in the institute affiliated to Chinese government. Therefore, the following will briefly introduce the retrieval and usage of the above-mentioned historical materials, hoping to be helpful to Korean academics.

Currently, the First Historical Archives has opened some directories to search on its home page(<http://www.lsdag.com/nets/lsdag/page/index.shtml?lv=>). You can enter the query page by clicking on 'Use query(*Liyong chaxun*, 利用查詢)Directory query(*Mulu chaxun*, 目錄查詢)' and select the categories of archives which you need to query in the column of "Archives Catalogue(*Dang'an mulu*, 檔案目錄)". Then, enter the keyword in the blank of 'Title(Timing, 題名)'. See Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. The Query Page of the First Historical Archives

Figure 2. The Query Page of the National Palace Museum

The National Palace Museum also provides the retrieval function of the database on its homepage(<https://www.npm.gov.tw/index.aspx>). It can be accessed by clicking on 'Collection(*Diancang ziyuan*, 典藏資源)Database system(*Diancang ziliaoku xitong*, 典藏資料庫系統)Database of Ch'ing Palace Memorials and Archives of the Grand Council(*Qingdai gongzhongdang zouzhe ji junjichudang zhejiang mulu suoyin*, 清代宮中檔奏摺及軍機處檔摺件目錄索引)'. Then enter the keyword in the blank of 'unlimited field(*Buxian lanwei*, 不限欄位)' to search. See Figure 2.

However, two retrieval methods mentioned above can only retrieve the file number and the title. it needs to go to the collection places directly if you want to get the specific original text. The First Historical Archives' address is West Flowery



Figure 3. The Query Page of the Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica

Gate, Forbidden City, Beijing, China, and the National Palace Museum's address is No. 221, Sec. 2, Zhishan Rd., Shilin Dist., Taipei City, Taiwan.

In addition, the Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica provides online retrieval of the archives of the Grand Secretariat (*Neigedaku dang'an*, 內閣大庫檔案) (<http://archive.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/mctkm2/index.html>). Click on the 'Free Trial' (*Mianfei shiyong*, 免費試用) button to enter the query page, and enter the keyword in the 'unlimited field' (*Buxian lanwei*, 不限欄位) to search. See Figure 3.

Similarly, 'Free Trial' can only retrieve the title without browsing the original text, but if authorized, you can click 'Authorized Use' (*Shouquan shiyong*, 授權使用) in the main page and follow the prompt operation, and then, the original text can be browsed online. Unfortunately, if not authorized, it also needs to go directly to the collection place for inquiry. The collection place is located in the reference room of Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica and Fu Ssu Nien Library. The address is 128 Academia Rd., Sec. 2, Nankang Dist., Taipei City, Taiwan. It is suggested to use the following keywords (in Chinese) when searching the historical materials on the shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea: Chaoxian (朝鮮), Gaoli (高麗), Piaofeng (飄風), Piaofeng (漂風), Zaofeng (遭風), Piaodao (漂到), Piaomin (漂民), Nanmin (難民), Nanyi (難夷), Yichuan (夷船) and Piaochuan (漂船). In particular, when visiting the First Historical Archives, recommendation is needed to be prepared in advance. As for the National Palace Museum and the Academia Sinica,

it is no required.

### The Importance of Contrasting the Historical Materials on Shipwrecks Between China and Korea: A Case Study of the Jeju People's Drifting Incident in 1741

It should be noted that, although such a batch of historical materials on shipwrecks mentioned above in China can be used for the research, there are still some limitations if only focusing on them. The historical materials on shipwrecks, especially those related to drifting, are characterized by one-sidedness from the perspective of 'the other' since they were generally recorded by other countries. Consequently, in order to grasp the historical facts from a broader perspective, it is needed to cooperate with the relevant records of the drifter's homeland as well, besides the information of the salvation country. On the contrary, Korean academics, as so far, have gained lots of researches about the maritime history, especially in the case study of Chinese and Korean drifters, in which has made considerable progress. But there still have considerable room for the use of the archives in China. The fact that the Korean academics themselves only rely on their own archives to carry out the study of the history of shipwrecks between Korea and China, is really a question needed to be reflected.

As we all know, the shipwreck survivors' repatriation networks, which gradually institutionalized in the tribute trade system and became a reference for dealing with similar problems later, had existed in the pre-modern East Asian Sea. To be specific, the Asian countries had been treating each other's shipwreck survivors in a reciprocal manner by rescuing them and offering them assistance to return home from the middle of 18th century, regardless of whether there are diplomatic or trade relations between two countries<sup>11</sup>. After receiving the returned drifters from other countries, the local government would investigate the drifter and make a record. In this way, the records of both countries can be compared and help to restore the original appearance of the drifting incidents. Therefore, this paper aims at showing many interesting topics that can be found by comparing the records of both countries in use of taking the actual case as an example. Considering

that *GF* has been introduced to Korea, this paper will choose the drifting incident recorded in it as a case study.

The record of a Jeju drifting incident in 1741 in *GF* is described as follows:

*In the summer of 1741, 20 people from Cholla sailed together to barter for rice. Suddenly hit by a hurricane, they were drifted to Shandong Province. Then the boat was flowed to Fujian on the condition that its mast was broken by wind and, in the end, arrived at Taizhou.<sup>12</sup>*

The same records concerning the accident above, which could be found in the official historical materials both in China and Korea, are as follows:

(the record in China)

*Today a barbarian ship from Chosŏn Korea was drifted ashore, with 20 people including the owner Wen Longzhang and the helmsman Han Shoufa. They were all from So'an Island(所安島) in Yeong'am County(靈巖郡), Cholla. Because of crop shortage on the island, 19 pairs of saddles, 10 bags of undaria pinnatifida and a rattan cap were prepared by Wen Longzhang and others. And then they shipped to Dosi Port(都市浦) in Yeong'am County to barter grains. On their way there, they were hit by a hurricane on February 9th 1741. The ship was badly damaged and drifted to the Chuanjiao Sea(川礁洋), which belongs to Linhai County(臨海縣), Zhejiang Province.<sup>13</sup>*

(the records in Korea)

*The 20 people, including Wen Longzhang, were from Yeong'am County in Cholla. They drifted to Linhai County in Zhejiang Province. One of them was died in disease and the others were escorted to Beijing. Under the emperor's order, the Ministry of Rites demanded an interpreter to send the drifters to Uiju.<sup>14</sup>*

*We were all from Jeju. On February 29th, the court of horses and carriages(Saboksi, 司僕寺) required 18 pairs of saddles, and thus we took them out by ship. But on our way, we were hit by a hurricane, and our ship lost its direction. Then, after the stern's break, the ship was out of our control thoroughly, and drifted towards either the east or the west, for 42 days. Although being overwhelmed by feelings of depression, we were still afraid of drifting to Ryukyu. Because we were always the abomination in Ryukyu people's eyes, it was not without the worry of being killed. Therefore, we threw out our identity tag with two*

*characters 'Jeju', certifications and 40 taels into the sea.<sup>15</sup>*

According to the words of these drifters, because the court of horses and carriages required 18 pairs of saddles, they took them out and shipped to Cholla on February 29th, 1741. But they were hit by a hurricane on their way, and lost the direction. After drifting for 42 days, they were survived from Linhai County in Zhejiang Province. On June 11th, they left towards Hangzhou. And they left Hangzhou on July 2nd, and arrived at Beijing on August 22nd.

As for the incident itself, there are no problems on the records by neither two countries. However, something interesting would come into sight through the comparison.

Firstly, look at the drifting path. According to the *GF*, the drifters drifted to Shandong Province at first, then to Fujian Province, and to Zhejiang Province at last. See Figure 4 below. It will bring up a question as follow only according to this record: from geographical perspective, how did the drifters realize this roundabout route, especially returning Fujian to Zhejiang?

But combined with the materials in Korea, it may be easier to be understood. According to the materials in Korea, the drifters drifted on the sea for 42 days. Here another similar drifting accident could be referred to. Choi Du-chan, who was mentioned above, was in a storm on his way from Jeju to Cholla as well in April 1818 and at last drifted to Zhejiang Province just for 16 days,<sup>16</sup> which approximates 1/3 of the time Jeju drifters drifted. It seems that, compared with Choi, the Jeju drifters might drift to Zhejiang Province with a more devious route.

What needed to be considered here are the monsoon and ocean current. In particular, according to the materials in Korea, "after the stern's break, the ship was out of our control thoroughly." It can be, therefore, considered that the man-made forces at that time could no longer control the direction of the ship.

From the monsoon point of view, the monsoon was blowing from the continent to the sea in the northern hemisphere in



Figure 4. The Drifting Path



Figure 5. February Monsoon Diagram in East Asia



Figure 6. February Kuroshio Current Diagram (Solid Line: Kuroshio Current; Dotted Line: China Coastal Current)

February when the drifting incident took place. So in East Asia, it is the Northeast monsoon in February, as shown in Figure 5. And from the ocean currents viewpoint, February is just the enhancing period of Kuroshio Current. In cooperation with China Coastal Current, the direction of ocean currents can be shown in Figure 6.

Therefore, if the record in *GF* were true, there would be such a conjecture as below: the drifters drifted northward near Shandong Province under the effect of the Kuroshio Current, then southward to Fujian Province under the action of coastal currents, and then re-northward to Zhejiang Province under the influence of the Kuroshio Current in the Taiwan Strait. However, combined with Figures 5 and 6, it is obvious that the possibility of the conjecture mentioned above is minimal. A more reasonable explanation is that Jeju drifters once went north under the action of Kuroshio Current, but under the action of northeast monsoon they drifted southward again, and then delayed in landing under the action of ocean currents. This explanation is also in line with the “either the east or the west” that recorded in the materials in Korea. And obviously, the record in *GF* was exaggerated.

Next comes the question of the origin of the drifters. According to the record in China, the drifters were from So'an Island, Lingyan County, Cholla and the purpose of going to sea was to go to the Dosi Port for bartering grains. However, according to the records of Korea, it is clear that the drifters came from Jeju. Why is there such a difference between two records?

The drifters themselves explained that “We were still afraid of drifting to

Ryukyu. Because we were always the abomination in Ryukyu people's eyes, it was not without the worry of being killed.” So when they were interrogated by the Ch'ing government, they intentionally concealed their birthplace and lied that they were from Yeong'am County. Here comes a question: what did it do with Ryukyu? See the following record:

*The prince of Ryukyu drifted to Jukseoru Pavilion(竹西樓) in Jeju in 1611. At that time, generals and ministers robbed ship and killed the prince because of coveting his treasures. ... Since then, Jeju people must have evaded their home and pretended to be from Gangjin or Haenam when they drifted to foreign countries.*<sup>17</sup>

However, the Ch'ing government obviously did not know so many details, and it seems that there was no strict verification in the interrogation process for the drifters. According to the records in Korea, these drifters had thrown their identity tag with two characters 'Jeju' into the sea before they went ashore, so they, actually, had no entity to confirm their identities. But, in the interrogation of the Ch'ing government, they went through the customs so easily. It is really an interesting topic. What is more interesting is that, as mentioned above, in the *Ginyeonsokpyeon*(紀年續編) of *Tongmungwanji*(通文館志), supplemented in 1888, the drifters were still be recorded as “people from Yeong'am County in Cholla”. Finding the reason, certainly, is not the point of this paper. But undoubtedly, if we do not compare the historical materials of two countries, many facts hidden behind will be easily ignored.

## Conclusion

Even though studies of history were mainly centering on the continent in the past, recently the increasing interest itself of the maritime history may be regarded as a reflection on the paradigm of their own research. The sea, however, can be no more a geographic space but not a historical field in the studies of maritime history currently. But if we take into account the fact that human beings are by nature social creatures at the end of the day, it is no doubt that the “maritime society”, relative to the continent, could be constituted by all ships sailing on there. Further, even the

ship itself can also be seen as a concentrated social space. Michel Foucault remarked that “the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea.”<sup>18</sup> In this space, sometimes the crews have been very diverse in their composition. For instance, according to the record by Choi Du-chan mentioned above, there were 50 people on the drifting ship, including tradesman, classical scholar, farmer and local governor. In such spaces success, the livelihood and even life itself not only depend on coordinated acts of seamanship, but how the order was maintained effectively. This should be the object of interest to the sociology, which typically focused on much larger and much diffuse social relationships.

In a word, it is hoped that the materials on the shipwrecks of Chosŏn Korea in the Ch’ing Dynasty archives mentioned above could provide new ideas for Korean academics. But the analysis of them should not only stay at the diplomatic level of the two countries but also, from the perspective of maritime history, give attention to the different maritime peoples themselves. Because the sea was a historical field separated from the land symbolically, socially and practically. Just like John Mack remarked, “It is only when we fully comprehend the extent to which the sea is constituted as a domain in its own right that the fuller significance of any such reconciliation of the sea to the land emerges.”<sup>19</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Dai Lin-jian, “New Recognition of Sea Spatial Transformation in the East Asian Community,” *The Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no.4, 2017.
- 2 Liu Shiuh-feng, “Shipwreck salvage and survivors’ repatriation networks of the East Asian Rim in the Ch’ing Dynasty,” in *Offshore Asia: maritime interactions in Eastern Asia before steamships*, ed. Fujita Kayoko, Momoki Shiro and Anthony Reid, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013, 211.
- 3 See Tang Shi-yeoung, “An Introduction to Materials on Shipwrecks off the China Coast in Premodern Times,” *漢學研究通訊*(*Hanxue yanjiu tongxun, Newsletter for Research in Chinese Studies*) 19, no.1, 2000, 141-43.
- 4 Liu Shiuh-feng, 清代檔案中的海難史料目錄(Qingdai dang’an zhong de hainan shiliao mulu, Catalogue of Shipwreck Records in the Ch’ing Archives: Foreign-Related Materials), Taipei: Research Center for Humanities & Social Science Academia Sinica, 2004.
- 5 Li Shou-yi, “清內閣大庫明清檔案播遷紀略(Qing neigedaku mingqing dang’an boqian jilue)”, *紫禁城*(*zijincheng, the Forbidden City*), no.2, 2012.
- 6 Compared with the Institute of History and Philology in Academia Sinica and the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, the First Historical Archives of China does not provide the full access to archives. Therefore, only the statistics on archives kept at Taiwan will be made in this paper. The following will not be repeated.
- 7 光緒大清會典(Guangxu Daqing Huidian), vol.3, 2.
- 8 Liu Shiuh-feng, 清代檔案中的海難史料目錄(Qingdai dang’an zhong de hainan shiliao mulu, Catalogue of Shipwreck Records in the Ch’ing Archives: Foreign-Related Materials), 3-30.
- 9 The ‘tribute trade system’ was first introduced by Takeshi Hamashita(濱下武志). See Takeshi Hamashita, “The Tribute Trade System and Modern Asia”, in *Japanese Industrialization and the Asian Economy*, ed. AJ. H. Latham and Heita Kawakatsu, London: Routledge, 1994, 91-107.
- 10 Certainly, the academic community in Korea had begun to pay attention to the *GF*. See Park Huyn-kyu, “An Observational Records to a Good Attitude Chosun(朝鮮) People Having Drifted to Linhai(臨海) in China: Focused Goryeo Fengsuji(高麗風俗記) of Qi Zhouhua(齊周華)”, *Journal of North-east Asian Cultures* 18, 2009.
- 11 See Liu Shiuh-feng, “Shipwreck salvage and survivors’ repatriation networks of the East Asian Rim in the Ch’ing Dynasty”, 232.
- 12 See 名山藏副本(Mingshancang fuben), Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1987, last volume, 雜記(Zaji), 163.
- 13 See 清代中朝關係史料續編(Qingdai Zhongchao Guanxi Shiliao Xubian), Beijing: Dang’an Chubanshe, 1998, 浙江巡撫盧棟奏報撫恤朝鮮國難民摺(Zhejiang xunfu Lulian zoubao fuxu chaoxianguo nanmin zhe), 3-4.
- 14 See 通文館志(Tongmungwanji), vol. 10, 紀年續編(Ginyeonsokpyeon), yeongchong 1741, 辛酉(sinyu), 31.
- 15 See 備邊司謄錄(Bibeonsadeunglok), vol. 109, yeongchong 1741.11.23.
- 16 See 江海乘槎錄(Ganghaeseungsalok), vol.2, 1.
- 17 See 耽羅志草本(Tamlajichobon), reprint, Jeju: Taml Culture Research Institute of Jeju National University, 1988, vol.3, 邊情(Byeonjeong), 180-181.
- 18 Michel Foucault, “Des espaces autres”, *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, No.5, 1984, cited in John Mack, *the Sea: a cultural history*, London: Reaktion Books, 2011, 137.
- 19 Ibid., 217.



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# Rediscovery of Taiwan Ocean Heritage and Its Sustainability

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## Abstract

Taiwan is surrounded by sea. With the interweaving impacts of its geographical location, geologic condition and historical development, Taiwan not only has its unique ecosystem, terrains and culture but also possesses rich oceanic culture and heritage. According to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act regulated by the Ministry of Culture in Taiwan, Taiwan owns tangible oceanic natural heritages, including Yehliu Geopark, Penghu Columnar Basalt Nature Reserve, Dongsha Marine National Park, and oceanic cultural heritages, such as Penghu stone weirs, Hengchun old gates, and Tamshui Fortress San Domingo. On the other hand, Taiwan possesses several precious intangible cultural heritages, such as Dajia Matsu pilgrimage procession, Jinshan sulfuric fire fishing, and Changhua oxcarts. In order to continuously maintain the oceanic ecosystem and cultural heritages in and around Taiwan, the government needs to not only establish a bureau to conduct a comprehensive survey to discover and reserve those precious marine heritages but also regulate laws and formulate policies to maintain, revitalize and reuse them. Moreover, the government should actively cultivate more professional talents, offer more chances to allow the public to participate, encourage closer cooperation between the public and private sectors, and integrate tourism resources, cultural assets and creative industries. Thus, the government can develop oceanic cultural industries combined with local features to increase the competitiveness of the tourism industries in Taiwan and boost local economic growth.

**Keywords** sustainability, the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, cultural industries, tourism.

## Introduction

“Culture is a collective habitual behavior of a group of people. When facing a foreign culture, human beings transfer their cultural patterns through contact, communication and mutual learning. During the process of cultural transfer, human heritage can prove the characteristics of its representative customs or civilization. Thus we must

accept its representation and differences and maintain its existing values.”

cited from *Patterns of Culture*, Ruth Benedict, 1934

Cultural heritage, which contains a specific spiritual value and ways of thinking of residents in a region, demonstrates the liveliness and creativity of an ethnic group; it's not only the distillation of wisdom from each ethnic group but also treasures of the civilization. Chang (2013) maintained that since cultural heritages are the activities and marks left by human beings in their living space for continual survival, it not only has a sense of approval and belonging of groups but also is worthy of being passed down and renovated. Therefore, its universality is worthwhile to be preserved. However, with the extension for human development and environmental transformation, many historical sites and relics are facing the crises of devastation and disappearance. For instance, in 1959, the Egyptian government planned to construct Aswan Dam at the Nile River, which might trigger the controversy of flooding the famous historic site-Abu Simbel Temples; therefore, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) passed the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in November 1972 in Paris. The UNESCO is dedicated to keeping the cultural and natural heritage around the world from being eliminated by all types of natural and artificial factors.

In 1994, the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO launched significant global policies, which aimed at establishing a list of evaluation of global heritage with representation, equilibrium, and credibility so as to have better maintenance and management. Up to 2018, the UNESCO has selected and registered 1092 world heritages, including 845 cultural heritages related to human activities, 209 natural heritages and 38 mixed cultural and natural heritages with both identities. In addition, there are 54 recorded in the endangered list. Furthermore, the concept of maintaining cultural assets keeps up with the times; thus, the UNESCO passed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. These intangible cultural items in the contract include languages, literature, music, dances, mythology, etiquette, habits and handicrafts. Up to 2017, 366 intangible cultural heritages have been selected and registered, as these are all vital assets for human beings. As a result, people have the responsibility and obligation to preserve,

sustain and pass down to the next generation. Nevertheless, with the acceleration of global warming and modernization progress, cultural ecology is changing significantly. Cultural heritage and its environment are being threatened severely. Special heritages in some regions, which have not gained enough resources, have to be discovered urgently. Some endangered or idle heritages should be investigated and rediscovered or should be protected, revitalized and reused.

The marine regions accounting for about seventy percent of the earth surface area are not only rich in a diversity of creatures and mineral resources but also play an important role in the transmission and the loop of the global climate and the energy system. Moreover, the abundant ecology and the convenient transportation of the ocean are not only beneficial to the human residence but also drive the prosperity of the economy and trade. Therefore, over 60% of the population and over 70% of first-tier and second-tier cities are located in coastal areas. Due to this reason, the development of civilization and the shaping of culture are deeply nurtured and influenced by the ocean (Lin, 2015). However, in recent years, the ocean has been affected by global warming and environmental contamination, which results in problems, such as the rising of sea temperature, the elevation of sea level, and the sea pollution. These problems bring not only catastrophes to creatures and human in coastal areas but also the devastation which is steadily on the increase to marine heritage. For instance, 93% of corals in Australia's Great Barrier Reef are bleached, and the South Island ethnic Tuvalu may also be inundated by the rise of seawater. The researchers of Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research in Germany warn that if the climatic temperature keeps rising, there will be 1.1% of land sinking into the bottom of the water. Then, 136 world heritage sites will be inundated, including the Sydney Opera House and the city of water-Venice. Hence, in 2005, the UNESCO launched the World Heritage Marine Programme with a view to effectively protecting the marine regions with present and potential value of heritage for the sustainable development of the marine ecology and environment.

## The Natural and Cultural Heritage of Ocean around Taiwan

Taiwan is surrounded by sea. Geographically, it is located at the hub of



traffic between Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. Geologically, it is situated in the collision zone between the Eurasian and Pacific plates. Historically, it has undergone the management of many different ethnic groups. Under the intertwined background of these unique space-times, it has produced rich and special ecology, topography and humanism on the land of Formosa-Taiwan. Additionally, it has also created diverse and abundant marine cultures and assets. From tourism and leisure, industrial activities, literary and artistic creations to folk customs, they all have their own characteristics and connotations, which attract numerous local and foreign tourists to visit. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF), the latest 2017 global tourism competitiveness evaluation ranked Taiwan 30th in 136 countries or regions, making the name of Formosa famous in local and abroad.

It can be seen that Taiwan has excellent conditions to promote its own marine cultural heritage and can be transformed into cultural tourism assets. Richards (2001) believes that culture represents the uniqueness of the place and transforms cultural heritage into cultural tourism resources. This transformation not only enables the conservation of heritage itself to gain economic attention and support but also enhances people's pride and recognition of local culture. What's more, people will be more responsible and dedicated to protecting the natural and cultural heritage of the region. In 1982, Taiwan enacted the "Cultural Assets Preservation Law", the main purpose of which was "to preserve and wisely use cultural assets, enrich the spiritual life of people, and promote multiculturalism". In 2005, the Cultural Assets Preservation Act was amended to divide the name "Natural Cultural Landscape" into "cultural landscape" and "natural landscape". The cultural landscape is supervised by the Cultural Construction Committee of the Executive Yuan (now the Ministry of Culture), and the natural landscape is supervised by the Agriculture Committee. In order to keep up with the World Heritage Convention, the "Cultural Assets Preservation Act" was revised again in 2016 to combine "natural landscape" with "natural monument" as natural asset categories. The natural landscape is divided into "natural reserve areas" and "geological parks". Natural monuments are classified into three types, including "precious and rare plants", "precious and rare minerals" and "special topography and geological phenomena".

Currently, the registered natural assets related to the ocean and the coastal areas are Yehliu Coast Geopark on the north coast of Taiwan and the fringing reef

coast in Kenting National Park in southern Taiwan. These attractions are praised to be marvelous uncanny workmanship. In addition, the "Blue Tears" of Mastu Island is a phenomenon caused by flocking dinoflagellates (*Noctiluca scintillans*), which produce the beautiful blue fluorescence in the coastal areas during the nights from April to September. CNN hailed it as the top 15 wonders of the world. Moreover, Taiwan's only active volcanic island, KueiShan Island in Yilan, it looks like a turtle from the shape and also be selected as the top 12 islands with the most special appearance in the world by the famous travel website "When on earth". What's more, the Penghu Columnar Basalt Nature Reserve area is the joint of the volcanic lava flow shrinking during cooling, forming the hexagonal column or multi-corner column unique to the basalt. Later, due to the influence of sea erosion and other weathering, many high and low undulating and varied landscapes are formed. It is worth mentioning that in 2007 and 2009, Taiwan's seventh Dongsha Atoll National Park and the eighth Taijiang National Park were born respectively. These two new national parks both contain land and sea areas. Dongsha Atoll National Park is Taiwan's first marine national park. Its atoll topography is a circular island chain formed by coral reefs, and the middle is surrounded by a lagoon environment. Dongsha Atoll is the only large and complete development of circular reef in Taiwan. As for Tainan Taijiang National Park, located in the very west of Taiwan's main island, has special topographical and geological landscapes such as the Zengwun Estuary Wetland and Sicao Wetland. They are international wetlands, which nurtures abundant biological resources with its nearby sea areas, portray fabulous and lively interactions between human and nature. Therefore, they are precious ecological and cultural resources, which are worth preserving and promoting.

In terms of the category of cultural landscape, the "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage", divided the cultural landscape into three categories (Wang and Fu, 2010), respectively including, "landscape designed and created intentionally by man", "organically evolved landscape", and "associative cultural landscape". Taiwan's "Detailed Rules for the Implementation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act" lists several categories of cultural landscapes, including places with myths and legends, historical and cultural paths, religious landscapes,

historical sites, historical events, and agricultural, forestry, and animal husbandry. There are also industrial landscapes, traffic landscapes, water conservancy facilities, military installations and other landscapes where humans interact with nature. Among them, some are more related to marine culture. For example, “stone weir” is a low wall made of rocks. It is submerged by the sea when the tide is high. It is exposed to the water surface when the tide is low. Fish was trapped in the stone wall of the weir, which was the natural fishing method that many Taiwanese and Penghu in coastal areas relied on before the 1980s. The 320 kilometer coastline of Peng-hu has up to 600 “stone weirs”. The number and density are among the best in the world. Qimei Twin-Hearts Stone Weir is the most famous one. Jibei island, which is in the northern part of the Penghu, has the largest number of stone weirs. There are 116 weirs, and one-third of them are still in use. These traditional fishing methods not only constitute special local humanism landscapes but also are precious cultural crystallization and assets.

In addition, the lighthouses that guide ships sailing on the sea not only ensure the safety of navigation but also have the symbol of strengthening national sovereignty. Furthermore, as lighthouses are usually constructed in the foothills of the mountains, they offer stunning landscapes, which are often worthy of sight-seeing. According to the Ministry of Communications, Taiwan’s lighthouses have been built for more than 150 years since its establishment in the Qing Dynasty. At present, there are 35 lighthouses in Taiwan, including 19 on the main island. Many of the lighthouses have undergone various eras. With their different architectural styles and abundant literature and history, they are highly qualified as cultural assets. For instance, the Penghu Yuwendao Lighthouse built in 1778, is the earliest-constructed lighthouse in Taiwan. It has been listed as a national second-class monument. The Eluanbi Lighthouse built in 1881 is the southernmost lighthouse in Taiwan. Additionally, it is also the unique armed lighthouse in the world. The northernmost Fuguijiao Lighthouse on the island of Taiwan is the first lighthouse built in the Japanese colonial period in 1896. With a view to rediscovering and redefining the geographical and historical status of the lighthouse, the Ministry of Culture upgraded the Matsu Dongyin Island Lighthouse and the Kinmen Wuqiu Lighthouse to the National Historic Site in 2016 and 2017 respectively. The Dongyin Island Lighthouse built in 1904 is the historic site located in the

northernmost of the Taiwanese area. While the Wuqiu Lighthouse was built in 1874 and has been through 143 years of history.

Additionally, due to the special geographical location, since the seventeenth century, Taiwan has been ruled by the Netherlands, Spain, the Qing Empire, and Japan. All of them contribute to the development of both maritime and international duality in history. Therefore, in many parts of Taiwan, defensive castles, old gates, and forts are still retained, which constantly record the space-time background and environments of the place, such as Anping Castle in Tainan City (built in 1624) and Chihkan Tower (built in 1653). The Fortress San Domingo of New Taipei City (Anthony Fort, built in 1644) witnessed the historical facts of the Western powers colonizing Taiwan at that time. The cities built in the Qing Dynasty, such as the old city of Fengshan County (also known as Zuoying Old City, built in 1722) and Tainan Fucheng (built in 1725) have nearly three hundred years of history, while the ancient Hengchun city built in 1875 still retains the most complete city gates; the well-known Taipei City was completed in 1884. At present, only the North Gate remains its original appearance. It is the masterpiece of Taiwan’s new city gates and the country’s first-class monument. The rest of the city gates were demolished or rebuilt, which demonstrates the significance of preserving cultural heritage. As for the turret, it is an important facility for military defense. Many fortresses for coastal defense are equipped with turrets. The northernmost “Harbour City”—Keelung on Taiwan main island, surrounded by mountains on three sides and left the north side facing toward the ocean, is a natural harbor. Moreover, it is also located in the vital communication hub of economic and trade. Thus, from Taiwan’s governor—Liu Mingchuan in Qing dynasty, forts have been constructed at commanding heights around Keelung so as to facilitate the defense. Later, the Japanese and National Government moved to Taiwan and reinforced the artillery fortification in this area. As a result, Keelung has the largest number of fort sites in the city today. There are a total of 13 big and small forts in the city. For instance, Dawulun Fort, Baimiweng Fort, Shihciouling Gun Emplacement, Gongzi Liao Fort, Ershawan Battery, Mushan Fort, and Shelia West Fort, among which 5 forts have been included in monuments. Regardless of the past military facilities, such as forts, barracks, and campgrounds, are generally preserved. The Keelung City Hall has embarked on building a fort museum with an eye to witnessing the history of Keelung military

strategies and wisely using the monuments.

### **The Intangible Ocean cultural heritage in Taiwan**

The so-called cultural assets can be divided into tangible cultural assets and intangible ones, and intangible cultural assets can also be called as “intangible cultural heritages”. This is owing to the increasing growth of emphasis on the standards of “actions or traditions, thoughts or beliefs, arts or literary works that are directly or virtually related to remarkable universal values”. Therefore, within the “Recommendation on the safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore” in 1989, “UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity” in 2001 and “Declaration of Istanbul” in 2002 by the Third Round-table Meeting of Ministers of Culture, the UNESCO emphasized the importance of intangible cultural heritage repeatedly, and, at the same time, took into account the interdependent relationship between intangible and tangible cultural heritages, and the contribution intangible cultural heritage made on human cultural diversity and creativity. Hence the purpose of the “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritages”, which was enacted in 2003, is to protect and maintain local communities, their history, the surrounding and all the knowledge, the techniques and ceremonies that are closely related to the social life. Furthermore, it makes it possible to pass on into generations. However, the intangible culture based on human as its main body and media often increased the difficulty in its discovery and protection. This is due to the fact that the existence of non-figuration and the need to present at a specific time and space thus make it more worthy of attention.

Marine culture is related to the history of coastal residents’ activities, and is usually manifested in customs, religious beliefs, festival etiquette, literature and art, etc., so the above of which are mostly summed up as an intangible cultural asset. For example, ceremonies such as the Jhongyuan Ghost Festival, The Grappling with Ghosts Competition, Wang Yeh Boat-Burning Festival, and the Mazu Pilgrimage Procession are all important symbols of marine culture. Because fishermen need to “make their living depending on the sky” and “fight with the sea”, they become particularly pious on religious beliefs, and some customs and festivals related to

fisheries were formed spontaneously. The major representative of marine religious beliefs is Mazu, the goddess of the sea on the southeastern coast of China and Taiwan. With the compassion and gentleness of women, she helps to save souls and soothe people’s nerves. While Taiwan was still in the agriculture society and was isolated, she brought great comfort and ease for the people. Mazu is not just the guardian of navigators, she could also help prevent from the damage of plague, pests, heavy rain, and bring cure for illness, disaster relief, marriage, fertility, etc. Therefore, the beliefs of worshiping Mazu are deeply rooted in the hearts of Taiwanese people. With the worshippers’ devout respect and ceremonies, it forms a life community. Every year, when it comes to the birthday of Mazu, which is in the third month of the lunar calendar, celebrations will be held throughout Taiwan. The worshippers would form a folk event, which is called “Craze for Mazu in March”. Among the worship events, the “Dajia Mazu pilgrimage procession” held by the Dajia Zhenlan Temple and “Worshiping Mazu” held by Baisha Temple in Miaoli are the most representative ones. Take “Dajia Mazu pilgrimage procession” as an example. The event lasts 9 days and 8 nights, with the participation of 1.5 million pilgrims and over 400 parade formation, the whole journey is approximately 330 kilometers long, stopping at Taichung, Changhua, Yunlin, Chiayi and more than 20 other towns and cities throughout Taiwan. This is not only an important religious and cultural event in Taiwan, but also chosen as one of the world’s three major religious events by Discovery Channel, one of the leading international media. In May 2010, the UNESCO officially listed the act of the worship of Mazu as “an intangible cultural heritage of mankind”. The ceremony of Taiwan’s Mazu pilgrimage procession reflects the historical background of Chinese people emigrating through the Taiwan Strait to Taiwan. Meanwhile, it is also a typical representation of marine culture.

In addition to the well-known Mazu pilgrimage procession, “Wang Ye pilgrimage procession” is also a very popular religious event in the southern Taiwan. How people worship Wang Ye is different from temple to temple. For example, Renshou Temple in Guiren, Tainan, calls the ceremony “Five Dynasties Wang Shuo”. The Qing’an Temple in Xigang, Tainan, calls their ceremony, commonly known as “Xigang Incense Serving”. The Donglong Temple in Donggang, Pingtung, named the event “Welcoming Wang” Festival. The Changxing Temple in Anding District, Susong, Tainan, calls it the Plague King Festival. Among these events,

the Donggang ceremony in the South and the Xigang ceremony in the North are the most famous because of their largest scale and the number of their parade participants. In these ceremonies, the burning of the Wang Boat is the most representative event. The original intention of burning the Wang Boat is to send the plague out. Until now it has evolved into an activity of praying for blessings. Take the QingAn Temple in Xigang as an example; the event takes place every three years. The whole process follows the tradition, including the activities of procession, Wang Ye Boat, Zheng Wang Festival, ancestors worshiping at Lu Er Men, Sending Mazu off, Burning Wang Boat and so on. In particular, the burning of Wang Boat on the last day is the climax of the whole ceremony. In 2009, the Council for Cultural Affairs named the “Xigang Incense Serving” as an important national intangible cultural asset based on three reasons. First, its historical inheritance and content of customs and habits show the typical characteristics of people’s life. Second, this ceremony is an important religious belief of Taiwanese people, and shows the characteristics of art. Third, the development and changes of folk art possesses local characteristics and affects people’s lives (Lin, 2015).

Marine cultural assets are also related to fishery activities, such as fishing methods, fishing boat construction, farming techniques, which are related to cultural forms and appearances. Thus, they are also intangible cultural heritages. For instance, at the intertidal zone along the coast of Changhua Fangyuan, in the past, the fishermen waved their hand whip, driving the ox cart to the sea, plowing the fields and carrying them home. These oxen went to the sea to help carry oysters, so they were called “Sea Ox”. Moreover, this “Sea Ox Farming Field” has had a long history of more than 100 years. It is difficult to find such a “farming method” throughout the world, so the human landscape constructed by the ox cart and the farmer become a precious fishing village cultural asset. This method also attracted interviews and reports from domestic and foreign media such as the British National Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and transforms into a new highlight for cultural tourism. In June 2016, the “Fangyuan intertidal zone with ox cart oyster harvesting culture” in the “Sea OX Farming Field”, passed through the review of the Changhua County Government Review Committee, and became an officially registered national intangible cultural heritage.

What’s more, in the Wanli, Jinshan and Shimen areas on the north coast of

Taiwan, a tradition of the sulfuric fire fishing or lighting fishing method is preserved, which lasted from the era of the Japanese occupation. The sulfuric fire fishing works by adding water to ore and creating an explosion after lighting it up. While the sea surface is burning, the fishermen disturb the fish and trap those phototaxis Squid. While waiting for the fish to jump up, other crew members will pick up the fork net and dredge up the fish. This kind of fishing method requires skills, experience and teamwork to carry out every step through ignition, guidance, and fishnet collection. Unfortunately, this kind of fishing technique with low energy consumption, low pollution and less stress on the marine environment and ecological environment, has gradually been replaced by modern advanced fisheries. Until recently, this unique and special traditional fishing method has been paid attention due to news reports, and becomes a hot spot in cultural tourism. In September 2015, “Jinshan sulfuric fire fishing” passed the review of the New Taipei City Cultural Review Committee and was officially registered as an intangible cultural asset of the New Taipei City.

### **Preservation, Utilization and sustainable Development of Ocean Cultural Heritage in Taiwan**

Cultural heritage is an accumulative generational cultural tradition created by the human community and its living environment, natural interaction and historical conditions for living. Therefore, it is necessary to preserve the value and context of cultural assets through detailed investigation and research, basic data filing, and regular tracking of records. The purpose of preservation and conservation of cultural heritage is not only to care for places with cultural values, such as their structures, materials and cultural significance but also to educate the present and future generations about past things and the culture of ancestors to make them understand the context of cultural identity. Moreover, the cultural heritage is retained as substantial evidence to prove the continuity between the past, the present and the future (Fu, 2009). Therefore, logging in and setting up various types of landscape or seascape reserves are necessary. However, managing these reserves is not focused on nature conservation itself, but on guiding human processes so that the region and its resources can be properly protected and effectively managed. Furthermore, make



it possible to develop environmental and cultural values that interact directly with humans in a sustainable manner (Liu, 2008; Phillips, 2002). Therefore, the central governing authority should continue to cooperate with local governments to jointly preserve and maintain nationwide cultural assets. However, due to the failure to join the UN organization, it is impossible for those assets to apply for and log in the list of the World Heritage of UNESCO. In order to promote the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage, the Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan began to select 12 potential world heritage sites in Taiwan in 2002 based on the UNESCO's World Heritage Assessment Guidelines and added 5 potential sites in 2009. By the end of 2010, the number of potential world heritage sites in Taiwan have been adjusted to 18, including six sites related to marine cultural assets: "Kinmen Battlefield Culture", "Matsu Battlefield Culture", "Fort San Domingo and Surrounding Historical Buildings, Tamsui", "Penghu Columnar Basalt Nature Reserve", "Penghu Stone Fish Weirs" and "Orchid Island and The Tao (Yami) tribe".

Since cultural assets are the activities and traces left by human beings in the living space for the sake of survival, they are provided with not only the identity and the sense of belonging of the group but also the value of inheritance and innovation. Therefore, its universality deserves attention and preservation. Moreover, the notion of regard culture as a heritage or hereditary property is gradually formed, as Ashworth (1997) puts it: "cultural heritage' focuses on the contemporary significance of historical inheritance, and the interpretation and practice of 'cultural heritage' differs in different periods, which suggests that the decision made according to contemporary values will affect the generation of 'cultural heritage.'" "Cultural heritage" is now regarded as a medium for "adapting ancient forms for present-day use" and has even become a product that can be consumed. The concept of "heritage industry" and cultural industry that gradually emerged in the 1980s in Western Europe is adapting the "past" for current use and even making it a "commodity" (Cai, 2014). The flourishing development of the cultural industry is due to two main reasons. One is pressure, including some of monopolistic capitalism and some of the local culture loss led by homogeneity and standardization of globalization, which makes the localists emphasize on local cultural protection, re-pursue the local identity, and value the local Uniqueness (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979). The other reason is that due to the re-organization by the government around the

world, the concept of enterprise management has changed the spirit of cultural and artistic policies from the original "subsidy" to "investment" and promoted economic resurgence and urban renaissance (McGuigan, 2001; Liu, 2004). Especially in recent years, due to the rapid development of the globalization and the population of cultural tourism, the cultural heritage or cultural industry related to local tradition, festival and production activities is gradually favored. This kind of activity that emphasizes the regional life and the spiritual connotation of the value not only protects the local production but also highlights the charm of cultural output value and attracts tourists to "come to a place on account of its reputation."

Therefore, many countries have turned cultural heritage into cultural industries and combined it with cultural tourism as an important part of resurging the local economic development. For instance, cultural assets combined with tourism marketing have brought about economic benefits and created symbolic values and brands to most European cities. Harvey (1990) clearly pointed out that the inheritance of historical artifacts and the reuse of historical sites are an economic force, that is, one of the fastest growing industries and wealth resources. Therefore, the development of the cultural industry is not only the reproduction of cultural products but also a new strategy for local wealth creation, which directly or indirectly affects the development of the region. Thus, in addition to the preservation of cultural heritage, thinking about how to activate and reuse can promote its sustainable development. When a monument or historical building is refurbished, if it is a temple or a building still in use, it can usually be used as it is. If it is originally abandoned or is going to be repurposed, it should be planned for reuse. Usually, before the restoration, the future purposes should be taken into consideration during the planning. Reuse is the most important purpose of restoration, only when these historical sites are endowed with new values can it be a meaningful restoration. Therefore, many "cultural and creative parks" in Taiwan, such as Taipei's Songshan and Huashan Cultural and Creative Parks, are constructions that are of outdated industries, or those that have stopped production or operation. The government has designated these sites as historical sites to activate and reuse. By repackaging them with the concept of "new wine in old bottle", it provides opportunities for the local people to experience cultural and creative consumption, participate in various exhibition activities and promote cultural aesthetic education. This also provides

a platform for research and development and cooperation in cultural and creative industry. Therefore, the primary task of the preservation and promotion of Taiwan's marine heritage is to thoroughly understand, investigate and rediscover the tangible and intangible cultural assets of unique marine features in various regions, and log them into the list of heritage protections. These assets should be preserved, activated or reused according to relevant laws and policies in order to ensure the sustainable development of important marine natural and cultural heritage. This is to avoid regret and for Taiwan to pass down and flourish the marine civilization and create brilliance.

In order to successfully maintain the sustainability of ocean heritage, the specific actions and strategies done by the Ministry of Culture, Taiwan, can be summarized as follows: First, "Inheritance Education of Ocean Heritage": to promote and implement the marine education and marine culture connotation together with the Ministry of Education in the education system. In addition to cultivating marine professionals through tertiary institutions and building more detailed and complete capabilities of research and investigation and system, marine knowledge should be coordinated and combined with the education and daily life in primary and secondary schools, museums of marine science and technology, museums of marine biology and aquarium and private marine museums to enhance the public's understanding of marine culture and become veritable citizens of the maritime country. Second, "Social Participation in Marine Heritage": Through public participation, diverse equality, public-private partnerships and so on to gather people to explore the content of marine heritage, brainstorm, coordinate and cooperate to formulate marine heritage policies and ensure the preservation is carried out effectively. Third, the "Support System for Ocean Heritage": Through the transformation of the cultural industry and the promotion of marine tourism, the development of marine heritage has been improved and comprehensively supported. Since the concept proposed in "International Tourism Charter" that cultural tourism can make contribution to the preservation of cultural assets. Countries around the world have adopted strategies to market cultural assets. To preserve the traditional space for reuse and revive the local economy, the local governments in the coastal areas hope to construct local charm, and promote the development of tourism and economic industries by preserving and creating marine cultural heritage. Therefore,

while prospecting the future, the government must view valuable marine heritage in a comprehensive way, that is, no longer delimiting the meaning and value of one heritage by a single coastal landscape, historic building or religious activity. The relevant behaviors and environments that human preserved for living should be taken into consideration in a macroscopic and overall way. Managing and preserving the marine heritage in this way can lead to the positive development of comprehensiveness and persistence

## Conclusion

Cultural assets include tangible and intangible ones, which embody the "uniqueness", "authenticity" and "locality" of ethnic groups, regional traditions and aesthetics of life. Being irreplaceable, they are the cornerstones of the current and future development of civil society. As an island surrounded by sea, Taiwan has bred abundant tangible and intangible precious marine heritage due to its geographical location and the process of historical development. Thus, in order to pursue the wonderful diversity of culture, continue to exert local creativity and enhance the well-being of the local residents, thinking about how to investigate and discover, properly preserve, activate and reuse is needed. Since Taiwan has established itself as a maritime nation, with the advent of the "Knowledge Economy" in the 21st century, the government and the NGOs should attach more importance to those assets and add more marine cultural factors. By combining tourism resources and integrating cultural assets and creative culture, the marine culture industry with local features can be created. Moreover, exert the soft power and influence of culture to enhance the charm of tourism in Taiwan can promote the perpetual local prosperity.

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# Revaluation of the international maritime city of “Kobe” in the Middle Ages

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## The ambition of Taira No Kiyomori and his visionary maritime capital

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### Abstract

Kobe port is a major international trade port in East Asia as well as in Japan. Exactly 150 years ago in 1868, the port of Kobe opened with the birth of a new world due to the Meiji Restoration. Although its emergence as a modern international harbor is only 150 years, it can be said that the history of prosperity of the actual Kobe Port and Kobe City is long and dramatic.

In the 12th century, there was a Bushi named Taira No Kiyomori. He is the hero of “The Tale of the Heike”, who suppressed the aristocracy who was at the center of politics for a long time since ancient times and built the first samurai administration in Japan, and is a very famous person in Japanese history. Kiyomori thought that international trade would enrich the country and the people so he made it his lifelong aspiration to build a country that required Japan-Song trade. To make Kobe, a remote place formerly known as Fukuhara, a strategic position of maritime transportation and the current Kobe port(Owada No Tomari) prosper as a representative window for Japan-Song trade. Not only that, it is not a very well known fact but he tried to establish Kobe as the capital of Japan.

In this paper, the theme is the introduction of the prosperity of the international maritime city of Kobe in the Middle Ages and a person named Taira No Kiyomori who was committed to the internationalization of Japan.

**Keywords** History of the international maritime city of Kobe, Owada No Tomari, Taira No Kiyomori, Heshi clan, Japan-Song maritime trade, Relocation of the capital to Kobe in Middle ages in Japan, Pirates as the maritime intellectuals

### Introduction

**Island of Japan sea route ~ important position of Seto Inland Sea(瀬戸内海) and Owada No Tomari(大輪田泊) for coastal defense and maritime transportation**

Surrounded by the ocean on all sides, Japan has prospered through cultural exchange with East Asian continent for more than two thousand years. Japan has continued with the history of peace because the sea became a natural shield and it





Figure 1. The ancient Japanese sea road Setonaikai

was able to defend against the invasion of foreign enemies attacking using the sea route. Therefore, since the Yamato Imperial Court, the capital, which is the nerve center of politics, was in the present Nara and Kyoto, located in a safe mountain that the Seto Inland Sea passed through from the ocean coast. In addition, the ports on the coast of the Seto Inland Sea have also played a role as important positions for overseas trade, indispensable when the envoys to China(遣唐使/Japanese Missions to Tang Dynasty) and Korea(遣新羅使/Japanese Missions to Shilla Dynasty) set sail from the inner world to the outside world.

In the 8th century, Seppan-Gohaku(摂藩五泊) was built which became a major port on the Seto Inland Sea coast. Ships sailing in and out of the Seto Inland Sea formerly only sailed during the day and berthed in the evening in port, waiting for wind and tide. Owada No Tomari is located in the present-day Kobe and was regarded as the most important port among the Sppan-Gohaku because it is closest to Kyoto. Contributions and goods from various places carried through the Seto Inland Sea were unloaded here and then loaded onto riverboats and brought to Kyoto by going up the Yodo River. Also, Owada No Tomari flourished as a trading base with East Asian continent.

When talking about the history of the international maritime city of Kobe, Owada No Tomari, which is adjacent to Kobe, and Taira No Kiyomori are indispensable keywords.

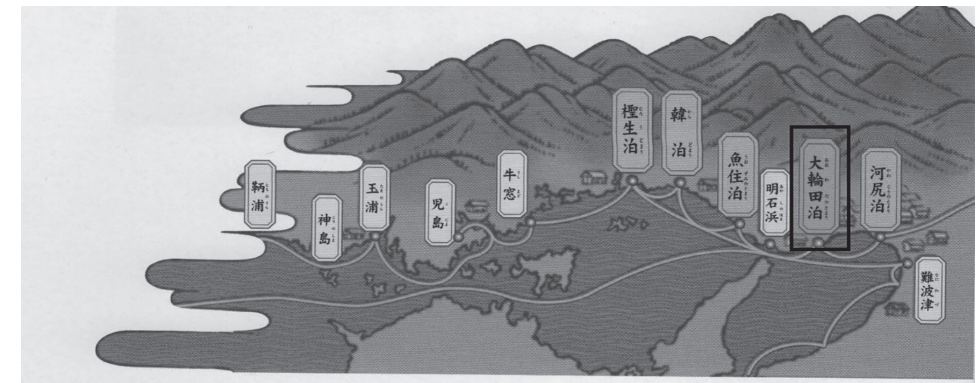


Figure 2. Seppan-Gohaku (Kobe maritime museum)

## Taira No Kiyomori and the prosperity of the international maritime city of Kobe in the Middle Ages

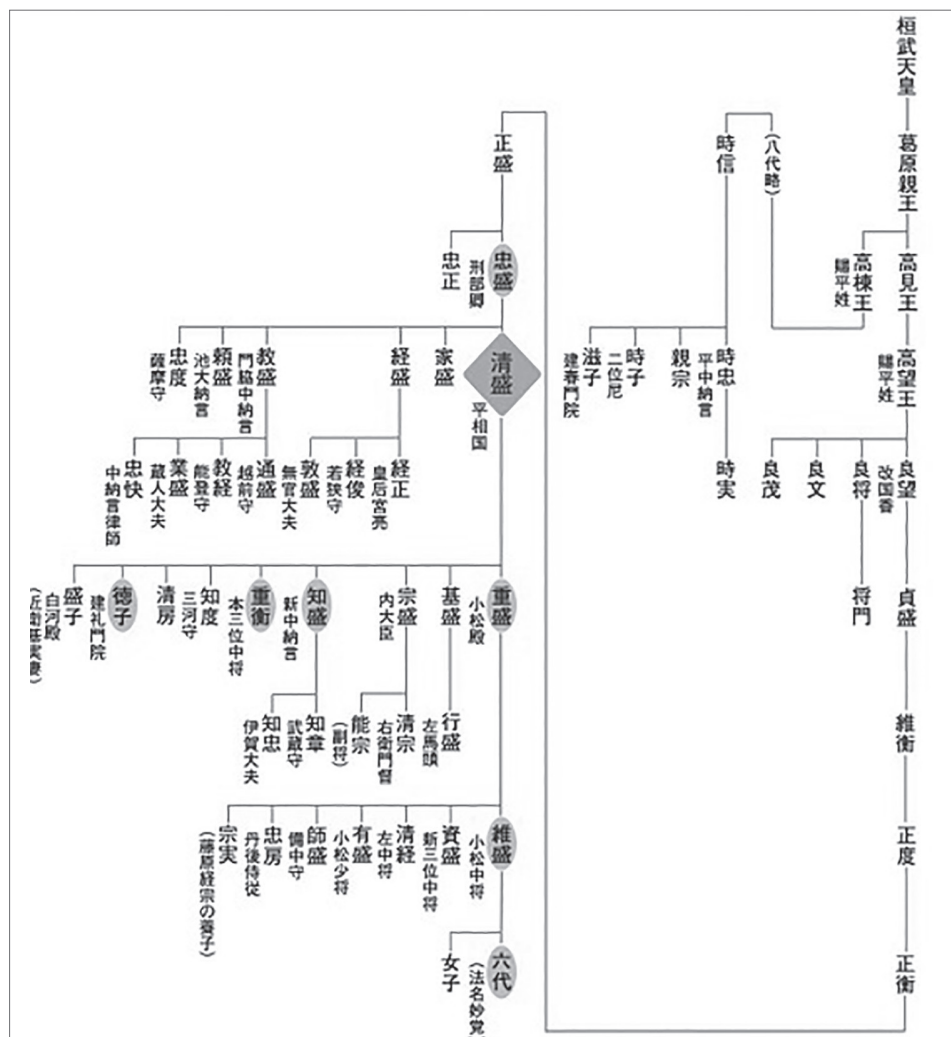
### (1) The history of Taira No Kiyomori and the Heishi clan

Taira No Kiyomori(1118-1181) is the first Bushi(武士/a warrior) to hold power surpassing the royal family and is renowned as the person who built the world of Bushi administration lasting 700 years thereafter.

According to sources, the Heishi clan descended from the Imperial House of Japan from the Emperor Kanmu bloodline, but the Heishi clan of around the 12th century served the royal family and the aristocracy while remaining in a low official position<sup>1</sup>.

The Heishi clan when Kiyomori was born originally played an active part on Ise No Kuni(伊勢国)(present-day Mie Prefecture) as a base for generations<sup>2</sup>.

Ise No Kuni, located on the Pacific side, is an area developed as a starting point for maritime transportation connecting the Kanto region to the Kyushu, Shikoku and Chugoku regions by way of the Seto Inland Sea. Heishi clan actively participated in marine advancement based in this area, striving to establish shipbuilding and a maritime transportation route through cooperation with residents of fishing village and the navy. The three generations of Kiyomori's grandfather Masamori, his father Tadamori, and Kiyomori, and the primary factor for their prosperity based on benefits of the sea without giving up on their intentions for the sea can be found at the roots of the Heishi clan.



**Figure 3. Genealogical table of Heishi clan**

It was Kiyomori's father, Tadamori(1096-1153) who dramatically expanded the power of the Heishi clan. Tadamori solidified his stronghold in the central government by being useful for Shirakawa-Hōō(白河法皇) and the former Emperor Toba-kyōkō(鳥羽上皇) who reigned in the Imperial Court as the highest power of the present day. When Tadamori was appointed to track down and kill pirates, he strived to suppress pirates who reigned in the Seto Inland Sea, Awaji Island, and Shikoku, and in the process, it is said that he promoted them from “pirates” to “military”, that is, regular army.

Pirates of that time were also maritime intellectuals with information power of not only tidal current, but topography, weather, astronomy, steering, shipping, transportation, maritime law, and economics. Tadamori ruled these pirates under his control and made use of their knowledge to build a foothold for the family ocean expansion.

He also earned a financial fortune by independently trading with Song using his position of managing Bizen Kanzaki No Sho(備前神崎荘), which was trading with Song under the jurisdiction of the royal family.

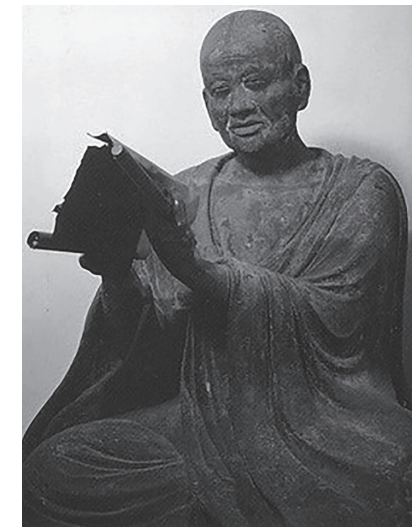


Figure 4. Statue of Tairano Kiyomori

In relation to the above-mentioned focus on Tadamori trade, a brief description of the history of Japan's foreign trade will be given.

Since ancient times, Japan has continually interacted with with East Asian continent. Under the Ritsuryō system, public trade under so-called state control was mainstream, and trade was promoted in the form of attending a cultural mission represented by Japanese Missions to Tang China.

In the 12th century, the way of trade reached a turning point. Following the development of shipbuilding technology and the destabilization of China's state of affairs, trade at private level became prosperous. Kiyomori's father, Tadamori, took advantage of the shift from public trade to private trade. He put Bizen Kanzaki No Sho and Dazaifu(博多/present-day Hakata) in direct control and put effort into private trade. The primary factor for him becoming a courtier of Shirakawa-Hōō and Toba-jiyōkō was his financial strength obtained by these private trade.

Kiyomori also actively engaged in trade with his father at Bizen Kanzaki No Sho and Dazaifu. He may have thought of this economic advantage to later conceive nation-building that required trade.

**(2) Achievement of Taira no Kiyomori Part One “Advancement to the central government”**



Kiyomori, who became head of the Heishi clan after the death of Tadamori, would eventually achieve remarkable success.

In addition to winning the Hōgen No Ran<sup>3</sup> and the Heiji No Ran<sup>4</sup>, he accomplished rapid promotion, as well as defeating the head of the Genji clan, Minamoto No Yoshitomo, who was a rival for many years as the same warrior class, and in the end became the champion Bushi. Through victory in the two rebellions, it can be said that it demonstrated to the public that the power of the Bushi is indispensable for the royal family and aristocrats.

Kiyomori served as director consecutively of Bizen(present-day Okayama Prefecture), Aki(present-day Hiroshima Prefecture), and Harima(present-day Hyogo Prefecture) and was soon selected to be Dazai No Daini(太宰大貳/chief director of Dazaifu). Dazaifu is an international port that prospered from foreign trade through Japanese Missions to Tang China from around the 7th century. By obtaining control of Dazaifu, nation-building based on the Japan-Song trade would finally begin.

### (3) Achievement of Taira no Kiyomori Part Two “nation-building that requires Japan-Song trade”

Kiyomori thought that trade would enrich the country and the people. His life ambition was to build a nation that required Japan-Song trade. Noteworthy is the establishment of bay coast facilities in the expanse of the Seto Inland Sea. It has been reported that the excavation construction work of “Ondo-No-seto” in present day Hiroshima Prefecture, which was a choke point of the Seto Inland Sea route, and the refurbishment of the port of “Sode-No-minato” in present day in Hakata was by Kiyomori. Moreover, he believed that the advent of family glory was dependent on ocean guardian deity of Itsukushima, and carried out a major construction of Itsukushima Shrine. Regarding the construction of Itsukushima Shrine, it is largely due to a display of power and religious motivation, but we can not overlook that this area of sea was highly regarded in transportation and navy formation in the Seto Inland Sea.

These were sophisticated construction work suspected to be feasible with the technological strength of the time, but it can be said that it is a great undertaking that reveals Kiyomori’s precise nature observation, creativity and strong passion for



Figure 5. Itsukushima shirine

the sea.

At that time, Kobe was called “Fukuhara”(福原). Kiyomori was quick to keep an eye on the latent potential of this Fukuhara. Why Fukuhara? One of the reasons is the existence of Owada No Tomari. As mentioned previously, Owada No Tomari was an important port of the Seto Inland Sea route and had been developing from long ago as a base for domestic maritime transportation and foreign trade. Kiyomori who wanted Owada No Tomari got the Fukuhara territory and soon started large-scale renovation so that Owada No Tomari would be the second Hakata, a hub for Japan-Song trade.

The renovation work was major as they leveled the neighboring shiotsuchi-Yama to build an artificial island in front of the port with the earth and sand, in order to prevent strong winds and waves from destroying the port facility. It is said that construction was

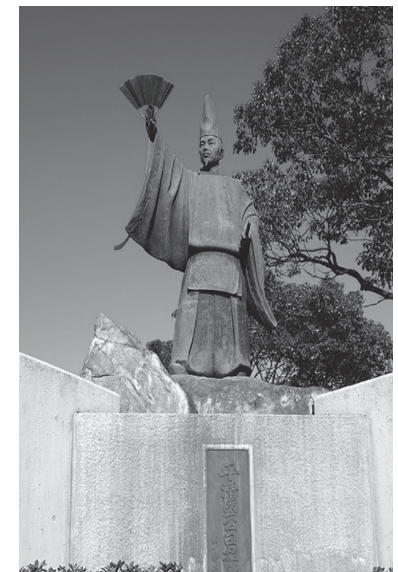


Figure 6. Himanekizo

extremely difficult, therefore various episodes are reported such as: as soon as the sun was about to set, Kiyomori would beckon the setting sun back with a fan, or, dismiss the opinion to build a human pillar from superstitious surrounding people Human sacrifice(人身御養), stones transcribed with Buddhist scriptures were piled into small boats, which were sunk to build the foundation of the island. It is said that this island has become known as “Kyoga-Shima”(経ヶ島/means The island of Buddhist scripture) because of the legend associated with these stones.

Along with renovation of Owada No Tomari, Japan-Song trade led by Kiyomori increasingly gathered momentum.

In 1170, a direct ship from Song that did not pass through Hakata entered Owada No Tomari for the first time. As a result, Fukuhara became a trading place of Song items and the main delivery entrance of Song money, establishing its position as an international port both in name and reality.<sup>5</sup>

The various items traded in Japan-Song trade were as follows.

Exports from Japan included silver and pearl, produced in Ise Province that was the base of the Heishi clan, gold nuggets, wood such as cedar, pine, and cypress, and handicrafts such as Japanese sword and lacquerware. From Song, Song money, silk, books, stationery, fragrances, medicines, and works of art such as ceramics and paintings were imported.<sup>6</sup>



Figure 7. Construction of Owadanotomari (Kobe maritime museum)

Why did China choose Kiyomori as a point of contact for trade with Japan? In the era of Kiyomori, Ming-Zhou(明州) was one of the most important trade port in China since the middle period of the Tang Dynasty, which was managing foreign trade in Song. Ming-Zhou’s trade administrative authority seemed to put an emphasis on piracy suppression, and Ming-Zhou’s marine trade, which was responsible for overseas trade affairs, presented to the Japanese side the maximum requirements for safe operation of trade ships in promoting trade with Japan. Especially in the Seto Inland Sea it is indispensable to suppress pirates, and for that purpose, they decided they would like to take measures against piracy by linking with the Heishi clan who were the most powerful people in Japanese military aspects and had piracy suppression know-how.<sup>7</sup>

## Relocation of the capital to the maritime city of Fukuhara by Taira No Kiyomori, and its subsequent failure

### (1) Taira No Kiyomori’s Fukuharu withdrawal and the launch of “the new Heishi’s dynasty”

Before long Kiyomori was promoted to Dajō Daijin(chief minister of the government) which was likened to the highest position for humans at the time. The reign period was only three months, but while in office he raised the official position of his clan, solidifying the Heishi clan’s power in the nerve center of politics.

In 1168, when Kiyomori was 50 years old, he got sick and almost died; however, he miraculously recovered and decided to join the priesthood. He retired to Fukuhara soon after joining the priesthood, and for 11 years he lived in Fukuhara, and mostly did not go to the capital of Kyoto. However, he was a nominal priest and it was a nominal retirement, and he continued to have a strong influence and say on the Imperial Court as an influential politician.

Here, we will mention on Kiyomori’s intentional retreat to Fukuhara.

The royal family and aristocrats gradually raised a sense of restraint and rebellion against the fact that political power was concentrated on the Heishi clan, such as increase in enfeoffment by the Heishi clan and monopoly of key positions. Even though aristocrats acknowledged that the Heishi clan’s immense military



power and financial strength was indispensable to the Imperial Court, they were still reluctant to let the Bushi take charge of the government, having contempt for their lowly existence. Furthermore, in order to realize the nation-building that requires Japan-Song trade, the existence of Kiyomori who breaks existing practices and successively drives new measures such as the excavation of Ondo-No-seto, Sode-No-Minato, renovation of Owada No Tomari, construction of Itsukushima Shrine, and Song ships system of entry into inland sea ports, was provoking and a nuisance for other aristocrats who value the “importance of everything precedent”. For Kiyomori, confronting such non-understanding and anti-resolution surroundings, must had been frustrating as the nation building he envisioned was not proceeding. After reflection, by moving his residence to Fukuhara, while keeping the spatial and psychological distance from the central government, Kiyomori chose to manipulate politics at will with strong power as before from the far away land of Fukuhara. Fukuhara’s land gradually became a base securing the Heishi clan’s political power stability and autonomy, and eventually it would emerge as another capital, that is, the Heishi clan capital.<sup>8</sup>

In 1179, an incident to overthrow the Heishi clan by the established forces opposed to the Heishi clan occurred.<sup>9</sup> Although it was exposed and suppressed before it happened, this incident was the beginning, and Kiyomori ultimately took a radical action in the form of a military coup. With the immense military power of the Heishi clan, the old political regime(院政/cloistered rule) that had been imposed for three generations of Shirakawa-in—Toba-In—Go Shirakawa-In was stopped, and the Kiyomori dictatorship finally started.

## (2) Vision of Fukuhara as capital

In the following year of 1180, Kiyomori who gained the status equivalent to a monarch of the whole country from the earlier military coup, enthroned Imperial Prince Tokihito, son of his daughter Empress Tokuko and Emperor Takakura. Emperor Antoku, former Prince Tokihito was the first emperor with Bushi blood. On June 2nd of the same year, Kiyomori decided to enter Fukuhara, accompanied by Emperor Antoku, retired Emperor Takakura-Jōkō and Go-Shirakawa-Hōō. The place where the Emperor is, is the capital of the whole country. This was the so called “relocation of the capital to Fukuhara”, and the establishment of “the New

Heishi’s dynasty” with retired Emperor Takakura and Emperor Antoku as the head.

Although it seemed like a rather impulsive and hurried relocation of the capital, Kiyomori strived to build a new capital appropriate for the new world. Meanwhile, while anti-Heishi clan momentum increased, among them the Genji clan eldest son, Minamoto No Yoritomo, overthrown in the Heiji No Ran, as well as Minamoto No Yoshinaka raised an army and national scale rebellions successively broke out. Kiyomori made every effort to suppress the rebellions, leaving no time to develop the new capital. Then, after an appeal from family members, he reluctantly decided to return to the capital.

Furthermore, another reason for returning the capital to Kyoto was to calm the popular sentiment of anxiety and opposition that had strengthened to the former relocation of the capital. At the same time as the relocation of the capital to Fukuhara, natural disasters frequently occurred, and famine was widespread, and people rumored that this was due to the relocation of the capital. In the 8th century, there was a similar example of relocation of the capital during the reign of Emperor Kanmu. When he relocated the capital from Heijō-kyō to Nagaoka-kyō, floods and plague was widespread, Emperor Kanmu was forced to return the capital to Heijō-kyō again in order to appease popular sentiment.

In addition, when planning the permanent renovation of Owada No Tomari and the construction of Fukuhara-kyō, the public work done up until then was from the private funds of the Heishi clan, then turned into a major plan using the national treasury. As a result, excess tax collection and mobilization of the labor force was carried out, and the Heishi clan was abandoned not only by the central government but also by public sentiment.

The vision for the marine capital Fukuhara that includes the international trade port of Owada No Tomari fell apart in just five months. Not only was the capital left incomplete, it was subsequently burned down by the enemy army commander Minamoto No Yoshinaka, so details including the exact location of Fukuhara-kyō, and how far construction progressed remain unknown and lost in history.

In 1181, the next year after returning to the capital, while concentrating on suppressing the rebel army and rebuilding the political regime, Kiyomori died due to fever. He was 64 years old.



Figure 8. CG image of Fukuhara-Kyo (Kobe maritime museum)

The Heishi clan who lost a huge leader of Taira No Kiyomori, followed the road of decline, and in April 1185, after the last battle of the Genpei War in Dan-no-ura, it finally collapsed.

### The History of “Kobe” After the Middle Ages

In the Kamakura period(the latter half of the 12th century to the 14th century), after Heishi clan completely collapsed, “Owada No Tomari” gradually became known to the public as “Hyogono-tsu”.

Having suffered through two invasions by Mongolia(蒙古襲来), the Kamakura Bakufu began to focus its efforts on strengthening its maritime defense more than the public trade with East Asian continent .Kobe subsequently relinquished its place as a hub for international trade, evident in the decision of the Kamakura Bakufu to abolish the Japan-Song trade.

During the Muromachi Period(14th century to the 16th century), positive foreign trade was encouraged under the influence of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, the third general Shogun of Muromachi Bakufu. Widely regarded as a major port for



Figure 9. Kobe current

the “Japan-Ming trade,” the land of Kobe once again rose to prosperity. Trading vessels from China, Korea, and Kingdom of the Ryukyu frequented ports in Kobe, and Ashikaga Yoshimitsu himself met with an envoy from Ming in “Hyogono-Tsu”(Previously called “Fukuhara”, present-day “Kobe”).

As the Sengoku age drew to a close and the Edo period(17th century to 18th century) began, the economic center of Kinai(the metropolitan area) shifted to Sakai(present-day located in “Osaka”), which compromised the prestige of Kobe as an international port.

During the later years of the Edo period(the latter half of the 17th century), Western countries requested the Edo Bakufu to open major ports such as Shimoda, Yokohama and Hakodate.

At the same time, allied vessels from America, the Netherlands, England, who had long been attracted to Kobe’s appeal and potential as an international harbor, adamantly pressed for the opening of the port. Nonetheless, in consideration of Kobe’s geographical proximity to the capital city of Kyoto, the Edo Bakufu was hesitant to comply with such demands.

However, efforts made by the 15th general Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimitsu

were eventually realized with the opening of the port of Kobe in 1867, successfully marking Kobe's first step towards a modern international maritime city.

In 1995, The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake struck entire Hanshin region, including Osaka, Awaji Island, and most importantly, Kobe. The aftermath of the earthquake was so catastrophic to the point of which Kobe had to temporarily shut down its function as an international port. Shutting down of the port resulted in a series of crippling effects on the Japanese economy.

However, arduous efforts brought the region to full restoration within two years, allowing Kobe to once again reclaim its position as a center of international trade.

### Summary

After the downfall of the Heishi clan, in the late Edo period(the latter half of the 17th century), the influence of Kobe that flourished as a result of the protection of Kiyomori was lost. However, exactly 150 years ago, Kobe opened as a port for various Western countries that had noticed its convenience, and again proceeded to become the prosperous international marine city of "Kobe".

The Heishi clan had power and survived the royal family and aristocracy and eventually became supreme leader of the times. At the center, was Taira No Kiyomori. However, as written in "The Tale of the Heike", the masterpiece war chronicle depicting the Buddhist sense of the vanity of life through the prosperity and downfall of the Heishi clan, he seized the central government through a number of evil and coercive policies, tormented the people as a "tyrant", "dictator" and "treacherous retainer"; hence, the evaluation for Kiyomori by subsequent generations is not very good.

However, Kiyomori clearly envisioned how the country should be. This vision is concisely expressed in "Build a rich country that is founded upon maritime trade". Of course, the core of the concept is maritime trade with East Asian countries based on the international maritime city of "Kobe". Make the country rich through trade, from Hokkaido in the north to Okinawa in the south, the image of a rich country connected by one transportation route and information network is the future that Kiyomori dreamed of. Under the old customs at the time, it is easy to imagine that



Figure 10. Akashi kaikyo

it was impossible for the existing politicians who thought only of self-protection to understand Kiyomori's foresight and creativity. Therefore, under the circumstances of opposition of surroundings and being isolated and helpless, the concept of making Kobe a capital came to nothing in only 5 months, and eventually the whole clan was destroyed.

Kiyomori's ashes were stored at Hokkedo of Yamada(located in Kobe) according to his will. Strangely, after his death he eventually returned to the land of Kobe, the maritime capital he dreamed of while alive. Ferries connecting all areas of the Seto Inland Sea and foreign freighters frequently pass through Yamada, which overlooks Awaji Island and the Akashi Strait.

Kiyomori's Buddhist name is "Jōkai(静海 or 浄海)", and maybe Kiyomori wanted to sleep eternally, wishing for a quiet sea, a clean sea, while listening to the fog whistle of ships coming and going from the Akashi Strait. For Kiyomori living in the sea and scattered in the sea, it can be said that there is no graveyard more suitable<sup>10</sup>.



Notes

- 1
- From the reign of Emperor Kanmu(736-806), a surname gift system was frequently carried out to encourage independence from the royal family, and one name given when demoted to the ranks of nobility was the Heishi clan.
- 2
- In Japanese historical studies, among descendants of Emperor Kanmu was Taira No Kiyomori’s clan called Ise Heishi who progressed to Ise and flourished. Furthermore, it is common to correct it from the Heishi clan to the Heike family after becoming Imperial Court lineage in the era of Taira No Kiyomori, but in this paper it is consolidated into the Heishi clan for convenience.
- 3
- Hōgen No Ran(1156) : Sutoku-Jōkō and Fujiwara No Yorinaga who were dissatisfied with imperial succession, connected and confronted Emperor Go-Shirakawa and his chief advisor Kanpaku Fujiwara No Tadamichi. The Emperor had Taira No Kiyomori and Minamoto No Yoshitomo, and fought against Sutoku-Jōkō, Kiyomori’s uncle, Tadamasa, and Yoshitomo’s father, Tameyoshi. The battle ended in the victory of Emperor Go-Shirakawa after one day, and after that the skill of Bushi was regarded as important. (Takahashi, *Glory of the Heike clan*, Japanese History Museum dictionary.)
- 4
- Heiji No Ran(1159) : Military coup by Minamoto No Yoshitomo who were dissatisfied with the reward after the Hōgen No Ran and Fujiwara No Nobuyori, In the interval of Kiyomori’s absence during Kumano-mōde(熊野詣), Emperor Go-Shirakawa’s attendant, Shinzei-Nyudo was murdered. In response, Kiyomori promptly retuned to Kyoto and defeated Minamoto No Yoritomo, head of the Genji clan. It can be said that the Heiji No Ran was the starting point of the Heishi clan’s glory. (Takahashi, *Glory of the Heike clan*, Japanese History Museum dictionary.)
- 5
- In the preceding year 1169, Kiyomori sent a tribute to the Song Dynasty, and it is thought that the arrival of the Song Ship in 1170 was a form of repayment in which Song’s messenger visited. (Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori’s Dream for Fukuhara*.)
- 6
- Although there is no literary material remaining that directly shows the various items traded with Song, according to “The Tale of the Heike”, a story about the prosperity of the Heishi clan, there were gathering all Chinese luxury items such as “Yangzhou(揚州)’s gold, Jingzhou(荊州)’s jewelries, Wu Commandery(呉群)’s luxury fabrics, Shu-Jiang(蜀江)’s silk fabrics, nothing missing from all the treasures in the world”. (Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori’s Dream for Fukuhara*.)
- 7
- Takahashi, *Taira no Kiyomori’s Dream for Fukuhara*.
- 8
- Takahashi , *The Heike Clan from tales to historical facts*.
- 9
- Shishigatani Conspiracy: A secret meeting to defeat the Heishi clan held by Fujiwara No Narichika, Saikō, Naritsune, Shunkan in 1177 at the mountain residence of Shishigatani, Higashiyama, Kyoto, according to the intention of Go-Shirakawa-Hōō who was dissatisfied with the authoritative Heishi clan. However, the meeting was tipped off by Tada Yukitsuna and the conspirators were apprehended by the Heishi clan. Saikō was executed, Narichika banished to Bizen, and Naritsune, Shunkan and Yasuyori to Kikaigashima. (Takahashi, *Glory of the Heike clan*, Japanese History Museum dictionary.)
- 10
- Takahashi , *Heike Clan from Tales to Historical Facts*.

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# Maritime Culture Empowerment under Indonesian Ocean Policy

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## Abstract

Maritime Culture is one of the 7 pillars of Indonesian Ocean Policy, while the Indonesian Ocean Policy is a big narrative of the Global Maritime Fulcrum development idea and Indonesia's Maritime Policy consists of 7 pillars of policy. Maritime Culture has 6 main programs including the development of cultural values and maritime social system repository, improving ocean and culture literacy, harmonizing local wisdom in sustainable resources, historic seaport revitalization, reviving the understanding of maritime culture and innovation based on local wisdom development.

This paper is aimed at obtaining understanding of Indonesian Ocean Policy and the development of maritime culture empowerment as the policy's action plan, particularly for the next 5 years 2020-2024 action plan. Maritime culture empowerment is carried out through 3 cultural development programs, namely Ocean and Culture Literacy, Culture Action or Activation, and Culture-based Innovation.

The Spice Route as a national heritage is proposed to be a major theme in the 5-year action plan on maritime culture empowerment through three priority works: improving cultural literacy and cultural connectivity with look east policy; encouraging the maritime generation through various activities in supporting sustainable development, particularly in supporting the tourism and Indonesia-centric program; and realizing maritime innovation based on empowering cultural and resources diversities.

**Keywords** Global Maritime Fulcrum, GMF, Indonesian Ocean Policy, IOP, Empowerment, Local Wisdom, Traditional Knowledge, Spice Route, Literacy, Sustainable Development, SDG

## Introduction

October 28, 1928, the Youth Pledge declared the nationhood of Indonesia is land and water, demonstrates that Indonesia is a nation who is aware of its identity as both land and sea nation, a nation of farmers and sailors, and a nation who

conquers the mountains and oceans. The founding fathers fully realized that waters, straits, and seas in between the archipelago are an inseparable unison. Waters, straits, and seas unified Indonesia's thousands of islands – not separating them.

With an extensive area of waters exceeding its lands, and its strategic crossing location, it is only natural for Indonesia to have a fundamental interest of controlling and utilizing its sea, to have a strong identity and maritime culture as well as to use its strategic location for the benefit of its people and to create security within its region in accordance with its constitutional mandate to “protect the entirety of nation and all of the people of Indonesia, to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the people and to participate in the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice”.

Sriwijaya's power followed by Majapahit Kingdom in controlling the strait of Malacca and its success in creating equal relations with Chola Nalanda of India and Tang Dynasty of China and also the victory of Sultan Fatahillah in removing the Portuguese forces out of Sunda Kelapa are clear evidence that Indonesia also has a strong maritime strategy culture.

After the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on 17th August 1945, the unity of land and water of Indonesia became stronger as Indonesia, with diplomacy and without firing any single bullet, managed to change high seas separating her islands into waters under Indonesia's sovereignty, in which the implementation of its right and obligations are guaranteed under international law of the sea 182. The Convention was ratified by Indonesia into its national law. Sovereignty over the archipelagic waters was finally secured after refutation from countries against *Djuanda* Declaration of 13th December 1957 and through difficult multilateral negotiations for more than a decade whereby the international community finally acknowledged Indonesia's strong desire to realize the unity of its land and water through a legal innovation, starting from the process of unilateral proclamation of archipelagic state until it became a general principle of international law.

International recognition towards Indonesia as an archipelagic state has raised the strategic value of geographic aspect of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia's strategic position is not only seen as an intersection of two continents, Asia and Australia, and two oceans, the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean, but also

a location between the South China Sea and East Asia Sea and the Indian Ocean, between the liberal individualism in the South and communism in the North, between the commodity producers in the South and the commodity consumer in the North, between the non-nuclear power in the South and the Nuclear power in the North. Indonesia's strategic position, along with geographical factors and socio-economic condition, has also put Indonesia in an important position in the global environment, namely in influencing political and economic stability and also influencing regional and international security.

With the abundant marine resources and strong maritime culture, the spirit to revitalize Indonesia's maritime era is not impossible. *Djuanda* Declaration 1957 has given a new hope to return Indonesia as a maritime nation. The next step that needs to be taken is to change the nation mindset, attitude, and its pattern of actions that are based on the awareness of maritime areas as a place for Indonesian to conduct ocean-oriented development. Therefore, a vision in maritime development sectors have become a requirement and necessity for Indonesia. Such vision is embodied through Indonesia's vision as Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF), which means that Indonesia is a sovereign, advanced, independent, strong maritime nation that is able to provide positive contribution for peace and security of the region and the world in accordance with its national interest.

The GMF development includes (1) building Indonesian maritime culture; (2) maintain the sea peace and marine resources, with a focus on building seafood sovereignty through the development of the fishing industry by placing fishers as the main pillar; (3) giving priority to infrastructure development and maritime connectivity, by building sea highways, deep sea ports, logistics and shipping industries, and marine tourism; (4) strengthening maritime diplomacy, cooperation in maritime affairs, eliminating sources of conflict in the sea such as illegal fishing, violations of sovereignty, territorial disputes, piracy, and marine pollution; and (5) building maritime force of defense to safeguard maritime sovereignty and wealth as well as the form of responsibility in maintaining maritime safety and security to build maritime defense forces.

The GMF can be realized if there are precise, effective and competitive policies and programs. These programs of maritime development are widespread within various Ministerial and Non-Ministerial government institutions. Therefore,

the national document of the Indonesian Ocean Policy is important to synergize and harmonize all ocean-based development programs to be more focused and targeted so that results can be measured.

Indonesia's nature in itself has a strategic value for the Earth. Indonesia is accountable for the second largest tropical forest in the world, around 2% of world's coral reefs, around 20% of the world's mangrove forests, around three million hectares of seagrass meadows, and a throughflow location of great current from the Pacific and Indian Oceans. These render Indonesian seas as a rich source of food for the sea life.

The national Document of the Indonesian Ocean Policy will serve as guideline for Ministerial and Non-Ministerial government institutions and local government in planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the development in maritime aspect, and also as a reference for society in general and private sectors in participating in the maritime development for the realization of the GMF. The national Document of the Indonesian Ocean Policy is an instrument synergizing all steps and movements of all stakeholders in achieving Indonesia's aspiration to become GMF.

## Indonesian Ocean Policy

Indonesian Ocean Policy covers very broad and complex aspects interconnected one to each other. There are many actors involved in the implementation of marine and maritime programs. The development of marine and maritime programs needs to be implemented holistically, integratively, thematically, and synergistically towards the realization of Indonesia as the World Maritime Fulcrum. In accordance with the Global Maritime Fulcrum, Indonesia's Maritime Policy consists of 7 pillars of policy, principles, and 77 strategic programs. The road map compiled based on Presidential Regulation number 16 of 2017 concerning Indonesian Maritime Policy carries the target as a mission, one of which is "reviving maritime identity, and maritime culture".

Indonesian Ocean Policy is established with reference to the Indonesian Development Vision as contained in Law Number 17 of 2007 on the Long-term

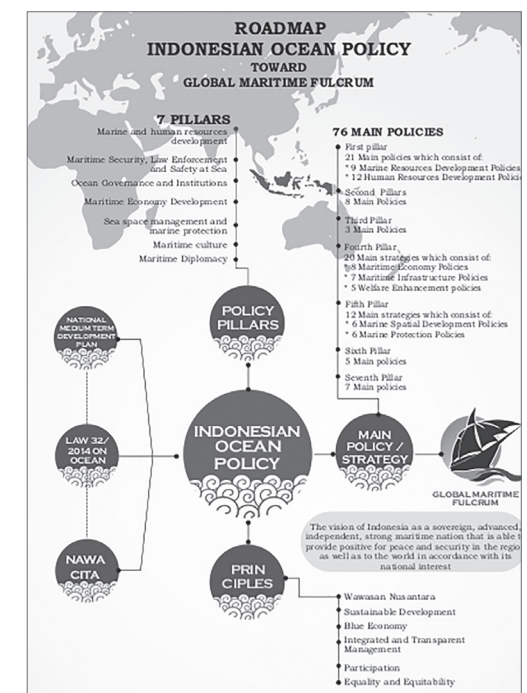
National Development Plan 2005-2025 and Law Number 32 of 2014. In order to implement such vision, it is important to set the aim as the mission of Indonesian Ocean Policy, including sustainable management of marine resource and ocean governance, maritime safety and security development, maritime industrial growth enhancement, maritime culture empowerment and human resources development.

The realization of Indonesian vision and mission should be in accordance with the national interest, as well as just and optimum utilization of the welfare of Indonesian people. Indonesian Ocean Policy is based on six basic principles, which are (1) wawasan nusantara; (2) sustainable development; (3) blue economy; (4) integrated and transparent management; (5) participation; and (6) equality and equitability.

*Wawasan Nusantara* is a long-term national vision and the basis of implementation of national development in realizing the Indonesia's long-term development objective as contained in Decree of the People's Representative Assembly Number II/MPR/1993 on the General Guidelines of State Policy.

*Wawasan Nusantara* is a national philosophy based on Pancasila, the Five Principles of the State, and the 1945 Constitutional of the Republic of Indonesia, namely Indonesian perspective and view about themselves and their environment for national unity and integrity, as well as territory integrity in the implementation of their life as a nation. *Wawasan Nusantara* includes the embodiment of Indonesia archipelago as one political, economic, social, culture entity, as well as defense and security unit.

**Sustainable Development** is an approach to ensure the development of various economic



**Figure 1. Indonesia's Maritime Policy consists of 7 pillars of policy, principles, and 77 strategic programs**

source: Indonesian Ocean Policy, 2017

activities must be able to fulfil the needs of present and future generation. Therefore, the economic development must be implemented based on sustainable principle thus (1) the exploitation of resources must not exceed the regeneration ability of the renewable natural resources or the place of innovation or substitution of the non-renewable resources, as well as the utilization of non-renewable resources would not cause damage to the renewable resources; (2) the current exploitation of resources may not forfeit (the quality and quantity) the needs of future generation; and (3) the exploitation of resources, which the impact has not been recognized, must be conducted diligently and supported by reliable scientific research. Sustainable development principle is also governed in Law Number 32 of 2009 on the Environmental Protection and Management.

**The Blue economy** is a model for economic development which integrates land and ocean-based development while taking into account the carrying capacity of the resources and environment. In principle, the resources of land, sea, and air should be synergized to become Indonesia's strength.

**Integrated** management is conducted in a multi-disciplinary, interregional, inter-sectoral and cross-sector manner. Integrated, in the sense that all aspects of the management should be unified under one system instead of treated as separate components. In management system that is integrated, there must be interrelation between one aspect and another to avoid overlapping authority. Such management should also be carried out under the principle of transparency, using clear regulations, being open in its formulation and execution, providing sufficient information which is easily understood by the various stakeholders.

The principles of **participation** is important as every stakeholder is expected to play a role in the planning, implementation, monitoring, and controlling in accordance with each individual role; to possess open information to understand government's policy and have sufficient access to utilize resources; to ensure the existence of representatives of the stakeholders in decision-making and take part in identifying threats and opportunities; and to utilize the resources equitably.

The basic principle of equitability in Indonesia's ocean development is to ensure that individuals or groups of individuals are treated fairly, equally, and mutually profitably, regardless of ethnic group, race, religion or belief, and gender while prioritizing Indonesians who live in remote regions or those yet to be well-

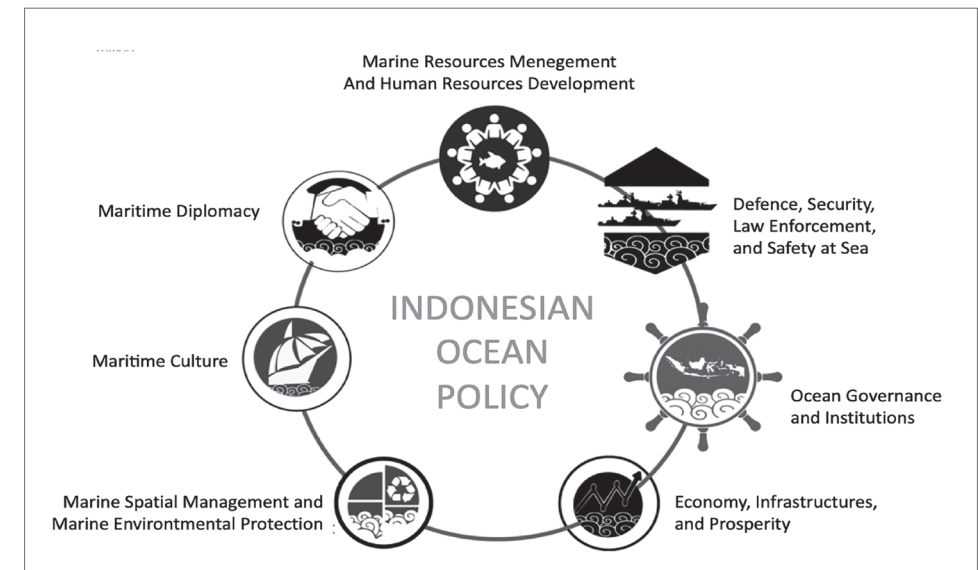


Figure 2.7 Pillars of Indonesian Ocean Policy

source: Indonesian Ocean Policy, 2017

connected outside of Java, Bali, Lombok, and Sumatera.

Therefore, connectivity between Indonesia's existing economic centers and other regions, such as *Sabang, Natuna, Tarakan, Bitung, Miangas, Sorong, Merauke, Saumlaki, Ambon, Timo, and Flores* is fundamental to the development of the people of Indonesia as a whole. Maritime development in Indonesia is still concentrated on certain regions, especially in the western part of Indonesia (Java, Bali and Sumatera). Indonesia's ocean development must be done in an Indonesia-centric, a "look east policy" strategy, through tangible development programs on outer and remote islands, prioritizing the improvement of the welfare of the lower income groups such as small fishers and those working in the fishing industry.

Progress without equitability is not only contrary to the constitution, but is also not in line with the main essence of development, that is, the improvement of quality of human life. Economic inequality will threaten the sustainability of progress itself and can even lead to actions which could threaten public security.

There are seven pillars of Indonesian Ocean Policy, namely (1) the management of marine resources and the development of human resources; (2) marine security, law enforcement and safety at sea; (3) ocean governance and institution; (4) economic and infrastructure of marine sectors and prosperity

enhancement; (5) management of ocean space and protection of marine environment; (6) maritime culture; and (7) maritime diplomacy.

The objective of marine resources policy is to optimize the utilization and the exploitation of the marine resources in a sustainable manner through the principle of blue economy. The economic growth in the maritime sectors are materialized through sustainable development which efficient, value-added, inclusive, and innovative; to support all economic activities, consisting of trade of goods, services, and investment for the prosperity of the people.

The objective of the development of human resources policy is to enhance the capacity of human resources in maritime sectors in the most professional, ethic, and dedicated manner and putting national interest in supporting ocean development optimally and comprehensively.

The policy on defence, security, law enforcement and safety at sea is established to enforce law and sovereignty, protect the unity of the Republic of Indonesia and the nation from threats, challenges, obstacles and disruption at sea.

The objective of the policy of ocean governance and institution is to create a national ocean governance system in a comprehensive, integrated and effective manner. Such manner is needed for an effective implementation of national and provincial regulations in accordance with international law of the sea.

The objective of the policy of maritime economy is to make the maritime sectors as a basis for economic development. The potential of Indonesia's maritime economy does not exist in waters under sovereignty of Indonesia but also in the area under national jurisdiction and international waters which can be managed based on international law. The development of marine resource-based economy is intended to enhance the prosperity of the people by advancing the national resources through a national maritime program along with fiscal, monetary and financial instruments as well as mobilization across sectors to support the development of maritime sectors.

In order to grow the maritime economy, the government develop and build maritime infrastructures to enhance the connectivity and development by using Indonesia-centric as a "look east policy" approach.

The prosperity enhancement policy has the objective to realize the ocean development useful for the prosperity of the people, especially those who live in

coastal areas and small islands.

The policy of marine spatial management is aimed to protect the resources and environment based on environmental capacity and local wisdom, at national and international scale to utilize the marine resources and also to develop potential areas for production, distribution and services. The varied stakeholders of marine spatial management and utilization in Indonesia require references regarding the allocation of integrated and synchronized ocean space along with the land-spatial planning, in order to accommodate various interests and needs without creating conflicts on spatial uses.

The objective of marine environment protection policy is to conserve the marine resources and prevent any pollution and harm to the marine environment. Indonesia also needs to pay attention to the absorption capacity of greenhouse gases by coastal ecosystem so that emissions produced in land, especially farming and industries, could be reduced by Indonesia's blue carbon ability.

The objectives of maritime culture policy is to give comprehensive understanding of maritime outlook for all strata of communities in order to optimize the sustainable national maritime development. Through maritime culture, Indonesian will learn hardworking, resilience, innovation and entrepreneurship, working in unison on "gotong royong", respect to diversity and environment.

Maritime diplomacy is the implementation of foreign policy to optimize the maritime potentials in fulfilling the national interest in accordance with national policies and international law. Maritime diplomacy is not only defined in the traditional form of international negotiation in maritime issues, maritime boundary delimitation or naval diplomacy. Maritime diplomacy is a form of foreign policy implementation which is not only related to maritime aspects of maritime assets, civilian and military, to fulfill national interest and accordance with national and international laws.

## Maritime Culture Empowerment

The archipelago is the only region on the planet that has a long and continuous history (maritime), from 8000 BC to the present. Geographically, as a



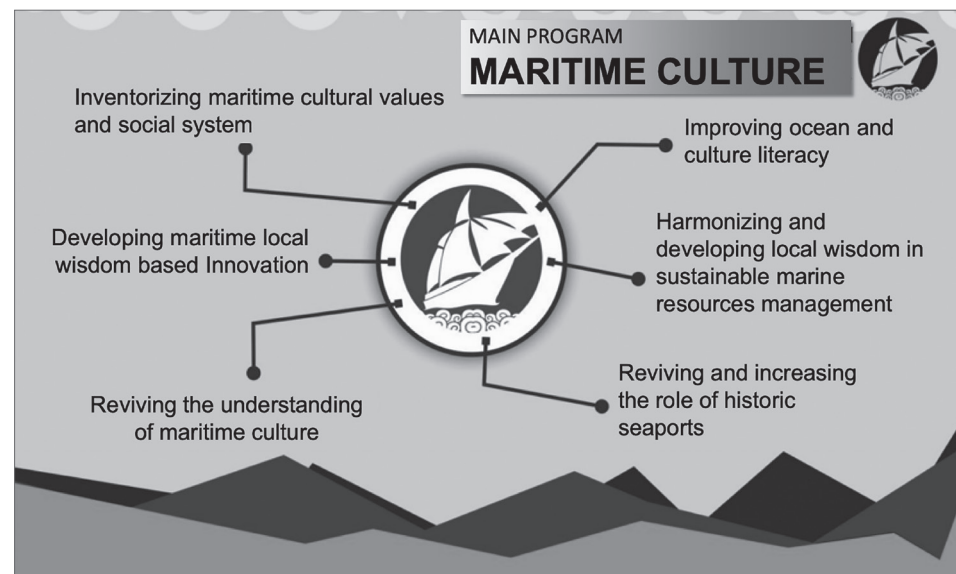


Figure 3. Maritime Culture's main programs

source: Indonesian Ocean Policy, 2017

center for international shipping, the longest maritime axis formed a natural open society since the beginning of the first century and has the ability to adopt and assimilate foreign culture into their wisdom. Sea and ocean are not a separator, but unites the nation, culture and politics so as to create communication and tolerance in diversity.

True culture is the direction of national development and cultural diversity is the identity of the Indonesian nation. Awareness as a large maritime nation built on a diversity of cultures, religions, languages, ethnicities, and ethnic groups that are embedded in the *Pancasila* is the key to surviving in the midst of competition for the world civilization megatrend. In the context of cultural empowerment, Indonesia has the Law Number 5/2017 concerning Culture Empowerment which is the direction of promoting national culture and aims to strengthen the unity.

As an archipelagic country, Indonesia has made maritime as part of Indonesian culture. Maritime culture is one of the main components forming a maritime civilization. The sea is a unifier and the future of Indonesia. Maritime culture has very important role to establish a maritime-oriented nation, and a strong maritime culture will make the ocean as a place for people to live, to survive, to work, to learn, to create and to educate.

The main programs in conducting the strategic policy of maritime culture are as follows:

- a. Improving the people's education and awareness of the maritime sectors through all tracks, types and education levels;
- b. Identifying and inventorizing cultural values and maritime social systems in the unitary Republic of Indonesia as a system of national culture and outlook;
- c. Reviving the understanding of maritime culture;
- d. Harmonizing and developing local wisdom in sustainable management and utilization of marine resources; and
- e. Maintaining, developing and increasing the role of historic seaports.

Maritime Culture is one of the pillars of the 6 pillars of the Indonesian Ocean Policy, a policy to realize Indonesia as maritime country as well as global maritime fulcrum. Therefore, the Government is committed to continuing to empower maritime culture through the education, economic and tourism sectors. Maritime culture empowerment is carried out through 3 cultural development programs, namely Ocean and Culture Literacy, Culture Action or Activation, and Culture-based Innovation.

### Ocean and Culture Literacy

Ocean and Culture Literacy aims to build interest and understanding of maritime and maritime culture with the main target of the younger generation. Activities can be in the form of repository of data and knowledge about the sea, repository of knowledge of maritime culture in the form of local wisdom and traditional knowledge.

The establishment of Intangible Cultural Heritage is also an effort to build Maritime culture literacy and is a commitment of the Government of Indonesia to protect cultural traditions inherited from generation to generation. According to Law Number 5 of 2017 concerning Cultural Advancement, 255 Intangible Cultural Heritage has been established in year 2018. With this determination, Indonesia has 819 Intangible Cultural Heritage of 8065 total cultural products.

Pinisi, the Sulawesi's art of shipbuilding, one of Indonesia's maritime heritage

has been awarded as World Heritage by UNESCO. Pinisi is a maritime tradition that is around 5000 years old, making Tana Beru, Lemo-lemo and Ara-Bira the largest wooden shipyard in the world, where Austronesian explorers are spreading man most far-flung, dispersal and exchange networks.

Pinisi has a lot of knowledges about shipping technology, mapping and navigation, and other knowledge about the sea. Pinisi has invited various academics and community groups to revitalize and re-actualize archipelago shipping technology, especially to support people's shipping and tourism.

Underwater heritage originating from valuable objects, the shipwreck in the past is also a source of maritime cultural literacy. Indonesian waters as one of the areas filled with hundreds of thousands of shipwrecks, especially in traffic lanes and trade centers. The ships are thought to carry cultural products such as ceramics, precious metals (gold, silver, bronze), precious rocks and other objects that are thought to be of high value. The location of shipwrecks in Indonesia is estimated to be around 3000 points, but those recorded in national data are around 463 points, and only 10 points have been evacuated.

The treasure of shipwreck (BMKT) in Indonesia has been decided as a wealth of maritime resources and must be managed as well as possible. BMKT will be directed towards management efforts that contribute to science and education in order to increase literacy, as well as to improve the welfare of the community through tourism activities.

## Maritime Culture Action and Activation

Cultural activation is done with various kinds of cultural actions that aim to restore the maritime civilization of the archipelago, make the culture back as a life-style of the younger generation, and create cultural connectivity in the Indonesian archipelago. These cultural actions include the title of marine and coastal cultural tourism festivals, maritime expeditions, annual Indonesian sail events, various maritime games and sports competitions.

Ocean Literacy "take to school" is an activity that has been carried out since 2016 by incorporating maritime content into the basic and secondary education

curriculum. This activity begins with trials on schools in 12 cities in 6 provinces and will be expanded in 21 provinces in Indonesia.

## Culture-based Maritime Innovation

Culture-based Maritime Innovation can be categorized as an endogenous economic growth concept, which is a development based on innovation, with local potential as a basis for economic growth. Such development that is based on natural resource diversity, and cultural diversity. With the diversity of natural resources and the diversity of cultures and knowledge, Indonesia will be able to create hundreds or even thousands of patents, increasing TFP (total productivity factor) and in turn increasing global competitiveness.

The geographical condition of the archipelago consisting of thousands of islands and the long history of the Nation (Maritime) Nusantara bear a bio-cultural perspective, forming local wisdom, which did not separate land and sea concepts. The culture of *Nyegara-Gunung*, for example, is a local wisdom that has the values of integrated land-sea and inclusive development which is currently better known as the concept of sustainable Development Goals development. Ecosystem Approach for Fisheries management is another example of a new approach to fisheries management that aims to ensure sustainable resources and livelihoods. This approach has actually been long applied by the local wisdom of the community such as *Panglima Laot* in Aceh, SASI in Maluku, Awig-Awig in Bali and Lombok.

The world has been owed to the diversity of the archipelago. *Nusantara's* spice inspired the development of knowledge in the fields of astronomy and climate, especially knowledge about the monsoon wind. The Spice Road, not only the trade route but also the intellectual exchange path, the motifs and forms of literature and art of Southeast Asian culture. Coastal literature grows from major cities in Java such as Surabaya, Gresik, Demak, Jepara, Cirebon and Banten, then spreads to Lombok, Palembang, Lampung, Banjarmasin, Aceh to Campa, Cambodia, and the Philippines. In the golden age of the Srivijaya kingdom, the *Nusantara's* spice path was also used as a regional diplomacy way (politics, economics, and education), by building a dormitory for students studying Buddhism in Nalanda India, and several

offering temples in Thailand.

## Future Work

Indonesia as a global maritime fulcrum means to have competitiveness based on national values which are formed as a nation that lives in the world's largest archipelago. Cultural diversity of Nusantara and natural diversity are the basic capital of development and a source of economic growth in Indonesia as an archipelago characterized by maritime archipelago. Nusantara culture is not only one of the pillars of development, but more than that, Nusantara Culture is actually the foundation of development.

Culture, especially maritime culture in the form of traditional knowledge and local wisdom is also the focus of SDG 13 (goal on climate change) and SDG 14 (life below water). Sustainable Development is basically the development based on national values and needs with a positive impact to cultural development. Sustainable Development will be realized by building national a comprehensive connectivity, including physical, social economic and cultural connectivity; developing human resources that has national identity and competitiveness, and promoting culture-based innovation to produce value-added commodities / products.

In strategic planning for the next 5 years, culture will become mainstream of the national development. Mainstreaming the Maritime Cultural Heritage, for a vision of Global Maritime Fulcrum and influencing the trend of global civilization, will be conducted through three priority works: (1) Continuing to improve cultural literacy and to establish cultural connectivity as a continuation of infrastructure development in the eastern region (look east policy); (2) Encouraging the maritime generation through various activities such as festivals, forums, art and sport competitions, in supporting sustainable development, particularly in supporting the Tourism Destination and Indonesia-centric program; and (3) Realizing maritime innovation based on empowering cultural diversity and diversity of resources for the development and advancement of maritime culture.

One strategy in realizing maritime culture empowerment is to build a

cultural ecosystem. Such cultural ecosystem that is built with the N-Helix approach involving governments, academics, business and industry, society and community, the media and other cultural stakeholders. *Nusantara* Kingdom or Keraton *Nusantara* and local peoples are very potential stakeholders, with more than 300 entities and their role as cultural centers and sources of knowledge in the form of traditional knowledge and local wisdom. The Keraton Nusantara and the indigenous peoples are the gifts and strengths of future development. Most of Keraton Nusantara and indigenous peoples have their own local maritime characteristic, and treasure huge diversity of knowledge, technology and cultural products such as various wastra products, culinary, cosmetic, medicinal, and knowledge in the form of health, midwifery, irrigation, agriculture, disaster, and building technology, architecture, metallurgy, and navigation and shipping. All those knowledge, technology and cultural product will contribute to increase future maritime innovation and the global competitiveness.

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# Destination Marketing

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## The Ecomuseum Mindset of Tamsui Estuary

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### Abstract

Tamsui River is the third largest river in Taiwan that has spawned the most prosperous part of the Northern Taiwan flowing into the Taiwan Strait through the Tamsui estuary. Bali and Tamsui are located on the banks of the Tamsui estuary. Tamsui used to be a port where Eastern and Western cultures mingled. The history of varying cultures has been intertwined for thousands of years, accumulating multiple cultures of nutrients. Bali is the archaeological sites since the prehistorical ironwork era. The Shihshanhang Museum and Tamsui Historical Museum are the landmarks of Bali and Tamsui, respectively. The two museums unanimously developed the ecomuseum operations, but the performance varies. Focusing on the marketing of museum and destination contributes to the viability of Tamsui estuary. The study uses the six As framework to evaluate the ecomuseum operations and develops the recommendations for practice.

**Keywords** Ecomuseum, Tamsui Estuary, Destination marketing

### Introduction

In the history of human development, rivers are often closely related to the prosperity of a city. Tamsui River is closely related the development of the Greater Taipei area, which formed by the three major tributaries of Dahanxi, Xindianxi and Keelung River flows into the Taiwan Strait through the Tamsui District of New Taipei City. The length of the main stream and the drainage area are the third largest river in Taiwan, which has spawned the most prosperous part of Northern Taiwan. The left and right banks of Tamsui River are Bali and Tamsui, respectively. Bali was a prehistoric ironware site. Tamsui culture was influenced by China, Spain, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Japan, which resulting to many centuries-old heritages. In the early 21st century, the city government set up museums to incorporate the ironware site and the cultural heritages on the banks of the Tamsui River estuary. In addition to the heritage sites, the sunsets, mangrove, and migratory birds of the Tamsui River are precious, making it as the most important tourism destinations in the Northern Taiwan.



Figure 1. Tamsui Estuary

The city government set up The Shihsanghang Museum and the Tamsui Historical Museums at the banks of Tamsui in the early twenty-first century to preserve the culturally estuary assets. Both museums positioned themselves as the ecomuseum at the beginning of their establishment, but the performance varies. Although good curatorship and general enhancement of collections are the core functions of the museum, a visitor-oriented marketing may support the museum sustained. The museum has always been one of the tourist destinations. In addition to many museums receiving less public funding than before, the increase of ticket sales has been getting important for museum operations. The tourism contrast between the left bank and the right bank of Tamsui Estuary calls the interest of the study. With the Tamsui estuary historical sites as the research context, this study aims to make recommendations for the development of estuary culture based on the viewpoint of destination marketing.

### Interwoven ecomuseum, local culture and tourism destination

Traditionally, the museum plays the role of collection, exhibition, education and research. There are three types of the museum. The first is task-oriented museums, which are mostly public and large-scaled museum run by professional curators. The major task is to educate people's specific domain knowledge, and local issues or the market needs are not the focus. The second is shared museums. The owners of such museums are amateurs, interested in sharing their exhibits. The museums have no curating activities and less interactions with local communities or

other museums. The third type is local cultural institutions and ecomuseums which regards individuals, organizations, communities, and NGOs in the society as virtual curators. Such museums are dependent upon substantial active voluntary efforts of the museum and the community which are driven by the local identities and sense of place (Lin, 2013).

Local cultural institutions explore local humanities, art, history, culture, folklore, crafts, landscapes, ecology, industrial resources, etc. to interpret local assets in the most appropriate way through the involvement of local communities and the promotion of community-spirit building. In addition to enabling the local communities to explore local histories and identify sense of places, it provides cultural tourism information for the community and promotes in-depth cultural tourism (Lin, 2013). The conventional ecomuseum advocates community-centered, local governments and local people to brainstorm to present local collective memory, heritage and cultural identity. If the local government is lack of the curators to manage the museum operations and the community management, it is easy to operate without performance. Ecomuseum uses the network system of the core museum and the satellite or quasi-museums through the inter-disciplinary integration and local participation, the local government provides full-time personnel, equipment and resources, and the local communities use their personal resources to display the local collective memory, heritage and cultural identity, and showcase the local stories, customs, and characteristics, etc. to the visitors. The focus of the ecomuseum operation is not on the collection itself, but on the collaboration between the local government and local communities to explore their own stories, present their own space using local cultural assets in a way that can make local communities and visitors appreciate. Given the limited resources of the museum, Lin (2013) suggests that the involvement of enthusiastic stakeholders such as volunteers, players, associations or NGOs of the interest promotes the operation of ecomuseum when the ecomuseum is positioned as an amateur museum. The enthusiasm and interest of the stakeholders promote to explore more related issues about their collections or cultural assets. Further, the stakeholders have richer stories to share with the others which helps the collection and display of the museums. Such sharing boosts the education and research of the museum (Chang, 1996; Lin, 2013).



The local communities and visitors are the audience of the museum. However, the audience of the museum should not be limited to the audience, the tourists and the dents near the museum are the audiences to be attracted by the museum (Rivière, 1985). The audience-oriented approach is in line with the destination marketing (Siano et al., 2010) which guides the tourism impacts optimization and the maximization of benefits for the ecomuseum or the place. A destination comprise a core of six As including attractions (natural, man-made, heritage, and special events), accessibility (entire transportation system), amenities (accommodation and catering facilities, retailing, other tourist services), available packages (pre-arranged packages by intermediaries and principals), activities (all activities available at the destination and what tourists will do during their visit) , and ancillary services (services used by tourists such as banks, tele-communications, post, hospitals, etc.) (Buhalis, 2000). A destination can be regarded as an amalgam of museum collections, facilities and services and experiences provided by the ecomuseum. Destination marketing devises to meet the unique needs and the characteristics of the destination coupled with increasing visitation (Buhalis, 2000). Strategic destination marketing helps enhance the long-tern prosperity of the local people, delight visitors by maximizing their satisfaction, maximize profitability of local business and maximize multiplier effects, and optimize tourism impacts by ensuring a sustainable balance between economic benefits and socio-cultural and environmental costs (Buhalis, 2000). In accordance with the stakeholders' benefits and the strategic marketing objectives, the performance of ecomuseum operation improves.

### 1. Tourism destination of Tamsui Estuary

Bali and Tamsui are at the junction of the Guanyin Mountain and the Tamsui Estuary. The natural landscape is bred by the Tamsui River and Guanyin Mountain, creating a rich and diverse waterfront and mountain ecosystem. The sunset on Tamsui estuary and the mangrove reserve have attracted many tourists to stop by.

#### 1.1. Tamsui

Tamsui is not only the place with the highest cultural asset density in Taiwan, but also the highest density of museums. In the early 16th century, Taiwan's

position in China, South Korea, Japan and the Nanyang Islands was highlighted. It highlighted the important defensive nature of Tamsui and the frequent exchange of ships at sea, and became an important base for economic, political and military affairs. Therefore, Tamsui has become a battleground for the military. In the 17th century, the Spaniards built Santo Domingo in Tamsui for a shipping supply station. Later the fortress destroyed, the Dutch then rebuilt it in 1641 and named it Fort Anthonio. The main structure has been retained to date.

In the 18th century, there were Han Chinese who came from China to Taiwan. They brought the latest farming techniques and the gods of their hometowns. They build temples to keep the gods near the pier. For example, the Fuyou Palace was built in 1782, Yisan Temple was in 1822, and the Longshan Temple was in 1858. These temples were built by the craftsman from different ethnic group of China and were accordingly full of diverse cultural features. Tamsui became a commercial port in the 19th century. Many Westerners came to Taiwan for business, commission, or missionaries. Western-style architectures were constructed and decorated at that time. Among them, Hobe MacKay Hospital from Canada established the MacKay Clinic in 1879 and the Tamsui Oxford College in 1882. The British government built the Customs Wharf in 1862, the Tax Bureau in 1858 and the British Consular Residence in 1891. The British businessman Francis Cass established the Oil Warehouse in 1894. In 1895, the Japanese governed Taiwan, bring about many Japanese-style and Japanese-Western mixed buildings. All these mixture of Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, Spanish, British, and Canadian reaches a wonderful cultural exchange in Tamsui.

In 2005, New Taipei City Government (abbreviated as NTPC) amalgamated thirty-three buildings or constructions, four intangible cultural assets and one monument to apply for the UNESCO World Heritage registry. NTPC established Tamsui Heritage Museum and connected it and private heritages to form a museum alliance to make Tamsui a borderless ecomuseum. The attempt to connect the public museum with the private heritages is to preserve and present the natural and artificial ecology of Tamsui and the historical sites of the port, and to sustain the local culture through the public and private partnership. Several community development associations and Tamsui Culture Foundation are actively involved with the museological activities and in the cultural development and education.

### 1.2. Bali

The old name of Bali in Ching Dynasty was Shihsanhang Village in which thirteen traders lived. Bali is at the junction of Guanyin Mountain, Tamsui estuary, and Taiwan Strait, and is known as the Andesite rock processing industry. The Shihsanhang cultural relics in Bali is one of the important archaeological sites in the northern Taiwan from which excavated pottery, ironwork, tombs and other rich prehistoric relics exists since prehistorical era. NTPC established the Shihsanhang Museum in 2003 to preserve the underneath relics. At the time of its setup, the Shihsanhang Museum is committed to act as an ecomuseum that interacts and develops with the local community. The city government improved transportation and surrounding tourism infrastructure that promoted the economic development of the place through the establishment of the museum. The museum becomes a tourism landmark of Bali with which is surrounded by the diverse heritage sites, natural reserves, waterfront landscapes, historical folklore, industrial culture and public facilities.

### 1.3. Comparison of Tamsui and Bali

According to the statistics of Tourism and Travel Department, NTPC, the number of tourists in Tamsui are more than that in Bali. There were 4.5 million tourists visiting Tamsui in 2017 and 0.96 million visiting Tamsui Historical Museum and there were 3.2 million tourists visiting Bali in 2017 and 0.6 million people visiting the Shihsanhang Museum.

This study uses six as to analyze destination, i.e. attractions, accessibility, amenities, available package, activities, and ancillary services (Buhalis, 2000). Regarding the accessibility and ancillary services, the infrastructure development of Bali and Tamsui is similar because they are two neighboring districts of New Taipei City in Taiwan. The quantity and quality of the amenities in Tamsui is better than those in Bali because there are more third industrial sectors in Tamsui, and more secondary industrial sectors in Bali. With more convenient transportation and commercial activities, Tamsui has always been the most important tourist attraction in the Greater Taipei area.

In addition to the Tamsui Historical Museum, popular tourism spots contain Fishermans' Wharf, Fuyo Temple, Golden River Bank, Longsan Temple, Tamsui

Old Street, Tamsui Oxford College, Yisan Temple etc. The number of tourists in Fishermans' Wharf and Golden River Bank are much more than the number of tourists in Tamsui Historical Museum. The famous scenic zone in Wazihwei Mangrove Reserve, Bali is called the Left Bank Park. The number of tourists in the Left Bank Park is five to six times of the number in Shihsanhang Museum.

The operation of all museums depends on the visitors of the museum. Although the number of visitors can not directly explain the experience of the visitors and the quality of the museum, it can still be used as the basis for the evaluation of the museum. According to the literature (Lin, 2006; Tang, 2012), most of the museum visitors were sporadic explorers who visited for leisure or recreation. When the visitors choose Tamsui estuary as a destination for tourism and leisure activities, they may choose to enter or not to enter the museum. The number of tourists shows that the tourists choose not to enter the museums. When the tourists do not enter the museum, the effectiveness of museological education and exhibition becomes an issue.

**Table 1. Number of tourists**

Year	Left Bank Park, Bali	Golden Riverbank, Tamsui	Shihsanhang Museum, Bali	Tamsui Museums, Tamsui
2013	2,745,000	2,953,000	841,309	4,436,396
2014	3,018,500	3,402,500	969,677	4,634,704
2015	3,292,500	3,369,776	981,301	4,615,733
2016	3,252,177	4,553,901	655,779	4,340,641
2017	3,464,000	4,716,000	568,900	3,499,021

Fisherman's Wharf, Fort Antonio, Little White House, Hobe Fort

Source: Tourism and Travel Department, New Taipei City Government

## Recommendation for the value added by ecomuseum and destination marketing

Tourism destination can be regarded as a combination of all products, services

and ultimately experiences provided locally. Based on the six As framework to analyze the Tamsui estuary as a tourism destination, Bali and Tamsui are qualified to be a tourism destination. The earlier sections introduce the attractions in Bali and Tamsui containing natural attractions and man-made, artificial, purpose built cultural and tourism assets. The accessibility is no question that the transportation comprises mass rapid transit (MRT) from Taipei to Tamsui, bicycle ways along with Tamsui River, and ferries between Bali and Tamsui. The quality and quantities of amenities and ancillary services in Tamsui are better than those in Bali.

Concerning the museological activities, the ecomuseum advocates the participation of local governments and local communities. If the interaction between two parties is less than expected, it may ruin the spirit of the ecomuseum. Both Shihhsanhang Museum and Tamsui Heritage Museums were directed by the ecomuseum at the beginning, it is a pity that the Shihhsanhang museum operation has returned to the curating operation which is inclined to a closed system rather than an open system (Lin, 2013). The number of visitors to Shihhsanhang museum is decreasing and the connection with community residents is weakening (Lin, 2012).

To increase the ecomuseological activities, the Tourism and Travel Department of the New Taipei City Government may connect the cultural tourism resources on both banks of the Tamsui River and re-embraces the spirit of the ecomuseum. Tamsui estuary has rich tourism resources on both banks because of Guanyin Mountain and the estuary. The sunset and mangroves are the most important natural tourism resources, and the Shihhsanhang culture and the Dapenkeng culture originated from the prehistoric era, and the Tamsui western culture began in the seventeenth century, making the culture on Tamsui estuary diverse. However, the museums are administered by the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the NTPC. The tourism affairs are administered by the Tourism and Travel Department of NTPC. The citizen affairs are handled by the Tamsui District Office and the Bali District Office, respectively. This study recommends to lower the governance barriers among the culture, education, and tourism affairs. The Tourism and Travel Department of NTPC acts as the leader to build an ad-hoc team to coordinate the ecomuseum of Tamsui Estuary. In addition to inviting official representatives, the community is necessary to add value for marketing the Tamsui estuary.

The community members who are sensitive to the local activities available at the Tamsui estuary can be from the local people or the virtual communities. The community members may act as the right storytellers to reflect the Tamsui estuary activities. They have the right skills, influence and creativity to turn their experiences into attractive stories that reach the museum audience and deliver a compelling message. For example, the Shihhsanhang Museum has presented underwater archaeological mystery in a virtual reality and augmenting the reality since 2015, which allows the museum to expand from onshore archaeology to underwater archaeology. The richness of the exhibits of the museum has been innovated. However, the numbers of visitors to the museum are decreasing. It is possible that the innovation is top-down, but it is out of touch with the audience life.

Finally, university social responsibility helps boost the community's social innovation activities by mingling the marine culture and Tamsui estuary culture with the operation of ecomuseum. All the universities and community volunteers jointly develop the intellectual platform for networking the culture and local development needs of the Tamsui estuary to jointly promote the richness of marine culture narratives.

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